# Chapter 6: Traditions of Paul and the Ignatian Letters

What image of Paul do we find today? If we follow the art historians, Paul is shown in antiquity as "small with a bald head and long beard, a very prominent forehead and a curved nose". Since we have no indication of Paul's physiognomy either from the Pauline Epistles or from the Acts of the Apostles, this image cannot have been taken from the canonical writings.[[1]](#footnote-1) On the other hand, a description that fits this portrait can be found in the so-called Acts of Paul, which have already been alluded to above and will be considered again separately below. Here it says:

"He saw Paul coming, a man small in stature, with a bald head and crooked legs, in noble bearing, with eyebrows knit together and a little prominent nose, full of kindness; for one moment he appeared like a man, the next he had the face of an angel."[[2]](#footnote-2)

Previous readers of these Acts have already noticed that this portrait of Paul is, as the text itself indicates, a mixture of less favourable, i.e. more normally human, features and an angelic appearance. Jan Bremmer suspects that the negative elements are mentioned in order to make it clear in the narrative that the further protagonist, Thekla, did not fall for Paul's appearance, but was enraptured by his message.[[3]](#footnote-3) Unmistakably, the description of this (or a similar) non-canonical scripture seems to have initially shaped Paul's iconography.

In modern times, on the other hand, Paul is depicted with features of a "strong, tall man expressing the strongest physical power ... This image of P(aul) then has a head shape not unlike Christ's, parted or curled hair, a longer beard with two strands and more aged facial features ... The longer, pointed beard derives from the beard of the philosophers".[[4]](#footnote-4) Just recently, Paul's closeness to philosophy, especially the contemporary form of the Stoa, has again been clearly highlighted and his relevance to philosophy in general discussed.[[5]](#footnote-5) But even if the more recent iconographic image emphasises the features of Paul the philosopher even more clearly, the older one also already marks the apostle as a philosopher, even if most of his letters, as we possess them today, are more strongly characterised by his revelation of Christ and the return of the Lord, which is believed to be near, than by philosophical considerations.[[6]](#footnote-6)

Part of this image of Paul is supported by a curious collection of letters between Paul and the philosopher Seneca which we have looked at in chapter two, so we turn here directly to the mentioned *Acts of Paul*, the *Ignatian letters* and then the Pauline letters.

## The *Acts of Paul*

The Acta Pauli (Πράξεις Παύλου) "are early and well attested in the Church".[[7]](#footnote-7) Even though Tertullian criticises them theologically at the beginning of the 3rd century because they were evidently used by women who use this text to defend their authority "to teach and baptise", he does not "reject this writing as heretical".[[8]](#footnote-8)[[9]](#footnote-9) Even more, "his contemporary Hippolytus (uses) the work apparently without hesitation" as a supplement to what we know about Paul. Origen even uses this work to quote a word of the Lord not attested in canonical literature, but only present in the Acts of Paul. In his Commentary on John, Origen writes: "If it pleases anyone to accept what is written down in Paul's Acts, where the Lord says, 'I am about to be crucified anew,' he ..." Clearly Origen conceded to his readership to use this work as an authoritative source and to draw profit from it. It is not until the 4th century, however, that Eusebius of Caesarea seems critical towards them, not including the Acts of Paul among the "undisputed" works and finally placing them among the "spurious writings", together with the Shepherd of Hermas and the Apocalypse of Peter.[[10]](#footnote-10) This critical assessment is also reflected in the *Codex Claramontanus* (4th century), where the Acts of Paul "stand between the Book of Hermas and the Apocalypse of Peter".[[11]](#footnote-11)

Despite a witness of this work in Greek and one in Coptic, there is still no manuscript that offers us a complete text. With some justification, the individual pieces, which were recognisably also circulated separately, are also considered separately in research.[[12]](#footnote-12) If one trusts the information in the *Codex Claramontanus* just mentioned, this work was about a third longer than the comparable Acts of the Apostles. A possible idea of the content, however, comes from the Coptic fragmentary text discovered in 1894, which, although carefully written with few errors, had fallen apart into nearly 2,000 fragmentary pieces, indicating that the pieces known separately so far had previously belonged to a larger narrative (the Acts of Thecla, 3Corinthians, the martyrdom of Paul).[[13]](#footnote-13) Unlike the canonical Acts of the Apostles, which reports three missionary journeys of Paul, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the Acts of Paul compressed his activities into a single journey.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Unfortunately, the beginning of the work is lost, but some light can be shed on the prehistory of the believer in Christ from a later, presumably the last piece that has survived to us. In this Coptic fragment, a speech of Paul to the Ephesians is cited, in which Paul reflects on his Damascus experience:

"(You) men (and) brothers! Hear what happened to me when I was at Damascus, at the time when I was persecuting the faith in God; when (then) the Spirit met me, from the Father, announcing to me His Son, that I might live in Him, for there is no life apart from that which is in Christ. I entered into a great church, through (?) blessed Jude, the brother of the Lord, who from the beginning gave me the high love of faith. I conducted my walk in grace, through (?) the blessed Prophet, and in the revelation of the Christ, the One who was generated <all> ages ago. While he was preached to me, I rejoiced in the Lord, nourished by his words. Then, when I was able, I was <found> worthy <to speak>; I spoke to the brethren - Judas impelled me - in such a way that I was loved by those who heard me."[[15]](#footnote-15)

It is noticeable that this passage does not place Paul's conversion on his way to Damascus, as we read in the canonical book of Acts, but directly in the great church of Damascus.[[16]](#footnote-16) Moreover, Judas, the "brother of the Lord", explicitly plays the role of the one who introduces Paul to the faith and incites him to it. Finally, in the same part of this Coptic fragment, which is no longer quoted here, reference is made to Aquila and Priscilla, which suggests that we are dealing here with a tradition parallel to Acts, but perhaps also with a deliberate revision of it. Aquila, born in Pontus according to Acts 18:1-3, is described in Acts together with his wife Priscilla as tentmakers in Corinth, who had come to this city after the expulsion of all Jews from Rome by Emperor Claudius and with whom Paul had stayed and worked. Finally, the 16th chapter in the Letter to the Romans (16:3-5) also mentions Prisca (this is the form of the name here) and Aquila as "co-workers" of Paul who "put their own lives on the line" for him and who presided over their own church in Rome. Even though this literary-biographical background is not reported in the Acts of Paul, there seems to be a link between the Acts of Paul and the Praxapostolos and the collection of Pauline letters in the form we know it in the New Testament,[[17]](#footnote-17) which flesh out these Acts in more detail and also correct them. The fact that Paul, contrary to his affirmation in the Epistle to the Galatians, here needs the introduction into the faith by the Lord’s brother is an increase of his dependence on James and the twelve apostles, as it was done in the Acts of the Apostles, and which is been radicalised in the Epistula Apostolorumand is further emphasised in the so-called Third Epistle to the Corinthians, which the Acts of Paul contain.

Without going into all the travel details of the extant fragments here, it is nevertheless striking that the text portrays Paul's story as an anti-heretical apology. Right at the beginning of the Heidelberg Papyrus, Paul affirms his monarchian faith, reminiscent of the confession of the Roman bishop Zephyrin (c. 198-217): "And (also) I (believe), my (brothers), that there is no other God except Christ, the Son of the Blessed One, to whom be glory."[[18]](#footnote-18)

Even more, Paul, according to another piece of these Acts, had tried to "make sweet" to his travelling companions "all the words of the Lord, both of the birth and resurrection of the Beloved", "and told them word for word the great deeds of Christ, as they had been revealed to him him".[[19]](#footnote-19) With this, of course, the Acts assert something that is not to be read in the Pauline Epistles, in which only very scanty information about the work of the earthly Jesus is to be found, but at best what is to be read in Pauline addresses in the Acts of the Apostles (such as 13:15-41) and was obviously perceived as a deficiency of the Pauline Epistles. Similarly, the Acts of Paul also fill in the missing information about Paul's physiognomy, which has already been pointed out above. The most important feature of these Acts of Paul, however, are the themes of "fasting" and "abstinence". They have Paul quote the Beatitudes, but in a version that complements elements from Matthew's Gospel with those of Paul, but in an encratic way:[[20]](#footnote-20)

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

Blessed are they that keep the flesh chaste, for they shall become the temple of God.

Blessed are they that abstain (or the continent), for unto them shall God speak.

Blessed are they that have renounced this world, for they shall be well-pleasing unto God.

Blessed are they that possess their wives as though they had them not, for they shall inherit God.

Blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God.

Blessed are they that tremble at the oracles of God, for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are they that receive the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called sons of the Most High.

Blessed are they that have kept their baptism pure, for they shall rest with the Father and with the Son.

Blessed are they that have compassed the understanding of Jesus Christ, for they shall be in light.

Blessed are they that for love of God have departed from the fashion of this world, for they shall judge angels, and shall be blessed at the right hand of the Father.

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy and shall not see the bitter day of judgement. Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well- pleasing unto God and shall not lose the reward of their continence (chastity), for the word of the Father shall be unto them a work of salvation in the day of his Son, and they shall have rest world Without end." (ActsTh II 5)[[21]](#footnote-21)

Abstinence, renunciation, chastity and purity are paired with knowledge and an angelic life. Indeed, the resistance to abstinence is vividly described when Paul is said to be deceiving the souls of young men and virgins that they should not marry, but remain unmarried (ActsTh II 7-16). On the other hand, the Acts of Paul describe in detail the story of Thekla, who follows Paul and is to suffer martyrdom at the hands of wild animals in the animal fighting arena, but is miraculously saved from death and bears witness to wanting to baptise herself, a request that Tertullian strongly criticises and thus problematises these Acts, even though he had certainly enjoyed reading their ascetic message:

"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 (1 Cor. 14:34f.)."[[22]](#footnote-22)

Finally, the files also provide the account of Paul's martyrdom, which was obviously missed in the Acts of the Apostles (ActsTh X). The fact that the martyrdom took place under Nero links these Acts of Paul to the "correspondence between Seneca and Paul" already discussed above. When, in the narrative of these Acts, Paul predicts that Nero's executing soldiers, wrestling with whether they should not believe Paul, will find Titus and Luke as witnesses at his tomb, we seem to read a harmonisation of Paul's position with that of canonical Acts. For while Paul, according to his own statements, had taken the uncircumcised Titus with him to the so-called Apostles' Council as a "living argument for the lawless gospel to the Gentiles"[[23]](#footnote-23) and also later referred to the fact that Titus' circumcision was not demanded of him by the Jerusalem authorities (Gal. 2:3), and perhaps for this very reason Titus remains unmentioned in Acts, the Acts of Paul insists on this connection between Titus and Luke. A similar harmonisation and integration of Titus into the history of the young church led by the apostles and not by Paul occurs in the Acts of Titus,[[24]](#footnote-24) in which even more clearly than in the Acts of Paul the disciple of Paul is subordinated to the apostles, in that it is reported that Titus was "appointed bishop of Crete by the primitive apostles at Jerusalem themselves", "in which case his relationship to Paul is completely" overlooked.[[25]](#footnote-25) The mention of Titus, in turn, seems to have initiated the writing of another pseudonymous letter, a voluminous epistle of Titus, Paul's disciple, on the state of chastity, which in fact has a decidedly "anti-marital character",[[26]](#footnote-26) is a glowing "praise of virginal life" and recommends an angelic life.[[27]](#footnote-27)

 The Acts of Paul are an outstanding example of Christianity's ascetisation of the world,[[28]](#footnote-28) which already put this orientation, which is not uncontroversial even according to this text, into its cradle. In this respect, they are to be read almost as a corrective to the quite different tradition of the so-called Pastoral Epistles attributed to Paul, which we will consider later.

Before that, however, we have to mention the so-called Third Epistle to the Corinthians, which is part of the Acts of Paul. The Third Epistle to the Corinthians (3 Cor.) is "an extraordinary pseudepigraph",[[29]](#footnote-29) "a pseudo correspondence between Paul and the Church in Corinth" in two letters.[[30]](#footnote-30) As the title indicates, it was regarded as an "authentic" letter of Paul, especially "in some regions of the East", where it was attributed to the New Testament, for example in some Armenian churches.[[31]](#footnote-31) It was therefore certainly be regarded as part of the Pauline tradition, as we can see from Ephraem, the Syrian, who had this letter in his collection of Pauline letters instead of the Epistle to Philemon.[[32]](#footnote-32)

As the manuscripts show, 3 Cor. must presumably also have circulated separately from the Acts of Paul.[[33]](#footnote-33) The author of 3 Cor. places his letter not unlike other pseudo-Paulines fictitiously under the authority of Paul, although the letter conspicuously takes a similarly critical standpoint of the Paul of the Pauline letters, as we have already encountered this phenomenon in the Epistula Apostolorum with regards to canonical Acts of the Apostles.

Right at the beginning of the opening speech of Stephen and the other "presbyters" of Corinth, the Corinthians connect the authority of Paul with that of "the other apostles". This has even led to the judgement in research that the author "could not be a Paulinist".[[34]](#footnote-34) Instead, Paul becomes a preacher of asceticism. The Corinthians had questioned him about his convictions, saying: "We have never heard such things from you or the other apostles. Whatever you and the other apostles teach, we will believe.”[[35]](#footnote-35)

So, what do these outrageous things consist of that they have never heard? The opening passage of the correspondence between the Corinthians and Paul contains six theses which the Corinthians present to Paul:

1. "They say we must not use the prophets."

2. "God is not omnipotent."

3. "There is no resurrection of the flesh."

4. "Man was not created by God."

5. "The Lord did not appear in the flesh, nor was He born of Mary."

6. "The world did not come into being through God, but through the angels."

It is noticeable that this opening contains only negative statements. The Corinthians are puzzled by things that they can neither associate with Paul nor with the other apostles. Ephraem, the 4th century Syrian theologian who wrote a commentary also on 3 Cor., identified the opponents with followers of Bardaisan, the leader of a Christian group in Syria, because according to him the "body is bad and perishable", "without any hope of resurrection".[[36]](#footnote-36) However, "nowhere among heresiologists does one find (the note) that Bardaisan rejected the prophets of the Old Testament".[[37]](#footnote-37) There is therefore "no doubt that the views of Markion and his followers are the closest parallels to the false teachings attacked in 3 Cor".[[38]](#footnote-38)

Be that as it may, Paul responds to the Corinthians by dealing exclusively with issues 1 to 5. He calls the opponents "counterfeiters" of the Lord's words and says that he "passed on from the beginning" what he "received from the apostles who lived before me 'all the time with Jesus Christ'" (Acts 1:21). This statement sounds like a clear borrowing and adoption of the strategy of the canonical Acts of the Apostles, according to which Paul subordinates himself to the authority of the apostles.[[39]](#footnote-39) The commandments to be obeyed are not obtained from Paul's revelation, which cannot be derived from human beings, but instead Paul "received" them "from the blessed prophets and the holy gospel", that is, from the combination of the prophetic part of Scripture and the gospel.

The accusation of falsifying the Lord's words and Paul's submission to the other apostles are the first two topics discussed in 3 Cor. before 3 Cor. gets to the actual list of theses cited above. First, thesis 5 is taken up. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," the letter states, "was born of Mary of the seed of David. The Holy Spirit was sent down out of heaven from the Father into her, that he might come into the world, and redeem all flesh by his own flesh, and that he might raise us which are in the flesh from the dead, even as he himself proved to be the image".[[40]](#footnote-40)

The statement recalls the opening of Paul's letter collection of the canonical New Testament, namely the first verses of the canonical letter to the Romans, which state:

"Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle and set apart for the gospel of God— 2 the gospel he promised beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures 3 regarding his Son, who as to his earthly life[a] was a descendant of David, 4 and who through the Spirit of holiness was appointed the Son of God in power[b] by his resurrection from the dead: Jesus Christ our Lord." (Rom. 1:1-4)

Precisely because the call by the apostles and the reference to the prophets are not repeated in 3 Cor., Paul's answer in 3 Cor. cannot be understood at all without this opening of the Letter to the Romans. 3 Cor. thus uses the inner literary allusion to Rom as part of the argumentation with which the Corinthians are given an answer to the fifth and at the same time first thesis. According to this, "the Lord came into the flesh" and was "born of Mary", as the prophets had already predicted and Paul, the called one, himself reported elsewhere. The theme of the prophets is also taken up in 3 Cor.:

"For God Almighty, who made heaven and earth, first sent the prophets to the Jews, that they might be delivered from their sins; for he had determined to save the house of Israel, therefore he sent a part of the Spirit of Christ into the prophets, who preached the inerrant worship of God at many times. But the prince, being unrighteous, wished to be God himself, so he laid hands on them and killed them, and so he bound all the flesh of men to the lusts (to his will, and the consummation of the world drifted towards judgment). But God Almighty, who is just and would not cast out His own creature, sent the (Holy) Spirit (by fire) into Mary the Galilean, who believed with all her heart, and she received in her body the Holy Spirit, that Jesus might enter into the world, that the evil one, by the same flesh through which he drove his being, might be conquered, that he might not be God. For by his own body Jesus Christ saved (and brought to eternal life through faith) all flesh, being in his body the temple of righteousness, by whom we are redeemed."[[41]](#footnote-41)

It is noticeable that although the sins of the Jews are mentioned, they are not reproached for the murder of the prophets or even of Jesus. These misdeeds are attributed to evil, or rather to the evil one who thought he was God. Consequently, the power of evil does not only extend to the Jews, but it has all people in its grip and drives them to carnal desires. The prophets, according to the counter-thesis against the first thesis, are therefore agents of calling, since they have received a share in the Spirit of Christ. Moreover, Paul repeats the antithesis to the fifth thesis, that Christ was born of Mary.

 Thus 3 Cor. gives the impression that it supports the historicising birth and childhood stories of the canonical gospels, but as already shown by the centring on the wicked and the ethical orientation, these indications are ambiguous and do not reveal a historical but a salvation-dramatic and anti-heretical interest.

 Without going into the resurrection theses again here, the anti-Heretical orientation, which at the same time represents a clear linking of Old Testament prophecy and the message of the Gospel, is again emphasised towards the end of 3 Cor:

"If ye therefore receive any other thing, be not a burden unto me: for I have these bonds upon me, that I may gain Christ, and his wounds upon my body, that I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead. And whosoever shall walk in this rule, which he hath received through the blessed prophets and the holy gospel, shall receive reward, (and when he shall rise from the dead, shall obtain eternal life). But whoever departs from this, there is fire for him and for those who have gone before him in this, who are men without God, spawn of vipers; from them turn away in the power of the Lord, and peace, (grace and love) will be with you. Amen.“[[42]](#footnote-42)

Paul presents his hearers with a clear choice, either to acknowledge and abide by the rule given through the prophets and the holy gospel, or to be "men without God".

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1. J.N. Bremmer, The Portrait of the Apostle Paul in the Apocryphal Acts of Paul (2018). Cf. on the portrait of Paul ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. NTApo6 II (1990), 216. Acts 6:15 speaks only of Stephen looking like an angel. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. J.N. Bremmer, Collected Essays ; 1 Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity (2017), 150-151. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. M. Lechner, Art. Paulus (1976), 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. U. Schnelle, Paulus. Leben und Denken (2003), 635-644; G.J.v.d. Heiden, G.H. Van Kooten and A. Cimino, Saint Paul and Philosophy. The Consonance of Ancient and Modern Thought (2017); J. Zimmermann, Hermeneutics of Unbelief: Philosophical Readings of Paul (2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. U. Schnelle, Paulus. Leben und Denken (2003), 635. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. J. Bremmer, The Onomastics and Provenance of the Acts of Paul (2017). Thus W. Schneemelcher in NTApo6 II (1990), 195. Cf. on this text A.F. Gregory, The *Acts of Paul* and the Legacy of Paul (2011); G.E. Snyder, Acts of Paul. The Formation of a Pauline Corpus (2013).For a closer dating, perhaps to 198 AD, see J. Bremmer, The Onomastics and Provenance of the Acts of Paul (2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. J.N. Bremmer, Collected Essays ; 1 Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity (2017), 150-151. Thus W. Schneemelcher in NTApo6 II (1990), 195. On the Acts of Paul (with rich literary references). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Cf. Hippol., In Dan. III 29 (SC 14, 254). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Euseb. Caes., Hist. eccl. III 3,5 and 25; cf. on this W. Schneemelcher in NTApo6 II (1990), 196. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Thus W. Schneemelcher in NTApo6 II (1990), 196. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. J. Snyder, Acts of John, Acts of Peter, Acts of Thekla, 3 Corinthians, Martyrdom of Paul ((forthcoming)). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. A.F. Gregory, The *Acts of Paul* and the Legacy of Paul (2011), 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Thus W. Schneemelcher in NTApo6 II (1990), 198. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Own trans. checked with that by Rodolphe Kasser, NTApo6 II (1990), 242. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. J. Snyder, Relationships between the Acts of the Apostles and Other Apostle Narratives ((forthcoming)). Julia Snyder points out how different the Acts of Paul (and other Acts) are from Acts, cf. Ibid. further literature on the relationship of the Acts of Paul to Acts, see J.N. Bremmer, Collected Essays ; 1 Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity (2017), 150, Anm. 155. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. The files also refer to the so-called Pastoral Epistles, cf. NTApo6 II (1990), 216. In addition, we will name other connections to Acts below. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. NTApo6 II (1990), 215. Cf. the confession of Zephyrinus, who publicly declared 'to believe in one God, Jesus Christ, and no other besides him', so quoted in Hippol. ref. IX 11,3, cf. on this M. Vinzent, From Zephyrinus to Damasus. What did Roman Bishops Believe? (2013), 274. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. NTApo6 II (1990), 216. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Cf. NTApo6 II (1990), 216. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Trans. from M.R. James, The apocryphal new testament being the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses; with other narratives and fragments (1924). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Tert., De bapt. 17,5; trans. Evans. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. N. Brox, Die Pastoralbriefe (1969), 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. H.v. Lips, Die Timotheus- und Titusakten und die Leidensthematik in den Pastoralbriefen. Aspekte zur Entstehungszeit und Intention der Pastoralbriefe (2011); T. Nicklas, Die Akten des Titus: Rezeption 'apostolischer' Schriften und Entwicklung antik-christlicher 'Erinnerungslandschaften' (2017). Cf. J. Bollandus, Acta sanctorum (Januarius, Teil 1) zu IV. Januarii "De S. Tito Episcopo Cretensium Apostolo" (1643).Cf. with further literature H.v. Lips, Die Timotheus- und Titusakten und die Leidensthematik in den Pastoralbriefen. Aspekte zur Entstehungszeit und Intention der Pastoralbriefe (2011); T. Nicklas, Die Akten des Titus: Rezeption 'apostolischer' Schriften und Entwicklung antik-christlicher 'Erinnerungslandschaften' (2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. N. Brox, Die Pastoralbriefe (1969), 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Aurelio de Santos Otero, NTApo6 II (1990), 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. N. Brox, Die Pastoralbriefe (1969), 21. Cf. NTApo6 II (1990), 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. P. Brown, Die Keuschheit der Engel. Sexuelle Entsagung, Askese und Körperlichkeit im frühen Christentum (1994), 7. Peter Brown logically begins his extensive study with this text. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. O. Zwierlein, Der Briefwechsel der Korinther mit dem Apostel Paulus (3 Kor) im Papyrus Bodmer X und die apokryphen Paulusakten (2010); M. Rist, Pseudepigraphic Refutations of Marcionism (1942), 47.O. Zwierlein shows that 3 Cor*.* was an integral part of the Acts of Paul, see O. Zwierlein, Der Briefwechsel der Korinther mit dem Apostel Paulus (3 Kor) im Papyrus Bodmer X und die apokryphen Paulusakten (2010).Cf. also J. Bremmer, The Onomastics and Provenance of the Acts of Paul (2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. V.S. Hovhanessian, Third Corinthians Reclaiming Paul for Christian Orthodoxy (2000), praef. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. O. Zwierlein, Der Briefwechsel der Korinther mit dem Apostel Paulus (3 Kor) im Papyrus Bodmer X und die apokryphen Paulusakten (2010); V.S. Hovhanessian, Third Corinthians Reclaiming Paul for Christian Orthodoxy (2000), 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. N.A. Dahl, Studies in Ephesians (2000), 195. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Cf. on the complex field of questions W. Schneemelcher in NTApo6 II (1990), 197-198, 208. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. A. Lindemann, Paulus, Apostel und Lehrer der Kirche. Studien zu Paulus und zum frühen Paulusverständnis (1999), 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. V.S. Hovhanessian, Third Corinthians Reclaiming Paul for Christian Orthodoxy (2000), 76-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Ibid. 127 [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. M. Rist, Pseudepigraphic Refutations of Marcionism (1942); V.S. Hovhanessian, Third Corinthians Reclaiming Paul for Christian Orthodoxy (2000), 128.See also M. Rist, Pseudepigraphic Refutations of Marcionism (1942). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. V.S. Hovhanessian, Third Corinthians Reclaiming Paul for Christian Orthodoxy (2000), 101. Cf. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Trans. (here and further, with slight changes) NTApo6 II (1990), 232. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. 3 Cor. 3, transl. NTApo6 II (1990), 232-233. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. 3 Cor. 3, transl. NTApo6 II (1990), 233-234. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)