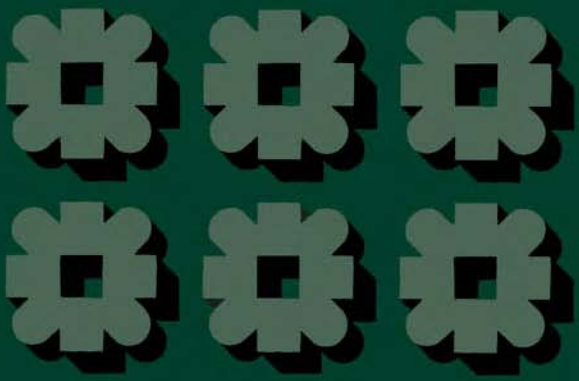
Philip: Apostle and Evangelist

CONFIGURATIONS OF A TRADITION



BY

CHRISTOPHER R. MATTHEWS

BRILL SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

PHILIP: APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST

SUPPLEMENTS TO

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

VOLUME CV

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APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST

Configurations of a Tradition

BY

CHRISTOPHER R. MATTHEWS

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For Jane and Clint Matthews
and Lori

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PREFACE

The present work is a revised and updated version of my 1993 Harvard dissertation. The initial impetus behind the study arose from a conversation with George MacRae on Luke's treatment of Philip and Peter in Acts 8. The original goal of my research was to analyze selected pericopes in Acts in an attempt to formulate a method for distinguishing between tradition and composition in Luke's second volume. George MacRae's untimely death made it impossible to proceed for some time. At the suggestion of Helmut Koester, and other members of the New Testament department at Harvard Divinity School, the focus of my project shifted to Philip and the coverage expanded to encompass the New Testament and Early Christian literature.

I am thankful for the advice and encouragement of many people over the years in connection with this project. Helmut Koester, Bernadette J. Brooten, and François Bovon were invaluable for their guidance in connection with the original version of this work. I remain grateful for their encouragement to pursue publication of the study. Ron Cameron's careful reading and critical advice at all stages of this work have been most beneficial in helping me to clarify the logic of my arguments and improve their written expression. Richard I. Pervo early on read through the original version and offered both encouragement and practical advice on a revision. Hans-Martin Schenke was also kind enough to read the original version and recommend its publication for a wider audience. Because more years went by (more quickly!) than I initially anticipated in bringing the revision task to fruition, I found that my views on various facets of the study as well as my perspective on the whole had evolved. I am grateful to Burton Mack for reading and commenting on my initial attempt at a revision in light of my new concerns. His practical advice was a great help as I went about clarifying and updating my perspective.

I also wish to thank David Moessner along with Margaret Mitchell and the editorial board of the series for accepting my work. I am appreciative as well for the comments and advice offered by the anonymous readers that enabled me to strengthen aspects of the

overall presentation. Although I have centered my efforts on the concerns that most directly touch upon my own reading of the evidence that elucidates the Philip traditions, I have made an effort at least to indicate pertinent secondary discussion in my notes (with no claim to completeness), in some cases including pieces published as recently as 2001.

Throughout the project but especially in the last months of preparing the manuscript, the staff at the EDS/Weston Jesuit School of Theology library has been of great assistance in tracking down hard to find items. Thanks especially to Gene Fox, Ann Michaud, and Anne Reece, as well as to Steve Kuehler, Judy Russell, Sarah Faith Spencer, and Sherrie Tuck. Thanks also to the staff at the Andover Harvard Library where I turned for things I could not find across the street.

At the final stages I was able to impose again on friends (François Bovon, Ron Cameron, Dan Harrington) to read through the pages yet one more time to help me get to that point when an author finally lets go of the pages. I am particularly grateful to Dan Harrington, who in addition once again took on additional burdens for *New Testament Abstracts* and thereby allowed me the time I needed to bring my study to this conclusion. Stanley Marrow also graciously offered expert counsel on some philological (Greek and Latin) and other technical issues.

In today's world where everyone is so busy, I owe a special debt to my wife Lori for understanding my need to finally reach a *telos* with this book and for allowing me to use so many of our precious weekend and holiday hours to get the job done. Our cat Sport spent much of his time sitting and lounging on my various drafts and keeping me company from the earliest work on this study right up to the final stages. Alas, I took so long that he was unable to make it to the end. It will be one of our personal pleasures always to remember him in association with this book.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGWG	Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Philologisch-historische Klasse)
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANF	*The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. 10 vols. Repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDAG	W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BT	*Bible Translator*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique

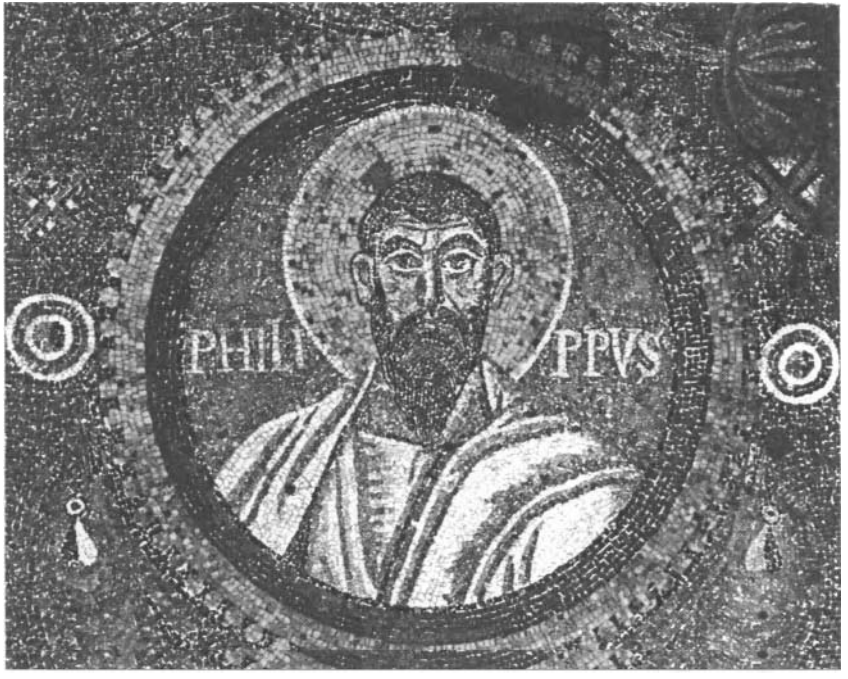
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum: Series apocryphorum
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DRev	*Downside Review*
EDB	*Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. D. N. Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000
EFN	Estudios de filología neotestamentaria
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos*
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses*
ETS	Erfurter theologische Studien
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GTA	Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTCNT	Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
HvTSt	*Hervormde teologiese studies*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962
Int	*Interpretation*
Introduction^{1}	H. Koester. *Introduction to the New Testament.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982
Introduction^{2}	H. Koester. *Introduction to the New Testament.* 2d ed. 2 vols. New York and Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995–2000
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*

JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHC	*Journal of Higher Criticism*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LumVie	*Lumière et vie*
MdBLe	Monde de la Bible
NGWG	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Philologisch-historische Klasse)
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTApoc[1]	*New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher. 2 vols. English translation ed. R. McL. Wilson (from the 3d German edition). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963–65
NTApoc[2]	*New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher. 2 vols. English translation ed. R. McL. Wilson (from the 5th German edition). Louisville, KY: Westminster/Knox, 1991–92
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*

OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OEANE	*Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*
PL	Patrologia latina, ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
QL	*Questions liturgiques*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
SAQ	Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to *Numen*)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTSU	*Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra pagina
SPhilo	*Studia philonica*
SR	*Studies in Religion*
ST	*Studia theologica*
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Trans. G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*

TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Translations of classical authors, Josephus, and Eusebius are taken from the editions in the Loeb Classical Library unless noted otherwise. Translations of biblical texts in most instances are taken from the New Revised Standard Version. Abbreviations for ancient texts in most cases agree with P. H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.



Ravenna – Basilica of St. Vital (VI century), The Apostles Philip and Thomas (detail of the triumphal arch)

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed an increasingly avid interest in the exploration of early Christian traditions and stories featuring the various apostles of Jesus and their associates. Studies have naturally centered on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and the Nag Hammadi documents, but numerous other texts have also become objects for closer scrutiny. Not surprisingly the *Gospel of Thomas* has claimed the lion's share of attention, and, in connection with other documents preserved under the name of Thomas, it has led to the recognition of a Thomas tradition, which was largely synonymous with the ascetical Christianity of eastern Syria. Thomas' status in *Gospel of Thomas* 13 as the privileged recipient of secret revelation from Jesus in contradistinction to Peter and Matthew confirms the existence in early Christianity of rival claims to authority connected with individually named apostles of Jesus.[1] The apostles, however, did not share equally in the privilege of lending their authority to the promotion and protection of burgeoning Christian communities. Consequently, scholars are able to single out only a few names among the Twelve, namely, Peter, Thomas, and John, who, in addition to Paul, may be clearly associated with viable traditions spanning the first Christian centuries.[2]

With the investigation that follows I will demonstrate why Philip's name must be included within this select group of apostles who served as authority figures and guarantors of "authentic" tradition in the early Christian era. The effectiveness of Philip's authority in the second century is attested both by the enlistment of his influence to legitimate disputed theological positions and by the appearance of his name in diverse literary texts, in some cases to serve as a guarantor for teachings of Jesus. To focus only on the latter role,

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[1] See Ron Cameron, "Thomas, Gospel of," *ABD* 6:535–36.

[2] In addition to Paul, Helmut Koester (*Introduction to the New Testament* [2 vols.; Hermeneia: Foundations and Facets; Philadelphia: Fortress; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982], 2:6–7, hereafter cited as *Introduction*[1]; and *Introduction to the New Testament* [2d ed.; 2 vols.; New York and Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995–2000], 2:6–8, hereafter cited as *Introduction*[2]) points to the gathering of traditions in particular geographical areas under the individual authority of Peter, Thomas, or John. Wolfgang A. Bienert ("The Picture of the Apostle in Early Christian Tradition," *NTApoc*[2] 2:17) mentions "in addition to Peter and Paul, especially John and Thomas" as "individual apostles [who] enjoyed a special veneration in particular communities."

however, would obscure the breadth of the Christian culture represented by the traditions that work with Philip's name.[3] Thus beyond his function as a guarantor of the Jesus tradition, Philip is invoked in a variety of contentious situations in which appeals to his apostolic authority are perceived as an effective strategy to broker conflicts and legitimate social and theological positions. Recognition of such creative uses of a traditional figure holds explanatory value with regard to how Philip traditions survived beyond the New Testament period and continued to thrive in new forms in "orthodox" as well as apocryphal and gnostic texts. It also suggests something of the strength of the initial significance of this figure in the first century, an importance that ultimately ensured the recourse to him that we find in later appropriations.

Unique in Philip's case, as opposed to the other principal apostolic authorities, is the contact of his famous prophetic daughters with Papias (see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9), one of our earliest witnesses for the employment of apostles and other "disciples of the Lord" in their roles as guarantors of traditions about Jesus. Although the notion that traditions about the apostle Philip have also left their imprint on the New Testament initially seems implausible, owing to the scant traces in the Gospels, the observation that second-century witnesses are concerned exclusively with Philip the apostle warrants a reassessment and reconfiguration of the evidence. One problem that has stood in the way of an inclusive examination of all the Philip materials is the assumption held by scholars that the Philip with the daughters is not the apostle but another famous Philip known as the "evangelist." This conclusion is based on Luke's notice at Acts 21:8–9 and its narrative connection to the other Philip materials in Acts, which in Luke's framework serve to identify this figure as someone other than the apostle of the same name. Virtually all scholars who treat the references to Philip and his daughters in second-century witnesses automatically assume that these witnesses have confused the evangelist, who had famous daughters, with the apostle. The source of this nearly unanimous modern opinion may be traced to a presumption of Lukan priority with respect to data about

[3] See Vernon K. Robbins's proposal for the application of a model of making Christian culture to the study of early Christianity, which is illustrated with the case of the epistle of James in idem, "Making Christian Culture in the Epistle of James," *Scriptura* 59 (1996): 341–51.

the events and participants of early Christian history. Thus analysts typically conclude with confidence that the "deacon" Philip "is not the Apostle, because the gift of the Holy Ghost comes upon the converts only when the *apostles* Peter and John come from Jerusalem to lay hands upon them" (see Acts 8:14–17).[4] Consequently, accepting Luke's depiction of events as historically above suspicion, they ignore Papias, discount the testimony of the Montanists, and impugn Polycrates' claim (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.3) that Philip was one of the Twelve. Yet it soon becomes apparent that the real obstacle blocking an accurate assessment of the testimonies about Philip is not the confusion of second-century Christians but the penchant of modern scholars for harmonizing their data with Luke's presentation in Acts. Scholars give precedence to Luke, but Papias' testimony is practically contemporary and should be judged to be at least as reliable as Luke's.

The question that has been avoided, but must be asked, is whether Luke's identification of Philip in Acts is truly unimpeachable in the face of the unanimous testimony of the second-century witnesses. If one were to add Luke's Philip material in Acts to that in the Gospels, under the supposition that Luke has either unknowingly or deliberately obscured Philip's apostolic identity, then the material base of New Testament Philip traditions would suddenly be rather substantial. The analyses carried out below of the two Philip stories in Acts 8 will show that these traditions had a history before Luke and that the generative factor in both cases is best explained as the celebration of the exploits of an early Christian leader whose name was enshrined in the lists of Jesus' twelve disciples. In the investigation that follows I will argue that all of the references to Philip in the New Testament and other early Christian literature are most properly interpreted with reference to traditions stemming from this single figure. Not only is such a study heuristically valuable insofar as it documents a substantial body of traditional material centered on Philip, it also allows us to gain better purchase on the processes by which memories of prominent early Christian figures continued to exert influence in the Christian imagination and thereby contribute to the growth and development of Christianity in its first centuries.

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[4] Kevin Smyth, "Tomb of St. Philip: Apostle or Disciple?" *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 97 (1962): 292 (emphasis original). Smyth's view, in general, is widely represented in the commentaries and other literature on Philip.

"Apostle"

Given the diverse conceptions of the term "apostle" that appear in the New Testament, it is important to clarify at the outset what is being claimed here by the identification of Philip as an apostle. This is not the place to revisit the scholarly investigation of the origin of the term ἀπόστολος in early Christianity or rehearse in detail the competing theories concerning its development and use. That discussion is already extensive enough and the resolution of various key issues remains in doubt.[5] What is essential here is to recognize the importance of a fundamental shift in the application of the word between the time of Paul and the time of Luke at the end of the first century CE. To be sure variety is by no means completely eliminated in favor of a unitary conception even by the end of this period.[6] Nevertheless, the primary significance of the term apostle from the end of the first century forward is to be found in its increasingly exclusive denotation of the "twelve apostles," or individual

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[5] For a brief assessment of the "still unresolved problems" and the "bewildering range of applications of the title of apostle," see Hans Dieter Betz, "Apostle," *ABD* 1:309–11. The extensive principal bibliography on these issues may be found in the context of the following helpful surveys of research: Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Apostles Before and During Paul's Time," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday* (ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 287–303; J. Andrew Kirk, "Apostleship since Rengstorf: Towards a Synthesis," *NTS* 21 (1975): 249–64; Francis H. Agnew, "The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research," *JBL* 105 (1986): 75–96; Bienert, "Picture of the Apostle," 2:5–27; Monika Lohmeyer, *Der Apostelbegriff im Neuen Testament: Eine Untersuchung auf dem Hintergrund der synoptischen Aussendungsreden* (SBB 29; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 18–122; Niels Hyldahl, *The History of Early Christianity* (trans. E. M. Arevad and H. Dyrbye; Studies in the Religion and History of Early Christianity 3; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), 152–66; Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (trans. L. M. Maloney; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 47–62; and Wolfgang Reinbold, *Propaganda und Mission im ältesten Christentum: Eine Untersuchung zu den Modalitäten der Ausbreitung der frühen Kirche* (FRLANT 188; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), esp. 32–42, 114–16, 253–64. Influential monographs in this area of research include: Günter Klein, *Die zwölf Apostel: Ursprung und Gehalt einer Idee* (FRLANT 77; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Eduard Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* (trans. F. Clarke; SBT 32; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1961); Jürgen Roloff, *Apostolat–Verkündigung–Kirche: Ursprung, Inhalt und Funktion des kirchlichen Apostelamtes nach Paulus, Lukas und den Pastoralbriefen* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965); Walter Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church* (trans. J. E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969); and Hans von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries* (trans. J. A. Baker; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969).

[6] Note, for instance, the instructions concerning "apostles" in *Did.* 11:3–6.

members of that group, in both "orthodox" and "heterodox" usage. The apostle Paul stands out as the exception that proves the rule.[7]

It appears evident from Gal 1:17, 19 and 1 Cor 15:7 that the word apostle was already in use prior to Paul,[8] though his own understanding may have contributed to the establishment of criteria for its use.[9] It is also clear from 1 Cor 15:5, 7, as well as by the fact that Paul includes himself among the apostles as the last of their number (1 Cor 15:8), that Paul does not identify the apostles with the Twelve. While these texts from Galatians and 1 Corinthians stand as evidence, at least from Paul's time and perspective, for a "solemn technical usage" of the term (closely associated with an appearance of the risen Christ), elsewhere Paul can use ἀπόστολος rather generically to identify certain ecclesial functionaries (e.g., the "church envoys" of 2 Cor 8:23 and Phil 2:25; cf. John 13:16).[10] Yet a third connotation of the term

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[7] As Schweizer (*Church Order*, 194) notes: "we generally use it [apostle] in a sense in which it scarcely occurs in the New Testament, namely as denoting the twelve disciples plus Paul." Similarly Bienert ("Picture of the Apostle," 2:16) observes: "The unique position of Paul . . . can already be recognised from the fact that he and he alone is occasionally described as 'the apostle,' . . . whereas by 'the apostles' as a rule 'the Twelve' from the circle of Jesus' disciples are meant." See also von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power*, 21; and Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols. in 1; trans. K. Grobel; New York: Scribner's, 1951–55), 2:105.

[8] With reference to Gal 1:17–19, however, Schnackenburg ("Apostles," 290) asks: "But does Paul adapt himself to the language of Jerusalem? Or does he speak of the 'apostles' from a later perspective?"

[9] The possibility that Paul played some role in the use and/or development of the meaning of the term is among the points disputed in scholarship. Note, however, Gösta Lindeskog's summary ("Nordische Literatur zum Neuen Testament 1939–1949," *TRu* 18 [1950]: 234, cited here in translation from Schmithals, *Office of Apostle*, 234 n. 11) of Johannes Munck's view: "Paul is the decisive factor in the development of the concept of the apostle. He employed it to designate the person called and chosen by God in a preeminent sense. As a result, in the post-apostolic age people transferred the concept of apostle to the twelve." Similarly Werner Kramer (*Christ, Lord, Son of God* [trans. B. Hardy; SBT 50; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1966], 58 and n. 158) reflects: "If we ask how an apostle comes to be an apostle, it is hardly possible to find a pre-Pauline answer. . . . It is possible that it was only Paul's precise understanding of apostleship which forced the Church towards a clearer conception of the term." And further (p. 62): "Clearly the idea of apostleship and the term 'apostle,' as used in the pre-Pauline language of mission, had already become technical, in the sense that it described a particular though not necessarily closed circle of those who held 'office' within the Church. The actual criterion for judging who belonged to this circle only becomes apparent in Paul, who sees it in terms of appearances of the risen Christ. It is questionable whether this was the main criterion before Paul's time, all the more so since we never hear of women being called apostles."

[10] Agnew, "Origin," 93 and n. 83. With regard to the use of "apostles" in 2 Cor

is found in its employment as a designation for itinerant missionaries (1 Cor 9:5; 12:28; Rom 16:7; cf. Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11).[11] This is perhaps the pre-Pauline significance of the term and it is utilized by Paul in this sense even though tensions result when this "broader" usage is juxtaposed with the more specialized employment of "apostle" noted above and its particular (and often emphatic) employment as a self-designation by Paul.[12] Paul's identification of himself as the last apostle in chronological terms (1 Cor 15:8) already provides the template for the view that the select group of apostles who received their evangelistic commission through an appearance of the risen Christ was a limited and closed circle.

While Mark was the first to describe the Twelve as "apostles" (Mark 3:14; cf. 6:30 with 6:7), it is Luke who solidifies this connection in a thoroughgoing manner.[13] Fundamental for Luke's conception was the requirement that an apostle had participated in the

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8:23, Hans Dieter Betz (*2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* [ed. G. W. MacRae; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985], 73) calls attention to "the discrepancy between the titles given the envoys by the churches ('apostles of the churches') and the less dignified manner in which they were spoken of by Paul," namely as our "brothers," who remain nameless, and asks whether Paul intended "to play down the role of the brothers."

[11] Schnackenburg ("Apostles," 294) comments: "The 'apostles' referred to in Romans 16:7, without further qualification, could hardly have been anything else but itinerant missionaries." Further (p. 296), "the 'other apostles' [1 Cor 9:5] could mean 'missionaries in the Hellenistic missionary area' (as I Cor. 4:9)."

[12] Schnackenburg ("Apostles," 302) observes: "If one considers Paul's choice of words in I Thessalonians 2:7, I Corinthians 4:9; 12:28 f., and Romans 1[6]:7, it appears that in the mission field he clearly associated himself more readily with the usage which regarded apostles as preachers and missionaries of Christ. To call this a 'broader' concept of apostle would be misleading, since Paul himself does not make this distinction. It is only from our perspective that the 'narrow' qualification of an apostle in Jerusalem sets itself over against the former usage. The 'narrow' usage led to the limitation of the group of the apostles and to the guiding image of the 'twelve apostles.'"

[13] Schweizer (*Church Order*, 69) calls attention to "the Lukan idea of apostleship, which must be clearly distinguished from Paul's as well as from what the twelve were, both during Jesus' earthly life and in the earliest days of the Church. For Luke, the apostle is neither the eschatological ruler in the coming kingdom, nor the person called by the risen Lord to be a messenger. He is the eyewitness of Jesus' earthly life and work, and only as such is he called on to witness (Acts 1.21 f.)." Kramer (*Christ, Lord, Son of God*, 62) observes that "Luke marks a new stage in the development of the idea, for with him we find a logical narrowing down and an unambiguous definition of the title 'apostle.'" Joseph A. Fitzmyer (*The Gospel According to Luke [I–IX]: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* [AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981], 254) comments: "It seems obvious that Luke has identified the Twelve with the apostles, or at least represents a mode of thinking in the Christian community, in which they have already been so identified."

activities of the earthly Jesus (Acts 1:21–22). Thus while the Pauline tradition developed an image of Paul as the apostle par excellence (the Pastoral epistles), Luke's conception dictated that he withhold this designation from Paul in its most fundamental sense.[14] "The resultant narrowing down of the title 'apostle,' which originally was accorded to all missionaries, to include only the twelve (Paul is the only exception to this restriction) is clear evidence that the apostles were regarded as the guarantors of the Church's tradition" (see Eph 2:20; Rev 21:14).[15] This "narrowing down" accounts for "the distinction made between apostle and evangelist (Eph. 4:11; *cf.* II Tim. 4:5; Acts 21:8); the latter title fell to missionaries as soon as the title

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[14] Contrary to Luke's exclusive employment of the term ἀπόστολος to refer to the Twelve elsewhere in Acts, at 14:4, 14 (although Western witnesses omit it in the latter verse) it suddenly appears with reference to Paul and Barnabas. As Klein (*Die zwölf Apostel*, 212) observes: "Dass diese beiden Stellen sich nicht in den Aufriss der Apg fügen, hat die kritische Forschung auch immer anerkannt." Many scholars credit the discrepancy to the influence of a (Antiochene) source (see, e.g., Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* [trans. R. McL. Wilson et al.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971], 420 n. 10; Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [trans. J. Limburg et al.; ed. E. J. Epp with C. R. Matthews; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 108; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998], 526) and understand the term to connote something akin to "church delegates of Antioch." C. K. Barrett (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994–98], 1:667, following Stephen G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* [SNTSMS 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973], 115–18), reckons that "Luke was content to allow two logically contradictory ways of using the word ἀπόστολος to stand side by side in his book." According to Jacob Jervell (*Die Apostelgeschichte* [KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998], 371), "für Lukas ist nicht der Titel 'Apostel' entscheidend, sondern der Begriff 'die Zwölf.'" In any case it may be that by employing the term ἀπόστολος in Acts 14 (whether or not the influence of a source is operative), Luke signals his awareness of the significance this term held for Paul. Klaus Haacker's examination ("Verwendung und Vermeidung des Apostelbegriffs im lukanischen Werk," *NovT* 30 [1988]: 9–38) of Acts 14:4, 14 in light of Luke's use of ἀπόστολος and other technical terms in Luke-Acts lends support for this view. He shows that in the context of Luke's larger portrait of Paul in Acts, it is understandable (p. 35) that "Lukas in Act 14:4, 14 zweimal gegen seinen sonstigen Sprachgebrauch Paulus als Apostel bezeichnet: seine hohe Meinung von Paulus liess ihn hier wohl zu diesem so positiv besetzten Wort greifen, das er sonst für den Jüngerkreis reserviert." Thus he concludes (p. 37) that "die Verwendung von ἀπόστολος in Act 14:4, 14 nicht nur auf der Linie von 2 Kor 8:23 und Phil 2:25 zu verstehen, sondern mit dem bewussten Gebrauch der 'gehobenen' Bedeutung von ἀπόστολος zu rechnen." If in these verses Luke does deliberately name Paul and Barnabas "apostles" in some sense more significant than "church delegates," this choice only highlights the otherwise thoroughgoing identification of the apostles as the Twelve elsewhere in Luke's two books.

[15] Bultmann, *Theology*, 2:105.

'apostle' was reserved for the twelve."[16] Luke was writing in a period in which this terminological shift had already taken place. So in Luke's context, in which the stories about Philip in Acts 8 are alone preserved, the choice of "evangelist" terminology was made because it best matched the understanding of missionary activity in Luke's day. While the exploits of missionary apostles would be told in copious detail in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, Luke's conception of the twelve apostles as "witnesses" (Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39, 41; 13:31) and guarantors of the church's tradition, among other reasons that will be set forth in detail below, resulted in the designation "evangelist" for Philip.

When the complex conceptual and terminological changes just summarized are fully considered, it becomes clear that Philip qualifies as an apostle not only in the broader sense of an itinerant proclaimer of the gospel but also in the stricter sense by virtue of the inclusion of his name among the Twelve. It is almost exclusively the latter status that accounts for his survival as a traditional figure in the first Christian centuries.[17]

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[16] Ibid., 2:106. With reference to Bultmann, Kramer (*Christ, Lord, Son of God*, 55) notes that the three places in the NT where "evangelist" is found (Acts 21:8; Eph 4:11; 2 Tim 4:5) "show that this word came into the language of mission only at a late stage. We are still in a position to see what the motive for its introduction was, for, at a time when the term 'apostle' had already come to be applied to a particular and clearly defined circle of pioneers of mission, those outside that circle who had a similar office of preaching were termed 'evangelists.' The difference between 'apostle' and 'evangelist' is not one of function. It is rather that the latter term reflects a later period, say, the second or third generation, by which time the 'apostle' has become either in the Lucan sense a figure in the *Heilsgeschichte* itself or in the deutero-Pauline sense an authoritative first link in the chain of tradition." Schnackenburg ("Apostles," 300, emphasis added) observes: "In Paul's time we find ourselves in a period of transition. In Ephesians 4:11 the distinction between apostles and 'evangelists,' who rank behind the prophets, is already drawn. In the area of the Hellenistic mission no clear-cut criteria for recognizing apostles could have existed in this time, although the situation might have been different in Jerusalem. Luke, in Acts 21:8, calls Philip, who was active in missionary work and who no doubt would have been recognized as an 'apostle' in the Pauline mission field, only an 'evangelist.' *Still, the designation might simply be Luke's.*" One of the chief results of the current work is the confirmation of the latter statement, with the proviso that Philip is not just an apostle in Paul's wider sense.

[17] References to the "evangelist" or "deacon" as a figure apart from the "apostle" Philip invariably show dependence on Luke's formulation in Acts.

Philip Traditions

Another necessary initial clarification concerns the intention of my inclusive reading of the Philip evidence. My investigation concerns the traditions and stories, and their various elaborations, about and connected with Philip the apostle and does not seek to reconstruct some actual history of Philip. At the same time it is not only or even principally a literary exercise but an investigation into the traces that the Philip traditions have left in the historical evidence that survives. While some of these traditions may best make sense as the distillation of oral accounts reflecting the activity of an actual figure, others develop from the collocation of Philip's fame and the contemporary needs of various early Christians who recognized his authority and to some degree expressed their own sociotheological stance in sayings and stories issued under his name. In this regard, from the standpoint of the New Testament evidence, Philip's situation is closer to that of Peter than Thomas. One finds early independent traditions about both Peter and Philip in Acts, and both go on to serve as patrons for alternative collections of Jesus materials and as subjects of apocryphal narratives devoted, in part at least, to a variety of later Christian social and theological concerns. Luke does not reproduce equivalent Thomas traditions, and those of the Fourth Gospel, although they may reflect the existence of a Thomas tradition, are apparently redactional creations that situate Johannine Christians over against a "Thomas community." Philip is, therefore, peerless in comparison with other so-called minor figures connected with the Jesus tradition who play a formal and formative role in the early history of Christianity.

The stories about Philip in Acts may be characterized as etiological narratives concerning important stages in the development of certain early Christian groups to which Philip's name is securely attached. Analogous materials about Philip were in circulation during Papias' time (see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9), and some may still be reflected in the later *Acts of Philip*. Alongside such stories about Philip, we also find the use of Philip's name to ensure the authenticity of the Jesus tradition in Papias (see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9), the *Gospel of Philip*, and elsewhere. Sayings and stories are among the more concrete components of this traditional deposit, and I will draw attention to their presence even in the later stages of the Philip

material. But tradition also comprises more general ideas and topoi from the past[18] that help to round out the contours of the Philip traditions. Such notions include the encratistic proclivity of the Philip materials, present early on in the form of Philip's four virgin daughters and highlighted in the later *Acts of Philip*.

Methodology

A final clarification concerns the fundamental methodological stance of the current study. Basic historical-critical methods are employed with profit throughout the range of the materials examined, but their results are often refined and endowed with greater significance by the application of various literary approaches, and additionally illuminated where possible by social-scientific studies. This eclectic methodological approach is informed throughout, albeit in most cases indirectly, by an intertextual perspective and the insights that it offers with respect to the composition of oral and written texts in antiquity. I understand intertextuality to entail the prudent acknowledgment of the complex range of antecedents (many of which are as a matter of course irrecoverable) that came together in the formation of any given early Christian text. Ancient compositional techniques typically reused earlier materials and adapted them to varying degrees to serve in their new contexts. Traditionally investigators have acknowledged such debts through the pursuit of source criticism. While the use made of Mark by Matthew and Luke is among the most obvious examples in the New Testament,[19] the rather formal notion of literary dependence frequently associated with these documents obscures the fact that a more prevalent style of writing was practiced without recourse to written sources during the actual process of composition.[20] I advert to the concept of intertextuality as a helpful reminder

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[18] See, e.g., Douglas A. Knight, "Tradition History," *ABD* 6:633–38.

[19] On the Two Document hypothesis as "the most economical and plausible accounting of the form and content of the Synoptic Gospels," see John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 11–54; the quotation is from p. 11.

[20] Note the comments of J. Keith Elliott ("Non-canonical sayings of Jesus in patristic works and in the New Testament manuscript tradition," in *Philologia Sacra: Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, vol. 2, *Apokryphen, Kirchenväter, Verschiedenes* [ed. R. Gryson; Vetus Latina: Aus der Geschichte der lateinische Bibel 24/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1993], 344–45): "My own work on the synoptic problem is making me increasingly sceptical about

that the processes that led to the formation of each of our early Christian texts were more complex than our modern scholarly analytical tools can ever hope to indicate. But since intertextuality has become a buzzword in current scholarly literature in our discipline and is capable of widely divergent meanings, I will in brief compass further specify how I understand it here.[21]

In very general terms intertextuality stands as an indication of the sum total of influences that underlie the production of any given text. Intertextual theorists maintain that "all writers are first readers, and that all writers are subject to influence . . . all texts are necessarily criss-crossed by other texts."[22] Most scholars are content to limit the implications of intertextuality to this point, but readers and texts are only part of the story when one is dealing with products of "western manuscript culture" such as our early Christian writings. As Walter Ong has stressed, "manuscript culture in the west remained always marginally oral," and "writing served largely to recycle knowledge back into the oral world." Moreover, "manuscript cultures remained largely oral-aural even in retrieval of material preserved in texts. Manuscripts were not easy to read . . . and what readers found in manuscripts they tended to commit at least somewhat to memory."[23]

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direct literary copying. . . . I find it difficult to accept that Gospel-writer number three for example behaved like a scribe, slavishly copying his exemplar. It is difficult to imagine how this creative theologian is supposed to have composed his Gospel, working with at least two sources propped up before him on his desk. The logistics of this make it even more difficult if we wish to argue that those early sources would have been written on scrolls! Is this later evangelist to have read from one source copying, occasionally altering or expanding it, before turning to his second source to complete his ideas, as he changes horses in mid-stream time and time again? My own assessment is coming to see a greater flexibility than that process allows."

[21] I have dealt with these issues previously in my papers: "Peter and Philip Upside Down: Perspectives on the Relation of the *Acts of Philip* to the *Acts of Peter*" in *Society of Biblical Literature 1996 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 23–34, and "*Apocryphal* Intertextual *Activities*: A Response to Harold W. Attridge's 'Intertextuality in the *Acts of Thomas*,'" *Semeia* 80 (1997): 125–35.

[22] Michael Worton and Judith Still, eds., *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 30. See also the excellent, concise treatment by Timothy K. Beal, "Intertextuality," in *Handbook of Postmodern Biblical Interpretation* (ed. A. K. M. Adam; St. Louis, MO: Chalice, 2000), 128–30.

[23] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982; repr., New Accents; London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 119. William A. Graham (*Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* [Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 18) emphasizes the same essential point: "In the West as elsewhere, orality remained always a significant part of chirographic, or script culture, even for a considerable time after the coming of printing technology, so that most of human history has

The introduction of memory into the process of the "retrieval of material preserved in texts" underlines the contribution that any number of "extratextual" influences exerted on the formation of any text. An intertextuality that functions merely as a synonym for source criticism or a fund of allusions from other clearly identified written texts (uses that have become rather common in recent early Christian studies) offers nothing new. Accordingly my construal of the term intertextuality accepts the broader notion of "text" employed by the literary theorists from whom the discipline of biblical studies has borrowed the terminology. "While in the narrow sense a *text* means a piece of writing, . . . *text* is also used in a much more general sense to mean anything perceived as a signifying system."[24] As Ong observes, "although texts are autonomous by contrast with oral expression, ultimately *no text can stand by itself independent of the extratextual world.* Every text builds on pretext."[25] In the milieu in which our early Christian writers found themselves, apart from the host of mundane events that accompany everyday life, we may readily imagine common intertextual influences in connection with the oral transmission of creeds, hymns, prayers, stories, legends, histories, and so forth. Recognition of the importance of such oral performances, however, in no way discounts the early and widespread use of written texts by Christians. In fact, the perspective of intertextuality demands that one acknowledge that both oral and written means of communication coexisted and were continually transformed by the variety of circumstances in which they were employed (e.g., liturgy, preaching, teaching).[26] And of course such speech and writing are always only

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known texts primarily as oral/aural rather than written or printed realities." On this topic, see Gerhard Sellin and François Vouga, eds., *Logos und Buchstabe: Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Judentum und Christentum der Antike* (TANZ 20; Tübingen: Francke, 1997), especially the contribution by Winrich A. Löhr, "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Christentum des 2. Jahrhunderts," 211–30, and the bibliography (pp. 235–65).

[24] Worton and Still, *Intertextuality*, 33 n. 2, emphasis original.

[25] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 162, emphasis added. George Aichele (*Sign, Text, Scripture: Semiotics and the Bible* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 100–101) observes: "Every text is always read in the light of other texts, which themselves were read in the light of yet other texts. . . . [Yet] every reading, even a reading of an often-read, familiar text, adds to and changes the intertextual web, and thus it changes the value of all the other readings in the intertextual web. . . . Texts are always composed of material signifiers, but they are never encountered except in ideological, intertextual contexts. The intertext in effect creates the text—not its hyletic materiality, but its meaningful identity."

[26] Harry Y. Gamble's investigation, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), leaves no doubt

components of a much larger sphere of influence, that complex set of circumstances in which any given writer or hearer found herself or himself.[27] An intertextually sensitive approach attempts consciously to acknowledge, and analyze where possible, this larger sphere of influence.[28] The creative environment that intertextuality presupposes for every text suggests that traditional historical-critical reconstructions of the circumstances that gave rise to any given text is a truly Sisyphean task.[29] In practice, however, the intertextual perspective may more reasonably be characterized as a realistic viewpoint that seeks to promote the more sensitive execution of historical-critical techniques. In line with this last point, I have chosen for the most part to leave the intertextual perspective implicit in my analyses of most texts in the following chapters, since explicit recourse to intertextual assessments

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that written texts were pervasive in the early Christian communities. Moreover, he observes (p. 32) that "we have no reason to think that oral tradition stood in opposition to the production of texts, nor that it inhibited the literary culture of the early church. Just as in its larger Jewish and Gentile environments, so too in early Christian circles, the two media coexisted and interacted."

[27] As Werner H. Kelber ("Jesus and Tradition: Words In Time, Words In Space," *Semeia* 65 [1994]: 158–59) puts it, "Once we think of tradition as interactive processes, we concede the presence of a dynamic that is other than either orality or literacy. . . . Tradition in this encompassing sense is a circumambient contextuality or biosphere in which speaker and hearers live. . . . Tradition in this broadest sense is largely an invisible nexus of references and identities from which people draw sustenance, in which they live, and in relation to which they make sense of their lives. This invisible biosphere is at once the most elusive and the foundational feature of tradition."

[28] John R. Donahue ("The Literary Turn and New Testament Theology: Detour or New Direction?" *JR* 76 [1996]: 271 n. 108, emphasis added) comments on the contrasts between the new and old historicism, citing Herbert S. Lindenberger (*The History in Literature: On Value, Genre, Institutions* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1990], 200): "New historians are more concerned with the social and anthropological contexts of texts from the past as well as with *intertextual relationships*, 'not simply, as in the older history—the study of a particular writer's reading habits, but the discovery of a *larger network of texts that rethink and rewrite one another over considerable stretches of time.*'"

[29] Graham (*Beyond the Written Word*, 20, 10) observes: "The modern Western cultural complex is discontinuous with earlier periods. This is particularly evident, although by no means intuitively or immediately obvious, in our relationship to texts, which is a key element of modern intellectual traditions and one that sets them apart from all earlier eras. . . . In historical perspective, our current conception of the book (and therefore of the reading process and literacy as well) proves to be quite limited and limiting. This limitation exercises particularly pernicious influence upon our attempts to understand the functional historical role of texts in other times and places, for it involves a series of assumptions about the nature of a written 'composition' that are both relatively recent in date and quite culture-specific. These assumptions have skewed our understanding of the ways in which books – and by 'books' I mean written texts in general – have actually functioned through most of history since the inception of writing."

in each case would become tedious. Nevertheless, this perspective informs my understanding of the genesis of the texts treated throughout the following pages, texts that by their very existence show that Philip was intertextually available in a variety of circumstances in the first Christian centuries.

Plan

Now that these preliminaries have been dispensed with, I may briefly indicate the plan of the study that follows. Because the second-century materials are so often muted by the preponderance of Lukan analyses, I begin in chapter one with the former so that I may present Luke's materials against the backdrop of their information. As has been mentioned already, the portrait of Philip that emerges from the second century shows that Philip, along with his daughters, was invoked to legitimate social practice and theological reflection—in effect his image was frequently employed in early Christian efforts at conflict resolution. Chapters two and three will examine Acts 8:4–25 and Acts 8:26–40, respectively, and show how Luke's redactional employment of traditional materials about Philip was motivated by their importance even while it declined to exploit their protagonist's apostolic identity. Next I will turn to the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel to demonstrate the coherence of the information about Philip in these documents with the texts examined previously. Chapter five will explore the presence of Philip in "gnostic documents" as an apostle invested with particular authority among some groups for the transmission of the revelatory teaching of Jesus. Finally, chapter six will examine selected portions of the *Acts of Philip* to indicate that this frequently maligned text provides access in some cases to traditional materials of equal value to those found in the so-called major Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. The chapter also demonstrates that an intertextually based analysis is particularly suited to apprehending the significance of the compositional techniques employed by writers of Christian apocryphal texts, and therefore more apt to contribute to our understanding of Christian culture and society in the earliest centuries.

CHAPTER ONE

PHILIP IN THE SECOND CENTURY

In the second century of the Christian era, whenever Christian sources mention Philip, it is the apostle of the same name who is in view. There is no evidence to suggest the existence of competing or parallel traditions of two early, influential Christian figures who happened to share the name Philip. Both the later ecclesiastical view that carefully distinguishes the "deacon" Philip from the apostle of the same name[1] and the pervasive modern assumption that there were two high profile Philips in the earliest days of the church are based solely on Luke's presentation in Acts. Were it not for Acts, there would be no clue that a problem existed with respect to Philip's identity. The privileged place of this canonical source has led to a confident revisionism with regard to the plain testimony of the second-century witnesses. Scholars have simply presumed that these later authorities have confused Philip the apostle with Philip the evangelist.[2] Yet, since Philip, along with his daughters, is often invoked in various polemical contexts to legitimate this or that group's theological positions and social/ecclesiastical practices, it can hardly be imagined that the appeal is to anyone other than a clearly recognized authority, that is, an "elder," the most potent form of which is an apostle.[3] It is an issue not only of credibility but also effectiveness.

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[1] See, e.g., *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.17, where the ordination procedure for deacons is placed on Philip's lips. Some manuscripts include a special note pointing out the difference between Philip the apostle and Philip the evangelist. For all the care taken to discriminate between the two Philips on the basis of Acts, it is still possible, as *Apostolic Constitutions* 6.7 among other texts shows, to refer to the Philip of Acts 8 as an apostle. Convenient surveys of the noncanonical evidence for Philip are available in François Bovon, "Les Actes de Philippe," *ANRW* II 25/6:4456–60; and Frédéric Amsler, *Acta Philippi: Commentarius* (CCSA 12; Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 7–9, 441–68.

[2] See, e.g., JoAnn Ford Watson ("Philip, 6 and 7," *ABD* 5:311), who states that "later tradition confuses Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist." The same conclusion is offered by H. H. Platz ("Philip," *IDB* 3:785: "References to Philip in the second century reflect a tendency to confuse the apostle with Philip the evangelist"), and the vast majority of commentators who review the second-century material. See my entry, "Philip the Apostle and Evangelist," *EDB* 1047.

[3] R. Alastair Campbell ("The Elders of the Jerusalem Church," *JTS* 44 [1993]: 511–28) recognizes the connection between "the elders" and "the apostles." See also idem, *The Elders: Seniority within Earliest Christianity* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); G. M. Lee, "Presbyters and Apostles," *ZNW* 62 (1971): 122.

Consequently, before discounting the documentary evidence of the second century, it is worthwhile to consider whether Luke's use of traditional material concerning Philip has in some way led to a denial of his apostolic rank.

The supposition that the tradition behind Acts 8 concerns Philip the apostle has a scholarly pedigree, though it has not been worked out in any detail. Doubts about the Lukan portrayal have surfaced especially in connection with the disjunction between the task that the Seven are called to fulfill in Acts 6:1–7 and what Stephen and Philip, who are included in their number (6:5), actually do in the following scenes. Notable is the comment of Julius Wellhausen that Philip "ist einer von den Sieben, aber so wenig wie Stephanus Diakon, sondern Evangelist (21,8) d.h. Apostel."[4] The manner in which Luke appropriated independent traditions concerning Philip in Acts 8 will be examined in detail in chapters two and three. For now it will suffice to indicate that when viewed from the perspective of the second-century witnesses to be treated in this chapter, the traditions about Luke's Philip (i.e., the Philip with four prophetically gifted daughters, Acts 21:9) in Acts 8 are most naturally identified as stories about an apostle rather than some lesser figure. This conclusion is also bolstered by a consideration of onomastic data for Palestine encompassing the period of the early church.

A consideration of the onomastic material available for Palestine between 330 BCE and 200 CE yields a total of seven Jewish men known by the name Philip.[5] Four of these are mentioned in Josephus:

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[4] Julius Wellhausen, *Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte* (AGWG, n.s., 15/2; Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 14. Walter Grundmann ("Das Problem des hellenistischen Christentums innerhalb der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde," *ZNW* 38 [1939]: 59 n. 33) asks concerning Philip: "Ist er aus dem Kreis der Zwölf in den der Sieben übergegangen oder handelt es sich um zwei Persönlichkeiten?" Martin Hengel (*Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983], 14) points out that "we cannot exclude the possibility that, say, Philip was originally one of the 'Twelve' and now went over to the 'Seven.'" Even though Hengel historicizes the groupings of figures in the lists of the Seven and the Twelve, there is reason to believe that the lists of the Seven and the Twelve both refer to the same Philip. This option is developed below.

[5] The following summary concerning the plausibility of the hypothesis identifying the two New Testament Philips on the strength of the onomastic data is written in light of personal discussion with Dr. Tal Ilan, during her tenure as Research Associate in the Women's Studies in Religion Program at Harvard Divinity School in 1992–93, about her onomastic research in connection with her study, "The Status of the Jewish Woman in Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period (332 BCE–200 CE)" (Ph.D. diss.; Hebrew University, 1990–91). A revised version of this study which was written in Modern Hebrew is now available in English: *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (TSAJ 44; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck,

Philip, father of Sosipater (*Ant.* 14.249)
Philip, son of Herod the Great (*Bell.* 1.562; *Ant.* 17.21)
Philip, son of Jacimus (*Bell.* 2.421; *Ant.* 17.30; *Vita* 46–61, 177–80, 407–9)
Philip, a Galilean from Ruma (*Bell.* 3.233).

Ostensibly two are included in the New Testament:

Philip the apostle (Mark 3:18 parr.; Acts 1:13)
Philip the evangelist (Acts 6:5; 8; 21:8).

And one additional appears in Eusebius:

Philip, the ninth Jewish bishop of Jerusalem (*Hist. eccl.* 4.5.3).

Josephus' information shows that the name Philip was connected with aristocratic, hellenized, and diplomatic families. Sosipater, son of Philip (*Ant.* 14.249), appears in lists of diplomats sent by the Maccabees to Rome. Later the name Philip is taken by one of Herod's sons (see Luke 3:1) and by Philip, son of Jacimus, a Jew from Babylon with close connections to the Herodian family, who was active in the territory of Philip. The name Philip was popular because of its use by the Hellenistic kings, and consequently it infiltrated into aristocratic Palestinian Jewish circles. The Fourth Gospel's identification of Bethsaida as the home town of the disciple Philip (John 1:44) would make him a namesake of Philip the Tetrarch (Luke 3:1) who ruled this territory.[6]

The limited attestation of the name Philip and its upper class associations offer external support for the thesis argued here that the Philip behind the stories recorded by Luke in Acts and the Philip mentioned in the Gospels are one and the same.[7] Martin Hengel,

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1995); also published as: *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996).

[6] See Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Studies on Personalities of the New Testament; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 24, 36, 301–5. A paperback edition of this volume was published in 1999 by Fortress Press, Minneapolis.

[7] It is, of course, impossible to determine solely on the basis of the name whether the disciple Philip may be imagined as hailing from a family of significant social standing. Yet, as Rodney Stark (*The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996], 33) observes: "If the early church was like all the other cult movements for which good data exist, it was not a proletarian movement but was based on the more privileged classes." Compare Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 51–73, on the social level of the Pauline Christians.

who broaches the possibility that the two Philips were one and the same,[8] doubts that the question can be settled "given the relative frequency of the name."[9] But Hengel's statement is highly misleading, since he identifies Philip as a "frequent" name in Palestine solely on the basis of the four occurrences in Josephus listed above.[10] The onomastic data rather suggest that it is quite unlikely that two of the earliest prominent Christian figures from Palestine would have shared the name Philip. When we ask how many (upper class?) hellenized Jews named Philip might have been Christians in the earliest decades of the church, we must be cognizant of the small initial size of the various Christian groups. The recent work by the sociologist Rodney Stark on conversion and Christian growth puts the total number of Christians by the year 40 at 1,000; by the year 50 at 1,400; and by the year 100 at only 7,530.[11]

The convergence of the second-century evidence, the onomastic data, and recent projections on the Christian population at the end of the first century render plausible the hypothesis that the confusion of the "two Philips" has its origin with Luke. The solution to the puzzle of why Luke, who everywhere emphasizes the preeminence of the twelve apostles, would have failed to identify Philip properly may best be located not in an alleged bias against Hellenist traditions,[12] but in a perceived conflict between two pieces of traditional information. As will be explored more fully in the chapters that follow, it is possible that Luke's comparison of his list of the Twelve with that of the Seven led him to interpret the two occurrences of the name Philip, the only name shared by these lists, as references to two different persons.[13] Since Luke obviously connected

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[8] Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 14.

[9] Ibid., 145 n. 95.

[10] See ibid., 13, 144 n. 89.

[11] Stark, *Rise of Christianity*, 4–13. See also Keith Hopkins, "Christian Number and Its Implications," *JECS* 6 (1998): 185–226, who provides a graphic representation (p. 193) of Stark's figures covering 40–350 CE. Hopkins estimates that by the year 200 Christians numbered just over 200,000, "barely 0.35% of the total population" (p. 195). Although statistically insignificant, "Christians thought of themselves as successful but persecuted, while leading Romans long remained ignorant of their activities" (p. 225).

[12] See, e.g., Haenchen, *Acts*, 315–16; idem, "Simon Magus in der Apostelgeschichte," in *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (ed. K.-W. Tröger; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973), 278. Haenchen's view is discussed fully in chapters two and three below.

[13] Note the observation of Johannes Weiss (*The History of Primitive Christianity* [2 vols.; ed. F. C. Grant; New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937], 1:167 n. 4): "Philip is

the Philip stories in Acts 8 with the person of the same name mentioned in Acts 6:5, and since he undoubtedly judged the list of the Twelve to be prior to that of the Seven (in terms of status, as well as temporally), he was led to conclude that the Philip mentioned in the latter list was someone other than the apostle of the same name. Perhaps even Luke entertained doubts about whether this was the proper course, since the identification of Philip in Acts 8 as someone other than the apostle is not explicit but implied by Luke's redactional framework.

Presbyters and Apostles in Papias

The most significant witness for the vitality of Philip traditions in the early part of the second century is found in the *Exegesis of the Sayings of the Lord* (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις) by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis.[14] Unfortunately this important work has come down to us only in fragments, preserved mainly by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5.33.3–4) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39).[15] Most of the modern discussion has

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in the Acts carefully distinguished from the Apostle of the same name (21:8), but is identified with him in later ecclesiastical tradition (Eusebius, *Hist.*, v.24.2). It is possible that the latter is quite right since, for the author of Acts, the necessity for the distinction rested on the fact that he contrasted the Seven with the Twelve. This, however, . . . does not correspond to the original facts of the case."

[14] William R. Schoedel ("Papias," *ABD* 5:140) disputes the significance of Papias, asserting that the interest generated by his statements on Mark and Matthew "has rescued Papias from obscurity but has also distorted his importance and skewed the significance of his role in the early church." This judgment appears somewhat extreme. A contrary opinion from Edgar J. Goodspeed (*A History of Early Christian Literature* [rev. R. M. Grant; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966], 90) notes that the quotation of Papias' work by Irenaeus, Eusebius, and others "shows that it contained traditions of the utmost value about the beginnings of Christian history and literature."

[15] See the important monograph by Ulrich H. J. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des frühen Christentums* (FRLANT 133; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), which contains the important bibliography up to 1983 on pp. 349–71. See Körtner's recent edition of the Papias fragments in idem and Martin Leutzsch, eds., *Papiasfragmente. Hirt des Hermas* (Schriften des Urchristentums, Teil 3; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), bibliography, pp. 3–7; introduction, pp. 9–49. It provides on pp. 51–73 the texts and German translations for twenty-two fragments; a synoptic table of the contents of ten other collections of fragments and their respective numbering conventions is included on pp. 18–19. Four influential essays by Josef Kürzinger are reprinted in idem, *Papias von Hierapolis und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments: Gesammelte Aufsätze, Neuausgabe und Übersetzung der Fragmente, Kommentierte Bibliographie* (Eichstätter Materialien 4; Regensburg: Pustet, 1983), together with the texts and translations of twenty-five fragments and an extensive annotated

been devoted to Papias' statements about the Gospels of Mark (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15–16) and Matthew (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16) and the identity of Papias' "presbyters" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3–4). My focus is the bearing that Papias' testimony has for questions associated with the identity of Philip (apostle or evangelist?) as well as his role and that of his daughters in the church traditions of Asia Minor. The issue of the identity of Papias' presbyters is also pertinent for the evaluation of the tradition contained in this passage and must be addressed. Of particular import in connection with all these problems is the question of the date of Papias' writing.

In the prologue to Papias' work preserved in part in Eusebius, Philip appears in third position in a list of seven "apostolic" figures:

> *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.4:
>
> But if ever anyone came who had followed the presbyters (πρεσβύτεροι), I inquired into the words (λόγοι) of the presbyters, what Andrew or Peter or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, had said (εἶπεν), and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the Lord's disciples, were saying (λέγουσιν). For I did not suppose that information from books would help me so much as the word of a living and surviving voice.[16]

This passage is often interpreted to mean that the words of certain apostles, identified by Papias as "disciples of the Lord," were transmitted orally to Papias by the followers of certain "presbyters" or students of the apostles.[17] These presbyters are not identified as office-holders but representatives of the older Christian generation.[18] In spite of the popularity of this view, however, it is more likely that the "presbyters" are to be equated with the individually named personal disciples of Jesus in Papias' prologue:[19] "Presbyters," in the

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bibliography (pp. 145–227) covering the years 1960 through 1981 (many of these entries refer to brief mentions of Papias in works not directly concerned with him or his writings). Note also the widely used edition of thirteen fragments in Karl Bihlmeyer, ed., *Die apostolischen Väter: Neubearbeitung der Funkschen Ausgabe* (3d ed.; ed. W. Schneemelcher; SAQ 2/1/1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1970), 133–40.

[16] The translations of Eusebius are taken from the Loeb edition, unless noted otherwise.

[17] See, e.g., Günther Bornkamm, "πρέσβυς," *TDNT* 6:677: "The πρεσβύτεροι mentioned here can hardly be equated with the apostles who are adduced by name even if with no further designation. On the contrary, they are to be regarded as pupils of the apostles."

[18] Ibid., 676.

[19] So Johannes Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples of the Lord in Papias: Exegetic Comments on Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, III, 39," *HTR* 52 (1959): 223–43, esp. 230, 236–37, 239. Robert M. Grant ("Papias in Eusebius' Church History,"

sense found in Irenaeus [i.e., "old and revered person"] and later, is not easily distinguished from "the disciples of the Lord" in Papias; for at an early period "presbyters," in the sense of authorities of an earlier day, can hardly be distinguished from apostles and other personal disciples of Jesus.[20] Eusebius' statement that Papias "received the words of the apostles from their followers" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.7; cf. 3.39.2), is not explicitly confirmed by Papias' own words.[21] In fact, Eusebius' remark has more to do with his bias against Papias which sought to put some distance between Papias' chiliastic views and apostolic teaching.[22] Consequently when Papias mentions his direct contact with the presbyters (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3: "I shall not hesitate to append to the interpretations all that I ever learnt well from the presbyters and remember well"), "it is natural to assume that [he] . . . is referring either to some of the nine presbyters named in ll. 16–20 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.4], or at least to men of the same category."[23] In Papias, then, a presbyter is not the second link in a chain of tradition arranged in terms of generations (e.g., apostles, presbyters, followers of the presbyters), but a figure from the early period belonging to that category of persons who guarantee the authentic transmission of tradition.

In spite of Eusebius' sparing quotation of Papias' work, one implication of its title (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις) is that Papias was engaged in the interpretation of the sayings of Jesus.[24] Given the apparent

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in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974], 210, emphasis original) remarks that Eusebius' quotation of Papias in *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3–4 "clearly shows, in so far as it clearly shows anything, that Papias could identify 'presbyters' with 'disciples of the Lord.' . . . The quotation from Papias *can* be understood to mean that Papias was a hearer of the apostle John."

[20] Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples," 239.

[21] Ibid., 225.

[22] See Robert M. Grant, "Eusebius and His Church History," in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings* (ed. J. Reumann; Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1972), 235–47, esp. 237 and 240; idem, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History"; Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples," 236–37.

[23] Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples," 239. That Munck errs by referring to "men" alone as members of the presbyter category will become evident in the review below of the status of the daughters of Philip as tradition-bearers. On the relatively positive disposition of Christianity in Asia Minor toward women during this period, see Johannes Hofmann, "Christliche Frauen im Dienst kleinasiatischer Gemeinden des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts: Eine prosopographische Studie," *VC* 54 (2000): 283–308.

[24] See the treatment in Ron Cameron, *Sayings Traditions in the* Apocryphon of James (HTS 34; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 91–116, esp. 108 n. 74; Armin Daniel Baum, "Papias als Kommentator evangelischer Aussprüche Jesu: Erwägungen zur Art seines Werkes," *NovT* 38 (1996): 257–76.

function of Thomas, James, John, and Matthew as guarantors[25] of the sayings of Jesus in the various works associated with their names,[26] Philip's appearance with these other "disciples" indicates that he also served to authenticate or guarantee the legitimate transmission of sayings of Jesus for Papias.[27] What is remarkable here is that Philip ranks before these others, following only Andrew and Peter (another unusual sequence).[28] In the limited extracts from Papias' work that are extant, no specific materials that Papias may have had access to under the name of Philip are recorded.[29] Much more tangible, however, is Eusebius' notice that Papias had personal contact with the daughters

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[25] On the conception of the transmission and interpretation of the words of Jesus under the authority of certain apostles who are explicitly named, see Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:7–8; idem, "La tradition apostolique et les origines du gnosticisme," *RTP* 119 (1987): 6–9, 11–12. According to Bornkamm ("πρέσβυς," 677), Papias' hermeneutical procedure was analogous to that of "competing Gnostics" among whom "we find an appeal to individual apostles and the teaching guaranteed by them and also the idea of the apostles as teachers around whom there gathered a school of pupils which passed on their doctrine and put in writing what was received orally."

[26] On Thomas (*Gospel of Thomas, Book of Thomas, Acts of Thomas*), see Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:7, 152; Stephen J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Foundations & Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1993); Gregory J. Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered: Thomas and John in Controversy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). On James (James, *Kerygmata Petrou, First and Second Apocalypses of James, Gospel of the Hebrews, Apocryphon of James*), see Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:211–12, 219–20, 229–30; Cameron, *Sayings Traditions*. On John (*Acts of John, Apocryphon of John*), see Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:7, 202–4, 218–19. Papias' remark connecting Matthew with the production of a Gospel in Hebrew ("Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew language" [Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16]) has been taken to indicate that Q was composed under the authority of Matthew, and that this authority was continued for the first Gospel. See, for example, Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:177; for opposing views, see Cameron, *Sayings Traditions*, 108–12; John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (SAC; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 51–54; idem, *Excavating Q*, 78–80. Peter, of course, also serves as a guarantor of the sayings of Jesus.

[27] On the necessity of guaranteeing the legitimate transmission of the tradition in Papias, see Cameron, *Sayings Traditions*, 99, 109, 112–13, 122–23. On the need for second-century Christian authors to appeal to apostolic tradition, see Burton L. Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament? The Making of the Christian Myth* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 199–206, 225–28.

[28] Note the connection between the sequence of the disciples in Papias' list and that in the opening chapter of the Gospel of John, which introduces the first three disciples in the same order. See the discussion in chapter four below.

[29] That Philip served as a guarantor for Jesus tradition in gnostic circles is probably the implication of the title at the end of the *Gospel of Philip* (86:18–19), which reads, "The Gospel According to Philip." Philip's depiction in *Pistis Sophia* 1–3 as "the scribe of all the words which Jesus said, and of all the things which he did" (1:42) concretely portrays such a function. Consequently, it is not surprising to find Philip at the head of a more limited group of five disciples, who are the recipients of Christ's revelation in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*. All of these texts and their implications will be treated in chapter five.

of Philip (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9) and received information from them. Before turning to this crucial passage, it will be useful to review the other pertinent second-century references to Philip and his daughters.

Philip and his Daughters in Controversy

The early localization of Philip and his daughters in Hierapolis is attested by a variety of sources in addition to Papias. In this context Philip served not only as a guarantor for sayings of Jesus but also as an authority for belief, observance, practice, ritual, et cetera. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus at the end of the second century, in a dispute with Victor of Rome (d. 198) over Easter observance,[30] appealed to Philip and his daughters as the first authorities in a longer list of those who authenticated the long-standing, traditional liturgical practice of the churches of Asia Minor of observing Easter on the fourteenth of the month of Nisan:

> *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.3:
> For great luminaries (μεγάλα στοιχεῖα) sleep in Asia, and they will rise again at the last day of the advent of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and call back all the saints, such as was Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps at Hierapolis with his two daughters who grew old as virgins and his third daughter (καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ) who lived in the Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus.[31]

Polycrates clearly reflects a tradition that places Philip the apostle in Hierapolis. Eusebius accepts this identification without complaint, introducing his citation from Polycrates' letter as follows: "In this he

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[30] For Eusebius' presentation of the question, see *Hist. eccl.* 5.23. The dispute concerned whether Easter should be observed, following the Jewish practice of determining the date of Passover, on the 14th of Nisan whatever the day of the week (the practice in Asia Minor), or on the following Sunday. See "Quartodecimanism" in the dictionaries. See also F. E. Brightman, "The Quartodeciman Question," *JTS* 25 (1924): 254–70; Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Two Sees of Peter: Reflections on the Pace of Normative Self-Definition East and West," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 1, *The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries* (ed. E. P. Sanders; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 61–64; Bernadette Lemoine, "La controverse pascale du deuxième siècle: Désaccords autour d'une date," *QL* 73 (1992): 223–31; William L. Petersen, "Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy," in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (ed. H. W. Attridge and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 311–25; Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Quartodeciman Passover and the Jewish Pesach," *QL* 77 (1996): 152–73.

[31] Cf. *Hist. eccl.* 5.24.2.

mentions both John, Philip the apostle, and Philip's daughters as follows" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.31.2). Kirsopp Lake, the translator of this section of the Loeb edition of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, suggests that "possibly Polycrates has confused Philip the Apostle and Philip the Deacon, and Eusebius did not notice it."[32] But Eusebius' introduction to his citation of Polycrates explicitly refers to Philip the apostle as was just noted. And Polycrates' tradition, which knows of three daughters of Philip, is apparently ignorant of the tradition of Acts, which speaks of four daughters.[33] These observations warn us not to conform Polycrates' evidence to the report in Acts 21:9.

Around the same time other appeals to the authoritative presence of Philip and his daughters in Hierapolis were resorted to in the polemical exchanges between Rome and the New Prophecy movement in Asia Minor.[34] When Gaius (early 3rd century), identified by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.25.6) as a "writer of the church . . . who lived when Zephyrinus was Bishop of Rome" (198–217 CE), pointed to

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[32] *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History*, LCL, 1:271 n. 2. Lake's "deacon" refers, of course, to Philip, one of the Seven in Acts 6:1–7. It is only much later that ecclesiastical writers "recognize" in these Seven the first deacons; see, e.g., Eusebius at *Hist. eccl.* 2.1.10 where he is following Acts.

[33] Normally ἡ ἑτέρα would indicate the other of two, allowing us to suppose that the total number of daughters still equals four. Theodor Zahn (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. 6/1, *Apostel und Apostelschüler in der Provinz Asien*; vol. 6/2, *Brüder und Vettern Jesu* [Leipzig: Deichert, 1900], 170) draws attention to this fact and supposes that the phrase implies that one daughter did not emigrate from Palestine. Eduard Schwartz (*Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedaei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Johannesevangeliums* [AGWG, n.s., 7/5; Berlin: Weidmann, 1904], 16–17 = idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5, *Zum Neuen Testament und zum frühen Christentum* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963], 67–70) conjectures that Eusebius' exemplar of Polycrates' letter was faulty and that one daughter fell out in a lacuna. John Chapman (*John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1911], 67–68) sees in Polycrates a reference to two daughters of the apostle Philip (as distinguished from the four daughters of the evangelist), one of which (ἡ ἑτέρα) was buried in Ephesus. For attempts to take account of all of the daughters of Philip by assigning three to the apostle and four to the evangelist, see below. Two comments are in order here: (1) Since we cannot assume that Polycrates wrote with perfect grammar, it is possible that he used ἡ ἑτέρα ("the other of two") to mean simply "the other," as is common elsewhere. (2) Given the paucity of our information, it is worth recalling that variation seems to be the rule with traditions involving names and numbers. Thus the apparent enumeration of three daughters here should not be pressed.

[34] As Hans von Campenhausen (*The Formation of the Christian Bible* [trans. J. A. Baker; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972], 224 n. 80) observes, "Ἡ νέα προφητεία is the proper self-designation used by those whom only their opponents termed Phrygians, Kataphrygians, or Montanists." See also Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2–3.

the trophies of the apostles in Rome,[35] Proclus, identified by Eusebius as the "champion of the heresy of the Phrygians" (*Hist. eccl.* 6.20.3), retorted with the presence of the tomb of Philip and his four daughters in Hierapolis:

> *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.4:
> After him [Philip] the four daughters of Philip who were prophetesses were at Hierapolis in Asia. Their grave is there and so is their father's.[36]

Although it is not stated explicitly that the Philip referred to here is the apostle,[37] this is the clear implication of the context in which Proclus offsets Roman claims to "the trophies of the apostles" with those of his own region. In order to maintain successfully the legitimate status of one's tradition in this type of polemical exchange, no less than the tomb of an apostle would suffice.[38] That the proponents of the New Prophecy have merely resorted to Acts 21:8–9 to devise an "apostolic" apologetic for their position does not take into account the claim of access to the tombs of Philip and his daughters, which indicates that local traditions are involved.

With respect to the New Prophecy, one wonders whether the prophetic renown of Philip's unmarried daughters had more than an ex post facto apologetic significance for the leadership roles of Maximilla and Priscilla in this movement.[39] To be sure the anony-

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[35] *Hist. eccl.* 2.25.6–7: "Caius . . . speaks as follows of the places where the sacred relics of the apostles in question [Peter and Paul] are deposited: 'But I can point out the trophies of the apostles, for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way you will find the trophies of those who founded this church.'"

[36] To the words of Proclus, Eusebius adds the following remark: "And Luke in the Acts of the Apostles mentions the daughters of Philip who were then living with their father at Caesarea in Judaea and were vouchsafed the gift of prophecy." He then quotes Acts 21:8–9 (*Hist. eccl.* 3.31.5). It is noteworthy that Eusebius can identify Philip as the apostle even in connection with citations from Acts.

[37] Eusebius implies that Philip is explicitly acknowledged as an apostle by Proclus when he prefaces the citation just given with the comment that "Proclus . . . speaks thus about the death of Philip and his daughters and agrees with what has been stated" (3.31.4), i.e., by Polycrates about Philip the apostle (3.31.3).

[38] Hans von Campenhausen (*Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power*, 169) notes that "in Asia Minor as in Rome the claim to possess the tomb of an apostle has its importance." He cites (p. 169 n. 102) a study by Hugo Koch ("Petrus und Paulus im zweiten Osterfeierstreit," *ZNW* 19 [1919–20]: 174–79), who "argues persuasively that Asia had a lead over Rome in this respect."

[39] Hierapolis, of course, is in Phrygia, where the New Prophecy broke out. See David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 313–16. For more information on Maximilla, Priscilla,

mous "antimontanist" writer quoted by Eusebius strongly contested the right of the New Prophecy movement to lay claim to the daughters of Philip in support of its conception of prophecy:

> *Hist. eccl.* 5.17.2–3:
> The false prophet speaks in ecstasy. . . . But they cannot show that any prophet, either of those in the Old Testament or of those in the New, was inspired in this way; they can boast neither of Agabus, nor of Judas, nor of Silas, nor of the daughters of Philip, nor of Ammia in Philadelphia, nor of Quadratus,[40] nor of any others who do not belong to them.

It may be assumed that the longer series of prophets appealed to here by the "antimontanist" writer, including the daughters of Philip, "derives from the Montanists or can count on their approval."[41] Once again it is not necessary to suppose that this list has made use of Acts.[42] It is clear that the daughters of Philip were appealed to as part of a chain of prophetic authorities validating the New Prophecy, which seems ultimately to have tarnished them and their father in "orthodox" eyes. This situation may account for the paucity of traditional material that has survived concerning the activities of these once influential women.[43]

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and Montanus, see H. J. Lawlor, "The Heresy of the Phrygians," *JTS* 9 (1908): 481–99; W. H. C. Frend, "Montanism: A Movement of Prophecy and Regional Identity in the Early Church," *BJRL* 70/3 (1988): 25–34; D. H. Williams, "The Origins of the Montanist Movement: A Sociological Analysis," *Religion* 19 (1989): 331–51; and Trevett, *Montanism*. See also William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism* (Patristic Monograph Series 16; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997).

[40] Note that after his coverage of Ignatius in 3.36, Eusebius refers to Quadratus in 3.37 as follows: "Among those who were famous at this time was also Quadratus, of whom tradition says that he shared with the daughters of Philip the distinction of a prophetic gift."

[41] So von Campenhausen, *Formation of the Christian Bible*, 222 n. 62.

[42] So Karlmann Beyschlag, "Herkunft und Eigenart der Papiasfragmente," in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 4, *Papers presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959*, part 2, *Biblica, Patres Apostolici, Historica* (ed. F. L. Cross; TU 79; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), 274 n. 3: "Der bei Eus., h.e. V. 17,3 wiedergegebene montanistische Prophetenkatalog muss nicht von Ag. abhängig sein. Ausser Agabus sind alle dort Genannten durch kleinasiatische Nachrichten belegbar."

[43] Yet they apparently persist as authority figures among the Quintillians, who derive from but are also distinguished over against the Cataphrygians according to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 49.2: "They consider Quintilla their founder, together with Priscilla, who also belongs to the Cataphrygian sect. . . . And they call Moses' sister a prophetess as evidence in favor of the women among them who are ordained members of the clergy. Also, they say, Philip had four daughters who prophesied. . . . They have women bishops, women presbyters, and everything else, all of which they say is in accord with: 'in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female.'" The translation is that of Philip R. Amidon, *The* Panarion *of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of*

Various other second- and third-century writers make reference to Philip and his daughters in a variety of disputes. Heracleon supported his anti-martyr position by pointing out that Philip, among other apostles, did not die a martyr's death.[44] Tatian, in support of his contention that true disciples must be unmarried in imitation of the Lord himself, included the argument that Philip dedicated his four daughters to virginity.[45] Clement of Alexandria's counterclaim that "Philip even gave his daughters to husbands" (*Strom.* 3.52.5; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.30.1) appropriates these figures in a manner consistent with his own perspective. It soon becomes apparent that traditions connected with the daughters of Philip lose their viability for both "orthodox" and "heretical" groups. The orthodox shy away from them owing to their "Montanist" and encratistic associations, while those promoting asceticism evidently decide that their father is more worthy of emulation if the matter of children is left out of account entirely. The latter situation perhaps explains the absence of Philip's daughters in the *Acts of Philip*, which values chastity highly. Nevertheless, the documentary evidence of the second century clearly accentuates the roles of both Philip and his daughters as essential arbiters in attempts at conflict resolution throughout this period.

The Daughters of Philip and Apostolic Tradition

In the preceding contexts the daughters of Philip function in various polemical situations as passive legitimators of contested theological positions. Even though in the case of the New Prophecy such an authoritative role presupposes their well-known prophetic gift, no samples of their inspired speech are preserved. Yet when via Papias we presumably come into closest contact with their actual activity, they appear not as prophetesses but as mediators of "apostolic tradition" on a par with Papias' other authorities:

Salamis: Selected Passages (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 173–74. It is surprising that even in these sources Philip's daughters are unnamed. While they doubtless possessed their own authority on the basis of their prophetic gift in the second century as in the fourth, in the tradition they are always linked to their father's name and consequently his apostolic authority.

[44] See Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.71.2–3.

[45] See Elaine H. Pagels, "Adam and Eve, Christ and the Church: A Survey of Second Century Controversies Concerning Marriage," in *The New Testament and Gnosis: Essays in honour of Robert McL. Wilson* (ed. A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983), 151.

Hist. eccl. 3.39.9:

> It has already been mentioned that Philip the apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters, but it must now be shown that Papias, who was with them (κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς), remembers (μνημονεύειν) a wonderful story which he received (παραλαμβάνειν) from the daughters of Philip; for he relates the resurrection of a corpse that had happened in his [Philip's] time (κατ' αὐτόν) and moreover another miracle connected with Justus surnamed Barsabas, for he drank poison but by the Lord's grace suffered no harm.[46]

Here we do not have a direct citation of Papias but a brief epitome by Eusebius. Although many modern interpreters understand by κατ' αὐτόν that the resurrection reported by the daughters of Philip took place in Papias' time, the context certainly implies that it is to be associated with the time of their father.[47] While Eusebius does not explicitly credit the daughters of Philip with the tradition concerning Justus, the fragment preserved in Philip of Side does trace the latter story directly to the daughters of Philip, but does not specify the origin of the resurrection story:

Papias frg. 10 (Körtner)[48]

> The above-mentioned Papias recounted what he learned from the daughters of Philip (ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου), that Barsabas, also known as Justus, was kept from harm when put to the test by unbelievers when he drank the viper's poison in the name of Christ. And he also recounts other marvels, most notably concerning the mother of Manaimos, who was raised from the dead.

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[46] LCL translation with modifications.

[47] On the translation of the phrases κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς and κατ' αὐτόν, P. Corssen ("Die Töchter des Philippus," *ZNW* 2 [1901]: 292) refers to Harnack's conclusion: "Zu dem Pronomen ist in beiden Fällen χρόνους, bzw. χρόνον zu ergänzen." But it seems preferable to take κατ' αὐτόν as a reference to a resurrection performed by Philip. Note Bovon's rendition ("Actes de Philippe," 4457) of the pertinent sentence of *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9: "Il raconte la résurrection d'un mort arrivée κατ' αὐτόν, c'est-à-dire du temps de Philippe." Bovon comments: "Même si cela n'est pas dit explicitement, Philippe a dû être associé à cette résurrection." He goes on to ask (with reference to *Acts of Philip* I): "Faut-il rapprocher cette résurrection de la résurrection par Philippe du fils unique de la veuve en Galilée (APh I)?" and answers: "Ce n'est pas impossible." See the discussion of *Acts of Philip* I in chapter six below. Zahn (*Forschungen*, 165–66) also understood κατ' αὐτόν to refer to a resurrection that took place in Philip's time.

[48] My translation. For the Greek text and a German translation, see Körtner, *Papiasfragmente*, 62–63. This fragment from Philip of Side is preserved in Codex Baroccianus 142. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter*, numbers it frg. 11.

Although it is uncertain whether Philip of Side had access to Papias apart from Eusebius,[49] it is, nevertheless, not unreasonable to take this extract as a second example of the kind of information passed along to Papias by the daughters of Philip.[50] The longer ending of Mark (16:18) may indirectly reflect the same oral tradition.[51]

What is clear from Eusebius' report in *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9 is that Papias was a contemporary of the daughters of Philip and that he had received information directly from them. Papias' act of "remembering" (μνημονεύειν) the resurrection story related (παραλαμβάνειν) to him by the daughters of Philip constitutes a formal process, on the part of both parties, of the handing on of tradition.[52] And as this passage makes clear, the use of the technical term μνημονεύειν applies not only to the transmission of sayings of Jesus,[53] but also encompasses legends and stories. Furthermore, these narratives are not confined to Jesus but move beyond him to recount the deeds of various apostolic figures and their associates. Thus even if the principal

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[49] On the lack of an independent reading of Papias in Philip of Side, see Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 80–81, 146.

[50] Although he rules out the usefulness of Philip of Side on this question (ibid., 299 n. 1), Körtner nevertheless thinks it probable that the Justus tradition was mediated by the daughters of Philip (see p. 144).

[51] See Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 147–48; James A. Kelhoffer, *Miracle and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark* (WUNT 2/112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 417–72. Beyschlag ("Herkunft und Eigenart der Papiasfragmente," 275) calls attention to two poison-drinking episodes in martyrdom traditions of Asia Minor (*Passio Pauli* 2; and "Acts of John in Rome" 7–12, part of a fourth-century text placed by Maximilien Bonnet [in Richard Adelbert Lipsius and Maximilien Bonnet, eds., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. 2/1 (1898; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1959), 151–60] before the fragments of the *Acts of John* as chapters 1–14). Dennis R. MacDonald (*The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983], 24) proposes that the story related by the daughters of Philip about Barsabas Justus, whom Eusebius identifies as one of the candidates for Judas' place among the Twelve in Acts 1:23, "was one episode in a legend about Paul's death, but for some reason was omitted, except for a trace, in the *Acts of Paul*." That the daughters of Philip also told a story about a woman accused of many sins (*Legend and the Apostle*, 37, with reference to *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17) is not discernible.

[52] Judith M. Lieu's view ("The 'Attraction of Women' in/to Early Judaism and Christianity: Gender and the Politics of Conversion," *JSNT* 72 [1998]: 20–21) that "early Christianity—as also Judaism—must be viewed as a dynamic and constructive process within which its members were not acted upon but were creative participants" is borne out by the example of the daughters of Philip, who appear to corroborate her conclusion that "in some parts of the Empire influential women were able to use religion, including non-civic religion, to negotiate a role for themselves in society."

[53] For the use of the technical term "remembering" (μνημονεύειν) to signal "the process of creating, collecting, and transmitting sayings of Jesus," see Cameron, *Sayings Traditions*, 91–116, esp. 92.

concern of Papias' work was the interpretation of sayings, there is also an interest in moving beyond the "Lord's λόγια" to record non-dominical narrative traditions of various kinds.[54] It is no doubt some such process as this, which is already underway before Luke[55]—who adds his own contribution—that eventually leads to the full-scale Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles that begin to proliferate already by the end of the second century.[56]

Moving from the character of the traditional material to the identity of the tradition-bearers, it is clear that Eusebius understands Papias to be dealing with the daughters of the apostle Philip. It is necessary at this point to clarify the date of Papias' writing and consider the arguments of those who see the daughters of Philip "the evangelist" as Papias' informants.

There has been a propensity among modern scholars to date Papias' writing during the reign of Hadrian (117–138 CE) or later rather than earlier, although the reasoning behind such estimates is often not spelled out. Eusebius considers Papias in connection with his treatment of Polycarp, Ignatius, and Clement of Rome during the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE). As Vernon Bartlet has pointed out, in the third book of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, Eusebius nowhere goes beyond Trajan's time, and in fact still treats this period at the start of book four. "Eusebius . . . saw no reason . . . to infer from internal evidence that Papias wrote after rather than before A.D. 110, though he is at pains to refute Irenaeus's statement that Papias was actually 'a hearer and eye-witness of the sacred Apostles.' "[57] Bartlet's view has recently been confirmed by Ulrich Körtner, whose inter-

[54] On the imprecision of Papias' use of the term λόγια, see James M. Robinson, "*LOGOI SOPHON*: On the Gattung of Q," in idem and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 75 n. 11; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 53–54.

[55] See François Bovon, "L'origine des récits concernant les apôtres," *RTP* 17 (1967): 345–50.

[56] I deal with this topic in Christopher R. Matthews, "The *Acts of Peter* and Luke's Intertextual Heritage," *Semeia* 80 (1997): 207–22.

[57] Vernon Bartlet, "Papias's 'Exposition': Its Date and Contents," in *Amicitiae Corolla: A Volume of Essays Presented to James Rendel Harris, D.Litt. on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (ed. H. G. Wood; London: University of London Press, 1933), 22. See Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples," 226 n. 11. William R. Schoedel (*Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, vol. 5 of *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary* [ed. R. M. Grant; London: Nelson, 1967], 92) sees "no reason to refuse to allow Eusebius' date to stand" and agrees with Bartlet's dating of ca. 110 CE. He comments (p. 91) that "if Eusebius pushed Papias' date in any direction, it would be later rather than earlier in order to banish chiliasm from the primitive period."

pretation of the Papias fragments substantiates the early date suggested by Eusebius' relative chronology. Körtner argues persuasively that the polemical function of Papias' work, the *Tradentenkreis* of the presbyters, and Papias' association with the daughters of Philip are all more suited to a time around 110 than the middle of the second century.[58] Since there is no convincing reason to dispute Papias' contact with the daughters of Philip, a date before 110 CE for his writing is to be preferred,[59] lest we find ourselves constantly rewarding early Christian figures with extraordinary life spans.[60]

Although Eusebius presumes that Papias is dealing with the daughters of Philip the apostle, most modern critics assume that this is a case of mistaken identity, given the notice concerning the daughters of Philip the evangelist in Acts 21:9.[61] To be sure Lightfoot argued that the Philip who lived at Hierapolis was the apostle, but he reached this conclusion by assuming that there were two sets of daughters: (1) the three daughters of the apostle (following Polycrates), one of whom was married (thus accounting for Clement of Alexandria's statement in *Strom.* 3.52.5; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.30.1: "Philip even gave his daughters to husbands"), and (2) the four daughters of the evangelist mentioned by Acts.[62] While this scheme harmonizes the evidence nicely, it must be rejected. Zahn's judgment, even though he is more concerned with historical accuracy than an assessment of traditional information, is to the point:

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[58] Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 226. For Körtner's review of scholarship on the date of Papias' work, see pp. 88–94; his conclusions are offered on pp. 225–26. See also idem, *Papiasfragmente*, 30–31.

[59] Munck ("Presbyters and Disciples," 240) places Papias' birth at about 60 CE and his collection of material before 100.

[60] Studies of human remains are rather sobering with regard to the brief life spans, relative to today, of the majority of people in antiquity. See Stark's description (*Rise of Christianity*, 149–56) of the "physical sources of chronic urban misery" that contributed to high mortality rates and chronic health conditions routinely suffered by the inhabitants of Greco-Roman cities. Note Walter Scheidel's observation ("Roman Age Structure: Evidence and Models," *JRS* 91 [2001]: 25) with regard to Keith Hopkins's study "On the Probable Age Structure of the Roman Population," *Population Studies* 20 (1966): 245–64 (cited in Scheidel), that "we have not been able to advance beyond his guesstimate that mean life expectancy at birth in the Roman world probably fell in a range from twenty to thirty years."

[61] For example, Schoedel ("Papias," 141): "a story 'received from the daughters of Philip,' presumably Philip the evangelist and not Philip the apostle as Eusebius asserts." Watson ("Philip, 6 and 7," *ABD* 5:312) claims that Papias knew Philip's daughters but was confused about his identity. But surely these two propositions are mutually exclusive.

[62] J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Revised Text with Introductions, Notes, and Dissertations* (London: Macmillan, 1875), 45 n. 3.

> Ein Phil[ippus], welcher im J[ahr] 58 mit 4 unverheirateten, prophetisch begabten Töchtern in Cäsarea gelebt hat, und ein Phil[ippus], welcher in etwas späterer Zeit mit zwei unverheirateten, prophetisch begabten Töchtern in Hierapolis gelebt hat und begraben ist, während eine dritte gleichfalls prophetisch begabte und wahrscheinlich auch unverheiratete Tochter des Phil[ippus] in Ephesus gestorben ist, können nicht zwei verschiedene Personen sein.[63]

Zahn's solution was to identify the Philip of Hierapolis as the evangelist, not the apostle. He accounted for the later attribution of apostolic status to the evangelist by presuming that he was a personal disciple of Jesus "so bestand für die Christen in der Provinz Asien zwischen ihm und einem der 12 Apostel kein in die Augen springender Unterschied."[64]

Körtner makes the same basic decision as Zahn and it is instructive to examine his reasoning closely.[65] He holds, given the notice in Acts 21:9, that there has been an obvious confusion or fusion of the apostle with the wandering preacher of the same name. He finds it inconceivable that Papias held the father of the women he had contact with to be the apostle; unfortunately he does not elaborate on this judgment. Thus he concludes that Papias knew the daughters of Philip the evangelist, who perhaps emigrated from Caesarea to Hierapolis.[66] For Körtner this supposition is corroborated by the fact that the evangelist Philip corresponds in sociological terms, as a wandering

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[63] Zahn, *Forschungen*, 172.

[64] Ibid., 174. Corssen ("Die Töchter des Philippus," 296) proposed a similar transmutation with regard to the daughters' status. After noting that the second-century testimony about the daughters of the apostle "trägt einen durchaus apokryphen Charakter" in comparison with the information in Acts 21 on the daughters of the evangelist, Corssen states that "es muss daher angenommen werden, dass die Töchter des Evangelisten unter Steigerung ihres Ruhmes und weiterer Ausschmückung ihrer Bedeutung als Töchter des Apostels in die nachapostolische Zeit versetzt sind." In Corssen's reconstruction Papias had no actual contact with these daughters of Philip and was duped both with regard to their identity and the very idea that they would transmit such strange tales as Papias attributes to them: "denn weder von den Töchtern des Evangelisten noch des Apostels würden wir glauben, dass sie solche Märchen in die Welt setzten, wie Papias und Quadratus gläubig verbreiteten." Corssen's view typifies a scholarly tradition that utilizes canonical materials to negate second-century witnesses that point to a broader stream of early Christian tradition.

[65] Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 145–46.

[66] The assumption that Philip emigrated from Caesarea to Hierapolis with his daughters poses no special difficulties. See, e.g., Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (trans. by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins; ed. R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 86; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 297.

preacher, precisely to the image of the presbyters derived from Papias' prologue (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.4). Thus he concludes that the authority of the physical daughters of a respected wandering preacher would be sufficient for Papias. For Körtner, in tradition-historical terms these women occupy the same level as the disciples of the presbyters.[67]

Given the fragmentary state of Papias' work, it appears hazardous to declare as Körtner does that it is inconceivable that Papias understood the father of the daughters of Philip to be the apostle. In any case Körtner's position appears to be based on a rather strained interpretation of the relation of *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9 to 3.39.4. He argues that the chronological references in 3.39.9 (κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς and κατ' αὐτόν) show that the apostle Philip numbered with Andrew and Peter in 3.39.4 is not in view in the later passage. But beyond his assertion that this is the case, it is unclear why such an interpretation should carry conviction. Nor is it clear how in "sociological" terms an apostle might be distinguished from an "evangelist."

The most natural reading of *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9 equates the Philip mentioned there with the Philip in 3.39.4. No cogent reason exists, therefore, to doubt that Papias presumed the apostolic identity of the Philip mentioned in 3.39.9. Körtner's interpretation is apparently governed by a need to conform Papias' information to that about the daughters of Philip in Acts 21:9, even though he insists elsewhere that Papias has no knowledge of Acts.[68] His ostensible presupposition that Luke provides the more reliable information fails to take into account factors that may have led to Luke's ambiguity concerning the identity of the Philip figure.

The argument presented so far suggests that the best solution to the impasse presented by the conflicting evidence regarding Philip the apostle/evangelist and his daughters is one that identifies the apostle with the evangelist.[69] The intent of this explanation is not to harmonize the evidence but to account for it. Zahn's idea of the

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[67] Note Schüssler Fiorenza's comment (*In Memory of Her*, 299, with reference to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.7–17): "Women prophets are thus acknowledged as transmitters of apostolic tradition."

[68] As Körtner (*Papias von Hierapolis*, 147) indicates, the citation of Acts 1:23 in *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.10 with respect to the Justus story is Eusebius' contribution and does not stem from Papias, who received his information from oral sources.

[69] With reference to the inhabitants of Asia Minor, Eduard Schwartz (*Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedaei*, 17 = idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 5:69–70) states: "Sie hielten selbstverständlich Philippus den 'Evangelisten' und den 'Jünger' für ein und dieselbe Person: die Differenzierung ist secundär."

growth of the status of the evangelist to the point where he was identified as the apostle may actually, though in a sense different from that which Zahn intended, explain the development of the traditions before us. If all of Luke's Philip traditions in Acts are connected with the evangelist, and if it was the evangelist and his daughters who were behind the Philip traditions of Asia Minor, then Philip the evangelist is effectively, if not in fact, Philip the apostle; the apostle as a separate figure would be no more than a phantom who inexplicably gained a place in the disciple lists. To state this conclusion in another way, it is more likely that the occurrence of the name Philip in the list of the Twelve is a reflection of the importance of the figure behind the traditions connected with the so-called evangelist than an independent reference to another, otherwise completely unknown Philip. This is the most economical solution and dispenses with the need to account for two identically named individuals who share much of the same profile. That the traditions which Luke takes up in Acts 8 have all the earmarks of the activities of an apostle will be established in detail in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

PHILIP IN SAMARIA: ACTS 8:4–25

The stories about Philip found in Acts 8 mark a transitional phase in Luke's narrative of Christian origins. Philip's role in the expansion of the gospel outside Jerusalem to Samaria (8:4–25) and to the "end of the earth" (8:26–40) is obviously significant in view of the commission given to the apostles in 1:8. But these momentous achievements are overshadowed and ignored as the narrative goes on to introduce Paul, who will become the missionary to the gentiles par excellence, and to portray the conversion of Cornelius by Peter as the major watershed in the movement of the gospel from the Jerusalem Jewish Christians to the gentiles. Yet the simple fact of Philip's inclusion in Luke's narrative already intimates that Luke possessed traditional material concerning this figure's activity and significance. Otherwise, the inclusion of these stories, which have no appreciable effect on the subsequent course of the narrative, would be inexplicable.

To move from the probable employment of traditional material concerning Philip to a delineation of its form, content, and *Sitz im Leben*, however, presents the interpreter with a formidable challenge. As is true of the utilization of traditional material elsewhere in Acts, the accounts in chapter 8 are stylistically Lukan. Therefore elements of tradition and composition are commingled and no longer readily separable. Furthermore, since the framework into which Luke has set the traditions available to him cannot be corroborated independently, one must reckon seriously with the likelihood that it has been devised primarily for narrative reasons in the service of various ideological and rhetorical goals. Of course this hardly distinguishes Luke from other ancient writers pursuing historical interests, since all historical accounts are based on the arrangement and development of a narrative based on a selective use of information.[1]

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[1] For a succinct perspective on Greek historiography, see Oswyn Murray, "History," in *Greek Thought: A Guide to Classical Knowledge* (ed. J. Brunschwig and G. E. R. Lloyd; trans. C. Porter et al.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 2000), 328–37. For a recent assessment of Luke's place in Hellenistic-Roman historiography, see Eckhard Plümacher, "TEPATEIA: Fiktion und Wunder in der hellenistisch-römischen Geschichtsschreibung und in der Apostelgeschichte," *ZNW* 89 (1998): 66–90.

In spite of the difficulties, there is something to be gained by looking at Acts 8 as a unit based essentially upon Philip traditions. Although exegetes in general do not deny the presence of such traditions, the attention of interpreters has often been distracted by such issues as Luke's focus upon the Jerusalem apostles (often with the corollary that traditions connected with the Hellenists have been suppressed), and whether Luke knew Simon the Magician as a "gnostic" figure. My examination of Luke's treatment of traditions about Philip in Acts 8 seeks not only to clarify the positive portrayal of this figure by Luke, but also to underline the significance of the figure celebrated by the stories behind Acts 8 in the history of earliest Christianity. This chapter will focus on the first segment of Philip material in Acts 8:4–25. Chapter three will then treat Luke's second major piece of Philip material in Acts 8:26–40 in relation to 8:4–25 and the references to Philip in Acts 6:1–7 and 21:8–9.

Acts 8:4–25: Setting and Structure

In Acts 8:4–25 Luke begins to chart the course of the first Christian mission outside Jerusalem. Prior to 8:4 all of the action in Luke's account has been set in Jerusalem where the apostles and the initial Christian community have been content to remain. According to Luke the death of Stephen marked the beginning of a great persecution (8:1), which dispersed this community (except for the apostles!) from Jerusalem throughout Judea and Samaria. For Luke, Philip's activity serves to illustrate the evangelistic endeavors of these otherwise anonymous missioners; further information concerning their activities is withheld until 11:19–26. The obvious significance of this outward movement is underscored by its correspondence to the programmatic prediction of the risen Jesus in 1:8 concerning the geographical advance of the Christian mission. Indeed, the two Philip stories presented in Acts 8 (8:5–13: Samaria; 8:26–39: an Ethiopian as a representative of the "end of the earth") dovetail so perfectly with Luke's geographical schema for the progress of the Christian mission that it is reasonable to suppose that they have given rise to Luke's conception.[2] Acts 8, then, is fundamentally concerned with Philip stories.

See also Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: Brill, 1992).

[2] The point here is that Luke composed 1:8 in light of his plan to incorporate

Luke's hand is visible in the framework that has been devised to incorporate the Philip traditions into the larger narrative. The transitional notice in 8:4[3] connects the account in 8:5–25 to the preceding narrative (8:1) and also looks ahead to 11:19–26. Thus 8:1, 4 and 11:19 share nearly identical phrasing highlighted by the use of the word διασπείρειν, which occurs in these passages alone in the New Testament:

8:1 ἐγένετο δὲ . . . διωγμὸς μέγας . . . πάντες δὲ *διεσπάρησαν* κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας
8:4 οἱ μὲν οὖν *διασπαρέντες* διῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον
11:19 οἱ μὲν οὖν *διασπαρέντες* ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Στεφάνῳ διῆλθον . . . λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον

Luke's separation of the action depicted in 8:4–25 and 11:19–24, which logically occurs simultaneously, provides an interlude within which to portray several momentous events (notably the conversions of Paul and Cornelius) which in Luke's view must precede the Hellenist breakthrough to the gentiles signaled in 11:20.[4] Such flexibility with regard to the placement of traditional material must guide the analysis of Luke's composition below.

In addition to anchoring the pericope within the larger context of Acts, 8:4 also functions along with 8:25 to frame the action that unfolds in 8:5–24.[5] The structure of the passage may be outlined as follows:

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the Philip traditions as illustrations of the spread of the gospel to Samaria and proleptically to the "end of the earth" as represented by Ethiopia. Documentation for Ethiopia as "the end of the earth" and a critique of competing views will be presented in the next chapter.

[3] μὲν οὖν is a favorite phrase for introducing a new story in Acts (cf. 1:6,18; 2:41; 5:41; etc.; it occurs 27 times in all).

[4] John T. Squires ("The Function of Acts 8.4–12.25," *NTS* 44 [1998]: 608–17) identifies Acts 8:4–12:25 as a "discrete and cohesive section" (p. 608) in which "Luke makes careful preparations for the 'turn to the gentiles' which takes place from chapter 13 onwards" (p. 616).

[5] Note that vss 4 and 25 share οὖν, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, and participles of verbs of saying with the object τὸν λόγον. Vs 25 appears to do double duty as it also functions along with vs 14 to frame the action within the subsection comprised of 8:14–25 (cf. vs 14: Ἱεροσόλυμα; Σαμάρεια; τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ/κυρίου). F. Scott Spencer (*The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations* [JSNTSup 67; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992], 131–32) treats 8:25 as the opening element of an intricate chiastic pattern that structures 8:25–40. But the verse serves more naturally to conclude the two main scenes in 8:4–24. It should be noted that Spencer's book engages in a very different exercise from the present study. For Spencer, Philip is not an apostle but the evangelist. Spencer's focus is avowedly synchronic, focusing on the final form of Acts to discover the role(s) that the character Philip plays in the narrative. On the one hand, Spencer's conclusions with regard to the positive

Introduction	8:4	The scattered ones (cf. 8:1; 11:19)
Scene one	8:5–8	Philip in Samaria (cf. 1:8; 6:5)
	8:9–11	Simon in Samaria
	8:12–13	Philip and Simon
Scene two	8:14–17	Apostles in Samaria
	8:18–24	Simon and Peter (and John)
Concluding summary	8:25	Apostles in Samaria

Beyond the natural cohesion offered by the subject matter, care has been taken to interlock the whole by the repetition of various words and phrases.

The Tendency of Luke's Account

It is highly likely that the role Philip plays in 8:5–13 as the first missionary to Samaria depends on pre-Lukan tradition. The surprising fact that Philip should be the first one mentioned to conduct such unprecedented evangelizing activity, given his rather inauspicious introduction in 6:5, lends plausibility to this assumption. Whether such a tradition reached Luke in oral or written form can no longer be determined. One cannot assume that in Acts Luke simply worked from a library of preexisting sources.[6] Given the diaphanous character of the report in 8:5–8, it may be that Luke has given this piece of tradition its first written form. In any case the possibility of reconstructing any putative underlying written source for these verses has been foreclosed by the thoroughly Lukan nature of the existing narrative.[7] As the succeeding analysis will demonstrate in some detail,

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nature of Luke's characterization of Philip are confirmed by my own investigation. His social-science observations on the Ethiopian eunuch pericope (Acts 8:26–40) are informative. On the other hand, Spencer combines a hesitancy to discuss the possible traditional basis of Luke's accounts with a penchant for making historical observations. Thus he assumes (pp. 249, 270) that Luke received his information about Philip from Philip himself. But this surmise sheds no light on the passages under examination. See my review in *JBL* 113 (1994): 160–62.

[6] As Martin Dibelius ("The First Christian Historian," in idem, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* [ed. H. Greeven; London: SCM, 1956], 124) notes, "he has to write here without predecessors, sometimes probably even without literary sources, and to see how to make a consecutive account of what he knows and what he can discover"; and, one might add, by what he can "contribute."

[7] On the well-known problem of identifying sources in Acts, see Jacques Dupont, *The Sources of Acts: The Present Position* (trans. K. Pond; London: Darton, Longman

Luke fleshes out the traditions he takes up in his own language and according to his own interests. These interests often involve the paralleling of actions and descriptions initially displayed in his Gospel with the actions and descriptions presented in the narrative of Acts (e.g., parallels between Jesus and the major characters of Acts are frequent).[8] There is a similar concern in drawing correspondences between the various figures within Acts itself.[9] Also noticeable is Luke's fondness for emulating the Septuagint both in terms of language and narrative setting.[10] To complicate matters further, it cannot be taken for granted that Luke only records what is known to him from sources or traditions. It is necessary to reckon with the likelihood that Luke has to a greater or lesser extent intervened creatively in the history of early Christianity in service of his narrative goals.[11]

& Todd, 1964), 39; Haenchen, *Acts*, 81–90, 117–21; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 80–85; and with reference to Acts 8:4–25, Barrett, *Acts*, 1:395.

[8] As noted by Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (2d ed., 1958; repr., London: SPCK, 1961), 231, and others.

[9] Ibid., 232.

[10] See, e.g., William K. L. Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I: The Acts of the Apostles* [5 vols.; 1920–33; ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979], 2:66–105; Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 219–24; Haenchen, *Acts*, 73–81; Eckhard Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller* (SUNT 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 38–72; Earl Richard, *Acts 6:1–8:4: The Author's Method of Composition* (SBLDS 41; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering; SBLSP 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 524–38; Bill T. Arnold, "Luke's characterizing use of the Old Testament in the Book of Acts," in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed. B. Witherington; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 300–323; Martin Meiser, "Das Alte Testament im lukanischen Doppelwerk," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus; BWANT 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 167–95. On the origin and original form of the Septuagint as well as the character of its translation, see Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2/1; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 161–88. For a recent survey of the history and current state of research on the Septuagint with annotated bibliographies, see Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), which, of course, notes the "fluidity and ambiguity of the term" Septuagint (p. 30).

[11] Such a procedure does not distinguish Luke from other ancient historians. For representative treatments of this topic, see Albert I. Baumgarten, "Invented Traditions of the Maccabean Era," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, *Judentum* (ed. P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 197–210; Erich S. Gruen, "Fact and Fiction: Jewish Legends in a Hellenistic Context," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* (ed. P. Cartledge et al.; HCS 26; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 72–88; Loveday C. A. Alexander, "Marathon or Jericho? Reading Acts in Dialogue with

Of particular significance in this regard is Ernst Haenchen's claim that Luke has systematically eliminated traditions connected with Philip and the Hellenists. This thesis is prompted above all by the sudden switch from Philip in 8:5–13 to Peter and John in 8:14–25 and the Samaritans' subsequent reception of the Spirit through the laying on of the apostles' hands (8:17). According to Haenchen this narrative arrangement represents Luke's implicit critique of Philip. It shows that in spite of the successful terms in which Philip's activity has just been portrayed, he lacked the most crucial qualification a groundbreaking missionary must have: the authority to impart the Spirit. Thus Haenchen concludes that an old tradition credited Philip with the conversion of Samaria but a later tradition, or more probably Luke himself, ousts Philip in favor of a representative of the legitimating body in Jerusalem.[12] Haenchen reinforces his case by highlighting indications elsewhere in Acts which suggest that tension between Philip and Peter plays a role beyond 8:4–25.[13] One first notes that according to 8:26–39, Philip converted and baptized the court official of the Candace (perhaps originally a story of the first baptism of a non-Jew,[14] but not so represented by Luke). Then in

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Biblical and Greek Historiography," in *Auguries: The Jubilee Volume of the Sheffield Department of Biblical Studies* (ed. D. J. A. Clines and S. D. Moore; JSOTSup 269; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 92–125; and Doron Mendels, "'Creative History' in the Hellenistic Near East in the Third and Second Centuries BCE: The Jewish Case," in idem, *Identity, Religion and Historiography: Studies in Hellenistic History* (JSPSup 24; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 357–64. Luther H. Martin's assessment ("History, historiography and Christian origins," *SR* 29 [2000]: 78) of the nature of historical evidence for early Christianity in general may also be applied to Luke's working procedures: "Our earliest historical evidence for 'Christian' groups is, of course, textual. . . . These surviving data represent the already redacted and thus collective views of various groups who produced, selected, collected, circulated and then preserved them in various anthologies. . . . These texts may tell us more about cognitive and social processes of production, selection and transmission than about events they purportedly recount." For concise observations on the textuality of the past, history as fictive narrative and intertextual product of discourse, and historical writing as a literary, ideological, and ethical act, see Fred W. Burnett, "Historiography," in Adam, *Handbook of Postmodern Biblical Interpretation*, 106–12.

[12] Haenchen, "Simon Magus," 277 and n. 14.

[13] Outside Acts one finds scenes of dispute and tension between Philip the apostle and Peter in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* 132:12–133:8 and *Acts of Philip* III, 1 (§ 30) (Peter and all the disciples and women on one side, Philip on the other). These texts will be treated in chapters five and six, respectively.

[14] So Haenchen, "Simon Magus," 277; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 67; Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (trans. J. Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 105. See the discussion below in chapter three.

8:40 one observes that Philip evangelized all of the coastal towns from Azotus northward until he reached Caesarea (where we meet him again in 21:8–9, along with his daughters). Haenchen points out that it was exactly in this territory, according to 9:32–10:48, that Peter was to enjoy great success as a missionary (Lydda: 9:32–35; Joppa: 9:36–43; Caesarea: 10:1–48). And it is in Caesarea, of course, in Luke's view, that the first gentile-Christian community is established following the conversion of Cornelius. Cornelius, then, vies with the Ethiopian for the honor of being the first non-Jew to be converted.[15] Haenchen goes on to ask whether Luke relied on any traditional material for the Cornelius story or whether he attempted, in the absence of any substantiating tradition, to formulate a "historical" portrayal which demonstrated the legitimacy of the gentile mission in terms that he could accept.[16] He concludes that the clear tendency in Luke's account is toward the removal of the Philip/Hellenist material to the extent this was deemed possible.[17]

Haenchen's proposal appears to explain the motivation behind the anomalous transition from Philip to Peter and John in 8:5–25 and the tendency in 8:18–24, which delays a decisive dealing with Simon until the apostles from Jerusalem arrive on the scene, and 8:25, which shows the apostles taking charge in the evangelization of the wider region of Samaria. His formulation stipulating the impossibility of transforming a Peter tradition into a Philip tradition would appear to be axiomatic: Had there been an original tradition that attributed the conversion of Samaria to Peter and John, a later tradition, which credited the same accomplishment to a "lesser figure," would hardly have arisen.[18] Haenchen's incisive observations certainly highlight the priority of the Philip traditions in Acts 8. That Luke deliberately constructed 8:5–25 to deal polemically with Philip as Haenchen supposes, however, can only be determined after a careful analysis of the narrative portrait of Philip developed by Luke in 8:5–8, 12–13. As will become clear, Haenchen's explanation runs into serious problems.

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[15] Haenchen, "Simon Magus," 277.

[16] Dupont (*Sources*, 39) observes that "two divergent traditions recount the foundation of the church of Caesarea: the first attributes it to Philip (8.4–40), the other to Peter (9.32–11.18)." See the comparison of the accounts of the conversions of the Ethiopian (8:26–40) and Cornelius (10:1–11:18) in chapter three below.

[17] Haenchen, "Simon Magus," 278.

[18] Ibid., 277.

The Narrative Portrait of Philip

As has been indicated, the report of Philip's activity in Samaria in Acts 8 has been constructed in three scenes: (1) Philip's success among the people of Samaria (vss 5–8), (2) the past success of Simon the Magician (vss 9–11), and (3) Philip's conversion of the Samaritans and Simon (vss 12–13). A cursory reading of these verses does not appear to reveal much of a specific nature about Philip or his activity apart from its geographical location and the name of a key convert. Yet Luke's narrative actually provides a wealth of data that permits an evaluation of the implied author's assessment of this figure. Possession of an accurate appraisal of Luke's disposition toward Philip will allow us to determine whether or not he has treated traditional information about him with any particular bias. This in turn will allow a proper evaluation of Haenchen's proposal.

The only information provided by the narrative about Philip prior to 8:5–13 was the inclusion of his name in the list of the Seven (6:5).[19] The placement of the narration of his activity that begins in 8:5 makes it clear, from a narrative standpoint, that (1) he is one of those driven from Jerusalem by persecution into Judea and Samaria (8:1); (2) he is not an apostle, since in Luke's view the apostles remain in Jerusalem (8:1); and (3) he goes about proclaiming the word (8:4).

Although no direct speech is provided for Philip, in contrast to Stephen, the characterization of the manner and content of his speaking is comparable to Lukan descriptions of the preaching of Jesus, the apostles, and Paul. In this way "the narrative emphasizes that Philip is performing the same kind of preaching mission as Jesus and the apostles."[20] In addition to this heuristic parallelism, however, one must not overlook the distinctive cast Luke has given to the message attributed to Philip vis-à-vis the apostles in Acts, which suggests that Luke may have attempted, through the formulation of his account, to convey Philip's narrative particularity, just as Stephen's speech marks his special place.

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[19] One notes a similar literary strategy at work with the introduction of Saul (7:58; 8:1, 3) in anticipation of his conversion story in chapter 9 (a preliminary cameo appearance, as it were). The treatment of Barnabas provides yet another example (4:36–37 in preparation for 9:27; 11:22–26; and following).

[20] Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 2, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 104.

In the following pages, a detailed examination of the language utilized in 8:4–13 will both demonstrate the Lukan nature of the account in its present form and highlight those features that point to the nature of the tradition that Luke utilized to construct his version of the events. Once this data is in hand, I will go on to examine some previous scholarly attempts to assess the nature of tradition and redaction in the larger unit of 8:4–25 before spelling out my own understanding.

In general terms Philip's activity is subsumed under the rubric "proclaiming the word" (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὸν λόγον, 8:4) by virtue of his inclusion among the dispersed in 8:1. Apparently synonymous with this is the statement in 8:5 that Philip ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Χριστόν to the inhabitants of Samaria. Surprisingly this is the first occurrence of κηρύσσειν[21] in Acts and the only time it appears with the object τὸν Χριστόν. The nature of Philip's proclamation is further elaborated in 8:12 as εὐαγγελίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Of course εὐαγγελίζεσθαι recalls Jesus' public preaching (Luke 20:1), especially that concerning the kingdom of God (Luke 4:43; 8:1; cf. 16:16).[22] In fact no object of proclamation better evokes for Luke the message of Jesus than that which heralds the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. The "kingdom of God" occurs in the Gospel no less than twenty-five times on the lips of Jesus[23] and typifies the focus of his public message (Luke 8:1; 9:11). Its first appearance in

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[21] κηρύσσειν: NT 60x; Luke 9x; Acts 8x. The verb describes the activity of Jesus in Luke (4:44; 8:1), which he extends to the Twelve (9:2). The risen Jesus defines the mission of the church as proclaiming repentance and forgiveness of sins (24:47). The pertinent instances of the verb in Acts are connected with the preaching of Paul (9:20; 19:13; 20:25; 28:31) and Peter's reference to the command of Jesus to preach to the people (10:42). All word statistics are based on the *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum graece von Nestle-Aland, 26. Auflage und zum Greek New Testament, 3rd Edition* (2d ed.; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1985).

[22] εὐαγγελίζεσθαι: NT 54x; Luke 10x; Acts 15x. It also describes a component of the mission of the Twelve (Luke 9:6). In Acts prior to its use here (8:4, 12), the verb was employed to summarize the daily practice of the apostles: διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (5:42). Subsequently it describes the activity of Peter and John (8:25), Philip in another setting (8:35 with the object τὸν Ἰησοῦν; 8:40), other dispersed Hellenists (11:20: τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν), and especially Paul (13:32; 14:7, 15, 21; 15:35: τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου; 16:10; 17:18: τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν). Barnabas is included in 14:7, 15, 21; while 15:35 refers to Paul, Barnabas, and many others. Also note the use of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι in 10:36.

[23] Luke 4:43; 6:20; 7:28; 8:10; 9:27, 60, 62; 10:9, 11; 11:20; 13:18, 20, 28, 29; 16:16; 17:20, 21; 18:16, 17, 24, 25, 29; 21:31; 22:16, 18. Βασιλεία alone stands for the complete phrase in Jesus' speech at 11:2; 12:31, 32. Jesus also refers to his own kingdom (22:29, 30), as does the criminal on the cross in 23:42. Other characters also speak of or are connected with the kingdom of God (14:15; 17:20; 19:11; 23:51).

the Gospel is clearly programmatic: εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (4:43). The proclamation of the kingdom of God is also delegated by Jesus to the Twelve (9:2), the seventy (10:9, 11), and anonymous others (9:60).[24] Thus it is noteworthy that in Acts, Philip is the first one specified as preaching about the kingdom of God. Moreover, Paul is the only other figure in Acts who is involved in preaching (κηρύσσειν) and testifying about the kingdom of God (19:8; 20:25: τὴν βασιλείαν; 28:23, 31).[25]

The other component of Philip's message is his proclamation of τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (8:12). Although "the name" is clearly an important Lukan emphasis throughout Acts, the formulation here with εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is unique; no one else proclaims the name as such. The closest parallels are to be found in the warnings given to the apostles not to speak or teach in the name of Jesus—implying that this is what they do (4:17, 18; 5:28, 40); Paul's commission to bring the name before gentiles, kings, and the people of Israel (9:15); and the references to Paul's speaking boldly in the name of Jesus/the Lord (9:27, 28).[26] Hans Conzelmann proposes that "to speak of the efficacy of the name is the specifically Lucan way of describing the presence of Christ. . . . The whole content of the Christian message can be summed up as 'the Kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ' (viii, 12)."[27] The foregoing analysis of the content and tenor of Philip's preaching as the narrative portrays it in 8:5–8, 12–13 is consistent with Conzelmann's determination. It must be concluded that Luke views Philip as second to no one in terms of the importance and accuracy of his message. Haenchen's notion of a Lukan downplaying of Philip is clearly vulnerable.

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[24] According to Tertullian (*De baptismo* 12.9), Jesus' words in Matt 8:21–22//Luke 9:59–60: "Let the dead bury their own dead," were addressed to an apostle. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3.25.3) identifies him as Philip. See Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (1909; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 517–18.

[25] Paul's speaking about the kingdom of God is described by a variety of verbs but never by εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. Note also the words of Paul and Barnabas in 14:22 about entering the kingdom of God. The remaining references in Acts are to the risen Jesus speaking about the kingdom of God (1:3) and the apostles' inquiry concerning the restoration of the kingdom to Israel (1:6).

[26] Elsewhere the name appears in connection with baptism (2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5; 22:16), healing (3:6, 16; 4:10, 30), exorcism (16:18), forgiveness of sins (10:43; 22:16), salvation (4:12), and suffering (5:41; 9:16; 21:13), among other uses.

[27] Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (trans. G. Buswell; London: Faber and Faber, 1960; repr., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 178. Note his additional relevant comments on pp. 177–78.

Philip's message is accompanied by σημεῖα (8:6) consisting of exorcisms and healings of the paralyzed and lame (8:7). The reaction of those witnessing Philip's σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας is amazement (8:13). Although σημεῖον is employed eleven times in the Gospel, it is not used to describe the miraculous deeds of Jesus.[28] In Acts, however, it is employed frequently for miraculous activity (usually in complex expressions) following its first appearance at Acts 2:19, where Luke has inserted it into the citation of Joel 3:3. In a departure from the precedent of the Gospel, it is included in a reference to the wonder-working activity of Jesus at 2:22 (δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν). In combination with τέρατα it characterizes the activity of the apostles (2:43; 5:12; cf. 4:30),[29] Stephen (6:8), Moses (7:36), and Paul and Barnabas (14:3; 15:12). Thus σημεῖα stands alone and unqualified only in the addition to Joel 3:3 at Acts 2:19 and here in 8:6 where it describes Philip's activity. While the expanded phrase σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας in 8:13 reflects the δυνάμεις καὶ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα of Jesus (2:22), the emphasis here is on Luke's ironic, negative assessment of Simon's reputed status as "the great power" (8:10).[30]

When attention is paid to the specific nature of Philip's σημεῖα as defined by the text in 8:7, it becomes apparent that this economically crafted characterization, while completely Lukan, once again yields evidence of the author's concern to portray Philip as distinctive in some way vis-à-vis the depictions of other characters in Acts. The text is composed of two roughly parallel members:

(1) πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐχόντων πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα
βοῶντα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ
ἐξήρχοντο
(2) πολλοὶ δὲ παραλελυμένοι καὶ χωλοὶ
ἐθεραπεύθησαν.

The grammar of this sentence is clearly confused as the author starts with πολλοί but continues as though πνεύματα were the subject of

[28] σημεῖον: NT 77x; Luke 11x; Acts 13x. In the Gospel, only in Luke 23:8 does this term indirectly refer to the activity of Jesus.

[29] With reference to Peter's healing of a lame man (3:1–10), the singular is used in the following expressions: γνωστὸν σημεῖον γέγονεν (4:16); τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως (4:22).

[30] See the discussion below. Δύναμις is used in the Gospel of Jesus' miracles at 10:13 and 19:37. In Acts it describes the extraordinary miracles of Paul (19:11).

ἐξήρχοντο.[31] Despite the anacoluthon, the parallel structure makes the sense clear:[32]

> many unclean spirits were exorcised,
> many paralyzed and lame were healed.

As was true of the content of his proclamation, Philip's exorcisms likewise repeat the characteristic actions of Jesus, who successfully confronted πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα[33] and δαιμόνια.[34] If Philip is distinguished by his proficiency at exorcism, his healing of the lame and paralyzed places him in even more select company. In the Gospel Jesus heals the paralyzed (Luke 5:17–26) and lame (Luke 7:22).[35] In Acts only Peter (3:1–10), Philip (8:7), and Paul (14:8–10) heal the lame, and only Philip (8:7) and Peter (9:32–35) heal the paralyzed. Philip's miraculous actions result in the baptism of those who believe (8:12–13). Philip's involvement in baptism is also referred to indirectly in 8:16 and portrayed in the account of his dealings with the Ethiopian (8:36–39a).

The blend of tradition and redaction in Luke's account is noticeable in several other elements of the structure and vocabulary of 8:5–8. The fact that Philip "goes down" (κατέρχεσθαι, 8:5) to the city of Samaria could be an indication that a traditional story of

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[31] See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1994), 312–13, for scribal and scholarly attempts to get around the anacoluthon.

[32] Haenchen, *Acts*, 302.

[33] πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα: Luke 4:36; 6:18; 8:29; 9:42. Apart from 8:7, πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα occurs elsewhere in Acts only at 5:16 in connection with the exorcismal practices of the apostles. The construction at Acts 5:16 appears to be based closely upon Luke 6:18. A further reference to an ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα occurs in Luke 11:24, where the transposition of noun and adjective in comparison with the other Gospel instances of the phrase coincides with its status as the only occurrence in Luke that is not paralleled in Mark; Luke 4:33 refers to a πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου (Mark 1:23 has ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ).

[34] δαιμόνια: Luke 4:35, 41; 8:33; 9:42; 11:14, 20; 13:32. That Luke understands πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα and δαιμόνια to be synonymous is clear from his substitution of the latter term for the former in his rendition of Mark 1:26 (Luke 4:35); 5:2, 13 (Luke 8:27, 33); 6:7 (Luke 9:1). Both terms occur together in Luke 8:29; 9:42. Jesus granted authority over demons to the Twelve (9:1); the seventy experienced a similar power (10:17). Note that Luke can portray exorcisms apart from the use of the terms discussed here (see, e.g., Paul in Acts 16:16–18). It is remarkable that in Acts δαιμόνιον appears but once and refers not to the usual demons but to foreign gods (17:18).

[35] Luke's special concern with the χωλοί is visible in the occurrence of the term in special Lukan material (Luke 14:13) and in its addition to Q (Luke 14:21; cf. Matt 22:10).

Philip's mission to Samaria presupposed that his journey originated in Jerusalem (one goes down from Jerusalem), as Luke's narrative makes explicit. While this is possible, the Lukan predilection for κατέρχεσθαι in Acts suggests that this particular word comes from Luke.[36] Indeed, the notion of Philip setting out from Jerusalem may very well be a Lukan touch, added to align the Philip material with his own conception of the unfolding of foundational events. Προσέχειν and ὄχλος (8:6) are found elsewhere in Luke-Acts, and ὁμοθυμαδόν is one of the author's favorite terms.[37] That the construction προσεῖχον . . . τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου in 8:6a is Lukan is suggested by its recurrence, in slightly varied form, in 16:14 where Lydia προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου. Προσέχειν is used to connect this section (8:5–8) with the one that follows (8:9–11) and also to heighten the contrast between Philip and Simon. On the combination ἀκούειν καὶ βλέπειν (vs 6), compare Acts 2:33 and 28:26. The reference to the πόλις in vs 8 refers back to vs 5 to frame the initial report of Philip's activity even as the phrase ἐν τῇ πόλει joins this section (8:5–8) to what follows when it is repeated in vs 9. The section is rounded off with the Lukan motif of joy (cf. 13:52; 15:3).[38]

In the midst of a wealth of redactional indications, it is in connection with the setting of the events described in 8:5–8 that the reference to Samaria stands out as a typical component of a local tradition. Luke reports that Philip's preaching takes place in [τὴν][39] πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας. Whether or not Luke possessed accurate geographical knowledge of Samaria cannot be decided by the presence of the definite article here, however, since it is a proper way to refer to the capital city of the region.[40] What is especially noteworthy in

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[36] κατέρχεσθαι: NT 16x; Luke 2x; Acts 13x. Elsewhere only at Jas 3:15. The picture of Philip setting out from Jerusalem may be shared by 8:26.

[37] προσέχειν: NT 24x; Luke 4x; Acts 6x. ὄχλος: Luke 41x; Acts 22x. ὁμοθυμαδόν: NT 11x; Acts 10x; Rom 15:6.

[38] χαρά: NT 59x; Luke 8x; Acts 4x. Note the thematic connection with 8:39, where the Ethiopian "proceeds on his way, rejoicing."

[39] Some MSS (C D E Ψ Majority) omit the article, setting the narrative in an unnamed location; P^{74} ℵ A B 1175 *pc* have the article. Conzelmann (*Acts*, 62) supposes that Luke portrays the region of Samaria as having only one city of the same name.

[40] The question of Luke's location is fraught with uncertainty. But there do seem to be enough instances of Lukan confusions with respect to the customs and geography of Palestine to support the general observation that his own geographical and social location was far removed from the setting of the first half of Acts. For an intriguing proposal on Luke's provenance, see François Bovon, "La pluie et le beau temps (Luc 12, 54–56)," in idem, *Révélations et écritures: Nouveau Testament et littérature*

this report of Philip's activity is that while he proclaims a message identical with that of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke and performs equivalent miracles, he goes beyond the bounds of Jesus' missionary territory when he does these things in Samaria. Although individual Samaritans are portrayed in the Gospel in a favorable light (Luke 10:33; 17:16), the Samaritans in general will not receive Jesus because of his orientation toward Jerusalem (9:52–53), and Jesus is depicted as studiously avoiding any trespassing of Samaria's border (17:11). The words of the risen Jesus in Acts 1:8 make it clear that this hesitancy will change and that Samaria will be an important stage in the spread of the mission from Jerusalem to the end of the earth.

That such a significant missionary breakthrough should be accomplished by a seemingly minor figure warrants the assumption that Luke was in possession of a tradition recounting Philip's activities in Samaria. The fact that such a tradition existed under the name of Philip and remained in circulation in Luke's day surely must indicate that the pre-Lukan version was told about a founding figure of some renown. Whether this tradition placed Philip's mission among gentiles or among Samaritans is unclear.[41] To be sure Luke understands the mission to be among the latter; there is no trace here of the Hellenistic city of Samaria/Sebaste (the gentiles must wait for Peter in 10:1–11:18).[42] Perhaps he favors Samaria over Sebaste because

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apocryphe chrétienne (MdB 26; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1993), 61; see also idem, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, vol. 1, *Lk 1,1–9,5* (EKK 3/1; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), 22–24; idem, *L'Évangile selon saint Luc (1,1–9,50)* (CNT 3a; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1991), 27–29.

[41] Alan D. Crown ("Redating the Schism between the Judaeans and the Samaritans," *JQR* 82 [1991]: 17–50) argues that in many respects the Samaritans of the first century CE were a Jewish sect. Jacob Jervell ("The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel: The Understanding of the Samaritans in Luke-Acts," in idem, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972], 113–32) insists that Luke views the Samaritans as Jews.

[42] Haenchen (*Acts*, 301–2) notes that Hans Hinrich Wendt argued that Luke's reference could only refer to "Sebaste (the old Samaria)," while Julius Wellhausen, Theodor Zahn, and Eduard Meyer were equally insistent that Shechem was intended, "as Sebaste had become wholly pagan." On this last point, however, see Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 1:234–35. See the discussion of "Samaria-Sebaste" in Jürgen Zangenberg, *Frühes Christentum in Samarien: Topographische und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien zu den Samarientexten im Johannesevangelium* (TANZ 27; Tübingen: Francke, 1998), 47–55, who (p. 56) observes in summary: "Das heidnische Element war in ntl. Zeit vor allem in der Stadt Sebaste präsent (später durch die Neugründung Neapolis verstärkt), dürfte sich aber nicht darauf beschränkt haben." Pieter W. van der Horst's observation ("Samaritans and Hellenism," *SPhilo* 6 [1994]: 36) that "we have to envisage a situation in which the majority of the Samaritans understood and even spoke

it is the biblical name. It is not out of the question that Luke's interest in Samaria in the Gospel is related to his possession of a report about Philip's early and successful missionary activity there, since the Philip narrative is the only place in Acts where the indications of the Gospel references reach their goal.[43]

This overview of Philip's deeds suggests a conclusion in accord with that drawn from the survey of his proclamation. Although it is quite schematic, it is clear that Philip follows directly in the line of Jesus with respect to the kinds of signs that he performs and the success that he enjoys. Further, his wonder-working activities put him on a par with the apostles and Paul, while at the same time the description of his deeds is suggestive of his particular contribution. Such a carefully constructed positive portrait of Philip calls into question Haenchen's contention that Luke viewed Philip as a "subordinate outsider" and did everything possible to suppress traditions

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Greek" fits nicely with the profile of the presumably Greek-speaking Philip (see the discussion of John 12:20–21 in chapter four below). See also idem, "The Samaritan Languages in the Pre-Islamic Period," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 178–92. For more thorough discussion of issues connected with the Samaritans along with pertinent bibliography, in addition to Zangenberg, *Frühes Christentum in Samarien*, who provides an extensive bibliography on pp. 235–70, see Alan D. Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989); Ferdinand Dexinger and Reinhard Pummer, eds., *Die Samaritaner* (Wege der Forschung 604; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992); and the recent studies by Martina Böhm, *Samarien und die Samaritai bei Lukas: Eine Studie zum religionshistorischen und traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der lukanischen Samarientexte und zu deren topographischer Verhaftung* (WUNT 2/111; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); and Ingrid Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis* (JSOTSup 303; Copenhagen International Seminar 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). See also Sean Freyne, "Behind the Names: Samaritans, *Ioudaioi*, Galileans," in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (ed. S. G. Wilson and M. Desjardins; SCJ 9; Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 389–401; and John P. Meier, "The Historical Jesus and the Historical Samaritans: What can be Said?" *Bib* 81 (2000): 202–32. Note the analysis of archaeological discoveries on the western part of the acropolis of Samaria-Sebaste from the time of Herod the Great in Dan Barag, "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste," *PEQ* 125 (1993): 3–18.

[43] Pierre Haudebert ("La Samarie en *Luc - Actes*: Lc 9,51-56 - Ac 8,4-8," *Impacts: Revue de l'Université Catholique de l'Ouest* [1994]: 32) concludes that the two pericopes featuring Samaria in Luke 9:51–56 and Acts 8:4–8 "jouent un rôle important dans l'ensemble de l'oeuvre lucanienne, contribuant à forger son unité à la fois littéraire et théologique." The central section of Luke-Acts (Luke 19:28–Acts 7:60) which takes place in Jerusalem is found within a larger whole depicting movement from Samaria (Luke 9:51–56) to Samaria (Acts 8:1, 4–8). "Mais cette inclusion ne relève pas du seul artifice littéraire, elle porte un message très important dans la théologie lucanienne si l'on convient que les samaritains constituent en quelque sorte un moyen terme entre judaïsme et paganisme; ils ont en effet en commun avec les juifs la Torah, mais ces derniers les considèrent comme des païens."

connected with him. Clearly another solution is needed that accounts for the anomalies in the text that Haenchen has identified with respect to the tension between Philip and Peter, while at the same time acknowledging that Luke has in almost every respect accorded the character of Philip the highest level of narrative care.

The Narrative Portrait of Simon

Before moving on to an assessment of 8:14–25, it is essential to take stock of the narrative portrait that Luke develops of Simon the Magician in 8:9–11.[44] Luke brings Simon forward by means of a flashback. As was the case with 8:5–8, Lukan language and syntax are prominent in this section. The introductory formula (ἀνὴρ δέ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων) is typical of Luke's practice elsewhere.[45] Προϋπάρχειν occurs in the New Testament only at Luke 23:12, where it is used with a participle, and here where it may be intended to go with

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[44] Michael A. Williams (*Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996], 165) notes that "our sources for the figure of Simon Magus and for the religious tradition(s) that are associated with his name are notoriously confusing and even conflicting." Two succinct sketches of Simon may be found in Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 294–98; and Robert F. Stoops, "Simon, 13," *ABD* 6:29–31. There is a vast amount of bibliography on Simon Magus. For a start, in addition to the studies cited in the notes that follow, see Haenchen, *Acts*, 302 n. 7, and the other commentaries *in loc.* Bibliographic guidance is also available in Wayne A. Meeks, "Simon Magus in Recent Research," *RelSRev* 3 (1977): 137–42; Kurt Rudolph, "Simon – Magus oder Gnosticus? Zum Stand der Debatte," *TRu* 42 (1977): 279–359. On Simon and Simonianism in the Nag Hammadi texts, see Hans-Martin Schenke, "Gnosis: Zum Forschungsstand unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der religionsgeschichtlichen Problematik," *VF* 32 (1987): 11–17. See especially the recent work by Florent Heintz, *Simon 'Le Magicien': Actes 8, 5–25 et l'accusation de magie contre les prophètes thaumaturges dans l'antiquité* (CahRB 39; Paris: Gabalda, 1997); and the article in dialogue with Heintz by Cécile and Alexandre Faivre, "Rhétorique, histoire et débats théologiques: A propos d'un ouvrage sur Simon 'le magicien,'" *RevScRel* 73 (1999): 293–313. See also Mark Edwards, "Simon Magus, the Bad Samaritan," in *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (ed. M. J. Edwards and S. Swain; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 69–91; Gerard Luttikhuizen, "Simon Magus as a Narrative Figure in the Acts of Peter," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter: Magic, Miracles and Gnosticism* (ed. J. N. Bremmer; Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 39–51; Tamás Adamik, "The Image of Simon Magus in the Christian Tradition," in Bremmer, *Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, 52–64.

[45] In Acts compare 5:1, 34; 9:10, 33, 36; 10:1; 16:1, 14; 18:2, 7, 24; 19:24; 20:9; 21:10.

both μαγεύων and ἐξιστάνων.[46] Μαγεύειν (vs 9) and μαγεία (vs 11) are found only here in the New Testament. Ἐξίστασθαι appears in vss 9, 11, and 13, binding together the juxtaposed scenes of the past and present and highlighting the ironic reversal of Simon's situation. The phrase εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν (vs 9) is Luke's construction, as is clear by comparison with 5:36 (εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν), and reflects his negative judgment upon the acclamation of Simon by the Samaritans as ἡ δύναμις μεγάλη.[47] Justin, who was himself from Samaria, claimed (*1 Apol.* 26.3; *Dial.* 120.6) that Simon was revered by almost all the Samaritan people as the highest God.[48] Luke's addition of καλουμένη in the sentence οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη (8:10), in line with his practice elsewhere,[49] shows that he understood

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[46] So Conzelmann, *Acts*, 62–63. BDF § 414(1) takes the participles as circumstantial. Note the use of ὑπάρχειν with the participle in vs 16.

[47] According to Haenchen (*Acts*, 303) the title "the great power" was a Simonian designation for the supreme deity (note that the English translation of Haenchen's commentary incorrectly has "a Samaritan designation"). On the title, see Karlmann Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis* (WUNT 16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1974), 104–5; Gerd Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis* (GTA 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 47. Beyschlag and Lüdemann disagree on the implications this title has for reconstructing Simon's claim (a "divine man" versus a "divinity").

[48] Justin's estimation of the extent of Simon's influence in Samaria (*1 Apol.* 26.3: "Nearly all the Samaritans and even a few among other nations confess that one as the first god and worship him" [my translation]; Καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες μὲν Σαμαρεῖς, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογοῦντες [ἐκεῖνον καὶ] προσκυνοῦσι·) is close to Luke's description of Simon's appeal in Acts 8:9–11. But Justin adds other details, and fails to mention either Philip or Peter! See the treatment of Justin and Simonianism in Bruce Hall, "From John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabbah," in Crown, *The Samaritans*, 43–50. Hall (p. 47) notes that Justin may have left Samaria at an early age and, since he was a gentile (cf. *Dial.* 92) from Flavia Neapolis (see *1 Apol.* 1), that he was not "well acquainted with any members of the Samaritan ethnic group. . . . It is quite possible that his claim that in his own time almost all Samaritans were followers and worshippers of Simon was based merely upon an observation that Simonianism was strong among his Gentile acquaintances in Samaria." Hall (p. 50) argues that "it is quite possible . . . that the Simonian movement throughout its history was a basically Gentile movement and that the author of the Acts of the Apostles was wrong when he represented Simon as winning converts among the members of the Samaritan ethnic group in Samaria." See also Bruce C. Hall, "The Samaritans in the Writings of Justin Martyr and Tertullian," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'études Samaritaines: Tel Aviv, April 11–13, 1988* (ed. A. Tal and M. Florentin; Tel Aviv: Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1991), 115–22. While it is not unlikely that Luke's knowledge at this point might be deficient, our knowledge of the "Simonian movement" is such that little at all can be said. See below.

[49] See Acts 1:12, 23; 3:11; 9:11; 10:1; 13:1; 15:22, 37; 27:8, 14, 16.

μεγάλη as part of a title;[50] he has probably contributed τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. Luke 22:69) as well. The phrase ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου (vs 10) is a construction familiar from the Septuagint (e.g., Gen 19:11; cf. Acts 26:22). Ἱκανός (vs 11) is another of Luke's favorite terms;[51] for comparison with the expression here, note 14:3: ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον.

A key issue is whether traditional information about Simon, his title, and his acclaim in Samaria has been added by Luke on the basis of information obtained separately from the report about Philip, or whether it has come to him already connected with the Philip story.[52] Some scholars suppose that Luke introduces this material here to prepare for 8:18–24: the controversy between Peter and Simon. In this case Luke sets the scene already within the Philip story to prepare for a traditional piece documenting an encounter between Peter and Simon. That Simon should be associated with Peter in a competition story of sorts is a connection supported by later sources.[53] Nevertheless, as will be seen in the next section, Luke is responsible for bringing Peter into Samaria, which suggests that he is also responsible for bringing Peter and Simon the Magician together. Traditional information that would confirm Peter's activity in Samaria is lacking. Consequently, it seems preferable to suppose that Simon was already associated with Philip in the pre-Lukan tra-

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[50] Haenchen, *Acts*, 303; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 63.

[51] ἱκανός: NT 39x; Luke 9x; Acts 18x.

[52] Proponents can be found for both views. C. K. Barrett ("Light on the Holy Spirit from Simon Magus [Acts 8, 4–25]," in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* [ed. J. Kremer; BETL 48; Gembloux: Duculot; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979], 284), for example, concludes that the pre-Lukan tradition did not connect Philip and Simon; see also idem, *Acts*, 1:396. This is Haenchen's view (*Acts*, 307) as well. Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 98), on the other hand, finds a connection prior to Luke to be probable. The latter view is also held by Axel von Dobbeler, "Mission und Konflikt: Beobachtungen zu προσέχειν in Act 8,4–13," *BN* 84 (1996): 16–22. This is now incorporated in idem, *Der Evangelist Philippus in der Geschichte des Urchristentums: Eine prosopographische Skizze* (TANZ 30; Tübingen: Francke, 2000). The latter volume was published while my own volume was under review by the Novum Testamentum series editors. It considers many of the same issues as the present work, albeit with different emphases and controlling hypotheses and without the supposition of a single Philip figure. I have not been able to reflect its results here beyond basic references to his treatment at several places in my notes. Von Dobbeler is unaware of my 1993 Harvard dissertation upon which the present volume is based, or the positions taken in Christopher R. Matthews, "Philip and Simon, Luke and Peter: A Lukan Sequel and Its Intertextual Success," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering; SBLSP 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 133–46.

[53] See the *Acts of Peter* 31–32; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.13–15; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.20.2–3.

dition;[54] otherwise Luke would have been able to introduce him directly with Peter.[55] If Luke's tradition concerned only Philip and Simon, as seems probable, then one might argue along with Haenchen that Luke has subverted the original outline of the story in order to reserve a decisive victory over Simon for the apostles. A further issue, which has provoked a good deal of scholarly controversy, is whether or not Luke knew Simon as a "gnostic." If he did, one could argue that by presenting him merely as a magician Luke effectively defames him.[56] About all that is certain is that the conflicts with Simon in 8:4–25 contribute to a subsidiary theme of Acts: the inferiority of magic to Christian power (cf. 13:6–12; 19:13–20).[57]

In 8:12–13 the result of an encounter between Simon and Philip is reported: Simon becomes a believer. The Lukan style of Philip's preaching has already been demonstrated. Simon's transformation is related in quite emphatic terms: ἐπίστευσεν, βαπτισθεὶς ἦν, προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἐξίστατο. Simon's conversion could fit well as the punch line of an older propaganda story which was generated to demonstrate the power of Philip over one of his regional rivals and to build up the prestige of those who were the heirs of Philip's mission in Samaria.[58] Simon's amazement at Philip's "great miracles/

[54] The pre-Lukan tradition behind Acts 8:5–13 may itself have gone through several stages, the first of which may have been a story concerned simply with Philip's success in Samaria.

[55] So Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 98.

[56] This is the view of Gerd Lüdemann, "The Acts of the Apostles and the Beginnings of Simonian Gnosis," *NTS* 33 (1987): 423. R. McL. Wilson ("Simon and Gnostic Origins," in Kremer, *Actes des Apôtres*, 490), on the other hand, claims that "all attempts so far made have failed to bridge the gap between the Simon of Acts and the Simon of the heresiologists." Lüdemann's article is in part a rejoinder to Wilson's judgment, which is quoted (see Lüdemann, "Beginnings of Simonian Gnosis," 420). In my opinion Wilson's view is still valid, notwithstanding Lüdemann's erudition. See n. 92 below.

[57] See Hans-Josef Klauck, *Magie und Heidentum in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* (SBS 167; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), esp. 24–35 on Acts 8:4–25; this volume now appears in English with a completely revised text that considers secondary literature up to 1999 as *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: The World of the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. B. McNeil; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), in which the relevant section appears on pp. 13–23. See also Melissa Aubin, "Beobachtungen zur Magie im Neuen Testament," *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 7 (2001): 16–24. It is fair to conclude that Luke effectively employs "magic" as a "labeling device."

[58] So Morton Smith ("The Account of Simon Magus in Acts 8," in *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume: On the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday. English Section* [2 vols.; Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1965], 2:736), although he does not specify anything about followers of Philip: "This is a piece of Christian

powers" (δυνάμεις μεγάλαι) completes a fiercely ironic play on his earlier title, "the great power" (ἡ δύναμις μεγάλη). Although προσκαρτερεῖν appears to be a good Lukan term,[59] the devotion it implies (see 10:7) is curious in view of the cursing of Simon by Peter that is narrated subsequently.

The Interpretative Issues

As has become clear, the problems involved in assessing the combination of tradition and redaction in Acts 8:5–25 center on the shift from Philip, who functions as the main character in 8:5–13, to Peter, who assumes this position in 8:14–25, and the presence of Simon in both of these sections.[60] The account of Philip's successful preaching mission in Samaria in 8:5–13, including his transformative impact upon Simon (vs 13), is supplemented in 8:14–25 in the most unusual way. With no trace of Philip, Peter and John emerge from Jerusalem and are instrumental in the Samaritans' reception of the Spirit, which inexplicably had not accompanied their baptism by Philip in the name of the Lord Jesus (8:14–17)! Then Simon, whose conversion was spelled out in no uncertain terms in 8:13 (and whose reception of the Spirit is logically included in 8:14–17), steps forward and profanely offers the apostles money when he witnesses the giving of the Spirit through their hands. How and to what extent has Luke appropriated traditional information in the construction of 8:5–25?

Various options have been explored in the history of scholarship on this question. Some have reckoned with an exclusively Petrine tradition, others have insisted that the core of this passage goes back to a tradition of Philip's activity in Samaria. Still others have argued for various combinations of traditions connected with Philip, Peter,

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propaganda against the followers of Simon." Rudolph (*Gnosis*, 297) points out that "for the historical Simon it must undoubtedly be assumed that he founded a gnostic community in Samaria which was considered by expanding Christianity a serious competitor, especially as the Simonians themselves annexed Christian doctrines and thus threatened to subvert the Christian communities, as did most of the later gnostics." See von Dobbeler, *Der Evangelist Philippus*, 58–67, who suggests that inner-Christian controversy underlies the depiction of conflict with Simon in Acts 8:4–25 where Simon represents a Samaritan variant of Christianity.

[59] προσκαρτερεῖν: NT 10x; Acts 6x. On the periphrasic construction in Acts, see Haenchen, *Acts*, 149 n. 7.

[60] See Dietrich-Alex Koch, "Geistbesitz, Geistverleihung und Wundermacht: Erwägungen zur Tradition und zur lukanischen Redaktion in Act 8 5–25," *ZNW* 77 (1986): 67–68.

and Simon. The following sample of the interpretative possibilities will provide a critical context within which to assess the relation between tradition and redaction in this passage. Rather than attempt a comprehensive survey of opinion, I will trace the evolution of a particular approach to the interpretation of this text in order to contrast it with a strong challenge in the following section.

Hans Waitz, in a classic example of older source-critical studies, expends a great deal of effort seeking to demonstrate the existence of a "Petrine *Grundschrift*" underlying Luke's account in 8:5–25.[61] In his opinion the preaching and miracle working portrayed in 8:5–13 originally depicted actions of Peter and have been secondarily attributed to Philip. According to Waitz even the story of the conversion of the Ethiopian official (8:26–40) was originally a section of an older *Acts of Peter.* He reasons that Luke was forced to substitute Philip for Peter in these instances because of his view that the apostles remained in Jerusalem (8:1) at the onset of the persecution that introduces the action in 8:4–40.[62] Although Waitz's argument in support of a "Petrine *Grundschrift*" will be found wanting below, his idea that Luke's restriction of the apostles to Jerusalem has influenced the succeeding narrative may hold explanatory value for Luke's failure to identify Philip as an apostle in the stories of Acts 8.

Julius Wellhausen takes a position diametrically opposed to that of Waitz: It is Philip's presence that is rooted in 8:5–25, while "Peter is only a literary intruder."[63] Consequently Wellhausen identifies 8:14–18a as a Lukan addition. Verse 18b ("he [Simon] offered money") connects up with Simon's amazement at Philip's miracles in 8:13, revealing the original story, which depicted Simon's offer of money to Philip for the authority (ἐξουσία) to heal the sick.[64] Martin Dibelius essentially seconds Wellhausen's treatment: "Originally, Simon probably

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[61] Hans Waitz, "Die Quelle der Philippusgeschichten in der Apostelgeschichte 8,5–40," *ZNW* 7 (1906): 340–55. The view that Luke in 8:4–25 depends on an older variant of the tradition of a struggle between Simon Peter and Simon Magus is also entertained, for example, by Gottfried Schille, *Anfänge der Kirche: Erwägungen zur apostolischen Frühgeschichte* (BEvT 43; Munich: Kaiser, 1966), 73–74; see also Koester, *Introduction*[2], 2:330. The alternative to the arguments in support of a source underlying 8:9–24 will be treated below.

[62] Waitz, "Die Quelle," 352–53.

[63] Wellhausen, *Apostelgeschichte,* 15. The description of Peter as a "literary intruder" is credited to Eduard Schwartz, *Zur Chronologie des Paulus* (NGWG; Berlin: Weidmann, 1907), 263–99 = idem, *Gesammelte Schriften,* 5:124–69.

[64] Wellhausen (*Apostelgeschichte,* 15) cites Matt 10:8 ("you received without payment; give without payment"), implying that the point of the original story was to reject Simon for desiring to profiteer on the basis of Christian healing.

asked Philip himself if he could buy the gift of performing miracles and was refused by him; but our text misses the point of this refusal as it takes place in an atmosphere half of cursing and half of regret and with no result."[65]

Ernst Haenchen suggests that the stories of Philip and Simon were originally separate but were joined prior to Luke to illustrate Philip's great success with the conversion of Simon.[66] He expresses agreement with the opinions of Wellhausen and Dibelius that the original version of this story included Simon's offer of money to Philip for the ability to perform miracles. Thus 8:14–25 is taken to be a Lukan construction which elaborates the tradition in order to make two points. In 8:14–17 Luke makes it clear that "the mission to the Samaritans was not completed by any subordinate outsider, but was carried out in due form by the legal heads of the Church in person."[67] Luke's continuation of the Simon story in 8:18–24 makes the point that "the bestowal of the Spirit is a *divine* gift."[68] In Haenchen's view the Simon episode allowed Luke (as in 13:6–12; 19:13–20), apart from any interest in Philip or Peter, the possibility "of vividly illustrating the superiority of Christian miracles over the magical practices current in the area and of demonstrating the antithesis between the power of God and demonic wizardry."[69] It is just possible that our knowledge of Simon's later career in Christian texts as an arch-heretic has prevented us from identifying Luke's primary concern in 8:18–24 as the humiliation of an unscrupulous magician.

Gerd Lüdemann detects "the tradition of a spirit-filled activity of the preacher Philip in Samaria" in Acts 8:5–8, although the language of the section "shows Luke's influence."[70] Indeed, as has been

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[65] Martin Dibelius, "Style Criticism of the Book of Acts," in idem, *Studies*, 17.

[66] Haenchen, *Acts*, 307; idem, "Simon Magus," 278–79.

[67] Haenchen, *Acts*, 306. It is probably better to accent the intervention of Jerusalem as opposed to the apostles, as the similar scenes in 11:1–18 and 11:22–24 suggest; see n. 88 below.

[68] Ibid., emphasis original.

[69] Ibid., 308. Susan R. Garrett (*The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 75) argues that "Luke is concerned to portray Simon in such a way that readers will recognize the 'magician' as a satanic figure; once such recognition is made it becomes apparent that the account is not primarily about magic, but about the downfall of a servant of the devil." In this way, Garrett claims, Luke shows Christians that they have authority over Satan. But this intention, if it is present, is surely secondary.

[70] Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 94, 98.

shown above, the phrasing of this passage in linguistic terms is thoroughly Lukan.[71] The situation in 8:9–13 is hardly any different, although Lüdemann is able to identify the title "the great power" (ἡ δύναμις μεγάλη) as a traditional acclamation for Simon.[72] With respect to the goal of this tradition, understood as a component in a cycle of stories about Philip, Lüdemann concludes that it "contained not only an account of the successful mission to the Gentiles in Samaria but also an account of the victory over the god of the Simonians."[73] Lüdemann judges the scene in 8:14–17 to be "redactional in both language and content."[74] The same opinion applies both to 8:18–24 and to the summary statement in 8:25.[75] By crediting 8:18–24 entirely to Luke, Lüdemann breaks from the analyses of Wellhausen, Dibelius, and Haenchen, which saw in the scene between Peter and Simon the remnants of the conclusion of a traditional story concerning Philip and Simon. Otherwise, all of these critics find the presence of Peter in Acts 8:14–25 to be clearly connected to Luke's redactional activity.

Dietrich-Alex Koch challenges this finding, claiming to detect a traditionally based Peter-Simon scene underlying 8:18–24.[76] His argument

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[71] As the analysis of 8:4–13 above shows, it is possible to generate pages of statistics to demonstrate the entirely Lukan nature of the vocabulary and syntax of Acts 8:4–25. Among the numerous commentaries and articles that supply such information, see particularly Haenchen, *Acts*, 301–5; Koch, "Geistbesitz," 68–72; and Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 94–97.

[72] Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis*, 47; idem, *Early Christianity*, 98.

[73] Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 99. Although I agree with most aspects of Lüdemann's analysis, I do not share his certainty regarding the nature of "Simonian" religion in the first century CE. More on this below.

[74] Ibid., 96. Among those who reject such a judgment are Nikolaus Adler, *Taufe und Handauflegung: Eine exegetisch-theologische Untersuchung von Apg 8, 14–17* (NTAbh 19/3; Münster: Aschendorf, 1951); and Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Apg 1–12* (EKK 5; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), 271.

[75] Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 96–98.

[76] Koch, "Geistbesitz." Patrick L. Dickerson ("The Sources of the Account of the Mission to Samaria in Acts 8:5–25," *NovT* 39 [1997]: 210–34) argues that Luke utilizes three sources in 8:5–25 and concludes (p. 234) that "the first is the story of Philip the Evangelist converting the Samaritans and Simon (8:5–13). The second is the story of Peter and John laying hands on some disciples who had been baptized εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (8:14–17). The third is the story of Peter defeating Simon (8:18–24)." I find this analysis unpersuasive for a number of reasons (see Matthews, "Luke's Intertextual Heritage," 215–16), principally the supposition that information from later heresiological sources about Simon can assist in ferreting out Luke's sources here, and overconfidence in the possibility of distinguishing preexisting source material from Lukan redaction and composition. Koch

must be examined carefully, since it effectively minimizes the extent and importance of the Philip material in Acts 8:4–25. Of course the just completed review of 8:4–13 already calls Koch's stance into question, not least in connection with the implied author's markedly positive appraisal of Philip. But the key lies in the analysis of 8:14–25 and the determination of what this passage implies about the tradition behind 8:5–13. It will be worthwhile to examine Koch's study in detail in order to determine whether his position in fact substantiates a tradition involving Simon Peter and Simon the Magician. Koch's argument will first be set out, with occasional comments, followed by a point-by-point response to the main elements of his position.

Expansion of the Philip-Simon Tradition

In the first part of his study, Koch assesses the presence of tradition and redaction in 8:5–25 and lists the following as the pre-Lukan elements that come into view: (1) a general report concerning the missionary activity of Philip in Samaria; (2) a report about the activity and worship of Simon in Samaria; and (3) the portrayal of a conflict between Peter and Simon "Magus."[77] I agree in general with the first two points, with the proviso that they may be components of a single pre-Lukan tradition. It is the third point that elicits surprise. While Koch offers a considered analysis of 8:5–8 and 8:9–11 to substantiate his claims for items one and two, he simply posits the conflict between Peter and Simon as traditional in lieu of any exegetical considerations. The only preparation for this move is an abrupt appeal to oral tradition in the context of his argument for the Lukan character of 8:22–24. There Koch judges the ambiguous conclusion to the conflict between Peter and Simon in 8:24 (along with 8:22–23) to be Lukan, since it is incompatible with an "oral tradition" of a sharp conflict.[78] Koch does not share with the reader how the presence of oral tradition behind this scene has been detected. His further assumption that this "oral tradition" concerned a "sharp conflict"

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prudently avoids claims about the isolation of sources. Von Dobbeler (*Der Evangelist Philippus*, 54–55) discerns two traditional reports underlying Luke's account consisting of Philip's mission in Samaria inclusive of the conversion of Simon, and a confrontation between Peter and Simon.

[77] Koch, "Geistbesitz," 72.

[78] Ibid., 71.

brings to mind later traditions about Peter's struggles with Simon "Magus."[79] Have such later traditions exerted some influence on Koch's assumptions about the tradition known by Luke?[80]

After noting the failure of attempts to trace the three traditional elements identified in 8:5–25 (i.e., a report about Philip, a report about Simon, a conflict between Peter and Simon) to a single, self-contained tradition, Koch briefly sketches the views of representatives of the two major scholarly reconstructions that have come forward. Haenchen's comments on 8:5–25 between 1952 and 1973 are used to characterize the position that sees the tradition in this passage connected exclusively with Philip and Simon. The main problem with this view, according to Koch, is the gap between the pre-Lukan tradition and the Lukan version. That is to say Luke has replaced Philip with Peter and John, introducing figures that had no foothold in his tradition and consequently transforming the subject of the conflict with Simon. Koch concludes that this solution should be considered only in the absence of reconstructions less dependent on hypotheses concerning Luke's transformation of traditional material.[81] The contrary reconstruction is represented by Alfons Weiser, who regards Peter's role as pre-Lukan. Koch considers this view, which traces 8:9–10, 18–24 to a tradition comprising Peter's mission in Samaria, the bestowal of the Spirit, and conflict with Simon, as much too complex for an oral tradition.[82] This judgment is certainly correct and is bolstered by an important consideration that will also figure in the evaluation of Koch's own view, namely, the dubious supposition that Luke displaces Peter with Philip.

As indicated above Koch's own proposal begins with the assumption that a pre-Lukan narrative about a sharp conflict between Peter and the "magician" Simon underlies 8:18ff.[83] and conjectures that the objective of this traditional story was the complete rejection and

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[79] Koch uses the name Simon "Magus" in his tradition summary; this form appears in later sources, but it is not used by Luke.

[80] Koch ("Geistbesitz," 65) asserts at the outset that his study will proceed without reference to later developments concerning Simon.

[81] Ibid., 73–74. In general Koch's approach here represents a good working procedure, but one must not underestimate Luke's ability to alter traditional material here or elsewhere.

[82] Ibid., 74–75. See Alfons Weiser, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Kapitel 1–12* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament 5/1; Gütersloh: Mohn; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1981), 199–201.

[83] The open-ended reference is Koch's.

defeat of Simon.[84] Koch speculates that this traditional piece was formulated in light of and directed against a group of Simonians in Samaria; the traditional information about Simon in 8:9–10 belongs to this narrative's image of the enemy to be overcome. The original point at issue was Simon's attempt to acquire the Spirit itself (δωρεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, 8:20), and not simply "the authority" (ἡ ἐξουσία) to transmit the Spirit by the laying on of hands as 8:19 suggests. Koch supports this assumption by referring to the importance of the Spirit for both the gentile Christian Pauline communities, especially at Corinth, and the Hellenistic Jewish Christians, who were dispersed from Jerusalem. (But the answer may be even closer to hand, since the Spirit is also a favorite topic for Luke.) Koch concludes that Peter, given his stature in the early phase of Palestinian Christianity, was the most suitable opponent for Simon in the personalizing of the dispute between two rival groups. In certain respects this is an entirely reasonable inference, and evidently Luke reached the same conclusion. The difficulty is that such deductions (on the part of Luke or modern interpreters), which are sensible in hindsight, take no account of the activity of "less prominent" early Christian figures and the certain existence of diverse local traditions about them. Consequently, major figures such as Peter repeatedly encroach upon and assimilate traditions that were originally connected with other figures, who then, for lack of any associated traditions, are judged to be minor personalities from a later perspective.

Koch brings his study to a close by inquiring whether Luke's redaction makes sense given his appraisal of the tradition behind 8:5–25. Naturally he answers in the affirmative. By retrojecting the Peter-Simon narrative into the Philip section (8:9–11, 13), Luke was able to elaborate his narrative about the missionary activity of Philip for which he had "no concrete material" at his disposal and thereby form two sections of approximately equal length. Luke's redactional activity also accounts for the remarkably indecisive conclusion to the Peter-Simon scene in 8:21–24. According to Koch, Luke wrote 8:12–13 to highlight the wide-ranging success of Philip's mission in Samaria. Since this included the presentation of Simon as a convert, a simple conclusion to the next section, in which Simon shows himself to be outside the community, was no longer possible. Luke

[84] Koch, "Geistbesitz," 75. It is difficult not to connect this assumption with the influence of the *Acts of Peter*.

could not portray Simon's outright submission to Peter not only because this was not indicated by his tradition but also because it would not be credible given the continued existence of the Simonians. Nor could he present Simon's absolute rejection, since the continued existence of the Simonians would reveal the ineffectiveness of the apostle's threat. Luke thus chose a middle way in which Simon's rejection is made clear even as he offers an ambiguous prayer of repentance. This solution both preserves the apostle's superiority and avoids an unbelievable subjection of Simon.[85]

Critique of the Peter-Simon Tradition Hypothesis

Koch's presentation may be admired for its thoroughness and attention to detail, yet his analysis is vulnerable to criticism at several key points. The most obvious problem initially is Koch's bald assertion that the conflict between Peter and Simon is based in Luke's tradition. The only evidence for tradition that he uncovers within 8:14–25 is the supposed telltale switch from ἐξουσία in vs 19 to δωρεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ in vs 20.[86] But it is hardly clear that δωρεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ preserves any notion inconsistent with Luke's idea of the point at issue in his scene between Peter and Simon. If the phrase in vs 20 meant something substantially different from what Simon requests in vs 19, then one must suppose that Luke was unaware of the tension. Given Luke's absolute control of the narrative, which has been documented in detail above, this seems highly unlikely.

Koch's easy assimilation of the traditional information about Simon in 8:9–10 to a tradition of a conflict with Peter ignores the obvious redactional introduction of Peter and John in 8:14–17, as well as the array of Lukan themes on display throughout vss 14–24: the Spirit, the role of Jerusalem (and the apostles ensconced there) in legitimating new stages of mission, the improper use of money, and the inferiority of magic.[87] One of the strengths of Koch's study is

[85] Koch, "Geistbesitz," 78–80.

[86] I agree completely with Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 99), who comments that "such a differentiation is over-sharp, and is [of] no use for dividing redaction from tradition, especially as the theme of the Spirit dominates the section vv. 14–17 which Koch also sees as redactional, and the special theme of the laying on of hands and the bestowal of the Spirit fits smoothly with vv. 14–17."

[87] Koch himself ("Geistbesitz," n. 21 on pp. 71–72) convincingly demonstrates the entirely Lukan nature of the language employed in 8:20–24. The same can be said for 8:18–19 (see Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 97).

his acknowledgment that a tradition of Philip's activity in Samaria underlies 8:5–8 and his judgment that 8:14–17 does not contain an alternate tradition that attributed the conversion of Samaria to Peter. Thus the scene in 8:14–17, which emphasizes that the Samaritan church is legitimate only when it has been sanctioned by Jerusalem, is clearly a Lukan construction.[88] The issue boils down to Koch's preference for a Peter-Simon tradition in 8:18ff., reasoning that Peter, given his prominent status in the early phase of "Palestinian Christianity," was the natural choice for the role of Simon's opponent.[89] But a variation on Haenchen's argument mentioned earlier with respect to the priority of Philip over Peter in Samaria casts doubt on this conclusion: Had there been an original tradition that depicted the rejection of Simon by Peter, Luke, who is especially interested in highlighting the foundational activity of Peter, would hardly have detracted from this by redirecting some of the best material to another figure. The reverse, however, is quite easy to imagine. An old tradition credited Philip with the conversion of Simon the Magician. Later, Luke expanded upon this tradition with the rejection of Simon and cast Peter in the lead role, which, again, is not surprising given Peter's prominence in Acts 1–12.

Two final problems with Koch's reconstruction must be raised. First, Koch's idea that the redactional introduction of Simon into

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[88] The redactional nature of 8:14–17 is confirmed by a further example of this Lukan "legitimating technique" in connection with a report concerning the Hellenists. In 11:19–21 the further missionizing consequences resulting from the activity of those who were scattered by the persecution following Stephen's death are recounted. Here the Hellenist mission has forged ahead as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch. As in the case of Philip's success, word reaches the Jerusalem church, by now the familiar coordinating body in Acts. Barnabas is dispatched in what seems to be an official capacity parallel to that of Peter and John in the earlier story. In this case, however, special action is not needed, just recognition by the representative of Jerusalem: Barnabas sees the grace of God at work. (Note the fact that Barnabas, even though he is not an apostle (i.e., one of the Twelve) in Luke's view—the notices in 14:4, 14 notwithstanding—is able to sanction the new missionary step because of his connection with Jerusalem.) Remarkably, even Peter must submit to the watchful authority of Jerusalem in yet a third example of this patterned action, which occurs between the other two (11:1–18). In a reprise of this event in Acts 15, James serves as the key representative of Jerusalem. The thoroughly Lukan character of 8:14–17 is further corroborated by the separation of the reception of the Spirit from baptism, an ad hoc construction that also is called upon elsewhere (10:44–48; 19:1–7). See, e.g., Conzelmann, *Acts*, 96–97; J. C. O'Neill, "The Connection Between Baptism and the Gift of the Spirit in Acts," *JSNT* 63 (1996): 87–103.

[89] Koch, "Geistbesitz," 77.

the Philip portion of the narrative was executed to enable Luke to expand his scanty material on Philip is both unfounded and, according to his own criteria, suspect, since it depends on Luke's transformation of traditional material. Before turning to such a vague solution as this one must consider the transparent connection between Philip and Simon, namely, their presence in Samaria.[90] Both Philip and Simon are located there by traditions underlying Acts 8, while Peter is brought there by Luke.[91] Second, and much more problematic, is Koch's attribution of Simon's conversion in 8:12–13 to Luke. Koch asserts that Luke added these verses to illustrate the far-reaching effects of Philip's mission. From Koch's perspective this explains the ambiguous nature of the ending of Peter's encounter with Simon in 8:21–24. But it strains credulity to the extreme to believe that Luke would be so clumsy as to create the scene in 8:13 only to have it thwart his faithful rendering of the alleged tradition in hand at 8:21–24. In the end the two objections that Koch raises against Haenchen's position, namely, (1) bringing figures together who have no foothold in the tradition, and (2) transforming the subject of the Simon tradition, are the very criteria that reveal his own reconstruction to be untenable.

In my view the evidence suggests that Luke discovered a tradition that boasted of Philip's missionary success in Samaria with the claim that he converted the leader of a rival sect. For the composition of Acts 8:14–25, it is enough to assume that Luke was intrigued by the shadowy character of the wonderworker Simon and took advantage of his presence in Samaria to bring him into contact with Peter on his redactional swing through that territory. It is doubtful that Luke knew anything about a gnostic Simon.[92] Nor is there any

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[90] Even if the supposed activity of these figures took place in different areas of Samaria (see Haenchen, *Acts*, 306–7), this would not prevent their connection in the tradition.

[91] Recall that Koch rejected Weiser's attempt to find a tradition documenting Peter's missionary activity in Samaria behind 8:9–10. Even the *Acts of Peter* assumes that Simon has to go to Jerusalem (*APt* 23) to come into contact with Peter.

[92] See Wilson's judgment cited in n. 56 above. For a critique of Lüdemann's attempt in *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis* to discover in the figure of Simon evidence for first-century CE Gnosticism, see Roland Bergmeier, "Die Gestalt des Simon Magus in Act 8 und in der simonianischen Gnosis—Aporien einer Gesamtdeutung," *ZNW* 77 (1986): 267–75, now in idem, *Das Gesetz im Römerbrief und andere Studien zum Neuen Testament* (WUNT 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 238–46. Jarl E. Fossum's work on Samaritan Gnosticism (*The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* [WUNT 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985]; idem, "Sects and Movements," in Crown, *The Samaritans*, 293–389), which reserves a key place for Simon Magus, proceeds with

reason to suppose that he knew anything about Simonians or was influenced by them in any way in the construction of his account. The fact that the *Acts of Peter* is also ignorant of Simonians and their gnostic leader is only one of many indications that the encounters between Peter and Simon in the *Acts of Peter* stem ultimately from their initial meeting in Luke's redaction. If the cycle of stories portraying the contendings between Peter and Simon ultimately derive from Acts, albeit via the oral/intertextual expansion of legends, then Peter effectively co-opts what began exclusively as a Philip tradition.[93]

Philip the Apostle in Acts

It seems fair to conclude that behind Luke's carefully constructed narrative one ultimately comes into contact with an early tradition that attributes the groundbreaking Christian mission in Samaria to Philip. Luke's placement of the Philip traditions into a framework that tacitly precludes the possibility of his membership in the Twelve, which stands in tension with all the other early documentary evidence that concerns this figure, may once again well illustrate Luke's compositional freedom in relation to his traditional information. Each of these points deserves elaboration.

As was shown in chapter one, second-century witnesses assume that the Philip Luke is concerned with was, in fact, the apostle Philip. Polycrates understood Philip to be "one of the twelve apostles" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.3; 5.24.2). Even more significant is the identification presupposed by Papias (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9), who knew the daughters of Philip. The advent of an earlier dating for Papias' writing (before 110 CE) allows one to recognize that he was not so much

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an overly facile appropriation of late Samaritan and alleged Simonian texts. See Michael A. Williams's review of Fossum's *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* in *JBL* 107 (1988): 153–56. Williams (p. 155) notes that Fossum's "treatment of Simon and Simonianism is shot through with a host of questionable assumptions and hypotheses," and that he has "spun out a veritable cat's cradle of 'connections' among various traditions and strands of tradition that are often widely separated chronologically." In this connection, see the treatment of Samaritans and Simonianism in Hall, "From John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabbah," 36–50. Hall (p. 47) argues "that in the second and third centuries A. D. few, if any, Samaritans were Simonians and Samaritans did not constitute a significant element in the membership of the Simonian movement." Wayne Meeks's earlier judgment ("Simon Magus," 141) on research on Simon Magus remains valid today: "The quest for the historical Simon (and Helena!) is even less promising than the quest for the historical Jesus."

[93] See the argument for this position in Matthews, "Luke's Intertextual Heritage."

a successor to Luke as a contemporary. When Papias and Polycrates refer to Philip the apostle, they plainly refer to the same person Luke designates as Philip the evangelist in Acts 21:8. Yet in view of their identification of Philip as an apostle, they evidently do not derive their information from Acts. In order to preserve Luke's distinction between the "apostle" and the "evangelist" as two separate figures, it is necessary either to deny any narrative connection between Acts 21:8–9 and the stories told in chapter 8, which is extremely unlikely, or to draw the equally improbable conclusion that there were living traditions about two different individuals named Philip, both of whom were famous in part because of their prophetic virgin daughters.

In addition to the questions that are raised about Luke's handling of Philip traditions by external documentary evidence, there is a patent literary license at work in Luke's practice of composition that may, in a manner quite reminiscent of his denial of Paul's apostolic status in Acts, account for the "narrative concealment" of Philip's apostolic identity. It will be helpful to marshal several observations with regard to Luke's narrative depictions and identifications that are pertinent to the exploration of the Philip stories in Acts 8 and those sections of Acts that have a narrative or traditional connection to those stories (e.g., 1:8; 6:1–6; 11:19–26; 21:8–9).

First, it is significant to note that it is not problematic for Luke to redescribe literarily or "reinvent" known personalities or events in order to conform them to the needs of his narrative presentation. This is most obvious in the case of Luke's portrayal of Paul.[94] For example, the stereotypical schema adopted by Luke that has Paul routinely inaugurate his mission work in a new place by first preaching in the local synagogue before moving on to the gentiles (14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 19, 26; 19:8) is conspicuously contrary to the image of mission one derives from Paul's own letters. Given the clear importance of Paul in Luke's work, it is improbable that Luke was ignorant of the basics of Paul's actual career, including his claim of apostolic status.[95] Therefore it is reasonable to assume that Luke has re-cre-

[94] See, e.g., Haenchen, *Acts*, 112–16; Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:325–27; Richard I. Pervo, *Luke's Story of Paul* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); John C. Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul* (SNTSMS 77; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[95] See the discussion of the term "apostle" in my introduction above. Note Koester's observation (*Introduction*^{1}, 2:321): "Certainly Luke should also have known that Paul was an apostle. This ignorance is just as unlikely as that of the letters, considering that Luke must have belonged to the circle of churches that claimed

ated Paul in his own image for some purpose other than the simple recording of history as it happened.[96] The occasion for such a revisionist portrait of Paul is likely to be closely connected to the circumstances of Luke's audience.[97] Another example of this Lukan tendency is found in the tradition of a dispute between the Hebrews and the Hellenists in Acts 6:1–7. Many scholars suspect that Luke has disguised a serious controversy between two segments of the early Christian community in Acts 6:1–7 for the sake of his portrayal of the essential unity of the early Jerusalem church.[98] Among other

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Peter and Paul as their authorities"; and (*Introduction*^{2}, 2:325): "Moreover, did Luke not know that Paul wrote letters? It has been suggested that Luke did not know about these letters—which is hardly credible, because everyone else between Antioch and Rome knew them at that time." Lars Aejmelaeus (*Die Rezeption der Paulusbriefe in der Miletrede [Apg 20:18–35]* [AASF, Series B: 232; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987]) argues that Luke knew and used Paul's letters in composing the Miletus speech in Acts 20:18–35. The analysis of the Miletus pericope by Christoph Zettner (*Amt, Gemeinde und kirchliche Einheit in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* [Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23: Theologie 423; Frankfurt am Main and Bern: Lang, 1991], 327–89) uncovers numerous connections between Acts 20 and 1 Thessalonians.

[96] Pervo (*Luke's Story of Paul*, 11) assumes that Luke's stories are "imaginative creations" and that "those who regard stories, including biblical stories, as providing direct access to events do themselves and the stories a disservice."

[97] Philip F. Esler (*Community and Gospel in Luke–Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* [SNTSMS 57; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 2) argues that Luke shaped his traditions "in response to social and political pressures experienced by his community." Esler (pp. 125–30) connects Luke's portrait of Paul's fidelity to the Jewish law with the supposition that Luke's community included a significant number of Jews.

[98] Philip is introduced in the midst of a situation of dispute and controversy (6:1–7) that appears to have been "sanitized" by Luke to divert attention from a far more serious problem in the early community that is left undocumented. See Haenchen, *Acts*, 266; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 44. Craig C. Hill (*Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 191) has challenged this widely held view, holding that "the church of Jerusalem was not divided into ideological groups corresponding to the designations 'Hellenist' and 'Hebrew.'" Hill summarizes some of his principal arguments in idem, "Acts 6.1–8.4: division or diversity?" in Witherington, *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, 129–53. C. Marvin Pate (*The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* [WUNT 2/114; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000], 429–34) critiques Hill's argument and maintains that the "majority view" stands. For some recent treatments of the Hellenists, see Gerd Theissen, "Hellenisten und Hebräer (Apg 6,1–6): Gab es eine Spaltung der Urgemeinde?" in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 3, *Frühes Christentum* (ed. H. Lichtenberger; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 323–43; Hyldahl, *History of Early Christianity*, 166–76, who observes (p. 176): "When it comes to the question of the historical truth behind Acts 6.1 ff., there is every reason to be sceptical"; Martin Bodinger, "Les 'Hébreux' et les 'Hellénistes' dans le livre des *Actes des Apôtres*," *Henoch* 19 (1997): 39–58, who interprets the Hebrews and the Hellenists of Acts as a construction that retrojects concerns of Luke's day into the past—the presence of the Hellenists is connected

things this allows Luke to include the traditions of Stephen and Philip alongside his conception of the Twelve as elements of one harmonious primitive mission.

Second, it is a small step from point one to suggest that when the need arises, Luke is capable of creating or enhancing certain events in the history of the church that are necessary for or contribute to the dramatic movement of his narrative.[99] It is not impossible that the great persecution of Acts 8:1 is one such "dramatic innovation." This persecution drips with narrative irony as the extreme measures of the Sanhedrin against Stephen provoke unprecedented missionary action in fulfillment of the prediction of the risen Jesus recorded in 1:8.[100] The literary appositeness of the great persecution gives rise to doubts concerning its comprehensive nature (even with regard to the Hellenists).[101] Of course, numerous less controversial

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with the legitimizing of the gentile mission; Torrey Seland, "Once More—The Hellenists, Hebrews, and Stephen: Conflicts and Conflict-Management in Acts 6–7," in *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity, and the Greco-Roman World* (ed. P. Borgen et al.; Emory Studies in Early Christianity 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 169–207; Wolfgang Reinbold, "Die 'Hellenisten': Kritische Anmerkungen zu einem Fachbegriff der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft," *BZ* 42 (1998): 96–102; Michael Livingston, "The Seven Hebrews, Hellenists, and Heptines," *JHC* 6 (1999): 32–63; C. K. Barrett, "Hebrews, Hellenists and Others," in *Jesus, Paul and John* (ed. Lo Lung-kwong; Chuen King Lecture Series 1; Hong Kong: Theology Division, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1999), 71–95; and Wolfgang Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia: Die 'Hellenisten,' Paulus und die Aufnahme der Heiden in das endzeitliche Gottesvolk* (SBS 179; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1999), 26–81, who considers the influence of the Hellenists on Paul.

[99] See especially Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987). I must agree with A. Thomas Kraabel ("The God-fearers Meet the Beloved Disciple," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* [ed. B. A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 277) that "Luke's willingness to rearrange and revise details in the early Christian story is known well enough." See also Dibelius, "Style Criticism," 2. On Luke and historiography, see nn. 1 and 11 above. See also Loveday Alexander, "Fact, Fiction and the Genre of Acts," *NTS* 44 (1998): 380–99; and more generally, G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Sather Classical Lectures 58; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (HCS 30; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

[100] As Jack T. Sanders (*The Jews in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 74) notes, "the rather full account of Stephen's martyrdom is followed by a meagre account of the ensuing persecution."

[101] See Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, 19–40. Note Barrett's comment (*Acts*, 1:587–88) on Acts 12:17: "The suggestion that the first stage of resistance to the Christian movement meant that the Seven were dispersed, the Twelve spared, the next that the Twelve were dispersed and only the strictest Jews (such as James) were spared, imposes too much system on Luke's narrative and (in all probability) on the events themselves."

examples of Luke's enhancement of his traditional information may be included under this heading, such as the conversion of Cornelius (10:1–11:18) and the Apostolic Council (15:1–29).[102]

Third, and in line with the preceding point, it is imperative always to bear in mind that Luke is responsible for the narrative links between stories that in many instances were originally unconnected traditions. Given that Luke has established the framework within which the Philip stories appear, there can be no decisive objection to the possibility that these stories originally had to do with Philip the apostle rather than with Philip the evangelist, as Luke calls him (21:8). The only issue remaining is whether Luke has simply confused these Philip traditions with those of another figure, which is unlikely in view of the onomastic and Christian population data discussed in chapter one, or whether he has deliberately or mistakenly covered up the activity of an apostle, which for some reason was unsuited to take its proper place in his account. Considering that it is a Lukan motif that all of the apostles are united and reside together in Jerusalem, it is surely conceivable that traditions about the missionary work of Philip the apostle on his own and outside Jerusalem in the early period could pose some problem for Luke's conception. I will return to this question at the end of the next chapter in the context of Luke's treatment of Philip traditions in 8:26–40 and 21:8–9.

Up to this point in his narrative, Luke has not allowed that the apostles themselves or their agents should engage in missionary activity outside Jerusalem. It is only a catastrophic event which impels them in this direction. That there was a comprehensive persecution which affected the "Hellenists" after the death of Stephen is moot. That such an event signaled the first missionary push outside Jerusalem

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[102] Luke employs similar procedures with his written sources in the Gospel. Among the more obvious examples one may note: (1) the change in the order of the temptation scenes vis-à-vis Q from desert—temple—mountain (as preserved by Matt 4:3–10), to desert—vision of the kingdoms—temple (Luke 4:3–12); (2) the relocation of the story of the rejection at Nazareth from its place in Mark's narrative sequence at 6:1–6a to its programmatic position in his own Gospel at Luke 4:16–30, where it is also considerably expanded; (3) the portrayal of Jesus' extended teaching activity in Jerusalem (Luke 19:28–21:38; note esp. 19:47–48; 20:1; 21:37–38) instead of Mark's "passion week"; and (4) the restriction of the resurrection appearances to Jerusalem and its environs (Luke 24), revising the Galilean rendezvous predicted in Mark (Mark 14:28; 16:7). On Luke's restriction of Jesus' place of residence before the passion to Jerusalem, see Udo Borse, "Der lukanische Verzicht auf Betanien," *SNTSU* 22 (1997): 5–24.

is unlikely in any case. Moreover, our notions of the centrality of the Jerusalem church in the spread of early Christianity frequently merely paraphrase Luke's depiction in the absence of other evidence.[103] We must remind ourselves that Luke has reasons to reflect on the significance of Jerusalem that go beyond the narration of historical events.[104] The actual chronological location of the Philip traditions cannot be determined from Acts. The audience that was understood to have responded to Philip's preaching (Samaritans or gentiles in Samaria) is also obscured. There are, however, several provocative indications. The traditional story behind Luke's version of Philip and the Ethiopian (8:26–40) may originally have been a story that intended to narrate the first conversion of a non-Jew. Moreover, Simon supposedly enjoyed his great success among gentiles in Samaria.[105] Finally, a brief note in the Gospel of John makes a connection between Philip

[103] Merrill P. Miller surveys "the position occupied by the Jerusalem church in conceptualizations of Christian origins" in idem, "'Beginning from Jerusalem . . .': Re-examining Canon and Consensus," *JHC* 2/1 (1995): 3–30. Miller (p. 3) observes that "the Jerusalem church is not merely an historical datum, but a category and root metaphor of the imagination of Christian origins. Thus, it has occupied and continues to possess a privileged place among the data that bear on the beginnings of Christianity. Though we may actually know very little about the Jerusalem church as an historical datum, it has nevertheless served in antiquity and today as the locus of what Christianity is about and how it got started." See also Ron Cameron, "Alternate Beginnings — Different Ends: Eusebius, Thomas, and the Construction of Christian Origins," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi* (ed. L. Bormann et al.; NovTSup 74; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 501–25, esp. 512–15. Note Jonathan Z. Smith's observation ("A Twice-Told Tale: The History of the History of Religions' History," *Numen* 48 [2001]: 145): "Too much work by scholars of religion takes the form of a paraphrase, our style of ritual repetition, which is a particularly weak mode of translation, insufficiently different from its subject matter for purposes of thought. . . . A theory, a model, a conceptual category, a generalization cannot be simply the data writ large."

[104] See Hans-Josef Klauck, "Die heilige Stadt: Jerusalem bei Philo und Lukas," *Kairos* 28 (1986): 129–51, who develops the observation (p. 129) that "die Aussenperspektive eines hellenistischen Betrachters ist etwas, was Philo und Lukas eint," and concludes (p. 147) that although Luke does not emulate Philo in portraying Jerusalem after the model of a mother-city and its colonies, he would not have resisted "wenn man Jerusalem im Sinn seines Entwurfs den Ehrentitel einer *metrópolis* des Christentums zuerkennt." Cf. David T. Runia, "The Idea and the Reality of the City in the Thought of Philo of Alexandria," *JHI* 61 (2000): 376–77. See also Mikeal C. Parsons, "The Place of Jerusalem on the Lukan Landscape: An Exercise in Symbolic Cartography," in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (ed. R. P. Thompson and T. E. Phillips; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 155–71, who highlights (p. 167) Luke's focus on "the importance of Jerusalem in an eschatological context foreshadowing the Gentile mission."

[105] Haenchen, *Acts*, 307; Hall, "From John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabbah."

and the bringing of some Greeks to Jesus (John 12:20–22). Was there an early tradition that attributed to Philip the apostle an instrumental role in the initial opening up of a Christian group to gentiles? Would there be some reason for Luke to wish to omit this fact and instead place Peter in this most important role? The answers to these questions must be sought in the examination of Acts 8:26–40 and its place in the Lukan outline of the spread of the early Christian mission.

CHAPTER THREE

PHILIP AND THE "END OF THE EARTH": ACTS 8:26–40

This chapter examines Luke's employment of the legend of Philip's conversion of an Ethiopian gentile. Although this traditional story circulated independently from the report of Philip's activity in Samaria utilized by Luke in Acts 8:5–13, it too emphasizes Philip's involvement in the expansion of Jesus groups beyond the bounds of Judaism. The legend underlying Acts 8:26–40 has all the earmarks of an apostolic story about Philip. As with the tradition taken over by Luke in 8:5–13, the identification of Philip in 8:26–40 as the evangelist, one of the Seven (i.e., not the apostle of the same name), is a product of Luke's framework. Luke's decision to highlight a similar legend of a momentous conversion of a gentile by Peter in 10:1–11:18 may have led not only to the blurring of the Ethiopian's gentile status but also to the loss of Philip's apostolic rank. An examination of Luke's treatment of the legends behind the Emmaus narrative (Luke 24:13–35), the conversion of the Ethiopian (Acts 8:26–40), and the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10:1–11:18) will clarify Luke's compositional method in the text before us. Prior to this comparative analysis, however, a review of tradition and redaction in 8:26–40 is in order.

"To the End of the Earth"

It is significant to note at the start that the connection of Acts 8:26–40 to the immediately preceding narrative in 8:4–25 is logical and pragmatic rather than genetic in nature. References to Luke's dependence in Acts 8 on a cycle of Philip stories[1] fail to take seriously the indications that these traditions spring from different soils.[2] Luke is to be credited with the joining of these variegated traditions. Given the apparent lack of additional exemplars, Luke decided to fill out the sketch of Philip's activities before moving on to Paul. If the initial

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[1] E.g., Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 105.

[2] Haenchen (*Acts*, 316) comments: "A longer, heterogeneous tradition lies behind both narratives."

impetus behind Luke's composition at this point was the possession of another Philip story, the resulting narrative, as will become clear below, bears the features of Lukan theological historiography.

Beyond its inherent value, this particular story was uniquely suited to fulfill the command of the risen Lord in 1:8, which called for witnesses to reach "to the end of the earth." The common view that for Luke the latter phrase points solely to Rome is disputable on the basis of external and internal evidence.[3] Henry J. Cadbury was disposed to believe that Luke intended 8:26–40 to illustrate the fulfillment of 1:8, given that "to Homer and to Isaiah the Ethiopians doubtless represented a geographical extreme."[4] The reference to the "distant Ethiopians" in the *Odyssey* at 1.22–23, which served as one of the basic educational texts in the Greco-Roman world,[5] already permits

[3] See especially W. C. van Unnik, "Der Ausdruck ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (Apostelgeschichte I 8) und sein alttestamentlicher Hintergrund," in idem, *Sparsa collecta: The Collected Essays of W. C. van Unnik*, part 1, *Evangelia, Paulina, Acta* (NovTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 386–401; see also Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:17, 109. T. C. G. Thornton ("To the end of the earth: Acts 1[8]," *ExpTim* 89 [1978]: 374) writes that "there is no evidence that any Jew, Greek or Roman around the first century A.D. ever conceived of Rome as being at the end of the earth." The application of the phrase to Rome is usually based on *Pss. Sol.* 8.15: "He brought someone [Pompey] from the end of the earth, one who attacks in strength; he declared war on Jerusalem, and her land" (trans. R. B. Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," *OTP* 2:659; see p. 658 n. 8a on the specific historical references of the psalm to the capture of Jerusalem and the Temple by Pompey); see Haenchen, *Acts*, 143 n. 9; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 7. There is no hint that Luke intends "the end of the earth" to refer to a putative trip to Spain by Paul (see Rom 15:24, 28; cf. *1 Clem.* 5:7; *Canon Muratori* 38). If Luke had known of such a journey, he certainly would have exploited it; see Jürgen Becker, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles* (trans. O. C. Dean; Louisville, KY: Westminster/Knox, 1993), 476. E. Earle Ellis ("'The End of the Earth' [Acts 1:8]," *BBR* 1 (1991): 123–32), however, argues (p. 132) that "with the phrase, 'the end of the earth,' in Acts 1:8 Luke signals his knowledge of a (prospective) Pauline mission to Spain and his intention to make it a part of his narrative. For reasons that are not altogether clear, he concludes his book without mentioning the Spanish mission." Ellis recognizes that Luke's silence concerning Spain is problematic for his case, but his certainty that Luke "doubtless knew of Paul's plans for a Spanish mission" (p. 130) leads him to ignore the actual evidence of the text in which none other than Luke brings an Ethiopian onto the stage of his narrative in a significant missionary episode. Daniel R. Schwartz's contention ("The End of the *GĒ* [Acts 1:8]: Beginning or End of the Christian Vision?" *JBL* 105 [1986]: 670) that the phrase ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς in Acts 1:8 denotes "'until the end of the land,' namely, the land of Israel," fails to acknowledge the obvious intertextual import of the appearance of an Ethiopian in Acts 8 as described here.

[4] Cadbury, *Book of Acts in History*, 15.

[5] See Robert F. Hock, "Homer in Greco-Roman Education," in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (ed. D. R. MacDonald; SAC; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 56–77.

the intertextual assumption that this piece of geographical lore was widely disseminated: "But it happened that Poseidon went for a visit a long way off, to the Ethiopians; who live at the ends of the earth, some near the sunrise, some near the sunset."[6] Homer's "distant Ethiopians" are reprised in Herodotus, Strabo, Philostratus, and others who follow Homer in locating Ethiopia at the edge of the inhabited world.[7] Herodotus (3.25) reports that when the Persian king Cambyses moved in anger against the Ethiopians, he did not consider that "he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth" (ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι).[8] Strabo refers to Ethiopia's "remoteness from us" (17.1.3) and locates it at "the extremities of the inhabited world" (τὰ ἄκρα τῆς οἰκουμένης—17.2.1). While we must assume Luke's familiarity with the Greco-Roman notion, the phrase ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς is found in Isa 8:9; 48:20; 49:6; and 62:11, and this is where Luke found it, as is clear from the citation at Acts 13:47 of Isa 49:6b (LXX):[9] "I have established you for a covenant

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[6] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας, Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. Translation by W. H. D. Rouse, *Homer: The Odyssey. The Story of Odysseus* (New York: New American Library, 1937), 11.

[7] In addition to the texts immediately following, Thornton ("To the end of the earth") also refers to Strabo 1.1.6; 1.2.24; and Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* 6.1; Hengel (*Between Jesus and Paul*, 200 n. 85) provides several more references; see also Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (OBT 20; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 103; Clarice J. Martin, "A Chamberlain's Journey and the Challenge of Interpretation for Liberation," *Semeia* 47 (1989): 116–20. On the Homeric tradition of the Ethiopians as the most distant people (ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν), see the section on "the Blameless Ethiopians" in James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 49–60. On the status of the geographical periphery (the ἐσχατιά) as a primordial landscape in ancient Greek thought, see Dag Øistein Endsjø, "To Lock Up Eleusis: A Question of Liminal Space," *Numen* 47 (2000): 351–86.

[8] See the map depicting "Herodotus' view of the world," with the Ethiopians comprising the southern limits, in O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985; repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 58; they occupy the same position in the "reconstruction of Eratosthenes' map of the oikumene" (p. 33), which dates to ca. 220 BCE. For the depiction of a "possible mental map underlying Acts," see Thomas O'Loughlin, "Maps and Acts: A Problem in Cartography and Exegesis," *PIBA* 21 (1998): 61. O'Loughlin's placement of Rome at the western edge of Luke's map appears to illustrate the persistence of the scholarly convention previously alluded to and thereby fails to recognize that the placement of Rome as the ἐσχατιά would be a geographical non sequitur for someone in Luke's sociocultural location (i.e., an author with literary aspirations).

[9] Isa 49:6b LXX: ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. Tannehill (*Narrative Unity*, 2:17) notes that in addition to the places cited here for Isaiah and Acts, the exact phrase occurs only in *Pss. Sol.* 1.4 and in Christian writings that know Isaiah and/or Acts.

of a people, that you might be a light for the gentiles for salvation to the end of the earth." It is reasonable to conclude that when writing 1:8, Luke had the Philip traditions that now appear in Acts 8 in mind, with the story about the Ethiopian functioning as an illustration of Isa 49:6.[10] In the end the combination of motifs centering on Ethiopia in Acts 8:26–40 and the undisputed identification of Ethiopia as "the end of the earth" in Greco-Roman literary and ethno-geographic sources are decisive. Luke was well situated to grasp the suitability of the intertextual collocation of Greco-Roman notions of the periphery and the soteriological breadth of Isaiah's perspective for his own depiction of the inclusive expanse of the Christian movement. Nevertheless, the remarkable circumstance that Philip single-handedly inaugurates both the mission to Samaria and that "to the end of the earth" is not integrated into the course of the narrative elsewhere in Acts.

Legend and Composition

The fact that the account of Philip's encounter with the eunuch has no impact on the subsequent course of events in Acts indicates that the story was a traditional piece that circulated independently. In terms of genre, the incorporation of a story or legend[11] here distin-

[10] Thus 1:8 is not primarily an outline for the book (contra Conzelmann, *Acts*, 7; Haenchen, *Acts*, 143–44 and n. 9; Lüdemann *Early Christianity*, 26) but an outline for the Christian mission (so Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:18). See van Unnik, "Der Ausdruck ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς," 392–94; Wilson, *Gentiles and the Gentile Mission*, 92, 94 n. 1. Thomas S. Moore ("'To the End of the Earth': The Geographical and Ethnic Universalism of Acts 1:8 in Light of Isaianic Influence on Luke," *JETS* 40 [1997]: 389–99) argues that under the influence of Isaiah (esp. 49:6), ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς stands for Luke's universalistic perspective and geographically denotes the end of the world in a general sense. But Luke's choice of an Ethiopian has deliberately specified the Isaian notion. The story of the Ethiopian may also serve to illustrate the vision of several other biblical texts: "Let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out its hands to God" (Ps 68:31b); "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants, my scattered ones, shall bring my offering" (Zeph 3:10). Dean P. Bechard (*Paul Outside the Walls: A Study of Luke's Socio-Geographical Universalism in Acts 14:8–20* [AnBib 143; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000], 224–31) connects Acts 1:8 with the Table of Nations tradition in Genesis 10.

[11] On the term "legend," see Martin Dibelius, "Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien," *TRu* 1 (1929): 203–8; C. H. Dodd, "The Appearances of the Risen Christ: An Essay in Form-Criticism of the Gospels," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (ed. D. E. Nineham; Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), 9–35; see also the following notes. Stefan Schreiber "'Verstehst du denn, was du liest?' Beobachtungen zur Begegnung von Philippus und dem äthiopischen Eunuchen [Apg 8,26–40],"

guishes this Philip tradition from the preceding narrative in 8:5–13, which might best be characterized as a report or summary account. Neither of these determinations should prejudice us to believe that these traditions necessarily reached Luke in written form. Beyond the generic distinction, differences in the portrait of Philip developed in this text from that cultivated in 8:5–13 argue for the lack of any pre-Lukan connection between these units. Thus in 8:5–13 Philip is characterized both as a miracle worker and a preacher active among an entire people; here, he is no longer a miracle worker but the intimate envoy of the Spirit and a scripture interpreter extraordinaire. While the form of the tradition behind 8:5–13 is stark, in 8:26–39 "a genuinely legendary style arises out of the combination of devotional, personal and miraculous elements."[12] This text blends an interest in personal biography with a concern to portray a significant stage in the socioreligious development of an early Christian community. The mysterious miraculous element, often a component of legends, makes it clear that the narrative is concerned to portray a momentous religious encounter as opposed to rendering a historical report of an incident.[13] While the formal identification of this narrative as legend does not ipso facto disallow an underlying historical event, it does caution against overly confident critical attempts to read behind the story.

SNTSU 21 [1996]: 45–46) judges that "legend" fails to grasp the significance of the story ("Bekehrung zu Jesus") and prefers to designate it and the Cornelius narrative in Acts 10:1–48 as "Erzählungen über eine wunderhafte Bekehrung."

[12] Dibelius, "Style Criticism," 15.

[13] See Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (rev. ed.; trans. J. Marsh; New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 244 n. 1. As Bultmann (p. 245) notes, "it is quite natural for legends and historical stories to run into each other in ancient, and especially popular stories of religious interest." Koester (*Introduction*^{2}, 2:64–65) observes that legends have been incorporated into the Synoptic tradition but that all the narrative materials of the Gospels "were told in the interests of mission, edification, cult, apology, or theology (especially christology) and they do not provide answers to the quest for reliable historical information." The same verdict may apply to biographical legends about apostles. Martin Dibelius (*From Tradition to Gospel* [trans. B. L. Woolf; New York: Scribner's, 1965], 109) notes that the historical value of material handed on in a legend is dependent solely on the character of the narrator's tradition: "Historical events in the life of a holy man which from the beginning have been the objects of pious meditation and edifying recollection will live on particularly, perhaps altogether only, in the guise of legend." Dibelius ("The Conversion of Cornelius," in idem, *Studies*, 121; cf. "The Apostolic Council," in *Studies*, 95) places Acts 8:26–39 and the Cornelius story in 10:1–11:18, minus all Lukan redactional elements (i.e., as "'innocent' stories of conversion") in this category. On the relation between these two legends, see below.

It is no longer possible to reconstruct how Philip was introduced when this legend stood on its own. Given the place-related nature of the genre, one might assume that the preliterary form of the story specified a particular location at the start, and some have suggested Jerusalem.[14] Yet the activity in both sections of Acts 8 takes place outside Jerusalem and Luke is forced to take remedial redactional action to bring these traditions into line with his conception that the progress of the "singular" Christian mission takes place under the watchful guidance of Jerusalem.[15] The Philip traditions perhaps should be taken as evidence that, in fact, Jerusalem did not play such a centrifugal role in the first decades of the Jesus movements as various independent movements made their own way in diverse locations.[16]

Given the elaborate initial description of the Ethiopian in 8:27–28, some interpreters identify him as the main character of this story.[17] But this temptation must be balanced by the plausible assumption that Philip was known by the bearers of this tradition and needed little introduction. By contrast the Ethiopian remains anonymous. What counts in his case is the communication of his social status and cultic condition, and for Luke, at least, his place of origin. Thus in

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[14] Lake and Cadbury (Foakes Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, 4:95) hold that the μὲν οὖν of 8:25 indicates the start of a new paragraph and that the third person plural includes Philip, who thus returns to Jerusalem with Peter and John. Conzelmann (*Acts*, 67), presumably for different reasons, also supposes that the story begins in Jerusalem. Note that 8:26–27 uses Ἱερουσαλήμ (the form transliterated from Hebrew), while 8:14, 25 use Ἱεροσόλυμα (the Hellenistic neuter plural). While some might suppose that underlying sources account for this difference, J. K. Elliott ("Jerusalem in Acts and the Gospels," *NTS* 23 [1977]: 462–69, now in idem, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* [EFN 3; Córdoba: Ediciónes El Almendro, 1992], 113–20) is probably correct in assuming that the variation is Lukan (*Essays*, 114). His hypothesis that Ἱερουσαλήμ is used in Jewish contexts and Ἱεροσόλυμα in gentile contexts has been questioned by J. M. Ross ("The Spelling of Jerusalem in Acts," *NTS* 38 [1992]: 474–76), who thinks that Luke set out to use Ἱερουσαλήμ, the LXX spelling, but later "forgot." This challenge is not particularly convincing.

[15] Commenting on the theological import of Jerusalem in Acts, Jacques Dupont ("Le Salut des Gentils et la Signification Théologique du Livre des Actes," *NTS* 6 (1960): 136 = idem, *Études sur Les Actes des Apôtres* [LD 45; Paris: Cerf, 1967], 398) observes: "L'histoire rapportée dans le Livre des Actes apparaît ainsi comme toute chargée de théologie."

[16] See n. 103 in chapter two above.

[17] Gaventa (*From Darkness to Light*, 102, 105), for example, appears to lean in this direction. Cottrel R. Carson ("Acts 8:37—A Textual Reexamination," *USQR* 51 [1997]: 57–78) argues that Acts 8:26–39 was originally the independent document of a particular community and that "it is the eunuch, not Philip, who is the story's focus" (p. 69). Apart from the nebulous nature of Carson's putative "community," it will become clear below why I find this claim unpersuasive.

spite of the engaging picture of the Ethiopian that is developed in this text, the story is properly designated a "Philip tradition." Not only does the Ethiopian go unnamed, but also as the narrative unfolds he is referred to exclusively as "the eunuch" (8:34, 36, 38, 39). This suggests that the focus of the story is upon Philip's encounter with and baptism of a foreigner who acted as though he were a Jew (travel to Jerusalem to worship, possession and study of Jewish scripture), notwithstanding his ineligibility to become a proselyte on account of his mutilation.[18] Thus this story moves beyond a demonstration of openness to gentiles to an emphasis on the acceptance of cultically and culturally unacceptable people.[19] If the original story is not merely retrospective of a decisive step taken by one early Christian group and attributed to Philip (mission story—etiology of mission),[20] it may represent an apologetic thrust in favor of the baptism of such people (8:36).

The composite sketches of the two principal characters that may be pulled together from the story as it now stands in Acts exist in tension with other assumptions current in Luke's narrative. Philip, for instance, is depicted here as a confidant of the Spirit, which directs his movements with great specificity (8:26 [angel of the Lord], 29 [the Spirit])[21] to particular situations before shuttling him off,

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[18] For the exclusion of the castrated from the "assembly of the Lord," see Deut 23:1. Esler (*Community and Gospel*, 160) suggests that the connection between the two Philip stories in Acts 8 is "the fact that neither Samaritan nor eunuch was allowed into the Temple. . . . Thus, we see Philip evangelizing among people marginalized by the sacrificial apparatus of Israel in virtually the same way as Gentile God-fearers. Luke has probably been influenced here by Is 56.3, where hope is offered to 'foreigners' (ἀλλογενεῖς – a word used by Luke of the Samaritans in Lk 17.18) and eunuchs."

[19] See John H. Elliott, "Temple versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. J. H. Neyrey; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 222; see also Neyrey, "The Symbolic Universe of Luke-Acts: 'They Turn the World Upside Down,'" in idem, *Social World of Luke-Acts*, 293: "In an interesting test case, an Ethiopian eunuch (a foreigner with a bodily defect) was evangelized (Acts 8:26–39)." F. Scott Spencer ("The Ethiopian Eunuch and His Bible: A Social-Science Analysis," *BTB* 22 [1992]: 157) gathers evidence to show that in Luke's time "popular socio-religious opinion was sharply antagonistic to eunuchs in the Mediterranean world. . . . On any reckoning, then, the account of a eunuch's conversion, baptism, and incorporation into the Christian community would have been regarded as a radical transgression of prevailing cultural boundaries"; see also idem, *Portrait of Philip*, 128–87.

[20] Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 105) identifies it as "a conversion story which probably had paradigmatic significance for the mission to the Gentiles in Hellenist circles." This line of interpretation will be considered below.

[21] The theme of divine guidance here, as in 10:1–11:18, may be a component of the original legend. Conzelmann (*Acts*, 68) and Haenchen (*Acts*, 310) see the variation between the angel (vs 26) and the Spirit (vs 29) as Lukan. Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*,

upon the completion of his task, to his next assignment (8:39). The matter-of-fact cooperation between the Spirit and Philip in evidence here stands out smartly against the implication of 8:14–25 that the Spirit was absent from Philip's missionary activity in Samaria. The tension between these two scenes confirms from yet another perspective Luke's redactional insertion of Peter and John into the former passage.

As was true in the case of the report in 8:5–13, any notion that Luke's compositional strategy has militated against the employment of Philip traditions or has constructed an implicit critique of Philip must contend with the very positive image of Philip that is sketched here. To the extent that it rests on the traditional story, the impression is reinforced that the tradents of this tradition honor this figure. Philip resolutely carries out his divine instructions (8:27, 30). His question in 8:30 and the eunuch's indirect request for a guide in 8:31 (ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσει με) intimate what 8:35 makes explicit, namely, that Philip is an adept interpreter of the scriptures. Further, Philip's ready acceptance of the eunuch's invitation to sit with him (8:31) and his unhesitating fulfillment of the eunuch's request for baptism (8:36) vividly illustrate that Philip has no qualms about associating with a ritually suspect person. Finally, Philip is connected with a wide range of territory in these verses. We may imagine that he starts from Jerusalem (at least in Luke's view this is implied by 8:26), meets the eunuch somewhere near Gaza to the south, and then works his way up the coast from Azotus to Caesarea (8:40).[22]

As has been suggested already, the rather full introductory description of the Ethiopian eunuch vis-à-vis the simple appearance of Philip implies that the attributes assigned to the former figure are significant for the point of the story. He is presented "in one breath," as it

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102–3) is only slightly more cautious, stating that the "angel motive may be redactional," while the Spirit is "a Lukan variant" for the angel. If the emphasis on the Spirit here is Lukan, the scene in 8:14–17, which could imply Philip's inability to impart the Spirit, becomes even more bizarre. Hengel (*Between Jesus and Paul*, 153 n. 142) believes that "the theme of the spirit and enthusiasm in Luke is basically an archaic feature, of course with idealistic tints. It goes against the situation of the church of his time." But the circumstances of Luke's day would not at all prevent him from portraying the activity of the Spirit in the "early days" of the church.

[22] Erich Dinkler ("Philippus und der ΑΝΗΡ ΑΙΘΙΟΨ [Apg 8,26–40]: Historische und geographische Bemerkungen zum Missionsablauf nach Lukas," in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag* [ed. E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975], 88) and others view vs 40 as a Lukan summary that prepares for 21:8. This issue will be treated below.

were (vss 27–28), as: (1) an Ethiopian;[23] (2) a eunuch;[24] (3) a minister of the Candace, queen of the Ethiopians;[25] (4) entrusted with her entire treasury;[26] (5) on the return leg of an extended journey undertaken in order to worship in Jerusalem; and (6) reading from the Jewish scriptures.[27] He not only possesses the expected accoutrements of an official of his rank (a chariot, servants [implied by the command in vs 38]), but also a copy of Isaiah. Beyond his obvious ability to read the biblical text, the language that is placed in his mouth shows him to be a highly educated and cultured individual.[28] This

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[23] An Ethiopian, that is, an individual thought of as coming from Meroe, which was the capital of Nubia from 542 BCE to about 350 CE. See Henry J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* (London: Black, 1955), 16; Martin, "A Chamberlain's Journey," 112 and n. 11; Abraham Smith, "'Do You Understand What You are Reading?': A Literary Critical Reading of the Ethiopian (Kushite) Episode (Acts 8:26–40)," *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 22 (1994): 48 n. 1, 64–68. Peter Unseth ("Semantic Shift on a Geographical Term," *BT* 49 [1998]: 323–31) suggests rendering Αἰθιοπία as "Meroë in northeast Africa" to distinguish it from the present state of Ethiopia.

[24] Haenchen (*Acts*, 310) refers to Johannes Schneider's finding ("εὐνοῦχος," *TDNT* 2:766) that "the εὐνοῦχος of the LXX is often used, like εὐνοῦχος and סָרִיס elsewhere, for high military and political officials; it does not have to imply emasculation." Wilson (*Gentiles and the Gentile Mission*, 171) also thinks Luke understood εὐνοῦχος to refer to the Ethiopian's high office. Smith ("Ethiopian [Kushite] Episode," 68–69) suggests that a "military designation" could be implied. But here, since the immediately following δυνάστης refers to the Ethiopian's official position, εὐνοῦχος must mean "one who has been castrated."

[25] Queens by the name of Candace are mentioned in ps.-Callisthenes 3.18–24; Strabo 17.1.54; and Dio Cassius 54.4; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.1.13. Pliny (*Hist. nat.* 6.186), referring to Meroe, reports that "it is ruled by a woman, Candace, a name that has passed on through a succession of queens for many years." According to Cadbury (*Book of Acts in History*, 17), "these monarchs were neither exclusively queens nor named Candace. Candace is in fact no proper name at all but means queen, one of the few Ethiopian words identified." See Edward Ullendorff, "Candace (Acts VIII. 27) and the Queen of Sheba," *NTS* 2 (1955–56): 53–56, who examines the later conflation of Candace and the Queen of Sheba.

[26] Plutarch (*Demetr.* 25.5) mentions eunuchs as treasurers among the Persians. See Cadbury, *Book of Acts in History*, 17, who refers to Herodotus 8.105.

[27] Cadbury (*Book of Acts in History*, 18) comments that the Ethiopian reading aloud to himself is in line with the "universal practice in the ancient world." But more recent scholarship has made it clear that silent reading was an ordinary practice in ancient times. See, for example, Frank D. Galliard, "More Silent Reading in Antiquity: *Non Omne Verbum Sonabat*," *JBL* 112 (1993): 689–94; A. K. Gavrilov, "Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity," *CQ* 47 (1997): 56–73; M. F. Burnyeat, "Postscript on Silent Reading," *CQ* 47 (1997): 74–76. William A. Johnson ("Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity," *AJP* 121 [2000]: 593–627) summarizes the debate over silent reading in antiquity and proposes that scholars move on to investigate specific sociocultural contexts of ancient reading in order to determine how it differs from the modern "reading-from-a-printed-book model."

[28] Haenchen, *Acts*, 311.

sophisticated character desires to understand scripture (vs 31), raises the crucial question of interpretation (vs 34), and follows it up with the ideal request of the prospective Christian (vs 36). Although Luke refrained from a summary statement to the effect that the eunuch returned home and evangelized his native land, in the larger context of Acts (1:8) this is the implication of the baptism of an Ethiopian.[29] Although not opposed to the interest of the traditional story, which focused on Philip's baptism of a cultically unacceptable foreigner, Luke uses it primarily to illustrate the spread of the gospel "to the end of the earth."[30]

Tradition and Redaction

Dibelius thought that the story preserved in Acts 8:26–39 was "told in the genuine style of legend and on the whole without literary embellishment."[31] But given Luke's propensity to shape and mold traditional elements to fit his narrative needs, it is reasonable to presume a Lukan contribution to the present story.[32] Isolating such redactional additions, however, and reconstructing a pre-Lukan form

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[29] Martin ("A Chamberlain's Journey," 119–20) thinks it plausible that Luke's readers would have connected the Ethiopian's return home with Acts 1:8. Thornton ("To the end of the earth," 374) notes that Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 3.12.8; cf. 4.23.2), Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.1.13), and Jerome (*Comm. in Isaiam lib. XIV*, on Isa 53:7 [PL 24:508–9]) assume that the Ethiopian evangelized his native land.

[30] Martin ("A Chamberlain's Journey," 114) argues "that the story of a *black* African Gentile from what would be perceived as a 'distant nation' to the south of the empire is consistent with the Lucan emphasis on 'universalism,' a recurrent motif in both Luke and Acts, and one that is well known." Frank M. Snowden (*Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983]) examines black-white contacts in the ancient world (pp. 99–108 on Christianity). See also Lloyd A. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks* (Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture; Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989). Cain Hope Felder (*Troubling Biblical Waters: Race, Class, and Family* [Bishop Henry McNeal Turner Studies in North American Black Religion 3; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1989], 47) wonders whether Luke's "awkward use" of the story in 8:26–40 has "certain racial implications." He contrasts the failure to mention the descent of the Spirit on the Ethiopian with the elaborate account about Cornelius in 10:1–48, which emphasizes this event (10:44–48) prior to baptism. But Luke's redaction in 8:14–25, outlined in chapter two above, suggests that Luke was more concerned with raising the profile of Peter than contrasting Cornelius with the Ethiopian. It is also true, of course, that Cornelius' status as a Roman officer who feared God fits a type that Luke gives particular emphasis (cf. Luke 7:1–10).

[31] Dibelius, "Style Criticism," 15.

[32] Cf. Schreiber, "Beobachtungen," 49–53.

of the legend are complicated by the thoroughgoing nature of Luke's composition. For example, the use of the term μεσημβρία[33] and the specification of Gaza may be part of the tradition, although Luke uses μεσημβρία again in 22:6 and the location Γάζα (vs 26) may be a play on the office γάζα (vs 27). The extended stereotypical presentation of the Ethiopian may at first glance appear to be a novelistic expansion. Yet insofar as this portrait informs and impresses the hearer/reader with the social location of the mysterious foreigner, it is conceivable that it was integral from the start.[34] The analytical strategy adopted in the following pages (1) takes seriously Luke's well-known fondness for imitating biblical style,[35] and (2) compares 8:26–40 with two other legends redacted by the author of Luke-Acts in order to develop more reliable indications for determining the extent of Luke's elaboration of the legend.

The account opens with a pronounced biblical flavor.[36] Since Luke demonstrates a fondness for scriptural diction in numerous other texts, it is likely that he has shaped the language here as well, although

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[33] μεσημβρία (see BDAG, 634) is used either of time ("midday, noon"; NRSV alternate reading) or of place ("the south"; NRSV text). It may denote the time of day here, as in Acts 22:6, although Haenchen (*Acts*, 310 and n. 2) supposes that it means "southwards," since it was "usual to avoid travelling at noon if possible." Conzelmann (*Acts*, 68) assumes travel at noon was possible at certain times of the year. Melchor Sánchez de Toca ("Πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν [Hch 8,26]," *EstBib* 55 [1997]: 107–15) opts for the geographical sense, "toward the south," over the temporal sense. Diodorus Siculus (3.14.6) discusses "the part of Ethiopia that faces the noon-day sun (μεσημβρία) and the south wind."

[34] Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey ("First-Century Personality: Dyadic, Not Individual," in Neyrey, *Social World of Luke-Acts*, 89) point out that the characters in Luke's narratives (and presumably Luke's readers as well) depend on stereotypes to locate people. "When we know a person's father and family (including gender and sibling rank), clan or tribe, ethnos, place of origin (region, village) and trade, according to the canons of Luke's world we truly know them. According to their ways of perceiving and describing, we genuinely know the essential and relevant information about them." They cite Acts 8:27 and 22:3 as examples. See also Bruce J. Malina, "Is There a Circum-Mediterranean Person? Looking for Stereotypes," *BTB* 22 (1992): 66–87. Malina (p. 66) argues that "first century Mediterraneans knew other people 'sociologistically.' . . . This means they knew others generically by their 'nature.'" The mention of the Candace, however, may be Luke's learned addition to the tradition's mention of an Ethiopian; see Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 12–13.

[35] See, e.g., Clarke, "Use of the Septuagint," in Foakes Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, 2:66–105; Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 219–24; Haenchen, *Acts*, 73–81; Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 38–72; Richard, *Author's Method*. See n. 10 in chapter two above.

[36] See Haenchen (*Acts*, 310–13) on the LXX locutions found in this passage, esp. in vss 26–27.

it cannot be excluded that this mood coheres with the tenor of the original telling of the legend. Particularly striking are the parallels between Acts 8:26–40, on the one hand, and 1 Kings 18 and 2 Kings 2, on the other. Étienne Trocmé highlights the following similarities between Acts 8:26–40 and 1 Kings 18: action initiated by divine command (1 Kgs 18:1; Acts 8:26), set in a desert (1 Kgs 18:2, 5; Acts 8:26), involving a pious royal official travelling by chariot (1 Kgs 18:3–4, 7; Acts 8:27–28), etc.[37] Haenchen calls attention to the chariot in 2 Kgs 2:11 (cf. Acts 8:28–29, 38), the phrase καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἔτι (2 Kgs 2:12; cf. Acts 8:39), the recollection of οὐχ εὗρον αὐτόν in 2 Kgs 2:17 by εὑρέθη in Acts 8:40, and the similar ἦρεν αὐτὸν πνεῦμα κυρίου (2 Kgs 2:16) and πνεῦμα κυρίου ἥρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον (Acts 8:39).[38] Thomas L. Brodie, on the basis of a detailed comparison of 2 Kings 5 and Acts 8:9–40, argues for Luke's direct literary dependence on the former passage.[39] Rather than choosing one text as Luke's paradigm, however, it is best to think in terms of a general intertextual appropriation of images and motifs from these various accounts, which presumably were familiar to Luke.[40] It is not impossible that the pre-Lukan legend already borrowed elements from the Elijah narratives and that Luke in turn developed this connection.

Although Luke's story portrays the initiation of a conversation between Philip and the eunuch on the basis of the latter's reading aloud from Isaiah, it is unlikely that the text now cited was a constituent part of the original legend. Given the obvious movement of the story toward the baptism at the end,[41] it is difficult to imagine

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[37] Étienne Trocmé, *Le 'livre des Actes' et l'histoire* (Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses 45; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 180.

[38] Haenchen, *Acts*, 313 n. 2. On echoes of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to see Solomon in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 10:1–10) in Acts 8:26–40, see Volkmar Hirth, "Die Königin von Saba und der Kämmerer aus dem Mohrenland oder das Ende menschlicher Weisheit vor Gott," *BN* 83 (1996): 13–15.

[39] Thomas L. Brodie, "Towards Unraveling the Rhetorical Imitation of Sources in Acts: 2 Kgs 5 as One Component of Acts 8,9–40," *Bib* 67 (1986): 41–67. For Brodie (p. 46), "Luke's reworking of the OT text involves a process of internalization." I find many of the Lukan adaptations of 2 Kings 5 proposed by Brodie to be obscure. See Spencer's critique of Brodie in *Portrait of Philip*, 136–40.

[40] So Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 140. Luke T. Johnson's characterization (*The Acts of the Apostles* [SP 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 158) of the correspondences to Elijah as "oblique allusions" that would delight readers is apt.

[41] Concerning the focus of the story on baptism, see Jacques Dupont, "Le repas d'Emmaüs," *LumVie* 31 (1957): 90–91 = "The Meal at Emmaus," in Jean Delorme et al., *The Eucharist in the New Testament: A Symposium* (Baltimore and Dublin: Helicon,

how the citation from Isa 53:7–8 would be mnemonically linked with the telling of the rest of the legend. It would hardly be surprising to suppose that Luke had inserted the reference to Isaiah. At various points in the Gospel (3:4–6; 7:22; 8:10; 19:46; 21:26; 22:37) and Acts (7:49–50; 13:34, 47), including such key moments as Luke 4:18–19 and Acts 28:26–27, Luke utilizes quotations from this prophet.[42] Confirmation that Luke contributed the citation from Isaiah found in 8:32–33 ensues from a comparison of Acts 8:26–40 with Luke 24:13–35.

Paul Schubert's investigation of Luke 24 identified the traditional material underlying the chapter as "a miscellany of data" comprised of three, unrelated major units: the empty tomb story, the Emmaus story, and the appearance to the eleven. According to Schubert, Luke organized these materials by providing a culmination for each unit that centers on a proof-from-prophecy argument that Jesus is the Christ.[43] In the Emmaus story Luke's proof-from-prophecy theology

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1964), 120; Robert F. O'Toole, "Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts VIII 25–40)," *JSNT* 17 (1983): 30; C. H. Lindijer, "Two Creative Encounters in the Work of Luke: Luke xxiv 13–35 and Acts viii 26–40," in *Miscellanea Neotestamentica* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; NovTSup 48; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 79. Verse 37 is usually taken as a secondary addition by Western textual witnesses that supplies the missing confession of faith (see Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 315–16). Jenny Heimerdinger ("La foi de l'eunuque éthiopien: Le problème textuel d'Actes 8/37," *ETR* 63 [1988]: 521–28) argues that the two forms of the text are contemporary. Carson ("Acts 8:37—A Textual Reexamination") contends that vs 37 belongs to the eunuch story which originated as an independent document of a particular community and that it was omitted from biblical manuscripts commissioned by Constantine so as not to detract from the status of the Roman centurion Cornelius as the first gentile convert.

[42] As Vernon K. Robbins ("The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts," in Neyrey, *Social World of Luke-Acts*, 324) notes, "the narrator quotes septuagintal verse 'written in a book of words of Isaiah the prophet' in Luke 3:4–6 and Acts 8:32–33. . . . With these quotations, the narratee sees that the narrator can find and read passages from Isaiah." David Seccombe ("Luke and Isaiah," *NTS* 27 [1981]: 252–59) argues that with regard to Luke's use of citations from and allusions to Isaiah, one may assume Luke's knowledge of the larger context in Isaiah. On Luke's use of Isaiah, see David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 2/130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

[43] Paul Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag am 20. August 1954* (BZNW 21; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954), 173. Schubert (p. 176) offers the following conclusion: "Summing up we conclude that Luke's proof-from-prophecy theology is the heart of his concern in chapter 24. . . . Since this proof-from-prophecy theology is Luke's central theological idea throughout the two-volume work, he had no difficulty or hesitancy in incorporating it into any materials he liked for the purpose, and thus transforming these traditional materials more or less drastically and effectively."

> occupies the whole of the story (vss. 13–31) with the exception of verses 13, 15b, 16, 28–31. These few verses . . . contain nearly everything of the original story. It was an appearance-story that was dominated wholly and exclusively by the motif of a recognition scene that is so familiar from ancient mythology, legend and literature.[44]

This finding of Schubert's, in conjunction with Luke's frequent recourse to scripture, especially Isaiah, elsewhere in Luke-Acts, allows one to claim with confidence that Luke has inserted the Isaiah quotation into the story of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch.[45] The interpretation of the Isaiah text here is probably to be understood in connection with Luke's use of other scriptural passages in Acts that seek to explicate the meaning of Christ's death and exaltation.[46]

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[44] Ibid., 174. Schubert's delimitation of the original story has been influential and is followed, for example, by Ferdinand Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum* (2d ed.; FRLANT 83; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 387–88; and Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Resurrection and the Message of Easter* (trans. R. N. Wilson; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 160. On the recognition scene as the dramatic center of the story, see Dodd, "Appearances of the Risen Christ," 14, 34. Dodd refers to the discussion of forms of ἀναγνώρισις in Aristotle, *Poet.* 1454b–1455a.

[45] Vincent Taylor (*The Passion Narrative of St Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation* [ed. O. E. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972], 111–12) found that the vocabulary, syntax, and style of the Emmaus narrative strongly suggested Lukan composition of the account or the embellishment of "an existing tradition with unusual freedom." Joachim Wanke's detailed redaction-critical study of the Emmaus narrative (*Die Emmauserzählung: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lk 24, 13–35* [ETS 31; Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1973]) concludes that the language and style of the pericope are thoroughly Lukan; see also idem, "'. . . wie sie ihn beim Brotbrechen erkannten.' Zur Auslegung der Emmauserzählung Lk 24, 13–35," *BZ* 18 (1974): 181. Richard J. Dillon (*From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* [AnBib 82; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978], 155, emphasis original) also discovers "a solid fabric of the *evangelist's own writing*" in the Emmaus account, finding an indication of a hypothetical tradition employed only in the meal scene (24:28–31).

[46] For discussion of the point of the scripture quotation for Luke, which will not be followed up here, in addition to the commentaries, see Seccombe, "Luke and Isaiah"; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:111–12; J. C. Bastiaens, *Interpretaties van Jesaja 53: Een intertextueel onderzoek naar de lijdende Knecht in Jes 53 (MT/LXX) en in Lk 22:14–38, Hand 3:12–26, Hand 4:23–31 en Hand 8:26–40* (TFT-Studies 22; Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1993); and Schreiber, "Beobachtungen," 61–63. Mikeal C. Parsons ("Isaiah 53 in Acts 8: A Reply to Professor Morna Hooker," in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* [ed. W. H. Bellinger and W. R. Farmer; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998], 104–19) argues that Isaiah 53 is "*one* of the texts that Luke had in mind when he referred to Christ's suffering according to the scriptures" (p. 118, emphasis original; the Lukan texts in view are Luke 24:25–27, 44–46); in the same volume Morna D. Hooker ("Response to Mikeal Parsons," 120–24) disputes this conclusion. Robert F. O'Toole ("How Does Luke Portray Jesus as Servant of YHWH?" *Bib* 81 [2000]: 328–46) argues that Acts 8:32–33 (cf. Isa 53:7–8 LXX) functions in Luke's portrayal of Jesus as the Servant of YHWH as a summary of Jesus' passion that underlines his innocence.

Given that Luke has contributed the Isaiah text in 8:32–33, how is one to imagine the course of the original legend? One might conceive of the ad hoc insertion of various "appropriate" scriptural texts that would allow the story to proceed or the bare statement that the prophet, or simply scripture, was being read with no text given at all. Luke's addition of the Isaiah text, however, may indicate that the initiation of the encounter between Philip and the eunuch on the basis of the latter's reading aloud was redactionally engineered to accommodate the following scripture citation. Originally, it seems that the emphasis fell on Philip's preaching of Jesus (8:35), which connects immediately with 8:31 and leads directly to the baptism (8:36, 38).[47]

The correspondences between 8:26–40 and Luke 24:13–35 go beyond Luke's proof-from-prophecy scheme and have significant implications for the Lukan image of Philip. Jacques Dupont, among others, has drawn attention to the "astonishingly similar" structure shared by these two accounts.[48] Both take place on the road/way (ὁδός: Luke 24:32, 35; Acts 8:26, 36, 39) so that Philip encounters the eunuch on the road and inquires concerning his reading just as Jesus joins the two disciples on the way and asks what they are discussing. Both Philip (Acts 8:35: ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης) and Jesus (Luke 24:27: ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν) explain to their listeners the meaning of the scriptures as they relate to Jesus/the Christ. After baptizing the eunuch Philip disappears (Acts 8:39),[49] just as Jesus vanishes (Luke 24:31) after breaking the

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[47] See Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2 vols.; HTKNT 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1980–82), 1:504; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 103.

[48] Dupont, "Meal at Emmaus," 119–20. The points of agreement between the two passages are noted in detail by Lindijer, "Two Creative Encounters," 77–81, and others. Dillon observes (*From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers*, 112), correctly in my view, that "it was not in his sources that [Luke] found the schema of these narratives; he constructed them himself."

[49] The tradition of the "snatching away of Philip" apparently comes from a background different from the disappearance of Jesus in Luke 24 (contra Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers*, 153 and n. 239). Parallels (see Eduard Schweizer, "πνεῦμα, D–F," *TDNT* 6:409) to the miraculous rapture of human beings are found in 1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 2:16; Ezek 3:14; 8:3; *Gos. Heb.* (frg. 3 in *NTApoc*^{2} 1:177); Bel 36; *Herm. Vis.* 1.1.3; 2.1.1; Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* 8.10. The disappearance of Jesus is an element in the story of the appearance of a deity in the form of a human being. See Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 286, who quotes Hermann Gunkel's comment that the outline of the Emmaus story "is strictly analogous to the oldest stories of the appearance of God; it could, so far as its style is concerned, appear in Genesis." Arnold Ehrhardt ("The Disciples of Emmaus," *NTS* 10 [1964]: 184–85) describes it as an *epiphaneia*. He found models (idem, "Emmaus: Romulus und Apollonius," in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* [ed. A. Stuiber and A. Hermann; JAC Ergänzungsband 1; Münster: Aschendorff, 1964], 93–99) for the Emmaus

bread.[50] Such structural similarities clearly indicate Luke's complete awareness and shaping of the materials in his possession.[51] They also allow us to confirm our findings concerning Luke's characterization of Philip in 8:5–13. Here as there Philip does the things that Jesus did. Just as Jesus explained the meaning of the scriptures in relation to himself (Luke 24:25–27, 44–47) so Philip explicates their meaning to inquirers in relation to Jesus. To the often observed parallelism between Jesus and Peter, Paul, and Stephen,[52] we must now add Philip.

Comparative Legends in Luke-Acts

The parallels between Acts 8:26–40 and Luke 24:13–35, as great as they are, are matched by the correspondences between the former passage and the legend of the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10:1–11:18. The long-recognized similarity between these narratives has been judged by many interpreters to be an example of competing accounts of the first conversion of a gentile. Haenchen's assessment of 8:26–40 is representative of this view:

> This was the account which the *Hellenists* handed down of the first conversion of a Gentile—and the name of the first missionary to effect

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legend in the myth of the apotheosis of Romulus and the report of the martyrdom of Apollonius and his subsequent appearances to his disciples in Puteoli. See further Hans Dieter Betz, "The Origin and Nature of Christian Faith According to the Emmaus Legend (Luke 24:13–32)," *Int* 23 (1969): 34–35 and n. 8. Joseph A. Fitzmyer (*The Gospel According to Luke [X–XXIV]: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* [AB 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1985], 1568) notes that the adjective ἄφαντος employed in Luke 24:31 is used of disappearing gods in classical Greek; he cites Euripides, *Hel.* 606. Also note M. Verman and Shulamit H. Adler, "Path Jumping in the Jewish Magical Tradition," *JSQ* 1 (1993–94): 131–48.

[50] Dupont ("Meal at Emmaus," 119) also sees a correspondence between the invitation of the two disciples to Jesus to stay with them (Luke 24:29) and the eunuch's question to Philip, "What prevents my being baptized?" (Acts 8:36). Dupont emphasizes the role of the scriptures in each passage preparing for the breaking of bread and baptism, respectively.

[51] Lindijer ("Two Creative Encounters," 81–83) understands the series of motifs in these two accounts to be a Lukan conception influenced by the liturgy of Luke's time. Raymond Orlett ("An Influence of the Early Liturgy upon the Emmaus Account," *CBQ* 21 [1959]: 218) had reached a similar conclusion for the Emmaus account: "The early community would see a typical sense to be found in the experience of the two disciples on the way to Emmaus. The antitype would be their liturgical experience." Put another way, we may acknowledge the likelihood that liturgical activities exerted their own intertextual influence on Christian authors. On the eucharistic terminology in Luke 24:30, see Medard Kehl, "Eucharistie und Auferstehung: Zur Deutung der Ostererscheinungen beim Mahl," *Geist und Leben* 43 (1970): 101–5.

[52] See Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 231–32.

> such a conversion was not Peter, but Philip! In other words, the story of the eunuch is the Hellenistic parallel to Luke's account of the first Gentile-conversion by Peter: its parallel—and rival.[53]

According to Haenchen, Luke disguised the full significance of the story by leaving the eunuch's gentile identity ambiguous in order to allow the decisive gentile conversion to be accomplished through the apostle Peter. But given the notable similarities between the two accounts, this "deception" is singularly ineffective. Tannehill correctly observes that

> if the narrator wished to avoid the implication that what Peter did Philip had already done—convert a Gentile—it would be important to discourage comparison by minimizing similarities. The narrator chooses the opposite course, presenting two similar scenes in which the missionary, receiving strong divine guidance, makes contact with a foreigner, which leads to preaching and the foreigner's baptism. Details support the general similarity of the story line.[54]

Thus in both accounts the action is initiated by an angel (8:26; 10:3), the Spirit guides the preacher to a foreigner (8:29; 10:19–20), both Philip and Peter preach in response to an invitation (8:35; 10:34), and in the absence of any hindrance (κωλύειν) the foreigner is baptized (8:36; 10:47).[55] Although an Ethiopian eunuch must be a gentile,[56] in Luke's view when this person travels to Jerusalem and reads Isaiah he is a proselyte.[57]

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[53] *Acts*, 315 (emphasis original). See also Conzelmann, *Acts*, 67; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 105. Dinkler ("Philippus und der ANHP AIΘIOΨ," 88) comments on 8:26–40: "Insofern ist diese Perikope eine konkurrierende Parallelgeschichte der Hellenisten zur Jerusalemer Tradition von der Bekehrung und Taufe des Cornelius durch Petrus."

[54] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:110–11. See also Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 106.

[55] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:111. Oscar Cullmann (*Baptism in the New Testament* [trans. J. K. S. Reid; London: SCM, 1950; repr., Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978], 71–80), noting how frequently the verb κωλύειν appears in baptismal contexts, suggested that first-century baptismal practice included a question whether anything hindered the baptism of the candidate. A. W. Argyle ("O. Cullmann's Theory Concerning κωλύειν," *ExpTim* 67 [1955]: 17) finds the evidence for such a stereotypical formula lacking.

[56] Wilson's initial suggestion (*Gentiles and the Gentile Mission*, 172) that Luke did not realize that the eunuch was a gentile is improbable, given the widespread lore about the Ethiopians in the sources of Luke's day. More to the point is his counterproposal: "If the eunuch was a Gentile, then this narrative affords yet one more example of the way in which Luke's idealistic picture of the extension of the Church's mission is betrayed by stories which he himself relates."

[57] So Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*, 151–53, 252–53; idem, "Who Is a Jew and Who Is a Gentile in the Book of Acts?" *NTS* 37 (1991): 434–55. See also Cadbury, *Book of Acts in History*, 16.

That the Ethiopian should be considered a proselyte here may have been Luke's deduction, which combined the Ethiopians' reputed piety with the well-known interest on the part of some gentiles for worshiping at the temple in Jerusalem. Concerning the Ethiopians' religious sensibilities, Diodorus Siculus, after citing the conclusion of historians that the Ethiopians "were the first of all people," observes the following:

> And they say that they were the first to be taught to honor the gods and to hold sacrifices and processions and festivals and the other rites by which people honor the deity; and that in consequence their piety has been published abroad among all people, and it is generally held that the sacrifices practised among the Ethiopians are those which are the most pleasing to heaven.[58]

And with regard to the universal attraction of the Jerusalem temple for gentiles, we find in Josephus' speech for Simon the Idumaean officer in *War* 4.275 a reference to Jerusalem, "which flung wide its gates to every foreigner for worship." In another context, Josephus illustrates the devotion of distant gentile visitors to the temple in Jerusalem, even though the Mosaic Law excluded their full participation:

> Only recently certain persons from beyond the Euphrates, after a journey of four months, undertaken from veneration of our temple and involving great perils and expense, having offered sacrifices, could not partake of the victims, because Moses had forbidden this to any of those not governed by our laws nor affiliated through the customs of their fathers to ourselves. Accordingly, some without sacrificing at all, others leaving their sacrifices half completed, many of them unable so much as to gain entrance to the temple, they went their way, preferring to conform to the injunctions of Moses rather than to act in accordance with their own will, and that from no fear of being reproved in this matter but solely through misgivings of conscience.[59]

As a proselyte, however, Luke's Ethiopian would not be excluded from worship at the temple, and Ps 68:31 (67:32 LXX), "Let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out its hands to God," would be fulfilled. And should the eunuch's bodily defect seem to prohibit the realization of such worship (see Deut 23:1–2), Luke had recourse to Isaiah, where the issue is dealt with decisively:

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[58] Diodorus Siculus 3.2.2 (LCL slightly modified). Diodorus then quotes the *Iliad* 1.423–24, where Zeus and all the gods feast with the faultless people of Ethiopia. See Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 51–52.

[59] *Ant.* 3.318–19.

> Do not let the foreigner joined to the Lord say, "The Lord will surely separate me from his people"; and do not let the eunuch say, "I am just a dry tree." For thus says the Lord: To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off.[60]

Although Luke does not actually call this individual a proselyte here, perhaps some such distinction preserves the progressively expanding circle of converts in Luke's account (Samaritans, proselytes, gentiles). Of course it is possible that Luke was less concerned than modern critics with the clear progression of the gospel from Jews to gentiles. Nevertheless, what is clear is Luke's decision to highlight the Cornelius account as the divinely-guided incident that legitimated the gentile mission for Peter and the Jerusalem church.[61]

Turning from the Lukan versions of these two legends to a comparison of their underlying tradition further accentuates their similarities. Dibelius's 1947 study of Acts 10:1–11:18 identified the following Lukan components of this lengthy narrative: the vision in 10:9–16 (a tradition of Peter originally unrelated to the Cornelius account), the reference to the vision in 10:27–29a, Peter's speech in 10:34–43, Peter's speech in Jerusalem (11:1–18), Peter's companions (10:23b, 45; 11:12b), and the conclusion in 10:48.[62] Dibelius's investigation has been quite influential in the study of this large pericope.[63] Among the dissenters, Haenchen objects that the premises of Dibelius's analysis, which concludes that the tradition behind Luke's account is a simple conversion legend, are dubious.[64] He cites favorably Wilfred

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[60] Isa 56:3–5. Vss 6–7 make comparable promises to "the foreigners who join themselves to the Lord."

[61] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:110.

[62] Dibelius, "Conversion of Cornelius," 109–14.

[63] Conzelmann (*Acts*, 80) is in essential agreement with Dibelius concerning the passages to be attributed to Luke: "What is left as a source is a conversion legend in edifying style. This corresponds to the first Gentile conversion through Philip." Lüdemann's analysis (*Early Christianity*, 125–33) of the pericope emphasizes its Lukan language, style, and theology. He, too, agrees fundamentally with the findings of Dibelius, and specifies additional individual features that may go back to Luke. For example, he proposes (p. 126) that the parallels between the Cornelius story and the story of the centurion of Capernaum in Luke 7:1–10 are redactional.

[64] Haenchen, *Acts*, 360–61. Klaus Haacker ("Dibelius und Cornelius: Ein Beispiel formgeschichtlicher Überlieferungskritik," *BZ* 24 [1980]: 234–51) also finds fault with Dibelius's "simple conversion account," but unlike Haenchen, who emphasizes the significance of the short legend, Haacker finds that a *Sitz im Leben* in the discussion

L. Knox's proposal that the tradition here concerns the foundation of the Caesarean Christian community.[65] Haenchen also argues that Luke composed Peter's vision.[66] François Bovon judges this last conclusion excessive but agrees that a conversion legend lies behind Acts 10.[67] A precise determination of the distribution of tradition and redaction in the Cornelius narrative is beyond the scope of the present investigation. What is important here is that in spite of differing judgments concerning the extent of the tradition employed in the Cornelius episode, there is basic agreement on Luke's use of a conversion legend centering on a Roman centurion. The net result is that Luke possessed and utilized two very similar legends concerning the apostolic deeds of Philip and Peter, respectively, who instigated groundbreaking missionary outreach by their conversions of gentiles who exhibited a special relation to Judaism (i.e., proselytes and "God-fearers").[68]

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of the legitimacy of the gentile mission accounts for the larger narrative. Gaventa (*From Darkness to Light*, 108) assumes that Haacker's critique "dismantles" Dibelius's assumption of an earlier, simpler story.

[65] Haenchen, *Acts*, 360–61. See Wilfred L. Knox, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 33–34. Lewis R. Donelson ("Cult Histories and the Sources of Acts," *Bib* 68 [1987]: 1–21) argues that early Christian communities naturally preserved their local histories and that Luke collected such chronicles, which became the sources of Acts. On the cultural and religious milieu of Caesarea in the early Christian period, see Terence L. Donaldson, ed., *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima* (SCJ 8; Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000).

[66] Haenchen, *Acts*, 361–62. Karl Löning ("Die Korneliustradition," *BZ* 18 [1974]: 1–19), on the other hand, contends that Peter's vision was connected with the Cornelius account prior to Luke. Wilson (*Gentiles and the Gentile Mission*, 174) also thinks the vision may be in the right context. Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 131) understands the vision in 10:10–16 to stem from tradition, but he deems its association with the Cornelius legend to be redactional.

[67] François Bovon, "Tradition et rédaction en Actes 10, 1–11, 18," *TZ* 26 (1970): 26, 32. Bovon's critique of Dibelius's analysis uncovers a second tradition, an etiological legend concerned with commensality tied to the person and authority of Peter. This determination is based on a study of the prehistory of Peter's vision (10:9–16) and the dispute at Jerusalem. Bovon observes that the presence of two themes in the Cornelius pericope (the admission of gentiles, the status of purity laws) has been noticed by patristic and modern exegetes alike. On the former, see idem, *De Vocatione Gentium: Histoire de l'interprétation d'Act. 10, 1–11, 18 dans les six premiers siècles* (BGBE 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967).

[68] On Luke's "God-fearers," see Barrett, *Acts*, 1:499–501, and the literature cited there. For a recent summary of the debate over the existence of the God-fearers, see Donald D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* (SBLDS 169; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 380–87.

Philip in Caesarea

A consideration of Acts 8:40 and Luke's account of Peter's movements in Acts 9–10 raises questions about the overlapping and potentially competitive nature of the mission activities of Philip and Peter as portrayed by Luke. At the end of the account of Philip and the Ethiopian, after Philip's miraculous transportation from the scene, he is found at Azotus (Ashdod), some twenty miles northeast of Gaza on the sea. From Azotus, Philip proceeds up the coast to Caesarea, preaching the gospel in all the towns along the way. Conzelmann, along with many others, presumes that the notice of Philip's movements in Acts 8:40 is a simple Lukan device to get Philip to Caesarea for his final appearance in 21:8.[69] Hengel, however, thinks that 8:39a and 40a are elements of another story about Philip, perhaps legitimating the mission to the Hellenistic city of Azotus.[70]

Is the ideal reader[71] to assume from 8:40 that Peter's encounters with Christian communities in Lydda (9:32–35) and Joppa (9:36–43) were possible because of Philip's missionary labor? Wellhausen, commenting on Acts 9:31–41, calls attention to the repetition of an earlier pattern: "Es befremdet aber, dass er [Peter] dabei wiederum den Spuren des Philippus folgt, durch gewisse Städte der palästinischen Küstengegend bis nach Cäsarea, gerade wie er es in Samarien getan hat."[72] Haenchen wonders whether Philip's movements in 8:40 imply that he founded the Christian communities in Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea.[73] He too sees a repetition of the earlier pattern in Samaria (8:14–25) where Peter follows in the footsteps of Philip. In this case Philip precedes Peter in precisely the territory where according to Acts 9:32–10:48 Peter is to enjoy his greatest missionary success. Thus Haenchen speculates that "es ist durchaus möglich, dass die Gemeinde von Cäsarea im Lauf der Zeit ihre Anfänge durch Philippus

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[69] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 69; similarly, Dibelius, "Style Criticism," 15.

[70] Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 112–13. Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 104), with reference to Hengel, also supposes that Luke's geographical information in 8:40 may derive from Hellenist traditions.

[71] Robert M. Fowler (*Let the Reader Understand: Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 38) describes the individual ideal reader as "the supremely well-informed and skilled reader-critic, possessing impeccable linguistic and literary competence."

[72] Wellhausen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 18.

[73] Haenchen, *Acts*, 313, 341.

vergessen hatte und Anspruch auf die Gründung durch Petrus erhob."[74] In connection with this conjecture Haenchen asserts that Luke has done everything possible to remove Philip traditions and in general traditions from the Hellenists. Luke's employment of the two Philip traditions, however, and the clearly positive appraisal of Philip in both of them, not to mention 21:8–9, argue against Haenchen's supposition of a wholesale suppression of traditions connected with Philip and the Hellenists.[75] Nevertheless, there does appear to be a redactional undercurrent in Luke's total conception in which Philip must yield to some degree in the presence of the influence of Peter.

Philip last appears in Luke's narrative at 21:8–9 as one of Paul's hosts on the latter's final journey to Jerusalem. Haenchen assumes that this information comes from an "itinerary" source.[76] Lüdemann also assumes a source behind the report of Paul's journey in 21:1–16, but is non-committal on whether 21:8b–9 was contained in it.[77] Whatever the origin of the information concerning Philip's residence in Caesarea, there is no reason for Luke's reference to him or his daughters at Caesarea apart from some indication in the tradition.[78] But the notion of an itinerary source that recorded Paul's movements and hosts on his last journey to Jerusalem is problematic. It is possible that Luke relies on a local tradition concerning Philip's presence in Caesarea and redactionally brings Paul into contact with Philip, who is apparently a notable member of the Christian community there.

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[74] Haenchen, "Simon Magus," 278. See also idem, *Acts*, 601, where Haenchen states that it is probable that Philip founded the Christian community of Caesarea.

[75] Haenchen's proposal must struggle with the fact that, if anything, Luke's sympathies were "Hellenist." Nevertheless, the portrait of the Hellenists as a distinct group over against the Hebrew Christians of Jerusalem may be a Lukan construct. Hill (*Hellenists and Hebrews*, 196–97) argues that "we are not justified in assigning the membership of the early Jerusalem church to Hellenist and Hebrew pigeonholes. . . . Luke did not return to the opposition of 'Hellenists' and 'Hebrews' beyond its resolution in Acts 6:5. We would do well to follow his example." See also Heikki Räisänen, "The 'Hellenists'—A Bridge Between Jesus and Paul?" in idem, *The Torah and Christ: Essays in German and English on the Problem of the Law in Early Christianity* (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 45; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 1986), 244–46. Barrett (*Acts*, 1:550, emphasis added) suggests that Acts 6:1 "may be Luke's own writing, and this would carry with it the conclusion that *the Hellenists as a party are his invention.*" On assumptions regarding the Jerusalem church, see n. 103 in chapter two above; on the Hellenists, see n. 98 in the same chapter.

[76] Haenchen, *Acts*, 601. See Haenchen's discussion (pp. 86–87) of the issue of a travel-journal versus an itinerary compiled by Luke himself.

[77] Lüdemann, *Early Traditions*, 233.

[78] Note the reference to the residences of Philip and his daughters in Jerome, *Epist.* 108.8 (see Zahn, *Forschungen*, 161–62 and n. 1).

The reasons for identifying Philip the evangelist, who had four prophetic daughters, with Philip the apostle have already been advanced in chapter one in connection with Papias' testimony. Here it is important to consider what the designation "evangelist" may imply about this figure and to note once again that it is Luke's editorial remark in 21:8 (ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά) that identifies Philip as someone other than the apostle of the same name. That Philip is here called ὁ εὐαγγελιστής may signal either the employment of a traditional epithet for a well-known missionary or a common sense conclusion based on Philip's earlier activity in Acts (see 8:4, [5], 12, 35, 40). The latter view seems preferable. The use of the term to designate a special position elsewhere in the New Testament (Eph 4:11; 2 Tim 4:5) in documents roughly contemporaneous with Luke may reflect attempts to formalize or routinize the effectiveness of early activists such as Philip. Thus in Philip's case "evangelist" does not exclude his being an apostle.[79] Luke's identification of Philip as "one of the Seven" is of course intended to recall the scene in Acts 6:1–7 and does seem to indicate for Luke that Philip was not to be considered an apostle. The confusion is apparently due to Luke's possession of the traditional list in 6:5, which included Philip's name in second position. Although this traditional list likely predates the conflicting attempts to catalog the twelve apostles, by Luke's day it must have been viewed as a secondary grouping of prominent Christian leaders. It is quite possible that Luke's comparison of his list of the Twelve with that of the Seven led him to interpret the two occurrences of the name Philip, the only name shared by these lists, as references to two different persons. The lists of the Twelve and the material on Philip in the Fourth Gospel will be treated in the next chapter. For now it is important to emphasize that it is no longer possible to ascertain the origin or purpose of the list in Acts 6:5. That it intended to indicate subordinates to the apostles, as Luke implies in 6:1–7, is already disproved by the ensuing scenes relating the activities of Stephen and Philip.[80]

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[79] Lake and Cadbury (Foakes Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, 4:267) think it "doubtful" that εὐαγγελιστής "is intended here to distinguish between this Philip and the Apostle." But as Gerhard Friedrich ("εὐαγγελιστής," *TDNT* 2:737) notes, "εὐαγγελιστής originally denotes a function rather than an office, and there can have been little difference between an apostle and an evangelist, all the apostles being evangelists."

[80] Joseph T. Lienhard ("Acts 6:1–6: A Redactional View," *CBQ* 37 [1975]: 228–36) concludes that the speech of the Twelve (6:2–4) is a redactional composition originally unconnected with an independent tradition on the institution of the Seven in 6:1, 5–6.

Conclusion

The analysis of Lukan composition in this chapter has once again uncovered a traditional account of Philip's apostolic activity. The independent legend recounting Philip's conversion of an Ethiopian gentile reinforces the information garnered from the traditional report in 8:5–13 that Philip was remembered as one who proclaimed the gospel to non-Jews,[81] or more particularly to those who could be identified as marginalized.[82] Further indications in this direction will be detailed in the next chapter. Luke's interpretation of Philip's activity is quite positive. In fact, Luke has gone out of his way to draw correspondences between Jesus and Philip. Consequently, Haenchen's charge that Luke has suppressed Philip traditions stands in need of revision. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the patterns noticed by Haenchen of the overlapping activity of Philip and Peter, which exclude any contact between these figures, are present in the text. The difficulties involved in determining Luke's perception of the relationship between Philip and Peter may indicate a tension between these figures in the tradition, a tension that Luke attempted to avoid by not allowing them to come into contact in his narrative. Such a tension bolsters the notion that apostles' names function as authoritative markers for various social/theological positions of consequence—a phenomenon to be explored further in the next chapter. It seems unlikely that Luke would have invented the notice of Philip's activity in 8:40, which in light of Peter's movements in Acts 9–10 (Lydda, Joppa, Caesarea) implies that Philip and Peter were rivals of sorts. The curious juxtaposition of Philip and Peter recurs in several Christian gnostic and apocryphal texts and these will be examined in chapters five and six.

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[81] Although Bernd Kollmann ("Philippus der Evangelist und die Anfänge der Heidenmission," *Bib* 81 [2000]: 551–65) considers the bulk of the Philip texts (including the second-century references) as evidence for the activities of Philip the evangelist, apart from this major difference from my investigation his conclusion is consistent with the principal point I wish to make here, namely, the traditional connection between Philip and the first "gentile Christians": "Neben den Hellenisten in Antiochia ist der Evangelist Philippus ein Vorreiter für die Öffnung der Kirche gegenüber den Heiden und spielt für die Etablierung der die Grenzen Israels überschreitenden Völkermission eine deutlich grössere Rolle, als Lukas sie ihm einzuräumen gewillt ist. Bei Philippus hat es sich, soweit das spärliche Quellenmaterial ein Urteil darüber zulässt, um den ersten namhaften Heidenmissionar gehandelt" (p. 565).

[82] See Esler's comments cited in n. 18 above.

CHAPTER FOUR

PHILIP IN THE GOSPELS

In the preceding chapters I have argued that the traditions available to Papias and Luke about Philip concerned the same figure. It is now necessary to examine the occurrences of the name Philip in the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel in order to assess the relation of their information to the material treated above. I will argue that the evidence makes the most sense when one recognizes that the Philip valorized in the lists of the twelve disciples in the Synoptic Gospels was none other than the Philip behind Luke's accounts in Acts. Moreover, the presentation of Philip in John shows an enhanced awareness of traditions concerning this same Philip, especially in connection with the spread of the gospel to non-Jewish groups.

The Synoptic Gospels

In the Synoptic Gospels, the name Philip occurs only in the lists of the names of the twelve disciples/apostles (Mark 3:16–19a; Matt 10:2–4; Luke 6:14–16; see also Acts 1:13b). In each instance Philip is presented in fifth position. Papias knew that Philip shared the same status as the six others he listed with him,[1] and the mere existence of the Philip traditions that Luke incorporated into Acts attests to the notoriety of this individual. It should occasion no surprise, then, that the figure celebrated by these traditions was also considered to be one of the Twelve.

Scholars are divided on the issue of whether the concept of the Twelve goes back to Jesus.[2] The earliest putative evidence for this

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[1] Andrew, Peter, Thomas, James, John, and Matthew. See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.4, and the treatment of Papias in chapter one.

[2] Support for the origin of the concept with the historical Jesus has been and continues to be strong. Karl Heinrich Rengstorf ("δώδεκα," *TDNT* 2:325–26), Günther Bornkamm (*Jesus of Nazareth* [trans. I. and F. McLuskey with J. M. Robinson; New York: Harper & Row, 1960], 150), Seán Freyne (*The Twelve: Disciples and Apostles. A Study in the Theology of the First Three Gospels* [London: Sheed and Ward, 1968], 33–36), Gerd Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 36), James H. Charlesworth (*Jesus*

group is provided by the traditional formula taken over by Paul in 1 Cor 15:3–5.[3] Additional early evidence may be offered by Matt 19:28//Luke 22:30:[4]

> You who have followed me . . . will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt 19:28).
> You will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Luke 22:30).

But Luke's text, which lacks the word "twelve" before "thrones" more probably reflects what was available in Q.[5] Mark's use of the concept of the Twelve presumes its availability in the Jesus tradition.[6] Yet Mark "is not basically interested in the twelve. He is able

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within Judaism: New Light from Exciting Archaeological Discoveries [London: SPCK, 1989], 138), John P. Meier (*A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, vol. 1, *The Roots of the Problem and the Person* [ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991], 208, 234 n. 13), and James D. G. Dunn (*Jesus' Call to Discipleship* [Understanding Jesus Today; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 95–96) all trace the Twelve back to Jesus. Hesitancy is expressed by Hans Conzelmann (*1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* [trans. J. W. Leitch; ed. G. W. MacRae; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975], 257 n. 78) and Helmut Koester (*Introduction*[1], 2:83–84). Rudolf Bultmann, (*History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 345–46), Philipp Vielhauer ("Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu," in *Festschrift für Gunther Dehn zum 75. Geburtstag am 18. April 1957* [ed. W. Schneemelcher; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1957], 51–79), Günter Klein (*Die zwölf Apostel*), Burton L. Mack (*Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 201), and Andries van Aarde ("The historicity of the circle of the Twelve: All roads lead to Jerusalem," *HvTSt* 55 [1999]: 795–826) locate the Twelve in the period after Jesus. Cf. Koester, *Introduction*[2], 2:89, 95, who now appears more clearly to opt for the latter understanding.

[3] On the formula, see Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 251–54.

[4] See Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 150; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 36; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals: A Critical Feminist* Ekklēsia-*logy of Liberation* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 109–10; E. P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1993), 185–86. See the comprehensive history of scholarship as it bears on the text of Q here in Paul Hoffmann et al., *Q 22:28, 30: You Will Judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel* (Documenta Q; Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

[5] On the issue of reading "twelve" before "thrones" in Q 22:30, John S. Kloppenborg Verbin (in Hoffmann et al., *Q 22:28, 30*, 425) observes: "In the final analysis it is the lack of warrant within the rest of Q for an implicit enumeration of the Twelve that suggests Luke rather than Matthew as original: nothing else in Q affords any purchase for reconstructing with Matthew." Christopher Tuckett ("Q 22:28–30," in *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honour of David R. Catchpole* [ed. D. G. Horrell and C. M. Tuckett; NovTSup 99; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 100–101 n. 8) concludes: "It seems very unlikely that Q contained 'twelve' here. The word at this point would seem to indicate an audience of precisely twelve disciples. Q elsewhere gives no indication of the existence of the Twelve as a distinct group among the disciples of Jesus. The word in Matthew is probably due to MattR."

[6] On the role of the Twelve in Mark, see Dieter Lührmann, *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987); Ernest Best, "The Role of the Disciples in Mark," in idem, *Disciples and Discipleship: Studies in the Gospel according to Mark* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 98–130, and the literature cited there at p. 102 n. 3; and Best, "Mark's Use of the Twelve," in idem, *Disciples and Discipleship*, 157.

easily to replace the twelve by the disciples and to identify the functions of the two groups because at no point does he give a reason why their number should be twelve and not some other number (cf. Mt 19:28)."[7] Although Matthew can refer to the twelve apostles (Matt 10:2),[8] his more usual reference is to the twelve disciples (10:1; 11:1; 20:17; 26:20; 28:16).[9] It is Luke who emphasizes a strict correspondence between the Twelve and the apostles, who earlier had been viewed as separate groups (see 1 Cor 15:5–7). The significance of the twelve apostles for Luke emerges from the story of the reconstitution of their number in Acts 1:15–26. The twelve apostles are witnesses of Jesus' life and resurrection (Acts 1:21–22). They embody continuity between the time of Jesus and the time of the early church. Their functions as guarantors of the Gospel tradition and leaders of the Jerusalem church (Acts 4:35–37; 5:2, 27–32; 6:6; 8:1; etc.) exhibit the interests of Luke's own time.[10]

Whether one traces the concept of the Twelve back to Jesus or to the early church, the identification of the individuals who made up this group is complicated by the fact that the listings of their names do not correspond exactly.[11] Consequently E. P. Sanders, who

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[7] Best, "Mark's Use of the Twelve," 158. See also idem, "Role of the Disciples in Mark," 128. On Mark's thematic interest in "the disciples," see Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 79 n. 1.

[8] The reference to the Twelve as apostles occurs first in Mark 3:14, if the reading οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν is accepted (see Bienert, "Picture of the Apostle," 2:11). On the Twelve and the apostles, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals*, 106–8, and the literature cited there. See the literature on apostles cited in n. 5 of my introduction to this work and the clarifications offered there regarding the relationship between the apostles and the Twelve.

[9] Note that Matthew can replace Markan references to "the Twelve" with "the disciples" (Mark 4:10//Matt 13:10; Mark 9:35//Matt 18:1). On the twelve disciples in Matthew, see Freyne, *The Twelve*, 151–206.

[10] Haenchen (*Acts*, 164) observes that "when Luke presents the 'twelve Apostles' as the leaders of the congregation in the earliest times, he is reproducing the picture of the primitive Church which he himself—and most probably the rest of the Christian community—had before his eyes about the year 80. . . . What Luke offers is the late form of the tradition about 'the Apostles.'" Koester (*Introduction*^{2}, 2:325) notes that Luke employed the "fiction of the 'Twelve Apostles' as leaders of the Jerusalem community . . . to demonstrate that the Hellenists and Paul as the apostle to the Gentiles are legitimately authorized by the Twelve Apostles and endowed by them with the Holy Spirit." See also Jacob Jervell, "The Twelve on Israel's Thrones: Luke's Understanding of the Apostolate," in idem, *Luke and the People of God*, 75–112; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 33, 36–37. For a thorough study Acts 1:15–26 and the influence of the concept of the twelve apostles as witnesses throughout Acts, see Zettner, *Amt, Gemeinde und kirchliche Einheit*, 18–145. See the discussion of the "apostle" concept in my introduction.

[11] Weiss (*Primitive Christianity*, 48), commenting on Luke 22:30 and Matt 19:28, observes that "the idea is, twelve Apostles to judge the twelve tribes. That this

argues that the concept of the Twelve goes back to Jesus,[12] is less sanguine about the names. With regard to the variation present in the lists of the Twelve, he observes that "the disagreements . . . seem to point rather to the fact that the conception of the twelve was more firmly anchored than the remembrance of precisely who they were. . . . It was Jesus who spoke of there being 'twelve,' and the church subsequently tried to list them."[13] The idea that the Twelve may originally have been unnamed, or that their actual names were lost,[14] is consistent with the limited extent to which they are individualized in the Synoptic Gospels. Even in Acts where the twelve apostles play a key role, only Peter receives individualized treatment; John is his silent sidekick. The Fourth Gospel knows of the Twelve (John 6:67–71), but makes no attempt to list them. It deals specifically with a smaller group of named disciples, who in most cases evidently stand for theological positions that the author wishes to juxtapose with the Johannine tradition.[15] On the two occasions when members of the Twelve are identified explicitly (Judas Iscariot: 6:70–71; Thomas: 20:24), perhaps a critique of the Twelve is involved.

It is not impossible that a process such as Sanders imagines (Jesus spoke of twelve, and the church subsequently tried to list them) furnished the names of the Twelve that are now documented by our sources. That there were possibilities other than those indicated in the lists of the Twelve in the Gospels and Acts is shown by various other canonical (e.g., Acts 6:5; 20:4) and noncanonical lists.[16] Among the examples in the latter category, *Epistula Apostolorum* 2 presents eleven names in the following order: John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew,

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scheme antedated the lists of the twelve disciples is evident from the fact that no two of them exactly agree, except in number . . .; it is impossible to make out, with complete assurance, just who belonged to the Twelve."

[12] See E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 98–106. Sanders (p. 103) includes the following disclaimer: "The tradition of the twelve . . . is the least firm of the facts on which this study rests."

[13] Ibid., 101; see also idem, *Historical Figure of Jesus*, 120–22.

[14] See Lake in Foakes Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, 5:41, 46. According to Mack (*Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 201) "the notion 'the twelve' was developed in the course of mythic elaborations with the purpose of laying claim to the concept of Israel. Names were not mentioned because the concept was a fiction and would work best without naming names. It was not until Mark wrote his gospel in the 70s that we have a list of names for the twelve disciples, presumably his own short list of names associated with the early phases of the Jesus groups known to him."

[15] See the discussion below.

[16] See Walter Bauer, "The Picture of the Apostle in Early Christian Tradition. 1. Accounts," *NTApoc*[1] 2:35–38; Bienert, "Picture of the Apostle," 2:16–18.

James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas.[17] Moreover various witnesses offer shorter lists, such as Papias' seven (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.4) or the five of the *First Book of Jeu*: Matthew, John, Philip, Bartholomew, and James.[18] In these abbreviated lists, it is doubtless correct to conclude that their compilers have "given prominence only to the most distinguished" of the apostles.[19] Nor should we suppose that any other criteria underlie the selection and arrangement of the lists in the Gospels and Acts. Consequently, it is logical to insist on the conclusion that Philip's constant presence and position (earlier rather than later)[20] in the listings of the Twelve was secured on the basis of broad knowledge of his reputed evangelizing activities as mediated by traditions similar to those uncovered thus far.[21]

Whether anything beyond the presupposition of Philip's fame can be coaxed from the four canonical lists of the Twelve with regard to the early Christian perception of Philip seems dubious. Nevertheless, some have tried. Beltran Villegas argues that the occurrence in the lists of the Twelve of the names Peter, Philip, and James of Alphaeus, always in first, fifth, and ninth place, respectively, points to their leadership roles over the three groups of disciples subsumed under them.[22] Thus Philip and James, in subordination to Peter, "are the representatives of the two extreme tendencies that appeared in the community of Jerusalem: that of 'the Seven,' of Hellenistic orientation,

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[17] A very similar listing of eleven names of apostles is found in the *Apostolic Church Order* (see *NTApoc*^{1} 2:36).

[18] See *NTApoc*^{1} 1:262; *NTApoc*^{2} 1:371.

[19] Carl Schmidt's judgment, cited by Bauer, "Picture of the Apostle," 37, on the five names mentioned in the *First Book of Jeu.*

[20] John A. T. Robinson ("How Small was the Seed of the Church?" in idem, *Twelve More New Testament Studies* [London: SCM, 1984], 106–7) argues that the Synoptic lists of the Twelve are arranged in an order of importance and of adhesion (i.e., certain disciples always appear in the first half and are usually associated with certain other named disciples: e.g., Andrew and Bartholomew with Philip): "That there was within the Twelve . . . an inner circle, however variously demarcated, is evident from all the traditions." Philip's consistent early placement in the New Testament lists of the Twelve is especially significant if these lists are independent of one another, as Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 36) holds.

[21] Weiss (*Primitive Christianity*, 48) almost makes the same point that is stressed here when he suggests that "a number of Jesus' disciples, on account of their later missionary activity, were designated 'Apostles,'" although he attributes this to Luke. I would add that it is not necessary to limit the individuals later incorporated in the lists to personal disciples of Jesus.

[22] Beltran Villegas, "Peter, Philip and James of Alphaeus," *NTS* 33 (1987): 292–94.

and that of 'the brothers of the Lord,' of Judaic orientation."[23] Among the problems with this hypothesis are presuppositions regarding the nature and structure of the Jerusalem church as well as a presumption that a unity of intention spans each of the canonical lists even though it plays no demonstrable role in the respective Gospels. One might also wonder how the "brothers of the Lord" in the latter third of the list could be composed of the insignificant (Simon the Cananaean) and the infamous (Judas Iscariot). Joseph A. Fitzmyer also recognizes the three groups of four names and suggests that the "grouping is probably a mnemonic device—but not a very successful one at that, as the variation makes plain."[24]

The notion that the lists of the Twelve were filled out with the names of influential and successful early Christian leaders/missionaries coheres with the findings of chapters two and three that the Philip traditions utilized by Luke were indeed those connected with the apostle of the same name. Indeed, these traditions only existed because of the notoriety of their principal character. In a real sense, therefore, these traditions are components of Philip's apostolic credentials, since they document the kind of activities Philip was known for and on account of which his name secured a place in the lists of the Twelve. Additional traditions, sanctioned by Philip's daughters, ensured that Papias numbered Philip among his more selective group of apostles. Now that the compatibility of the traditions concerning Philip in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts has been established, I will examine the treatment of Philip in the Gospel of John for further indications of the significance of traditions about Philip in the first century.

The Fourth Gospel

As I noted in the discussion of the lists of the Twelve above, John knows of the existence of the Twelve (see John 6:67, 70, 71; 20:24), but he neither provides a listing of their names nor do they play an important role in the Fourth Gospel. Rather, the situation is anal-

[23] Ibid., 293.

[24] Fitzmyer, *Luke (I–IX)*, 614. Douglas M. Parrott's hypothesis ("Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples in the Second and Third Centuries," in *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, & Early Christianity* [ed. C. W. Hedrick and R. Hodgson; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986], 193–219) that competing groups of orthodox and gnostic disciples headed by Peter and Philip, respectively, were recognized in the second and third centuries will be discussed below in chapter five.

ogous to what we find in Papias where a more circumscribed group of disciples appears. Moreover, figures who were insignificant in the Synoptic Gospels appear to emerge as representatives of particular types of Christianity over against which the Johannine community seeks to identify and position itself.[25]

Unlike the Synoptics, in John, Philip plays a narrative role in 1:43–46; 6:5–7; 12:20–22; and 14:7–11. Although Philip's sporadic appearances are hardly central to the Gospel's development, one cannot assume automatically that he functions in these contexts merely as a cipher, capable of being exchanged with no loss of meaning for any other figure.[26] Rather, Philip's matter-of-fact appearances in John vis-à-vis the Synoptics suggest that his name was important for both the author and the readers of the Fourth Gospel. Michael Goulder claims that

> John does not, so far as we know, make names up. He takes up the names of early Christians honoured by different groups, and shows his

[25] Gregory J. Riley (*Resurrection Reconsidered*, 5) argues that "John . . . is communicating a message through the figure of Doubting Thomas not only to his own community and subsequent generations, but also to those who followed and valued the apostle Thomas." April D. De Conick (*Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* [Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 72) suggests that "the Gospel of John seems to contain a polemic against the mystical soteriological scheme such as we find in *Thomas*." She elaborates this position in eadem, "'Blessed are those who have not seen' (Jn 20:29): Johannine Dramatization of an Early Christian Discourse," in *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* [ed. J. D. Turner and A. McGuire; NHMS 44; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 381–98. The latter essay appears in "a more substantially developed form" as chapter three in eadem, *Voices of the Mystics: Early Christian Discourse in the Gospels of John and Thomas and Other Ancient Christian Literature* (JSNTSup 157; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 68–85. The volume as a whole "investigate[s] the debate that engaged the Johannine and Thomasine communities" in order to provide "a clearer picture of the reality of the conflict behind the textualized theoretical construction of that conflict" (p. 32). Ismo Dunderberg ("John and Thomas in Conflict?" in Turner and McGuire, *Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years*, 361–80) reviews the efforts of Riley, De Conick (*Seek to See Him*), and others and judges the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel reacts directly against a Thomas group to be questionable. See also the evaluation of this hypothesis by Harold W. Attridge, "'Seeking' and 'Asking' in Q, *Thomas*, and John," in *From Quest to Q: Festschrift James M. Robinson* (ed. J. M. Asgeirsson et al.; BETL 146; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2000), 295–302. The existence of a polemical relationship specifically between Johannine and Thomas Christians is not required for the point pursued here.

[26] One may thus agree with J. A. T. Robinson's admonition ("How Small Small was the Seed of the Church?" 110) that "it seems foolish gratuitously to discard the clues supplied by proper names," while seeking an explanation that is not simply concerned, as he is, with restoring historical credibility to the Fourth Gospel.

> attitude to the group by his treatment of their hero-leader: Peter and Jesus' brothers for the Jewish Christians; Philip, who had died in Asia, for his (? Samaritan) converts, and probably Thomas and Nathanael. The anonymous 'disciple whom Jesus loved' is similarly the hero-leader of John's own community.[27]

Goulder's assumption that John deals with the names of figures esteemed by other groups is attractive, even though he fails to demonstrate how he knows it to be true. In order to ascertain whether it is possible to say more, it is necessary to examine each of the scenes in the Fourth Gospel in which Philip participates. In addition, a brief consideration of John 21:2 is required in view of the significance of the names that are included and omitted there. Finally, an examination of John 4:1–42 is warranted, given the frequent association in scholarship of this pericope with the mission to the Samaritans portrayed in Acts 8. It will be of particular interest if it can be shown that Philip's presence in any of the Johannine pericopes under consideration is traceable to traditional material or was available to the evangelist in a written source. Once this assessment has been made, a judgment may be offered on the value of the traditions underlying this material and the redactional intent behind the portrait of Philip that is sketched in the Gospel of John as the text now stands.

John 1:43–46

Philip is introduced in John in the account of the gathering of the first disciples (1:35–51). In Mark's scene of the call of the first disciples, classified by Bultmann among the biographical apophthegms,[28] Jesus successively calls two pairs of brothers: Simon and Andrew, then James and John (Mark 1:16–20);[29] Matthew follows this presentation

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[27] Michael Goulder, "Nicodemus," *SJT* 44 (1991): 156.

[28] Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 28; cf. 57. Compare Dibelius (*From Tradition to Gospel*, 112), who concludes that Mark "must have invented the scene of calling the disciples."

[29] Ernst Haenchen (*John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 1–6* [trans. R. W. Funk; ed. R. W. Funk with U. Busse; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984], 167) with reference to Mark 1:16–20 and 2:13–14 comments: "These are the only two calls he reports. It would appear that Mark knew old stories of the call of only five disciples. Then, in Mark 3:16–19, the list of the 'twelve apostles' is completed, following another tradition." Bultmann (*History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 62) assumes that "Mark has made use of the motif of calling the disciples so as to give the list of the apostles in the form of an actual situation."

closely (Matt 4:18–22); Luke's scene diverges with a story about Simon (Luke 5:1–11), thought by some to stem from a post-resurrection setting,[30] that has been joined to the Markan material to create a story of the call of Simon. In Luke's account only passing mention is made of James and John (vs 10), while Andrew is left out completely. In comparison with the Synoptics, John's account of the first disciples is quite distinctive. Jesus' first adherents appear not as fishermen who abruptly abandon their livelihood but as disciples of John the Baptist, directed to Jesus by their leader. The constitution of the Fourth Gospel's band of first disciples is also striking. The sons of Zebedee are absent. Instead one encounters, in order, the following figures: Andrew, an unnamed disciple, Simon Peter, Philip, and Nathanael.[31] Apart from these figures, the only other disciples named in the Fourth Gospel are Judas Iscariot, another Judas, and Thomas.[32]

It is instructive to note for comparative purposes the relative narrative weight assigned to each of the disciples in John.[33] Simon Peter is obviously a familiar and important character. It is assumed that

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[30] So Fitzmyer, *Luke (I–IX)*, 561. Dibelius (*From Tradition to Gospel*, 113) doubts that we should see an original "Easter-story" here: "This incident itself could possibly indeed be regarded as a fiction of the church, which longed to know more about Simon than was found in Mark i, 16–20."

[31] Haenchen (*John 1*, 167) comments concerning John 1:40–45: "The second scene thus touches upon a non-synoptic, pre-Johannine tradition, which is found later in Papias (although in the context of a list of the twelve apostles)." Papias, however, mentions nothing about a list of the Twelve.

[32] The reference to "the sons of Zebedee" in 21:2, with the rest of chapter 21, stems from a later hand. See below.

[33] See Raymond F. Collins, "The Representative Figures of the Fourth Gospel," *DRev* 94 (1976): 26–46 (part 1), 118–32 (part 2); idem, *John and His Witness* (Zacchaeus Studies: New Testament; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991); the chapter on "Characters," in R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 101–48; the discussion of John's "Depiction of the Characters in the Narrative," in Jeffrey A. Trumbower, *Born from Above: The Anthropology of the Gospel of John* (HUT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 126–35; 129–35 treat "Jesus' Followers." Trumbower (pp. 130–31) observes that "of the five new positive characters introduced by John," namely, Nathanael, the beloved disciple, the Samaritan woman, the blind man of chapter 9, and Lazarus, "not one is a part of any negative evaluation by the author. . . . These new characters do not make mistakes or manifest inadequate faith, but rather they show the proper progression of faith and steadfastness. . . . All of this stands in contrast to two representatives of the historical disciples: Peter and Thomas." As is clear from the present study, Philip may also be reckoned among the "historical" disciples. David R. Beck (*The Discipleship Paradigm: Readers and Anonymous Characters in the Fourth Gospel* [BibInt 27; Leiden: Brill, 1997]) argues that it is not the named characters but rather the anonymous ones who are offered as models for emulation in the Fourth Gospel.

the readers know of him, as is clear from Andrew's identification as "Simon Peter's brother" (1:40; 6:8). Although he is a passive figure upon his introduction (1:41–42), he represents the Twelve in the Johannine equivalent of the Synoptic "Caesarea Philippi" scene (6:68–69),[34] appears in other scenes familiar from the Synoptics (13:24; 13:36–38; 18:10–11; 18:15–18, 25–27), and is featured in several distinctively Johannine scenes (13:6–10; 20:2–10; [21:3–11, 15–22]). It is the treatment of Peter in connection with the beloved disciple which clearly indicates that the named disciples serve some representative function.[35] But it is by no means clear that the other named disciples in John should be subsumed under Peter among the Twelve.[36] That these figures form a unified apostolic front is not unambiguous, and in any case, as has been noted, the Twelve occupy only a marginal place in this Gospel. Judas Iscariot (6:70–71; 12:4–6; 13:2, 26–30; 18:2–5) plays his singular role to which the Fourth Gospel has added some additional detail. Nathanael (1:45–49; [21:2]) and Judas, not Iscariot (14:22), appear only in John, unless this Judas is to be identified with the disciple of the same name in the Lukan lists of the Twelve.[37] It is somewhat surprising that Nathanael dis-

[34] With reference to the evangelist's "synoptic-type 'source,'" George W. MacRae ("The Fourth Gospel and *Religionsgeschichte*," *CBQ* 32 [1970]: 17, now in idem, *Studies in the New Testament and Gnosticism* [ed. D. J. Harrington and S. B. Marrow; Good News Studies 26; Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1987], 21) notes that the "Caesarea Philippi confession of Peter, the focal point of the Marcan development, appears in the option of the disciples voiced by Peter in Jn 6:68, though in this instance it has lost its structural significance."

[35] Raymond E. Brown (*The Community of the Beloved Disciple* [New York: Paulist Press, 1979], 31–32) notes that the "witness of the Beloved Disciple enabled the Johannine Christians to defend their peculiar insights in christology and ecclesiology. The 'one-upmanship' of the Beloved Disciple in relation to Simon Peter in the Fourth Gospel illustrates this." Brown (p. 83) points out that the beloved disciple is contrasted with Peter in five of the six passages in which he appears. In these passages we see the Johannine community "symbolically counterposing itself over against the kinds of churches that venerate Peter and the Twelve—the Apostolic Churches." See also Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 122–23. On the representative function of Thomas in John, see Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered*, 78–82, and passim. James H. Charlesworth (*The Beloved Disciple: Whose Witness Validates the Gospel of John?* [Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995]) collapses the opposition that Riley sees between the Johannine and Thomas communities by identifying the Beloved Disciple in the Fourth Gospel as none other than Thomas. For Charlesworth (p. 434) the "Beloved Disciple cannot be a literary topos or fictional creation by the narrator because the Appendix [John 21] reveals that the Johannine Community was devastated by the death of a real human being."

[36] As Brown supposes; see the previous note.

[37] This Judas has been variously identified with Judas son of James in the two Lukan lists of the Twelve (Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13) or as the brother of Jesus (Mark

appears, given the extraordinary greeting he receives at the outset. This omission was attended to by the redactor who added chapter 21, which includes Nathanael along with the otherwise missing sons of Zebedee.

The characterization and treatment of Andrew and Thomas are of particular interest, since they most approximate that of Philip in the Fourth Gospel. Andrew[38] is found in the Synoptics in the lists of the Twelve (Mark 3:18; Matt 10:2; Luke 6:14), in the scenes of the calling of the first disciples (Mark 1:16; Matt 4:18), in the random mention of his residence in Capernaum (Mark 1:29), and as present with Peter, James, and John for Jesus' Olivet discourse (Mark 13:3).[39] Nevertheless, he never speaks or acts as an independent figure in the Synoptic portrayal. In John, however, Andrew is specified as the first disciple, the one who sets in motion the process of leading further disciples to Jesus (1:40–42). He is associated with Philip both in 1:44 and in his two subsequent appearances in John (6:8; 12:22). Thomas, like Philip, plays a narrative role only in the Fourth Gospel (11:16; 14:5; 20:24–29; [21:2]), appearing in the Synoptics exclusively in the lists of the Twelve. His climactic role at the end of the Gospel has overshadowed the fact that Thomas and Philip share a remarkably similar profile in John.

6:3; Matt 13:55). See Raymond Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i–xii)* (AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 424, 641; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, vol. 3, *Commentary on Chapters 13–21* (HTCNT; New York: Crossroad, 1982), 80–81; Fitzmyer, *Luke (I–IX)*, 619. Rudolf Bultmann (*The Gospel of John: A Commentary* [trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray et al.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971], 622 n. 1) identifies him with the Lukan member of the Twelve. Helmut Koester ("*GNOMAI DIAPHOROI*: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity," in Robinson and Koester, *Trajectories*, 127–28, 134; idem, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:157), with reference to the Syriac version of John 14:22, argues that the original name of the apostle known as Didymus Thomas was Judas. See also A. F. J. Klijn, "John XIV 22 and the Name Judas Thomas," in *Studies in John Presented to Professor Dr. J. N. Sevenster on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 88–96.

[38] On Andrew, see the study by Peter M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter: His History and His Legends* (NovTSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1963); Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Acts of Andrew and The Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Cannibals* (SBLTT 33; Christian Apocrypha 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).

[39] It is surprising that Andrew appears here where we expect only the usual trio: Peter, James, and John. Bultmann (*History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 345) with reference to Mark comments: "I think it probable that those sections of the tradition which use the names of individual disciples come from an earlier time when the idea of the Twelve as Jesus' constant companions had not yet been formed or successfully carried through." Compare this with Bultmann's view cited below in n. 59.

Philip first appears in the Fourth Gospel at 1:43 when Jesus finds him and summons him to discipleship with the words "follow me." The initiative of Jesus in calling Philip contrasts sharply with the manner in which the other disciples in 1:35–51 come to Jesus. In the preceding context two disciples of John the Baptist take their cue from their master's testimony and follow Jesus (1:35–37). After spending some time with him (1:38–39), one of these two, now identified as Andrew (1:40), finds his brother, Simon Peter, and tells him: "We have found the Messiah" (1:41). He then leads Peter to Jesus, who somehow already knows Simon's name and refers to what will be his new name (1:42).[40] In parallel fashion, in the scene that follows Philip's call, Philip finds Nathanael and tells him: "We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote." Philip then brings Nathanael to Jesus, who displays his knowledge of Nathanael's previous circumstances, eliciting a superlative confession from the latter (1:45–49). As George MacRae notes, "the titles provide a theme of continuity throughout Jn 1:19–51, which derives its literary structure from the symmetrical arrangement of successive scenes."[41]

Between the two structurally corresponding scenes in 1:41–42 and 1:45–47, vss 43–44 stand as a conundrum:

> 43 Τῇ ἐπαύριον ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ εὑρίσκει Φίλιππον. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀκολούθει μοι. 44 ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου.

In addition to the fact that the pattern established in the two surrounding scenes makes it odd that Jesus should himself call Philip, several other problems in the text suggest that vs 43 once read differently.[42] One first notes the strange placement of the subject

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[40] On this motif (found also in 1:47–48; 2:24–25; 4:17–19), see the long note in Bultmann, *John*, 102 n. 1.

[41] MacRae, "Fourth Gospel," 19 = idem, *Studies*, 23–24.

[42] See Bultmann, *John*, 98, for his enumeration of the problems outlined below. These difficulties suggest to Rudolf Schnackenburg (*The Gospel according to St John*, vol. 1, *Introduction and Commentary on Chapters 1–4* [HTCNT; New York: Herder & Herder, 1968], 313) "that v. 43 is an addition of the redaction." On the basis of the discrepancies between vs 43 and the surrounding context, Claude Coulot ("Le témoignage de Jean-Baptiste et la rencontre de Jésus et de ses premiers disciples [Jn 1, 19–51]: Approches diachroniques et synchronie," in *Origine et postérité de l'Évangile de Jean: XIII^e Congrès de l'ACFEB Toulouse (1989)* [ed. A. Marchadour; LD 143; Paris: Cerf, 1990], 236–37) attributes the verse to the redactor who added chapter 21 to the Gospel.

"Jesus" in vs 43, after the third finite verb. Next one realizes that the first person plural verb (εὑρήκαμεν, vs 45) used by Philip in his address to Nathanael does not fit the circumstances of Philip's call by Jesus but does imitate the structure of vs 41. Then there is the sudden geographical notice in vs 43 (Jesus wished to go to Galilee), which has no obvious function in the immediately following verses. Finally, the use of πρῶτον in vs 41 may lead one to expect that Andrew, after first finding Peter, next (vs 43) finds Philip. As Bultmann remarked when reviewing these issues, "all becomes clear if the subject of εὑρίσκει in v. 43 was originally one of the disciples who had already been called, either Andrew, who first finds Simon and then Philip, or else the [unnamed] disciple called at the same time as Andrew, who then finds Philip."[43] Bultmann's assumption that John made use of a source for 1:35–51 that depicted each disciple bringing the next in turn to Jesus[44] has been attractively argued by J. Louis Martyn.[45]

Martyn concurs with Bultmann that the problems associated with vs 43 have arisen owing to the editorial activity of the evangelist who has interfered with the "witness/discovery chain" of his source. He suggests that the key to the original shape of 1:35–49 lies in the Baptist's refusal, reported in 1:20–21, to be identified as the Christ, Elijah, or the prophet. Once one realizes that the objects of the verb εὑρήκαμεν in vss 41 and 45 "correspond to the first and last of the three titles which the Baptist so dramatically denies for himself," then "the suggestion virtually presents itself that the Baptist's second denial, otherwise left dangling, may have had its positive counterpart in the original wording of verse 43."[46] Martyn's reconstruction of the source's version of vs 43 supposes that Andrew (or Peter) found Philip and announced to him: "We have found Elijah." In Martyn's opinion the evangelist modified the source to suppress an unwelcome christological

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[43] Bultmann, *John*, 98. Some scholars identify the unnamed disciple as Philip. For details on this argument and its supporters, see Franz Neirynck, "The Anonymous Disciple in John 1," *ETL* 66 (1990): 7–12, reprinted in idem, *Evangelica II: 1982–1991. Collected Essays* (BETL 99; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1991), 619–24.

[44] See Bultmann, *John*, 97–98 and n. 4.

[45] J. Louis Martyn, "We Have Found Elijah," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity. Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs; SJLA 21; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 181–219, now in idem, *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters* (Theological Inquiries; New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 9–54.

[46] Martyn, "We Have Found Elijah," 205 = idem, *John in Christian History*, 38.

conclusion: the identification of Jesus as the eschatological Elijah.[47] Robert T. Fortna similarly identifies a pre-Johannine source from a Christian Jewish milieu behind 1:35–49 that has Peter (or Andrew) in vs 43 finding Philip and announcing that Elijah has been found.[48]

While not all commentators would agree that a pre-Johannine source underlies the action in 1:35–49, the pattern noticed by Bultmann, Martyn, and others in combination with the present difficulties of the text makes this a likely supposition.[49] Consequently we are entitled to assume that Philip appears at this point in the Fourth Gospel (i.e., 1:35–49) on the basis of a source.[50] With this significant datum in hand, it is natural to wonder whether the utilization of this source in the Fourth Gospel implies some knowledge of or opinion about Philip on the part of the author or the readers. It also must be asked whether the author's editorial activity has suppressed more than just the inadequate christological formulation highlighted by Martyn (i.e., the identification of Jesus as the eschatological Elijah).

If the underlying scene of Philip's enlightenment about Jesus (the source's version of vss 43–44) truly parallels those that surround it, then we must not only imagine Andrew (or Peter), for example, informing Philip about the finding of Elijah (cf. 1:21, 25), but also Philip's subsequent appearance before Jesus and the inevitable pronouncement by the latter concerning him. In Peter's case this meant not only the revelation that he was already known, but that his name

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[47] Martyn ("We Have Found Elijah," 218 = idem, *John in Christian History*, 52) explains the problem in this way: The evangelist "could scarcely allow the explicit identification [i.e., Jesus as Elijah] and at the same time maintain the integrity of his own massive Christology; for, in the frame of *his* Christology, to do so would have implied that the logos experienced successive incarnations" (emphasis original). Martyn's ingenious proposal concerning the original state of vs 43 is more convincing than his explanation for why the original text was altered.

[48] Robert T. Fortna, *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor: From Narrative Source to Present Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 35–40, 219.

[49] As John Ashton (*Understanding the Fourth Gospel* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1991], 280) notes on John 1:19–49: "In the opinion of the majority of those scholars who have wrestled with the difficulties of the passage the most feasible explanation of the present text is that an original source has been adapted and expanded by a later editor. This does not mean that a thoroughly convincing reconstruction of the original source is actually possible. . . . But it does mean that a full understanding of the passage depends upon recognizing that it had a prehistory." See Ashton's excursus (pp. 280–91) entitled, "A Call to Faith (1: 19–49)," which includes a Greek reconstruction of the signs source of John 1:19–2:11.

[50] On sources in John, see Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:189–93.

was to be changed (vs 42). In Nathanael's case it meant the declaration "an Israelite in whom there is no deceit" (vs 47), and the miraculous vision of his previous circumstances (vs 48).[51] There may have been an analogous, definitional statement by Jesus addressed to Philip, but for some reason the evangelist eliminated it—perhaps because it was counterproductive to the portraits of the other named figures. Such a pronouncement may have had something to do with the connection between Philip and Galilee, given the now ambiguous geographical reference in vs 43 (Jesus wished to go to Galilee) and the mention of Bethsaida[52] in vs 44, which in 12:21 is identified as "in Galilee."[53] Unfortunately there seems to be no possible way of knowing. Since the miracle in 6:1–14 also takes place in Galilee and 12:21 again mentions Bethsaida, it will be appropriate to withhold a suggestion until after the examination of these passages in the following sections. Nevertheless, the presumption reached above in favor of the parallel structuring of the three scenes of the calling of the individual disciples in 1:41–49 also speaks in favor of the missing pronouncement to Philip, regardless of the prospects for its reconstruction.

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[51] Dibelius (*From Tradition to Gospel*, 117) sees a "Nathanael-legend" behind John 1:45–51.

[52] Bethsaida was a village on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Upon the death of Herod the Great in 4 BCE, it became part of the tetrarchy of his son Philip (Luke 3:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.189), who built up its fortifications and added residents. He elevated it to city status in 30 CE, naming it after the wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, Livia-Julia, who had died in 29 (Josephus' information in *Ant.* 18.28 that the city was named after Augustus' daughter Julia does not accord with the numismatic evidence). That John 12:21 puts it in Galilee (where Herod Antipas was tetrarch) should be taken "as an informal designation for the geographical rather than for the political area" (James F. Strange, "Beth-saida," *ABD* 1:692). See also Richardson, *Herod*, 301–5; Rami Arav, "Bethsaida," *OEANE* 1:302–5. On the modern rediscovery of Bethsaida (et-Tell), see Rami Arav and John Rousseau, "Bethsaïde, ville perdue et retrouvée," *RB* 100 (1993): 415–28; Rami Arav and Richard A. Freund, eds., *Bethsaida: A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee* (2 vols.; Bethsaida Excavations Project Reports & Contextual Studies; Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1995–99), which provides comprehensive information on the excavation of the site.

[53] Wayne A. Meeks ("Galilee and Judea in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 85 [1966]: 166) notes that in John's "geographical framework, both Galilee and Samaria have symbolic significance far out of proportion to the small space they occupy in the narrative." He concludes (p. 169) that the "geographical symbolism of John . . . is shaped by the apparently deliberate dialectic between Jerusalem, the place of judgment and rejection, and Galilee and Samaria, the places of acceptance and discipleship." This does not help to explain the fact that even though Philip is closely associated with Galilee (1:43–44; 12:21), his positive portrayal in the narrative is somewhat moot. Note that Philip's association with Galilee, also as a starting point, has been incorporated in *Acts of Philip*. See below and chapter six.

As the text now stands, however, there still appears to be some information about Philip from the source. It seems clear that this source associated Philip with Andrew and Peter.[54] This is true both in terms of the unfolding of the action that ties together these initial followers of Jesus and the notice that Philip shared the same home town, Bethsaida (vs 44), as the brother disciples.[55] Subsequently in the Fourth Gospel Philip will be linked with Andrew in 6:5–9 and 12:20–22. In the latter passage the note about Bethsaida recurs, as was mentioned above, in connection with the arrival of some Greeks who wish to see Jesus. We may observe finally that as the text of Philip's debut in John now stands, he is the only member of the first disciples to have the distinction of being called directly by Jesus. Moreover, instead of identifying Jesus by a title in his announcement to Nathanael, Philip says, "We have found . . . Jesus son of Joseph, from Nazareth" (1:45).[56] Although this portrayal is apparently owing to the editorial activity of the author, its implications for the Johannine portrait of Philip remain ambiguous.[57]

John 6:5–7

The feeding of the five thousand is recorded in each of the four Gospels (Mark 6:32–44; Matt 14:13–21; Luke 9:10b–17; John 6:1–15). But while the Synoptics recount a general interaction between Jesus and the disciples (Luke 9:12: the Twelve) regarding provisions for the crowd, John has Jesus direct his query to Philip (vss 5–7), who

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[54] Recall the equally indirect association of Philip with Peter in Acts 8:5–25.

[55] Mark 1:29 locates the house of Simon and Andrew in Capernaum. Fred Strickert's *Bethsaida: Home of the Apostles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), which came to my attention only at the final stage of preparing the present manuscript for publication, combines treatment of Bethsaida in light of the recent archaeological investigations (see n. 52 above) with its occurrences in the New Testament, particularly as the "home of the apostles" Peter, Andrew, and Philip. His assessment of Philip's role in the Fourth Gospel and in later early Christian traditions agrees in many instances with my original study (1993), presented here in revised form, with the notable exception that he does not develop the connection with the Philip of Acts.

[56] Elsewhere in John, Jesus reveals himself (ἐγώ εἰμι) to the arrest party (18:5, 8) as "Jesus of Nazareth," and is identified as "the Nazorean" by the inscription placed on the cross (19:19). These occurrences are unique elements of the Johannine passion account and evidently hold some christological significance.

[57] It is possible that the depiction intends to associate a particular christological-soteriological view with Philip. On the implications of "seeking and finding" in this regard in the Fourth Gospel, see Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International; London: SCM, 1990), 264–67.

expresses the impossibility of the situation. Andrew attempts to meet the challenge set by Jesus but expresses little hope for success (vss 8–9). Given the lack of individualization in the Synoptic accounts of this miracle, one must ask whether (1) John's source[58] for this incident specified any particular names or (2) they were added by the evangelist; and if the latter, Why? Although Bultmann identifies the tradition behind John 6:1–26 with that in Mark 6:30–51, he rules out the use of Mark by John on the basis of the Johannine divergences from Mark, which are to be attributed to John's source and not to the evangelist himself. Bultmann apparently[59] traces the addition of the names Philip and Andrew to the Johannine level of the narrative:

> It is clearly a sign of a more developed style when individuals are singled out of the group in John, when, e.g. in the Feeding of the Five Thousand (6^{5-9}) and in the story of the Greeks (12^{20-22}) Philip and Andrew come forward, or when in the last discourse Thomas (14^{5}) and Judas (14^{22}) ask questions.[60]

Fortna, like Bultmann, traces John 6:1–25 to a pre-Johannine source.[61] He attributes the mention of Philip to Johannine redaction, claiming that "the naming of Philip here creates contextual difficulties."[62] Actually the difficulties Fortna identifies have nothing to do with Philip but rather with the expanded (and redundant, given the notice in 1:40) identification of Andrew in vs 8 as "one of his disciples . . . Simon Peter's brother" after the simple reference to Philip.[63]

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[58] Bultmann (*John*, 210) assumes a literary source for 6:1–26. Koester (*Introduction*^{2}, 2:189) includes 6:1–21 in the "Semeia Source."

[59] Though Bultmann (*John*, 210) lists the participation of the two disciples in the preparation for the miracle among the divergences he attributes to the source, his reference at this point to the discussion in *History of the Synoptic Tradition* on the tendency toward differentiation and individualization in narrative sections of Gospel literature makes clear his opinion that the names of Philip and Andrew are added by the evangelist. See idem, *John*, 210 n. 2, which refers the reader to *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 310, on the accretion of names in analogous situations, e.g., the appearance of the names Peter and Malchus in John 18:10 where the Synoptic parallels provide no names (see also *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 68, 393). Compare Bultmann's comments cited above in n. 39. Rudolf Schnackenburg (*The Gospel according to St John*, vol. 2, *Commentary on Chapters 5–12* [HTCNT; London: Burns & Oates, 1980], 15) also suggests that the mention of Philip and Andrew by name "could be a sign of legendary development, but corresponds to the Johannine tradition in which both disciples have a distinct role."

[60] Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 308–9.

[61] Fortna, *Fourth Gospel*, 80.

[62] Ibid., 85 n. 193.

[63] See Fortna's analysis, ibid., 91. Although he does not doubt that Philip is an insertion into a source, Fortna leaves open the possibility that Andrew's identification is original.

Brown diverges from Bultmann and Fortna on the question of the use of a source for the feeding miracle and with respect to the value of the names found within the narrative. Avoiding any references to a source, he speaks instead of John's use of an independent tradition. With regard to the selection of Philip, he first notes that "if the scene takes place in Bethsaida, as in Luke, a question to Philip is logical since he was from Bethsaida."[64] In general he suggests that details peculiar to John have a basis in the tradition,[65] and he objects to the supposition that the introduction of personal names into a narrative is usually a later development. Although Brown suggests that the appearance of Philip and Andrew in this narrative may be connected to the "fact that both of these disciples were honored in Asia Minor, the traditional locus of John's Gospel,"[66] he is evidently satisfied that this specificity is part of the original tradition.[67] The assumption that the Fourth Gospel originated in Asia Minor at Ephesus has been called into question by Martyn's work, which strongly suggests a Palestinian milieu, while other indications favor a location in Syria.[68] Although Brown argued in his commentary that Ephesus was the most likely place for the composition of the Gospel,[69] his later work on the Johannine community is favorably disposed toward the hypothesis of a geographical transplant of this group from Palestine to Asia Minor.[70] Schnackenburg advances "a

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[64] Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 233. See Luke 9:10; John 1:44; 12:21. This comment is somewhat curious given Brown's careful comparative analysis of the miracle in John and the Synoptics, which concludes that John's account is independent (see pp. 236–44).

[65] In his introduction to an evaluation of details peculiar to the Johannine feeding account, Brown (*John [i–xii]*, 245) remarks: "It must be emphasized that it is perfectly logical to think that primitive Christian theology was built up on what was actually contained in the tradition, and that this is why the details fit the theology."

[66] Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 246.

[67] Ibid.: "It may persuade some that the names were introduced to make the Gospel more acceptable in Asia Minor; it may persuade others that these disciples were originally involved in the narrative and the memory of this was preserved only in the tradition of a community which had a devotion to them."

[68] See the discussion in Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 97–98, 196–98; Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:182–83, 186.

[69] Brown, *John (i–xii)*, ciii–civ.

[70] Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 56–57, 66–67, 98. After noting Marie-Émile Boismard's identification of a shift from a primitive Jewish christology to a higher gentile christology, Brown (p. 179) comments that "he may well be right in connecting this to a geographical move (from Palestine to Ephesus) on the part of the main writer and presumably of some of the community." François Bovon ("The Gospel According to John, Access to God, at the Obscure Origins of Christianity," *Diogenes* 146 [1989]: 40–41) traces the Johannine group from Samaria to Syria to Ephesus.

more nuanced hypothesis" in which "the Johannine tradition, originating in Palestine, was subjected to Syrian influences before it reached Asia Minor (Ephesus), where it was fixed and edited."[71]

While Brown's insistence on the possibility that some tradition accounts for the presence of Philip and Andrew at this point in John is welcome for my purposes, it must be questioned whether the preservation of the names in this context is accounted for by "a community which had a devotion to them."[72] Rather, the naming of Philip and Andrew in the present situation places them in an unflattering light and perhaps indicates some apologetic or polemical motive on the part of the narrator. Indeed Fortna proposes that the "naming of Philip in the story of the feeding may suggest a flaw in Galilean faith."[73] Philip clearly does not pass the test (vs 6) placed before him. Yet Bultmann does not find an indictment of Philip here but understands both Jesus' question and Philip's response functioning "to make clear the παράδοξον of the miracle."[74] He insists that the type of misunderstanding portrayed in this scene has nothing to do with Johannine misunderstandings proper.[75] But it is difficult to see how this judgment coheres with Bultmann's opinion that the names have been added by the evangelist. If this is so, how can these figures not be emblematic of Johannine misunderstanding? I will suggest below in the analysis of John 14:7–11 that the named disciples are utilized by the Fourth Gospel to place in perspective (if not actually to critique) certain theological traditions known to both the author and the readers to be associated with particular names. Philip's association with a miracle here, or perhaps better his failure to see the possibility of a miracle, may be a component of a larger characterization of Philip as one who puts seeing before believing. Although this portrayal brings to mind the famous scene with

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[71] Schnackenburg, *John*, 1:152.

[72] Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 246.

[73] Fortna, *Fourth Gospel*, 85, who goes on to observe that "both Philip and Andrew . . . seem now to represent inadequate faith on the part of Galileans." He develops this suggestion (pp. 81, 86) by connecting the crowd's misperception of Jesus at the end of the miracle (6:14–15: "This is truly the prophet") with the third title denied by the Baptist (1:21) but proclaimed by Philip to Nathanael (1:45) as fitting for Jesus.

[74] Bultmann, *John*, 212.

[75] Ibid., 212 n. 5: "Philip's inability to see that Jesus really knows the answer to his own question has nothing to do with Johannine 'misunderstandings,' but merely shows that he is rather naive. For the Johannine 'misunderstandings' have nothing to do with πειράζειν, while on the other hand we miss here the ambiguity which goes with such 'misunderstandings.'"

Thomas in 20:24–29, it is actually Philip who requests a vision of God in 14:8 and is curtly corrected for his lack of knowledge. The general imperative at least to believe in the works themselves (14:11) may continue the complaint against those who place seeing over believing.[76] Since later sources inform us that Philip was particularly honored by Christians in Hierapolis and that his influence reached as far as Ephesus, where Polycrates could cite his authority and refer to the tomb of one of Philip's daughters there (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.3),[77] Philip's portrayal in the Fourth Gospel may well be calculated to define Johannine Christianity over against perceived problems with the Christianity associated with Philip's name.

John 12:20–22

That the coming of the Greeks in John 12:20–22 signals a turning point in the Gospel is obvious from the dramatic words of the discourse that immediately follows (12:23–36). It seems clear that the word Ἕλληνες must refer to gentiles, albeit proselytes, in view of the just voiced complaint of the Pharisees that the κόσμος is going after Jesus (12:19).[78] Corroboration for this interpretation may also be found in Jesus' prediction concerning the drawing of all people to himself in 12:32 (also note 11:52). It is appropriate that this intriguing incident involves Philip and Andrew, the two disciples among the Twelve with Greek names.[79] The appearance of Philip and

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[76] Fortna (*Fourth Gospel*, 85–86) suggests that Philip's failure to understand in 6:5–7 may be connected with the inadequate faith of the crowd in 6:14–15 ("This is truly the prophet"), which alludes to the plethora of christological titles with which the Gospel opens. As we will see in the treatment of John 14 below, the Fourth Gospel exhibits an interest in correcting christological notions that it deems problematic, and this process appears to be connected to the way that specific named disciples are treated in the course of the narrative.

[77] See the treatment in chapter one above.

[78] H. B. Kossen, "Who Were the Greeks of John XII 20?" in *Studies in John Presented to Professor Dr. J. N. Sevenster on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 108–9; Bultmann, *John*, 423; Schnackenburg, *John*, 2:381; Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 466, 470; idem, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 55; David Rensberger, *Johannine Faith and Liberating Community* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 145.

[79] The evident assumption by the narrative that Philip is a Greek speaker brings to mind Acts 6:5. Culpepper (*Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 120) with reference to the pairing of Andrew and Philip comments: "In this pair, Philip is the less perceptive (6:5–7; 12:21–22; 14:8). Although he begins well by bringing Nathanael to Jesus, he fails both his 'bread' test and his 'Greek' test. He does not understand that the Father is revealed in Jesus." Culpepper himself fails to explain why 12:21–22 bears

Andrew together in the same scene, of course, has a precedent in 6:5–9, which in turn appears to be based on the association established in John 1:40–44.[80] But what does it mean for this scene to be ignored in what follows? This issue does not seem to trouble Fortna, who doubts that these verses have any basis in a source or tradition and accordingly attributes them to the evangelist.[81] Indeed, the notice that Philip was from Bethsaida repeats information already known from 1:44, although here it is specified that Bethsaida was in Galilee.[82] Schnackenburg also takes 12:20–36 as "the work of the evangelist," which is "composed as a single unit."[83] Other studies likewise emphasize the role of Johannine composition.[84] The main problem with these explanations is their failure to ameliorate the abruptness of the scene of the approach of the Greeks.

Bultmann focuses on the fragmentary nature of the incident portrayed in 12:20–22 and comments that "the suspicion cannot be suppressed that between v. 22 and v. 23 a whole piece has fallen out."[85]

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such an implication for Philip. Nor is it apparent that Philip is less perceptive than Andrew, given that the latter always appears with Philip and is hardly distinguished by his perspicacity.

[80] With reference to the pre-Johannine source behind John 1:35–49, Fortna (*Fourth Gospel*, 35 n. 63) comments that the "parallel to this passage in 12:21–22 appears to be an instance of Johannine imitation of the source." But this seems unlikely here, owing to the indications of the independent traditions in Acts, which place Philip among Samaritans and gentiles.

[81] Ibid., 280. Fortna (p. 293 n. 125) comments that "in [John] there is only slight evidence, and nothing whatever in the source, of the question concerning the admission of Gentiles to Christian belief which so preoccupies most other first-century Christian literature."

[82] In fact, Bethsaida was in Gaulanitis. While John's designation of Bethsaida as in Galilee is sometimes taken to be in error, it may reflect popular usage. See Bultmann, *John*, 423 n. 3; Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 82. See n. 52 above. Richardson (*Herod*, 304) observes that the time Jesus spends in Philip the Tetrarch's territory is viewed by all the Gospels "as withdrawal—not a natural extension from a Galilean ministry but a hiatus." See Halvor Moxnes's comments on "Galilee of the Pagans" as the larger context for the study of Galilee in idem, "The Construction of Galilee as a Place for the Historical Jesus—Part II," *BTB* 31 (2001): 74.

[83] Schnackenburg, *John*, 2:380–81.

[84] For example, Kiyoshi Tsuchido, "'ΕΛΛΗΝ in the Gospel of John: Tradition and Redaction in John 12:20–24," in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul & John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn* (ed. R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa; Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 350; Johannes Beutler, "Greeks Come to See Jesus (John 12,20f)," *Bib* 71 (1990): 342 = "Griechen kommen, um Jesus zu sehen (Joh 12,20f)," in idem, *Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften* (SBAB 25; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998), 184. Beutler argues that John had Isa 52:15 LXX in mind while writing John 12:20–22.

[85] Bultmann, *John*, 420–21.

In grasping for the meaning of the scene in its present context after 12:19 ("the world has gone after him"), Bultmann suggests that "the fact that the Greeks must turn to the disciples in order to reach Jesus could also have a symbolic meaning: the access of the Greek world to Jesus is mediated through the apostles."[86] But John, who uses ἀπόστολος only in the general sense of messenger at 13:16, appears completely unconcerned with any formal notion of "mediation through the apostles." What is significant here, of course, is that these Greeks do not turn to just any disciples but to those with Greek names. The fact that the request of the Greeks is entrusted to Philip, who is once again identified as coming from Bethsaida (12:21; cf. 1:44) which had a significant gentile population,[87] raises the possibility that this scene reflects the intertextual appropriation of reports about Philip's evangelizing activities among gentile populations.[88] Brown imagines something along these lines when he proposes that the awkwardness of this scene "suggests that a poorly known incident from early tradition has been used as the basis for theological adaptation."[89] Given Luke's appropriation of Philip traditions concerned with the same type of missionary endeavors, we may rather think of a well-known tradition that has been retrojected back into the time of Jesus.

It must be concluded that evidence supporting the presence of a source at this point is tenuous at best. Nevertheless, the utilization of Philip and Andrew for the symbolic arrival of the Greeks may

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[86] Ibid., 423.

[87] Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 82. Josephus (*War* 3.57) describes the population as a mix of Jews and Syrians. Richardson (*Herod*, 301–2) notes that the majority of the population in the territories of Philip the Tetrarch was non-Jewish, although there were high percentages of Jews in areas of Gaulanitis near the Sea of Galilee (e.g., Bethsaida). He makes the interesting observation (pp. 303, 305) that "when Jesus wanted to be away from Antipas, Philip's territory was the preferred place. . . . The allusions to Jesus' withdrawals and the biographical indications of Philip's career cohere; the other side was a safe haven where Jesus could withdraw in safety, a place where he spent time preaching and must have had a following."

[88] Such recourse to intertextual appropriation may be compared with the point that John A. Darr (*On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts* [Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville, KY: Westminster/Knox, 1992) makes using the terminology of "extratextual repertoire," a notion that I take to be included in the concept of intertextuality that I am working with as outlined in my introduction. According to Darr (pp. 22–23), when Luke's readers encountered gaps in the text, they were forced to draw on the extratextual repertoire presupposed by Luke. We may expect no other procedure among John's readers.

[89] Brown, *John (i–xii)*, 470, adding: "There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the basic incident."

indeed coincide with "memories" that they were "important for the mission to the Greeks."[90] This at least is confirmed in the case of Philip by the two independent traditions in Acts 8, both of which center on mission to non-Jews,[91] and the ex post facto documentation in the later *Acts of Philip* that Philip's commission was to go to the Greeks.[92] So while evidence for a source may be slight here, it is equally unlikely that John 12:20–22 is to be assessed as free composition, based on a simple deduction on the part of the author that associated the only disciples bearing Greek names with the "coming of the Greeks." Given Philip's visible role elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel, it is not farfetched to suppose that traditional material underlies his presence in this passage. Thus while Nathanael may be designated as a "true Israelite" (1:47), Philip is associated with Greeks.

John 14:7–11

Here Philip's words typify a fundamental lack of understanding with respect to Jesus' identity that goes beyond his failure to perceive Jesus' intentions in 6:5–7. The presence of a source at this point in John's Gospel is perhaps, at first glance, less plausible than in any of the previously examined cases. Many scholars, however, have postulated that John 13:31–14:31 represents an early form of the farewell discourse that was secondarily expanded by the addition of chapters 15–17.[93] Helmut Koester has called attention to parallels between

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[90] Schnackenburg, *John*, 2:382. One might say, in other words, that the intertextually available portrait of Philip emphasized his connection with Gentile proselytizing.

[91] As Wellhausen (*Apostelgeschichte*, 14) observed, "er führt nach Jo[h]a[nnes] 12 die Hellenisten zu Jesus; dass er als Apostel zu einem der Zwölf wird und in deren Verzeichnis figuriert, nimmt nicht Wunder." Note also Grundmann's comment ("Das Problem des hellenistischen Christentums," 59 n. 33) that assumes a connection between John and Acts: "Act 8 4–40 ist eine Sondertradition. Die Nennung des Philippus ist nicht unwichtig, wenn man beachtet, dass in Joh 12 21 sich die Griechen an Philippus, den Jünger aus Bethsaida, wenden, der auch sonst im Joh eine Rolle spielt."

[92] See the relevant discussion of Philip's commission in the *Acts of Philip* in chapter six below.

[93] See, e.g., D. Bruce Woll, *Johannine Christianity in Conflict: Authority, Rank, and Succession in the First Farewell Discourse* (SBLDS 60; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 9–35; Raymond Brown, *The Gospel according to John (xiii–xxi)* (AB 29A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 581–604; Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 443–78. Fortna (*Fourth Gospel*, 151) speaks of the insertion of chapters 14–17 in the evangelist's source but allows that John 14 may represent an earlier stage in the composition of the farewell discourses (see pp. 151 n. 340, 290 n. 20). Koester (*Introduction*^{2}, 2:193) proposes another solution, the displacement of 15:1–17:26 from its original

the *Dialogue of the Savior* and John 14 and judges the dialogue in John 14:2–12 to stem from a later stage of development than the example in *Dial. Sav.* 132.[94] The latter passage presents dialogue about "that place of life" and the relation of sight to knowledge, themes that are similarly connected in John 14. But there is almost no sign in the *Dialogue of the Savior* of the prominent figures featured in John. Yet even if the *Dialogue of the Savior* is dated later, the comparison nevertheless highlights the need to explain the evangelist's redactional intent in deliberately placing Philip in a situation in which his misunderstanding is exploited to present christological teaching in dialogue form.[95] Of course Philip's failure to perceive here forms one piece of a larger pattern of misperception on the part of the disciples. Therefore clues to the appearance of Philip in this context may be sought in the questions of the other named disciples and the responses offered by Jesus.

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position, "probably after 13:38 and before 14:1." Recent approaches suggest the possibility that some portions of the Fourth Gospel are best understood as "rereadings" or "rewritings" of other parts. See, for example, Jean Zumstein, "Der Prozess der relecture in der johanneischen Literatur," *NTS* 42 (1996): 394–411, who takes John 16 as a rereading of 13:31–14:31. See also Klaus Scholtissek, "Abschied und neue Gegenwart: Exegetische und theologische Reflexionen zur johanneischen Abschiedsrede 13,31–17,26," *ETL* 75 (1999): 332–58; idem, "Relecture und réécriture: Neue Paradigmen zu Methode und Inhalt der Johannesauslegung aufgewiesen am Prolog 1,1–18 und der ersten Abschiedsrede 13,31–14,31," *TP* 75 (2000): 1–29.

[94] See Koester, *Introduction*[1], 2:180; *Introduction*[2], 2:185. See also idem, "The History-of-Religions School, Gnosis, and Gospel of John," *ST* 40 (1986): 130: "Not until the next stage in the development of these dialogue materials is Jesus seen as the redeemer and savior. This stage is present in the conscious christological interpretation of older dialogue traditions by the author of the Gospel of John." See further idem, "Dialog und Spruchüberlieferung in den gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi," *EvT* 39 (1979): 553: "Man wird daher wohl nicht von literarischer Abhängigkeit, sondern eher von einer parallelen Entwicklung des gleichen Spruchmaterials reden müssen. Dann stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht etwa in solchen Spruchdialogen ältere Sprüche erhalten sind, die das Johannesevangelium zum Aufbau seiner Reden und Dialoge Jesu benutzt hat. Das scheint mir nun in der Tat der Fall zu sein." Also note idem, "Gnostic Writings as Witnesses for the Development of the Sayings Tradition," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28–31, 1978*, vol. 1, *The School of Valentinus* (ed. B. Layton; SHR 41; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 250–51; idem, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 265–67.

[95] Ashton (*Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 478 n. 66, emphasis original) finds no reason to identify John 14 as polemical: "Such a claim is ill-founded: unlike the dialogues in the first half of the Gospel, the farewell discourse is addressed specifically to the *disciples* and its tone is not polemical but consolatory." But if polemic is too strong a term here, consolation misses the point of the questions and answers, which present christological and theological misunderstandings and their corrections. See the discussion that follows.

In the shadow of the impending betrayal by Judas the son of Simon Iscariot (13:21–30), Jesus begins to speak of his departure (13:31–35), and Simon Peter (13:36–37) initiates a series of questions put by those closest to Jesus. In turn Thomas (14:5), Philip (14:8), and Judas (not Iscariot, 14:22) all contribute queries or requests that sustain the dialogue, which then continues under its own momentum:

> Peter: "Where are you going?" "Why can I not follow you now?"
> Thomas: "We do not know where you are going?" "How can we know the Way?"
> Philip: "Show us the Father."
> Judas: "How is it that you will reveal yourself to us, and not to the world?"

On the surface it would appear difficult to maintain that the questions voiced by Peter, Thomas, Philip, and Judas, along with their respective replies by Jesus, specify particular characterizations of these figures as opposed to their representation of the disciples as a group (note the use of the second person plural in 14:7, 10).[96] It is clear that Peter's question involves a basic misunderstanding, which assumes that Jesus' departure and the disciples' following may be comprehended on the level of human understanding.[97] Peter's lack of perception was already highlighted by the previously narrated exchange with Jesus concerning the footwashing (13:3–11). Thomas echoes Peter's inquiry concerning the goal of Jesus' departure and questions Jesus' declaration that the disciples already know the way (14:4). The attribution of the question about the "way" to Thomas is apt, at least in hindsight, since the gnostic concept of the "way" is found

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[96] Bultmann (*John*, 598) comments in connection with John 13:36–38 that "the figure of Peter is to be regarded as representative, as are the questions of the other disciples"; see also p. 597 n. 1. Culpepper (*Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 118) assumes that the questions of the disciples (13:36; 14:5, 8, 22) unite them in a common failure to understand Jesus. With reference to Peter, Thomas, and Philip in the farewell discourse he observes (p. 163) that "the misunderstandings of the interlocutors in the farewell discourse are consistent with the characterizations of the three disciples. . . . Although the selection of the interlocutors may seem to be arbitrary, the correlation of the themes of the various misunderstandings with the gospel's characterizations shows that the misunderstandings sharpen the characterizations and enhance the representative value of each of these characters." Still, for Culpepper, this representative value does not clearly distinguish these named disciples from each other, since he assigns them to the same grouping with respect to their response to Jesus, namely, "commitment in spite of misunderstandings" (see p. 147). We will want to determine whether there is any basis to differentiate further one disciple from the next.

[97] Bultmann, *John*, 596–97.

in documents under the name of Thomas. At the same time this attribution implies a critique of a gnostic understanding of the "way." The ἐγώ εἰμι saying in 14:6 is unparalleled in the *Dialogue of the Savior* and represents a shift, if not diachronically at least comparatively, in the status of Jesus from teacher to redeemer, and a corresponding shift in the "way" of salvation from self-knowledge to recognition of the redeemer, Jesus.[98]

The exchange with Philip that follows the correction of Thomas may also be understood as a christological rebuttal to a gnostic interpretation of Jesus. Philip's association with Thomas here, instead of Andrew as elsewhere in the Gospel, may be illuminated by the function of both of these apostles as guarantors of gnostic collections of sayings of Jesus.[99] Philip's request, like Thomas' question, is prompted by an assertion of Jesus, this time stating that the disciples both know and have seen the Father (14:7). Philip's "foolishness however is to demand a direct vision of God over and above the revelation."[100] Judas' question (14:22) perhaps builds on Philip's request for a vision, but this time the demonstration is imagined as oriented toward the world. If 14:6 corrects a misperception concerning the "way" associated with Thomas, 14:9 is a rather sharp rejection of the notion contained in Philip's question, which equates salvation with a vision of God.[101] According to *Dial. Sav.* 132:15–19, this salvation is anthro-

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[98] Apart from my diachronic reservation, I follow Koester's analysis ("History of-Religions School," 130, emphasis original): "The redeemer figure and its myth of the Son who has come down from heaven, who *is* the bread of life, the true light, the way, and the resurrection in a unique sense, and who accomplishes his task of salvation in his glorification on the cross is, therefore, the critical Johannine answer to the Gnostic interpretation of the traditional sayings of Jesus."

[99] On apostles as guarantors of sayings of Jesus, see chapter one. On Philip's function as a guarantor of sayings of Jesus in gnostic documents, see chapter five.

[100] Bultmann, *John*, 608. Schnackenburg (*John*, 3:68) wonders whether the use of ἀρκεῖν, which occurs in John only on the lips of Philip (6:7; 14:8), is only by chance. The implication is that Philip was not satisfied by the revelation by sight at the time of the miracle of the feeding.

[101] See Koester, *Introduction*[1], 2:192; *Introduction*[2], 2:197. Fernando Segovia (*The Farewell of the Word: The Johannine Call to Abide* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 88 n. 55) identifies Philip's petition as "a request for a theophany. With such a request Philip comes close to the position of the unbelieving Jews (cf. 2:18; 10:32)." The latter comment is surely misplaced in the context of the farewell discourse, which appears rather to be preoccupied with the views of other Christians, particularly as they relate to christology. That Philip requests a theophany here has often been suggested (see, e.g., Schnackenburg, *John*, 3:68, who notes that a direct vision of God has already been ruled out in John 1:18; 5:37; and 6:46), but there are other

pologically determined, since self-knowledge leads to "seeing." In John, however, salvation is contingent upon the christological requirement of "seeing" Jesus (14:9).[102] Moreover, this Johannine "seeing" of Jesus is inseparable from "believing" in Jesus (14:10–12) and keeping his commandments (14:15, 21).[103]

The issue of why the specific names Thomas, Philip, and Judas occur in John 14 is sharpened by the employment of other names in the parallel to John 14:2–12 found in *Dial. Sav.* 132:2–19.[104] Instead of Peter, Thomas, and Philip one finds Matthew and Judas. Besides these two names one finds elsewhere in the *Dialogue of the Savior* only Mary.[105] How should this variation of names be assessed? The evidence of the texts implies that these names have not been selected arbitrarily. Therefore, while Matthew and Judas may serve the author of the *Dialogue of the Savior*, the same material in the Johannine milieu is appropriately attached to other named disciples. The coincidence of the gnostically oriented questions of Thomas and Philip with the function of these figures outside the Johannine circle as authorities for gnostic interpretations of the significance of Jesus suggests why their names

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possibilities, including a gnostic vision of God (see Bultmann, *John*, 608 n. 4). Brown (*John [xiii–xxi]*, 647) suggests that Judas, like Philip, is looking for a theophany.

[102] Koester, "Dialog und Spruchüberlieferung," 553; idem, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 265.

[103] Koester, *Introduction*[1], 2:192; idem, "History-of-Religions School," 130. D. F. Tolmie's narratological analysis of the farewell discourses (*Jesus' Farewell to the Disciples: John 13:1–17:26 in Narratological Perspective* [BibInt 12; Leiden: Brill, 1995]) seeks "*to indicate the way in which the implied author moves the implied reader to accept a particular perspective on discipleship*" (p. 13, emphasis original). Philip's request demonstrates "the negation of discipleship," and "makes it clear to the implied reader that the disciples do not yet understand, since Philip's request for a direct vision of God indicates that he does not correctly understand the concepts of knowledge and sight of God used by Jesus in verse 7. . . . In his answer Jesus makes it clear that the Father can be seen by *believing* in Jesus" (p. 205, emphasis original). These observations can be enriched by attention to the intertextual environment.

[104] According to Koester ("Gnostic Writings as Witnesses," 251), the *Dialogue of the Savior* "reflects more directly the actual 'sources' which lie at the root of the development of this genre" (i.e., "dialogues"). Again (idem, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 257): "In many instances, the author of the Fourth Gospel did not compose these discourses *de novo*, but utilized and expanded older existing discourses." See n. 94 above. Pierre Létourneau ("Traditions johanniques dans le Dialogue du Sauveur [NH III, 5]," *Muséon* 110 [1997]: 33–61) disputes the claim that the discourses of the *Dialogue of the Savior* represent a stage prior to the final redaction of the Fourth Gospel. He suggests that the *Dialogue of the Savior* knew the Fourth Gospel through the Valentinian exegetical tradition as found in Heracleon.

[105] Mary, of course, is often associated with Philip in later texts. See the following chapters.

appear in John 14. It may be conjectured that Philip and Thomas here are representative figures who characterize, or caricature, other Christian groups known to the Johannine community.[106] Thus Philip and Thomas serve as foils for the Johannine critique of the anthropological, christological, and ecclesiological views of these other groups and the concomitant process of Johannine self-definition. That the Johannine Christians in fact portray their relation to other Christian groups through the characters of the Gospel has long been recognized in the juxtaposition of Peter and the beloved disciple.[107] Unless we would limit Christianity to the groups under the names of John and Peter, there is no reason to reject a similar representative value for Philip and Thomas. Even though Alan Culpepper emphasizes the unanimity of the disciples' response to Jesus, his comments on characterization can shed light on the more rigorous discrimination among the characters proposed here:

> Through characterization . . . various responses to Jesus, and indeed to the gospel itself, are held up for the reader's scrutiny while his or her judgment is gently swayed toward the evangelist's perspective. Norms of acceptable responses to Jesus are established, while other norms are broken and rejected.[108]

If the christological concerns of John 14 indicate that the names here have been deliberately chosen, the redactor's treatment of names in 21:2 provides further evidence for the thoughtful selection of disciples' names.

John 21:2[109]

For the scene in John 21:2 the following are gathered together: Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples. Is it significant that Thomas is included in the list of disciples in the appendix while Philip is absent? We should probably answer in the

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[106] On Johannine controversy with Thomas groups, see Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered;* De Conick, *Seek to See Him* and "Johannine Dramatization."

[107] See Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple,* 31–32, 83.

[108] Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel,* 146.

[109] On the secondary attachment of chapter 21 to the Gospel, see Bultmann, *John,* 700–706; Brown, *John (xiii–xxi),* 1077–82; Koester, *Introduction*^{2}, 2:192, 199; Ernst Haenchen, *John 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 7–21* (trans. R. W. Funk; ed. R. W. Funk with U. Busse; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 229–34; Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel,* 162, 199, 382.

affirmative. Just as Peter will be rehabilitated as chapter 21 unfolds, so Thomas arrived at a correct confession belatedly in the previous chapter (20:24–29), albeit with a final word of critique (20:29). Nathanael is suddenly present, perhaps in deference to his emphatic introduction in chapter 1. The sons of Zebedee, otherwise absent in the Fourth Gospel, abruptly appear, no doubt under the influence of traditions that led to their preeminent position in contemporaneous catalogues of the Twelve. But the companions of Peter and Thomas in chapter 14, namely Philip and Judas, are missing, as is Philip's erstwhile associate Andrew. Unlike Judas, who is found only at 14:22, since Philip appears throughout the Gospel, we should expect to find him in this final listing. The supposition that he may be included among the two unnamed disciples does not alleviate the failure to mention him explicitly.[110] What might account for the deletion of Philip's name at this point?

If this addition to the Gospel derives from Asia Minor, then we may suppose, given the early attested viability of Philip traditions in Hierapolis by Papias, that the omission of Philip's name is hardly accidental but is evidence of a critique of the theological tendencies and/or social-ecclesial realities associated with Philip's name in this region. In the next chapter attention will be focused on various gnostic texts in which Philip appears, texts that show the utilization of Philip traditions (perhaps as early as the first century) in directions that from a later standpoint will be defined as heterodox. It is this development, perhaps witnessed early in the Johannine appendix, that most likely provides the explanation for the attenuation of Philip traditions in "orthodox" circles in the centuries following Papias.

John 4

In addition to the pericopes in which Philip is featured explicitly in the Fourth Gospel, it is necessary to consider the suggestion advanced by numerous investigators that Philip tradition implicitly underlies the account of Jesus and the Samaritan woman in John 4. Actually such scholarly notions rarely take much notice of Philip or Philip traditions in this connection, concentrating instead on the Hellenists,

[110] See Brown, *John (xiii–xxi)*, 1068, for suggestions on the identities of the unnamed disciples.

the Stephen circle, and a group of Samaritans. As was noted in chapter two, however, the only solid tradition bearing an apostle's name in connection with Samaria is that concerning Philip. There are both problems and possibilities with this line of inquiry for the elucidation of Philip traditions in the Fourth Gospel. Numerous assumptions, however, both with regard to the development of the Johannine tradition and the feasibility of reconstructing the situation behind Acts 6–7 must be acknowledged in order to assess the merits of the suggested connection between the "Samaritan" traditions underlying John 4 and Acts 8.

In "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission,"[111] Oscar Cullmann raised the question of the identity of the ἄλλοι of John 4:38b and found the answer in Acts, in the mission to Samaria begun by the Hellenists.[112] Espousing anti-temple views, these followers of Stephen were driven out of Jerusalem and turned to Samaria where temple worship was also rejected. Peter and John reaped (John 4:37–38; cf. Acts 8:14–25) the missionary work accomplished by these anonymous Hellenists.[113] Cullmann concludes that "there is some special connection between St. Luke's Gospel and the fourth Gospel. It is, therefore, not surprising that the fourth Gospel also knows the tradition of the connection of the Hellenists with Samaria, of which Acts preserves traces but minimizes its importance."[114] Cullmann takes quite a leap here from the disputed question of the relation between Luke and John to the Fourth Gospel's awareness of the events portrayed in Acts 6–8, which may owe more to Luke's compositional arrangement of independent traditions than is usually thought.[115] Cullmann offers a fuller account of the connections between

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[111] Oscar Cullmann, "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission," in idem, *The Early Church* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; trans. A. J. B. Higgins and S. Godman; London: SCM, 1956), 185–92.

[112] The bibliography on "the Hellenists" is extensive. Virtually all of the important contributions may be found by consulting the bibliographies of Hengel (*Between Jesus and Paul*, 129–32), Räisänen ("The 'Hellenists,'" 302–6), and Hill (*Hellenists and Hebrews*, 201–22). See the references in chapters two (n. 98) and three (n. 75) above.

[113] Cullmann, "Samaria and the Origins," 190–91.

[114] Ibid., 192.

[115] Thomas L. Brodie (*The Quest for the Origin of John's Gospel: A Source-Oriented Approach* [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993]) gets around this problem by postulating John's use of Luke-Acts as a source (see esp. pp. 168–74), including Acts 8:1–25 as a source for John 4:1–42 and Acts 8:26–40 for John 4:43–54 (see p. 118); he also assumes John's use of Matthew, Mark, and Ephesians. Brodie is quick to draw generalized conclusions and loath to explain important differences. Were he right about John 4, then we would have to conclude that Jesus

the Hellenists and the Johannine group in *The Johannine Circle.*[116] He stresses their allegedly similar theological conceptions, shared interest in mission to Samaria, and common roots in heterodox Judaism, particularly Samaritan theology.

Cullmann's analysis suffers from two fundamental weaknesses. He assumes that Stephen's speech both exhibits contact with Samaritan ideas and provides information on the theology of the Hellenists, and he overestimates the historical value of the information provided by Acts. With regard to the latter point, the conclusions reached earlier on the redactional nature of the episode of Peter and John in Samaria (Acts 8:14–25) highlight the historicistic tendency of Cullmann's approach. With regard to the former point, the work of Earl Richard leaves little doubt about the Lukan nature of Acts 6:1–8:4.[117] Richard has also demonstrated the tenuous nature of alleged citation agreements between Acts 7 and the Samaritan Pentateuch.[118]

While Raymond Brown found Cullmann's reconstruction of the origin of the Johannine circle "too simplified a picture,"[119] he too has emphasized a connection between Jews similar to the Hellenists, Samaritans, and the development of the Johannine community:[120]

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has displaced Philip in a story that originally portrayed the latter's missionary activity in Samaria. (Brodie may actually be right on the level of tradition, i.e., the tradition of Philip in Samaria has been commandeered for Jesus.) On the relation of John to Luke, see Brown, *John (i–xii)*, xlvi–xlvii. See also Fitzmyer, *Luke (I–IX)*, 88, who comments: "I tend to agree with Brown that nothing suggests . . . that the fourth evangelist knew Luke's Gospel. But the independent tradition behind John had features that were also found in the special source(s) on which Luke depended, even though the details did not always appear in the same way in both traditions. In the oral tradition behind both the Gospels there undoubtedly was cross-influence which affected the more immediate source(s) of both." This assessment is compatible to the intertextual perspective favored here.

[116] Oscar Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 39–56.

[117] Richard, *Author's Method.* See the concluding summary, pp. 353–59, esp. pp. 356–57. See also Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/Knox, 1994).

[118] Earl Richard, "Acts 7: An Investigation of the Samaritan Evidence," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 190–208. The four verses in question are 7:4, 5, 32, and 37. One of the principal difficulties that confronts Samaritan research is the relatively late date (fourth century CE) of the earliest sources; see Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 219–20. Note especially Zangenberg, *Frühes Christentum in Samarien*, for its concentration on the Samaria texts of the Fourth Gospel. For additional bibliography on issues connected with the Samaritans, see n. 42 in chapter two above.

[119] Raymond E. Brown, review of Oscar Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle, TS* 38 (1977): 157–59.

[120] Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 23 n. 31, 56 n. 101, 177.

> One may posit that the second group in Johannine history consisted of Jews of peculiar anti-Temple views who converted Samaritans and picked up some elements of Samaritan thought. . . . The evidence of Acts shows that it is not at all implausible to postulate the group which I have reconstructed entering the Johannine community and serving as a catalyst in the break with the synagogue.[121]

Craig Hill's review of supposed correspondences between Stephen's speech and the Samaritan religion, in accordance with the work of Richard, concludes that it "seems unnecessary to resort to the theory of a Samaritan source to explain the contents of Acts."[122] Thus with regard to the subject of Stephen and the Hellenists, Hill's summary observations are pertinent:

> What do we know about the Hellenists on the basis of the Stephen story of Acts 6:8–7:60? Probably very little. Although it seems reasonable to associate Stephen with the Hellenists, theories concerning the ideological distinctiveness of the group gain little, if anything, by that association.[123]

As the theology of Stephen evaporates and the coherence of the Hellenists as a bona fide faction of the "Jerusalem church" is called into question under critical scrutiny, the best remaining chance for a connection between Acts and the Fourth Gospel is in the independent tradition of Philip's mission work in Samaria.[124] For as John Ashton points out, "the story of the Samaritan woman in chapter 4 does undoubtedly suggest that at one point, how early we cannot tell, the young Christian community was joined by a number of Samaritan converts."[125] That tradition would seek to provide this event with an apostolic pedigree is a reasonable assumption. Its later elimination (e.g., Jesus replaces Philip)[126] is likewise understandable in light of subsequent ecclesiastical and theological realities.

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[121] Ibid., 38. Brown (pp. 38–39) continues: "The insistence of Acts 8:1 that the Jerusalem Jewish leaders were especially hostile to the Hellenists, while they tolerated the apostles, corresponds well with my reconstruction." See John Ashton's comments on the "Samaritan Connection," in *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 294–99. After noting the late date of our Samaritan sources, Ashton (p. 298) remarks: "Even if we ignore this difficulty and accept Brown's suggestion that it was the Samaritan presence that launched the community towards its high christology, it must be said that there was still a whole ocean of speculation to travel over before it finally arrived."

[122] Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, 98.

[123] Ibid., 101.

[124] See Koester, *Introduction*[1], 2:181.

[125] Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 296.

[126] See n. 115 above.

Conclusion

The evidence reviewed in this chapter yields the following results. First, far from casting doubt on the supposition that the Philip of Acts may with justice be identified as an apostle, the presence of the name Philip in the lists of the Twelve in the Synoptic Gospels, securely in fifth position, is best accounted for by this figure's early fame, owing in large part to the circulation of traditions such as those set down by Luke in Acts 8. Second, it seems warranted to conclude that Philip's initial appearance in the Fourth Gospel (1:43–46) has been mediated by a literary source, while the fragmentary report in 12:20–22, if it is not a further instance of the evangelist's appropriation of a source preserving the name Philip, indicates the natural intertextual association of his name with the crucial juncture of the spread of Jesus devotion among Greeks. Accordingly, these pericopes, alongside the independent traditions isolated in Acts in chapters two and three above, represent additional tangible evidence of the breadth of Philip traditions in the earliest Christian period. At the very least one may affirm that John was in indirect contact with such Philip traditions. Third, John 12:20–22 suggests that the tradition preserved the memory of the connection between Philip and the introduction of gentile members into the Christian community. This significant datum correlates well with the importance attached to the Greek speaking Philip of Acts 6, the extension of activity into Samaria in 8:5–13, the conversion of the Ethiopian in Acts 8:26–39, and the activity and residence of Philip in cities with large gentile populations (see Acts 8:40; 21:8–9). Finally, it is clear from John 6:5–7 and 14:7–11 that the evangelist placed Philip in new situations where his misunderstanding of Jesus' identity is highlighted. Philip's association with a miracle in John 6 and the request for a vision of God in John 14 may be evidence for the Johannine perception of the type of Christianity connected with Philip's name. Therefore the conclusion drawn by many that the depiction of Philip's misunderstanding, which is characterized in much the same manner as that of Peter and Thomas in particular, is only representative of the failure of the disciples in general, is unsatisfying. One still must account for the use of these specific names and the absence of other names that were surely known to the Gospel writer. As is obvious in the case of Peter and increasingly clear in the instance of Thomas, these names represent well known figures who become loci for the

authority that the developing churches grant to "authentic apostolic traditions." There is no reason to deny Philip's role as an authority figure who came to stand for equally "apostolic traditions." In general these traditions show an interest in miracles, gnostic thought, and mission among the "Greeks."

Against this background it is legitimate to affirm that Philip was more than just a literary prop for John. It is fair to suggest that John had contact with oral traditions about Philip beyond the literary sources available to him. It is tempting to conclude that John deals with Philip because the tradition stemming from this figure remained intertextually available in the Gospel writer's own environment. And though one must argue from silence, it may be that the omission of Philip from chapter 21 in tandem with the inclusion of the sons of Zebedee attests the deliberate manipulation of apostolic names for ecclesial and theological purposes. That Philip eventually became a prominent figure in various gnostic texts correlates well with this assumption. It is to this phase of the Philip traditions that we now turn our attention.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE "GNOSTIC PHILIP"

> And when Jesus finished saying these words, Philip sprang up, he took his stand, he laid down the book which was in his hand—for he is the scribe of all the words which Jesus said, and of all the things which he did.
>
> *Pistis Sophia* 1:42[1]

In chapter one I noted the seven apostolic names that served to guarantee the tradition and interpretation of the λόγια of Jesus for Papias. There Philip ranked after Andrew and Peter but before Thomas, James, John, and Matthew. As was shown in the last chapter, the named disciples who figure prominently in the Fourth Gospel are reminiscent of Papias' list of authorities. Indeed, Philip emerges in John as a representative figure for a Christian stance over against which the Johannine community seeks to define itself. Already in John 14 the juxtaposition of Thomas and Philip in the context of a critique of gnostic christological notions suggested that these apostles functioned in gnostic circles as guarantors for the transmission and interpretation of the words of Jesus.[2]

The explicit function of certain figures in gnostic documents as recipients of revelation from Jesus enabled gnostic proponents to claim apostolic authority for their positions. As Ptolemy wrote to Flora:

> For, god permitting, you will next learn about both the first principle and the generation of these two other gods, if you are deemed worthy of the apostolic tradition (τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως), which we too have received by succession (ἣν ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς παρειλήφαμεν); and along with this you will learn how to test all the propositions by means of our savior's teaching.[3]

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[1] Translations of *Pistis Sophia* are taken from Carl Schmidt and Violet MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978). The text was edited by Schmidt; MacDermot is responsible for the translation and notes. Words of Greek origin, which are italicized in this translation, are not italicized here to avoid confusion; I have also taken the liberty of adjusting the archaic language (e.g., "thou hast" to "you have") utilized in this translation.

[2] My use of "gnostic" here is purely conventional and assumes the cogency of Michael A. Williams's argument about the problematic nature of such terminology in his *Rethinking "Gnosticism."*

[3] Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 33.7). The translation is taken from

This text represents the earliest attestation of the technical use of the concept of tradition and succession, "which from now on is the determinative one."[4] If Thomas, James, and Matthew are known to hold privileged places in various gnostic documents as guarantors of the legitimate transmission of the sayings and teaching of Jesus,[5] it will be demonstrated below that the same holds true for Philip. A survey of *Pistis Sophia*, the *Gospel of Philip*, the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, and the *Letter of Peter to Philip* will further enhance the picture of Philip traditions that has been developed thus far. Covering a period that begins, perhaps, as early as the first century and extends into the third, these four texts, all originally composed in Greek, attest widespread recourse to the figure of Philip in Christian gnostic literature. Since none of these documents deals predominantly with issues connected with the authority or tradition of Philip, attention will be limited here to those portions of the texts that have to do with Philip.

Pistis Sophia[6]

The turgid discourses of *Pistis Sophia* initially inspire little confidence toward the goal of recovering ongoing traditions connected with Philip. Yet it is here that a most remarkable, and likely early, image of Philip is preserved. Although it is usually observed that Philip, Thomas, and Matthew appear in *Pistis Sophia* in the special role of scribes of the words of Jesus,[7] close attention to the text suggests that this role is most properly assigned to Philip. What I propose here is that among the early traditions that were incorporated within this late gnostic document, *Pistis Sophia* preserves the notion of Philip as the scribe par excellence of the words of Jesus. Before displaying

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Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 314, with alternate reading 1 "which we too," for "which even we" in the text.

[4] von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power*, 158 and n. 51. See Cameron, *Sayings Traditions*, 107.

[5] See the discussion in chapter one above; Koester, "La tradition apostolique," 6–8.

[6] For discussion of introductory matters and bibliographies, see Henri-Charles Puech, rev. by Beate Blatz, "Other Gnostic Gospels and Related Literature," *NTApoc*^{2} 1:361–69; Pheme Perkins, "Pistis Sophia," *ABD* 5:375–76; Silke Petersen, *"Zerstört die Werke der Weiblichkeit!" Maria Magdalena, Salome und andere Jüngerinnen Jesu in christlich-gnostischen Schriften* (NHMS 48; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63–67.

[7] Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu*, 442–43; Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 204; Bienert, "Picture of the Apostle," 2:23.

how this tradition has been supplemented in *Pistis Sophia*, a quick sketch of several matters of introduction is in order.

Pheme Perkins describes *Pistis Sophia* as "a late collection of Gnostic traditions and mythic fragments without the unity or reflection of earlier writings."[8] Even so, she notes that it utilizes earlier documents and thus incorporates an ample amount of traditional gnostic lore.[9] *Pistis Sophia* actually consists of two separate works. Books 1–3 belong together and their Greek original was probably composed between 250 and 300 CE. Book 4 is usually considered to be an older work and dated to the first half of the third century.[10] The extant Coptic version of both works stems from Egypt.[11] Generic similarities with the *Letter of Peter to Philip* and especially the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* are evident as the component parts of *Pistis Sophia* "profess to contain the esoteric teaching revealed by the risen Christ to his disciples in response to their questions and in the form of a dialogue."[12] In book 4 Philip appears only once, paired with Bartholomew in a resurrection scene associating Jesus and the disciples with the four corners of the world.[13] In books 1–3, apart from Jesus, Mary Magdalene is the most eminent character.[14] Yet even though Philip does not

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[8] Pheme Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (Theological Inquiries; New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 50. See also Rudolph, *Gnosis*, 27.

[9] Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 140; eadem, "Pistis Sophia," *ABD* 5:376.

[10] But see Petersen, *Werke der Weiblichkeit*, 64.

[11] Puech and Blatz, "Other Gnostic Gospels," 362–63.

[12] Ibid., 1:363. See the table in Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 52–53, listing "a pattern of items clustered around the revealer's address to the disciples," which includes the three documents referred to here.

[13] "As Jesus was saying these things however, Thomas, Andrew, James and Simon the Canaanite were in the west, with their faces turned to the east. But Philip and Bartholomew were in the south, (with their faces) turned to the north. The rest of the disciples and women disciples however were standing behind Jesus. But Jesus was standing before the altar. And Jesus cried out as he turned to the four corners of the world with his disciples . . ." (*Pistis Sophia* 4:136). Compare with the end of the *Letter of Peter to Philip*: "Then the apostles parted from each other into four words in order to preach" (140:23–26). Translations of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* are taken from John H. Sieber, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII* (NHS 31; Leiden: Brill, 1991), with introduction and commentary for this tractate by Marvin W. Meyer and text, translation, and notes by Frederik Wisse. Hans-Gebhard Bethge ("The Letter of Peter to Philip," *NTApoc*^{2} 1:353 n. 41) notes that the reference to the "four words" in *Letter of Peter to Philip* 140:23–26 "could be a circumlocution for the four points of the compass. The 'four words' would then be 'east,' 'west,' 'north' and 'south.'" He refers to *Acts of Thomas* 1 and Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.1. Meyer ("The Letter of Peter to Philip," in Sieber, *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, 251) notes Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.11.8; *Acts of Thomas* 28; *Pistis Sophia* 4; and *Epistula Apostolorum* 30.

[14] Mary Magdalene asks thirty-nine of the forty-six questions addressed to Jesus (Puech and Blatz, "Other Gnostic Gospels," 367).

have an especially large role, his characterization is highly individualized and quite significant. He appears in three "scenes" (1:22; 1:42–44; 2:82), the first two of which focus in large measure on his practice of writing down all of the words of Jesus (1:22, 42).

In the important scene in 1:42, Philip complains that his vocation as the only one recording the words of Jesus has hindered him from speaking at the urgent prompting of his spirit. After the extract cited at the beginning of this chapter, which introduces Philip as "the scribe of all the words which Jesus said, and of all the things which he did," the text of *Pistis Sophia* 1:42 continues:

> Philip now came forward, he said to him: "My Lord, indeed am I alone he to whom you have given to take care for the world, and to write down all the words which you will say, and all things which you will do? . . . For my Spirit has welled up in me many times, and it was released and it compelled me strongly to come forward and say the interpretation of the repentance of the Pistis Sophia. And I could not come forward because it is I who write all the words."

The response of Jesus, although it is not explicitly stated in the text as we now have it, may be construed as instituting a new arrangement. Thomas and Matthew are now to be associated with Philip's scribal duties, in order to allow Philip the opportunity in the future to come forward and speak:

> It happened now, when Jesus heard Philip, he said to him: "Hear, Philip, you blessed one, with whom I spoke; for you and Thomas and Matthew are those to whom was given, through the First Mystery, to write all the words which I will say, and those things which I will do, and everything which you will see."

Yet Thomas and Matthew apparently cannot provide immediate assistance, because Jesus goes on to insist that Philip himself must continue to write, since "the number of the words which you shall write is not yet completed."

As the text continues it affirms a picture of Philip, Thomas, and Matthew writing down the words and deeds of Jesus and introduces "witness" terminology: "And you will bear witness to all things of the Kingdom of Heaven." In the next section (1:43) Mary,[15] stand-

[15] Although it is hardly a surprise in this document given Mary's dominant role, the connection between Philip and Mary is significant in other contexts, particularly in the *Acts of Philip* where she appears as Philip's sister. See François Bovon, "Le privilège Pascal de Marie-Madeleine," *NTS* 30 (1984): 50–62, now in English

ing beside Philip, addresses Jesus and "interprets" his word concerning Philip, Thomas, and Matthew as a fulfillment of Moses' prophecy in Deut 19:15:

> It is this which your light-power once prophesied through Moses: 'Through two and three witnesses everything will be established.' The three witnesses are Philip and Thomas and Matthew.

Jesus then commends Mary for this interpretation and calls Philip forward to speak "and afterwards sit and write every word which I shall speak until the completion of the number of your part in the words of the Kingdom of Light, which you will write." Philip then offers the "interpretation of the mystery of the fifth repentance," which consists of a recitation of Psalm 87 (LXX). Jesus then (1:44) commends Philip for his "interpretation" ("Excellent, Philip, you beloved one") and repeats his charge to him to write. "And immediately Philip sat down and wrote."

It is significant that in this passage Thomas and Matthew appear as completely passive characters, spoken of by Jesus and Mary but not speaking themselves. Philip, on the other hand, addresses Jesus and is spoken to by him. Furthermore, Philip is introduced as the singular scribe of Jesus' words and deeds, is told to continue writing after the announcement that Thomas and Matthew will join him, and sits down to resume writing in 1:44 after speaking his "interpretation" with no trace of Thomas or Matthew. The structure of this extended passage and its focus on Philip indicate that Thomas and Matthew have been secondarily joined to Philip to serve as scribes of Jesus' words and deeds. The addition of Thomas and Matthew was apparently occasioned by the desire to conform to the scriptural standard of two or three witnesses for the authentication of the words and deeds of Jesus. This arrangement is clearly secondary to the apostolic guarantee connected with Philip's name, which in an earlier period would have been sufficient for legitimate transmission of Jesus' words and deeds.

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as "Mary Magdalene's Paschal Privilege," in idem, *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives* (trans. J. Haapiseva-Hunter; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1995), 147–57; idem, "Mary Magdalene in the *Acts of Philip*," forthcoming in F. Stanley Jones, ed., *Which Mary? The Marys in Early Christian Tradition* (SBL Symposium; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002); Ann Graham Brock, "What's in a Name: The Competition for Authority in Early Christian Texts," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers* (2 parts; SBLSP 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 1:106–11.

This analysis is confirmed by examining the appearances of Philip, Thomas, and Matthew elsewhere in *Pistis Sophia* 1–3. Philip is the first of these three to appear in the document at 1:22–23:

> It happened when Jesus finished saying these words, Philip sat writing every word as Jesus said them.

Philip asks and is granted authority to speak and asks a question, which Jesus answers. Philip next appears in the passage just reviewed (1:42–44) where Thomas and Matthew are introduced for the first time. Thomas next appears in 1:46 where he gives the interpretation of the seventh repentance of the Pistis Sophia (Psalm 24 LXX), and Matthew in 1:49 where he tells of the eighth repentance of the Pistis Sophia (Psalm 30 LXX). These scenes correspond to the interpretations of various other disciples, including Philip's interpretation of the fifth repentance. But only Philip, upon the completion of his speech, is called on by Jesus to sit and write, which he immediately does. Both Thomas and Matthew are praised for their interpretations, as are the other speakers, but nothing is said concerning their writing or even their connection with the words of Jesus. This topos is exclusively connected with Philip.[16]

The image of Philip presented by *Pistis Sophia* 1–3 is most properly assigned to a tradition that ascribed to Philip the role of recording the words and deeds of Jesus. Philip's ranking before Thomas and Matthew here with regard to the scribal task is a function of the origination of this description for Philip alone. It is not surprising that *Pistis Sophia*, which accommodates and adjusts older traditions elsewhere,[17] would add Thomas and Matthew as Philip's fellow scribes, since they too were known as guarantors of written collections of Jesus material.[18] If *Pistis Sophia* 1–3 attests the "memory" of Philip as the scribe of Jesus' words, the *Gospel of Philip* allows us to sample one manifestation of the kind material that was guaranteed under his name.

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[16] Thomas, Matthew, and Philip each appear one more time in *Pistis Sophia* 1–3 (2:69–70; 2:71–72; and 2:82, respectively) in which there is no mention of writing.

[17] For example, *Pistis Sophia* 1–3 also reflects traditions of the conflict between Peter and Mary, but the older polemic is now softened by a demonstration of Peter's mercy on a woman (3:122). See Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 140–41.

[18] See Papias and the *Gospel of Thomas*. But the association may also be based on other traditions. Note that Heracleon (in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.71.3) mentions Matthew, Philip, and Thomas, along with Levi (!), as four disciples who did not suffer martyrdom. On the absence of an early martyrdom tradition for Philip, see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4458.

The Gospel of Philip[19]

The existence of a collection of materials, including sayings, under the authority of Philip's name is the logical prerequisite for the image of Philip the scribe known to *Pistis Sophia.* Although some scholars have expressed doubts about the validity of the association of Philip with the Gospel that is known under his name, the diverse and widespread traditions concerning this figure that have been highlighted in the preceding chapters speak in favor of the connection. Philip's function as an authoritative bearer of Christian tradition, which is presumed by Papias and schematized by *Pistis Sophia,* is explicitly affirmed by the *Gospel of Philip.*

In spite of the firm external documentation of Philip's function as a collector and purveyor of reliable tradition, scholarly hesitancy to grant the affiliation of Philip with the *Gospel of Philip* results principally from a comparison of the document with the *Gospel of Thomas.* Unlike the *Gospel of Thomas,* which precedes it in Codex II of the Nag Hammadi corpus, the *Gospel of Philip* does not begin with a reference to Philip either hearing a revelatory discourse of the risen Jesus or writing down the latter's words, although both of these activities are attested for Philip by the documents considered elsewhere in this chapter. It is often suggested that this Gospel may take its name simply from the fact that Philip is the only apostle named within its pages (73:8).[20] Since the title at the end of the *Gospel of Philip* (86:18–19), which reads "The Gospel According to Philip," is not set apart from the body of the text as is the case with the other titles in Codex II, the possibility exists that the attribution to Philip was added later.[21] But given the vitality of the traditions connected

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[19] For discussion of introductory matters, translations, and bibliographies, see "The Gospel According to Philip," in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7 together with XIII, 2*, Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), and P.Oxy. 1, 654, 655,* vol. 1, *Gospel According to Thomas, Gospel According to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, and Indexes* (ed. B. Layton; NHS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 129–217, with introduction and translation by Wesley W. Isenberg and the Coptic text edited by Layton; Hans-Martin Schenke, "The Gospel of Philip," *NTApoc*^{2} 1:179–208; Martha Lee Turner, *The Gospel according to Philip: The Sources and Coherence of an Early Christian Collection* (NHMS 38; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1–11, 262–72; Hans-Martin Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium (Nag-Hammadi-Codex II,3): Neu herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt* (TU 143; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997); Petersen, *Werke der Weiblichkeit,* 90–93.

[20] See, e.g., Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures,* 325–26.

[21] See Isenberg, "Gospel According to Philip," 131. R. McL. Wilson (*The Gospel of Philip: Translated from the Coptic text, with an Introduction and Commentary* [New York: Harper & Row, 1962], 3 n. 4) observes that comparison with the titles of the *Gospel*

with the name of Philip, it is most likely that the name appears here because Philip served as the apostolic guarantor for this collection.[22] Hans-Martin Schenke's evaluation coheres nicely with the contours of the Philip traditions proposed by this study, underscoring the point that has been made in the previous chapters with regard to the early Christian evidence on Philip: "This Philip to whom the teaching in the text is accordingly traced back is no mere name or shadow from the New Testament, but the complex and attractive figure from early Christian tradition who bore this name."[23] Moreover, given the influence of the Philip traditions, it is not out of the question that the designation *Gospel of Philip* was deducible by tradents of this tradition on the basis of the document's content.[24] The obvious example here is the citation of Philip's words concerning Joseph and the cross:

Gos. Phil. 73:8–15

> Philip the apostle said, "Joseph the carpenter planted a garden because he needed wood for his trade. It was he who made the cross from

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of Thomas and *Hypostasis of the Archons* supports the view of J. Leipoldt that the title of the *Gospel of Philip* was added later, "although the similarity of the script may tell against it." Of course nothing prohibits that the later addition of the title may, in fact, be an apt attribution.

[22] In spite of the uncertainties connected with the attribution of this work to Philip, it is noteworthy that both Isenberg and Schenke presume the accuracy of the identification. Isenberg ("Gospel According to Philip," 132) concludes that the title "probably . . . reflects the particular way early Christian tradition and literature revered the name of Philip. It is also possible that our text shared a common content and purpose with an earlier *Gospel of Philip* that is now lost."

[23] Schenke, "Gospel of Philip," 185, declaring that this Philip may represent a secondary fusion of the two New Testament figures or an indication that the tradition "bypassed the NT and the cleavage in the one historically important and legendary figure which we find in the NT has simply been left out of the reckoning." See also idem, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*, 7.

[24] So Schenke, "Gospel of Philip," 185; cf. idem, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*, 7–8. Douglas M. Parrott ("Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 215) echoes the conclusions of Isenberg and Schenke. Referring to the *Gospel of Philip*, he states: "It is a miscellaneous collection, some of which is said to come from Jesus, but most of which one would have to ascribe (because of the subscript) to the Philip tradition itself." Although the *Gospel of Philip* is often described as an eccentric collection of excerpts (see, e.g., Isenberg, "Gospel According to Philip"), Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley ("Conceptual Models and Polemical Issues in the Gospel of Philip," *ANRW* II 25/5:4169) finds "intelligible, coherent lines of thought." Martha Turner's study (*Gospel according to Philip*, 257–61) characterizes *Gospel of Philip* as a "sourcebook for speculation," a collection of excerpts designed to provoke new insights about "modes of existence"—"the origin and nature of evil in the world, and the nature of the highest possibilities open to human beings" (p. 261).

> the trees which he planted. His own offspring hung on that which he planted. His offspring was Jesus and the planting was the cross."[25]

Schenke observes that "ist ja wohlbekannt und gilt als selbstverständlich, dass eine Beziehung besteht zwischen diesem Philippus-Paragraphen und dem Titel der ganzen Schrift."[26] He suggests on the basis of the explicit mention of Philip here that the antecedent of "he" at *Gos. Phil.* 58:10 may also be imagined to be "Philip," with the result that one must regard *Gos. Phil.* 58:10–14 and *Gos. Phil.* 73:8–15 as "Textstücke . . ., die frühen, sonst unbekannten valentinianisch-gnostischen Philippus-Akten entnommen sind."[27] Thus "schliesslich wäre dann der Name unserer Schrift 'Das Evangelium nach *Philippus*' traditionsgeschichtlich *doch* völlig legitim: alles, was im EvPhil steht, wären, *traditionsgeschichtlich* gesehen, Worte des Philippus."[28] But "nur hier [*Gos. Phil.* 73:8–15] *noch* gesagt wird (das heisst: *stehen geblieben ist*), dass der Apostel Philippus als der Sprecher auch von all dem anderen, was in dieser Schrift überliefert wird, gilt."[29]

Other possible examples of identifiable Philip material may be corroborated by the *Acts of Philip*, notably the reference to the bridal chamber[30] at *APh Mart.* 29 and the similarities between the sayings in *Gos. Phil.* 53:14–19 and 67:30–35 ("I came to make [the things below] like the things [above]") and the saying recited by Philip in *APh Mart.* 34.[31] The encratistic ethical teaching of the document

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[25] Isenberg ("Gospel According to Philip," 134) suggests that this may be an excerpt from a gnostic Gospel or catechesis. Translations of the *Gospel of Philip* are taken from idem, "Gospel According to Philip."

[26] Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*, 436.

[27] Ibid., 251. "Und wenn wir unser 'Versuchsmodell' (das EvPhil als Exzerpt von Philippusakten zu betrachten) auf unseren hiesigen Paragraphen anwenden, dann sieht es so aus, als würde # 91 [Schenke's designation for the paragraph *Gos. Phil.* 73:8–15] den *Beginn* einer neuen Missionsrede des Apostels Philippus markieren—wie # 26b [Schenke's designation for *Gos. Phil.* 58:10–14] als das *Ende* einer solchen verstanden werden konnte" (p. 436, emphasis original).

[28] Ibid., 252, emphasis original.

[29] Ibid., 436, emphasis original.

[30] For contrasting views on the bridal chamber imagery in the *Gospel of Philip*, see Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley, "'The Holy Spirit is a Double Name': Holy Spirit, Mary, and Sophia in the *Gospel of Philip*," in *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* (ed. K. L. King; SAC; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 211–27; and Elaine H. Pagels, "The 'Mystery of Marriage' in the *Gospel of Philip* Revisited," in Pearson, *The Future of Early Christianity*, 442–54.

[31] Both of these examples will be treated in more detail in the following chapter. On references to the text of the *Acts of Philip*, see n. 12 in chapter six below.

reflects the second-century traditions reviewed in chapter one that associate Philip and his daughters with such a position and anticipates the image of Philip as the preacher of chastity in the *Acts of Philip*.

In addition to the preceding considerations, it must be emphasized that a *Gospel of Philip* was known in antiquity. Epiphanius quotes from it, beginning his citation as follows: "The Lord has shown me what my soul must say on its ascent to heaven, and how it must answer each of the powers on high."[32] Unfortunately this direct attestation is problematic, since the passage cited by Epiphanius is not found in the Coptic translation of the *Gospel of Philip* from Nag Hammadi, which is the only extant copy of the work. Of course it is not impossible that Epiphanius had access to a *Gospel of Philip* distinct from the Nag Hammadi text.[33] But it is also possible that we are in touch with two versions of the same document.[34] As Schenke points out, the theme of the soul's ascent through the powers on high in Epiphanius' citation is a frequent topic in the *Gospel of Philip* known to us. He speculates that the introductory phrase of Epiphanius' quotation ("The Lord has shown me") may be connected with an original version of the *Gospel of Philip*:

> Since for direct or indirect users of the Gos. Phil. this text contains the teachings of Jesus written down by Philip, it would not be too surprising if an original 'In the Gospel of Philip stands written the revelation of the Lord,' and so on, had become our present '(Philip says in his gospel): The Lord revealed to me,' etc.[35]

When and where is this implicit requisition of Philip's authority to be located? Wesley Isenberg proposes Syria as the place of composition of the Greek original and suggests a date in the second half of the third century.[36] Schenke supposes that we should think of east

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[32] *Panarion* 26.13.2. The translation used is that of Frank Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (Sects 1–46)* (NHS 35; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 94, slightly adjusted. Later witnesses refer to the use of a *Gospel of Philip* by Manichaeans; see Isenberg, "Gospel According to Philip," 132.

[33] Isenberg ("Gospel According to Philip," 132) notes this possibility and calls attention to the two *Apocalypses of James* in the Nag Hammadi collection.

[34] Schenke ("Gospel of Philip," 181; idem, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*, 2) holds that all of the testimonies refer to the *Gospel of Philip* known to us.

[35] Schenke, "Gospel of Philip," 181, immediately continuing: "This suggestion is, however, valid only on the presupposition that the 'me' of the introductory phrase is to be related to Philip, which for a constituent element (even perhaps a secondary one) in the actual Gos. Phil. is anything but a matter of course"; see also idem, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*, 1–2.

[36] Isenberg, "Gospel According to Philip," 134–35.

Syria (Edessa) for the provenance of the work but would push the date of composition back into the second century.[37] Analysis of the polemical stance of the *Gospel of Philip* over against the church (53:32) also suggests that a third-century date is too late.[38] Others have supported an early dating, including Eric Segelberg, who, after noting the use of Matthew and John in some form by the *Gospel of Philip*,[39] judges that the "mid second century or the early part of its second half is the period when one would expect to find this kind of incomplete collection of New Testament writings."[40] Segelberg argued that the *Gospel of Philip* may be plausibly traced to a bilingual Syriac and Greek-speaking population in Antioch,[41] but cautioned that a non-Antiochene tradition may be intermingled.[42] Jeffrey S. Siker has proposed that the *Gospel of Philip* "bears witness to some social and theological interaction and debate between Jews, Jewish Christians, Gentile-Christians, and gnostic-Christians" in "second century

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[37] "Aber Isenbergs Datierung auf die zweite Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts dürfte doch um ein knappes Jahrhundert zu spät liegen. Die ältere und viel geäusserte Ansicht, die das EvPhil noch im 2. Jahrhundert abgefasst sein lässt, dürfte erheblich wahrscheinlicher sein" (Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*, 5; cf. idem, "Gospel of Philip," 182–83).

[38] See Klaus Koschorke, "Die 'Namen' im Philippusevangelium: Beobachtungen zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen gnostischem und kirchlichem Christentum," *ZNW* 64 (1973): 307–22, esp. 314–20.

[39] The seven sayings that Isenberg ("Gospel According to Philip," 132) identifies as already found in the canonical Gospels are distributed among Matthew and John: 55:33–34/Matt 16:17; 57:4–5/John 6:53; 68:8–12/Matt 6:6; 68:26–27/Mark 15:34 parr.; 72:34–73:1/Matt 3:15; 84:7–9/John 8:32; 85:29–31/Matt 15:13.

[40] Eric Segelberg, "The Gospel of Philip and the New Testament," in Logan and Wedderburn, *New Testament and Gnosis*, 211. This essay and four others treating the *Gospel of Philip* have now been reprinted in idem, *Gnostica—Mandaica—Liturgica: Opera eius ipsius selecta & collecta septuagenario Erico Segelberg oblata* (ed. J. Bergman et al.; Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum 11; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990). On the connection between the dating of the *Gospel of Philip* and the document's "echoes and allusions" to the New Testament, see R. McL. Wilson, "The New Testament in the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Philip," *NTS* 9 (1963): 291–94: "The range of the author's knowledge of the New Testament seems to reflect a fairly early stage in the history of the Canon" (p. 291). Pagels (" 'Mystery of Marriage,' " 443) presumes that the *Gospel of Philip* will shed light on the place of Valentinian Gnosticism within second-century Christianity. Her assessment (pp. 446–47) that the *Gospel of Philip* consciously avoids taking sides on the controversy about marriage versus celibacy during this period curiously mirrors Philip's use by partisans on both sides of this issue. On the connections of Philip traditions with Valentinian Gnosticism, see Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium*.

[41] Eric Segelberg, "The Antiochene Background of the Gospel of Philip," in idem, *Gnostica—Mandaica—Liturgica*, 31–49.

[42] Eric Segelberg, "The Antiochene Origin of the 'Gospel of Philip,' " in idem, *Gnostica—Mandaica—Liturgica*, 51–54.

Antioch."[43] If the special Johannine tradition developed in Syria, the vitality of Philip traditions in the same area may explain the origin of the expanded role played by Philip in the Gospel of John vis-à-vis the Synoptics.[44]

The Sophia of Jesus Christ[45]

This document portrays Philip as a recipient of revelation and also intimates that he is the spokesman for a more circumscribed circle of apostles.[46] The configuration of names, the thematic similarities of parts of the dialogue with the *Dialogue of the Savior* and John 14, and the potentially very early date of the document corroborate the presence of a Philip tradition here.

Sophia of Jesus Christ is a christianized version of *Eugnostos*, a non-Christian gnostic work.[47] The content of *Eugnostos* serves in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* as grist for a revelatory dialogue[48] of the risen Jesus in answer to questions put ostensibly by "his twelve disciples and seven women" (90:16–18). But only four of the Twelve appear: Philip (92:4; 95:19), Matthew (94:1; 100:17), Thomas (96:14; 108:17), and Bartholomew (103:22); and Mary is the only woman named (98:10;

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[43] Jeffrey S. Siker, "Gnostic Views on Jews and Christians in the Gospel of Philip," *NovT* 31 (1989): 286, 276. Siker concludes (p. 288) that "the Gospel of Philip can be placed within a trajectory of Christian controversy with Judaism in Antioch (or somewhere in Syria) from the earliest days of Christianity."

[44] See the discussion in chapter four above.

[45] For discussion of introductory matters, translations, and bibliographies, see Douglas M. Parrott, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3–4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHS 27; Leiden: Brill, 1991); Petersen, *Werke der Weiblichkeit*, 44–55; Judith Hartenstein, *Die zweite Lehre: Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen als Rahmenerzählungen frühchristlicher Dialoge* (TU 146; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 35–46.

[46] The "holy apostles" are mentioned at *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 112:20. There are two extant versions of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* that exhibit minor variations: BG 77:8–127:12 and NHC III 90:14–119:18. References are to NHC III unless noted otherwise.

[47] George W. MacRae, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," in *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (ed. B. Aland; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 147–48 = idem, *Studies*, 169–71. See also Jacques É. Ménard, "Normative Self-Definition in Gnosticism," in Sanders, *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, 1:135–41.

[48] "What Jesus tells them [the disciples], verbatim in most passages, is the contents of 'Eugnostos the Blessed,' punctuated by questions from the disciples which serve only to maintain the superficial and obviously secondary genre of the dialogue" (MacRae, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," 148 = idem, *Studies*, 170).

114:9). In answer to Jesus' threefold opening query, "What are you thinking about? (Why) are you perplexed? What are you searching for?" (92:1–3),[49] Philip replies, on behalf of the assembled disciples:

> "For the underlying reality of the universe and the plan." (92:4–5)

With that the dialogue is off with each of the named disciples and Mary intervening at various points with further questions and requests:

> Matthew: "Lord, no one can find the truth except through you. Therefore teach us the truth." (94:1–4)
> Philip: "Lord, how, then, did he [the 'Unbegotten'] appear to the perfect ones?" (95:19–20)
> Thomas: "Lord, Savior, why did these come to be, and why were these revealed?" (96:15–17)
> Mary: "Lord, then how will we know that?" (98:10–11)
> Matthew: "Lord, Savior, how was Man revealed?" (100:17–18)
> Bartholomew: "How (is it that) <he> was designated in the Gospel 'Man' and 'Son of Man'? To which of them, then, is this Son related?" (103:23–104:4)
> Thomas: "Lord, Savior, how many are the aeons of those who surpass the heavens?" (108:17–19)
> Mary: "Holy Lord, where did your disciples come from and where are they going and (what) should they do here?" (114:9–12)

There are also several generic requests on the part of the disciples (105:3; 106:9) or apostles (112:20).

Douglas M. Parrott has suggested that the lists of the Twelve in the Synoptic Gospels are the source for the named apostles in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*.[50] Parrott's hypothesis concerning the origin and purpose of competing groupings of disciples' names in early Christian texts will be examined more closely below. For the moment it should be observed that Bartholomew's appearance in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* breaks the symmetry of two appearances each for the other named disciples. His question, which is otiose in comparison with those of his fellow disciples, lacks the vocative introductory address: "Lord" ("Holy Lord" for Mary in 114:9) that precedes the words of all the other speakers. Moreover, if the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* depended initially on the Synoptic lists of the Twelve, we would expect a closer connection between Philip and Bartholomew, since they are directly

[49] Translations of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* are taken from Parrott, *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3–4 and V,1*.

[50] Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 198.

associated in these lists. It seems more probable, therefore, that Bartholomew's appearance here is a later insertion, perhaps motivated by his appearance in lists of the Twelve.[51]

A more promising venue of inspiration than the Synoptic lists of the Twelve for the names that appear in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* are other gnostic dialogues that utilize some of these names in connection with similar themes. In the last chapter I noted the correspondences between *Dial. Sav.* 132:2–19 and John 14:2–12. Although Matthew and Mary do not appear in John 14, Philip is closely associated there with Thomas. In the *Dialogue of the Savior* Matthew appears along with Mary and Judas (Thomas?). The concern with "seeing" present in *Dial. Sav.* 132:5–14 and John 14:8 may also underlie Philip's question in *Soph. Jes. Chr.* 95:19–20: "Lord, how, then, did he appear to the perfect ones?" Compare further Matthew's request, which occurs just before Philip's question, in *Soph. Jes. Chr.* 93:24–94:4: "Lord, no one can find the truth except through you. Therefore teach us the truth," with Jesus' answer to Thomas in John 14:6. In fact, as if on cue, Thomas follows Matthew and Philip with the next question (*Soph. Jes. Chr.* 96:15–17). These correspondences suggest that these three apostles, often in connection with Mary, formed a recognizable group in various gnostic circles, as, I would argue, their redactional association in *Pistis Sophia* ultimately demonstrates.[52] The *Sophia of Jesus Christ* and *Pistis Sophia* 1–3 agree in placing Philip at the head of this group. In the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* it is Philip who, in addition to asking a question, answers the question of the Savior (92:1–5) that inaugurates the dialogue.

Given the evidence of the previous two texts examined in this chapter, in addition to the material examined in the earlier chapters, it is no longer surprising that a text should have recourse to the name of Philip in a revelatory situation. If Pheme Perkins is correct in specifying the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* as "missionary propaganda," one might assume that the names of the questioners functioned for the community that produced the document as constituent elements of such propaganda.[53] At what date should such propaganda be imagined as coming into play? A significant difference of opinion exists

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[51] Bartholomew and Mary are Philip's companions in *Acts of Philip* VIII–XV and the martyrdom. See Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4465–66. Recall the explicit pairing of Philip and Bartholomew in *Pistis Sophia* 4:136, cited in n. 13 above.

[52] Note the appearance of Philip, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Matthew in *Acts of Philip* III, 2.

[53] Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 98.

concerning the dating of the Greek original of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ.* While it has more commonly been placed in the second half of the second century, or perhaps the beginning of the third,[54] Parrott, in his edition of the texts of *Eugnostos* and the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* argues for a very early date.[55] In Parrott's view the evidence favors locating the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* "at the beginning of the process by which Christian Gnosticism was to become rationalized or theologized. . . . If *Eug* is dated in the first-century BCE, then *SJC* should probably be dated late in the first or early in the second century."[56] If this early dating can be accepted, then the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* together with the *Dialogue of the Savior* serve as analogous examples of the use of apostles' names in dialogue situations comparable to the farewell discourse in John 13:33–14:24.[57]

The Letter of Peter to Philip[58]

> The letter of Peter which he sent to Philip: "Peter, the apostle of Jesus Christ, to Philip our beloved brother and our fellow apostle and the brethren who are with you: greetings! Now I want you to know, our

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[54] Henri-Charles Puech, "Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents," *NTApoc*[1] 1:248.

[55] For *Eugnostos,* Parrott (*Nag Hammadi Codices III,*3–4 *and V,*1, 5) reasons that a "date no later than the first century C.E. seems justified. An even earlier date is likely." With regard to the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* he points (p. 5) to "certain crucial elements" that militate against the "rather late datings" of H.-C. Puech, Walter C. Till, and Jean Doresse. According to Parrott, Till opts for a relative dating between *Apocryphon of John* and *Pistis Sophia,* while Doresse places the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* close to *Pistis Sophia* 1–3. In Parrott's view (pp. 5–6) the following points argue for an early date for the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*: (1) "the intended audience [non-Christian Gnostics] knows little or nothing about Christ"; (2) "the absence of polemics connected with the gnostic-orthodox struggle," especially in comparison with the *Apocryphon of John*; (3) it "contains nothing that would clearly indicate that it had been influenced by the great systems of the middle third of the second century"; and (4) the presence of problems connected with the attempt "to integrate the person of Christ into the system of *Eug.*" See also Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue,* 77. Demetrios Trakatellis (*The Transcendent God of Eugnostos: An Exegetical Contribution to the Study of the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi* [trans. C. Sarelis; Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1991], 1) places *Eugnostos* in the second century CE.

[56] Parrott, *Nag Hammadi Codices III,*3–4 *and V,*1, 6.

[57] Christopher Tuckett (*Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition: Synoptic Tradition in the Nag Hammadi Library* [SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986], 32–33) claims that the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* "clearly shows some knowledge of synoptic tradition" and perhaps some language "inspired by John's gospel."

[58] For discussion of introductory matters, translations, and bibliographies, see Meyer, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 227–51; Bethge, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 342–47; idem, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus: Ein neutestamentliches Apokryphon aus dem Fund von Nag Hammadi (NHC VIII,2)* (TU 141; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), ix–xxii, 1–14; Hartenstein, *Die zweite Lehre,* 161–71.

> brother, [that] we received orders from our Lord and the Savior of the whole world that [we] should come [together] to give instruction and preach in the salvation which was promised us by our Lord Jesus Christ. But as for you, you were separate from us, and you did not desire us to come together and to know how we should organize ourselves in order that we might tell the good news. Therefore would it be agreeable to you, our brother, to come according to the orders of our God Jesus?" When Philip had received these, and when he had read them, he went to Peter rejoicing with gladness.[59]

I turn now to the most intriguing text in this chapter in terms of its relation both to the texts examined previously, particularly Acts 8:4–25, and to texts such as *Acts of Philip* III, 1, which juxtapose Peter and Philip. While commentators on the *Letter of Peter to Philip* have argued for its exclusive association either with Petrine tradition or Philip tradition, careful attention to the text indicates that traditions associated with both names are present, reflecting encounters between the tradents connected with each name.

The analyses of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* by Hans-Gebhard Bethge and Marvin W. Meyer both assume an original composition in Greek that may be dated to the end of the second or into the third century (to the middle of the third century for Bethge). They both point out that the superscription has been derived from the letter at the beginning of the text and, as Bethge notes, properly refers only to the section from 132:12–133:8. But they diverge sharply with respect to the underlying tradition responsible for the formation of the text as we have it. In what follows I will review the main points stressed by Meyer and Bethge, indicate why their "all or nothing" stance with regard to the identification of the tradition behind this document is inadequate, and show how the "letter" at the beginning of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* attests a lively interaction between the followers of two competing, apostolic traditions. The relation of the tradition in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* to indications of tension between Philip and Peter in Luke's Acts of the Apostles will merit special attention.

In Meyer's opinion the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is a component of the Petrine tradition,[60] and the emphasis on Peter as well as the course of the narrative is reminiscent of Acts 1–12.[61] Nevertheless,

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[59] *Letter of Peter to Philip* 132:10–133:11. The translation is that by Frederick Wisse in Sieber, *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII.*

[60] "The *Letter of Peter to Philip* . . . must represent a newly-discovered work in the Petrine corpus" (Meyer, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 228).

[61] Ibid., 229. Meyer spells out the details in the commentary section of idem,

Meyer cautions that evidence that might suggest the dependence of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* on Acts is counterbalanced by important differences between these documents.[62] Others assume as a matter of course that the author is working with the Lukan writings.[63] Bethge, while not denying the influence of certain passages of Luke-Acts, contends that the document cannot be understood apart from certain Coptic fragments of the *Acts of Philip* that offer a "remarkable parallel" to the Nag Hammadi text:

> The special literary character of Ep.Pet.Phil. rests upon the fact that in this document we have a composition from several elements, sources or traditions, and that within the framework of only partially preserved Acts of apostles, or possibly Acts of Philip, and not so much within the frame of the Lucan Acts.[64]

The Letter of Peter to Philip: Text, Translation, and Commentary (SBLDS 53; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 91–188. General references to Acts 1–12 as the "Petrine" section of Acts are common enough and certainly reflect a Lukan emphasis on Peter. But this should not obscure the fact that significant non-Petrine traditions have also been incorporated in the first half of Acts, as the analysis of Acts 8 above has shown.

[62] Meyer, *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 191. In his conclusion Meyer (pp. 190–91, emphasis added) states that "numerous parallels between our tractate and the first half of the NT Acts have been noted throughout this study. . . . Hence it may safely be surmised that the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is aware of Lucan materials; *but the precise character of this awareness or the exact nature of the materials cannot be determined with confidence.*"

[63] G. P. Luttikhuizen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis: Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)* (ed. R. McL. Wilson; NHS 14; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 98–102; idem, "The Evaluation of the Teaching of Jesus in Christian Gnostic Revelation Dialogues," *NovT* 30 (1988): 166–68, where Luttikhuizen cites the "most conspicuous parallels" between the *Letter of Peter to Philip* and Luke-Acts. In Luttikhuizen's opinion ("Evaluation," 168), the *Letter of Peter to Philip* "thoroughly criticizes" the Lukan accounts by presenting Jesus as a gnostic revealer and Peter as a gnostic preacher. On the issue of this document's use of Luke-Acts, see also Klaus Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen gnostischem und kirchlichem Christentum am Beispiel der 'Epistula Petri ad Philippum' (NHC VIII, 2)," *ZTK* 74 (1977): 326–27; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 122; Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 112–17.

[64] Bethge, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 343. Bethge (*Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*, 148) notes that these "Philippus-Akten bestärken uns nun in der bereits früher geäusserten Vermutung, dass EpPt nur ein Teil eines ursprünglich grösseren Werkes ist, und ziegen, in welcher Richtung wir uns in etwa eine einst vorhandene Fortsetzung vorstellen können." The earlier work just referred to is idem, "Der sogenannte 'Brief des Petrus an Philippus.' Der zweite 'Schrift' aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VIII eingeleitet und übersetzt vom Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften," *TLZ* 103 (1978): 161–70. My analysis was originally written in dialogue with Bethge's contribution to *NTApoc*^{2} and before the appearance of his *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*, which is a revised and expanded version of his 1984 Humboldt University dissertation. His positions have not changed in the more recent work.

Before rendering a decision on whether the *Letter of Peter to Philip* utilizes Luke-Acts, attention must be turned to the document in its own right and the possible existence of noncanonical influences on its construction.

The analyses of Bethge and Meyer both provide useful evidence toward identifying the presence of Philip tradition in the *Letter of Peter to Philip*. But the key factor for such a determination is the likelihood that the introductory letter (132:12–133:8) has been secondarily attached to the present document, which betrays signs of various other "interpolations" as well. In my view Bethge and Meyer go astray in their evaluation of the origin of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* when they require that the entire extant document be related either to Philip tradition (Bethge) or to Petrine (Meyer). A third option must be considered, one which takes seriously the possibility that the tension portrayed between Philip and Peter represents an actual ongoing debate between partisans connected to these names.[65]

Given the present form of the document, Meyer is surely correct to identify Peter as the document's protagonist.[66] But should this judgment hold for the letter considered apart from its current context? Meyer opts to consider the *Letter of Peter to Philip* "as a complete document in its own right, with an integrity of its own."[67] But since this literary approach does not address the question of the tradition history of the letter, it fails to demonstrate the origin of the letter in Petrine tradition. This is where Bethge has rightly emphasized contacts with Philip tradition. Yet he too has overreached the evidence by applying an alternative traditional background to the material following the "letter" in the *Letter of Peter to Philip*.

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[65] Meyer does refer to this possibility in a note (*Letter of Peter to Philip*, 165 n. 21) where he speculates "that the rivalry between Peter and Philip in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* could reflect the concern of certain Gnostic Christians for the status of these two apostles." He then cites Jacques É. Ménard, who earlier observed (*La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe: Texte établi et présenté* [Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Textes" 1; Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1977], 8) that "il y avait donc certains gnostiques qui ne se réclamaient pas de Pierre, mais d'autres, au contraire, qui se rattachaient à lui. . . . Et il se pourrait fort bien que notre Lettre veuille donner l'impression d'un rapprochement entre le groupe de Pierre et celui de Philippe."

[66] Meyer, *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 97. But note the opinion of Parrott ("Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 208–9), who denies that the "result of the letter reflect[s] the submission of Philip to Peter's authority, as Meyer proposes," and suggests with regard to the author's failure to mention Philip in the last part of the document that "a gnostic audience would have had no trouble knowing where he stood in regard to the suffering of Christ."

[67] Meyer, *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 97.

In formal terms the "letter" in 132:12–133:8 stands as an independent unit from the material that follows.[68] Although neither Bethge nor Meyer lays great weight on this fact, they both acknowledge it. Bethge, for example, as noted above, assumes that the present document has been composed from various "elements, sources or traditions" and stresses that the superscription (132:10–11) "is strictly meaningful in terms of content only for the following 'letter.' "[69] With reference to 133:8–11, "the conclusion of the Philip scene," Meyer proposes that a seam is visible as the scene shifts from the opposition between Peter and Philip to a gathering of Peter and other unnamed apostles (133:12–13).[70] According to Meyer the "letter itself was added at the beginning of this narrative in order to stress the authoritative place of Peter, and the *Letter of Peter to Philip* subsequently received its present title."[71] This certainly seems correct, as far as it goes, but Meyer does not pursue the obvious question (at least in the context of this study), namely: Why is Philip used for this purpose and not some other figure?

The apparent answer is that the letter represents a particular ancient reading of Acts 8 in terms of perceived tensions between Philip and Peter. Yet, as Meyer himself has noted, there are various counter-indications to the notion of the literary dependence of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* on Acts.[72] Indisputable indications that the author is directly appropriating Acts 8 (e.g., references to Samaria, Simon "Magus," the Spirit, etc.) are lacking. And of course the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, unlike Luke, identifies Philip as a "fellow apostle." "Thus, whether through insight into the text of Acts, or through exposure to additional sources of information, the author of this pseudo-apostolic letter indicates more clearly than Luke the independence of Philip and his mission."[73] If a direct reading of Acts

[68] Jacques É. Ménard ("La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe: sa structure," in Wilson, *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, 104), after noting various Nag Hammadi tractates that are composed of fragments or glosses (*Book of Thomas the Contender, Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles, Second Treatise of the Great Seth*), comments: "Rein d'étonnant alors que la *Lettre de Pierre à Philippe* du Codex VIII soit elle aussi constituée de deux fragments. Un premier renferme un reste d'une Lettre de Pierre à Philippe et le second est une explication gnostique de la situation de l'homme ici-bas."

[69] Bethge, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 343; cf. idem, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*, 53; similarly Meyer, *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 93.

[70] Meyer, *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 98.

[71] Meyer, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 232.

[72] Meyer, *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 191.

[73] Ibid., 96.

cannot be assumed automatically, what other intertextual situation might underlie the production and transmission of the incident portrayed by the letter?

Jacques É. Ménard, noting the shift in genre within the document from letter to dogmatic treatise, suggests a connection between the *Letter of Peter to Philip* and the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. "On pourrait donc avoir affaire ici à un fragment, comme on en trouve par exemple dans les *Actes d'Apôtres* de la littérature apocryphe où les éditeurs ont regroupé différents fragments de la vie d'Apôtres."[74] Bethge, as indicated above, has also sought an answer in this direction, taking the presence of Philip at the beginning of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* to be indicative of the literary origin of the document in the apocryphal Acts literature, possibly in some portion of the *Acts of Philip*.[75] The account from the Coptic fragments of the *Acts of Philip* that he judges to provide the "most remarkable parallel" to the *Letter of Peter to Philip* associates Philip and Peter (by Philip's invitation) on a missionary journey to Phrygia.[76] But the various components of this text appear to be free reworkings of the Greek Acts. Thus with respect to this text's account of Peter's exorcism of a spirit of divination, François Bovon judges that "il s'agit, à notre avis, d'une relecture très libre du début d'APh XIII grec."[77] Similarly with regard to the story featuring Peter's miraculous lowering and raising of a column: "Ce passage constitue une relecture très légendaire de la fin d'APh XIII grec."[78] Bethge admits that these incidents have no connection with the *Letter of Peter*

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[74] Ménard, *La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe*, 5.

[75] "In its present form, Ep.Pet.Phil. is in regard to its framework a piece of an apocryphal Acts of apostles, or possibly of Philip, from which as a result of the history of its origin the original beginning and the continuation of the action are missing, and therefore as a whole a document representing the Acts literature, into which a gnostic dialogue in the form of a didactic discourse has been inserted. . . . The special literary character of Ep.Pet.Phil. and above all the history of its origin serve to explain the role of Philip, which in terms of content is not dominant. His mention at the beginning of the document (pp. 132.10-133.11) may rank as a pointer to the portrayal of his activity in some parts of the work which preceded Ep.Pet.Phil., or lies behind it" (Bethge, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 344); cf. idem, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*, 124–26, 147–48; Bethge outlines the stages of development in the formation of the text on pp. 125–26. See Meyer's critique of an earlier statement of this theory (see n. 64 above) in *Letter of Peter to Philip*, 97.

[76] An appendix in Bethge, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*, 157–229, presents a facsimile reproduction of O. von Lemm's 1890 edition of the Coptic fragments along with a German translation. For Bethge's epitome, see idem, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 342–43. Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4438–40) provides information on editions of Coptic fragments of the *Acts of Philip* and a summary of the story line.

[77] Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4439.

[78] Ibid.

to Philip, but finds that prior to these stories in the fragments, numerous parallels may be drawn with the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, in spite of many differences.[79] These correspondences apparently include the appearance of Jesus to the apostles on the Mount of Olives, his missionary charge, and the call to divide the mission field among the Twelve by lot. Yet once again Bovon notes the apparent development from the Greek text:

> Comme dans les APh VIII–XV grecs, l'apôtre, après la répartition des espaces missionnaires, se dirige directement vers sa destination.... Philippe est accompagné par Pierre qui se substitue ainsi à Marianne (la rivalité entre les deux, selon diverses traditions gnostiques, a dû favoriser la substitution).[80]

It seems then that Bethge's astute hunch to connect the *Letter of Peter to Philip* to the *Acts of Philip* has faltered, since the suspected dependence between the two documents, at least in terms of the Coptic fragments of the *Acts of Philip*, is chronologically impossible. Yet the continuing association of Peter and Philip is important.

At this point I wish to call attention to another section of the *Acts of Philip*, this time from the Greek text, which appears to be more promising for comparison with the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, and may indicate that Bethge's intuition is not entirely misplaced. *Acts of Philip* III opens with Philip finding Peter in a city of Parthia with other disciples and some "women imitating the male faith."[81] Philip addresses "Peter and those with him" and asks to be strengthened to preach the gospel and "be reckoned in your glory in heaven." What is immediately striking here is the juxtaposition of Philip and Peter in the absence of any other names. Equally conspicuous is the fact that Peter appears at the center of a larger group here, which tallies with the implicit situation in the opening lines of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* 132:12–133:8 as indicated by the first-person plural pronouns. Assuming that the "letter" has been secondarily attached to what follows in the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, we should not expect to find any parallel in the *Acts of Philip* for the appearance of Christ on the Mount of Olives in the scene following the "letter" in the *Letter of Peter to Philip*,

[79] Bethge, "Letter of Peter to Philip," 343; idem, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*, 148.

[80] Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4439.

[81] Although there are differences between the two versions of the Greek text of *Acts of Philip* III (Xenophontos 32 offers a greatly expanded text in comparison with Vaticanus graecus 824), the points I cite here are common to both. For more on the Greek witnesses of *Acts of Philip*, see chapter six below.

since this stems from an originally separate fragment. *Acts of Philip* III, 1 is satisfactory here. It would seem then that Bethge was attracted to the Coptic fragments of the *Acts of Philip* (evidently an embellished form of Act VIII of the Greek text) not only because of the association of Philip and Peter, but also because they portray an appearance of Christ on the Mount of Olives. This provided him with contacts between the Coptic *Acts of Philip* and both the "letter" and "dialogue" sections of the *Letter of Peter to Philip*. This relation in turn allowed him to posit a wider association between the *Acts of Philip* and the *Letter of Peter to Philip*. In fact, however, the commission scene in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is not comparable to that offered either by the Coptic version of the *Acts of Philip* or the Greek versions, both of which connect Philip with a specific geographical destination (Coptic: Phrygia; Greek: Land of the Greeks).[82]

The similarities between the juxtaposition of Philip and Peter in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* and in *Acts of Philip* III, 1 suggest the existence of a tradition that sought to ameliorate a perceived rupture between these two important apostles. These texts, then, adopt a literary strategy that seeks to overcome the tension between these two authorities in the tradition and perhaps conflicts among their ideological descendants in various Christian groups. It is possible that the tradition of contention between Philip and Peter owes it origin to Luke's serial presentation of these characters in Acts 8, but the absence of any of the features of the Lukan setting and characterization demands caution here. Meyer's judgment that the *Letter of Peter to Philip* represents Petrine tradition must be modified for the opening scene, which appears to find its genesis in the confrontation of Philip and Petrine traditions. The influence of Philip traditions in the second century exemplified by Papias, Polycrates, the *Gospel of Philip*, and now the *Letter of Peter to Philip* may have led to a situation in which "gnostic" Christians wished to rein in any negative implications of Philip as an independent purveyor of gnosis. Pheme Perkins, after observing that the *Letter of Peter to Philip* seeks to portray the unified witness of the apostles, notes that

> the initial discussion of apostolic unity in PetPhil is the most explicit of the group [of dialogues] in its acknowledgment that apostolic tradition has to have been revealed to all the apostles together and not

[82] *Acts of Philip* III, 2 mentions specific destinations for Andrew (Achaia and the whole of Thrace), Thomas (India), and Matthew (the land of the Troglodytes).

> to individuals in secret. . . . Therefore, one must conclude that the Gnostic position on apostolic tradition is much closer to the general second-century view than is sometimes admitted.[83]

Perkins's judgment, however, that only Thomas and James traditions claimed "transmission from a single disciple past the others to the Gnostic" is too restrictive. It seems that we must now include Philip along with Thomas and James as a figure of sufficient independent status to require a special reintegration into the apostolic body.

What's in a Name?

The analysis of Philip's appearances in gnostic documents and traditions has revealed a common strategy of appeal to specific authority figures familiar already from the results obtained in the last chapter on the Fourth Gospel. This procedure often involves a conscious limitation, presumably for ideological, theological, and even practical reasons (e.g., loyalty to one's patron apostle), to select names within and around the Twelve. In his essay "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," Douglas Parrott argues that gnostic and non-gnostic documents are distinguished by their treatment of two distinct groups of disciples. Parrott states his thesis as follows:

> Both gnostic and non-gnostic tractates recognize in appropriate ways a circle of gnostic disciples connected with Philip, and another group of orthodox, or at least non-gnostic, disciples connected with Peter. . . . In the gnostic tractates, Philip circle disciples are present routinely and Peter circle disciples appear only where there is some polemical reason. And the same situation, *mutatis mutandis*, prevails in the orthodox or non-gnostic tractates.[84]

The notion of a "Philip circle," which has been broached by others in connection with the lists of the Twelve,[85] could offer further support for the assumptions underlying the present investigation. But Parrott's understanding of the nature and function of "Philip circle" disciples implies that non-orthodox Christians suffered from a "tradition vacuum" when it came to legitimizing their theological stances. This appears somewhat naïve. Consequently, even though I find

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[83] Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 195–96.
[84] Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 213.
[85] See the discussion in chapter four above.

much of Parrott's discussion judicious, his conclusion that "Philip circle" disciples were employed in support of gnostic positions because their names were available, since nothing was known about them, is quite inadequate.[86] Nevertheless, Parrott's study is significant for its grappling with the question of why specific names and groups of names appear in certain documents. It is worthwhile, then, to review his argument to expose several unfounded assumptions, which will leave the way open to revise his conclusion and affirm the use of "Philip circle" disciples by gnostic Christians on the basis of what was known about them in the tradition.

Parrott begins his investigation with the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, suggesting that it appropriates Philip and the three disciples who follow him in the Synoptic lists of the Twelve because they were not affiliated, as were Peter, James, John, and Andrew, with a "particularistic grounding of revelation."[87] On Parrott's reading the close connection of the Peter circle with a Jewish notion of salvation disqualified them "as bearers of the universalistic interpretation of Christ" presented in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*.[88] Therefore the Philip circle disciples take on this function, since they stood neither for a "Judaistic interpretation of Christ" nor any other recognizable stance.[89]

As I indicated above in the discussion of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, it may not be assumed that the names of the disciples appearing in this document have been drawn from the Synoptic lists of the Twelve as Parrott supposes. Additionally, Parrott's idea of how the Philip circle disciples were chosen to represent a universalistic interpretation of Christ to the non-Christian gnostic audience of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* is suspect. It depends on the assumption that this already hypothetical audience would know, and thus care, that the Peter circle disciples were thoroughly "Judaistic" and accordingly incapable of representing a universalistic message.[90] But this supposed dichotomy

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[86] See Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 202.

[87] Ibid., 193.

[88] Ibid., 201. Parrott (p. 198) identifies the intended audience of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* as non-Christian gnostics, who held to a position represented by *Eugnostos*, which "is an effort to ground religious affirmations in universal cosmic structures rather than in particular and particularistic religious traditions."

[89] Ibid., 202: The disciples appearing in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* "were selected to be the gnostic disciples, not because of anything that was known about them, but precisely because little or nothing was known about them and hence they could easily be used in the presentation of gnostic Christianity."

[90] See ibid., 200.

between the Peter and Philip circles on the basis of their respective Jewish or universal outlooks is not supported by the sources. Parrott's attempts to explain away Philip's (John 1:45) or Matthew's connections with obviously Jewish traditions beg too many questions. Further, note the following contradictions to the alleged restriction of the Peter circle to a particularistic stance that have been mentioned in other connections earlier in this study: Luke easily ties the initiation of the gentile mission to Peter, the Gospel of John unites names from both of the ostensibly separate circles in a context that shatters particularistic traditions, and Papias continues to refer to the authority of a similar grouping of "disciples of the Lord." If there is a legitimate distinction that can be drawn between the Peter and Philip circles, it will have to be based on something other than the general opposition between particularism and universalism.

Apart from Parrott's explanation for the division between the Peter and Philip circles, it is still worth examining his presentation of the distinction between these two groups in other documents.[91] He divides the documents to be examined, which are all "revelation dialogues," into four groups as follows:

(1) Philip circle alone or dominant ("clearly gnostic tractates"),[92]
(2) Peter circle alone or dominant ("clearly gnostic tractates"),[93]
(3) orthodox ("clearly orthodox tractates"),[94] and
(4) probably orthodox or non-gnostic tractates.[95]

He finds that when Peter is present in tractates of the first group, he is "invariably seen as subordinate to and/or in opposition to one or more of the gnostic disciples."[96] On the other hand, in the writings of groups three and four, apart from Bartholomew, only disciples from the Peter circle are named.[97] Parrott also reviews the evidence regarding chains of oral tradition and finds that the "secret orthodox tradition" presumes the Peter circle, while the gnostic equivalent is

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[91] See the discussion of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* above for Parrott's early dating of this document.

[92] *Thomas the Contender, Dialogue of the Savior, Gospel of Mary, Pistis Sophia* 4, *Pistis Sophia* 1–3.

[93] *Apocryphon of John, Apocalypse of Peter, Letter of Peter to Philip.*

[94] *Epistula Apostolorum, Questions of Bartholomew.*

[95] *Apocryphon of James, Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles.*

[96] Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 213.

[97] The vacillation of Bartholomew between the various categories established by Parrott perhaps is another indication that he has been added secondarily to his companions in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ.*

represented by documents such as the *Gospel of Philip* and the *Gospel of Thomas*, that is by traditions of apostles connected with the Philip circle.[98]

Parrott's scheme shows that in general it is legitimate to represent one group of apostolic names over against another in contexts where alternative Christian traditions compete for legitimation. Yet many of the specifics of Parrott's analysis remain questionable. Obviously problematic for Parrott's thesis of a strict demarcation between the Peter and Philip circles are the documents treated in group two, where Peter and John appear as the principals in gnostic texts. Parrott's explanation that since Peter and John function here in the context of "gnostic anti-orthodox polemic," his thesis is not called into doubt, simply begs the question.[99] In fact the evidence suggests that gnostics too had an interest in cultivating writings under the names of Peter and John, even if Peter was often portrayed as inimical to gnosis.[100] Therefore we must conclude that the use of any name by any group is possible, especially when the concern is to harness the legitimating authority of a figure deemed worthy of acceptance by all.

Still one can agree with Parrott's general conclusion, which highlights the opposition between Peter and the various disciples called on by gnostics. "Peter naturally had a prominent place, since he was perceived as in some sense the founder of orthodoxy and the authority for its teachings. . . . On the gnostic side . . . no one disciple emerged to whom the Gnostics looked as their founder."[101] Yet this determination in no way justifies Parrott's further judgment that the gnostic disciples were selected because they were otherwise unknown and consequently available to be pressed into service as surrogate guarantors. The numerous examples uncovered in this and earlier chapters of

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[98] Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 213–17.

[99] Ibid., 209–10.

[100] Perkins (*Gnostic Dialogue*, 115) refers to "a Gnostic Petrine tradition which portrays Peter as the true Gnostic." She suggests that it "probably developed in the same area in which those of orthodox Christianity were taking shape as effective symbols for ecclesial and doctrinal organization." See eadem, "Peter in Gnostic Revelation," in George MacRae, ed., *Society of Biblical Literature 1974 Seminar Papers* (2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 2:1–13. Parrott ("Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 219) concludes, with reference to Perkins and others, "that there was probably no Petrine gnostic group." Perhaps this is a matter of semantics. If there was no Petrine gnostic group, there was, nevertheless, gnostic appropriation of the authority of Peter in support of gnostic positions.

[101] Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples," 218.

traditional stories about and appeals to Philip argue that in his case, at least, the utilization of the name was a conscious decision to appropriate the legitimating power of an existing, weighty authority.

Conclusion

The documents examined in this chapter show that Philip held a significant place in gnostic literature as a recipient of revelation and as an independent guarantor of the authentic transmission of the sayings and teachings of Jesus. The extraordinary image of Philip as the scribe of Jesus' words preserved in *Pistis Sophia* confirms Philip's status in Papias as a special authority for Christian tradition alongside the names of other apostles who are more usually associated with this function. The *Gospel of Philip* indicates a more organized process of preserving materials under the name of Philip. The *Sophia of Jesus Christ* adds further verification of Philip's role as a recipient of revelation and spokesman for a more restricted group of apostles. Above all the *Letter of Peter to Philip* bears witness to the vitality of the Philip traditions and the rivalry between their tradents and groups associated with the name of Peter. Such a document would not have been produced unless there had been a dispute regarding authority under the name of Philip. As we will see in the next chapter in connection with an examination of the *Acts of Philip*, contention with Peter is a characteristic that extends through the entire range of the Philip traditions.

CHAPTER SIX

THE "APOCRYPHAL PHILIP"

The final document I will examine for its contribution to the history of the Philip traditions is the *Acts of Philip*. It has been a scholarly commonplace to regard the *Acts of Philip* as a late and derivative compilation, which borrowed extensively from the earlier and more famous narratives of Philip's fellow apostles. Such an assessment, were it accurate, would hold out little promise toward the end of substantiating, by means of this document, an ongoing vitality of gathering and generating oral and/or written Christian traditions under the name of Philip. In fact, however, closer scrutiny of scholarly presuppositions concerning the derivative nature of this document's contents and the implications of its late production reveals that such judgments are open to question. Simultaneously, the realization that "later" Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles are valuable to historians of early Christian apocryphal literature not only for their potential witness to earlier stages of Christian tradition but also for the techniques they employ in rewriting such earlier materials provides a more profitable perspective both on these texts and on early Christian literature in general. Premature conclusions about a document's "worth" based on mechanical applications of modern-day notions of literary dependence must be avoided if we are to perceive the creativity signaled by the reconfiguration of familiar traditions in our late Christian apocryphal texts. The value of an apocryphal text cannot be determined simply by plotting its position on a temporal grid where proximity to the "founding events" confers greater status. Rather, every text must be evaluated individually with respect to what it reveals about its connections with the social, cultural, and theological environments from which it emerged.

In this chapter, after reviewing recent developments in research on the *Acts of Philip*, I will examine selected portions of its composite text to argue that it has incorporated some earlier material that was understood to be specifically related to Philip, and that creative attention to Philip persisted well into the fourth century in the nourishing intertextual environment that broadly fostered Christian liter-

ary production. Thus in spite of examples of "borrowings" from various other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, or from "gnostic" and Jewish materials, I mean to show that the *Acts of Philip* and its component parts nevertheless possess their own integrity. Thus, the *Acts of Philip* is "original" according to the standards of its own time and place. In what follows it will become evident, on the one hand, that traditional material connected with Philip's name provided some impetus to fill in the gaps in this apostle's personal biography through the construction of the *Acts of Philip*. No less important, on the other hand, is the recognition that the generation of written narratives of Philip's travels provided a way for Christian writers of various periods to reflect on their own times by incorporating social and theological issues of their own day into the continually rewritten story of their apostolic sponsor.

Dispelling the Shadow of Secondary Status

Theodor Zahn judged the *Acts of Philip* (*APh*) to have been written, at the earliest, toward the end of the fourth century "von einem sehr unwissenden und gedankenarmen Mann."[1] While a critical edition of the *APh* was produced by Maximilien Bonnet in 1903,[2] this document received only occasional attention from investigators of early Christianity prior to the recent efforts of François Bovon. Scholarly opinion was content to hold to the judgment of M. R. James, who categorized the *APh* as the first of the so-called "secondary acts," as though this verdict held explanatory value in and of itself.[3] Consequently James's twelve-page epitome remains the only English rendition of Bonnet's ninety-page critical text.[4] In the first English edition of the

[1] Zahn, *Forschungen*, 18.

[2] Richard Adelbert Lipsius and Maximilien Bonnet, eds., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. 2/2 (1903; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1959), 1–90.

[3] Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with Other Narratives and Fragments Newly Translated* (1924; repr., Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), 438–39. According to James the *APh* is "most obviously an imitation" of the five principal Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Yet imitation, far from signaling defect, was a widely utilized compositional technique in the ancient world as will be discussed below.

[4] Elliott's updating of James (J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1993]) only provides a translation of act VIII and a summary of the martyrdom (pp. 515–18). An earlier English translation of *APh* XV and the martyrdom, based

second volume of the *New Testament Apocrypha* of Edgar Hennecke, edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, the *APh* was covered in one paragraph and included in that class of writings which "are at any rate no longer New Testament apocrypha, if the concept is not to be completely devaluated."[5] Yet the surge of interest in Christian Apocrypha over the last several decades[6] that has focused primarily on the so-called major Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (i.e., those of Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, and Thomas),[7] has also signaled a change of fortunes for the *APh.*

In an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Atlanta in 1986, Bovon insisted that "as the dividing line between *Urchristentum* and ancient Christianity becomes more and more artificial, New Testament scholarship and the disci-

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on two manuscripts, "a Parisian one of the eleventh century, and a Venetian one" (Parisinus graecus 881 and Marcianus graecus 349) appeared in *ANF* 8:497–503. The same volume also includes an English translation of the "Acts of Philip in Hellas" (*APh* II) and another recension of the martyrdom, both edited by Constantin Tischendorf (see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4433, for the identification of these manuscripts and references to the 1851 and 1866 editions of Tischendorf). James (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 450–52) also provides an abridgment "of a single Act extant only in Syriac." This was edited and translated into English by William Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries with English Translations and Notes* (1871; repr., 2 vols. in 1; Amsterdam: Philo, 1968), 2:69–92.

[5] Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Aurelio de Santos Otero, "Later Acts of Apostles," *NTApoc*[1] 2:571; the *APh* is covered at 2:577. This English version of 1965 was based on the third, revised German edition of 1964.

[6] In 1981 an association for the study of Christian apocryphal literature was formed in Geneva and the Series Apocryphorum of the Corpus Christianorum was launched. A Consultation on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles convened at the 1980 and 1981 annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature, and various studies presented at those gatherings were included in *Semeia* 38 (1986), edited by Dennis R. MacDonald, entitled *The Apocryphal Acts of Apostles.* A second SBL Consultation on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles met during the 1988 and 1989 annual meetings. This was succeeded by a seven-year (1990–96) Seminar on Intertextuality in Christian Apocrypha, which in turn has been succeeded by the Christian Apocrypha Section (1997–). Among the many recent significant publications devoted to Christian Apocrypha are the research reports contained in *ANRW* II 25/5 (1988) and II 25/6 (1988), the revision of *NTApoc*[1], Elliott's *Apocryphal New Testament*, the appearance of the journal *Apocrypha* (founded in 1990), the Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles series (now published by Peeters), and volume one of the collection edited by François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442; Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

[7] Note the change in the order of treatment of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles from John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Thomas in *NTApoc*[1] to the alphabetical listing in *NTApoc*[2], which mirrors the fifth German edition.

pline of patristics must join hands."[8] In that presentation, Bovon had frequent recourse to the *APh* to shed light on how the literary practice of the Synoptic evangelists may have proceeded with regard to their citation, imitation, and adaptation of sources. The idea that reference to the *APh*, which was redacted in the 4th century CE, might illuminate our perception of how the Synoptic Gospels were formed is quite extraordinary. Such an outlook not only requires a reexamination of the prospects for identifying traces of earlier "Philip traditions" within the document but also impels us to reassess what can be learned from the so-called "secondary" documents of early Christianity. The latter task may be pursued profitably with the assistance of insights from the realm of intertextuality. First, however, several recent developments with respect to research on the *APh* must be highlighted.

Bovon's work on the previously unedited Xenophontos 32 manuscript from Mount Athos, which offers a more complete and perhaps more ancient witness to the text of the *APh*, has sparked renewed interest in this document.[9] A preliminary index of the increased attention merited by the text is the six-page treatment found in the revised edition of *New Testament Apocrypha*,[10] although an English translation of the *APh* is still lacking.[11] The current reappraisal of the importance

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[8] Published as "The Synoptic Gospels and the Noncanonical Acts of the Apostles," *HTR* 81 (1988): 19–36; see p. 35 for the citation.

[9] See "Les Actes de Philippe," in François Bovon et al., *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres: Christianisme et monde païen* (Publications de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Genève 4; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981), 301–4; and Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4431–4527. The latter article, in addition to providing comprehensive information on the history of research on the *APh*, the Greek manuscripts, and versions in other languages, gives an extensive summary of the content of the Greek text with special attention to the new or additional material of Xenophontos 32. A more recent introduction along with a French translation based upon Xenophontos 32 is now available in Frédéric Amsler, François Bovon, and Bertrand Bouvier, *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe* (Apocryphes 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1996). The critical edition of the Greek text of the *Acts of Philip*, including Xenophontos 32, is now available in François Bovon, Bertrand Bouvier, and Frédéric Amsler, eds., *Acta Philippi: Textus* (CCSA 11; Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). Also note that Amsler's dissertation, "Les Actes apocryphes de Philippe: Commentaire" (Th.D. diss., University of Geneva, 1994), has now appeared in updated form as his *Commentarius*.

[10] This is part of Aurelio de Santos Otero's survey "Later Acts of Apostles," in *NTApoc*^{2}: "Acta Philippi," 2:468–73 (on the Greek *APh*); he also discusses the Syriac ("Historia Philippi," 2:473–74) and Coptic ("Acta Philippi et Petri," 2:474–76) versions.

[11] Before the recently published French translation by Amsler, Bovon, and Bouvier (see n. 9 above), the only full, modern translation of the Greek *APh* was the Italian version in Mario Erbetta, ed., *Atti e leggende: Versione e commento*, vol. 2 of *Gli apocrifi*

of the *APh* is not entirely contingent on the new readings provided by Xenophontos 32. Even in Bonnet's text there are indications that the *APh* is more than the often alleged late and derivative jumble of material compiled by an imaginative scribe. For example, one finds here otherwise unattested sayings of a sapiential character that apparently stem from some older collection of logia:

> At that moment, the Savior appeared and said to Philip: "Who is the one that puts his hand to the plow, then looks back and makes his row straight? Or who is the one who gives his lamp to others, and then himself remains sitting in the darkness? . . . Or which athlete runs with ardor in a stadium and does not receive the prize, O Philip? Here, the wedding chamber is ready, blessed is the guest of the spouse, for rich is the harvest of the fields and blessed is the worker who is able."[12]

Noting the stylistic similarity between these sayings and what one finds in the Q material of the Gospels, Bovon asks, "But from which work are these quotations drawn? from which older collection of logia?"[13] Zahn supposed that a citation from the *Gospel of Philip* might be involved, given the allusion to Luke 9:62 ("hand to the plow") and its proximity to the saying in Luke 9:60 ("Let the dead bury their own dead"; cf. Matt 8:22), which Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3.25.3) identified as addressed to Philip.[14] Yet the *Gospel of Philip* known to us does not contain these sayings and the argument based on the association of the two sayings in Luke is not conclusive. Note, however, these lines from the opening of the *Gospel of Philip* at 52:6–8: "Those who are heirs to the dead are themselves dead, and they

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del Nuovo Testamento (Turin: Marietti, 1966), 457–85, which, of course, lacked the evidence of Xenophontos 32. Luigi Moraldi (*Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* [2 vols.; Classici della religioni, Section 5: Le altre confessioni cristiane; Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1971], 2:1625–31) offered an epitome of the Greek *APh.*

[12] Bovon's translation ("Synoptic Gospels and the Noncanonical Acts," 30) of *APh Mart.* 29 according to Xenophontos 32 from Mount Athos, which corresponds to § 135 in Bonnet's edition. References to the text of the *APh* here follow the new edition by Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler. As in that edition, the various acts within the *APh* are indicated by Roman numerals, while the paragraphs within the individual acts are designated by Arabic numerals, e.g. I, 3 for the first act, third paragraph. The martyrdom, which follows on act XV, is cited according to the enumeration of its paragraphs (e.g. *Mart.* 34). References to the continuously numbered paragraphs in Bonnet's text (see n. 2 above) appear with § and the relevant Arabic numeral, e.g., § 3, for the third section of the first act; § 140 for the section of the martyrdom corresponding to *Mart.* 34.

[13] Bovon, "Synoptic Gospels and the Noncanonical Acts," 31.

[14] Zahn, *Forschungen*, 26–27.

inherit the dead."[15] Furthermore, the mention of the wedding or bridal chamber raises additional grounds for the conjecture that the sayings quoted above from *APh Mart.* 29 stem from "Philip tradition." The bridal chamber imagery permeates the *Gospel of Philip* and was an important emphasis of the Valentinian movement in second-century Christianity.[16] Hans-Martin Schenke's hypothesis that the *Gospel of Philip* assumes the availability of Philip traditions that stem from an older, Valentinian "Acts of Philip" may be supported by these connections between the *Gospel of Philip* and the content of the later *Acts of Philip.*[17]

Even where the *APh* exhibits knowledge of the more ancient apocryphal Acts, one must exercise caution before concluding that this signals an uncreative borrowing from these works. In many such instances not only is conclusive evidence of the "literary dependence" of the *APh* on the earlier apocryphal Acts lacking, but the category of literary dependence itself prejudges and obscures the rewriting techniques that were part and parcel of an ancient author's poetics, Christian or otherwise. A precise determination of the relation between the *APh* and the other Apocryphal Acts of Apostles requires a comprehensive study of the former's compositional techniques and an assessment of its use of traditional materials.[18] Such work depends

[15] Translations of the *Gospel of Philip* are taken from Isenberg, "Gospel According to Philip."

[16] See Elaine H. Pagels, "The 'Mystery of Marriage' in the *Gospel of Philip* Revisited." The affiliation of Philip traditions with Valentinianism may account for the citation of the "Hymn" from *Acts of John* 94–96 in *APh* XI; see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4502. At *Gos. Phil.* 67:23–30 we read the following: "But one receives them in the unction of the [. . .] of the power of the cross. This power the apostles called 'the right and the left.' For this person is no longer a Christian but a Christ. The lord [did] everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber." In addition to the connection between the *APh* and the *Gospel of Philip* afforded by the mention of the bridal chamber, there may be a further link between these two texts centering on the phrase "no longer a Christian but a Christ" in the *Gospel of Philip.* In *APh* XIII, 5, lines 7–9, one reads: "Blessed is the one who has received in himself this gospel, for this one is the light of the blind, the one which is seen with spiritual eyes, which is the Christ." (Translations of the *Acts of Philip* are my own unless noted otherwise.) I wish to express my gratitude to Archbishop Demetrios Trakatellis for obtaining on my behalf a photocopy of the complete Xenophontos 32 from its custodians at Mount Athos. On this passage Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4507) comments: "On pourrait imaginer que le texte identifie le croyant au Christ. Je crois plutôt qu'il est question du Christ seul."

[17] See n. 27 in chapter five above.

[18] The nature of the interrelation of the five so-called principal Apocryphal Acts

fundamentally upon the new critical edition of the Greek manuscripts by Bovon, Bertrand Bouvier, and Frédéric Amsler, which includes the evidence of Xenophontos 32.[19] But already it is clear that the older judgment that saw in the *APh* a late and worthless document does not account for what is found there.

In the pages that follow, after preliminary comments on the structure, content, and date of the *APh*, I will focus on selected portions of this extensive text in an attempt to illustrate how it represents both a continuation of the Philip traditions of the second and third centuries, and a reuse and new use of these traditions in combination with other resources for novel purposes in the fourth century.

The Acts of Philip[20]

The *APh* consists of fifteen separately labeled "acts" concluded by a martyrdom account. As is common with the genre, manuscript evidence indicates that the martyrdom, which is preserved in most parts in three recensions, often circulated separately from the rest of the *APh*. Outside the martyrdom, Bonnet's edition of the Greek text was based primarily on one manuscript that knew only acts I–IX and XV (the beginning was missing) to the end. The "discovery"[21] of the Xenophontos 32 manuscript has brought to light the previously unattested acts XI–XV (the beginning of XI is missing). Thus, only act

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of the Apostles continues to be a topic of current research. The work of the SBL Seminar on Intertextuality in Christian Apocrypha exposed an interdependence among these five principal apocryphal Acts that belies any attempt to chart simple lines of literary dependence. See Robert F. Stoops, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Intertextual Perspectives* (Semeia 80; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

[19] The manuscripts with their sigla are: Athos, Xenophontos 32 (A), Vaticanus graecus 824 (V), Parisinus graecus 881 (P), Vaticanus graecus 866 (X), Ambrosianus graecus 405 (K), and Atheniensis 346 (G). See the descriptions in Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi: Textus*, xiii–xxx.

[20] While these observations are based on my own reading and interpretation of the texts, my debt to François Bovon's meticulous ninety-seven-page article, "Les Actes de Philippe," in *ANRW* II 25/6, here and elsewhere, is profound. I review some basic introductory information on the *Acts of Philip* here, since document is not well known. A précis of the text is included as an appendix to this chapter. A full English translation is being prepared by Bovon.

[21] Although the manuscript was catalogued, its significance was not immediately exploited. See Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4434; Bertrand Bouvier and François Bovon, "Actes de Philippe, I, d'après un manuscrit inédit," in *Oecumenica et Patristica: Festschrift für Wilhelm Schneemelcher zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. D. Papandreou et al.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989), 367.

X, the beginning of XI, and some parts of XIV and XV remain lost.[22] Aside from the Greek manuscripts, versions and adaptations of the *APh* are attested in Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Old Slavonic, and Irish.[23] Various Greek texts of the Byzantine period consecrated to Philip may contain traces of the earlier *APh*.[24] These texts also clearly indicate the frequent dogmatic domestication that the *APh* fell subject to;[25] such censorship likely extends to our oldest Greek witnesses, as the evidence of torn-out folios from Xenophontos 32 demonstrates.[26]

With regard to the structure and content of the document, there is an obvious division on internal grounds, corroborated by some manuscript evidence, between the first seven acts and those from eight on through the martyrdom. In acts I–VII, Philip, the apostle, is the only constant character. The supporting cast varies from act to act, with the exception of acts V–VII, which deal with the same ensemble of characters. In acts VIII and following, Philip is joined at the outset by his sister Mariamne and Bartholomew, and soon a leopard and a goat's kid, and, near the end, the apostle John. While the episodic action in acts I–VII usually does not rely on continuing the same story line from act to act, except for V–VII, the plot from VIII through the end recounts the adventures of Philip and company on one continuous journey that reaches its goal with the apostle's martyrdom. One must agree with Bovon that the fusion of all this material into its current ample form was the work of a fourth-century monk of an encratistic persuasion:

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[22] Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4471–72) attributes the lost folios of Xenophontos 32 to an act of censorship. See also Amsler, *Commentarius*, 33–34.

[23] Attention here will focus on the Greek texts, since the various versions, although offering occasional insights into the content of the primitive *APh*, for the most part represent subsequent legendary developments. Note de Santos Otero's comment ("Later Acts of Apostles," 474): "Like the Syriac Historia Philippi, the Coptic Acts of Philip presuppose the Greek Acta Philippi and at the same time show some points of contact with them." On the non-Greek versions, see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4437–43; note especially the information that may be garnered from the Latin version (pp. 4437–38).

[24] See Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4443–56.

[25] For example, Bovon (ibid., 4444) notes that the text of Simeon Metaphrastes "représente une parfaite domestication du ou des récits primitifs du Martyre: tout ce qui pouvait choquer – l'encratisme, la colère de l'apôtre, la présence des animaux, la spéculation sur la croix – est éliminé."

[26] Ibid., 4471–72; see n. 22 above.

> L'intérêt pour la foi virile des femmes, pour la continence et l'abstinence, pour les vêtements, les heures de prière, la retraite loin du monde, les vertus de douceur, de simplicité et de παρρησία, le salut des animaux, tout cela correspond à ce que l'on sait de ces moines traités d'excessifs par l'historiographie ecclésiastique.[27]

Whether all the material corresponding to such topics should be assigned to this late redactional stage, however, remains a question for investigation. Certainly notions such as the "male faith" of women (see *Gos. Thom.* 114) and the high estimation of celibacy are notable characteristics of various Christian groups already in the second century, as we have seen with the daughters of Philip and the Montanists in particular.[28] Even the motif of speaking animals attracted to Christianity is attested already in the second century *Acts of Paul* and *Acts of Thomas*.[29]

It is difficult to say how long the various component parts of the *APh* had been in existence prior to their fourth-century redaction. While it is reasonable to assume that acts VIII–XV arose together on the basis of a clearly connected story line and cast of characters, the existence of acts I–VII as a unit prior to their join with VIII–XV is less clear, precisely because such unifying indications are absent. It does seem likely that acts V–VII always formed a unit and that it may have circulated separately. The independent circulation of

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[27] Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4522. Both Erbetta (*Atti e leggende*, 453) and Moraldi (*Apocrifi*, 1625) suggest a date between 300 and 330 CE. See also Amsler, Bovon, and Bouvier, *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, 30.

[28] Encratistic concerns are also foremost among the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. See Gail Paterson Corrington, "The 'Divine Woman'? Propaganda and the Power of Celibacy in the New Testament Apocrypha: A Reconsideration," *ATR* 70 (1988): 207–20. On Christian sexual renunciation in the first and second centuries, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (Lectures on the History of Religions 13; New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 33–121. See also Vincent L. Wimbush, ed., *Discursive Formations, Ascetic Piety and the Interpretation of Early Christian Literature* (2 vols.; Semeia 57–58; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); idem, ed., *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (SAC; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); idem and Richard Valantasis, eds., *Asceticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Elizabeth A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), esp. 14–42.

[29] See the episode of the baptized lion in the *Acts of Paul* (Hamburg Papyrus; see *NTApoc*^{2} 2:251–54) and the episodes of the colt and the wild asses in *Acts of Thomas* 39–41 and 68–81, respectively. See my essay, "Articulate Animals: A Multivalent Motif in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," in François Bovon, Ann Graham Brock, and Christopher R. Matthews, eds., *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies* (Religions of the World; Cambridge: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, 1999), 205–32.

the acts now reckoned as I–IV is possible and, indeed, there is manuscript evidence to confirm that this was the case with act II.[30] The modest transitional links that do exist, joining one act to the next in *APh* I–VII, seem likely to stem from a redactor weaving together various previously unconnected pieces. Such a procedure appears to be visible, for example, in the case of the note at the end of act II that Philip departed for Parthia and the introduction to act III, which begins with Philip in that region.

Thus beyond those elements that might be attributed to the final redactor, the question of the origin and authorship of the individual parts of the *APh* remains open. With respect to the inspiration behind the composition of these acts one discovers numerous traces of traditional material (especially in discourse and prayer material) that has been utilized in the composition of the separate scenes. Reliance on biblical material is basic, although its use varies in degree from act to act.[31] There are also clear examples of story elements and narrative plot lines that are associated with other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. For instance the "Hymn of Christ" that we know from the *Acts of John* 94–96 appears in *APh* XI as a eucharistic prayer.[32] Yet it is not impossible that this hymn reached the author of the *APh* as an independent piece as opposed to being adapted directly from a text of the *Acts of John.* Philip's crucifixion head downwards in the martyrdom account of the *APh* and his words from the "cross," including his use of the famous saying about making the below above and the left right (*Aph Mart.* 34/§ 140), have long been recognized as related to *Acts of Peter* 38. Finally, there are striking examples, especially

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[30] Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4478) characterizes act II as an isolated legend joined somehow or other to the rest of the acts. The first edition of the *APh* in Greek edited by Constantine Tischendorf (*Acta apostolorum apocrypha* [Leipzig: Avenarius & Mendelssohn, 1851], 75–104) consisted of act II and the martyrdom (i.e., act XV to the end).

[31] Note the reliance in *APh* III on Acts 8 to locate or characterize Philip (treated below in connection with Philip's itinerary). *APh* II (at a late stage?) plays off of Luke's depiction of Paul in Athens from Acts 17. On the relation between biblical texts and the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, see Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Le rôle des textes bibliques dans la genèse et le développement des légendes apocryphes: Le cas du sort final de l'apôtre Jean," *Augustinianum* 23 (1983): 336. On the intertextual employment of biblical texts by the apocryphal Acts as found in the case of the *Acts of Thomas*, see Harold W. Attridge, "Intertextuality in the *Acts of Thomas*," *Semeia* 80 (1997): 87–124; Matthews, "*Apocryphal* Intertextual *Act*ivities."

[32] See n. 16 above. Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4501–3) summarizes the results of a comparison of the text of the hymn preserved by Xenophontos 32 with that of the *Acts of John.*

in acts VIII through the martyrdom, of an appropriation of various "gnostic" and heterodox Jewish traditions and sources.[33] On the basis of the evidence to be reviewed below it is also reasonable to conjecture that earlier traditions and legends about the apostle Philip underlie portions of what eventually became the *APh.* Indeed, such materials prepared the ground for the later developments.

At some point these diverse traditions were collected and supplemented by material "drawn" both from earlier Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and a variety of other sources. The exploratory probes that follow will elaborate on these possibilities with reference to particular sections of the *APh.* But first, some observations on Philip's itinerary in the *APh* will be offered in connection with the issue of Philip's identity in this text as apostle or evangelist. Then a study of *APh* I will suggest how a traditional story of a miracle performed by Philip may have become the nucleus for the collection and development of further materials of concern to those who transmitted this story. Finally, the issue of the derivative nature of the *APh* will be engaged from the vantage point of the intertextual processes of rereading and rewriting with a series of examples that will show that the alleged "borrowing" in the *APh* from other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles is neither clear cut nor helpful in describing the character of the text that survives as the *APh.*

The Itinerary of Philip

I have shown above, especially in chapters one and five, that, with the exception of Luke, the Philip appealed to by the witnesses of the first Christian centuries is consistently understood to be the apostle, that is, one of the Twelve. By the time of the redaction of the *APh,* however, the tendency had been established (e.g., *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.17) to distinguish between two Philips on the basis of the canonical notices in Luke's Acts. The clear reliance of *APh* III on place names

[33] This is one of the most important aspects of the text contained in Xenophontos 32. Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4501) comments: "Si le style des récits est en général banal et monotone, les prières au contraire ont un vocabulaire riche et un rythme liturgique. Cela atteste que l'auteur cherche son inspiration dans des textes antérieurs. Le problème des sources trouvera peut-être sa solution dans une comparaison entre les Actes de Philippe et les pièces liturgiques orthodoxes et surtout hérétiques, voire gnostiques des II^{e}, III^{e} et IV^{e} siècles." For extensive considerations on source-critical issues, see Amsler's *Commentarius* on each of the individually numbered acts of the *Acts of Philip.*

from Acts 8 raises the possibility that *APh* I–VII may have been conceived as a group of stories about Philip the evangelist,[34] which were then joined to the account concerning Philip the apostle in *APh* VIII–XV. I will examine this thesis in this section and briefly treat several other issues connected with Philip's itinerary in the *APh*.[35]

Zahn's low appraisal of the author of the *APh* stemmed in part from his probe of the author's historical and geographical knowledge. His pursuit of Philip's movements from Galilee in *APh* I to "man weiss nicht wohin," to Athens (*APh* II), to Parthia (*APh* II, 24; III, 1), and then to the land of the Candacians (*APh* III, 10), led him to conclude that "von den Wanderungen des Phil[ippos] hat und gibt der V[er]f[asser] keine Vorstellung."[36]

It should first be observed that Philip's confused and fanciful itinerary is limited to *APh* I–VII and results from two factors: the redactional linking of various independent units as described above, and recourse to the movements of Philip in Acts 8. Philip's journey to Ophiorymos[37] in *APh* VIII–XV, while fanciful, is coherent as a single, extended adventure to an imaginary destination (even if a cipher for a real location—Hierapolis).[38] In *APh* I–VII the itinerary unfolds as follows:

APh I	Galilee to ?
II	Athens to Parthia
III	Parthia
	Region [ὅροι] of the Candacians
	to Azotus
IV	Azotus
V–VII	Nicatera

[34] So Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4522–23): "C'était ici le sort de Philippe l'évangéliste que l'on retraçait. . . . Actes I–VII complètent plutôt qu'ils ne plagient les chapitres 6–8 des Actes canoniques." Amsler (*Commentarius*, 145–56, 283–84) adopts a mediating position in which Philip the evangelist is invested by the apostles as "un apôtre plénipotentiaire" (idem, "Commentaire," 100) or "un apôtre à part entière" (*Commentarius*, 146) and thus travels as an apostle in *APh* III–VII.

[35] Amsler discusses Philip's itinerary in Amsler, Bovon, and Bouvier, *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, 39–45; and idem, *Commentarius*, 147–56.

[36] Zahn, *Forschungen*, 19.

[37] Ophiorymos (Ὀφιόρυμος) appears to be the most primitive form of the name of the destination city, but one also finds other forms in the manuscripts (Ὀφεόρυμος, Ὀφιορύμη). See Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4493 n. 208; Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi: Textus*, 244 n. 12.

[38] On the identification of Ophiorymos with Hierapolis, see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4493 n. 208; Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi: Textus*, 244 n. 12; and Amsler, *Commentarius*, 521–24.

The reference to Galilee at the start of *APh* I may reflect a missing commission scene (see Matt 28:16–20; cf. Mark 16:7), parts of which may be visible in III, 2 and VIII, 1–2. *APh* XIII, 4 also appears to betray knowledge of an original commission given in Galilee, when Philip asks Bartholomew about "the νάρθηξ that the Savior gave us when we were in Galilee."[39] Alternatively Galilee could imply that Philip began his travels from his home town. John 1:44 and 12:21 inform us that Philip hails from Bethsaida in Galilee. As the text of *APh* I now stands, however, the action takes place in an unspecified location. The bizarre designation "Hellas of Athens" as the setting for the self-contained narrative in *APh* II no doubt alludes to Paul's encounter with Athenian philosophers in Acts 17. Though contextual elements are borrowed, the setting is appropriate insofar as it corresponds to Philip's commission in *APh* VIII to go to the land of the Greeks. Act IV is set in Azotus and acts V–VII in Nicatera (apparently an imaginary location), designated as "a city of Greece" (thus also corresponding to Philip's official commission).[40] It is clear then that acts I, II, IV, and V–VII portray four complete episodes, each of which takes place in a single location.

The real confusion is limited to *APh* III. The opening scene is inexplicably set in the ἀρχή of Parthia (III, 1), which connects with the note at the end of *APh* II that Philip left Athens for Parthia (II, 24). A setting in Parthia, however, bears no realistic or logical relation to the succession of scenes that follow in III, in which Philip eventually sails from the region of the Candacians (III, 10) to Azotus (III, 15–19). Further, unlike the other component parts of *APh* I–VII, the action in *APh* III takes place in more than one location. Prominent in this regard are connections to the Philip section of Acts in the references to the region of the Candacians (III, 10/Acts 8:27) and Azotus (III, 10/Acts 8:40); also note Philip's teaching from the scriptures (III, 17 [V]/Acts 8:35) and baptism of the converted (III, 19/Acts 8:36–38). Yet *APh* III does not limit itself to Luke's Philip material. There are also allusions to the Synoptic accounts of the stilling of the storm (Mark 4:35–41 parr.), and perhaps distant echoes of Paul's ship-board adventure in Acts 27. While the con-

[39] See Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4506.

[40] Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4483) takes Nicatera as a "ville sans doute imaginaire, que l'auteur situe en Hellade." Amsler (*Commentarius*, 218–23) suggests that Nicatera is a cryptogram for Caesarea Maritima.

nection of III, 10–15 with Acts is not explicit, the similarity between III, 1 and the opening of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is striking: Philip on one side, and Peter and those with him on the other. While it is possible that both of these texts take their starting points directly from Acts, this is by no means certain. The absence of any explicit links to Acts 8:5–25, notably any mention of Simon the Magician, argues in favor of a recourse to tradition at III, 1, which is independently attested in the "letter" attached to the beginning of the *Letter of Peter to Philip*.[41] Two possible objections to the notion of a tradition behind *APh* III, 1 that is not directly dependent on Acts are: (1) the presence of John in III, 2–3, and (2) the suggestion that *APh* III was originally set in Samaria.

Unlike Acts 8:14–17, John appears in *APh* III, 2–3 on his own; there is no trace of the Lukan formula "Peter and John." John's appearance in III, 2 in the context of a discussion of the mission assignments of Andrew, Thomas, and Matthew also seems to be connected with a commissioning scene. The earlier scene in III, 1 ("Philip versus Peter") perhaps should be connected with a commissioning context as well, although this is not certain. In the larger framework of the *APh*, John has a role both in the commissioning scene in *APh* VIII and later in the account of the events leading to Philip's martyrdom (*Mart.* 21–26). Thus John's appearance is accounted for by motifs incorporated elsewhere in the *APh* and by no means must signal literary dependence upon the canonical Acts.

That the occurrence of Parthia in II, 24 and III, 1 has displaced an original reading of Samaria may be the import of the account of the translation of Philip's body after his martyrdom from Ophiorymos to Hierapolis preserved in Codex Baroccianus 180.[42] In this narrative, upon Philip's burial, the demons fleeing Hierapolis mention the other regions from which they were banished by Philip: Greece, Ophiorymos, Gaza, Azotus, Samaria, and the land of the Candacians. James observes that "while it is true that the canonical Acts are the ultimate source whence most of these names were drawn,

[41] See the discussion of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* in chapter five above.

[42] The text may be found in "Supplement to the Acts of Philip," in Montague Rhodes James, *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments* (TS 2/3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893), 158–63. For information on the *Martyrion* of Philip at Hierapolis, erected at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century, see *Hierapolis di Frigia, 1957–1987* (Milan: Fabbri, 1987), 120–32; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 540–42.

it is far more likely that our author had in his mind the Acts of Philip, which give detailed accounts of Philip's journeys and miracles in these regions."[43] But the inclusion of Gaza in the listing of Codex Baroccianus 180 shows that its author is thinking of Luke's Acts, since Gaza does not occur anywhere in the *APh.* Therefore one must allow that the reference to Samaria in Codex Baroccianus 180 has also come in under the influence of Acts, apart from any reference to the *APh.* Although this leaves the problem of how Parthia has come to be included here, it is questionable methodologically to replace this difficult reading with the obvious canonically based deduction: Samaria. It may be that *APh* II ended with Parthia as a destination for Philip and that the redactor who joined *APh* II to III repeated the reference to Parthia in the heading to III and in III, 1 to secure some elemental cohesion between these acts. A similar procedure appears to have been adopted at the beginning of *APh* IV, which is placed in Azotus to connect it with act III, though originally it may have had no such place reference. Moreover, that Philip might be imagined as going off to a distant mission field such as Parthia is consonant with the journeys of Andrew, Thomas, and Matthew to Thrace, India, and Upper Egypt, respectively, in *APh* VIII, 1. In a similar vein, the Manichaean *Psalms* reflect a tradition of Philip among the cannibals, that is, in Scythia: "An enduring one is Philip, he being in the land (χώρα) of the Anthropophagi."[44] On the analogy of acts I, II, IV, and V–VII, we would expect that act III would take place in one location. According to this standard, the geographical notes drawn from Acts 8 (land of the Candacians, Azotus) should be judged secondary accretions.

This assessment of the evidence provided by Philip's itinerary in conjunction with the composite nature of *APh* III indicates that *APh* I–VII was not originally intended to tell the story of Philip the evan-

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[43] James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 159; Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4451) agrees with this assessment.

[44] This is from the Psalms of Heracleides. The text and translation are found in C. R. C. Allberry, ed., *A Manichaean Psalm-Book: Part II* (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection 2; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), 192, lines 10–11; cf. 194, line 11 for further reference to Philip's legendary patience. Allberry identifies Heracleides as an early propagator of Manichaeism (p. xx) and as "one of the twelve apostles of Mani" (p. 97). The tradition of Philip's patience is also found in the Latin versions of the *Acts of Philip*; see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4437. Note that Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.1.1) credits Origen with the information that Thomas received Parthia by lot as his mission territory, and Andrew Scythia.

gelist. In fact only *APh* III makes use of information about Philip drawn from Acts 8, which carries over to *APh* IV only for the alleged location of the action in Azotus. Consequently it is dubious that the absence of a commission by Christ at the outset of *APh* I–VII can be taken to mean that the Philip in question is the "evangelist" and thus not eligible for a direct commission from Christ.[45] Clear allusions to Acts 6–7 (e.g., the names of the others among the Seven, references to Stephen's speech and martyrdom) are lacking, with the exception of the mention of Philip's apostleship and service (ἀποστολὴ καὶ διακονία) in *APh* III, 1, which has likely come in from Acts along with the geographical notices. The explicit intention of the acts as they now stand, including *APh* III, is to relate stories about Philip the apostle. Whether any of these materials once explicitly aimed to narrate the experiences of the "deacon/evangelist" is uncertain. But even if they did, in the *APh* as it stands these figures have been merged into a composite, who survives only as the apostle. It is telling that although other apostles can be mentioned in the narrative (*APh* III, 1–3; VIII, 1), Philip the evangelist never appears together with Philip the apostle.[46]

If Codex Baroccianus 180 cannot be followed in restoring Samaria to *APh* III, it does provide corroborating evidence for the secondary identification of Ophiorymos/Ophioryme with Hierapolis.[47] That Philip's battles with dragons and serpents, portrayed in acts VIII–XV, should be located on the journey to and in an imaginary place called Ophiorymos is certainly understandable insofar as it removes any obstacle facing the readers/hearers with respect to placing mythological events in real locations.

Acts of Philip I

APh I recounts the story of how Philip the apostle raised a widow's only child from the dead. It appears that this text, which runs to seventy-eight lines in Bonnet's edition, reached its current form by filling out a miracle story about Philip with dialogue on a variety of subjects. Thus the frame of a miracle story became the setting for

[45] For this view, see Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4522.

[46] In this respect, Philip the evangelist and Philip the apostle are like Clark Kent and Superman—you never see the two of them together!

[47] See the discussion in Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4493 and n. 208.

an excursus that complains about the inadequacy of gods and seers (I, 1–2), another that highlights the necessity of living an ascetical Christian life (I, 2–3), and a third that briefly (according to Bonnet's edition, § 4) alludes to the punishments that await the wicked after death. While Xenophontos 32 generally agrees with the readings of Vaticanus graecus 824 relied on by Bonnet for act I, it presents a substantial addition in Bonnet's § 4.[48] The occurrence of a beatitude on the lips of Philip in I, 3 will provide an opportunity to assess the possibility that various sayings and other materials present in the *APh* stem from earlier "Philip tradition."[49]

The fact that the several portions of dialogue in act I are not thematically interrelated, and that each occurs in its own discrete section, may indicate that multiple levels of redaction are present. Other observations, such as the alternation of the designation for the child from τέκνον to υἱός to παῖς to νεανίσκος and the presence of a variety of christological titles, may support this suspicion.[50]

As has been suggested already, it appears that the foundation for the present narrative in *APh* I was a miracle story about Philip that found its genesis in the retelling of a miracle of Jesus but now with Philip in the primary role. This strategy is reminiscent of Luke's portrayals of Peter, Stephen, Philip, and Paul in Acts in imitation of Jesus, noted in chapter two, and is a generic staple of the apocryphal Acts. That *APh* I in some form originally existed independent of its present larger context is suggested by the indefinite setting of the story, which offers no fundamental connection with what follows in *APh* II–VII. The account of the raising of the widow of Nain's son in Luke 7:11–17 may have served as the particular intertextual model for this Philip story, though we probably should not think of a literary operation.[51] The outline of the texts compares as follows:

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[48] Bonnet's text for *APh* I § 4 consists of just over fourteen lines; the equivalent section in the new critical edition, I, 4–7, following the text of Xenophontos 32, runs to 204 lines! The implications of this longer text will be addressed below.

[49] Recall the proposals of Schenke (*Das Philippus-Evangelium*) and Bethge ("Letter of Peter to Philip"; *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus*) in the last chapter concerning materials from older acts of Philip underlying the *Gospel of Philip* and the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, respectively.

[50] The observation that the shift in terminology for the child may mark redactional activity is analogous to Luke's use of δοῦλος in Luke 7:2, 3, 10 for the παῖς of Q (see Matt 8:6, 8, 13; and the Q part of Luke in 7:7). See Fitzmyer, *Luke (I–IX)*, 649.

[51] One may also compare Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 4.45. There a bridegroom and crowd follow the bier of a bride who has died in the hour of her marriage.

APh I		Luke 7:11–17	
1	Philip out of Galilee	11	Jesus to Nain (with disciples and great crowd)
	Widow carrying out only son	12	only son of widow being carried out (large crowd present)
	Philip is moved	13	Jesus has compassion
	Philip speaks: "How did he die?"[52]		Jesus speaks: "Do not weep"
	[dialogue initiated]		[no dialogue ensues]
	Widow recounts her attempts to find aid from the gods and a seer [22 lines]		
2	Philip replies: "Cease your lament"		("Do not weep")
	[7 lines]		
	Widow [7 lines]		
3	Philip [11 lines]		
	Widow: "I believe"		
4	Philip approaches corpse	14	Jesus touches bier
	"Arise, young man"		"Young man, I say to you, arise"
	Young man rises and recounts his rescue from the prison of judgment [V: 11/A: 193 lines, documenting the young man's tour of the underworld with the angel Michael; end of dialogue in *APh* I]	15	the dead man sits up and begins to speak (speech not recorded)
5	Mother and son believe		Jesus gives son to mother
	Many repent (first mention of others) and glorify God	16	All fear and glorify God (two comments reported)
	Young man follows the apostle	17	Report about Jesus spreads

Apollonius, who happens to be present, touches her, says something in secret, and wakes her from "seeming death." See the treatment in Bovon, *Lukas*, 1:358–60; idem, *Luc (1,1- 9,50)*, 351–52.

[52] According to V Philip asks how the child died; according to A he asks about the child's religion (for the manuscript sigla, see n. 19 above).

The account in the *APh* begins abruptly with the notice that Philip has just left Galilee.[53] Unlike the Lukan account (see Luke 7:11–12, 14, 16), neither Philip nor the widow is accompanied by others.[54] This probably signals a compositional operation which cleared the stage for the ensuing dialogues, since a large audience suddenly appears upon completion of the miracle in I, 18, as required by the form. The reason for Philip's compassion is stated melodramatically: "Now the apostle was exceedingly moved in his soul when he saw the miserable old woman with her hair torn out and her face disfigured." This is one of the few instances where the "miracle story proper" in *APh* I (i.e., the story exclusive of most of the dialogue) exhibits an expansion vis-à-vis Luke. Contrary to Jesus, who reassuringly speaks the words, "Do not weep," and then moves immediately into action, Philip asks how the boy died (A: about the child's religion), thus affording the opportunity for a dialogue. The widow responds with words concerning the futility of sacrificing to the gods (Ares, Apollos, Hermes, Artemis, Zeus, Athena, the sun, and the moon) or consulting seers. But only at the beginning and the very end of this excursus is there any reference to the specific situation at hand: the loss of her only son. After her twenty-two line lament, Philip replies with seven lines (I, 2), which include his equivalent to Jesus' "Do not weep," namely, "Cease your lament, for now I will raise your child by the power of my God, Jesus Christ."

Instead of moving directly to the raising of the child, however, another portion of dialogue intervenes that makes no reference to the situation of the dead child. The old woman ignores the import of Philip's comforting words pronounced in the first half of I, 2 as she utters another seven lines pleading for help in her old age, expressing doubts about whether she should have married, and uttering regrets about a diet of wine and meat instead of bread and water. Philip explains (I, 3, eleven lines) that the concerns just voiced by the widow are of great significance, since God associates with those who live purely (αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγνείᾳ ὁ θεὸς ὁμιλεῖ). In response to this the widow professes: "I believe in Jesus, the one being preached by you" (A: "I believe in Jesus and in revered virginity"), which is

[53] Does the geographical note depend on Luke, given that Nain is in Galilee? As mentioned above the reference to Galilee could also be a remnant of an initial commissioning scene or a reference to Philip's home town.

[54] Philostratus also presumes a large crowd ("the whole of Rome").

a non sequitur following Philip's speech in I, 3 but fits quite nicely as a response to his indirect invitation in I, 2 ("Cease your lament").[55]

Philip finally takes action in I, 4. Whereas Jesus in Luke 7 touches the funeral bier and says, "Young man, I say to you, arise," Philip simply approaches the corpse and says, "Rise, young man, Jesus raises you for his glory." In Luke the dead man sits up and begins to speak, but what he says is not recorded. In the *APh*, however, care has been taken to fill in this lack with a report about the underworld. In Luke's account Jesus returns the son to his mother and all of the bystanders are seized with fear and glorify God. In the *APh* the mother and son believe (I, 18; which is redundant in the mother's case, since she has already professed her belief at I, 4) and suddenly many others are also present, who repent, are baptized, glorify God, give thanks to Christ, and give Philip a great deal of supplies for his journey.[56] The story ends with the young man following the apostle.[57]

It is noteworthy that the elements of the miracle story itself, considered apart from the portions of dialogue, have not undergone development in a fantastic direction in comparison with the putative Lukan *Vorlage*—especially in view of the sensational wonders one finds elsewhere in the *APh*. The word of the apostle invoking the power of Jesus is sufficient to accomplish the resurrection. Though very close in plot, the lexical similarities of the miracle story proper are too slight to demonstrate direct reference to a copy of Luke; at most one might think of an "oral adaptation" or recall from memory. What date should be assigned to the miracle story that forms the basis of *APh* I? Eusebius' excerpt from Papias' work in *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9 may provide a clue. There, as we saw in chapter one, Papias refers to the story of the resurrection of a dead person reported to him by the daughters of Philip. While it is possible that the story was generated later to supply the narrative missing from Eusebius' report, this hardly seems likely; and Eusebius' failure to record the account cannot be taken to imply its absence in Papias.

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[55] Cf. n. 52.

[56] This motif of the provision of supplies for the journey (cf. VII, 7) may be a further example of an addition by the redactor of the first seven acts to afford some general connection between act I and the narratives that follow.

[57] A similar motif appears at the conclusion of act VII, 7, a sort of inclusion binding together acts I–VII, where Philip leaves town with disciples, and a crowd follows for 20 stadia.

If it may be supposed that the first stage in the formation of *APh* I began with a miracle story unexpanded by dialogue as I propose here, at what stage was the interpolated material added, and how did it arise? The presence of several abrupt transitions in the flow of the narrative might signal the addition of dialogical material in several stages. The thematic content of the first portion of added dialogue (i.e., the emphasis on monotheism) may be compared with profit to the concerns of second-century apologetic writings.[58] One could conjecture that in an earlier redactional stage the complaint about the gods introduced Philip's resolve to raise the child in I, 2, followed immediately by the accomplishment of the miracle (I, 4 + 18). At some later time the large section detailing the punishments of the wicked, analogous to what one finds in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, was inserted in I, 5–16.[59] The portion of dialogue in the second half of I, 2 and I, 3 may also have been added at this time, or at a later period, when this narrative as a whole was joined with the Philip stories in *APh* II–VII. This follows, first of all, from the general observation that the principal theme here, ἁγνεία, purity or chastity, is fundamental throughout the *APh*. Second, the precept concerning purity that is cited here, namely, "God associates with purity itself," occurs elsewhere in the *APh*, albeit in slightly different forms.[60] Since the general theme of chastity and ascetic behavior is of fundamental importance in numerous other apocryphal texts, its appearance in the *APh* could signal a calculated imitation of earlier exemplars. Yet

[58] E.g., Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 2–8. See Eric Osborn, *The Emergence of Christian Theology* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), who studies how Christianity made monotheism axiomatic to its central doctrinal claims in the second century. He concentrates on the thought of Justin, Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian.

[59] This assessment is contrary to that of Bertrand Bouvier and François Bovon ("Actes de Philippe, I, d'après un manuscrit inédit," 367), Frédéric Amsler (*Commentarius*, 32–34), and Richard N. Slater ("An Inquiry into the Relationship between Community and Text: The Apocryphal *Acts of Philip* 1 and the Encratites of Asia Minor," in Bovon, Brock, and Matthews, *Apocryphal Acts*, 281–306), who believe that Vaticanus graecus 824 is an abridged text that has suffered from censorship and that the longer form of *APh* I in Xenophontos 32 is original. See also Amsler, Bovon, and Bouvier, *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, 24–25. My departure from this general assessment, which I otherwise find cogent, pertains only to the extended text in *APh* I, 4–17 found only in Xenophontos 32, which offers 204 lines of text versus the fourteen lines in the equivalent section of Bonnet's text (*APh* § 4). On the popular genre employed in this section, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

[60] See *APh* IV, 1: ἡ ἁγνεία ὁρᾷ τὸν θεόν; V, 5: ἡ ἁγνεία ὁμιλεῖ τῷ θεῷ; cf. VI, 7: ἁγνοὶ μείνατε καὶ ζήσεσθε καὶ ἔσεσθε φωστῆρες ἐν οὐρανῷ.

we cannot presuppose that such concerns were alien to the guardians of the Philip traditions. Indeed, the piling up of the distinct concerns represented by the different sections of dialogue may be evidence of how such a group diachronically met various issues of importance to them under the authority of the name of Philip. This is the case, for example, at the time of the redaction of the *APh*, when Philip adopts the dress and practices of fourth-century monks. In other words the rewriting of familiar stories as a way of commenting on new social/theological realities must be seen as an important ingredient in the compositional strategy of the *APh*, a strategy that it shares with other apocryphal Acts. The texts in this respect were not fixed but fluid and susceptible to recasting as their redactors and auditors changed through time.[61] The implications of such a compositional strategy will be explored more explicitly in the following section.

At the end of *APh* I, 3, concluding the dialogue concerning the necessity of Christian purity, one finds a variant of the beatitude found in Matt 5:11–12//Luke 6:22–23.[62] In response to those who are eager to speak falsely against those who live purely, it is said that God blessed the latter, saying:

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[61] Albert B. Lord's assessment of oral composition is apropos of the variety of forms in which manuscripts of the apocryphal Acts have come down to us. He observes (*The Singer of Tales* [Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 24; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960], 100): "Our real difficulty arises from the fact that, unlike the oral poet, we are not accustomed to thinking in terms of fluidity. We find it difficult to grasp something that is multiform. It seems to us necessary to construct an ideal text or to seek an original, and we remain dissatisfied with an ever-changing phenomenon." On the topic of rewriting and the fluidity of texts with reference to the *Acts of Peter*, see Christine M. Thomas, "The Acts of Peter, the Ancient Novel, and Early Christian History" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995), e.g., 187–88. John R. Levison (*Texts in Transition: The Greek* Life of Adam and Eve [SBLEJL 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 46) concludes his analysis of the text forms of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* with the following assessment: "This study demonstrates that ancient literary texts existed in a state of transition. . . . The reliability of future studies, therefore, will hinge upon their ability to reckon with the reality that there is no pristine, static ancient text known as the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*. The Greek *Life* exists in various text forms that exhibit distinctive editorial and thematic features, divergent uses of the Bible, and varying characterizations of its central figure. Studies of the pseudepigrapha and a plethora of other ancient literary corpora can contribute most seriously and enduringly to our knowledge of Antiquity if they acknowledge and confront the complex challenges that accompany this realization." Analogous observations on the influence of oral culture may be made with reference to the Hebrew Bible. See, e.g., Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996); Raymond F. Person, "The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer," *JBL* 117 (1998): 601–9.

[62] That a beatitude stands as an element in Philip's speech in *APh* I is consistent

μακάριοί ἐστε, ὅταν λαλήσωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καθ' ὑμῶν πᾶν ψεῦσμα. χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Blessed are you when people speak every lie against you. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

The beatitude in the *APh* is less complex in form and content than it is in either Matthew or Luke, though it is closer to Matthew. The words "on my account" in Matthew 5:11 or "on account of the Son of Man" in Luke 6:22 are missing, as is the statement about the persecution of the prophets. The redactor's immediately preceding reference to those who "tell lies against those who live in purity" likely brought to mind this beatitude. That the macarism is attributed to God is probably due to the reference to God in the precept on purity that immediately precedes the citation of the beatitude.

Most interesting is the following sentence that replaces the statement about the persecution of the prophets in the New Testament version:

καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δυνήσεσθε δαίμονας ἐπιστομίζειν μηδεμίαν φροντίδα ποιούμενοι,
ἔχοντες πατέρα (V: σωτῆρα) Ἰησοῦν τὸν σταυρωθέντα.

You will be able to silence demons upon the earth without anxiety, since you have the father (savior), Jesus, the one who was crucified.

The final clause should be attributed to the redactor of the *APh*, since the crucified one is a title for Jesus elsewhere in the *APh*.[63] As for the rest of this pronouncement, it evidently has not been formulated in strict dependence on the New Testament, given that

with the practice elsewhere in the *APh* of placing beatitudes on Philip's lips, in imitation of the form so closely associated with Jesus. Bovon ("Synoptic Gospels and the Noncanonical Acts," 31) cites three examples that are unique to Xenophontos 32 at V, 25: "Hearing these words, Philip began to teach: 'Blessed are those who follow uprightly the word of Jesus, for they will inherit the earth; blessed are those who repudiate the glory of this world, for they will be glorified; blessed are those who welcome the word of God, for they will inherit incorruptibility.' With these words from Philip, all were filled with joy." The equivalent section in Bonnet's text, *APh* § 63, refers to Philip's teaching activity but does not offer any examples of its content: "Then he began to teach them the things concerning faith and the son of God"; the newly catechized and baptized "were taught and guided by Philip into true knowledge." Bovon notes that these sayings evoke the milieu of "a rigorous type of Christianity," and he intimates that a second century date or earlier may be possible. It should not be ruled out that sayings such as these were collected and transmitted under the name of Philip.

[63] See I, 2; VI, 9; M 27 (V = recension Γ); cf. VI, 12; XI, 6.

δαίμων is a hapax legomenon (Matt 8:31),[64] as is ἐπιστομίζειν (Tit 1:11), while φροντίς does not occur at all. Apparently this statement of empowerment was joined to the beatitude prior to the inclusion of this unit in *APh* I, since it does not mesh well with the present context. Although the devil is mentioned in I, 2, there has been no mention of demons. The troubles of the widow are attributed to her participation in married life and the eating of meat and drinking of wine (see I, 3). It seems unlikely that the text intends to equate those who speak falsely with demons, since such a conception is neither prepared for here nor promoted elsewhere in the *APh*.[65] Thus it is likely here that a preexisting saying was joined to the beatitude to serve a specific function in some other context.

A clue to the original context of the saying is given by its topic of silencing demons,[66] which, like the beatitude itself, would most aptly be attributed to Jesus. Authority over demons is a component of sending and commissioning stories. Note especially the commissioning of the Twelve in the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 6:7//Matt 10:1//Luke 9:1), which begins with the granting of authority over demons. That such scenes properly belong to post-resurrection commissionings of the disciples by Jesus[67] is confirmed by the longer ending of Mark, which includes the casting out of demons as the first of the signs that will accompany belief (Mark 16:17). The longer ending of Mark, which belongs to the second century,[68] attests the Christian interest in exorcism for this period as does Justin, who understands exorcism as a special Christian virtue.[69]

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[64] Note that δαίμων is the word that Justin uses for evil spirits.

[65] Most references to demons are connected with exorcisms (II, 7, 22–24; IV, 1); sometimes the exorcism involves demons fleeing from idols (II, 15; cf. *Mart.* 30). Nor does the mention of Jesus' rule over the aeons in I, 2 provide a suitable setting. Yet these aeons in combination with the image of the devil in I, 2 as "the enemy who destroys souls," leading people astray, are reminiscent of *Gos. Phil.* 54:31–34: "There are powers which [. . .] man, not wishing him to be [saved], in order that they may [. . .]."

[66] Note that exorcism and the defeat of demons was a key claim of the second-century apologists. See Osborn, *Emergence of Christian Theology*, 293.

[67] See Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 145.

[68] See the epilogue in Kelhoffer, *Miracle and Mission*, 473–80, entitled: "The Longer Ending of Mark as a Witness to an Otherwise Unknown Second-Century Christian Author."

[69] See especially *Dialogue with Trypho* 85.

Rewriting as Composition

The analysis of *APh* I has uncovered compositional techniques that include the reuse of earlier materials now adapted to serve in new contexts. This section will reconsider the standard judgment that portions of the *APh* are literarily dependent upon the *Acts of Peter* (*APt*) and show that the compositional procedures at work in the *APh* are, in fact, much more complex.[70]

In his discussion of the attestation for the *APt*, Wilhelm Schneemelcher places the *APh* among the fourth and fifth century witnesses to the *APt* and assumes "knowledge and use" of the *APt* by the *APh* at three points: (1) *APh* VI, 16–21/§§ 80–85 = *APt* 28, (2) *APh Mart.* 34/§ 140 = *APt* 38, and (3) *APh Mart.* 36/§ 142 = Berlin Coptic Papyrus 8502 ("Peter's daughter"). He resolves: "It cannot indeed be conclusively proved that the author of the Act. Phil. actually transcribed the APt. But the agreements are so strong that literary dependence has to be suspected."[71] This assessment obviously exerts a decidedly prejudicial effect upon the reconstruction of the milieu and concerns of the *APh.* Is it accurate?

Careful perusal of the foregoing three passages in the *APh* leads me to conclude that Schneemelcher's judgment, if not completely unjustified, is too simplistic to serve as a meaningful explanation of the data presented by the texts. It is not my intention to set up Schneemelcher as a straw man on this issue; he merely reiterates conclusions reached long before by Carl Schmidt and subsequently ratified by other notable scholars.[72] But given the high visibility of Schneemelcher's assessment in the standard edition of the *New Testament Apocrypha*, it is reasonable to inspect closely his version of the currently received opinion on this issue. In our sample case, Schneemelcher's concern is with the *APt*, and he rightly notes that some relation exists between that "text" and the *APh.* Nevertheless, closer scrutiny of the three examples advanced by Schneemelcher suggests that considerably more restraint must be exercised before categorizing as "literarily dependent" passages such as those highlighted here from the *APh.*[73] Such

[70] This section draws on my paper: "Peter and Philip Upside Down," which in turn was based on some of my earlier work on the *APh.*

[71] Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter," *NTApoc*^{2} 2:276–77.

[72] Schneemelcher (ibid., 284 n. 18) supports his judgment with reference to Carl Schmidt, "Studien zu den alten Petrusakten," *ZKG* 43 (1924): 329–32; and Bovon, "Actes de Philippe."

[73] Already de Santos Otero's treatment of the *APh* in *NTApoc*^{2} ("Later Acts of

circumspection is warranted initially for at least two reasons: (1) the claim of literary dependence is often beyond demonstration, and (2) such an evaluation has allowed scholars to exclude texts labeled as literarily dependent (unless they are found in the biblical canon!) from serious consideration as "original" contributions among the surviving corpus of ancient Christian literature.[74] A judgment of "literary dependence" obscures our recognition of an ancient writer's pursuit and valuation of practiced imitation as a legitimate compositional technique.[75] When an ancient writer rewrites the familiar, we should hesitate to dismiss the result as unimaginative plagiarism[76] and instead consider the intertextuality operative among the various "texts" that we can identify, while recognizing that our perception will always be partial.[77]

Apostles," 470) is more cautious with regard to the episode of Peter's daughter and the crucifixion of Philip and his speech with the "famous logion" at *APh Mart.* 34 (§ 140). Although the latter scene offers "certain analogies to the corresponding episode in the APt . . . there are serious differences between the two passages."

[74] Subjective "modern" judgments about either the literary value or the religious worth of a text such as the *APh* should not be accepted as probative. Most Christian "religious" texts of the early centuries did not end up in the canon. To judge those that survived by a twenty-first-century estimation of the intrinsic worth of the canonical documents dooms any attempt to understand these texts from the start. William A. Graham's comments (*Beyond the Written Word*, 2–6) on the ambiguity of the conceptual category of scripture and "scripture as a relational concept" might be adapted in the current context to suggest that the *APh* functioned in its early sociohistorical contexts as a "secondarily sacred" text for those who transmitted it.

[75] As Walter J. Ong (*Orality and Literacy*, 133–34), observes, "Manuscript culture had taken intertextuality for granted. Still tied to the commonplace tradition of the old oral world, it deliberately created texts out of other texts, borrowing, adapting, sharing the common, originally oral, formulas and themes, even though it worked them up into fresh literary forms impossible without writing. . . . Print culture gave birth to the romantic notions of 'originality' and 'creativity,' which set apart an individual work from other works even more, seeing its origins and meaning as independent of outside influence, at least ideally. . . . Manuscript cultures had few if any anxieties about influence to plague them, and oral cultures had virtually none."

[76] With reference to stories from the *Acts of Paul*, Richard Bauckham ("The *Acts of Paul* as a Sequel to Acts," in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* [ed. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke; Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 134) observes that "repetition of narrative motifs and patterns seems artificial to modern readers. Such stories tend to lose their credibility when we recognize their resemblance to others. But this is a modern reaction. The use of familiar motifs and patterns is constant in all forms of ancient narrative literature."

[77] Clearly we must acknowledge the complex range of antecedents (many of which are irrecoverable) that came together in the apocryphal Acts by incorporating into our understanding of intertextuality the broader notion of "text" employed by most intertextual practitioners. Thus, as Michael Worton and Judith Still (*Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, 33 n. 2, emphasis original) observe: "While in the narrow sense a *text* means a piece of writing (and so writer and reader are, in the first instance,

In any case rewriting the familiar in the *APh* is rarely a matter of simple repetition. What it does with material familiar to us from the *APt* is not accurately described or usefully categorized by the terminology of dependence. Thus in the three instances before us, if we suppose, with good reason, that Philip's upside-down crucifixion (*APh Mart.* 34/§ 140) builds intentionally on tradition about Peter, this does not demonstrate direct use of a manuscript of the *APt* for the process of composition. A judgment of literary dependence may lead the interpreter to miss the importance of the scene as it unfolds in the *APh*; it is the latter passage, in fact, that unexpectedly preserves the hermeneutical key to the upside-down imagery which is absent from the known versions of the *APt* (more on this below). If the narrative sequence developed in *APh* VI, 16–21 owes some debt to *APt* 28, the drama in its current setting in the *APh* is no longer the *APt.* Finally, the reference to the episode of Peter's daughter in *APh Mart.* 36 clearly does not necessitate a conclusion that literary dependence upon the *APt* is operative.

We must reflect carefully on the relation that our notions of originality have to the literary endeavors of ancient Christian writers. Appropriation of one's library of apocryphal texts in the fourth century probably differed from the processes of formation that led to the earliest examples of written Christian apocryphal Acts in the second century. But undoubtedly the literary procedures of the fourth century were closer in kind to those of the second century than to ours in the twenty-first. An approach that requires in principle an appreciation of the difference between ancient and modern writing can assist interpreters of Christian apocryphal writings in their deliberations on what is possible in historical/literary reconstruction and what is not. To illustrate how the concept of intertextuality aids in the endeavor to understand the composition of the *APh* as well as Christian apocryphal texts in general, I will now review in greater detail each of the three alleged dependencies of the *APh* upon the *APt* sketched above.

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more or less self-explanatory), *text* is also used in a much more general sense to mean anything perceived as a signifying system." And as Ong (*Orality and Literacy*, 162) states: "Although texts are autonomous by contrast with oral expression, ultimately no text can stand by itself independent of the extratextual world. Every text builds on pretext."

Peter's Daughter (APh Mart. 36 and BG 8502)

First consider the alleged dependence of *APh Mart.* 36/§ 142 upon the story of Peter's daughter. After noting Peter's practice of avoiding women everywhere, the text at *APh Mart.* 36 simply tells us that he took offense at his own daughter and prayed to the Lord, which resulted in the paralysis of her side "in order that she might not be beguiled." It is quite clear that we have to do with a straightforward reference on the part of *APh Mart.* 36 to a story about Peter. It makes no sense to identify this as literary dependence upon the *APt*, unless the only alternative to literary dependence is no relation whatsoever. The label of dependence conjures up the image of an author/redactor leafing through a codex of the *APt* and copying out just this bit. But the *APh* merely refers to the story, it does not copy anything. Not only is the incident not mentioned in every recension of the *APh*, but the story appears inconsistently in the manuscript tradition of the *APt* itself.[78] Moreover, it is not difficult to imagine its transmission apart from the *APt*.[79] The *APh* could easily have become acquainted with such a tale through oral/aural means, with or without an associated written text. After all, the reference to the story in *APh Mart.* 36 ostensibly is to something that everybody knows already; it was not a bit of data that needed to be looked up and verified. The intertextual approach here releases one from an unnecessary conclusion by acknowledging a broader domain for "text."

Rewriting as Redescription (APh VI and APt 23–28)

Next I turn to the argument that *APh* VI is dependent on the *APt*. Some time ago Carl Schmidt suggested that the story of the resurrection of an only son recounted in *APh* VI, 16–21/§§ 80–85 was dependent upon a similar account narrated in *APt* 28.[80] François Bovon has now proposed that a much more extensive relation obtains between *APh* VI and the *APt*, suggesting that *APh* VI has adapted

[78] As Thomas ("Acts of Peter," 37) notes, "The Coptic episode then belongs to a longer version of the Acts of Peter predating the *Actus Vercellenses*, which provide only a truncation of them."

[79] As Thomas (ibid., 38) observes: "The excerpt, however, does show how the individual units of the Acts of Peter stood on their own, and could be employed by Christians of a number of different theological directions."

[80] Schmidt, "Petrusakten," 321–48.

APt 23–28.[81] He notes the following correspondences: (1) a public confrontation between an apostle and a Jew (*APh* VI, 8–12/*APt* 23); (2) a dispute beginning with a series of scriptural arguments (*APh* VI, 13–15/*APt* 23–24); (3) an ordeal where the apostle raises a dead person after his opponent has failed to do so (*APh* VI, 17–20/*APt* 25–28); (4) a situation where the fate of slaves is connected with their master's resurrection (*APh* VI, 16–21/*APt* 28); and (5) the apostle's refusal to permit the beneficiaries of the miracle to take vengeance upon the unbelievers (*APh* VI, 19/*APt* 28). Bovon suggests that the numerous corresponding elements are best explained by a relationship of literary dependence.[82] While these similarities argue strongly for some relation between *APh* VI and the *APt*, to characterize it as literary dependence obscures what has been done in the *APh*.[83] The variations within the preceding catalogue of parallels must be given their full weight.[84] Thus although Simon is identified as a Jew by the *APt*, this aspect is clearly secondary there while it is primary for Aristarchus in the *APh*. There is a scripture debate between Philip and Aristarchus in the *APh*, while Peter alone resorts to scripture (using different texts from those occurring in the *APh*) in the *APt*.

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[81] Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4488. Amsler (*Commentarius*, 263–69) also argues that *APh* VI largely depends on the *APt*. In fact, he sees (p. 284) an abundant utilization of the *APt* in *APh* III–VII. Andrea Molinari ("Petrine Traditions in the *Acts of Philip*: *Letter of Peter to Philip*, a Variant of a Q Saying Found in Matthew 18:21–22, *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*," in *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers* [SBLSP 39; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 8) describes Amsler's assessment in this regard as an "example of over-reliance on the appearance of similar motifs to demonstrate literary dependence." He judges (p. 11) the "overwhelming majority" of the "references" that Amsler believes to reflect the influence of the *APt* on the *APh* to be "tenuous."

[82] Bovon, "Actes de Philippe," 4488; see also idem, "Synoptic Gospels and the Noncanonical Acts," 26. An intertextual conception may be more congenial to Bovon's discussion of the imitation and adaptation of sources in the latter article than notions of literary dependence. For "sources" I would substitute "texts" more broadly conceived; see n. 77 above.

[83] Christine M. Thomas ("... Revivifying Resurrection Accounts: techniques of composition and rewriting in the *Acts of Peter* cc. 25–28," in Bremmer, *Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, 65–83) compares *APt* 25–28 with two later texts (pseudo-Hegesippus and *Acts of Nereus and Achilles*) that offer resurrection stories often characterized as literarily dependent on the *APt* in order to "question an unnuanced notion of literary dependence" (p. 66).

[84] I can only refer schematically to the texts here. Unfortunately an English translation of *APh* V–VII is unavailable; see my précis in the appendix to this chapter. An English translation of *APh* II may be found in *ANF* 8:503–7. An English translation of the *APt* is readily available in *NTApoc*^{2}. A French translation of the *APh* is available in Amsler, Bovon, and Bouvier, *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, 143–74.

Simon's ultimately unsuccessful attempts to raise the (third) dead man in *APt* 28 are portrayed in such a way as to critique his use of magic; the scene in *APh* VI, 18 is an exercise in burlesque. The fate of the slaves in the two texts is portrayed quite differently—in the *APh* the slaves do not face the resumption of their service, but death. Finally, although the refusal of vengeance appears to be quite similar, in the *APt* Simon will soon receive his just desserts, while in the *APh* the call not to return evil for evil, in addition to being a theme sounded elsewhere in the *APh*, was possibly motivated in this instance by the social interactions between Christians and Jews in the author/redactor's time (see below). Alongside these "correspondences" numerous other differences distinguish the similar accounts in the *APh* and the *APt*. I will only mention in passing the strange omission of any mention of Simon in connection with Philip anywhere in the *APh*, even though in the biblical exemplar in Acts 8 it is Philip who initially contends with Simon.[85]

If we can trace a relation between these two sets of "texts," we would do well to conceive of it in an intertextual manner; explanations based upon a judgment of literary dependence neither explain the phenomena nor are they necessary. Much of the *APh* appears to reflect a stream of consciousness style of composition that would drive any scribe actually attempting to cite bookishly all of the "sources" reflected in the text quickly out of the profession.[86] It is intertextual even if it calls texts out of memory for service in a composition or pastiche that makes something new out of the familiar.[87] The rubric "rewriting" may aptly describe the fundamental technique

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[85] See Matthews, "A Lukan Sequel," 133–46; idem, "Luke's Intertextual Heritage," 207–22. Acts 8 already portends further intertextual involvement between Philip and Peter.

[86] Alistair Stewart-Sykes ("Ancient Editors and Copyists and Modern Partition Theories: The Case of the Corinthian Correspondence," *JSNT* 61 [1996]: 53–64) suggests the "criterion of physical possibility" to assist in evaluating partition theories of the NT epistles. His discussion assumes the use of rolls. While the redactor of the *APh* probably had access to codices insofar as written texts were involved, the ostensible sources are far more numerous than those considered in partition theories of the Pauline letters. We should incorporate some version of the "criterion of physical possibility" into our notions of how a text like the *APh* was composed.

[87] On the "intertwining between memory and writing in classical antiquity," see Jocelyn Penny Small, "Artificial Memory and the Writing Habits of the Literate," *Helios* 22 (1995): 159–66; eadem, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 177–201; Joseph Farrell, "The Phenomenology of Memory in Roman Culture," *CJ* (1997): 373–83.

of the author of the *APh*.[88] To evaluate properly examples of early Christian rewriting, we must free ourselves from the modern judgment that textual instability signals serious defect.

A helpful example of rewriting that extends the case just reviewed is available in a comparison of *APh* VI with *APh* II. There are numerous striking connections between *APh* VI and *APh* II. One notes first the appearance and prominence of Jewish characters in controversy with Philip in these sections (Jews do not play a narrative role in the *APh* outside these two acts). Second, in both of these sections the miraculous abilities of Philip are accentuated in comparison with the other acts in *APh* I–VII. A more extensive comparison suggests the hypothesis that *APh* II represents a revised version of the scenario set forth in *APh* VI, with some contacts with acts V and VII.[89] Both *APh* II and VI are set in Greece; Philip's principal antagonists in each case are prominent Jews (Ananias—*APh* II; Aristarchus—*APh* VI); the issue provoking controversy in both cases is the destruction of the law or Jewish traditions (cf. *APh* V, 6); both narratives employ similar crowd involvement, charges of sorcery against Philip, debate with and miraculous punishments of Philip's respective foes, and a subplot centering on a story of the resurrection of an only son.

Rather than describe the numerous correspondences between these two acts as proof of literary dependence or explain their origin as owing to a common exemplar, *APh* II is probably better understood as a rewriting that updates *APh* VI, whether or not it refers to a manuscript of the latter. The following observations suggest that *APh* VI functions as the principal intertextual ingredient for *APh* II. First, *APh* II not only shares an extensive list of features with *APh* VI but also incorporates numerous elements known to us from the martyrdom account;[90] the most striking of these is Philip's rending of the

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[88] See Klaus Scholtissek's work on "rereading" and "rewriting" in the Fourth Gospel, cited in chapter four n. 93 above.

[89] Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4487) notes the similar structure shared by *APh* II, *APh* VI, and the martyrdom, and the theme of conflict between Christianity and Judaism (acts II and VI) or paganism (the martyrdom).

[90] Although the situation is no doubt more complicated, since *APh* VI does share some more general features with the martyrdom. See the previous note. Amsler (*Commentarius*, 98) finds it "regrettable" that in my earlier treatment (emulated here) I do not offer a demonstration of the literary dependence of *APh* II on *APh* VI (as well as on the *Martyrdom*). That is his project and it should be clear now why I do not take that tack. In any case he concludes (p. 98; cf. pp. 99–103) that *APh* II is "au bout de la chaîne" with respect to *APh* VI and the *Martyrdom*, which has been my position all along. On a number of these issues Amsler cites an unpublished

ground to send his tormentors alive into Hades and the christophany of the luminous Christ. It seems unlikely that *APh* VI would have removed just these sensational items had it been influenced by *APh* II. The fact that the miracle story that appears so abruptly in *APh* VI, 16–21 has been well integrated into the course of the narrative in *APh* II, 22–23 also suggests that the adaptation has moved from *APh* VI to *APh* II.[91] In the latter act the christophany causes the destruction of the idol temples setting the scene for a demon's murderous revenge and the intervention of Philip; it also provides the occasion for the final offer of repentance to Ananias and his final refusal.[92]

If it is granted that *APh* II is a rewriting of *APh* VI, whether or not written texts are involved, it is instructive to note the change in attitude of the respective acts toward Jews. In the narrative surrounding and including *APh* VI, there are clearly Jewish complaints about Philip. But when Jews speak harshly against Philip (*APh* V, 6), Ireus, "one of their leaders," counsels moderation. Further, Ireus is responsive to Philip's message, is converted, and serves as Philip's host. In *APh* II there is no counterpart to Ireus; Philip's host is anonymous. The depiction of Philip's principal antagonists in *APh* II also reveals an intensified hostility toward Jews. In *APh* VI, although Aristarchus is somewhat hostile at the beginning, he is eventually found proclaiming Christ from the scriptures. In *APh* II, however, Ananias is made to confess, "We crucified him" (*APh* II, 10). That he is irredeemably malevolent is made clear from the beginning where we are told that Mansemat, that is Satan, entered into him

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1989 SBL seminar paper of mine instead of my revised treatment "Peter and Philip Upside Down" in the 1996 SBL Seminar Papers. My original study was written before Amsler's work and the present manuscript had been submitted for review before I saw his *Commentarius*. I offer some comments here in the notes on some relevant issues. For the most part Amsler's excellent commentary on the *Acts of Philip* goes beyond my concerns in the present book.

[91] Amsler (*Commentarius*, 97) objects that a rewriting is not necessarily more skillful than its model and that the scene of the confrontation between Philip and his adversary in *APh* VI is much more subtly constructed than in *APh* II. But I can agree with both of these points while retaining the argument made here.

[92] If one assumed the dependence of *APh* VI on the *APt*, then the clear relation between *APh* II and *APh* VI, and the fact that *APh* II does not preserve any specific connections with the *APt*, would indicate that *APh* II developed from *APh* VI. Had *APh* VI derived its narrative outline of events from *APh* II, subsequent recourse to the *APt* would have been superfluous. Amsler (*Commentarius*, 98) comments with regard to my argument here that "rien n'empêche a priori que l'auteur de l'Acte VI ait puisé à deux sources indépendantes, les *Actes de Pierre* et l'Acte II, même si cela est improbable." Of course my point precisely concerns what is probable.

(*APh* II, 8). Whereas Aristarchus pleads for mercy at the first experience of Philip's power, Ananias, though he is continually the object of Philip's miraculous energy and is offered numerous chances to repent, remains obdurate to the end.

Why would *APh* II revise *APh* VI in this manner? This could simply be a general reflection of the tensions between Jews and Christians during the first centuries of the early church.[93] However, it may also be possible to hazard a guess concerning the rhetorical situation. That is, *APh* II may have been written to portray, in story form, a social situation that existed between Jews and Christians during the redactor's time.[94] These texts, namely, *APh* II and *APh* V–VII, suggest that there were contacts between the Christian community behind the *APh* and Jews.[95] Such a relationship perhaps illuminates the fond-

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[93] See Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135–425)* (Littman Library of Jewish Civilization; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Albert I. Baumgarten ("Marcel Simon's *Verus Israel* as a Contribution to Jewish History," *HTR* 92 [1999]: 476) notes that "despite its flaws, Simon's conflict theory continues to be an important tool for understanding the relations between early Christians and Jews."

[94] There may be a parallel here with the "homeostatic" character of oral societies in which "traditions reflect a society's present cultural values rather than idle curiosity about the past" (Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 48). Christine Thomas's study of the transmissional fluidity of the texts of the *APt* demonstrates how "the fluidity of such traditions allows them to remain useful to changing audiences over time by easily accommodating new political and social realities into the tradition. . . . This constant process of reformulation allowed the audience to use its history to re-negotiate and revisualize its relationship to present political and social realities" ("Acts of Peter," 173–74).

[95] Bovon ("Actes de Philippe," 4487) asks whether the author's attention to an active Jewish participation in the city assembly in *APh* VI furnishes "un indice sociologique qui explique, dans les Actes de Philippe, le dialogue ou plutôt la dispute intense avec le judaïsme." Amsler (*Commentarius*, 269; cf. 119) notes my positive response to Bovon's query but argues against any contact by a community behind *APh* VI and Jews. In his opinion, a dispute between a Christian and a Jew in the fourth century no longer reflects historical circumstances but merely reworks an older literary genre (p. 269): "A l'origine, le genre littéraire de la dispute entre un chrétien et un Juif devait traduire une concurrence historique; mais à la fin du IV^{e} siècle, ce n'était plus guère le cas." While it would be naive to suppose that Christians and Jews debated in the manner portrayed by the narrative of the *Acts of Philip*, this fact should not lead us hastily to conclude that it indicates nothing about the social environment of the redactors. Amsler makes no allowance for the larger extratextual situation. For instance, in his consideration of "the number of Christians at successive stages of Christian evolution," Keith Hopkins ("Christian Number," 225–26) concludes that "the number of Jews was very large compared with the number of Christians, at least until the late third century. Because enthusiastic cult-groups, according to modern evidence, expand usually along family and social networks, i.e., among relatives and friends, it seems likely that Jews were the main early customers for conversion to Christianity." Further, Albert Baumgarten ("Marcel Simon's

ness in *APh* VIII–XV and the martyrdom for heterodox Jewish material. These texts further suggest, however, that this relationship disintegrated over time. Already in *APh* VI Ireus can say, "O you Jews, who oppose God in everything" (*APh* VI, 18 [V]; A omits Ἰουδαῖοι), but this is rather isolated. The version of the events in *APh* II has intensified in a thoroughgoing manner the nascent anti-Jewish attitude that appears in *APh* VI.[96] Memories of the *APt* at this point are dim indeed.

Peter and Philip Upside Down (APh Mart. 34 and APt 38)

I move now to the third proposed instance of the literary dependence of the *APh* upon the *APt*. At the beginning of the martyrdom account in the *APh*, the conversion of Nicanora, the proconsul's wife, to a chaste form of Christianity leads to the arrest of Philip and his

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Verus Israel," 476) observes that Simon's "conflict theory does not require an active Jewish mission to the larger world as a necessary condition. The living example of Judaism (the mere fact that Jews refused to disappear from the scene of world history), even after the triumph of Christianity over virtually all the other religions of the ancient Mediterranean world, served as a constant challenge to Christians to justify their claim to be the true heirs to the promise of the Hebrew Bible." Moreover, excavation of the Sardis synagogue has given us tangible evidence of the social interaction between Christians and Jews in the period that concerns us. The Sardis synagogue was a large basilica transformed into a synagogue in the late third century CE, remodeled ca. 320, and destroyed in 616. John H. Kroll ("The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue," *HTR* 94 [2001]: 5–55) concludes his study of the Greek inscriptions (dating primarily from the mid-fourth and fifth centuries) of the Sardis synagogue with the following observations (p. 48): "The dossier of preserved inscriptions from this last, and surely grandest, Sardis synagogue reveals a congregation that counted among its most active, supporting contributors a significant number that, as members of the Sardis City Council, belonged to the local economic elite. It also included a good number of adherent gentiles or Godfearers. . . . Although the social and cultural profile of the community conforms to the profile that epigraphical evidence provides for other Hellenized diaspora congregations of Asia Minor and elsewhere, the Sardis dossier stands out for its sheer richness and scale, and for the striking vitality of late Roman Judaism that it conveys, a vitality that appears all the more remarkable because of the growing strength of Christianity at the same period in history."

[96] Guy G. Stroumsa ("Dall'antigiudaismo all'antisemitismo nel cristianesimo primitivo?" *CNS* 17 [1996]: 13–46) concludes that the religious revolution of the fourth century CE (a date that coincides with the likely redaction of the *APh*), was a crucial turning point in the attitude of Christians toward Jews that resulted in the demonization of the latter by the former. With reference to John Chrysostom, Rodney Stark (*Rise of Christianity*, 67) observes that the "increasingly emphatic attacks on Judaism in this later period reflect efforts to consolidate a diverse and splintered faith into a clearly defined catholic structure."

companions, a motif familiar from other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Philip is hung head downwards on a tree, while Bartholomew is crucified on a wall opposite him (*APh Mart.* 19). When John arrives and sees them, he says, "The mystery of the one who was suspended between heaven and earth will be with you" (*APh Mart.* 23 [V]). After some dramatic intervening events, Philip dissuades the faithful from extricating him from his torture and launches into a long discourse (*APh Mart.* 34/§ 140). As was indicated above, the first lines of this discourse have often been thought to draw upon Peter's words from the cross in *APt* 38. But that we are far from any notion of simple dependence emerges immediately upon examination of the texts. Peter's lengthy speech is spoken upon his crucifixion, head downwards. After calling for attention, Peter says:

APt 38

> You must know the mystery of all nature, and the beginning of all things, how it came about. For the first *anthropos*, whose likeness I have in (my) appearance, in falling head downwards showed a manner of birth that was not so before; for it was dead, having no movement. He therefore, being drawn down—he who also cast his first beginning down to the earth—established the whole of this cosmic system, being hung up as an image of the calling, in which he showed what is on the right hand as on the left, and those on the left as on the right, and changed all the signs of their nature, so as to consider fair those things that were not fair, and take those that were really evil to be good. Concerning this the Lord says in a mystery, "Unless you make what is on the right hand as what is on the left and what is on the left hand as what is on the right and what is above as what is below and what is behind as what is before, you will not recognize the Kingdom." This conception, then, I have declared to you, and the form in which you see me hanging is a representation of that *anthropos* who first came to birth. You then, my beloved, both those who hear (me) now and those that shall hear in time, must leave your former error and turn back again; for you should come up to the cross of Christ, who is the Word stretched out, the one and only, of whom the Spirit says, "For what else is Christ but the Word, the sound of God?" So that the Word is this upright tree on which I am crucified; but the sound is the cross-piece, the nature of *anthropos*; and the nail that holds the cross-piece to the upright in the middle is the conversion (or turning point) and repentance of *anthropos*.[97]

[97] The English translation is taken from *NTApoc*^{2} 2:315–16, slightly adapted.

Philip likewise issues a summons for attention and then continues as follows:

APh Mart. 34/§ 140, recension Γ:

> I came into this city . . . to exit from my body . . . in the form in which you see me. Therefore, do not grieve because I am hung up in this manner. For I bear the type of the first *anthropos*, who was brought head downwards upon the earth, and was made alive again from the death of transgression by the wood of the cross. And now I will satisfy the command given to me. For the Lord said to me: "Unless you make your below into the above, and the left into the right, you will not enter into my kingdom." Therefore, do not become like the opposite type, because all the world has been turned upside down, and every soul that dwells in the body falls into forgetfulness of heavenly things.[98]

The situation of the two apostles is obviously similar: Philip is hung by his heels, Peter requests to be crucified head downwards (*APt* 37) and is described as being hung up (*APt* 38). Yet *APh Mart.* 34 presents in only three lines of Greek the content of the twenty-three lines of discourse in *APt* 38. According to *APh Mart.* 34 Philip bears in his present appearance the type of the first *anthropos*, who, suspended head downwards toward the earth, is made alive again from the death of transgression through the wood of the cross. In the *APt* the two topics taken up by the *APh*, the first *anthropos* and the cross, fall, respectively, on either side of the saying about making the right left. In the *APh* the saying follows the one sentence presentation that incorporates both of these topics. How are we to explain the sophisticated abbreviation of the extended discourse from *APt* 38 found in the *APh*?

Attention to the form of the saying embedded in the discourse only exacerbates the problem. The text of the saying in the several recensions of the *APh* and in the *APt* shows numerous variations:[99]

APh Mart. 34/§ 140 Γ:
Ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε ὑμῶν τὰ κάτω εἰς τὰ ἄνω
καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ
οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου.

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[98] Or, Xenophontos 32 (recension Θ): "'Unless you make the left right and consider the dishonorable honorable, you will not be able to enter into the kingdom of God.' You, therefore, my brothers and sisters, become like me in this type, for this entire world is turned upside down and every soul in it."

[99] See Matthews, "Philip Tradition," 272 n. 78.

APh Mart. 34/§ 140 Θ:
Ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε τὰ ἀριστερὰ δεξιὰ
καὶ τὰ ἄτιμα λογίζεσθε ἔντιμα
οὐ δυνήσεσθε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

APh Mart. 34/§ 140 Δ:
Ἐὰν μὴ στρέψητε τὰ κάτω εἰς τὰ ἄνω
καὶ τὰ ἄνω εἰς τὰ κάτω
καὶ τὰ δεξιὰ εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ
καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ
οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

APt 38:
Ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε τὰ δεξιὰ ὡς τὰ ἀριστερὰ
καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ ὡς τὰ δεξιὰ
καὶ τὰ ἄνω ὡς τὰ κάτω
καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ὡς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν
οὐ μὴ ἐπιγνῶτε τὴν βασιλείαν.

One may also compare the appearance of the saying in *Gospel of Thomas* 22:

> Jesus said to them, "When you make the two one, and when you make the inside like the outside and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below, and when you make the male and the female one and the same . . . then you will enter [the kingdom]";[100]

and the related *2 Clem.* 12:2 (which appends an interpretation in 12.3–6):[101]

Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω,
καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

How is the relation among these witnesses to the saying to be understood? Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3.13.92) attributed the saying to the *Gospel of the Egyptians.* Dennis MacDonald's investigation of the traditional features underlying Gal 3:27–28 demonstrated that Paul in these verses drew upon the dominical saying attested by the *Gospel of the Egyptians, 2 Clement,* and the *Gospel of Thomas.*[102] MacDonald

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[100] The translation is taken from James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (3d ed.; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 129.

[101] Also note *Acts of Thomas* 147: "The inside I have made outside, and the outside <inside>" (*NTApoc*^{2} 2:398); and, of course, Gal 3:28. See Dennis R. MacDonald, *There Is No Male and Female: The Fate of a Dominical Saying in Paul and Gnosticism* (HDR 20; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

[102] See MacDonald, *No Male and Female,* 14.

was able to show that the performative setting of this saying was baptism.[103] In *APt* 38 and *APh Mart.* 34, however, the narrative setting is crucifixion, which suggests that the saying has been secondarily adapted in both of these contexts. Apparently the change of setting also accounts for the dropping of the two pairs two/one and male/female, which occur in the *Gospel of the Egyptians, 2 Clement*, and the *Gospel of Thomas* but are lacking in *APt* 38 and *APh Mart.* 34. Instead, *APt* 38 and *APh Mart.* 34 introduce below/above and left/right oppositions, which are missing in the other texts with the exception of above/below in *Gos. Thom.* 22.[104] Unlike the temporal constructions (ὅταν + future indicative or aorist subjunctive) of the saying in the *Gospel of the Egyptians, 2 Clement*, and the *Gospel of Thomas*, the form in *APt* 38 and *APh Mart.* 34 employs a negative conditional protasis (ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε) and a negative future apodosis (οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε/ἐπιγνῶτε τὴν βασιλείαν).[105] Such variations may be accounted for as the result of a process of analogous formation of a saying from the oral tradition in a new context.

What is extraordinary in the comparison of the saying as it occurs in *APt* 38 and *APh Mart.* 34 is that the version in the *APh* appears to be less developed in form-critical terms. Recension Γ of *APh Mart.* 34 presents two simple contrasts: below/above, left/right. *APt* 38 repeats its first opposition in reverse order: right/left, left/right, and then adds two more contrasts that are not repeated: above/below, behind/before. Also, in distinction from the passage in the *APh*, other dualistic oppositions precede the citation of the saying in *APt* 38: right/left, left/right, fair/not fair, evil/good. Not only are the contrasts presented in *APh Mart.* 34 less developed than those in *APt* 38, but also the verb in the apodosis of the saying appears to be more primitive in form-critical terms. All three recensions of the *APh* refer to "entering" the kingdom, which seems to cohere with the performative setting of this saying in baptism better than "recognizing" the kingdom in *APt* 38 or the "coming" of the kingdom in *2 Clem.* 12:2[106]

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[103] Ibid., 50–63, 127–29. See also Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *HR* 13 (1974): 193–94.

[104] *Gos. Phil.* 67:30–35 apparently has below/above.

[105] Compare Cameron's analysis (*Sayings Traditions*, 66–68) of Matt 18:3 and John 3:3a, 5b where the sayings are presented as formal parallels to the prophetic saying in *Ap. Jas.* 2:29–33.

[106] See ibid., 69.

Scholars have long presumed the literary dependence of *APh Mart.* 34 on *APt* 38, but this view does little to explain the phenomena reviewed above. If *APh Mart.* 34 is literarily dependent on *APt* 38, we are left with the problem of explaining how a more "primitive" form of the saying found its way into the text of *APh Mart.* 34. Further, we must credit the author of the *APh* with a degree of rhetorical sophistication unparalleled elsewhere in the martyrdom narrative to account for the deft abridgment of the extended discourse in *APt* 38. With respect to the former issue, the appearance of a simpler form of the saying in the *APh* is not a problem for an intertextual approach, which does not require that the saying be diachronically more primitive. With respect to the second issue, it is sounder methodologically to presume that *APh Mart.* 34 has developed without direct reference to a written text of *APt* 38, even while recognizing that the *APt* remains the primary intertext. If the account in the *APt* has influenced the *APh* in some other manner (e.g., oral tradition, memory), that situation is more complex than a straightforward literary adaptation. The possibility must also be considered that the *APh* was heir to intertexts for this saying beyond the *APt.* Phrases reminiscent of its content appear under Philip's name in *Gos. Phil.* 67:30–35 and 53.14–19.[107] Clearly the saying is of paramount importance to the author of the *APh.* Furthermore, a hermeneutical key to the saying's meaning has been appended in the *APh.* After the citation of the saying in *APt* 38, Peter's auditors are urged to approach the cross in repentance. But in the *APh* Philip's words following the saying have to do with a renunciation of this "topsy-turvy" world and those who live in it. What is significant here, as Jonathan Z. Smith's investigation of the upside-down motif has indicated, is that

[107] The right and left are also mentioned in *Gos. Phil.* 60:28 and 67:25. Recalling the occurrence of the "wedding chamber" in *APh Mart.* 29/§ 135, which is the dominant image in the *Gospel of Philip*, it may be that the *APh*, even if it knows and adapts various traditions connected with other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, possesses its own fund of traditions conveyed by its own social matrix. Thus Philip's "imitation" of Peter's upside-down crucifixion may have come about because the author of Philip's martyrdom connected the version of the saying concerning the below/above, left/right contrast preserved under Philip's name with the typology of upside-down crucifixion that stems ultimately from the *APt.*

> Philip gives a dogmatic formulation which is a major key to this upside-down tradition: "Imitate me in this, for all the world is turned the wrong way and every soul that is in it." . . . In such a world, *to be upside down is in fact to be rightside up*. . . . The call of Philip . . . is thus a gospel of rebellion and liberation.[108]

The upside-down motif has nothing to do with "an exercise in humility" but is rather "an *act of cosmic audacity* consistent with and expressive of a Christian-gnostic understanding and evaluation of the structures of the cosmos and of the human condition."[109] This interpretation is consistent with the introduction of the below/above and left/right contrasts in place of the two/one and male/female pairs of the baptismal saying, since the focus is now on cosmic reversal rather than anthropological unity. In general terms this image of Philip coheres with his function in gnostic texts.

The comparison of *APt* 38 with *APh Mart.* 34 cautions us once more against easy assumptions concerning the direct utilization by the *APh* of sayings and motifs known from other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. It also suggests that even in those cases where literary adaptation may appear to be a feasible explanation for composition in the *APh*, much more is involved than simple imitation. The application of a reading strategy that recognizes the creative importance of rewriting to the *APh* offers a view of this text impossible under scholarship accustomed to interpreting it through the canon of the so-called five major apocryphal Acts. The current standard accounts of the *APh*'s literary dependence upon the *APt* are revealed as too simplistic; an intertextual approach, even if less analytically satisfying for some, offers a more accurate account of the phenomena encountered in

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[108] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?" *HR* 9 (1970): 290, 297, 301, now in idem, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (SJLA 23; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 156, 164, 169, emphasis original. János Bolyki ("'Head Downwards': The Cross of Peter in the Lights of the Apocryphal Acts, of the New Testament and of the Society-transforming Claim of Early Christianity," in Bremmer, *Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, 122) argues with reference to the *APt* that Peter's crucifixion head downwards indicates "the reversal of the values (and perhaps also the changing of the power relations) in the Roman Empire."

[109] Smith, "Birth Upside Down," 286 = idem, *Map*, 152–53, emphasis original. Smith observes (p. 293/p. 159) that "it is within this context, so typical of the general mood of hellenistic religions, of a destruction of one's humanity which is at the same time one's birth, that the upside-down crucifixion of Peter must be interpreted." Smith assumes that the *APh* is dependent upon the *APt*, but he does not review the anomalies pointed out above that are left unexplained by the presumption of dependence.

the text. Models of literary dependence based on source criticism of the Synoptic Gospels are out of their depth when applied to the apocryphal Acts. An intertextual approach properly highlights rereading and rewriting as integral elements of theological and other kinds of reflection. Consequently, when Philip seems to imitate Peter in action or speech, instead of slavish, and therefore meaningless imitation, we encounter a purposeful intertextual juxtaposition accomplished through the employment of valued motifs. That the "competition" some ancient readers detected between Philip and Peter in Acts 8 (see, e.g., *Letter of Peter to Philip*) may still be invoked in the *APh* is a testimony to the viability of the intertextual evolution of favored themes in the milieu of early Christian rewriting.

Conclusion

The *Acts of Philip* attests to the continuing relevance of Philip as an apostolic sponsor for Christians in Asia Minor well into the fourth century CE. Important continuities with earlier traditions appear alongside new constellations of sources, and the generation of new stories upon the combination of these respective ingredients shows that Philip remained a catalyst for the multivalent "narrative theology" that we find inscribed in the *Acts of Philip* (see the appendix immediately following).

To be sure "biographical" details are still drawn from the accounts in Acts, although only in a tightly delimited section in *APh* III. It is clear that by the time of the redaction of the text in the form in which we now know it in fifteen acts and the martyrdom, it was necessary to reckon with the canonical New Testament and its two Philips. Nevertheless, it is the apostolic pedigree that wins out and even in the one section of the text in which references to Acts 8 surface, Philip, quite properly we might say, exercises his "deaconship" only in tandem with his "apostleship" (*APh* III, 1–3). Elsewhere, however, he appears as the apostle, plain and simple.

Alongside legendary tales appear pieces of older liturgical materials and fragments of other lore that now are preserved in association with Philip's name. On occasion we may be faced with items that owing to their content had been assumed to belong more or less naturally to this larger amalgam of Philip materials. An earlier traditional emphasis provided fertile soil for a new elaboration of Philip that

served to legitimate encratite practices and convictions. Curiously, the prominence of the ascetic Christian lifestyle that imbues the early traditions that feature Philip's four virgin, prophetic daughters lives on through their father alone. He now serves as the model and champion of a still more rigorous ascetic ideology, which perhaps viewed the existence of daughters as something better not mentioned at all.

The lack of individualistic portraits of the daughters even in the earliest sources already intimated that what counted most in Philip's case was his apostolic status. Nevertheless, the feminine is by no means excluded in the *Acts of Philip* where Mariamne, Philip's sister, serves in his daughters' stead as an advocate for the pure life. Thus the proclivity to intertwine the paths of Philip and Mary Magdalene in various gnostic texts plays a major role from *APh* VIII on through the martyrdom.

Finally, the significant conjunction of Philip and Peter, which figures in so many of our sources, continues to exert its influence in this text. While Peter as a character is on the scene only briefly, the intertextual recourse to crucial scenes and information from Luke's Acts, the *Acts of Peter*, and other texts (e.g., the *Letter of Peter to Philip*), suggests an ongoing negotiation of Philip traditions with the heritage of Peter. Such a procedure may have afforded encratite Christians a way to define themselves over against the "Great Church," even as they retained valued stories and traditions now "relocated" under the protection of their own apostolic guarantor.

APPENDIX: PRÉCIS OF THE *ACTS OF PHILIP*

The following synopsis of *Acts of Philip* I–XV follows Xenophontos 32 wherever possible. In those places where the text is not extant in Xenophontos 32, other witnesses are followed as indicated in the brackets. In all cases I have followed the edition of the Greek texts produced by François Bovon, Bertrand Bouvier, and Frédéric Amsler (*Acta Philippi: Textus*; CCSA 11). I have not included the *Martyrdom* here, which is readily available in English in *ANF* 8:497–503. A French translation of the entire text is available in Frédéric Amsler, François Bovon, and Bertrand Bouvier, *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe.*

I. *First Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

When, coming out from Galilee, he raised the dead man.
[Xenophontos 32 (A)]

1. Philip the apostle comes out from Galilee and encounters a widow about to bury her only son. Pained by her mournful appearance, the apostle asks about her son's religion. The woman declares that she had never wronged the gods, but they failed to listen to her cries. She consulted a diviner who only foretold lies. Lamenting the destruction of her soul and her money, she confesses that she has despised the Christians; but now she has lost her only son. 2. Philip replies that this is the usual way that the devil leads people astray to deny them eternal life. He promises to resurrect her son by the power of his God, Jesus Christ. The old woman takes heart and states that it is profitable to renounce marriage and eat bread and water instead of wine and meat. 3. Philip responds that the woman's words already show that the savior is speaking through her about purity—because God associates with this purity. While jealous people speak evil against those who live pure lives, God has blesses them: "Blessed are you when people speak every lie against you, rejoice and be glad, because your reward is great in the heavens, and on earth you will be able to silence demons without a care, having as a father Jesus the crucified." The old woman voices her belief in Jesus and "revered virginity." 4. Philip prays over the corpse: "Arise, young man, Jesus raises you for his glory." The young man rises as if from sleep and asks how his resurrection has come about, given his confinement in the prison of judgment. 5. In an extended series of scenes, the young man, accompanied by an interpreting angel, recounts what he has witnessed in the underworld. A woman resembling a dragon drives human souls with a blazing hook into a chasm of fire. She incites people to slander believers and Christ, which results in their destruction. 6. A man who had tyrannized many and beaten bishops and elders and lied against them is tortured without mercy by an angel with a sword of fire. 7. A

young man is tormented by fiery snakes on a bed of coals because he had shown no respect with his tongue for father, mother, or priests, even slandering a most dignified virgin by calling her a sinner. The widow's son proposes to pray to the eunuchs and virgins for a pardon. 8. But the interpreting angel, now identified as Michael, informs him that nothing can be obtained from them, because it is another who judges. There is no mercy for those who speak falsely against the pure. 9. Men are seen throwing balls of fire at one another, punishment for slandering the just and those who live their lives in purity. 10. Burning coals are poured upon a man who had often prated in a drunken state against bishops and priests [elders] and eunuchs and virgins. 11. Michael notes that there is no mercy for those beguiled by wine and that similar punishment awaits idolaters, augurs, diviners, charlatans, and sorcerers. He then informs the young man that he has received authorization to release him. 12. Cerberus is seen bound to a gate by a chain of fire and devouring a man and a woman who had blasphemed against priests, elders, eunuchs, deacons, deaconesses, and virgins, wrongly accusing them of lewdness and adultery. 13. A thunderous voice emanating from an immense throne pronounces judgments against hypocritical officials at an altar. 14. Suddenly the young man sees Philip and is distressed, fearing that this is a ruse of the devil who is dragging him toward the witnessed punishments. 15. Philip urges the young man to receive baptism to avoid the fate of the sinful in the underworld. 16. The young man requests from Philip, the "apostle of God," permission to relate one more horror from the underworld consisting of two men tortured in a frying-pan for their crimes on earth, especially their disregard of the servants of God. Because they are intoxicated with all the vices they are forced to swallow molten lead. 17. The young man tells Philip that he was returned to be resurrected by him and to report on what he had seen. The moral is that all who wish to receive mercy must avoid all vices. 18. The young man and his mother believe and convert many others who receive baptism and glorify God. The people provision the apostle for his journey, and the young man follows him, elated by the miracles that he was performing each day and glorifying God.

II. *The Second Act of the Holy Philip the Apostle*

In Greece of the Athenians
[PVXK]

1. Philip arrives in Athens and three hundred philosophers express their desire to hear his wisdom. They judge Philip to be a philosopher on account of his ascetic garb. 2. The philosophers tell Philip that their fathers' teachings are sufficient for their philosophy, but ask whether he can present something new. 3. Philip replies that if they wish to hear something new they must be rid of their old selves, since one puts new wine into new wineskins. He announces that his Lord has brought a truly new and original teaching into the world. 4. The philosophers ask who the Lord is and

are told that he is Jesus. They ask for a rational explanation so that they too may believe. Philip replies that the Lord had come into the world, chosen twelve whom he filled with the Spirit, and commanded them to preach the good news. This explains Philip's arrival; he is ready to satisfy them both in word and in miraculous proof. 5. The philosophers ask for three days to consult with one another about the name of Jesus. 6. They deliberate on what to do about Philip and Jesus and decide to enlist the help of the high priest of the Jews. 7. They draft a letter to the high priest in Jerusalem in which they express their concerns about Philip's message about the name of Jesus, his miracles, and his increasing fame. 8. On receipt of the letter the high priest is enraged and rends his garments. Mansemat (Satan) secretly enters into Ananias the high priest, who consults with the teachers of the law and the Pharisees. They advise him to go to Athens with five hundred strong men and eliminate Philip. 9. Ananias appears in Greece with great pomp and the five hundred men. Together with the three hundred philosophers they call Philip out of the house of a leading citizen. When he appears, the high priest calls him a sorcerer and magician and recognizes him as the one named son of thunder by his master, "the imposter," in Jerusalem. Philip replies that a veil of impiety over Ananias' heart has prevented him from seeing who the real imposter is between them. 10. Ananias addresses the Greeks seeking to expose Philip and the heresy taught by Jesus which threatens the law, the temple, the Sabbath, the purification prescribed by Moses, and new moons. Jesus was crucified to prevent the fulfillment of this teaching, but his disciples stole his body in order to proclaim his resurrection. They were then driven out of Jerusalem but now have spread the magic of Jesus throughout the world. Philip has come to beguile the Greeks with the same cunning. Ananias wants to take him back to Jerusalem where Archelaus the king seeks to put him to death. 11. The faithful are undisturbed by Ananias' words, knowing that Philip will prevail by the glory of Jesus. Philip tells the Athenians that he comes to teach them not by words but by the proof of wonders, and proposes to call out to God and allow the Athenians to judge between him and Ananias. 12. At this Ananias rushes forward to whip Philip, but immediately his hand withers and he is blinded. His five hundred strong men are likewise blinded. They curse Ananias and beg Philip, "the apostle of the God of Jesus," to restore their sight in order that they may become slaves of God. 13. Philip utters a prayer lamenting the "weak nature" that rises up against the faithful and calls on Jesus, "our good manager," to come and reprove the arrogance of his opponents. 14. The high priest asks whether Philip really expects them to turn from the traditions of "our fathers" to follow Jesus the Nazarene. Philip replies that he will beseech his God to manifest himself in the presence of all before the high priest, so that he might repent and believe. But should he persist in unbelief, then he will descend living into Hades. 15. Suddenly the heavens open and Jesus descends in fantastic glory. All the idols of Athens are broken in pieces and the demons in them flee. But the high priest still refuses to believe that Jesus is Lord of everything: "I have no other God except the

one who gave manna in the wilderness." 16. Jesus reascends into heaven and a great earthquake splits the ground. The crowd and the five hundred men beg Philip for mercy, the latter noting that it is impossible for them, being sinful people, to fight with God. 17. Philip promises to restore their sight. A voice from heaven declares: "Philip, formerly son of thunder but now of mildness, if you ask my Father for anything, he will do it for you." Philip restores Ananias' sight in the name of Jesus and asks him whether he now believes. The high priest replies that he cannot be persuaded through such magical arts. 18. The apostle prays to Jesus: "Zabarthan, sabathabat, bramanouch, come quickly!" Immediately the ground swallows Ananias up to his knees. Ananias protests loudly about Philip's conjuring in Hebrew and maintains his resolve not to believe. 19. Philip angrily commands the earth to swallow Ananias up to his navel, but he still refuses to be conquered by magic and believe. The crowd wishes to stone him, but Philip replies that Ananias may still repent and save his soul. 20. Philip gestures with his right hand in the air over the five hundred men in the name of Jesus and they regain their sight and offer a prayer of blessing. Philip again urges the high priest to confess that Jesus is Lord to save himself. But he only laughs scornfully. 21. Philip commands the earth to swallow the high priest up to his neck. 22. A leading citizen arrives and tells the "blessed apostle" that a demon has killed his son in retaliation for Philip's destruction of demonic worship in the city. 23. Philip marvels at the audacity of this attack and promises to restore the man's son to life through Christ. Philip asks the high priest if he will believe if the boy is raised, but the high priest refuses yet again. Philip commands his immediate departure into the abyss, whereupon the high priestly garment detaches itself from him and flies off not to be seen henceforth by anyone. Then Philip restores the young man living to his father. 24. The crowds acclaim the God of Philip as the only God. The five hundred men entreat Philip and he gives them the seal of Christ. Philip stays in Athens for two years and then, after building a church and appointing a bishop and a council of elders, he leaves to evangelize Parthia.

III. *The Third Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

Somewhere in Parthia
[Xenophontos 32 (A)]

1. In a city of Parthia, Philip encounters Peter along with other disciples and certain women who imitate the male faith. Philip requests that these who have received the crown of Christ in the apostolic order strengthen him in order that he might evangelize and be included in their heavenly glory, and at one with them in the abasement of the flesh and living humbly in continence. The others pray on his behalf and rejoice at Philip's resolve to complete his apostleship and deaconship. 2. John tells Philip, "his brother and fellow apostle," that Andrew has gone to Achaia and Thrace, Thomas to India and the murderous flesh eaters, and Matthew to the Troglodytes.

He urges Philip not to be dejected, because Jesus is with him. 3. Philip asks John and Peter to pray for him so that he may fulfill his apostleship just as the Lord appointed him. A voice from heaven assures Philip that "my angel is with you," and urges him not to neglect his mission. Philip prepares for a long journey; Jesus travels with him in secret, and the Spirit prepares him to speak. 4. Proceeding along the way rejoicing, Philip offers a lengthy prayer asking that Jesus manifest himself in his glory: "For I hope that I will see you also in the heavens, you who are above the heavens." 5. When Philip finishes his prayer, a great tree appears in the wilderness. Philip sees a large eagle perched with its wings extended in a type of the true cross. 6. Philip perceives in the Spirit that the Lord Jesus Christ is revealing himself in this great image. He offers a series of reflections on how the eternal Lord could have known birth and suffered on the cross. 7. Philip falls to his knees and worships, because the Lord has remembered him and shown him his glory: "For you are a righteous father and intercessor who saves those who hope in you." 8. Jesus answers Philip as though from the mouth of the eagle and confirms that he has blessed him and displayed his glory to him. He promises to guide Philip who will walk in his steps and refute those void of understanding. "I will neither withdraw from you nor abandon you. Even now I accompany Thomas in Labyrinthia, and I am exhorting John in Asia; I am sustaining Andrew in Achaia and praying together with your other apostolic brethren." 9. Philip notes that those who believed from the beginning did not realize that after his ascension Jesus would travel together with them in such a manner, absent in body but present in the Spirit. 10. Philip travels by sea to the region of the Candacians and asks for passage on a boat sailing to Azotus. 11. After sailing for some four hundred stades a strong wind endangers the ship. Locusts arrive on the wind and afflict the sailors. 12. Philip calls out to the merciful Lord Jesus Christ, reminding him of his promise to answer. It is about midnight and Philip sees a shining signet in the form of a cross. It grows brighter than the sun and illuminates the sea. Sea-monsters, fish, and beasts form a circle and make obeisance to the light, howling out hymns in their language. The sea is changed by the majesty of the light, the air becomes still, and the locusts die in the sea. 13. Philip offers a lengthy prayer: "What gratitude can we return for this grace and for this power? Human gratitude cannot overtake this glory, can it?" Philip offers a litany of reflections on the hidden glory ("You hid this glory . . ." [sixteen times]) of the incarnated Jesus, e.g., "You hid this glory until those who wished to know you grew weary." At the end of this series: "But now since you have presently manifested yourself to a few, you have made known your glory." 14. All on board the ship are astonished. The silence is such as has never before been witnessed. Philip reports that in the middle of the night, "I heard singing voices unlike anything that comes from human lips." After the singing the height of the heavens opens and the signet is lifted up into heaven. When morning comes, those on board ship reflect on what they had seen, fixing their eyes heavenward. 15. The boat arrives at Azotus. The sailors are established by Philip in the Lord. They run ahead to announce the arrival of Philip and many believe and glorify God.

16. Philip goes up to the city and stops at the gate. He tells those with him: "It is necessary for us to seek our dwelling place," and begins a discourse. 17. Philip reflects on the difference between the soul and the flesh, and discusses how the continence, abasement, conscience, and pity of the flesh have their beneficial effects on the soul. The flesh that is not abased is a wound to the soul. 18. Philip speaks with reference to the type of the eagle. When its young ask why they are taken to the heights, their father tells them that their essence is in the heights and that they have nothing in common with the things below. Philip urges his hearers to apply this pattern to themselves: "Forsake this unpleasant world." 19. In that hour many sick people are restored to health and glorify Jesus, the God preached by Philip, and are baptized.

IV. *The Fourth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

In Azotus, when he heals Charitine, the daughter of Nikokleides

1. The apostle Philip's fame as a miracle worker spreads in Azotus; many come and are healed of various diseases. Philip also performs exorcisms. Some hail him as a man of God, others suppose him to be a magician. Some chief citizens mock his words, but their wives receive them like honey and bless God. Others reproach him for dividing spouses with his teaching that chastity leads to a vision of God and that child-bearing is a grief. 2. Philip privately prays to Jesus, the "sweet voice of the Father," and asks where he will lay his head. A beautiful child appears to Philip and indicates some storehouses where many strangers find lodging. Philip goes to the storehouses owned by a certain official named Nikokleides, a friend of the king. 3. Philip prays alone at night in his room and then speaks aloud at length: "O my soul, do you seek food to eat? Blessed be God, because you will not have bread to eat nor even water to drink for an entire week, until I observe the heart of the people in this city." Philip goes on to reflect on the spiritual nourishment of the Lord. He hopes not for the material nourishment of the world, since those who work in Jesus have an immortal nourishment—the nourishment of the word is sufficient. 4. Charitine, the daughter of Nikokleides, who suffers from a malady in her right eye, listens to Philip all through the night and weeps.

[Vaticanus graecus 824 (V)]
In the morning she speaks with her father about the humiliation of her malady. Her father notes that the king's doctor, Leucius, and all the doctors of the court have seen her, and others who possess drugs and all manner of medicines have been unable to effect a cure. Charitine insists that the strange doctor residing in her father's storehouses will be able to heal her. Nikokleides finds Philip and asks whether he is a doctor. Philip replies, "Jesus is my doctor." He goes with Nikokleides to Charitine and says: "Do not fear, young woman; the medicines of my doctor will now heal you." She prostrates herself to worship the doctor in Philip and asks that her house be purified with water for this doctor's entrance.

[Xenophontos 32 (A)]
5. Charitine asks Philip to show her his dwelling-place but he replies that it is not on earth. He tells her that Jesus will make known to her the tents in the highest places where there is eternal rest. Charitine asks to be delivered of her unbearable pain. Philip directs her to rise and pass her right hand before her face and say: "In the name of Jesus Christ, let the malady of my eye be cured." She is immediately cured and glorifies God. 6. Father and daughter believe and are deemed worthy of the seal of the Lord (baptism). There is great joy in their house and many believe in Jesus. Charitine adopts a male appearance and clothing and follows Philip in the faith of Christ, glorifying God.

V. *The Fifth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

In the City of Nicatera

1. Philip the apostle of Christ departs for a city called Nicatera accompanied by a large band of disciples whom he teaches day and night about the great things of God: salvation, gentleness, hope, and the fragrance of faith. 2. The arrival of Philip and his disciples causes a disturbance in the city where the inhabitants deliberate on what to do about him, fearing to meet him lest the entire city follow him. 3. The brothers ask Philip where they will stay and Philip exhorts them to take heart. Jesus Christ, "our good law," will lend assistance. "For this reason we travel in his peace in order to proclaim the grace of the gospel." 4. Philip urges the brothers not to allow their minds to be flustered by the disturbance of the city, because Jesus the "just athlete" is with them and "he will save us from every device and error of the devil." 5. An angry crowd with their leaders discuss Philip's miracles, his counsel that husbands and wives separate on the principle that purity consorts with God, and his teaching about Jesus. They decide to prevent Philip from taking up residence in the city before their wives are deceived by him. 6. Jews voice harsh words against Philip because he is undoing their traditions. One of their number, Ireus, who is characterized as rich, intelligent, good, and a hater of injustice, counsels them not to take unjust action but rather to scrutinize Philip's teaching and then take appropriate action. The people suspect that Ireus believes in Philip and resolve to stir up trouble against him. 7. Ireus greets Philip who says to him: "You are highly favored in the peace of Christ, because there is no deceit in your soul." Ireus asks Philip what will happen if he follows him, and Philip replies that he and his house will be saved. 8. Ireus announces that he has prepared his soul for salvation. Philip replies that the Lord will fulfill his desire. Ireus is not to permit any injustice and to bid farewell to his wife. 9. At home Ireus' wife Nercella tells him that she has heard about his intervention on behalf of a certain magician named Philip. Ireus voices his hope that their house will become a dwelling place for Philip's God. Nercella does not want Philip to enter the house, because he separates husbands

and wives. 10. Ireus assures her that the God proclaimed by the stranger has better things for them than their vain wealth. His wife responds that she will not be deceived. 11. Nercella asks whether Philip's God, like the gods of the city, is golden and secure in a temple. Ireus replies that Philip's God lives in the heavens, while the city gods are the handiwork of the impious. 12. Ireus invites Philip to his house. Philip recounts to him his wife's quarreling. Ireus is astonished and asks how he knows these things. 13. Philip's disciples suggest that they should accompany Ireus. (Jesus had appeared to Philip and directed him to go to Ireus' house, which has been found worthy of his peace.) 14. The city rulers and the multitude are stirred up when they see Ireus escorting Philip and his companions with honor. Philip blesses Ireus' house with peace. Ireus asks his wife to put off her garments interwoven with gold and throw away her other adornments in exchange for incorruptibility. She asks how a stranger should be allowed to see her face. 15. Ireus commands his servants to place golden chairs at his gates for Philip and his companions. Philip demands that they be removed and explains that gold and silver are unnecessary things that will be consumed by fire. 16. Ireus expresses concern about his former sins. Philip tells him not to fear, since Jesus is able to remove sins committed in ignorance. Philip asks about Ireus' wife and her refusal to be seen by him, indicating that he knows everything about their discussion in his absence. 17. The doorkeeper believes in Christ when he sees that Philip knows the things said by his mistress in private. When a maidservant thinks to herself about repentance and salvation, Philip perceives her thoughts and tells her that she will be saved. 18. Ireus requests that his wife come to see the man of God, adding that Philip has repeated everything that they have said in private. She demands that he cease trying to trick her. 19. Philip perceives Ireus' agitation over his wife and prays to Jesus for guidance. The Savior appears to him and says: "Neither fear nor hesitate to fulfill my teaching. The word which I spoke to you is this: 'Both will be saved.'" 20. Nercella's unbelief falls away completely and she says to Ireus: "Blessed are those who are not undecided." Ireus asks her to rise and pay heed neither to perishable wealth nor her own beauty. Nercella asks what they will do about their sons and daughters, and male and female servants in view of the demand to forsake all for salvation, and what will happen to their two sons promised in marriage at the highest social rank. 21. Her exceedingly beautiful daughter Artemilla also wishes to participate in the alternative life. Both Nercella and Artemilla put on humble garments and go out. 22. They see Philip as a great light encircled by his disciples and they are unable to draw near to him. The entire house is shaken on account of the fear that has fallen upon them. 23. Philip realizes that they cannot bear the intensity of the light, and recalling Jesus [at the transfiguration], reverts to his former appearance. Nercella tells Philip that she would be blessed if he would enter her house and she expresses regret for her earlier unbelief. 24. Philip tells Nercella that if she wishes to live, she must despise her possessions and her beauty. She agrees to do whatever Philip commands and her daughter follows suit. 25. Then Philip began to teach:

"Blessed are those who are upright in the word of Jesus, for these will inherit the earth. Blessed are those who hate the glory of this world, for these shall be glorified. Blessed are those who receive the word of God, for these shall inherit incorruption." All are filled with joy and pronounce themselves blessed for being found worthy to hear Philip's words. 26. Ireus invites Philip and his companions to a meal of bread and vegetables. Philip refuses to eat until he completes a contest that lies before him, but he enjoins his disciples to partake and prays and breaks the bread and gives it to them. 27. A great crowd assembles at the house of Ireus and listens to Philip's word and believes; the sick are healed and the evil spirits flee. All were saying: "Blessed be Philip's God, because in his compassion he has shown us mercy."

VI. *The Sixth Act of Philip the Apostle*

In the City of Nicatera

1. All the Jews and worshippers of other gods in the city speak against Ireus and Philip. They identify Philip as a magician who has deceived many. The uproar is pronounced because Ireus and his household have believed in Christ. They resolve to send men worthy of Ireus' status to bring him before the assembly. 2. Seven elite men go and stand at Ireus' gate but do not dare to speak on account of the crowd of disciples. Their faces are full of wickedness. Ireus goes out and agrees to go with them; he is smiling and unconcerned. 3. The rulers are amazed because Ireus is not dressed as before nor accompanied by a crowd of servants; only twelve servants follow him. One ruler named Onesimus, after acknowledging his unworthiness to speak to Ireus, asks how he has been deceived by the stranger. He demands that Ireus hand Philip over to save himself and his house and that he no longer be led astray by a teaching that separates married couples, preaches chastity, and maintains the resurrection of the dead. 4. Ireus asks why he is being interrogated for the sake of a just man. He warns them to cease their disturbance lest Philip call upon his God to burn them all up in fire. 5. The rulers and the multitude note that they have their own gods. The Jews cry out for the removal of the unjust and strange teaching from the city. Ireus returns to his house and Philip tells him not to fear because Jesus is able to contend on his behalf. 6. The rulers and all the city arrive at Ireus' house shouting for Philip, who goes out together with his companions. The crowd cries out: "Behold, this is the magician." Ireus orders three hundred slaves to follow Philip, who is seized by the crowd and led to the council chamber to be flogged. Philip's disciples are weeping, but the apostle censures them, saying: "By faith and obedience we will conquer the opposition." 7. As they prepare to flog Philip, Ireus drags Philip from them. Philip asks with gentleness what evil he has done or what crime he has committed to deserve a flogging. The crowd refers to Philip's claim that by remaining chaste, people will live and will

be stars in heaven; and his teaching that God was crucified. 8. Philip replies that if he wishes, they will not flog him, because he will call for aid in gentleness and they will be struck blind. He does not boast of a noble birth or wealth but the crowd knows that Philip was well-born and that he gave up a fortune to follow Jesus. They are fearful about being struck blind. 9. The Jews grumble at Philip's words and wish to debate with him. One of the most prominent among them, Aristarchus, proposes that Philip debate with him publicly about Jesus, the crucified one. He notes that he is influential enough to have Philip and his companions stoned. 10. He grabs Philip's beard to drag him. Philip feels no pain and pronounces with gentle anger that Aristarchus' hand will wither, he will become deaf, and his right eye will be blinded for threatening a stoning and grabbing his beard. 11. Philip asks Christ not to delay and Aristarchus immediately suffers all of the predicted maladies. He cries out to Philip for mercy and pleads with his Jewish companions to intercede with Philip for compassion and healing and they do so: "For truly, human beings cannot fight with God." 12. Philip directs Ireus to make the sign of the cross with his right hand on Aristarchus' head. Ireus does so, saying: "In the name of the crucified one, be healed." An astonished Aristarchus tells of seeing a child from heaven go to Philip and speak to him to sanction the healing. Philip identifies the child as Jesus. Aristarchus, fearing Philip's anger, adjures him by the crucified one not to bring further pain upon him and renews his proposal that they debate about Christ. If Philip prevails, all will believe in the crucified Christ. 13. Philip smiles and asks Aristarchus to go first. Aristarchus, who is the president of the synagogue, asks Philip whether he accepts the prophets. Philip replies: "On account of your unbelief prophets are necessary." Aristarchus responds with a series of scriptural citations and then asks how Philip can say that Mary gave birth as a virgin to Jesus, and that he is God. He inquires how it was that Jesus was crucified and that Philip contends on his behalf, even as he suddenly acknowledges that this is the power of God and the wisdom of God present when the world was made. 14. Philip, smiling in exaltation, addresses the crowd and calls for them to judge the truth. He quotes his own series of scriptural texts beginning with Isaiah 42:1 and 53:7–8. Philip eventually makes the point that all the scriptures speak of Christ and his resurrection from the dead. 15. Aristarchus replies that Jesus is called Christ and that he knows that Isaiah mentions an anointed one, provoking the Jews to quarrel with him for bringing up things written about Christ. The crowd decides that there is no basis for action against Philip and he is invited to reside in the city. 16. At this moment the dead only son of an exceedingly wealthy couple is carried in on a funeral bier by twelve slaves who are to be burned with it. The rulers and the crowd propose a great contest: If Philip raises the boy, all will believe and they will burn down their idol temples. 17. Philip is moved by the weeping parents. They promise to give the slaves to him if he raises their son. Moreover, they promise three hundred slaves in addition plus their silver, gold, and other possessions, and they will believe that the only living God is the God of Philip. 18. Philip sees Jesus to his right telling him

not to fear because through him the dead are raised. Philip asks Aristarchus to try to raise the dead boy, who is named Theophilus. He reluctantly approaches the dead boy, touches his face, spits on him a great deal, and drags him by the hand; but the corpse lies still as stone. Ireus chides the crowd for opposing God and daring to blaspheme by calling Philip a magician. 19. Nereus, the father of the deceased, offers to fight against the Jews if his only son is raised. Philip demands that he promise not to wrong Jews or his son will not be raised. 20. Philip places his hands on the boy and prays and the child begins to breathe and looks at Philip. Philip prays again and tells the boy to speak, rise, and walk. Theophilus cries out: "There is only one God, that of Philip, Jesus Christ, who gave me life." The crowd cries out: "There is only one God, that of Philip, Jesus Christ, the one who raises the dead." 21. Three thousand souls believe in Christ as a result of this miracle. The parents of the child glorify God. Philip announces that all of the slaves are now free on account of Christ. The father of the healed boy asks Ireus what they should do about the Jews opposed to Philip. Ireus responds that Philip is a good man who will not permit anything to happen to them. 22. Philip's disciples prepare bread and vegetables with which he can break his fast. Philip eats and gives thanks to God over five days for the souls that have been saved.

VII. *The Seventh Act of the Holy Apostle Philip in the City of Nicatera*

Where Nercella Believes

1. Ireus' wife Nercella and her daughter Artemilla rejoice over Philip, and along with the doorkeeper they believe in the Lord. 2. Ireus asks Philip where he wishes to build a synagogue in the name of Christ. Nereus, the father of Theophilus, and Ireus spend much gold and the building is quickly constructed. 3. The Jews are jealous but decide to keep their distance lest they suffer like Aristarchus did, and also because they see grace, power, and glory from God among the Christians. 4. Philip enters the building and rejoices. All are amazed at his teaching about the magnificent things of Christ. Philip's face is cheerful because he is full of wisdom and also on account of his admirable prudence, divine knowledge, righteousness inspired by honesty, patience, power received from Christ, and the word given to him from God. 5. Nercella and Artemilla rejoice. Philip directs the brothers to associate with one another in purity and not forget his words. They are to remain in the planting of Christ in order that their blessing might continue with Philip in the place to which he is departing to preach the grace of Christ. 6. The brothers weep exceedingly at the news that Philip is departing. Philip tells them not to let their hearts be distressed, for just as the Lord ordained that he come to them, thus must he also go to other cities to fulfill the will of Christ. 7. Philip prays with them and embraces all and goes out with his disciples. The multitude prepares abundant travelling provisions and follows Philip twenty stades into his journey, wishing to see

the boat on which he will embark. He tells them that it is far off, and after taking only five loaves and invoking Jesus, he orders them to return in peace to the city. 8. A voice comes out of heaven: "Press on, Philip, I, Jesus, await you at the boat in the upper harbor, because I will not abandon you." The brothers are amazed and believe more fervently, and they ask Philip to bless them a second time, and he does so. And after their "amen" a voice from heaven is heard saying: "Yes, amen, amen, amen."

VIII. *The Eighth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

In which the Kid and the Leopard Believe in the Wilderness

1. The act opens with reference to the Savior's assignment of the apostles to their respective missionary territories. Each one proceeds according to the lot that falls to him. First Peter to Rome, John to Asia, Thomas to Parthia and India, Matthew to Judea, Bartholomew to Lycaonia, Andrew to Achaea, Simon . . . [Xenophontos 32 breaks off where pages have been torn from the codex]

[Athens 346 (G)]
First Peter to Rome, Thomas to Parthia and India, Matthew to Pontus, Bartholomew to Lycaonia, Simon the Cananaean to Spain, Andrew to Achaea, John to Asia, and Philip to the land of the Greeks. 2. Philip finds his assigned region harsh and grumbles and weeps. The Savior turns to him along with John and Mariamne, his sister. Mariamne speaks with the Savior about Philip's displeasure with his chosen destination. 3. The Savior replies that he is aware of her goodness, manly soul, and blessedness among women; while Philip exhibits the will of a woman, she exhibits that of a man. He commissions her to accompany Philip in all his travels in order to encourage him in love and compassion. Since Philip is reckless, he will not be allowed to travel alone, otherwise he will repay evil with evil everywhere he goes. Bartholomew will go with him. John will be sent later to embolden them in the sufferings of martyrdom. 4. The Savior instructs Mariamne to change her appearance and dress as a man and proceed with her brother Philip to a city called Opheorymos, where people worship the mother of the serpents, the Viper. The serpents must see her dissociated from the form of Eve, that is, not having the appearance of a woman. 5. The Savior announces: "Behold, I am sending you as lambs, I am the shepherd; I am sending you as disciples, I am your teacher; I am sending you as rays, I am your sun . . ." The Savior bids reflection on the properties of the sun, moon, stars, lower air, and four winds. 6. The Savior promises to be with them in every place, preparing their steps and protecting them. If they are injured he will attend to their wounds. If their blood is shed, it will be offered to the Father in the heavens and their tombs will be called the dwelling places of the saints. 7. They are not to fear the bite of the serpents or their poison, for their mouths will be shut and their boasts will come to naught. 8. Philip continues crying for himself

in view of the persecution that awaits him. He is anxious lest he be unable to remain patient and instead repay his tormentors in kind, transgressing the Savior's commandment not to repay evil with evil. 9. The Savior notes that as great as the judgment is on one who returns evil for evil, so much greater is the grace received by the one who is able to do something evil but does not, but rather repays good to the one who has done him evil. 10. The Savior draws Philip's attention to the works of creation (light and darkness, water and fire, good and evil) and living things (human beings, flocks and herds, wild animals, birds, water creatures) and asks him to judge the nature of the world and see that that which does good increases, not that which does evil. 11. This is why Noah gathered seven male and female pairs of clean birds and animals into the ark, and only two pairs of the unclean. The numbers indicate their respective deeds insofar as some were repaid for their evil, while others were granted concessions allowing seven pairs. 12. The Savior recalls telling Peter not only to act according to Noah's model, but to forgive seventy times seven. Philip is not to be faint-hearted about doing good to those who do him evil. 13. The Savior instructs Philip with observations drawn from the world of nature (creatures of the air, plants growing in the earth, light, water). 14. Philip and all the disciples are to pay heed to the beneficent illuminators and imitate them in order that just as they shed their light on the good and on the evil without discrimination, so too the disciples might become salvation for the whole world. They are to endure the tribulations to come knowing that they will be richly rewarded. 15. Philip and those with him rejoice over these lessons and promises of the Lord. Philip goes forth accompanied by Bartholomew and Mariamne, after kissing the right hand of the Savior, and they proceed to the land of the Ophidians. [Athens 346 (G) breaks off]

[Vaticanus graecus 824]

16. In the wilderness of the she-dragons, a great leopard throws himself at the apostles' feet, and speaks to them with a human voice: "I worship you, O servants of the divine greatness and apostles of the only-begotten Son of God, command me to speak perfectly." 17. Philip accedes to the request and the leopard recounts his story. On the previous night he had dragged a kid into the forest to eat it. But the wounded kid took on a human voice and weeping like a small child, said: "O leopard, put off your fierce heart and brutal intent and put on mildness; for the apostles of the divine greatness are about to pass through this wilderness." At this the leopard's fierceness turned to gentleness and he spared the kid. When he saw the apostles passing by, he came to worship them. 18. Philip asks where the kid is and is told that he is lying under a tree. The leopard leads the apostles to the spot. 19. Philip and Bartholomew acknowledge the unsurpassed compassion of the philanthropic Jesus, who has used these animals to increase their faith and fulfill their mission. They pray that the animals might receive human hearts and follow the apostles everywhere, sharing their food, and glorifying God with human speech. 20. The leopard and the kid stand and raise up their forefeet and glorify God with human voices: "We glorify and bless you, the one who has visited us and remembered us in this wilderness and

has transformed our beastly and wild nature into gentleness . . ." 21. Then they fall to the ground and worship Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne. The apostles glorify God and resolve that the animals will travel with them.

IX. *The Ninth Act*

Concerning the Vanquished Dragon

1. Philip, Bartholomew, Mariamne, the leopard, and the kid proceed on their way for five days. One morning after midnight prayers, they are confronted by a great, dark dragon, followed by multitudes of snakes and their offspring. 2. Philip exhorts his companions to recall the words of Christ to fear nothing, and to pray and purify the air with the cup to dispel the gloom and smoke. 3. They take their cup and offer a prayer: "You who are the one who dampens all fires, and dissipates darkness, and puts a bit in the mouth of the dragon, who makes his anger cease. . . . Come among us in this wilderness, for we run by your will and by your command." 4. Philip instructs Bartholomew and Mariamne to lift up their hands with the cup and sprinkle the air with the sign of the cross. 5. Immediately a flash like a lightening bolt blinds the dragon and the beasts with it. They are dried up and beams of light destroy all the eggs of the snakes in their dens. The apostles continue on their way praising the Lord.

X. *The Tenth Act*

[lost]

XI. [*The Eleventh Act of the Holy Apostle Philip . . .*]

[Xenophontos 32 (A)]
1. . . . [the beginning of Act XI is missing] The text is joined at what appears to be the end of a prayer by Philip, referring to the presence of Christ's sweetness with the travelers and all who are established in him. Bartholomew and Mariamne are about to receive the Eucharist after a fast of five days. 2. Suddenly there is an earthquake and voices emerge from a great pile of broken stones. They reveal that they are fifty demons sharing one nature that obtained this small place by lot, but now the slaves of Christ travel everywhere with Jesus, destroying their race. 3. The apostle asks that they show their ancient nature, and the dragon that is among them recounts its tale, which intersects with key moments in biblical history, starting in paradise where it was cursed. 4. Philip prays to Jesus for power. In response a voice cries out and adjures the demons to show their number and form. 5. The demons exit the pile of broken stones in the form of fifty serpents. Then after a tremendous earthquake, a great dragon appears in the midst of the serpents, black with soot and spewing out fire and a great torrent of poison. 6. The dragon says: "O Philip, son of thunder, who has authority such as yours so as to pass through this place and

oppose us? Why are you in such haste to destroy me, like the dragon in the wilderness?" The dragon, which once served Solomon in Jerusalem in the construction of the Temple, asks to serve Philip by building a church. 7. Philip inquires how serpents having a reptile nature can build, since this is a human craft. The dragon describes their gloomy nature through a series of demonic attributes. Then the dragon and the fifty serpents work unseen in the air constructing the building. 8. After six days the church is finished. A few days later about three thousand men and many women and infants gather and worship Christ. The dragon and serpents depart to a place where they will not be seen by Philip, lest he have them build in that place, adding: "It is enough for us; we have been conquered." 9. Philip prays a long prayer in the dialect of his soul: "We glorify you, you the inexpressible, the true, the honored and glorious offering. You are the bread, the glory of the Father, the grace of the Spirit, the garment of the word purified and justified forever . . ." 10. After this Philip again distributes the Eucharist to Bartholomew and to Mariamne, and they glorify God.

XII. *The Twelfth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

In which the Leopard and the Kid beg for the Eucharist

1. While Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne rejoice over the Eucharist, the leopard and the kid look on weeping. 2. The leopard addresses the "apostles of the divine greatness" about the animals' grief. He relates that he and the kid were unreasoning beasts living in ignorance until the day they saw the apostles. The leopard confesses that he used to eat flesh and blood, and the darkness of night was to him as noon. But when the apostles arrived, his savage nature was altered and changed to goodness. 3. The leopard states that he and the kid are weeping now because they have not been deemed worthy of the Eucharist, even though they have used human speech and prayed to God through the apostles in order to be able to follow them. He points out that when the Only-Begotten One appeared and killed that dragon, he did not exclude the animals from his mystery or the wonder of his face. 4. The leopard continues: "If then God deemed us worthy to participate in all of these marvels, why now do you not consider us worthy to receive the Eucharist?" Stressing that a wild beast and a goat's kid have forsaken their own natures and become as humans with God living in them, the leopard beseeches the apostles not to hesitate to grant freely what is still lacking, so that their beast-like bodies might be altered and that they might forsake the animal form. 5. The leopard believes that their change from violence to gentleness will lead to their becoming human in body and soul. Then they can be judged worthy of the bread, the mystery of glory. The apostles should be instructed by God, who watches over every nature, even wild animals, on account of the greatness of his compassion. 6. At the end of this long speech the leopard and the kid are weeping. The apostle replies that animals have spoken the word of God to them, and that it is clear that God has visited every thing through his

Christ, not only human beings but also animals of every sort. 7. Philip raises his hands and prays to Jesus and asks that just as he has changed the form of the soul of these animals that he now make them appear to themselves in human form. 8. Philip takes the cup and sprinkles the animals with water, and little by little the forms of their faces and bodies become human. They stand and stretch out their forefeet in the place of hands and glorify God for their birth into immortality in the receipt of a human body. They extol the "true judge" for making them associates of the evangelists, for stripping off their filthy animal nature and clothing them with the gentleness of the saints. For there is no life for either creature or human being unless God visits them for their salvation.

XIII. *The Thirteenth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

The Arrival at Hierapolis

1. The apostles and animals journey on with the leopard in the lead. They see the city that is their destination from a mountain top and encounter some men before it. On the shoulder of each of these men is a serpent used to identify strangers; those not bitten are shown to be allies, while those bitten are revealed as enemies. 2. As the apostles approach these seven men, they each let down their serpents. When the serpents bow their heads and bite their own tongues before the apostles, the men conclude that they also worship the Viper and allow them to proceed. 3. As the apostles enter the city gates, the dragons who guard it raise their heads and roar at one another. When Philip looks at them they see "the ray of the light of the monad" shining in his eyes and they die. 4. The apostles enter the city and find a vacant surgery near the gate. Philip tells Mariamne that the Master has prepared this spiritual surgery for their use. He asks Bartholomew where the narthex is that the Savior gave them in Galilee. Then he suggests that they establish themselves in the surgery so that they might practice healing until they receive instructions from the Savior. 5. Philip offers an extended prayer to the "living voice of the highest" by which the apostles have destroyed the rulers of the world of darkness and taken away the hardness of heart of people by healing the blind and casting out demons of forgetfulness. Christ is what eye has not seen, the face of the invisible, the glory of the untouched, . . . When Philip concludes his prayer, the apostles and animals add their "amen."

XIV. *The Fourteenth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

Concerning Stachys the blind

1. Stachys, a rich man who had been blind for forty years, lived nearby the surgery. He hears Philip's prayer through his window and requests his children to lead him to the surgery. 2. Stachys prostrates himself before

the apostles and beseeches them to heal him. He mentions a dream he had three days earlier. He first relates his story. Before he became blind he had persecuted strangers and Christians and surpassed all of those who worshipped the Viper. 3. Once he put some juice from serpent eggs on his eyes to see whether it was therapeutic and was struck with an inflammation that lasted ten years. His wife was alive then and used to go to the mountain to collect dew to assuage his affliction. But one day she was attacked by a large beast and died because there was no doctor. Since that time Stachys has been blind. 4. Stachys promises to believe in God if he is healed. He relates his dream in which a voice informs him to go to the physician at the city gate, and when he does he regains his sight. He sees a handsome young man with three faces: a beardless youth, a woman in glorious apparel, and an old man. The young man has a water-pitcher on his shoulder, and the young woman has a torch in her hand which fills Stachys' eyes with light. Everyone in the city is baptized by the young man and their bodies became bright. Stachys notes that he dreamed this three times in the same way. 5. Philip responds with another prayer: "Blessed be your name, O good Jesus. You who send us in every place as sheep. You are our true shepherd who edifies our nature and manages everything in justice . . ." 6. Philip tells Stachys that his vision is true and gives a discourse on the Satan inspired ignorance and vice that leads to all evil works. He concludes by telling Stachys to recognize the one calling him to give him the true light. 7. Philip draws Stachys near and extends his hand and dips his finger in Mariamne's mouth and smears . . . [the manuscript appears to have been censored at this point to eliminate the account of the healing of Stachys by Mariamne's saliva] . . . and he [Stachys] prepared a great reception for them. 8. News about these events spreads through the city and people call to one another to come and see the pious people, one of whom restored Stachys' sight, concluding that the power of God must be with them. A great crowd gathers at Stachys' house and witnesses healings and exorcisms. 9. Philip baptizes the men and Mariamne the women, and the crowds are amazed because the leopard and the kid were pronouncing the amen.

XV. *The Fifteenth Act of the Holy Apostle Philip*

Concerning Nicanora, the governor's wife

1. Turannognophos, the governor of the city, had a Syrian wife named Nicanora. She arrived at the city after a shipwreck, and since she was wealthy, Turannognophos married her. But the city serpents bit her as a stranger, and she suffered from their venom. When she hears that Stachys has regained his sight, she asks her servants to take her to his house where the apostles were. 2. Philip is telling Stachys that although he had blindly served Satan, the sun of righteousness has now risen in his house. Therefore he must not be attached to animal delicacies, the flesh of wild beasts, or much wine. Nor must he boast in silver or gold. Rather he is to be stead-

fast in faith, and welcome continence and asceticism, which is the wealth of God. 3. Philip continues his instruction, informing Stachys that the peace of God has taken root in his house and that the seal of the Spirit lives with him. Stachys is called to let his sons be useful, his daughters virgins, and his servants taught in the ways of continence. His house is to be called a house of prayer and he himself will be delivered from the trouble and uproar. 4. Philip places his staff in Satchys' courtyard and prays that it might bud as the staff of Aaron and be a sign and means of healing of those who are ill for all generations. The staff immediately buds and becomes a laurel plant, amazing all. 5. Three jars are filled with grain, wine, and olive oil to care for the poor. They are distributed to those confined to their homes and this practice continues until the death of Stachys. 6. When Nicanora hears the apostle's words and see the signs done at the house of Stachys, she forgets her ailment on account of the joy that seized her owing to the word of God. Her servants caution her about the severity of Turannognophos and warn about the consequences if he discovers that they have brought her secretly to Stachys' house. She returns home grieving. 7. That night she prays: "Lord Jesus Christ, hear my prayer and grant my request which I am asking from you, my God . . . Only make me a participant of your holy word, because this is the true physician, not only healing the body but also the soul." . . . [a lacuna interrupts; the manuscript picks up with the end of a discourse by Turannognophos] . . . Turannognophos warns Nicanora that if he finds out that she has gone to the apostles, he will take vengeance on them and shut her in a dark place. 8. Philip, Bartholomew, Mariamne, the leopard, and the kid are in the house of Stachys.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis of the various "Philip materials" found in Christian writings of the first four centuries has uncovered numerous instances in which these texts display a rhetorical interest in transmitting, elaborating, or responding to a range of vital traditions attached to the figure of Philip. The heuristic device of considering all of these textual traces to be components of the *curriculum vitae* of a single Philip, a strategy that pays heed to the texts themselves, has paid ample dividends. Far from imposing an alien construct on the evidence, this approach initially illuminates Philip's function as a guarantor both of traditions about Jesus and of ecclesial practices and beliefs throughout a range of second-century texts.

The fact that Philip is called upon as an arbiter and authority in various contentious circumstances indicates both the earnest nature of the appeals and the certitude that something was "known" about Philip that invited such recourse to his "authority." The phenomenon of Philip's ongoing significance in the second century bolsters a rereading of the canonical accounts that feature Philip with attention to their "intertextual composition," that is, their rhetoric, authorial interest, situational address, ideological position-taking, etc. It is especially the traditions underlying the accounts in Acts that contribute to the reconstruction of a profile of this figure.

Philip emerges as an early Christian leader who is identified with a recognizable constellation of characteristics (apostle to the Greeks/gentiles, advocate for the marginalized, apostolic guarantor, scribe of the words of Jesus, etc.). This multivalent image of Philip was attractive not only to its original tradents but also to others (Luke, John, etc.), because it was associated with a set of connotations that indicated what was "known" about Philip (Samaria, Ethiopians, Greeks, Elijah, prophetic daughters, visionary, scribe of Jesus, etc.), while being fluid enough to be called into service in new circumstances. Of course what was "known" about Philip fostered competition with other guarantors insofar as analogous data was "known" about similar figures, particularly Peter. To the degree that such named figures functioned to allow early Christian groups to reflect on their origins and authenticate their distinctive practices and theologies, the appeal to

Philip in the second century and beyond makes sense only as the continuation of the same Philip traditions incorporated into the New Testament. Moreover, as has become clear in this study, in such circles Philip was as important and well known as any of the other apostles. His association with significant early Christian locales (Jerusalem, Samaria, Caesarea) and reputation as a boundary-breaking missionary to non-Jewish groups in these areas were considered so important by Luke that his exploits are extolled even at the cost of introducing some infelicity into the narrative with respect to Philip's identity.

Consequently, the survival of stories, traditions, and representations about Philip and their appropriation by Luke and the author of the Fourth Gospel suggest that such Philip material was at least as socially anchored as that which celebrated Peter, and arguably more so than what we find associated with most of the other members of the twelve apostles. The roles that Philip subsequently plays in gnostic texts and the *Acts of Philip* show that tributaries of this tradition continued to flow into the fourth century where Philip persists in his capacity as a champion for marginal groups. The increasingly heretical stamp applied to those seeking legitimization through his apostolic status ultimately leads to the cessation of further elaborations. Nevertheless, scribes continued to copy the manuscripts dedicated to Philip, and even if his stories in some cases emerge only through an orthodox censorship, they attest to the engagement of Christian groups with this figure and his enduring legacy throughout the early Christian period.

Thus the traditions of Philip the apostle prove to be quite vital in the first Christian centuries, in some cases not dissimilar to the other traditions of the apostles, in other cases quite distinctive. In the end attention to the early traditions of Philip surprisingly reveals more than we ever knew before about the vibrancy of the early Christian self-reflection that was accomplished through the lens of this particular apostolic patron.

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