

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY ON
THE *ACTS OF PAUL AND THECLA*

by

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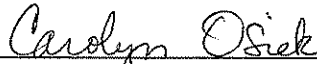
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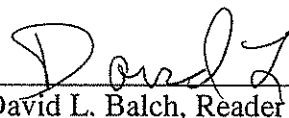
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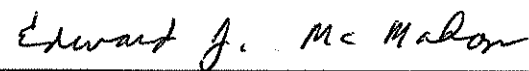
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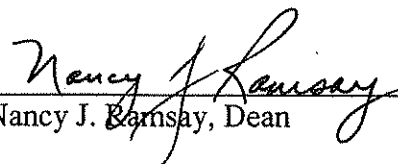
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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

• Title Page.....	1
• Dissertation Approval.....	2
• Copyright Acknowledgment.....	3
• Table of Contents.....	4
• Abbreviations.....	6
• Abbreviations of Textual Witnesses.....	7
• Key to the Numeration of various <i>Acts of Paul</i> texts.....	10
• Foreword.....	14
• Introduction:.....	15
○ 1. The Ancient Novel.....	15
▪ 1.1 The Ancient Novel and the Early Christian Novel.....	15
▪ 1.2 The Ancient Novel and the <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>	24
▪ 1.3 Historical Reliability.....	29
▪ 1.4 Intended/Actual Readers of the Ancient Novel.....	30
▪ 1.5 Intended/Actual Readers of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	34
○ 2. Historical Context.....	44
▪ 2.1 Author and Place.....	44
▪ 2.2 Date of Composition.....	46
○ 3. History of Reception.....	49
▪ 3.1 Canonicity.....	49
▪ 3.2 Manuscript History.....	51
○ 4. <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the New Testament.....	56
○ 5. Feminist Criticism and the <i>AP</i>	63
○ 6. Artistic Representations of the <i>AP</i> and the <i>APTh</i>	65
▪ Figures 1-22.....	75
• Commentary on the Acts of Paul 3-4:.....	98
○ <i>AP</i> 3-4: <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>	98
▪ <i>AP</i> 3.1-25 Iconium.....	98
• 3.1 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	98
• 3.2 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	106
• 3.3 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	110
• 3.4 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	116
• 3.5 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	119
• 3.6 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	126
○ Comparison Chart.....	133
• 3.7 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	134
• 3.8 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	138
• 3.9 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	143
• 3.10 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	149

• 3.11 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	153
• 3.12 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	156
• 3.13 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	159
• 3.14 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	163
• 3.15 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	167
• 3.16 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	172
• 3.17 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	175
• 3.18 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	181
• 3.19 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	185
• 3.20 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	189
• 3.21 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	194
• 3.22 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	199
• 3.23 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	203
• 3.24 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	209
• 3.25 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	213
• 3.26 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	220
▪ <i>AP</i> 4.1-18 Antioch	
• 4.1 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	223
• 4.2 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	231
• 4.3 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	236
• 4.4 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	241
• 4.5 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	246
• 4.6 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	249
• 4.7 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	253
• 4.8 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	256
• 4.9 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	260
• 4.10 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	268
• 4.11 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	274
• 4.12 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	277
• 4.13 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	283
• 4.14 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	286
• 4.15 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	290
• 4.16 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	296
• 4.17 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	300
• 4.18 Translation, Textual Notes, and Comment.....	304
• <i>APTh</i> 44, 45, and <i>Recencion G</i> (Codex <i>G</i>).....	308
• Conclusion.....	313
• Bibliography.....	315

ABBREVIATIONS¹

<i>3 Cor</i>	<i>3 Corinthians</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Acts of Andrew</i>
<i>AAA</i>	Richard Adelbert Lipsius and Maximillian Bonnet, <i>Acta apostolorum apocrypha</i> (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1891-1903; Reprint, Hildensheim: G. Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959).
<i>AAApos</i>	<i>Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles</i>
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Acts of John</i>
<i>ANT</i>	Elliot, J. K., <i>The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
<i>AP</i>	<i>Acts of Paul</i>
<i>APt</i>	<i>Acts of Peter</i>
<i>APTh</i>	<i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>
<i>ATh</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>
<i>ATit</i>	<i>Acts of Titus</i>
<i>ÉAC</i>	<i>Écrits apocryphes chrétiens</i> . Edited by François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain with an Index by J. Voicu. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Saint Herblain: Gallimard, 1997.
<i>MPI</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Paul</i>
<i>NTApoc</i>	<i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> (eds. Edgar Hennecke, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, and Robert McLachlan Wilson; trans. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; Rev. ed.; James Clarke & Co.: Cambridge; Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).
<i>III</i>	Carl Schmidt, <i>ΠΑΡΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli: Nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek</i> (Glückstadt und Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1936).
<i>PPM</i>	Ida Baldassarre, ed., <i>Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici</i> (10 vols.; Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994).

¹ Abbreviations follow *The SBL Handbook of Style* (ed. Patrick H. Alexander, John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, Shirley A. Decker-Lucke, and David L. Petersen; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999) unless indicated above. Also, some abbreviations that cannot be found within the *SBL Handbook* are listed above as well.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTUAL WITNESSES²

Abbreviation/Name/Location/Date/Publication

Greek Manuscripts and Papyrus Fragments:

Ⓟ¹ Hamburg Papyrus (BHG 1451*), Hamburger Staats und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hamburg; III-IV CE; Carl Schmidt and Wilhelm Schubart. *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats und Universitäts-Bibliothek*. Glückstadt and Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1936.

Ⓟ² Michigan Papyri 1317 and 3788/Berlin Papyrus 13893

Michigan Papyri 1317, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; III-IV CE; H. A. Sanders. "A Fragment of the *Acta Pauli* in the Michigan Collection." *HTR* 31 (1938): 70-90;

Michigan Papyri 3788, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; III-IV CE; H. A. Sanders. "Three Theological Fragments." *HTR* 36 (1943): 165-67; Colin H. Roberts. "A Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel." *JTS* 47 (1946): 56-7; Colin H. Roberts. "The Acta Pauli: A New Fragment." *JTS* 47 (1946) 196-99; W. D. McHardy. "A Papyrus Fragment of the *Acta Pauli*." *ET* 58 (1947): 279.

Berlin Papyrus 13893, Berlin, Germany; III-IV CE; Carl Schmidt. "Ein Berliner Fragment der alten *Πράξεις Παύλου*." *SPAW* (19 Feb. 1931): 37-40.

Ⓟ³ Ⓟ^{Oxy} 1602 (=Gent, Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit, inv. 62);


² See Mauriti Geerard, ed., "Acta Pauli," *Clavis Apocryphum Novi Testamenti* (Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992) 117-26 for a more complete listing of manuscripts and papyri of the *AP*. The only publication lacking in his work is the more recent *editio princeps* of Bodmer XLI (Cop^B) completed by Rodolphe Kasser and Philippe Luisier, "Le Bodmer XLI en Édition Princeps l'Épisode d'Éphèse des *Acta Pauli* en Copte et en Traduction," *Mus* 117 (2004): 281-384. Also, the abbreviations follow those found in (1) Peter W. Dunn, "The Acts of Paul and the Pauline Legacy in the Second Century," (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1996) x; (2) the Prolegomena on pages XCIV-CVI in Richard Adelbert Lipsius and Maximilian Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1891-1903; Reprint, Hildensheim: G. Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959); (3) the improvements made to the Latin versions by Oscar von Gebhardt, ed., *Passio S. Theclae virginis: Die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae nebst Fragmenten, Auszügen und Beilagen*, (TUGAL 7 [Neuen Folge]; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902); (4) Carl Schmidt, *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli: Nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Glückstadt und Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1936), in reference to the usage of Syrian and Armenian versions, and (5) the edition of Carl Schmidt. "eine neues Fragment der Heidelberger Acta Pauli." *SPAW* (4 Feb. 1909): 216-20 (Cop^{1frag}); which I added in order to clarify my sources within the commentary.

- Ghent, Netherlands; IV-V CE; Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. and trans. "1602. Homily to Monks." Pages 23-25 in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part 13*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1919.
- Bodmer Papyrus X; Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny-Genève; III CE; Testuz, M. *Papyrus Bodmer X-XI. X: Correspondance apocryphe des Corinthiens et de l'apôtre Paul. XI: Onzième Odes Salomon. XII: Fragment d'un Hymne liturgique*. Cologny and Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959.
- ⲡ*⁷ Codex Parisinum Graecus 520; Paris; XI CE; collated by Thilo and Tischendorf; *AAA*.
- B* Codex Parisinum Graecus 1454; Paris; X CE; *AAA*.
- C* Codex Parisinum Graecus 1468; Paris; X CE; *AAA*.
- E* Codex Vaticanus Graecus 797; Rome; XI CE; *AAA*.
- F* Codex Vaticanus Graecus 866; Rome; XI CE; *AAA*.
- G* Codex Barocciano Graecus 180/*Codex Grabe/Recension G*; Bodleian Library, Oxford; XII CE; Johann Ernest Grabe. *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Hæreticorum: Seculi post Christum natum I. II. & III. quorum vel integra monumenta, vel fragmenta, partim ex aliorum patrum libris jam impressis collegit, & cum codicibus manuscriptis contulit, partim ex MSS. nunc primum edidit, ac singula tam præfatione, quàm notis subiectis illustravit : tomus I. sive seculum I*. 2d ed. Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1700; *AAA*.
- H* Codex Oxoniensis Miscell. Graecus 77 (=Oxoniensis Huntingdonis); Oxford; XII CE; *AAA*.
- K* Codex Parisinus Graecus 769; Paris; XIII CE; *AAA*.
- L* Codex Palatinus Vaticanus 68; Rome; XIII CE; *AAA*.
- M* Codex Vaticanus 1190; Rome; XIV CE; *AAA*.

Coptic Manuscripts and Papyri Fragments:

- Cop*¹ Heidelberg Papyrus (BHO 882); Heidelberg; VI CE; Carl Schmidt. *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift*. Mit Tafelband. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904.
- Cop*^{1frag} *Cop*¹ Papyrus fragment; see *Cop*¹ above; Carl Schmidt. "eine neues Fragment der Heidelberger Acta Pauli." *SPAW* (4 Feb. 1909): 216-20.
- Cop*^B Bodmer Papyrus XLI; Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny-Genève; IV CE; Rodolphe Kasser and Philippe Luisier. "Le Bodmer XLI en Édition Princeps l'Épisode d'Éphèse des *Acta Pauli* en Copte et en Traduction." *Mus* 117 (2004): 281-384.
- Cop*^M Unpublished Bodmer Papyrus (trans. W. E. Crum, "New Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library." *BJRL* 5 (1918-20): 501.

Latin Manuscripts and Papyrus Fragments:³

-  Codex Casinensis 142 (*c* in *AAA* and part of the *C_c* recension according to von Gebhardt); Monte Cassino, Italy; XI CE; *AAA*.
- A* Recension *A* is represented by two manuscripts (Codex Latinus 5306; Paris; XIV CE; and Codex 479; Toulouse; XIV CE). See von Gebhardt, *Passio*, VII-X).
- B_{a,b}, or c* Recension *B* is represented by three versions (*B_a*, *B_b*, and *B_c*) entailing a total of 24 manuscripts of which von Gebhardt used 7 of them for his translation. See von Gebhardt, *Passio*, X-XXIII.
- C_{a, b, c, or d}* Recension *C* is represented by four versions (*C_a*, *C_b*, and *C_c*, and *C_d*) entailing a total of 21 manuscripts of which von Gebhardt used 12 of them for his translation. See von Gebhardt, *Passio*, XXIII-XXXIV.
- d* Codex Digbaeno 39 (part of the *C_d* recension according to von Gebhardt); Bodleian Library, Oxford; XII CE; Johann Ernest Grabe. *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Hæreticorum: Seculi post Christum natum I. II. & III. quorum vel integra monumenta, vel fragmenta, partim ex aliorum patrum libris jam impressis collegit, & cum codicibus manuscriptis contulit, partim ex MSS. nunc primum edidit, ac singula tam præfatione, quàm notis subjunctis illustravit: tomus I. sive seculum I.* 2d ed. Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1700; *AAA*.
- s* Boninus Mombritius (or Bonino Mombrizio), *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum* (Milan, 1476 [Lipsius, *AAA*, *C*] or 1477); a book (actually surpassed in textual significance by von Gebhardt's Latin edition) that collated 10 Latin manuscripts. See *AAA*, C-CI for more details.

Other Manuscript Translations:

- Syr.* Syriac versions (BHO 1152-1154). There are four syriac versions (*s^a*, *s^b*, *s^c*, and *s^d*) referred to by *AAA*, CII, but this level of distinction is not necessary in this commentary. I follow Schmidt, who typically refers to them as "Syr." in *III*. See Wright, William. *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries*. 1871. Repr., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1968;
- Arm* Armenian versions. See Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis, ed. Pages 49-88 in *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity*. London: Swan Sonnenschein; New York: MacMillan, 1894; or Conybeare. *The Armenian Apology and the Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity*. 2d ed with an Appendix. London: Swan Sonnenschein; New York: MacMillan. 1896.

³ See von Gebhardt, *Passio*, for the Latin critical text of the *APTh*.

Key to Numeration of the *Acts of Paul*⁴

<i>ÉAC</i> ⁵	Thompson ⁶ ,	Schneemelcher ⁷
<i>AP</i> 1 Damascus		<i>AP</i> 1
<i>AP</i> 2 Antioch ₁		<i>AP</i> 2
<i>AP</i> 3-4 <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i> (<i>APTh</i> 1-43)		<i>AP</i> 3.1-43
3.1-26 Iconium	4.1-26	<i>AP</i> 3.1-26a
4.1-18 Antioch ₂	4.26-43	<i>AP</i> 3.26-43
4.1	4.26	3.26b
4.2	4.27	3.27
4.3	4.28	3.28
4.4	4.29	3.29
4.5	4.30	3.30
4.6	4.31	3.31
4.7	4.32	3.32
4.8	4.33	3.33
4.9	4.34	3.34
4.10	4.35	3.35

⁴ Consult the key to the numeration of the *AP* in Peter W. Dunn, “*Acts of Paul*,” xii-xiii also. Several small variations and amendments have been included in this key to numeration. For instance, J. David Thompson’s *Concordance* (see footnote 6 below) has been added in order to align it with other texts; the designation of 3 *Cor* has been removed; and several corrections to misidentified lines have been corrected (e.g. 3 *Cor* 1=*NTApoc* 2:254.1-11 has been corrected to 10.1 (not 3 *Cor* 1) = 254.3-13 (not 254.1-11). In this case, Dunn mistakenly begins the numbering of lines with one at the beginning of new chapters. So, when he identifies 254.1-11, he is correct that one is dealing with lines 1 to 11 in *AP* 10.1, but this is erroneous due to the fact that lines 1-11 of chapter 10 is actually lines 3-13 on page 254 of Schneemelcher’s *NTApoc*.

⁵ Willy Rordorf in collaboration with Pierre Cherix and Rudophe Kasser, trans., “*Actes de Paul*,” *ÉAC* (ed. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain; Index by J. Voicu; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Saint Herblain: Gallimard, 1997), 1127-77.

⁶ J. David Thompson, *A Critical Concordance to the New Testament Acts: Acts of Paul* (eds. Watson E. Mills and David Noel Freedman; The Computer Bible; vol. 44, book 1 and 2 of *The Computer Bible*; Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2001). The Key to the numeration of Thompson is as follows:

1.1-5=ℙ¹, pages 1-5; 2.1-2= ℙ¹, pages 6-7.1-9 (lines 1-9);

2.7-11= ℙ¹, pages 7.10-11 (page 7, line 10 through page 11);

3.1-7=Lipsius-Bonnet *MPI* 1-7;

3.50-57=ℙ⁷ that has been published in M. Testuz, *Papyrus X-XI, X: Correspondence apocryphe des Corinthiens et de l’apôtre Paul. XI. Onzième Odes Salomon. XII. Fragment d’un Hymne liturgique*. (Colony and Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959), pages 50-57; 4.1-45=AAA, *APTh* 1-45.

⁷ Wilhelm Schneemelcher, “The Acts of Paul,” *NTApoc* (eds. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher; ed. and trans. Robert McLachlan Wilson; Rev. ed.; James Clarke & Co.: Cambridge; Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 2:213-70. I am only including lines of the actual text in my referencing. For instance, 263.1-4a is page 263, lines 1 through the sentence ending on page 4 (called part a). Summaries and discussions that are supplemental to the text do not factor into the numeration.

4.11	4.36	3.36
4.12	4.37	3.37
4.13	4.38	3.38
4.14	4.39	3.39
4.15	4.40	3.40
4.16	4.41	3.41
4.17	4.42	3.42
4.18	4.43	3.43
[Codex <i>A</i> , <i>B</i> , and <i>C</i>] ⁸	4.44	
[Codex <i>A</i> , <i>B</i> , and <i>C</i>]	4.45	
[<i>Recension G</i>]		
<i>AP</i> 5 Myra		<i>AP</i> 4
<i>AP</i> 6 Sidon		<i>AP</i> 5
<i>AP</i> 7 Tyre		<i>AP</i> 6
<i>AP</i> 8 Jerusalem to Smyrna		
<i>AP</i> 9 Ephesus		
<i>AP</i> 9.1-13 (Cop ^B)		<i>AP</i> appendix
9.1		263.1-4a
9.2		263.4b-10a
9.3		263.10b-264.2
9.4		264.3-6a
9.5		264.6b-12
9.6		264.13-17
9.7		264.18-27
9.8		264.28-38
9.9		264.39-265.2
9.10		265.3-4
9.11		265.5-12
9.12		265.13-19
9.13a		265.20
<i>AP</i> 9.14-28 (Cop ¹)		<i>AP</i> 7
9.13b	1.1	251.1-14a
9.14	1.1 (cont.)	251.14b-21a
9.15	1.1 (cont.)	251.21b-25
9.16	1.2	251.26-252.3a
9.17	1.2 (cont.)	252.3b-17
9.18	1.3	252.18-24a
9.19	1.3 (cont.)	252.24b-33a
9.20	1.3 (cont.)	252.33b-34

⁸ *AP* 44, 45 and *recension G* are not included in *ÉAC*, but I have placed them here, considering that I refer to them as *APTh* 44, 45, and *G* throughout the commentary. The numeration of 43, 44, and *G* follows the identification system as proposed by the *AAA*.

	9.21	1.4	252.35-253.2
	9.22	1.4 (cont.)	253.3-253.13a
	9.23	1.4 (cont.)	253.13b-15
	9.24	1.5	253.16-21a
	9.25	1.5 (cont.)	253.21b-28a
	9.26	1.5 (cont.)	253.28b-33
	9.27	1.5 (cont.)	253.34-36
	9.28	1.5 (cont.)	254.1-2
AP 10	Philippi ⁹	3.50-57	AP 8
	10.1		254.3-13
	<i>Letter of the Corinthians</i> (to Paul)		
	10.2	3.50-51	8.1.1-16
	10.3	3.51 (cont.)	8.2.1-5
	<i>Letter of Paul</i> (to the Corinthians)		
	10.4.1-21 ¹⁰	3.52-54	8.3.1-21
	10.5.24-32	3.54 (cont.)-56	8.3.24-32
	10.6.34-40	3.56 (cont.)-57	8.3.34-40
AP 11	Philippi ₂		256.27-257.10
AP 12	Corinth		AP 9
	12.1	2.1	257.11-22a
	12.2	2.1 (cont.)	257.22b-29a
	12.3	2.1 (cont.)	257.29b-258.6a
	12.4	2.1 (cont.)	258.6b-7
	12.5	2.2, 2.7 (begins)	258.8-15a
	12.6	2.7	258.15b-21
AP 13	Voyage to Italy		AP 10
	13.1	2.8 (cont.)	258.22-28a
	13.2	2.8 (cont.)	258.28b-259.3a
	13.3	2.8 (cont.)	259.3b-9a
	13.4	2.8 (cont.)	259.9b-12a
	13.5	2.8 (cont.)	259.12b-19a
	13.6	2.8 (cont.)	259.19b-23a
	13.7	2.8 (cont.)	259.23b-33
	13.8	2.8 (cont.)	259.33-37
	13.9		260.1-9a
	13.10		260.9b-12a
	13.11		260.12b-22
AP 14	Rome: The Martyrdom ¹¹		AP 11

⁹ Also known as *3 Corinthians* (1) due to the probability that *3 Cor* predates the *AP*, and (2) a complete separate textual transmission with overlap between the *AP* and *3 Cor* being evidenced in Cop¹.

¹⁰ Verses 14, 22, 23, and 33 have been cut out of the *ÉAC* text as being Latin additions, following the shorter recension of *3 Cor*.

14.1	3.1	11.1
14.2	3.2	11.2
14.3	3.3 and 2.9 (begins)	11.3
14.4	3.4 and 2.9-10	11.4
14.5	3.5 and 2.10-11	11.5
14.6	3.6	11.6
14.7	3.7	11.7

I will be using the numbering system proposed by *ÉAC* for several reasons. One, the translation of the *Actes de Paul* for *ÉAC* is the work of the text critical team that is producing the most current critical edition of the *AP* that includes all available manuscripts and papyri of the *AP*. Two, *ÉAC* makes a distinction between the accounts of Iconium and Antioch, which follows the text of Cop¹, therefore representing the earliest known account of the chapter divisions in the *AP*. In addition to using the numeration as suggested by *ÉAC*, I have also included the addition of *APTh* 44, 45, and *recension G*, which are found within the critical edition of the *AAA*, and have not been preserved in the edition of *ÉAC*.

¹¹ *The Martyrdom of Paul (MPl) or Martyrium Pauli 1-7.*

FOREWORD

There are numerous people I want to thank for helping to reach this milestone in my life. First, I would like to thank my wonderful family; Robin, Samuel, and Sophia. Thanks also to my parents, Wayne and Janet Barrier for always being supportive. For five years I have traveled back and forth to Fort Worth, Texas, and numerous people have helped me in many ways to accomplish this task, so, thanks go to everyone at Jacks Creek for much encouragement and financial help, Larry and Delba Samuels for allowing my family to come so many times, Wade and Julie Osburn for books, Rachel Steele and Laura Sanders-Wilson for helping Robin with the kids, for the workers at DFW, who fast-tracked me through security checks and held airplanes for me (more than once or twice), Sheila Owens, Bill, Peggy, Sunshine, and Liberty, Kay Delay, Joe and Ramay Noles, David Warren (many prayers), A-J Levine for advising and encouragement, Heritage Christian University, Larry Welborn, Nathan Guy, Terry Edwards, North Carolina Church of Christ, Thomas and June Barrier, Joey, Jamie, and Jenny Barrier, Harvey for the Ribs, and many others that I am failing to mention by name.

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Introduction:

1. The Ancient Novel

1.1 The Ancient Novel and the Early Christian Novel

The early Christian novel has traditionally been separated from the ancient novels, but within this introduction, I will argue that it is more accurate to locate the early Christian novel as a special type of the ancient novel. Also, I intend to argue that the *APTh* (and the *AP* as a larger corpus) can be interpreted more appropriately if one reads these documents with the genre of the ancient novel in mind. Before making my case, I will consider first some background information that is important for understanding Greco-Roman novels and the Christian novels of antiquity.

In 858 CE, Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, stated that sometime around the year 400 CE, Leucius Charinus, a Manichaean in Egypt, collected the five major acts of early Christian literature (excluding the Acts of the Apostles now included in the Christian canon), known today as the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (*AAApos*).¹² These five major acts are the *Acts of John*, *Acts of Paul*, *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of Andrew*, and the *Acts of Thomas*. One finds these documents so intriguing because they appear in the latter part of the second century, and the early Christians seem to be reading them and enjoying them alongside what are now considered “canonical

¹² See Photius, *Bibliotheca* 114, Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον, αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων περίοδοι, ἐν αἷς περιείχοντο πράξεις Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀνδρέου, Θωμᾶ, Παύλου. Γράφει δὲ αὐτάς, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ αὐτὸ βιβλίον, Λεύκιος Χαρῖνος (quoted from *TLG*). Mentioned in Constantin von Tischendorf and Theodor Zahn’s *Acta Joannis* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1880), 215; Bernhard Pick found it through Zahn, *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew, and Thomas* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909), x; and again in Bremmer, Jan N., “The Five Major Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time, and Readership,” *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, (ed. Bremmer; Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 156.

texts” that reflect the orthodox positions of the early church. It is with these documents that classicists and New Testament scholars alike have puzzled over in just what genre one can categorize these ancient documents. This has caused the *AAapos* to have fallen somewhere between Christian literature studies and Classical studies, while not always gaining the attention they deserve, because neither classicists nor biblical scholars have attempted to claim them.¹³ Classicists reject them due primarily to the fact that they fall under the rubric of “Early Christian Literature,” and biblical scholars reject them, because the content of the material has been considered unorthodox and “false” as a record to early Christianity.¹⁴

In 1983, Tomas Hägg published his work, *The Novel in Antiquity*, as the English counterpart to his Swedish edition, *Den Antika Romanen* (Uppsala: Bokförlaget Carmina, 1980) and for the most part set the stage by accident (or not) for how continuing discussions were carried out on the ancient novel. In both the preface¹⁵ and “CHAPTER I, The Novel in Antiquity—a Contradiction in Terms?” Hägg

¹³ The history of research on the ancient novel precedes Hägg, but for current discussions, they begin here. See also Erwin Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seiner Vorläufer* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1900) and Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft 3; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932). Tomas Hägg published his work, *The Novel in Antiquity* in 1983 “creating” the rubrics of discussion. In particular look at chapter one, “The Novel in Antiquity – a Contradiction of Terms?” See also the advancement of these ideas as presented in Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Novel: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 8-27.

¹⁴ See Éric Junod, “Actes Apocryphes et Hérésie: Le Jugement de Photius,” *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen* (François Bovon, et. al.; Publication de la faculté de théologie de l’Université de Genève; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981), 11-24. See also Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, (ed. Eldon Jap Epp with Christopher R. Matthews; trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), xlii, where the *AP* are quickly dismissed as literature due to several reasons. One reason in particular is the “senseless” miracles that are found throughout the text.

¹⁵ Hägg, *The Novel*, vii-viii.

discusses the fact that what the book is addressing is a newly emerging genre in the Hellenistic period that is nameless, and the reconstruction is primarily the part of the classical historian.¹⁶ The key quote is that of Julian the Apostate who, in the year 363 CE, wrote in a letter “All made-up stories of the type published by writers of earlier ages in the shape of historical accounts—love stories and all that kind of narrative—are to be rejected.”¹⁷

Interestingly enough, Holzberg offers a bit more information for the delimitation of the ancient novel. Holzberg bases his definition on references made to the subject as recorded in Greek from the Byzantine period, and in Latin from late antiquity that refer to the “ancient novel” texts as “*drama*, (*suntagma*) *dramatikon* (‘dramatic narrative’) or *komodia* in Greek and *fabula* or *mimus* in Latin.”¹⁸ These two categories basically address a group of writings that would have been “fictional reproductions of everyday life in the ancient world”¹⁹ in the form of either a tale of two lovers “happily joined together only at the end of the work” or as a “comedy.”²⁰ Holzberg argues that by late antiquity there was already an isolated definition of the genre that the ancients would have thought of when discussing the ancient novel. Then Holzberg discusses the characteristics of the “idealistic and comic-realistic

¹⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁷ Ibid., 3; Holzberg, Niklas, “The Genre: Novels Proper and the Fringe,” *The Novel in the Ancient World* (ed. Gareth Schmeling; rev. ed.; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 17. See Flavius Claudius Julianus (Julian the Apostate, 331-363 CE), *Epistulae* 89b, line 347, ...ὅσα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ἱστορίας εἶδει παρὰ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παραιτητέον, ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα (quoted from TLG).

¹⁸ *Ancient Novel*, 8.

¹⁹ Ibid., 9.

²⁰ Ibid., 8.

novel” and proceeds by suggesting which novels fit within this framework.²¹

Following this section, Holzberg addresses a large group of texts that fit into the category of “fringe novels.” It is within this section that he deals with the early Christian novel as a fringe novel, thus designating it as outside of the parameters of the ancient novel.

Before looking more closely at his assessment of the early Christian novel, for the purpose of clarity and understanding the territory better something should be said about what one expects to see when looking at the “ideal” ancient novel. Hägg does very little in terms of defining the characteristics of the ideal novel, but on the contrary expects the reader to notice the characteristics rising to the top after reading through *The Novel in Antiquity*.²² On the other hand, Holzberg is somewhat more explicit about definitions by dividing the characteristics of the ancient romance into two areas: *Motifs* and *Narrative technique*.²³ Put quite simply, this section highlights the stock details of the ancient novel. The ancient novel typically begins with a young man and a young woman of exceptional beauty who fall in love, make vows to one another and then face incredible obstacles. The young lovers—sometimes newly wed—after betrothal, usually are separated for various reasons, pledge fidelity, and then face numerous perils. These perils usually come in the shape of pirates, shipwrecks, journeys to far off, exotic lands such as Alexandria or Ethiopia. At

²¹ Ibid., 9-11.

²² For Instance, Hägg begins on page 5 of *The Novel in Antiquity* with “Chariton: Chaereas and Callirhoe” and immediately begins discussing the first line of the text without prefacing it with any discussion of the ideal characteristics, quite in irony to the title of the chapter, “The Ideal Greek Novel.”

²³ Holzberg, *Ancient Novel*, 9-10.

different points, the gods intervene in the situation, sometimes for the good of the couple and sometimes for the worse (very much the case as first set forth by Homer). After a series of events, following the two lovers' adventures being told in parallel accounts, they finally reunite at the end for the happily ever after ending. These factors will resurface again once I return to look at the *APTh* more closely.

After overviewing some of the stock elements of the ancient novel, let us now return to the reasons given by Holzberg for the exclusion of the early Christian novel. It must first be noted that I believe Holzberg's reasons for the exclusion of the "Early Christian novel-like literature" to be tenuous and dubious. While I admit that there are "thematic parallels" that "resemble situations typical for the novel," he nonetheless excludes them.²⁴ Holzberg is willing to concede a "new type of fictional prose narrative," entitled the "early Christian novel," but is unwilling to go any further.²⁵ Holzberg argues that the early Christian novels are essentially a second-tier production or Christianized variation of the ancient novel, while falsely assuming that novels must be pagan in order to represent the novel accurately. Secondly, Holzberg seeks to exclude the early Christian novel as a "fringe" novel based upon the reception of the novel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He notes that, during the birth of the modern novel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "authors looked to ancient novels for inspiration, influenced solely by the pagan idealistic type (in particular by Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*) and its comic-realistic

²⁴ Ibid., 22.

²⁵ Ibid., 23.

counterpart (especially the Greek and Latin *Ass* novels).”²⁶ Therefore, the implications of Holzberg’s reasoning is, if the early Christian novels were rejected as second class novels within the birth of the modern novel, then we will continue to reject them. First, this assessment fails to factor in the effects of Christendom upon the perception and reading of early Christian novels during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁷ Second, the concern for orthodox and heretical writings would clearly have located the ancient novels within the realm of heretical documents, while at the same time have limited the possibility for people to view them as documents of literature or entertainment due to their Christian²⁸ nature.²⁹

In all fairness, since the publication of *The Ancient Novel*, Holzberg has responded to some criticism in Gareth Schmeling’s 1996 work (revised in 2003), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, by attempting to step back in a small way from some of his previous assertions. Namely, he first of all admits to the anachronistic nature of the discussion, but apologetically asks for leeway, considering that there simply are no ancient names to describe the genre.³⁰ But on the whole, there is surprisingly little change that takes place in his use of definitions.

²⁶ Ibid., 23-24. This reference to the “*Ass* novels” is in reference to the Latin text by Apuleius entitled *Metamorphoses* (also called *The Golden Ass* as entitled by Augustine of Hippo) and the Greek text *Ass Romance*, or also entitled *Lucian or the Ass* (or *Asinus*).

²⁷ In particular, I am referring to the apocryphal/heretical nature in which they were received which limited the reading this literature for fear of heresy. See Junod, “Actes Apocryphes et Hérésie,” 24; and Gérard Poupon, “Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres de Lefèvre a Fabricius,” *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres*, 25-47.

²⁸ I chose to say “Christian nature” rather than “religious nature” due to the irony that the stock ancient novels are all religious in nature, albeit pagan.

²⁹ Again see Junod, “Actes Apocryphes et Hérésie,” 24; and Gérard Poupon, “Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres de Lefèvre a Fabricius,” *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres*, 25-47.

³⁰ Holzberg, “The Genre,” 11.

In an attempt to answer these reasons for rejecting the early Christian novel as an ancient novel, I will attempt to answer each of these problems with plausible reasons to argue in return as well as provide an overview of the *APTh* as a test case for *AAapos* as legitimate examples of an ancient novel. First, in reply to the early Christian novel being a variation and byproduct of the ancient novel, one might note the following. It seems inconsistent to suggest that the early Christian novel only describes the reception of the genre due to the fact that according to Holzberg's own timeline, the ancient novel was still in development. Take for instance, the production of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, where a second century document coincides with the production of part of the *AAapos*.³¹ Also, the time of production of the *AAapos* falls during the midst of Holzberg's unfolding of the development and history of the "ideal novel" as it continues on into the third century as part of the "Second Sophistic."³² It hardly seems plausible to describe the development of the early Christian novel as simply a glimpse of how the ancient novel was received, considering that it was developing at the same time as the "ideal novel."

Regarding the reception in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it hardly seems a plausible reason, considering the religious climate of these centuries. There were a number of socio-political factors that would have influenced the selection of materials as much as anything else. One cannot forget that once the *AAapos* were considered unorthodox, this labeling diminished the importance and influence of these

³¹ Ibid., 77.

³² Ibid., 84-105.

documents significantly, even up to the present. The religious and social environment is still not in such a position that masses of people will be exposed to or see any need to consider reading the *AAAs*.

One also finds it interesting for Holzberg to make a statement that “no readers or critics are likely even to have considered counting Iambulus’ ‘travelogue,’ the *Life of Aesop*, the collected pseudepigraphic letters of Hippocrates, the *Ephemeris* of Dictys and the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* together with Chariton’s *Callirhoe* and Petronius’ *Satyricon* as variations of one and the same literary genre.”³³ It hardly seems possible that one could argue with Holzberg considering that modern critics have, for the most part, created the literary genre that he is discussing. This statement says more about the contemporary reader than about the ancient reader. This ultimately is something that must be answered by identifying the ancient readers and the reception history of the documents that is defined, ironically, as a very diverse and broad group of readers by Holzberg.³⁴ Pervo, quite the opposite of Holzberg, suggests

It is doubtful that a librarian, ca. 175, faced with the Greek *Metamorphoses* attributed to Lucius of Patrae, *Leucippe*, *An Ephesian Tale*, and the *Acts of Paul* would unhesitatingly place the first three on one shelf, so to speak, and the last elsewhere. The two last items have much in common.³⁵

I also find it difficult to call the early Christian novel a fringe novel, especially if Hägg is correct that “the people who needed and welcomed the novel are the same as those who were attracted by the mystery religions and Christianity: the people of

³³ Ibid., 26.

³⁴ Ibid., 33-35.

³⁵ Pervo, Richard, “The Ancient Novel Becomes Christian,” *Novel in the Ancient World*, 694.

Alexandria and other big cities round the Eastern Mediterranean.”³⁶ This hardly sounds like the fringes, but rather represents the majority of the masses as the mystery religions and ultimately Christianity swept through the Mediterranean region and eventually dominated even the political sphere of the Empire. In fact, as recent studies have concluded, there is a general agreement that the readership of the ancient novel (whether one is looking at the “Sophistic” novels or the “early” novels) is going to be rather diverse, crossing both educated/uneducated and wealthy/poor categories as they seemed to have had a far reaching impact.³⁷ To add to this, within a recent study on readership and the ancient Christian novel, Bremmer approaches the question by reflecting upon the readership of the *AAAp*os.³⁸ While there is quite unanimous agreement that most upper class Greek and Roman males could read, Bremmer takes the argument the next step by demonstrating that quite a number of women would have been readers of the *AAAp*os.³⁹ In fact, there is physical evidence that the written form of the *APTh* was even so popular with people that small codices have been found containing them, thus suggesting a very widespread and general use of the literature in both the reading of the materials and also in the oral presentation of

³⁶ *The Novel*, 90.

³⁷ Ewen Bowie, “4. The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novel,” *The Novel in the Ancient World*, 92-96.

³⁸ Ewen Bowie, “Les lecteurs du roman grec,” *Le monde du roman grec* (M.-F. Baslez, et. al.; Paris, 1992) 55-61; Bowie, “The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World,” *The Search for the Ancient Novel*; Bowie, “The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novel,” *The Novel in the Ancient World*, 87-106; Tomas Hägg, “Orality, Literacy, and the “readership” of the early Greek Novel,” *Contexts of Pre-Novel Narrative* (ed. R. Eriksen; Berlin and New York, 1994) 47-81; Susan Stephens, “Who Read Ancient Novels?,” *The Search*, 405-18; J. Morgan, “The Greek Novel. Towards a Sociology of Production and Reception,” *The Greek World* (ed. A. Powell; London, 1995) 134-39; and Bremmer, “The Apocryphal Acts,” 160-70.

³⁹ “Apocryphal Acts,” 164-67.

the materials.⁴⁰ For these reasons as mentioned above, it appears that a reconsideration of the *AApos* as an example of the ancient novel is in order.

1.2 The Ancient Novel and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*

As will be noted in the commentary, there are extensive points of contact in the similarities of motif, language, themes, choice of words, expressions, etc. between the *APTh* and other ancient novels. In particular I have referred to Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*⁴¹ (or *Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius*), Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Chariton's *Callirhoe*, Longus' *Daphne and Chloe*, *Joseph and Asenath*, and finally the summation of Parthenius, *The Story of Pallene*.⁴² For the purpose of summarizing some of these touchpoints between the *APTh* and the ancient novel, consider the following parallels. At the beginning of the *APTh*, one is introduced to the major figures in the tale, primarily Paul and Thecla. At the beginning, Paul is introduced in terms pointing primarily to Paul's inward beauty, but not leaving the outward beauty unaddressed.⁴³ The author immediately parallels Paul to the immortal in the statement that "for some times he appeared as a man, but at

⁴⁰Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1995), 236. Books were not simply for the purpose of reading, but also for the purpose of presenting and speaking the contents to those who could not read.

⁴¹ See footnote 26 above.

⁴² For example, see the 3.8.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 3, 8, 9, 10; 3.18.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 4, 6, 10; 3.18.2 *General Comment*; 3.22.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9; 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 8, 10, 12; 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 2, 6, 7, 10; 4.2.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 1 and 7 for examples. This is not a comprehensive listing of the notes that I have offered as possible connections between the *APTh* and other ancient novels.

⁴³ For more discussion on the authenticity of Paul's description, see János Bollók, "The Description of Paul," *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 1-15; Robert M. Grant, "The Description of Paul in the Acts of Paul and Thecla," *VC* 36 (1982), 1-4; Abraham J. Malherbe, "A Physical Description of Paul," *HTR* 79 (1986): 170-75.

other times he had the face of an angel.”⁴⁴ Paul’s counterpart is Thecla, a young virgin betrothed to one of the leading men of the city, named Thamyris, who hears Paul’s preaching in Iconium. As Thecla becomes more mesmerized by Paul’s teachings on chastity and such, Thecla’s mother, Theocleia becomes concerned and tells Thamyris that:

For three days and three nights, Thecla has not risen from the door, neither to eat nor to drink, but she is gazing intently as though enraptured, thus she is closely attached to a foreign man who is teaching deceptive and divisive words, so that I marvel how one of such modesty as of the virgin is being burdened (so) painfully.⁴⁵

On another occasion, once the “love affair” has intensified, Paul is thrown in prison as one who has brought social disorder, and Thecla proceeds to come to his prison cell, where she “kisses his bonds” (*καταφιλούσης τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτοῦ*) and she is described as “chained to him by affection” (*συνδεδεμένην τῇ στοργῇ*).⁴⁶ The sexual overtones can hardly be missed. They are by all means intentional. In fact, this is precisely where much of the controversy has fallen over the *APTh*. Holzberg takes notice of the anomaly as grounds for exclusion as a “fringe” document.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Pervo questions the judgment of modern critics who adjudicate the ancient novel based on such flimsy grounds of whether it promotes heterosexual marriage.⁴⁸ It is also this same text that leads Melissa Aubin, based on the work of Kate Cooper⁴⁹ and Judith

⁴⁴ *AP* 3.3. This is my translation.

⁴⁵ *AP* 3.8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.18-19.

⁴⁷ Holzberg, *Ancient*, 23.

⁴⁸ Pervo, “The Ancient Novel becomes Christian,” 685.

⁴⁹ *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1996).

Perkins,⁵⁰ to conclude that the *APTh* are purposefully trying to confound “differences between the sexes” as Aubin sees the ancient romance as the primary teacher of this.⁵¹ However one eventually defines the relationship between the two characters, the text clearly seeks to set Paul and Thecla in the leading roles of the young lovers, but with a twist. Interestingly, in the case of the *APTh*, the “social backbone” of the ancient novel, marriage, is somehow being reinterpreted.⁵² This is carried out to the fullest extent by (1) Thecla’s ability to avoid marriage,⁵³ (2) actually to be a heroine to the full extent and capably get through a number of adventures without the rescue of her lover, and then (3) finally come to the end of her life “happily ever after” unwed. All of the specifics are quite similar to the typical heroine in the novel.⁵⁴

Another example that one will notice in the *APTh* is that the “adventure” theme is found in the exploits of the young couple (mainly Thecla) to overcome.⁵⁵ First, there is the prison experience already mentioned above, then Thecla is threatened to be burned alive (3.21-22), and in Antioch Thecla is stripped and thrown to die fighting

⁵⁰ *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (London: Routledge, 1995).

⁵¹ Melissa Aubin, “Reversing Romance? The *Acts of Thecla* and the Ancient Novel,” *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative* (ed. Ronald F. Hock, J. Bradley Chance, and Judith Perkins; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 257-72.

⁵² Brigitte Eggers, “Women and Marriage in the Greek Novel: The Boundaries of Romance,” *The Novel in the Ancient World*, 260.

⁵³ *APTh* 3.21-22, and 33.

⁵⁴ Egger, “Women and Marriage,” 273-74. Compare *AP* 3.22 to Parthenius, *The Story of Pallene* 5-6; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 8.3; 8.6; and Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.7; 8.9.9-16; contra Anne Jensen, *Thekla – die Apostelin: Ein apokrypher Text neu entdeckt: Übersetzt und kommentiert* (Freiburg, Basel, and Wien: Herder, 1995), 69.

⁵⁵ Even the “abandonment” of Thecla can be explained on the grounds of similarities to the ancient novel, see note 6 under 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*.

lions in the arena (4.7-8).⁵⁶ Throughout these adventures, the erotic is subtly but consistently mixed with the life-threatening ordeals that Thecla must overcome. The presentation of these events runs in a chronological fashion with the appearance of the historical narrative common to the ancient novel. In fact, Christine Thomas has argued that the *AApos* are ultimately based upon some historical reality via oral tradition,⁵⁷ thus adding support to the presentation of a “real” life adventure.⁵⁸

The most obvious misinterpretation of the *APTh* is how the relationship of Paul and Thecla has been understood after they left Iconium and were entering into Antioch (*AP* 3.26-4.1). Traditionally, this has been understood as Paul abandoning Thecla, leaving her to die on her own.⁵⁹ Within the commentary, I will demonstrate that this is not an abandonment of Thecla, but rather the trials of the young lovers are intensified in the same manner as that which one witnesses in the ancient novels. As their love intensifies, they end up having to delay their own gratifications, play word games with those who are imprisoning them, and finally separate temporarily and unwillingly as the trials intensify.⁶⁰ After a period of intense persecution, the lovers are finally rejoined, as Paul and Thecla rejoin after the trials of Antioch. The fact that

⁵⁶ The fight in the arena is very popular in the ancient novel. See 4.2.2 *General Comment*.

⁵⁷ Thomas, Christine M., *The Acts of Peter, Gospel Literature, and the Ancient Novel: Rewriting the Past* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003).

⁵⁸ Holzberg, *Ancient Novel*, 10-11.

⁵⁹ See 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*, note 12; 3.26.2 *General Comment* and 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 5 and 6. On the abandonment of Thecla, see Davies, *The Revolt*, 58-59 for an example of this common interpretation.

⁶⁰ For examples, I include some of the content of note 12 in 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*. See Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.8.3; 1.19.7 (Thyamis threatens Theagenes and Charicleia) 1.25; 7 (especially Alsace’s intervention into the relationship of Theagenes and Charicleia); 5.31.1-4 (While enjoying a feast devoted to Hermes, the priest Calasiris records another threat to Theagenes and Charicleia by Pelorus); Longus, *Daph.* 1.15-17; 3.20; Chariton, *Chaer.* 4.3.8-10; 8.1; 5. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 5.16-17; 5.21; 5.22.8; 5.27; et. al.

Paul left Antioch was not Paul *leaving* her, but his leaving out of necessity due to the situation. Consistent with the ancient novel, all attempts of the hero and heroine to stay alive at all cost are taken advantage of, in the hopes that the lovers, subject to Fate, will be able to endure the trials and once again reunite. The idea that Paul should have “stood up” for Thecla is inconsistent with the themes of the ancient novel. Survival for the sake of love is the key virtue, not dying a noble death. Also, the idea that Paul should have made such a stand is suspiciously consistent with individualistic, post-enlightenment philosophic rationality that does not adequately take into account the importance that Fate played within the Greco-Roman world.

In conclusion, some scholars have been hesitant to include the *AAAp* into the same category as the other stock ancient romances for various reasons, primarily stemming from their lack of ability to mold neatly into the anachronistic designation of “ideal ancient novel.” To narrow the discussion, the crux of the disagreement in the ancient novel and the ancient Christian novel focuses upon the role of marriage in the text. As has been demonstrated, the *APTh* have all of the same motifs, a narrative story following a chronological timeline, filled with adventures, erotic tales, and finally a “happily ever after” ending with Thecla dying single and in peace. But unfortunately, although meeting the technical requirements, it still does not meet the required form due to the variant approach that the text takes. This variation is centered upon the issue of marriage (albeit abstinence from marriage), thus allowing the *APTh* to be an anomaly solely based on issues of sexuality and what is defined as deviant and normative in marriage. To close, I go back once again to Richard Pervo’s

statement, that one must ask whether or not it is at all likely that individuals of the ancient world would show this degree of discrimination to the point where they have such stringent definitions of the “novel?”⁶¹ I find it highly unlikely. As one uses this commentary, I think it is important to pay careful attention to the notes and comments, so that one will be able to see the numerous links and similarities between the major ancient novels and the *APTh*.

1.3 Historical Reliability

Regarding the historical reliability of the *AP*, it seems safe to say that the account was not written for the purpose of the preservation of historical events, but rather to record a historical fiction relating the events of Paul and Thecla (who probably never existed).⁶² I am not suggesting that the author of the text was “agendaless,” but I will discuss the possible motivation of this writing later in the introduction. Further, the *AP* has little value in “recovering” the historical Paul and/or Thecla.

I am not suggesting that there are no reliable historical elements to the story, but rather this is not the purpose of writing. As will be noted in 2.2 *Date of Composition*,

⁶¹ “The Ancient Novel becomes Christian,” 694.

⁶² See Carolyn Osiek, Margaret Y. MacDonald with Janet H. Tulloch, *A Woman’s Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006) 17; see also C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift* with the *Tafelband*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904., 206, who expressed this skepticism over 100 years ago, but was never well received. For a review of this skepticism, see Léon Vouaux, *Les Actes de Paul et ses lettres Apocryphes: Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire* (Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament: Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1913), 125-27. I come to this conclusion by acknowledging that (1) Thecla’s personality, character, and religious thinking are very underdeveloped and (2) the fact that the *APTh* is the earliest known document to ever even mention her name is considerably late. By the turn of the second/third century CE, the legendary material of the apostles is expanding rapidly, yet here Thecla is mentioned for the *first* time ever! Unlikely that she would be totally overlooked for over 100 years.

it appears that there are a few historical elements. First, Queen Tryphaena of Pontus, who was a relative of the Caesar, did exist.⁶³ Second, there was a Falconilla that might be identified with the Falconilla of this text.⁶⁴ Third, the facts about Iconium and the “royal road” seem to represent first century Iconium accurately.⁶⁵ Fourth, there was a historical Paul, Nero, etc.

However, at a different level, I would suggest that the *APTh* provides important insights into: (1) house churches, (2) the role of women in the second century (possibly the first century also), (3) various theological nuances concerning asceticism and marriage, and (4) the role of apostolic authority in the church, among other things. This does not suggest that every historical element of the text is unreliable, nor does it discredit the text as a social and historical indicator of churches, cities, etc. that allows us to see a window of the ancient world. For instance, the legal practices, presentations of Thecla in the amphitheater, geographical descriptions, etc. all seem to suggest a somewhat high level of accuracy and familiarity with Asia Minor.⁶⁶ The primary discrepancies have been in relation to the *AP vis-à-vis* the Acts of the Apostles and the Pastorals, when one is attempting to reconcile the two accounts.⁶⁷

⁶³ See 2.2 *Date of Composition*.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ See 3.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1 for more information.

⁶⁶ See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 30-46, who draws out several valuable points, but is probably overstating the argument for historicity. Also, compare the scenes of Thecla in the theater in Antioch to the situations presented by K. M. Coleman, “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments,” *JRS* 80 (1990): 44-73.

⁶⁷ See Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 35 and the discussion below on the “4. *Acts of Paul* and the New Testament.”

1.4 Intended/Actual Readers of the Ancient Novel

Regarding the readership of this literary genre, who would have read early Christian novels and the *AP*?⁶⁸ In order to answer this question, a more generic examination of the readers of the Ancient Novel and literacy rates in antiquity ought to be considered more closely. To begin, there is very little within the novels themselves that explicitly expresses who actually read books.⁶⁹ Having such little evidence internally, it becomes helpful to consider several other external factors.

In determining the readers of the ancient novel, the question of literacy within the ancient world becomes pertinent. It has already been established (though not conclusively and with critics opposed) that literacy could have been as high as 20-30 percent mainly within the males of an elite and wealthy status of antiquity, and somewhat less for women.⁷⁰ Obviously, determining a statistical analysis of ancient

⁶⁸ Ewen Bowie, "The Ancient Readers," 89. In addition to these comments see the overview as pertains to early Christian novels provided by Bremmer, "The Apocryphal Acts," 160. Other noteworthy contributions to the discussion have been provided by Ewen Bowie, "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World," 435-59; Tomas Hägg, "Orality, Literacy, and the 'Readership' and 'The Ancient Novel'," in Roy T. Eriksen, ed., *Contexts of Pre-Novel Narrative* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994) 47-81; Stephens, "Who Read Ancient Novels?" *The Search*, 405-18; and J. Morgan, "The Greek Novel. Toward a Sociology of Production and Reception," *The Greek World* (ed. Anton Powell; London: Routledge, 1995), 134-39.

⁶⁹ Ewen Bowie, "The Ancient Readers," 88. One example from Achilles Tatius 1.6.6 (referred to by Bowie, "The Ancient Readers," 87) tells how when the young Clitophon, "drunk with love" (*μεθύων ἔρωτι*) was hoping to catch a glimpse of his new love, Leucippe, he "took a book, and bent over it, and pretended to read" (*βιβλίον ἅμα κρατῶν καὶ ἐγκεκυφῶς ἀνεγίνωσκον*), while using the book as a way to secretly glance below it to see his love.

⁷⁰ See Rosalind Thomas, "Literacy," *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth; 3rd rev. ed.; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 868-69; William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989); and Bremmer, "The Apocryphal Acts," 160. For a possible exception to Harris' statistics see James L. Franklin, Jr., "Literacy and the parietal inscriptions of Pompeii," *Literacy in the Roman World* (ed. Mary Beard, et al.; Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number 3; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991), 77-98.

literacy is incredibly difficult, therefore the wide range of statistics that can be made, and therefore some caution must be exercised. What we do know is that the issue was complicated due to factors such as diverse languages throughout the empire,⁷¹ expensive writing materials, the prevalence of rural patterns of illiteracy,⁷² poor educational system, and other such limitations.⁷³ To add to this, a good example of an exception to these statistics is seen in Pompeii. Although Pompeii demonstrates a “widespread literacy,” one must consider that this limited exception could very well be due to the location, status, and wealth accumulated within Pompeii.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the point is well taken by Franklin that generic figures for literacy are not sufficient in regard to issues of readership when specific localities and communities are under consideration. So, what generalization can be made in regard to readership and literacy? First, literacy was widespread throughout the entire empire. Second, reading was treasured and implemented on a high level within the wealthy and socially elite.⁷⁵ Third, reading and writing was not restricted to males, but that literacy and the readership of novels is extended and applicable to females also.⁷⁶ Fourth, reading and

⁷¹ Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 177-90.

⁷² On page 190-91 in *Ancient Literacy*, Harris provides an example of/from *Daphnis and Chloe*, where the two having been raised in the country, who are then “educated in letters” so that they could be “brought up in a more delicate manner.” Harris makes the conclusion that this is revealing that a typical rural education would not have involved an education in reading and writing, but rather that the foster-fathers Lamon and Dryas thought it necessary for these two exceptions to receive an education, which fits well with Longus’ idealization of Greek education.

⁷³ See Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 190-196 and a synopsis of Harris in Franklin, “Literacy,” 97-98.

⁷⁴ Franklin, “Literacy,” 97-98.

⁷⁵ Holzberg, *Ancient*, 34; This is merely a point recognizing the “benefits” and “advantages” to wealth and status. It is not suggesting that slaves and the poor could not read, but rather it was more difficult for them to acquire the necessary education, training, materials, and finances necessary to accomplish the tasks of reading and writing.

⁷⁶ Bowie, “The Readership,” 436-40. See also Susan Guettel Cole, “Could Greek Women Read and

writing are not exclusive to the wealthy and elite, but were probably widespread throughout those who were poor and with non-elite status through those who were literate.⁷⁷ Fifth, location and region within the empire can have a profound impact upon one's ability to read or write.⁷⁸

In regard to literacy and reading within early Christianity, consider now a few more details. According to Bowie, the papyrology suggests that the popularity and development of the ancient novel seem to have been greatest in the late second

Write?" *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (ed. Helene P. Foley; New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1981), 219-45. I find the picture of a woman holding a pen that is now housed in the museum located within the Colosseum in Rome to be a significant piece of material culture. Also see David L. Balch, *Roman Domestic Art and Early House Churches* (Tübingen: Mohr, forthcoming 2008), 33, footnote 251 in reference to a woman who is "represented selecting a scroll from an open basket." This can be seen in *PPM* IX:233. See also footnote 178, in reference to a "well-dressed woman, who holds an unrolled scroll with both hands" as can be seen in *PPM* VIII:340. See also the images in vol. II, page 13 and vol. VII, page 7 of women sitting, reading in one, writing in the other image; see Figures 1 and 2 below for such representations as recorded from the Accademia ercolanese di archeologia (Naples, Italy), Ottavio Antonio Baiardi, and Pasquale Carcani. *Le Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano e Contorni Incise con Qualche Spiegazione*. (Le Antichità di Ercolano Esposte. In Napoli: nella Regia stamperia, 1760 and 79 respectively); Other images that are found in and around Pompeii include the common images of the muses, especially Clio, muse of history and Calliope, muse of lyric poetry (and the believed muse of Homer for the inspiration of writing the *Odyssey*), who are represented in the buildings in Moregine, among other places. See Figures 3-5 for several examples of these representations. However, it can be acknowledged that these women are reading and writing, but it is difficult to assess the correlation between these images of the divine and the women of Pompeii; for more images of Clio and Calliope (?) see also *PPM* X:558;1: 325 (Casa del Sacello Iliaco, 1.6.4); I:783 (shown standing in the Casa annessa alla Casa dell'Efebo o di P. Cornelius Tages, 1.7.19, cubicolo f); IV:382, (#18 in Casa d'Ercole, 6.7.6, ambiente 7); VI:562 (Casa di M. Gavius Rufus, 7.2.16-17, visually representing either Clio or Calliope seated, wrapped in a green mantle, which nevertheless leaves her right side bare, writing on a large surface (dittico), which rests on her legs; the writing surface she holds stretches from her legs as high as her head. Below her is a visual representation of a still life). Thanks are extended to Dr. Balch for these further references and examples found within Pompeii and represented in *PPM*.

⁷⁷ Stephens, "Who Read Ancient Novels," 414-15; Also one cannot forget that lower status and/or slavery is not the equivalent of uneducated, illiterate, or poor. Such studies as Thomas E. J. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1981); Keith R. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1994); Dale Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), et al. demonstrate literacy and wealth within slavery. See also Bowie, "The Readership," 438. The text mentions (with Bowie wishing to express a different point than the one I am suggesting) that it was "the regular practice of reading aloud by slaves to their owners in some cases."

⁷⁸ Once again, consider the article by Franklin, "Literacy," 77-98.

century.⁷⁹ He goes on to say, “The production of the genre could therefore cover as short a span as the years A.D. 60-A.D. 230, with a concentration in the second half of the second century and first half of the third...”⁸⁰ In addition to this one might add Bowie’s comments on readership: “That the educated classes of *provincial Asia* were indeed foremost among the intended readership of novels in general would certainly suit what little can be inferred about the readership of *Daphnis and Chloe*.”⁸¹ Consider also the comments by Bremmer, that the five major *AAA*, the *Acts of John*, *Acts of Paul*, *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of Andrew*, and the *Acts of Thomas*, were all most likely being composed over a span from 150-230 CE, corresponding to the time of greatest activity of the ancient novel in general.⁸² To add to this evidence, it seems that the readers of the *AAA* were most likely some of the “upper-class of Asia Minor” and in particular, women in this category.⁸³

1.5 Intended/Actual Readers of the *Acts of Paul*

In regard to the *APTh*, it makes sense to consider the subject from both external evidence from the manuscript and textual history of reception as well as the external literary testimony of the sources that discuss, refer to, or quote from the *APTh*. After these considerations, I will provide an analysis of some of the internal evidence from

⁷⁹ Bowie, “The Readership,” 442-43; and Holzberg, *The Ancient*, 43. For an earlier dating, see Hägg, *The Novel*, 5-6. This is reinforced by Judith B. Perkins, “This World or Another? The Intertextuality of the Greek Romances, The Apocryphal Acts and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*,” *Semeia* 80, 248.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 443.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 451.

⁸² Bremmer, “Apocryphal Acts,” 154.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 167.

the text. In this way, I think that we will be able to consider the readership of this text from the perspective of the actual readers (as best can be determined) and the ideal readers as can be seen from the internal evidence. Of course, there is no definite connection between external evidence to actual readers and internal evidence to ideal readers. But the fact that ancient novels, including Christian novels, were received with popularity shows that the authors could and did hit their target audiences on certain occasions. This is due in part to the success of a genre in general. Part of the success of the replication of themes, motifs, and narrative techniques is due to the familiarity of the “story line” to the reader. This demonstrates that sometimes the ideal audience actually merges with the actual audience, a phenomenon not necessarily available to empirical examination and proof.

The first person to make any mention of the *APTh* is Tertullian, who comments on the writings in *De Baptismo* 17, between the years 196 and 206.⁸⁴ From Tertullian we can infer that both women (the ones baptizing in Asia Minor and the Cainite woman in Carthage that Tertullian is rebuffing) and men (Tertullian) were real readers. This also confirms readers in both North Africa and Asia Minor. The second most important source comes from Hippolytus, who refers to Paul and the lion without hesitation as an orthodox tradition in his *Commentarium in Danielelem* 3.29, written sometime around 180.⁸⁵ If the Ephesian episode and the *APTh* have been brought

⁸⁴ See footnote 13 in the introductory section entitled “1.2 Date of Composition.”

⁸⁵ In 3.29.4, the text states Εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι Παύλου εἰς θηρία κατακριθέντος ἀφεθείς ἐπ’ αὐτόν ὁ λέων εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀναπεσὼν περιέλειχεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δανιήλ γενόμενα πιστεύομεν, εἶπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος πᾶσιν ταῦτα διὰ γραμμάτων ἀποστείλας διηγήσατο καὶ ἐν ταῖς Περσῶν... For the date, see Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 27.

together by this time, then it can be assumed that Hippolytus knows the *AP*. If this be the case, then readership has made it to Rome at approximately the same time it has so offended Tertullian in Africa around the year 200.

Another witness to the *APTh* is Origen, who in his *De Principiis* 1.2.3 quotes from the *AP*, namely a section that has now been lost.⁸⁶ In addition to the quote in *De Principiis*, there are also references found in his commentary on John 20.12,⁸⁷ *Hom. Jer.* 20.1, and in *On the Passover* 36.6.⁸⁸ Eusebius also makes one other note in *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.1-3 that suggests that Origen's commentary on Genesis also recorded the death of Paul in Rome under Nero after Paul traveled from Jerusalem to Illyria.⁸⁹ If nothing more is gathered from these references, it means that Origen has a text of the

⁸⁶ The *De Principiis* text reads, "And therefore that language which is found in the Acts of Paul, where it is said that 'here is the Word a living being,' appears to me to be rightly used." This is thought by some to possibly be a "corruption" of Heb 4.12, ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (see *ANF* 4:246, footnote 8) or that the author of the *AP* borrowed this quote and the *Quo Vadis?* scene from the *APt* and from Peter's prayer on the cross; see discussion in Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2:215 and Carl Schmidt and Wilhelm Schubert, eds., *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli: Nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Glückstadt und Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1936), 128; but for the most thorough discussion of the matter, see Rordorf, "The Relation between the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul*: State of the Question," *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter: Magic, Miracles, and Gnosticism* (Ed. Jan N. Bremmer; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 178-91; who claims that both sayings that are also used by Origen are oral tradition, and no claim can be made as to the dating of either work. See also Christine M. Thomas, "Word and Deed. The *Acts of Peter* and Orality," *Apocrypha* 3 (1993) 125-64, who also agrees on the orality tradition.

⁸⁷ The text in Greek reads, Εἴ τιρ δὲ φίλον παραδέξασθαι τὸ ἐν ταῖς Παύλου πράξεσιν ἀναγεγραμμένον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρημένον· Ἀνωθεν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι, οὗτος ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν παρα... See footnotes 93 and 94 and the discussion that follows concerning the *Quo Vadis?* scene. See also the discussion of Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 27-29. See also François Bovon, "A New Citation of the *Acts of Paul* in Origen," *Studies in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2003), especially 265-66, footnote 4. This article was translated by David H. Warren having originally appeared as "Une nouvelle citation des Actes de Paul chez Origène," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994): 113-17.

⁸⁸ See Bovon, "A New Citation," 265-68.

⁸⁹ Illyria or Illyricum is Dalmatia, mentioned in *AP* 14.1 as the place from where Titus has just traveled, but it is syntactically possible that Origen reading the *AP*, could have thought that the text was saying that Paul had just traveled from Dalmatia. The text states, Ἦσαν δὲ περιμένοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Λουκᾶς ἀπὸ Γαλλιῶν καὶ Τίτος ἀπὸ Δαλματίας. Incidentally, this also seems to come from 2 Tim. 4.10.

AP, and he wrote from Alexandria (*De Principiis*, 220-230 CE), visited Rome (211-212 CE) having some contact with Hippolytus, relocated to Caesarea Maritima and there wrote his *Comm. Jo.* 20 (231-254 CE), while also writing his *Hom. Jer.* and the *Comm. Gen.* somewhere in the midst of his journeys.⁹⁰ This allows us to be aware that readers in either Alexandria and (in all probability) Caesarea Maritima, were reading the *AP* by the early to middle third century. It is uncertain how Origen gained access to the *AP*, but it seems apparent that he had knowledge of the text before having met Hippolytus in Rome, especially considering that the *AP* would have spoken to the appropriate behavior and response of Christians before magistrates, since they were being persecuted under Septimus Severus at the turn of the third century, further reinforcing a possible reason for the growing popularity of the *AP*. It is also known and agreed that Origen was well-trained rhetorically in Alexandria (via Clement), and yet demonstrated an appreciation for the *AP*, thus reinforcing the plausibility and acceptability of this text within a wealthy, elite, highly intellectual environment.

As has been briefly mentioned above through Origen's comments in *Comm. Jo.* 20.12 above, there is the matter of the *Quo vadis?* scene that appears in both *AP* and *APt.*⁹¹ While it has not been conclusively shown which text influences the other or if the relationship is based on an oral tradition, it is certain that there is some connection

⁹⁰ See Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:43-58.

⁹¹ See, Dennis R. MacDonald, "Which Came First? Intertextual Relationships Among the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *Semeia 80: The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Intertextual Perspectives* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 11-18.

between the texts, and a common interest of readers between the two texts, thus providing reason to believe that the readers of one text would have been the readers of the other, especially if they are circulating the same oral traditions.⁹²

In general, the external evidence seems to demonstrate that there were male and female readers, including within wealthy, elite, and educated circles, in Asia Minor, Africa, Egypt, and possibly Syria within the first 50-75 years of the compilation, corresponding to the same time period of the ancient novel in general. This just reinforces the conviction that the readers of the ancient novel very well might have been the readers of the ancient Christian novel, and vice versa.⁹³

The next and last aspect to consider in this section deals with the internal evidence from the *APTh* that might suggest a possible audience for the ancient Christian novel. There are several particular perspectives that ought to be considered in determining such a question. How does the text present women, men, sexuality, wealthy, poor, and status? While this is obviously not a complete index of possible avenues for determining readership, looking for these various attributes might suggest some of the ideal readers.

⁹² See Carl Schmidt, *III*, 127-130. After mentioning Tertullian and Hippolytus (and the dates of the compositions of their work), Schmidt states, "Die neuen Stücke bringen kein weiteres Material für die chronologische Fixierung. Aber nach einer andern Richtung hat das neue Quellenmaterial Aufklärung gebracht, nämlich inbezug auf das chronologische Verhältnis der *AP* zu den alten *APe* . . . Bisher hatte man fast allgemein die *AP* für alter als die letzteren angesetzt und angenommen, daß der Verfasser der *APe* zur Abfassung seiner *Πράξεις* durch die *AP* angeregt worden sei." (127). Schmidt goes on to argue for placing the *APt* earlier, while Bremmer, Rordorf, and MacDonald later suggest *AP* as the earlier document (also see footnote 90 above). See Bremmer, "The Apocryphal," 154; and Rordorf, "The Relation between the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul*," 178-91. With regard to location of these readers of the *APt*, it seems that *APt* is following the lead of the *AP*, and nothing specific is known beyond conjecture. See Jan N. Bremmer, "Aspects of the *Acts of Peter*: Women, Magic, Place, and Date," *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, 18-20.

⁹³ Bremmer, "Apocryphal," 165.

First, the author of the *APTh* appears to authenticate the text through the description of Paul. It has been generally accepted that this is not an authentic description of Paul; it nonetheless gives the appearance of some knowledge of Paul.⁹⁴ The description of Paul adds a level of authority required of someone who hopes to communicate a worthy story of Paul's activities as a missionary.⁹⁵ I do not think this means that the author is attempting to be considered part of a *corpus scriptorum* in the same manner as the author of the prologue of *Ben Sirach*,⁹⁶ but rather is attempting to authenticate a story of Paul for the purpose of preserving the memory of this apostle, especially, in contrast the accounts presented in the Pastorals.

Second, one cannot help but notice the emphasis upon the role of the sexual relationship between various individuals within the text. First, there is the attraction of numerous individuals to Paul throughout the text. To name a few, the text begins with Demas and Hermogenes, who are traveling with Paul, and they "were entreating Paul earnestly as if they loved him."⁹⁷ This is followed by the disciple, Onesiphorus, who meets Paul for the first time. Upon seeing Paul, he smiles, Paul and Onesiphorus exchange greetings, and this immediately precipitates a jealous and hypocritical

⁹⁴ Bollók, "The Description of Paul in the Acta Pauli," 14-15. See also Grant, "The Description of Paul in the Acts of Paul and Thecla," 1-4; and Malherbe, "A Physical Description of Paul," 170-75.

⁹⁵ Bremmer, "Magic, martyrdom," 38.

⁹⁶ Notice how the grandson compares the writing of his grandfather to the Law, the Prophets, and the Others.

⁹⁷ *APTh* 3.1, "καὶ ἐξελιπάrouν τὸν Παῦλον ὡς ἀγαπῶντες αὐτόν." I am not implying homoerotic love, but rather the ancient novel tends to exaggerate relationships between friends and/or lovers. This is also the case here, where the relationships between Paul and his companions is intensified, quasi-homoerotic, seemingly for the purpose of elevating the sensual element of the story, hence the designation of *ancient romance*. Cf. the relationship of Clitophon—who is heterosexual—to his homoerotic friend, Clinias in *Achilles Tatius* 1.7. This is typical of the *ancient novel*.

response from Demas and Hermogenes.⁹⁸ This is followed by the implied sexual interest of Thecla in Paul. Thecla is introduced as one of many “virgins” who are betrothed to marry men, such as Thamyras, who are “going in” to Paul.⁹⁹ One can hardly miss the overtones in 3.8,¹⁰⁰ where Thecla is being criticized by her mother, who has gone to tell Thecla’s fiancé, Thamyras about Thecla’s attraction to Paul.

This type of sexual metaphor continues throughout the dialogue by eroticizing Thecla when fighting beasts in the arena. Thecla is forced to do the fighting practically naked, only to be clothed again after her salvation by God from these events.¹⁰¹ It is not merely the eroticization of Thecla that I am interested in, but rather how Thecla is construed within her relationship to Paul. It is a continual theme that attempts are made to exploit Thecla’s virginity at every turn by numerous officials and individuals, but these attempts are continually rebuffed in numerous ways.¹⁰² I mention these trials in combination with the sexual metaphor to suggest that the theme of the “lovers beset by misfortunes” is clearly present in the text.¹⁰³ The emphasis upon sexual abstinence does not destroy the parallel between the ancient novel and the ancient *Christian* novel, but interestingly the theme of sexual abstinence is played out through a sexual metaphor, thus expressing a new representation of the same theme, the sexual metaphor. What does this suggest in

⁹⁸ Ibid., 3.2-5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 3.7.

¹⁰⁰ See section “1.2 The Ancient Novel and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*” above.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 3.33-38.

¹⁰² Magda Misset-Van de Weg argues that Tryphaena’s attempts to protect Thecla from rape, are, in the perspective of patronage, a way of protecting Thecla’s honor. See the article, “A wealthy woman named Tryphaena: patroness of Thecla of Iconium,” *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 29.

¹⁰³ Holzberg, *Ancient*, 23.

regard to readership? There is a strong possibility that the readers of the ancient novel are the same readers of the Christian novel.

In addition to this limited conclusion, one cannot overlook the emphasis upon the prominence of Thecla and other women, such as Tryphaena in the text. This reinforces the statements of Tertullian, that women were directly being targeted by this text as readers. The text presents Thecla, (1) essentially affirmed by God, rather than from “God’s apostle” Paul¹⁰⁴, and (2) being affirmed through patronage by Tryphaena, over and against her Thamyras through marriage.¹⁰⁵ However, the evidence does not suggest a readership of exclusively women, but wealthy, upper class men also. Tertullian’s awareness of the *APTh* is the first clear indication of male readership. The author of the *APTh* must have taken into account both women and men reading the text with the hopes of influencing the readers (or hearers) to realize the theological implications of Thecla’s receiving baptism and receiving the “seal.”¹⁰⁶ The acceptance of this text would have been an endorsement within the second century of a Pauline tradition that is consistent with female apostolic leadership.

One might also ask whether there is an ideal geographical location for the readership. The shift in the text from location to location is not necessarily a clear

¹⁰⁴ The story is being told on two levels. First, the narrative account is being told. Second, the theological message is being presented *via* the narrative. From the narrative perspective, the two “lovers” are cautioned to delay their sexual gratification until a more opportune time. From a theological perspective, this is the vehicle to explain Thecla’s affirmation (and fulfillment) by God. Affirmation by God rather than Paul has less to do with being “anti-Pauline,” and more to do with coherence with Thecla’s emergence as a “called out” emissary of God, not by humans, but by God. See 3.26.2 *General Comment* below.

¹⁰⁵ Bremmer, “Magic, Martyrdom, and Women’s Liberation,” *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 56-58; and Magda Misset-Van de Weg, “A wealthy woman named Tryphaena,” 16-35.

¹⁰⁶ *AP* 4.10-15.

indicator of the location of the readership of the text, but rather reflects the genre of the ancient novel, where the setting of the texts includes extensive travelogues and voyages throughout the Mediterranean region.¹⁰⁷ Also, the location question is obviously difficult to answer with accuracy due to a deficiency in the textual transmission of the *AP*. Nevertheless, a limited answer might be suggested. If one takes into consideration the *Martyrium* account, then it is plausible to consider Asia Minor (namely the cities of Iconium, Seleucia, and Myra), Syria (Antioch, Tyre, and Sidon), Achaia (Corinth), and Italy (Rome) as several options. Excluding the *Martyrium* and *3 Corinthians* as possibly coming down to readers as initially separate documents, this leaves Asia Minor and Syria as found within the *APTh*. Even narrowing the text to these two locations, there still seems to be a refocusing tendency to look not to Syria, but to Asia Minor.¹⁰⁸

In summary, I have only been able to address these issues in a brief account of the subject and the evidence. So much more has been said, can be said, and will be said as to the readership of the *AP*. It is enough at this time to draw several conclusions. First, in dealing with the real readers, I am convinced from the evidence that the development of the ancient Christian novel coincides with the development of the ancient novel, and that the Christian novel is *not* the antecedent of the other. Second, the ancient Christian novel first found a home in the same location as the ancient

¹⁰⁷ Supposedly the *AP* begins with Paul in Damascus, proceeding to Jerusalem, then Antioch, and then the text moves to Iconium, which is the beginning of the narrative of *APTh*. See Holzberg, *Ancient*, 1-6, 9-10; Hägg, *The Novel*, 118.

¹⁰⁸ Notice Thecla's identification of herself as "I am one of the chief persons of the Iconians," in 4.1, and then after her baptism, she decides to return to Iconium with Paul's blessing (4.15-17).

novel, namely Asia. The real readers can also be found in Eastern and Western North Africa, Italy, and Palestine/Syria, with the composition of the text falling between the beginning of the second century to possibly 180 CE (with 206 CE being the *terminus ad quem*). This includes both the writing of the documents and the arrangement and compilation of the broader text over the century. If the *AP* were originally intended to be an ancient novel, then theology and doctrine would have been a secondary issue for the author, as evidenced by his inconsistent usage of other Christian texts, such as the canonical Pastoral Epistles. However, it is also clear that as women and men would have been readers of the text, both were reading the *AP* with theological doctrine at stake and recognizing that this text carried the status of early Christian authority. Regarding the status of the readers, the sources indicate nothing more than that those who mentioned or acknowledged it were of a wealthy, educated, upper class position, but were likely writing to lay people (e.g. Tertullian's audience). The ideal readers of the *AP* appear to be readers located first and foremost in Asia Minor. Beyond this location, Syria, Achaia, and Rome are possible, but less likely. Women are given special attention in the text, but the alignment of this text with other ancient novels suggests a mixed audience, primarily coming from a wealthy and elite status, but also possibly including listeners and readers from the poor and with a lower status.

2. Historical Context:

2.1 Authorship and Place

Some time near the turn of the second century, Tertullian wrote a tractate entitled *de Baptismo*, in which he attempted to address the error that had been set forth by a certain female Gnostic or Marcionite of the Cainite sect who had argued that baptism was not a necessary sacrament of the Christian faith. Of interest to the reader of the *Acts of Paul (AP)* is his statement in chapter 17:

“But if certain Acts of Paul, which are falsely so named, claim the example of Thecla for allowing women to teach and to baptize, let men know that in Asia the presbyter who compiled that document, thinking to add of his own to Paul’s reputation, was found out, and though he professed he had done it for love of Paul, was deposed from his position. How could we believe that Paul should give a female power to teach and to baptize, when he did not allow a woman even to learn by her own right? *Let them keep silence* he says, *and ask their husbands at home.*¹⁰⁹

From this quote, we learn that a certain presbyter in Asia compiled the *AP*. The question pertains to how much of the *AP* was actually *written* by the presbyter or merely *edited* by the presbyter. This is difficult to assess for various reasons. Part of the problem deals with the history of reception of the *AP*, and the evidence that suggests that *3 Corinthians (3 Cor)*, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla (APTh)*, and the *Martyrdom of Paul* all circulated independently and some of this likely circulated independently previous to the completion of the *AP*.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, there has been a growing consensus that the *AP*, at least the *APTh* were originally penned or conceived

¹⁰⁹ “quod si quae Acta Pauli, quae perperam scripta sunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendant, sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videtur ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminae potestatem qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? Taceant, inquit, et domi viros suos consulant.” Quoted from Ernest Evans, ed. and trans., *Tertullian’s Homily on Baptism* (London: SPCK, 1964) 36-37. The italics at the end of the quote are quotations from 1 Cor 14:35.

¹¹⁰ See 3. *History of Reception* for more details on this point.

orally by a woman or within communities of women.¹¹¹ This claim has initially been made on the assumption that Tertullian was not truly speaking of the *AP*, based on textual discrepancies, where Davies poorly argues that the original text of *de Baptismo* was only *Pauli*, rather than the more likely *Acta Pauli quae*, which is the reading that Evans reproduces following Codex Trecensis 523 over the text edited by Mesnartius in 1545.¹¹² While the arguments that attempt to discredit Tertullian's knowledge of the *AP* or to discredit the critical text of *de Baptismo* may not be sufficiently argued, this does not ultimately discount female authorship of the *APTh*. I believe that it is still possible that parts of the *APTh* could have come from a female or female communities, written earlier in the second century, and then moved into the Asian presbyter's edited work entitled, the *Acts of Paul*.¹¹³

¹¹¹ See first Stevan L. Davies dissertation entitled "The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts," (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1978); then republished as *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980) 104-09; and revisited in "Women, Tertullian, and the Acts of Paul," in *Semeia* 38: *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 139-43; Dennis Ronald MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983) 34-53; Virginia Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of Apocryphal Acts* (Studies in Women and Religion Volume 23; Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1987) 67-8. Some criticisms have been offered by Dunn, "Women's Liberation, the Acts of Paul, and Other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: A Review of Some Recent Interpreters," *Apocrypha* 4 (1993): 245-61 and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres," *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres*, 49-61 and "Fiction littéraire et réalité sociale: que peut-on savoir de la place des femmes dans le milieu de production des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres?" *Apocrypha* 1 (1990) 279-302.

¹¹² See text in footnote 109 above. Response of Thomas W. Mackay to Stevan L. Davies article, "Women, Tertullian and the Acts of Paul," *Semeia* 38, 139-49; and Willy Rordorf, "Tertullien et les Actes de Paul (à propos de *bapt.* 17,5) *Autour de Tertullien* (Hommage à René Braun; Nice: Association Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice, 1990) 2:153-60. Reprinted in *Lex Orandi-Lex Credendi: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 60. Geburtstag*. (Paradosis 36: Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1993), 475-84. See also A. Hilhorst, "X. Tertullian on the Acts of Paul," *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Ed. Jan N. Bremmer; Kamen: Kok Pharos, 1996) 150-63.

¹¹³ See Jeremy W. Barrier, "Tertullian and the Acts of Paul or Thecla? Readership of the Ancient Novel and the Invocation of Thecline and Pauline Authority" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Washington, D. C., 20 November 2006), where I argue Tertullian's

2.2 Date of Composition

De Baptismo was written sometime between the years 196 and 206.¹¹⁴ It is the dating of *de Baptismo* that provides the *terminus ad quem* for the *AP*. On the other hand the *terminus a quo* is uncertain. Gutschmidt noted that a Queen Tryphaena, widow of King Cotys of Thrace, mother of King Polemon II, King of Pontus, and a relative to Caesar, has been proven to have existed (possibly having lived in Iconium) around 38-63 CE, which increases (but, by no way confirms) the likelihood of Thecla's historicity and provides a *terminus a quo* back to the time when the events were reported to have occurred.¹¹⁵ Jan Bremmer suggests a much narrower date of 160 CE, because of the evidence on a Roman inscription of a Pompeia Sosia Falconilla, the wife of a Roman consul in Sicily around the year 169 CE.¹¹⁶ Bremmer is convinced that this Falconilla is the source that provides the name for the Falconilla mentioned

use of *construxit*, in contrast to *scribo* as an important distinction to consider regarding authorship of the *AP*. See also Schneemelcher who translates this as "produced," in *NTApoc*, 2:214.

¹¹⁴ See Evans, *Tertullian's Homily*, 35-37, 97-101; or *Tertulliani Opera: Pars I* (ed. J. G. Ph. Borleffs; CCSL; Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1954), 291-92. See also several translations together in one article with thorough discussion by A. Hilhorst, "Tertullian on the Acts of Paul," 150-53; and Hilhorst acknowledges that a more thorough discussion is provided by Willy Rordorf in "Tertullien et les Actes de Paul," 475-84.

¹¹⁵ See Rordorf, "Tradition and Composition in the *Acts of Thecla*: The State of the Question," *Semeia* 38, 46 or "Tradition et composition dans les *Actes de Thècle*: Etat de la question," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 41 (1985): 276-78; Rordorf is stemming his comments from the earlier discussion of Alfred von Gutschmidt. "Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des geschichtlichen Romans." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 19 (1864): 161-83., 177-79; Theodor Zahn, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, (1877): 1307; William M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before 70 A.D.* (London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), 391; F. C. Conybeare, ed., *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity* (London and New York: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. and Macmillan, 1894) 50-55.

¹¹⁶ Jan N. Bremmer, "The Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership," *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001) 153; W. Eck, "Senatorische Familien der Kaiserzeit in der Provinz Sizilien," *ZPE* 113 (1996): 109-28; Bremmer, "Magic, Martyrdom, and Women's Liberation," 53; "Aspects of the *Acts of Peter*: Women, Magic, Place and Date," *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, 17.

in the *APTh*, who is the daughter of Queen Tryphaena.¹¹⁷ If this were true, then the date for writing the *APTh* falls within a space of 30-40 years, with the *AP* being compiled within the peak of the popularity of the ancient novel.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, Hilhorst suggests that the passage of Jerome, where he is commenting upon Tertullian's criticism of the *Acta Pauli* is significant regarding the composition of *AP*.¹¹⁹ In addition to essentially repeating what Tertullian had to say, Jerome adds "conuictum apud Iohannem." If Jerome is not mistaken in his addition to Tertullian's comment, this addition leads Hilhorst to conclude that the *AP* must have been written after Paul's death and before the death of the apostle John. This would make the *terminus a quo* between 68 CE and 98 CE.¹²⁰ Peter Dunn makes several calculations regarding the age of Thecla (building on the work of J. Gwynn¹²¹) who would have met Paul in the late 40's, and in turn settles on the date of 120 CE as the *terminus a quo*.¹²² The problem of this assessment is that the historicity of Thecla is highly unlikely. Of significance to the dating question is the more recent conclusion,

¹¹⁷ *APTh* 28-36; Bremmer, "Apocryphal," 153. I do not find this evidence convincing due to the fact that the name Falconilla is common and the provenance of this inscription is Sicily, while the provenance of the *AP* is Asia.

¹¹⁸ See the section entitled *1. The Ancient Novel* in this introduction below. See also Ewen Bowie, "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World," in *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (ed. James Tatum; Baltimore and London: John Hopkins UP, 1994) 442-43; and Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Novel: An Introduction* (trans. Christine Jackson-Holzberg; London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 43; For an earlier dating see Tomas Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of Cal P, 1983) 5-6. This is reinforced by J. Perkins, "This World or Another?," 248; Bremmer, "Apocryphal Acts," 154.

¹¹⁹ "Tertullian," 158-59; referring to Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 7.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 158-61.

¹²¹ Gwynn, "Thecla," *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines: being a continuation of "The dictionary of the Bible"*. (ed. William George Smith and Henry Wace; London: J. Murray, 1877-87) 4:892. Gwynn gives a date of 117.

¹²² *Recension G* and *APTh* 45 have Thecla dying at age 90, therefore this is around 140, with a reduction to 12 C.E. "allowing for a more moderate date of ca. AD 120." See Dunn, "The Acts of Paul," 8-9.

based largely on the find of Bodmer X, that suggests that 3 *Corinthians* circulated independently previous to its incorporation into the *AP*, which allows for the possibility that the various parts of the *AP* were written at different times.¹²³

Therefore, it is possible that the writing and compiling of the *AP* spans a period of over 100 years. It seems likely that the final compilation would have come toward the last 30-40 years of the second century, due to the content and issues that are addressed,¹²⁴ while allowing for parts of the document to have originated at an earlier time.

3. History of Reception

3.1 Canonicity

The question of canonicity is anachronistic at a certain level, demanding more of early Christianity than is fair.¹²⁵ On the other hand, the *AP* was used widely by the early church (see “2.4 Intended/Actual Readers of the *Acts of Paul*” above). The only early source that directly opposes the *AP* is Tertullian (*Bapt.* 17) at the turn of the

¹²³ See M. Testuz for the *editio princeps*, *Papyrus X-XI*, X, 9 for a discussion, and third century dating. For a complete discussion, see Willy Rordorf, “Hérésie et orthodoxie selon la Correspondance apocryphe entre les Corinthiens et l'apôtre Paul.” *Lex Orandi-Lex Credendi: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 60. Geburtstag*. (Paradosis 36; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1993) 389-431.

¹²⁴ I am referring to the concern and mention made to the document by Tertullian (*Bapt.* 17) and also Hippolytus of Rome (*Comm. Dan.* 3.29).

¹²⁵ In particular, I am dealing with the fact that the issue of canonicity does not really develop for another 100-150 years after the second century. Therefore, it may be fair to say that these are really questions of proto-canonicity.

second century, while Origen (quoting possibly five times),¹²⁶ Hippolytus (*Comm. Dan.* 3.29), then later Jerome (*Epist.* 22.3) all seem to have no problem with the text. It is only by the fourth century that hesitation is witnessed again. For instance, Jerome independently speaks of Thecla on one occasion (*Epist.* 22.3), and when he has a negative comment, he essentially has nothing more to say than to repeat Tertullian's comment (*Vir. ill.* 7). Also, Eusebius over 100 years after Tertullian mentions the *AP* as "not genuine" (Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.*, 3.25). On the other hand, the sixth century Codex Claromontanus includes the *AP* within its canonical list.¹²⁷ This Codex, while representing the "Western" text type, indicates the length of time that the *AP* remained within canonical/authoritative lists of the church. In addition to this, it is clear that Ephrem's Syriac corpus of Pauline letters included 3 *Corinthians* which locates this text in a canonical/authoritative position in the fourth century in Syria (representing the East as well).¹²⁸ Finally, one might also add that the Hamburg Papyrus (P¹), found in Egypt and dating to the third or fourth century, was bound as a Codex that included the Greek *AP*, Song of Songs in the Old Fâyyum Coptic dialect, Lamentations of Jeremiah in the same dialect, an unknown text, Ecclesiastes in Greek, and Ecclesiastes in the old Fâyyum Coptic. This, once again, places the text of

¹²⁶ *De Principiis* 1.2.3; *Comm. Jo.* 20.12, *Hom. Jer.* 20.1, *Pasch.* 36.6. Eusebius makes a note in *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.1-3 that suggests that the third volume of Origen's commentary on Genesis (now lost) knew of the *AP* and this apparently included the *MP* as well.

¹²⁷ Schneemelcher interprets the Claromontanus list much differently (*NTApoc* 2: 216) while altogether ignoring Ephrem's commentaries.

¹²⁸ See Willy Rordorf, "Héresie et orthodoxie," 389-431; Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (London/Philadelphia: SCM/Fortress Press, 1971) 39-42.

the *AP* alongside other authoritative texts that were bound into a book that was obviously intended for a bilingual church needing texts in both languages.¹²⁹

It is not coincidence that the point in time (fifth/sixth century) in which the *AP* bore the most authority is also the time in which the artistic representations of Thecla are the greatest, and the Cult of Thecla is the strongest also.¹³⁰ Seleucia of Isauria was probably the most important cult center, where a basilica the size of a football field was devoted to Thecla. By the end of the sixth century there were also several other shrines in Seleucia. In addition to this, Justinian was known to have built two basilicas devoted to Thecla in the city of Constantinople.¹³¹ The manuscript history demonstrates that the *AP* were considered authoritative in certain circles of the church from a very early time, eventually developing into canonical status by the fifth/sixth century, and then finally purged from the Christian canon of scriptures at some later date. The purging of the *AP* was a process beginning as far back as Tertullian, reinforced by others (Eusebius, Gelasian Decree) and then slowly tipping the scales over time. Another example is that of Ps.-Athanasius' *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* 76 (PG 28.432), where the *AP* falls alongside other such *περίοδοι* as the *Didache*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Apocalypse of Paul*.¹³² I do not think that there was any one point in which it was definitively rejected. It is something that took time, and

¹²⁹ Schmidt, *III*, 6-8.

¹³⁰ MacDonald, Dennis R. and Andrew D. Scrimgeour, "Pseudo-Chrysostom's Panegyric to Thecla: The Heroine of the *Acts of Paul* in Homily and Art," *Semeia* 38, 51-52.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹³² See Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, (ed. Harold W. Attridge; trans. Linda M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 4-6; and also Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, Holland: Spectrum, 1953; repr., Allen, Texas: Christian Classics, 2003), 3.39, for more information on Ps. Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*.

most likely gained the greatest degree of momentum in the post-enlightenment era, especially after the Council of Trent and other such church decisions that further illuminated issues of canonicity and authority.

3.2 Manuscript History¹³³

Following upon those early witnesses noted above, there were other attestations, such as the Stichometry of Nicephorus,¹³⁴ which listed the *AP* as having 3600 lines.¹³⁵ The apocryphicity of *AP* and the *APTh* continued to develop over the years beginning with Tertullian, then Jerome's designation of the "περιόδους Pauli et Theclae" determined to be *apocryphas scripturas* (*Vir. ill.* 7)¹³⁶ and then reinforced as rejected by the Gelasian Decree (fifth century CE) and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, although it might be added that by this time of the Gelasian Decree, the *APTh* were circulating separately from the *AP* corpus and this is what was specifically rejected by the Decree.¹³⁷ The *AP* are sporadically witnessed through the middle ages with such writers as the fourteenth century Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (*Historia*

¹³³ Consider other standard introductions to the manuscript history, such as Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2:213-218.

¹³⁴ Ninth century list compiled by the Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople (circa 758-828 CE).

¹³⁵ As a reference Acts of the Apostles has 2600 lines and Codex Claromantanus claims that the *AP* has 3560 lines.

¹³⁶ *Igitur περιόδους Pauli et Theclae et totam baptizati Leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus.* This is translated "Therefore the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* and all the fable about the Lion baptized by him, we reckon among the apocryphal writings."

¹³⁷ Pick, *The Apocryphal Acts*, 10.

Ecclesiastica 2.25-26), as he remembers the Ephesian Episode and other aspects of the *AP*.¹³⁸

During the fourth through the sixth century, the peak of Thecla's popularity, there were three writings that have preserved the memory and remnants of the *APTh*.¹³⁹

First, the *Travels of Egeria* (ca. 4th century) record the travelogue of a Spanish nun who traveled to Seleucia and witnessed the disciples of Thecla serving at the monastery there.¹⁴⁰ Second, the *Life and Miracles of St. Thecla*, a fifth century document, falsely attributed to Basil, summarizes the *APTh* and then goes on to tell 46 miracles performed by Thecla.¹⁴¹ Third, the Pseudo-Chrysostom *Panegyric to Thecla*, which is a liturgical homily devoted to Thecla to be preached during the "Feast of St. Thecla, the Virgin Martyr" on September 23 in the West and September 24 in the East.¹⁴²

The modern textual history essentially begins with the work of Joannes Ernest Grabe¹⁴³ who produced the first critical text in 1698, based on the Greek Codex

¹³⁸ *Historia Ecclesiastica* begins: 'Ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θηριομαχήσας ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἱερωνύμου, θείᾳ δυνάμει ὑπέρτερος ὤφθη. Οἱ δὲ τὰς Παύλου περιόδους ἀναταξάμενοι, ἄλλα τε πλείστα παθεῖν τε ἅμα καὶ δρᾶσαι τοῦτον ἰστόρησαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε, ἡνίκα δὴ τῇ Ἐφέσῳ παρῆν. Ἱερωνύμου γὰρ ἄρχοντος ...

¹³⁹ MacDonald, "Pseudo-Chrysostom's Panegyric to Thecla," 152.

¹⁴⁰ See Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford, 2001), 64-69.

¹⁴¹ See Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, *The Life and Miracles of Thekla: A Literary Study*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2006). The Greek text with a French translation can be found in Gilbert Dagron in collaboration with Marie Dupré La Tour. *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle: texte grec, traduction et commentaire*. Subsidia Hagiographica 62. Brussels: Societe des Bollandistes, 1978.

¹⁴² MacDonald, "Pseudo-Chrysostom's Panegyric to Thecla," 157. The *editio princeps* was published by Fronton du Duc in 1601; Then Michel Aubineau publishes "Le panéyrique de Thècle, attribué à Jean Chrysostome (*BHG* 1720): la fin retrouvée d'un texte motile." *AnBoll* 93 (1975): 349-62, based on the finding of a new manuscript.

¹⁴³ *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Hæreticorum: Seculi post Christum natum I. II. & III. quorum vel integra monumenta, vel fragmenta, partim ex aliorum patrum libris jam impressis collegit, & cum*

Barocciano 180¹⁴⁴ (12th century)¹⁴⁵ and Latin Codex Digbaeno 39 (12th century)¹⁴⁶, which had been given to the Bodleian library in Oxford, England by a “Reverand” Dominus D. Millius. In addition, Grabe published a fragment of the *AP*, as recorded through Rufinus’ transposition of Origen’s *De Principiis*, and also the longer “martyrdom of the holy and glorious proto-martyr Thecla who died as an apostle.”¹⁴⁷ At this point the *AP*, the *Martyrdom of Paul*, *3 Corinthians* (not yet recovered), and *APTh* are all thought to be separate documents. Grabe’s work is then quickly followed by further publications of Johann Albert Fabricius (1703, 1719)¹⁴⁸ and then Jeremiah Jones (1798).¹⁴⁹ English translations working off of Jones were followed by Montague Rhodes James (1893 and 1924), and finally up to the present by the work of J. Keith Elliott.¹⁵⁰ Translations have similarly been done also in Italian, French, and German.¹⁵¹ The manuscript becomes most interesting over the last 125+ years

codicibus manuscriptis contulit, partim ex MSS. nunc primum edidit, ac singula tam præfatione, quam notis subiunctis illustravit: tomus I. sive seculum I (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1698), 94.

¹⁴⁴ Also called *Codex G*, *recension G*, or *G*.

¹⁴⁵ Dating found in the “Prolegomena,” *AAA*, XCIX-C.

¹⁴⁶ See von Gebhardt, *Passio*, XXXIII, for the dating of this manuscript.

¹⁴⁷ Translation of the Latin heading in Grabe, *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Hæreticorum*, 95, 128.

¹⁴⁸ Fabricius, Johann Albert. *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg: B. Schiller, 1703); and *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti: Collectus, castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris & animadversionibus illustratus à Johanne Alberto Fabricio* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; Hamburg: B. Schiller & Joh. Christoph. Kisneri, 1719-43).

¹⁴⁹ Jeremiah Jones, *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament to which is subjoined a Vindication of the Former part of St. Matthew’s Gospel, from Mr. Whiston’s Charge of Dislocations* (3 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1798).

¹⁵⁰ The Greek critical texts were continued in James’ *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments* (Texts and Studies 2.3; Cambridge: University Press, 1893); and in English translation in *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924); J. Keith Elliot, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

¹⁵¹ Most notably (1) German: Edgar Hennecke, ed., *Handbuch zu den Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1904) 358-95; and *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten in deutscher und mit Einleitungen*

following a series of finds in Egypt and other places abroad.¹⁵² It had not been known that the *AP* included *3 Corinthians*, the *Martyrdom of Paul*, and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. First, it must be noted that a series of manuscripts began to be uncovered beginning in 1890 leading up to the discovery of a Coptic Papyrus in Egypt in 1897 (Cop¹)¹⁵³ that included a sixth century manuscript that had sections of *APTh*, *3 Corinthians*, an Ephesian episode (known to Hippolytus), and the *MP* all within the same manuscript, which suggested all of these writings were integrally incorporated into the text. This created quite a discussion over the relationship of the documents,¹⁵⁴ finally answered more thoroughly only with the finds of two Greek papyri from Egypt; namely the Hamburg Papyrus (P¹) (ca. fourth century) and the Bodmer

(Tübingen and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1904), 357-82; and the subsequent 4 editions up until 1992 through the work of Wilhelm Schneemelcher and translated by R. McL. Wilson; (2) French: Vouaux, *Les Actes de Paul* and Rordorf, "Actes de Paul," in *ÉAC*, 1115-77; (3) Italian: Luigi Moraldi, *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-editrice torinese, 1971) 2:1061-1130.

¹⁵² For a more complete description of the difficult manuscript history, I refer the reader first to Willy Rordorf's retracing of the history of the reception of *3 Corinthians*, which largely covers much of the textual history in "Héresie et orthodoxie," 389-431.

¹⁵³ This is not a complete listing, but see Bernard P. Grenfell, and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. and trans. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898) 1:9-10, papyrus number 6 and 13:23-25, papyrus number 1602; P. Vetter, "Der apokryphe dritte Korintherbrief neu übersetzt und nach seiner Entstehung untersucht," *TQ* 72 (1890): 610-39; A. Carrière, and S. Berger. "La Correspondance apocryphe de saint Paul et des Corinthiens." *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 24 (1891): 333-51; Eduard Bratke, "Ein zweiter lateinischer Text des apokryphen Briefwechsels zwischen dem Apostel Paulus und den Korinthern," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 17 (1892): 585-88; and then Carl Schmidt, *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift* with the *Nr. 1: Tafelband* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904) and supplemented by "eine neues Fragment der Heidelberger Acta Pauli," *SPAW* (4 Feb. 1909): 216-20.

¹⁵⁴ Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen and Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1890; Reprint, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1975), 2:595-611; Adolf Von Harnack, "Untersuchungen über den apokryphen Briefwechsel der Korinther mit dem Apostel Paulus." *SPAW* 1 (1905): 3-35; D. de Bruyne, "Nouveau fragments des Actes de Pierre, de Paul, de Jean, d'André, et de l'Apocalypse d'Élie," *Revue Bénédictine* 25 (1908): 149-60; "Un nouveau manuscrit de la Troisième Lettre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens." *Revue Bénédictine* 25 (1908): 431-34; "Un quatrième manuscrit latin de la Correspondance apocryphe de S. Paul avec les Corinthiens," *Revue Benedictine* 45 (1933): 189-95; Boese, H. "Über eine bisher unbekannte Handschrift des Briefwechsels zwischen Paulus und den Korinthern." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 44 (1952-53): 66-76.

Papyrus (P⁷) (ca. third century).¹⁵⁵ These two Greek manuscripts along with Ephrem's Syriac commentaries were able to (1) reinforce an original Greek document of a complete *AP* at a very early stage, (2) reaffirm the original independent circulation of *3 Corinthians* in the earlier part of the second century, and (3) demonstrate definitively a united *AP* including all subsequent writings mentioned above. As will be noted in the commentary below, Cop¹, P¹, P⁷ have higher priority in textual decisions due to their early dating.

Therefore, yet another critical edition will be necessary, i.e. that which is being produced by Willy Rordorf, Pierre Cherix and Rudophe Kasser through *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*. In addition to the material mentioned above, there is a Coptic text entitled Bodmer CLI (Cop^B) announced by Rudolphe Kasser in 1959 with the *editio princeps* finally published in 2004,¹⁵⁶ as well as an unpublished John Rylands Coptic manuscript (Cop^M).¹⁵⁷

4. The *Acts of Paul* and the New Testament

There have been several studies conducted over the last few years that attempt to determine what knowledge the author of the *AP* had of the documents now found in

¹⁵⁵ Testuz, M. *Papyrus Bodmer X-XI. X*; and Schmidt and Schubart, *III*, along with "Ein Berliner Fragment der alten Πράξεις Παύλου," *SPAW* (19 Feb. 1931): 37-40; and announced in 1929 in "Neue Funde zu den alten Πράξεις Παύλου," *SPAW* (28 Feb. 1929): 176-83.

¹⁵⁶ See Kasser and Luisier. "Le Bodmer XLI," 281-384.

¹⁵⁷ Kasser, Rodolphe, "Acta Pauli 1959." *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 40 (1960): 45-57; and Crum, "New Coptic Manuscripts," 501.

the New Testament.¹⁵⁸ There is a significant breach in interpretation of this relationship, primarily regarding the relationship of the *AP* to the canonical Acts of the Apostles and the Pastoral Epistles. In general, the author of the *AP* utilizes several NT writings, while exhibiting some familiarity with the content or possibly the actual written documents of several additional NT writings. In particular, it is apparent that the author of the *AP* knows several Gospels and Pauline letters, namely Matthew,¹⁵⁹ Mark, Luke, Acts, Romans, 2 Corinthians,¹⁶⁰ Galatians, Ephesians, 1-2 Thessalonians, 1-2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 2 Peter, and Revelation. The most significant discussions have arisen surrounding two major connections. (1) What is the relationship of the *AP* to the Pastorals¹⁶¹, and (2) what is the relationship of the *AP* to the Acts of the Apostles?¹⁶² MacDonald believes that the author of the Pastoral Epistles (writing within Asia Minor between 100-140 CE¹⁶³) is aware of the oral legends that are circulating that eventually developed into what we call the *AP*. In response to the oral *AP*, this author attempts pseudonymously to convince his audience that Paul has addressed such issues (namely encratism, resurrection, and the

¹⁵⁸ The most thorough investigations have been completed by Julian Hills, "The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1994 (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; SBLSP 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 24-54; see also the articles by Willy Rordorf, Julian V. Hills, Richard Bauckham, and Daniel Marguerat in *Semeia* 80, 137-83; and P. Herczeg, "New Testament Parallels to the Acta Pauli Document," *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 142-49. Several of these summaries systematically identify the specific references under question.

¹⁵⁹ See 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8 for an example.

¹⁶⁰ 1 Cor 15:32 was probably one of the sources that provided the basis for the Ephesian Episode in *AP*, but no quotation of 1 Cor can be demonstrated.

¹⁶¹ See Dunn, "Acts of Paul," 45-68; and MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 54-77.

¹⁶² See Dunn's summary in "Acts of Paul," that overviews the major views and arguments on pages 36-44.

¹⁶³ MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 54; and Jouette M. Bassler, "The Widows' Tale: A Fresh Look at 1 Tim 5:3-16," *JBL* 103 (1984): 23-41.

role of women). After the Pastorals are written, somewhere in the latter half of the second century, the oral stories of the *AP* are finally written down. Therefore the Pastorals are essentially a response to the *AP* tradition. Dunn is critical of MacDonald's thesis on several grounds, but specifically is hesitant to believe that the *AP* were rejected due to their heterodoxical nature. He attempts to show how the *AP* are essentially orthodox. For instance, regarding the issue of the role of women within Christendom, Dunn states that the author (presbyter of Asia) never "explicitly says that Thecla teaches men nor that she baptizes herself or anyone else..."¹⁶⁴

Before I go further into the relationship of the Pastorals to the *AP*, I want to deal with the second major relationship of the *AP*, namely the relationship of the *AP* to the Acts of the Apostles. The major interpretations have stated that the *AP* is (1) a continuation of Acts, (2) dependent upon Acts, (3) a replacement of Acts or (4) independent of Acts. It is worth noting that there does appear to be a clear connection between the Acts of the Apostles and the *AP*. There are at least five possible connections that have been given an "A" rating by Hills, and possibly one other connection worthy of consideration.¹⁶⁵ Rordorf makes the strongest argument for suggesting that the author of the *AP* does not have a copy of Acts in his article "Paul's Conversion in the Canonical Acts and in the *Acts of Paul*," 137-43. Rordorf argues that the clearest event in Paul's life that both *Acta* record is the conversion of

¹⁶⁴ Dunn, "*Acts of Paul*," 68.

¹⁶⁵ Hills, "The Acts of the Apostles," 45-49. See also my discussion under 3.24.1 *Textual Notes*, note 15. The references are *AP* 3.24=Acts 1:24 and 15:8; *AP* 6= Acts 4:29; *AP* 9=Acts 4:12; *AP* 13= Acts 2:30; and *AP* 14.6=Acts 1:5. I would add *AP* 3.2=Acts 6:8-15.

Paul, yet both accounts have almost nothing in common other than the mention of the location of conversion being Damascus.¹⁶⁶ From this perspective, it becomes difficult to understand how the accounts can vary so significantly if the *AP* author had a copy of Acts sitting in front of him/her. Second, if there is direct dependence, then why are there no clear examples of dependence other than sharing one, two, or three words together? Also, if the *AP* is dependent on Acts, then what are they attempting to do? A major problem to dependency theory deals with the fact that it is believed that the *AP* is attempting to supplement the Acts of the Apostles with additional material. If this is the case, then a dependency theory is clearly inadequate and lacking in detail regarding where to place the material of the *AP* into the canonical Acts.¹⁶⁷ There is no consistent way to harmonize the two accounts. Replacement theories share many of the same problems, if none else, a good motive is lacking.

If the *AP* is indeed a Christian version of the novel, then historicity is not even a real consideration within the writing of such a text. This would allow for the author of the *AP* to have some awareness of the Acts of the Apostles (while not actually having a copy before them), while at the same time having no intention of critically attempting to supplement, continue, or replace the canonical Acts account. Historical documentation is not relevant for the second century author(s) of the *AP*. The main concern is the telling and elaboration upon the Pauline legend for entertainment, Christian instruction, and likely for edification of the church through stories of the

¹⁶⁶ See also Richard I. Pervo, "A Hard Act to Follow: The *Acts of Paul* and the Canonical Acts." *Journal of Higher Criticism* (1995) 2/2:3-32.

¹⁶⁷ Dunn, "*Acts of Paul*," 36.

early church leaders. This still leaves the question of why would someone be motivated to write an *Acta*, especially one that is longer than the canonical Acts account that already exists? I think our discussion of the relationship of the *AP* to the Pastorals will help in this regard.

The evidence suggests that the *AP* was written in response to the Pastorals in the hope of restoring a more accurate picture of Paul. For instance, when sorting out the evidence there are a few inconsistencies that can be found in the relationship between the Pastorals and the *AP*. One, in the *AP* 3.1, Demas and Hermogenes, the blacksmith, are presented as Paul's travel companions who are full of hypocrisy. In *AP* 4.1, Alexander is a leading citizen of Antioch who, after a failed attempt to claim Thecla as his own, attempts to have Thecla killed in the theater. Compare the Pastorals, where Demas, Hermogenes, and Alexander are all represented, but in different roles. In 2 Timothy 4.10, Demas is a travel companion of Paul, who has deserted Paul and gone on to Thessalonica; Alexander is a coppersmith, who did Paul great harm; and Hermogenes, who is in Asia, has turned away from Paul along with Phygelus (2 Tim 1:15). Combine this with mention made of Onesiphorus (2 Tim 1:16) and his household, who refreshed Paul in prison, while he was in Rome. On both accounts, Demas is consistent, Hermogenes is mixed with Alexander, and Onesiphorus is mentioned as a help in Rome, but not in Asia. This type of utilization of the Pastorals by the *AP* is common and appears to be conflicted, inconsistent, and irregular. On the other hand, the *AP* is consistent in one regard. The *AP* and the Pastorals both speak in the voice of the apostle Paul. What is interesting about this is that everytime the

Pastorals speak in condemnation of certain deceits, teachers, doctrines, etc., it appears that these very same teachings and attitudes are the ones represented by Paul and Thecla in the *AP*.¹⁶⁸ For instance, the Pastorals warn within the text of 2 Timothy 3:1-16:

You must understand this, that in the last days distressing times will come. For people will be lovers of themselves, lovers of money...holding to the outward form of godliness by denying its power. Avoid them! For among them are those who make their way into households and captivate silly women, overwhelmed by their sins and swayed by all kinds of desires (*ἐπιθυμίας ποικίλαις*)...Now you have observed my teaching (*παρηκολούθησάς μου τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ*), my conduct, my aim in life, my faith...my persecutions, and my suffering the things that happened to me in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra. What persecutions I endured! Yet the Lord rescued me from all of them...

Compare this text to the *AP*, where Thecla, while sitting in the window of the house (*οἶκος*) of Onesiphorus, is described in the same manner as falling into *ποικίλους λόγους διδάσκοντι* by her mother (*AP* 3.8), and then she is said to be falling for *ἐπιθυμία καινῇ* (3.9). This is compacted by the fact that the Paul of the Pastorals warns to watch out for such teachings that are “captivating silly women” (*αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναικάρια*), while the primary audience of the *AP* who are listening to Paul are Thecla and numerous other *γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ νέοι* who *εἰσέρχονται πρὸς αὐτόν, διδασκόμενοι παρ’ αὐτοῦ*. This is one of several texts that appear to demonstrate a relationship. While MacDonald’s theory offers a possible solution, it makes more sense that the author of the *AP* is attempting to write a response to the Pastorals. At various times, the author

¹⁶⁸ Regarding Thecla, see 3.8.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1, 12, and 14 and 3.8.2 *General Comment* where *AP* 3.8 appears to be a dialogue partner with 1 Tim 3:1-16 (among other texts). Then look at 3.9.2 *General Comment*, where the *AP* and the Pastorals appear to have a sharp disagreement on the theological issues of resurrection and self-control. See also 4.18.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7.

of the *AP* will use the warnings and descriptions of the Pastorals and reimage them in the life of Paul and Thecla, in order to demonstrate the Pastoral vices as *AP* virtues. This is not a meaningless mimicry, but rather it attempts to address the specific theological conflicts between the two documents. To be more specific, 1 Timothy 4:1-5, warns against people who teach on various subjects, and in particular those who “forbid marriage and demand abstinence from foods.” This is compounded by the fact that (1) 2 Timothy 2:18 warns against those who “have swerved from the truth by claiming that the resurrection has already taken place;” (2) Paul’s encouragement in 1 Timothy 5:23 for Timothy to “No longer drink only water, but take a little wine for the sake of your stomach and your frequent ailment;” and (3) the warning for women to “learn in silence with full submission. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man...” (Tim 2:11-12). The Pastorals are clearly opposed to restrictions on marriage, dietary rules of abstinence or fastings, and the view that the resurrection has already taken place. All three of these views are advocated explicitly within the *AP* 3.6 (abstinence from marriage and purity are connected to resurrection), 3.7 (fasting), 4.8-9 (Thecla’s death and resurrection), 4.14 (Tryphaena witnesses resurrection; see *4.14.1 Textual Notes*, note 1); and 4.16-18 (Thecla is teaching and serving as an apostle).

In sum, it appears that the author of the *AP* has a copy of the Pastorals, and is attempting to present an image of Paul that is contrary to the image of the Pastorals. If Tertullian is accurate that it was written out of love for Paul (*Bapt.* 17), then it appears that the author is attempting to reclaim a different heritage of Paul in regard

to the role of women, marriage, encratism, and the resurrection that the author of the *AP* considers to have been compromised. It is interesting to notice that the Corinthian letters and Galatians are most notably claimed as Pauline in the *AP*. This just reinforces the belief that the author of the *AP* sees the Pastorals as a later addition to the Pauline corpus. Interestingly enough, the reclaiming of Paul is accomplished through direct connections in the texts and borrowings, where it can be seen that there are two opposing Pauline voices. Either the voice of the Pastorals or the voice of the *AP* is to be heard. In addition to this, an explicit decision was made not to mimick the standard voice of Paul that people of the first and second century were accustomed to hearing, namely, Paul's "voice" was known primarily through his letters (Romans, 1-2 Corinthians, etc.). In an attempt to undermine what the author of the *AP* considered to be a pseudo-representation of Paul, i.e. the Pastoral epistles, he or she attempted to create an alternative representation of Paul by means of mimicry of the narrative genre as found in the Acts of the Apostles and/or the Gospels. If this is the case, the author of the *AP* avoided the ambiguity of pseudonymity, and adopts the genre of the ancient novel (a narrative) including numerous details common to the Acts of the Apostles¹⁶⁹ (that have probably circulated extensively through oral tradition) and also the common details in the stories of the Gospel of Jesus, most notably are the passion of Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount, both of which find their way into the story of

¹⁶⁹ I do believe that the canonical Acts had been written at this point, but the author of the *AP* does not have immediate access to it upon the writing and compiling of the *AP*.

Thecla and the story of Paul, where Thecla's passion is in *AP* 4, and Paul's passion is in *AP* 14.

In conclusion, this explains the relationship of the Pastorals, the Gospels, and the Pauline letters to the *AP*. By understanding the relationship of the *AP* to the Pastorals, one is better able to understand the relationship the *AP* has with Acts, and further the other writings of the NT. In addition to this, the reasons for using the genre common to the Gospels and Acts further clarifies the motivation the author of the *AP* had for using the genre of the Ancient Novel. This narrative form made it possible for the author of the *AP* to reclaim the "voice" of Paul in the form of a narrative, while at the same time rejecting the "voice" of the Pastoral Epistles.

5. Feminist Criticism and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*

Research interests of the *AP* have shifted somewhat over the last 30 years, not surprisingly, as postmodernity has continued to shift the foundations of academic studies. In particular, the impact of feminist studies has continued to demonstrate a remarkable amount of influence upon the reading and interpretation of various early Christian documents including the *AP*. In the words of Bernadette Brooten,

If the focus were on women, then one might be less inclined to compare Paul with his male Jewish contemporaries and their views on women and more interested in placing such Roman Jewish women as Prisca and Junia within their Jewish and Roman context.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Bernadette J. Brooten, "Early Christian Women in their Cultural Context: Issues of Method in Historical Reconstruction," *Feminist Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship* (ed. Adela Yarbro Collins; Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1985), 65. Jean-Daniel Kaestli quotes a French translation of this in "Les Actes Apocryphes et la reconstitution de l'histoire des femmes dans le christianisme ancien," *FoiVie*

I would quickly add Thecla to this list, and especially the study of the *APTh*. The phenomenon of feminist-critical studies of the *AP* has not taken place within a vacuum. I am not going to attempt to provide a thorough summary of all work on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, but one might note that feminist studies on the *AP* began before the emergence of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroads, 1983) and other such works.¹⁷¹ From the perspective of Jean-Daniel Kaestli, three American scholars, Stevan L. Davies in 1980,¹⁷² Dennis Ronald MacDonald in 1983,¹⁷³ and Virginia Burrus in 1987¹⁷⁴ moved the discussion of the *AP* into a new realm specifically revolving around the feminist social world.¹⁷⁵ This has shifted the discussion (1) from a question of literary sources to oral sources, (2) from philological, theological, and historical concerns to socio-cultural concerns and (3) from the perspective of a male author and audience to a female author and audience. This has continued up to the present with feminist critical interpretations, the most recent being Amy-Jill Levine's *A Feminist Companion to the New*

28 (1989): 71-79.

¹⁷¹ See the commentary of Sheila E. McGinn, "The Acts of Thecla," *Searching the Scriptures: Volume 2, A Feminist Commentary* (ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza with the assistance of Shelley Matthews and Ann Graham Brock; New York: Crossroads, 1994) 800-28.

¹⁷² *Revolt of the Widows*.

¹⁷³ *The Legend and the Apostle*.

¹⁷⁴ *Chastity as Autonomy*.

¹⁷⁵ Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Fiction littéraire et réalité sociale: que peut-on savoir de la place des femmes dans le milieu de production des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres?," *Apocrypha* 1 (1990): 290. Some methodological concerns have been raised both by Kaestli in his articles and by Peter W. Dunn, "Women's Liberation, the *Acts of Paul*, and Other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: A Review of Some Recent Interpreters," *Apocrypha* 4 (1993): 245-61.

Testament Apocrypha,¹⁷⁶ that includes five out of thirteen articles specifically dealing with Thecla,¹⁷⁷ another article highlights the *APTh* in a subsection,¹⁷⁸ and remarkably every article in the entire book is devoted to the *AAA*, leaving the title to be somewhat of a misnomer.

The essential questions that are connected to feminist-critical inquiry have largely been addressed already in the introduction. Specifically, these questions are the concerns of female/male authorship, female audience, orality, and leadership issues revolving around Thecla. The impact of feminist criticism will also be evident with a focusing upon the life of Thecla within the commentary.

6. Artistic Representations of the *Acts of Paul* and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*

With regard to the artistic representations of the *AP* and the *APTh* as a more specific parameter, there have been no artistic representations from the first and second century (this is not unique to the *AP*, but is true of all early Christian artistic

¹⁷⁶ *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine with Maria Mayo Robbins; Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings, 11; Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2006).

¹⁷⁷ Namely the articles of *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha* are: Johannes N. Vorster, "Construction of Culture Through the Construction of Person: The Construction of Thecla in the *Acts of Thecla*;" Cornelia B. Horn, "Suffering Children, Parental Authority and the Quest for Liberation?: A Tale of Three Girls in the *Acts of Paul (and Thecla)*, the *Act(s) of Peter*, the *Acts of Nerseus and Achilleus* and the *Epistle of Pseudo-Titus*," Magda Misset-Van de Weg, "Answers to the Plights of an Ascetic Woman Named Thecla;" Susan A. Calef, "Thecla 'Tried and True' and the Inversion of Romance;" and Gail P. C. Streete, "Buying the Stairway to Heaven: Perpetua and Thecla as Early Christian Heroines."

¹⁷⁸ Richard Valantasis, "The Question of Early Christian Identity: Three Strategies Exploring a Third *Genos*," 67-68.

representations),¹⁷⁹ and very few examples of pre-Constantinian art dealing with the *AP* (if any at all).¹⁸⁰

One can compare some of the images of the amphitheaters and wild beasts that have been discovered in such places as Pompeii that adequately demonstrate the topos presented in the *APTh* of Thecla defending herself within the amphitheater, but this speaks generically to the popularity of such writings, forms of entertainment, and the status quo of the Roman house.¹⁸¹ Eleanor Winsor Leach demonstrates how numerous houses in Pompeii show evidence of supporters from the games, by way of posters (*venationes*) throughout the *domus* advertising the gladiatorial games.¹⁸² For instance, in the house of Ceius Secundus (1.5.15), one will find frescos (*venationes*) on the walls of the hunting and killing of bulls and other animals by leopards and lions. In addition to this house, these *paradeisoi*¹⁸³ can be found in numerous locations in

¹⁷⁹ Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London: Routledge, 2000); Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (New York and Oxford: Oxford, 1994); and Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* (Macon: Mercer, 2003).

¹⁸⁰ For the most complete discussion of images of Thecla and Paul, and the *AP*, see David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, "Paul, Thecla, and Peter," in *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 134-71; and David R. Cartlidge, "Thecla: The Apostle Who Defied Women's Destiny," *Bible Review* 20.6 (2004): 24-33; Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of St. Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001).

¹⁸¹ Look at the two images that are represented in the house of Ceius Secundus (or the House of the Ceii; 1.6.15) in Pompeii. See Figures 3-6 below. See also the image from Ida Baldassarre, ed., *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici* (10 vols.; Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994) 1:475; or the "House of the Hunt" (VII.4.48), with a nineteenth century reproduction found in Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life* (trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider; Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998) 188 which represents a "hunting scene" with animals killing animals, people killing animals, and animals hunting people. See also Figure 7 below.

¹⁸² See Eleanor Winsor Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 131-32.

¹⁸³ This comes from the Avestan concept of 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 (*Pardes*) or paradise (*HALOT*, 2:963) symbolizing an exotic garden from the East mixed with mythological elements presenting a garden like atmosphere for the *domus* or the courtyard peristyle. See also the discussion in Ernesto De Carolis, *God and heroes*

Pompeii.¹⁸⁴ I find this interesting, because the very sight that people wished to see as entertainment in the theaters and amphitheaters was transposed onto the walls of homes and gardens, essentially testifying to the popularity and familiarity that the *APTh* would have had to the average Roman citizen, essentially glorifying the violence of the amphitheater.¹⁸⁵ But the direction of influence is not just the amphitheater violence into the *domus*, but rather it is the influence of Greek mythology upon mass culture that is eventually reproduced in the amphitheater and on the walls of homes in Pompeii.¹⁸⁶ Some evidence of this is found in the prevalence of the mythology being pressed upon the cultures through several mediums. One variation is found in Varro, who reports that Q. Hortensius, in a place near Laurentum, was entertaining guests who were overlooking a large forest that was enclosed within a wall called a *therotrophium* (game-preserve), and he called for someone dressed as Orpheus. Orpheus then proceeded to come out of the woods dressed in robes and

in *Pompeii* (trans. Lori-Ann Touchette; Rome: "L'erma" di Bretschneider, 2001) 11; Annamaria Ciarallo, *Gardens of Pompeii* (trans. Lori-Ann Touchette; Rome: "L'erma" di Bretschneider, 2001); and Wilhelmina Mary Feemster Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Bros., 1979-93) 68-73. Leach denies that these are *paradeisoi*, but are posters alone for the amphitheater.

¹⁸⁴ See the discussion by Balch, *Roman Domestic*, 22-25; in addition to the ones already mentioned see the house of M. Lucretius Fronto (5.4a; *PPM* 3:966-1032), the House of Centenario (9.8.3.7; *PPM* 9:903-1104), and the House of Orpheus (6.14.20; *PPM* 5.264-307). For color plates see *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House*, 274-96; and for the House of Orpheus see Figures 8-12 below, which I took upon personal observation and study of these images while in Pompeii in July of 2006.

¹⁸⁵ Another example provided by Leach is the poster of Aulus Rustius Verus, owner of the Case del Centenario, who had the remains of four posters extant on the walls of his house. See Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome*, 132.

¹⁸⁶ Compare the fresco (Figure 13 below) in the House of Sallust (VI.2.4) where Actaeon is being torn apart by dogs for having looked upon Artemis bathing. This mythological scene is one likely to have been recreated in the theater/amphitheater and also represented in a garden space of one of the homes in Pompeii. See Zanker, *Pompeii*, 166-67. See also the discussion in K. M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990): 44-73, where he argues convincingly that the activities within the amphitheater were often intended to be reenactments of mythological stories.

playing a harp and singing to the animals, which then came out of the woods to him.¹⁸⁷ This simply follows the mythological story of the great Orpheus musician who could charm the wild beasts. This is the Orphic image represented within the *domus* of Pompeii (witnessed in the House of Orpheus [see footnote 180] and the House of Epidius Sabinus in Pompeii¹⁸⁸). A modification of this same theme exposes this mythological scene as one also appropriate for the amphitheater. *Liber Spectaculorum*, a collection of epigrams commemorating Titus' games in celebration of the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater (which is contemporary with the frescos of Pompeii), epigram 21 records a similar occasion, where at the conclusion, "Every kind of wild beast was there, mixed with the flock, and above the minstrel [Orpheus] hovered many birds; but the minstrel fell, torn apart by an ungrateful bear."¹⁸⁹ This variation on the theme of Orpheus symbolizes the prominence of mythology within daily life, and especially the emergence of such themes into the violent amphitheater.¹⁹⁰ In general, we see that the mythological themes show up (1) in the entertainment of the wealthy, (2) within the amphitheater, and (3) also in the *domus*. It must be noted that the role of Orpheus shows up in the *domus* and within the game-

¹⁸⁷ Varro, *Res rusticae* (On Agriculture) 3.13.2-3; Zanker, *Pompeii*, 187.

¹⁸⁸ *PPM* 8:1029-33. See Figures 8-12.

¹⁸⁹ "adfuit inmixtum pecori genus omne ferarum et supra vatem multa pependit avis, ipse sed ingrate iacuit laceratus ab urso." See quote and commentary found within Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 62.

¹⁹⁰ I disagree with Leach's assessment (*The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome*, 132) of the fresco in the House of Orpheus. Leach denies that the image is a *paradeisoi* located on the wall of the peristyle. She suggests that there is little connection between the animals and Orpheus. In response, a lion and a leopard, sitting next to Orpheus, not attacking him of the deer and wild boar immediately before suggests strongly that this is portraying the mythological elements of the power of Orpheus. The literature from antiquity supports both a violent and nonviolent response to Orpheus depending on what source one reads. I think that the implications for what would have been witnessed of Orpheus in the amphitheater would have been familiar to those who viewed this fresco, but this does not suggest that this image is a *venationes*.

preserve true to the mythological accounts, and the variation of the theme is found in the amphitheater. I find that this evidence reinforces the influence of mythology within the culture to be one of the pervasive elements that then moves out into other forms within society, which in turn continue to provide reinterpretation to the myths and how they are manifested within the Roman world.

Regarding how this has bearing upon the *AP*, several facts must be noted. (1) the *AP*, and specifically the *APTh*, report heavily the events of the Roman amphitheater and the *spectaculi* that took place there. (2) It is worth noting that the subject matter of the *APTh* (namely spectacles and erotic situations) is also one of the predominant themes found in *domus* frescos and literature.¹⁹¹ (3) The fact that the *APTh* is an ancient romance further compounds the problem, due to the fact that the ancient novels are very erotic and salacious literature. This connection moves the *APTh* and the *AP* into a dangerous area regarding appropriate subject matter for Christians. All one has to do is to look at the writings of Tertullian. In *de spectaculis* 17, Tertullian, while giving proofs on why Christians are not to attend the games in the amphitheater, provides further evidence in comparing the pagan themes of the games to pagan literature. He states:

¹⁹¹ See Jürgen Hodske, *Mythologische Bildthemen in den Häusern Pompejis: Die Bedeutung der zentralen Mythenbilder für die Bewohner Pompejis* (Stendaler Winckelmann-Forschungen 6; Rühpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2007), 135-39 for a printing and discussion of all of the Fourth (and final) Pompeiian Style mythological images, Hodske states on page 136, “the figures are now more scantily dressed, their clothes billow out behind them or are draped so that their beautiful, naked bodies are presented in a particularly flattering light.” Then Hodske again on page 138 states, “The range of paintings was narrower in the Fourth Style, and combinations are often repeated. Combinations of large-scale mythological landscapes now vanish, and the most common themes involve naked figures in erotic situations....”

If, again, we despise the teaching of secular literature as being foolishness in God's eyes, our duty is plain enough in regard to those spectacles, which from this source derive the tragic or comic play. If tragedies and comedies are the bloody and wanton, the impious and licentious inventors of crimes and lusts, it is not good even that there should be any calling to remembrance the atrocious or the vile. What you reject in deed, you are not to bid welcome to in word.¹⁹²

This quotation provides a further window into the *APTh* in that it becomes even clearer that the subject matter of the *APTh* is more than the reporting of a martyrdom (which it is not), but that it is the same erotic and secular subject matter as found within other novels and also found within the amphitheater. This possibly reinforces why the *APTh* were initially deemed heretical.¹⁹³ The representation of beasts, amphitheaters, and the role of mythology within the Roman world, allow us somewhat of a social background, and a visual representation of the themes that one reads in the *APTh*.

Moving on chronologically, the first two direct representations of the *AP* illustrate a scene recorded in *AP* 3.7-10, and the other illustrates the execution of Paul as recorded in *AP* 14, also known as the *Martyrdom of Paul*. The first image, represented upon a grave stone or sarcophagus fragment, dating from the fourth century, depicts Paul standing and holding the rudder of a ship entitled THECLA.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² "Si et doctrinam saecularis litteraturae ut stultitiae apud Deum deputatam aspernamur, satis praescribitur nobis et de illis speciebus spectaculorum, quae saecuari litteratura lusoriam uel agonisticam secae nam dispungunt." English quoted from *ANF*.

¹⁹³ Tertullian's explicit remarks of the *Acts of Paul* in *de Baptismo* 17, are concerning the issue of baptism and the appropriate administration of this sacrament. It must be added that Tertullian mentions that one of the explicit teachings within the baptismal liturgy addresses the Christians being willing to shun the public arena and the games!

¹⁹⁴ Found at the Musei Capitolini, Sala II, inv. Nr. 67. See Cartlidge and Elliot, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, 148-50. See Figure 17 below.

The meaning is uncertain although two different interpretations have been suggested.¹⁹⁵ In addition to this image there is also the fourth century stone sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (circa 359) now in the Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican which depicted the arrest of Paul, with the guard withdrawing a sword in order to execute Paul.¹⁹⁶ This image is consistent with the story as told in the Martyrdom account. Once again, Paul's facial features, baldness, beard, and brow seem to be consistent with the description provided in the *AP* 3.2-3.¹⁹⁷

Another noteworthy image is the fifth/sixth century ivory tablet (4.2 x 9.8 cm) from the British Museum (Catalog no. MME 1856.06-23) that depicts Thecla standing within a castle/home listening to Paul, who is seated and reading from a scroll outside the castle/home.¹⁹⁸ The tablet is divided in the center, and the right side portrays the stoning of Paul (Acts 14:19-20). Here the accounts of the *AP* and the Acts of the Apostles have been mixed, as the stoning of Paul that took place in Iconium is set against the conversion of Thecla. It might be noted that the details of

¹⁹⁵ Is Paul guiding and controlling the ship, or is Paul being carried by the ship? Possibly the interpretation of the image is meant to be deciphered based on the shared relationship and interdependence of the two. See Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, 148-50; Cartlidge, "Thecla," *BR* 20.6 (2004): 32-33; and Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr., "Thecla the Beast Fighter: A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian Popular Art," *The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*, 13 (2001): 212-49; and also Hermann and van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2002), plate 49.

¹⁹⁶ See Figure 18 below.

¹⁹⁷ It is also worth noting that the vast majority of inscriptions, artistic representations, and paintings come from the fourth through the sixth century at the height of Thecla's popularity. Therefore, those images mentioned above come from this era as well as several others, but I have not included all of the images because I believe that are not necessarily a testimony or adequate source for understanding the *AP* in the second century. They are more helpful in understanding the tradition of Thecla, and later interpretations of the *AP* that sometimes might have bearing upon the text (See "2. The Use of Tradition in the AAA," within "Introduction: The Forgotten Novels of the Early Church," by Dennis R. MacDonald in *Semeia* 38, 3-4).

¹⁹⁸ See Figure 19 below.

Thecla's conversion are not following closely to the *APTh*, where Paul should be inside a house.¹⁹⁹ Although, it might be added that Paul being located outside of the *domus* might symbolically represent the socially public external space, while Thecla represents the domesticated internal space of women.

Last, I would like to mention the fresco that has been found within the "Paulusgrotte" about 80 meters above sea level²⁰⁰ on the Bülbül dağı, a small hill located immediately to the southwest of Ephesus.²⁰¹ In 1906, the first mention was made of this cave.²⁰² In 1998, while the graffiti of the whitewashed walls were being studied, it was determined that there were indeed frescoes lying underneath the whitewash. At this point, a "comprehensive restoration and conservation" of the frescoes was begun.²⁰³ It became known that there was a fresco representing a

¹⁹⁹ In addition to these images mentioned, I will also note briefly a 6th-8th century fresco that was found in the necropolis at El Bagawat, Egypt, on the dome of the "Peace Chapel" (Chapel 80). It is an image of Paul and Thecla sitting beside each other, with Paul apparently teaching Thecla. Also, there is an interesting Limestone roundel carving (5th-8th century) in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri that depicts the martyrdom of Thecla at Antioch. Thecla is shown wearing only a girdle (Cartlidge and Elliott call it a flowering skirt) with her hands tied behind her back. Also, there is an aura (halo) around her head with two angels flanking her to her left and right. Below the angels are a lion(ess) and a bear. Cartlidge and Elliott suggest an Eastern and perhaps an Egyptian provenance for the roundel. Both images are reproduced in Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, 148-55, and reproduced below as Figures 20-21. For further information on other frescoes, flasks, etc. that have been found with Thecla's image see Davis, *The Cult of St. Thecla*, including the images found on pages 216-38.

²⁰⁰ Ruth Ohm, "The Ambiguity of Interpretation: Paul and Thekla in Ephesus" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Washington, D. C., 20 November 2006, 1.

²⁰¹ See Figure 22 below.

²⁰² O. Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos* (1906): 105. For a more complete recounting of the history behind the cave see Renate Pillinger, "Neue Entdeckungen in der Sogenannten paulusgrotte von Ephesos," *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 6 (2000) 16-29; and Ruth Ohm, "The Ambiguity of Interpretation, 1-11.

²⁰³ Pillinger, "Neue Entdeckungen," 29. It became known in the research done in 2003-04 that there were indeed 5 levels of wall paintings, and the picture of Thecla, Paul, and Theocleia, may represent a 5th century painting, but the dating of the paintings has not been verified yet. See Renate Pillinger, "Vielschichtige Neuigkeiten in der so Genannten Paulusgrotte von Ephesus," *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 11 (2005): 60-61.

triptych of Thecla, Paul and Theocleia (the mother of Thecla). Thecla is sitting within a house, while Paul and Theocleia are both standing equally in height in teaching form with their right hand erect, lifting the index and middle fingers, clearly teaching Thecla.²⁰⁴ Immediately publications began to emerge mentioning this painting ranging in dates from the fourth through the sixth century. Most notable was the mention made by John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L. Reed, who used the picture for the cover of their book *In Search of Paul: How Jesus's Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 2004), and went on to say that the image of Paul was standing next to Thecla, whose eyes and hand had been burned and scratched out, representing a change in the ideology of women in the church. Crossan soon recanted his argument based on erroneous information that he had gained concerning the images, when he found out that the Thecla that he had mentioned was actually Theocleia.²⁰⁵ Crossan went on to amend his case and argue that the picture is recording a variant interpretation of Theocleia than that which is recorded in the *AP*. In this new light, Crossan claims that rather than resisting the ministry of Paul, Theocleia is being presented as an advocate and preacher/teacher as well, which varies significantly from the Theocleia of the *APTh*, who wanted to burn her daughter at the stake. Interestingly enough, if one looks closely, the figures of Paul and Thecla are very similar to the fifth/sixth century ivory

²⁰⁴ See Pillinger, "Vielschichtige," 56-62. See also Mary Heuser, "Gestures and their Meaning in Early Christian Art," (Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1954), 152.

²⁰⁵ This is reported in John D. Crossan, "A Woman Equal to Paul: Who Is She?" *BR* 21.3 (2005): 29-31, 46, 48.

tablet of Paul and Thecla and the stoning of St. Paul.²⁰⁶ In the Paul grotto of Ephesus, Thecla is depicted in a home, in a window listening to Paul. It should be noted that the iconography in the grotto has slightly adjusted the literal details as recorded in the literary text. In the *AP*, Theocleia is not teaching alongside Paul in the text, but symbolically this is exactly what Theocleia is doing. From this symbolic perspective, they are quite consistent with the *AP* depending on the interpretation. It is plausible to argue that Theocleia and Paul are teaching competitively to Thecla, presenting Thecla with two different messages. On the one hand, Paul is exhorting Thecla, who will decide whether she will leave the symbolic “home” and renounce her fiancé, or whether she will heed the message of Theocleia, and fulfill her social duty in Iconium. If this be the case, the abuse that has been witnessed on Theocleia’s hand and eyes is a testimony to the renouncement of her message.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ See Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, 148; See the discussion above and Figure 16 below. Pillinger notes this connection also; see “Neue Entdeckungen,” 26-27.

²⁰⁷ Ruth Ohm, in “The Ambiguity of Interpretation,” 3, defends the position that Theocleia could be presented as equal “opposition” to Paul. Ohm goes on to say that the context of the cave, the determining of the various layers of the cave, and the dating of the various paintings in the cave are still too recent to be able to determine any further conclusions on the interpretation of the image.



Figure 1. Image of woman reading from a scroll. Sketch of a fresco in Herculaneum as found in Accademia ercolanese di archeologia (Naples, Italy), Ottavio Antonio Baiardi, and Pasquale Carcani, *Le Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano E Contorni Incise con Qualche Spiegazione* (Le Antichità di Ercolano Esposte. In Napoli: Nella Regia stamperia, 1760), 2:13.

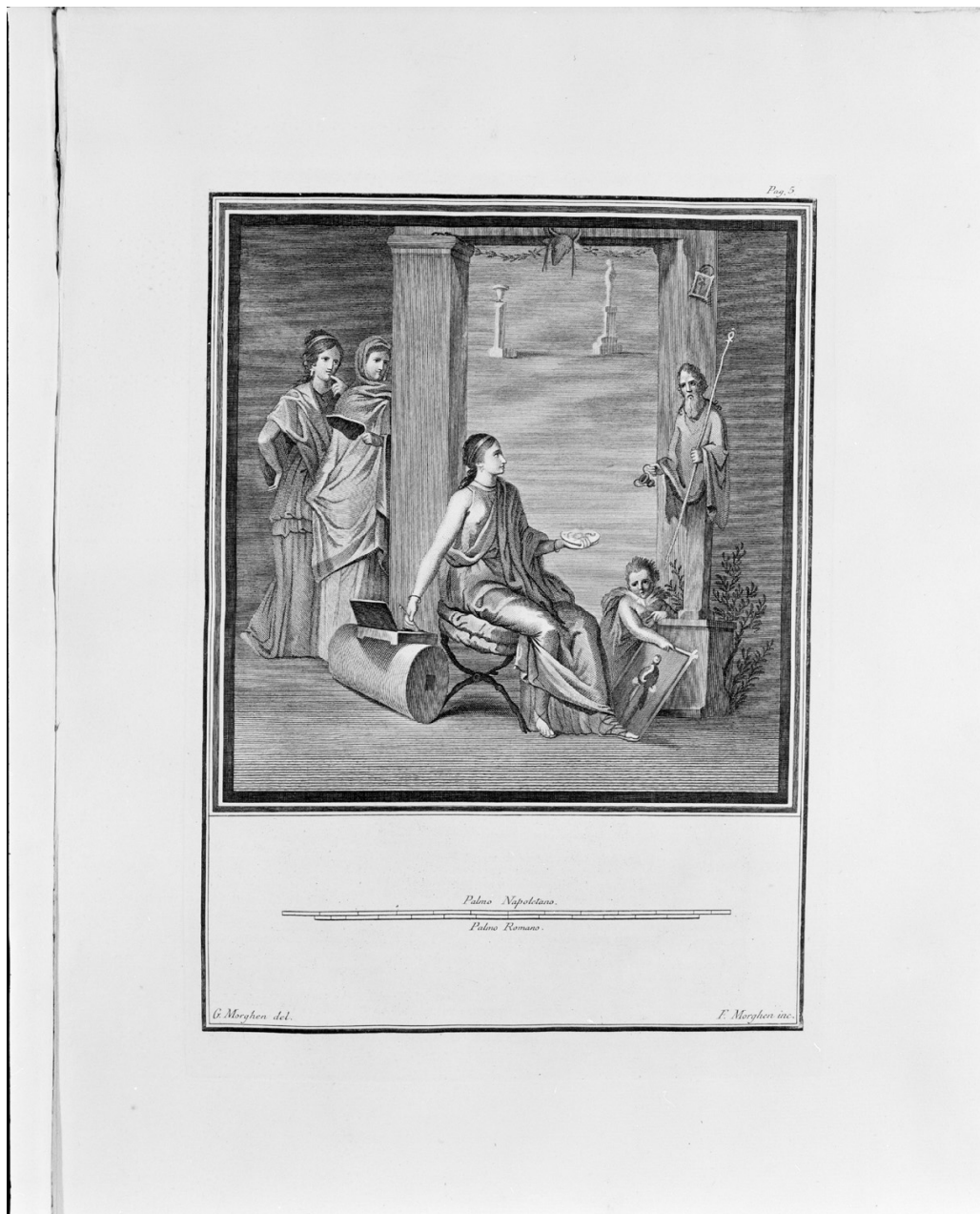


Figure 2. Image of a woman painting. Scetch of a fresco in Herculaneum as found in Accademia ercolanese di archeologia (Naples, Italy), Ottavio Antonio Baiardi, and Pasquale Carcani, *Le Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano E Contorni Incise con Qualche Spiegazione* (Le Antichità di Ercolano Esposte. In Napoli: Nella Regia stamperia, 1760), 7:5.

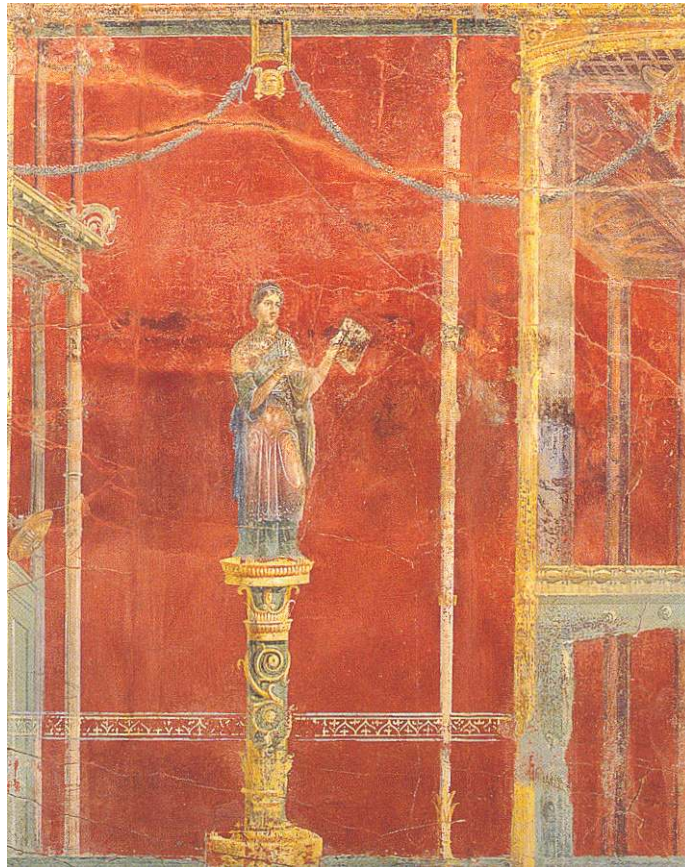


Figure 3. Clio, the muse of history, with her writing scroll. The image is found in a house in Moregine, south of Pompeii, first excavated in 1959. This image is found in the West Triclinium (A). This image was reproduced in Pier Giovanni Guzzo, *Pompeii: Tales from an Eruption*, (Milan: Mondadori Electra, 2007), 169-72.

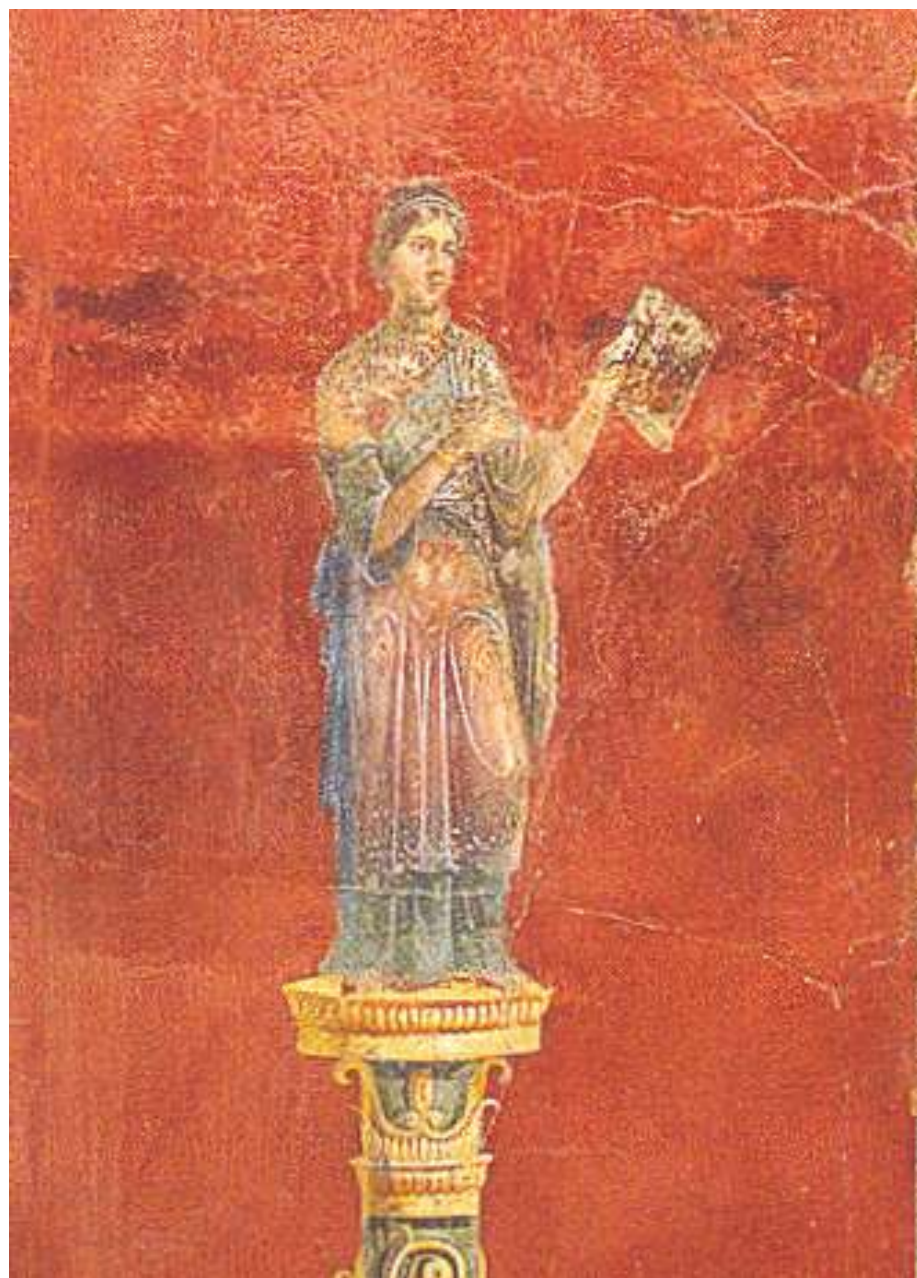


Figure 4. Close up image of Clio from Figure 3.

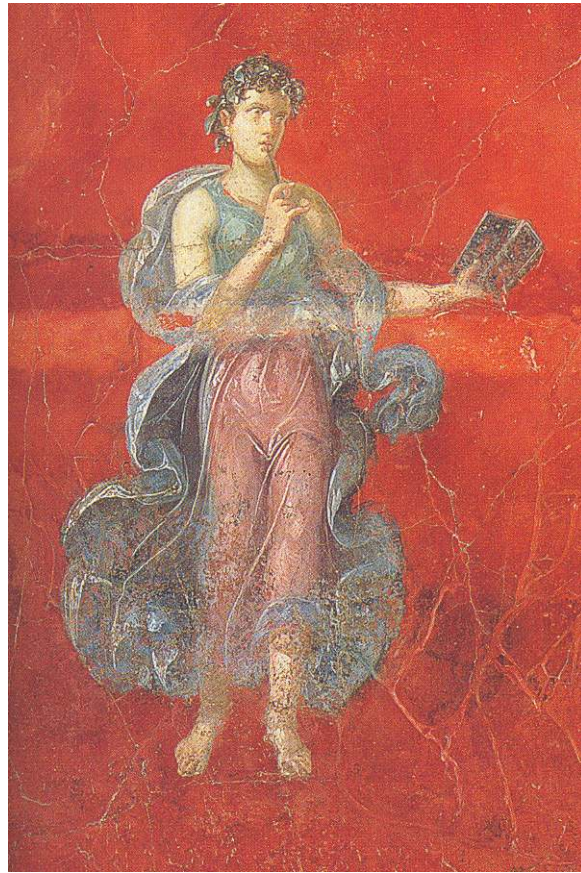


Figure 5. Calliope, the muse of lyric poetry, with her pen and a diptych. The image is found in a house in Moregine, south of Pompeii, first excavated in 1959. This image is found in the West Triclinium (A). This image was reproduced in Pier Giovanni Guzzo, *Pompeii: Tales from an Eruption*, (Milan: Mondadori Electra, 2007), 169-72.



Figure 6. A scene common to the amphitheater. Lions chasing after a bull and wild boars. The image is found in the House of Ceii. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 7. A close-up image of the lion chasing the bull in the House of Ceii. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 8. Another close-up image of the lion chasing the bull in the House of Ceii.
Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 9. Two lioness' attacking a wild boar. Another wild boar is to the left, and a leopard is above the two lioness on the right in the House of Ceii. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.

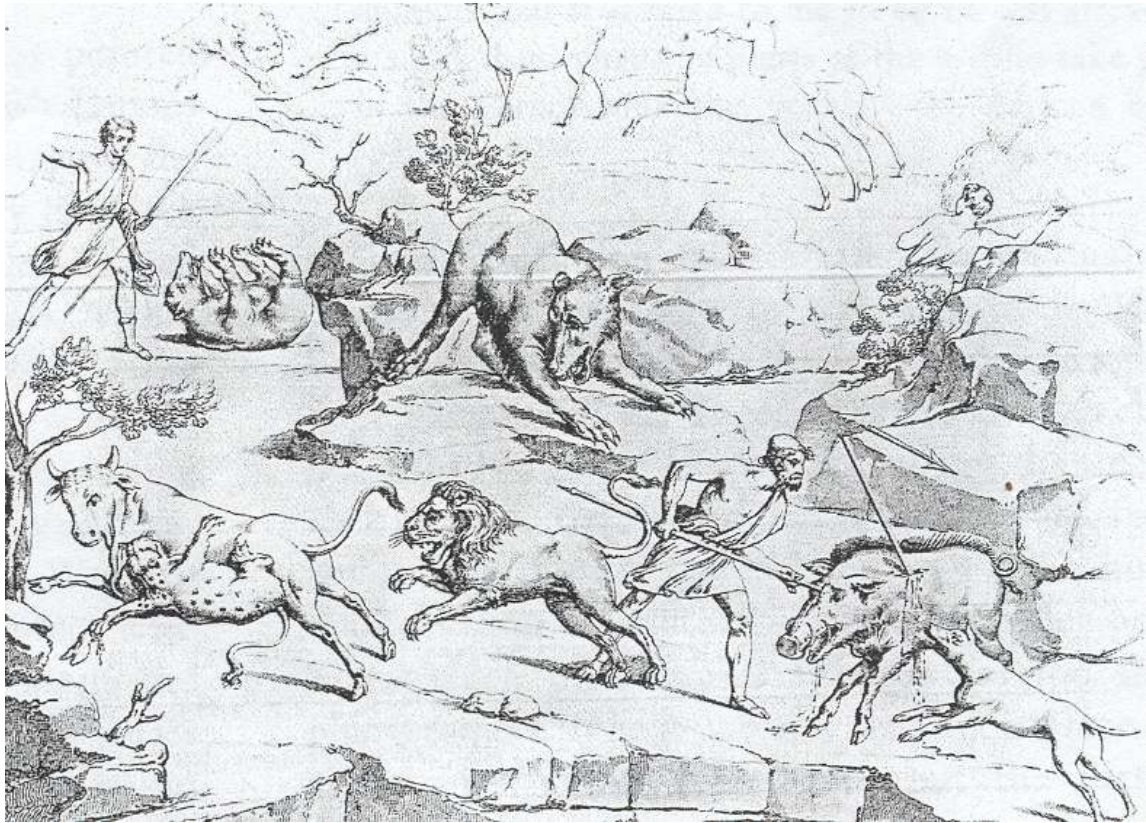


Figure 10. The “House of the Hunt” (VII.4.48), Image taken from Baldassarre, Ida, ed., *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici* (10 vols.; Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994) 5:285. This is a nineteenth century reproduction found also in Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life* (trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider; Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998) 188.



Figure 11. Picture taken from the *fauces* of the House of Orpheus, looking over the *impluvium*, through the *tablinum*, and into the *peristyle*, where an image of Orpheus surrounded by animals in a *paradesios*. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 12. Orpheus, with a leopard to his left and a lion to his right. Immediately in front of him, to the left is a wild boar, and a deer on the right. All the animals remain calm due to the influence of Orpheus' powerfully soothing music. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 13. Close-up picture of the leopard in the House of Orpheus. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 14. Close-up picture of the deer in the House of Orpheus. Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 15. Close-up picture of Orpheus and the leopard in the House of Orpheus.
Photo by Jeremy W. Barrier.



Figure 16. Actaeon being torn apart by dogs for having looked upon Artemis bathing.
This image is found in the House of Sallust (VI.2.4). Image taken from Zanker,
Pompeii, 166-67.



Figure 17. The “Thecla ship,” Musei Capitolini, Sala II, inv. Nr. 67. Image taken from David R. Cartlidge, “Thecla,” *BR* 20.6 (2004): 33.



Figure 18. The arrest of Paul. Sculpture from the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (circa 359); found at the Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano.



Figure 19. A fifth/sixth century ivory tablet (4.2 x 9.8 cm) from the British Museum (Catalog no. MME 1856.06-23) that depicts Thecla standing within a castle/home listening to Paul, who is seated and reading from a scroll outside the castle/home. The panel is divided in the center, and the right side portrays the stoning of Paul (Acts 14:19-20). Image taken from David R. Cartlidge, "Thecla," *BR* 20.6 (2004): 27.



Figure 20. A 6th-8th century fresco that was found in in the Kharga Oasis in the necropolis at El Bagawat, Egypt, on the dome of the “Peace Chapel” (Chapel 80). It is an image of Paul and Thecla sitting beside each other, with Paul apparently teaching Thecla. Image taken from David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, “5 Paul, Thecla,

and Peter,” in *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 153.



Figure 21. Limestone roundel carving (5th-8th century), located in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri that depicts the martyrdom of Thecla at Antioch. Image taken from David R. Cartlidge, "Thecla," *BR* 20.6 (2004): 29.



Figure 22. Paul and Theocleia teaching Thecla. Image taken from Renate Pillinger, "Vielschichtige Neuigkeiten in der so genannten Paulusgrotte von Ephesus," *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 11 (2005): 60-61.

Πράξεις Παύλου καὶ Θέκλης²⁰⁸

Text, Translation, and Commentary:

3.1 Ἀναβαίνοντος¹ Παύλου εἰς Ἰκόνιον μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν τὴν ἀπὸ
 Ἀντιοχείας² ἐγενήθησαν σύνοδοι αὐτῷ Δημᾶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης ὁ
 χαλκεύς,³ ὑποκρίσεως⁴ γέμοντες, καὶ ἐξελιπάρουν τὸν Παῦλον ὥς⁵
 ἀγαπῶντες αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἀποβλέπων εἰς μόνην τὴν ἀγαθο-
 σύνην τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐδὲν φαῦλον⁶ ἐποίει αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἔστεργεν
 αὐτοὺς σφόδρα, ὥστε πάντα τὰ λόγια κυρίου [καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας⁷
 καὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου]⁸ καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἠγαπημένου⁹ ἐγλύκαινεν¹⁰ αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα¹¹
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἀπεκαλύφθη¹² αὐτῷ,¹³ κατὰ ῥῆμα διηγείτο αὐτοῖς,

²⁰⁸ The text is from *AAA*. However, I have made text-critical corrections throughout to amend the text based upon the work of Rordorf's in the *ÉAC*, Schmidt's critical apparatus in *III*, "Actes de Paul" by Vouaux, and last my own critical work. Having said, this the *APTh* is only a portion of the *AP*, therefore here begins chapter 3, section 1 following the numeration of *ÉAC* and other editions.

<u>Codex M:</u>	<u>Cop¹:</u>	<u>Reconstruction:</u>
καὶ ἐκ μαρίας τῆς	ΝΕΦΧΟΥ ἡΜ[ΑΥ ΝΕΥ	ὅτι ¹⁵ ἐκ μαρίας τῆς
παρθένου καὶ ἐκ	ΧΕ ΠΕΧΡ̄C ἡΤΑΥ	παρθένου καὶ ἐκ
σπέρματος δαυὶδ ὁ	ΧΠΑQ] ΑΒΑΛ' ῒἢ	σπέρματος δαυὶδ ¹⁶ ὁ
χριστός ἐστιν. ¹⁴	Μ[Α]ΡΙΑ Τῒ[ΑΡΘΕΝΟC	χριστός ἐστιν. ¹⁷
	ἡἢ ῒἢ ΠΕCΠ]ΕΡΜΑ	
	ἡΔΑΛΓΕΙΔ':	

Translation:

As Paul was going up into Iconium after the flight from Antioch, traveling with him were Demas and Hermogenes, the blacksmith. Being full of hypocrisy, they were entreating Paul earnestly as if they loved him. But Paul, who was steadfastly looking into the goodness of Christ alone, was doing nothing bad to them, but he was loving them greatly, so that all the words of the Lord and the teachings and the interpretation [of the Gospel] and of the birth and of the resurrection of the beloved one, he was sweetening them even with the great things of Christ, as they were revealed to him, according to the word passed over to them. He was telling them that the Christ was born of Mary the virgin and of the seed (sperm) of David.

3.1.1 Textual Notes:

¹ From *Αναβαίνω*-to go up, ascend” BDAG, 58. This is a genitive absolute. *Hapax*

Legomenon for *AP*. Cop¹ uses the Second Future Verb (*imperfectum futuri*),

ΕΦΗΛΘΩΚ, with a translation, “As Paul was about to.” This is a very common word

in the New Testament; used with *εἰς* to refer to entering into a place (Acts 2.34). Also

used in reference to *ascending* to a place such as a temple. See Acts 10:4, 11:2, 18:22, and 21:6. An ascent of elevation is clear. But an ascent from which Antioch is under question. The most likely conclusion is the ascent in elevation from Antioch of Syria versus Antioch of Pisidia (*ÉAC*, 1128, footnote II,3 “*Ils lui jetèrent des pierres et l’expulsèrent de leur ville: on chercherait en vain ici des parallèles avec les événements racontés en Ac 13-14, qui se situent à Antioche de Pisidie.*”). The canonical Acts of the Apostles does not help to clarify, since Paul travels from both locations to Iconium (Acts 14:1 and 16:2). None of the texts clarifies for us. See discussions in Dunn, “*Acts of Paul*,” 19-20; Rordorf, *Lex Orandi-Lex Credendi*, 452-54; Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2:218-20; Schmidt, *III*, 115-16; Ernst Rollfs, “Paulusakten,” *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten in deutscher und mit Einleitungen* (ed. Edgar Hennecke; Tübingen and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1904), 192; and Peter Corssen, “Die Urgestalt der Paulusakten,” *ZNW* 4 (1903): 46, for further discussion. Nicetas has Paul imprisoned in Syrian Antioch on the Orontes (*Panegyric* 82). Cherix identifies the Antioch in the *AP* with Antioch of Syria, also basing his translation on Cop¹, although Cop¹ does not clarify at all. *ATit* follows *AP*. In my opinion, the deciding factor lies in the usage of this genitive absolute, which distinctly forces the reader to understand this going as an ascent (LSJ, 98). Unfortunately Cop¹ does not help us here. The text only states, “after he fled away (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ’ [Achmîmic Dialect for ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 2.]) from Antioch and he will go up/down (ⲁⲓⲣⲙⲉⲓ)

to Iconium.” Although, I would add that this title itself is partially reconstructed from the first two lines of Cop¹ in which it is easy to reconstruct the content of the words. It seems likely if one is traveling from the coastal region of Syrian Antioch into the mountainous regions of Asia Minor, and in particular, entering upon the Central Anatolian plateau, a region where both Antioch of Pisidia and Iconium are located. I find it more difficult for this description to be inserted if traveling from Pisidian Antioch, and I also find it difficult to believe that the Asian author would have been ignorant of such a geographical distinction. The only other alternative for insisting upon a Pisidian location is to follow the later *ATit* that suggests Paul travels “again” (πάλιν) to Antioch of Pisidia (Schneemelcher supports this reading, *NTApoc* 2:219) or that the author cannot be trusted for such particular details (Schneemelcher again, *NTApoc* 2:219-220).

² See 2 Tim 3:11.

³ Or “coppersmith” (LSJ, 1973). See 2 Tim 4:9, 10, 1:15, 4:14 for the connections of Demas and Hermogenes in the Pastorals, both of whom wronged the Pastoral’s Paul.

⁴ Not found in Acts, but in 1 Tim 4.2, Luke 12.1; 20.20 (participial verb form; ὑποκρινομένους), and Gal 2.13. Most of the language here in *AP* finds no similarities with Acts, although the connection to the Deutero-Paulines is absolute. Also similar to ὑποκριτής, οὗ, ὁ as found in Luke 6.42, 11.39, and in Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 8.8.14; 8.17.3 (BDAG, 1038).

⁵ “ὥς may be rendered *as if*. . .” when translated with the participle. (Smyth, *Greek Grammar* [rev. Gordon M. Messing; Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1920], §2086). Cop¹ translates **εὐκωρῶ** as the circumstantial “flattering.”

⁶ See Titus 2:8 and 3:2. The author of *AP* appears to be presenting Paul as obedient to his own instructions to Titus. See also Romans 9:11 that contrasts the *ἀγαθός* with the *φᾶνλον* (cf. BDAG, 1050). This word is unknown in any other New Testament authors other than John 3:20 and James 3:16.

⁷ See *AP* 3.9 and 13; 2 Tim 3:16.

⁸ Schneemelcher claims that the line “of the doctrine and of the interpretation of the Gospel” is missing from the text, based on the work of A. F. J. Klijn, “The Apocryphal Correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians.” *VC* 17 (1963): 19-20. To the contrary, Cop¹ includes the line with the exception of “of the Gospel.” Klijn’s discussion is on page 13-14, (not 19-20 as Schneemelcher suggests; *NTApoc* 2:266, footnote 4). In addition, it seems evident that Schneemelcher only looked at Klijn’s quoting of the *AAA* (which has bracketed the Greek text “and of the teaching and the explanation of the Gospel”). If one continues to read Klijn’s comments, he goes on to say, “Probably it is not necessary to put the words ‘and of the teaching . . . Gospel’ between brackets, but the words ‘of the Gospel’ must be considered secondary, since they are omitted in some Greek manuscripts and the Coptic text,” (Klijn, *VC* 16, 1963, 14).

⁹ See Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*,” 29. Using similar textual

ratings than that of the Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament of A, B, C, D, Hills gives the connection of τοῦ ἡγαπημένου here in *AP* 3.1 a “D” reading regarding being connected to ἐν τῇ ἡγαπημένῃ in Ephesians 3:1.

¹⁰ Most of the verbs throughout this paragraph are in the imperfect active indicative, leaving the text with the telling of a past situation, but anticipating something further in the story. This is preliminary narration for what is to come.

¹¹ Acts 2:11, where Peter tells everyone in Jerusalem at Pentecost about the “τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ.” τὰ μεγαλεῖα is in the neuter gender and plural in number, but taking a first aorist passive indicative, third person singular verb.

¹² Literally “broken off” from **σπῶ**.

¹³ Translated from Cop¹ as: (17) as so that he told them many words of the Lord (18) and teachings and interpretation: with the birth (19) and resurrection of the beloved one; and of the (20) great things (greatness) of Christ in the manner of which they were offered (21) to him: he was telling to them that the Christ (22) was born of Mary the virgin and of (23) of the seed (sperm) of David.

¹⁴ See *AAA*, 236, for the textual transmission of this text. The text of manuscripts *A*, *B*, *C*, *E*, *F*, *H*, *I*, *K*, *L*, and *M* are essentially the same with minor additions and subtractions, therefore I produced only *M* as one representative. The reconstructed text takes into consideration the Greek manuscripts, and I have also added the textual influence of Cop¹. The text of *AAA* chose to subtract this section of the text, but it appears to be much earlier than thought by Lipsius and Bonnet, and the theological content is very earlier and not a later addition as previously thought.

¹⁵ ὅτι is supported by Greek manuscripts *A, B, C, E, F, H, I, K, L*, and the Latin *m*.

¹⁶ ἐκ σπέρματος δαυίδ- see 2 Tim 2:8.

¹⁷ *AAA* follow Tischendorf, the Greek manuscript *G*, the latin manuscript *d*, and the Syriac versions listed as *s*, against the other manuscripts, but after having found Cop¹, it appears that the manuscript *M* is the superior rendering, but with minor alterations needed. I have provided a reconstruction that I believe is more consistent with both the Greek manuscripts and the Coptic.

3.1.2 General Comment

Within this first passage, we are introduced to several individuals, but most notably, we are introduced to Paul. This introduction, consistent with other ancient novels, allows us to begin the tale by introducing the major figures, themes, plot, love triangles, etc. This “introduction” will span the first several chapters, as Paul, Thecla, Onesiphorus and his family, and the opponents of the hero and heroine are also introduced.

As we are introduced to Paul, the question might arise, “is this Paul the apostle?” Only in the latter addition (*AP* 3.45) to the *APTh* and within \P^7 does the designation of ἀπόστολος appear in the Greek text, and the \P^7 reference is found in 3 Corinthians referring to the other apostles, who came before Paul (Note the contrast between Gal and 3 Cor, where the canonical texts never have Paul quoting from anything that he had received from “the apostles who were before me”). However, Paul is given the designations of ξένος (3.13), μάγος (3.15), and Χριστιανός (3.14, 17),

but never ἀπόστολος. Even when Paul is asked directly, Τίς εἶ, καὶ τί διδάσκεις (3.16), Paul diverts the discussion away from himself, and defends his message. However, while it think it important to note the absence of the designation, I also think it important to realize that a fair assumption in the late second century is that the *AP* is dealing with the apostle Paul in the same way that the other *AApos* deal with the other apostles.

In regard to geographical location of these events, I would argue that Paul is presented coming up to Iconium from Syrian Antioch (for further discussion see footnote 1 above), so that he might begin teaching the word of God there also. At this point, we are not told whether Paul has been to Iconium before, but that he is simply going into Iconium (See 3.2.2 *General Comment* for further discussion on this point). The text is recounted in the imperfect (incomplete past) tense, providing a backdrop for the events that are soon to come. This text already demonstrates a great degree of familiarity with the Pastoral Epistles, and also some awareness of Paul (specifically Romans; see note 6 above) is possible. Outside of this, there is one reference to the “Great things of Christ,” but no literary relationship to the canonical Acts is evident. Interestingly, Demas and Hermogenes are mentioned as false companions of Paul. These are some of the same individuals mentioned in 2 Timothy, while also mixing the Pastoral individuals of “Alexander, the coppersmith,” with “Hermogenes, the blacksmith.” Nonetheless, the connection to 2 Timothy is apparent. To further reinforce this connection, the Latin manuscript *d* noticed this connection and actually added Alexander, before the title, ὁ χαλκεύς, in order to be consistent with 2 Timothy.

This connection is further reinforced in 3.2, where we realize that Paul is also headed to the house of Onesiphorus (See 3.2 and 2 Timothy 1:16; see 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1, and 3.2.2 *General Comment*).

3.2 Καί τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ὀνησιφόρος¹ ἀκούσας τὸν Παῦλον
 παραγενόμενον² εἰς Ἰκόνιον,³ ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ
 Σιμμία καὶ Ζήνωνι καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Λέκτρα εἰς συνάντησιν
 Παύλου, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὑποδέξῃται· διηγήσατο⁴ γὰρ αὐτῷ Τίτος
 ποταπὸς ἐστὶν τῇ εἰδέα⁵ ὁ Παῦλος· οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν αὐτὸν σαρκὶ⁶
 ἀλλὰ μόνον πνεύματι.⁷

Translation:

And a certain man named Onesiphorus, having heard that Paul was arriving into Iconium, went out to meet Paul with his children, Simmias and Zenon, and his wife, Lectra, so that he could receive him. For Titus had described to him what sort of image Paul had, for he knew him not by flesh, but only in spirit.

3.2.1 Textual Notes

¹ 2 Timothy 1:16-18; 4:19. See also *AP* 3.2; 3.4; 3.5; 3.7; 3.15; 3.23; 3.25; 3.26.

Onesiphorus is known to Paul as the one who has greeted him well on several occasions, namely in Ephesus and Rome, but now in Iconium according to the *APTh*. See also the later traditions from the *Acts Pet. And.* 13-21, where the name of

Onesiphorus is picked up in the story as a comforting figure who provides housing for the apostles Peter and Andrew. Possible connections begin with 2 Timothy and the *τὸν Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον*, which is a source of comfort for the Paul of the Pastorals, whose role is further expanded upon in *APTh*. This role is developed into a full scene which follows in the *APTh*, where Onesiphorus' home is the center of teaching and the home where the events of Iconium take place. An expansion of the tradition of Onesiphorus, as stated above, is found in *Acta Petri et Andreae*, which develops the tradition of the conversion of Onesiphorus as a rich man, who finally converts to the apostles, and is baptized in addition to 1,000 others in one night. The story concludes in *Acts Pet. And.* 21 with Πέτρε εἰσελθε εἰς τὸν οἶκον μου καὶ ἀναπαύου. One major problem is the inability to conclude that the city of the barbarians (*πόλει τῶν βαρβάρων*) is indeed Iconium. It is unlikely to be the same location.

² *παραγεγόμενον*-second aorist middle deponent participle, accusative masculine singular. See Luke 7:4, 20; 8:19; 11:6; 12:51; 14:21; 19:16; 22:52; Acts 5:21, 22, 25; 9:26, 39; 10:33; 11:23; 13:14; 14:27; 15:4; 17:10; 18:27; 20:18; 21:18; 23:16, 35; 24:17, 24; 25:7; 28:21. This word is preferred by Luke-Acts, being found outside of Luke-Acts in the New Testament only nine times. There is a possible borrowing of the *AP* from the language of Luke-Acts.

³ For a discussion on the disagreement with the canonical Acts account of Paul's coming to Iconium, see W. Rordorf, "In welchem Verhältnis stehen die apokryphen Paulusakten zur kanonischen Apostelgeschichte und zu den Pastoralbriefen?," *Lex Orandi-Lex Credendi*, 453-54.

⁴ διηγήσατο- second aorist middle deponent indicative, third person, singular, from διηγέομαι- meaning to “set out in detail, describe” (LSJ, 427). Onesiphorus has clearly never seen or met Paul. Contrast 2 Tim 1.16

⁵ On εἰδέα, see Matt 28:3 for the sole NT usage in reference to Jesus figure in the tomb after the resurrection. See also LXX Genesis 5:3 which uses both ἰδέαν and εἰκόνα in reference to how Adam’s son Seth was in the same form and image of Adam. The form of the word, ἰδέα, is the older form with the present form characteristic of later Greek. This term is probably not suggesting the actual appearance of Paul (εἰκών), but rather the “appearance” of Paul or the type of form, the elemental shape of Paul (e.g. Platonic Philosophic language of forms, see Plato’s *Phaedrus* 265d) from a Physiognomistic perspective. In particular, the connections that can be drawn from Paul’s outer features that enlighten us upon his “inner qualities.” For more discussion of Physiognomics, see Mikeal C. Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts: The Subversion of Physiognomy in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006), 17-37, and 51-56; see also the discussion under “description of Paul” in the 3.3 *Textual Notes*, notes 5 and 8; and 3.3 *General Comment*, LSJ, 485, 817; BDAG, 466. See *TDNT* 2:373-75, and the cognates represented in the NT, such as εἶδος in 2 Cor 5:7 or 1 Thess 5:22.

⁶ See Gal 5:16-26. See also Fred O. Francis and J. Paul Sampley, *Pauline Parallels*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 243, for further possible Pauline connections in the contrast of the fleshly and the spiritual.

⁷ On the expression, οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν αὐτὸν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ μόνον πνευματι, compare Gal 1:22-23, which states “ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ. μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ᾔσαν ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν . . .” Hills gives the literary dependency of these two texts a “B” rating (Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 33). The textual allusion appears to be there, and consistent with Galatians, but the only literary connection is μόνον, which makes the connection possible, but unlikely. In addition, the use of εἶδέν instead of προσώπῳ makes the connection even less likely. On the contrary, if the author of 3 *Corinthians* happened to be the same author of the *APTh*, then an awareness of Gal could be proven, but at this point, there is not enough evidence to support the argument that the two documents are written by the same hand (See the Introduction sections *1. Historical Context* and *3. History of Reception*).

3.2.2 General Comment

Here, Onesiphorus, clearly the individual spoken of in the Pastorals, comes with his family to greet Paul as he enters into Iconium (as was his custom according to 2 Tim 1:16-18). Interestingly enough, Rordorf argues that the church already exists in Iconium, but the members there do not recognize him, suggesting that Paul did not plant the church in this place. This would clearly be in conflict with the canonical Acts account (Acts 13:51-14:6; see 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3). Rordorf is not convincing. Onesiphorus is not one who is *from* Iconium, but rather is “setting up shop” for the planting of a church in Iconium. It is evident from the account in 2 Tim

1:16, that Onesiphorus is presented as a coworker of Paul, who has often *refreshed* him (Compare 2 Tim 1:16 and 2 Tim 4.19) in various cities under various circumstances. Paul, in 2 Timothy 16-18 mentions the house of Onesiphorus, a prison in Rome, and finally services rendered in Ephesus. It seems appropriate that Onesiphorus, the traveling coworker could meet Paul in Iconium, expecting him, so as to begin his work with Paul.

As the text continues, Simmias, Zenon, the children and Lectra, the spouse of Onesiphorus, join him to meet Paul, but they are nowhere spoken of again in the *AP*, so their significance is minimized from a literary perspective. In fact, their introduction into the text allows for them to hold minor roles (although their names are no longer mentioned) in the *AP* 3.23-26. It is due to the complaining of the hungry children from their fast for Thecla that Paul allows to go seek food, and they cross paths with Thecla. Nonetheless, the family does not know Paul, but Titus has described the image of Paul to Onesiphorus. There seems to be a subtle manipulation of the wording by the author of the *AP* to suggest that this is not a literal description of Paul's features. The author claims that this is the "form" or "image" of Paul, and when one considers the description presented in 3.3, it appears that this is not a description of Paul's actual appearance, but a description of a persona that Paul possessed (See 3.3.2 *General Comment* for further explanation). However, Onesiphorus knows Paul from a connection in the Spirit, but has yet to see him in the flesh.

3.3 Καὶ ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν¹ τὴν ἐπὶ Λύστραν,
καὶ εἰσπήκει² ἀπεκδεχόμενος³ αὐτόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐθεώρει
κατὰ τὴν μήνυσιν Τίτου.⁴ εἶδεν δὲ τὸν Παῦλον ἐρχόμενον, ἄνδρα
μικρὸν τῷ μεγέθει, ψιλὸν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀγκύλον ταῖς κνήμας,
εὐεκτικόν, σύνοφρυν,⁵ μικρῶς ἐπίρρινον, χάριτος πλήρη.⁶ ποτὲ μὲν
γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν.^{7 8}

Translation:

And he was going down the king's way, the one from Lystra, and he stood eagerly awaiting him, and he was looking over the ones coming by according to the description passed on by Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man small of stature, bald headed, a crook in the legs, healthy, a brow meeting in the middle, a small nose, a gracious presence; for some times he appeared as a man, but at other times he had the face of an angel.

3.3.1 Textual Notes:

¹ Cop¹ breaks at this point, and 16 lines are missing. The “Royal Road,” most likely the one built by Augustus from Antioch to Lystra. Ramsay argues convincingly that the Royal Road from Lystra to Iconium would have fallen out of use after 74 CE after the dissolution of the Pisidian colonial system (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, 30-35.). Afterward, the road from Antioch directly to Iconium would have been the road familiar to people who traveled through this region. This indicates that the author of

the *AP* must have had some documents or particular knowledge of the first century road system allowing for such an insight.

² *εἰσπήκει*- This is the second pluperfect form (third singular) of *ἵστημι*, “to stand,” lit. “stood.” William M. Ramsay (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, 31, note †) adds “‘he proceeded along the Royal Road,’ but the following *εἰσπήκει* implies that the first clause indicates the point to which Onesiphorus went and where he stood.”

³ *ἀπεκδεχόμενος*- In “our lit(erature). always of Christian hope w(ith). its var(ious). objects...,” BDAG, 100. See Rom 8:19, 23, 25; 1 Cor 1:7; Gal 5:5; Phil 3:20; Heb 9:28; and 1 Pet 3:20.

⁴ The canonical books of the New Testament provide no biographical description of Paul. The best information that provides us with a possible description is found in 1 Cor 2:3-5; 2 Cor 10:8-11; 12:1-10 and Gal 4:12-16, which seem to suggest that Paul was weak in appearance, poor sight, and suffered from some form of health problems (thorn in the flesh?). If this is accurate, then there is still a discrepancy in the way that Malherbe and Grant interpret the author of the *AP* description and the information provided by Paul himself. See also Cartlidge and Elliott, “5 Paul, Thecla, and Peter,” *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, 138-40 for a discussion of a comparison of the description of Paul to that of Socrates.

⁵ *σύνοφρον*- See Malherbe’s discussion in “A Physical Description of Paul,” 174; Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1996), 100-52. *Portraits of*

Paul provides a thorough comparison of the characteristics of Paul through the lens of Physiognomics. See also footnote 8 below.

⁶ Elliott translates this more literally as “full of grace,” (*ANT*, 364), while Schneemelcher (*NTApoc* 2:239) translates the expression as “full of friendliness.” This expression *χάριτος πλήρης* is also found in John 1:14 and Acts 6:8. This expression is further complicated by the fact that Luke-Acts uses *πλήρης* in discussing how different ones are “full of the Holy Spirit” (Luke 4:1; Acts 7:55), “full of the “faith” and the “Spirit” (Acts 6:5, 11:24) “full of the spirit and power” (Acts 6:8), and “full of spirit and wisdom” (Acts 6:3). John 1:14 is a theologically loaded expression, so “full of Grace and Truth” seems justified, but does this represent the language of the author of the *AP* (see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [Anchor Bible 29; New York: Doubleday, 1966] 14). Acts appears to suggest a theologically motivated usage also. There are possibly two touchstones within this brief description of Paul in comparison to Stephen. The chart below will hopefully help elucidate this connection.

Acts 6:8:

Στέφανος δὲ
πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει
τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ.

Acts 6:15:

Καὶ ἀτενίσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ
 καθεζόμενοι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἶδον τὸ
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου

AP 3:2:

εἶδεν δὲ τὸν Παῦλον ἐρχόμενον, ἄνδρα
μικρον. . . χάριτος πλήρη

γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ

ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν

ποτὲ μὲν

Hills overlooks the parallel expression of *πλήρης χάριτος*. Hills gives the latter connection of AP 3.2 and Acts 6:15 a “B” rating. I think that the connection is strengthened significantly by the connection of these two in at least three points. The connection can be seen in that the text compares Paul to Stephen as (1) full of grace, (2) a comparison of their faces that look like the face of an angel, and (3) both texts seem to suggest the dichotomous nature of Paul and Stephen, who look as (ὡς) a man, and all those who saw his face (the *man* Stephen) saw it as if (ὥσει) the face of an angel. See Grant, “The Description of Paul in the Acts of Paul and Thecla,” 1. Hans Conzelmann says “the idea of an angel-like face here is found frequently in Judaism” referring to the comments of Str-B 2.665-66 (see *Acts of the Apostles*, 48). The primary problem is that the evidence seems to be most suggestive of an awareness of the content of the canonical Acts at an *oral* level, while at the same time arguing against *literary* dependence. In order to be clear, I think that an awareness of Acts is apparent, but the author of the AP does not have a copy before him or her. In regard to *πλήρης χάριτος*, BDAG suggests *favor, grace, goodwill (terminus technicus)* in the sense of “reciprocity known as Roman patronage, in which superiority of the donor

over the client is clearly maintained,” 1079, definition 2. Although, the act of reciprocity is not directly being referred to in this passage in *AP*, the reference to Paul’s χάρις is imbedded in the term (see also Malina, Bruce J., *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* [3rd ed., Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 2001], 93-7; Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of the First Century*, [trans. O. C. Dean Jr.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999], 34-5).

⁷ ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν- Hills gives this a “B” rating as a possible connection to Acts 6:15, which reads, εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὥστε ἰδέσθαι πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου. (“The Acts of the Apostles,” 42). Hills cites *BiPa* which draws a connection between Tertullian’s *Res.* 55.9 and Acts 6:15.

⁸ Neither Malherbe nor Grant understand this description as historical or biographical. Building off the work of Grant, Malherbe sees the description as painting Paul in heroic language (“A Physical Description,” 170-75.), while Grant lays the groundwork for seeing the description connected to descriptions of military generals, and that this one comes from Greek poetry by way of Greek rhetoric (“The Description,” 2). Compare Elizabeth C. Evans, “Physiognomics in the Ancient World,” *TAPA* (1969): 51-58; and the origin of Malherbe and Grant’s argument, a fragment of Archilochus (frg. 58 Bergk⁴) with a translation in J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 2.127. This is consistent with the *Martyrdom of Paul* and other portions of the *AP* that describe Paul and the Christian Church as an antithesis to the Roman Empire. See Grant, “The Description,” 3. This is also consistent with 2 Tim 2.3-4. In

this rhetoric, Paul is the general of Christ entering Iconium and later Rome (see *AP* 10-11). From this perspective, Paul the general comes recruiting soldiers (especially *AP* 10-11 in Rome). The military image is much subdued here in comparison to that which is stated in the martyrdom account in Rome. However, the confrontation between Rome and Christianity surfaces consistently throughout this section as Paul comes, and then Demas and Hermogenes twice attempt to make the teaching of Christianity an issue before the governor (3.14-16). For a more recent evaluation of the description in light of the physiognomists, see Bollók, “I. The Description of Paul in the *Acta Pauli*,” 1-15.

3.3.2 General Comment

The text begins with a description of Paul. Here we find Paul traveling down the Roman highway connecting Lystra to Iconium, as he moves toward Iconium from the South. Finally, the “hero” and “general” Paul (see 3.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8) moves into Iconium, and is identified by Onesiphorus from the description provided to him by Titus. The description (discussed in 3.3.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 4-7) then presents Paul as one who is worn, but is gracious in appearance, and sometimes has the appearance of an angel. In the *AP* 3.3, we are given the clearest connection between the *AP* and Acts, primarily in seeing the language to describe Stephen applied to Paul here (See 3.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6). The text has spent two paragraphs introducing the male hero of this tale, and having done so, it is now time to move back into the introduction of the text, in order that the reader will be given a context that

incorporates Paul, Onesiphorus and his house as a setting sufficient to introduce the true hero in this tale, namely Thecla. It is important, at this point to realize that most of the facts leading up to 3.7, are also the features in the narrative that have specific bearing upon the latter in events in the *APTh*, regarding the development of Thecla's persecutions, and eventually the development of Thecla as a leader.

3.4 Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον ἐμειδίασεν, καὶ εἶπεν
 ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος Χαῖρε, ὑπηρέτα τοῦ εὐλογημένου θεοῦ· καὶ κεῖνος
 εἶπεν Ἡ χάρις μετὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου. Δημᾶς δὲ καὶ
 Ἑρμογένης¹ ἐζήλωσαν καὶ πλείονα τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκίνησαν, ὥς
 εἰπεῖν τὸν Δημᾶν² Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμεν τοῦ εὐλογημένου, ὅτι ἡμᾶς
 οὐκ ἠσπάσω³ οὕτως; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος Οὐχ ὁρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν
 καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης·⁴ εἰ δὲ ἔστε τινές,⁵ δεῦτε καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὸν
 οἶκόν μου καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε.

Translation:

And Paul, seeing Onesiphorus, smiled and Onesiphorus said, "Greetings, servants of the blessed God, and he replied, "Grace be with you and to your house." But Demas and Hermogenes being jealous and full of hypocrisy were disturbed, so that Demas said, "Are we not of the blessed one, that you did not greet us in the same way?" And Onesiphorus said, "I do not see fruit of righteousness in you, but if you are such ones (bearing fruit of righteousness), then come into my house and you will be refreshed."

3.4.1 Textual Notes:

¹ Here in this text, Demas speaks independently of Hermogenes, although he appears together with Hermogenes. In the language of epic folk narrative laws, the two are represented as “Twins” in 3.1, 4, 12, 14, and 16. In 3.1, they have no voice; 3.4, Demas speaks alone, and both speak in unison in the remaining sections. See Alex Olrik, “Epic Laws of Folk Narrative,” *The Study of Folklore* (ed. Alan Dundes; Prentice-Hall, 1965), 131-41; and the application of the laws of folktales as applied to the *APTh* in MacDonald’s *The Legend and the Apostle*, 26-33. Demas speaking alone argues against the thesis of MacDonald, while the occurrence of Hermogenes and Demas as twins, only appearing in the *APTh*, supports MacDonald and Virgina Burrus’ argument for a folklore analysis of the *APTh*. See Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy*, 33-38. If this be the case, then this possibly demonstrates the oral predecessor to the writing of the text in its present state.

² ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸν Δημῶν- Elliott, *ANT*, 365 and Schneemelcher *NTApoc* 2:239 (probably following Edgar Hennecke’s *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 369), translates this “so that Demas said.” See Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 508. Smyth states in §2260a that “ὥστε with the infinitive means *as to, so as to*; but with a subject necessary in English it must often be translated by *so that*.” This is said in the framework of a discussion on “Result Clauses.” It is important to notice that although the Greek texts preserve ὥς, it is the Coptic text that possibly preserves the earlier Greek (within the Coptic

document) form as **ξω[CTE]**. It appears that there is a space within the manuscript that suggests that the word could not have only been **ξω[C]**, but must have been the suggested **ξωCTE**. ὥστε is also supported by *G*, a 12th century codex.

³ ἡσπάσω- aorist middle, second singular verb. The implication being that Paul has not given the same type of treatment at any point in the past, as he is showing to Onesiphorus at this point. This is the turning point, where the role of Demas' and Hermogenes' jealousy overflows into a series of actions that lead to the eventual trials and persecutions of both Paul and Thecla in Iconium.

⁴ Compare Phil 1:11 (identical phrase); Heb 12:11; Jas 3:18; LXX Prov 3:9; 11:30; 13:2; Amos 6:2; Hos 10:12. Hills gives this a “D” rating (“The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*,” 29) in connection to Phil 1:11.

⁵ τινέξ- Referring back to the fruit of righteousness. Awkward phrasing, but attested also in Cop¹.

3.4.2 General Comment

Upon arrival in Iconium, Paul and Onesiphorus see one another, smile and greetings soon follow. This warm greeting and blessing that includes an exchange of blessings called upon by God, is followed by a response by Hermogenes and Demas. The simple, seemingly insignificant exchange between Paul and Onesiphorus is precisely the impetus for the chain of events that follow.. If this is a folklore tale, these evil “twins” of Paul, who are posing as his comrades, are now pushed to

frustration and the jealousy overflows with an exchange with Onesiphorus, where the latter calls them out as charlatans and lacking true “fruit of righteousness.” The twins, while being present at the events in the remainder of the *APTh*, lose all of their characteristics except for their driving voice of jealousy and hypocrisy. Their behavior becomes pivotal for the attempted demise of Paul and Thecla. It is their voice that suggests to the jealous Thamyris in 3.12 that Paul is responsible for Thecla’s leaving him. Then they reappear with Thamyris and suggest “Bring him (Paul) before the Governor Castellius because he persuades the multitudes to embrace the new teaching of the Christians, and he will destroy him and you shall have Thecla as your wife. . .” Finally, the twins also suggest to Thamyris the appropriate accusation against Paul to the governor that will result in the death penalty.

3.5 Καὶ εἰσελθόντος Παύλου εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον¹
 ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη, καὶ κλίσις γονάτων² καὶ κλάσις ἄρτου³
 καὶ λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας⁴ καὶ ἀναστάσεως,⁵ λέγοντος τοῦ
 Παύλου Μακάριοι⁶ οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν
 ὄψονται.⁷ μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 ναὸς θεοῦ γενήσονται.⁸ μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει
 ὁ θεός. μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ. μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ
 ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὸν θεόν.⁹ μακάριοι οἱ φόβον
 ἔχοντες θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γενήσονται.

Translation:

And Paul having entered into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bending of knees, breaking of bread, and the word of God concerning self-control and resurrection with Paul saying,

“Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

Blessed are those who have kept the flesh chaste, for they will be a temple of God.

Blessed are the self-controlled, for God will speak to them.

Bless are they who are set apart from this world, for they will be well pleasing to God.

Blessed are they who though having a wife, are as those not having a wife, for they will inherit God.

Blessed are they who have a fear of God, for they will be angels of God.

3.5.1 Textual Notes:

¹ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον-See 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1. On οἶκος in the *AP*, see 4.16.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2. For more information on οἶκος as a center for early Christianity, see Carolyn Osiek and David L. Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997) 193-214; Balch and Osiek, eds., *Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003). See also Robert Jewett's

discussion and overview of the four potential locations of meeting, *Romans* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2007), 64-69; Hans-Josef Klauck, *Hausgemeinde und Hauskirche um frühen Christentum* (SBS 103; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 15-20.

² κλίσις γονάπων- Generally, this term can simply be referring to sitting and resting, *bending the knees* in order to sit down, but this reference is more theological in nature (see *AP* 9.14 also). 3.24 clarifies the meaning suggesting a posture for prayer filled with joy. While *AP* 9.14 suggests submission, in opposition to prayer and rejoicing (the two features associated with bending the knees in 3.5).

³ This is most likely an agape feast of the Christians. See Matt 14:19; 15:36; 26:26; Mark 8:6, 19; 14:22; Luke 22:19; 24:30; Acts 2:46; 20:7, 11; 27:35; 1 Cor 10:16; 11.24. Also, see Didache 9.1-10.7; Niederwimmer, *The Didache*, 139-143. See also Peter Lampe, “The Eucharist: Identifying with Christ on the Cross,” *Int* 48.1 (1994): 36-49; and Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 176-85. See also the discussion in Jewett, *Romans*, 64-69; and Matthias Klinghardt, who sees no distinction between the love feast and the eucharist in the first two centuries, see *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Sociologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 13; Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 1996) 8, 518-21. In *AP* 9.5, the Coptic text refers explicitly to Paul leaving **ταγάπη** with Lemma after his conversion in Damascus (See the *edition princeps*,

Rudolphe Kasser and Philippe Luisier, “Le Bodmer XLI en Édition Princeps l’Épisode d’Èphèse des *Acta Pauli* en Copte et en Traduction,” *Le Muséon* 117 (2004): 281-384).

⁴ See other remarks in *APTh* concerning this issue in the beatitudes of the *APTh* 5-6 and also 3.12, where the testimony of Demas and Hermogenes appears to forbid marriage. The Lukan Paul addresses the subject of *self-control* in a positive light in Acts 24:25. Also found as a virtue in Gal 5:23; 2 Pet 1:6; 1 Cor 7:9; 9:25; Titus 1:8. See also Henry Chadwick, “Enkrateia,” *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (vol. 5; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1962), 343-65; H. Strathmann, “Askese II (christlich),” *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (vol. 1; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950), 758-63; J. Gribomont, “Askese IV,” *TRE* (vol. 4; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1970), 204-225; see also chapter four in Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 69-88.

⁵ λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως- This appears to be the core of the teaching of Paul that leads to Paul’s dilemma in *AP* 12. See also 4.1 and 14. For further discussion concerning the Pastoral Epistles, encratism and marriage, see 3.6.1 *Textual Notes* and 3.6.2 *General Comment*.

⁶ Μακάριοι- See Joseph Fitzmyer, *Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 117-18, for connections between macarisms from 4Q525, Luke 7, Matthew 5, 2 Enoch 13.64-70, and Qoh 10:16-17, etc. *AP* is most likely dependent primarily upon Matthew here. This macarism is in the literary form of ascription (see T. Y. Mullins, “Ascription as a Literary Form,” *NTS* 19 (1972-73): 194-95.). See also Hauck, F. “Μακάριος,” *TDNT*, 4:362-64; G. Bertram, “Μακάριος,”

TDNT, 4:364-67; H. Cazelles, *TDOT*, 1:445-48. See also *ATh* 94 for a similar list of beatitudes. The *ATh* seems to capitalize on the beatitudes of Matthew that the *AP* ignores, especially those pertaining to οἱ πραεῖς, τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐπουρανίου, and οἱ πεινῶντες in Matthew 5:3, 5, 6, and 10.

⁷ This is a verbatim quote of Matthew 5:4. *AP* has the text of Matthew.

⁸ See 2 Clem 8:6; 1 Cor 3:16 (2x), 17; 6:16-19; 2 Cor 6:16.

⁹ See 1 Cor 7:29 and Rom 8:17. Origen quotes this passage from the *AP* in *On the Passover* 36.6. See note III,5 by Willy Rordorf in “Actes de Paul,” in the *ÉAC*, 1130. See also François Bovon, “A New Citation of the *Acts of Paul* in Origen,” in *Studies in Early Christianity* (ed. Jör Frey; WUNT 161; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2003); originally published as, “Une nouvelle citation des *Actes de Paul* chez Origène.” *Apocrypha* 5 (1994): 113-17. Bovon proves that Origen is dependent upon *AP* and not 1 Cor 7:29, while the *AP* are dependent upon Paul. Note the textual variant in *AAA*, 238, and the referencing of the 13th century codex *K*, *Parisinus graecus* 769, which omits any reference to the γυναικας when stating μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ὥς οἱ ἔχοντες.

3.5.2 General Comments:

Within this text, we see Paul finally reaching the point of destination in Iconium, which becomes the central point of focus within chapter three of the *AP*, where this is the place of Christian focus, recalling the memory of the earliest Christians from the first and early second century. The house of Onesiphorus, a place recalled warmly by

Paul (2 Tim 1:16; 4:19), is the location chosen for the celebration of joy by believers, prayer, and the breaking of bread (whether an *agape* or eucharistic meal is uncertain as no distinction is made, possibly reinforcing the thesis of Klinghardt, see note 4 above), recalling the celebration and centrality of the Christian message, although the *APTh* centers this Christian message on two features: resurrection and self-control. It is evident that the *APTh* upholds a form of “love-patriarchalism,” unlike Jewett’s evaluation of the community in Rome’s egalitarian communalism, as the text centers on the house of Onesiphorus here and later the house of Queen Tryphaena as a form of “love-matriarchalism;” see Jewett, *Romans*, 64-65; Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (trans. J. H. Schütz; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

As Paul begins to teach this message, locating Paul physically and socially within the house can be somewhat difficult. The image of Thecla (3.7) sitting near an opening (window) in the house (καθεσθῆῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος τοῦ οἴκου) is challenging to imagine in a Greco-Roman dwelling. The question is what window would have been open to the *atrium* or the *peristyle* in the back of a house. Paul must have been stationed in an adjoining workshop owned by Onesiphorus that would have been outward facing to the street (See 4.17.2 *General Comment*) or perhaps an upper storey room as Thecla looks on from an adjoining house or from a location with a different elevation. One of these two options must be the case, because if this were strictly the *domus* of Onesiphorus then locating external windows to the house would have been difficult, since they are not a customary feature of the *domus*, with

exception being given to small vertical slits made to the exterior to allow light (and air) into the dwelling. One must remember that a window to the outside would be a safety concern, and also would allow the elements to enter the home in an uncontrolled way. More comment will be made on this issue in 3.7 *Textual Notes* and *General Comments*; see also 2.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

If Paul were indeed inside the *domus*, then Paul begins teaching the people who are coming and going into the house of Onesiphorus, probably beginning his lesson located in the medium-sized *atrium* with people filling the area around the *impluvium*, and sitting within the small *cubicula* located around the *atrium*, and also sitting and standing in the *fauces* and the *tablinum*, with the people coming and going in and out of the house through the *fauces*. Otherwise, if a workshop, the coming and going would have been much simpler.

At this point, Paul begins to teach by means of the literary form of *ascription* (see 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7). Interestingly, beatitudes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 13 are directly connected to the teaching on *self-control*, but any teaching explicitly related to the resurrection is absent in 3.5-6 (See Schneemelcher's assessment, *NTApoc* 2:234), although the implicit discussion is intricately connected to resurrection. Further comments on the marcarisms will be made in 3.6 *General Comments*.

3.6 Μακάριοι¹ οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια κυρίου,² ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 παρακληθήσονται.³ μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν⁴ λαβόντες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου κληθήσονται.⁵ μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα

τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀναπαύσονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν
 υἱόν.⁶ μακάριοι οἱ σύνεσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 ἐν φωτὶ γενήσονται. μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην θεοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ
 σχήματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινούσιν⁷ καὶ ἐν
 δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογηθήσονται⁸ καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται ἡμέραν κρίσεως πικράν.
 μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν
 τῷ θεῷ⁹ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν¹⁰ τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν.¹¹
 ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον αὐτοῖς γενήσεται σωτηρίας εἰς
 ἡμέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνάπαιυσιν¹² ἔξουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα¹³ αἰῶνος.¹⁴

Translation:

Blessed are those who tremble over the words of the Lord, for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are those who receive the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called sons of the most high.

Blessed are those who have kept their baptism, for they shall be refreshed by the Father and the Son.

Blessed are those who have taken hold of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, for they shall be in the light.

Blessed are they who have come out of the image of this world through the love of God, for they will judge angels, and they will be blessed on the right hand of God and will not see a bitter day of judgment.

Blesses are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God and they will not lose the rewards of their purity, because the word of the father shall be to them a work of salvation in the day of his son, and they shall have rest forever.

3.6.1 Textual Notes:

¹ Cop¹ begins here after a break of 16 lines.

² *AAA* reads as τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ (the words of God). Cop¹ changes τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ (the words of God) to ἡν ᾤχετο ἡ πάλαι (words of the Lord). This reading is also attested by the 10th century codex *B*, *Parisinus graecus* and the Latin codex *Casinensi* 142 (c). Compare *Did.* 3.8 (Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 101).

³ See Matthew 5:4.

⁴ σοφίαν- This is reminiscent of some of the Gnostic literature. See *Soph. Jes. Chr.* NHC III, 108.10-14 and III, 117.8-118.2. In *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, a connection is drawn to sex as a means for enslavement to the subordinate powers, and that the “pure knowledge” of the father, shared through Jesus Christ breaks the bond of the subordinate powers (See Douglas M. Parrott, *The Nag Hammadi Library* [ed. James M. Robinson; rev. ed.; New York: Harper Collins, 1978, 1990], 220-221); the two articles, “D. Gnosticism,” and under “E. The New Testament,” see “2. The Logia,” by Ulrich Wilckens under the heading, “σοφία, σοφός, σοφίζω,” *TDNT*, 7.509-517.

⁵ See Matthew 5:9; On ἀπτοὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου see *AP* 3.6; *AP* 4.4 (!); Mark 5:7; Luke 1:32; 6:35 (!); 8:28.

⁶ See 2 *Clem* 6.4, 7-9. There is a literary connection between the *APTh* here and 2 *Clem* 6, where the author of 2 *Clem* commends the readers to τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἁγνὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον. If one does this then ποιούντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπausιν. According to 2 *Clem* 6.4, one keeps their baptism pure by avoiding “adultery, depravity, avarice, and deceit.” (Bart D. Ehrman, trans., *The Apostolic Fathers: Volume 1* (LCL 24; Cambridge: Harvard, 2003), 172-3.

⁷ See 1 Cor 6:3 and 2 Pet 2:4.

⁸ The *AAA* includes Matthew 5:7, (via the support of a number of textual witnesses) μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται although this is missing from Cop¹. Cop¹ (and the Greek Codices *G* and *I*) continues without breaking the text as stated above in the Greek text, ... τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλογηθήσονται καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται... This reading is further supported by the substance of the two connected statements, the indications being that the completion of the thoughts on judgment make more sense rolled into one macarism, rather than spanning the two. The reason for the addition of Matthew 5:7 with the statement added to it can be explained in two ways; first, it makes sense by suggesting that those who are receiving mercy at judgment will consequently experience a satisfying rather than a bitter judgment. But this does not provide a motive for adding Matthew 5:7. The motivation for a scribe could be that he is possibly making an attempt to complete the Matthean list of beatitudes. Notice that Matt 5:4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are represented. This leaves only 5:3 and 5:5 off the list. Matthew 5:4-9 would be represented in this text, if it were not for the lack of 5:6. The question remains, why would the original author leave 5:6 off of the list? In my

judgement Matthew 5:6 uses language that suggests something other than *self-control* and encratic behavior, therefore leaving it inappropriate for the list. This leaves only 5:3 and 5:9-10 remaining. Is it possible that the author of the *APTh* resists the eschatological view of Matthew and the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν mentioned only in 5:3, 9, and 10? For a comparison of Matt 5:3-12 and *APTh* 5-6 see chart below in 3.6.2

General Comments.

⁹ ὅτι αὐτὰ ἐυαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ- See macarism 4 (*APTh* 3.5).

¹⁰ See Matthew 10:42.

¹¹ τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν- See macarism 2 (*APTh* 3.5).

¹² Compare the last line of *APTh* 3.4.

¹³ On καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν ἔξουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος, see Matthew 11:29.

¹⁴ For a fuller discussion of encratism, especially regarding *APTh*, see Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2:2335-35; Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 70-88; for the discussion over whether or not the *APTh* is encratite, see Erik Peterson, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Papyrus fragment der *Acta Pauli*,” *VC* 3 (1949): 142-62; P. Devos, “Actes de Thomas et Actes de Paul,” *AnBoll* 69 (1951): 119-30; H. J. W. Drijvers, “Der getaufte Löwe und die Theologie der *Acta Pauli*,” *Carl Schmidt Kolloquium an der Martin Luther Universität 1988* (ed. Peter Nagel; Kongress und Tagungsberichte der Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg; Halle: Abt. Wissenschaftspublizistik der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1990), 181-89; A. Hamman, “‘Sitz im Leben’ des actes apocryphes du Nouveau Testament,” *StPatr* (TUGAL 93; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag., 1962), 8:61-69; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, “Les principales

orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres,” *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres*, 49-61; Yves Tissot, Yves. “Enkratisme et Actes Apocryphes.” *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres*, 109-19. Those who have assumed encratism are P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur. Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), 703; Ernst Dassmann, *Der Stachel im Fleisch: Paulus in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Irenaus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1979); Walter Rebell, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen und Apostolische Väter* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1992), 192; Andreas Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum. Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion* (BHT 58; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1979), 6 and Philip Sellew, “Paul, Acts Of,” *ABD* (New York and London: Doubleday, 1992), 5:202.

3.6.2 General Comments:

As one reads through the list of macarisms the connections to Matthew 5 seem rather clear. Yet, this is not Jesus speaking, but rather is a profound introduction of the Gospel according to Paul. I think it important to note arguments made by MacDonald, which suggest linking the genre of the *AP* with a Gospel passion (see “Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives about Paul,” *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* [ed. William S. Babcock; Dallas: Southern Methodist UP, 1990], 62). As Paul first begins his teachings on encratism and resurrection, he provides twelve macarisms (it is possible

that there might only be eleven [the same number as Matthew], if one takes into consideration that the first six are lost from Cop¹, and there is not 100% agreement from the Greek and Latin manuscripts that all of these six are present) that are almost wholly devoted to a life of sexual purity and self control. This seems to be most important in the presentation by Paul, especially after considering the final macarism that states plainly, “Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God and they will not lose the wages of their purity, because the word of the father shall be to them a work of salvation in the day of his son.” The most likely conclusion from this is that those who keep themselves sexually pure (i.e. *self control*) will receive the “wages of their purity” which is salvation with God (i.e. implying resurrection from the dead consistent with the remainder of the *APTh*, in particular *AP* 4.14). Dunn argues that the PE and the *AP* do not conflict with regard to sexual purity, and likewise suggests that the hermeneutical key cannot be taken from the statement that Paul was preaching *self-control* and *resurrection*. Dunn cites Onesiphorus and Lectra as the prime example in the *APTh*, while mentioning other examples from the *AP* (See Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 78-79). I have a hard time accepting the silence of the *APTh* in regard to the future relations of these two, especially when the conversion of Thecla centers on her rejection of marriage with Thamyris as constituting her grounds for acceptability to receive the seal of baptism in *APTh* 3.25. In fact, it is on the grounds of sexual compromise that Paul withholds baptism from her, suggesting that she might not be in a position to receive the seal, hence not properly prepared for an eventual resurrection and/or salvation with God.

Acts of Paul 3.5-6:

1. Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.
2. μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνῆν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναὸς θεοῦ γενήσονται.
3. μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ θεός.
4. μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῇ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῇ θεῷ.
5. μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναικάς ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὸν θεόν.
6. μακάριοι οἱ φόβον ἔχοντες θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γενήσονται.
7. μακάριοι οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια κυρίου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.
8. μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν λαβόντες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ υἱίστου κληθήσονται.
9. μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀναπαύσονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.
10. μακάριοι οἱ σύνεσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐν φωτὶ γενήσονται.
11. μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην θεοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινούσιν καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογηθήσονται.
12. [μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται] καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται ἡμέραν κρίσεως πικράν.
13. μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῇ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον αὐτοῖς γενήσεται σωτηρίας εἰς ἡμέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν ἔξουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος.

Matthew 5:3-12:

3. μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῇ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
4. μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.
5. μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.
6. μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.
7. μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.
8. μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.
9. μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι [αὐτοὶ] υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.
10. μακάριοι οἱ δειωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
11. μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν [ψευδόμενοι] ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ.
12. χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίδωκεν τοὺς προφῆτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν.

?

3.7 Καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἐν τῇ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ,¹ Θέκλα τις παρθένος Θεοκλείας μητρὸς
μεμνηστευμένη ἀνδρὶ Θαμύριδι, καθεσθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς σύνεγγυς
θυρίδος τοῦ οἴκου² ἤκουεν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας³ τὸν περὶ ἀγνείας
λόγον λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου.⁴ καὶ οὐκ ἀπένευεν ἀπὸ τῆς (5)
θυρίδος, ἀλλὰ τῇ πίστει ἐπήγετο ὑπερευφραينوμένη. ἔτι δὲ
καὶ βλέπουσα πολλὰς γυναῖκας⁵ καὶ παρθένους εἰσπορευομένας⁶
πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ἐπεπόθει⁷ καὶ αὐτὴ καταξιωθῆναι κατὰ πρόσ-
ωπον στῆναι Παύλου καὶ ἀκούειν τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον.
οὐδέπω γὰρ τὸν χαρακτηρὰ⁸ Παύλου ἑώρακει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου (10)
ἤκουεν μόνον.

Translation:

And as Paul was saying these things in the midst of the assembly in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin Thecla (whose mother was Theocleia) who had been betrothed to a man, Thamyras, was sitting at a nearby window of the house listening night and day to the things concerning purity which were being said by Paul. And she was not turning away from the window, but was being lead on in faith with an overabundant joy. But yet seeing many women and virgins going in to Paul, she herself desired to be made worthy to stand in the presence of Paul and to hear the word of Christ, for she had not yet seen the characteristics of Paul, but was only hearing his speech.

3.7.1 Textual Notes:

¹ See 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1 and 3.5.2 *General Comment*.

² Vorster (“Construction of Culture through the Construction of Person,” 110), in evaluating the “spatial restriction of women” in this text suggests that Thecla was “sitting and staring from the window of her mother’s home.” Thecla is possibly looking down from above or across to Paul teaching on the second floor; see 3.5.2 *General Comment*.

³ See 1 Thess. 2:9. Also, see Peterson, “Einege Bemerkungen,” 142; and Peterson cites Ernst von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicher-Briefe* (Meyer’s Kommentar; Göttinger: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1909), 97.

⁴ See *AP* 9, the Ephesian Episode; and *ATH* 92-95. See also Schmidt, *III*, 27-30. See discussion of Peterson, “Einege Bemerkungen,” 144-45. Peterson believes that the *AP* and the *ATH* are “entweder sind die Thomas- und Paulus-Akten aus demselben Milieu hervorgegangen und von ein- und demselben Verfasser geschrieben worden oder aber der Verfasser einer dieser Akten hat den andern kopiert” (“Einege Bemerkungen,” 154-55). This is also the *Ausgangspunkt* for the response of Devos, “Actes de Thomas,” 119, who demonstrates that the *AP* predates the *ATH*.

⁵ A couple of lines are missing from Cop¹.

⁶ A sexual play on words.

⁷ See note 6 above.

⁸ τὸν χαρακτήρα- This suggests more than just Thecla not having seen Paul. Χαρακτήρ is used in reference to the impression or stamp on the face of a coin (s.v. “Χαρακτήρ,”

LSJ, 1977; Euripides, *Electra*, 559; Plato, *Politics*, 289b). It can also refer to features of the face, but the theology of the text suggests more (see s.v. “Χαρακτήρ,” LSJ, 1977; Heroditus 1.116), especially in light of arguments made by Malherbe and Grant (See 3.3.1 *Textual Notes*, Note 4 and Note 8).

3.7.2 General Comments:

Here, we are told more about the circumstances of Paul’ preaching of the Gospel in the house of Onesiphorus. It appears that as Paul is preaching, numerous women (possibly translated as *wives*) and virgins are scandalously “going in” (εἰσπορευομένης) to Paul to see him, yet Thecla, the story’s heroine, will not go in. Here, Thecla anxiously desires (ἐπεπόθει) to see Paul, as the other women are doing, but as the text suggests, the problem is that she is already betrothed to be married to a man by the name of Thamyris.

This is best understood as the introduction of characters and the development of the plot of this ancient Christian novel (Christine M. Thomas, *The Acts of Peter, Gospel Literature, and the Ancient Novel: Rewriting the Past* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003]; Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Novel*, 1-27; Perkins, “This World or Another?,” 247-60; Ewen Bowie, “The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novel,” 88). Regarding the *AAA* being novels proper, Holzberg states,

the anonymous authors of the various apocryphal *Acts*, which first appeared in the second century. . . increased considerably the thematic similarities to ‘secular’ novels. . . they undeniably created a new type of fictional prose narrative which can in a certain sense quite legitimately be labeled the ‘early Christian novel’. However they

cannot be included in the genre ‘ancient novel’, because they represent more properly the beginnings of its reception and influence.” (*The Ancient Novel*, 23).

This is reinforced via Holzberg in “The Genre: Novels Proper and the Fringe,” *The Novel*, 25. A more moderate stance is presented by Tomas Hägg (*The Novel in Antiquity*, 160), who says of the ancient Christian novel, “the designation ‘novels of the apostles’ would be more appropriate,” but then goes on to dumb this down by adding “However, these similarities in narrative structure and motifs do not imply that the Acts of the Apostles should be regarded as ‘novels’ *tout court*. They have other important elements. . .” See also the discussions in Christine Thomas, *The Acts of Peter*, 1-7; Jan N. Bremmer offers an assessment of the inclusion of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles into the category of the Ancient Romance as current as 2001 in “The Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership,” *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, 149-50 (See introduction, “1. The Ancient Novel”).

Within the framework of this novel, Thecla is in the process of falling for Paul as she sits night and day listening to his teaching, anticipating seeing him fully. The absence of Thecla seeing Paul further emphasizes the fact that Thecla’s infatuation for Paul is connected to her conversion to Paul’s encratic message, but couched in a romantic language to heighten the excitement of text. Thecla desires to go in to Paul to experience a more intimate (i.e. sexual) relationship to Paul. Compare Chariton *Callirhoe* 1.3-4, where Callirhoe confined to home as a newlywed, who has yet to bore her husband a child, is wrongly perceived by her husband on two accounts to be

unfaithful to him. This is due to the fact that it appears that various lovers are coming in to her home at night. Here, in the *APTh*, Thecla desires to also go in to Paul.

3.8 Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀφίστατο¹ ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, πέμπει² ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν Θάμυριν· ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται περιχαρής,³ ὥς ἤδη λαμ-
βάνων αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμον. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Θάμυρις πρὸς Θεοκλείαν
Ποῦ μού ἐστιν ἡ Θέκλα, ἵνα ἴδω αὐτήν;⁴ Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ Θεοκλεία Καινόν σοι ἔχω
εἰπεῖν θεῖόνημα,⁵ Θάμυρι. καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας τρεῖς⁶ (5)
Θέκλα ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος οὐκ ἐγήγερται,⁷ οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ φαγεῖν οὔτε
ἐπὶ τὸ πιεῖν,⁸ ἀλλὰ ἀτενίζουσα⁹ ὥς πρὸς εὐφρασίαν, οὕτως πρόσ-
κειται¹⁰ ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ ἀπατηλοῦς καὶ ποικίλους¹¹ λόγους διδάσκοντι,¹²
ὥστε με θαυμάζειν πῶς ἡ τοιαύτη αἰδώς¹³ τῆς παρθένου χαλε-
πῶς¹⁴ ἐνοχλεῖται. (10)

Translation:

But since she was not departing from the window, her mother sent for Thamyris; and he came gladly, as one already receiving her for marriage. Therefore Thamyris said to Theocleia, “Where is my Thecla that I might see her?” And Theocleia said, “I have a new spectacle to tell you about, Thamyris. For three days and three nights, Thecla has not risen from the window, neither to eat nor to drink, but she is gazing intently as though enraptured, thus she is closely attached to a foreign man who is teaching

deceptive and divisive words, so that I marvel how the one of such virginal modesty is being burdened (so) painfully.”

3.8.1 Textual Notes:

¹ ἀφίστατο—imperfect middle indicative of ἀφίστημι meaning “to distance oneself from some person or thing,” (BDAG, 157-58, definition 2). Specifically in regard to *withdraw* or *fall away* with a figurative sense referring to moral qualities, teachings, or conditions from which one needs to be withdrawn. See 1 Tim 4:1; Wis 3:10; Luke 8:13, et. al. (BDAG, 158).

² Historical Present (Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 422, §1883).

³ περιχαρής- *overjoyed*, (BDAG, 808). Ptolemy is overjoyed in the success of military exploits (Diodorus Siculus 20.76.6), etc. (see *ATH* 24.1). For similarities with the ancient romance, *overjoyed* is used in relation to the rejoining of lovers or spouses. See Chariton, *Callirhoe* 6.5; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 7.14; Longus, *Daphn.* 3.28; Heliodorus *Aeth.* 10.11.1; and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.284.

⁴ Cop¹ reads, **XE EEINANEY APAC**. Gebhardt offers a possible reconstruction of the text, based on the textual witnesses of several Latin manuscripts that read *Vbi est mea Thecla, ut illam uideam?* (*Passio*, XC; See also Carl Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 31; Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 162, note 3).

⁵ AAA reads δὴ γῆμα. Correction: P. Oxyrhynchus 6 states, KAINON ΣΟΙ ΕΧΩ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΘΕΩΡΗΜΑ. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 31.

⁶ See Jonah 2:1; and Matt 12:40.

⁷ ἐγήγερται replaces ἐγείρεται (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 31; “Attic reduplication” [Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 149, §446). This is most likely an allusion to the Christian story of Christ in the tomb for three days and three nights. This is Thecla’s “death” and resurrection (οὐκ ἐγήγερται). The new information is told in the form of a *sight* (καινόν θεώρημα) that has been witnessed.

⁸ See 1 Sam 30:11-15. Thecla’s response probably represents a fast and commitment to the beatitudes that Paul has been teaching. See *Joseph and Asenath* 15.4-5.

⁹ See *AP* 3.9, 10, 20, 21; see also Luke 4:20; 22:56; Acts 1:10; 3:4, 12; 6:15; 7:55; 10:4; 11:6; 13:9; 14:9; and 23:1. In the early Jewish romance, see *Joseph and Asenath* 8.8 (BDAG, 415). This is quite possibly the “evil eye.” See Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 3. This chapter is largely about the evil eye and lovesickness.

¹⁰ See *Joseph and Asenath* 15.6 and 16.7.

¹¹ P. Oxyrhynchus 6 adds καὶ κενούς. Cop¹ omits any further adjectives (See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 32).

¹² See Tit 1:10 (Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 162).

¹³ See 1 Tim 2:9. αἰδώς absent in P. Oxyrhynchus 6. Cop¹ has preserved in the form of ΤΕΕΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝΑΠΙΟ ΝΤΕΕΙΞΕ meaning *this virgin with shame (abuse) of this kind*. The textual critics have preserved it in the Greek text (see Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 32; bracketed by Schneemelcher, *NTApoc*, 2:240; Rordorf, *Actes de Paul*, 1131; Vouaux, *Acts de Paul*, 163).

¹⁴ See 2 Tim 3:1-16, especially 3:1, 6-7, 11, and 16.

3.8.2 General Comment

The connections between the *AP* and the ancient romance are beginning to become clearer. This chapter is the most sexually explicit chapter up to this point, as the connection that Thecla is making to Paul becomes more and more pronounced. The chapter is somewhat of a dialogue with the Pastorals as it begins with a possible theological gloss (1 Tim 4:1) that suggests that Thecla is *falling away* from the truth, and then the chapter ends with the realization that the burdensome/troublesome (*χαλεπῶς/ χαλεποί*) times have arrived (see note 14 above). Thecla has directly fallen prey to the warning of 2 Tim 3:6-7, “For among them are those who make their way into households and captivate silly women, overwhelmed by their sins and swayed by all kinds of desires (*ἐπιθυμίαις*- see 3.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5), who are always being instructed and can never arrive at a knowledge of the truth.” This is further reinforced by 2 Tim 3:10-11, that appeals for the reader of the Pastorals to look to the example, teaching, and persecution of Paul in “Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra.” This then leads to Paul commending Timothy to avoid deceivers through the use of the *τὰ ἱερα γράμματα* which will (among other things) lead Timothy to the correct teaching (*διδασκαλίαν*; 2 Tim 3:15-16 and *AP* 3.1, 9 and 13). Thecla is described by her mother as falling into the trap that the Paul of the Pastoral Epistles has said to avoid. This is Thecla’s falling away/conversion story, in particular a conversion to Paul. Thecla can not take her eyes away from Paul (*ἀτενίζουσα*). This expression is used four times in

describing Thecla's unwavering commitment to Paul (see note 9 above). This is a favorite verb/participle of Luke-Acts, and also finds a comparison between lovers in the ancient Jewish novel, *Joseph and Asenath*, as Asenath, who is in love with Joseph, cannot pull her eyes from him. The delicate situation is intensified when Thamyris overjoyed (*περιχαρής*-see further connection to the ancient novel in note 3 above) comes to see his Thecla, only finding his loved one falling in love with another. Metaphorically speaking, Thecla has first heard of her savior, she then hears his sermon of the beatitudes, and longing to see him, she stays for three days and three nights and her resurrection is yet to come. The theological gloss of this passage is strong. It is highly unlikely that Paul taught continuously for three days and three nights, nor did Thecla sit for three days and three nights. It is symbolic of a complete amount of time, and also mirrors the conversion of disciples to Jesus, but in this case a conversion to Paul and his message. It is more than a conversion though, it is love that is developing at an intimate level. The fact that the story that Theocleia refers to suggests Thecla has gone without eating and drinking furthers this connection, as the conversion of Asenath to God is filled with denial of physical food and drink and the embrace of spiritual feasting with God (See 15.45). Theocleia's sexual description becomes most acute within the next sentence, where the imagery suggests Thecla being sexually united to Paul (see note 10 above). This imagery is a paradox. Sexual imagery is implied, but the union with God is the connotation that is also intended. Thecla is committed to God, albeit sexually with Paul, ironically embracing fasting, sexual abstinence, and self control. The image is advanced further with Theocleia

completing the infinitive result clause in amazement that Thecla can be a virgin of shame/modesty, yet is so *closely attached* to Paul even to the point that she has been fooled by his deceptive words and is allowing Paul to attach himself to her in a painful, burdensome way. Theocleia is suggesting a theological, spiritual raping of Thecla, via the sexual metaphor.

The Jewish novel and the Christian novel, as noted above, fall in harmony with the intentions, motifs, and genre of the ancient novel. The irony of the *Christian* (and Jewish) novel is that the love relationship that is being promoted and advocated is rather salacious, and paradoxically advocates such a sensual relationship with God alone (albeit through Paul). Thecla's desire to be with Paul is not really a physical desire, but a spiritual desire as Paul is posing as the Jesus figure of this "Gospel" that concludes with a passion of its own in the martyrdom account in Rome (AP 14). This account is much more explicit and graphic though than the canonical Gospel accounts of Jesus.

3.9 Θάμυρι, ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος τὴν Ἰκονιέων πόλιν ἀνασείει,¹
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν Θέκλαν· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ νέοι
 εἰσέρχονται πρὸς αὐτόν, διδασκόμενοι² παρ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι Δεῖ, φησὶν,
 ἓνα καὶ μόνον θεὸν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ζῆν ἁγνῶς.³ ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ
 θυγάτηρ μου ὡς ἀράχνη ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος δεδεμένη⁴ τοῖς ὑπ' (5)
 αὐτοῦ λόγοις κρατεῖται ἐπιθυμία⁵ καινῇ καὶ πάθει⁶ δεινῇ. ἀτενίζει
 γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ⁷ καὶ ἐάλωται⁸ ἡ παρθένος. ἀλλὰ

πρόσελθε αὐτῇ σὺ καὶ λάλησον· σοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡρμოსμένη.⁹

Translation:

“Thamyris, this man will shake up the city of the Iconians, and yet even your Thecla; for all the women and the young men are going in to him, being taught by him that ‘it is necessary,’ says he, ‘to fear the one and only God and to live purely.’ But yet, even my daughter, being bound to his words as a spider in the window, is being held to a new desire and a fearful passion. For she is holding intently to the things being said by him and the virgin has fallen. Go and speak to her, for she is...was betrothed to you.”

3.9.1 Textual Notes

¹ Similarly, Jesus is accused of political disturbance, when stirring up the people (Luke 23.5), and the high priest stirs up the crowd against Jesus in order to release Barabbas (Mark 15.11).

² See 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7. See also 3.8.2 *General Comment*.

³ See 3.6.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6 and 8; 3.6.2 *General Comment*. This word is important to the theology of the *APTh* that is being advocated. See *APTh* 3.5, 6, 7, 9, 12 (twice), 27, and 31. See also 1 Tim 4:12, 5:2, 22, Titus 2:5 for comparison.

⁴ See 2 Tim 2:9.

⁵ ἐπιθυμία-found here and *APTh* 13.6. See Joachim Jeremias, “ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμέω,” *TDNT* 3:168-72. Used here in a negative context, unlike 1 Tim 3:1. See especially 1

Tim 6:9; 2 Tim 2:22, 3:6, 4:3; Titus 2:12, and 3:3. For Pauline usage see Gal 5:16, 24 where ἐπιθυμία and πάθει are combined. See also Col 3:5 and 1 Thess 4:5 for ἐπιθυμία and πάθει together. It should be added that in Herm. *Mand.* 12.1, ἐπιθυμία carries both positive and negative meanings (see Carolyn Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas* (ed. Helmut Koester; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 148-9).

⁶ See note 5 above. See also BDAG, 748; Athenagoras 21.1.

⁷ ἀτενίζει γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ- “car elle fait attention à ses paroles et à sa doctrine.” (Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 164).

⁸ Schmidt translates this as “es ist gefallen (gefangen) die Jungfrau...” (*Acta Pauli*, 32) based on **χαίει**, which is the Achmîmic form of the verb **χα** (meaning *to fall*) from Cop¹. It should be noted that the state of Thecla’s “fallenness” as a virgin is also combined with a tension in the use of the second perfect verb form with the present indicative of εἰμί, that suggests that Thecla is no longer betrothed to Thamyris, but is now “was” betrothed to Thamyris (see also note 9 below).

⁹ Cop¹ reads **ἡταγῶπτοοτ̄ ἡγὰρ νεκ**, *for, to you, they betrothed her*. This is the second perfect verb form, allowing for the emphasis to be placed upon *to you*.

3.9.2 General Comment

As the story develops, Theocleia is continuing to make Thamyris aware of the seriousness of the situation, and how Thecla *has fallen* for Paul (see notes 8 and 9 above). This coincides with a tension in referring to the state of Thecla’s betrothal to

Thamyris. It appears that Thecla's falling/loss of virginity (at least symbolically) coincides with Thamyris' loss of betrothal. Theocleia is compelling Thamyris to respond to this situation, for he is about to lose (has lost) his espoused wife. The running commentary of the *APTh* as a dialogue with the Pastorals continues throughout this section, as several themes in the Pastorals are highlighted.

Interestingly enough, Thecla continues to fall into the category that the Pastorals warn people to avoid (see 3.9.1 *Textual Notes* notes 3-5). As an example that might serve as a hermeneutical key to explaining the relationship between the two texts, 2 Timothy 2:22 states, "Shun youthful passions (*ἐπιθυμίας*) and pursue righteousness, faith, love, and peace, along with those who call on the Lord from a pure heart." In 2 Tim 2:17, the text says that Hymenaeus and Philetus have "swerved from the truth" in teaching that the resurrection has already taken place. Then, it goes on to say that some vessels have been kept pure, especially those that have done as stated in 2:22. The author of the *APTh* has picked up on these details from the Pastorals and uses this material for his composition. First, in the *APTh*, Thecla is described as falling into new passions, as the Pastorals warned against. Second, Hermogenes and Demas suggest that Paul is teaching that the resurrection has already taken place (3.12, 14). The evidence suggests that the *APTh* has a different understanding than the Pastorals concerning the teaching on *self control* and *resurrection*. Dunn and Kaestli deny this, but the text suggests otherwise, as has been noted (See 3.6.1 *Textual Notes*, note 14 and 3.6.2 *General Comment*). 1 Tim 4:3 (i.e. forbidding of marriage) and 2 Tim 2:17, respectively conflict with (1) the last macarism that specifically connects the ability

of the virgin to remain pure as having an effect upon resurrection and then (2) *AP* 3.12 and 14 suggest that Paul teaches that the resurrection has already taken place. The question is: do both Theocleia and Demas and Hermogenes accurately represent what Paul is teaching and representing in the text and what Thecla will teach and represent in the text? The text leaves no indication that they are misrepresenting them, but rather seems to affirm that these beliefs are worth dying for. It is a much more difficult question to determine why the author of the *APTh* would want to (1) describe Thecla's behavior with the same wording that the Pastorals condemned, if the text is not contrary to the Pastorals. (2) Why would the author allow Theocleia and then Demas and Hermogenes to misrepresent Paul and Thecla without ever presenting clearly the truth of Paul and Thecla as in agreement with the Pastorals? (3) If the Pastorals are in agreement, then how does one explain their close association? The most likely explanation is that the author of the *APTh* is attempting to write a document that represents a text in harmony with the undisputed Pauline letters. In this case, *harmony* with the undisputed epistles simply means that both a present resurrection that takes place now is evident in the *APTh*, while an expectation of a continuation or future resurrection is also present (see *APTh* 3.12, 14 and 4.13 [i.e. day of Judgment]), while on the other hand, the Pastorals deny a present form of resurrection. Apparently, the author of the *APTh* became aware of the Pastorals, and being convinced that they were pseudo-Pauline texts, attempted to present a text that (s)he (they?) perceived to be in closer harmony with the Pauline texts, especially in regard to encratism (1 Cor 7:26-28), a resurrection for the present and future, *contra*

Pastorals, and the role of women in the church. Therefore, the relationship between the *APTh* and the Pastorals is explained as using the Pastorals and essentially allowing the Paul of the *APTh* to directly disagree with the Pauline statements, warnings, etc. as found in the Pastorals. This is further compounded with the fact that the presbyter is able to write this document out of love for the “true” Paul, against the pseudo-Paul of the Pastorals. This consequently gives more meaning to Tertullian’s quote of 1 Cor 14:35 in *de Baptismo* 17, as an ironic argument against the presbyter who was attempting to restore the Paul who penned 1 Cor 7:26-28 *and* 14:35. Finally, the decision had to be made as to what genre should be selected to communicate the “true” voice of Paul. Rather than selecting letter form alone, which represented Paul, the presbyter chose another genre that does not assume the arrogance of representing Paul’s voice directly (as the Pastorals attempt to do), but rather choosing the genre of the ancient novel. This medium does not claim Paul as the author. The novel is able to be more inclusive of other genres (*3 Corinthians* is included as a letter). The novel is able to better incorporate subplots, such as the mimicry of the Gospels, Passion narratives, and the travel narratives of the Acts of the Apostles. Last, but not least, this allows the author a greater degree of freedom to randomly pick names, locations, and details out of the Pastorals. When issues are raised as to the accurate representation of the Pauline voice, the *APTh* consistently defy the Pastorals, but when it is not a matter of representing Paul directly, then the facts are sometimes used at random, such as the selection of Demas from 2 Tim 4:9, the mixing of Alexander

the coppersmith (2 Tim 4:14 with both Hermogenes the coppersmith (*AP* 3.1, 12, 14) and Alexander (4.1), etc.

3.10 Καὶ προσελθὼν Θάμυρις, ἅμα μὲν φιλῶν αὐτήν, ἅμα δὲ
καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν ἑκπληξιν¹ αὐτῆς, εἶπεν Θεέκλα ἐμοὶ μνηστευ-
θεῖσα, τί τοιαύτη κάθησαι;² καὶ ποῖόν σε πάθος κατέχει ἑκπλη-
κτον;³ ἐπιστράφηθι πρὸς τὸν σὸν Θάμυριν καὶ αἰσχύνθητι.⁴ Ἔτι
δὲ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τὰ αὐτὰ ἔλεγεν Τέκνον, τί τοιαύτη κάτω (5)
βλέπousα κάθησαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀποκρινομένη ἀλλὰ παραπλήξ;⁵ Καὶ
οἱ⁶ μὲν ἑκκλαιον δεινῶς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ,⁷ Θάμυρις μὲν γυναικὸς ἀστοχῶν,⁸ Θεοκλεία
δὲ τέκνου, αἱ δὲ παιδίσκαι⁹ κυρίας· πολλὴ οὖν σύγχυσις ἦν ἐν
τῷ οἴκῳ¹⁰ πένθους. καὶ τούτων οὕτως γινομένων Θεέκλα οὐκ
ἀπεστράφη, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀτενίζουσα τῷ λόγῳ Παύλου.¹¹ (10)

Translation:

And Thamyris, entering, now on the one hand loving her, but on the other hand fearing her mental disturbance, said, “My espoused Thecla, why are you sitting in such a way? And what sort of suffering takes hold of you terror-stricken? Turn to your Thamyris and be ashamed.” Yet, even her mother said the same, “Child, Why are you sitting in such a way looking downward, and not answering but stricken?” And those in the house were weeping bitterly, Thamyris, for the loss of a wife; Theocleia, (for the loss) of a child, but the female slaves (for the loss) of a mistress.

Therefore a great confusion of mourning was in the house. And these things having thus come to pass, Thecla did not turn, but was gazing intently to the word of Paul.

3.10.1 Textual Notes:

¹ Etymologically connected to ἐκπλήσσω. Commonly used in reference to one's reaction to a teaching of Christ or an apostle (BAGD, 308); see Matt 13:54; 19:25; Mark 6:2; 10:26, etc. See also *Mart. Pol.* 7.3.

² τοιαύτη κάθησai- See AP 3.7-8 with regard to her posturing and sitting to listen to Paul for such lengthy periods of time.

³ See note 1 above.

⁴ This appeal to “turn back and be ashamed,” is probably best understood from a cultural-anthropological perspective. See Malina, “Honor and Shame: Pivotal Values of the First-Century Mediterranean World,” *The New Testament World*, 27-57; see especially pages 46-49. Thecla is defending her newly understood honor, while at the same time, Thamyras is trying to convince her to maintain her shame, through allowing him to maintain his honor.

⁵ See note 1 and 3.

⁶ This text serves the purpose of demonstrating a challenge to the shame of Thecla (see note 4). The collective group (Thamyras, Theocleia, and the female slaves) represent the group who stand to be dishonored in the exchange. Thamyras offers a challenge first (ascribed honor), Theocleia follows (blood honor), and finally the slaves (it is unclear if their honor comes from the honor of Thamyras or Theocleia).

Vorster would argue: “To be a woman is to be a person only associated with a man” (106); and “[o]ne of the probable motivations for Theocleia’s extremely aggressive attitude towards her own daughter (20.6) also lies in the loss of a prospective son-in-law. Societal marginalization and a diminishing of her status as a person stared her in the face” (“Construction of culture through the construction of person,” *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha*, 108). Nonetheless the slaves are directly connected to the shame of Thecla. Thecla does not respond, indicating her dishonoring of the three groups. They respond indignantly. Their being dishonored by Thecla is only worsened later in 3.14, when Thecla is proven honorable by God. Thecla wins the challenge.

⁷ ἐν τῇ οἴκῳ-This has only been preserved through Cop¹, *E*, *s*, and *C*. See also Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 33, note on 12.4.

⁸ See 1 Tim 1:6; 6:21; 2 Tim 2:18. See also *AP* 10 (3 *Cor* 4.21) in connection with 2 Tim 2:18.

⁹ For further information on παιδίσκη see BDAG, 749. Compare *AP* 4.14-15. The implications are that Thecla is seemingly not alone in various settings of the text, 3.6-10 being the first experience where Thecla has a host of “maidservants” with her. Noticably different are the conversion of the maidservants in 4.14, and their assistance in supporting Thecla’s ministry and commission in 4.15. For more on female slaves, see Richard Saller, “Women, Slaves, and the Economy of the Roman Household”; Carolyn Osiek, “Female Slaves, *Porneia*, and the Limits of Obedience,” in *Early Christian Families in Context*, 185-204, 255-74; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, “Les

Actes Apocryphes et la reconstitution,” 76, and “Fiction littéraire et réalité sociale, 291-94; Justin, *2 Apol.* 2.

¹⁰ Thecla is located in the house of Thamyris, Theocleia, and the female slaves (see note 6 and 9), and the mourning takes place here.

¹¹ See 3.8.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; and 3.8.2 *General Comment*. Thamyris says,

ἐπιστράφηθι πρὸς τὸν σὸν Θάμυριν καὶ αἰσχύνθητι, but then Thecla οὐκ ἀπεστράφη.

Thecla is clearly fixed on Paul, and does the exact opposite of what is requested of her disobeying and dishonoring Thamyris.

3.10.2 General Comment

The die is cast. Thecla is transfixed upon Paul. The negotiations in the text are easily understood from the perspective of cultural anthropological insights of *honor* and *shame*. Thamyris is concerned over the behavior of Thecla and challenges her. She does not respond, thus dishonoring Thamyris. Apparently, Thecla has fallen, in the same language that the Paul of the Pastorals warns against (note 8 above). Thecla has fallen for the word of Paul (not Jesus), thus the dishonor of Thamyris is due partly to the fact that Paul has successfully penetrated Thecla (double entendre intended) with his embodied words (See Vorster, “Construction of culture through the construction of person,” *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha*, 106-09). This is obvious by the way that Paul has transfixed her (τί τοιαύτη κάθησαι) and bewitched Thecla (ποῖόν σε πάθος κατέχει ἑκπληκτον). Great mourning within the house ensues, as it is evident that a moral and social breach of their betrothal has occurred.

3.11 Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις ἀναπηδήσας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον,¹
καὶ παρετήρει τοὺς εἰσερχομένους πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον καὶ ἐξερχο-
μένους. καὶ εἶδεν δύο ἄνδρας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μαχομένους πικρῶς.²
καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς "Ἄνδρες, τίνες ἐστέ εἵπατέ μοι, καὶ τίς
οὗτος ὁ ἔσω μεθ' ὑμῶν, πλανῶν³ πλάνος ἄνθρωπος⁴ ψυχὰς νέων καὶ παρθένων⁵ (5)
ἀπατῶν,⁶ ἵνα γάμοι μὴ γίνωνται ἀλλὰ οὕτως μένωσιν⁷. ὑπισχοῦ-
μαι οὖν ὑμῖν δοῦναι πολλὰ χρήματα, ἐὰν εἴπητέ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ.
εἰμὶ γὰρ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως.⁸

Translation:


But Thamyras, having started up, went out into the street, and he was watching closely those who were entering in and going out from Paul. And he saw two men quarreling sharply amongst themselves, and he said to them, "Men, tell me, who are you, and who is this man of deception who is inside with you, deceiving the souls of young ones and defrauding virgins, in order that they might not become married but that they should remain as they are? Therefore I promise to give you much money, if you might tell me concerning him, for I am the first man of the city.

3.11.1 Textual Notes:

¹ ἄμφοδον—a street. Possibly in reference to a “block of houses surrounded by streets,” (LSJ, 95) which might suggest typical Roman housing, akin to Pompeii, where it is a block of interconnected houses. See also *AP* 3.26-4.1.

² πικρῶς- a favorite adverb of the author of the *AP*. See also *AP* 3.6, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33; 9.15.

³ Paul is accused of false teaching here. In 3.17, Paul proclaims to the proconsul that the world is in error (πλανωμένῳ κόσμῳ). This is also mentioned in *AP* 9.13, where Paul makes his defense in the theater in Ephesus before the governor, and then again before Nero in *MPI* 4. The *AP* presents a case where Paul is arguing for an alternative worldview that perceives the world to be ignorant and mislead (Ἵνδρες οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ ταύτῃ), while Thamyras understands him as one who is upsetting the social norms of society.

⁴ πλάνος ἄνθρωπος- see Cop¹ (see note 5), and C, E, G,  (d), s, and Tischendorf. *AAA* and Vouaux leave this out following other manuscripts.

⁵ παρθένων- virgins; playing a key role in the *APTh*. The word is found in 3.6, 7 (2x), 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 22; *APTh* 3.44, 45 (5x).

⁶ νέων- mistranslated by Schmidt (*Mensch*, see *Acta Pauli*, 34), Elliott (*young men*, *ANT*, 366), and Schneemelcher (*young men*, *NTApoc* 2:241). Vouaux and *ÉAC* are more accurate (*jeunes gens* in *ÉAC*, 169). Cop¹ translates the passage as οὐ γὰρ πεπεισμένοι [μ]πλανος ἐστὶν ὁ οὖν νῆμῆτῃ: ἐφ' ἅπαν[τα] τὰ νῆμφυχη νῆμῃρῃνῃν' μῆν ἡπαρθένος κεκαλεῖ ἐνοχὶ ζεεῖ (who is this man of deception who is inside with you? He is deceiving the souls of young ones and virgins so that they are rejecting a husband). It is equally likely that the *young children*, *young ones* are

young girls, and not young men. There is nothing in νέων (genitive plural of νέος, α, ον) or the remaining context to indicate that these individuals are male (such is also the case with **ⲙⲏⲣⲉⲱⲙ** see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 584 for further definitions and examples; Exod 2:8; Mark 9:36, etc.). The term refers to a young individual 30 or younger (see Behm, “νέος, ἀνανεόω,” *TDNT*, 4:897; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.2.35). It is possible that in the context, it is synonymous with παρθένος, thus possibly indicating young women and virgins. This would be consistent to 3.7 which states *πολλὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους εἰσπορευομένας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον*. See also 3.9, *αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ νέοι*, translated “women and young people” (*NTApoc* 2:240); see also 3.12 that clearly specifies “young ones” in a masculine tense (*νέους γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν*). 3.12 suggests that 3.11 is dealing with both sexes that are suffering from the sexual and marital prohibition, thus the *young men* and *virgins*.

⁷ οὕτως μένωσιν- See 1 Cor 7:8, 11, 20, 40; 1 Tim 2:15; 2 Tim 3:14.

⁸ The leading people in a city (BDAG, 894). See *AP* 4.1. See also Chariton, *Callirhoe* 2.4.4, 2.11.2; Mark 6:21; Luke 19:47; and Acts 17:4, 25:2, 28:17.

3.11.2 General Comment:

After having grieved over Thecla, Thamyras goes outside only to find Demas and Hermogenes quarrelling with one another. Somehow Thamyras connects these two individuals to Paul, and asks the two about Paul. Most likely, Thamyras sees the crowd around the house of Onesiphorus and simply asks these two men standing

outside to fill him in on the details of what is happening. Thamyras accuses Paul of being a false teacher. Contrast this accusation with Paul's accusation of some in the world who are leading people astray (See 1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 3:13 (2x); Tit 3:3). The specific problem, according to Thamyras, is Paul's teaching on marriage (see also *AP* 3.16). Demas and Hermogenes include Paul's claim to be a follower of Christ (3.16), and his view on the resurrection (3.14) to be potential problems to get Paul in trouble, but Thamyras does not seem to care about these theological concerns. It also appears that the governor is only concerned with the social order and law, and the theological matters are of no concern (*AP* 3.20-21). The question that is difficult to answer is whether or not Thamyras is talking about the *young men and virgins* or the *young girls and virgins* (See note 7 above). It is possible that the author of the text implies that Paul was teaching in such a way to encourage young girls and virgins to remain chaste (obviously this applies to the men also). This means that 3.7, 9, and 11 are referring solely to women. Then in 3.12, Demas and Hermogenes intensify the obvious problem in which Paul is not just teach chastity, but is denying "young men of wives and *virgins* of husbands" highlighting the aspect that Thamyras can use in a court of law. The limits of the text have been reached.

3.12 Καὶ ὁ Δημῶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης¹ εἶπον αὐτῷ Οὗτος μὲν τίς ἐστιν, οὐκ οἶδμεν.² στερεῖ δὲ νέους γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν,³ λέγων "Ἀλλως ἀνάστασις ὑμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀγνοῖ μείνητε καὶ τὴν σάρκα⁴ μὴ μολύνητε ἀλλὰ τηρήσητε ἀγνήν.⁵

Translation:

And Demas and Hermogenes said to him, “On the one hand, this one, who is he? We do not know, but on the other hand, he takes away wives from young men and virgins from husbands, saying, “There is no other resurrection for you, if you do not remain pure and do not stain the flesh but keep it pure.”

3.12.1 Textual Notes

¹ See 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3 and 3.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

² This is a justification of what the text stated in 3.1, ὑποκρίσεως γέμοντες, καὶ ἐξελιπάrouν τὸν Παῦλον ὡς ἀγαπῶντες αὐτόν.

³ See 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7 and 2.11.2 *General Comment*.

⁴ See Rev 14:4.

⁵ See AP 3.5. This is the negative statement of beatitude 13, “μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν.” See 3.6.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 9-11. There is no good reason, based on the other texts mentioned above to conclude that Demas and Hermogenes are misrepresenting Pauline teaching in the *APTh*. If they are misrepresenting Paul, then the *APTh* are not encratite. See *NTApoc* 2:234; Dunn argues that Demas and Hermogenes misrepresent Paul of the *APTh* in, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 78-79. Further support that rejects this text as encratic are Tissot, “Encratisme et Actes Apocryphes,” 116; and Kaestli, “Fiction littéraire,” 283-84 for an opposing view. See

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.28.1; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 47.1 on encratism. Tissot takes Irenaeus and Epiphanius to task on their accuracy. Also, in regard to *μολύνω/μολυσμός* (BDAG 657), this verb (and noun form) are found only in the interpolation to 2 Cor 7:1 (*μολυσμός*) and then *μολύνω* in 1 Cor 8:7; Acts 5:38 (variant reading of Manuscript E [which Metzger considers of Montanist origin! See Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971), 292-93; Rev 3:4, and 14:4.

3.12.2 General Comment

Demas and Hermogenes (with voice in unison) address the question of Thamyris, beginning first with a lie, “This one, who is he? We do not know.” This is the response that bypasses the first question, “who are you” while quickly addressing the second, “who is he” with a claim of ignorance. Reasons for this lie are unexplained, other than to separate themselves from Paul as they could easily see the mood of Thamyris, and possibly to gain access to the promised money. They follow this by quickly explaining the teaching of Paul that has allowed Thecla to withdraw herself from him, highlighting the theological motivation of abstinence, namely the promise of the resurrection hinges upon one’s ability to remain sexually pure. This statement is consistent with Paul’s earlier teaching on the “resurrection and encratism” in *AP* 3.5-6 and with 3.1 which explains that Paul was active in teaching Demas and Hermogenes about “all the words of the Lord and the teachings and the interpretation

[of the Gospel] and of the birth and of the resurrection of the beloved one....” In regard to this Vouaux states:

La réponse de Démas et d’Hermogènes montre qu’en somme ils ne connaissent pas saint Paul; pourquoi donc se sont-ils unis à lui? C’est un point assez obscur; l’auteur les suppose peut-être attirés par les miracles accomplis par les mains de l’apôtre. En tout cas, ils l’ont entendu exposer sa doctrine, et il n’y a pas de raison de soupçonner qu’ils expérimentent ici à ce sujet leur propre pensée plutôt que celle de Paul; leur indication concorde bien avec celle du début du c[hapitre] v, où Paul parle «sur la continence et la resurrection.» (*Actes de Paul*, 171, note 1*).

3.13 Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Δεῦτε, ἄνδρες, εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε¹ μετ’ ἐμοῦ. καὶ ἀπήλθον εἰς πολύτιμον δεῖπνον² καὶ πολὺν οἶνον καὶ πλοῦτον μέγαν καὶ τράπεζαν³ λαμπράν· καὶ ἐπότισεν⁴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Θάμυρις, φιλῶν τὴν Θέκλαν καὶ θέλων τυχεῖν γυναικός.⁵ καὶ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ὁ Θάμυρις (5) Ἄνδρες, εἴπατέ μοι, τίς ἐστὶν ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ γινῶ.⁶ οὐ γὰρ μικρῶς ἀγωνιῶ περὶ τῆς Θέκλης,⁷ ὅτι οὕτως φιλεῖ τὸν ξένον⁸ καὶ ἀποστεροῦμαι γάμου.⁹

Translation:

But Thamyris said to them, “Come, men, into my house and refresh yourselves with me. And they came to a highly priced meal with much wine, great wealth, and a splendid table. And Thamyris gave them to drink, while loving Thecla and wishing to have a wife. And Thamyris said in the meal, “Men, tell me, what is his teaching, in

order that even I might know? For I am agonizing greatly concerning Thecla, because she loves the stranger thus and I am being robbed of marriage.

3.13.1 Textual Notes

¹ ἀναπαύω- See 3.4, 6 (2x), 13, *APTh* 45, and 9.23. This term connotes both a metaphysical eternal “rest” (1 Cor 16.18; Phlm 7, 20; BDAG, 69, note 1 and 3b) and a physical rest from travel.

² δεῖπνον- The first part of the meal proper. See Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27-31.

³ the *splendid* table is in reference to a fine meal. See Leonhard Goppelt, “τράπεζα,” *TDNT*, 209-215. For δεῖπνον being used in conjunction with τράπεζα see Plutarch, *Alex.* 20.13.6, where Alexander, after routing Darius, finds his tent with a large banquet with much wealth fit for a king. See also Plutarch, *Quast. conv.* 632F, 635B, 643A, 643D, etc.

⁴ ποτίζω- “to give to drink” (LSJ, 1455); to give οἶνος (Aeneas Tacticus 27.14); to give *nectar* (νέκταρ) Plato, *Phaedr.* 247E. Jesus was offered to drink from the sponge, while on the cross (Mark 15:36; Matt. 27:48). In the Ephesian episode in *AP* 9.21, Paul offers Artemilla to drink (ἐπότισεν) from the word.

⁵ This may be more sexually explicit than the Greek suggests. Manuscript *E* (AAA, 244) suggests only to “have her as a wife,” but Cop¹ seems to be a more difficult text that reads εϞο]γϞ[Ϟ]ε λϞμεϞ[τ̄ ν̄μμεϞ, translated *he was wishing to be with her*.

ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲥⲧ̅ (Achemîmic Dialect for ⲓⲙⲟⲟⲥ, Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 679) The text

(Greek and Coptic) suggests that he would like to be with her, notably as his wife (see discussion by Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 35).

⁶ γνῶ- Present active subjunctive verb, first person singular of γιγνώσκω (Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 197, §682).

⁷ οὐ γὰρ μικρῶς ἀγωνιῶ - literally *for no little agony* [I am having] *concerning Thecla*.

⁸ οὐ γὰρ μικρῶς ἀγωνιῶ περὶ τῆς Θέκλῃς, ὅτι οὕτως φιλεῖ τὸν ξένον. See 3.11.2 *General Comment*, *Callirhoe* 5.10.7, and the *General Comment* below.

⁹ In Coptic the repetition of Thamyris' concern for not *being with her* to espouse her is a concern (ⲧⲏⲁⲣⲉⲗⲁ[ⲉⲓⲉ ⲓⲙⲉⲥⲧ̅]). This is also connected to the reason for the textual variants in the Greek and Latin, possibly a homoioteleuton.

3.13.2 General Comment

After Thamyris leads Demas and Hermogenes to his house, he provides for them an extravagant banquet and meal. At the point in the meal when conclusion to the δεῖπνον is at hand and the wine is being poured, the *convivium* ("drinking party," Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27) has begun. Thamyris brings up the first philosophical question of the evening, "Tell me, what is his teaching?" (See Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 13-65; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 613-14.). Thamyris' concern is quickly identified; he is attempting to understand what sort of teaching might lead Thecla to deny him in marriage. Also, one must consider that as Thamyris and his

guests increase the amount of the aphrodisiac that they are drinking, Thamyras is probably sexually aroused, consistent with the tone of the *AP*, and quite simply might be wishing to have Thecla there with him at the time for sexual favors, and more generally, her accompaniment (Osiek, “Female Slaves,” 264; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 35-6). It is interesting to note that the question is so pointed as to understand why Thecla is breaking the social norms, while at the same time appearing to be less interested in the theological teaching of the *stranger* (see 3.11.2 *General Comment*).

In regard to Thecla as ξένος (*stranger*), this designation is not unfamiliar to the genre of the ancient novel. For a very similar text in genre, motif, and same wording, see Chariton, *Callirhoe* 5.10.7, where Chaereas is mourning the potential loss of Callirhoe to a foreigner (ξένος) in marriage, and is feeling no little anxiety (οἶδα ὅτι μικρὸς ἀνταγωνιστῆς εἰμι Διονυσίου, ξένος ἄνθρωπος) as a match for Dionysus, the man he thinks has taken Callirhoe. ξένος is consistently used to identify Paul (see *AP* 3.8, 13, and 19). After leaving Iconium, Thecla is henceforth referred to as ξένος in 4.1 and 3. It could simply be the word/definition to identify the outsiders from a particular city (see Acts 17:18-21) or this could also have some theological gloss behind it, identifying Paul and Thecla as separate from their surroundings. Ξένος was firmly entrenched in the Greek language, often suggesting that the ξένος “implies the status of a suppliant who ought to be treated as a guest” (see “ξένος,” BDAG, 684). Nonetheless the connection to the ancient novel should not be overlooked.

3.14 Εἶπον δὲ Δημάς καὶ Ἑρμογένης¹ Προσάγαγε² αὐτὸν τῷ
 ἡγεμόνι Καστελίῳ³ ὡς ἀναπείθοντα τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπὶ καινῇ διδαχῇ
 Χριστιανῶν,⁴ καὶ οὕτως ἀπολεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ σὺ ἔξεις τὴν γυναῖκά
 σου Θέκλαν. καὶ ἡμεῖς σε διδάξομεν, ἣν λέγει οὗτος ἀνάστασιν
 γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν⁵ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις [, καὶ ἀνέστη- (5)
 μεν⁶ θεὸν⁷ ἐπεγνόντες⁸ ἀληθῆ].⁹

Translation:

And Demas and Hermogenes said, “Lead him before the governor Castellius as one who is persuading the crowds over to a new Christian teaching, and thus destroy him, and *you*¹⁰ will have your wife Thecla. And *we*¹¹ will teach you what he says this resurrection is¹², because already it has happened in the children whom we have, and we have been risen knowing the true God.

3.14.1 Textual Notes

¹ See 3.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1, on Demas and Hermogenes as “twins.”

² See Acts 16:20. Notice, they are accused of being Ἰουδαῖοι, not Χριστιανοί, who are yet “disturbing” the city of Philippi and “advocating customs that are not lawful” for Romans to accept.

³ There is no archaeological evidence or outside literary evidence for a governor Castellius. The textual manuscripts spell Castellius in various ways: Καστελίῳ (A and

C), *Καστηλίῳ* (B), *Κατελλίῳ* (G), *Καστελλίῳ* (F), *ΚΕCЦИЛОC* (Cop¹), etc. See AAA, 245; Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 172.

⁴ This is presented by Demas and Hermogenes as a reason to bring an individual before a court of law, but the response of Thamyras and Castellius is neutral toward their religious belief. This is similar to responses in Acts 18:12-15; 25:24-25. The *APTh* does not seem to be impacted in the same way as what is mentioned in Pliny the Younger, *Ep. Tra.* 10.96; 1 Pet 4.16. Nor does the *APTh* seem to reflect the same attitude of Nero as presented in Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44.2-8. Nor is the *APTh* consistent with the latter part of the *AP*, namely the *MP*, which presents an intensely divided relationship between Christianity and Rome. See *MPI* 2; Rordorf, Willy, “Die neronische Christenverfolgung im Spiegel der apokryphen Paulusakten,” *Lex Orandi-Lex Credendi*, 370.

⁵ 2 Tim 2:18.

⁶ Changed to manuscript G (confirmed by Cop¹ [see note 7 and 8]) reading, *ἀνέστημεν θεὸν ἐπεγρόντες* from AAA reading of *ἀνιστάμεθα*. *Ανέστημεν* is second aorist active indicative, third person plural of *ἀνίστημι*. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 35.

⁷ *θεὸν...ἀληθῆ*- See Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 29. She gives the connection to Rom 3:4; 1 Thess 1:9; John 3:33, 17:3 a “D” rating.

⁸ *ἐπεγνωκότες* (AAA) is changed to *ἐπεγρόντες* following manuscript G and Cop¹. *ἐπεγρόντες* is second aorist active participle, nominative masculine plural from *ἐπιγιγνώσκω*.

⁹ Difficult textual transmission, *ÉAC* translates the text *et que nous ressuscitons en reconnaissant le vrai Dieu* (1133). Cop¹ has **ΑΥΘ ΑΝΤΩ[ΩΝΕ Ε(?)] ΑΝΘΥΩΝ ΠΝΟΗΤΕ**, translated *and we were resurrected having known God*. The vowels of **ΑΝΘΥΩΝ** are somewhat interesting as this is a Bohairic spelling of **COOYĠ**, meaning “to know.” Vouaux sees Gnostic tendencies in this statement (*Actes de Paul*, 173). This assessment is unlikely. There are no other specific details to suggest Gnostic origins. Pieter J.ALLEMAN (“VIII. The Resurrection in the Acts of Paul,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 134-35), states that “P. W. Dunn informs me that Rordorf’s forthcoming edition in *CCSA* retains the phrase.” See also Bauckham, R. J. “The *Acts of Paul* as a sequel to Acts,” *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* I (eds. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke; Grand Rapids and Carlisle: Eerdmans and Paternoster, 1993), 128.

¹⁰ Emphasis added in order to express the Greek **σὺ ἔξεις**.

¹¹ Emphasis added in order to express the Greek **ἡμεῖς... διδάξομεν**.

¹² Schneemelcher (*NTApoc* 2:241) and Elliott (*ANT* 366-67) translate this as “is to come.” While *ÉAC* avoids the dispute with “Et nous t’enseignerons que cette resurrection” (1133).

3.14.2 General Comment

Demas and Hermogenes, continuing to speak in a *twin* voice, further give counsel to Thamyras on how to treat the situation with Paul. They finally present a plan for

Thamyris to prosecute Paul. They encourage Thamyris to identify Paul with the new teaching, Christianity. This is partly in answer to Thamyris question, (3.13, *εἴπατέ μοι, τίς ἐστὶν ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ*) and partly a continued assault by Demas and Hermogenes against Paul. Interestingly, the attack is not adopted by Thamyris (3.15-16; see also 3.11.2 *General Comment*), but is continued unsuccessfully by Demas and Hermogenes (3.17). This is ironic considering the language of the *MP*, which is very confrontational between Christians and the Empire. This demonstrates a lack of continuity in the *AP*, and deepens the possible seams between the texts, possibly indicating various authors with a compiler as the unifying thread. It is also worth noting that this progressive resistance to the Roman Empire (in the *MP*) is not reciprocal at all here in the *APTh*, especially in the lack of response by the governor in respect to the public pronouncement of one being a *Χριστιανός* (see note 4 above; and 3.16.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8).

Demas and Hermogenes emphasize that this plan of action will result in Thamyris regaining Thecla. They intend to instruct further Thamyris on the resurrection that Paul claims has taken place, but Thamyris seems to be compelled by the first statement of regaining Thecla, for he does not wait for any more of *ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ* (3.15). Demas and Hermogenes then give us further insight into the theology of Paul on the resurrection in explaining that he teaches concerning a present resurrection. This resurrection extends to Christ in a bodily fashion (see *AP* 3.1), and deals with the resurrection of believers also. Demas and Hermogenes claim that Paul teaches that their children have experienced this (2 Tim 2:18) and that they

experience it also. This resurrection, that begins now in a bodily fashion and continues toward an eschatological completion, appears to be in conflict with the Pastorals which demonstrate a resistance to a present, embodied resurrection (*AP* 3.5-6; see 3.9.2 *General Comment* and 3.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9).

3.15 Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις ἀκούσας παρ' αὐτῶν ταῦτα, καὶ πλησθεὶς¹
 ζήλου² καὶ θυμοῦ³ ὀρθροῦ⁴ ἀναστὰς⁵ εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ὀνησιφόρου⁶
 ἀπῆλθεν μετὰ ὄχλου καὶ [μετὰ]⁷ ξύλων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ δημοσίων^{8,9}
 λέγων τῷ Παύλῳ Διέφθειρας¹⁰ τὴν Ἰκονιέων πόλιν καὶ τὴν
 ἡρμοσμένην μοι, ἵνα μὴ γαμηθῇμαι με¹¹ ἄγωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα¹² τοῦ ἡγεμόνος¹³ (5)
 Καστέλιον.¹⁴ Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἔλεγεν Ἀπάγαγε τὸν μάγον.¹⁵ διέ-
 φθειρεν γὰρ ἡμῶν πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας.¹⁶

Translation:

But Thamyris, having heard these things from them, being full of envy and an angered heart, rising up in the morning, he departed to the house of Onesiphorus with a crowd with clubs and the rulers and public officials, saying to Paul, “You have destroyed the city of the Iconians and the one who has been joined to me, so that she does not marry me; Let us go to the Bema of governor Castellius.” And the whole crowd was saying, “Take away the magician; for he has destroyed all of our wives.

3.15.1 Textual Notes

¹ See especially 9.16; 3.3, 12.2; 14.3. See also 3.22, 4.9, 10, *recension G*; 9.23 (not in any English versions, see *ÉAC*, 1159); 9.25; 12.1; 13.4; and 14.1.

² See 3.1 and 3.4. See also *G*; 3.17 (describing God); 9.16 (Diophantes becomes envious of Paul); 12.3 (some must suffer *envy* before going to the father [see *NTApoc* 2:258, note 10 noting connections to Rom 8:15, 23; 9:4; Gal 4:5; and Eph 1:5). *MP* 14.1 describes the devil as τοῦ δὲ πονηροῦ διαβόλου ζηλοῦντος τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

³ See Eph 4:31.

⁴ See 3.15; 4.5; 9.21 (2x); 14.5, 7. This is possibly a theologically motivated choice of wording drawing a parallel to the passion narrative (*ATh* 3, 13, 29, 92; *AJ* 18, 48. See especially Luke 24:1 (24:22 also has ὄρθριος) and Acts 5:21.; See also John 8:2 and *Gos. Pet.* 12. Possible connections can be drawn between this text and Hesiod *Op.* 577; Diodorus Siculus 14.104.1; *Papiri Fiorentini* 305.11; *4 Baruch* 5.5; Josephus *Ant.* 11.37 (BDAG, 722).

⁵ Interesting choice of words, since, “rising up” or “resurrection” is part of the problem for Thamyras.

⁶ On Onesiphorus, see 3.2 *Textual Notes*, note 1, and 3.2 *General Comment*.

⁷ Uncertain if this were in the original text. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 36, note on 14.2.

⁸ ἀρχόντων καὶ δημοσίων- Only here in *AP*. Also not attested in this way in any New Testament writings. For δημόσιος see Acts 5:18, 16:37, 18:28 (Codex *E* contrasts δημοσίᾳ with καὶ κατ’οἶκον probably following 20:20), and 20:20. δημόσιος- meaning *belong to the people or the state* (LSJ, 387); generic term used to imply a mass public outcry siding with Thamyras against Paul making an issue εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ὀνησιφόρου

into a public concern. *εἰς* being a spatial usage of the preposition, indicating a movement of the public *into* the space of the *οἶκος*. It is uncertain in meaning whether or not this implies a literal entering into the house of Onesiphorus (see *AP* 3.18; compare Acts 9:17 that adds *εἰσῆλθεν* to clearly indicate an *entering into* the house of Ananias).

⁹ *μετὰ ὄχλου καὶ [μετὰ] ξύλων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ δημοσίων* replaces *μετὰ ἀρχόντων καὶ δημοσίων καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ μετὰ ξύλων* according to *AAA*, but following *Cop*¹ which is *ΜΗ ΟΥ[Μ]ΗΥΕ: [ΜΗ Ζ]ΝΒΕΡΟΟΒ ΜΗ ΖΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΗ ΖΝΖΥ[ΠΗΡΕ]ΤΗΣ* (*ὑπηρετάι*).

¹⁰ Said twice in 3.15, in reference to (1) destroying the city of the Iconiums, (2) the one who has been joined to Thamyris, and (3) the wives of the crowd.

¹¹ *θελήσῃ με* is changed to *γαμηθῆναι με* based on manuscripts *Cop*¹ (*ΖΜΕCΤ*, See Schmidt 36, 9*), *E*, *Ⲅ*, *m*, (*d*) (See *AAA*, 245).

¹² *ἄγωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα* for other examples of the prominent role of the court room, governors, etc. in the resolution of love disputes, see other examples of the ancient novel (e.g. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 7.7-16; Chariton *Chaer.* 5.4-8. See also 3.16.2 *Textual Notes*, note 2; and 4.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6).

¹³ *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος Καστέλιον* instead of *ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Καστέλιον* based on *Cop*¹ (*[ΕΝΙΘ Ψ]Α ΠΒΗΜΑ ΠΦΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΚΕCΤΙΑ[ΟC]*, Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 36, 9*).

¹⁴ See 3.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3 for further discussion of Castellius. In the accusative, the name of Castellius appears as *Καστέλιον* (*A*, *C*, preferred by *AAA* text and Tischendorf), *Καστήλιον* (*B*), *Καστέλλιον* (*F*, *G*), and *Κεσπιλλίον* (*E*).

¹⁵ On *μάγος*, “(m)ore generally ‘the possessor and user of supernatural knowledge and ability’ ” (see Delling, “*μάγος*,” *TDNT* 4:356-8; and A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* [ed. Zeph Steward; Cambridge: Harvard, 1972], 1:308-30). See *AP* 3.20; 9.21; Acts 13:6, 8; *APt* 31 (2x), 32. See also Léon Vouaux, *Les Actes de Pierre: Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1913); Gerard Luttikhuisen, “Simon Magus as a narrative Figure in the Acts of Peter,” and Tamás Adamik’s “The Image of Simon Magus in the Christian Tradition,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, 39-64; See also footnote 7 on page 147 of Misset-van de Weg, “Answers to the Plights.”

¹⁶ *καὶ συνεπίσθησαν οἱ ὄχλοι* has been excerpted from the text, not being found within *Cop*¹ (See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 36, 10*).

3.15.2 General Comment

This section signals a turning point in the text, where the domestic matter of Thamyris and the disruption of his home becomes a public and civic affair (See Misset-van de Weg, “Answers to the Plight,” 151, nn. 20 and 21). This is signaled in the text (see 3.15.2 *Textual Notes*, note 7), where the scene moves from within the house of Onesiphorus to the Bema of the governor Castellius. This is very similar to the shift that is evident in Acts 18:28 and 20:20. This is also true of *ὄρθρου* (see 3.15.1

Textual Notes, notes 3 and 4) which is also a key word signaling a change in the situation. Night has ended, and the dawning of the day is beginning. This proves to be a significant word in Luke 24:1, bringing on the dawn of a new era, possibly picked up by Christian writers, beginning with Acts 5:21. This is supported by the choice of wording of the author of this text (δὲ Θάμυρις... ὁρθρου ἀναστὰς). This is also evident in the usage found in the *Gosp. Pet.* 12, where this new era is indicated also. More broadly the *AP* and other acts (namely the *Acts of Thomas*) use this word not only to indicate a significant beginning, but to signal significant changes in the apostolic ministries, consistent with the earlier usage as found in Luke-Acts. In the *AP*, it always falls at very important transition points, such as the first case brought against Paul in a public sphere (3.15); the second persecution of Thecla in Antioch by Alexander (4.5); Paul's raising of Artemilla (9.21 (2x)); and Paul's martyrdom and resurrection from the dead (14.5, 7). Due to the connection of this word with the time of gathering for prayer by Christians at dawn, this may be an illusion to the coinciding of the resurrection of Christ, the tradition that continued to meeting at dawn, and consequently the significance placed upon the events of dawn as presented by the author of the *AP* (See the article on "ὁρθρος, ὁ," Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 973).

The criticism of Thamyras and the crowd with him is not directed toward Paul's religious faith or ideology. They are attacking Paul on the grounds of his exceptional ability to upset the social order of Iconium, especially regarding marriage. Demas and Hermogenes only partially succeed in their attack on Paul (see 3.14.2 *General*

Comment). In addition, Paul is called a *μάγος*, which, ironically is the title given to the opponents of the apostle Paul in Acts 13:6 and 8 (Bar-Jesus/Elymas). I also find it interesting that in many early Christian artistic representations of Jesus and Moses (Jesus feeding the five thousand and Moses striking the rock) from the catacombs of Rome that both are represented with the magician's wand. This is not necessarily a derogatory term, but rather helps elucidate early perceptions of Christianity and the miraculous elements of early Christianity.

While Paul is in Ephesus, *ὁ ὄχλος ἐβόα· ἄραι τὸν μάγον, ἄραι τὸν φ[αρμακόν]* (*AP* 9.21; the crowd also calls Paul a *μάγος* again in 3.20). This is also the title given to Simon *Magus*, opponent of Peter in the *Acts of Peter*. Thus as the transition is completed, Paul has now left the domestic sphere of Onesiphorus, entered the civic sphere before the Bema, is now a magician, and is disrupting the social order of Iconium, and a mass crowd has gathered to deal with the problem.

3.16 Καὶ στὰς¹ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος² ὁ Θάμυρις κραυγὴ μεγάλη
εἶπεν Ἀνθύπατε,³ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐκ οἶδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν,⁴
ὃς οὐκ ἐβλῆ γαμείσθαι τὰς παρθένους.⁵ εἰπάτω ἐπὶ σοῦ τίνας
ἐνεκεν⁶ ταῦτα διδάσκει. Ὁ δὲ Δημῶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης⁷ εἶπον τῷ
Θαμύριδι Λέγε αὐτὸν Χριστιανόν,⁸ καὶ οὕτως ἀπολέσεις αὐτόν.⁹ (5)
Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἔστησεν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸν Παῦλον
λέγων αὐτῷ Τίς εἶ, καὶ τί διδάσκεις;¹⁰ οὐ γὰρ μικρῶς σου κατη-
γοροῦσιν.¹¹

Translation:

And having stood before the Bema, Thamyris said with a great shout, “Proconsul, this man, we do not know where he is from, who does not allow virgins to marry; Let him tell you for what (reason) he is teaching these things.” But Demas and Hermogenes said to Thamyris, “Say that he is a Christian, and thus you will destroy him.” And the Governor stood firm in his thought and called out to Paul saying to him, “Who are you and what are you teaching? For, they are accusing you of no small matter.”

3.16.1 Textual Notes

¹ This is the second aorist active participle, nominative masculine singular of ἵστημι, translated *having stood*.

² Also, *judicial bench* (BDAG, 175) where legal cases would have been heard. See the usage in 3.15, 20 (2x), and 27 also. Similar to Jesus in the Gospels (Matt 27:19; John 19:13) and Paul in Acts (Acts 18:12, 16; 25:6, 10, and 17). See also 3.15.1 *Textual Notes*, note 12; and 3.15.2 *General Comment*.

³ See also AP 3.17 (2x), and 4.7.

⁴ Thamyris is repeating the information given to him from Demas and Hermogenes in 3.12 (See 3.12.2 *General Comment*). Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 33, gives ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐκ οἶδμεν πόθεν ἐστίν a “B” rating, regarding a connection with John 9:29; 7:27, 28; 8:14.

⁵ See *AP* 3.16, 20, 26. See also 3.14.2 *General Comment* and 3.15.2 *General Comment*. On *παρθένους* see also 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6. *παρθένος* shows up specifically at 3.6, 7 (2x), 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 22, 44, 45 (5x). Misset-van de Weg, “Answers to the Plight,” 162, for a discussion of the social effects of a second-century woman becoming an ascetic Christian “in a society in which the institution of marriage (and procreation) was of fundamental importance.”

⁶ ἕνεκα, ἕνεκεν is postpositive *on account of what, for what* (Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 369).

⁷ See 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3 and 3.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

⁸ Χριστιανός is found in the *AP* here, 3.14, 14.2, 3 (2x) (Χριστιανούς is spelled as Χρηστιανούς in \mathfrak{P}^1 ; Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Peter 4:16) (BDAG, 1090). See also Lucian *Alex.* 25, 38; *Peregr.* 11, 12, 13, 16; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; Suetonius, *Nero* 16; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.96.1, 2, 3; Ignatius, *Eph.* 11.2; *Magn.* 4; *Rom.* 3.2; *Pol.* 7.3; *Mart. Pol.* 3; 10.1; 12.1, 2; *Did.* 12.4; *Pre. Pet.* 2; etc. (see Walter Grundmann, “Χριστιανός” and “Χριστιανισμός,” *TDNT*, 9:576-80). See also comments under 3.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4.

⁹ See 3.14, “...οὕτως ἀπολεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ σὺ ἔξεις τὴν γυναῖκά σου Θέκλαν...”. ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲡⲏ has been added to $\text{ⲁⲓⲱ ⲕⲏⲁⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲡⲏ}$ in Cp^1 (See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 36, footnote 14.17, 10*).

¹⁰ On the διδασχά (and other verb forms [such as διδάσκω] with the same root as διδασχά), see *AP* 10 (3 *Cor* 3 and 5.24); 3.1, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16 (2x), 17 (3x), 14, 20; 4.16,

recension G; 12.1; 13.4 (2x); 14.1. See 3.5.1 *Textual Note*, note 6, 3.9.2 *General Comment*, 3.14.2 *General Comment* concerning more on the *teaching* of Paul.

¹¹ Cf. Mark 15:4

3.16.2 General Comment

Thamyris begins by addressing the proconsul. It is unclear why Thamyris is shouting. On the one hand, he might be addressing the crowd there also. However, if Thamyris' address is intended primarily for the Proconsul, then his shouting simply illuminates and intensifies the anger and frustration of Thamyris. Thamyris identifies Paul as an unknown quantity/foreigner, not knowing anything about Paul (see note 4).

Otherwise, Thamyris does not take the advice of Demas and Hermogenes, who suggest twice (3.14 and 16) that the mention of Paul as a Christian will bring about his destruction. In neither case does Thamyris do so, but presses forward in arguing that Paul is disrupting marriages and prohibiting marriage.

Demas and Hermogenes insert their opinion again to Thamyris, but the governor is not easily swayed in mind, and he waits to hear Paul's defense of himself. Paul is finally asked, "Where are you from?" yet Paul does not respond. He only answers the question of the nature of his teaching. It is also worth noting that the offense of teaching women not to marry is no small issue to the governor, who accepts this as a grave concern.

3.17 δὲ¹ ἤρην² τὴν φωνήν αὐτοῦ ὁ Παῦλος λέγων Εἰ ἐγώ³

σήμερον ἀνακρίνομαι τί διδάσκω, ἄκουσον, ἀνθύπατε. Θεὸς ζῶν,⁴
 θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων,⁵ [θεὸς ζηλωτής],⁶ θεὸς ἀπροσδεής,⁷ χρήζων [μεγάλως]⁸ τῆς
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ἔπεμψέν με, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς⁹
 καὶ τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ἀποσπάσω αὐτοὺς καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς¹⁰ καὶ (5)
 θανάτου, ὅπως μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνωσιν· διὸ ἔπεμψεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα, ὃν ἐγὼ εὐαγγελίζομαι καὶ διδάσκω ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἔχειν
 τὴν ἐλπίδα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,¹¹ ὃς μόνος συνεπάθησεν¹² πλανωμένῳ
 κόσμῳ, ἵνα μηκέτι ὑπὸ κρίσιν ᾧσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν
 ἔχωσιν καὶ φόβον¹³ θεοῦ καὶ γνώσιν σεμνότητος¹⁴ καὶ ἀγάπην ἀλη- (10)
 θείας. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ τὰ ὑπὸ θεοῦ μοι ἀποκεκαλυμμένα διδάσκω,
 τί ἀδικῶ, ἀνθύπατε;¹⁵ Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσεν δεθῆναι
 τὸν Παῦλον καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθῆναι,¹⁶ μέχρις ἂν εὐσκολήσας
 καλῶς¹⁷ ἀκούσῃ αὐτοῦ.¹⁸

Translation:

And Paul lifted up his voice saying, “If I am being judged today concerning what I
 teach, then listen, Proconsul. The living God, a God of vengeance, [a jealous God], a
 God who is needing no one, needing [greatly] the salvation of people, he sent me, in
 order that I should withdraw them from the corruption and uncleanness and from
 every pleasure and death, so that they might not sin any longer; Therefore God sent
 his own child, whom I proclaim as good news and I teach people to have hope in that
 one, who alone sympathized with a deceived world, in order that humans might not
 be under judgment any longer, but they might have faith, the fear of God, a

knowledge of holiness and a love of truth. Therefore, if I teach things revealed to me by God, what injustice do I do, Proconsul? But the Governor having heard *these things* called to have Paul bound and to be placed into prison, until having a time of leisure, he might hear him thoroughly.

3.17.1 Textual Notes

¹ δὲ instead of καὶ (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 37, footnote on line 20; παγλος δε...,” 10*).

² From αἶρω, *to lift up, take up* (BDAG, 28). See *AP* 3.20; 4.7; 9.26 (Matt 24:39);

14.3. Primarily used in the sense of *to destroy, to perish* by the author of the *AP*.

³ Emphasis added in translation through italization.

⁴ Acts 14:15; *AP* 4.12; *recension G* (2x); 9.17; 14.2, 4 (5x), 5 (2x), 6, 7. This is connected to the ongoing language and discussion of the resurrection. Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 29, gives this a “D” rating regarding the possible connection to the New Testament texts of Rom 9:26; Matt 16:16, 26:63; John 6:69. Note also the “traditional contrast (e.g., in 1 Thess 1:9; Acts 14:15; 1 John 5:20-21) between ‘idols’ and ‘the true God’”, as in *AP* 9.17. No reason is provided by Hills for this rating, but in support of the rating, it must be noted that there is not a single verbatim cross-reference between these texts, namely none of the NT passages refers to the Θεὸς ζῶν with the nominative noun for God with the nominative form of the participle as demonstrated above.

⁵ See Ps 94:1 (93:1 LXX).

⁶ See Exod 20:5; *AP* 3.15; *APTh* 45; 14.1. θεὸς ζηλωτῆς is probably added to the text.

It is not found within Cop¹ (see Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 37, 10*).

⁷ θεὸς ἀπροσδεής can be translated as *a God without want*. I followed a more literal translation of Cop¹ on this passage that states ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΩΡΧΡΙΑ ΕΝ ΝΑΛΛΑΓΕ.

Schmidt translates *der Gott, der nichts bedarf* (*Acta Pauli*, 37). Rordorf has *le Dieu qui se suffit à lui-même* (*ÉAC*, 1134).

⁸ μεγάλως might be a better addition than the text of *AAA*, following Cop¹, ΠΜΕΤΕ, which can be translated as *only, greatly*. Schmidt inserted μόνον here, translating it as *nur* (*Acta Pauli*, 37), although *greatly* seems to be more consistent with the contrast that Paul is setting up concerning the salvation of humanity.

⁹ Used in *APTh* 44 and 45, regarding those who are attempting to *corrupt* or *molest* Thecla in her virginity. See also Rom 8:21; 1 Cor 15:42, 50; Gal 6:8; Col 2:22; 2 Pet 1:4; 2:12 (2x), 19. The Pauline usage indicates that the *corrupt* is contrasted with the *incorruptible*, paralleled by “flesh and blood” not entering the kingdom of God (being considered corrupt).

¹⁰ Compare the cosmology of *AP* 10.4.11 (3 *Cor* 4.11).

¹¹ Compare 1 Tim 4:6-11 to this section. In particular, notice τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ἔπεμψέν με and ἐγὼ εὐαγγελίζομαι καὶ διδάσκω ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἔχειν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

¹² Cop¹ has ΕΝΤΑΦΡΣΥΗΠΑΣΧΕ (συμπάσχειν)

¹³ See *AP* 3.5.

¹⁴ See also *AP* 9.22, καὶ ἀπαχθεὶς [ἐ]νθέως ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ στάδιον, ὥς πάντας ἄχθεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ σεμνότητι Παύλου; Compare 1 Tim 2:2; 3:4; Tit 2:7 (only time in NT). Schmidt translates καὶ γινῶσιν σεμνότητος as “und die Erkenntnis (γινῶσιν) der Heiligkeit” based on Cop¹, which states **ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲉⲙⲛⲟⲥ**.

¹⁵ τί ἀδικῶ, ἀνθύπατε; Contrast the example of Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 7.3-6, in which Clitophon plans his demise in court due to his love sickness for Leucippe.

¹⁶ Cop¹ states **ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛⲡⲁⲓⲗⲟⲥ: ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲗⲭⲓ ⲁⲡⲉⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ**, translated *so that they bound Paul, and they seized him away to prison*. Codices *F* and *G* have the reading of βληθῆναι which is more consistent with the Coptic verb **ⲭⲓ**, rather than the preferred reading of *AAA*, ἀπαχθῆναι, following *C*.

¹⁷ καλῶς (Cop¹-**ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ**) replaces ἐπιμελέστερον (*AAA* following Greek manuscripts).

¹⁸ See Acts 24:25; Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 43, gives the connection between this text and Acts as a “B” rating.

3.17.2 General Comment

As Paul comes before the Proconsul, in similar fashion to the Acts of the Apostles, Paul is able to make his appeal before the Proconsul. After the Proconsul hears the message of Paul, he sends Paul away to listen to him at a more convenient time, seemingly ending the hearing (e.g. Acts 24:25). At this juncture, Paul is able to explain in his own words, similar to being able to teach in 3.5-6, the content of his

“teaching” (See 3.16.1 *Textual Notes*, note 10). Paul begins by explaining the nature of his God as a *living God* (Acts 14:15). This term, theologically loaded within the context of the *AP* is intricately tied to the issue of the resurrection, which becomes most explicit in the martyrdom accounts of the *AP* (*AP* 14). The idea of the *living God* of resurrection, and salvation from death is seen clearly in the report of Thecla to the Governor of Antioch (4.12), in response to ““Who are you and what is it about you, that none of the beasts touched you?” that the God who saved her from death by the wild beasts is the *living God*, and Thecla is his *handmaid*.

This reference to the *living God* is followed by several other titles that have later significance, such as a God of vengeance (Ps 94:1 [93:1 LXX]), and a God who *wants nothing*, but needs only/greatly the salvation of humanity. Several key concepts that emerge here include: God can resurrect and sustain life, he avenges his people, he has no need of anything/anyone (λλλγ), yet paradoxically needs the salvation of humanity. As the text unfolds, Thecla becomes the example of God’s intervention as *living*, *vengeful*, and as an agent of human salvation *par excellence*, thus demonstrating these characteristics through her life. In Paul’s speech, these are the reasons that he has been sent to them. Paul understands even his presentation to the Proconsul as divine intervention, thus one needs to understand that the following sequence of events with Thecla is interpreted as predetermined by God.

Paul’s wish to *withdraw* humanity from the corruption/deterioration and uncleanness that is filled with pleasures and incidentally death, further strengthens the

ties of resurrection being associated with the abstinence of sexual pleasure as hedonistic (key to the cosmology of *AP* 10.4.11 [3 *Cor* 4.11]), leading to death as product of sin. The message of Paul is consistently conflicted as Paul points people to himself, and then to Jesus. Paul mentions the sending of God's son (*ἔπεμψεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα*), although leaving off any names or titles, while at the same time presenting the core Christian message that God sent his son, and Paul is the emissary who proclaims this Good News (*εὐαγγελίζομαι*) and continues to teach people.

There appears to be some overlap in thoughts between this section and 1 Tim 4:6-11, where the essential doctrinal elements are represented: (1) It must be taught (1 Tim 4:6), (2) it produces faith (1 Tim 4:6), (3) an interest in knowledge that produces godliness as contrasted with the corruptible present is mentioned (1 Tim 4:7-8). (4) a *living God* (1 Tim 4:10), (5) our hope is placed upon this savior/salvation (1 Tim 4:10), and (6) you must insist on and teach these things (1 Tim 4:11). Reasons for the overlap can be understood as an attempt of the author of the *AP* to have an interest in aligning the Paul of this text to that of the Paul of the Pastorals, while on other points presenting strong disagreement over issues that the author of the *AP* considers un-Pauline, for instance the role of women and teachings concerning abstinence.

3.18 Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα νυκτὸς περιελομένη τὰ ψέλια ἔδωκεν τῇ

Πυλωρῇ,¹ καὶ ἤνοιξεν² αὐτῇ τῆς θύρας ἀπῆλθεν³ εἰς τὴν φυλα-

κὴν· καὶ δοῦσα τῇ δεσμοφύλακι⁴ κάτοπτρον ἀργυροῦν⁵ εἰσῆλθεν

πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον,⁶ καὶ καθίσασα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ⁷ ἤκουσεν

τὰ μεγαλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.⁸ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐδεδοίκει⁹ ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλλὰ τῇ (5)
 τοῦ θεοῦ παρρησίᾳ¹⁰ ἐνεπολιτεύετο· κακείνης ἠύξανεν ἡ πίστις,
 καταφιλούσης τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτοῦ.¹¹

Translation:

But Thecla, at night, having loosened her bracelets, gave them to the gate-keeper, who opened the gate for her, and she entered into the prison. And giving to the jailer a silver mirror, she entered to Paul, and she sat by his feet listening to the great things of God. And Paul feared nothing, but living as a free citizen with the confidence of God. And her faith grew, as she was kissing his bonds.

3.18.1 Textual Notes

¹ Found here and in 3.19 (2x) also.

² ἡνοιξεν (F, G [ἡνυξεν], Syriac, Cop¹ [ⲁϣⲟϣⲏⲛ]) instead of ἀνοιγείσης.

³ See the discussion pertaining to ἀπῆλθεν, in 3.15.1 *Textual Notes*, footnote 8; and 3.19.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5. Here simply connoting that she entered the prison; possibly adding clarity to 3.15.

⁴ δεσμοφύλαξ-see Acts 16:23. See also Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 7.1, 4-5, for the role of the jailer (δεσμῶν ἄρχων) as the “gatekeeper” for lovers.

⁵ Cf. *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena* 13, where Xanthippe bribes her “porter” with gold and underpants. For similarities between the two texts, see M. R. James,

Apocrypha Anecdota (Texts and Studies 2.3; Cambridge: University Press, 1893), 48; see also Lucian, *Peregr.* 12.

⁶ See Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 2.19, where Leucippe and Clitophon join one another in the night for love. Also notice that the “prison” metaphor, προσθῶμεν ἤδη τι καὶ ἐρωτικόν. φέρε ἀνάγκην ἀλλήλοις ἐπιθῶμεν πίστεως, translated “Let us add to them something with real love in it. Let us fetter one another with an indissoluble bond.” See also Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.9.20.

⁷ On the sitting at someone’s feet, see 4.8.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6.

⁸ On τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ see *AP* 3.1, τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (see 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11). In *APTh* 45, Artemis is called τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς.

⁹ ἐδεδοίκει- Pluperfect, Active Indicative, 3rd person, singular from δεῖδω.

¹⁰ Also translated as *boldness* or following Schmidt (*Acta Pauli*, 38), *freiheit*. See Phil 1:14, 20; Phlm 8 [Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*. (ed. Helmut Koester; trans. William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971). 198.]. παρρησία carries overtones in this passage of the political and legal world (specifically for males; “παρρησία, παρρησιάζομαι,” *TDNT* 5:871-86), but carries a double entendre with Paul’s confidence in his faith as the alternate meaning. This is also true of Paul’s speech in 3.17 (ἀδικῶ). Notice also the connection made between παρρησία and πολιτεύομαι, similar to Paul’s imprisonment, and impending defense referred to in Phil 1.12-30 (especially 20 and 27); “πολιτεύομαι,” *TDNT* 6:534-5. Also, it must be noted the rich NT heritage that contrasts the πολιτεία with the ξένοι (Eph 2.12; Acts 22.28; Herm. *Sim.* 50.1-6; *Diogn.* 5.5; 535.

¹¹ The erotic motif is intentional. Cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 2.9; Chariton *Chaer.* 1.14.9. Compare also Thecla (see also *AP* 3.21; 4.7-9) to the the image presented of Andromeda as described in Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.6-7. See especially Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 4.4-5.

3.18.2 General Comment

After Paul is taken out of Onesiphorus' house, he is immediately carried to the Bema for a public hearing. As the hearing is dismissed, Paul's "lover/admirer" finds her way to him by bribing her way into the prison, making it through two "gate-keepers," who accept her bracelets and silver mirror as payment. Playing on the popular motif as found within other ancient novels, the "courtroom scene" is followed by imprisonment, and then, in this case the reunification of "lovers" (Holzberg, *Ancient Novel*, 9-10, 45), lovers of one another metaphorically, being consistent with the motif, but lovers of Christ demonstrated through vows of chastity (23). Contrary to the character of some of the heros and heroines of other ancient novels, Paul sits confident and proud as a freeborn citizen innocent of charges, and ready to present his case again before a magistrate if necessary (cf. Phil 1:14, 20) but more importantly living boldly and confidently before God. The bond between Paul and Thecla can be illustrated by Thecla's willingness to join him in prison, yet Paul is not able to reciprocate (*AP* 3.21-23), but later counterbalanced, almost chiasmatically by Queen Tryphaena to Thecla (*AP* 4.4). The reason for the lack of reciprocation has been understood as Paul's abandonment of Thecla (Davies, *The Revolt*, 58-59). This

interpretation seems to be too dismissive, too quickly. One might ask, “Where was Thecla during the climax of the trial before the Proconsul?” She comes to Paul afterwards, with little difference from when Paul fasts and prays for several days looking for Thecla. Paul’s response is admittedly more passive, but the text continually stresses one’s unwavering commitment to Christ. This is demonstrated in Thecla’s attentiveness to Paul (3.7, 18) as a Christ figure, and Paul’s attentiveness to God (Paul continues to preach the τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ with παρρησία). The scene concludes with the erotic motif paradoxically continued as Thecla takes hold of Paul’s bonds while kissing them (compare Heliodorus *Aeth.* 6.9.7; once again similar to the example of young lovers witnessed in the ancient romance).

3.19 Ὡς δὲ ἐζητεῖτο¹ Θέκλα ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ Θαμύριδος,
ὥς ἀπολλυμένη² ἐδιώκετο κατὰ τὰς ὁδούς, καί τις τῶν συνδού-
λων τοῦ πυλωροῦ ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐξῆλθεν.³ καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἀνήτασαν
τὸν πυλωρόν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι εἶπεν· πόρεύομαι πρὸς τὸν ξένον⁴
εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον· καὶ ἀπῆλθον⁵ καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εὖρον (5)
αὐτὴν τρόπον τινὰ συνδεδεμένην τῇ στοργῇ.⁶ καὶ ἐξελθόντες
ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἐνεφάνισαν.

Translation:

But as Thecla was being sought out for by her own *people* and Thamyras, thus she was being pursued in the streets as one who was lost. And a certain one of the

fellowslaves of the gatekeeper was making it known that she went out in the night. And going out they questioned the gatekeeper, and he told them that she said, “I am going to the stranger in the prison.” And just as he had told them, they departed and found her in a certain place, having been united by means of love. And having gone out from there, they attracted the crowd and reported *these things* to the Governor.

3.19.1 Textual Notes

¹ *AP* 3.21, 26; 4.15; 10.4.8; 14.2. There appears to be a light theological gloss in the language of this section (Matt 2:13; 6:33; 7:7, etc.)

² This word can mean either *lost* or *perished*, and it is not clear whether the text is indicating that they thought that she was merely lost or dead, but nonetheless she was gone, and possibly (socially) lost or dead. See also *AP* 10.4.8, 15. See note 1 above (“ἀπόλλυμι or –ύω,” LSJ, 207, which states, in *NT*, *perish*, in a theological sense; John 3:16; 1 Cor 1:18 for opposite [οἱ σφζόμενοι]).

³ τις τῶν συνδούλων τοῦ πυλωροῦ ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐξῆλθεν The question is, where was Thecla before she went out? Either (1) she was at the house of Onesiphorus or her mother, (2) she followed the crowd to the public hearing, or (3) she had been taken home by Thamyris and her own. The text is ambiguous regarding this point, but the implications are that she is sneaking out from under the supervision of her own people and Thamyris to see Paul, as the text indicates in 3.18 (see note 5 under 3.18.1 *Textual Notes*). However, the implications are that Thecla’s actions are incredibly scandalous and justice must be served. See also Chariton, *Chaer.* 1.3-6.

⁴ ξένον- The text consistently presents Paul in paradoxical language. He is clearly a known entity to the Christian reader of this text, and the text presents Paul as standing confidently in τὰ μεγαλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (See 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11; 3.18.2 *General Comment*; and 3.18.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 6 and 8), but at the same time Paul is unknown, strange, and from nowhere (see 3.3; 3.11: Ἄνδρες, τίνες ἐστέ εἵπατέ μοι, καὶ τίς οὗτος ὁ ἔσω μεθ' ὑμῶν); 3.12 (3.12.2 *General Comment*); 3.16. For a contrast of πολιτεία with ξένον see 3.18.1 *Textual Notes*, note 10.

⁵ On ἀπῆλθον, Cf. 3.15.1 *Textual Notes*, footnote 8; 3.18.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3. This is a commonly used word by the author of the *AP*. See *AP* 3.13, 15, 18, 19; 4.15, 17, 18; *APTh* 3.44, 45; 9.16 (2x); 12.1; 14.1, 5, 6.

⁶ συνδεδεμένην τῇ στοργῇ- This phrase, while not necessarily suggesting a sexual union (Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5.165; 190; 7.476; “στοργή,” LSJ, 1650), attempts to demonstrate the interwoven union that Paul and Thecla share (“συνδέω,” LSJ, 1700). I believe that the sexual overtones, consistent with the remainder of the *APTh* continue to create a document that is speaking of chastity in the language of the romance.

3.19.2 General Comment

This chapter attempts to draw Thecla into the center of the dispute as Thamyras and Thecla's people (τῶν ἰδίων καὶ Θαμύριδος) attempt to locate the problem, and provide solutions to that which has caused upheaval within the social fabric of Iconium. First, Thecla has relocated to the prison to be with Paul, and “kiss his bonds.” Afterwards, with some space of time, Thecla is now *lost* and potentially socially dead, and those

who represent the status quo and her family are attempting to locate her. It quickly becomes known through the gatekeeper that she has gone to be with the *stranger*. Here the text seems to illuminate the strangeness of Paul (“τὸν ξένον,” Cf. 3.19.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4), a man without home, no social, geographical, or political bearings within the entity of the Roman Empire, yet he is causing the undoing of the social fabric of this small city. This is consistent with the parallel account recorded in Chariton’s novel, *Callirhoe*, when Chaereas (falsely) discovers that his lover Callirhoe has been involved in a scandalous affair in the night, he responds violently, kicking Callirhoe unconscious for several days, even to the point where she is buried alive, being thought dead (1.3-6). From this perspective, Thamyris is actually somewhat more civilized and gracious about the entire affair.

Once Thecla has been located, it becomes apparent that she is indeed lost and is intricately woven and united to Paul. Interestingly enough, the verb, *συνδέω*, is used in the sense of binding or wrapping materials together, such as binding a wound (Homer, *Il.* 13.599). It attempts to demonstrate the level of connection that exists between Paul and Thecla. I find it difficult to relegate a secondary status to Paul as one who has abandoned Thecla (Kaestli, “Fiction Littéraire,” 291; Davies, *The Revolt*, 58-59), but at the same time realizing that the text will consistently shift toward a featured presentation and narrative of Thecla. I think it important to note that in 3.21, Paul is flogged and cast out of Iconium (*καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον μαστιγοῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν*), not even given a choice as to whether he will stay with Thecla. Up to this point, Thecla and Paul are being presented as two who have been quickly

drawn together with a seemingly inseparable bond. In all likelihood, the misunderstanding that Paul is abandoning Thecla is due to the ability of the author of the *AP* to fully develop the plot of this ancient Christian romance. This appears to be the portion of the text that is developing the plot and providing the basis and understanding of the relationship of Paul and Thecla as the “star crossed lovers” in similar manner as the very brief portion (in relation to the length of the text) of Chariton’s *Chaeraeas and Callirhoe* 1.1 (Hägg, Tomas, *The Novel*, 5-6; Holzberg, *Ancient Novel*, 9, 26, 44-5). The reference to their being *united by means of love* (συνδεδεμένην τῇ στοργῇ; see 3.19.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6) is not necessarily erotic (but not necessarily intending to preclude such an interpretation, either), but simply makes the point clear that Paul and Thecla are now clearly united in their devotion to one another. Through Thecla’s domestic union with Paul, she has allowed herself also to be brought into the civic sphere, and thus essentially remain there for the duration of most of the narrative. Thecla has left the sphere of the private home in exchange for the civic center of Iconium and eventually Asia.

3.20 Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα.¹ ἡ δὲ
 Θέκλα ἐκυλίετο² ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἐδίδασκεν ὁ Παῦλος καθήμενος
 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ.³ ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν κἀκείνην⁴ ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ
 βῆμα.¹ ἡ δὲ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀπίει ἀγαλλιωμένη⁵ ἔμπροσθεν (ἐνώπιον) πάντων.⁶ ὁ δὲ ὄχλος
 προσαχθέντος πάλιν τοῦ Παύλου περισσοτέρως ἐβόα Μάγος ἐστίν,⁷ (5)
 αἶρε αὐτόν. Ἦδέως γάρ, ὥς δὲ ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνθύπατος τοῦ Παύλου ἐπὶ τοῖς

*οσίοις αὐτοῦ ἔργοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ^{8,9} καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσας ἐκάλεσεν τὴν
 Θέκλαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἡγεμὼν, Διὰ τί οὐ γαμεῖ κατὰ τὸν Ἰκονιέων νόμον τῷ
 Θαμύριδι¹⁰; ἡ δὲ εἰστήκει Παῦλον ἀπενίζουσα.¹¹ τῆς δὲ μὴ ἀπο-
 κρινομένης, Θεοκλεία ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἀνέκραγεν¹² λέγουσα Κατάκαιε (10)
 τὴν ἄνομον, κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνυμφον ἐν μέσῳ θεάτρου, ἵνα πᾶσαι
 αἱ ὑπὸ τούτου διδαχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες φοβηθῶσιν.¹³*

Translation:

And he¹⁴ commanded to have Paul brought before the Bema: But Thecla was
 groveling in the place where Paul was teaching while having sat in prison. But the
 Governor commanded that she be brought before the bema also. But she departed
 with joy while rejoicing exceedingly before everyone. But the crowd, having brought
 Paul forward again, cried out even more, “He is a magician, take him away!” For
 willingly the Proconsul was listening to Paul concerning the holy work of Christ. And
 having taken counsel, the Governor called Thecla and said to her, “For what reason
 are you not marrying Thamyris according to the Iconian law?” But she stood there
 gazing intently at Paul: but when she did not answer, Theocleia, her mother, cried out
 saying, “Burn the lawless one! Burn the one who is no bride in the midst of the
 theatre, in order that all the women who have been taught by this one might be
 afraid.”

3.20.1 Textual Notes

¹ Cf. 3.16.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2.

² Interesting choice of verb (second person singular, aorist passive indicative from *κυλίω*) meaning *to roll up, to grovel, to wallow, to roll over* “of the embryo” (“*κυλίω*,” [later form of *κυλίνδρω*] and “*κυλίνδρω*,” LSJ, 1008). Cf. Mark 9:20 for a NT *Hapax legomenon*.

³ The implications are that Paul may have been teaching others also. Cf. *AP* (within the *Martyrdom* account) 14.4-7; Acts 16:25; Phil 1:12-13; *APt* 36-37, Peter preaches from the cross; *ATh* 159-68, Thomas preaches in prison and to the guards who take him away to be executed. *Φυλακή* is also found in 3.18.

⁴ A word used frequently by the author of the *AP*. *κακείνην* is also found in 3.4; 18; 20; 4.2; *APTh* 45; 10.2.5 (3 *Cor*); 14.6.

⁵ Cf. also *AP* 3.25; 9.14; 19; Acts 16:34; Rev 19:7; Luke 10:21; 1 Pet 1:6, 8; 4:13.

⁶ *ἐμπροσθεν* (ἐνώπιον) πάντων added based on Cop¹ (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 39, 12*)

⁷ On ὁ δὲ ὄχλος...περισσοτέρως ἐβόα Μάγος ἐστίν, see 3.15.1 *Textual Notes*, note 15; and 3.15.2 *General Comment*.

⁸ Cf. 3.25 for another example of τοῖς ὁσίοις ἔργοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, which implies that the recovery and salvation of Thecla is such a *holy work of Christ*. In contrast, it is unclear and unstated concerning about what Paul is speaking in this text, possibly his former travels and adventures, in which he had been saved.

⁹ Ἡδέως δὲ ἤκουεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ Παύλου ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις ἔργοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ- the Governor Castellius has consistently been presented as an even tempered fair judge of Paul, and if to be judged partial, then he has favored Paul. Here, the text even notices that

Paul's discussion of the work is *holy* and even *pleasant* to the governor. The text is ambiguous on just who thinks the work to be *holy work*. Does this include Castellius? Possibly best explained in light of Mark 6:20 (Hills, "The Acts of the Apostles," 36 gives the connection an "A" rating, implying that the author of the *AP* knows this text of Mark with certainty). See also Mark 12:37; 2 Cor 11:19; 12:15; and Acts 13:8 (variant reading in Codex Bezae [D]. Hills remarks that "TLG database grants fewer than a dozen uses of this combination before the third century, and none with the exact Markan adverb + imperfect" (36). I am not sure if this can be offered as a support for the "A" rating, as this seems to suggest that the expression occurs almost a dozen times indicating common usage. First of all, there are at least a dozen examples of the combination in Plutarch alone, not even considering other authors (*Phil.* 15.11.2; *Nic.* 9.7.5; *Cic.* 25.3.4; *Sept. sap. conv.* 147F.5; 158B.9; *Curios.* 519C.8; 519C.9; 519D.3; *Quaest. conv.* 673C.2; 676C.12; 712D.12; *Amot.* 756A.1; *fac.* 937D.6). The expression was common. In addition, one ought to consider with equal weight the possibility of a connection between the Codex Bezae reading of Acts 13:8 and *AP* 3.20, which both have (1) an Apostle (Paul in both) (2) giving a defense before a proconsul (Sergius Paulus and Castellius), (3) who (the proconsul, that is) is listening gladly, and (4) who is attempting to determine whether a "magician is before him" (Paul in *AP* and Paul and Elymus in Acts). The striking similarities seem to be even stronger between these two texts than that of Mark. The verbatim connection between Mark and *AP* is strong testimony, but if anything, the connection between the *AP* and Mark or Acts is probable, although I would be hesitant to rank one above

the other. The language seems to be common, and the author seems to have familiarity with one or both, but some kind of familiarity with the content of Acts seems the more probable (See István Czachesz, “The Acts of Paul and the western text of Luke’s Acts: Paul between canon and apocrypha,” *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* [ed. Jan Bremmer], 107-25). One might notice that ἡδέως ἤκουεν (with ἀκούω in the Imperfect) even shows up in Chariton (*Chaer.* 2.1.5 and 5.9.4); See also the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena* 20.4.

¹⁰ Once again, the Christian teaching is not the source of the problem, but rather the practical implications of the teaching of chastity. See 3.14.2 *General Comment*.

¹¹ On ἀπειλίζουσα see 3.8.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9.

¹² See 4.1; 4.2, 5. (1) Theocleia cries out against her daughter Thecla to be burned (3.20); (2) Thecla cries out against Alexander to not harm her (4.1); (3) the women cry out against the Governor of Antioch not to condemn Thecla (4.2); and (4) Tryphaena cries out for the Governor to have mercy and not throw Thecla to the wild beasts (4.5).

¹³ Theocleia demonstrates the value placed upon (1) the good of protecting one’s honor and shame and (2) protecting the social group over the individual, even at the expense of her own daughter. Theocleia’s reason has the “penal aim” of “deterrence” and quite possibly also prevention. See K. M. Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 44-73; esp. 48-49. See also Vorster, “Construction of culture through the construction of person,” 108; and 3.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6. See also Cornelia B. Horn, “Suffering Children, Parental Authority and the Quest for Liberation?,” 126.

¹⁴The Governor (ὁ ἡγεμὼν) Proconsul Castellius mentioned in the last line of 3.19.

3.20.2 General Comment

Once again Paul is called before the Proconsul, but this time it is due to the scandalous discovery of Thecla having been united with him within the prison after Thecla had bribed the gate keeper and jailer. Thecla's behavior is described in the same language of water rolling and tossing in the ocean, so Thecla also grovels, rolls up, and places herself upon the place where Paul sat teaching in the prison. As Thecla leaves the private sphere, the text overemphasizes her joy to remain with Paul even before the Bema as she faces her judgment. Once again, the proconsul saves Paul from the crowd who insistently call Paul a magician. At this point the text appears to demonstrate some connection to the Acts of the Apostles (Codex *Bezae* in particular) 13.8, most likely some strong oral familiarity based upon the text.

The proconsul withholds judgment until Thecla can be heard, but Thecla once again responds to her questioning by gazing intently (ἀτενίζουσα-note 11; reminiscent of Jesus' silence in Matt 26:63) at Paul. This leads Thecla's own mother to call down a judgment for execution by burning her. This appears to be the first real shift in the text, where Thecla will now move from passive, suppliant disciple of Paul to slowly developing apostle of God sealed by baptism and the Holy Spirit. This chapter also signals the beginning of the fading of Paul from the center of the text to the periphery as Thecla takes center stage. Note that the burning of Thecla is advocated not as

decision of justice against Thecla, but in order to make an example of Thecla for the many other women who might be following Paul.

3.21 Καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν¹ ἔπαθεν μεγάλως,² καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον
μαστιγοῦν³ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως⁴ ἐξέβαλεν,⁵ τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν ἔκρινεν
κατακαῆναι.⁶ καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναστὰς ἀπείει εἰς τὸ θέα-
τρον· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς θεωρίας⁷.
ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ὡς ἀμνὸς⁸ ἐν ἐρήμῳ περισκοπεῖ τὸν ποιμένα, οὕτως (5)
ἐκείνη τὸν Παῦλον ἐζήτει.⁹ καὶ ἐμβλέψασα εἰς τὸν ὄχλον εἶδεν
τὸν κύριον¹⁰ καθήμενον ὡς Παῦλον, καὶ εἶπεν Ὡς ἀνυπομονήτου
μου οὔσης ἦλθεν Παῦλος θεάσασθαί με.¹¹ Καὶ προσεῖχεν αὐτῇ
ἀτενίζουσα.¹² ὁ δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀπείει.

Translation:

And the Governor was affected greatly, and (on the one hand) he flogged Paul and cast him outside of the city, but (on the other hand), he condemned Thecla to be burned. And immediately the Governor rose up, departing into the theater, and all the crowd went out by necessity to the public spectacle. But Thecla was as a lamb in a desert looking around for the shepherd, so she sought for Paul. And having looked into the crowd, she saw the Lord sitting as Paul, and she said, “As if I am not enduring, Paul gazes upon me.” And she held fast to him, gazing intently, but he went away into the heavens.

3.21.1 Textual Notes

¹ Codex *E* has ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος, but present reading is supported by Cop¹.

² On τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ see *AP* 3.1, τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (See 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11); see also 3.18.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7. Words with the root *μεγα-* are especially popular with the author of the *AP*. See 3.1, 3, 5, 13, 16, 18, 21, 22; 4.8, 9, 13, 14, *APTh* 45; 9.14, 15, 17 (2x), 20, 23, 25, 27(2x); 12.1 (2x), 3, 5 (2x), 6; 13.2, 3, 4, 7, 8; 14.1, 2, 3, 6.

³ Replace φραγελλώσας with μαστιγοῦν (following Cop¹, see Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 40, 12*).

⁴ Cf. Acts 13:50; 14:19. Hills “Acts of the Apostles,” 41, suggests a “C” rating.

⁵ καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον μαστιγοῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν- Considering the extraction of φραγελλώσας as indicated in note 3, then the judgment of Hills is incorrect (“The Acts of the Apostles,” 36), who gives this reading an “A” rating, when comparing καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον φραγελλώσας to Mark 15:15/Matt 27:26; “So Pilate wishing to satisfy the crowd, released Barabbas for them; and after flogging (φραγελλώσας) Jesus, he handed him over to be crucified.” Hills also goes on to note that the author of the *AP* “was likely unaware that scourging was regularly a punishment inflicted *after a sentence of death* (see BAGD, s. v. [p. 865b]).” It seems clear that the author did not make this mistake, therefore allowing that the connection to the passion narratives may still have been the underlying comparison being made by the author of the *AP*, with the amendment of the choice of beating (μαστιγοῦν) knowing that φραγελλώσας

would not have made sense. This further strengthens the comparison to the *AP* in 9.14 where *φραγελλώσας* is used appropriately after Paul is sentenced to death. See also D. R. MacDonald, “Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives about Paul,” 60-70.

⁶ The proconsul finds Paul innocent and sympathizes with his message, but yet condemns Thecla for her crimes against the Iconians.

⁷ See Aeschylus, *Prom.* 802; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1005 (LSJ, 797). The spectacle of beasts fighting beasts (and sometimes humans being killed by beasts; see 4.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8) in the amphitheater is common in Greco-Roman wall paintings from Pompeii. See the image from house 1.3.23 now found in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (see a good image in *Pompeii: guide to the site* [ed. Silvia Cassani; trans. Mark Weir; Napoli: Electra, 2002] 151.). See also “The House of the Hunt,” in *Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici* (ed. Ida Baldassarre; 10 vols.; Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994), 5:285; a picture of a hunt in the garden of the house of Ceius Secundus (Region 1.6.15), found in *Pompeii*, 1:475. See also Wilhelmina M. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Bros., 1979-93) 71-72; Paul Zanker *Pompeii: Public and Private Life* (trans. Deborah L. Schneider; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1998), 187-88, for further examples in the houses of Lucretius Fronto, Loreius Tiburtinus and the *House of the Hunt*. Regarding the involvement of the crowd in the fights in the amphitheatre, see Apuleius, *Metam.* 3.2-10; Fergus Millar, “The World of the Golden Ass,” *JRS* 71 (1981) 70 and footnote 44 for further literature on “meetings in the theatre”; see also K. M. Coleman, “Fatal

Charades,” 44-73 especially 56 for connections of the form of execution that sound similar to Thecla’s; and Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (New York: Routledge, 1998); and Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 312-29.

⁸ In *AP* 9.23, the lion in Ephesus is also referred to as a lamb who reclines next to the body of Paul ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐβδίδακτ[ος καὶ ὡς δοῦ]λο[ς] αὐτοῦ. See also John 10:2, 11 (2x), 12, 14, and 16.

⁹ See *AP* 3.19.

¹⁰ εἶδεν τὸν κύριον-Thecla has an encounter with Jesus. Compare Acts 1:21; 9:4-6; 22:4-16; 26:9-18; 1 Cor 11:23; Gal 1:1, 11.

¹¹ See Aristotle, *Mir. Ausc.* 843A.15, as he describes *beholding* the waves that crash against the cliffs at the straight of the sea that separates the Sicilian coast from the Rhegium, on the Italian side; ...καὶ ποιεῖν συγκλυσμὸν ἄπιστον μὲν διηγείσθαι, ἀνυπομόνητον δὲ τῇ ὄψει θεάσασθαι· ποτὲ δὲ διισταμένους ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συρράξεως οὕτω βαθεῖαν καὶ φρικώδη τὴν ἀποψιν ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης θεωμένοις.... θεάομαι; “gaze at, behold, mostly with a sense of wonder,” (LSJ, 786).

¹² On ἀτενίζουσα see 3.8.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9.

3.21.2 General Comment

The chapter might be best characterized by seeing that (1) *Thecla departed* (ἀπίει) *with joy while rejoicing exceedingly* (3.20), when led to the Bema; (2) the Proconsul *departed* (ἀπίει) to the theater, leading Thecla to be burned; and (3) Paul (actually the

Lord καθήμενον ὡς Παῦλον) departed (ἀπίει) into the heavens leaving Thecla to be burned. The language of chapter 21 is very mixed with regard to the relationship of Paul and Thecla. While I think it is important to note that Paul is forced out of Iconium, and does not willingly leave Thecla, the text still seems to imply that there is some degree of abandonment, whether intentionally done by Paul or not is beside the point, and will be clarified in later notes and comments (see 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*, note 12; 3.25.2 *General Comment*; 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; and 4.1.2 *General Comment*). Thecla has been abandoned by all, so it seems. Thecla has followed Paul intently grasping and holding her attention upon him (ἀτενίζουσα-see note 11), yet to no avail up to this point. It has only brought upon her more intense difficulties. The abandonment of Thecla is actually something of the prophetic voice of Paul fulfilled from the very first time the beatitudes proceeded from his mouth. Thecla was attracted to just such a message (AP 3.5-6) that indicated that the lifestyle choices of those who followed the path of chastity, leading to resurrection, would be a path full of many tests. Although difficult, Paul stated “Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God and they will not lose the wages of their purity, because the word of the father shall be to them a work of salvation in the day of his Son, and they shall have rest forever.” While anticipated, the response is seen in 3.22. This ἔργον of Christ is also connected to the “work” mentioned by Paul in 3.20.

3.22 Οἱ δὲ παῖδες¹ καὶ αἱ παρθένοι ἤνεγκαν ξύλα καὶ χόρτον

ἵνα Θέκλα κατακαῇ.² ὡς δὲ εἰσήχθη γυμνή,³ ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν⁴

καὶ ἐθαύμασεν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ δύναμιν.⁵ ἔστρωσαν δὲ τὰ ξύλα καὶ
ἐκέλευσαν⁶ αὐτὴν οἱ δῆμιοι ἐπιβῆναι τῇ πυρᾷ.⁷ ἡ δὲ τὸν τύπον
τοῦ σταυροῦ⁸ ποιησαμένη ἐπέβη τῶν ξύλων.⁹ οἱ δὲ ὑφήψαν.¹⁰ καὶ (5)
μεγάλου πυρὸς λάμψαντος¹¹ οὐχ ἤψατο αὐτῆς τὸ πῦρ.¹² ὁ γὰρ
θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἤχον¹³ ὑπόγαιον ἐποίησεν, καὶ νεφέλη ἄνωθεν
ἐπεσκίασεν ὕδατος πλήρης¹⁴ καὶ χαλάζης, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πᾶν τὸ
κύτος,¹⁵ ὥς πολλοὺς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν,¹⁶ καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβε-
σθῆναι τὴν δὲ Θεκλάν σωθῆναι.¹⁷ (10)

Translation:

And the young ones and virgins brought wood and hay, in order that Thecla might be burned. But as she was brought in, naked, the Governor wept and marveled at the power in her. But the executioners spread the wood and commanded her to go up upon the pyre. But Thecla, making the sign of a cross, went upon the wood. But they set it on fire from underneath. Even though a great fire was shining, it did not touch her. For God who has compassion caused an underground roaring, and a cloud from above full of water and hail, and all of the contents were poured out, so that many were at risk and died, and the fire was extinguished and Thecla was saved.

3.22.1 Textual Notes

¹ Dunn, “The Acts of Paul,” 58-59, supports his arguments against “Davies, MacDonald, et. al.” that the *APTh* are not androcentric by also translating οἱ δὲ παῖδες

καὶ αἱ παρθένοι as *the young men and virgins*. This appears to be inconclusive, but the most probable. See 3.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9; 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; and 3.11.2 *General Comment* for further discussion. See also the excellent observations of the children in the account of the *APTh* by Horn, “Suffering Children, Parental Authority, and the Quest for Liberation?,” 121-30.

² See 3.20 (2x), 21 for events leading up to this point. See also *AP* 14.3.

³ See Acts 16:22.

⁴ In the same way that Proconsul Castellius ἔπαθεν μέγανως (3.21) by Paul, now he is moved by Thecla. See 3.21.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5; the passion narrative continues with Thecla as the Christ-figure.

⁵ Alexander of Antioch attempts to overpower (δυνάμενος) Thecla in *AP* 4.1.

⁶ ἐκέλευσαν... οἱ δῆμιοι- It is no longer the Governor who is ordering people (via the executioner selected by the people), the people are doing the ordering (3.17, 20 (2x)); but in the *APTh*, it is finally the governor (of Antioch) who orders to have Thecla restored (4.13). This is followed by the conversion of the maidservants, in essence the conversion of the οἱ δὲ παῖδες καὶ αἱ παρθένοι/ οἱ δῆμιοι (see note 1).

⁷ *damnati ad crematio*. See Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 55-56. Notice similarities to Blandina in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.36-42. See also 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

⁸ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ- See *AP* 10.4.6.

⁹ See Parthenius, *The Story of Pallene* 5-6; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 8.3; 8.6; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.7; 8.9.9-16 (!), for a comparisons between the testing of Thecla and the testing of women and virgins in the ancient novel.

¹⁰ ὑφῆψαν- Aorist active indicative, third person plural from ὑφάπτω meaning *to set on fire from underneath*, (LSJ, 1907).

¹¹ See Acts 10:30.

¹² Cf. *Mart. Pol.* 15.1.

¹³ See Luke 4:37; 21:25; Acts 2:2; and Heb 12:19.

¹⁴ Cf. Matt 17:5, ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα. The author of *AP* knows Matthew. See the quotations in *AP* 3.5-6.

¹⁵ Cf. Hos. 5:10 (BDAG, 312).

¹⁶ Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 28B, τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐξ οὗ κινδυνεύεις νυνὶ ἀποθανεῖν.... See also *Apol.* 28E (LSJ, 952).

¹⁷ See *AP* 4.9. First, Thecla is saved through water, and then she is saved through fire. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.1.9.

3.22.2 General Comment

The comparison of the *APTh* grows stronger to the passion narratives as the author strengthens allusions to the Gospel of Matthew and other texts and stories of early Christianity, but it is most explicit when Thecla makes the shape of a cross before getting onto the pyre of wood that will soon engulf her in flames. The very mobs of people (οἱ παῖδες/αἱ παρθένοι), who will eventually be Thecla's strongest following (*AP* 4.13-14) are yet still enemies and supporting the mob mentality to burn Thecla,

having been instigated by Thecla's own mother to set an example for future followers of the new teaching (See 3.20.1 *Textual Notes*, note 13).

As the fire is set beneath Thecla, God comes, out of compassion for Thecla (σπλάγγχον-Phlm 7, 12, and 20), with an apocalyptic presence and empties the heavens of hail and water. Thecla's salvation via fire and water only precedes her later submergence into water and salvation by fire (4.9). Considering that Thecla may have deserved a less degrading death, such as beheading (see note 7 above), then it seems plausible that Thecla's death by *crematio* is best explained literarily by the contrasting of water and fire as mentioned above. Interestingly, in both instances, the salvation of Thecla requires the death of others. The concept of the outpouring of "God's wrath" as found in Hos 5:10 is found here although no direct reliance upon Hosea is being suggested other than of the author's general awareness of this prophetic motif, implying some familiarity with Judaism. Most striking are the similarities of the trial of the *virgin* Thecla to other virgins in the ancient novels. It is a common theme that divine intervention brings about the salvation of pure maidens, who then are able to unite with their true love. In this case, the first trial only foreshadows the second trial, which leads directly to the unification of Thecla to Christ.

3.23 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος νηστεύων¹ μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου² καὶ τῆς
 γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐν μνημείῳ ἀνοικτῷ,³ ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν
 ᾗ ἀπὸ Ἰκονίου εἰς Δάφνην πορεύονται. ἡνίκα δὲ ἡμέραι πολλαὶ

διήλθον, νηστεύοντων αὐτῶν εἶπον οἱ παῖδες⁴ τῷ Παύλῳ Πει-
 νῶμεν. Καὶ οὐκ εἶχον πόθεν ἀγοράσωσιν ἄρτους·⁵ κατέλιπεν (5)
 γὰρ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος καὶ ἠκολούθει Παύλῳ πανοικί.⁶
 Παῦλος δὲ ἀπεδύσατο τὸν ἐπενδύτην⁷ καὶ εἶπεν Ὑπαγε, τέκνον,
 ἀγόρασον ἄρτους πλείονας καὶ φέρε. Ὡς δὲ ἠγόραζεν ὁ παῖς,
 εἶδεν Θεέκλαν τὴν γείτονα [χι πριρ],⁸ καὶ ἐθαμβήθη καὶ εἶπεν Θεέκλα, ποῦ
 πορεύῃ; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Παῦλον διώκω,⁹ ἐκ πυρὸς σωθεῖσα. Καὶ ὁ (10)
 παῖς εἶπεν αὐτῇ,¹⁰ Δεῦρο, ἀπαγάγω σε πρὸς αὐτόν· στενάζει γὰρ περὶ
 σοῦ καὶ προσεύχεται καὶ νηστεύει ἡμέρας ἥδη ἕξ.

Translation:

But Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus, his wife, and the children in an opened tomb, on the road which leads from Iconium to Daphne. But after many days passed, the children, while they were fasting, said to Paul, “We are hungry!” And they did not have anywhere that they might buy bread; For Onesiphorus left the things of the world and was following Paul with his whole household. But Paul stripped off his outer garment and said, “Go, child. Buy more bread and bring it here.” But as the child was buying bread, he saw Thecla, his neighbor, upon the street, and being afraid, said, “Thecla, where are you going?” But Thecla said, “I am pursuing Paul, having been saved from a fire. And the boy said to her, “Come, I will lead you to him; for he moans for you and he has been praying and fasting already for six days.

3.23.1 Textual Notes

¹ *νηστεύω* appears three times in 3.23.

² See 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; and 3.2.2 *General Comment*.

³ The passion narrative is being continued here. *μνημεῖον* is the same term as found in Luke 24:2. In this case, the *post-resurrection* discovery of Thecla is when the boy chances upon her in the market place.

⁴ *οἱ παῖδες*- I have decided to translate this masculine plural noun as *children*, instead of *boys* (*NTApoc* 2:243) for several reasons. First, although the term is masculine, it is written from a generally patriarchal perspective, with gendered words being inclined to the masculine gender. If either Zenon or Simmia happened to be female, then the noun would still be written *οἱ παῖδες* and not *αἱ παῖδες*. Second, the text is consistently ambiguous about the gender of the young people referenced throughout the text (See 3.22.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; 3.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9; 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; and 3.11.2 *General Comment* for further discussion). Third, it appears that the children are not historical entities, but rather literary tools for setting up the situation to allow for Paul and Thecla to once again find each other (3.2.2 *General Comment*). For instance, it is the children (plural) who speak in unison (law of twins-see 3.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1). Then, Paul responds, “Go, child” in the singular, addressing only one child. Only one child (masculine) goes to buy bread, speaks with Thecla, and leads her to Paul. *ÉAC* translates this *les enfants*, which incidentally sustains the original better by not making a distinction between masculine and feminine in French.

⁵ Καὶ οὐκ εἶχον πόθεν ἀγοράσωσιν ἄρτους- Hills gives this a “B” reading when compared to John 6:5.

⁶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου- Hills suggests giving this a “C” rating as a parallel to 1 Cor 7:33-34, only being attested in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.7.51.3; 4.13.94.3; 6.8.68.1; *Quis. Div.* 37.5) and Tertullian among writers of the second century (“Acts of the Apostles,” 31). Also found in Marcus Aurelius Antonius, *Imperator*, 9.28.1; Philo, *Somn.* 1.135.2, *Abr.* 46.3; *Aet.* 32.5; Plutarch, *Stoic. Rep.* 1054F; also found in the writings of Chrysippus (*Fragmenta logica et physica*, 550.11). For an interesting connection to “leaving the things of this world” and widows, see also *T. Job* 14.1-5; 9-13; 33.3, 4, 8; 34.4; 47.3; 53.3; see also the introduction by R. P. Spittler, “Testament of Job,” *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 1:835-36; and the comments by Robert A. Kraft, ed. on *T. Job* 47.3 and 49.2 in *The Testament of Job*, (SBLTT 5; Pseudepigrapha Series 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1974), 80-83.

⁷ ἀπεδύσατο τὸν ἐπενδύτην- Paul is providing the child with a garment, which will allow him or her to be able to buy bread in the place of Paul. See 1 Kgdms 18:4 (LXX), where Jonathan gives David his cloak representing his royal lineage and transfers it to David; The ἐπενδύτης represents much more than just a garment for warmth or protection, it symbolizes the fullness of Paul and his apostleship. Compare 4.15, where Thecla devises a way to ῥάψαι τὸν χιτῶνα εἰς ἐπενδύτην σχήματι ἀνδρική, so that she will appear before Paul donning the appropriate attire of the apostle of God, and bearing the news of God himself that she has been selected. It is as much

the garment as it is the news that convinces Paul. The contrast that should be seen is how flippantly Paul allows this young child to don the garment, while withholding it from Thecla through multiple trials (See McGinn, “The Acts of Thecla,” *Searching the Scriptures*, 827; Vorster, “Construction of Culture,” 110-11

⁸ There is no Greek translation or original for this expression. The Latin manuscript *c* has *in platea*. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 40-41; 13*; and *AAA*, 251.

⁹ Cf. 3.19; 14.7 (2x), Cestus and Longus *pursue* Titus and Luke, in the same way that they *pursued* Paul seeking life (εἰς ζώην).

¹⁰ αὐτῇ added to the *AAA* text based on Cop¹, which has παχε πωηρεωημ νεσ χε.

3.23.2 General Comment

The text here leaves numerous questions unanswered. To begin, how does Paul end up with Onesiphorus, Lectra, and their children. Secondly, how does Thecla end up in the market and why is she there? I find it surprising that Thecla has been involved with the possible destruction of numerous people in the center of the city, in the theatre, yet afterwards she is found in the forum. The theological point of 3.22 is clear, God delivered Thecla from the judgment, and in turn allowed her deliverance to be a moment of God’s wrath coming down upon an unjust city and rulers. Obviously, unimportant to the author of the text, did the Proconsul acquit Thecla? Nonetheless, the point is clear that the narrative driven by a theological agenda are more important than historical inconsistencies and gaps. History writing is not the preeminent agenda.

The next chapter begins with a resurrection sequence that involves several twists to the traditional Gospel passions. First, the empty tomb is found, but the players are reversed with the disciples hiding and praying in the tomb. Paradoxically, Paul is presented as a friend and companion of Thecla, but not at the level that he remained at the trial of Thecla. He fled (?) also. The group, having fasted for six days suggests that the trial of Thecla elapsed a week ago, and yet no word of Thecla. It appears also that the text implies that this small band has been in hiding for six days, while Thecla had to go through any other legal harassments and difficulties alone. Nevertheless, the children call to end the fast, speaking in unison, “we are hungry (πεινῶμεν), and we have no bread to eat.” At this point, the major theological string is plucked in the next line Παῦλος δὲ ἀπεδύσατο τὸν ἐπενδύτην.... The implications of this action, while being ever so simple, carry a much greater significance, especially in light of Thecla’s actions in *AP* 4.13-15. Paul casually gives the cloak that bears his authority and apostleship and hands it over to a child, yet withholds it from women to possess any responsibilities as an apostle. This could also be a foreshadowing of the emergence and blessing of Thecla as transitioning from childhood to womanhood without the rite of passage of sexual activity with a man (See Vorster, “Construction of Culture,” 105-108; and Horn, “Suffering Children, Parental Authority and the Quest for Liberation?, 126). This will later be changed by the second direct personal intervention of God in Antioch (4.9-10). As the *children* initially speak to Paul, from this point forward there is only one child, suggesting that the children are merely serving the role of the “twins” (see 3.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; 3.23.1 *Textual Notes*,

note 4 above), and lack any real historical value, but serve as the instigators of reuniting Thecla to Paul. Upon coming to the market, Thecla sees the child, asks for Paul, and the child explains that Paul has been grieving, praying, and fasting for six days for her.

3.24 Ὡς δὲ ἐπέστη ἐπὶ τὸ τάφος¹ Παύλου κεκλικότη² τὰ γόνατα³
καὶ προσευχομένη καὶ λέγοντι Πάτερ⁴ Ἰησοῦ⁵ Χριστοῦ, μὴ ἀψάσθω⁶ Θέκλῃς
τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ πάρεσο⁷ αὐτῇ, ὅτι σή ἐστιν, ἣ δὲ ὕπισθεν ἐστῶσα
ἐβόησεν⁸ λέγουσα⁹ Πάτερ,¹⁰ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν,¹¹ ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδὸς
πατὴρ,¹² εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἔσωσάς (5)
Με,¹³ ἵνα Παῦλον ἴδω πάλιν.¹⁴ Καὶ ἀναστὰς Παῦλος εἶδεν αὐτὴν
καὶ εἶπεν Θεὲ καρδιογνώστα,¹⁵ ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ¹⁶
Χριστοῦ, εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ὁ ἡτῆσάμην¹⁷ ἐτάχυνάς δοῦναι¹⁸ μοι καὶ εἰσῆκουσάς μου.

Translation:

But as she came upon the tomb to Paul, who had bent his knees and was praying and saying “Father of Jesus Christ, do not let Thecla be overtaken in the fire, but be with her, because she is yours.” But Thecla, who was standing behind, cried aloud, “Father, the one who made the heavens and the earth, the father of the holy child, I thank you because you saved me, in order that I might see Paul again.” And Paul, having risen, saw her and said, “God, knower of hearts, the father of our Lord Jesus

Christ, I thank you because you hastened to give to me and responded to me that which I asked.”

3.24.1 Textual Notes

¹ *τάφος* replaces *μνημεῖον* based on Cop¹ (**ΑΠΤΑΦΟΣ**).

² *κεκλιότι*- Perfect active participle, dative masculine singular, from *κλίνω* meaning *to rest, lean, recline* (LSJ, 961).

³ Bending the knees to pray, see *AP* 3.5 (3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3); Mark 15:19; Luke 5:8; 22:41; Acts 7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5; Phil 2:10.

⁴ *Πάτερ* shows up three times in this verse alone, emphasizing the connection between Thecla and the father. This is consistent with a *post-resurrection* account of Thecla.

⁵ *Ἰησοῦ* added based on textual evidence of Cop¹ (**ΙΗΣΟΥ**). There are also numerous variations in the other manuscripts (*AAA*, 252; Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 41).

⁶ See *AP* 3.22, *καὶ μεγάλου πυρὸς λάμπαντος οὐχ ἤψατο αὐτῆς τὸ πῦρ*.

⁷ *πάρεσο*- present middle imperative, second person singular from *πάρεμι* (Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 210-11, §768; 152, §462)

⁸ *βοάω* (and other cognates such as *βοήθησις*) are common for the *AP*; see 3.20, 24; 4.5 (2x), 7, 8 (2x), 17 (4x); *APTh* 45; 9.15 (2x), 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28; 12.3 (2x), 4, 5.

⁹ Added based on evidence of *G,C d*, and Cop¹ (**ΑCΑΠΩΘΗΛ' ΑΒΑΛ' ΕCΧΟΥ ΜΗΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ**).

¹⁰ Cop¹ reads **παειωτ**, but Schmidt argues for the reading of *AAA* (based on A, C F, and Latin B_b, C_{abc}, Syr., Arm.). See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 41.

¹¹ Acts 4:24 and 14:15. Hills gives this reference a “C” rating (“Acts of the Apostles,” 41). See also 10.4.9 (3 *Cor*). “This expression, of course, conveys a central biblical affirmation.” (Ibid.). See Gen 1:1; 2:4; 14:19, 22; Exod 20:11 (Deut 5:14 LXX Vaticanus); 31:17; 4 Kgdms 19:15; 2 Chr 2:11 (12); LXX 1 Esd 6:13; Neh 9:6; Jdt 13:18; Esth 4:17; Add Esth 4:17 (=13:10); Ps 113:23 (115:15); 120 (121):2; 123 (124):8; 133 (134):3; 134 (135):6; 145 (146):6; Zech 12:1; Isa 37:16; 42:5; 51:13; Jer 39 (32):17; LXX Dan 4:34; Bel 5.

¹² See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 41, for text critical reasons for the amendment from *ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ*.

¹³ *ἐκ πυρός*-following A, B, Syr., Arm., Lat. Versions, Cop¹.

¹⁴ *πάλιν*-Following Cop¹, **ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡ** (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 42, 13*).

¹⁵ *Θεὲ καρδιογνώστα*- Cf. Acts 1:24; 15:8; Herm. *Mand.* 4.3.4; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14.96 (=5.96.4); *Apos. Con.* 2.24.6; 3.7.8; 4.6.8; 6.12.4; 8.5.6. This is the clearest indication within the section of the *APTh*, other than possibly 3.2, that the author of the *AP* had some familiarity with the content of the canonical Acts. See Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 45, who gives the connection an “A” rating, and adequately critiques reservations to the connection made by Haenchen, Cadbury, and Lake. For arguments against the two being compatible, see Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, and R. McL.

Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 162; Cadbury, H. J., and Kirsopp Lake, *Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*. (F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds.; Vol. 1 of *The beginnings of Christianity*; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1920-33, 1979), 4.15, n. 24.

¹⁶ Alteration of *AAA* based on textual evidence of Cop¹ (N¹HC). The decision made by Hills, “Acts of the Apostles,” 30 which suggests a “D” rating in the connection between ὁ πατήρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and texts such as 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; 2 Cor 11:31; should be further disregarded, realizing that the text as quoted from *AAA* has an inferior reading once amended with Cop¹ as indicated above.

¹⁷ ἡττήσάμην being a form of αἵτείσθαι found in manuscripts A and B. The change is based on textual evidence of Cop¹ (ΠΕΝΤΑΕΙΡΑΙΤΕΙ). See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 42.

¹⁸ δοῦναι added based on textual evidence of Cop¹ (ΑΤΕΕQ).

3.24.2 General Comment

In this chapter, which provides one of the two best examples for a possible touchpoint for the *AP* author relying upon some form of the Acts of the Apostles (see note 15), the chapter takes the opportunity of combining two types of scenes as found in the ancient novel: (1) the scene, in which the hero or heroine goes to the temple to pray to the gods to be reunited to their lover (Chariton, *Chaer.* 2.2.5-8) and (2) the scene where the lovers are reunited (Ibid., 8.1.1-10). This Christian blend of the ancient novel creates the reunification of the *lovers* who paradoxically are truly lovers of

God. Therefore upon reunification, instead of exchanging embraces and vows of love for one another, there is a series of prayers offered up to God, the father (Πάτερ...εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι...), giving thanks for this great occasion. Interestingly enough the scene does not take place at a *μνημεῖον*, but rather at a *τάφος*, comparable to the post-resurrection manifestations of Jesus to the disciples (Matt 27:61, 64, 65; 28:1; compare *μνημεῖον* in Mark 16:2; Luke 24:2), possibly demonstrating a preference for Matthew's Gospel. As the two *lovers* reunite, Thecla makes clear her desire in the words of her prayer, *ἵνα Παῦλον ἴδω πάλιν*. This line of celebration and reunification is continued in the first lines of *AP* 3.25 also, where we learn that there was much love (*ἀγάπη πολλή*) within the tomb, shared rejoicingly between Paul, Thecla, Onesiphorus, Lectra, Simmias, and Zenon.

3.25 Καὶ ἦν ἔσω ἐν τῷ τάφῳ¹ ἀγάπη μεγάλη,² Παύλου ἀγαλλιωμένου³ καὶ Ὀνησιφόρου καὶ πάντων. εἶχον δὲ ἄρτους πέντε⁴ καὶ λάχανα καὶ ὕδωρ,⁵ καὶ εὐφραίνοντο⁶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις ἔργοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ.⁷ καὶ εἶπεν Θέκλα τῷ Παύλῳ Περικαροῦμαι⁸ καὶ ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου δὴν πορεύῃ.⁹ Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ὁ καιρὸς (5) αἰσχρὸς,¹⁰ καὶ σὺ εὐμορφος.¹¹ μὴ ἄλλος σε πειρασμὸς¹² λήψεται χείρων τοῦ πρώτου,¹³ καὶ οὐχ ὑπομείνης ἀλλὰ δειλανδρήσης.¹⁴ καὶ εἶπεν Θέκλα Μόνον δός μοι τὴν σφραγίδα¹⁵ ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ,¹⁶ καὶ οὐχ ἄψεταιί μοι πειρασμός.¹⁷ καὶ εἶπεν Παῦλος τῇ Θέκλῃ¹⁸ μακροθύμησον,¹⁹ καὶ λήψῃ τὸ ὕδωρ.²⁰ (10)

Translation:

And within the tomb there was much love, as Paul Onesiphorus and everyone were rejoicing. But they had five loaves of bread, vegetables, and water, and it caused them to be gladdened concerning the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said to Paul, “I will cut my hair and follow you wherever you should go.” But he said, “O, shameless time, and you are beautiful.” May another trial not leave you worse than the first, and you might not endure but you might be cowardly.” And Thecla said, “Only give to me the seal in the Lord, and no temptation will touch me. And Paul said to Thecla, “Be patient, and you will receive the water.”

3.25.1 Textual Notes

¹ *τάφος* replaces *μνημεῖον* again (see 3.24.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1) based on Cop¹ (**ἩΠΤΑΦΟΣ**).

² *μεγάλη* instead of *πολλή* based on Cop¹ (**ΟΓΗΛΟ**).

³ Thecla’s feelings of rejoicing in 3.20, *ἡ δὲ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀπίει ἀγαλλιωμένη*⁵ *ἔμπροσθεν (ἐνώπιον) πάντων*, are reciprocated by all (see 3.20.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5).

⁴ Possible Eucharistic or agape meal language; see 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4. See also Matt 14:17, 19; 16:9; Mark 6:38, 41; 8:19; Luke 9:13, 16; John 6:9, 13. Compare also the bowing of prayer in 3.24 with 3.5 (see 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3). See also Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 86-7; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.1.3-5. See Thomas

M. Finn, “Agape (Love Feast),” *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (ed. Everett E. Ferguson; New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1990) 16-17, for the development of *love feasts* apart from the *eucharist*.

⁵ The addition of <καὶ ἄλας> as found in *AAA* has been cut from the text, based on the absence of such a reading in Cop¹, and further explained by Schmidt as: *Lipsius* <καὶ ἄλας> *auf Grund des Syr. Hinter ὕδωρ* (Syr._c salt and water, *ebenso* Arm.), *aber dieser Zusatz sicher im Syr. Entstanden, da er vom Schreiber nach dem Ritus der syrischen Kirche eingefügt ist...* (*Acta Pauli*, 42, note 20.2). He then suggests *Apos. Con.* 45.18 for comparison.

⁶ Cf. Luke 15:23, 29, 32; Acts 7:41.

⁷ Cf. *AP* 3.20, 3.20.1 *Textual Notes*, notes 8 and 9.

⁸ Cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 6.9.7; 6.11.3.

⁹ Cf. Matt 8:19; Lk 9:57. Hills, “Acts of the Apostles,” 31, gives this a “C” rating.

¹⁰ Cf. Tit 1:11; 1 Cor 11:6; 14:35; *1 Clem* 47.6. This term is enveloped with honor-shame overtones, “generally, in reference to that which fails to meet expected moral and cultural standards [opp. *καλός*] **pertaining to being socially or morally unacceptable, shameful, base...**” (“ἀισχρός, ά, όν,” BDAG 29). See also Achilles Tatius, *Leuc.* 1.10.2; 5.11.3; 7.6.4; Chariton, *Chaer.* 4.2.2; 5.7.3. Also, may be translated as “ugly.” Also see Tertullian, *Bapt.* 17. as a pivotal repudiation of Thecla’s question, and how the *AP* deals with this discussion.

¹¹ Cf. Philo, *Virt.* 110; *T. Jud.* 13.3; Justin, *Dial.* 134.1; et. al. (BDAG, 409). Thecla is being accused of having made a shameless and “ugly” suggestion, when Paul is implying that this is such a shameless time.

¹² This is playing off the motif found in the ancient novel of the two lovers desiring to fulfill their sexual gratification, while abstaining until the appropriate time. This is intensified by numerous *temptations* that press in upon them from other individuals. For examples in the ancient novel see Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.8.3; 1.19.7 (Thyamis threatens Theagenes and Charicleia) 1.25; 7 (especially Alsace’s intervention into the relationship of Theagenes and Charicleia); 5.31.1-4 (While enjoying a feast devoted to Hermes, the priest Calasiris records another threat to Theagenes and Charicleia by Pelorus); Longus, *Daph.* 1.15-17; 3.20; Chariton, *Chaer.* 4.3.8-10; 8.1; 5. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 5.16-17; 5.21; 5.22.8; 5.27; et. al.

¹³ Referring to the trials that she has just undergone in Iconium and the one to come in Antioch (chapter 4).

¹⁴ Paul fears the renunciation of faith, when one is on the verge of martyrdom. See 2 Macc 8:13; 4 Macc 10.14.

¹⁵ Cf. 9.20; 14.5, 7. The *seal* is baptism. See Robin M. Jensen, “Baptismal Rites and Architecture,” *A People’s History of Christianity: Volume 2, Late Ancient Christianity* (ed. Virginia Burrus; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 120-22; Willy Rordorf, “Tertullien et les *Actes de Paul*,” 475-84. It appears that a connection developed quickly between the *σφραγίς* and *βαπτίζω*. The “seal” is connected to the seal of the Holy Spirit. In 2 Cor 1:21-22, Paul states, “But it is God who establishes

us with you in Christ and has anointed us, by putting his seal on us and giving us his Spirit in our hearts as a first installment.” In time this develops into the Christian rite, in which the application of holy oil, water immersion and *sealed* with ointment (this latter part is equated with the participation of the Holy Spirit). This development can be seen in the *Didache* 7, *Didascalia* 16, Hippolytus’ *Trad. ap.* 22, and finally *Apostolic Traditions* 7.22.2, where the text (and *Didascalia*) makes clear that the seal is baptism.

¹⁶ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα has been changed to τὴν σφραγίδα ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 43, note 20.11.

¹⁷ This is a continuation and response to the events from 3.22 (καὶ μεγάλου πυρὸς λάμπαντος οὐχ ἤψατο αὐτῆς τὸ πῦρ), 3.24 (μὴ ἀψάσθω Θέκλης τὸ πῦρ), 3.25 (μὴ ἄλλος σε πειρασμὸς λήψεται χείρων τοῦ πρώτου), and here.

¹⁸ τῇ Θέκλῃ has been added, based on the evidence of Cop¹.

¹⁹ μακροθύμησον- Aorist active imperative (§390 and §543 in Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 125 and 173 respectively) coming from μακροθυμέω, meaning *have patience, be patient* (BDAG, 612), *long-suffering* (LSJ, 1074); see also μακρόθυμος, ον (BDAG, 613) which means “pert(aining) to being self-controlled in the face of provocation, *patient, forbearing, tolerant, even-tempered*.” See also Matt 18:26; 1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 3:10, 4:2; James 5:7 is suggestive of the eschatological *patience* for the coming of Christ (*AP* 4.9).

²⁰ “The water” means “baptism.” Cop¹ reads ἡπὶ βαπτισμᾷ. Schmidt suggests *die Taufe* following Cop¹ (*Acta Pauli*, 43), but the change from τὸ ὕδωρ to τὸ βάπτισμα is unjustified. τὸ ὕδωρ is the more difficult reading with a higher degree of uncertainty as to the meaning of Paul’s statement (*ÉAC*, 1136). No extant Greek manuscripts have the reading of τὸ βάπτισμα.

3.25.2 General Comment

Paul, Thecla, Onesiphorus, and his family all join with great love at the beginning of the chapter. While all are joined, there seems to be special emphasis upon the rejoining of Paul and Thecla (see 3.25; 3.25.2 *General Comment*). As this blended passion narrative is combined with the characteristics of the ancient novel, one begins with the first *agape* meal following Paul’s resurrection with a simple meal of bread, water, and vegetables (see Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 86-7, for a discussion on the *AP* and aquarianism; compare also *ATH* 29, 49-59, and 158; *Did.*9; *Ign. Phld.* 4; *contra* 1 Tim 5:23; and 3.6.1 *Textual Notes*, note 3; where the Eucharist includes the bread and a cup, but the text never specifies wine.). Eucharistic overtones can also be seen to the extent that Jesus’ miracle of feeding the five thousand (Matt 14:17, et. al.) is possibly alluded to here, and equally represents the example of having a *meal with Jesus*, with the last supper being the meal *par excellence*.

As they eat this meal, and meditate on how the holy works of Christ have been represented in their lives, Thecla makes a pointed and anticipated statement; “...I will

follow you wherever you should go.” This statement seems innocent, but Thecla says this only after attempting to determine ways that she can be an apostle/disciple to Paul, even if it means going as a man. Thecla is making a request that is later repudiated on the basis of the Pauline witness in Tertullian, *de Baptismo* 17, who quotes Paul in 1 Cor 14:35. Her statement is clearly based on her desire to cut her hair and disguise her figure (see *AP* 4.14 where Thecla finally succeeds after the second *πειρασμός*).

There are at least two ways to interpret Paul’s response to Thecla: (1) Paul is suggesting that the times are shameless and bad, and Thecla would be tempted beyond what she can bear or forced, and (2) Thecla’s request is inappropriate, and Paul is suggesting that Thecla desires something that is *ugly* and *shameless*. I tend to believe that the second option is the more valid of the two, considering that the cutting of a woman’s hair was culturally a shameful act (Cf. Paul’s response in 1 Cor. 11:6). Paul boldly, but wrongfully resists the desire of Thecla (and God) and will not ratify Thecla’s request, although God himself has defended Thecla, on account of the fact that *ὁ θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἡῶν*. At this point, the reader ought to anticipate that Paul has been represented in an inferior light to Thecla on at least two counts; (1) He did not stay with Thecla for the trial, (2) he has denied Thecla what God desires of her. Interestingly enough, Paul appears to be presented as consistent with the canonical Paul of 1 Corinthians and the Pastorals here (Tit 1:11; 1 Cor 11:6; 14:35; and *1 Clem* 47.6), yet is also presented as lacking divine insight and ability to comprehend the intentions of the Spirit of God. It is almost as if the text wants to

present a Paul, in response to the Pastorals, who, formerly being ignorant concerning the role of women in the church is now beginning to understand what Paul once thought shameful (ἀἰσχρός-1 Cor 11:6). What he thought should be simply a custom of the churches of God (συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι-1 Cor 11:16) is incorrect information that God has to forcefully teach to Paul, by means of Thecla (4.16 against 1 Cor 14:35). Thecla is naturally led to the conclusion that she should have the authority to teach and to baptize after receiving the seal of approval, *via* Paul baptizing her (see 4.16.2 *General Comment*; and Jeremy Barrier, “Tertullian and the Acts of Paul or Thecla?.” Therefore the issue at hand is not simply Paul withholding baptism from Thecla, but rather, Paul is hesitant to issue the approval to be baptized, and therefore to teach and baptize others with authority, i. e., apostolic authority. This is the exact point that the *AP* will eventually make as one moves on through *AP* 4 which concludes the story of Thecla (See 4.13.2 *General Comment*).

3.26¹ Καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν² Παῦλος τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον³ πανοικί⁴ εἰς
Ἰκόνιον, καὶ οὕτως λαβόμενος τὴν Θέκλαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν⁵ εἰσῆλθεν.

Translation:

And Paul sent away Onesiphorus with all of his household into Iconium, and thus having received Thecla, he entered into Antioch.

3.26.1 Textual Notes:

¹ Following the traditional numeration stemming from the first critical edition prepared by R. A. Lipsius (1891), this short “chapter” is now somewhat displaced. According to the *AAA* text, 3.26 constituted what now encompasses 3.26 and 4.1 according to the numeration prescribed (for the first time) by Rordorf in *ÉAC*. For the first time the *APTh* have been subdivided into chapters 3 (Iconium) and 4 (Antioch). This is based upon the evidence demonstrated provided by Cop¹ which constitutes this change. On the 20th leaf of the manuscript there is a clear break in the text with the words ...Ϯⲛⲧⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ (Greek, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῆλθεν) followed by a break and a new section with the chapter heading ⲁ¹. The Coptic text then begins again with Ϯⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲩⲃⲱⲕ... (Greek, ἄμα δὲ τῇ εἰσέρχεσθαι αὐτούς). This break now divides chapter 26 in *AAA* into two halves. The first line of *AAA* critical edition of *APTh* 26 is now 3.26, and the remainder of *AAA*’s *APTh* 26 is now 4.1. In hindsight, it makes more sense to roll 3.26 into 3.25, and do away with 3.26 altogether, but for the present 3.26 will be retained to avoid confusion.

² See *AP* 14.1.

³ See 2 Tim 1:15-16.

⁴ See *AP* 3.23.

⁵ The most recent arguments suggest Antioch of Pisidia (*ÉAC*, 1137); see also discussion in 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; Dunn, “The Acts of Paul, 21-22; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 390-91, Gebhardt, *Passio*, xcvi-xcix; *NTApoc* 2:219; et. al. This seems to be most reasonable based on the knowledge that Paul

travels next to Myra (*AP* 4.15). This would allow Paul to have followed a highway in Pisidia connecting Iconium to Antioch, and then moving down the valley following the Catarrhactes Cestrus rivers, possibly through Perga and Attalia in Pamphylia, and then along the coast or by ship to Myra in Lycia. The strongest argument against Pisidian Antioch is the Greek and Coptic evidence for Alexander being a Syrian and possibly a “president of the provincial capital of Syria” (“συριάρχης,” LSJ, 1731). Cop¹ which supports a reading “immediately as they entered a Syrian (ϥϣρ[οϥ]) by the name of Alexander, one of the first of the Antiochenes...”. This argues for Alexander being a Syrian, but does not necessarily locate him in Syrian Antioch for this series of events that follow. See also *4.1.1 Textual Notes*, note 1. In the same way that writing history is not the pre-eminent concern, it is also possible that neither is geography (see *3.23.2 General Comment*; Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2:219-220).

3.26.2 General Comment

At the close of 3.25, Thecla brings two requests before Paul. First, Thecla asks if she might be able to follow after Paul, in which Paul responds in the negative. Thecla then pushes forward in her request to receive the seal in Christ, being baptism, and Paul then cautions her again to wait with patience for baptism. The question is whether Paul has foresight into the future in which he has divine knowledge that anticipates Thecla’s baptism, or if Paul is delaying to respond to Thecla’s request? Although it is possible that Paul has divine foresight, it seems more likely that Paul is

stalling. It appears that as Thecla is denied to follow Paul, then she seeks baptism for the sole purpose of going out on her own as a representative of Christ. Paul sensing that if he is to maintain any control over Thecla, then he must submit to the first request in order to (1) divert attention away from her request for baptism, which would eventuate in Paul's endorsement of Thecla as a teacher and apostle and (2) delay responding to the inevitable, that Thecla has been endorsed by God even in a miraculous way. When one learns in 3.26 that Paul is sending Onesiphorus and his family back to Iconium, and then takes Thecla along with him, it becomes apparent that Paul has submitted to the first request, in order to avoid the second request.

The motif that is being modeled here comes from the ancient novel (See 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11). It is typical within the ancient novel for lovers to have to delay gratification of sexual desire until the appropriate time. As sexual gratification and union is prolonged, the temptations and attempts by others to fulfill sexual desires with one or both members become greater and greater. As the pressures externally are relieved, then the temptation by the lovers to maintain purity intensifies. As for the case of Thecla within the Christian novel context, Thecla maintains her purity by resisting Thamyris, only to then want to fulfill her desire for Paul/Christ. At this point, Paul cautions for patience. This delays the fitting union of lovers until the appropriate time, but (un)expectedly another greater temptation comes from the outside, namely through Alexander who emerges in the text only a few lines from here. After emerging from this situation, then Thecla's pure union with Jesus will eventually be complete as found in chapter 4.

4.1 ἅμα δὲ τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι αὐτούς, συριάρχης¹ τις Ἀλέξανδρος ὀνό-
 ματι Ἀντιοχείων πρωτοσ² πολλὰ ποιῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ³ ἰδὼν τὴν
 Θέκλαν ἠράσθη αὐτῆς, καὶ πείθειν⁴ τὸν Παῦλον
 χρήμασι καὶ δώροις.⁵ ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν Οὐκ οἶδα τὴν γυναῖκα (5)
 ἣν λέγεις,⁶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐμή. ὁ δὲ πολὺ δυνάμενος, αὐτὸς αὐτῇ
 περιεπλάκη⁷ εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον⁸ ἢ δὲ οὐκ ἠγέσχετο,⁹ ἀλλὰ Παῦλον
 ἐζήτηι. καὶ ἀνέκραγεν πικρῶς λέγουσα Μὴ βιάσῃ τὴν ξένην,¹⁰ μὴ
 βιάσῃ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλην.¹¹ Ἰκονιέων εἰμι πρώτη,¹² καὶ διὰ τὸ
 μὴ θέλιν με γαμηθῆναι Θαμύριδι, ἐκβέβλημαι τῆς πόλεως.¹³ καὶ (10)
 λαβομένη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου¹⁴ περιέσχισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ
 περιεῖλεν αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανον,¹⁵ καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν θρίαμβον.¹⁶

Translation:

But at the same time that they were entering, a certain Syrian named Alexander, a leading member of the Antiochenes, having accomplished many matters in that city by all of his leadership seeing Thecla, he felt passionately for her, and attempted to persuade Paul with money and gifts. But Paul said, “I don’t know the woman of whom you speak, nor is she mine. But he, having much power, embraced her in the city quarter. But she did not put up with it, but sought out Paul. And she cried out bitterly, “Do not force the stranger! Do not force the servant of God. I am a leading woman of the Iconians, and on account of my not wishing to marry Thamyras, I was

motif of the ancient novel, when upon facing external pressures the lovers will often create some story in order to protect themselves from possible death or even worse problems, with the untruth possibly extending their time in order to discover a more appropriate response to the dilemma (see Heliodorus *Aeth.* 6.9.7). For instance, Theagenes and Charicleia tell everyone consistently throughout the Ethiopian Romance that they are brother and sister, in order to avoid the execution of Theagenes, and avoid the direct jealousy of those who have fallen passionately in love with their betrothed, such as is the case with Arsace. In fact, this is clearly explained as such by Charicleia, when speaking to Theagenes (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.22.2-1.25.6; see also 7.12.7-7.13.1). This is the most likely explanation of Paul's behavior toward Thecla, although the telling of the story has been greatly abbreviated in comparison to the typical ancient novel. Compare also Abraham and Sarah, Gen 20:1-18 and Isaac and Rebeah in Gen 26:6-11. An alternative interpretation is that found visually, where Paul's "abandonment" of Thecla is borrowing from such images as the fresco of Aeneas abandoning Dido in Africa (See PPM 4.843-44; 6.240, 245; and 4.187, 279) or Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne (PPM 3.992 referring to a fresco in the Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto). From this perspective, one must realize that a contrast in these two abandonment episodes from the Thecla episode is that in the case of Aeneas, the story follows the male who founds Rome, while in the case of the *APTh*, the story follows Thecla, the female heroine. However it is possible that similar to the reversal and reinterpretation of the ancient romance "love" story, this is also a reversal. In particular a reversal of which "hero" is to be followed after the

abandonment takes place. In one case, the story of the male hero is continued, while in the other case the story of the female heroine is continued.

⁷ See *Jos. Asen.* 16.14, Codex *A* (BDAG, 804).

⁸ See *AP* 4.11 (center of outrageous activity on the part of both Thamyras and Alexander, Thecla's two admiring adversaries. There are possible theological/sociological overtones regarding social boundaries that may be intended); Acts 19:28.

⁹ See 2 Cor 11:1, 4, 19, 20; 2 Tim 4:3.

¹⁰ Paul's anxiety (Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ὁ καιρὸς αἰσχυρὸς, καὶ σὺ εὐμορφος· μὴ ἄλλος σε πειρασμὸς λήψεται χείρων τοῦ πρώτου, *AP* 3.25) for Thecla is now being realized. Now Thecla is the alien (important designation for the author of the *AP* and used in the ancient novel [see Heliodorus 7.11.7]; *AP* 3.8, 13, 19; 4.1, 3; see especially 3.13.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8 for connections to the ancient novel), not Paul, and the threat extends beyond possible physical abuse, but also forced rape, which would compromise the integrity of Thecla's purity.

¹¹ τῇν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλην- Luke 1:38 (ἡ δούλη κυρίου); 48 (τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ [in reference to θεῶ from the preceding line]). See also *AP* 3.45 (3x); 4.12 (Thecla says εἰμι τοῦ ζῶντος δούλη); and 4.13. This seems to be somewhat of a specific formal title given to Thecla preceding her commission from Paul in 4.16 selected by Thecla first and finally recognized by the governor in 4.13.

¹² This claim of "I am first of the Iconiums" should have suggested to the governor that the execution of Thecla should have been something less degrading than *damnati*

ad bestias (Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 55, footnote 105: This footnote references P. Garnsey, “Why penalties become harsher: the Roman case, late Republic to fourth century Empire,” *Natural Law Forum* 13 (1968): 141-62, especially 20, note 72; and F. Millar, “Condemnation to hard labour in the Roman Empire, from the Julio-Claudians to Constantine,” *PBSR* 52 (1984): 124-47, especially 134.), such as execution by beheading. For a plausible explanation of this more “aggravated” form of punishment, see 3.22.2 *General Comment*.

¹³ ἐκβέβλημαι τῆς πόλεως- This is a small detail that is not mentioned in the conclusion to the accounting of the events that took place in Iconium in 3.22-26.

¹⁴ See 2 Tim 4:14.

¹⁵ Knocking the crown off Alexander’s head embodies a greater symbolic value than actually bringing any physical harm to Alexander. The loss of the symbol can carry the meaning of a loss of divinity (possibly intended by the author of the *AP* to demonstrate the inferiority of the “leading man” to the Christ), or the loss of honor/dignity (also intended here). See “στέφανος, ου, ὁ,” BDAG, 943-44; Grundmann, “στέφανος, στεφανώω,” *TDNT* 7:620-22, 29-36. For an early refutation of the wearing of crowns see Tertullian, *de Corona*. In the gospels, only Christ wears a crown, but only in mockery, see Matt 27:29; Mark 15:17; John 19:2, 5; *Gos. Pet.* 3.8.

¹⁶ Text changed to manuscript *C* reading (περιεῖλεν αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανον¹³, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν θρίαμβον) from preferred reading of *AAA*, 254 (supported by manuscripts *A*, *B*, *E*, *F*, *G*, and Latin, Syriac, and Armenian versions), τὸν στέφανον ἀφείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς

the governor not to condemn Thecla *ad bestias*, but rather to have allowed Thecla a more noble and respectable death of beheading which would have been less degrading for Thecla (See note above). In fact, even Paul is offered this form of execution in *AP* 14.5 under the wrath of Nero. Interestingly Paul is able to embrace the title for his advantage as one who lives by a different standard as advocated in the beatitudes. It is possible that Thecla is bearing out the exact course of action that Paul would have anticipated in 3.25-26, and Thecla appears not to be ready. At this point, Paul is in no position to make any change in circumstance against the leading man of the Antiochenes, namely Alexander. However, Paul's removal from the situation combined with Thecla's near inadequacy to bear the mark, via the title of a 'stranger,' is finally reaffirmed when Thecla embraces the title of ξένη. When this happens, she is once again socially accepted into the role of a daughter to Queen Tryphaena by means of a vision of the Queen's dead daughter telling the Queen to embrace Thecla as her daughter. The effect of Thecla equating the two terms "stranger" and slave/servant of God" through her appeal for salvation from a rape, "Μὴ βιάσῃ τήν ξένην, μὴ βιάσῃ τήν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλῃν, is powerfully redefined first through the reaffirmation of her being "strange," yet very socially and spiritually alive and secondly through the formal designation that Thecla is pronounced "servant/slave of God" by the governor of Antioch. This proclamation eventuates in the completion of Thecla's conversion story and her commissioning and affirmation as prophetess *par excellence* with rights of apostolic authority to carry out the great commission of

Jesus to “go and teach the word of God” (Matt 28:19-20/*AP* 4.16; See 4.15.2 *General Comment*).

Thecla begins to realize her ability in the closing lines of this passage, in which she successfully knocks the crown/wreath of Alexander from his head. This symbol of dignity (and for Thecla a threat to her God), is removed from his head (αγῶ λσφι ἵπερικλαμ') and Thecla realizes the potential for a triumph over such threats as Thamyras and now Alexander. This is also a declaration that Thecla is truly the one deserving of the triumphal procession into Antioch as a heroine of the faith (2 Tim 4.8), as Thecla is not given a crown, but rather has to take hers. As the text continues, her dignity and right to the crown will be borne out.

4.2 Ὁ δὲ ἄμα μὲν φιλῶν αὐτήν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχυρόμενος¹
 τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῷ, προσήγαγεν αὐτήν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, κακείνης² ὁμο-
 λογησάσης ταῦτα πεπραχέναι κατέκρινεν αὐτήν εἰς θηρία,³ Ἀλεξάνδρου συλλαμβάνοντος.⁴
 αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῆς πόλεως⁵ ἀνέκραξαν παρὰ τὸ βῆμα⁶ Κακὴ
 κρίσις, ἀνοσία κρίσις.⁷ Ἡ⁸ δὲ ᾗτήσατο τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἵνα (5)
 ἀγνὴ⁹ μείνῃ μέχρις οὗ θηριομαχίῃς.¹⁰ γυνὴ δὲ τις ὀνόματι Τρύφαινα¹¹ πλουσία,¹² ἥς ἡ
 θυγάτηρ ἐτεθνήκει, ἔλαβεν αὐτήν εἰς τήρησιν, καὶ εἶχεν εἰς παραμυθίαν.

Translation:

But he, on the one hand loving her, but at the same time also dishonored by the things that had happened to him, brought her before the governor, and when she had

confessed to have done these things, he condemned her to the wild beasts, which had been brought together by Alexander. But the women of the city cried out before the bema, “Evil judgment! Profane judgment!” But Thecla asked the governor, if she might remain pure until she should fight with wild beasts. But a certain wealthy woman, named Tryphaena, whose daughter had died, received her into her keeping, and she held her in consolation.

4.2.1 Textual Notes

¹ See also *AP* 3.10 (ἄμα μὲν φιλῶν αὐτήν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν ἑκπληξιν αὐτῆς).

Alexander is filled with mixed emotions, similar to other examples in the ancient novel. For instance, see Heliodorus, *Aeth.*, 7.10.6 (love and jealousy). On αἰσχυρόμενος see also 3.10 (ἐπιστράφηθι πρὸς τὸν σὸν Θάμυριν καὶ αἰσχύνητι).

² See 3.20.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4.

³ See Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 44-73; esp. 48-49; and 3.21.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7.

What is the crime of Thecla? It is spreading social discord and upsetting the moral and social fabric against the leading man of the city. This case necessitates a punishment that effects the “permanent removal of the offender from society” (Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 48; Seneca, *Clem.* 1.22.1) and also deters others from committing the same “crime.” The governor’s decision is not wholly supported by the populous, as is demonstrated in the next sentence and further in *AP* 4.3. The size of the crime is initially assessed by the governor on the grounds of an offense to a very

public official. This in turn would necessitate the public demonstration of Thecla going before the populous in the amphitheater fighting against wild beasts.

⁴ The addition of Ἀλεξάνδρου συλλαμβάνοντος (or more precisely, παγιδεύοντος αὐτά [see Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 44]) is made based upon Cop¹ and the Latin manuscripts (*c*, *d*, and *m*) and the Syriac *s*^{ac}. This small addition demonstrates that Alexander had been a *munerarius* (patron of the animals for the arena) within Antioch, and on this occasion, when he had been dishonored, he had legitimate influence to insist that the magistrates rectify the shaming that had been brought upon him. See Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 50-54. On Alexander as a patron, see note 11 below.

⁵ Cut ἐξεπλάγησαν καὶ and replace with τῆς πόλεως based on Cop¹, against *A*, *B*, *E*, *F*, and *H*.

⁶ or translated as “judgment seat.” Cf. 3.15, 16. 20. See 3.16.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2; see also 3.15.1 *Textual Notes*, note 12; and 3.15.2 *General Comment*.

⁷ See Luke 23.18. The crowd has an active role in the trial as to whether the actions ought to be carried out or dismissed. This is common to the ancient novel. See Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.17.1; Chariton, *Chaer.* 3.4.11-18; Apuleius, *Metam.* 3.2-10.

⁸ *AAA* also includes the name Thecla here, but is absent from Cop¹, which is the more difficult reading.

⁹ See 3.6.2 *General Comment*; and 3.12.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5.

¹⁰ See 1 Cor 15:32; *1 Clem* 6.2; Ignatius, *Romans*, 5.2.

¹¹ Romans 16:12. See Misset-Van de Weg, Magda, “II. A Wealthy Woman Named Tryphaena,” 16-35; Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 22; On Tryphaena as first cousin to the

emperor Claudius, see Gutschmid, Alfred von, “Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des geschichtlichen Romans,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 19 (1864): 161-83., 177-79; Zahn, Theodor, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, (1877), 1307; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 391. Conybeare, F. C., ed., *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius*, 50-55; Rordorf, Willy, “Tradition and Composition in the *Acts of Thecla*,” 46-47 or “Tradition et composition dans les *Actes de Thècle*: Etat de la question.” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 41 (1985): 276-78. Moving beyond questions of historicity, on Tryphaena and Alexander as patron and patroness respectively, see Misset-Van de Weg, “Answers,” 156-62.

¹² γυνή καί τις <βασιλίσσα> πλουσία, ὀνόματι Τρύφαινα changed to γυνή δέ τις ὀνόματι Τρύφαινα πλουσία based upon Cop¹ and B, E, F, and H. See AAA, 255 and Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 45.

4.2.2 General Comment

As Thecla brings dishonor upon Alexander, she quickly realizes that there are consequences for bringing offence against the “leading man of the city,” who is also a patron for the production and funding of the public games for the city. This consequently places him in a position to be able to hold an unusual amount of weight with the governor, who against the cries of the women of the city, condemns Thecla to the beasts. This chapter brings us the second trial of Thecla at the judgment seat, but this time Thecla takes center stage from beginning to end. Paul’s role is removed

from this account (not uncommon in the ancient novels to highlight a narrative concerning only one of the actors in the story) as she presents a possible answer to Alexander.

One might notice that throughout the *AP* the crowd seems to play an important role in each of the trials that take place, especially with Thecla in Antioch and Iconium. The collaboration of the crowd in a trial is common within the ancient novel. But at a level beyond the ancient novel, one only has to witness the large events in theaters and stadiums (musical concerts, sporting events, etc.) today to realize that the activity and commotion of a crowd within a theater would have been an incredibly exciting event to participate in, and the author of the *AP* and the ancient novels are trying to pass on this common event and genre of antiquity that would have been a favorite activity for entertainment for the people of the ancient world. At an elementary level, the activity of the crowd and how they support and reject Thecla at different points can be easily understood in light of the shifts and changes expected of the mob mentality of the masses within the theater.

This chapter continues to follow closely after the pattern of the ancient novel in presenting Alexander as torn between jealousy and love, the subsequent trial, the intervention of the crying crowd, the continuation of the theme of virginity and purity, and the introduction of a counterbalance of patron Alexander in the form of Patroness Tryphaena. Here the struggle for survival, which appears always to be consistent in the ancient novel finds an unexpected salvation through a quite curious woman, Tryphaena.

There has been a considerable amount of discussion over the historicity of Tryphaena (see note 11 for further reading). While the possibility for a historical Tryphaena exists, it is unlikely that much may be said about her beyond the remains of a coin, and a reference to her here, which offers little about her other than an important role in a fictional Christian romance.

4.3 Ἡνίκα δὲ τὰ θηρία¹ ἐπόμπευεν,² προσέδθησαν αὐτὴν λεαίνῃ
 πικρῷ,³ καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Τρύφαινα ἐπηκολούθει αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ λέαινα
 ἐπάνω καθεζομένης Θεέκλῃς περιέλειχεν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας,⁴ καὶ
 πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐξίστατο.⁵ ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς⁶ αὐτῆς ἦν αὕτη,
 Ἱεροσόλυος.⁷ αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες μετὰ τῶν τέκνων⁸ ἔκραζον ἄνωθεν (5)
 λέγουσαι ὦ θεέ, ἀνοσία κρίσις γίνεται ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ.⁹ Καὶ
 ἀπὸ τῆς πομπῆς πάλιν ἔλαβεν¹⁰ αὐτὴν ἡ Τρύφαινα· ἡ γὰρ
 θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Φαλκονίλλα ἢ τεθνεῶσα, καὶ κατ' ὄναρ¹¹ εἶπεν
 αὐτῇ Μητέρα, τὴν ξένην τὴν ἔρημον ὀνόματι¹² Θεέκλαν ἔξεις εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν
 τόπον, ἵνα εὕξηται ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ μετατεθῶ¹³ εἰς τὸν τῶν δι- (10)
 καίων τόπον.

Translation:

But at the time when the animals were being paraded out in a procession, they bound her to a fierce lioness, and Queen Tryphaena was following after her. But the lioness, whom Thecla was sitting upon, was licking her feet, and all the crowd was amazed. But the accusation of her inscription was this: Guilty of Sacrilege. But the women

with their children, cried out from above saying “O God, a profane judgment has come into this city.” And Tryphaena took her again from the procession. For her daughter Falconilla, who was dead, said to her in a dream, “Mother, the deserted stranger, named Thecla, you will take in my place, in order that she might pray on my behalf and I might be translated into the place of righteousness.”

4.3.1 Textual Notes

¹ Fighting with wild beasts is centerpiece for the *APTh*, as well as the *AP* in general. In particular, the “beast fighting” takes place in Ephesus (as told within the Hamburg papyrus) and in the *Acts of Thecla*. For the use *θηρίον*, *τό* and other derivatives from the *θηρί-* root (such as *θηριομάχος* or *θηριομαχέω*), see 3.45 (2x) (from Codex *A*, *B*, and *C*); 4.2 (2x), 3, 4 (2x), 5, 6, 7, 9 (2x); 10 (3x), 11, 12 (3x), 13, 17; 9.14 (2x), 15 (2x), 16, 17, 19 (2x), 23, 25 (3x), and 28. This scene with Thecla in the arena with the wild beasts is what *I Clem* 6.2 and Ignatius, *To the Romans* 5.2 have in mind in their references.

² On the parade, see G. Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origine à la mort de Domitien* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1981), 364f.; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1984), 110; Bremmer, “Magic, Martyrdom, and Women’s Liberation,” 53, footnote 59.

³ For a suggested translation, see recommendation of BDAG, 813, following *NTApoc* 2:244.

⁴ There is a possible connection between this passage and *AP* 3.18.

⁵ Once again, the maiden Thecla is miraculously preserved through difficult tests. See 3.22.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7.

⁶ Cf. Mark 15:26 (Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*,” 36-37 gives this connection between Mark 15 and *AP* an “A” rating). See MacDonald, “Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives,” 62. He argues for understanding the Apocryphal Acts within the framework of passion narratives. This is Thecla’s (second) passion. See *AP* 3.22 and 10.4.6. The term *ἐπιγραφή*, meaning “description,” carries a “legal sense” or legal description of a crime written on a placard (see Van den Hoek and Herrmann, “Thecla the Beast Fighter,” 223-24).

⁷ Literally, Thecla is a “temple robber” (LSJ, 822), but following the translation by Wilson of Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2:244, “Guilty of Sacrilege.” There seems to be a deep disagreement as to who is acting appropriately in the presence of the gods, for the women and Tryphaena are accusing the governor (and Alexander) of an *ἀνοσία κρίσις* (profane judgment), while Thecla is being accused of profane *behavior*. As to the specific nature of Thecla’s sacriligious behavior, Jensen (*Thekla – die Apostelin: Ein apokrypher Text neu entdeckt: Übersetzt und kommentiert*. [Freiburg, Basel, and Wien: Herder, 1995] 34) is helpful in making the connection to Jesus who was found guilty because of “seiner Kritik am Tempelkult.” On the other hand her dismissal of the court charge as not applicable to Thecla (and thus representing an “offensichtlich verschiedene Traditionen”) overlooks the connections between the *APTh* and the ancient novel. The relationship between what is holy/profane and just/unjust are very

closely related, as the Ethiopian King, Hydaspes struggles with whether or not he must offer up Charicleia to the gods. See especially chapter ten of Heliodorus, *Aeth.* Part of this is due to the uniform role of the governor/king/judge, who often meets out justice in the presence of the *daemon* of Caesar or the equivalent thereof, thus the justice of the court represents the judgment of Caesar, who represents the justice of the gods. In the case of the *APTh*, the reader will soon be able to answer the question whether or not Alexander/Governor or Tryphaena is able to accurately determine what is profane, since God will intervene into this situation and determine that the judgment of the court is profane (4.8-11).

⁸ See 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6. The crying out of the women plays an important role in Antioch. See 4.2, here, 7, 8 (2x), 9, 10, and 13.

⁹ Cf. the crowd crying out in *AP* 9.25-26.

¹⁰ ἔλαβεν instead of λαμβάνει (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 46.)

¹¹ See 4.1.2 *General Comment*.

¹² ὀνόματι added upon the evidence of Cop¹.

¹³ The meaning is somewhat unclear concerning the result that Falconilla desires. See Acts 7:16; Herm., *Vis.* 3.7.6; Heb 11:5; *1 Clem.* 9.3 (BDAG, 642). It appears that two things can be ascertained from the vision of Tryphaena. One, Thecla is deemed as worthy (via a divine vision) to be able to be a mediator between the human and the divine (in particular for Falconilla). This is an affirmation of Thecla's approval by God, in lieu of her present circumstances. Two, Falconilla desires to be in a place of justice, and somehow Thecla is able to assist in this *translation* from her present

location to another. Unfortunately, very little is said concerning metaphysics by the author of the *AP*, so it is difficult to ascertain what sort of *translation* is envisioned, other than a very general image.

4.3.2 General Comment

As a procession of animals comes out, Thecla is immediately bound to a lioness. It is unclear whether or not this was intended to bring about the demise of Thecla right away or if Thecla is somehow bound to the lioness in such a way as to inhibit the lioness from hurting her yet. This may be the case due to the anticlimactic way in which 4.3 begins by talking about Thecla attached to the lioness, even before we are introduced to the inscription posted over Thecla (See Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, 327-29). The future of Thecla and the events in Antioch from this point forward will continually foreshadow a better future, and a constant revealing and unveiling of the female apostle, “Thecla, servant of God.” The lioness licks the feet of Thecla honoring her, not unsimilar to the talking lion who pays obeisance to Paul in the Ephesian episode (*AP* 9).

An inscription is placed over Thecla’s head indicating that she (like the Christ) has profaned and shamed the temple cult. In the case of Christ, he called for a destruction of the temple. Is Thecla guilty of such a crime? Thecla has attempted to assume authority within the Christian movement that Paul has deemed inappropriate, but unfortunately for Thecla, her God-driven ambition is not to be realized within the ranks of the Christian movement alone, but applies to the elemental construction of

the cosmos, and she immediately rejects the social hierarchy imposed upon her in Iconium, and even as an alien in Antioch she rejects the social advances of Alexander. This is nothing short of attempting to overthrow the social system (which is not to be dissected and differentiated from the spiritual, i.e. the temple *cultus* from an enlightened Cartesian perspective that separates body and soul, i.e. social and spiritual) and must be dealt with in the severest of methods: public death in the arena. Keeping with the ancient novel, the question is whether or not Thecla is truly sacrilegious and profane or whether there has been a reordering of the cosmos in favor of Thecla's actions (see note 6 above). The "yes" answer will continue to unfold.

4.4 Ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πομπῆς¹ ἐλάμβανεν αὐτήν,
 ἅμα μὲν ἐπένθει ὅτι ἔμελλεν εἰς τὴν αὐρίον θηριομαχεῖν,² ἅμα
 δὲ³ καὶ στέργουσα⁴ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς Φαλκονίλλα εἶπεν
 Τέκνον μου Θέκλα, δεῦρο πρόσευξαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέκνου
 μου, ἵνα ζήσεται.⁵ τοῦτο γὰρ εἶδον ἐν ὕπνοις⁶ δευτερον ἤδη. (5)
 ἡ δὲ θέκλα μὴ μελλήσασα ἐπήρην τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῆς καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ θεός
 τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὑψίστου,⁷ δὸς αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ
 θέλημα αὐτῆς, ἵνα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Φαλκονίλλα ζήσεται εἰς
 τοὺς αἰῶνας. καὶ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα⁸ Θέκλῃς ἐπένθει ἡ Τρύφαινα⁹
 θεωροῦσα¹⁰ τοιοῦτον κάλλος¹¹ εἰς θηρία βαλλόμενον.¹² (10)

Translation:

And when Tryphaena had received her from the procession, she was mourning because Thecla was about to fight the wild beasts in the morning, but at the same time she was loving her daughter Falconilla and said, “My child, Thecla, Come pray on behalf of my child, in order that she may live. For this I saw twice in a dream.” But Thecla, without delay, lifted up her voice and said, “O God of the heavens, the son of the most high, give to her according to her wish, in order that her daughter Falconilla might live forever.” And having heard these things of Thecla, Tryphaena mourned seeing such a beautiful one being cast to the beasts.

4.4.1 Textual Notes

¹ See *AP* 4.3.

² See 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

³ ἄμα μὲν ... ἄμα δὲ- See 4.2; in reference to Alexander. Here the balancing of polarization in Tryphaena (mourning for Thecla/loving her dearly) is contrasted with that of Alexander (love/shame). This construction is also found in 3.10 in reference to Thamyris expressing his mixed emotions for Thecla as he feared her leaving him. This is typical of the ancient novel. See Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 7.18.2; Xenophon, *Ephesiaca* 5.4.7.

⁴ This describes the love shared as in the love shared between parents and children. It is highly unlikely that this is homoerotic (LSJ, 1639). The term στέργω is absent in the New Testament and only here in *AP*. Also ἐμπόνως ὥς which followed after

στέργουσα has been cut from the text based on the omission found in *C F, H*, and

Cop¹ (ⲛⲁⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲁⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲕⲱⲛⲓⲗⲗⲁ).

⁵ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας is not in Cop¹, *A, B, F, H*, Latin *A, B_{ab}*, Syr., and Arm. texts. See Thecla's prayer a few lines down in 4.4, "...ἵνα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Φαλκονίλλα ζήσεται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας."

⁶ In 4.3, the text says that Tryphaena had a vision/dream (ὄναρ), but here it is referred to as a ὕπνοις (sleep/dream). ὕπνος is also found in 4.10; 4.18, *APTh* 44; 9.19. This last example (9.19) includes a vision that comes in wakefulness as Paul prays for deliverance from a prison situation.

⁷ Ὁ θεὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὑψίστου- See Cop¹, Latin versions (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 46; Gebhardt, *Passio*, CI-CII). See *AP* 3.6 and see also 3.6.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5; see especially Luke 6.35. This is a designation that goes back to the Hebrew Bible term אֱלֹהֵינוּ translated in the Septuagint as ὑψιστος. This term equates Jesus with the "Most High" God, namely Yahweh, the Father, the Creator of the Universe. This term is uncommon in the early Christianity outside of Gnostic circles; see *ATh* 39; 45; 49; 78; 150; *Martyrium Andreae* prius 14; Ignatius, the prescript to *Rom.* in reference to πατὴρ ὑψίστου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Ἐριστοῦ ("ὑψιστος," *TDNT* 8:614-20). See also Luke 1:32, 35, 76, 78; 2:14; 10:15, 19:38; 24:49; Acts 2:33; 5:31; 7:48; 13:17; 16:17.

⁸ Changed from ταῦτα εἰπούσης to ἀκούσασα ταῦτα. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 47.

⁹ On ἐπένθει ἢ Τρύφαινα see the first sentence of 4.4, ἅμα μὲν ἐπένθει ὅτι ἔμελλεν εἰς τὴν αὐρίον θηριομαχεῖν. See also 4.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6.

¹⁰ Replace ἐπέχουσα (manuscript *A*, *C* and with Tischendorf and *AAA*, 257) with θεωροῦσα (with *F*, *H*, *Cop*¹ (εἰς ὧν), and Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 47).

¹¹ Here the tragedy of “beauty and the beast” is carried out as the beauty, Thecla is cast to the beasts. This is reiterated in *AP* 3.25 and verbatim in 4.9, αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἔκλαυσαν... ὅτι τοιοῦτον κάλλος φῶκαι ἔμελλον ἐσθίειν; see 4.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 10;.

¹² The structure of *AP* 4.4 is a chiasm. See 4.4.2 *General Comment*. Obviously this will resurrect several text critical issues about this text, namely, there is some disagreement over whether δευτερον should be located where I have placed it above or before the name of Thecla. Also, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας appears after ζήσεται in two places according to several texts, but appears only once after ζήσεται in only the second location according to Schmidt and Rordorf (against *AAA*). If the text is originally chiasmic, it appears to make better sense that δευτερον has been misplaced by latter scribal editing with the thought that visions “twice” told makes little sense, thus δευτερον was relocated in order to identify Thecla as a second daughter (in agreement with 4.5). Also, a scribe could have accidentally recorded εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας twice, while εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας only appearing once is the more difficult reading.

4.4.2 General Comment

Upon the opening line of *AP* 4.4, Queen Tryphaena is taking Thecla out of the parade apparently in hopes of temporarily protecting Thecla from the wild beasts on the morrow. The most notable feature of this paragraph is that the chapter represents a chiasmic structure. Notice closely:

- A. Tryphaena receives Thecla, protecting her from the beasts
- B. Tryphaena mourns and loves her daughter (Thecla?)
- C. Tryphaena requests Thecla pray that Falconilla might live
- D. and D'. Tryphaena sees Falconilla in dream (twice)
- C'. Thecla prays on behalf of Tryphaena that Falconilla might live
- B'. Tryphaena mourns her daughter (Thecla?)
- A'. Tryphaena releases Thecla, seeing her cast to the beasts.

The thrust of the structure is the vision that presents Tryphaena's daughter to her. D. is represented by stating *τοῦτο γὰρ εἶδον ἐν ὕπνοις ... ἥδη*. D'. is then represented by inserting that twice within the dream Tryphaena sees these things *ὕπνοις δευτερον ἥδη*.

Regarding the content of 4.4, there does not appear to be any real attempt by Tryphaena to preserve Thecla from the oncoming events, but rather 4.4 seems to represent a literary device to demonstrate Tryphaena's concern, not necessarily for Thecla, but Thecla as a divine mediator to bring her daughter, Falconilla, eternal life. Tryphaena needs Thecla, because her daughter told her that Thecla had to mediate the situation to provide eternal life for Falconilla. This digression from the events of Thecla provides a brief window into the patroness who will continue to play a role in

the coming chapters, as her visionary experiences clearly indicate that there is something “divine” within Thecla, but that is yet to be revealed. At this point, we are left helpless, after embracing the help of temporary refuge, and now witnessing passively (*βαλλόμενον*, a passive participle) Thecla being thrown to the beasts.

4.5 Καὶ ὅτε ὄρθρος¹ ἐγένετο, ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος παραλαβεῖν αὐτήν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐδίδου τὰ κυνήγια,² λέγων πρὸς τὴν τρύφαιναν³ Ὁ ἡγεμὼν κάθηται καὶ ὁ ὄχλος θορυβεῖ ἡμᾶς· δὸς ἀπαγάγω⁴ τὴν θηριομάχον. ἡ δὲ Τρύφαινα, ἡ βασιλίσσα,⁵ ἀνέκραξεν⁶ τὸν ἀλέξανδρον⁷ ὥστε φυγεῖν αὐτὸν⁸ λέγουσα· Φαλκονίλλης δεύτερον πένθος⁹ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μου γίνεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ (5) βοηθήσων.¹⁰ οὔτε τέκνα, ἀπέθανον γάρ,¹¹ οὔτε συγγενής,¹² χήρα γάρ εἰμι.¹³ ὁ θεὸς Θέκλης τοῦ τέκνου μου, βοήθησον Θέκλῃ.¹⁴

Translation:

And when morning was dawning, Alexander went to take her, for he was funding the games, saying to Tryphaena, “The Governor is sitting and the crowd is shouting for us. Give her (to me so that) I might carry off the beastfighter.” But Tryphaena the queen cried out against Alexander so that he fled, and she said, “A second mourning of Falconilla has come upon my house, and there is no one helping; neither children, for they have died, not kinsperson, for I am a widow. The God of Thecla, my child, help (thou) Thecla”.

4.5.1 Textual Notes

¹ See 3.15.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4.

² ἐδίδου τὰ κυνήγια- literally “he was giving the hunt,” but contextually, in light of the knowledge that he was providing for the games (*AP* 4.2) as the *munerarius* (See 4.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4).

³ λέγων πρὸς τὴν τρύφαιναν- based upon the Cop^{1frag}, and supported also by manuscripts *F* and *H*. Rordorf has “dit à Tryphaine” (*ÉAC*, 1138). The 1909 fragment that Schmidt published (discovered through the joint efforts of W. E. Crum), recovered the portion of the *AP* 4.5 through the last line of 4.8 conveniently filling in the missing section of Cop¹.

⁴ ἀπαγάγω from the aorist active sunjunctive of ἀπάγω. See LSJ, 174, “2. law-term, bring before a magistrate and accuse (cf. ἀπαγωγή III).”

⁵ ἡ βασιλίσσα -Supported Cop^{1frag} and other Latin witnesses.

⁶ See 3.20; 4.1, 2, and here. See 3.20.1 *Textual Notes*, note 12.

⁷ τὸν ἀλέξανδρον -Supported by Cop^{1frag}, *F*, and *H*.

⁸ Literally, “so as to flee him.”

⁹ See 3.10, 4.4 (2x), 8; 9.27 and 4.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9.

¹⁰ On βοήθew, see 3.24.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8.

¹¹ This is in reference to Falconilla (*AP* 4.3-4).

¹² See also *AP* 4.11.

¹³ See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 389. Ramsay argues that

Tryphaena’s claim to have no relatives is an exaggeration made in grief. This may be

the case, but unlikely. It is not probable that Tryphaena's expression of grief would have anything to do with descendents, especially in terms of preservation of wealth or status. First, she was independently wealthy. Second, any fears of protection and care would be alleviated due to having sons. If she lost her daughter, there would have been no loss of status or protection, but rather a deep expression of sorrow would likely have been expressed in other words or other ways. While a connection to the historical Tryphaena of Pontus is possibly still intended by the author of the *AP*, the historicity and accuracy of detail is in doubt, being of secondary importance to the novel.

¹⁴On Tryphaena, the "widow's" prayer, see also Luke 2:37; 18:3; Acts 6:1; 9:39, 41; 1 Tim 5:3-16. The contrast of 1 Timothy and Luke-Acts is astounding in regard to the perspective of considering a "useful" role for widows. For possible connections, compare the examples groups of women/widows in Luke-Acts mentioned above to those in *AP* 4.8-9. See also Turid Karlsen Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke and Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 249-58.

4.5.2 General Comment

Upon the morning, following the mourning of Tryphaena, Alexander arrives, hoping to meet the deadline and expectations as a *munerarius*, hoping to please a waiting Governor and a shouting crowd. Clearly, Alexander is concerned more with the appeasement of a crowd than the perceived justice of shaming a rebellious girl. As he attempts to reclaim her, Tryphaena reacts violently crying out, and forcing Alexander

to flee her house after demanding to have Thecla. The question of Tryphaena being a widow is inconsistent with historical evidence of the Tryphaena who was from Pontus. This offers support, not necessarily against the intentions of the author of the *AP* to make reference to the historical figure, but for the supposition of Davies (et. al.), who suggests that Tryphaena (and Thecla) are giving voice to women and virgins, so that it can be suggested that “Son Sitz im Leben est un mouvement d’émancipation féminine.” (Rordorf, “Tradition et composition,” 283; See also Davies, “Widows and the Apocryphal Acts,” *The Revolt*, 70-94; Davies, “The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts.” [Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1978] 104-05; MacDonald, *The Legend*, 75-76). As Tryphaena sees no hope of deliverance, she is then led down a similar path as Thecla (and soon many others in Antioch) that concludes that God alone can save Thecla (and hence hope of eternal life for Falconilla).

4.6 Καὶ πέμπει ὁ ἡγεμὼν στρατιώτας ἵνα ἀχθῇ.¹ ἡ
 δὲ Τρύφαινα οὐκ ἀπέστη,² ἀλλὰ αὐτὴ λαβομένη τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς
 ἀνήγαγεν³ λέγουσα Τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα μου Φαλκονίλλαν ἀπήγαγον
 εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον· σὲ δέ, Θέκλα, εἰς θηριομαχίαν⁴ ἀπάγω.⁵ καὶ
 ἔκλαυσεν Θέκλα πικρῶς⁶ καὶ ἐστέναξεν πρὸς κύριον, λέγουσα (5)
 Κύριε ὁ θεὸς⁷ ᾧ ἐγὼ πιστεύω, ἐφ’ ὃν ἐγὼ κατέφυγα, ὁ ῥυσά-
 μενός με ἐκ πυρός,⁸ ἀπόδος μισθὸν Τρυφαίνῃ⁹ τῇ εἰς τὴν δούλην¹⁰
 σου συμπαθησάσῃ, καὶ ὅτι με ἀγνῆν¹¹ ἐτήρησεν.

Translation:

And the governor sent soldiers, so that they might take her. But Tryphaena did not shrink back, but having taken her hand, she led her up, saying “My daughter Falconilla has departed into the tomb; but you, Thecla, must go to fight the beasts.” And Thecla was calling out bitterly and mourned to the Lord, saying, “Lord, God, in whom I believe, to whom I flee for refuge, the one who rescued me out of fire, reward Tryphaena, the one who has sympathized with your slave, and who has kept me pure.

4.6.1 Textual Notes

¹ Alexander sends reinforcements to take Thecla by force after having failed previously in 4.5.

² A form of ἀφίστημι is also found in 3.8, where Thecla cannot remove herself from the window, when listening to Paul. Here the form is passive, indicating a slightly different translation (LSJ, 291). Also, notice the repetition of the various verbs with the root ἄγω and the repetition of *a*-sounds. ἀπέστη, ἀλλὰ, αὐτὴ, ... αὐτῆς ἀνήγαγεν, ... ἀπήγαγον ... θηριομαχίαν ἀπάγω.

³ Presumably handed her up/over to Alexander. Compare this to *AP* 4.16, λαβομένης ὁ Παῦλος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς; See note 4 below.

⁴ See 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

⁵ Notice that Falconilla has been handed over (ἀπήγαγον) to the tomb; Thecla is handed over (ἀπάγω) to the beasts. This comparison of Thecla and Falconilla, with an

emphasis upon life/eternal life (4.4 especially) reinforces the theological themes and the connections between purity and continence that lead to resurrection and eternal life. This thought is continued by extension to Falconilla, whom Tryphaena would like to see Thecla bring back.

If one continues this to completion, Paul receives Thecla by the hand (λαβομένηος ὁ Παῦλος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς), in the same way she is received here by Tryphaena (αὐτὴ λαβομένη τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς) initially when she is finally able to teach those in the house of Hermias (4.16) mirroring 3.5, when Paul entered into the house of Onesiphorus to teach. The layering of images with deep theological significance is unmistakable.

⁶ See 3.11; 4.1; 9.15; see also 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2.

⁷ This prayer is certainly directed toward the “Lord God,” Jesus. See also 4.4, “God in the heavens, son of the most high.”

⁸ Here Jesus Christ, called the “Lord God,” is credited with being the source of “rescue/salvation.” In particular, a God who saves out of fire (See *AP* 3.22).

⁹ See 4.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4.

¹⁰ See 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11, and 4.1.2 *General Comment*.

¹¹ See 4.2; See 3.6.2 *General Comment*; and 3.12.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5.

4.6.2 General Comment

In continuing to read the *APTh*, one cannot help but notice the multiple comparisons of various themes and individuals in the text. For example:

1. Thecla/Falconilla
2. Patron Alexander/Patroness Tryphaena
3. Thecla and life/ Falconilla and death
4. Acceptance and commission of Thecla as a teacher by Tryphaena / rejection and lack of commission of Thecla as a teacher by Paul

Numerous questions emerge based on these points. First, what is the significance of the death of Falconilla? Second, is it possible that Alexander is the suggested former lover of Falconilla in that she is the second child of Tryphaena, and she has become such a pivotal point of contention between two patrons of Antioch, who are escalating tensions between one another with Thecla in the midst, who is offering life eternal? It is possible that the connection between Thecla and Tryphaena will symbolize their unity in that they will both die and be born again during the trial with the beasts. Only after rebirth, Tryphaena seems to be the patroness of Thecla, but spiritually (and apologetically from the perspective of making a case for Thecla's apostolic authority) Paul is the patron of Thecla. More will be said concerning this in the Notes and Comments of 4.16-17.

As the moment (where Thecla is to be thrown to the beasts) intensifies, we see Thecla offering up a prayer asking for the Lord Jesus to reward Tryphaena, who has helped “her servant” (τῇν δούλην σου). This appears to be somewhat of a title indicating the role that Thecla is assuming; see note 9 above. Thecla's prayer is motivated out of the basis that Tryphaena has assisted Thecla in preserving her virginity overnight, and thus preserving Thecla's possibility for eternal life. For after all, those who are not truly virgins cannot endure the tests placed upon them. This is also a common theme in the ancient novel (See Parthenius, *The Story of Pallene* 5-6;

Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 8.3; 8.6; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.7; 8.9.9-16; See 3.22.2

General Comment).

4.7 Θόρυβος¹ οὖν ἐγένετό τε καὶ πάταγος τῶν θηρίων καὶ
 βοή τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν² ὁμοῦ καθεσθειςῶν,³ τῶν μὲν
 λεγόντων Τὴν ἱερόσυλον⁴ εἰσάγαγε· τῶν δὲ λεγουσῶν Ἀρθήτω⁵ ἡ
 πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ⁶ ταύτῃ· αἶρε πάσας ἡμᾶς, ἀνθύπατε· πικρὸν⁷
 θέαμα, κακὴ κρίσις.⁸ (5)

Translation:

Therefore there was an uproar from both the rumbling of the beasts and shouting of the people and of the the women who were sitting at the same place. Now some were saying, “Bring in the ‘Sacriligious One,’” while others were saying, “May the city be wiped out concerning this unlawful act. Wipe us all out, Proconsul. A bitter spectacle, evil judgment!”

4.7.1 Textual Notes

¹ See Callimachus, *Aetia* (in *P. Oxy* 2079), 2079.3; “noise, esp. *the confused noise of a crowded assembly*...of animals (LSJ, 803-04); Aristophanes, *Lys.* 328-29. See also *AP* 4.5 (in reference to the crowd); see also 9.14 and 9.15. Interestingly in 9.14, the crowd is *θόρυβος*, causing the governor Hieronymus to throw Paul to the beasts, but

9.15 is similar to 4.7, in that the *θόρυβος* foreshadows the spectacle. See also *Mart. Pol.* 8.3.

² See 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; see also 4.3 *Textual Notes*, note 7.

³ Thecla has apparently entered into the theatre (τὸ θέατρον). This is the second instance of Thecla entering into trial in the theater (Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 51-52). See 3.20, 21 and also in the *Ephesian Episode*, 9.14. A significant difference between the two occasions is that Thecla enters into the trial in Antioch with massive support among the *δῆμος*, especially among the woman (*γυναῖκες* here, See note 2).

⁴ This designation is referring back to the slogan that has been placed with (?) her. See also 4.3 *Textual Notes*, note 5. It is unclear on what material the inscription and accusation would have been made, much less where it would have been placed. Placing it near her seems to be merely a borrowing from the Gospel accounts of Jesus, who had the inscription placed on his cross (John 19:19).

⁵ Ἀρθρήτω is the aorist imperative of ἀείρω (LSJ, 27), meaning *raise up, lift*, in this case *to destroy*.

⁶ Notice that the response of the crowd *against* the judgment of the governor is the opposite response of Theocleia in *AP* 3.20. *AP* 9.17 (14.4 also) seems to be somewhat of a dialogue on 4.7, with regard to Paul addressing the sentiment of the crowd and what he seems to believe is also the result desired by God on the unrighteous acts of humans. See also 13.5 (2x), 10.2.8; Manuscript *G* (2x). Lawlessness is consistently connected to the destruction of the world.

⁷ See *AP* 3.6!

⁸ See *AP* 4.2.

4.7.2 General Comment

As Thecla enters into the theater, the events appear very similar in many respects to the episode that takes place with Paul in Ephesus (*AP* 9). There are several similarities in events and language between these two cases where the heroine and the hero have trials with lions respectively. In both cases, the lioness, and then the lion turn out to be advocates instead of adversaries to Thecla, and then Paul. In the first case the lioness protects Thecla, and in the second case, Paul has a conversation with the lion, which Paul had baptized on an earlier occasion. Nonetheless, Thecla enters into a theater that is embracing the situation in a very mixed way. It appears that the anticipation and excitement of the theater may be an unwelcome event according to the mass of the people. The split crowd is crying for both the destruction of Thecla and the destruction of the city for an unjust decision. The apocalyptic overtones in the chants of the crowd, who are in support of Thecla, seem to suggest that the question of theodicy has been raised, and it is undecided whether or not a trial, *via* public execution and spectacle for the crowd is warranted. If it is not, then the crowd calls for divine intervention with language used throughout the remainder of the *AP* in an apocalyptic sense (see *Textual Notes*, note 6). This issue is somewhat acute considering that the legal justification for a public spectacle within the theater is dependent upon the nature of the crime and the demand of the *demos* for such trial (Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 54-55, 57-58). This consensus seems to be lacking here.

As the *APTh* have continued, Thecla's social approval has gone from good standing to complete social death to a continual rise and restitution of her role and shame in society. This will be completely tested in the coming chapters.

4.8 Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἐκ χειρὸς Τρυφαίνης ληφθεῖσα¹ ἐξεδύθη καὶ
 ἔλαβεν διαζώστραν² καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ στάδιον.³ καὶ λέοντες καὶ
 ἄρκοι⁴ ἐβλήθησαν ἐπ' αὐτήν. καὶ πικρὰ λέαινα⁵ προσδραμοῦσα
 εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἀνεκλίθη.⁶ ὁ δὲ ὄχλος τῶν γυναικῶν
 ἐβόησεν μέγα.⁷ καὶ ἔδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτήν ἄρκος· ἡ δὲ λέαινα δρα- (5)
 μοῦσα ὑπήντησεν καὶ διέρρηξεν τὴν ἄρκον. καὶ πάλιν λέων
 δεδιδαγμένος⁸ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ὃς ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου⁹ ἔδραμεν ἐπ'
 αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ λέαινα συμπλέξασα τῷ λέοντι συνανηρέθη.¹⁰ μειζό-
 νως δὲ ἐπένθησαν αἱ γυναῖκες,¹¹ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ βοηθὸς αὐτῇ λέαινα
 ἀπέθανεν.¹² (10)

Translation:

But Thecla, who had been taken out of the hands of Tryphaena, was stripped and she received underpants and was cast into the stadium. And lions and bears were cast upon her, and a ferocious lion, running toward her lay down at her feet. But the crowd of women cried out greatly. And a bear ran upon her; but the lioness, while running, came and tore the bear apart. And again a lion which had been trained (to fight) against humans, which belonged to Alexander, was running upon her. And the lioness

having engaged the lion was destroyed with it. But the women mourned even more, since even her assistant, the lioness had died.

4.8.1 Textual Notes

¹ ἐκ χειρὸς Τρυφαίνης ληφθεῖσα- Genitive absolute.

² This is probably intended to be quasi-erotic (unlike *AP* 3.22 and Acts 16:22 which do not emphasize nakedness as found here in 4.8-12). For a comparison in other ancient (Christian) novels, see *AJ* 70-74. For other examples of erotic displays and exhibitions within the amphitheater or theater, see K. M. Coleman, “Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 64-65. See also Martial, *Spec.* 26; John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 7.6; and Catullus 64.14-18. See also Jan N. Bremmer, “III. Magic, martyrdom and women’s liberation in the Acts of Paul and Thecla,” *Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 53; and *Passio Perpetuae* 20.2. In addition, Thecla’s being given διαζώστραν as a present form of bodily protection (hardly protective in this case) will soon be contrasted with the fact that God will engulf her and protect her with fire (καὶ ἦν περὶ αὐτὴν νεφέλη πυρός, *AP* 4.9; 4.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 13; see Plutarch, *Brut.* 31, where the city is metaphorically “engulfed” in flames [LSJ, 394]).

³ τὸ στάδιον- “i.e. in the amphitheatre.” (LSJ, 1631). See *CIG* 4377.

⁴ The beasts (θηρίον, τὸ) are further specified. See 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1. In addition to the bears and lions (plural), a lioness had already been mentioned in *AP* 4.3.

⁵ See *AP* 4.3; 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2.

⁶ ἀνακλίνω is the same verb used when one is reclining at table, the typical posture for meals in the symposium. See Luke 12:37; Mark 6:39; Plutarch, *Mor.* 157D; 704D; “συνμπόσιον, τὸ,” (BDAG, 959). Here the lioness is reclining at Thecla’s feet. It is uncertain whether or not this is the same lioness. The text does not specify (πικρὰ λέαινα has no article). This is similar to Daniel 6:18-23. However, sitting at Thecla’s feet is a demonstration of the Thecla discipling the lioness. Compare 3.18 (Thecla before Paul), 9.17 (Artemilla before Paul), 9.23 (Lion before Paul; ὁ λέων...ἦλθε δρομέως καὶ ἀνεκλίθη παρὰ τὰ σκέλητοῦ Παύλου ὡς ἀμνός...).

⁷ See 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; see also 4.3 *Textual Notes*, note 7. Concerning the role of these women and issues of women’s liberation, see Jan N. Bremmer, “Magic, martyrdom and women’s liberation,” 36-59, see especially 51. See also Bremmer, “Women in the *Apocryphal Acts of John*,” *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, (Jan N. Bremmer, ed.; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 37-56; and D. Potter, “Martyrdom as Spectacle,” *Theater and Society in the Classical World* (ed. R. Scodel; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1993), 53-88. See also Davies, *Revolt of the Widows*, 60-61.

⁸ δεδιδαγμένος- This is the perfect passive participle, nominative masculine singular of διδάσκω.

⁹ The text is making it very clear that Alexander, the *munerarius*, is financially responsible for this event and the lions that are being sent against her. The proconsul is not being blamed for these events, but rather Alexander. See also See 4.2 (4.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4), 5 (4.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2).

¹⁰ *συνανηρέθη*- This is the second aorist passive indicative of *συναναίρω*. The text is suggesting that the lioness counter attacks the lion that has been set against Thecla, and both die together in the struggle, thus preserving Thecla.

¹¹ *μειζόνως δὲ ἐπένησαν αἱ γυναῖκες*- See 4.4 (2x), 4.5, especially 4.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6. See also note 7 above concerning the role of the women in this public spectacle.

¹² It appears that the lioness is playing the role of a steward/assistant to a soldier in battle. See Herodotus 5.77; 6.100; *POxy* 1469.10 (See LSJ, 320).

4.8.2 General Comment

As the rosy fingers of dawn reach over the world in Antioch, Thecla is taken from Tryphaena for *damnati ad bestias* (See Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 44-73; Bremmer, “Magic, martyrdom and women’s liberation,” 36-59, see especially 53). She is immediately humiliated and stripped of all clothing except for an undergarment given to her and then cast into the stadium. The details of the event suggest that Alexander is specifically bringing together this public spectacle of the destruction of Thecla. This is historically problematic for several reasons. First, it is unlikely that a spectacle would be called together so quickly for the sole purpose of the execution of one “criminal.” Executions, especially of this scale would have taken extensive planning, and included many animals and unimportant criminals. Secondly, it is doubtful that the killing of Thecla would have been the climax of the spectacle. This is reinforced by Coleman who states that “There is some evidence that those who were *damnati ad*

bestias were dispatched in the arena during the midday pause between the morning's *venations* and the afternoon's *munera*. This pause seems to have been observed regularly from the time of Claudius onwards (Suet[onius]. *Claud.* 34.2):" ("Fatal Charades," 55).

Apparently, once again, the historicity of this event is not the matter under consideration. There are several other theological issues that are under consideration here. First, it is clear that this execution is primarily due to the work of the patron and *munerarius* Alexander who is attempting to defame and humiliate Thecla, and then execute her in a degrading and harsh way. But as the lions and bears are released, it is Thecla's helper (ἡ βοηθὸς αὐτῇ), the lioness, who specifically wards off Alexander's lion (λέων δεδιδαγμένος ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ὃς ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου). At this point, the women are beginning to wager an even greater voice (specifically mentioned in 4.8 twice) in the rejection of the spectacle that is taking place, yet by the end of 4.8 the outcome is not yet decided. This is demonstrated by the result that neither Thecla's lioness or Alexander's lion is successful in winning the engagement, but rather both die in the confrontation.

4.9 Τότε εἰσβάλλουσιν πολλὰ θηρία,¹ ἐστρώσης² αὐτῆς καὶ
ἐκτετακυίας τὰς χειρας καὶ προσευχομένης.³ ὥς δὲ ἐτέλεσεν τὴν
προσευχὴν, ἐστράφη καὶ εἶδεν ὄρυγμα μέγα πλήρες ὕδατος,⁴ καὶ
εἶπεν Νῦν καιρὸς λούσασθαί με. καὶ ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσα Ἐν
τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ⁵ ὑστέρα⁶ ἡμέρα⁶ βαπτίζομαι⁷. Καὶ ἰδοὺ- (5)

σαι αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἔκλαυσαν λέγοντες⁸ Μὴ βάλης
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δακρῦσαι,⁹ ὅτι τοι-
 οὔτον κάλλος¹⁰ φῶκαι¹¹ ἔμελλον ἐσθίειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔβαλεν αὐτὴν
 εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹² αἱ δὲ φῶκαι πυρὸς
 ἀστραπῆς φέγγος ἰδοῦσαι νεκρὰ ἐπέπλευσαν. καὶ ἦν περὶ αὐτὴν (10)
 νεφέλη πυρός,¹³ ὥστε μήτε τὰ θηρία ἄπτεσθαι αὐτῆς, μήτε θεω-
 ρεῖσθαι αὐτὴν γυμνῇ.¹⁴

Translation:

Then they sent in many wild beasts, while she stood and extended her hands and was praying. But as she was completing the prayer, she turned and saw a great ditch full of water, and said “Now is time for me to wash myself.” And she cast herself into the water, saying, “In the name of Jesus Christ I baptize myself for the last day.” And looking on, the women and all the crowd cried out saying “Do not cast yourself into the water,” so that even the governor was weeping, because seals were about to eat her. But Thecla therefore cast herself into the water in the name of Jesus Christ. But the seals looking upon a light of fiery lightning floated up as corpses. And there was a cloud of fire around her, so that neither the beasts could touch her, nor could they see her naked.

4.9.1 Textual Notes

¹ See for more discussion on the *θηρία*, see 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

² Cop¹ begins again here as a fragmented text. The text broke off at the conclusion to AP 4.4 (See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 47, 16*) and begins here following ἐστρώσης.

³ This description of Thecla standing, raising her hands, and praying, appears to be the same as the archaeological evidence of that found in the catacombs of the “praying orantes.” For several examples from the catacomb of St. Callistus in Rome, see Antonio Baruffa, *The Catacombs of St. Callixtus: History, Archaeology, Faith*, (trans. William Purdy; Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000), 37, 81, 84, 110. The implications of this are not that Thecla is lost in prayer alone, but rather that her soul is in a state of bliss and contentment, as if she is already dead, and oblivious of the events surrounding her. See also figures 7-11 in Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 215-219, where the praying Orans, Thecla, became a prominent Christian symbol in later centuries.

⁴ It is unclear whether or not the ditch (*trench or moat*, LSJ, 1257) full of water was always there within the amphitheater, or whether it miraculously appears. Part of the problem is that Thecla does not state what events took place within her prayerful state. Apparently something became clear within the prayer, and it almost seems that Thecla turns and realizes that there is now water near her. On the other hand, looking further ahead in 4.9 one realizes that there were seals within the water, suggesting that Thecla simply has some type of vision or message from God making the decision for baptism clear. See also Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 66-67; Barrier, “Tertullian and the

Acts of Paul or Thecla?”. Regarding Aquatic displays, see K. M. Coleman, “Launching into History,” 48-74.

⁵ Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ- “In the name of Jesus Christ” also found in Herm, *Vis.* 3.7.3; Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 5.8. Contrast βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (Matt 28:19; Acts 2:38, 3:6, 8:12, 10:48, 15:26, 16:18; without Χριστοῦ Acts 4:18, 8:16, 9:27, 19:5, 13, 17, 21.13, 26.9; *Did.* 7.1).

⁶ A possible relationship exists between 1 Tim 4:1 and this text in the *APTh*. ὑστέρα- ἡμέρα- 1 Tim 4:1; See “ὑστερος, α ον,” BDAG, 1044, 2.b.a; i.e. Judgment Day. This is supported by Cop¹ (Zahe-Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 635).

⁷ This is self-baptism. See Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 66, footnote 46 and the reference to Lampe, “βαπτίζω,” *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 283, II.C.2.c.ii [correction from Dunn’s identification as II.B.ii.], which states that the “use of med. indicates self-baptism in case of Thecla . . . but this case recognized as exceptional and highly irregular.” Lampe lists one other source, namely Basil of Seleucia (now believed to be Pseudo-Basil [see Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, *The Life and Miracles of Thekla: A Literary Study*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2006), 6-7; and Dagron, *Vie et Miracles de Sainte Thècle*, 13-15,]), *Life and Miracles of Thecla*, 1. Thecla’s self-baptism is definitely a unique situation (See also *NTApoc* 2:221). Dunn’s arguments on linguistic grounds for hesitancy to translate βαπτίζομαι in the middle voice are strong, based on a lack of specificity in the *APTh* and based upon

the rarity of the use of the middle over the passive. However, the fact that the text twice says that she cast herself (βάλλης ἑαυτὴν...ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν) into the water clearly indicates that Thecla immersed herself in the water. Even if one insisted upon a passive translation of the verb here, the text still indicates that Thecla threw herself into the water unassisted. To close the matter, Thecla states also that she will “wash herself” (λούσασθαι) clearly in the middle voice. The context surrounding βαπτίζομαι is decisive for determining the voice here.

⁸ Cop¹ fragmented page 23 breaks off here.

⁹ The text further indicated the one who should be held responsible for the spectacle involving Thecla. Namely this is Alexander, and not the governor, who is now crying for Thecla. See 4.8.2 *General Comment*.

¹⁰ See τοιοῦτον κάλλος also in 4.4 as Tryphaena mourned over “such a beautiful one” being thrown to the beasts. κάλλος also describes Artemilla in 9.17, who is a convert to Paul in Ephesus. See also, 4.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11 below.

¹¹ See Calpurnius Siculus, 7.65-66 (discussion found in Coleman, “Launching into History,” 48-74); Peter Robert Lamont Brown argues that these are sharks in *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia UP, 1988), 158; For seals, see Bruno Lavagnini, “S. Tecla nella vasca delle foche e gli spettacoli in acqua,” *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 185-90. Bremmer, “Magic, Martyrdom, and Women’s Liberation,” 54, decides on seals (see note 64 also); For more on ferocious seals see Ingvild Sælid Gilhus, *Animals, Gods, and*

Humans: Changing Attitudes to Animals in Greek, Roman, and Early Christian Ideas (New York: Routledge, 2006), 192-5; Janet Elizabeth Spittler, “Wild Kingdom: Animals in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2007), 225-54, especially 253-4 on seals; and Horst Scheider, “Thekla und die Robben,” *VC* 55.1 (2001): 45-57.

¹² ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ carries two meanings. On the one hand, Thecla casts herself into the water, but at a deeper level, this is written in such a way to clearly indicate that Thecla is baptizing herself (against Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul*,” 64). This answers the question of passive or middle deponent of βαπτίζομαι, in favor of the middle voice. See note 7 above. See also Tertullian, *Bapt.* 17 (similar to *Didascalia* 15) for a response to this text by Tertullian who takes issue with Thecla’s baptizing (See notes by Evans, *Tertullian’s Homily on Baptism*, 100-01). See Barrier, “Tertullian and the Acts of Paul or Thecla?”, that argues that Tertullian is concerned that the *APTh* shows Paul endorsing Thecla’s self-baptism, which is a divine commission from God to “Go and teach the Word of God.” (4.16) and this is endorsed by Paul in the text.

¹³ The cloud hides her nakedness (See *Didascalia* 16). This appears to be the divine intervention of God using OT imagery. See Exodus 13:21 and Ezekiel 1:4. An important distinction from the LXX texts and the *AP* is that in the *AP* you have a νεφέλη πυρός, but in the LXX Exodus it is a *pillar/column* of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night (στύλος τῆς νεφέλης ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ στύλος τοῦ πυρὸς νυκτὸς). It is possible

that the *AP* is drawing a connection between this text and Acts 2:3 and the Holy Spirit coming upon the apostles with *γλῶσσαι ὥσει πυρός* being present.

¹⁴ See Hippolytus, *Trad. ap.* 22, where such great care is taken to preserve and protect the newly baptized individual, who was believed to be under immediate threat by the Devil. Thecla is being protected in the same way here.

4.9.2 General Comment

This chapter focuses in upon the baptism of Thecla. The chapter begins with Thecla who is naked standing in the posture of the praying orans before her baptism and wild beasts are ready to attack her. The chapter ends with Thecla's nakedness hidden by God after her baptism and the wild beasts are either dead or cannot see her. The ceremonial rite of baptism is adhered to in this text in a way that is similar to didactic texts that address the process of baptism (see note 14 in 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*). First, those who are being initiated into Christ will devote themselves to prayer. Then they will step into the water, naked, and the presbyter will baptize them in the name of Jesus Christ (Tertullian, *Bapt.* 17 and Hippolytus, *Trad. ap.* 21), then they will be covered and protected, and given a seal through the application of an ointment or water to complete the sealing of the Holy Spirit. Twice within this chapter Thecla declares "In the name of Jesus Christ I cast myself into the water." The key feature missing in these baptisms is the presbyter. It appears that Thecla foregoes the necessity of the presbyter, and yet paradoxically God sends several divine signs to suggest that this has been sanctioned by God. It is not God who does the baptizing,

but rather after Thecla baptizes herself God provides several evidences that God does approve of these events. The implications of this self-baptism are far reaching. It is near to the close of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* that these potentialities are explored (see note 11 above). Thecla has been sealed in Christ without the (previously thought) necessary apostolic sanctioning, but rather is directly selected by God. This is no different than the calling of Paul and the other apostles (Acts 2- tongues of fire, see note 12 above). The implications of this are that Thecla has the authority by God to teach and in 4.16, Paul can do nothing but sanction what God has already sanctioned (Acts 10:44-48). At this point, it finally becomes clear that this story that began in Iconium has steadily been climaxing as the apostle Paul has faded, while Thecla's role and development as an apostle of God has continued to increase eventuating in the baptism of Thecla and the seal finally being granted. The climactic story will not end yet, but will continue to develop further in the remaining chapters.

Outside of the theological framework one will notice that the historical representation of Thecla's theatrical event lacks some detail. First, it would have been unlikely that Thecla's death could have brought the population of Antioch together just to see her fight against the beasts, as well as an aquatic exhibition. This would have no doubt been very costly. In addition, the death of Thecla by animals would have been an anticlimactic death during the break between the real spectacles (See 4.8.2 *General Comments*). The aquatic display, absent at first, almost miraculously appears and Thecla is prepared to jump in, in spite of the imminent threat of death by the seals. The accounting here seems to be lacking in detail as to the mythological

themes that are being recreated. There may be none, but it is unlikely that there would not have been some historical or mythological “narrative” being presented within such an expensive and costly *munerarii* and the *naumachia* that follows.

4.10 Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες¹ ἄλλων θηρίων² βαλλομένων φοβερωτέρων
 ὠλόλυξαν,³ καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον φύλλον,⁴ αἱ δὲ νάρδον, αἱ δὲ ἄμωμον,
 αἱ δὲ κασίαν,⁵ ὥς εἶναι πλήθος μύρων.⁶ πάντα δὲ τὰ βληθέντα
 θηρία ὥσπερ ὕπνῳ κατασχεθέντα οὐχ ἤψαντο αὐτῆς.⁷ ὥς τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ταύρους⁸ ἔχω λίαν φοβερούς, ἐκεῖ- (5)
 νοις προσθήσωμεν τὴν αὐτὴν.⁹ καὶ στρυγνάσας ἐπέτρεψε¹⁰
 λέγων Ποίει ὃ θέλεις. Καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὴν¹¹ ἐκ τῶν
 ποδῶν μέσον τῶν ταύρων, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα¹² αὐτῶν πεπυ-
 ρωμένα σίδηρα ὑπέθηκαν, ἵνα πλείονα ταραχθέντες ἀποκτείνωσιν¹³
 αὐτήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἤλλοντο· ἡ δὲ περικαιομένη φλόξ¹⁴ διέκαισεν (10)
 τοὺς κάλους, καὶ ἦν ὥς οὐ δεδεμένη.

Translation:

But while even more fearful wild beasts were being sent out, the women cried out with a loud voice, and they cast herbs and spices, nard, cassius, amomum, so that there was an abundance of ointments. And all the wild beasts, which had been sent out, did not touch her just as if they had been withheld by a sleep. So Alexander said to the governor, “I have very fearful bulls, We should bind her to these.” And

dejectedly he permitted it, saying, “Do what you wish.” And he bound her from the feet to the midst of the two bulls and he placed a flaming hot iron under their genitals, in order that by being stirred up more they might kill her. Therefore, they leapt up, but the flame inflaming itself burned through the good ropes, and it was as if she had not been bound.

4.10.1 Textual Notes

¹ See 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8. This is similar to the death of Perpetua and Felicitas, and the crowd cannot persuade the rulers (*Passio Perpet. Et Felic.* 20.2).

² See 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1 for more discussion on the *θηρία*.

³ ὠλόλυξαν, aorist active indicative from ὠλόλυξω (Lat. *ululātiōn-*, *ululātio*; Eng. Ululate [verb] or ululation [noun]) meaning *cry out with a loud voice*; this is a bacchic, frenzied crying and wailing, probably reaching a point near pandemonium in the arena. in Euripides, *Bacch.* 689, a herdsman messenger brings a report to Pentheus, king of the land of Thebes concerning the bacchant women (including his mother) he saw in the fields at day break and he states ἡ σὴ δὲ μήτηρ ὠλόλυξεν ἐν μέσσις σταθεῖσα Βάκχαις ἐξ ὕπνου κινεῖν δέμας...; “...later, mostly of women *crying* to the gods...”; (“ὠλόλυξω,” LSJ, 1217); see also Isaiah 16:7 and Amos 8:3 (LXX); Jas 5:1.

⁴ This could be *leaves, plants, foliage, herbs*, or petals. Schneemelcher (*NTApoc* 2:245), and Elliott (*ANT* 370) following Schmidt (Blätter [this is not based on Cop¹, which is too fragmented]) has petals, but Rordorf suggests a better translation of

aromates (ÉAC, 1140) indicating that these are ointments and oils following the baptismal rites.

⁵ ἄμωμον and κασίαν switched according to the evidence of Cop¹.

⁶ This is a continuation of the baptismal story of Thecla. Here it is not the presbyter who anoints Thecla with ointments, but rather it is women! See 4.9.2 *General Comments* above. See especially *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.22; quoting from ANF 7, “But thou shalt beforehand anoint the person with the holy oil, and afterward baptize him with the water, and in the conclusion shalt seal him with the anointment (καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσῃς μύρρι).”

⁷ The reason for the sleep coming over the wild beasts is not explained, although I might add that the implications of this sleep (ὑπνος) are either that God sent a visionary sleep (4.4) or death (4.18), such as Thecla’s final *sleep*.

⁸ See ÉAC, 1140, note IV,10, “*Taureaux*: c’est peut-être une influence du mythe d’Hippolyte.” See L. Radermacher, *Hippolytos und Thekla: Studien zur Geschichte von Legende und Kultus* (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien; Philosophisch-historische Klasse 182; Vienne: Buchhändler der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1916). See section III, “The Evidence for Fatal Charades,” in Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 60-66, especially 64-66. The use of bulls is found in tortures and eventual death that made use of both practices of bestiality and tying people to bulls. Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows*, 106 is too presumptuous to suggest that the authorship of the *APTh* is more likely to be a female “resentful to men” and transfixed upon “sexual sadism,” As the evidence suggests

sexual sadism and other tortures were standard practice within the theaters and amphitheaters as a means for mythological stagings that were the vehicle for the death of prisoners, slaves, gladiators, and Christian martyrs, and therefore it would not have been an uncommon matter to have written about Thecla's harsh tortures in this way. For an example see Apuleius, *Metam.* 10.28-34. In the *Golden Ass* (Metamorphoses), Lucian, as a donkey, is going to be required to have sexual relations with a woman who has been condemned to die by wild beasts in the theater. The text suggests that the wild beasts would have been released upon the woman and Lucian, while they are in the act. Also, their act would follow upon the mythological reenactment when Paris selects Venus as the most beautiful one over Pallas Athena and Juno (See also Fergus Millar, "The World of the Golden Ass," 63-75.). See also *I Clem* 6.1 (and notes by Bart Ehrman, ed. and trans., "First Clement," *Apostolic Fathers* (LCL 24; Harvard: Harvard UP, 2003) 1:44-45, n. 16; Compare Suetonius, *Nero* 11-12. In the case of Thecla, this is most likely the mythological recreation of Dirce and the bull (*I Clem* 6.1). See also Eleanor W. Leach, "The Punishment of Dirce: A Newly Discovered Painting in the Casa di Giulio Polibio and its Significance within the Visual Tradition," *MDAI* 93 (1986): 157-82, color plates 1-2.; David L. Balch, "Zeus, Vengeful Protector of the Political and Domestic Order: Frescoes in Dining Rooms N and P of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii, Mark 13.12-13, and 1 Clement 6.2," *Picturing the New Testament: Studies in Ancient Visual Images* (Ed. Annette Weissenrieder, Friederike Wendt, and Petra von

Gemünden; WUNT 2.193; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 67-95, plates 1-9, especially discussion on page 88.

⁹ Replace *θηριομάχον* with *αὐτὴν* based on Cop¹. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 48.

¹⁰ After *ἐπέτρεψεν* cut out *ὁ ἡγεμὼν* from the evidence of *E* and Cop¹.

¹¹ The text implies that Thecla is tied, by Alexander himself, to the bulls, being between them, so as to rip her apart by her feet.

¹² *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα*- “genitals,” see “*ἀναγκαῖος, α, ον*,” BDAG, 60. 1 Cor 12:22; *1 Clem* 37.5; Diodorus of Sicily 1.34; POxy 56.6; 1068.16; Philo, *Prob.* 76; Athenagoras 22.4, etc.

¹³ Alexander’s intentions are to have Thecla ripped apart and killed through the burning of the male genitalia of the bulls.

¹⁴ *ἡ δὲ περικαιομένη φλόξ*- There is some difficulty in determining whether or not the reading should be *περικαιομένη* (*A, B, m, s*, Tischendorf) or *περικειμένη* (*C and E*). The more difficult reading is the former, which is also the preferred reading of *AAA*, 262. If it is a flame that surrounds Thecla, then the release of Thecla appears more miraculous with a flame surrounding her. This also implies that the *cloud of fire* still surrounds Thecla. This correction can easily be explained as a scribal correction to a more difficult text that does not appear to flow well. Schneemelcher (*NTApoc* 2:245) and Rordorf (*ÉAC*, 1140) support the latter reading. In the former reading *περικαιομένη* is a present middle deponent participle, nominative feminine singular of *περικαίω*.

4.10.2 General Comment

Davies, *Revolt of the Widows*, 106, states it best, “This passage is a graphic portrayal of sexual sadism. A beautiful naked woman with her legs ripped apart by bulls enraged to a frenzy by the application of hot irons to their sexual organs-such an image could come from a disturbed mind.” Sadly enough, this is not an exceptional situation, and the “disturbed mind” is an anachronistic assessment that is not borne out in the testimony and other sources from antiquity. Here Alexander finally takes the death and shame brought upon him into his own hands, taking the legal reigns from a passive proconsul and attempts to pay back Thecla for her dishonoring him by denying his sexual advances (4.1). Initially Alexander tried to bind her and failed, but now he can bind her. Initially Alexander made sexual advances on her, but now he is able to inflame the genitalia of the bulls with the result of the destruction of Thecla’s legs being pulled apart (this is exactly what he was denied in 4.1).

In this “fatal charade” in the theater, where the wild beasts are set against her, Thecla has just received the seal of baptism and God sends signs to demonstrate his blessing of her self-baptism. This is immediately followed by Thecla’s ritualistic anointing with ointments at the beginning of 4.10. After she is anointed, then the trials of the adversary begin instantly, but as the baptism proves true, Thecla is preserved from these threats, and the the key virtue of sexual purity is maintained (See 3.6.2 *General Comment*; and 3.12.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5). The text is able to blend adequately the themes of the ancient novel, early Christian rites and theology with an engaging historically based episode of mythological reenactments in the

theater with the result of the death of Thecla, a criminal and scourge to Antiochene society (as deemed by Alexander).

4.11 Ἡ δὲ Τρύφαινα¹ ἐξέψυξεν ἐστῶσα παρὰ τὴν ἀρήναν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἄβακας,² ὥστε τὰς θεραπαινίδας³ εἰπεῖν Ἀπέθανεν ἡ βασί-
 λισσα Τρύφαινα. καὶ ἐπέσχευεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν,⁴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐπτόρη·
 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος⁵ πεσὼν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἡγεμόνος εἶπεν·
 Ἐλέησον καὶ με καὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀπόλυσον⁶ τὴν θηριομάχον,⁷ μὴ (5)
 καὶ ἡ πόλις συναπόληται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐὰν ἀκούσῃ ὁ Καῖσαρ,⁸ τάχα
 ἀπολέσει σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἡ συγγενὴς⁹ αὐτοῦ Τρύφαινα
 ἡ βασίλισσα¹⁰ ἀπέθανεν παρὰ τοὺς ἄβακας.²

Translation:

But Tryphaena lost consciousness, while standing alongside the arena upon the sideboard of the theater, so that the female slaves said, “Queen Tryphaena is dead.” And the governor stopped, and the whole city was frightened. And Alexander falling at the feet of the governor said “Have mercy on me and the city, and release the beastfighter, lest the city be destroyed with her. For if the Caesar should hear of these things, quickly he will destroy us and the city together, because his kinsperson, Tryphaena the Queen, has died by the sideboard of the arena.”

4.11.1 Textual Notes

¹ For a discussion on Tryphaena, see 4.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11.

² Rordorf (*ÉAC*, 1140) translates this as “vers les premières places” with a footnote IV,11 that states “ces places étaient recouvertes de marbre ou de bois.” It appears that the *abacus* or *sideboard* was a technical name for a marble/wood slab that was next to or part of the theater (“ἄβαξ,” LSJ, 1).

³ See 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11, concerning a discussion Thecla as a *handmaid of God*.

⁴ The potential death of Tryphaena even stills the governor as the madness of Alexander has been raging unchecked.

⁵ See 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1. See also Acts 19:33 (2x); 1 Tim 1:20; and 2 Tim 4:14.

⁶ This is *release* in the sense of *acquit*. Alexander would like to dismiss the case based on the possible repercussions that could come from the death of a family member of Caesar.

⁷ It is possible that *θηριομάχον* could have been absent from the original text, but there is no conclusive evidence. See 4.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9. See also 4.3.1 *Textual Notes* note 1, for further discussion and information on *θηριομάχον*. A reference to “the feminine *θηριομάχος* is unprecedented” (Van den Hoek and Herrmann, “Thecla the Beast Fighter,” 225).

⁸ These words are somewhat prophetic for what will take place in the martyrdom of Paul. Nero’s knowledge of the death of his beloved slave, Patroclus, leads to the mass persecution of Christians in Rome and the eventual execution of Paul (*AP* 14.2-5).

⁹ For further discussion of the possible connection of Tryphaena to Caesar, see 4.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11.

¹⁰ Τρύφαινα ἡ βασίλισσα is probably a later addition. See Gebhardt, *Passio*, CIV.

4.11.2 General Comment

As soon as Alexander's plans for the sadistic death of Thecla fail in 4.10, the chapter begins with the collapse of queen Tryphaena into unconsciousness. This brings about a response from a group of women other than those who have consistently called out for the salvation of Thecla. This time it is the slaves/handmaids of Tryphaena who quickly evaluate the situation incorrectly by proclaiming that Tryphaena is dead. This announcement seems to bring the whole city to a sudden halt. The shift and transition of the Antiochene texts balances upon the fulcrum sentence in three parts: (1) Tryphaena is dead, (2) The governor stops (centerpoint), and (3) the city is frightened. The death of this queen could bring about the complete collapse and destruction of the city of Antioch if Caesar hears of these events. This news brings about a repentant response from Alexander, who is now more concerned for his life, rather than Thecla's death. As the "leading man of the city," Alexander must consider first how he must mitigate this situation.

The scene of these events is presented in a very dramatic way in terms of the scale of its size and scope. First of all, there are dead lions and lionesses, sleeping wild beasts (leopards, bears, lions, tigers?) scattered throughout the theater, and a pit of water filled with dead animals, namely seals. In addition to this there is Thecla, who

has been the source of a show of fire and lightning, then a cloud of fire hiding her naked body, and now Thecla, with the remains of cords that bound her burned away, remains standing within the theater, most likely wet from her immersion into the water and naked again with the fiery cloud having receded (see 3.12.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2). In addition to this, there are angry bulls about, and a crowd full of spectators shouting disapproval of the entire situation. This overwhelming image of the theater is suddenly brought to a grinding halt upon the announcement of the possible death of Queen Tryphaena. It is almost as if time freezes as the situation now centers on the death of the queen.

4.12 Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν τὴν Θέκλαν ἐκ μέσου τῶν θηρίων
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Τίς εἶ σύ;¹ καὶ τίνα τὰ περὶ σέ,² ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν
τῶν θηρίων ἤψατό σου;³ ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι θεοῦ τοῦ
ζῶντος δούλη·⁴ τὰ δὲ περὶ ἐμέ, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς υἱὸν
αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευσα· δι' ὃν οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν θηρίων ἤψατό⁵ μου.⁶ οὗτος (5)
γὰρ μόνος σωτηρίας ὅρος⁷ καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου⁸ ὑπόστασις⁹ ἐστίν·
χειμαζομένοις γὰρ γίνεται καταφυγή,¹⁰ θλιβομένοις ἄνεσις,¹¹ ἀπηλ-
πισμένοις¹² σκέπη, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς ὅς ἐάν μὴ πιστεύσῃ εἰς αὐτόν,
οὐ ζήσεται ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.¹³

Translation:

And the governor called Thecla out of the midst of the wild beasts and said to her, “Who are you and what is it about you, that none of the beasts touched you?” But Thecla said, “I am a slave of the living God. But the things concerning me, I have placed my trust in the one whom God blessed, namely his son; on account of which not one of the beasts touched me. For this is the only way of salvation and the substance of deathless life. For to the one being stormed-tossed he is a place of refuge, a loosening to the one being oppressed, a shelter to the one who is in despair, and in general, whoever should not believe in him, shall not live but will die forever.

4.12.1 Textual Notes:

¹ Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 6.21-22; 8.6-8; Parthenius, *The Story of Pallene* 5-6;

² This can be translated as either “and what are the things surrounding you” or “what is it about you?” I do not agree with Bovon who suggests that there is a “thème de la barrière protectrice” (“La Vie des Apôtres: Traditions Bibliques et Narrations Apocryphes,” *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, 154). See Schneemelcher, *NTApoc* 2.267, note 52; Bovon, *Lukas in neuer Sicht: gesammelte Aufsätze* (Biblisch-theologische Studien 8; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1985), 244, note 56.

Wilson is translating Schneemelcher into English (while Schneemelcher is following Bovon’s German translation) when he states, “τίνα τὰ περὶ σέ [AAA 1:263] – ‘what is it about thee?’ is probably better to be rendered ‘what surrounds you?’. The motif of the protective enfolding deserves closer examination.” This is an English translation of a German translation of Bovon’s article originally in French. See Bovon, “La Vie des

Apôtres: Traditions Bibliques et Narrations Apocryphes,” especially note 56 on page 154, where Bovon is conjuring up the image of the protective surrounding that he suggests is around Thecla. He also cites Job 1:10 and Mark 12:1. This evidence is not conclusive. The connections to both Job and Mark are tenuous and unlikely. Bovon’s assertion may be based upon faulty textual evidence in 4.10 (see *4.10.1 Textual Notes*, note 14 concerning *περικειμένη*). Textually the support for a “hedge” is poor. Secondly, this makes little sense in the context. For instance, upon Thecla baptizing herself, she is surrounded by a pillar of fire to keep the wild beasts from touching her and to cover her nakedness (4.9). Then in 4.10, Alexander approaches her to tie her to the bulls. If the fire had remained, then Alexander would not have been able to approach her. Instead, one should understand the apocalyptic fire as a demonstration of God’s approval of Thecla. In addition, if a fire were still surrounding Thecla when she approached the governor, then why would he have suggested for her to have garments brought to her (4.13). Thecla’s response further supports that the *cloud of fire* was a temporary enclosure, when she refers to it in past tense Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Ὁ ἐνδύσας με γυμνήν ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις, οὗτος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἐνδύσει με σωτηρίαν.. Notice that ἐνδύσας is an aorist active participle referring to a past time when God had clothed her from her nakedness (4.9).

³ See 4.9-10. See also 2 Tim 4:17.

⁴ See *4.1.1 Textual Notes*, note 11 on the expression τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλην. See Rordorf, *ÉAC*, 1140, note IV,12: “*La servante du Dieu vivant*: voir Lc 1,38. Thècle prononce sa confession de foi; voir sa prière en IV,17.”

⁵ See 3.22; 4.9, 10, here (2x); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.

⁶ The governor asks Thecla two questions: (1) who are you, and (2) what is it about you that the beasts do not touch you? Thecla answers both. First she says that she is a servant of God, believing in Jesus as the son of God. Secondly, she states that Jesus, the son of God, is the sole salvation that protected her from these events.

⁷ See Bovon, “La Vie des Apôtres,” 154, note 56, preferring the reading of ὁδός against AAA, but with Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 218, note 3. See Acts 16:17. It appears from the context (in agreement with Rordorf, *ÉAC*, 1141) that the reading should remain ὅρος with AAA. Three reasons can be suggested. (1) ὅρος provides the less common reading, due to the fact that a scribe would have been tempted to change this to ὁδός which would be the more obvious wording (Acts 16:17). (2) ὅρος preserves a more consistent reading that deals with the *landmark/boundary* of salvation and the *substance/framework* of eternal life. (3) The most decisive evidence would have to be a lack in gender agreement between ὁδός (feminine) and οὗτος (masculine). On the other hand, οὗτος which would require a masculine subject is consistent with ὅρος.

⁸ Changed to αἰωνίου based on Cop¹. On the reading of AAA, ἀθανάτου, see 1 Tim 6:16.

⁹ ὑπόστασις- It is difficult to decide how to translate this noun, which carries a very rich meaning philosophically. See Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1454-61, especially I.A and III.A. See also “ὑπόστασις, ἡ,” BDAG, 1040-41. This word also carries a rich meaning especially within the Christian wisdom tradition. See Plutarch, *Mor.* 894b; Wis 16:21; Philo, *Aet.* 88, 92; etc.

¹⁰ This is an image from the Hebrew Bible/LXX. See Exod 17:15; 4 Kgdms 22:3; Ps 9:9, 17:18, 45:1, etc. See also *Jos. Asen.* 13.1.

¹¹ There is a possible connection between *Jos. Asen.* 12.10-11. Asenath fearing to tell her father because she is being *oppressed*, says

“Lord, rescue me from his hands, and from his mouth deliver me, lest he carry me off like a lion, and tear me up and throw me into the flame of the fire, and the fire will wrap me up in darkness and throw me out into the deep of the sea and the big sea monster who (exists) since eternity will swallow me, and I will be destroyed for ever (and) ever...rescue me, Lord...because my father and my mother disowned me...and guard me a virgin (who is) abandoned and an orphan...”

These are the same events that transpired in the life of Thecla, and yet, contrary to what Asenath expects, the Lord does deliver Thecla. 2 Tim 4:17 also connects with this passage; see also LXX Ps 21.21-22, 90.13.

¹² See Isa 29:19

¹³ See 4.4 (2x).

4.12.2 General Comment

Now that the pendulum has swung in a different direction than that which began in 4.1-2 (see 4.11.2 *General Comment*), Thecla is beginning to be able to explain and teach her message to the governor of Antioch and those in the theater who have been standing by. Several key factors are synergizing by this point in the text. First, it should be very transparent that the theme of the untouched virgin from the ancient novel is dominating the text (see note 1). True to the other examples in the ancient novel, when tested Thecla comes through trials untouched, proving her innocence and

virginity. But one cannot stop here. Second, it is clear that the author of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* is bringing to a climax the theological agenda associated with women and authority in the early church. It has been clearly demonstrated in the textual notes and comments surrounding 4.9-10 that Thecla has just gone through the baptismal rite (without the bishop present) as comparisons with other early Christian didactic texts indicate (see 4.9.2 *General Comment*). Then in 4.10-11, Thecla is tested immediately following her baptism and anointing and succeeds. Then finally in 4.12, Thecla is able to preach her first sermon as a baptized, sealed believer, having been commissioned by God, essentially as a female apostle. This verification is demonstrated later in 4.16, taking much the same shape as Galatians 1-2, where Paul seeks verification from the other apostles and James the Lord's brother.

One might also note the similarities between Joseph and Asenath 12.10-11 and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* at several points:

1. Asenath and Thecla describe God as one who rescues.
2. Thecla is delivered from a lion, while Asenath fears the lion.
3. Thecla was thrown into flames, while Asenath fears the flame of the fire.
4. Thecla was wrapped by a flame (provided by God) and Asenath fears being wrapped up by a flame of darkness.
5. Thecla threw herself into the water, while Asenath fears being cast into the sea.
6. The water is Thecla's salvation (like Jonah) and brings eternal life, while Asenath fears that the eternity in the sea will be eternal death.
7. Thecla has been disowned by her mother, while Asenath fears being disowned.
8. Thecla and Asenath seek a "guarding" as they are virgins and both have been abandoned like orphans. Not even Paul defends Thecla in Antioch.

Now that God has brought deliverance and commission to Thecla she is able to begin, and does so immediately (such as Paul is said to have done in Acts 9:20), and only

later seeks confirmation. It is very clear by this point that the agenda is to demonstrate and sanction the apostolic work of the female Thecla, in opposition to those who are arguing for the silencing of women (such as Tertullian in *Bapt.* 17).

4.13 Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας¹ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι ἱμάτια
καὶ εἶπεν· Ὑπνῶσαι τὰ ἱμάτια.² Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Ὁ ἐνδύσας με γυμνὴν
ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις, οὗτος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως³ ἐνδύσει με σωτηρίαν. Καὶ
λαβοῦσα τὰ ἱμάτια ἐνεδύσατο. καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν εὐθέως ὁ ἡγεμὼν
ἄκτον⁴ λέγων Θέκλαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλην⁵ τὴν θεοσεβῆ ἀπολύω (5)
ὑμῖν. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι⁶ ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ὥς ἐξ ἑνὸς
στόματος ἔδωκαν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ λέγουσαι Εἰς θεὸς ὁ Θέκλαν
σώσας,⁷ ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς σεισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν,

Translation:

After having heard these things, the governor called to have garments brought in and said, “Put the garments on for yourself.” But Thecla said, “The one who has clothed my nakedness while with the wild beasts, this one will clothe me with salvation on the Day of Judgment.” And receiving the garments, she put them on. And the governor sent out a policy immediately saying, “Thecla, the slave of God, the Godfearer, I release to you.” But all the women cried out in a great voice and as out of one voice they gave thanks to God saying, “One is God who has saved Thecla,” so that the whole city was shaken by the sound.

4.13.1 Textual Notes

¹ It appears that the end result within this story of the governor is not his conversion (conversion is never the end result in the canonical Acts of the Apostles), but rather his support and confirmation of Thecla's innocence.

² The issue of Thecla's nakedness has been an underlying theme throughout the Antioch episode. Thecla is made to strip off her clothing in Iconium upon the event of her *crematio* (3.22). This is counterbalanced by Paul taking off his garment to end a fast and prayer for Thecla (3.23), then again in the theater in Antioch, Thecla is stripped of her clothing. One might notice that the second time around, she is given underpants (see 4.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2), and it appears that a contrast of what is "surrounding" or "engulfing" Thecla is being emphasized, while at the same time baptismal preparation is what the author of the *AP* has in mind this time (4.8). Upon the completion of her diving into the water/baptism, she is immediately engulfed by the presence of God with a cloud of fire (4.9). So upon standing before the governor now, Thecla affirms that she is clothed in the garments that are necessary for salvation from God. The paradoxical situation is that Thecla is standing naked before all, yet is able to proclaim that she is pure and clothed, and her deliverance through fire, lions, and seals is the testimony. See also 4.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 13 and 14.

³ See 4.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6 and Thecla's speech on salvation connected to Jesus in 4.12.

⁴ This is from the Latin, *actio*, meaning “proposal...policy.” See definition 2 in P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 30. Thecla leaves with her shame and dignity (See Acts 16.35-39).

⁵ See 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 11 on the expression τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλην. See also comments under 4.12.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6.

⁶ See also 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; and 4.3.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8.

⁷ Change πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν to τὴν πόλιν following Schmidt’s reconstruction of Cop¹ (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 18*). It appears that πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν (ΖΩΣΤΕ ΑΤΡΕ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ [ΤΗΡΟΥ]) would not have fit within the lines of the manuscript. Rordorf also translates this passage as “«Il n’y a qu’un seul Dieu, celui qui a sauvé Thècle», de sorte que la ville fut ébranlée par cette clameur.” (Rordorf, *ÉAC*, 1141).

4.13.2 General Comment

Having heard the proclamation and *kerygma* as delivered by Thecla, the governor can make no other pronouncement, but to send out a policy, an act and declaration proclaiming the innocence of Thecla. One oversight of the governor is his continued lack of understanding of how Thecla’s God covers one in salvation. He sees Thecla naked and in need of clothing, but Thecla sees herself as clothed in God and having no need of the governor’s clothing. This reorientation of Thecla’s “body” and “person” serves to contrast the nakedness and eroticization of Thecla, while at the same time Thecla stands before the governor as pure, chaste, and a virgin. Vorster

argues for no less than a revisioning “of the social hierarchies during the second century CE.” (Vorster, “Construction of Culture,” 117). In relation to the themes of the ancient novel, Thecla has passed the litmus test.

The voice of the women that began cacophonously in 4.2 has finally become organized into one voice. Their *one voice* in harmony can now blend to make the unified proclamation of the *one God*. Their voice, testifying to the salvation, is overpowering and it shakes the city. At this point, one needs to take note that Paul is absent, and has been absent from the entire trial and situation of Antioch, since 4.1 (see note 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6). While realizing that this is not the abandonment of Thecla by Paul (following the ancient novel), Paul’s absence also serves to show that Thecla’s calling and commission by God was not by the hands of humans (Gal 1:1, 12, 15-23), especially not from Paul, but from God himself. In fact, Paul had already left Antioch, but had gone on to Myra (4.15), further separating the apostolic commission of Thecla from Paul. The reason for showing Paul’s resistance in 3.25 is not to exhibit Paul in a bad light, but to further separate Thecla’s commission from Paul (see 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*, note 14 and 3.25.2 *General Comment*).

4.14 καὶ τὴν Τρύφαιναν εὐαγγελισθεῖσαν¹ ἀπαντῆσαι τῇ θέκλῃ² μετὰ
ὄχλου καὶ περιπλακῆναι αὐτῇ³ καὶ εἰπεῖν Νῦν πιστεύω ὅτι
νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται.⁴ νῦν πιστεύω ὅτι τὸ τέκνον μου ζῇ.⁵ δεῦρο τέκνον μου⁶
ἔσω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου,⁷ καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σοὶ καταγράψω.⁸ ἡ δέ⁹

εἰσηλθεν μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο¹⁰ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ἡμέρας (5)
 ὁκτώ,¹¹ κατηχήσασα¹² αὐτὴν τὸν λόγον,¹³ ὥστε πιστεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ¹⁴
 καὶ τῶν παιδισκῶν¹⁵ τὰς πλείονας, καὶ μεγάλην εἶναι χαρὰν ἐν
 τῷ οἴκῳ.¹⁶

Translation:

And when the good news had been told to Tryphaena, she was meeting Thecla with a crowd and being embraced by her and said, “Now I believe that the dead are raised. Now I believe that my child lives. Come inside my child, into my house, and I will transfer all of my property to you. Therefore Thecla entered with her and refreshed herself in her house for eight days, teaching her the word, so that she believed in God and also many of the slaves, and great was the joy in her house.

4.14.1 Textual Notes

¹ This is probably not only intended in the general sense of “good news” about Thecla’s deliverance, but this further demonstrates the *gospel-like* character of this document. Thecla’s “resurrection” from the dead provides this post-resurrection confession of faith by queen Tryphaena. See *AP* 3.17; MacDonald, “Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives,” 61-63; Richard I. Pervo, “14 Early Christian Fiction,” *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context* (ed. J. R. Morgan and Richard Stoneman; London and New York: Routledge, 1994) 244; and 3.6.2 *General Comment*.

² The text according to *AAA*, 265, is ἀπαντῆσαι μετὰ ὄχλου καὶ περιπλακῆναι τῇ θέκλῃ καὶ εἰπεῖν. The text has been edited based upon Cop¹: ΛCΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ' ΑΤΩΜΝΤ ΑΘΕΚΛΑ ΜΝ ΠΗΗΨΕ: ΑΥΘ ΑCΘΨΛΘ ΑΞΟΥΝ ΑΡΑΣ ΕCΧΟΥ ΞΗΜΑΣ ΔΕ... (Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 18*).

³ The resurrection of the dead is an important theme of the *AP*. On the dead being raised, compare *AP* 3.8; 4.14; 9.23; 10.4.6; 10.5.26, 27, 31, 32; 13.2; 13.8; 14.4, 5; and also Matt 26:64; 28:7; Mark 16:14; and John 21.14. See Bremmer, “Magic, Martyrdom, and Women’s Liberation,” 55; Pieter J. Lalleman, “VIII. The Resurrection in the Acts of Paul,” *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 126-41.

⁴ See Lalleman, “The Resurrection,” 133; Tryphaena believes that her daughter Falconilla lives (eternally) now, after Thecla prayed for her (*AP* 4.6), and Tryphaena now has evidence that God can miraculously raise up someone from the “dead.”

⁵ τέκνον μου and εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου added to text based upon Cop¹, *A*, *B*, *C* *E* for τέκνον μου and *F*, *G*, Latin *C_{ab}*, *C_c*, etc.

⁶ The development of a patron-client relationship is the most likely explanation of what is going on in the text, although specific patronage terminology is missing (Misset-Van de Weg, “Answers to the Plights of an Ascetic Woman Named Thecla,” *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha*, 156-62). In addition to a patron-client relationship under development, the reorientation and conversion of Tryphaena to Christ is evident, and Tryphaena quickly develops her Christian role in economic enablement and begins funding the ministry of Thecla. The acceptance of

Thecla as a bodily manifestation of Falconilla is somewhat possible also, but only in a spiritual sense. See Misset-Van de Weg, “A Wealthy Woman Named Tryphaena: Patroness of Thecla of Iconium,” 32-35.

⁷ From ἡ μὲν οὖν θέκλα to ἡ δὲ following Cop¹, *C F*, and *G*.

⁸ See 3.13.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1.

¹¹ There is some difficulty in knowing whether or not this is supposed to be ὀκτώ (supported by *AAA* and Rordorf) or δέκα (Schmidt with support of Cop¹). See Schmidt’s comments under footnote 26.10, *Acta Pauli*, 50.

¹² Thecla begins to teach. See 4.9.1 *Textual Notes*, note 4.

¹³ Omit τοῦ θεοῦ, in agreement with Cop¹, *A*, *B*, *G*, *d*, *s*, and Tischendorf.

¹⁴ Add τῷ θεῷ following Cop¹.

¹⁵ Could be men or women. See 3.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9; 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; and 3.11.2 *General Comment*; 3.22.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1 for further discussion.

¹⁶ See 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2; and 4.16.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2.

4.14.2 General Comment

One is quickly reminded of the connections of the *AP* and the Gospels (See note 1 above). Here, one is able to experience the *resurrection* of Thecla from the beasts, and Queen Tryphaena hears the *gospel* of Thecla, as reported to the governor (4.13). Tryphaena greets and embraces Thecla along with the crowd that are standing by, and

she invites Thecla to come home with her. This follows after Tryphaena's confession that she truly believes that her daughter Falconilla lives (See note 4 above). This is not a testimony where Tryphaena is mistaking Thecla for her daughter Falconilla, but yet the spiritual resurrection (and bodily?) resurrection of Thecla is evidence enough for Tryphaena that her daughter can now live. Tryphaena immediately offers all of her possessions to Thecla after making her confession. First of all, this is evidence of a complete conversion of Tryphaena to Christ through Thecla. Notice the similarities to the complete devotion that Thecla showed to Paul in 3.18-22, as now witnessed in Tryphaena's devotion. This appears to be the offer of a patroness to a client, offering full support of Thecla's apostolic teaching ministry. It cannot be forgotten that Thecla has also had an experience with Jesus in 3.21 (See 3.21.1 *Textual Notes*, note10). Upon hearing this, Thecla does go to the house of Tryphaena and begins her ministry. The immediate response is the acceptance of the Word, not only by Tryphaena, but also a host of slaves and the people in her house (foreshadowed and interpreted by similar responses in 3.5 and 20). This text seems to suggest the gathering and meeting of a house church in the home of Tryphaena, in which Thecla is the evangelist that has established and is encouraging this church (see also Osiek, MacDonald, and Tulloch, *A Woman's Place*, 241-42; Misset-Van de Weg, "A wealthy woman named Tryphaena," 32-33.).

4.15 Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα Παῦλον¹ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν περι-
πέμπουσα πανταχοῦ·² καὶ ἐμηνύθη αὐτῇ ἐν Μύροις³ εἶναι αὐτόν.

καὶ λαβοῦσα νεανίσκους⁴ καὶ παιδίσκας,⁵ ἀναζωσαμένη καὶ ῥάψασα
τὸν χιτῶνα εἰς ἐπενδύτην σχήματι ἀνδρικοῦ⁶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν Μύροις,
καὶ εὗρεν Παῦλον λαλοῦντα τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ⁷ καὶ ἐπέστη (5)
αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ἐθαμβήθη βλέπων αὐτήν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον⁸ τὸν μετ'
αὐτῆς, λογισάμενος μὴ τις αὐτῇ πειρασμὸς πάρεστιν ἕτερος.⁹
ἡ δὲ συνιδοῦσα¹⁰ εἶπεν αὐτῷ "Ἐλαβον τὸ λουτρόν,¹¹ Παῦλε· ὁ
γὰρ σοὶ συνεργήσας εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον¹² κάμοι συνήργησεν εἰς τὸ
λούσασθαι.¹³ (10)

Translation:

But Thecla was seeking after Paul and was sending people around in every direction. And it was made known to her that he was in Myra, and taking young men and women, having girded her loins and stitched together a garment into a masculinely fashioned robe and she went to Myra and found Paul speaking the Word of God and she went to him. But he was astonished to see her and the crowd that was with her, considering whether some other temptation might be upon her. But having become aware of his thinking, she said to him, "I took the bath, Paul; For the one who worked with you in the Gospel has even worked for me in the washing.

4.15.1 Textual Notes

¹ ἐπεπόθει καὶ has been rejected based upon Cop¹ and C.

² Here the depiction of Thecla has changed radically from her initial situation immediately after she decided to renounce her social status and marriage in Iconium. Now the apostle/Jesus figure is sending out her own male and female servants (presumably Tryphaena's servants who are now at Thecla's disposal) and in hopes of reuniting with Paul.

³ Myra is further support and evidence that the likelihood of Antioch being the Antioch in Pisidia. See also 3.26.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5; 4.13.2 *General Comment*.

⁴ See 9.20, 21; Mark 14:51. This is the first time that the text articulates the gender of these young men. See note 5 below. See Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 223, note 2*, "La présence de l'apôtre à Myre et le voyage entrepris à pied par Thècle et son escorte prouvent qu'il s'agit bien d'Antioche de Pisidie; et certes, la course est déjà bien longue d'une ville à l'autre."

⁵ It appears that Thecla has drawn young disciples that are both male and female. This would have aroused Tertullian (*Bapt.* 17) and possibly others, where this clearly indicates that Thecla had converted many, and is now exerting influence over both young men and women. See 3.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 9; 3.11.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6; and 3.11.2 *General Comment*; 3.22.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1 for further discussion.

⁶ See 3.25; see also Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 223, note 3*; J. Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif," *Viator* 5 (1974): 1-32; Evelyne Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance," *Studi Medievali* III.17 (1976): 597-623; reproduced in *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance: IVe-XIe siècle*

(London: Variorum Reprints, 1981, 1964), chapter 11 and Addenda, 2; J. C. B. Petropoulos, “Transvestite Virgin with a Cause. The Acta Pauli and Theclae and Late Antique Proto-‘Feminism’,” *Greece and Gender* (eds. Brit Berggreen and Nanno Marinatos; Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1995), 125-39. Bremmer, “Magic, Martyrdom, and Women’s Liberation,” 55, regards Petropoulos’ article as “less helpful.”

⁷ On teaching the *word of God*, see *AP* 3.5, 7 (2x) for Paul, and 4.14 for Thecla. See also *AP* 12.1; 13.4, 7 (2x); 14.1 (2x), 3, 4. See also Acts 13:5.

⁸ Thecla has developed and maintained a following.

⁹ See 3.25; See 3.25.1 *Textual Notes*, note 17 on Thecla’s temptations.

¹⁰ See Acts 12.12; *AP* 14.1-Paul “perceives in the Spirit” that ὁ πονηρός would tempt them.

¹¹ Within Tit 3:5 and Eph 5:26, τὸ λουτρόν is in reference to baptism. The Ephesian account synthesizes the concepts of bathing and spiritual cleansing by the λόγος.

¹² See Gal 2.8 (!) for a strong parallel between Paul and Peter, now being applied to Paul and Thecla. Regarding εὐαγγέλιον, see 4.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1. See also *AP* 4.1, 17; 10.6.34. See also Gerhard Friedrich, “εὐαγγέλιον,” *TDNT* 2:729-36.

εὐαγγέλιον is still being used in an oracular sense, where the “basic meaning is that εὐαγγέλιον is the preached word.” (735). The usage in 4.1 (4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 8), which is not original to the document, falls outside of the parameters of “preached word.” See note 13 below also.

¹³ See 4.9, Νῦν καιρὸς λούσασθαι με (Now is the time for me to wash myself). Paul's conversion does not specify any form of baptism, yet both Thecla and Paul have an encounter with God the Father by means of a specific εὐαγγέλιον (see also *AP* 9.5; **ΝΤΑϞΡ̄** **ΕΓΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΕ** **ΝΗΕΙ** **ἩΠΕϞΩΗΡΕ**; the suffixed pronoun **ρ̄** in **ΝΤΑϞΡ̄** refers back to **ΠΕΙΩΤ**; see Kasser and Luisier, "Le Papyrus Bodmer XLI," 316; István Czachesz, *Commission Narratives: A Comparison Study of the Canonical and Apocryphal Acts* (Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 8; Peeters: Leuven, 2007), 89-91.

4.15.2 General Comment

Several factors are noteworthy in this very interesting chapter. First, this is the anticlimactic point in the text where Thecla, having already established herself as an evangelist, apostle, and prophet of God with the title *handmaid of God* (δούλη τοῦ θεοῦ), is now going to find her mentor. Thecla has established her validity as a teacher and servant of God without his aid. This is not anti-Pauline polemics, but rather serves to demonstrate Thecla's independence from Paul in her commission and to emphasize her direct connection to God. As has been previously noted in the comments of *AP* 3 and 4, a strong relationship existed between Paul and Thecla, but God had other plans for Thecla than to follow Paul alone (3.18; 24-25). As Thecla seeks to find Paul, she now travels, not alone as she left Iconium for Antioch (3.26), but rather with the social and legal blessing of the proconsul of Antioch, a host of

followers, a patroness funding the ministry, and the seal of God provided under miraculous circumstances. Thecla begins by attempting to change her clothing by making an overcoat/robe that will present Thecla in the garb of a man, as she travels (Artemilla feels compelled to alter her clothing before Paul, in order to hide her beauty among other possibilities, see *AP* 9.17). She girds her loins (probably for travel), but then dons the masculine clothing. Once she travels to Myra and finds Paul, Paul is hesitant to greet her, knowing what happened last time, that Thecla was persistent in changing her appearance and following him. It is obvious that a female apostle, by this point, was not an acceptable role for a woman in the church. The figure of Thecla is an attempt to tell the story of a woman within the Pauline/Acts tradition, which, by all appearances, tries to authenticate an alternative story and theological perspective of Paul's ministry as opposed to the accounting recorded in the Pastorals.

In this brief encounter of Paul and Thecla, Paul is blinded in astonishment by Thecla and this great crowd. This is contrasted by Thecla's ability to see quite clearly (at a deeper level than mere visual recognition) that she is there for providential reasons. Thecla then approaches Paul and proclaims that she has received the bath, i.e. baptism, and then goes on to explain that God has been inwardly working within (*συνεργάζομαι*) both of their lives in the same way (see note 13 above). This solemnizes Thecla's proclamation and explanation of her authenticity as a teacher and apostle of God (see 3.21.1 *Textual Notes*, note 10; 4.12.2 *General Comment* for a

comparison to Paul's justification of apostolicity). The question is how will Paul react, when he recovers from his astonishment?

4.16 Καὶ λαβόμενος¹ ὁ Παῦλος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς ἀπήγαγεν
αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον² Ἑρμείου καὶ πάντα ἀκούει παρ' αὐτῆς, ὥστε
ἐπὶ πολὺ θαυμάσαι τὸν Παῦλον,³ καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας στηριχθῆναι
καὶ προσεύξασθαι⁴ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τρυφαίνης. καὶ ἀναστᾶσα Θέκλα
εἶπεν τῷ Παύλῳ⁵ Πορεύομαι εἰς Ἰκόνιον.⁶ Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν (5)
Ὑπαγε καὶ διδάσκει τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.⁷ ἡ μὲν οὖν Τρύφαινα
ἱματισμὸν⁸ καὶ χρυσὸν ἔπεμψεν αὐτῇ,⁹ ὥστε καταλιπεῖν
τῷ Παύλῳ πολλὰ¹⁰ εἰς διακονίαν τῶν πτωχῶν.¹¹

Translation:

And Paul, having taken her by the hand led her into the house of Hermias and he heard everything from her, so that Paul marveled much, and the ones who had heard were strengthened and prayed concerning Tryphaena, and Thecla, having risen up, said to Paul, "I am going into Iconium." And Paul said, "Go and teach the word of God." Therefore, Tryphaena sent an abundance of clothing and gold with her, in order to leave at the disposal of Paul in the service of the poor.

4.16.1 Textual Notes

¹ Paul accepts Thecla at this critical moment, as he did immediately after Iconium

3.26 (καὶ οὕτως λαβόμενος τὴν Θέκλαν). This acceptance is often misunderstood, because of Paul's actions and statements that follow in 4.1. See 4.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6.

² The activity of the church is always presented within the home, and is only brought into the civic arena and civic spaces under compulsion. Within the *AP* one finds the centering on the *οἶκος* in 3.4 (2x), 5, 7 (2x), 10, 13, 15 [also found in 3.45]; 4.14 (2x), 16, 17 (2x); 10.4.10; 12.1; and 13.4. See 3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1; 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2.

³ Thecla reports everything to Paul, and once again Paul responds in amazement (4.15).

⁴ It is evident that Thecla preaches to the church here in Myra on account of the group that heard her testimony of God's working in her (4.15, ὁ γὰρ σοὶ συνεργήσας εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κάμοι συνήργησεν εἰς τὸ λούσασθαι). It appears that prayers are then offered up concerning the new house church in the home of Tryphaena (4.14).

⁵ τῷ Παύλῳ has been removed by Schmidt (*Acta Pauli*, 51, footnote 27.12) based on the lack of evidence in Cop¹ (This line in Cop¹ has been reconstructed due to the fact that most of the line is missing, but based on Schmidt's reconstruction of τῷ Παύλῳ there is no room for this addition), but *AAA* (267) and Rordorf (*ÉAC*, 1142) have kept it with manuscripts *A*, *B*, *L*, and against *C* *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, Cop¹.

⁶ Thecla is going to go back to her homeplace as a witness to the power of God. One might notice that she *informs* Paul, and does not necessarily *ask* Paul. Confirmation and approval by Paul is very important at this point, although unlikely to be denied

after hearing how God worked with her (cf. Acts 11:15-18; Gal 2:1-10. Paul never sought approval [Gal 2], but yet wanted to see the reaction to his testimony).

⁷ See Stegemann and Stegemann, *Jesus Movement*, 402-07, especially 403 and 474, n. 67 for an explanation of the connection between *AP* 3-4 and the early Christian discussion of the subordination of women in the early Church. Paul gives approval to Thecla as having been immersed and to teach. See 3.25.2 *General Comment*.

⁸ See Luke 7:25; Plutarch, *Alexander* 39.

⁹ Tryphaena as patroness. See 4.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6 and 4.14.2 *General Comment*.

¹⁰ Insert πολλά based on Cop¹ (ΟΓΛΩΗ), *A*, *B*, and Tischendorf, excerpt πολὺν from Τρύφαινα πολὺν ἱματισμὸν (*AAA*, 267 based upon the same textual support).

¹¹ This text appears to model both Acts 11:29 (τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν καθὼς εὐπορεῖτό τις ὥρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς) and Galatians 2, and especially 2:10 (μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι). The two clear verbal touchstones are εἰς διακονίαν and τῶν πτωχῶν coming from both Acts and Galatians.

4.16.2 General Comment

This text appears to model the experiences of Paul and the early church by combining two issues into one. Galatians 2 combines the need for reconciliation between Paul and the Jerusalem leaders of the church to be witnessed with the “blessing” of the

ministry of Paul, while at the same time addressing the problem of poverty and hunger in Judaea, of which Paul becomes an emissary. Acts 11:29 elaborates upon the problem of why poverty and hunger had grown so greatly in Palestine. *AP* 4.16 seems to combine these same two elements in the “blessing” of Thecla by Paul. Here, one of the emerging elements that Christendom plays within attitudes toward poverty in the Roman Empire (possibly “conjunctural poverty”) is that poverty is something that should be remedied. This perspective demonstrates a shift in which poverty is not the result of vices, but rather demonstrates a structural shift in the Empire to view poverty as a problem, and the financial relief of poverty viewed as a virtue. Here this perspective is reinforced and endorsed by the author of the *AP*, in the gift left for Paul intended to bring relief to the poor, who are disenfranchised for whatever reason (see Robin Osborne, “Introduction: Roman Poverty in Context,” *Poverty in the Roman World*, [ed. Margaret Atkins and Robin Osborne; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006], 1-20.).

Thecla now has extensive financial resources which she contributes to the ministry of the poor in which Paul is working. I do not think that the author of the *AP* is attempting to reconcile *AP* to the story of Acts, but I do think that the tradition that Paul gathered funds for the poor must have been known to the author of the *AP* and he likewise incorporates this mission into the text. Therefore Thecla contributes after giving her testimony. Then she tells Paul her intentions and Paul endorses this decision. One other aspect that is worth noting is that Thecla does not ask for approval, but rather informs Paul of her plans, while at the same time seeking to be

able to exchange information.

The theme of the “two lovers” has continued, yet developed in a very interesting ways. As Paul brings Thecla in, leading her by the hand, it becomes clear that Thecla’s desire was not truly for Paul, but the Lord. While her longing for Paul leads her from Iconium to Antioch in order to be with and remain with Paul, her second quest from Antioch to Myra leads her to Paul again not to stay, but to say goodbye, thus concluding the relationship between the two “lovers,” finally made clear as lovers of their Lord (cf. Chariton, *Callirhoe* 8.5).

In addition to the continuation of these themes, a second cycle of social space shift is completed. First, the *APTh* begins with the *οἶκος* of Onesiphorus (3.5-11), then moves into the civic arena with the first trial of Paul and Thecla (3.16-22). Then the text moves back to the domestic space again with the *οἶκος* of Onesiphorus (3.23-26). Then, in chapter four (4.1-12), the text moves back into the civic space with the trial of Thecla in Antioch. Upon the completion of the trial, the text shifts back to the *οἶκος* with the house of Tryphaena (4.14), and finally here in Myra with the *οἶκος* of Hermias.

4.17 Αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν¹ εἰς Ἰκόνιον. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν² εἰς τὸν
 Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον,³ καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος⁴ ὅπου Παῦλος καθε-
 ζόμενος ἐδίδασκεν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ,⁵ καὶ πάλιν⁶ ἔκλαιεν⁷ λέγουσα Ὁ
 θεός ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ οἴκου τούτου,⁸ ὅπου μοι τὸ φῶς ἔλαμψεν,⁹
 Χριστὲ¹⁰ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ,¹¹ ὁ ἐμοὶ βοηθὸς ἐν φυλακῇ, βοηθός (5)

ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων, βοηθὸς ἐν πυρί, βοηθὸς ἐν θηρίοις,¹² αὐτὸς εἶ

θεός, καὶ σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.¹³

Translation:

But she departed to Iconium and she entered into the house of Onesiphorus, and she fell on the floor where Paul had sat and taught the words of God, and wailed saying:

“O, our God even of this house, where the light was revealed to me,

Christ, son of God,

O, My helper in prison,

My helper before governors,

My helper in the fire,

My helper before the wild beasts,

He is God,

and

The glory is yours forever, amen.

4.17.1 Textual Notes

¹ See 3.19.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5 for other references for ἀπῆλθεν.

² εἰσῆλθεν as supported by Cop¹ (אCBWΚ), C E, I, K, L, and M.

³ On Αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἰκόνιον. καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸν Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον- This is similar to Paul’s entrance into Iconium in 3.1 and 3.5. On Ὀνησιφόρου and οἶκον see

3.2.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1 and 3.5.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2 and 3.5.2 *General*

Comment.

⁴ Compare 9.17 (only other time ἔδαφος is literally mentioned); see also 3.7, 8, 10, 18. See 4.8.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6 on the discipling of others by “sitting at their feet.” The key to this language may be found in Acts 22:7, where the text states of Paul, “ἔπεσά τε εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι...” While the connection between Acts and the *AP* may not be absolutely proven with this phrase here (Hills, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 43 gives the connection a “B” rating), this seems to be very convincing as evidence of a strong awareness by the author of the *AP* of the stories found in Acts. If the author does not have a copy of Acts, then he or she has definitely seen one at some point or heard the stories from it. The only criticism of this would be the objection of Schmidt (*Acta Pauli*, 51, note 27.20) of the accuracy of the original text reading ἔδαφος based on the Coptic text that has the word πμα.

Schmidt suggests τόπος instead of ἔδαφος, although there are no Greek texts to support such a reading. In *ÉAC*, 1142, Rordorf follows the reading of ἔδαφος (*se jeta à terre à l'endroit*). After all, πμα can be translated very diversely ranging from *place* to *temple* to *dwelling place* (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 153).

⁵ This is referring back to *AP* 3.5-7 and the conversion of Thecla. On the τὰ λόγια (plural here, 3.1 and 3.6 [see 3.6.1 *Textual Notes*, note 2]) τοῦ θεοῦ, see 4.14, 15, 16, etc. (4.15.1 *Textual Notes* note 7). Preaching the “Word of God” is a key concept in the *AP*. Although the preaching of τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ is not an uncommon subject for

the *AP*, there seems to be some question as to whether it is the original wording of this text. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 51. It is not found in Cop¹, as well as a number of Greek manuscripts.

⁶ Add *πάλιν* based on the evidence of Cop¹.

⁷ The usage of *κλαίω* suggests the mixed feelings of Thecla who revisits this sight out of sorrow as she cries out over the past events mixed with praise and thanks to God.

⁸ Thecla remembers how God worked on her in the house of Onesiphorus (*AP* 3.5-8).

⁹ This should be *Χριστὲ* instead of *Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ* with Cop¹ and Latin C_a. See Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 51 and Rordorf, *ÉAC*, 1142.

¹⁰ Thecla does not refer to her “conversion” as *the light shined upon me* in any other place in the *AP*. This is language familiar in the canonical NT. See Matt 15:15-16; Luke 17:24; Acts 12:7; 2 Cor 4:6 (2x).

¹¹ Compare *AP*, *Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* to Matthew 16:16, “*σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*.”

¹² A recapulation of all of the trials, in which God has been a helper to lead Thecla through prison (3.18), before two proconsuls in Antioch and Iconium (3.20 and 4.1-2 and 12), in a fire (3.22), and before beasts in Antioch (4.8-10).

¹³ With the conclusion to Thecla’s comments, it becomes apparent that she has been offering up a prayer in remembrance of Christ, and somewhat mixed with praise of Paul (remember *AP* 3.21).

4.17.2 General Comment

The text has finally come full circle, with Thecla now entering Iconium as the teacher, while Paul is still in Myra, where we continue to follow him later in *AP* 5.

Thecla enters into the house of Onesiphorus (as Paul had done) and immediately finds the location where Paul had taught. The vacancy of the location further suggests that the church was meeting in an adjoining workshop (see 3.5.2 *General Comment*).

Thecla finally throws herself onto the ground where Paul had taught, as she had desired to do the first time around, but could not because she was so transfixed and intently gazing upon Paul (*ἀτενίζουσα*, 3.7-8). As Thecla throws herself down, she then breaks out into a sorrow-filled prayer of thanksgiving for the deliverance of God through Christ beginning with her conversion to the message of Paul in 3.5-6. She hits several of the high points of God's protection and deliverance through the two cities filled with fires, prisons, proconsuls, and wild beasts. This summary of saving events ends with a doxology and a final amen.

4.18 Καὶ εὗρεν τὸν Θάμυριν¹ τεθνεῶτα,² τὴν δὲ μητέρα ζῶσαν·
καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς³ λέγει αὐτῇ· Θεοκλεία
μηῆτερ, δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι ὅτι ζῇ κύριος ἐν οὐρανοῖς;⁴ εἴτε γὰρ
χρήματα⁵ ποθεῖς, δώσει σοι κύριος δι' ἐμοῦ· εἴτε τὸ τέκνον,
ἰδοὺ, παρέστηκά⁶ σοι. καὶ ταῦτα διαμαρτυραμένη⁷ ἀπῆλθεν⁸ εἰς (5)
Σελεύκειαν,⁹ καὶ πολλοὺς¹⁰ φωτίσασα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ¹¹ μετὰ
καλοῦ ὕπνου¹² ἐκοιμήθη.

Translation:

And she found Thamyras had died, but her mother was living; and having summoned her mother, she said to her, “Theocleia, mother, Are you able to believe that the Lord lives in heaven? For whether you desire treasures, the Lord will give to you through me, or you desire a child, behold, I stand before you. When she had presented these things as testimony, she departed into Seleucia, and having brought to light many by the Word of God she lay down with a good sleep.

4.18.1 Textual Notes

¹ On Thamyras, see 3.7. This is Thecla’s betrothed in Iconium. The circumstances of his death are not known or reported. The text does not specify how much time has elapsed, since Thecla left Iconium, but it is unlikely to have been an extensive amount of time. A period of a few months or within a few years is probably intended. This is partly due to the fact that Paul is still in Myra upon the completion of the *APTh*, when the *AP* continues in chapter five. In ch. 45 of the *APTh*, Thecla is on the pyre in Iconium at age 17, and then before the wild beasts in Antioch at age 18.

² *τεθνεῶτα* is the perfect active participle, accusative masculine singular of *θνήσκω*.

³ Cop¹ is very fragmentary for page 28 of the Heidelberg Papyrus that breaks off here.

⁴ See Matthew 11:25.

⁵ Thecla offers her mother a way to restore her wealth (lost due to lack of a wedding between Thecla and Thamyras), her honor, and a new Christianized social status. See

comments by Vorster, “Construction of Culture,” 108; and comments in 3.10.1

Textual Notes, note 6. However, no response from Theocleia is recorded.

⁶ This is the “complexive aorist” (See Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 430-31, §1927).

⁷ Acts 20:24 states, “ὡς τελειῶσαι τὸν δρόμον μου καὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, διαμαρτύρασθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ” where Paul speaks of his desire to complete his ministry and testify to the Gospel. This is what Thecla is doing with her mother. *διαμαρτύρομαι* appears in Acts nine times; See also 1 Tim 5:21; 2 Tim 1:14 and 4:1. The quasi-dialogue of the *AP* with the Pastorals continues here, where Thecla, “ordained” by God (and blessed by Paul), goes and instructs/warns her mother. This seems to be a somewhat humorous play off of 1 Tim 5:21, which warns not to ordain anyone too quickly, in order to remain pure (*ἀγνόν*, see 3.6.2 *General Comment*) in verse 22. Also 2 Tim 4:1 warns (*διαμαρτύρομαι*) Timothy, Paul’s anointed companion, to “preach the word,” which is exactly what Thecla is doing, both teaching and warning her mother. See “*διαμαρτύρομαι*,” *TDNT*, 4:510-12.

⁸ See 3.19.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5 for other references for *ἀπὸ ἡλθεν*.

⁹ *Σελεύκεια*- This is probably Seleucia of Cilicia Trachea. If the Antioch of 3.26 is not Pisidian Antioch, then it is possible that Thecla has gone from Syrian Antioch to Seleucia Pieria. This option is less likely (see 3.1.1 *Textual Notes*, note 1). See also Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 229, note 2*, “il n’y a pas de raison de ne pas penser à la Séleucie de Cilicie, où l’on honorait la sainte d’un culte ancien.” There is very little material culture of Thecla in and around Syrian Antioch, but quite the contrary in

Cilician Antioch. See also Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla*, 36-80 and Johnson, *The Life and Miracles of Thekla: A Literary Study*, 169-71, etc.

¹⁰ Cop¹ begins again here and seamlessly proceeds from *AP* 4.18 to the scene in Myra.

In fact, upon the conclusion of 4.18, the text transitions with a two line introduction with a border similar to the beginning of the *APTh* section.

¹¹ See 4.17.1 *Textual Notes*, note 5.

¹² On the abrupt conclusion to the story of Thecla, see Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 229-230, note 3*. It appears that one explanation given is that a speedy end to Paul and Thamyris is inconsequential as part of the *AP*, but is expanded further as the *APTh* began to circulate as a separate text and thus demanded more detail. See also *AP* 4.4, 10; 4.4.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6 and 4.10.1 *Textual Notes*, note 7. Thecla's "sleep" is death.

4.18.2 General Comment

This chapter is almost like a postscript, in which the conclusion to the life of Thecla is quickly accounted for as Thecla goes home, finds her betrothed dead due to unknown reasons, and then makes an appeal to her mother. The figure of Thecla's new patroness, Tryphaena, cannot help but be contrasted to her mother, whom she is attempting to convert to Christ (See 4.14.1 *Textual Notes*, note 6 and Misset-Van de Weg, "Answers to the Plight," 156-62). The success of Thecla's preaching to her mother is not reported. The most probable point to Thecla teaching her mother is not the conversion of her mother, but to demonstrate that Thecla is now committed to

teaching the *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, an idea, namely a woman teaching, that is heretical to Tertullian and others. This is reinforced by the fact that Thecla offers a message that included the social reclamation of Theocleia, where the necessity of marriage and sexual relations is not instrumental. Also, the attention of the conversion of a woman (Theocleia) seems to have higher priority to the author than just the conversion of anyone, thus emphasizing the theme of the role of women within the text.

Upon completing her mission to Iconium, Thecla then quickly moves to Seleucia, where it is reported that she had a *good sleep* indicating a good death after converting many there. This brings the *APTh* to a conclusion as the text of the *AP* will then continue with Paul in Myra as indicated in 4.15.

*Note on the *APTh* 44, 45, and *Recension G* (Codex *G*):

AAA's text of the *AP* includes chapters 44 and 45 (this assumes that one does not break the *APTh* into two chapters [chs. 3-4], but rather the numeration continues from 3.1-43 instead of 3.1-26 and 4.1-18) that are found in codices *A*, *B*, *C* but not in manuscript *G*, which includes a variant ending to the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, entitled Codex Barocciano (Codex *G* in *AAA*). Johann Ernest Grabe first edited codex Barocciano in 1698 in *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Hæreticorum*, (2nd ed.; Oxoniæ: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1700), 116-19. *AAA* reproduced Grabe's text, and is here reproduced from the greek manuscript. Following Rordorf, *ÉAC*, 1142, Lipsius, *AAA*,

270-72 Vouaux, *Actes de Paul*, 230-38, and Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 52 (Cop¹ preserves none of these three endings) that none of these endings is original to the *AP*, but I have maintained them in the tradition of Lipsius. Therefore I reproduce here chapters 44, 45, and Codex *G* according to Grabe and Lipsius. See Elliott's *ANT*, 372-4, for a translation into English.

44 Τινὲς δὲ τῆς πόλεως Ἕλληνες ὄντες τὴν θρησκείαν, ἰατροὶ δὲ τὴν τέχνην, ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνδρας νεωτέρους σοβαροὺς ἐπὶ τὸ φθεῖραι αὐτήν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι δουλεύει παρθένος οὖσα, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἰσχύει πρὸς τὰς ἰάσεις. προνοία δὲ θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ζῶσα, καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπέβη. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ θεάσασθαι τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ (5) εὗρεν αὐτὸν κοιμηθέντα. μείνασα δὲ ἐκεῖ χρόνον οὐ πολύν, μετὰ καλοῦ ὕπνου ἐκοιμήθη· καὶ θάπτεται ὡς ἀπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν σταδίων τοῦ μνήματος τοῦ διδασκάλου Παύλου.

45 Ἐβλήθη μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ πῦρ χρόνων οὖσα ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα, καὶ εἰς Σελεύκειαν, καὶ πολλοὺς φωτίσασα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ καλοῦ ὕπνου ἐκοιμήθη.

Codex Barocciano (Codex *G* or *Codex Grabii*):

Καὶ νεφέλῃ φωτεινῇ ὠδήγει αὐτήν. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἐν Σελευκίᾳ ἐξῆλθεν (1) ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σταδίου· καὶ ἐκείνους δὲ ἐδεδοίκει, ὅτι τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐθεράπευον. καὶ ὁδηγὸς γέγονεν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Καλαμῶνος ἥτοι Ῥοδεῶνος· καὶ εὐροῦσα ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῇ. καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ ἔτη ἱκανά, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς πειρασμοὺς ὑπέστη ὑπὸ τοῦ δια- (5) βόλου, καὶ ὑπῆνεγκεν γενναίως βοηθουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. μαθοῦσαι

δέ τινες τῶν εὐγενίδων γυναικῶν περὶ τῆς παρθένου Θέκλης, ἀπίησαν πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐμάνθανον τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπετάξαντο τῇ βίῳ καὶ συνήσκουν αὐτῇ. καὶ φήμῃ ἀγαθὴ ἤχθη πανταχοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἰάσεις ἐγίνοντο ὑπ' αὐτῆς. γινούσα οὖν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ περίχωρος, (10)

ἔφερον τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὄρει, καὶ πρὶν ἢ τῇ θύρᾳ προσεγγίσωσι, θάπτουν ἀπηλλάττοντο, οἳ δὲ δῆποτε κατεΐχοντο νοσήματι, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα κράζοντα ἐξήρχοντο· καὶ πάντες κατελάμβανον τὰ ἴδια αὐτῶν ὑγιή, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν δόντα τοιαύτην χάριν τῇ παρθένῳ Θέκλῃ. οἱ ἰατροὶ οὖν τῆς πόλεως Σελευκίων ἐξουθενώθησαν, τὴν ἐμπορείαν ἀπο- (15)

λέσαντες, καὶ οὐδεὶς λοιπὸν προσεΐχεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ φθόνου καὶ ζήλου πλησθέντες ἐμνηχανοῦντο κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλης τὸ τί αὐτῇ ποιήσωσιν. Ὑποβάλλει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ διάβολος λογισμὸν πονηρόν. καὶ μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν συναχθέντες καὶ συνέδριον ποιήσαντες συμβουλευόνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες Αὕτη ἡ παρθένος ἱερὰ τυγχάνει τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· (20)

καὶ εἴ τι ἂν αἰτήσῃ αὐτήν, ἀκούει αὐτῆς ὡς παρθένου οὔσης, καὶ φιλοῦσιν αὐτήν πάντες οἱ θεοί. δεῦτε οὖν λάβωμεν ἄνδρας ἀτάκτους καὶ μεθύσωμεν αὐτοὺς οἶνον πολὺν καὶ δώσωμεν αὐτοῖς χρυσίον πολὺ καὶ εἴπωμεν αὐτοῖς Εἰ δυνήθητε φθεῖραι καὶ μιᾶναι αὐτήν, διδοῦμεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα.

Ἔλεγον οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ἰατροὶ ὅτι Ἐὰν ἰσχύσουσιν αὐτὴν μιᾶναι, οὐκ (25)

ἀκούουσιν αὐτῆς οἱ θεοὶ οὔτε Ἀρτεμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων. ἐποίησαν οὖν οὕτως. καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐπιστάντες ὡς λέοντες τῇ σπηλαίῳ ἐπάταξαν τὴν θύραν· ἤνοιξεν δὲ ἡ ἁγία μάρτυς Θέκλα, θαρροῦσα ᾧ ἐπίστευσεν θεῷ· προέγνω γὰρ τὸν δόλον αὐτῶν. καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς Τί θέλετε, τέκνα; Οἱ δὲ εἶπον Τίς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα λεγο- (30)

μένη Θέκλα; Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Τί αὐτὴν θέλετε; Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι Συγκαθευδῆσαι αὐτὴ θέλομεν. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ μακαρία Θέκλα Ἐγὼ ταπεινὴ γραῦς

εἰμί, δούλη δὲ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ κἂν τί ποτε δρᾶσαι
 θέλετε ἄτοπον εἰς ἐμέ, οὐ δύνασθε. Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι Οὐκ ἐστὶν δυνα-
 τὸν μὴ πράξαι εἰς σὲ ἃ θέλομεν. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἐκράτησαν αὐτὴν (35)
 ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἐβούλοντο καθυβρίσαι αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς μετ' ἐπιει-
 κείας Ἀναμείνατε, τέκνα, ἵνα ἴδῃτε τὴν δόξαν κυρίου. Καὶ κρατουμένη ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ θεὸς ὁ φοβερὸς καὶ ἀνεί-
 καστος καὶ ἔνδοξος τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ὁ ῥυσάμενός με ἐκ πυρός, ὁ μὴ παρα-
 δώσας με Θάμυρι, ὁ μὴ παραδώσας με Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὁ ῥυσάμενός με ἐκ (40)
 θηρίων, ὁ διασώσας με ἐν τῷ βυθῷ, ὁ πανταχοῦ συνεργήσας μοι καὶ δοξάσας
 τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ τανῦν ῥύσαί με ἐκ τῶν ἀνόμων ἀνθρώπων
 τούτων, καὶ μὴ ἐάσης με ἐνυβρίσαι τὴν παρθενίαν μου, ἣν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά
 σου ἐφύλαξα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ὅτι σὲ φιλῶ καὶ σὲ ποθῶ καὶ σοὶ προσκυνῶ
 τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Καὶ (45)
 ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα Μὴ φοβηθῆς Θέκλα, δούλη μου
 ἀληθινή, μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ εἰμί· ἀπόβλεψον καὶ ἴδε ὅπου ἡνέγκται ἔμπροσθέν
 σου, ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἶκος αἰώνιος ἔσται σοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν δέχῃ. Καὶ
 προσχούσα ἡ μακαρία Θέκλα ἶδεν τὴν πέτραν ἀνειχθεῖσαν ὅσον χωρεῖ
 ἄνθρωπον εἰσιέναι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ λεχθὲν αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἀποφυγοῦσα (50)
 γενναίως τοὺς ἀνόμους εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πέτραν· καὶ συνεκλείσθη εὐθύς ἡ
 πέτρα, ὥστε μήτε ἀρμὸν φαίνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ θεωροῦντες τὸ παράδοξον
 θαῦμα ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκστάσει ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
 δούλην, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον τοῦ μαφορίου αὐτῆς ἐπελάβοντο καὶ μέρος τι ἡδυνή-
 θησαν ἀποσπάσαι· καὶ ἐκεῖνο κατὰ συγχώρησιν θεοῦ πρὸς πίστιν τῶν ὁρίων- (55)
 των τὸν σεβάσμιον τόπον, καὶ εἰς εὐλογία ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεαῖς, τοῖς
 πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ καρδίας καθαρᾶς.
 Ἐπαθεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ πρωτομάρτυς καὶ ἀπόστολος καὶ παρθένος

Θέκλα ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰκονίου ἐτῶν δέκα ὀκτώ· μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ
 τῆς περιόδου καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔζησεν ἔτη ἄλλα ἐβδομήκοντα (60)
 καὶ δύο· ὅτε δὲ προσελάβετο αὐτὴν ὁ κύριος, ἦν ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ
 οὕτως ἡ τελείωσις αὐτῆς γίνεται. γίνεται δὲ ἡ ὁσία μνήμη αὐτῆς μηνὶ
 Σεπτεμβρίῳ εἰκάδι τετάρτῃ, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ
 ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Conclusion:

The purpose of this commentary was first and foremost to provide a critical commentary for the interpretation of the *APTh*. In so doing, it has become important to consider several issues throughout the introduction. First, from the perspective of interpreting this ancient document, a knowledge and understanding of how the *APTh* embodies the ancient novel is important for understanding this second century document from Asia Minor. In addition to this, the introduction highlighted several other issues in regard to understanding that there is an on-going dialogue between the *APTh* and the Pastorals. Once one understands this dialogue, then it becomes clear that the *APTh* is in competition with the Pastorals, in regard to which text accurately represents the voice of Paul as found within the Pauline letters. Understanding this relationship also helps one to understand the relationship between the *APTh* and the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospels, and other texts of the New Testament. In addition to these introductory matters, I find it interesting to see how (1) the influence of feminist criticism has enhanced the study of the *APTh* and (2) to see how visual images as found on frescoes and wall paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum, especially in regard to the amphitheater, are also found within the text of the *APTh*. These matters are explored in greater detail in the introduction.

Following the introduction, I have attempted to provide a comprehensive commentary using Greek, Coptic, and Latin manuscripts and critical texts for the purpose of reproducing a coherent text of the *APTh*, while at the same time maximizing the level of insights that might be gained from the multiple translations

of the text. I have demonstrated consistently throughout the commentary the parallels between the *APTh* and the stock ancient novels, the Pastorals, Acts, and other primary and secondary sources that I found relevant for understanding the text. Hopefully, the student of the *APTh* and other *AAA* will find this to be a useful source that will enhance one's study of these texts.

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