

Hamburg, Pap.bil.1

Fayum (Tebtynis?)

III/IV

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Pap. bil. 1. Eds C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Πράξεις Παύλου. Acta Pauli. Nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Hamburg 1936), 12 plates. Ed.pr. of two fragments, Schmidt, 'Neue Funde zu den alten Πράξεις Παύλου', *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 7 (1929) 173-83. Aland 203=Repertorium AP 22; VH 605; LDAB 3138.

Quaternion format, originally containing 64 pages, of which 27 survive. 26 (H) x 20 (B) cm. Margins preserved on all sides, although substantial damage to some pages. Codex contains the *Acta Pauli* and Ecclesiastes (326) in Greek in two different hands, and Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes in Coptic (cf. Appendix, 000). *Acta Pauli* contained in pp. I-XIX of the codex; 11 pages remain. The beginning (2 sheets/4 pages, assuming the codex began with the *Acta*) and 2 sheets/4 pages in the middle are lost; the title (Πράξεις Παύλου) stands after the work on p. 11 (XIX of the codex as it originally stood). 36 lines per page. Page 3.1-18 reproduced here. Careless literary hand, with corrections by first and second scribe; dated c. 300 eds, so too Roberts (*MSB*, 68), III/IV Turner, *Typology*, 144; III VH. Rough breathing (ῆ 9, ὀ 10); apostrophe (9); diairesis (1, 4, 5); cf. the discussion of usage in the full work by eds, ed.pr., 10ff. *Nomina sacra*: here θω (7), θν (8), θς, χε, υ (10).

καὶ ὁ Ἱερώνυμος ἤκουσεν ἕνδεκα Διοφάντου, ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες νυκτὸς
καὶ ἡμέραις παρηγάθησαν Παύλῳ καὶ οὐ μικρῶς ὀργίζετο τῇ Ἀρ-
τεμύλλᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀπελευθέρᾳ Εὐβούλᾳ, καὶ διπνήσας ἀνεχώρησε(ν)
ἐνωρίστερον ὁ Ἱερώνυμος, ἵνα ταχέως ἐπε[ι]τελέσῃ τὰ
5 κυνήγια. αἱ δὲ εἶπον Παύλῳ· θέλεις χαλκέα ἄγωμεν, ἵνα ἡμᾶ[ς]
λουσῆς εἰς θάλασσαν λυθείς; καὶ εἶπεν Παῦλος· οὐ θέλω, ἐγὼ
γὰρ πεπίστευκα θ(ε)ῶ, ὃς ἐκ δεσμῶν ἐρύσα' το' τὸν κόσμον ὅλον.
καὶ ἐβόησεν Παῦλος πρὸς τὸν θ(ε)ὸν τῶ σαββάτῳ ἐπερχομένης
τῆς κυριακῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἐμελλεν θηριομαχίῳ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ εἶπε(ν).
10 ὁ θ(ε)ὸς μου Χ(ριστ)ὲ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ὁ λυτρωσάμενός με ἐκ τοσοῦτων κακῶν,
δὸς ἀπέναντι Ἀρτεμύλλας καὶ Εὐβούλλας τῶν σῶν ῥαγῆ-
ναι τὰ δεσμὰ ἀπὸ τῶν χερῶν μου. καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου
ταῦτα Παύλου εἰσηλθεν παῖς λείαν εὐειδῆς ἐν χάριτι
καὶ ἔλυσεν τὰ δεσμὰ Παύλου μειδίασαντος τοῦ παιδὸς
15 καὶ εὐθέως ἀνεχώρησεν. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀπτασίαν τὴν γενομέ-
νην Παύλῳ καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ ἐνάρετον ἐπὶ τῶν δεσμῶν
εξέπτῃ ἢ λύπῃ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν θηριομαχίῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος
ἐσκίρτησεν ὡς ἐμ παραδίσω·

1 Ἱερώνυμος pap. l. Ἱερώνυμος, γυναῖκες Διοφάντου pap. 2 ὀργιζοντο pap., corr. to ὀργίζετο (ο changed to ε; ν struck out) l. ὀργίζετο l. ἡμέρας 3 εβουλα, ἀνεχωρησε pap. l. διπνήσας 4 ἐνωρι[.] 'στερον pap.; corrected by m. 1 or 2 Ἱερώνυμος, ἵνα, ἐπε[-]τελεσαι pap. l. ἐπιτελέσῃ 5 l. θέλεις ἵνα ἡμα[ς] pap. 6 l. θάλασσαν 7 θω pap. 8 pap. θν 9 ἢ ἐμελλεν θηριομαχίον, εἶπε pap. l. θηριομαχεῖν ἐν: l. ἦν ? ed. pr. 10 ὁ θς, χε υ pap. [π] τ' οσοῦτων; π. corr. to τ by m. 1 11 l. Ἀρτεμύλλας 12 l. χερῶν 13 l. λείαν 14 ἐλυ[θη] 'σεν' pap. corr. by m.2 l. μειδιάσαντος 16 l. σημεῖον 17 l. θηριομαχίῳ 18 l. παραδείσω

And Hieronymus heard through Diophantus that the women sat night and day by Paul and he was not a little annoyed at Artemilla and the freedwoman Eubula. And after dining Hieronymus departed rather early, so that he might quickly bring on the 1st show (of animals); and the women said to Paul, 'Do you want us to fetch a (lock)smith, so that you may baptize (lit. wash) us in the sea, after you have been freed (of your shackles)?' But Paul said, '(No), I do not want (that), for I believe in God, who delivered the whole world from bondage'. And Paul cried out to God on the Sabbath, as the Lord's Day was drawing near, the day on which Paul was to fight with wild beasts, and said: 1¹⁰ 'My God, Christ Jesus, who redeemed me from so many evils, grant that in the presence of Artemilla and Eubula, who belong to you, the shackles may be broken (and fall) off my hands'. And while Paul was adjuring God in these words, there entered a very handsome and charming boy. And he undid Paul's shackles – the boy was smiling while he did it – 1¹⁵ and immediately departed. So because of the vision which came to Paul and the positive sign over his shackles, his shock at fighting with the wild beasts disappeared and he jumped for joy as if he was in paradise.

The Acts of Paul is broadly more like the canonical Acts of the Apostles than the apocryphal Acts of other major apostles are. It is also better attested by Greek papyrus fragments than any other of the 21 NT apocrypha (inc. five unidentified gospel fragments) found among the papyri. Of its seven fragments, four (**219, 222, 224, 225**) are taken as prior to Constantine. The pre-/post-Constantine ratio matches that of the Greek papyrus fragments of NT apocrypha as a group (20 pre-, 18 post-Constantine). The 21 works thus attested represent barely one-fifth of the 104+ apocryphal books detailed by Schneemelcher (some known only from criticism of them by patristic authors, others from translation into languages peripheral to Greek).

The contrasts with the circulation of the canonical books are clear. Only two of the latter (1 Timothy and 3 John) are not attested by any pre-Constantinian papyrus (2 Timothy is not directly extant, but twice cited in papyri of the period). The pre-/post-Constantinian ratio for the NT papyri is 70: 200 approximately. The apocrypha had their heyday in the second and third centuries. They shared creatively in certain literary fashions of that time (Bauckham). But the historical quality and claims of the emerging canon were already commanding the preference of believers well before it was imposed by institutional authority.

Two features of the Acts of Paul attracted attention: the dedication of his female disciples (most notably Thecla), and his being spared by the lion he had earlier baptised. Women and lion both model sexual continence. Both arise from the exegetical elaboration of details in Paul's extant letters (the lion from 1 Corinthians 15:32 and 2 Timothy 4:17, inspired no doubt by the contemporary fable of Androcles and the lion). The contrast between the independent women in the Acts of Paul and their positively domestic position in 1 Timothy has led to the suggestion that the latter was written in reaction to an ideal (cf. 1 Timothy 4:1-8) that later surfaced in the apocryphal Acts (Rordorf, Macdonald). Although the work clearly seeks to cover matters not treated in the Acts of the Apostles (especially Paul's martyrdom), its explicit links and echoes are with the Pauline epistles.

The Hamburg bilingual codex (according to Diebner, who follows Kropp) contains the work of at least two writers, each of whom used two quaternions, proceeding in either case from a Greek text (m.1 Acts of Paul, m.2 Ecclesiastes, **326**) to Coptic (m.1 Song of Songs and Lamentations, m.2 Ecclesiastes, but towards the end handed over to another writer, perhaps m.1). Schubart and Schmidt had interpreted all this as the work of a single writer, still in the process of mastering Greek script, and not familiar at all with Coptic which he often miswrites, especially with those letters not used in the Greek alphabet. Kasser, however, has distinguished seven different hands (110). He envisages a school of student scribes, working under direction. The Acta Pauli are written by one of these, his mistakes being corrected sometimes by himself, sometimes by someone else (the teacher?). He begins with somewhat awkward, upright, non-ligated letters, becoming more fluent in the process. The mistakes imply that he was working from dictation. But the Coptic mistakes imply copying from a model.

With its unusual combination of texts the codex has clearly not been written for use in church. Schmidt (9) envisaged it as the personal collection of an average student. But Kropp (Diebner 18) thought of a Greek monk copying devotional texts for his Coptic-speaking colleagues whose language he could not properly manage. The analysis of the dialect by Kasser (51-140) reveals an otherwise unattested form of Fayumic. We are left with a dilemma. If the language is primitive, quickly superseded by the rapidly developing Coptic literacy, we should date our text as early as possible. But if we are witnessing an organised community life of a monastic kind it should go later. In any case it is the work of people in relatively limited circumstances. The papyrus itself is not of high quality. The writer of the Acts of Paul has had to space his letters to avoid the rough parts.

T. **Adamik**, 'The baptized lion in the Acts of Paul', in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Kampen 1996) 60-74; R.J. **Bauckham**, 'The Acts of Paul as a sequel to Acts', in B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke (eds), *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids and Carlisle 1993) 105-52; L.C. **Boughton**, 'From pious legend to feminist fantasy: Distinguishing hagiographical license from apostolic practice in the Acts of Paul / Acts of Thecla', *JR* 71 (1991) 362-84; B.J. **Diebner** and R. **Kasser**, *Hamburger Papyrus bil.1: Die alttestamentlichen Texte des Papyrus bilinguis 1 der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg* (Geneva 1989); L. **Hayne**, 'Thecla and the Church Fathers', *VC* 48 (1994) 209-18; A. **Kurfess**, 'Zu dem Hamburger Papyrus der Πράξεις Παύλου', *ZNTW Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt*

38 (1939) 164-70; D.R. **Macdonald**, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia 1983); M. **Pesthy**, 'Thecla among the Fathers of the Church', in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Kampen 1996) 164-78; E. **Peterson**, 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Papyrus-Fragment der Acta Pauli', *VC* 3 (1949) 142-62; W. **Rordorf**, 'Nochmals: Paulusakten und Pastoralbriefe', in G.F. Hawthorne and O. Betz (eds), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids and Tübingen 1987) 319-27; *id.*, 'In welchem Verhältnis stehen die apokryphen Paulusakten zur kanonischen Apostelgeschichte und zu den Pastoralbriefen', in T. Baarda et al. (eds), *Text and Testimony* (Kampen 1988) 225-41; W. **Schneemelcher**, 'Der getaufte Löwe in den Acta Pauli', in A. Stuiber and A. Hermann (eds), *Mullus* (Münster 1964) 316-26; *id.*, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2 (Louisville 1992) 213-70.