

The Apocalypse of Peter in Context

DANIEL C. MAIER
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(eds.)

PEETERS

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER IN CONTEXT

STUDIES ON EARLY CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AELAC</i>	<i>Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi</i>
<i>AYBD</i>	<i>Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>BDAG</i>	<i>Bauer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Journal of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research</i>
<i>CAe</i>	<i>Clavis aethiopica</i>
<i>CANT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>CAVT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i>
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>EMIP</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project</i>
<i>EMML</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library</i>
<i>EncDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>GCAL</i>	<i>Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HMML</i>	<i>Hill Museum & Manuscript Library</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEastCS</i>	<i>Journal of Eastern Christian Studies</i>
<i>JECH</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian History</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

<i>LDAB</i>	<i>Leuven Database of Ancient Books</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Liddell-Scott-Jones</i>
<i>MGS</i>	<i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i>
<i>NASSCAL</i>	<i>North American Society for the Study of Christian Apocryphal Literature</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RIÉ</i>	<i>Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i>
<i>RSCr</i>	<i>Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo</i>
<i>SLA</i>	<i>Studies in Late Antiquity</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>ThWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ThWQ</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Qumran-Aramäisch</i>
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
<i>V(ig)C(hris)</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Notes on Contributors

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Preface

In recent years the *Apocalypse of Peter* has finally received some of the attention it deserves. Its relationship to 2 Peter and the question which of the two Petrine writings came first have been the subject of illuminating debates. The various proposals concerning its provenance have shed light on the eschatological beliefs of different origins circulating in the nascent Christian communities of the time. In general, the dictum of M.R. James that the Apocalypse was “not a great book”¹ because of its allegedly blunt claims about hell and paradise has been overcome, and its intriguing theology and eschatology, which negotiates the divine treatment of the righteous and the sinners at the end of the world, is increasingly appreciated. However, much remains to be done. Some of the still puzzling, enigmatic motifs found in the different recensions of the text and in the history of the text of the Apocalypse itself can only be fully understood in their proper context, which is as fascinating as it is complex.

The necessity of a broader context is probably self-evident for the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, with which the Revelation to the Prince of the Apostles is still strongly connected, and for the early Christian writings, of which our Apocalypse is one of the first extra-canonical representatives we have. Beyond these natural counterparts, the present volume demonstrates that the reception of the Apocalypse in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages is crucial for understanding the early steep rise in popularity of the text and its subsequent fall into oblivion. Moreover, new approaches to its purported author, its transmission context, and its materiality offer a valuable window into the beliefs, fears, and hopes of the early Christian communities that composed, used, and transmitted the Apocalypse for various reasons. Taken as a whole, the present collection of articles and the translation of the entire Ethiopic text, including its

¹ M.R. James, ‘The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *CQR* 80 (1915) 1–36 at 2.

Pseudo-Clementine framework (see chapter 15), thus provides, as the title suggests, a broad contextualization of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

The volume is the product of a conference that brought together a group of scholars from different disciplines and traditions, united in their interest in this fascinating early Christian text. It is the result of the fruitful discussions and exchanges that took place in Zurich, Switzerland, September 10 to 12, 2021. We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the University of Zurich for hosting this conference, to its Graduate Campus for making the physical exchange possible through a generous grant, to all the participants for their insightful contributions, to the editors of the series *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* for their valuable feedback and to the readers of this volume for their interest in the fascinating world of early Christian literature.

Our hope is that this volume will serve as a valuable resource for scholars, students, and anyone interested in the Genesis of heaven and hell in early Christianity, apocryphal literature, or the broader historical context in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* was created, received, and transmitted. We likewise want to express the wish that the discussions, analyses, and translations presented here will stimulate further research and dialogue about this central and captivating witness to a distinct branch of apocalyptic thought.

Daniel Maier
Jörg Frey
Thomas Kraus

Zurich, June 2023

I. Petrine Traditions and Petrine Authorship Constructions in Early Christianity

JÖRG FREY

Peter's authority in the early Jesus movement and in later Christianity is largely uncontested. There is no other figure whose fundamental role and authority is as undisputed as that of Peter, the rock. Yet it is unclear what 'Peter' represents. Since the 'historical' Peter probably left nothing in writing, very different writings emerged under his name or authority that represented diverse theological interests. Peter's authority could have been used for a variety of purposes, and the traditions about Peter might have been utilized in various ways to authorize 'Petrine' writings.

After introducing the 'historical' Peter and his significance (1.), this discussion will raise the question of what he precisely stands for in the texts attributed to him. In an exploration of various pseudo-Petrine writings (2.), it will be demonstrated how 'negotiable' the figure of Peter was, at least in the second and third centuries. There are various forms of authority and author construction in these texts, and the aspects of the Petrine tradition adopted in those writings differ from one another. Then, some final reflections (3.) will draw conclusions in regard to the text in focus in this volume, the *Apocalypse of Peter* and its literary context.¹

¹ Cf. for some earlier reflections on Petrine Traditions, see J. Frey, 'Von der petrinischen Schule zum petrinischen Diskurs. Der zweite Petrusbrief und seine literarischen Bezüge', in J. Frey and M. Wallraff (eds), *Petrusliteratur und Petrusarchäologie* (Tübingen, 2020) 87–124; cf. also id., 'Autorfiktion und Gegnerbild im Judasbrief und im zweiten Petrusbrief', in J. Frey et al. (eds), *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (Tübingen, 2009) 683–732, and the discussion of Petrine literature in my

1. *Peter's Uncontested Authority*

Peter is undoubtedly a key figure in early Christian tradition. The fisherman from the Sea of Galilee is the apostle whom we probably know the most about. In his person, Peter unites several roles: that of the disciple, Easter witness, and community leader, but also that of the failure who denies his Lord in the hour of trial and then breaks down repentantly before being commissioned again. He is a rock and a failure, a testimony and a martyr.² Therefore, Peter's 'career' has become an example of the experience of guilt and forgiveness.

For the church as a whole, not only the church of Rome, Peter remains fundamental. As an ecumenical figure, he unites and yet remains controversial: Peter is the one with whom Paul argues and finally opposes 'to his face' (Galatians 2:11). Equally, a letter written in Peter's name suggests that the letters of 'our dear brother Paul' are hard to understand and can be easily misunderstood (2 Peter 3:15). So, the two central figures, Peter and Paul, are associated with disputes and opposing views. The Reformation tradition has always preferred Paul, while Peter and the 'Petrine office' are claimed by the Roman Church.³ Yet, in this unequal competition, Peter has an

commentary on Second Peter: J. Frey, *Der Judasbrief. Der zweite Petrusbrief* (Leipzig, 2015) 169–75; English translation: id., *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter. A Theological Commentary*. Translated by Kathleen Ess (Waco, TX, 2018) 201–08.

² Cf. the titles of the monographs by O. Cullmann, *Petrus. Jünger – Apostel – Märtyrer. Das historische und das theologische Petrusproblem* (Zürich, 1970³), and C. Böttrich, *Petrus. Fischer, Fels und Funktionär* (Leipzig, 2001). See further Ch. Grappe, *Images de Pierre aux deux premiers siècles* (Paris, 1996); P. Dschulnigg, *Petrus im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1996); J. Gnilka, *Petrus und Rom. Das Petrusbild in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten* (Freiburg, 2002); M. Hengel, *Der unterschätzte Petrus. Zwei Studien* (Tübingen, 2006); J. Becker, *Simon Petrus im Urchristentum* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009); M. Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter. In Ancient Perception and Modern Debate* (Tübingen, 2010); id., *Simon Peter in Scripture and Memory. The New Testament Apostle in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2012); L. Hurtado and H. Bond (eds), *Peter in History and Tradition* (Minneapolis, 2015) 130–45.

³ This is lucidly shown in the history of research on the Antiochene incident by A. Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild und Apostelstreit. Eine forschungsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie über den antiochenischen Zwischenfall (Gal 2,11–14)* (Berlin, 1992).

undisputed advantage. He was a disciple of the earthly Jesus and a witness of his ministry and passion, while Paul was not. And his experience of the Risen Lord was also of a different kind than Paul's.

1.1. *Historical Roots and the Early Tradition*

Historically, many details remain unclear.⁴ We do not know when Peter was born. Even his death, probably due to persecution under Nero, can only be inferred from later sources.⁵ We do not know what Peter looked like. The familiar image from Christian art of the mature, fully bearded man with a bald forehead is a later iconographic typification. The most difficult – or paradoxically the most influential – aspect is that we have no written testimonies from Peter. The two epistles in the New Testament are probably written after his death by authors who speak in his name on later issues, claiming his authority to do so. Also in Acts, his authority is used for the 'Petrine' discourses actually constructed by Luke.

What do we know?⁶ His Hebrew name, *Shim'on* (שִׁמְעוֹן) is one of the most popular Jewish names of his time, due to *Shim'on* the Maccabee, the commander who brought about Judaeen independence from the Seleucid rule (1 Macc 13:49–53).⁷ But we also know that

⁴ In spite of the hermeneutical tendency to talk preferably about the Peter of later memory (cf. Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter*), we cannot do so without asking about the historical plausibilities according to the earliest traditions. This is – in all due caution – the aim of the present sub-chapter which draws in parts on an earlier article originally written in preparation of the passion play in Oberammergau: J. Frey, 'Der Fels in der Krise. Simon Petrus in der Passionsgeschichte', in M. Kratz and L. Mödl (eds), *Freunde und Feinde – Vertraute und Verräter. Sieben biografische Zugänge zu biblischen Personen im Passionsgeschehen* (Munich, 2009), 71–96. For the present purpose, I will follow in my reconstruction a narrative style and add only the most necessary references.

⁵ Thus 1 Clem 5:1–7; Apoc. Petr. 14:4 (according to P. Vindobonensis Gr. 39756, and Ascen. Isa. 4:2–3; cf. Böttrich, *Petrus*, 220–27, for further discussion see P. Gemeinhardt, 'Liegt Petrus in Rom, und wenn ja, seit wann? Zur Herausbildung der römischen Petrus-tradition im 2. Jahrhundert', in J. Frey and M. Wallraff, *Petrusliteratur und Petrusarchäologie. Römische Begegnungen* (Tübingen, 2020) 219–54, here 229–47.

⁶ On the historical issues, see in particular Hengel, *Petrus*, 1–166; Becker, *Simon Petrus*, and Böttrich, *Petrus*.

⁷ See T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen, 2002) 218–26 who mentions 257 men with that name which was 'the most popular

Shim'on's brother bore a Greek name that was not based on a Hebrew equivalent, Ἀνδρέας (Mark 1:16). This was by no means unusual for Jews of the Roman period, but it shows a certain openness of the family to be associated with Greek-speaking people. The Aramaic nickname כִּיפָא (kēfā' = rock) in Greek transcription Κηφᾶς, later rendered by Πέτρος (John 1:42),⁸ was given to him by Jesus, but it remains unclear when this occurred and for what reason.

Simon and Andrew were said to come from the village of Bethsaida (that is 'fishing-house')⁹, located on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee (John 1:42), in the Gaulanitis, the territory of the Tetrarch Philip, but close to the border of the Galilee of Herod Antipas.¹⁰ Their home was in a rural area, far from Jerusalem and even further from Rome. But it did have a privileged location, on the road between Damascus and Egypt, so one can assume they enjoyed a certain prosperity supported by trade. Shortly after the time of Jesus' ministry, in 30/31 CE, Bethsaida was raised to the status of a residence by Philip and renamed Julias in honor of Augustus's wife. It is also likely that an emperor cult was installed in that new 'city' quite quickly.¹¹

name for Palestinian males in this period' (226). The Greek transcription Σίμων is even a genuine Greek name that is already mentioned in Aristophanes. In the bilingual area, such similar-sounding names could easily be used as double names. Cf. Hengel, *Petrus*, 30–31.

⁸ On the philological details, see O. Cullmann, Πέτρος, Κηφᾶς, *ThWNT* VI, 99–112, here 99–100.

⁹ Cf. F. Schipper, Art. Bethsaida/Julias, *Wiblex* online, see www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/15140/. See also M. Bockmuehl, 'Simon Peter and Bethsaida', in B.D. Chilton and C.A. Evans (eds), *The Missions of James, Peter and Paul. Tensions in Early Christianity* (Leiden, 2005) 54–91.

¹⁰ On location, see Josephus, *Ant.* 18.2.1; *J.W.* 2.9.1; 2.10.7; *Life* 72. Regarding the widely accepted identification with et-Tell, see Schipper, Bethsaida/Julias; more extensively H.-W. Kuhn, 'Bethsaida und et-Tell in frühromischer Zeit. Historische, archäologische und philologische Probleme einer als Wirkungsstätte Jesu angenommenen Ortslage', *ZNW* 101 (2010), 1–32.174–203; id., 'Wo wirkte Jesus in der Gaulanitis? Archäologische und historische Feststellungen zur Gleichsetzung von Bethsaida / Julias mit et-Tell in frühromischer Zeit', in C. Claußen and J. Frey (eds), *Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2008) 149–83.

¹¹ On the emperor cult in the Herodian residences, see M. Bernett, *Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern. Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas von 30 v. bis 66 n. Chr.* (Tübingen, 2007).

But in the time of Jesus' ministry, we find Simon no longer in Bethsaida, but in Capernaum, in the territory of Herod Antipas. He must have moved across the border where he, or his wife and her family, had a house where, according to Mark, his mother-in-law also lived (Mark 1:29–30). The move was possibly related to his marriage. The extended family, consisting of his wife, probably his children, his mother-in-law, and possibly even more relatives, all lived together in quite a cramped space. We can leave it open whether this was actually the house in the 'insula' under the octagonal structure now bridged by the modern Franciscan pilgrimage church, but the cramped living area is aptly visualized there, and the living conditions were roughly the same in the entire village.

The move was possible because of his marriage, or perhaps because of Peter's and Andrew's profession as fishermen. These fishermen had a reasonably secure economic basis: they were not day labourers or mere casual workers, as we also know them from Jesus' parables, but self-employed workers, with small family businesses, who might have even occasionally hired others.¹² Peter practiced the profession together with his brother, possibly in a small fishing cooperative. They fished with cast nets and trawls, probably owned a boat, and had a regular, albeit busy, life.¹³

We should not underestimate those who made a living fishing in the sea of Galilee. They were not highly educated (cf. Acts 4:13), yet they had to be capable of dealing with the passing travellers, and therefore knew at least some Greek in addition to their everyday Aramaic language (and probably also the Hebrew of the Bible and Jewish prayers). Simon and Andrew might have received their education from their father and then moved to the synagogue, where Jewish education was imparted. Like Jesus, these people were not well-versed in Scripture, but were influenced by the vivid Jewish-religious piety in rural Galilee.

This geographical area, which had often been regarded disrespectfully by Jerusalem, had been judaized since the late second century BCE during the expansion of the Hasmonean rule. But, around the turn of the era, the identity and imprint of the population was mostly Jewish. We know of several synagogues, and those who could afford it occasionally

¹² This is presupposed in Mark 1:20 for Zebedee, the father of John and James.

¹³ The fishing boat found in the mud in 1986, which is now well-restored and presented in the Yigal Alon Museum in Ginosar, illustrates the size and the technique used.

made pilgrimages to Jerusalem for the pilgrim festivals. From the inauguration of the Zealot movement through the Galilean Judas around 6/7 CE, there was a strong hope that God would soon expel the occupiers, restore the honor of the people of Israel, and bring justice to the poor. We do not know how much Peter shared these expectations and whether he, too, was looking for a ‘Messiah’. There is no evidence that he was a Zealot, but it is possible that he and his brother belonged to the group of those who sympathized with John the Baptist¹⁴.

From our earliest testimony (Mark 1:16–20), which may already summarize the events in retrospect, we learn of a life-changing encounter. At the lake, during their work, Peter and Andrew met a wandering charismatic who had been immersed in the Jordan River by John the Baptist and was now preaching in Galilee. He did not practice a profession, although he likely had one in the past. He had worked as a carpenter, but now went through villages speaking in parables and catchy words about the kingdom of God. He focused on the sick and oppressed and liberated some of them by a mere word, and therein saw a sign that God wanted to draw near to Israel – not as the destroying judge as John had proclaimed, but with mercy and devotion. The news of this healer and preacher spread throughout the villages, and now he was there, according to Mark, addressing Peter, Andrew, and two others: ‘Up! Follow me! I will make you fishers of men!’ (Mark 1:17).

We do not know what moved the two brothers to leave everything – their boat, their profession, and their families – and join this wandering preacher called *Yeshua*. Was it mere curiosity, their personal fascination with this stranger, or the hope that the divine liberation would now come true? In any case, it is said that the men ‘left everything’ and joined Jesus (Mark 1:18; cf. 10:28). And the twelve men whom Jesus gathered around himself (Mark 3:16) could be seen as a symbol of the renewal of the people of God, the twelve tribes of Israel.

We can infer that Peter’s relatives were not amused that he would leave his job, wife, and family, and run after this itinerant preacher. We know that Jesus’ mother and brothers thought he was mad and wanted to call him back home (Mark 3:21). The group of disciples surrounding Jesus, occasionally joined by others, including a few

¹⁴ This is suggested in the Johannine scene in John 1:35–41, which passes on some historically accurate information stating that some of the first disciples of Jesus came from the circle of John the Baptist.

women, moved through the villages without shelter, living off small donations and the hospitality of sympathizers. But during this time, they witnessed things that confirmed and increased their expectations of Jesus. They supported him and participated in his mission, yet they, too, proclaimed the message of God's liberating presence, possibly delivering people from evil spirits and diseases (Mark 3:15).

In this circle, Peter seemed to take a leading role. He had the personality traits of a leader and was one who stood his ground and did not recoil in risky situations. Why did Jesus give him the nickname *kēfâ*, 'rock'? Was it because of his personal qualities, or was it, rather, a prophetic calling? While *kēfâ* means 'rock' or 'stone', the later rendering *πέτρος* only means stone.¹⁵ Thus, the Aramaic nickname did not yet imply the idea of a foundation of a building, as is expressed later the famous saying in Matthew 16:18.

Together with another pair of brothers, James and John, who were also honoured with an Aramaic nickname (*Βοανηργές* = "sons of thunder"; cf. Mark 3:17), Peter belonged to the inner circle around Jesus. It is only reported of Peter that Jesus entered his house. Indeed, it seems that for a time, Jesus used Capernaum, where Peter lived, as his 'headquarters' or home (Mark 2:1; Matt 4:13). And, the narrative that Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law from a fever is so strongly linked with the biography of Peter that it can hardly be a later addition.¹⁶ When it comes to the question of what people think of Jesus, it is Peter who says: 'You are the Messiah' (Mark 8:29).

But there are also ambivalent and negative aspects of Peter. When he wants to hold his master back and save him from getting into danger, Jesus 'threatens' him (Mark 8:32). Peter is strictly rejected, even called 'Satan', or tempter (Mark 8:33). And, when Jesus is arrested before the Passover feast and the rulers put him on trial, Peter denies knowing Jesus (Mark 14:68, 70). Like the others, perhaps excluding a few women, he seeks to distance himself and flees the city to save his own life (Mark 14:50). It is very remarkable that the early church preserved the memory of these events, which were by no means flattering for Peter, nor supportive of his position of leadership in later times.

¹⁵ See Hengel, *Petrus*, 33–35; further J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Aramaic *Kephâ*' and Peter's Name in the New Testament,' in id., *To Advance the Gospel. New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981) 112–24, here 114–20.

¹⁶ Cf. Hengel, *Petrus*, 169–71.

The next significant turn in Peter's life is narrated indirectly. The crucified and buried Jesus had appeared to him (Luke 24:24; cf. 1 Cor 15:5). But this experience was not easy for him to understand, nor for others who had similar experiences that were ultimately interpreted in terms of the resurrection from the dead. This apparition was also connected with the experience of acceptance, forgiveness, and a renewal of commissioning.

It was probably Peter who called the group of disciples back together and then became the spokesman of the group that had returned to Jerusalem. Later on, he likely detached himself more and more from Jerusalem and went to other places, even supporting the proclamations of Jesus the Messiah among non-Jews. Such an openness for the inclusion of Gentiles is a very important matter, and it is of course shown by the story of Cornelius in Acts 10, which presents more details in the dense narrative of this event.

From a remark by Paul, we learn that Peter's wife accompanied him on later journeys (1 Cor 9:5). Thus, we hear about him in Antioch (Gal 2:11) and potentially Corinth. In the end, it is said that he reached Rome, where he might have been killed during the Neronian persecution.

From this brief account in Galatians 2, we learn that Peter's authority caused the church in Antioch to conform their behaviour to his ways and turn away from Paul. And even in Corinth, there were followers of Jesus who claimed to be closely linked to him (1 Cor 1:12), so much so that Paul felt the need to repeatedly mention him in that epistle (1 Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5). He does so quite respectfully, despite the painful disappointment from the Antiochian incident.¹⁷ Paul could not deny and had to simply acknowledge the priority of Peter's discipleship (1 Cor 15:5; cf. 9:5). He could not prevent competing missionaries from holding Peter's example against him or even asking him to follow the instruction of Peter or those from Jerusalem. And while Paul had to fiercely defend his own apostolic status and the independence of his gospel message (cf. Gal 1:1, 11–12, 16–18), he could only say that Peter and the others had given him their right hand (Gal 2:1–10) and confirm that according to the fundamental confession, all apostles were

¹⁷ Cf. on the incident and Paul's relationship with Peter J. Frey, 'Paulus und die Apostel', in id. (ed. with B. Schliesser), *Von Jesus zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Kleine Schriften 2* (Tübingen, 2016) 361–98 (here: 391–7).

of one mind (1 Cor 15:10–11).¹⁸ Peter's authority could not be questioned under any circumstances.

Through another foundational leadership role in the post-Easter community, Peter forms a very crucial bridge between the events in Jesus' ministry and the later church tradition. In view of his later authority, it is remarkable that unfavourable aspects, such as his denial, were not concealed or removed, but instead remembered within the tradition. Despite his temporary failure, Peter is the undisputed authority of the beginning of the church. Although other foundational figures such as Paul, James, and Thomas gained a prominent function for specific people or groups within the Christian tradition, Peter's authority was always undisputed.

1.2. *What Does the Historical Peter Stand For?*

But what does Peter stand for? What are the traditions and customs for which he provides assurance? Can we answer that question from what we know historically? We can point to a number of attributes that define Peter's purpose:

a) First, Peter is the main testimony and one who can attest to the traditions surrounding Jesus: his acts and deeds in Galilee, his passion in Jerusalem, and his resurrection or Easter appearances. In a very early confession (1 Cor 15:3–5), he is linked with the traditions about the first appearance of the Risen One. Even for Paul, Jesus' appearance to Peter is the pinnacle of the salvific acts mentioned earlier.

Moreover, Peter is the disciple mentioned first and last in Mark, so there is good reason to link the Synoptic tradition with his authority.¹⁹

b) Peter is also fundamentally linked with the early post-Easter events in Jerusalem, including Pentecost. According to Acts, he was the

¹⁸ Ironically, this argument of unanimity could then be taken up again in 2 Peter from a 'Petrine' perspective against the 'opponents' who had read the epistles of Paul (2 Pet 3:15–16).

¹⁹ Martin Hengel has, in my view, convincingly argued for the Petrine authority in the background of Mark, where Peter is the first and last disciple mentioned (Mark 1:16; 16:7). The most important argument is that a self-conscious Jewish-Christian author such as the author of Matthew would not have adopted almost the entire text of Mark if this had not been supported by a strong and uncontested authority. See Hengel, *Petrus*, 58–78; id., *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (London, 2000) 78–90.

head of the earliest community of Jesus-followers until he left the city. James, the brother of Jesus, followed him in the leading position. It is likely that in addition to being a part of the Aramaic speaking ‘Primitive Community’, Peter also had connections to those who spoke Greek and to the diaspora (such as, e.g., Barnabas, or also John Mark), the so-called ‘Hellenists’, who soon formed a separate community or ‘sub-group’.

Thus, Peter’s authority might also be in the background of early confessional traditions, even though they were already phrased in Greek. It is not conceivable to separate the Aramaic speaking followers from the so-called ‘Hellenists’. Both sub-groups not only existed in the early period, but there were also personal connections.²⁰

c) Until the end of his life, Peter was defined by a clearly Jewish identity. He never ‘converted’ to a new faith or even to a new ‘religion’, but lived within a Jewish framework that included a certain degree of law observance even in the diaspora. This is assumed in Paul’s account of the Antiochene incident (Gal 2:11–21), despite Paul’s tendency to present Peter in complete agreement with himself (Gal 2:14).

d) Yet, Peter was probably not a ‘hardliner’. To a certain degree, he was able and willing to bridge the gaps between Palestine and the diaspora and between Jewish and Gentile followers of Jesus. If Paul reports correctly, he had practiced table fellowship with the Gentile followers of Jesus in Antioch, meaning that he was willing to compromise, at least to a certain degree, on Jewish dietary and purity halacha (Gal 2:11–12).

e) One aspect that could be attributed to Peter was his concern for the coexistence of Jewish and non-Jewish followers of Jesus, and there is reason to believe that the ‘Petrine’ group in Corinth was also concerned about these issues, e.g., regarding Pagan food etc. (cf. 1 Corinthians 8–10).

f) Thus, Peter could, in a particular manner and perhaps subconsciously, stand for the ‘unity’ of different groups of community members from Palestine and the diaspora, and even among Jews and Gentiles.

g) Yet, unlike Paul,²¹ Peter was not a learned scribe or theologian. While Paul accurately reflects the tradition of Scripture and the

²⁰ Cf. M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer, *Die Urgemeinde und das Judentum* (Tübingen, 2019) 143–44.

²¹ On Paul’s education and background see M. Hengel and R. Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London, 1991) 40–53; J. Frey, ‘Die religiöse Prägung. Weisheit, Apokalyptik, Schriftauslegung’, in F.-W. Horn (ed.), *Paulus Handbuch* (Tübingen, 2013) 59–66.

consequences of certain behaviour, Peter was different and lead through his personal character and experience and was not a man of writing.

As far as one can tell, he did not leave any written testimonies. Instead, the testimonies written in his name were written by later authors who claim his authority through references – more or less – to his life or qualities linked to him.

2. *The Image and Message of ‘Peter’ in the Writings Attributed to Him*

The diversity of the content and messages of numerous writings linked with Peter is striking. They draw on quite different aspects of Peter’s image or the Petrine tradition.²² This was possible because Peter himself had not ‘defined’ his interests or his ‘theology’. Therefore, his career as an author, in pseudonymity, moved with enormous speed in the second century.

This authorial career of Peter is not based on a coherent school or tradition. Instead, all the various attempts of (re)constructing a ‘Petrine School’ in Rome or elsewhere have failed.²³ The writings linked with this alleged ‘school’, mostly 1 and 2 Peter and, in some cases, the Epistle of Jude, cannot be linked with Rome, but are likely composed at various locations, explore different topics, and use different images and aspects of Peter and the tradition surrounding him. Therefore, I have decided to describe the phenomena by using the paradigm of a ‘Petrine discourse’,²⁴ adapting Hindy Najman’s pioneering description of the multi-faceted debate regarding law in Second Temple Judaism as ‘Mosaic discourse’.²⁵ In such a discourse, the legacy of the central character is negotiated, and the authority of that character is used to discuss aspects linked with it, or to legitimize

²² On those competing image-components in different texts, see Grappe, *Images de Pierre*.

²³ See the argument in Frey, ‘Von der petrinischen Schule zum petrinischen Diskurs’, 94–102.

²⁴ Frey, *ibid.*, 115–21.

²⁵ Cf. H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai. The Development of the Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden, 2003). In analogous manner, we could also speak of a Pauline discourse, e.g., in the Pastorals, the *Acts of Paul*, the *Martyrdom of Paul*, and other writings, and other “discourses” linked to important figures.

particular theological positions. But in different writings, the selection of features linked with the character varies, and the conclusions are often different or even contradictory.

In the following section, I will present a few observations on selected writings from the first, second, and early third centuries which are attributed or related to Peter. I will place particular importance on their author construction and the images of Peter or the aspects of the Petrine tradition adapted or utilized, and the theological message conveyed by the figure of Peter in those writings.²⁶ A summary is compiled in the table at the end of this article.

2.1. *A First Encyclical Letter: 1 Peter*

The earliest testimony ascribed to Peter is the canonical letter 1 Peter. Yet, it is very likely that this letter presumes his death in Rome and is, therefore, written by a later author in Peter's name.²⁷ The relatively elaborate Greek language, the consistent use of the Septuagint for Scriptural references, the lack of references to Peter's personal biography and close proximity to Jesus' ministry, and the self-designation *συμπρεσβύτερος* (1 Pet 5:1) also support the view that even this first letter of 'Peter' was not written by the apostle himself, but composed pseudonymously in his name from common 'Christian' tradition.²⁸

Formally, 1 Peter is a paraenetic and consolatory letter addressed to predominantly Gentile (1 Pet 1:14) Jesus-followers in Asia Minor,

²⁶ On the images of Peter in (pseudo-)Petrine literature, see also the surveys in K. Berger, 'Unfehlbare Offenbarung. Petrus in der gnostischen und apokalyptischen Offenbarungsliteratur', in P.G. Müller and W. Stenger (eds), *Kontinuität und Einheit* (Freiburg, 1981) 261–326; T.V. Smith, *Petrine Controversies in Early Christianity. Attitudes towards Peter in Christian Writings of the First Two Centuries* (Tübingen, 1985) 39–61, 120–42; K.M. Schmidt, *Mahnung und Erinnerung im Maskenspiel. Epistolographie, Rhetorik und Narrativik der pseudepigraphen Petrusbriefe* (Freiburg, 2003) 410–19; T. Nicklas and W. Grünstäudl, 'Petrus II (in der Literatur)', *RAC* 27 (2015) 399–427.

²⁷ See L. Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering. Author-Construction and Peter-Image in First Peter', in J. Frey *et al.* (eds), *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (Tübingen, 2009) 645–81, and also K.M. Schmidt, 'Die Stimme des Apostels erheben. Pragmatische Leistungen der Autorfiktion in den Petrusbriefen', *ibid.*, 625–44.

²⁸ See the argument in U. Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Göttingen, 2013⁸) 478–79.

who are characterized as living in the dispersion (1 Pet 1:1). Meaning, through their new religious beliefs, they have become outsiders in their non-Christian environment,²⁹ and thus share the Jewish diaspora experience. Peter is presented as the ‘witness of Jesus’ sufferings and participant in the glory to be revealed’ (1 Pet 5:1). The author claims to write from ‘Babylon’ (1 Pet 5:13), which is a cipher for Rome, developed in Judaism after 70 CE. This seems to presuppose some knowledge about Peter’s ministry and, in particular, his martyrdom in Rome. Based on this knowledge, the letter aims at consoling and consolidating the communities of addressees in various circumstances of hostility and suffering (cf. 1 Pet 1:6; 2:20; 4:12–14). The actual place of composition is unclear, but if the epistle is pseudonymous, the place mentioned is also to be considered as part of the author construction and not as the actual place of composition. As the letter is addressed to communities in various regions of Asia Minor, the real author was likely from that area, still dated in the (late) first century.

Designed as a ‘diaspora letter’,³⁰ 1 Peter draws on epistolary patterns established in Second Temple Judaism. It is written in correct and rather well-formed Greek, which points to the considerable language skills of its author. It adopts a large number of Scriptural quotations and a variety of traditions, some paralleled in Paul, others independent or linked to the gospel tradition. This suggests a background within a common early Christian tradition. It is neither Pauline nor anti-Pauline,³¹ but it would be odd to claim this as a particularly ‘Petrine’ profile, as there was no defined ‘Petrine’ tradition for the author to adopt.³² Yet, the number of aspects relating to Peter is limited. Peter is not introduced with his birth name Σίμων, which is used in the gospels, but with his Greek ‘surname’ Πέτρος,

²⁹ Cf. 1 Petr 1:1; 2:11; 4:4 etc. See R. Feldmeier, *Die Christen als Fremde. Die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt, im Urchristentum und im I. Petrusbrief* (Tübingen, 1992).

³⁰ Cf. L. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginning of Christian Epistolography* (Tübingen, 2012) 430–52. On “diaspora letters,” see further T. Klein, *Der Jakobusbrief und der Erste Petrusbrief als christliche Diasporabriefe* (Tübingen, 2011).

³¹ Cf. N. Brox, *Der erste Petrusbrief* (Zurich, 1979) 47–51; J. Herzer, *Petrus oder Paulus? Studien über das Verhältnis des Ersten Petrusbriefes zur paulinischen Tradition* (Tübingen, 1998).

³² In contrast to 1 Peter, the Deutero-Paulines are more bound to adapt to elements of the authentic Pauline writings.

which marks his foundational function in the church. ‘Peter’ is already ‘one of the disciple’s proper names’.³³ He is introduced as an ‘apostle’ of Jesus Christ (1 Pet 1:1),³⁴ without any further explanation. No further details on Peter’s role among the disciples are needed; a simple name says everything and ‘allows for the full range of associations connected to the figure’.³⁵ His apostolate ‘does not need any further corroboration’.³⁶

After this description, the fictive author is only mentioned again in 5:1 where the addressor is called συμπρεσβύτερος, ‘co-elder’, when exhorting the ‘elders’. In the Synoptic or Pauline tradition, Peter is never called an ‘elder’. Therefore, the use of the title συμπρεσβύτερος is an expression of solidarity with the elders addressed, reflecting the structure of communities of the time. There is ‘no explicit reference to apostolic authority’³⁷ here. When, in 5:2, the author exhorts the elders to ‘shepherd’ the flock, this could be an allusion to Peter as a ‘shepherd’, as it appears in the post-Easter story in John 21:15–17, but this theme is also found in Paul’s speech to the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20:28–29), and it is mentioned in 1 Peter 2:25 where Christ is called ‘shepherd and overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) of the souls.’ The clearest reference to the historical Peter is him as the ‘witness of the sufferings of Christ’ in 5:1, but this is also linked to the topic of suffering discussed in the letter, expressing solidarity with the addressees rather than authority. Thus, the message of the letter does not depend on Peter’s authority.

The authorship construction draws upon Peter’s uncontested apostolic authority, but the references to his person relate to a narrow segment of the events in his life or the earlier Petrine tradition. Peter is presented as witness of Jesus’ sufferings, but there are no references to his denial and failure or the Easter account. The image is slightly expanded at the end (5:12–13), when Peter is depicted as writing from Rome (Babylon). Silvanus, possibly Paul’s co-labourer (Acts 15:22–23), who acted as a secretary or letter-carrier,³⁸ is also mentioned, along with Mark who is

³³ Doering, ‘Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering’, 652.

³⁴ This is similar but uses different details than the Pauline tradition. There, the word order “Christ Jesus” is preferred. See Doering, ‘Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering’, 648.

³⁵ Doering, ‘Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering’, 652.

³⁶ Doering, ‘Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering’, 650.

³⁷ Doering, ‘Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering’, 654.

³⁸ Cf. Doering, ‘Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering’, 662–63.

called his 'son', meaning his disciple. Both Silvanus and (Johannes) Markus are linked with the early community in Jerusalem. The authorship construction includes not only the author and his two companions, but also their location (which might be fictitious as well), and the wide range of addressees. Peter acts as an apostle for the basic soteriological tradition, he exhorts the community and its 'elders' experiencing distress and persecution, but there is little mention of the unique circumstances in his life. Thus, this author construction is rather 'weak.' Even so, 1 Peter contributes to the growing image of Peter. It adds more detail to the familiar image from the gospel tradition, establishing Peter as a letter writer (similar to Paul), as a 'shepherd', and as the head of a small group near to him in Rome, and from where the 'diaspora' is encouraged.

2.2. *A Polemical and Testamentary Letter: 2 Peter*

Turning to 2 Peter,³⁹ in the canonical, though probably not chronological, sequence, we find a completely different authorial image, with very bold claims asserting Peter as the author. But if the author of 2 Peter tries to present himself as the author of 1 Peter, the following question arises: why did he not feel obliged to adapt his style and letter design to 'his' first letter?⁴⁰

The authorial claims are much bolder in 2 Peter than in 1 Peter. Peter is officially introduced with his Hebrew name written in Greek transcription, Συμεών, and with his added Greek name, Πέτρος (2 Pet 1:1). He is presented as an 'apostle' and a 'slave' of Christ, and his authority is claimed throughout the letter. This Peter insists that he has personally seen Jesus' transfiguration (1:16–17) and heard the divine voice from heaven (1:18), so that he can attest to Jesus' divine glory. He also declares that he received a special revelation from Jesus about his imminent death (1:14) and, therefore, intends to secure a true faith for all Christians after his death. This 'Peter' also claims to know Paul and 'all his letters' (3:15–16) and their true interpretation. Thus, although the unity of both apostles is emphasized,

³⁹ See Frey, *Der Judasbrief. Der zweite Petrusbrief*; id. *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*; further id., 'Autorfiktion und Gegnerbild;' and Schmidt, 'Die Stimme des Apostels erheben'.

⁴⁰ See the discussion in Frey, 'Von der petrinischen Schule zum petrinischen Diskurs', 92–94.

Peter is clearly superior to Paul. He is the eyewitness of Jesus' ministry and intimately connected to Jesus, making his testimony fundamental in rooting the future universal church in true, authentic faith.

Whereas 1 Peter focuses on suffering, 2 Peter discusses the divine glory of Jesus, without mention of his suffering and death. Peter's denial of Jesus is kept completely silent, as is his role in the early community and evangelism. Nothing points to his Jewish identity and background. Issues of the law or table-fellowship are no longer at the fore now that eschatology and Christian morality is at stake. The author does include Peter's knowledge about his imminent death, specifically his martyrdom, and this strengthens his authority for his readers. Now, after his death, this literary testament of Peter can claim to be accepted by all true Christians everywhere.

The author of 2 Peter points to a connection with 1 Peter and acknowledges that it is an authentic letter written by the same person. In 2 Pet 3:1, the author even claims that he wants to address the same topics as his earlier letter, although the focus of 2 Peter is quite different from 1 Peter. In contrast with 1 Peter, his aim is to fight 'false teachers' and defend eschatological beliefs. Despite some references to scriptural events, there are almost no direct quotations from the Scriptures, and many topics from 1 Peter, specifically persecution, are completely missing. Most strikingly, Peter is used to communicate a markedly gentile Christian theology, which is in dialogue with views of Greek philosophical cosmology.

These differences have stunned interpreters since Jerome and call for an explanation. How could this 'Peter' deviate so much from the style of his other letter? This observation not only forces us to assume different authors for the two letters, but also to suppose that there was not a single confirmed image of Peter and no defined Petrine tradition to be adopted. Rather, 2 Peter enters into a 'Petrine discourse' that was already shaped by several different Petrine images, from the gospels, Acts, 1 Peter, and possibly some other writings that, unlike 2 Peter, not became part of the later canon.

Therefore, we have to look at the other Petrine writings⁴¹ from the second century, with some of them possibly predating 2 Peter.

⁴¹ A complete list of apocryphal writings is given in Berger, *Unfehlbare Offenbarung*; see also Grünstäudl and Nicklas, 'Petrus' (literarisch); Schmidt, *Mahnung*, 410–19.

However, as interesting the chronology of those various Petrine writings might be, it is not the primary concern in this discussion.

2.3. *An Instruction of the Disciples about Parousia, Judgment, and Salvation: The Apocalypse of Peter*

The first text to be considered is the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which was quite popular in the second century. It was even included next to the Revelation of John in the list of writings in the Muratorian Fragment. In my view, it is even earlier than 2 Peter, providing a source or background text for the discussions in 2 Peter.⁴²

For the current discussion, I will not focus on all of the complexities of the original text, and I will assume that the Ethiopic version is the complete composition. We do not know how the text was initially edited, whether there was a title, a colophon, or other elements pointing to the author. We just know that some of the ancient quotations were attributed to an Apocalypse of Peter by Clement of Alexandria and Makarios Magnes.⁴³ Compared with 2 Peter, the authorial construction seems to be rather weak.

⁴² Cf. W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus. Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2013); id., ‘Petrus, das Feuer und die Interpretation der Schrift. Beobachtungen zum Weltenbrandmotiv im zweiten Petrusbrief’, in L. Neubert and M. Tilly (eds), *Der eine Gott und die Völker in eschatologischer Perspektive* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2013) 183–208; id.; ‘Ein apokryphes Petrusbild im Neuen Testament. Zur Konstruktion apostolischer Autorität in OffbPetr und 2 Petr’, in J. Frey, C. Clivaz, and T. Nicklas (eds), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts* (Tübingen, 2018) 289–308, further in reference to and continuation of Grünstäudl’s hypothesis Frey, *Der Judasbrief und der zweite Petrusbrief*, 170–74; id., *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*, 201–6; see also the discussion in J. Frey, M. den Dulk, and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019).

⁴³ See the references in the edition by T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente in deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 87–100; further D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study on the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, GA, 1988) 22–81, especially 22–36; A. Jakab, ‘The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 174–86.

A decision depends, however, on the issue whether the prologue to the text, as preserved in the Ethiopic context, is genuine or not.⁴⁴ Here, Peter is introduced as the recipient of the revelation of Christ and as the author of the following reflections on the fate of the sinners.⁴⁵ Yet, after this prologue, or heading, the text opens with a narration about Jesus and the disciples sitting on the Mount of Olives. It begins in a third person narrative followed by the disciples narrating in the first person plural, and then moves to first person singular in chapter 2, where ‘I, Peter’ is inserted. This shows that there are some narrative inconsistencies at the beginning, with the text jumping between different narrator constructions. Predominantly, the disciples are the recipients of the revelatory dialog,⁴⁶ and only later is Peter introduced as the first-person narrator and depicted as in conversation with Jesus and the implied author of the entire narrative. In chapter 2, Peter asks Jesus about the interpretation of the fig tree parable, and the exchange begins. Then, Peter is shown the souls of all humans (ch. 3), he enters into a lament and discussion (similar to 4 Ezra), and finally, is given the revelation in both word and vision. This is uninterrupted by further questions making the narrator or fictive author hidden in the background. The

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, this prologue is not included in the presentations of the text in the standard editions of New Testament Apocrypha. See the translation in E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 66: “The Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead, which he told to Peter, who die for their sin because they did not observe the commandment of God, their creator. And this he [= Peter, JF] reflected upon so that he might understand the mystery of the Son of God, the merciful and lover of mercy.” I am grateful to Daniel Maier for his suggestions regarding the related problems.

⁴⁵ Thus Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 74–76; differently Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will be Opened*, 266–67, and also R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish-Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba’, in id., *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 160–258, here 168: “certainly does not belong to the original text”.

⁴⁶ This is the framework of Acts 1, between resurrection and ascension, rather than a pre-Easter setting, although Jesus’ instruction, then, adopts topics of the eschatological discourse Matthew 24. A similar setting is also presented in the *Epistula Apostolorum*.

text is actually a mixture between instruction about future events and detailing his visions. Therefore, it is presupposed that the recipient of this text both reads and visualizes what is described. Only in ch. 14, in the description of Peter's martyrdom,⁴⁷ is there another reference to Peter, reinforcing the author fiction. Peter gets a personal commissioning to become a martyr in Rome, and his martyrdom is given eschatological weight. The vision of the transfiguration in ch. 15 is introduced in the first person singular: 'and my Lord Jesus Christ, our king, spoke to me'. There is also, though somewhat inconsistently, mention of 'his disciples' (15:1), so that the perspective of an external narrator is used.⁴⁸ However, the narrative immediately returns to the "we"-style, Peter again asks a question and enters into a dialogue with "God Jesus Christ" (ch. 16). Now, in the transfiguration scene, he asks about building three shelters, is rebuked by Jesus, and the hearing of a heavenly voice is described. So, in this closing scene, the setting from the Synoptic transfiguration account seems to be adopted, but the narrative could have also been changed to a post-Easter setting, in consistency with the beginning of the text.

This short review of the text shows that the narrative design is not entirely consistent. The text begins with an external narrator's perspective, then switches to the first person plural, and then the singular voice of Peter emerges. For long parts, the narrator's perspective fades into the background, and Jesus' speech takes center stage, reinforced by the visual vividness of the events described. It is unclear whether it is an inconsistency by the author, or rather a problem of the transmission of the text that this pattern is interrupted by a distant narrator in ch. 15.

In any case, Peter is clearly singled out from the disciples as the only individual who is personally addressed and worthy of a special

⁴⁷ This part is to be reconstructed from the Greek in the Rainer fragment (P. Vindob. G. 39756), see T.J. Kraus, 'P. Vindob. G. 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. Th. F. 4 [P]. Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61; T. Nicklas, 'Drink the Cup Which I Promised You (Apoc. Pet. 14:4). The Death of Peter and the End of Times,' in J. Knight and K. Sullivan (eds), *The Open Mind. Aspects of Apocalypticism in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2014) 183–200.

⁴⁸ Here, the Greek (Akhmim) text reads as first-person plural: "and we, the twelve disciples".

commission to martyrdom. In light of the fact that Peter, who is presented as the author, is unmentioned in large portions of the text, the case of his authorship is not very strong. The answer depends upon the authenticity of the prologue. If it belongs to the original text, Peter's authority, based on his reception of a special revelation and his 'theological' care for the sinners, are more strongly emphasized.

The Petrine tradition is clearly seen in Peter's role as the leader of the disciples, his particular closeness to Jesus, the transfiguration and the eschatological discourse, and his martyrdom in Rome. The vast majority of the pre-Easter story is missing, including Peter's denial and failure,⁴⁹ but also the entirety of the post-Easter narrative of Peter in Jerusalem, Antioch, and elsewhere. Only his travel to Rome for his martyrdom is mentioned, though not in connection with his extended ministry there.

In particular, the content of this apocalypse is focused on eschatological events, including a conflagration, followed by the Parousia, then the judgment and punishment of sinners, and finally, the transfiguration of those who are Christians. Compared with other Petrine writings, there is a particular parallel with 2 Peter concerning the transfiguration, the description of Peter's martyrdom, and the focus on eschatology. In this work, the end-time events seem to be connected in a certain way to Peter's martyrdom in Rome, leading us to classify this kind of end-time expectation as a temporally fixed expectation, an idea which is discussed and clearly rejected in 2 Peter 3:8–9. The correspondence in the eschatological concepts discussed is one of several reasons for viewing the Apocalypse of Peter in literary relationship with 2 Peter, and additionally, suggesting that these texts were possibly written in Egypt. In contrast with earlier viewpoints in scholarship, it seems to be more probable to view the Apocalypse of Peter as the backdrop of 2 Peter, meaning that the letter responds critically and sceptically regarding the eschatology of the Apocalypse. Now, in Peter's 'genuine' testimony, his former views (in the Apocalypse of Peter) are modified in the sense that the eschatological expectation is the same, but any kind of timeframe or predictable plan is definitely denied.

⁴⁹ The question is whether Peter's care for the sinners mirrors his own story of sin and failure, but this is not made explicit in the text.

2.4. *A Free Reenactment of the Gospel Story: The Gospel of Peter*

Regarding the Gospel of Peter, which is only transmitted in a very fragmentary form, we face quite different problems.⁵⁰ This text, composed somewhere in the late second century, only exists in one larger fragmentary manuscript from the sixth century, preserved together with Greek fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter and 1 Enoch in the Akhmim Codex P. Cair. 10759.⁵¹

It seems to be a relatively uninhibited retelling or narrative reenactment of the gospel tradition that draws upon elements from all four canonical gospels,⁵² but it is unclear whether the author knew them as literary texts or merely from oral or ‘secondary oral’ transmission. Due to the fragmentary state of its preservation, it is also unclear what was originally included in the Gospel of Peter. While the existing fragment only covers the passion story and the beginning of the Easter story, it is possible that the entire narrative spanned more events from Jesus’ ministry. But because the beginning and end of the text are missing, the true extent of the narrative and the descriptions and clues about its author are unclear.⁵³

⁵⁰ On the text, see Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*; on the exegetical problems see P. Foster, *The Gospel of Peter. Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary* (Leiden, 2010) and, most recently, T. Nicklas, *Studien zum Petrus-evangelium* (Tübingen, 2020). Cf. also J. Frey, ‘Apokryphisierung im Petrus-evangelium. Überlegungen zum Ort des Petrus-evangeliums in der Entwicklung der Evangelienüberlieferung’, in J. Schröter (ed.), *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology* (Leuven, 2013) 157–95.

⁵¹ This text may, of course, differ from the text at the end of the second century referred to in the famous letter of Bishop Serapion (Eus., *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.2–6), but as there is no tradition about more than one Gospel of Peter, it is reasonable to assume that the text referred to by Serapion was something like the fragment we have from this sixth century manuscript.

⁵² See the summary of the scholarly debate in Foster, *The Gospel of Peter*, 115–147; see also T. Nicklas, ‘Das Petrus-evangelium im Rahmen antiker Jesustraditionen’, in id. (ed.), *Studien zum Petrus-evangelium* (Tübingen, 2020) 63–89.

⁵³ For aspects of the author construction, we can draw on the analysis presented by T. Nicklas, ‘Erzähler und Charakter zugleich. Zur literarischen Funktion des Petrus in dem nach ihm benannten Evangelienfragment’, in id., *Studien zum Petrus-evangelium*, 216–23.

In the surviving fragment, Peter appears twice in the first person singular and as part of a group of disciples, in Gos. Pet. 26 and 59. After the fragment narrates the crucifixion in the style of an omniscient narrator, v. 26 suddenly switches into the first person singular: ‘I, Peter, with my companions’. The second instance is after the extensive narration of the resurrection of Jesus where only the tomb guards were ‘eyewitnesses’, whereas the disciples, including Peter, were not present. Here, after the mention of Mary at the tomb, the narrative turns again into the first person singular: ‘but I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother...’. This creates inconsistencies: Peter is the narrator or implied author of the work and, at the same time, a character within the narrative world described. Between these two perspectives of the omniscient narrator and the first person narrator, there is a conflict.⁵⁴ He is considered the storyteller, but he narrates events in which he, as a character, is not present and therefore cannot testify about. He and his fellow disciples hide from the Jews (Gos. Pet. 26), but then there is a description about what actions the Jews take and an account of the resurrection.

These observations show that the construction of this work is not only weak, but also inconsistent. The narrative construction is carried out at a relatively low literary level. In addition, the theological perspective of the work is quite different from the existing Petrine traditions, and more specifically, the historical Peter. For example, the passion of Jesus is narrated with noticeable differences from the earlier gospels, with a strong tendency toward blaming the Jews, but with strikingly little knowledge about Judaism and about the legal situation in Jewish Palestine. In Gos. Pet. 60–61, the actions of Peter and Andrew seem to be unaware of the experience of Mary and the women at the tomb, and even more, they seem unaffected by the resurrection. Important aspects of the Peter tradition, such as his post-Easter mission and his martyrdom, are absent, but the silence about those aspects may be due to the gospel genre. It is more striking that in the extant fragment, there is also no reference to the fact that Peter was particularly close to Jesus, or that he had denied him in the course of the passion. All of these observations show that the author construction in this work is inconsistent and weak. The choice of Peter as a narrator or an authority is not utilized to create an elaborate theological view or claim.

⁵⁴ Nicklas, ‘Erzähler und Charakter zugleich’, 219.

2.5. *A Summary of Hellenistic Gentile-Christian Preaching: The Kerygma of Peter*

Another often neglected Petrine writing is the *Kerygma of Peter*,⁵⁵ which only exists in a number of quotations from Clement of Alexandria and in some passages from the Berlin Coptic Book.⁵⁶ Around 170 CE, the text is also quoted by the Valentinian Heracleon as authoritative.⁵⁷ It is possible that some references to a *doctrina Petri* in Origen and to a *didascalia Petri* by later authors also refer to this same work, but this is disputed.⁵⁸ Clement and Heracleon indicate that there are no doubts about its Petrine authorship and authority, and Origen seems to be the first person to dispute it.⁵⁹ This shows that in the Alexandrian milieu, the claim to Peter as an authority was normalized and apparently caused no offense, at least not for learned authors such as Heracleon and Clement.

The text is a summary of the Christian doctrine ascribed to Peter, which was probably composed in Egypt in the first half of the second century. After the great Jewish revolts (115–117 CE) and the elimination of Egyptian Jewry, including Jewish Christianity, Peter appears as supporter of Gentile Christian preaching, although from the surviving fragments, the exact form of the authorisation and authorship construction is unclear.

Christian theology is presented in strongly Hellenistic terms (such as εὐσεβεία and θεοσεβεία), Christ is named ‘nomos’ and ‘logos’; God is described in a Platonizing style with negative divine

⁵⁵ On that work, see the edition by M. Cambe, *Kerygma Petri. Textus et commentarius* (Turnhout, 2003) and E. von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht* (Berlin, 1893). See further H. Paulsen, ‘Das Kerygma Petri und die urchristliche Apologetik’, *ZKG* 88 (1977) 1–37; Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 90–97, and Frey, *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*, 206–08.

⁵⁶ Cf. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 92; for the ‘Coptic Book’, see G. Schenke-Robinson, H.-M. Schenke, and U.-K. Plisch (eds), *Das Berliner Koptische Buch (P 20915). Eine wiederhergestellte frühchristlich-theologische Abhandlung* (Leuven, 2004).

⁵⁷ Orig, *comm. Jo.* XIII 17.194; cf. Cambe, *Kerygma*, 15–28.

⁵⁸ Cf. von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht*, 27–63.

⁵⁹ See W. Schneemelcher, ‘Das Kerygma Petri’, in id. (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Vol. 2. Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1997⁶) 35.

predications. He is presented as the creator of the beginning of all things (cf. Gen 1:1; John 1:1) and has ‘the power ... to bring an end’ (cf. 2 Pet 2:8 and 3:5–13). The text presents a polemical defense against pagan worship of the gods and also against Jewish festival practice and the worship of angels. Two passages adopt phrases from Hebrews (Heb 1:3 and 8:8–9). ‘Knowledge’ and scriptural hermeneutics seem to have been important themes of this text, too.

Peter is adopted as a Christian preacher and theologian. But he is preaching in a completely Gentile-Christian style, and in a rather philosophical way. Nothing in the fragments points to Judaism or Jewish Christianity. This is a significant departure from the ‘historical’ Peter, yet it fits quite well with the Alexandrian milieu after the Jewish revolt. If the *Kerygma of Peter* was composed in the first half of the second century, it could even have been written before 2 Peter, and if both texts are from the Alexandrian region, it is conceivable that this pseudonymous Petrine text was also known by the author or addressees of 2 Peter. In any case, the *Kerygma of Peter* contributes to the plurality of ‘Petrine’ images in the second century.

2.6. *An Anti-Pauline Collection of Jewish Christian Traditions: The Pseudo-Clementine “Kerygmata Petrou”*

A completely different setting is represented in the so-called *Kerygmata Petrou*, a text that was a source of later ‘Pseudo-Clementine’ compositions. The extent of the text and the precise reconstruction is wildly disputed.⁶⁰ Some scholars read the Pseudo-Clementines as a coherent fourth century CE text, but it seems plausible to assume an earlier Jewish-Christian source, especially in the *Homilies*, which was then embedded in the later composition. According to the reconstruction by Georg Strecker and others, this text from the second century CE draws on Peter as an authority for Jewish-Christian views.

⁶⁰ The complicated manuscript situation and literary history cannot be discussed here. Cf. J. Irmscher and G. Strecker, ‘Die Pseudoklementinen’, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Vol. 2. Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1997⁶) 429–88; J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Pseudo-Clementines* (Leuven, 2010) and B.M.J. De Vos and D. Praet (eds), *In Search of Truth in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (Tübingen, 2022).

In these traditions, there is debate about Adam, Cain, and others, about Moses' authorship of the Torah (Ps.-Clem. Hom. II 38), and about true and false prophecy. Peter is presented as the guarantor of some sayings of Jesus, including Matt 5:17, the saying that no Iota should be taken away from the Law (Hom. III 51). Most striking is the argument against Paul, who is called 'Simon', and is therefore presented in the image of Simon Magus, as opposed to Simon Peter. 'Simon' (Paul) came to the Gentiles first, and was followed by 'Simon' (Peter), who was known as one who brought light to the darkness, knowledge to ignorance, and healing to illness (Hom. II 17:3). While Peter listened directly to the master (Hom. XVII 13:1), Paul's encounter with Jesus was only in a vision (Hom. XVII 19:1). Peter is the rock of the church, whom Paul resisted with hostility (Hom. XVII 19:4). Paul is the enemy who defamed Peter (cf. Gal 2:11) and called him 'condemned' (Gal 2.11). He should learn from Peter and the other apostles and become a 'disciple of truth' (Hom. XVII 19:7).

Dating later than the polemically Jewish-Christian traditions, there is another part of the Pseudo-Clementines, the *Epistula Petri*. Here, Peter addresses James as 'bishop' of the holy community (1:1) and asks him to hide the books containing his words and preaching from the Pagans. They should only be given to those who are worthy, and Peter's teaching is considered as similar to Moses' teaching (1:2; cf. Num 11:25). The seventy 'brothers' are to be entrusted with this teaching tradition (2:1). Here, Peter's teaching is explicitly considered lawful, whereas the 'man of enmity' (cf. Matt 13:28), most likely referring to Paul, taught an unlawful and useless message (2:3) which was received by some Gentiles. Here, Peter denies the idea that he may dissolve the law publicly or privately.

The letter clearly claims Peter's authority to teach, which is superior to that of James. It adopts elements from the gospels, in particular Matthew and alludes to the conflict from Galatians 2, without mentioning Paul by name. Peter is again presented as a witness to Jesus' teaching, and he is the advocate of law observance and upholds the legacy of Jewish Christianity.

A later piece of the Pseudo-Clementines, the *Epistula Clementis*, definitively presents Peter as the rock of the church and cornerstone of teaching, and the first of the apostles, who is commissioned to bring light to the West (EpClem 1:2–3). Here, Peter installs Clement as his successor and gives instructions for his service and for all later

office bearers. Finally, Clement presents himself as a testimony for the validity of Peter's preaching.

These texts belong to more extensive compositions, making a pseudonymous author construction unnecessary. Peter is presented in a clearly anti-Pauline leaning, and as the guarantee of the true teaching of Jesus and also of the 'lawfulness' of that teaching, which was said to be falsified by Paul, or in Gentile Christianity. This image of Peter is strictly opposed to the Gentile-Christian type of preaching in the *Kerygma Petri* and in 2 Peter.

2.7. *An Explanation of the Need for Suffering: The Epistula Petri ad Philippum (NHC VIII,2)*

I would like to conclude this survey with a brief look at Gnostic receptions as found in the Nag Hammadi Corpus. In these texts, Peter is not often presented as having a prominent role. He is missing in the Sethian texts and only has a minor role in Valentinian texts.⁶¹

There is one prominent text in which Peter plays the leading role, the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,2 and CT 1), from the late second century or first half of the third century.⁶² This letter to Philip is only an introduction to a more extensive account of an appearance of the Risen One, and a dialogue between the apostles and Christ. In that letter, Peter, introduced as 'the Apostle of Jesus Christ', calls Philip to the assembly of the apostles. When Philip receives the letter and follows the invitation, it is said that Peter also calls the others and that they gather on the Mount of Olives, where Jesus appears as a light and a voice, and a revelatory dialogue begins. When Jesus disappears, the disciples talk about the passion of Jesus and the suffering of the disciples. In that context Peter says, 'He suffered for our sake, so we also have to suffer, because of our smallness.' (NHC VIII, 138,18–20). A heavenly voice confirms his words and the necessity of suffering. Then, Peter speaks to his brothers and testifies about Jesus' passion and resurrection. He explains his

⁶¹ Cf. Nicklas and Grünstäudl, 'Petrus II (in der Literatur)', 421–22.

⁶² Thus H.G. Bethge, 'Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus (NHC VIII,2)', in H.-M. Schenke *et al.* (eds), *Nag Hammadi Deutsch. Studienausgabe* (Berlin and New York, 2007), 466–73, here 466; see more extensively *id.*, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus. Ein neutestamentliches Apokryphon aus dem Fund von Nag Hammadi (NHC VIII,2)* (Berlin, 1997).

passion beginning at the sin of Eve, and prays for the Spirit to dwell among them so that the disciples can perform healings and preach the gospel.

In this text, Peter is the witness of Jesus' passion and resurrection and also the leader and speaker of the post-Easter group of the disciples. He calls them together and organizes their mission to different regions of the world. He also phrases a basic soteriological confession and exhorts the disciples and the readers to a life of suffering and martyrdom. In this narrated revelatory dialogue (for which the epistle is merely an introduction), a very large part of the early Peter tradition is adopted, more so than in the canonical epistles 1 and 2 Peter. It is also more prevalent here than in the Greek or Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, which is comparable only in its similar setting on the Mount of Olives. But in the *Epistula*, Peter is much more central as a leader of the disciples and as a teacher.

2.8. *A Gnostic Instruction about the True Meaning of the Crucifixion: The Coptic Apocalypse of Peter (NHC VII,3)*

Another work from the Nag Hammadi Corpus that must be mentioned is the (Coptic) Apocalypse of Peter (NHC VII/3), which has nothing to do with the Ethiopic or Greek Apocalypse of Peter.⁶³ The text was originally composed in Greek, it criticizes the Shepherd of Hermas, (NHC VII 78,18) but belongs to the third rather than the second century.⁶⁴ The text has a title and an inscription where it is called the 'Apocalypse of Peter', but it is unclear whether they belong to the original text. With regard to genre, it is not a revelatory dialogue, but rather a Gnostic apocalypse, with the Saviour himself being the 'angelus interpres', who reveals the true meaning of the crucifixion to Peter through visions and dialogue.⁶⁵ The text is narrated from the perspective of Peter, who is addressed by Jesus and taught in the form of a

⁶³ See the introduction by H. Havelaar, 'Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)', in H.-M. Schenke *et al.* (eds), *Nag Hammadi Deutsch. Studienausgabe* (Berlin and New York, 2007) 410–16; cf. ead., *The Coptic Apocalypse of Peter (Nag-Hammadi-Codex VII,3)* (Berlin, 1999), and J. Brashler, 'Apocalypse of Peter. Text, Translation and Notes', in B.A. Pearson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex VII* (Leiden, 1996), 218–47.

⁶⁴ Thus Havelaar, 'Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)', 410.

⁶⁵ Cf. Havelaar, 'Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)', 410.

conversation and a vision. The setting is inside of the temple in pre-Easter times, where Peter receives a vision of Jesus' passion and crucifixion which is then explained.

The teaching is characterized as a mystery (μυστήριον) that should be hidden from the children of this aeon (NHC VII 73.16–18). It is a docetic, and possibly a gnostic teaching, although there is no elaborate myth. The living Jesus is depicted next to the cross, in joy and laughter, while the crucified Jesus is merely his fleshly body. While others (i.e., proto-orthodox Christians) are characterized as blind, Peter and his companions are called to look at the living one, not at the crucified one. Here, Peter is the only teaching authority, and he is the guarantee of a docetic or gnostic teaching and a central witness of the death of Jesus and the cross.

3. *Summary and Concluding Perspectives*

It is at this point that we will conclude our survey. Of course, there are many more interesting texts and images of Peter, for example the Acts of Peter, which also originate in the late second century and negotiate the legacy of Peter. However, the early textual form is unclear, and there is no claim of Peter's authorship. For further images of Peter, there is also the reception of Peter in early Church Fathers and many other texts⁶⁶, but for the present discussion, the current representation is sufficient.

3.1. *The wide variety of viewpoints*

In his authorial career in the second and early third centuries, Peter is presented as the author of very different texts. There are two different letters that were later included in the NT canon but show remarkable disparities in style, themes, and theological views. There is a relatively free reenactment of gospel material, an apocalypse told through dialogue and focused on Jesus' Parousia and judgment, and also some additional revelatory dialogues and various kerygmatic summaries. There are no general or specific restrictions as to what kind of texts Peter could authorize or what kind of texts could be included in the

⁶⁶ See a more comprehensive survey in Nicklas and Grünstäudl, 'Petrus II (in der Literatur)', 421–22.

‘Petrine discourse’, where his person, teaching, and legacy are easily shaped and molded to a specific end.

In this discourse, a large variety of images of Peter are present, and there are different and also mutually exclusive selections from the earlier Petrine tradition that are adopted and utilized.

a) *Peter as an apostle*: In the majority of texts, Peter is called an apostle. It was almost impossible to ignore this title, as Peter is in some ways the ‘arch-apostle’, the first and leading member of the circle of the apostles. Yet, the title is not used in the fragments of the Gospel of Peter and the Kerygma Petrou. This could be due to the fragmentary nature of preservation. It is also missing in the Jewish Christian fragments in the Pseudo-Clementines, possibly due to the reluctance within Jewish-Christian circles to use the title ‘apostle’.⁶⁷ This lack of title in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter* may also reflect some kind of distancing from the disciples of the earthly Jesus in Gnostic circles.

b) *Teaching*: Peter’s teaching and authority is widely affirmed and applied, as seen in the two canonical epistles, the *Kerygma Petri*, the Pseudo-Clementine traditions, and also in the two texts from Nag Hammadi. It is not adopted in the extant fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*, and it is also not utilized in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

c) *Leadership*: Peter’s leading authority in the church is clearly stated in 2 Peter, but is also implicitly present in 1 Peter. It is further stressed in the Pseudo-Clementines (especially in their later sections) and in the *Epistle to Philip*.

d) *Guarantee of Jesus tradition*: In the Pseudo-Clementines, Peter is the true testimony of Jesus’ words and teachings. Without focusing on specific sayings, this is also true for 2 Peter, but less so in 1 Peter, the *Gospel of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The Nag-Hammadi texts present Peter as the recipient of a special

⁶⁷ It should be noted that James, the brother of the Lord, is never called apostle in the earlier traditions. Only later, he is described among the apostles (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.1.4; 7.32.29 and 7:19; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 29.3.8–9), as their colleague or even their leader. Jewish Christianity apparently did not claim that title for its predominant leader figure, possibly due to the fact that this title was soon very strongly connected with Paul. See J. Frey, ‘James, the Hero of Jewish-Christianity’, in H. Buchinger *et al.* (eds), *Extracanonical Traditions and the Holy Land* (Tübingen, 2024) [in press].

revelation of Jesus, which was in contrast with the teachings of the earthly Jesus or the teachings followed by ‘others’.

e) *Closeness to Jesus*: Peter’s personal knowledge of Jesus and his closeness to him is stressed in the passage in 2 Peter and also adopted in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. His knowledge of Jesus is particularly emphasized in the Pseudo-Clementine tradition where it is contrasted to Paul’s lack of knowledge.

f) *Jesus’ Passion*: Peter is presented as a witness to the passion in 1 Peter, whereas the passion is completely unmentioned in 2 Peter. The passion and resurrection are narrated in the extant fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*, where Peter recounts the passion. Jesus’ suffering is also important in the *Epistula Petri ad Philippum*. In a very different interpretation, the cross is also the focus of the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*.

g) *Jesus’ Resurrection and Glory*: The glory of Jesus, or precisely, the transfiguration, is only focused on in 2 Peter and in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. None of the other writings stresses this aspect. Whereas the *Apocalypse of Peter* broadens the transfiguration into an eschatological expectation for all disciples, 2 Peter utilizes the testimony about the transfiguration for authorizing his own eschatological teaching.

h) *Peter and Paul*: Peter’s encounter with Paul is the main focus of the *Kerygmata Petrou* of the Pseudo-Clementines, and it is also mentioned in the close of 2 Peter. In both cases, Peter is superior to Paul and has completely different teachings.

i) *Jewish Identity*: Peter’s Jewishness is only upheld in the strongly Jewish-Christian *Kerygmata Petrou*, based on his strict rejection of Paul’s criticism of the law and other Gentiles. Jewish-Christian traditions are also in the background of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and possibly (as Scriptural interpretation) in 1 Peter. In other texts, such as the *Kerygma of Peter* and 2 Peter, the Jewish apostle is transformed from a Palestinian Jew to a Gentile church leader.

j) *Martyrdom*: Peter’s martyrdom or death is only mentioned in the *Apocalypse* and in 2 Peter. The reference to suffering in 1 Peter and the *Epistula Petri ad Philippum* may also reflect Peter’s own fate as a martyr, but only implicitly.

k) *Eschatological Teachings*: Eschatology or end-time events are also only focused on in the *Apocalypse* and in 2 Peter.

The wide breadth of theological views authorized by the figure of Peter in these different writings is striking. The spectrum ranges from

strongly Jewish-Christian and anti-Paul in the Pseudo-Clementines to completely Gentile Christian and Hellenistic teachings in the *Kerygma Petri* and also, in my view, in 2 Peter. There is a focus on Jesus' suffering in 1 Peter (and the canonical gospels) and then on the other hand, explicitly docetist views such as in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*.

In all of these writings, Peter's authority is unquestionable, but he can stand (or be used) for a very wide variety of views and theological positions. There is no strong connection between the different writings attributed to Peter. The attribution to Peter does not presuppose or create a certain theological framework.

3.2. *And the Apocalypse of Peter?*

What does this mean for the *Apocalypse of Peter*? In any case, the number of connections with 2 Peter is significant, whereas the thematic and formal relationships with other 'Petrine' writings are quite loose. There is no need to discuss the exact relationship between these two writings here.⁶⁸ The *Apocalypse of Peter* can be considered part of the 'Petrine discourse', describing the many facets of the figure, his teaching, and his legacy. It is a unique voice within this discourse. It draws upon parts of the Synoptic image of Peter, Jewish apocalyptic traditions, specifically Egyptian elements, and, in particular, his martyrdom in Rome, and even attributes a certain eschatological significance to this event.⁶⁹ In my view, it is well conceived that the author of 2 Peter felt the need to 'rescue' not only Peter, but also the eschatological expectation from the impasses of such a presentation, whereas others, at least, during the second century, held this impressive imagery and the eschatological outlook in high esteem.

⁶⁸ Cf. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 113–37; id., 'Ein apokryphes Petrusbild im Neuen Testament'; Frey, *Der Judasbrief. Der zweite Petrusbrief*, 170–74; *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*, 201–6, and also the contributions in Frey, den Dulk, and van der Watt, *Second Peter in New Perspective*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Nicklas, 'Drink the Cup'.

Writing	Literary Genre	Origin	Authorial Construction
1 Peter	Encyclical Diaspora Letter	Asia Minor (?) rather than Rome	Rather weak Peter unimportant for the message
2 Peter	Testamentary Letter (polemical)	Alexandria rather than Rome	Strong, high claim of authority, Peter as eyewitness, and foundational apostle
Apocalypse of Peter	“Apocalypse”: revelation in a narrative framework, partly dialogical, partly narrated vision	Egypt/Alexandria rather than Palestine	Rather strong (depends on prologue): Peter as the first one (and only speaker) of the disciples, recipient of special instruction and call for martyrdom
Gospel of Peter	Narrative	Syria(?)	Rather weak
Kerygma of Peter	(Only fragments) summary of preaching doctrinal tract(?)	Alexandria	Authorship construction unclear from the extant fragments Clement and Heracleon seem to accept it as authentic
Kerygmata Petrou (Ps.-Clem)	(Reconstructed fragments) of teaching, possibly various literary layers	?	Textual form unclear; embedded in a collection of Peter’s sermons, presented by Clement hidden wisdom: to be presented only to the proven ones
Ep. Petri ad Phil.	Revelatory dialogue; letter is only an introduction	?	Strong: Letter with strong claim of authority (of Peter over Philip), narrative with Peter as figure, no 1 st person narration,
Apocalypse of Peter (NHC)	Narrated revelatory dialogue and vision	?	Rather strong

Consistency	Aspects of the Image of Peter	Theology
High	Apostle, Passion of Jesus, Shepherd Rome, martyrdom (?), Silvanus and Markus (from Jerusalem)	Various early Christian traditions, Scriptural citations Jewish epistolary pattern but no Jewish profile
Very high	Apostle, Witness of Transfiguration, Closeness to Jesus, death/martyrdom, normative for future faith, knowledge of Paul and 'superior' to him	Gentile Christian, no Jewish profile! high Christology, eschatology with Parousia, conflagration, judgment, and new creation, anti-'heretic' aims, philosophical discourse
At some points inconsistent	Disciples in post-Easter time Peter as speaker of the group of disciples, in dialogue with Jesus (transfiguration), guarantee of revelation and of the vision of glory martyrdom in Rome	Closeness to Jewish traditions (Pseudo-Messiahs), eschatological expectation Parousia, conflagration, judgment, salvation for sinners, transfiguration
Inconsistent Peter as narrative figure <i>and</i> narrator	Disciples in pre-Easter time, witness of passion and resurrection events (but unclear, due to the fragmentary preservation)	No consistent theology Rather Gentile Christian (no knowledge about Judaism), anti-Jewish tendency
?	Peter as authoritative preacher (post-Easter situation)	Gentile Christian, Hellenistic terms, knowledge, Scriptural hermeneutics, polemics against Pagan worship, Jewish festivals and angel veneration
?	Peter = the true apostle he knows Jesus really, not only through a vision (unlike Paul) Witness Jesus's words (Matt 5:17; Matt 24), Gal 2 is critically discussed	Strongly Jewish-Christian defense of law observance anti-Pauline Polemic
Consistent	Peter as guarantor of the teaching of Jesus' passion and resurrection Peter as leader and speaker of the disciples. He calls them together, is the only dialogue partner, prays for the Holy Spirit and organizes the mission.	Rather 'orthodox', majority church necessity of sufferings mission of the disciples
Consistent	Peter as recipient of Jesus' teaching and a vision (before the passion), represents a group opposed to other Christians who are blind	Docetic, perhaps 'Gnostic' polemic against proto-orthodox Christians

II. Manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: Some Crucial Questions

THOMAS J. KRAUS

1. *About the Basic Orientation of This Study*

“[...] it is not the sources which define the questions asked by a discipline, but the questions which determine the sources.”¹

What François Furet once asserted in an article in 1985 is certainly a significant regulative, especially for historical approaches and sound methodology. This is a way for scientific progress. Roger Bagnall, who utilized this quotation for unfolding his own historical approach in his *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* from 1995, refines Furet’s notion as follows:

“I have in fact put chapters mainly devoted to the analysis of evidence first, those devoted to the formation of questions and hypotheses second, in order to avoid making matters too neat.”²

Of course, “evidence first, [...] questions and hypothesis second” is nothing more than a redundant reminder of how to work with a sound and proven methodology.

Consequently, basic information on the manuscripts relevant for the *Apocalypse of Peter* will precede conclusions and, above all, questions in the following. The latter, however, will neither be answered in depth and completely, nor be answered at all in some cases in this

¹ F. Furet, ‘Quantitative Method in History’, in J. Le Goff and P. Nora (eds), *Constructing the Past. Essays in Historical Methodology* (Cambridge, 1974) 12–27, here 18. The article is translated from and based on F. Furet, ‘L’histoire et la construction du fait historique’, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 1 (1971) 63–75.

² R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York, 1995) 7.

study, because the questions are more appropriately and expertly addressed by others in this volume and elsewhere.

Texts form the first step to and basis of interpretation. They offer a keyhole into history or open windows into a long distant past. Yet, they do not come to us just like that; they are written upon or inscribed into different materials. Rather, nor can they be separated from these materials. The handling and editing of archaeological artefacts are usually done by specialists in the fields of archaeology, papyrology and palaeography, in order to mention the foremost disciplines in that respect. Their work forms the foundation for further interpretations, commentaries and hermeneutical studies, which themselves mostly rely on such principle and preliminary publications.

Although writing and material together are what makes an archaeological object, the written text is mostly focussed on, i.e., understanding, interpreting and explaining what is written is in the centre of attention, while materiality is left to others in order to be studied and published on previously. A general example case should demonstrate what that means: in the case of the New Testament with more than five thousand manuscripts at all it is often hard and not always beneficial to address the full manuscript coverage of a certain phrase, sentence or passage, above all, when efforts are mainly dedicated to hermeneutics, interpretation or historical reasoning based on textual evidence. Scholars must rely on the preliminary work of others.

However, for the present study the main interest is in the archaeological artefacts, i.e., the material sources,³ which in the case of the *Apocalypse of Peter* include (fragments of) manuscripts, their materiality and, thus, their papyrological features. Thus, literary sources, which are of equal importance,⁴ are not dealt with. The preserved

³ Cf. Furet, ‘Quantitative Method in History’, 19–21, who concentrates on “serial sources” and their importance for historical studies.

⁴ Cf. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 87–99. Further see A. Jakab, ‘The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 174–86, who distinguishes between “direct witnesses” (name of or direct quote from the *Apocalypse of Peter*) and “indirect witnesses” (use of, reference or allusion to the *Apocalypse of Peter*) according to D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 20.

manuscripts are the starting points for all the follow-up questions, which in turn may concern fundamental issues and the understanding of the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Ignoring the manuscript situation can lead to the neglect of details which often somehow may appear as tiny and non-decisive but can help to gain further insights or prevent from premature or wrong conclusions.

Let's take *P.Cair.* 10759, for instance, the manuscript often referred to as the Akhmîm Codex. The way of writing, the arrangement of the text on the parchment, the cross to mark the beginning of the *Apocalypse*, the supralinear stroke above θεόν to indicate a so-called *nomen sacrum*, these and some more details usually are aspects and pieces of information regarded as being of inferior significance to the text itself. But there is even more to it. The codex also includes a *bifolium* with one blank folio on its recto and verso. This is near the end of the *Gospel of Peter*, in other words on the second to the last page of the codex with text. Such a material aspect is not automatically taken as a serious and essential fact but it is there and may mean something.⁵ And even the nomenclature can be of significance. *P.Cair.* 10759 is neither identical with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, nor is it the same as the *Gospel of Peter*, though it is sometimes used as if being identical with one of these two apocryphal texts. *P.Cair.* 10759 is the inventory number for a miscellaneous codex that comprises the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, extracts from *I Enoch* and a single sheet with parts from the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus*. Consequently, codicology – and that includes, for example, the way of binding and the consecutive order of texts in quires in case there are more than one – also plays its role when it comes to assess a manuscript *and* its text or texts. Of course, provenance and other archaeological objects found together with this codex must not be overlooked, too, if there are any.

⁵ That material aspects are not always taken as important can be demonstrated by the way a *bifolium* was published on two pages to facilitate printing and, thus, appears as if it was cut in two halves which it is not. See Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, f.5r and f.6v. For the correct foliation of the codex see P. van Minnen, 'The Akhmîm *Gospel of Peter*', in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *Das Evangelium nach Petrus. Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (Berlin, 2007) 53–60, here 53 n. 4. According to Trismegistos (TM) 59976, Pasquale Orsini suggests this range "for the Enoch apocalypse".

But are such – mostly papyrological and palaeographical – aspects beneficial for the work on the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*? Do they prompt people to think twice or in another way about a text if they are considered seriously? Some specific details derived from a closer look at the materiality and objecthood of the manuscript may not change a researcher's understanding and/or way of interpreting the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. But they must necessarily and seriously be considered nevertheless, so that the final results are actually secured and based on the comprehensive consideration of a manuscript, i.e., its text *and* papyrological essence. Therefore, three fundamental prerequisites govern what follows:

(1) *The objecthood and materiality of archaeological objects*

Manuscripts are archaeological objects and are first treated as such. Unfortunately, in the late nineteenth century archaeologists had their individual notions of how to dig, document (or better not to document), preserve and restore objects; and then there are the vagaries of the antiques market. In a second step, manuscripts are handled by restaurateurs, papyrologists and palaeographers who specialise on materiality *and* texts.

(2) *Various clusters of manuscripts*

Manuscripts are grouped in clusters according to the nature of their texts and set into certain contexts with other manuscripts according to topography, history, philosophy, law, religion and so on. In the case of the *Apocalypse of Peter* the text is put together with other texts *and*, of course, should be seen as part of a codex in which it was bound into together with other writings.

(3) *A manuscript as a starting point and reassurance*

At the beginning there will be a closer look at the material and textual evidence given (i.e., the sources). Thus, the manuscripts with the *Apocalypse of Peter* mark the starting point and the backbone for everything to follow. Consequently, they function as a control mechanism of reassurance or approval of conclusions drawn and hypotheses formed. In other words, papyrological and palaeographical details serve the purpose of regulators of interpretations which themselves should correspond with the material evidence.

This is the foundation of all the questions formulated after every chapter of this study.

2. *The Apocalypse of Peter on the Manuscript Map*

A very simplified survey of the manuscript situation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* looks as follows: there are two manuscripts in Ethiopic and two in Greek. Other texts that are operated under the name *Apocalypse of Peter*, are excluded here (e.g., the Coptic one from Nag Hammadi, Arabic ones or texts in Old Church Slavonic).⁶ According to my own previous studies and my language competence I have to focus more on the Greek manuscripts than on the Ethiopic ones, but wish to start with a more general survey of the two miscellaneous Ethiopic manuscripts.

2.1. *The Ethiopic Manuscripts P & T*

The following is based on relevant previous studies of the Ethiopic manuscripts.⁷ An evaluation by Alessandro Bausi⁸ and information pro-

⁶ For further information cf. E. Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-äthiopischen Petrusapokalypse', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36 (1893) 454–93; A. Mingana, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', *Woodbroke Studies* 3.2 (1931) 93–152, 209–82, 349–407; P. la Spisa, 'À propos de l'Apocalypse de Pierre arabe ou Livre des Révélations (Kitāb al Mağāl)', in A. Bausi, A. Gori, and G. Lusini (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2014) 512–26. Further see C.D.G. Müller, 'Die Offenbarung des Petrus', in Hennecke and Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. II. Band*, 563; J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993, repr. 2009) 595–97.

⁷ Cf. M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 12 (1911) 35–56, 362–83, 573–83; C.C. Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', *Journal asiatique* 10/20 (1912) 5–72; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 34–37; E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee. Vol. I: Reiseberichte und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des Heiligen Gabriel und der Insel Kebrān* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67; R.W. Cowley, 'The Ethiopic Work which is believed to contain the material of the material of the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 36 (1985) 151–53; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 119–39.

⁸ Cf. A. Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses',

vided by Daniel Maier⁹ serve as main guiding lines. Everything starts with Lake Tānā, which is the largest lake in Ethiopia (Amhara region in the north-western Ethiopian highlands). Both manuscripts were discovered there only about twenty kilometres apart from each other.

2.1.1. Manuscript T = Tānā or Kebrān 35

The first codex was detected in the Monastery of Saint Gabriel on the Kebrān peninsular at Lake Tānā. The parchment folios measure 22 cm and 23 cm, i.e., the pages are rather square. There seem to be some repairs of the parchment which were made prior to writing the texts. According to Buchholz, the manuscript is “apparently in good condition and the letters are clear”.¹⁰ The texts are “carefully written”,¹¹ the scribe used rubricated letters and did not make any corrections.¹² The codex is dated to the eighteenth century.¹³

There are nine different texts written in one hand only, though there is also a column written in Amharic. All in all, the codex consists of 106 folios with three columns per page, twenty-five lines per column, and eight to ten letters per line. The thirteen quires are arranged rather regularly and comprise between eight and ten folios.

The nine texts are – in sequence of appearance in the codex:

- (1) Testament of Our Lord (*Testamentum Domini*; cf. ms P no. 2)
- (2) Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Galilee (including *Epistula Apostolorum*; cf. ms P no. 3)
- (3) The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead (including the *Apocalypse of Peter*; cf. ms P no. 4)
- (4) A Speech on the Glorious and Arcane Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners and a Dispute Concerning This Speech (cf. ms P no. 5)
- (5) Beginning of the Faith (a hexaemeral treatise)

Apocrypha 27 (2016) 179–96.

⁹ I am indebted to Daniel Maier, Zurich, who generously let me use his research on the locations and the manuscripts.

¹⁰ Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 129.

¹¹ Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften*, 167.

¹² Cf. Buchhold, *Your Eyes*, 131–32.

¹³ For general information also see the Internet site of the North American Society of Christian Apocryphal Literature (NASSCAL www.nasscal.com/manuscripta-apocryphorum/tanasee-kebran-gabriel-monastery-35; last accessed 21/02/2023).

- (6) Narrative on the Announcement by Archangel Gabriel
- (7) Narrative on the Conception of the Savior by Mary
- (8) Hymn to Christ
- (9) Treatise attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Resurrection of Christ (incomplete)

2.1.2. Manuscript P = Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Paris, éthiopien, d'Abbadie 51

The second codex was found at a monastery on the Dāgā island in Lake Tānā. The rectangular parchment folios measure 34 cm and 27 cm. The material has some holes and shows some efforts of repair, but there is no loss of text. According to Buchholz the “letters for the most part [are] easily distinguished”.¹⁴ There are some notes in the margin and a possession remark at the beginning. The manuscript is dated to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It comprises five different texts which are written in five hands, but there is no ‘one scribe, one text’ correspondence.¹⁵ The *Apocalypse of Peter* (folios 131r to 137v) is performed by the third and fourth scribe. All the texts are clearly separated from each other by signs (above all ::≡::) and the codex contains some interesting features that are not decisively important for the present context (e.g., a drawing of three male figures on folio 132v at the end of the *Epistula Apostolorum* and before the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Peter*). The whole codex has 157 folios with two columns per page, twenty-one to twenty-seven lines per column and ten to twelve letters per line. Here, the twenty-one quires are quite regular with mostly eight folios, quires VI and VIII with six and quire XI with three.¹⁶ Some fundamental information on the codex is provided by NASSCAL.¹⁷ The official Internet pages of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) offer quality images of the complete codex.¹⁸

¹⁴ Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 124.

¹⁵ Cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 124–25.

¹⁶ Cf. Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition’, 187.

¹⁷ See NASSCAL at the website www.nasscal.com/manuscripta-apocryphorum/paris-bibliotheque-nationale-de-france-ethiopien-dabbadie-51; last accessed 21/02/2023.

¹⁸ See Bibliothèque Nationale de France online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100878602/f1.item.zoom>; last accessed 20/02/2023.

The five textual units are as follows:

- (1) Sargis of Aberga (apology in question-answer form; codex unicus)
- (2) Testament of Our Lord (cf. ms T no. 1)
- (3) Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Galilee (including *Epistula Apostolorum*; cf. cf. ms T no. 2)
- (4) The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead (including the *Apocalypse of Peter*; cf. ms T no. 3)
- (5) A Speech on the Glorious and Arcane Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners and a Dispute Concerning This Speech (cf. ms T no. 4)

2.1.3. Some General Observations

The two manuscripts are miscellaneous codices with five or nine texts. Nevertheless, there is an obvious correspondence between manuscripts P and T, because they share four texts, of which even the *Epistula Apostolorum* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are placed in the same sequence. Four out of five texts of manuscript P are present in manuscript T and four out of nine then of T in P, too, *and* these four are presented in the same order.

The design and writing of the manuscripts are quite careful. In ms T *and* P the *Apocalypse of Peter* is placed within ‘The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead’ (CAe 1127)¹⁹ and ‘A Speech on the Glorious and Arcane Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners and a Dispute Concerning This Speech’ (CAe 2132). The texts make up a Pseudo-Clementine ensemble that is only attested by the two manuscripts T and P.²⁰ A close connection to the ‘The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead’ is obvious, because the two texts share the same beginning which may be regarded as a ‘prologue’ for the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*.²¹

¹⁹ CAe = Clavis aethiopica. Searchable online platform at <https://betamasaheft.eu/works/list>; last accessed 19/02/2023.

²⁰ So Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition’, 179–96, and his contribution to this volume.

²¹ Cf. the ‘Prologue’ translated as the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Peter* by Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 163 (notes 266–67); E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 66, 74–76, while, e.g., Müller, ‘Die Offenbarung des Petrus’, 566, does not include it and R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar

Both manuscripts are from different centuries (fifteenth/sixteenth and eighteenth) and do not have the same layout (e.g., lines per page and line lengths, page dimensions, three and two columns), but stem from places at Lake Tānā in Ethiopia which are just about twenty kilometres apart from each other.

2.1.4. Questions

The following questions arise from the observations collected above and purely from a consideration of the Ethiopian manuscripts.

- What are the function and purpose of each of the two books (T and P), which have something in common but also differ from each other (see above), and what about their compilations of texts?
- Do both manuscripts originate from a (rather young) local, regional and/or monastic tradition (at Lake Tānā)?
- Does the placement of the *Apocalypse of Peter* suggest that there was/is an interrelation between this apocalypse and the Pseudo-Clementine writings in the two manuscripts?
- Is the transmission and preservation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* due to the function and placement of the text within the manuscripts? Would it have been lost otherwise?
- Is the function and purpose of the *Apocalypse of Peter* to be found within a specific argumentative strategy in the complete codex and not be seen in it as a text on its own?

2.2. *The Greek Manuscripts (P.Cair. 10759 and P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [4])*

2.2.1. The So-Called Akhmîm Codex P.Cair. 10759²²

The codex *P.Cair. 10759* (= Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 10759; Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Alexandria) was found in a tomb near

Kokhba', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 7–111 here 16 (= R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* [Leiden, 1998] 160–258 at 168), simply disqualifies it as not original (“It does not occur in the Ethiopic version, which has a lengthy title or prologue which certainly does not belong to the original text.”).

²² TM 59976, Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) 1088. See Trismegistos at www.trismegistos.org/text/59976; last accessed 21/02/2023.

Akhmîm [Panopolis] in 1886/1887.²³ Unfortunately, not much is known about the circumstances of the find. Urbain Bouriant speculated about certain issues in his publication and these were too often taken as granted so that they turned into facts thereafter. For instance, Bouriant concluded or, to be more precise, speculated that a codex with such texts indicates that the tomb it was found in was that of a monk. However, the Coptic monasteries – and these are the earliest sincere traces of Christianity in the surroundings – are too young for forming any background to that hypothesis.²⁴ Also rumours about the codex being lost – obviously due to a sentence in our edition that was misunderstood – could be debunked by a traveller’s report, who saw some of the *Enoch* folios in the *Bibliotheca Alexandrina* on display.

The rather small folios of the codex measure 12 cm in width and 15 cm in height. There are some holes in it, probable due to worms, rotting and decay. The parchment is rather thin and fine so that the letters from the other side can be seen through when the page is hold up to the light. Occasionally, letters left a mirror-inverted imprint on the opposite page, a process often visible in codices that were lying with their pages down and not standing upright on their binding and/or pages (and, therefore, due to pressure), and/or also due to possible changes between dryness and moisture.

The scribe’s hand is rather careful but is getting sloppier near the end of the texts. The scribe was competent to adjust his writing to the usual conventions (end-*v*, *nomina sacra* of κύριος, θεός and ἄνθρωπος [though κύριος and θεός are occasionally written out], enlarged letters at the end of lines etc.) and calculated the extent of writing in advance (see the decorative border with three crosses at the end of the *Gospel of Peter*). The rather individual hand of the texts of the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* writes “traditional capital

²³ The following mainly depends on Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 81–138. Also see the bibliography on pages 131–38. For concise studies of the text also see the relevant studies by Jan N. Bremmer, for instance, those in J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity. Collected Essays I* (Tübingen, 2017) 269–80, 281–93, 295–312, 313–28, 329–45.

²⁴ Cf. P. van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 15–39, here 17–19; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 25–27.

letterforms alongside more recent cursive letterforms”²⁵ which slant to the left. In contrast to the early editors and editions the codex is to be dated to the late sixth or early seventh century.²⁶ All in all, we find four different texts in four hands, though there is no ‘one text, one scribe’ correspondence there. The *Gospel of Peter* and *Apocalypse of Peter* are written in the same hand, *I Enoch* is written by two other scribes. The most competent hand is that of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus*, a single leaf that – according to Bouriant – was left in the binding. In between the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* a folio is left blank. The whole codex consists of thirty-three folios and a single leaf with one column per page, twenty-one to twenty-seven lines per column and ten to twelve letters per line. The five quires have twelve pages (*Gospel of Peter*), eight (*Apocalypse of Peter*), sixteen (*I Enoch*), sixteen (*I Enoch*), and sixteen (*I Enoch*). Consequently, the codex compiles four different texts as follows:

- (1) *Gospel of Peter* (beginning with a cross and $\alpha\omega$; ending with a decorative bordure)
- (2) *Apocalypse of Peter* (first page blank; beginning with a small cross [also on page 7]; bound upside down; ending on page eight, bottom lines left blank)
- (3) *I Enoch* (chapters 1 to 32)²⁷
- (4) *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus* (Tarsus/Antioch; fourth century, Cilicia, senatorial rank; arrested, tortured and killed under Diocletian)

2.2.1.1. Some General Observations

The codex consists of four different texts and was used as a funerary object. At least three texts offer thematic interrelations and motifs common to the others, too. If an apocalyptic and eschatological orientation was formative as it seems, the *Martyrdom of Julian of*

²⁵ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 20.

²⁶ Cf. G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300 – 800* (London, 1987) no. 41; van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, here 21 no. 8; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 29. For a precise palaeographic description see van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 20–21.

²⁷ Cf. the images published by Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (CSAD) at <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Apocrypha-Pseudepigrapha.html>; last accessed 25/02/2023.

Anazarbus would also fit well into the picture. Nevertheless, the sheet with the text was used for the binding so that its presence might not mean much or anything at all. At least this is what the first editor claimed. Peter van Minnen takes into consideration that

“the leaf merely stuck to the inside. Originally this may have been another quaternio consisting of four bifolia or eight leaves or sixteen pages. The missing leaves could in that case have fallen out before the codex was deposited in the tomb, but it is also possible that a stray leaf was used to strengthen the back cover.”²⁸

The texts written by various scribes were put together but not in an expected appropriate way. The *Apocalypse of Peter* was put in upside down and opens with a blank page, which may be left for an illustration equal to that on the first page of the *Gospel of Peter*.

The illustrations or decorative elements (cf. a large ornamental cross with α and ω on the first page without any text, two small crosses each indicating the beginning of both apocryphal Pseudo-Petrine texts, an ornamental border including three small crosses at the end of the text of the *Gospel of Peter*) should not be forgotten, because they determine the overall appearance of the codex as it stands. Interestingly, the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* ends with a complete sentence that stops in the middle of the line “and the letters in the last line are larger than in the rest of the text, indicating that it is the end.”²⁹

The third quire misses a leaf at its beginning and a full quire might have preceded the text as it is extant today. Thus, chapters 20 and 21 of *1 Enoch* were added at the front and the scribe put a note in the margin of the chapters in their correct place in order to indicate that these sections are to be found at the beginning of the text, too. In sum, the codex consists of quires written in various hands. Even the passages of *1 Enoch* stem from different scribes (third and fourth quire in the same, fifth quire by another hand).

2.2.1.2. Questions

- How come that these texts were bound together?
- Why was this codex used as a funerary object?

²⁸ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 22–23.

²⁹ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 22.

- Was the codex made up for the occasion of that specific tomb or were the texts or some quires in use before the compilation was put into the tomb?³⁰ Or were some quires of the codex compiled earlier and put together with the other texts for the burial?
- What about the *Vorlagen* of the individual texts preserved by *P.Cair.* 10759? Did the scribe of the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* have a longer *Vorlage* in front of him? Or was the *Vorlage* identical with what is preserved today?
- Do thematic and motivic issues link the texts close together or not (e.g., a context of martyrdom and persecution as a reason for the compilation; cf. *1 Enoch*)? Why is the *Apocalypse of Peter* directly starting with a warning against false prophets, a vision of paradise and then abruptly ends with a description of the cruel punishments in hell? At least this is what the portion of the *Apocalypse* has in Greek (but see the Ethiopic) and the quire seems to be complete, at least obviously in the eyes of its scribe.
- In how far do the blank pages, the ornamental crosses and border help in that respect (length and nature of the *Vorlage* or *Vorlagen*)? What about the ending of the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the middle of a line written in larger letters?
- Written by the same scribe, does this say anything about the inter-relation between the two apocryphal Pseudo-Petrine texts? Do both belong to the same text?³¹

³⁰ On this issue see the valid and careful thoughts of van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 19–27.

³¹ Cf. van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 27 (in contrast to L. Vaganay, *L’Évangile de Pierre* [Paris, 1929; 1930²] 190), sees a relation between them, “not in the sense that they are detached fragments of the same book, as many have thought, but in that the selection of both texts together was a coordinated effort which resulted in a set of two distinct texts transmitted together.” Further see M.R. James, ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* 12 (1911) 36–54, 362–83, 573–83, here 579–80; M.R. James, ‘The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* 32 [1931] 270–79, here 275–78 (who rejects Vaganay, *L’Évangile de Pierre*, 187–192); T. Nicklas, ‘Zwei petrinische Apokryphen im Akhmîm-Codex oder eines? Kritische Anmerkungen und Gedanken’, *Apocrypha* 16 (2005) 75–96, here 83–96 (= T. Nicklas, *Studien zum Petrus-evangelium* [Tübingen, 2020] 32–50, here 40–50).

- Why was the quire with the *Apocalypse of Peter* bound into the codex upside down? Is there an intention behind it (e.g., to treat both texts as being separate) or was it a coincidence?
- Does the order of text, as they were compiled in the codex, have a say about the overall concept behind the miscellaneous codex of *P.Cair. 10759*?
- In view of the quite remarkable performance of the scribes and with a focus on the one who copied the two Pseudo-Petrine texts, what does this say about the handling, reputation, function and purpose of the two texts *and* the two quires of the codex? In how far do papyrological details help here to assess texts and object, i.e., the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* on the one hand and their two quires and the codex *P.Cair. 10759* (with *1 Enoch* and the Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus) on the other?

2.2.2. A Miniature Codex³²

The second manuscript with a Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* consists of two fragments: the Bodleian (*Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*) and the Rainer fragment (*P.Vindob.G 39756*),³³ the first a folio (with the other half of the bifolium missing) and the second a bifolium. Both fragments evidently belong to the same codex,³⁴ whose provenance is unknown, though the style of writing may point in the direction of Alexandria.³⁵ A page is 5.3 cm wide and 7.8 cm high. The parchment is rather fine but of usual quality. The scribe wrote in a careful hand with some peculiarities that are not uncommon (e.g., ε)

³² Trismegistos (TM) 64361/LDAB 5583. See Trismegistos at www.trismegistos.org/text/64361; last accessed 24/02/2023.

³³ The following is based on T.J. Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]. Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalyypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61 and plates 3–4.

³⁴ Cf. T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalyypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98, here 76–77, and, above all, Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 45–61.

³⁵ Cf. Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 50, and Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 122, based on G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence, 1967) 85–87, and Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 56.

and he knew about the common conventions (end-v; *nomina sacra*; line filling; paragraph; apostrophe; trema; punctuation; double stops; preparing the writing field). The style is that of a late Biblical majuscule. The pieces are best dated to the second half of the fifth century.³⁶ All in all there are thirteen lines per page with eight to thirteen letters per line.

A particularity of the manuscript is that it belongs to the modern category of miniature codices introduced by Eric G. Turner, who set a limit for the width of a page as “less than 10 cm” for both papyrus and parchment codices.³⁷ An update of the two groups of miniature codices shows a considerable number of books or fragments with Christian apocryphal texts.³⁸ However, in comparison with all the entries in the preliminary database and some overall categories their number is not extraordinary or striking. There is still much to research into when it comes to miniature codices in (late) antiquity.³⁹ Nevertheless, the small codex *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P] + P.Vindob.G 39756* is a beautiful illustrative example of a small or even tiny book from the fifth century that raises a couple of questions (see below).

³⁶ Cf. Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]’, 46 and 50, and Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 122.

³⁷ Cf. E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977) 22 (quotation for papyrus codices) and 29–30 (similar quotation for parchment codices). Of course, also the height plays a role so that disproportions do not qualify for the category (see 21–22, 29).

³⁸ Cf. the miniature formats/codices and categories in T.J. Kraus, ‘Die Welt der Miniaturbücher in der Antike und Spätantike – Prolegomena und eine erste methodische Annäherung für eine Datensammlung’, *SNTU* 35 (2010) 79–110; T.J. Kraus, ‘Miniature Codices in Late Antiquity – Preliminary Remarks and Tendencies About a Specific Book Format’, *Early Christianity* 7 (2016) 134–52.

³⁹ Cf. Kraus, ‘Die Welt der Miniaturbücher’, 79–110; Kraus, ‘Miniature codices’, 134–52; T.J. Kraus, ‘Demosthenes and (late) Ancient Miniature Books from Egypt. Reflections on a Category, Physical Features, Purpose and Use’, in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts. Religious and Cultural Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 115–30; T.J. Kraus, ‘Small in Size, but Fabulous Artefacts. P.Ryl. III 463, P.Ryl. I 28, and Late Antique Miniature Books’, *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi* 38 (2021) 349–68.

Although the page count of the original small booklet cannot be determined at all, the two fragments demonstrate that they were not a single sheet. Moreover, the layout of the text and the design of the manuscript make it clear that a considerable length of text was to be expected, but unfortunately very little has survived.

The manuscript is also important for another reason. It has a reading that supports the assumption of salvation of transgressors who are already in punishment. This is proof of the textual and theological significance of the miniature codex, a matter already discussed elsewhere.⁴⁰

2.2.2.1. Some General Observations

This manuscript of the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* consists of two fragments of a miniature codex that was nicely produced. The scribe's hand is careful and competent. In addition, the codex is the oldest witness to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, though it is mostly not valued accordingly due to its rather short text compared to the Akhmîm Codex and the Ethiopic manuscripts. The extract it contains is about the Elysian Field and the Acherusian Lake, about idolators and the deliverance of the sinners who were already in their punishment.

Unfortunately, as already delineated above, the codex is not treated adequately. It is often taken as an aside or additional witness to the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁴¹ The Ethiopic is usually given priority over the Greek,⁴² while the miniature codex is rarely taken into account and if so just to certify the superiority of the Ethiopic version.⁴³ Eric J. Beck is right in stating: "These claims have until now

⁴⁰ Cf. T.J. Kraus, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten', in H. Klein, V. Mihoc, and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament*. (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96.

⁴¹ An exception to the rule is Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, who takes the text of the miniature codex seriously and follows it against the other manuscripts (71–72).

⁴² This prioritization was first voiced by James, *A New Text*, 10–23, then repeatedly reiterated or pushed, e.g., by Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 419; Müller, 'The Revelation of Peter', 564–66; R. Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter' 9–12 (162–165); Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 61.

⁴³ See, for instance, Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', 11 (164): "The general reliability of the Ethiopic version is confirmed by the two small

gone largely unchallenged in scholarship despite the lack of any detailed comparative analysis of the texts.”⁴⁴ This is not the place to discuss the line of arguments appropriately and comprehensively, but at least one aspect should be mentioned here: generally, the use of the future tense in the Ethiopic manuscripts is judged as fitting an eschatological and prophetic text more than the past tense used in the Greek Akhmîm text, which makes the narrative appear as a recounted vision. Consequently, what is extant on the miniature codex is regarded as a support of the Ethiopic text as it is set in the future tense, too.⁴⁵ But this does not automatically make the text of P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P] subordinate to the other text version and degrade it to a mere affirmation object. At least in parts, the text of the Greek fragments can also have priority over other readings.⁴⁶

2.2.2.2. Questions

- What does the miniature format of the codex tell about its owner, the value and use of its text? Why did a person want to have a small booklet with the *Apocalypse of Peter* in those days?
- What can be said about the small booklet and its text when it is contextualized among other extant miniature codices from the same time or shortly before or after the fifth century? In how far and which conclusions about socio-cultural aspects can be drawn with care?
- What does the codex tell about the circulation and preservation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the fifth century

Greek fragments and the patristic quotations.” For that Bauckham refers to James, ‘A New Text’, 367–75, 573–83; K. Prümm, ‘De genuino Apocalypsis Petri textu. Examen testium iam notorum et novi fragmenti Raineriani’, *Biblica* 10 (1929) 62–80; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 145–52, 418–22.

⁴⁴ Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 8 (for a sound discussion of the argumentation see 7–8 and 56–59). Meanwhile cf. E.J. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreananaye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon. Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (Edinburgh, 2021) 117–30, who at least partly tackles this problem.

⁴⁵ Cf. Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 129; Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]’, 58; Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 57.

⁴⁶ Following Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 56, 71–72.

- Why has the materiality of this interesting and important textual witness, especially its format, never been seriously taken into account for its significance and evaluation?
- How have the traditional reasons brought forward to support the absolute priority of the Ethiopic text not comprehensibly been challenged in detail? Why is a “detailed comparative analysis of the texts”⁴⁷ still missing?
- Even without such an analysis, what is the significance of the small booklet for the study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, as it is the oldest manuscript, written in a fine hand, well-formatted and a miniature codex?
- What if the text of the miniature codex was taken as a starting point and regarded as the oldest *and* most original text version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*? Would that change anything at all?
- What do its interrelations with overlapping sections in the Ethiopic version, but also in other texts, mean, e.g., in the *Sibylline Oracles*, *4 Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* and others?⁴⁸

3. Conclusion and Outlook

Some of the questions posed at the end of each chapter may seem superficial, superfluous, not really significant at first glance and even redundant. Others may provoke a second thought and a further reflection of aspects otherwise not considered. And again others should prompt reassessments or even efforts in new directions for the study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

Be that as it may, one aspect should never be forgotten: its textual versions in Ethiopic and Greek are extant in the form of archaeological objects, i.e., manuscripts; and they have something to offer that must be considered seriously and adequately.

⁴⁷ Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 8, who refers to the works by R.C. Helmer, ‘*That We May Know and Understand*’. *Gospel Tradition in the Apocalypse of Peter* (PhD Diss., Marquette University, 1998); J.V. Hills, ‘Parables, Pretenders, and Prophecies. Translation and Interpretation in the Apocalypse of Peter’, *Revue Biblique* 98 (1991) 560–73, who tried (58) “to uncover the Greek *Vorlage* of the Eth Apoc Pet.” See now Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter’, 117–30.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kraus, ‘Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse’, 85–99.

But how to deal with the manuscript and textual situation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* as it stands today? How should a critical edition or a modern translation look like? Are parallel columns a solution? But which version should be taken as the guiding text then? In regard to the different sequence of events in the Ethiopic manuscripts and the Akhmîm text (heaven or hell first), one attested sequence would have to be changed against its manuscript attestation.

The Ethiopic and Greek texts could be treated separately (see editions of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in medieval languages).⁴⁹ Another alternative would be the creation of a text-critical edition with a continuous text, for which the ‘best’ reading is selected as the result of an argumentatively responsible process, and which is supplemented with a critical apparatus. That would be close to other text editions (e.g., the so-called Nestle-Aland of the Greek New Testament). But maybe all that is too complex and cannot be solved anyway so that probably the only practical solution is “to follow the Eth Apoc Pet solely due to it being the most comprehensive recension currently extant.”⁵⁰ But that does not mean – as exemplified by Eric J. Beck with his English translation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* – that the other textual witnesses and their materiality do not get the scholarly appropriate place and due attention they deserve. Nevertheless, there is obviously no ideal or model solution to this problem and we will see what the next editions and translations will look like.

⁴⁹ Cf., e.g., L. Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli. Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apokryphe im lateinischen Mittelalter unter Einschluss der alttschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen* (Leiden, 2006); M. McNamara and C. Breatnach, ‘Visio Sancti Pauli’, in M. McNamara *et al.* (eds), *Apocrypha Hiberniae II. Apocalyptic 2* (Turnhout, 2019) 377–413.

⁵⁰ Cf. Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 58.

III. Die griechische *Petrusapokalypse* und paulinische Literatur: Beobachtungen am Text des Akhmîm-Codex

TOBIAS NICKLAS

Es ist im gegebenen Rahmen nicht nötig zu wiederholen, welche Schwierigkeiten die Beantwortung selbst der grundlegenden Einleitungsfragen bei einem Text wie der *Petrusapokalypse* macht, dessen Überlieferung uns nicht erlaubt, eine einigermaßen sichere Edition seines Ausgangs- oder gar eines Originaltexts zu erstellen. So gehe ich davon aus, dass die nach Jahren weitgehenden Schweigens intensiver werdenden Debatten um den Ursprung der Schrift auch noch weiter anhalten werden. Mir geht es im folgenden Beitrag nicht darum, meine Idee, dass eine Entstehung des Texts gut in Alexandrien denkbar wäre, neu zu verteidigen;¹ stattdessen möchte ich einen Schritt zurücktreten und grundlegender ansetzen, nämlich an dem Problem des Verhältnisses zwischen der *Petrusapokalypse* und anderen christlichen Schriften. Doch selbst ein solcher Ansatz ist noch nicht spezifisch genug: Der folgende Beitrag wird sich auf das im

¹ Vgl. hierzu v.a. T. Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek? The *Apocalypse of Peter* as a Witness of Second Century Christianity in Alexandria', in L. Arcari (Hg.), *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 27–46 und (etwas spekulativer) ders., 'Petrus-Diskurse in Alexandria. Eine Fortführung der Gedanken von Jörg Frey', in J. Frey, M. den Dulk und J.G. van der Watt (Hg.), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019) 99–127. Kritisch zuletzt E. Norelli, 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro come apocalisse cristiana', *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 17 (2020) 111–84 sowie ders., 'Les débats récents sur le rapport entre 2 Pierre et l'Apocalypse de Pierre. Le cas de la conflagration universelle' [unpublizierter Vortrag AELAC-Jahrestreffen im Juni 2021].

griechischen Akhmîm-Codex zu findende umfangreiche Fragment der *Petrusapokalypse* in griechischer Sprache konzentrieren² und die Frage stellen, inwiefern der uns hier vorliegende Text Spuren einer Kenntnis paulinischer Schriften erkennen lässt; dabei verstehe ich den Begriff „paulinische Schriften“ sehr offen und differenziere nicht zwischen echten und pseudepigraphischen Paulusbriefen. Beiseitelassen muss ich – schon aus Gründen des Umfangs dieser Arbeit – die Frage nach dem Verhältnis dieses Fragments zu den Evangelien des Neuen Testaments. Das Zueinander zum im gleichen Codex überlieferten, von gleicher Hand geschriebenen Fragment des *Petrusevangeliums* wiederum habe ich bereits mehrfach angesprochen.³ Auch das in den vergangenen Jahren oft und durchaus kontrovers diskutierte Problem des Verhältnisses zwischen *Petrusapokalypse* und Zweitem Petrusbrief (sowie indirekt dem Judasbrief) werde ich in diesem Beitrag nicht weiter aufgreifen.⁴

In einer früheren Publikation habe ich – sicherlich ein wenig mutig und in einer wohl auch nicht ganz glücklichen Formulierung – die Beobachtung, dass die *Petrusapokalypse* weder positiv von Paulus beeinflusst zu sein scheint, noch sich in irgendeiner Weise kritisch gegenüber ihm (oder Aspekten seines Gedankenguts) äußert,

² Edition: T.J. Kraus und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Das Petrusvangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin und New York, 2004). Die Übersetzungen stammen aus dieser Edition oder sind aus ihr adaptiert.

³ Vgl. T. Nicklas, ‘Das apokryphe *Petrusevangelium*. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung’, sowie ders., ‘Zwei petrinische Apokryphen im Akhmîm-Codex oder eines? Kritische Anmerkungen und Gedanken’, beide in T. Nicklas, *Studien zum Petrusvangelium* (Tübingen, 2020) 6–31 und 32–50.

⁴ Besonders differenziert hierzu W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus. Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2013) 97–143; ders., ‘Ein apokryphes Petrusbild im Neuen Testament. Zur Konstruktion apostolischer Autorität in OffbPetr und 2 Petr’, in J. Frey, C. Clivaz und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts. Processes of Reception, Rewriting, and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2019) 289–308, J. Frey, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus* (Leipzig, 2015) 170–74 und die kontroversen Beiträge in Frey, den Dulk und van der Watt, *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*. Hinzu kommt nun auch Norelli, ‘Les débats récents’.

als Argument dafür verwendet, dass der Text kaum in einem Kontext entstanden sein dürfte, in dem Paulus oder paulinisches Gedankengut eine Rolle spielt.⁵ Einen solchen Kontext sehe ich wiederum eher im Alexandrien des nicht zu späten 2. Jahrhunderts denkbar als an Orten, in denen der paulinische Einfluss schon früh erkennbar ist. Natürlich ist mir klar, dass ein solches Argument nicht mit der Kraft mathematischer Logik zu tragen vermag; seine Schwächen liegen offenkundig darin, dass wir weder ganz sicher von „der“ *Petrusapokalypse* sprechen können, weil uns ja verschiedene Textformen vorliegen, noch mögliche paulinische Einflüsse auf eine bekannte Textform sicher darauf schließen lassen, dass diese bereits in einer möglichen Urform der Schrift existierten. Hinzu kommt natürlich, dass wir, selbst wo wir zeigen können, dass ein Text keine für uns erkennbaren oder gar sicher feststellbaren Spuren paulinischen Einflusses zeigt, nicht mit letzter Sicherheit folgern können, dass der Autor Paulus nicht kannte oder in einem Kontext lebte, wo er ihn nicht kennen konnte. Als Teil einer Argumentation mit Indizien – und etwas Anderes bleibt uns, wie ich denke, in der Diskussion von Einleitungsfragen zu frühchristlicher Literatur kaum übrig – halte ich den Gedanken aber weiterhin für wert, verfolgt zu werden. Während mir im äthiopischen Text vor allem die Idee, dass die Auferstehung der Toten *gegen 1 Kor 15*, aber ohne Bezug auf diesen Text dort in keiner Weise mit dem Christusereignis verbunden scheint, ein Indiz dafür ist, dass grundlegende paulinische Gedanken in diesem Text keine Rolle spielen,⁶ möchte ich mich hier und heute schon alleine deswegen, weil der Vergleich griechischer Texte helfen kann, bestimmte methodische Probleme zu umgehen, auf das Fragment aus dem Akhmîm-Codex allein konzentrieren.

⁵ Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek', 29. Siehe nun auch die Kritik bei Norelli, 'Les débats récents'.

⁶ Weiterführend T. Nicklas, 'Resurrection – Judgment – Punishment. Apocalypse of Peter 4', in G. Van Oyen und T. Shepherd (Hg.), *Resurrection of the Dead. Biblical Traditions in Dialogue* (Leuven, 2012) 461–74 sowie (knapp) ders., 'Auferstehung zu Tod und Strafe. Unpaulinische Auferstehungsvorstellungen im frühen Christentum', in J. Verheyden, A. Merkt und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *If Christ has not been raised ... 'Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and the Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church* (Göttingen, 2016) 105–22, hier 113–15.

1. *Die Rede vom Sohn bzw. Söhnen des Verderbens:*

V. 1–3 der *Petrusapokalypse* in der Fassung des Akhmîm-Codex lauten folgendermaßen:⁷

Viele von ihnen werden Lügenpropheten sein und Wege und mannigfache Lehrsätze, die zum Verderben führen, vortragen.² Jene aber werden Söhne des Verderbens sein.³ Und dann wird Gott zu den an mich Glaubenden kommen, die hungern, dürsten und bedrängt sind und die in diesem Leben ihre Seelen bewähren, und er wird die Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit richten.

Die eben zitierte Passage hat keine klare Parallele im äthiopischen Text.⁸ Aufgrund der häufig in apokalyptischer Literatur inklusive der auch für den äthiopischen Text wichtigen synoptischen Endzeitreden begegnenden Motive des Auftretens von Pseudopropheten (vgl. Mt 7,15; 24,11.24; Mk 13,22; Lk 6,26; Apg 13,6; 2 Petr 2,1; 1 Joh 4,1; Offb 16,13; 19,20; 20,10) mit ihren Irrlehren, ihrer Bezeichnung als Söhne des Verderbens (V. 2) und Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit (V. 3) oder der Rede von der Bedrängnis der Glaubenden (V. 2) ist es naheliegend, dass die genannte Passage den Schluss einer ansonsten verlorenen Endzeitrede Jesu – oder besser: des „Herrn“⁹ – darstellt, die dann womöglich durch die synoptischen Parallelen beeinflusst ist. Die in diesen Versen verwendete Sprache erinnert jedoch auch an Teile des 2. Thessalonicherbriefes, den ich zwar als pseudepigraphisch, aber doch tief durch paulinisches Denken beeinflusst verstehe.¹⁰ Zwar spricht 2 Thess nicht vom Auftreten von Pseudopropheten, gehört aber in eine Strömung von Schriften, die sich gegen Formen der Prophetie, die nicht apostolisch abgesichert sind, äußern. Als Adressaten des

⁷ Übersetzungen des Texts der griechischen Petrusapokalypse nach Kraus und Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium und Petrusapokalypse* (übernommen oder leicht adaptiert).

⁸ Sie ist damit ein Indiz dafür, dass der erhaltene griechische und äthiopische Text doch deutlicher voneinander zu differenzieren sein dürften, als dies häufig geschieht.

⁹ Der für den griechischen Text wichtige Hoheitstitel „der Herr“ stellt eine der möglichen Verbindungslinien zum Fragment des Petrusvangeliums (ebenfalls im Akhmîm-Codex) dar.

¹⁰ Zu meiner Deutung des 2 Thess vgl. T. Nicklas, *Der Zweite Thessalonicherbrief* (Göttingen, 2019).

Texts sind auch in 2 Thess Glaubende angesprochen (2 Thess 1,3), die sich als in Bedrängnis befindlich verstehen (2 Thess 1,4.6–7). Neben diesen sehr unspezifischen Parallelen ergeben sich allerdings auch recht konkrete: 2 Thess 2,3 spricht von der Offenbarung eines „Menschen der Gesetzlosigkeit“ (ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας), der zugleich als „Sohn des Verderbens“ (υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας) beschrieben und später noch einmal als „der Gesetzlose“ (2 Thess 2,8: ὁ ἄνομος) bezeichnet wird. In 2 Thess 2,7 ist zudem vom bereits in der Gegenwart wirksamen „Mysterium der Gesetzlosigkeit“ (μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας) die Rede. Der Gesetzlose des 2 Thess allerdings wird nicht durch Gott selbst gerichtet, sondern durch einen Hauch aus dem Munde des Parusiechristus vernichtet werden (2 Thess 2,8). Zumindest die Kombination υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας (2 Thess 2,3 und Akhm. 2, V. 2) ist nicht insignifikant. Hinzukommt, dass das Thema „Gesetzlosigkeit“ (ἀνομία) für beide Texte so wichtig ist (2 Thess 2,3.8; Akhm. 2, V. 3), dass es als Attribut eines Gegenspielers bzw. einer Gruppe von Gegenspielern verwendet wird. Allerdings reichen die Parallelen kaum, um auf literarische Abhängigkeit schließen zu müssen: So stellt bereits Spr 13,2 und 24,22a (beide LXX) einen Bezug zwischen einem „Sohn“ und seinem möglichen „Verderben“ (bzw. seinem Entrinnen aus dem Verderben) her und spricht vor allem auch Joh 17,12 – offenbar ganz unabhängig von 2 Thess – vom υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, in diesem Zusammenhang wohl Judas.¹¹ Zudem wird klar, dass trotz ihrer verbalen Parallelen 2 Thess und die *Petrusapokalypse* mit sehr unterschiedlichen Denkmodellen arbeiten: 2 Thess reagiert auf eine Situation, in der sich auf Paulus berufende Gegner behaupten, „der Tag des Herrn sei schon da“ (vgl. 2 Thess 2,2). Vor diesem Hintergrund entwickelt der Text ein apokalyptisches Schema, das durch die Kombination verschiedener Motive Raum für die Geschichte der angesprochenen *Ekklesia* schafft. Erst am Ende dieser Zeit steht das Auftreten einer an die Figur des Antichristen erinnernden Gestalt, die als „Mensch der Gesetzlosigkeit“ und „Sohn des Verderbens“ bezeichnet wird und in dem jede Form menschlicher Hybris gebündelt zum Ausdruck kommt (vgl. 2 Thess 2,4). Erst das Auftreten Christi wird ihn vernichten. V. 1–3 der *Petrusapokalypse* im griechischen Akhmîm-Codex wiederum spricht stattdessen vom Auftreten von Lügenpropheten, die

¹¹ Die Identifikation ist nicht ganz eindeutig.

offenbar gleichzeitig als Irrlehrer wirken. Die von ihnen gelehrtten Wege und Lehrmeinungen (δόγματα) führen ins Verderben (V. 1). Deswegen können sie auch als „Söhne des Verderbens“ bezeichnet werden (V. 2). Ähnlich 2 Thess scheint auch V. 3 der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* von einer wie auch immer verstehbaren Parusie zu sprechen, welche zum Gericht über die „Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit“ führen wird. Diese Parusie ist jedoch ein Erscheinen Gottes zum Gericht, ohne dass dabei die Rede von Christus ist. Ob die genannten „Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit“ einfach mit den genannten Lügenpropheten bzw. dem Söhnen des Verderbens identisch sind oder eine größere Gruppe umfassen, bleibt jedoch fraglich. Damit legt sich eine konkrete Bezugnahme der *Petrusapokalypse* auf die genannten Passagen des 2 Thess trotz der wörtlichen Parallelen eher nicht nahe.¹² Obwohl eine literarische Beziehung natürlich nicht auszuschließen ist, gehe ich hier eher davon aus, dass beide Schriften auf sehr unterschiedliche Weise Anleihen aus dem allgemeinen und für viele frühjüdische und christliche Texte grundlegenden Motivbestand zur Beschreibung apokalyptischer Szenarien nehmen und diese im Blick auf ihre je eigenen Zwecke je neu und unabhängig voneinander zusammensetzen.

2. „Was kein Auge gesehen hat ...“

Der Ansatzpunkt des nächsten Argumentationsgangs findet sich in V. 7 der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* aus Akhmîm. Der Text lautet folgendermaßen:

Es ging nämlich von ihrem Angesicht ein Strahl wie von der Sonne aus und lichtglänzend war ihr Gewand von einer Art, wie es noch nicht das Auge eines M[enschen gesehen hat. Denn weder] vermag ein Mund zu schildern noch ein H[erz zu empfinden] die Herrlichkeit, in die sie gehüllt waren, und die Schönhei[t] ihres Angesichts.

Wir befinden uns in der Beschreibung der beiden „gerechten Brüder ..., die aus der Welt hinausgegangen waren“ (V. 5) und deren überirdische Herrlichkeit nun zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll. Natürlich verwenden v.a. die ersten beiden Sätze Motive, die wir auch

¹² Eher könnte man an einen (dann wie auch immer gearteten) Bezug zu 2 Petr denken, wo das Motiv der ἀπώλεια eine besonders wichtige Rolle spielt (vgl. 2 Petr 2,1 [2x].3; 3,7.16).

aus anderen Texten kennen, in denen Epiphanien himmlischer Gestalten beschrieben werden. Zum Ausdruck gebracht wird die Nähe der Gerechten zur Herrlichkeit Gottes oder dem Glanz von Engelwesen. Die Fortsetzung der Beschreibung jedoch könnte als Echo auf 1 Kor 2,9 gedeutet werden:

ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὓς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

Die Situation ist hier anders als in den V. 1–3. Die wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Texten sind vage: Am nächsten kommen einander sicherlich die Rede davon, dass „kein Auge gesehen hat“ (1 Kor 2,9: ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν; Akhm. 2, V. 7: οὐδέποτε ὀφθαλμὸς ἀν[θρώπου ?]) und das Motiv, dass etwas nicht auf das menschliche Herz gekommen sei (1 Kor 2,9: ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη; Akhm. 2, V. 7: καρ...). Das bei Paulus auf das Herz bezogene Genitivattribut ἀνθρώπου findet sich in Akhm. 2 wiederum in Bezug auf das Auge. Leider relativiert sich all dies in dem Moment, in dem klar wird, dass der Text des Akhmîm-Codex hier – vor allem im zweiten Teil in Bezug auf das Herz – (wenn auch in plausibler Weise) weitgehend rekonstruiert ist. Trotzdem könnte man, anders als im ersten Falle, vielleicht sogar noch einen Schritt weitergehen: Sollte 1 Kor 2,9 oder ein vergleichbarer Text im Hintergrund der Aussage im Akhm. 2 stehen, ließe sich V. 7 gar als Interpretation des in 1 Kor Gesagten deuten: Der Text beschreibe dann konkret, was bzw. welche Form von Existenz „Gott denen, die ihn lieben, bereitet hat“. Eine für die Einordnung der *Petrusapokalypse* in antike christliche Literatur auswertbare Aussage ergibt sich daraus jedoch nicht. Dies wiederum liegt nicht nur daran, dass sich kein literarischer Bezug zwischen V. 7 unseres Fragments und 1 Kor 2,9 sicherstellen lässt, sondern auch daran, dass Paulus selbst die genannte Passage als Schriftzitat einführt. Selbst wenn dessen konkrete Herkunft unklar bleibt, ist doch ein freier Bezug auf Jes 64,3 wahrscheinlich – und bereits im frühen Christentum existieren weitere Parallelen in 1 Clem 34,8; *EvThom* 17 oder den ersten Worten des apokryphen *Pseudo-Titusbriefs*, so dass von einem „freischwebende[n] Logion“¹³ auszugehen ist. Und natürlich ist auch nicht auszuschließen, dass ein Autor, welcher versucht,

¹³ D. Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen, 2010) 138, der auch weitere Parallelen bietet.

unsagbare, jenseitige Schönheit zu beschreiben, auf Vergleiche wie die hier gezogenen zurückgreift, ohne unbedingt literarische Vorbilder im Kopf zu haben.

3. *Die Leiblichkeit der Auferweckten*

Die im Akhmîm-Codex erhaltene Form der *Petrusapokalypse* setzt ganz offensichtlich die Vorstellung einer Weiterexistenz der Gerechten nach dem Tode voraus. Unklar ist, ob und inwiefern diese an die Auferweckung Christi gebunden ist¹⁴ und ob mit „Gerechten“ einfach an Christus Glaubende gemeint sind (oder diese ihre Gerechtigkeit auf andere Weise, z.B. durch ihre guten Taten, die Befolgung von Gottes Geboten etc. erworben haben).¹⁵ Ob das Gericht Gottes, das aus der Perspektive von V. 3 noch in der Zukunft liegt und bei dem die „Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit“ verurteilt werden, nicht (oder noch nicht) an den (immerhin verstorbenen) Gerechten vollzogen wurde oder ob diese überhaupt nicht gerichtet werden, bleibt unklar. Wahrscheinlich setzt der Text einfach ein Vernichtungsgericht an den „Söhnen der Gesetzlosigkeit“ voraus, ohne damit etwas über die Rolle der Gerechten bei diesem Gericht auszudrücken. Selbst wenn auch Paulus das Gericht Gottes als Zorngericht (z.B. Röm 1,18; 2,1–11; 1 Thess 1,10; 2,16; 5,9; vgl. auch Phil 3,18–20) oder durch Feuer verzehrendes Vernichtungsgericht (z.B. 1 Kor 3,13–17) beschreiben kann, gehen die Parallelen zur griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* nicht weiter, als dass beide sich als Teil einer breiten biblisch-frühjüdischen Tradition auffassen lassen.¹⁶ Parallelen zu paulinischem Denken müssen hier deswegen nicht gezogen werden.¹⁷ Vielleicht am nächsten

¹⁴ Im äthiopischen Text ist ein solcher Bezug nicht hergestellt.

¹⁵ Zur Diskussion dieser Frage siehe unten.

¹⁶ Hierzu vgl. das Material bei M. Konradt, *Gericht und Gemeinde. Eine Studie zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Gerichtsaussagen im Rahmen der paulinischen Ekklesiologie und Ethik in 1 Thess und 1 Kor* (Berlin, 2003) 57–65. Einen knappen, zugleich sehr hilfreichen Überblick über paulinische Vorstellungen des göttlichen Gerichts bietet auch J. Frey, ‘Gericht und Gnade’, in F.-W. Horn (Hg.), *Paulus Handbuch* (Tübingen, 2013) 471–79.

¹⁷ Gleichzeitig spielt der in Röm 16,20 angedeutete Gedanke, dass mit dem Endgericht auch der Satan vernichtet wird, für die *Petrusapokalypse* keine Rolle: Satan kommt in diesem Text – auch in dessen Hölle – gar nicht vor.

kommen noch Gedanken aus dem 1. Thessalonicherbrief, da auch 1 Thess 1,10 offenbar davon ausgeht, dass die Mitglieder der *Ekklesia* nicht in das Zorngericht Gottes müssen, weil der auferweckte Jesus sie diesem Gericht entreißen wird.¹⁸ Auch die Sorge der Thessalonicher um das Schicksal der vor der Parusie „Entschlafenen“ (1 Thess 4,13) scheint zumindest verwandt mit der Bitte der Zwölf, ihnen einen „unserer gerechten Brüder zu zeigen, die aus der Welt hinausgegangen waren“ (Akhm. 2, V. 5). Obwohl beide Passagen keinerlei wörtliche Übereinstimmungen aufweisen, geht es in beiden Fällen darum, Mut zu fassen bzw. Mut zusprechen zu können. Der Vergleich zeigt jedoch auch den fundamentalen Unterschied zwischen beiden Texten: 1 Thess 4,13 scheint auf die Sorge zu reagieren, dass die Entschlafenen für die erhoffte Zukunft mit Christus gänzlich verloren sein könnten; die *Petrusapokalypse* scheint eine Fortexistenz nach dem Tode vorauszusetzen und fragt deswegen nach der konkreten μορφή derer, die „aus der Welt hinausgegangen waren“.

Allerdings reiht sich die *Petrusapokalypse* in eine Gruppe von Schriften ein, die wenigstens für die (wann auch immer und in welcher Weise auch immer) auferweckten Gerechten eine Verwandlung ihrer Leiblichkeit erwarten. In den paulinischen Schriften ist dabei zunächst einmal an 1 Kor 15 zu denken. Hier wird, basierend auf der Botschaft von Tod und Auferweckung Christi (1 Kor 15,1–11), zunächst die Frage nach der Auferweckung der Toten allgemein gestellt (1 Kor 15,12–34) und dann das Problem aufgeworfen, „wie die Toten auferstehen und in was für einem Leib sie kommen“ (1 Kor 15,35). Während die *Petrusapokalypse* aber nach der μορφή der Gerechten fragt, die aus der Welt gegangen sind (V. 5; vgl. auch V. 13), konzentriert sich Paulus auf die Begriffe σῶμα (1 Kor 15,35.37.38.40.44) und σάρξ (1 Kor 15,39.50). Trotzdem sind die Bilder, die er verwendet, wenigstens verwandt mit denen, die wir in der *Petrusapokalypse* finden: Der in V. 7 der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* verwendete Vergleich mit der Sonne findet sich wie auch die Rede von der Herrlichkeit der Gerechten in 1 Kor 15 wieder,

¹⁸ Dies allerdings scheint zumindest dahingehend relativiert, dass sie (siehe 1 Thess 4,3–6) „darauf achtzugeben [haben], daß sie sich nicht durch ‚heidnischen‘ Wandel als Gottes unwürdig präsentieren.“ (Konradt, *Gericht und Gemeinde*, 196 [siehe auch allgemeiner Konradts Deutung der paulinischen Gerichtsaussagen in 1 Thess]).

wenn auch in sehr unterschiedlichen Kontexten: Von der Sonne spricht Paulus nur im Vergleich mit dem Mond und anderen Gestirnen (1 Kor 15,41). 1 Kor 15,40–41 thematisiert zwar mehrfach die Herrlichkeit der Somata, die nicht irdisch sind, verwendet dabei aber das Attribut *ἐπουράνια*, während die Auferweckten für Akhm. 2 eben nicht in einem „Himmel“, sondern einem „sehr großen Land außerhalb dieser Welt“ (V. 15), welches mit allen Attributen eines Paradieses beschrieben wird.¹⁹ Damit aber ist noch nicht einmal berücksichtigt, dass Paulus gar nicht von den Leibern der Auferweckten, sondern von Himmelskörpern spricht. Zwar nimmt Paulus das Motiv der Herrlichkeit dessen, was aufersteht, auch weiter auf (1 Kor 15,43), dazu aber auch die Paare „verweslich – unverweslich“ oder „in Schwäche – in Kraft“ (1 Kor 15,42–43), die keine Rolle in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* spielen, wo stattdessen mehrfach die unbeschreibliche Schönheit (*κάλλος*) der Gerechten beschrieben wird (V. 7.9.11; vgl. auch V. 10: „Wohlgestalt“ – *εὐπρέπεια*). Vor allem aber zeigt die *Petrusapokalypse* keine konkreten Anklänge an den Zielpunkt der paulinischen Unterscheidung – die Rede von einem *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, das den Auferweckten anstelle eines *σῶμα ψυχικόν* zukomme (1 Kor 15,44).²⁰ Auch die Bezüge zwischen der *Petrusapokalypse* des Akhmîm-Codex und Phil 3,23, wo Paulus von der Umformung des Leibes der Niedrigkeit und Schwäche gleichgestaltig (*σύμμορφον*) zum „Leib seiner Herrlichkeit“ (*σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*) spricht, sind nicht klar genug, um an eine literarische Abhängigkeit denken zu lassen. Immerhin jedoch erleichtert der Vergleich den Blick auf das spezifische Profil der *Petrusapokalypse*: Der entscheidende Punkt der Bitte der Jünger an Jesus, ihnen die gerechten Brüder zu zeigen, ist damit begründet, Mut fassen und anderen Mut zusprechen zu können. Anders formuliert: Die *Petrusapokalypse* fragt also letztendlich danach, ob den Gerechten nach ihrem Tode ein angemessener Lohn gewährt werde; die Jünger bitten somit darum, dass ihnen das Ergebnis der Gerechtigkeit Gottes präsentiert werde.²¹

¹⁹ Gleichzeitig wird dieser Begriff nicht explizit verwendet.

²⁰ Natürlich ist der Leib der in der *Petrusapokalypse* begegnenden Gerechten ein verwandelter Leib, es fehlt aber jeder Anklang an die Idee, dass er – in welchem Sinne auch immer – als „pneumatisch“ zu verstehen sei.

²¹ Im Grunde ist dies eher verwandt mit der Funktion der Johannesapokalypse, wenn man diese (auch) als Antwort auf die Frage der unter dem

Die drei folgenden Teile des griechischen Textfragments bieten im Grunde alle Antworten auf diese Frage: Gestalt der Gerechten (V. 5–13), Wohnort der Gerechten (V. 14–20) und schließlich Strafort für die Ungerechten (V. 21–34).

4. *Gerechtigkeit*

Das Thema „Gerechtigkeit“ ist für die *Petrusapokalypse* offenbar von entscheidender Bedeutung, verwendet sie doch das (in V. 14 substantivierte) Adjektiv δίκαιος sechsmal (V. 5.13.14.20.25.27) und spricht dreimal von δικαιοσύνη (V. 22.23.28). Könnte sich hier ein Bezug zu paulinischem Denken erkennen lassen, in dem „Gerechtigkeit“ und „Rechtfertigung“ bekanntlich eine Schlüsselrolle spielen? Dass die Frage nach der Rolle der „Gerechtigkeit“ bei Paulus selbst, dann aber auch in ihren Weiterentwicklungen in pseudepigraphischen Schriften des Corpus Paulinum kaum in wenigen Sätzen angemessen zu beantworten ist, ist klar.²² So beginne ich zunächst einmal damit, was die griechische *Petrusapokalypse* zur Gerechtigkeit sagt (und bin mir dessen bewusst, dass ich es mit einem Fragment zu tun habe, dessen Vorstellungswelt und Denkerüst selbst ein einzelner neu entdeckter Satz verändern könnte).

In den Vv. 5, 13, 14 und 20 ist jeweils in leichter Variation von den „gerechten Brüdern“ (V. 5 und 13) sowie den „Gerechten“ (V. 14) bzw. den „gerechten Menschen“ (V. 20), die Rede; konkret gemeint sind jeweils Menschen, die als Gerechte verstorben sind. Die Tatsache, dass sie als „Brüder“ bezeichnet sind, erinnert natürlich an die gegenseitige Anrede der Christusanhänger*innen als Brüder und Schwestern, die schon bei Paulus zu finden, gleichzeitig aber im frühen Christentum so weit verbreitet ist, dass sich daraus keine literarischen Bezüge ableiten lassen. Die konkrete Frage, was es denn bedeutet, gerecht zu sein, oder an welchen Kriterien sich dies entscheidet, wird nicht gestellt. Auch von einem Zusammenhang zwischen

himmlischen Opferalter befindlichen Seelen der Geschlachteten versteht: „Wie lange noch zögerst du, Herr, du Heiliger und Wahrhaftiger, Gericht zu halten und unser Blut an den Bewohnern der Erde zu rächen?“ (Offb 6,10).

²² Eine überblicksartige Zusammenfassung bietet z.B. H. Klein, *Entwicklungslinien im Corpus Paulinum und weitere Studien zu Paulustexten* (Göttingen, 2016) 158–73.

Christusglauben und Gerechtigkeit ist wenigstens hier nicht die Rede. Auffallend ist in diesem Zusammenhang im Grunde selbst schon V. 3, wo von den „an mich Glaubenden“ die Rede ist, welche „hungern und dürsten“, aber – anders als in Mt 5,6 – nicht von einem „Hungern und Dürsten nach Gerechtigkeit“ die Rede ist.

Die anderen Stellen zeigen, wie wichtig der (auch weiterhin sehr offen verwendete) Begriff der Gerechtigkeit für in der *Petrusapokalypse* erfolgende Konstruktion der Identität von Christusanhänger*innen zu sein scheint:²³ Gleich zweimal finden wir in dem ab V. 21 beschriebenen „anderen Ort“ die Bestrafungen derer, „die den Weg der Gerechtigkeit gelästert hatten“ (V. 22 und V. 28). V. 23 wiederum spricht von Menschen, die sich „von der Gerechtigkeit abgewandt hatten“, V. 27 beschreibt den Strafort derer, die „die Gerechten verfolgt und sie ausgeliefert hatten“. Damit aber ist klar: die hinter dem Text stehende Wir-Gruppe – man würde sie aus heutiger Sicht als die „Christen“ bezeichnen – versteht sich selbst als „die Gerechten“ bzw. als den „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“.²⁴ Sie leben in einer Welt, in der sie durch Irrlehren gefährdet sind, welche Wege aufzeigen, die zum Verderben führen (V. 1). V. 27 wiederum ist kaum sinnvoll, wenn sie sich, als Gerechte, nicht auch verfolgt fühlen (oder tatsächlich verfolgt werden); V. 23 scheint vorauszusetzen, dass der Druck von außen zum Abfall von der Wir-Gruppe geführt haben mag. Nur an einer Stelle – in V. 25, der Beschreibung des Schicksals der „Mörder und ihrer Mitwisser“ – ist von der Gerechtigkeit Gottes bzw. besser: seines Urteils – die Rede, und zwar im Munde der einst Ermordeten, die zu Zeugen der Züchtigung ihrer einstigen Peiniger werden.

Von spezifisch paulinischen Vorstellungen von „Gerechtigkeit“ ist all dies sehr weit entfernt. Immerhin mag es interessant sein, dass die „an mich“, d.h. „Christus, den Herrn“, „Glaubenden“ sich

²³ Wir müssen nicht unbedingt davon ausgehen, dass sich eine frühchristliche Gruppierung konkret von dem Denken der *Petrusapokalypse* her definierte, trotzdem aber lässt sich bestimmen, welche Schwerpunkte „christlicher Identitätskonstruktion“ – ich bin mir der Probleme des Begriffs bewusst – die *Petrusapokalypse* (oder besser: der hier konkret untersuchte Textzeuge) literarisch setzt.

²⁴ Vgl. auch die Gedanken in T. Nicklas, 'I saw Another Place ... (ApcPet 21). The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* and its Otherworldly Landscape of Memories', in T. Hatina und J. Lukeš (Hg.), *Social Memory Theory and Conceptions of Afterlife in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden, 2022) 251–66.

gleichzeitig als „Gerechte“ bezeichnen – und so wenigstens implizit ein Bezug zwischen Christusglauben und Gerechtigkeit hergestellt ist. Dieser Bezug aber verbleibt – anders als bei Paulus – vollkommen unkonkret; Parallelen zu einer (wie auch immer verstandenen) paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre müssen auch nicht vorausgesetzt werden, um den Text zu deuten.

Als weitere Möglichkeit, den Begriff der Gerechtigkeit in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* zu erhellen, bleibt schließlich der Blick in die Hölle, in die ja die Ungerechten einziehen, obwohl diese nirgends explizit als solche bezeichnet werden. Der Blick auf die Vergehen derer, die wir in dieser Hölle finden, könnte jedoch – wenigstens indirekt – helfen, die Gerechtigkeitsvorstellung der *Petrusapokalypse* zu erhellen. Dabei lassen sich, soweit ich sehe, zwei Gruppen von „Sündern“ differenzieren: diejenigen, die sich, wie oben beschrieben, aufgrund ihres Verhältnisses zu den Gerechten (als Lasterer, Verfolger, Abgefallene etc.) qualifizieren lassen, und diejenigen, deren Verfehlungen konkret genannt werden. Es handelt sich um Ehebrecher und Ehebrecherinnen (V. 24), Mörder und ihre Mitwisser (V. 25), Frauen, die ihre Kinder abgetrieben haben (V. 26), Reiche, die sich nicht der Waisen und Witwen erbarmt haben (V. 30),²⁵ Geldverleiher*innen (V. 31), Menschen, die gleichgeschlechtlichen Sexualverkehr betrieben (V. 32), und solche, die hölzerne Götzenbilder produzierten (V. 33). Unklar ist, zu welcher Gruppe die in V. 29 genannten Lügenzeugen gehören – es könnte sich um Menschen handeln, die in Prozessen gegen „Christen“ auftreten; der Text zwingt aber nicht zu dieser Schlussfolgerung. In einem jüngeren Artikel hat Michael Sommer (allerdings an den in etwa parallelen Aussagen der äthiopischen *Petrusapokalypse*) gezeigt, dass es möglich ist, „die Ethik der Hölle als eine Form der Tora-Auslegung zu sehen.“²⁶ Dabei

²⁵ Dass dieses Motiv paradigmatisch für ein christliches Ethos stehen soll, das auf Motiven prophetischer Kultkritik aufbaut, zeigt M. Sommer, *Witwen, Recht und Gerechtigkeit. Diskurse über Witwen im frühen Christentum als Rezeptionsorte prophetischer und weisheitlicher Kultkritik gelesen* (Tübingen, 2024) [im Druck].

²⁶ M. Sommer, ‘Von Monstern und Männern. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit E. Reinmuths „Parodien der Macht“’, in S. Alkier und C. Böttrich (Hg.), *Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft in gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung. Studien im Anschluss an Eckart Reinmuth* (Leipzig, 2017) 353–73, hier 366.

erkennt er Parallelen zur Vorstellung der Gerechtigkeit, wie sie in einem Cluster von die Tora auslegenden prophetischen Schriften wie Jes 1 (Diebstahl, Bestechlichkeit, Recht von Witwen und Waisen beugen), Jer 7 (Götzendienst, Mord, Diebstahl, Ehebruch, Blutvergießen, Recht von Witwen und Waisen beugen) und Ez 22 (Götzendienst, Vater und Mutter ehren, Sabbatobservanz, Mord, Frau des Nächsten, Blutvergießen, Recht von Witwen und Waisen beugen, Sexualvorschriften in Zusammenhang mit Lev 18) zu finden sind.²⁷ Besonders spezifisch erscheint mir dabei das in V. 30 genannte Motiv der Erbarmungslosigkeit gegen Waisen und Witwen, das hier sogar explizit mit dem Gebot Gottes in Verbindung gebracht wird. Die „Hölle“ der *Petrusapokalypse* scheint also eine Form von Gerechtigkeit vorzusetzen, die sich in die Tradition prophetischer Tora-Auslegung einschreiben lässt. Gleichzeitig aber hält diese Darstellung der Hölle auf spannende Weise eine Balance: vieles, was wir in ihr finden, lässt sich als Tora-Auslegung deuten. Gleichzeitig legt der Text keinen Wert auf eine allzu spezifische Ethik, die in besonderer Weise *Boundary Markers* zwischen jüdischer und paganer Welt betont. Wolfgang Grünstäudl hat deswegen mit Recht darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass viele „der in der petrinischen Hölle geahndeten Vergehen ... auffälligerweise die Verletzung von sozialetischen, das Alltagsleben betreffenden Normen“ beschreiben. Er schreibt:

„Salopp gesprochen könnte man hier die Umriss einer etwas biederen Hölle erkennen, deren pädagogischer Nutzen für das Diesseits wohl am ehesten in der Bewahrung eines mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft konformen Sozialgefüges besteht.“²⁸

Wo man die Beobachtungen Sommers nicht im Widerspruch zu denen von Grünstäudl liest, entsteht ein spannendes Zueinander: der Text kommuniziert offenbar in (mindestens) zwei Richtungen. Er bietet Leser*innen mit jüdischem Hintergrund Anknüpfungspunkte für ihr eigenes Traditionsverständnis und er signalisiert Rezipient*innen mit

²⁷ Mit mehr Details Sommer, 'Von Monstern', 366–69.

²⁸ Beide Zitate bei W. Grünstäudl, 'Enthüllung im Fragment – Notizen zu Überlieferungsgestalt und Figureninventar der Offenbarung des Petrus', in J. Verheyden, T. Nicklas und E. Hernitscheck (Hg.), *Shadowy Characters and Fragmentary Evidence. The Search for Early Groups and Movements* (Tübingen, 2017) 109–32, hier 120.

paganem Hintergrund, dass die Ethik der „Wir-Gruppe“ hinter dem Text gesamtgesellschaftlich durchaus kompatibel ist, dass gleichzeitig aber der gerechte Gott jede Verfolgung und Verspottung dieser Gerechten bestrafen wird. Mit spezifisch paulinischen Ideen von Gerechtigkeit, die zunächst einmal an der Gerechtigkeit Gottes ansetzt, welche sich als machtvolle Heilstat im Christuseignis erweist und gleichzeitig in heilvoller Weise gerecht machend wirkt, hat dies im Grunde nichts zu tun – selbst wenn natürlich auch Paulus seine Ethik mit Aspekten der Tora begründen kann.²⁹ Stattdessen sehe ich in der Idee, diejenigen, die offenbar in Opposition zur Wir-Gruppe stehen, wenigstens literarisch in die Hölle zu schicken, eine gewisse Nähe zur Johannesapokalypse, ohne deswegen schon an literarische Abhängigkeiten denken zu wollen. Auch dort kann die Gerechtigkeit Gottes als eine vergeltende Gerechtigkeit verstanden werden, die denen Recht verschafft, welche dies nicht selbst tun können (und sollen).³⁰

5. Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit

Während die konkrete Vorstellung von Gerechtigkeit in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* sich kaum in Bezug zu spezifisch paulinischen Ideen setzen lässt, ist die im Text erkennbare Rede vom „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ (vgl. V. 22 und 28), der auch als „Weg Gottes“ bezeichnet werden kann (V. 34) und dem offensichtlich „Wege und mannigfache Lehrsätze, die zum Verderben führen“ (V. 1), entgegenstehen, hoch spannend. Dies erinnert natürlich einerseits an Schriften wie die *Didache* oder den *Barnabasbrief* mit ihren Zwei-Wege-Lehren. Dass V. 1 eine solche Verbindung zwischen „Lehre“ und „Weg“ herstellt, macht den Bezug noch deutlicher. Entscheidend aber für die *Petrusapokalypse* scheint die Tatsache zu sein, dass die Rede vom „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ bzw. dem „Weg Gottes“ als eine Art von Selbstbezeichnung der hinter der Schrift stehenden Gruppe zu verstehen ist. Dies erinnert natürlich nicht an einen Text aus dem

²⁹ Weiterführend M. Meiser, ‘Das Verhältnis zur Tora’, in Horn, *Paulus Handbuch*, 444–49 sowie die Beiträge in dem Band M. Meiser (Hg.), *The Torah in the Ethics of Paul* (London und New York, 2012).

³⁰ Hierzu weiterführend T. Nicklas, ‘Retribution in the Book of Revelation’, in S. Ramond und R. Burnet (Hg.), *Retribution* (Leuven, 2023) [im Druck].

Corpus Paulinum selbst, aber doch an die Apostelgeschichte – immerhin eine Schrift, die für die Paulusrezeption in höchstem Maße bedeutsam ist. Im Anschluss an das Lukasevangelium mit seiner Theologie vom „Weg des Heils“³¹ (vgl. aber auch Apg 16,17) spielt die Rede vom Weg bereits an sich auch in der Apostelgeschichte eine entscheidende Rolle. Das Wort ὁδός findet sich im Text der kritischen Ausgaben insgesamt 20-mal: vom Geist Gottes getriebenes Gehen und Bewegung entlang von Wegen, an denen Christus begegnet und handelt (z.B. Apg 8,26.36.39; 9,17.27; 26,13; vgl. auch 13,10), aber auch Verharren an einem Ort (Apg 1,12) erzeugen eine Dynamik, die für den Plot der Apostelgeschichte – auch in der Rückschau auf die Geschichte Israels und der Welt (z.B. Apg 2,28; 14,16) – entscheidend ist. Einige Stellen gehen noch weiter: Zwar ist die Apostelgeschichte auch ein Zeugnis für die frühe Verwendung der Gruppenbezeichnung „Christen“ (oder besser: „Christianer“; vgl. Apg 11,26; 26,28); wichtiger erscheint jedoch die Rede von „denen, die zum Weg gehören“ (Apg 9,2: τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας; vgl. auch 24,22), als wenigstens eine Bezeichnung der Gruppe von Christusanhänger*innen,³² in die man durch Katechese in den „Weg des Herrn“ (Apg 18,25) bzw. den „Weg Gottes“ (Apg 18,26; vgl. Akhm. 2, V. 34) eingeführt werden muss und die eine Möglichkeit eröffnet, dem Gott der Väter zu dienen (Apg 24,14 im Munde des Paulus). Apg 19,9 spricht sogar von Gruppen in der Synagoge von Ephesus, die „in aller Öffentlichkeit übel über den Weg redeten“ (κακολογοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους; vgl. Akhm. 2, V. 22 und 28) und 19,23 von einem „nicht geringen Aufruhr um den Weg“ (τὰράχος οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ), während Paulus in 22,4 von seiner „Verfolgung dieses Wegs bis zum Tode spricht“ (ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδίωξα ἄχρι θάνατου) spricht. Die Entsprechungen zu dem, was wir in der

³¹ Weiterführend H. Klein, 'Der Weg des Heils. Das theologische Konzept des Lukas', in ders., *Lukasstudien* (Göttingen, 2005) 105–18. Klassisch auch E. Repo, *Der 'Weg' als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums* (Helsinki, 1964).

³² Dass die Konstruktion von Gruppenidentitäten in der Apostelgeschichte hoch komplex ist, zeigt S. Alkier, 'Terminologien kollektiver Identitäten in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas', in ders. und H. Leppin (Hg.), *Juden – Heiden – Christen? Religiöse Inklusion und Exklusion in Kleinasien bis Decius* (Tübingen, 2018) 301–32.

Petrusapokalypse finden, lassen sich kaum von der Hand weisen, sie erfordern aber natürlich keinerlei literarische Beziehung zur Apostelgeschichte. Es reicht, wenn auch dem Autor der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* die Selbstbezeichnung als „Weg“ bekannt war, dass auch diese sich als „Weg“ bezeichnende Gruppe von Christusanhänger*innen sich unter Druck von außen sieht, Spott und Verfolgung erfährt – und dass er sie – etwas anders als die Apg – als „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ bezeichnet. Vor allem aber ist es naheliegend, die Parallele zu 2 Petr zu ziehen, dessen Nähe zur *Petrusapokalypse* ja schon mehrfach beschrieben wurde:³³ Hier ist besonders an 2 Petr 2,2 zu denken, wo die Rede vom „Weg der Wahrheit“ sehr nahe einer Selbstbezeichnung der angesprochenen Gruppe von Christusanhängern kommt, und wohl auch an 2 Petr 2,21, wo behauptet wird, für die Gegner sei es besser, wenn sie „den Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ nicht erkannt hätten.³⁴

6. Fazit

Obwohl ich nicht ausschließen kann, dass es weitere Möglichkeiten geben mag, Parallelen zu paulinischen Texten zu entdecken, ergibt sich bereits jetzt, dass sich die Annahme, wenigstens der Text des griechischen Fragments der *Petrusapokalypse* aus Akhmîm sei kaum spezifisch paulinisch beeinflusst, wohl auch weiterhin halten lässt. Will man V. 27 nicht als Anspielung auf den Christenverfolger Paulus sehen,³⁵ scheint sich auch keine Pauluspolemik erkennen zu lassen. Ich halte wenigstens die im Akhmîm-Codex vorliegende Form des Texts auch weiterhin für eine christliche Schrift, die in der Lage ist, Paulus und paulinisches Denken zu ignorieren; ich kann mir auch nicht vorstellen, dass wir es mit einer Spätfassung zu tun haben, die

³³ Sekundärliteratur hierzu in Anmerkung 4.

³⁴ Dazu kommt 2 Petr, 2,15, wo den Gegnern unterstellt wird, sie hätten den „geraden Weg“ verlassen und folgten nun dem „Weg Bileams“. Hier sind wir jedoch wohl am weitesten von der Idee entfernt, dass die angesprochene Gruppe sich in irgendeiner Weise mit dem Bild des Wegs identifiziert.

³⁵ Hier wird das endzeitliche Los derer beschrieben, die „die Gerechten verfolgt und sie ausgeliefert hatten“ (V. 29). Natürlich gilt dies letztlich auch für die frühen Jahre des Paulus; der Text ist jedoch zu unspezifisch, um ihn hier im Blick zu sehen.

von paulinischen Einflüssen gereinigt worden wäre. Die grundlegende These gewinnt noch einmal an Plausibilität, wenn wir bedenken, wie naheliegend es gewesen wäre, in der Beschreibung eines höllischen Orts wenigstens einmal von „Sünde“ (ἁμαρτία) zu sprechen. Wörter mit der Wurzel αμαρτ- werden jedoch in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* kein einziges Mal verwendet; für die (implizite) Soteriologie der *Petrusapokalypse* fällt damit aber ein Schlüsselbegriff paulinischen Denkens vollkommen aus (vgl. stattdessen das einmalig verwendete ἀνομία in V. 3). Während die Tatsache, dass der erhaltene, nicht allzu lange griechische Text das Christusereignis aus Kreuz und Auferweckung nicht zu spiegeln scheint, einfach am Genre wie dem fragmentarischen Charakter der Szenenfolge liegen mag (und eventuell durch eine Verbindung mit dem *Petrusevangelium* im gleichen Codex aufgefangen ist), ist zudem auffallend, dass der ebenfalls für Paulus entscheidende Begriff des Glaubens weitestgehend zurücktritt.³⁶ So findet die Rede von den „mir Treuen“ bzw. den „an mich Glaubenden“ (V. 3: τοὺς πιστοῦς μου) keine exakte Parallele in den paulinischen Schriften, wo zunächst einmal die Treue Gottes bzw. Christi betont wird. Die einzige Stelle, an der die griechische *Petrusapokalypse* das Verb πιστεύω verwendet (V. 24), hat nichts mit dem Glauben an Gott oder dem Christusglauben zu tun, sondern mit dem Irrglauben der bestraften Ehebrecher, „nicht an diesen Ort zu kommen“; von der πίστις wiederum lesen wir an keiner Stelle. Auch dies mag dem Genre und der Kürze des Texts geschuldet sein. Insgesamt aber scheint mir auch dies den allgemeinen Eindruck zu bestätigen, der sich aus der Untersuchung ergibt. Ein kleiner Punkt kann den bisherigen Beobachtungen hinzugefügt werden: So schwierig es ist, das präzise Zueinander zwischen den verschiedenen Textformen der *Petrusapokalypse* und dem zweiten Petrusbrief zu erarbeiten, so sehr halte ich die Tatsache, dass die *Petrusapokalypse* Paulus zu ignorieren scheint, während der 2 Petr ein vorsichtig distanzierteres Verhältnis zu

³⁶ Hierzu weiterführend B. Schliesser, *Was ist Glaube? Paulinische Perspektiven* (Zürich, 2011); M. Wolter, ‘Glaube/Christusglaube’, in Horn, *Paulus Handbuch*, 342–47 sowie, ders., ‘Die Wirklichkeit des Glaubens. Ein Versuch zur Bedeutung des Glaubens bei Paulus’, in J. Frey, B. Schliesser und N. Ueberschaer (Hg.), *Glaube. Das Verständnis des Glaubens im frühen Christentum und in seiner jüdischen und hellenistisch-römischen Umwelt* (Tübingen, 2017) 347–68.

paulinischen Texten zeigt, für ein – wenn auch kleines – Indiz dafür, dass Wolfgang Grünstäudl (und ihm folgend Jörg Frey) mit ihrer Annahme recht haben könnten, dass der 2 Petr eine Form der *Petrus-apokalypse* literarisch verarbeitet und nicht umgekehrt.

IV. Socio-Economic Status among the Damned? Reading the Carceral Bodies of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in their Ancient Context

MEGHAN R. HENNING*

In the fifth century, in the Theodosian Code, nurses who are convicted of misconduct toward their young charge have molten lead poured down their throats.¹ And in a number of rabbinic texts young women receive real-life retaliatory punishments in which they are stripped of whatever they wore when they committed sexual sins.² In these Christian and Jewish depictions of late ancient or early medieval punitive justice we have examples in which women were singled out and punished in ways that were directly tied to ancient ideas about the body, for crimes that located the responsibility for child rearing and sexual continence in female bodies. But what do these late antique and early medieval standards of justice have to do with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a much earlier text?

* I am grateful to Daniel Maier and Jörg Frey for hosting the conference at which this paper was originally presented, and to Travis Ables for his expert editorial assistance with the final draft of this essay.

¹ Theodosian Code 9.24.1.1, cited in J.D. Penniman, *Raised on Christian Milk: Food and the Formation of the Soul in Early Christianity* (New Haven, 2017) 30n2.

² Mishnah Sotah 1:6; Tosefta Sotah 3:2–5; N.S. Cohn, ‘What to Wear: Women’s Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah’, in K. Upson-Saia, C. Daniel-Hughes, and A. Batten (eds), *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (Burlington, VT, 2014) 21–36 at 29–30; I. Rosenzvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual: Temple, Gender, and Midrash*, trans. Orr Scharf (Leiden, 2012; originally published in Hebrew as *The Rite That Was Not*, 2008).

Though the *Apocalypse of Peter* is written in the second century, these real-life punishments share its punitive imagination – one in which would be mothers are attacked by breast milk beasts and women who adorned themselves to attract the attention of adulterers are seen hanging by their hair.³ These are not punishments that simply follow the law of talion, which of course they do (though the extent to which any given punishment conforms to this principle has been debated). The *Apocalypse of Peter*'s punishments use carceral technologies, ideas about the body, and gendered notions of the household to delineate sins. The way in which the early Christian tours of hell delineate sins varies considerably, even as they build upon one another, and this begins with the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The *Apocalypse of Peter* defines sins according to the ancient Roman notion of household, following and reinscribing its gendered hierarchy. It is perhaps no surprise that women and bodies that were deemed “effeminate” are more susceptible to sin in this hierarchy. Damnation not only helps define sin according to ancient hierarchies of the body, it also works to humiliate the bodies of the damned by making them female and disabled in hell. In turn, the female body and the disabled body are marked as sinful bodies in hell and on earth.

³ The imaginative elements of apocalyptic texts are not disconnected from reality, but instead offer us windows into each text's engagement with the world. A. Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia, 1984); T. Pippin, *Death and Desire: The Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocalypse of John* (Louisville, 1992) 105; id., *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image* (New York, 1999); G. Carey, *Elusive Apocalypse: Reading Authority in the Revelation to John* (Macon, GA, 1999); I. Czachesz, ‘Torture in Hell and Reality: The Visio Pauli’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (Leuven, 2007) 130–43; id., ‘Why Body Matters in the Afterlife: Mind Reading and Body Imagery in Synoptic Tradition and the Apocalypse of Peter’, in T. Nicklas, F.V. Reiterer, and J. Verheyden (eds), *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection*, (Berlin, 2009) 391–411; J.M. Hidalgo, *Revelation in Aztlán: Scriptures, Utopias, and the Chicano Movement* (New York, 2016) 5–6, 14, 238–48 as well as Fiori's article on the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the present volume. For further discussion of the way that the damned bodies force us to move beyond dualistic notions of “real” and “imaginary” see M. R. Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury: Gender, Disability and the Invention of Damned Bodies* (New Haven, 2021) 11–14.

1. *Over Coifed Adulteresses and Unchaste Girls: Gendered Sins in the Apocalypse of Peter*

The Ethiopic text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* designates which punishments are for men and which punishments are for women. I agree with Eric Beck, that a gender neutral translation of the text would obscure the text's meaning in many places.⁴ In this earliest tradition of the tour of hell, the sins are not only separated by gender, but they follow the order of the gendered and hierarchical household codes, mirroring Roman ideas of family and society (this is a system of organization that later tours of hell forgo, with the exception of the *Latin Vision of Ezra*).⁵ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7–10, Peter sees the would be heads of household, each of them punished for not living up to their social role.⁶ These punishments are followed by the punishments for children

⁴ E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter: A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 64–65.

⁵ C. Osiek and D.L. Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and Churches* (Louisville, 1997) 60–64, 103–55. D. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford, 2007) 90–97. In the late antique and early medieval apocalypses (*Apocalypse of Paul, Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, Greek Apocalypse of Mary*) there is a move away from the household structure that we see in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In these texts, culpability for sin, and notions of household and family are restructured so that the male body is accountable for sexual self-control and ecclesiastical participation and the female body is responsible for chastity and parenting. See Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury*, 50–80.

⁶ The first of the two Ethiopic manuscripts is published in S. Grébaud, “Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23 (text) 425–39 (translation); the second Ethiopic manuscript was first photographed by E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee I: Reisebericht und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des Heiligen Gabriel auf der Insel Kebrān* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67. A critical edition of the Ethiopic text is available in D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study in the Greek (Ethiopic) Text of the Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988); and P. Marrassini, ‘L’Apocalisse di Pietro’, in Y. Beyene et al. (eds), *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci* (Naples, 1994) 171–232. The Greek texts and a translation are available in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004). A “composite translation” of the Ethiopic and

and slaves in *Apoc. Pet.* 11, following the ordering of the *Haustafeln*.⁷ After the punishment of the enslaved remains only the unrighteous almsgivers and those who practiced sorcery – both groups appear to be even lower than the enslaved in the social hierarchy. What is clear from the structure of *Apocalypse of Peter's* tour is that even hell has a hierarchy, and its punishments reinforce the social order by outlining family and individual accountability for sin.

Though the sins of the heads of household range from betrayal of the martyrs to murder, several of them focus specifically on the roles of free men and women in the Christian household. The *Apoc. Pet.* 7 isolates male and female adulterers, *Apoc. Pet.* 8 punishes would-be parents for infanticide and abortion, and *Apoc. Pet.* 10 focuses on homoeroticism. In each of these cases the torments that Peter sees are framed in a way that links the “sin” to the disruption of the ideally ordered household. In this way, the moral universe that is constructed by the *Apocalypse of Peter's* tour of hell largely reinscribes the gendered morality of the broader culture.

In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7, men and women are both punished for sins that are related to adultery, but women are mentioned first, and punished for adornment, not adultery.⁸ The women of *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 have “braided their hair, and not for a beautiful disposition, but going around for fornication.” The idea that braided hair could disrupt the household order was already present in 1 Peter 3:1–6, and is a worry for Tertullian as well.⁹ Women who plaited their hair or wore cosmetics were, according to Seneca, engaging in deception and

the Greek is available in Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 66–73. Unless otherwise noted, English translations and chapter numbers refer to the Ethiopic text. English translations are adapted from Beck.

⁷ The Greek text only includes the punishments of the heads of households/free persons, whereas the Ethiopic text includes the sins of children and enslaved persons.

⁸ Loose or uncovered hair is seen as immodest or an invitation to adultery in *Acts of Thomas* 56.6 and in the Isaiah Fragment (*Chron. Jer.* 16.4). In later apocalypses both men and women are punished for adultery itself (*Apoc. Paul* 38, 39; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 19–20; *Lat. Vis. Ezra* 12–17; *Eth. Apoc. Mary* 103b), though *Latin Vision of Ezra* 16–17 also places emphasis on women's adornment as a particular problem.

⁹ Tertullian, *Pall.* 4.9; *Shows* 25; *App. Wom.* 2.12.3.

playing the sexual aggressor.¹⁰ The problem with adornment for Roman and Christian men was two-fold: these women not only subverted the social order in which men were the aggressors and women were passive partners, they also created confusion for married men who could sleep with any woman as long as she was not legally married, or a matrona.¹¹ By dressing in ways that were uncharacteristic of a matrona, adornment could trick a married man into thinking he was having sex with a sex-worker (perfectly acceptable according to Roman definitions of adultery), when really he was sleeping with another free man's wife. That the men who are punished for committing adultery with these tricky hair braiders cry out "we did not know that we would come to be in eternal punishment," confirms that the *Apocalypse of Peter* seems to share Roman and late second century fears like those of Tertullian, placing the burden for adulterous encounters on women and their dress. That men still get punished for these sins, even though they thought they were having sex with prostitutes suggests a Christian shift of Roman sexual norms.

¹⁰ Seneca the Elder, *Cont.* 2.7.3–4; *Propertius* 3.21.3; Ovid, *Loves* 2.2.3–4; 3.2.34; 2.19.19. B. Scholz, *Untersuchungen zur Tracht der römischen matrona* (Cologne, 1992); K. Olsen, 'Matrona and Whore: Clothing and Definition in Roman Antiquity', in C.A. Faraone and L.K. McClure (eds), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison, 2006) 186–204 at 198–99. In addition to the stola, women's dress and the imperative to avoid fancy hairstyles, jewelry, make-up, and other adornment is a popular topic among Greek and Roman authors. Phintys, *Temp. Wom.* 153.15–18; Perictione, *Harm. Wom.* 143.10–14; Seneca the Younger, *Helv.* 16.4; *Ben.* 1.10.2; 7.9.4–5; Dio Chrysostom, *Hunt. (Or.)* 7) 117; Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.180–81; 6.457–63; 495–511; Plutarch, *Mor. Con. Pr.* 141 E; *Mor.* 133A; Epictetus, *Ench.* 40; Pliny the Younger, *Pan.* 83.7; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.54; Lucian, *Port.* 11. Cf. P.J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter* (Minneapolis, 1996) 212.

¹¹ The Roman legal definition of adultery is dependent upon the status and social class of the woman. A matrona or a mater familias is liable under the law, but enslaved women, sex workers, procuresses, peregrines (foreign women not married to a Roman citizen), or convicted adulteresses were exempt from the law. This meant that there were a number of extramarital sexual encounters that did not constitute adultery for a married man. T. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1998) 147–56; A. Richlin, 'Approaches to the Sources on Adultery at Rome', *Women's Studies* 8 (1981) 225–50 at 228.

The parental sins included in the *Apocalypse of Peter* also represent a shift from Roman social norms, while still upholding the norm that women are primarily responsible for adulterous encounters. Infanticide was not tolerated in antiquity while abortion was, making Christian objections to abortion, like we find in the *Didache*, stand out as distinctive. Abortion was practiced but discouraged in Roman culture, due to fears about underpopulation and the desire to produce heirs.¹² Producing heirs was the prescribed role of free women, but enslaved women or mistresses were expected to avoid pregnancy, and faced pressure to have abortions.¹³ Take for example Ovid, who had multiple adulterous affairs that resulted in pregnancy, but who also harshly criticized his mistresses for terminating pregnancies (*Loves* 2.13). Roman law did not address abortion until the late fourth century CE.¹⁴

¹² T. Parkin, 'The Demography of Infancy and Early Childhood in the Ancient World', in J. Evans Grubbs and T. Parkin (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford, 2013) 40–61; L.A. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford, 1994) 215; H. King, 'Sacrificial Blood: The Role of the Amnion in Ancient Gynecology', *Helios* 13 (1987) 117–26.

¹³ Enslaved women were expected to avoid pregnancy, and would have experienced pressure to have abortions or not have sex. Abortion is only a problem when it interferes with a man acquiring legitimate heirs. R. Fleming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen* (Oxford, 2000) 169; H. King, *The One-Sex Body on Trial: The Classical and Early Modern Evidence* (New York, 2013) 162–63; A.R. Solevåg, *Birthing Salvation: Gender and Class in Early Christian Childbearing Discourse* (Leiden, 2013) 53–54. Chastity and not becoming pregnant were explicit demands in wet-nursing contracts. See K.R. Bradley, 'Wet-Nursing at Rome: A Study in Social Relations', in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (Ithaca, 1987) 201–29.

¹⁴ Non-Christian authors reflect the broader cultural acceptance of these practices. Plautus, *Churl* 179; Polybius 36.17; Ovid, *Loves* 2.14; Seneca the Younger, *Helv.* 16.3–4; Juvenal, *Sat.* 2.6, and Suetonius, *Calig.* 5. Unsurprisingly, there are diverging perspectives in the historiography of early Christian approaches to abortion. J.T. Noonan, Jr., *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, MA, 1986 [1965]); M.J. Gorman, *Abortion and the Early Church: Christian, Jewish, and Pagan Attitudes in the Greco-Roman World* (Eugene, OR, 1982); and, on the other hand, B. Wildung Harrison, *Our Right to Choose: Toward a New Ethic of Abortion* (Boston, 1983); D.A. Dombrowski and

In this context then, the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8, which punishes fathers and mothers for infanticide, but singles out mothers for having abortions to conceal adultery seems to be right at home. The specific focus on women, and particularly the link between adultery and abortion is not found in the earliest Christian exhortations against abortion, and is instead a later development that takes hold not only in *Apocalypse of Peter*, but in many of the later tours of hell, adopting the Roman notion that free women and free women alone were culpable for abortion and cementing it as a Christian idea.¹⁵

The *Apocalypse of Peter* also singles out aspects of homoerotic sex, in chapter 10, where Peter sees “men who defiled themselves with one another, behaving as women.” In the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* the punishment for male homoerotic unions is repeatedly toppling off of a high cliff – not a hanging punishment (as for adultery), indicating that this sexual sin is seen as fundamentally different from the others that are punished in this text.¹⁶ Unlike adultery, which was seen as simply an interruption of the household order, the punishments for homoeroticism frame this sin as an interruption of both the social order *and* the natural order. In the Ethiopic text only the passive partners of male homoerotic unions are punished, but in the later Greek Akhmîm text both partners of female homoerotic couplings are punished as well, we are told because both “behaved with one another as men with a woman” (Akhmîm *Apoc. Pet.* 32).

Despite its possible corruption in this section, the Ethiopic text is consistent with ancient culture in focusing on male homoeroticism

R. Deltete, *A Brief, Liberal, Catholic Defense of Abortion* (Urbana, 2000). For a discussion of the way that contemporary rhetoric plays into the reception history of the sources, see T. Baldrick-Morrone, ‘Let’s Not Retell This Myth about the History of the Thing’: Disrupting John T. Noonan, Jr.’s Grand Narrative of Christian Opposition to Abortion’ (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2020).

¹⁵ Women and women alone are responsible for abortion, infanticide, and exposure in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5.1–6; *Lat. Vis. Ezra* 52–53; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 7; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 23.

¹⁶ The use of a distinctive punishment for homoeroticism continues in the later apocalypses that contain punishments for homoerotic unions. In the *Acts of Thomas* 55 male and female same sex partners are punished on fiery wheels, and in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 39 these partners of homoerotic unions are covered in dust and run in a river of fire with bloodied faces.

as problematic, and it seems likely that women who engaged in same sex couplings were added to the catalogue of sinners later.¹⁷ Perhaps of interest to some at this point is that Clement of Alexandria describes male homoeroticism as “suffering the things of women,” reflecting this asymmetrical emphasis on male homoeroticism that we find elsewhere in this period of antiquity.¹⁸

These definitions of homoeroticism as a sin in the manuscript traditions of the *Apocalypse of Peter* follow ancient Roman and early Christian gendered logic in which the social roles of men as active and women as passive were naturalized. As Bernadette Brooten has argued this logic can be seen in Romans 1:26–32, in which Paul uses natural law theory to argue that sex between two men or two women is “unnatural” (*para physin*). If “natural” sex is defined as any sexual relationship between a dominant male partner and a passive female partner, then male homoeroticism violates this because a man must play a passive, effeminate role, and a female coupling necessitates that women play a role that was seen as “naturally” belonging to men.¹⁹ In both cases homoerotic love is defined as a “sin” because it

¹⁷ Contra Eric Beck, who has argued that the Greek Akhmîm text that includes women represents the earlier tradition. For Eric Beck’s translation and discussion of text of *Apoc. Pet.* 10.2 see Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 70, 82–3; Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury*, 65. See also H. Duensing, ‘Ein Stück der urchristlichen Petrusapokalypse enthaltender Traktat der äthiopischen Pseudoklementinischen Literatur’, *ZNW* 14 (1913) 65–78 at 71, who noted that the text is corrupt at this point. See Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 114–17. On female homoeroticism in antiquity see B. Brooten, *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago, 1996) 51–54, 121–22, 131–32, 135–36, 138–39; A. Glazebrook, ‘The Bad Girls of Athens: The Image and Function of Hetairai in Judicial Oratory’, in Faraone and McClure, *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, 125–38; K. Gilhuly, ‘The Phallic Lesbian: Philosophy, Comedy, and Social Inversion in Lucian’s Dialogues of the Courtesans’, *ibid.*, 274–91.

¹⁸ Clement *Educ.* 3.3.21.3. Greek text in M. Marcovich (ed.), *Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus* (Leiden, 2002) 161.

¹⁹ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 267–302. The punishments for homoeroticism in hell are also part of the reception history of Romans 1:18–32. See Brooten, *Love between Women*, 189–350; D. Swancutt, ‘“The Disease of Effemination”: The Charge of Effeminacy and the Verdict of God (Romans 1:18–2:16)’, in S.D. Moore and J.C. Anderson (eds), *New*

disrupts a patriarchal gender hierarchy in which male dominance is seen as “natural.” But for Christian men it carries the additional offense of interrupting the patriarchal family structure.²⁰

The toppling punishment that is assigned to those who engage in same sex unions underscores this point. This punishment, which is similar to the punishment for idolatry and failure to honor father and mother (*Apoc. Pet.* 11), mirrors that of Sisyphus. But by associating toppling punishments with specific sins that abrogate the divine and familial order, according to Bernadette Brooten, the *Apocalypse of Peter* casts those who topple as people who quote: “who have reversed their proper roles in their lifetimes... going up and coming down, going up and coming down again, reversing their direction just as they reversed the gendered order of society.”²¹ I argue that the image of toppling is here deliberately invoking ancient imagery of toppling or bending over as an insult that connotes femininity, passivity, and weakness.²² The most notable example of this is the Eurymedon vase painting, which depicts a Persian archer who is bent over,

Testament Masculinities (Atlanta, 2003) 193–233; J.A. Marchal, ‘The Exceptional Proves Who Rules: Imperial Sexual Exceptionalism in and around Paul’s Letters’, *JECH* 5 (2015) 87–115. On the relationship between Paul and the *Apocalypse of Peter* see the contribution of Tobias Nicklas in the present volume.

²⁰ Female sexual dominance was also critiqued by Christians, but it did not interfere with the heteronormative patriarchal family structure, and was instead seen as a crime against nature. See, for instance, Brooten, *Love between Women*, 324, who discusses this “fundamental asymmetry” in Clement and other ancient authors with respect to male and female homoeoticism.

²¹ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 306.

²² See, for instance, Pomponius Bononiensis, *Pros. fr.* 148–49R: ‘I have buggered no citizen through deceit, only the kind who bent over, himself begging me’. Despite the discourse around bending over during sex, homoeroticism is not solely about ‘winners and losers’ in Greek and Roman antiquity. As J. Davidson, ‘Dover, Foucault, and Greek Homosexuality: Penetration and the Truth of Sex’, in R. Osborne (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society* (Cambridge, 2004) 78–118 at 98, is careful to note, ‘buggery became a problem through the meaning it acquired in the context of other symbolic structures, in particular those of prostitution and commodification, excess and self-control’.

and is approached from behind by a Greek holding his erect penis.²³ This painting both mocks the Persian gesture of *proskynesis*, and marks the bent male figure as servile and effeminate. The *Apocalypse of Peter* is associating those who interrupt the natural and household order with an image that was already associated with male passivity and shame. Both the definition of the sin and the punishment make clear that the fundamental issue with homoerotic unions in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is that they depart from a vision of the Roman and Christian household in which gender roles had been naturalized, namely that the male head of household is dominant and active.

The final groups to be punished in the household codes are the subordinate members of the household: children and enslaved persons. In the *Apoc. Pet.* 11, children are punished for disobedience to their parents and for loss of chastity. Although young women who have sex before they marry are not children from the perspective of the broader culture, their culpability for sin is framed by their subordinate status with respect to their parents. Peter is told that these are “those who do not preserve their virginity until they are given in marriage,” primarily framing their culpability for sin in terms of the economic cost to their parents who “give them in marriage.” These young women, not their paramours, and not their parents, are punished alone, mirroring the narrow confines of the masculine system of exchange that has rendered them “sinful.”²⁴ Their isolation and torture in hell, however, intensifies

²³ In Roman art this type of image was very common, occurring in expensive pieces like vases but also on inexpensive Arretine pottery. A.C. Smith, ‘Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119 (1999) 128–41, argues, this scene is unique in Greek vase paintings. Cf. C.A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality* (Oxford, 2009) 101, 261–62; L. Llewellyn-Jones, ‘Reviewing Space, Context and Meaning: The Eurymedon Vase Again’, in D. Rodríguez Pérez (ed.), *Greek Art in Context: Archeological and Art Historical Perspectives* (New York, 2017), 97–115.

²⁴ In later apocalypses, like the medieval *Ep. Tit.* 11.407–8 and *Latin Vision of Ezra* 43–44, loss of virginity becomes a sin in its own right, and the references to parents are absent. K. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1996) 116–43; and R. Evans, ‘The Jew, the Host, and the Virgin Martyr: Fantasies of the Sentient Body’, in A. Bernau, R. Evans, and S. Salih (eds), *Medieval Virginites* (Cardiff, 2003) 167–86 at 179; E.A. Castelli, ‘Virginity and Its Meaning for Women’s

the theological stakes of their sin, beyond the economic systems that commodified their bodies, so that their perceived physical and spiritual “brokenness” becomes their bodily reality for eternity.

The enslaved and their punishment are another case in which the punishment is as telling as the sin, and demonstrate the way in which the *Apocalypse of Peter*’s hell draws upon the gendered bodily norms of the broader culture to depict punitive torment. The enslaved persons who do not obey their enslavers are seen gnawing their tongues “without rest while they are punished in eternal fire” (*Apoc. Pet.* 11). Chewing your tongue signals that the enslaved “sinned” verbally, associating disobedience with gossip and other speech sins that were typically associated with women and the enslaved.²⁵ The punishment for this sin in the *Apocalypse of Peter* replicates the kyriarchal and patriarchal structure of slavery, while intensifying the disciplinary regime necessary to keep these structures in place.

2. *Effeminate, Impaired, and Enslaved: The Carceral Bodies of the Damned in the Apocalypse of Peter*

The sins and their punishments in the *Apocalypse of Peter* not only replicate ancient ideas about gender and the body, they intensify ancient spectacles of punitive justice in which non-normative ancient bodies were used to frighten and shame audiences into compliance. As Brent D. Shaw has argued, every day people in antiquity lived with the fear of being involved in a public display of physical torture.²⁶

Sexuality in Early Christianity’, in A.J. Levine with M. Mayo Robbins (eds), *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*, ed. (London, 2008) 94–95; T.M. Shaw, ‘The Virgin Charioteer and the Bride of Christ: Gender and the Passion in Late Ancient Ethics and Early Christian Writings on Virginitly’, *ibid.*, 193–210.

²⁵ On the ways in which speech was gendered in antiquity see M.W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ, 1995). On the ways in which gossip and rumour are configured with respect to enslaved bodies and women’s bodies see M. Bjelland Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender: Othering of Speech in the Pastoral Epistles* (Berlin, 2009); and G. Guastella, *Word of Mouth* (Oxford, 2017).

²⁶ B.D. Shaw, ‘Judicial Nightmares and Christian Memory’, *J ECS* 11 (2003) 533–63.

In short, damned bodies look like the bodies of women, the disabled and the enslaved on earth. And in turn, hell's torments criminalize disabled and female bodies.

The *Apocalypse of Peter* conceives of hell as a prison with “adamantine bars,” drawing from the prevalent imagery of hell as a prison in the ancient world. Virgil depicts Tartarus as barricaded by a screeching gate and columns of adamantine (*Aen.* 6.550–60) and in Matthew 16:18 Hades has “gates.” That said, the carceral imagery in hell is not simply a literary trope passed on from text to text. The bodily punishments one finds in hell mirror the judicial punishments of the Roman world in many ways. The hellscape in the early Christian apocalypses and Roman punitive spaces share imagery, substance, and structure. Ancient judicial nightmares included fears of imprisonment, hanging, beheading, being thrown to wild beasts, crucifixion, or burning alive.²⁷ Of these punishments, all but crucifixion occur in the early Christian visions of hell, while hanging, wild beasts, and burning figure prominently as mechanisms of torture. In the early empire under the jurisdiction of single judge courts, these violent and public forms of punishment were expanded, but the system for handing down these punishments was developed most extensively in the second century. By this time the most brutal torments (like those that we see in the judicial nightmares) were reserved for those who did not occupy the elite social status (*honestiores*).²⁸

The forms of torture that we find in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and other tours of hell are the more degrading forms of punishment that were reserved for Roman nonelites (*humiliores*) and the enslaved. These bodily torments are used in the early Christian depictions of hell as a spectacle of shame designed to spare the audience this kind of humiliation the future. The Christian spaces of eternal punishment mirror the fear-inspiring carceral contexts of forced labor in the mines. Eusebius of Caesarea claims that during the Great Persecution Christians were dispatched to the mines at Phaeno (modern-day Khibet Faynan) in southwest Jordan as their punishment.²⁹ The *damnatio ad*

²⁷ Shaw, ‘Judicial Nightmares’, 537; cf. Artemidorus, *Dreams* 1.40; 2.49–54.

²⁸ J. Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015) 51.

²⁹ Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 8.8, 10; *Martyrs* 7.4; 8.1; Athanasius, *Hist. Ar.* 60.

metallum (condemnation to the mines) sentence was among the harshest penalties in Roman law and was typically reserved for enslaved persons and members of the lower classes. Whether or not the punishments live up to the ancient Christian fears, mines were perceived as places where prisoners rarely saw sunlight, frequently suffocated from noxious gases, were vulnerable to being crushed by piles of falling rocks, and were exposed to extreme heat and physical exhaustion.³⁰ Christian tours of hell use the space and conditions of condemnation to the mines to imagine hell, which in turn lowers the status of those elites who find themselves in hell.

The traditional approach to the punishments has been to point to their parallels in Greek and Jewish mythology.³¹ That there were literary antecedents for the tortures of hell in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is not in dispute here.³² Whether or not the authors of the apocalypses gleaned their images from literature, the audiences of those texts would likely have connected the physical violence of hell with the culturally available imagery of physical violence in their real world. While the imagery of hell may have been borrowed from mythological texts, those images were frequently edited in ways that standardized these images for a broad audience.³³

³⁰ F. Millar, *Government, Society and Culture in the Roman Empire* (Chapel Hill and London, 2004) 137–45; M.A. Perry, D.S. Coleman, D.L. Dettman, J.P. Grattan, and A. Halim al-Shiyab, ‘Condemned to Metallum? The Origin and Role of 4th–6th Century A.D. Phaeno Mining Camp Residents Using Multiple Chemical Techniques’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011) 558–69. On Christian reflections on condemnation to the mines and the archeology of a North African Prison, see M.D.C. Larsen, ‘Carceral Practices and Geographies in Roman North Africa: A Case Study’, *SLA* 3.4 (2019) 547–80; and M. Letteny and M.D.C. Larsen, ‘A Roman Prison at Lambaesis’, *SLA* 5.1 (2021) 65–102.

³¹ A. Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (1893; 1913²; repr., Stuttgart, 1969) 196–201; M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1983) 107–10.

³² Czachesz, ‘Torture in Hell and Reality’, 142, notes that it is difficult to say that the overlap between real-life torture and the apocalyptic tours of hell is simply “coincidence”; he questions “whether such punishments came to the Apocalypses from mythological texts or from historical experience”.

³³ E.E. Mayer, *The Ancient Middle Classes: Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire, 100 BCE–250 CE* (Cambridge, MA, 2012) 166–213.

What I want to explore with the final sections of this paper is the way that readily available ancient images of gender and disability make their way into Christian thought in the punishments of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Ancient medical authors, inscriptions, and physiognomic texts alike understood women's bodies to be weak, leaky, porous, and prone to illness. For ancient audiences, pain and bodily suffering were a prominent part of daily life. In this context, the medical authors describe sick bodies as "difficult to keep in order and needing outside supervision."³⁴ This understanding of the sick body overlapped with the understanding of the female body, which was also marked by flux, pain, and an unruliness that required constant discipline and regulation. The unregulated, undisciplined bodies – sickly and womanly bodies – provided the building blocks for the torments of early Christian hell.

Female bodies not only endured and caused pain, they were also thought to be the source of one of hell's most familiar tortures: worms. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 murderers are afflicted with "worms like clouds of darkness," and in *Apocalypse of Peter* 9 those who betrayed the martyrs have their entrails eaten by the "worms that never die." If we look at the medical literature the mere prevalence of references to suffering from roundworms and tapeworms indicates that this was a fairly common concern for ancient persons, especially women and children, and failure to treat them properly resulted in death.³⁵ It is no wonder then that tapeworms are a dreaded punishment in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 9.

In *Epidemics*, Hippocrates describes the case of Thersander's wife. Nursing, and in a late stage of fever, her tongue became hard and there were worms in her mouth, just before she died (4.10).³⁶ In particular, women who are fasting are most vulnerable to vomiting up

³⁴ J. Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (New York, 1995) 169.

³⁵ Hippocratic Corpus *Prog.* 11; *Crises* 2; *Coan Pre.* 338, 458–59, 589; *Fist.* 445–50; *Aph.* 26; *Pror.* 2.28; Celsus, *Med.* 4.24; Galen, *Aff. Part.* 1.4, 2.5, 6.2–4. See also P.D. Mitchell, 'Human Parasites in the Roman World: Health Consequences of Conquering and Empire', *Parasitology* 144 (2017) 48–58.

³⁶ And as Celsus, *Med.* 4.24, notes, vomiting worms is "nastier" than discharging them from the intestines. See also the story of Eumenes's wife in *Epid.* 4.16.

roundworms.³⁷ In addition to being most vulnerable to worms, women's bodies were thought to be responsible for creating roundworms and tapeworms *in utero*. In the Hippocratic corpus, *On Diseases* explains that the uterus is the only place in which tapeworms and roundworms could be formed.³⁸ As a place where many "untoward things" happen, the uterus provides the perfect conditions for the creation of worms, and this was evidenced by the large number of children who pass intestinal worms immediately after birth, and the common practice of dosing newborns with medications for worms to facilitate this process.

The worms that penetrate bodies and spew forth from the mouth in early Christian hell would remind readers of a ubiquitous, but deadly threat. These deadly worms originate in the female body, which provided the ideal conditions for their genesis. For this reason, the threat of bodily penetration by worms was thought to disproportionately effect female bodies. The murderers and traitors of *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 and 9 who are afflicted with worms like clouds of darkness and have their intestines consumed by everlasting worms are not only publicly shamed – their bodies look womanly. These sinners have become penetrable, porous and particularly vulnerable to contracting voluminous dark clouds of intestinal worms. In contrast to other forms of retributive justice, those whose unrighteousness on earth involved the abuse of power are depicted as powerless, eternally emasculated and kept in check as a monument of perpetual bodily consumption. The worm-infested, sick womanly body becomes a means of punitive bodily control, by joining Christian ethical norms, Greek and Roman bodily norms, and Roman disciplinary tactics.

In addition to Roman judicial concepts about punitive suffering, the tortures of early Christian hell also reflect the lived bodily experiences of other "real bodies." One prominent example is the punishment of those who give alms but do not strive for righteousness in *Apocalypse of Peter* 12: they are blind and deaf and packed on coals of unquenchable fire. This passage calls to mind the ancient literary and philosophical motifs that link bodily perception to ethical action.

³⁷ Hippocratic Corpus, *Pror.* 2.28, "This disease occurs mainly in women, next in girls, but less in others."

³⁸ I am extremely grateful to Kristi Upson-Saia for this reference.

Punitive blindness makes the link between perceptual impairment and ethical failure much stronger.³⁹ In Greek and Latin literature, punitive blindness occurred on earth but does not play a role in Hades.⁴⁰ Instead, the metaphor of sight and blindness is used repeatedly to describe the education that the soul receives in Hades. In Lucian's *Menippus*, the title character asks Teiresias what kind of life he considers the best: "Tell me and don't allow me to go about in life blinder than you are" (Lucian, *Men.* 21). In Greek and Roman depictions of Hades, moral or spiritual blindness was a fate far worse than physical blindness.⁴¹ By contrast, Christian depictions of hell, like *Apocalypse of Peter* 12, intensified ancient ideas by combining the conceptions of blindness as a metaphor and blindness as a punishment.⁴² In doing so, these hellscapes intensified and codified the view that bodily impairment was the consequence of sin.

³⁹ Plato, *Tim.* 45; Galen, *Func. Part.* X 2.66; *Doct. Hipp. Plat.* VII 5. M.T. May, *Galen: On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (Ithaca, NY, 1968) 472–73n19. On darkness and the lamp of the eye, see C.R. Moss, 'Blurred Vision and Ethical Confusion: The Rhetorical Function of Matthew 6:22–23', *CBQ* 73 (2011) 757–76.

⁴⁰ M.R. Henning, 'Metaphorical, Punitive, and Pedagogical Blindness in Hell', *Studia Patristica* 81/7 (2017) 139–52; In the case of Teiresias, the blind seer, blindness actually endows the seer with special powers, making him "superrational." Even though Teiresias may have been blinded as the result of divine punishment, there is no trace of that idea here. There are other examples of "blind seers" or prophets in ancient literature, including Phineus, Phormio, Ophioneus, and the story of Democritus, who blinds himself in order to gain spiritual insight. E.A. Bernidaki-Aldous, *Blindness in a Culture of Light: Especially the Case of Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles* (New York, 1990) 72–94; C. Hartsock, *Sight and Blindness in Luke – Acts: The Use of Physical Features in Characterization* (Leiden, 2008) 77; R. Buxton, *Myths and Tragedies in Their Ancient Greek Contexts* (Oxford, 2013) 173–200.

⁴¹ In Plutarch, *Mor. Div. Veng.* 563F–67F the souls that can see properly in Hades are allowed to return to earth, while those that don't are "metaphorically blind," and are stuck in Hades because they cannot understand. See also 591E–F, in which some of the souls that have seen the torments of Hades become bright stars and are said to "possess understanding," while others are extinguished and "sink entirely into the body."

⁴² As D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006) 201–2 has argued, "monastic authors shared a general ancient understanding of erotic desire as a 'pathology

Many common punishments in the tours of hell, pertained to the mouth. Mouth torments, like other tortures, were tightly tied to gender hierarchy and masculine ideals of bodily normativity. In the Ethiopic text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, those who committed slander are chew their tongues for eternity; this same group of sinners bite through their lips in the later Greek Text (*Apoc. Pet.* 9 [28 in the Greek Akhmîm text]). In the same paragraph, those who provided false testimony against the martyrs have their lips cut off (in the Ethiopic; in the Greek they bite through their tongues), and have fire in their mouths and entrails (*Apoc. Pet.* 9 [29 Akhmîm]). And as I discussed earlier, the enslaved who disobey their enslavers gnaw at their tongues in *Apocalypse of Peter* 11.

These oral torments, following the logic of *lex talionis*, affect the part of the body that was used to commit the sin. They also leverage existing ancient ideas about the mouth's relationship to sin in order to terrify audiences. In the ancient world speech was a window into a person's character. In Greek and Roman culture improper speech revealed a person as weak, womanly, and of low socioeconomic standing.⁴³

Early Christians used this cultural value of verbal self-control to promote their reputation among outsiders.⁴⁴ For this reason, Christian texts reflected the ideas of the broader culture about how improper speech worked. Censuring bad speech was one lever within a gendered hierarchy that elevated exemplary speech as a display of elite manliness. Marianne Bjelland Kartzow argues that this gendered

of the eyes.'" Cf. B. Leyerle, 'John Chrysostom on the Gaze', *J ECS* 1 (1993) 159–74 at 160; E.R. Cain, 'Medically Modified Eyes: A Baptismal Cataract Surgery in Clement of Alexandria' *SLA* 2 (2018) 491–511. On perceptual deficiency as a punishment in early Christian hell see *Apoc. Zeph.* 10; *Apoc. Paul* 40; *Liber Requitei* 97. See also Tertullian, *Res.* 35, who describes the "outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth" as a "torture particularly attaching to eyes."

⁴³ This is especially the case for Plutarch and other moralists, but it is a well-worn trope. See, for instance, Plutarch, *Talk.* 502–19.

⁴⁴ As J. Hultin, *The Ethics of Obscene Speech in Early Christianity and Its Environment* (Leiden, 2008) 236, argues, 'But the second-century Christians evidently felt no need to deal with foul language directly. There was so clearly a sense of propriety about the matter that it did not often need to be addressed'.

hierarchy of speech labeled those men who spoke improperly as effeminate: “These men appeared as less male, although they did not become women.”⁴⁵ This dichotomous view of speech did not simply separate men and women, it also served to support other ancient hierarchies like class by separating the “legitimate” speech of elite males from other men (like the enslaved) whose speech was identified as “illegitimate” and womanly.⁴⁶ In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the people who committed speech sins are not only depicted as “less male.” These damned bodies chew their tongues, fire penetrates their mouths, and they have their lips cut off. Their bodies are leaky, penetrable, like women’s bodies, but they are also unable to speak, exhibiting the symptoms of those with speech impairments.⁴⁷ These punishments reveal the intersectional nature of eternal punishments that drew upon ancient ideas of gender, class, and disability.

The mouth and the tongue also played a key role in ancient diagnostics. A yellow or dark tongue was a symptom of pneumonia (*Dis.* 3.15).⁴⁸ A tongue that burns or grows hard could signify death (*Epid.* 4.10; 7.74). The swelling of the tongue or the loss of speech were acute conditions that needed prompt treatment. Lacerating the tongue to draw blood was a way to treat the swelling of the tongue or speech impairments (*Dis.* 3.89). Galen describes tongue laceration as a treatment for a sore throat and swollen tonsils, and elsewhere he prescribes it for tongue swelling and head and chest inflammation (*Ther. Glau.* 2.4 [line 93K]; 13 [904K]).

⁴⁵ M. Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender*, 180–82.

⁴⁶ Gleason, *Making Men*, xxi–xxvi; M.Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge, 1996); J.A. Glancy, ‘Protocols of Masculinity in the Pastoral Epistles’, in S.D. Moore and J.C. Anderson (eds), *New Testament Masculinities*, (Atlanta, 2003) 235–64; Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender*, 180–82.

⁴⁷ As Hultin, *The Ethics of Obscene Speech*, 13–14, has noted, there were also a number of ancient medical texts that connected obscene speech with mental illness. Hippocratic Corpus, *Epid.* 3.17.11; 4.15. See also Seneca the Younger, *Wise Man* 13.1; and Plato, *Laws* 11 (934E).

⁴⁸ For other references to black tongues as symptom of fever or disease, see Hippocratic Corpus, *Aff.* 11; *Aph.* 87; *Epid.* 7.74. These are just a sampling, the references to changes in the tongue as a diagnostic tool are too numerous to cite.

For the ancient audience of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, oral torments recalled not only the speech sins that could damn people in hell, but also the medical treatments for those with speech impairments or inflamed or swollen tongues. The punishment in hell for improper speech is either eternal speech impairment, or a common medical treatment that allows blood to flow from the mouth. For those who committed speech sins, bodily deviance and the medicalized response to it become a mechanism for policing bodies. Hell's punitive spectacle not only objectifies bodily difference, but it unveils the different body as the sinful body. In these torments, the disabled body is a disciplinary tool. Hell is a well-structured alternative to the earthly chaos in which the order of the gendered bodily hierarchy has been disrupted by improper speech.

4. *The Apocalypse of Peter's Body Politics as Clues to Situating the Text*

The gendered notions of the body that the *Apocalypse of Peter* relies upon and intensifies may also help us situate this text. The gender imbalance in the punishments for adultery for instance make quite clear that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is reflecting an earlier Roman attitude toward masculinity in which men are not yet responsible for "self control" – a late antique development in Christian sexual morality in which men become responsible for self-control, a virtue previously associated with women.⁴⁹ At the same time, the fact that we have adulterous men burning in hell alongside women (and crying out in confusion that they are) shows some attempt to redefine sex and marriage in Christian contexts, as we see in other late second and early third century texts (like the Apocryphal Acts). The gender division around sins that pertain to

⁴⁹ On the shifts in Roman and Christian notions of masculinity during this period, see V. Burrus, *Begotten Not Made: Conceiving Manhood in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, 2000) 19–22; M. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago, 2001) 37–69; K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household* (New York, 2007); K. Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (New York, 2011) 127–73; C.L. de Wet, *Preaching Bondage: John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oakland, 2015) 84–86, 124–25.

parenthood seems to mirror Roman attitudes more than it does the gender-neutral exhortations of the *Didache*, associated abortion with concealing adultery, but holding women exclusively responsible, like Ovid did. The concerns around female dress like plaiting hair as a gateway to adultery would be at home in mid and late second century contexts, as is attested by Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria's anxieties over these issues.⁵⁰ They also suggest an elite authorship, delineating sins and punishments from the vantage point of those who had the social standing and laborers (enslaved or paid free persons) to fashion their hair ornately.

In a recent article, Tali Artman-Partock argues that the Jewish tours of hell contain far fewer women in torment.⁵¹ I agree that there are not as many examples in these medieval texts, and would add that this is further evidence that these medieval Jewish apocalypses do not point to some Jewish "ur-text" that is earlier than the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Instead, I think that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is most likely the earliest apocalypse to fully transcribe the gendered Roman carceral *techne* onto the afterlife in this way.

I began this chapter with the real bodies of the Theodosian code and Rabbinic law, drawing your attention to the way in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* is tethered to earthly body politics in its reception. What I hope to have done here is to offer some insights into the

⁵⁰ Clem. Alex., *Educ.* 2.11–13; 3.1–2. This would fit well with the suggestion of an Alexandrian context for the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Citation of *Apocalypse of Peter* by Clement of Alexandria sets the *terminus ad quem* for the text, suggesting a mid to late second century date for the text (150–175 C.E.), though as Nicklas suggests it could have been written earlier. T. Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek? The Apocalypse of Peter as a Witness of Early Second Century Christianity in Alexandria', in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 5–21; J.N. Bremmer, 'The Apocalypse of Peter as the First Christian Martyr Text: Its Date, Provenance and Relationship with 2 Peter', in J. Frey, M. den Dulk, and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter: Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019) 75–98; T. Nicklas, 'Petrus-Diskurse in Alexandria: Eine Fortführung der Gedanken von Jörg Frey', *ibid.*, 99–127.

⁵¹ T. Artman-Partock, 'No (Jewish) Women in Hell', in Z. Stampfer and A. Ashur (eds), *Language, Gender and Law in the Judaeo-Islamic Milieu* (Leiden, 2020) 110–39.

way in which the inception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* also relies upon the ancient gendered notions of the household and the body to define sin and to punish it. In turn, the effeminate, deviant body on earth is simultaneously othered and instrumentalized. As both punitive object and tool, female bodies and impaired bodies reenacted and intensified the boundaries and stakes of bodily normativity. That these punishments were once again codified into religious law codes offers us a cautionary tale about the importance of ensuring that the *Apocalypse of Peter*'s hell remains in the past.

V. The Ethics of Hell: Righteousness in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and Early Christian Discourses About Ethics

MICHAEL SOMMER

For a very long time, research on early Christian apocalypses played only a marginal role in New Testament and early Christian studies. This is probably due to the verdict of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, which believed that the apocalypses of early Judaism and ancient Christianity were the result of a religious decline and cannot be compared with the rich theology of the Old Testament prophets, the letters of Paul or the Gospels. Thus, apocalyptic literature was treated as the product of religious minorities who could hardly contribute anything to the genesis of great theological themes.¹ Jörg Frey summarised this aptly in a fundamental editorial for *Early Christianity*:

Klassische Einführungen in die Apokalyptik, wie von Philipp Vielhauer, stellen diese als Geschichtsspekulation dar, d.h. in ihrer temporalen Dimension, und hoben als Hauptmerkmale Weltpessimismus und Jenseitshoffnung, den Dualismus zweier Äonen, eine deterministische Auffassung der Geschichte und vor allem die eschatologische Naherwartung hervor. Schon angesichts des faktischen Ausbleibens der Parusie musste diese Form frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit sachlich als hochproblematisch gelten, so dass man Jesus, Paulus und die meisten anderen frühchristlichen Autoren davon abzurücken versuchte.²

¹ Cf. J. Frey, 'Die Apokalyptik als Herausforderung der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Zum Problem. Jesus und die Apokalyptik', in M. Becker and M. Öhler (eds), *Apokalyptik als Herausforderung neutestamentlicher Theologie* (Tübingen, 2006) 23–94.

² J. Frey, 'Editorial. Apokalyptik und das Neue Testament', *EC* 4 (2013) 1–6 especially 2.

Towards the end of the 20th century, this assessment changed rapidly. Most importantly, scholars discovered that apocalyptic thoughts appeared not only in so-called apocalypses, but in many other texts of early Judaism and early Christianity. Apocalypticism was very popular and used as a medium to express many different theological ideas. For this very reason, the study of apocalyptic literature can contribute essentially to the history of early Christianity.³

In particular, it is the aim of this article to demonstrate similarities between early Christian authors, who are often attributed to the so-called Christian mainstream, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. This article analyses the *Apocalypse* as a text that mainly expresses a certain notion of ethics. It both portrays the otherworld, or hell, and demonstrates what is righteous in the eyes of God and what is not. It exemplifies this core idea by using depictions of hellish punishments that vividly exemplify ‘unrighteousness’. In doing so, the text unfolds a catalogue of vices and a list of virtues, which are more similar to ethical lists partly found in the apostolic fathers, the early apologists and the heresiologists, than they are to other apocalypses. Perhaps the *Apocalypse of Peter* took up an early Christian *Zeitgeist* processed in the narrative world of an apocalyptic tour of hell.

Furthermore, it will become apparent that the construction of ethics in early Christianity was often linked with a fundamental discussion about how to understand the Scriptures of Israel. Ethics and scriptural hermeneutics were often two sides of the same coin. Thus, a comparison with the *Apocalypse of Peter* might clarify which role the Scriptures play in this text.

1. *Methodological Restrictions*

Before presenting the results of my reading, it is necessary to mention some limits of my approach. The *Apocalypse of Peter* has a vivid history of reception, as it was used by the *Visio Pauli* and many early Christian writers who received parts of the text. In addition, echoes can

³ Cf. Frey, ‘Editorial’, 2–4. Further M. Sommer, ‘The Hermeneutics of Scriptures in Apocryphal Apocalypses’, in M. Henze and D. Lincium (eds), *The Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids, 2023) [forthcoming]; C. Marksches, ‘Editorial’, *ZAC* 20 (2016) 1–20.

be found in the works of Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Methodius of Olympus and Makarios Magnes.⁴ It enjoyed a certain popularity not only in apocalyptic or prophetic circles but also among early Christian authors beyond the genre of apocalypticism, and it was not long before some writers accepted the Apocalypse as an authoritative text.⁵ This certainly suggests that it is worth looking for parallels between its ethics and the early Christian world more broadly. Nevertheless, I must restrict my readings because the form in which the ethics of the *Apocalypse of Peter* appeared in the second century remains unclear.

Even if the use of the *Apocalypse* by Clement allows for the assumption that the tradition of the *Apocalypse of Peter* existed at the time, it is not easy to determine its concrete form. The question of which of the recensions of the *Apocalypse* – the Greek or the Ethiopian – is closer to the original could hardly be solved.⁶ Furthermore, regardless of whether the Greek or Ethiopian version is older, the differences between the two indicate that it is a ‘living text’; its form and content were fluid and changed while it was handed down. A comparison of the concepts of time in different variations of the text makes this clear. In concrete terms, this means that, even if I consider the Ethiopian version to be closer to the original text, I cannot assume that its catalogue of ethical values and sins did not change from the second century to the time of the manuscripts. It cannot be known precisely what belonged to the original and what was added – or erased – in later times. While this uncertainty cannot be avoided, it must be noted. Therefore, I am also very careful with dating or locating the *Apocalypse* because the tentative dates of AD 117 or AD 135 cannot be definitively proven. Thus, it

⁴ Further T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 11–68; E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 2–17.

⁵ On the broad and diverse reception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* see the articles by Maier, Grypeou, Fiori, Bremmer and Erho in the present volume.

⁶ C.D.G. Müller, ‘Die Offenbarung des Petrus. Einleitung und deutsche Übersetzung’, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (Tübingen, 1989) 562–78.

is impossible to understand the ethics of the text as a mirror of a certain social situation.⁷

I also do not want to prove direct literary dependencies between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and other Christian texts. Rather, I believe that oral and written ethical traditions circulated among early Christians, and authors could adopt these traditions more or less freely and for different reasons. Furthermore, traditions like lists of sins and ethics spread throughout the Christian milieu of the Roman Empire, which could explain why the *Apocalypse* exhibits some similarities with the Epistle of Barnabas, Aristides of Athens, Theophilus of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria despite the fact that most of these authors did not come into contact with one another.

2. *The Ethics of Hell – The Apocalypse of Peter Between Nomos and Torah*

Tobias Nicklas has highlighted the Jewish characteristics of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in several studies.⁸ Certainly, its theology and eschatology

⁷ For the discussion about the origins of the *Apocalypse of Peter* see J.N. Bremmer, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. Greek or Jewish', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 1–14; J.N. Bremmer, 'Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell. Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter', in T. Nicklas et al. (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World. Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2010) 305–21, both reprinted in J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 269–80, 281–93, respectively; T.J. Kraus, 'Acherousia und Elysion. Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext', *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2003) 145–63. W. Grünstäudl, 'Petrus, das Feuer und die Interpretation der Schrift. Beobachtungen zum Weltenbrandmotiv im Zweiten Petrusbrief', in L. Neubert and M. Tilly (eds), *Der eine Gott und die Völker in eschatologischer Perspektive. Studien zur Inklusion und Exklusion im biblischen Monotheismus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2013) 183–208; R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 160–258; E. Norelli, 'Situation des apocryphes pétriniens', in *Apocrypha* 2 (1991), 31–83 especially 34–62; E. Norelli, 'Pertinence théologique et canonicité. Les premières apocalypses chrétiennes', in: *Apocrypha* 8 (1997) 147–64.

⁸ Cf. T. Nicklas, 'Insider und Outsider. Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung jenseitiger Orte in der Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Ameling (ed.), *Topographie des Jenseits. Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit*

are strongly influenced by the prophets. In addition, it uses traditions from the Gospel of Matthew, or at least traditions related to Matthew, which again indicates the ‘Jewishness’ of the *Apocalypse*.⁹ The text also does not have a strong Christology; compared to the monotheistic image of God, Christ seems to play only a minor role.¹⁰ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* (hereafter referred to as *Apoc. Pet.*), the God of Israel is the creator, judge and redeemer of the creation. Of course, the text profiles its image of God by using several scriptural echoes and allusions.¹¹ The Scriptures play an important role in the text’s Christology, image of God and idea about the end of time and history. However, commentators have not yet examined if the ethics of the text have Jewish roots.¹² I suggest that the vision of hell in the Ethiopian text can be read as a detailed description of righteousness rooted in the Scriptures.

The story tells readers how they must behave in order to avoid suffering terrible torments after the great day of judgement and to receive the privilege of baptism in the Acherusian lake. *Apoc. Pet.* 1–6 (Ethiopian text) unveils a glimpse at the final judgement; the righteous ones are rewarded, whereas hellish punishments await those who have been unjust. Then, in the following tour of hell,¹³ the readers get a clear

und Spätantike (Stuttgart, 2011) 35–48; T. Nicklas, ‘Resurrection – Judgement – Punishment. Apocalypse of Peter 4’, in G. Van Oyen and T. Shepherd (eds), *Resurrection from the Dead. Biblical Traditions in Dialogue* (Leuven, 2012) 461–74; T. Nicklas, ‘Jewish, Christian, Greek? The Apocalypse of Peter as a Witness of Early Second Century Christianity in Alexandria’, in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 27–46.

⁹ Cf. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 175–76.

¹⁰ For a closer analysis of the text’s Christology, see T. Nicklas, ‘El hijo de Dios regio: sobre la cristología del *Apocalipsis del Pedro*’, in P. de Navascués Benlloch *et al.* (eds), *Filiación. Cultura pagana, religion de Israel, orígenes del cristianismo V* (Madrid, 2014) 275–88.

¹¹ Cf. M. Sommer, ‘Reading the Apocalypse of Peter Politically. The Political Portrayal of Trajan and the Vision of Christ’, in J. Snyder and K. Zamfir (eds), *Reading the ‘Political’ in Jewish and Christian Texts* (Leuven, 2020) 257–76 at 258–60.

¹² M. Sommer, ‘How Jewish is the Apocalypse of Peter?’, in M. Pesce (ed.), *From Jesus to Christian Origins: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of Bertinoro 2015* (Turnhout, 2019) 451–60.

¹³ For a discussion about the origins of Christian hell see J.N. Bremmer, ‘Christian Hell. From the Apocalypse of Peter to the Apocalypse of Paul’,

picture of the unrighteous deeds of those unjust ones. The term ‘righteousness’ is used in both sections of the text so regularly that it could be considered a *leitmotif*. Upon closer inspection of the profile of righteousness, it is possible to see a kind of system behind it. Moreover, by compiling all sins into a list, it becomes striking that the text’s image of God and idea of creation are not only influenced by the Scriptures, but also its ethics. Allusions to the Decalogue build the core of the ethics of hell. Apart from the cultic commandments, the *Apoc. Pet.* seems to mirror the complete Decalogue: apostasy from God, idolatry, honouring father and mother, murder, deceit, theft, lying, adultery and violation of the commandments. Furthermore, the Decalogue is extended by a series of sins, which could be found in the Scriptures: moneylending, prostitution, fornication, sorcery and neglection of widows and orphans. In addition, it mentions two violations that cannot be clearly identified as based on the Scriptures, though they can certainly be considered to be related: abortion and disobedience of slaves.¹⁴

Akhmim Codex	Ethiopian text	Parallels in the Torah
<i>Violations of the Decalogue</i>		
Apostasy from God (Fr. 10r)	Blasphemy (9)	Ex 20:7
Idolatry (Fr. 10r)	Idolatry (10) / Worship of reptiles	Ex 20:3; Deut 5:7; 6:14; 7:14; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 13:14; 28:14, 36; 29:25; 30:17
	Honour father and mother (11)	Ex 20:12; 21:17; Lev 20:9; Deut 5:16
Murder (Fr. 9v)	Murder (7)	Ex 20:13; Deut 5:17
Neglecting God’s Commandments (Fr. 10v)	Violation of the commandments (8)	Deut 5:10; Ex 20:7
	Fraud (9)	Ex 20:15, 17; Deut 5:19, 21
Lie (Fr. 10v) / <i>Blasphemy against justice</i> (Fr. 8r; Fr. 9r)	<i>Blasphemy of Justice</i> (7; 9)	
Adultery (Fr. 9v)	Premarital sex (11)	Ex 20:14; Deut 5:18

in *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325, reprinted and updated in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 295–312.

¹⁴ Cf. Sommer, ‘How Jewish is the Apocalypse of Peter?’, 458–59.

<i>Violations of Torah Commandments</i>		
Usury (Fr. 10v)	Usury (10)	Lev 25:36
Fornication and homosexuality (Fr. 10v)	Homosexuality (10)	Lev 18:22
	Prostitution (7; 8)	Deut 23:18, 19
	Magic (12)	Lev 19:26; Deut 18:10
Neglecting widows and orphans – violation of the bid (Fr. 10r)	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)	Ex 22:21; Deut 10:18; 24:17; 27:19
<i>Other Traditions</i>		
Abrasion (Fr. 9r)	Abortion (8)	
	Disobedient Slaves	

Some aspects of this notion of righteous ethics certainly allow for a few speculations. For instance, in a recent article, W. Grünstäudl called the ethics of the *Apoc. Pet.* ‘everyday-life ethics’:

Die Mehrzahl der in der petrinischen Hölle geahndeten Vergehen betrifft auffälliger Weise die Verletzung von sozialetischen, das Alltagsleben betreffenden Normen [...] Salopp gesprochen könnte man hier die Umrisse einer etwas biedereren Hölle erkennen, deren pädagogischer Nutzen für das Diesseits wohl am ehesten in der Bewahrung eines mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft konformen Sozialgefüges besteht.¹⁵

Grünstäudl is certainly right – or, at least, he is certainly not entirely wrong. However, I believe that this list of virtues and sins has a deeper meaning and can be understood as guidance or a kind of manual for how to understand the Torah. Like many other Christian texts, the *Apoc. Pet.* understands the Scriptures as ethical instructions that reveal God’s definition of righteousness. For the *Apocalypse*, the idea of righteousness can clearly be found in the social ethics of the Scriptures. On the one hand, the cluster of sins and values can easily be traced back to the Torah. The use of these sins and virtues identifies the Scriptures as an ethical revelation of God’s righteousness. On the other hand, it disregards cultic commandments and the obligation to keep the Sabbath. In my opinion, it reads

¹⁵ W. Grünstäudl, ‘Enthüllung im Fragment. Notizen zu Überlieferungsgestalt und Figureninventar der Offenbarung des Petrus’, in J. Verheyden, T. Nicklas and E. Hernitscheck (eds), *Shadowy Characters and Fragmentary Evidence. The Search for Early Christian Groups and Movements* (Tübingen, 2017) 109–23.

the Torah as *nomos* that could be fulfilled not only by Jews but by a non-Jewish society at large. The text preserves the ethical prescriptions of Israel's Scriptures and softens the obligations of the cultic law. The Torah as cultic law is changed in such a way that the will of God can be fulfilled through a good life according to the ethical standards presented in the *Apocalypse's* tour of hell.¹⁶ Perhaps it tried to inculturate the will of God as revealed in the Scriptures into the cultural environment of a pagan society, as it keeps the ethics of Scriptures without simultaneously fighting the cultic law. It does not argue against cultic 'identity markers', but simply excludes them from its reading of the Scriptures.

Tobias Nicklas stated that "questions of proper Tora observance do not play any role in this text".¹⁷ His statement is certainly correct if one understands Torah observance as a practical implementation of the cultic law. But, in my eyes, the ethics of the *Apocalypse* is the product of a conscious decision of how to read the Torah as *nomos*; in other words, it offers a certain form of Torah reading. Indeed, one could go so far as to say that the text does not accept all forms of Torah interpretation. It seems as if the *Apoc. Pet.* reviews interpretations of the Torah that understand the cultic law literally and critically. In this regard, it can be posited that it is not so far away from the standpoint of the Gospel of Matthew or the *Didache*. Although it does not actively argue against identity markers, such as circumcision, food and purity laws or sacrifices, it does not explicitly value them as relevant to salvation. The fate of a person in the afterlife is dependent on their social behaviour. This form of 'Jewish' ethics was certainly not supported by every 'Jewish' movement of the second century.

In Chapter 2 of the Ethiopian text, there are some more discreet suggestions that the text struggles with other 'Jewish' groups. The parable of the fig tree points out that the *Apoc. Pet.* defines itself as deeply 'Jewish', but it distances itself from certain other 'Jewish' groups that show no respect to the traditions of the fathers and do not believe in Christ. Although this discourse is not deepened in the vision of hell – it does not speak explicitly about Jews being in hell – it can still be speculated whether or not the decision to read the Torah as an

¹⁶ Cf. Sommer, 'The Hermeneutics of Scriptures'.

¹⁷ Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek', 46.

ethical *nomos* has anything to do with this discourse. The text, at least, presents a form of ‘Jewish’ ethics that was certainly not accepted by all ‘Jewish’ groups in the second century.

3. *The Construction of Ethics in Early Christianity and in the Apocalypse of Peter*

The text’s list of ethical regulations, has counterparts in the Scriptures. In particular, allusions to the social rules of the Decalogue play a central role in the tour of hell. Although the use of Israel’s traditions is clearly noticeable, it is striking that the text omits references to cult regulations. The ethical profile created by a potentially conscious selection of intertextual references is comparable to at least some early Christian identity designs. A broader comparison with the construction of ethics in early Christianity reveals that the construction of a catalogue of virtues was very often connected with the positioning of interpretations of the cultic law. Discourses about how to read the Scriptures and how to understand the cultic law were often connected with the portrayal of an idea of Christian ethics. Perhaps the comparison between the writings of early Christianity and the *Apoc. Pet.* provides evidence that the ethics of this apocalypse also contains, at least subliminally, a statement about the interpretation of the Scriptures.

Furthermore, such a comparison might help contextualise the text. It can be proven that the form of its ethics had much in common with notions that can be found in early Christian apologetic literature. At this point, I would like to return to the beginning of the paper and the methodological restrictions. I am aware that as soon as I leave the space of text-immanent interpretation, I cannot present a rock-solid thesis but must carefully interpret small gestures. In what follows, I do not wish to speak about direct literary relations between the *Apoc. Pet.* and other texts. Rather, I would like to support my assumption that the text’s system of ethics reveals a certain interpretation of the Scriptures by comparing it with early Christian discourses about the Scriptures.

3.1. *Clement of Alexandria*

Although second-century Christians expressed ethics in innumerable forms, particular traditions existed that shared common features or were related to each other. One specific form of Christian ethics can

be found in texts that combine harsh polemics towards Jewish cultic practices with an ethical reading of the Scriptures. Most of these discourses distinguish themselves more aggressively from ‘Jewish’ groups than the *Apocalypse of Peter*, but they offer an ethical reading of Israel’s traditions that could – at least, carefully – be compared with its catalogue of virtues and vices. In this light, it may be helpful to discuss a certain early Christian *Zeitgeist*. Although authors differ from each other, they share at least common features or ideas. For instance, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and authors like Aristides of Athens, Justin, Irenaeus of Lyon, Clement and Tertullian, as well as ‘apocalyptic’ works like *5 Ezra*, unfold a diverse landscape of early Christian identity designs. They also work to some extent with similar traditions. In some parts of their works, they quote similar texts of the Torah and the prophets to offer a purely ethical interpretation of the Scriptures. In those parts where they argue against the relevance of cultic ‘identity markers’, they regularly quote cult-critical prophets, such as Isa 1; 58; Jer 6–7 and Zech 7–8, as well as the Decalogue. On the one hand, they rewrite these texts as if God did not attach any importance to the Sabbath, circumcision, the festival calendar and the sacrificial cult. On the other hand, they use the ethics of the prophetic texts and the Torah to demonstrate that the Torah is still valid but only in an ethical sense.¹⁸ The *Paidagogos* of Clement of Alexandria (probably written at the beginning of the third century CE in Alexandria)¹⁹ is an excellent example for that.²⁰ In doing so — and this is the crux — these authors often create a catalogue of virtues that is confusingly similar to that of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. As in our text, ethical lists consisting of the non-cultic part of the Decalogue extend with allusions to a certain selection of ethical values of the Scriptures

¹⁸ Cf. M. Sommer, ‘Das Brandopfer der Räuberhöhle. Die Rezeption der Tempelrede Jeremias (Jer 7) in den synoptischen Evangelien und im frühen Christentum’, *Biblica* 102 (2021) 206–28.

¹⁹ Cf. R. Feulner, *Clemens von Alexandrien. Sein Leben, Werk und philosophisch-theologisches Denken* (Frankfurt, 2006) 30; M. Pujiula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise. Clemens von Alexandria und sein Paidagogos* (Berlin, 2006) 30–39.

²⁰ For a discussion about the use of Scriptures in the works of Clement see J. Carleton Paget, ‘The Christian Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Alexandrian Tradition’, in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation II.1. Antiquity* (Göttingen, 1996) 478–542 at 488.

and appear regularly in Christian ‘mainstream’ literature. Even though the contrast between ethics and cult obligations is found in many texts, the intensity of their arguments against ‘Jewish’ identity features differs. In *Paidagogos* 3.12.89–90, Clement explains how God’s will can be fulfilled through the praxis of virtues, which he revealed in the Torah and the prophets.²¹ Therefore, Clement uses the ethical instructions of Isa 1; 58; Jer 6–7; Zech 7–8 and Ps 50, which he combines with the social ethics of the Decalogue. At the same time, he takes over the cult criticism from Isa 58:6–10 and Isa 1:11–13 to shape arguments against Jewish fasting practices, burnt offerings, sacrifices, the new moon festival and the Sabbath. According to Clement, God wants social justice instead, which would have been expressed in the prophetic writings.

	Clement of Alexandria <i>Paidagogos</i> , 3.89–91	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> ²²
89	<i>Marked as allusion to the Decalogue by Clement</i>	
	Adultery	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v) Premarital sex (11); Prostitution (7; 8)
	Idolatry	Idolatry (10) Worship of reptiles
	Fornication	<i>Fornication</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Theft	Fraud (9)
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Honour father and mother	Honour father and mother (11)
	<i>Marked as allusion to Isa 1 by Clement</i>	
	Justice	Blasphemy of Justice (7; 9)
	Care for widows and orphans	Widows and orphans despise in God’s face (9)
	<i>Marked as allusion to Isa 58 by Clement</i>	
90	Release of captives	
	Care for the homeless and poor; clothing the naked	

²¹ Further Pujiula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise*, 39.

²² The table follows the Ethiopian text as a guideline. Differences and additions in the Greek text are included in the table and marked in italics.

	<i>Marked as allusion to Zech 7–8 by Clement</i>	
	Charity	Context
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	<i>Marked as allusion to Jer 7 by Clement</i>	
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	<i>Other Traditions</i>	
91	Usury	<i>Usury</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Positive relationship with the state	

Clement counts the release of prisoners, the clothing of the naked and the care for the homeless and the poor as ethical values. He also pleads for a positive relationship with the state. The *Apocalypse of Peter* does not mention these aspects. Instead, its catalogue of ethics includes commandments about slavery and the prohibition of abortion and magic, which Clement does not list. By comparing the ethical lists of both authors with each other, commonalities arise despite all the differences. For instance, in both texts, the socio-ethical side of the Decalogue forms a centre that is expanded with various commandments, most of which are anchored in the Scriptures. Neither of them values cultic identity markers as mandatory for salvation. However, both authors treat the cultic law differently; whereas the *Apocalypse of Peter* simply ignores it, Clement of Alexandria heavily argues against it.

3.2. *Theophilus of Antioch*

The *Apology* of Theophilus of Antioch stems (probably) from the last third of the second century. Theophilus is a highly educated writer aiming to prove that the Scriptures of Israel are more valuable than the thoughts of the Greco-Roman philosophers.²³

As has been recognised by Rhodes and Skarsaune,²⁴ Theophilus of Antioch works with the same group of allusions to Isa 1; 58,

²³ Cf. F.R. Prostmeier, 'Die Jesusüberlieferung bei Theophilus von Antiochia „An Autolykos“', in M. Lang (ed.), *Ein neues Geschlecht. Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Selbstbewusstseins* (Göttingen, 2014) 179–214.

²⁴ J.M. Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition. Polemics, Paraenesis, and Legacy of the Golden-Calf Incident* (Tübingen,

Jer 6–7 and Zech 7–8 as *Barn.*, Justin and Clement. In contrast to them, Theophilus only uses those texts to portray an idea of righteousness based on the Scriptures. He does not argue against identity markers, but uses those intertexts to explain that God revealed a notion of righteousness through the Torah and the prophets and in the *euangelion* of Christ. The similarities between Theophilus' concept of righteousness and that of the *Apocalypse of Peter* are striking. Although these texts clearly have different intentions, both underline in their own way how strongly their 'Christian' self-understanding is anchored in the Scriptures. Neither harshly argues against cultic laws, as they both read the Scriptures as an ethical guideline for righteous behaviour. For this, Theophilus uses Isa 1, 58, Jer 6–7 and Zech 7–8. Instead of quoting the Scriptures, the *Apocalypse of Peter* uses language and motifs that reference them. In any case, parallels in terms of content between the two texts cannot be overlooked.

Theophilus, Autol. 3.9–12		<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> ²⁵
Fear of God and justice	<i>Marked in Theophilus as allusions to the Decalogue</i>	
	Apostasy from God	Blasphemy (9); <i>Apostasy from God</i> (Fr. 10r)
	Idolatry	Idolatry
	Honour father and mother	Honour father and mother (11)
	Adultery	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v)
	Murder	Murder (7)
	Theft	Fraud (9)
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Adultery	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v)
	Nearest house	

2004) 42 at note 25; O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy. A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition. Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (Leiden, 1987) 296.

²⁵ The table follows the Ethiopian text as a guideline. Differences and additions in the Greek text are included in the table and marked in italics.

	<i>Marked in Theophilus as allusions to the Torah</i>	
	Justice of the poor	
	Do not kill innocent and righteous people	Persecution of the Righteous (9) / Killing the Witnesses (9)
	Do not declare ungodly righteous	
	Do not accept gifts	
	<i>Marked in Theophilus as allusions to Isa 1 and Isa 58</i>	
	Ensuring compliance with the law	Blasphemy of Justice (7; 9)
	Giving rights to widows, orphans and strangers	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)
	Help for the oppressed/prisoners	
	Caring for the homeless and poor; Clothing of naked people	
	<i>Marked in Theophilus on allusions to Jer 6–7</i>	
	Ensuring justice	Blasphemy of justice
	<i>Marked in Theophilus on allusions to Zech 7</i>	
	Justice	Blasphemy of justice (7; 9)
	Charity	
	Do not oppress widows, orphans and strangers	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)
	Forgiveness of insults and love of enemies	

The catalogue of values of Theophilus is slightly larger, and some of the virtues that Theophilus derives from Isa 58 – for instance, the care of prisoners and the clothing of the naked – do not appear in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, Theophilus contains almost the entire ethical horizon of the latter, excluding only the critiques of homosexuality. Even the persecution and killing of the righteous ones, which is often used as an argument in the discussion about the *Apocalypse's* origins, appears in Theophilus's Torah-based idea of righteousness. Instead of being a special motif of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, perhaps this system of ethics belongs to an ethical tradition circulating among Christians.

Considering the literature of early Christianity, it becomes clear that ethical lists of a similar nature were widespread and located in a variety of different genres. Of course, I cannot prove it beyond any

doubt, but it is possible that the *Apoc. Pet.* uses related ethical traditions.

There are more possible lessons to learn from this comparison of texts. For example, it might be possible to learn something about the function of ethics in the *Apocalypse of Peter* by comparing it again with Theophilus. With this ethical list, Theophilus underlines that the Scriptures and the *euangelion* of Christ are inspired in the same way and form a unity, although he does not define the term ‘euangelion’. The Scriptures and the gospel do not contradict each other because both reveal God’s will. Although the *Apocalypse of Peter* does not reflect its understanding of scriptures, its hermeneutics share at least some common features. It deeply anchors its ‘Christian’ self-understanding, theology, and Christology in the Scriptures, and – like Theophilus – it underlines that the ethics of the Scriptures are the foundation of ‘Christian’ ethics.

3.3. *The Apology of Aristides*

The *Apology* of Aristides was (probably) written during the reign of Antoninus Pius and is one of the earliest Christian apologies – maybe the first at all.²⁶ In the recent years, the parting-of-the-ways research showed great interest in this text because it creates a remarkable respectful borderline between Jewish and Christian identity.²⁷

The *Apology* of Aristides demonstrates overlaps with the *Apocalypse of Peter* that are similar to Clement and Theophilus.²⁸ Although it is implausible that the ethics of all of these authors are literary

²⁶ Cf. B. Pouderon, *Aristide Apologie. Introduction, Textes Critiques, Traductions et Commentaire* (Paris, 2003) 23–61; M. Latke, *Aristides Apologie* (Freiburg, 2018) 20–21.

²⁷ Cf. W.C. Rutherford, ‘Reinscribing the Jews. The Story of Aristides’ *Apology* 2.2–4 and 14.1b–15.2’, *HTR* 106 (2013) 61–91; further M. Latke, ‘Die Wahrheit der Christen in der Apologie des Aristides. Vorstudie zu einem Kommentar’, in M. Lang (ed.), *Ein neues Geschlecht. Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Selbstbewusstseins* (Göttingen, 2014) 215–35; T. Nicklas, *Jews and Christians. Second-Century ‘Christian’ Perspectives on the Parting of the Ways* (Tübingen, 2014) 87.

²⁸ For parallels between Justin and Aristides see D.E. Nyström, *The Apology of Justin Martyr* (Tübingen, 2018) 30–31.

dependent on each other, the similarities suggest that common ideas of ethics have developed and have grown in different Christian circles. If one takes a closer look at the *Apology* of Aristides, one notices that his construction of ethics is also linked to an interpretation of the cultic law of the Scriptures. It provides further evidence that the construction of ethics and the interpretation of the Scriptures often went hand-in-hand. Perhaps this is an additional indication that the list of values in the *Apocalypse of Peter* contains instructions on how to read the Scriptures.

Aristides develops an idea of Christian identity and distinguishes between Christ followers and Jews. His idea of Christianity shares some common features with Theophilus of Antioch. For instance, both Aristides and Theophilus present a notion of Christianity that is strongly rooted in Israel's traditions. Aristides esteems Jewish ethics as pleasant in God's eyes, although he heavily criticises their practice of worship.²⁹ He also holds the ethical traditions of Israel in high esteem, but detaches himself – here, the apologist's rhetoric resembles the lines of argumentation of many early Christian authors – from the 'Jewish' identity features of the cult. Aristides writes in *Apol.* 14:4 that Israel, through the Sabbath, new moon festival, circumcision, dietary regulations, the great day and the feast of unleavened bread, reveals that they have misunderstood the Scriptures. Nevertheless, at the same time, Aristides emphasises that the Jewish social practices of caring for prisoners and poor and burying the dead are righteous (Aristides, *Apol.* 14:3).³⁰ Thus, Aristides portrays Christian ethics, anchoring his catalogue of Christian virtues deep in Jewish traditions (Aristides, *Apol.* 15:4–7).

Aristides, *Apol.* 15:4–7 and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are quite similar. As with Clement, Theophilus and the *Apocalypse*, the socio-ethical part of the Decalogue stands in the centre of Aristides's ethics, which is expanded with references to social commandments of the Scriptures.³¹

²⁹ Cf. Rutherford, 'Reinscribing the Jews', 63–64.

³⁰ Cf. Nicklas, *Jews and Christians*, 87.

³¹ Cf. Lattke, 'Die Wahrheit der Christen', 226–32.

Aristides, <i>Apol.</i> 15:4–7		Parallels in the Scriptures	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>
15:4a	Adultery	Ex 20:14; Deut 5:18	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v)/ Premarital sex (11)
15:4a	Prostitution	Ex 34:15–16	Prostitution (7; 8)
15:4a	Lie	Ex 20:16; Deut 5:20	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
15:4a	Coveting another's property; Theft	Ex 20:15, 17; Deut 5:19, 21	Fraud (9)
15:4a	Honour father and mother (11)	Ex 20:12; Deut 5:16	Honour father and mother (11)
15:4a	Justice	z.B. Isa 1; 58; Zech 7; Jer 7	Blasphemy of Justice (7; 9)
15:4b	Idolatry	Deut 5:8; Ex 20:4	Idolatry (10) / Worship of reptiles Blasphemy (9)
15:4b	Golden Rule	Lev 19:18	
15:4c	Forgiveness of insults and love of enemies	Ex 23:4–5; Lev 19:18; also Zech 7:9–10; 8:16–17	
15:5a	Fornication	Lev 18; 19:29	<i>Fornication</i> (Fr. 10v)
15:5b	Slaves	Isa 58:6	Slaves
15:6b	Lie	Deut 5:20; Ex 20:16; Lev 19:18; also Zech 7:9–10	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
15:6b	Care for widows and orphans	z.B. Isa 1; Jer 7; Zech 7	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)
15:6c	Hospitality	Ex 22:20; Deut 10:18–19; 23:16; 24:17 etc.	
15:7a	Burial of the dead	Tob 1:17	
15:7b	Help for the oppressed/prisoners	Isa 58:6–10	
15:7c	Charity	Ex 22:24; 23:6, 11; Lev 19:10; 23:22; Deut 15:4–11; 24:14; Isa 58:6–10	Context

The great overlap between the ethics of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apology* of Aristides is striking. The two catalogues of virtues of both authors are very similar in essential points. Indeed, the only significant difference between the texts is that the former contains the

aspects of murder, usury, magic and abortion and the latter contains the ethical values of hospitality, burial of the dead and the care of prisoners. The surplus of values in the *Apology* of Aristides, however, appears in the *Paidagogos* of Clement. Apart from this minor difference, the general idea of Christian ethics is remarkably similar in both texts. The major difference between the two is that the *Apology* of Aristides, like Clement and many second-century authors, presents this list of virtues as the only way to fulfil the will of God in contrast to Jewish festivals and practices of worship. This is not the case with Theophilus or in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, the *Apology* of Aristides provides a further indication that early Christian ethics often commented upon the cultic law of the Scriptures.

4. *Implications*

We could go on with many other examples. In the works of many apologists and heresiologists, catalogues of virtues often functioned as identity markers that distinguished their idea of Christianity from ‘Jewish’ groups. In many cases, early Christians used discourses about ethics to comment upon the relevance of the cultic law. Even if the positions of the individual authors diverge from each other, many of them share common lines of argumentation, portraying a righteous way of life that fulfils the will of God as revealed in the Scriptures. The Scriptures appear as a simple collection of virtues and values, whereas the cultic law loses its relevance for salvation. Clement of Alexandria quotes from texts by Israel’s prophets that are cult critical, adopts their socio-ethical directives, which he connects with the Decalogue, and uses their criticism against Jewish identity markers. His catalogue of virtues is similar to that of Theophilus of Antioch. Certainly, the similarities arose because Theophilus used similar, if not the same, cult-critical prophetic texts. The most significant difference between the two is that Theophilus does not actively distance himself from Jewish identity markers. If one compares Theophilus and Clement with the *Apology* of Aristides, one also recognises a certain overlap, although Aristides, unlike Theophilus and Clement, does not quote from the Scriptures directly. Each of these authors’ catalogues of virtues has a specific profile. The centre of the list of virtues is formed by allusions to the Decalogue, which are expanded with a

selection of allusions to social commandments of the Scriptures. This profile is also apparent in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Since the ethical discourses of these authors contain statements about the meaning of the Scriptures, the question arises whether this is also the case in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

In sum, the ethics of the *Apoc. Pet.* are deeply rooted in the Scriptures of Israel. I believe that its list of sins reveals a certain program of how the text understands the Torah as *nomos*. It is notable that its ethics only contains ethical commandments besides the prohibition against worshipping foreign gods. Its virtues and vices are arranged in such a way that its roots can be traced back to the Scriptures. It is significant, however, that the *Apoc. Pet.* reads the Torah and the prophets but does not take on any commandments about Jewish identity markers concerning the cult. The text does not mention Shabbat, circumcision, food and purity regulations or the festival calendar. Without actively dissociating from it, the text handles the Torah as an ethical revelation of God's righteousness. One could also go so far as to say that its reading differs from other 'Jewish' groups who attach great importance to the cultic law.

I cautiously ask whether this brief conclusion allows us to draw comparisons with early Christian discourses. The form of the *Apocalypse's* ethics is similar to many discourses that offer an ethical reading of the Torah with the help of the cult-critical prophets, while at the same time distancing itself to varying degrees from a literal interpretation of the cultic law. Even if, like Theophilus, it does express polemics against the cultic law, its idea of righteousness has some remarkable similarities with authors of the so-called Christian mainstream. Perhaps this could offer a hint as to why the *Apocalypse of Peter* was read in early Christianity outside of apocalyptic circles.

VI. Contrasting Places of Joy and Punishment in the Akhmîm Text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* through Sensory Experience Textual Lens

CARLOS OLIVARES

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is an early Christian document probably written in the first half of the second century.¹ It describes two opposite scenes when reporting a vision seen by Jesus' disciples and then only by Peter. The first portrays a place of reward and happiness (*Apoc. Pet.* 6–20²), while the second stages images of torment (21–34).

Likely composed originally in Greek,³ the *Apocalypse of Peter* has been preserved in two versions that diverge from one another: (1) the Akhmîm text, extant in Greek and (2) the Ethiopic version, which is longer than its Greek counterpart.⁴ Although the current academic trend considers the Ethiopic version to be closer to the lost original text and therefore a better textual witness for the *Apocalypse of Peter*,⁵ in this

¹ For the date, see most recently the various studies in J. Frey, M. den Dulk and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019).

² The numbering of the *Apoc. Pet.* in this article follows the system of the Akhmîm Codex as it can be found in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004).

³ R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 162.

⁴ I. Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body in Early Christian Discourse. Hell, Scatology and Metamorphosis* (London, 2014) 10.

⁵ M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 12 (1910) 36–54; Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 162–65; Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body*, 10. For a critical view of this assumption see M. Himmelfarb, *Tours*

paper I will concentrate my analysis on the Akhmîm text. The reason is simple. My focus is not historical but literary, which in this article means to view the *Apocalypse of Peter* as a piece of creative literature.

Both versions of the *Apocalypse of Peter* have been studied from different perspectives, undertaking source, form, redaction, reception and socio-rhetorical critical examinations.⁶ Other studies made further approaches to the texts by focusing on the punishment of the body or through engaging with the vivid descriptions of hell and paradise.⁷

of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature (Philadelphia, 1983) 10–11.

⁶ E.g., D. Fiensy, 'Lex Talionis in the Apocalypse of Peter', *HTR* 76 (1983) 255–58; M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 12 (1910) 36–54; P. Chapuis, 'L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre', *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie et Comptendu des Principales Publications Scientifiques* 26 (1893) 338–55; R. Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish Christian Apocalypse From the Time of Bar Kokhba', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 7–112; id., 'The Apocalypse of Peter', 4712–50; id., 'The Two Fig Tree Parables in the Apocalypse of Peter', *JBL* 104 (1985) 269–87; id., *The Fate of the Dead*, 149–268; id., 'A Quotation from 4Q Second Ezekiel in the Apocalypse of Peter', *RevQ* 15 (1992) 437–45; A. Jakab, 'The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 174–86; G. Quispel and R.M. Grant, 'Note on the Petrine Apocrypha', *VC* 6 (1952) 31–32; A. Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses', *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96; P. Gray, 'Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JECS* 9 (2001) 313–37; J.R. Harris, 'The Odes of Solomon and the Apocalypse of Peter', *ExpTim* 42 (1930) 21–23.

⁷ E.g., T. Adamik, 'The Description of Paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 78–90; I. Czachesz, 'The Grotesque Body in the Apocalypse of Peter', *ibid.*, 108–26; repr. in his *The Grotesque Body*, 9–26; J.N. Bremmer, 'Christian Hell. From the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*', *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325, updated in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 295–312; C.E. Mattos, 'Um inferno para ser visto. O Apocalipse de Pedro e os sofrimentos físicos dos condenados', *Caminhando* 25 (2020) 87–100; F.B. Leite and R.B. Wotckoski, 'Perspectivas para estudos sobre o Apocalipse de Pedro', *Oracula* 10 (2014) 89–104; C.E. de Araújo de Mattos and P.A. de Souza Nogueira, 'Un Apocalipsis fuera de lugar. Un relato de viaje al más allá en Los Hechos de Felipe, en comparación con los Apocalipsis de Pedro y de Pablo', *Revista de interpretación bíblica latinoamericana*

The value of these findings is enormous, and I do not intend to repeat or question them here. My goal, on the contrary, is to explore the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, focusing on how the text construes extant and eschatological reward and punishment scenes through sensory experience, narratively.

Methodologically, narrative criticism enables readers to determine literary designs by focusing on the way writings portray scenes and locations and builds events and characters creatively.⁸ Although employed mostly to examine biblical stories, narrative criticism has also been used to study non-canonical texts, such as Jewish and Christian apocryphal literature.⁹ The method in both cases is similar, assuming the last form of the text, which allows interpreters to undertake synchronic readings textually.¹⁰ Because narrative criticism is a

73 (2016) 93–112; J.M. Blázquez, ‘Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el Apocalipsis de Pedro’, in F.D. de Velasco (ed.), *Miedo y religión. IV Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones* (Madrid, 2002) 331–42; Â.M.P. Aleixo, ‘O Apocalipse de Pedro. A narrativa da viagem de Pedro na perspectiva da psicologia histórica de Klaus Berger’, *Oracula* 9 (2013) 84–94; M.J. Gilmour, ‘Delighting in the Sufferings of Others. Early Christian Schadenfreude and the Function of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *BBR* 16 (2006) 129–39.

⁸ See J.L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament. An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, 2005); M.A. Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis, MN, 1990); S.B. Chatman, *Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (New York, 1980).

⁹ See, for example, I. Nowell, *The Book of Tobit. Narrative Technique and Theology* (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1983); R.S. Hobyane, ‘The Compositional/Narrative Structure of Judith. A Greimassian Perspective’, *OTE* 27 (2014) 896–912; id., ‘Canonical Narrative Schema. A Key to Understanding the Victory Discourse in Judith. A Greimassian Contribution’, *Journal for Semitics* 24 (2015) 638–56; E. Nshimbi, *The Characterization of Tobit in the Light of Tobit 1: 1–2* (PhD diss., Santa Clara University, 2017); see my own contribution to the topic: C. Olivares, ‘Ana y María en el Protoevangelio de Santiago. Análisis literario de dos personajes en contraste’, *Estudos de religião* 33 (2019) 101–17; id., ‘La historia de un anciano bueno. Caracterización narrativa de José en el Protoevangelio de Santiago’, *Teoliteraria – Revista de Literaturas e Teologias* 11 (2021) 34–51.

¹⁰ One of the key aspects of narrative criticism is that it explores texts synchronically, assuming their finished final form and artistic creativity. See Powell, *Narrative Criticism*, 7–10.

text-oriented perspective,¹¹ in my literary study of the Akhmîm text I use the critical edition of Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas.¹²

Unlike historical criticism, narrative criticism does not engage in debates about the development, identification of sources and origin of ancient documents, but reads them as stories with a rhetorical purpose in mind.¹³ This is why I do not explore in this paper, not even comparatively, the vision presented by the Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.¹⁴ Distinct from source or redaction criticism, narrative studies focus only on one text, leaving aside other writings that even share similar issues.¹⁵

As will be demonstrated in this paper, to achieve its literary purpose, the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* tells a story that can be interpreted through sensory experience. The purpose of my paper is to discover, from a narrative critical approach, if all the characters of the story experience the five senses in the same way. In my analysis, I differentiate between explicit senses, interwoven in the narrative, and implicit senses, which readers need to infer from the story. In the first case, readers can recognise characters' senses by observing linguistic and literary clues revealed in the account, such as describing events and scenes in rich detail. In the second, readers need to construe them by using logical conjectures, like for instance, deducing whether characters can listen to voices around them or can smell aromas that other characters can.

¹¹ M.A. Powell, *Chasing the Eastern Star. Adventures in Biblical Reader-Response Criticism* (Louisville, 2001) 67.

¹² Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 104–16. For other critical Greek texts see A. Lods, *L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre publiés pour la première fois d'après les photographies du manuscrit de Gizéh* (Paris, 1893) 25–31; E. Klostermann (ed.), *Apocrypha I. Reste des Petrus-evangeliums, der Petrus-Apokalypse und des Kerygmatis Petri* (Bonn, 1903) 8–11.

¹³ On the differences between the historical-critical method and narrative criticism, see M.A. Powell, 'Toward a Narrative-Critical Understanding of Matthew', *Int* 46 (1992) 341–46.

¹⁴ On some of the differences between the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Ethiopic version see M. Goguel, 'A propos du texte nouveau de l'Apocalypse de Pierre', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 89 (1924) 191–209; E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 73–96.

¹⁵ The best examples are the Synoptic Gospels, which, even though they are thematically related, narrative criticism examines them individually.

Since the story told by the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* entails two settings, I will divide my paper into two parts. First, the focal point is on scenes depicting beauty, exploring the sensory experience of Jesus' disciples and the characters of the vision. Then, the attention goes to the locations of torment, noting how Peter and the actors of the story undergo the imagery of punishment through their senses. In each section, I will offer a literary interpretation.

1. *Point of View of Descriptions of Beauty* (Apoc. Pet. 6–20)

The Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*'s narrative opens with Jesus talking to his disciples about God's coming to judge the sons of iniquity (Apoc. Pet. 1–3). After that, Jesus' twelve disciples go with him to pray on a mountain (Apoc. Pet. 4).¹⁶ On their way, Jesus's disciples ask him to show them the righteous brothers who had departed from the world (Apoc. Pet. 5). They want to see what they look like, so they will take courage and encourage others who will hear them (Apoc. Pet. 5). Then Jesus responds to their request when they are praying by giving them a vision,¹⁷ a vision which I will examine now (Apoc. Pet. 6–20).

1.1. *The Sensory Experience of Jesus' Disciples*

Readers observe that Jesus' disciples engage with three explicit senses in this segment of the story: sight, smell and hearing. Touch and taste are left out. From a literary perspective, readers can determine whether these senses exist in the text by noticing how the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* either depicts actions related to them or employs words associated with sensory experiences.

1.1.1. Sight

The first human sense Jesus' disciples experience is sight. As the reader reads, two men appear standing before Jesus, whom later Jesus

¹⁶ The name of the mountain is not revealed by the Akhmîm Text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

¹⁷ It is not clear for readers whether Jesus responds to the petition on their way or when they finally arrived at the mountain.

identifies as the righteous ones (*Apoc. Pet.* 6, 11–13). Ironically, Jesus’ disciples cannot look at them (οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι) because their face and clothing shines, such as the human eye (ὄφθαλμός ἀνθρώπου) has never seen before (*Apoc. Pet.* 6–7). The mention of the verb ἀντιβλέπω (to look straight at someone) and the noun ὄφθαλμός (eye) lead readers to consider the sense of sight unambiguously. Because, although they cannot look at the two men standing in front of Jesus, Peter can metaphorically describe the beauty of their faces (ὄψεις),¹⁸ clothes (ἔνδυμα),¹⁹ bodies (σῶμα) and hair (κόμη) (*Apoc. Pet.* 6–11, 17).

The vision, readers imply, is impossible to describe with human words (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 7, 9). That’s why the text uses metaphors to represent the two men’s bodies, such as whiter than all snow (λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος) and redder than every rose (ἐρυθρότερα πάντος ῥόδου) (*Apoc. Pet.* 8–9). The same happens with the description of the two men’s curly hair. Their hair, the account says, is blooming (ἀνθηρά)²⁰ and falls on their faces and shoulders like a crown woven of nard and various colourful flowers (ποικίλων ἀνθῶν),²¹ or like a rainbow in the air (*Apoc. Pet.* 10).²² Narratively, light and colours permeate Jesus’ disciples’ vision, making it cheerful and intense.

¹⁸ The noun ὄψεις, in this context, can describe “the front portion of the head or expression thereof, face, countenance” (see BDAG, 746). Translations render the noun in this same way. “Countenance” in M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) 508; J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993) 610. Cf. “visage” in Lods, *L’Évangile et l’Apocalypse de Pierre*, 86 and “Angesicht” in Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 115.

¹⁹ Although the noun ἔνδυμα can mean “covering in reference to one’s inner life” (BDAG, 333), in this context, the noun ἔνδυμα can be translated as “garment, item of clothing, covering” (See MGS, 692; cf. BDAG, 333). Cf. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 610 (raiment); James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508 (raiment); Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 105 (Gewand).

²⁰ In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the word ἀνθηρός depicts splendid and brilliant hair. See BDAG, 80. Cf. MGS, 177.

²¹ The noun ἄνθος in this context can mean “colourful splendor” (καὶ ποικίλων ἀνθῶν) (*Apoc. Pet.* 10). See BDAG, 80.

²² My translation of the text is quite formal (ὡσπερ ἴρις ἐν ἀέρι), but shared by other translations. See James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508 (“like a rainbow in the air”); Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 610

After watching the scene, Peter asks Jesus about the world where all the righteous are (*Apoc. Pet.* 14). Jesus agrees and shows him a great place located out of the world (ὁ κύριος ἔδειξέ μοι μέγιστον χῶρον ἐκτὸς τούτου τοῦ κόσμου) (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). It is important to underline that the account depicts a vision and not a physical journey to paradise. However, for readers, Jesus' disciples engage vividly with the vision by their, albeit limited, sensory experience. Apparently, the scene is not only seen by Peter. As the story goes on, the reader notices that other deceased followers of Jesus also appear in the vision (*Apoc. Pet.* 16, 20).²³ Again, Peter employs vivid language when describing the place to the reader. The site, Peter affirms, is exceedingly bright with light (ὑπέρλαμπρον τῷ φωτί), and the rays of the sun illuminate its air (τὸν ἄερα τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀκτίσιν ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενον) (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). The earth itself blooms with unfading flowers (ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἄνθεσι), a place also full of spices (ἀρωμάτων πλήρη) and incorruptible plants bearing fruit (ἀφθάρτων καὶ καρπὸν εὐλογημένον φερόντων) (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). Finally, Peter adds, the dwellers wear the clothing of shining angels (ἀγγέλων φωτεινῶν), because their garments are a reflexion of the place where they live (*Apoc. Pet.* 17). For the reader, in this scene everything glows and is full of colours, uncovering an apparent sense in the account.

1.1.2. Smell

The next human sense Jesus' disciples experience is smell. Unlike the sense of sight, the sense of smell only occurs briefly. Initially, the reader implies that Jesus' disciples can smell the blossomed flowers, spices and plants of the place located out of the world (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). Peter then confirms this when he asserts that the perfume is so great

(“like a rainbow in the air”); Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 107 (“wie ein Regenbogen in der Luft”).

²³ Lexical clues in the narrative point in that direction. For example, Peter says: “fragrance of flowers was carried to us from there” (Τὸ ἄνθος ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι, emphasis mine) (*Apoc. Pet.* 16). Then, Peter adds: “The Lord says to us” (λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, emphasis mine) (*Apoc. Pet.* 20). See also, πρὸς οὓς οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι (*Apoc. Pet.* 6, emphasis supplied), οὓς ἰδόντες ἐθαμβώθημεν (*Apoc. Pet.* 8, emphasis supplied) and ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ κάλλος ἕκθαμβοὶ γεγόναμεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς (*Apoc. Pet.* 11, emphasis supplied).

that the odour even reaches the place where Peter and the disciples are located (τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι) (*Apoc. Pet.* 16).²⁴ Narratively, therefore, the storyteller depicts an explicit sense and invites readers to breathe in the air of paradise.

1.1.3. Hearing

The last sense Jesus’ disciples experience is hearing, which is briefly described. Peter states that the inhabitants of that world praise God (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). The text construes the sense of hearing with the Greek verb ἀνευφημέω, a word that in this context entails a loud shout or praise,²⁵ and that in the narrative Peter uses when reporting the scene (*Apoc. Pet.* 19).²⁶ This specific literary detail allows readers to recognise Jesus’ disciples’ ability to hear sounds, making this sense explicit. Readers are not informed about the content of the chant, although they notice the dwellers sing with one voice (μῦ φωνῆ) (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). Peter says that the glory of these inhabitants is equal, which explains their unity when singing to God in a loud voice (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). This is the first time that readers, and from the point of view of the narrative Peter and Jesus’ disciples (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 16, 20), listen to the righteous ones speak. The variation at the end of this narrative portion seeks to crown the story with another aesthetically charming and plain description of the world where the righteous dwell.

1.2. *The Sensory Experience of the Righteous Ones*

In contrast to the limited but explicit sensory experience of Jesus’ disciples, the senses of the righteous ones are portrayed implicitly. Three can be inferred by readers: sight, smell and hearing. However, touch and taste appear to be excluded. Readers can imagine the first

²⁴ In this context, the noun ἄνθος can describe the “fragrance of flowers” (τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι) (*Apoc. Pet.* 16). See BDAG, 80.

²⁵ BDAG, 78; LSJ, 136.

²⁶ Translations, in general, do not make this aspect of praise clear. See, for example, James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 611. However, the critical text of Kraus and Nicklas (*Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 109) makes this detail clear in their translation: “und einstimmig priesen sie *laut* Gott” (*Apoc. Pet.* 19, emphasis mine).

three by using logical assumptions presented in the account related to colours, events and actions happening around them.

1.2.1. Sight

Although not mentioned explicitly, the righteous people can see each other shining and can grasp the indescribable colour of their bodies as well (*Apoc. Pet.* 7–9, 17). Readers infer that the righteous ones can contemplate the lights, spices, flowers and plants of the place located out of the world (*Apoc. Pet.* 15); or even see the angels running around them (περιέτρεχον αὐτούς) (*Apoc. Pet.* 18). As Peter and Jesus' disciples appreciate the view, so also do the righteous ones. Readers assume this sense by noticing that Jesus' disciples' description of paradise underlines the beauty and perfection that the inhabitants enjoy there, and the sense of sight allows them to experience it. For readers, blindness could not be a reward, therefore they conjecture the righteous ones are able to see and relish what is around them.

1.2.2. Smell

The second implied sense the righteous ones experience is smell. Readers deduce that if Jesus' disciples can smell the perfume of the spices, plants and flowers of paradise, so do the righteous ones (*Apoc. Pet.* 15–16). Although none of this is stated in the story, readers can unlock this sense by observing how important it is for Jesus' disciples to emphasise not only what they see but also describe the unforgettable aroma of the place. Its importance seeks to make readers imagine how the righteous ones, as Jesus' disciples do, take pleasure in the smell of paradise.

1.2.3. Hearing

The final tacit sense readers infer is hearing. If Jesus' disciples can hear the righteous ones praising God, then the righteous ones are able to listen to each others' voices (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). Although none of this mentioned, readers can infer it by noticing that the dwellers of paradise resonate with one voice (μιᾶ φωνῆ) (*Apoc. Pet.* 19).²⁷ This

²⁷ The text says: καὶ μιᾶ φωνῆ τὸν κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν εὐφραινόμενοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). It is important to remember that readers understand the verb ἀνευφημέω to mean a loud praise or a shout (BDAG, 78;

unified musical expression makes readers wonder whether or not the inhabitants of paradise also benefit from this sacred concert. Readers respond to this question positively. Because, as they continue reading, they discover that chanting makes the righteous ones delight in that place (εὐφραινόμενοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ) (*Apoc. Pet.* 19).

1.3. *The Sensory Experience of Paradise: Literary Interpretation*

From a narrative perspective, the sensory experience of Jesus' disciples watching a vision of a dwelling space in paradise construes an incomplete experience that needs to be fulfilled. The reader learns that sight, the first sensory experience that Jesus' disciples have, is related to descriptions of beauty. This sense helps them contemplate colours and lights, allowing them to see the righteous ones and the splendour of a place located outside of this world. The sense of smell underlines a positive experience. The smell of unfading flowers, spices and plants overtakes the vision, inviting the reader to experience the smell of paradise. Finally, the sense of hearing operates in positive terms. Jesus' disciples hear only once the inhabitants of this shiny world and their artistically pleasing and unified praise.

The narrator construes these three senses hyperbolically. At the beginning, they are *unable* to look at the righteous ones because of the brightness of the light.²⁸ Then, the smell is *so strong* that even it reaches the place where they are located.²⁹ Finally, they hear the righteous singing with a *loud* voice. In each one of these cases, the sensory experience of Jesus' disciples is overemphasised, aiming at cultivating pleasant emotions in readers through some of their senses.

LSJ, 136), which explains the phrase “with one voice” (μιᾷ φωνῇ). It is because they sing with one voice that the chant is loud.

²⁸ Readers notice that the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* construes this scene by employing hyperbolic language, using the image of the sun's emanations coming out from the righteous faces (*Apoc. Pet.* 7), for example. Its hyperbolic purpose is expressed clearly when Peter and Jesus' disciples affirm that nobody has seen something like that before, οὐδὲ στόμα δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι ἢ καρδία ἐκφράσαι τὴν δόξαν ἣν ἐνεδέδυντο, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς προσόψεως αὐτῶν (*Apoc. Pet.* 7).

²⁹ The Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* employs the demonstrative pronoun τοσοῦτος to express the strength of the perfume, which explains why it reaches even Peter and Jesus' disciples.

The narrative probably omits touch and taste for literary reasons. For readers, Jesus' disciples are contemplating and not living the vision. As mentioned before, they do not travel to paradise but are part of a revelation. In short, they are viewing an idyllic place from afar, in fact, from another world. However, Jesus' disciples can smell the perfume of the spices, plants and flowers of that paradisiacal place. These differences can probably be explained by noticing that the experience of Jesus' disciple is incomplete. From a literary point of view, the text rhetorically invites readers to complete one day the missing senses by behaving like the righteous people do.

Likewise, the text omits a description of the complete sensory experience of the righteous ones by implicitly portraying sight, smell and hearing. In addition, it is impossible for readers to infer whether the two absent senses, touch, and taste, are present or simply not in the story. For instance, there is fruit in this paradise that can be tasted, but the narrator omits that action. The same can be said about touching. There are plants, flowers and people that can be touched, but there is no way to infer that from the text. Jesus' disciples, indeed, do not experience anything of that, therefore readers cannot establish any narrative connection between these two excluded senses and the righteous ones. As stated above, from a narrative perspective, by leaving aside touch and taste, the narrator may want to make the sensory experience of this account even more incomplete. The *Apocalypse of Peter's* narrative encourages readers to conduct themselves properly, and not like the tormented people, to undergo one day the complete experience of living in paradise.

2. *Point of View of Descriptions of Torment (Apoc. Pet. 21–34)*

After Jesus responds to his disciples' request to see the righteous brothers who had departed from the world (*Apoc. Pet. 5*), he then reveals to Peter a place of punishment (*Apoc. Pet. 21–34*). Because there is no hint in the text that also shows Jesus' disciples in the vision, I will explore Peter's sensory experience alone (cf. *Apoc. Pet. 21*).³⁰ Then,

³⁰ In the first part, readers notice that Peter at least twice talks in the first person singular when describing the vision: *καὶ ἀπλῶς οὐ δύναμαι ἐξηγήσασθαι τὸ κάλλος αὐτῶν (Apoc. Pet. 9), καὶ ὁ κύριος ἔδειξέ μοι*

I will examine the sensory experience of those being punished. Again, in the case of Peter, what the text describes is a vision, not a physical journey. This suggests that Peter did not actually go to hell physically.

2.1. *The Sensory Experience of Peter*

Explicitly Peter uses three senses in this part of the narrative. These are sight, hearing and smell. Touch and taste are again absent. The senses that appear can be determined by examining narrative clues and specific wording.

2.1.1. Sight

The first and most notorious sense Peter experiences is sight. Peter sees (εἶδον) a place of punishment that he describes as very dreary (*Apoc. Pet.* 21).³¹ He also describes a lake full of flaming mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 23), probably located somewhere in that place of punishment. He then contemplates (εἰβλεπον) another narrow site full of evil reptiles (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). Near to that narrow location, Peter sees (εἶδον) another setting in which the pus and filth of those being constantly punished (κολαζομένων)³² stream down and turn into a lake (*Apoc. Pet.* 26).

As the narrative proceeds, Peter continues reporting on other places, giving details to readers about the torments that people experienced in there (*Apoc. Pet.* 22–34). Peter depicts, for instance, people hanging by their tongues or hair over fire and mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 22,

Apoc. Pet. 15). However, as stated before, he also uses the first person plural. E.g., πρὸς οὓς οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι (*Apoc. Pet.* 6), οὓς ἰδόντες ἐθαμβώθημεν (*Apoc. Pet.* 8), ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ κάλλος ἔκθαμβοι γεγονάμεν πρὸς αὐτούς (*Apoc. Pet.* 11), τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι (*Apoc. Pet.* 16), λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος (*Apoc. Pet.* 20). On the other hand, in the settings of torments, it seems that only Peter experiences the vision (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 21, 25–26).

³¹ In this context, the adjective ἀχμηρός describes a “very dreary” place (εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τόπον καταντικρὸς ἐκεῖνου ἀχμηρόντων). See BDAG, 154. The translations render the term as “very squalid” (see James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 603) or “finster” (Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 109).

³² The verbal aspect of the present participle of κολάζω appears to convey the idea of a continuous punishment.

24). In another example, Peter talks about men and women being burned up (*Apoc. Pet.* 27, 34), whipped by evil spirits (*Apoc. Pet.* 27) or receiving heated iron in their eyes (*Apoc. Pet.* 28; cf. 26). For readers, Peter can portray these scenes in detail because he is able to observe them. After all, narratively, he needs the sense of sight to describe the vision. In the readers' view, all these instances portray a dark and depressing explicit sensory experience. Peter supports this when he informs readers that those being punished and the angels who inflict the punishments both wear dark garments, which, as Peter says, it agrees "with the air of the place" (κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου) (*Apoc. Pet.* 21).³³

2.1.2. Hearing

The second explicit sense Peter experiences is hearing. Peter describes the lament of women and men hanging over a lake with flaming mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 23–24). The continuous verbal aspect of the verb λέγω likely suggests that what Peter hears is incessant wailing (ἔλεγον). Peter even relates the words communicated by these people, who in disbelief cry that they never thought they will end up in that place (*Apoc. Pet.* 24). Because Peter can repeat what those in torment say unceasingly (ἔλεγον), readers recognise he can hear.

After that scene, Peter echoes the voices of those who had been murdered and who praise God because of his right judgement over the killers and accomplices (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). In addition, Peter informs readers about the crying of numerous children who were born out of due time (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). In short, as in the cases above, readers observe Peter can listen to other people, making the act of hearing explicit. Except for the instance in which some people praise God's justice, each case shows individuals lamenting, exposing an unpleasant sensory experience.

³³ My translation is literal because I think it keeps the focus on the emotions of the narrative. Cf. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508 ("according to the air of the place"); Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 603 ("in accordance with the air of the place"); Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 109 ("entsprechend der Luft des Ortes"); Blázquez, 'Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el apocalipsis de Pedro', 331 ("como [tenebroso] era el aire de aquel lugar").

2.1.3. Smell

The last sense Peter experiences is smell. Peter describes a lake full of the pus and filth of those being punished (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). The Greek word translated as filth (δυσωδία) conveys the meaning of “a strong offensive odour,” like a stench.³⁴ Although it does not say that Peter can smell the lake, Peter describes it by using a specific Greek word, which suggests the involvement of the senses.³⁵ Something different can be said about the content of another lake filled with pus, blood and mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 31). Even though in real life all these nouns evoke a distasteful odour, there is nothing explicitly said in the narrative that leads readers to make that connection with the sense of smell. It can be made implicitly. However, the term filth already fills in the space, evoking in readers a repulsive, and unambiguous, sensory experience.

2.2. *The Sensory Experience of the Tormented People*

The tormented people experienced all five senses within the account. While some are mentioned explicitly in the narrative, others must be inferred. Readers can deduce their presence in the narrative by paying close attention to the vivid details about torture and suffering in Peter’s description.

For readers, the reason some people are castigated in the narrative is that they behaved unrighteously (e.g., *Apoc. Pet.* 23–34). For example, they showed no pity on orphans and widows (*Apoc. Pet.* 30) or demanded interest on loaned money (*Apoc. Pet.* 31), among other many reasons (*Apoc. Pet.* 21–34). Since it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the logic of these judgements,³⁶ I will focus my analysis only on the senses the tormented people experience.

³⁴ BDAG, 265 (“‘a strong offensive odor, stench’, then also that which causes the stench, filth”). Cf. LSJ, 462 (“foul smell”); MGS, 573 (“bad smell, fetor, stink”).

³⁵ Cf. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 605: “And near that place I saw another gorge wherein the discharge and *excrement* of those who were in torment ran down” (emphasis mine); Blázquez, ‘Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el apocalipsis de Pedro’, 331: “Cerca de allí vi otro barranco por el cual corrían sangre y *excrementos* por debajo de los castigados en aquel lugar, formándose un lago” (emphasis mine).

³⁶ For some interpretations regarding the reason the tormented people suffered see Fiensy, ‘Lex Talionis in the Apocalypse of Peter’, 255–58; Beck,

2.2.1. Touch

The first and more important sense the tormented people experience is touch. In this part of the vision, Peter contemplates the physical castigation of different persons, revealing images of pain and human humiliation. This portion of the vision describes some people inside a lake filled with boiling mire, while angels torment them (*Apoc. Pet.* 23; cf. 31). As the narrative advances, readers learn about men hanging by their feet while their heads are in mire that bubble up (*Apoc. Pet.* 24). In other scenes, readers read about people's bowels eaten by restless worms (ἔσθιόμενοι τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ σκωλήκων ἀκοιμήτων) (*Apoc. Pet.* 27), while women and men roll over sharp pebbles heated with fire (*Apoc. Pet.* 30).

Readers notice that in all the examples given above, something is touching the body of the characters under punishment,³⁷ and therefore are experiencing the sense of touch. This becomes clear when readers notice that in the vision some people feel pain at least once (*Apoc. Pet.* 25), in which reptiles beat them, causing their bodies to contort (στρεφομένους).³⁸ In short, for readers, the sensory experience

'Perceiving the Mystery of the Merciful Son of God', 189–256; C. Callon, 'Sorcery, Wheels, and Mirror Punishment in the Apocalypse of Peter', *JECS* 18 (2010) 29–49; Mattos, 'Um inferno para ser visto', 87–100; Aleixo, 'O Apocalipse de Pedro', 84–94; Gray, 'Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter', 313–37; Blázquez, 'Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el Apocalipsis de Pedro', 331–42; Gilmour, 'Delighting in the Sufferings of Others, 129–39; L. Roig Lanzillotta, 'Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the *Apocalypse of Peter*', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 127–57; B.D. Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell. Tours of the Afterlife in Early Christian Tradition* (New Haven, 2022) 83.

³⁷ In other scenes readers observe how the text talks about people beating each other endlessly (*Apoc. Pet.* 33) or turning themselves when being roasted (*Apoc. Pet.* 34). In both cases, readers understand that the tormented people are touched or burned, making the sense of touch explicit in the narrative.

³⁸ The text says: καὶ οὕτω στρεφομένους ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ κολάσει ἐκεῖνη. The verb στρέφω operates here in the sense of twisting movements or contortions of the body, which in the narrative are produced by the bite of beasts (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). Cf. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 509 ("and so turning themselves about in that torment"); Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 604 ("writhing about in that torment").

of the tormented people is painful and full of vicious details, establishing the sense of touch explicitly within the account.

2.2.2. Hearing

Another sense the tormented people experience is hearing. As shown above, Peter hears the dead praising God (*Apoc. Pet. 25*). In fact, Peter sees these men and women standing and looking at the murderers while they declare: “O God, just is your judgment” (*Apoc. Pet. 25*). In the same way, Peter watches various children weeping next to a group of women in a lake of pus and filth who had harmed babies (*Apoc. Pet. 26*). It is important to recognise that the text does not say explicitly that the tormented people can hear. However, because Peter can hear their accusers, and talks about what they say, readers probably can infer that those tormented can likewise hear. Ultimately, it is narratively essential to employ the sense of hearing in order to perceive the characters’ anguish.

Readers can also imagine that the tormented people’s punishment includes endlessly hearing the voices of their accusers, which narratively functions as their guilty conscience. Both instances show that there is a close relationship between the two parts. In the first, the souls of the ones that had been murdered are standing and looking upon the murderers (αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐστῶσαι καὶ ἐφορῶσαι τὴν κολάσιν ἐκείνων τῶν φονέων) (*Apoc. Pet. 25*). In the second, the women’s punishment includes flames of fire coming from children sitting (καθήμενοι) next to them (*Apoc. Pet. 26*).³⁹ Literarily speaking, there is a geographic closeness that allows readers to build scenes of physical agony along with constant noise.

Similarly, as previously mentioned, Peter describes people lamenting their fate with incredulity, stating in disgrace that they never thought they were going to come to this place (*Apoc. Pet. 24*). Because all (πάντες) the characters of the scene complain, readers can infer that the tormented people can hear each other. From the readers’ point of view, therefore, the sense of hearing, albeit implicit, signals the horrors of listening to uninterrupted accusations or cries.

³⁹ The Akhmîm text tells readers that the children are sitting ἀντικρὺς, an adverb that in this context can mean opposite (BDAG, 89), detailing that the children are located next to or across from the women in the account (καὶ ἀντικρὺς αὐτῶν πολλοὶ παῖδες οἵτινες ἄωροι ἐτίκτοντο καθήμενοι ἐκλαιον).

2.2.3. Smell

The next sense the tormented people experience by is smell. As mentioned before, Peter talks about a lake full of the filth of those being punished (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). The word filth, as I previously mentioned, involves a strong offensive odour.⁴⁰ Using this specific term implies that Peter not only wants to describe his own sensory involvement, but points out that the characters of the vision can smell as well. The horror of the judgement includes constantly smelling something repulsive.

There are other references, however, that suggest an implicit, but nevertheless strong, depiction of the sense of smell. Several times, readers read about people being burned (*Apoc. Pet.* 22, 26–29) or fried (*Apoc. Pet.* 34), which allows readers to imagine the smell of burning flesh. Having in mind these scenes, readers can conjecture that the tormented people not only smell the odour of other people's flesh roasting but also their own. In all these cases, considering the rhetorical literary construction of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, readers feel a nauseous sensory experienced when reading Peter's vision and explicit description of foul odours in the narrative.

2.2.4. Taste

Another sense the tormented people experience is taste. Women and men, Peter says, bite their lips (μασώμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ χεῖλη) when being punished with heated iron in their eyes (*Apoc. Pet.* 28). In the next scene, additional groups of women and men gnaw their tongues (τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν μασώμενοι) because of the flames of fire placed in their mouths (*Apoc. Pet.* 29). In all these instances, readers observe that something painful is tasted, damaging the lips, tongue and mouth of the tormented people. Unlike Peter, who does not experience the sense of taste in the vision, the tormented people lived it in full, making a new narrative move in the sensory experience of readers.

2.2.5. Sight

The last sense the tormented people experience is sight. It is true that at no point in the narrative does Peter mention actions related to the sense of sight. However, readers cannot find any place in the story in

⁴⁰ BDAG, 265. Cf. LSJ, 462; MGS, 573.

which Peter describes the tormented people as blind.⁴¹ Although implicitly stated, the punishment of these people also consists in watching the horrors they and others are going through, whether looking upside down when hanging by the feet (*Apoc. Pet.* 28) or looking at clouds of worms moving over their bodies (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). Ironically, Peter begins this part of the vision by portraying the place as *αὐχμηρός* (*Apoc. Pet.* 21), an adjective commonly used in Hellenistic literature to convey dry, dark and gloomy settings.⁴² Despite the obscure nature of the scene, both the tormented and Peter are able to envision terrifying images (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 27).

The real penalty not only comprises hearing, tasting, smelling and being touched by something disgusting, but also the contemplation of their physical punishment. From the readers' point of view, the sense of sight, although implied, is unambiguous in the narrative, evoking a horrific sensory experience.

2.3. *The Sensory Experience of Torment Scenes: Literary Interpretation*

Unlike the previous section, the colour, mood and feeling of the last part of the vision change dramatically for readers. Peter experiences three senses: Sight, hearing and smell. Readers observe that sight allows Peter to contemplate detailed scenes of the terrors of a depressing place. In fact, Peter does not see colours or light in that place, and it is important to point out that that there is at least one reference to a dark environment. Similarly, the sense of hearing lets Peter listen to the cries of babies and the lament of tormented people. Finally, Peter can smell the nasty odour of a lake in which people are punished. From a narrative stance, these three senses construct a negative and nasty image in the reader's mind that the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter's* narrative uses as a rhetorical warning for readers.

As noted, readers observe that touch and taste are omitted. On the one hand, this can be explained by noticing that Peter only contemplates the scene through a vision, which excludes him from tasting

⁴¹ For readers, the only possible exception can be two scenes in which people are punished in their eyes (*Apoc. Pet.* 26, 28). However, the text does not say that they lost their vision.

⁴² BDAG, 154; LSJ, 285; MGS, 350.

anything or touching someone or something. The omission seems to work again as a rhetorical warning that emphasises the author's belief that the incomplete punishment can be complete if readers act as the tormented people did in their lives. This means that Peter's sensory experience functions as a literary device that motivates readers to change their lives through images of horror.

In contrast to what was presented above, the tormented people experience their senses in full. Touch is first, which they experience in the form of painful and repulsive punishments. Then they hear other people's accusations or afflictions, working both as a constant reminder of what they have done and why they are in that place. Additionally, the tormented people can smell nauseous odours and be tortured in the mouth when tasting painful punishments. Finally, they can see the atrocities that angels and others inflict on their own bodies.

Therefore, the tormented people suffer in full through their sensory experience. It is a complete involvement, which the text uses to warn readers through their senses about the horrors of a place in which the pain never ends.⁴³

3. *Conclusion*

After exploring the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* through sensory experience, I conclude with the following. The text construes extant and eschatological reward and punishment scenes by senses, explicitly and implicitly. The text asks readers to immerse themselves mentally in the narrative through what the characters see, hear, touch, taste and smell, provoking joy and fear at the same time. While the

⁴³ Using a different approach from mine, M.R. Henning ('Eternal Punishment as Paideia. The Ekphrasis of Hell in the Apocalypse of Peter and the Apocalypse of Paul', *BR* 58 [2013] 29–48) affirms something similar when stating that "The 'vividness' or *enargeia* of hell in the apocalypses is not only limited to visual description but also appeals to other senses" (emphasis in original, *ibid.*, 73). Henning also affirms that "[t]hese vivid depictions of the aromas of the afterlife add a further dimension to the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment and enliven the reader's experience of the journey as a 'spectator'" (emphasis in original, *ibid.*). Cf. M.R. Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury. Gender, Disability, and the Invention of Damned Bodies in Early Christian Literature* (New Haven, 2021) 21.

imagery of the righteous builds its argumentation through an incomplete sensory experience, the punishment scenes of those tormented manufacture the pain and horror by describing their senses in full. In doing so, the narrative invites readers to contemplate what it will be like to experience paradise with all their senses and to avoid experiencing the suffering and shame of the place of torment.

VII. Judgment, Punishment, and Hell in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Apocalypse of Peter*

MICHAEL R. JOST

If anyone knows anything about the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it is probably the fact that it describes many punishments in hell. However, it is interesting that in this writing, before the “tour of hell,”¹ the question is first discussed whether it would be better for sinners if they had never been created than suffering punishment in hell (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:4, corresponding to a word of Jesus from Mark 14:21). The *Apocalypse of Peter* thus discusses two options for the deceased who are not among the righteous: either non-creation or the punishments, described afterwards drastically in the vision of hell.

On the one hand, it is remarkable that with this alternative the question of hell is combined with the notion of creation. Grace and judgment are not weighed against each other but existence in hell and non-existence. Jesus’ answer additionally emphasizes this focus, according to which mercy is not up for discussion, for God as creator will certainly not condemn his creation merciless for no reason (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:6). His answer leads back to the fundamental question of being created and existence: “for he created them and brought them forth where they did not exist”² (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:6). It seems, if one exists, there is no longer the possibility of not existing. If once the existence is given by God, then the only question for sinners is which punishment one will suffer according to his deeds (*Apoc. Pet.* 1:8; 6:3).

¹ So, the famous work of M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1983).

² Translation here and following by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019).

Therefore, this alternative suggests that a third option, namely extinction, the so-called annihilation on the Day of Judgment, is not considered, even though “the wicked will be rooted out for ever and ever” (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:2). The view of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is unambiguous: there is a necessity of the punishment of hell for sinners. Hence, Jesus’ answer: “But when you saw the grief that will happen to the sinners in the last days and because of this your heart was sorrowful. But they who have transgressed against the Most High, I will show you their works” (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:7). In the face of their sins against God, the urgency of hell’s torment is recognized. So, the final annihilation of the unrighteous in judgment is either not a satisfactory theological answer or the option is entirely outside of theological imagination, though we might speculate about the reasons for this.

This implication is not undisputed in ancient texts. Rather, the relationship between judgment, hell, and punishment is described in controversial concepts. What is expected from judgment? What is the purpose of punishment and what is the function of hell? With these questions in mind, I turned to the Qumran writings. And the results surprised me, because the answers in these writings differ at crucial points from the message of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The idea of an eternal torment in hell was not a matter of course in early Jewish writings.

I would like to present these findings in three steps. I begin with the texts from Qumran, whose origin are assumed to be in the *yahad*. Then, I bring in insights from *I Enoch*, which reveal a different understanding in certain aspects. Finally, I evaluate these insights from the texts of the *yahad* and *I Enoch* in relation to the study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

1. *The Yahadic Tradition*

The subject of judgment and hell has received relatively little attention in Qumran scholarship. Often, the claim stands that the Dead Sea Scrolls have little information to offer on life after earthly death. John Collins writes exemplary: “But in the pre-Christian period, the topography of the afterlife was still unclear, and the Scrolls give surprisingly little information on the subject.”³ This view requires a revision,

³ J.J. Collins, ‘The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, in T. Nicklas *et al.* (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World. Early Jewish and*

which I offer in the following. What is presented here, however, is only on a case by case basis and is focused on the question of the judgment and the damnation of the wicked. For this purpose, I will take a closer look at three texts (1QS, 4Q511, and 1QH^a) and the use of the term Sheol.⁴

1.1. *1QS Community Rule*

The second column of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, usually called the Community Rule, contains words of blessing, which the priests are to speak over their community members, and words of cursing, which the Levites are to speak over their opponents. With the words of cursing, the theme of judgment comes into focus. Thereby the judgment on the “sons of iniquity” is expected in the present time. Thus, 1QS II 4b–9 reads:

The Levites in turn shall curse all those foreordained to Belial. They shall respond, ‘May you be damned in return for all your wicked, guilty deeds. May the God of terror give you over to implacable avengers; may He visit your offspring with destruction at the hands of those who recompense evil with evil. May you be damned without mercy in return for your dark deeds, an object of wrath licked by eternal flame, surrounded by utter darkness. May God have no mercy upon you when you cry out, nor forgive so as to atone for your sins. May He lift up His furious countenance upon you for vengeance. May you never find peace through the appeal of any intercessor.’⁵

The judgment shall fall upon the ungodly in their earthly existence. In everyday life the vengeance of God shall be felt. Just like the blessings for the “sons of light” (i.e., the members of the *yahad*), the

Ancient Christian Traditions (Leiden, 2010) 95–116 at 95–96. See also J.J. Collins, ‘Eschatology’, *EncDSS* 1 (2000) 256–61, wherein the topic of the “day of judgment” is barely addressed. Similar K.E. Pomykala, ‘Eschatologies and Messianisms’, in G.J. Brooke and C. Hempel (eds), *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London, 2019) 496–504.

⁴ A solid introduction to the eschatology of the *yahad* texts is provided by A.L. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End. A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatology, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Leiden, 2009) 43–76.

⁵ Translation here and following, unless otherwise noted, from M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon from <https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com> (accessed 17.03.2022).

curse for the apostates or non-members are initially aimed at the present and not only at a future eschatological judgment. Here the blessing and the curse are expected during one's earthly existence (cf. also V 6–7; VIII 6).⁶ A few lines later this thought is taken up again.

It shall come to pass, when he hears the words of this Covenant, that he shall bless himself in his heart, saying 'Peace be with me, though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart' (Deut 29: 18–19). Surrounded by abundant water, his spirit shall nevertheless expire thirsty, without forgiveness. God's anger and zeal for His commandments shall burn against him for eternal destruction (לכלית עולמים). All the curses of this Covenant shall cleave to him, and God shall separate him out for a fate befitting his wickedness. He shall be cut off from all the Sons of Light because of his apostasy from God, brought about by unrepentance and the stumbling block of sin. He shall cast his lot with those damned for all time (ארורי עולמים). The initiates are all to respond in turn, 'Amen, amen.' *Vacat* (1QS II 12b–18).

These lines also show that the punishments are requested now and are to strike the wicked in the present time. So, one hopes for separation of the stubborn within the community in the present. Curse and forgiveness, vengeance and peace, wrath and grace are contrasted. But the final state of the "sons of darkness" is destruction. Therefore, the root כלה is to be found several times in this text.⁷ The extermination of the godless people is deserved. Hence, they are removed from the community of the sons of light. At this point we can observe that the focus is not on the punishment of the sinners, but on the purification of one's own community. The curses should help to clarify who belongs to the covenant and who has become apostate. This idea is also found in 1QS V, where it is written of "eternal destruction with

⁶ This becomes particularly evident in the liturgical community with the angels, see M.R. Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft im irdischen Gottesdienst. Studien zu Texten aus Qumran und dem Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2019) 72–85 and 199–200 and id., 'The Liturgical Communion of the Yahad with the Angels. The Origin of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Reconsidered', *DSD* 28 (2022) 52–75. This aspect has also been emphasized by J.J. Collins, 'Conceptions of Afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in M. Labahn and M. Lang (eds), *Lebendige Hoffnung – ewiger Tod? Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum* (Leipzig, 2007) 103–25.

⁷ Vgl. H.-J. Fabry, כלה, *ThWQ* II (2013) 390–6.

none spared” (לכלת עולם לאין שרית) (1QS V 13) and that they shall be destroyed “from upon the face of the earth” (ישמיד מתבל); 1QS V 19). Judgment nevertheless opens an eschatological horizon because the fire (1QS II 8) and destruction (II 15) are to last forever, so that the wicked is eternally counted among the damned (II 17). The thought of the eternal punishment leads beyond the present time. This is formulated even more clearly in the final hymn. There, the execution of judgment is seen entirely as God’s responsibility:

Then shall I know that in His hand resides the judgement of all the living, and all His works are truth. When distress breaks out I shall praise Him, and in His salvation shall I rejoice. To no man shall I return evil for evil, I shall pursue a man only for good; for with God resides the judgement of all the living, and He shall pay each man his recompense. My zeal shall not be tarnished by a spirit of wickedness, neither shall I lust for riches gained through violence. The multitude of evil men I shall not capture of vengeance;⁸ yet my fury shall not abate from men of the pit, and I shall never be appeased until righteousness be established. (1QS X 16b–20)

Following this prayer, the judgment is expected from God alone. One can speculate whether with it simply the time is meant, at which the fate meets the sinner in this earthly life. Accordingly, the vengeance of God would consist in the distress which God lets meet him (similar to the curses in 1QS II 6). Or one can emphasize the eschatological judgment, “for with God resides the judgement of all the living, and He shall pay each man his recompense.” A dazzling answer to this ambiguity is given by a passage from the so-called *Two-Spirits-Treatise*:

The judgement of all who walk in such ways will be multiple afflictions at the hand of all the angels of perdition, everlasting damnation (לשחה)

⁸ A scribe introduced here “until the day” (עד יום), thereby proposing the reading “until the day of vengeance.” These words point even more clearly to the judgment to come. But this is undoubtedly an interlinear correction. See the manuscript on <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community> (17.03.2022). The translation of Charlotte Hempel shows very well the complicated nature of the text: “I shall not {...} ^{seize (opportunities to)} quarrel with a person (intent on) ^{de}struction ^{until the day of} vengeance.” C. Hempel, *The Community Rules from Qumran. A Commentary* (Tübingen, 2020) 280 and 288 (words in superscript according to Hempel to indicate corrections and additions).

עולמים) in the wrath of God's furious vengeance, never-ending terror (לועזות נצה) and reproach for all eternity (והרפת עד), with a shameful extinction in the fire of Hell's outer darkness (כלה באש מהשכים). For all their eras (וכול קציהם), generation by generation, they will know doleful sorrow, bitter evil and dark happenstance, until their utter destruction with neither remnant nor rescue. *Vacat* (1QS IV 11b–14).

One can read two things from this text: Either one emphasizes the everlasting damnation and the continuing lamentation. Or one emphasizes that here, too, everything ultimately boils down to the fact that no one escapes, but is completely destroyed and extinct, which would emphasize the finality of this state. Thus, the two aspects of the word עולם are indicated: on the one hand an infinite amount of time or a final state.⁹ But because here, as mostly in the writings of the *yahad*, judgment is connected with the word כְּלָה, which means “end, destruction, annihilation, completion,”¹⁰ in my opinion the focus is also on the latter in this passage, with which no eternal punishment in hell is taught, but a judgment that leads to the final annihilation of the wicked, as it is regularly emphasized in the Community Rule.

1.2. 4Q511 Rule of the Maskil

It is similar in the so-called Songs of the Maskil.¹¹ The theme of judgment is significant in it. The judicial action can be related to the present time.¹² This is especially true where the judgment is connected

⁹ The basic meaning is usually called “everlastingness, furthest time” (see DCH 6, 300). But E. Jenni, ‘עולם’, THAT 2 (2004⁶) 228–43, here 230 adds to this that “im Gebrauch von ‘*ōlām*’ auch allerlei qualitative Konnotationen wie ‘Dauerhaftigkeit, Endgültigkeit, Unabänderlichkeit’ usw. mitschwingen können.”. The aspect of finality or irreversibility is surprisingly completely missing in Christian Stadel’s article, ‘עולם’, ThWQ II (2013) 61–68. The whole article is oriented towards a durative understanding, which is why Stadel translates with “dauerhafte Vernichtung” or “dauerhaftes Feuer” (p. 63). See also DCH 6, 302 which translates כלה עולמים “destruction of everlastingness, i.e. everlasting destruction.”

¹⁰ DCH 4, 418.

¹¹ For a reconstruction see J.L. Angel, ‘The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^B (4Q511)’, *RevQ* 27 (2015) 25–82.

¹² See also M.R. Jost, ‘Das Selbst- und Wirklichkeitsverständnis der Lieder des Maskil (4Q511)’, *RevQ* 34 (2022) 115–35.

with the activity of the Maskil. Exemplary of this are the statements in 63 iii 3–5, spoken by the Maskil: “in order to justify the righteous one in Your truth and to condemn the wicked one *vacat* in his guilt, to proclaim peace to all the men of the covenant and to e[*xal*]t with a terrifying voice, ‘Woe to all who break it!’” The judgment, however, is based on the judicial action of God and thus also affects the worshipper himself. Thus, the Maskil confesses in 4Q511 18 ii 7b–10:

And I have hated all the works of impurity, for God has shined the knowledge of understanding in my heart. Righteous instructors correct my sins, and faithful judges correct all my guilty transgressions. For God is my judge.

Thus, on the one hand, the judgment applies to his own people for purification. On the other hand, it also applies to the godless, whom God destroys in his wrath. This is formulated in fragment 35 as follows (4Q511 35 1–5):

against all flesh, and a judgment of vengeance to exterminate wickedness (לכליות רשעה), and for the rag[ing] anger of God. Some of those seven times refined and some of the holy ones God will sancti[fy] for Himself as an eternal sanctuary (למקדש עולמים) and (as) purity among the cleansed. They shall be priests, His righteous people, His host, and ministers, the angels of His glory. They shall praise Him with wondrous marvels.¹³

The text begins with the judgment of God, which means the end-time eradication of godlessness. The use of the imperfect indicates the still expected realization.¹⁴ At this point, therefore, an eschatological perspective undoubtedly comes into view. Among the purified and the

¹³ Translation J.L. Angel, ‘Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511)’, *DSD* 19 (2012) 1–27, here 22–23. Similar J.R. Davila, ‘Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, in P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam (eds), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*, Vol. 2 (Leiden, 1999) 461–85, here 478–79.

¹⁴ Joseph Angel sees a similar eschatological view in 4Q511 37, a rather fragmentary text: “It is reasonable to suggest that this part of the text deals with the events of the eschatological day of judgement, which will witness the disappearance of demonic evil.” J.L. Angel, ‘Reading the Songs of the Sage in Sequence. Preliminary Observations and Questions,’ in M.S. Pajunen and J. Penner (eds), *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period* (Berlin, 2017) 185–211, here 198.

saints who are not affected by the annihilation, God will consecrate some for himself to an eternal sanctuary. Thus, here too, the destruction of the wicked corresponds to the eternal life of the righteous.

Finally, a special spotlight is cast in frg. 10 on the subject, which Joseph Angel places much later in column 11 and is reconstructed with the help of 4Q510 1 7–8. Here it is emphasized that destruction does not occur eternally, explicitly: “not for eternal destruction, [bu]t for an era of humiliation for transgression” (4Q510 1 7–8). The passage paints an understanding of an evil age that will one day be overcome, which is why the incantation of evil spirits spoken by the Maskil will not continue indefinitely, probably “as a deliberate limitation upon the power of magic itself.”¹⁵ If this reconstruction and interpretation are correct, then the destruction by the Maskil should not be understood as “everlasting”, because there is God’s “judgment of vengeance to exterminate wickedness” (4Q511 35 1).¹⁶

1.3. *1QHodayot^a*

The Hodayot also speak several times of judgment, which is first referred to the present. As for example in 1QH^a X 25–26:

By Your mercies You save my life, my steps are with You. But because of You they attack me, that You may be honoured through the judgment of the wicked, and that You may strengthen me against the children of men, for I stand in Your mercy.

Corresponding to this, the rescue or elevation from the pit is also a present experience of the person praying, as 1QH^a XI 20–24 indicates:

I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have redeemed my soul from the pit. From Sheol and Abaddon You have raised me up to an eternal height, so that I might walk about on a limitless plain, and know that

¹⁵ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. J. Chipman (Leiden, 1994) 249.

¹⁶ Similar Angel, ‘Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience’, 5: “Presumably, God himself will see to the absolute destruction of the demons and the redemption of the sons of light at the end of the ‘present dominion of wickedness’ on the day of eschatological judgment. In a sense then, the protection effectuated by the Maskil’s hymns in the present anticipates the world as it will be after the final punishment of the forces of darkness.”

there is hope for him whom You created from the dust for the eternal council. The perverse spirit You have cleansed from great transgression, that he might take his stand with the host of the holy ones, and enter together (or in the *yaḥad*) with the congregation of the sons of heaven. And for man, You have allotted an eternal destiny with the spirits of knowledge, to praise Your name together with shouts of joy, and to recount Your wonders before all Your creatures.

These lines describe the present experience of the members of the *yaḥad*, who already saw themselves raised to the heavenly heights, such that they praised God in community with the angels.¹⁷ And yet, an eschatological perspective is already indicated here. Shortly after, the wrath of God is prayed for with apocalyptic words:

The earth shouts out, because of the disaster which comes about in the world, and all its plotters scream. All who are upon it behave as if mad, and they melt away in the gr[ea]t disaster. For God thunders with the roar of His strength and His holy dwelling roars forth in His glorious truth. Then the heavenly hosts shall raise their voice and the everlasting foundations shall melt and quake. The war of the heroes of heaven shall spread over the world and shall not return until an annihilation that has been determined from eternity is completed (עַד כִּלְה וּנְחֻרְצָה לְעַד). Nothing like this has ever occurred (1QH^a XI 34–37).

This idea is deepened later when it is announced that God will cut off all men of deceit in judgment:

But You, O God, shall answer them by judging them in Your strength [according to] their idols and the multitude of their transgressions, in order that they, who have turned away from Your covenant, might be caught in their own schemes. You shall cut off in ju[dgem]ent all deceitful men; seers of error shall no longer be found. For there is no deception in any of Your works, and no deceit in the deliberation of Your heart. Those who are in harmony with You shall stand before You for ever, and those who walk in the way of Your heart shall be secure for evermore (1QH^a XII 19–23).

This clearly no longer means the present experience, but the future “ages of wrath” and the “day of slaughter”, for which they are destined (see 1QH^a VII 30–32). This age does not aim at punishment, but

¹⁷ Detailed exegesis Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft*, 96–100.

at extermination.¹⁸ False prophets shall simply no longer exist. While the men of deceit are exterminated, eternal life in the presence of God is expected. The total extinction (annihilation) of sinners is thus opposed to eternal life.

If we now return to the question of what is meant by “eternal destruction,” it seems to me that the yahadic texts as a collection, and the Hodayot in particular, do not have in mind a continuing punishment in hell, but a final state of annihilation. Eternal life does not correspond to eternal punishment, but to the extinction of the person, thus the idea of annihilation is present here.

This understanding can be supplemented by further evidence, such as 1QH^a XIV 21–22, in which the consuming fire of judgment is spoken of in a drastic way, the result of which is annihilation: “In its bright flames all the children of [iniquity] will burn, [and it will become] a fire that burns up all the guilty until they are utterly destroyed (עַד כְּלֵה)” (trans. C. Newsom, DJD 40). This formulation even indicates an end in a temporal way and shows that it is not about an everlasting event (see also 1QH^a XIV 32–36). There is a court, in which the punishment is carried out, but whose goal is the destruction of the sinners.

1.4. *Sheol in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

The topic of the judgment is not yet completely described in the Hodayot. It was pointed out rightly that Sheol is mentioned in 23 places, which can be connected with the idea of hell, “die eine Brücke zur Vorstellung einer brennenden Unterwelt sowohl in zwischentamentlichen Texten (1 Hen 102,1–3; 103,7f.; 4 Esra 7,36–38; 4 Makk 99; 12,12) als auch in Mt 25,41; Lk 16,23f. bildet.”¹⁹ But a distinction must be made here. Sheol is mentioned above all in the Hodayot. And there, Sheol is first of all the present experience of

¹⁸ Overall, the end times are stretched out, so that even the “Day of Judgment” is not a punctual event (11QMelch); see H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg, 1994³) 288–89. Contrary, “the end of days would be a time of testing and purification for the community”, Pomykala, ‘Eschatologies and Messianisms’, 498. See also É. Puech, ‘Messianisme, eschatologie et resurrection dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte’, *RevQ* 18 (1997) 255–98, here 257–65.

¹⁹ L. Lee, שאול, ThWQ III (2016) 798.

affliction from which the person who is praying knows to be saved. Exemplary for this view is 1QH^a XI 20–22, which was quoted earlier. Sheol is not to be associated primarily with the afterworld, but with the destruction of the present world. The person praying compares his afflictions, which he perceives as experiences of death or Sheol,²⁰ as 1QH^a XVI 28–33 reads:

I have become like a man who is forsaken by [] there is no refuge for me. For my agony breaks out to bitterness, and an incurable pain without stopping, [ro]ars over me, like those who descend into Sheol. Among the dead my spirit searches, for [my] li[fe] goes down to the pit [] my soul is faint day and night without rest. And my agony breaks out as a burning fire shut up within [my] b[ones] whose flame consumes for days on end, putting an end to my strength without ceasing and destroying my flesh without end (cf. XVII 4).

At the same time, Sheol is also associated with talk of judgment. When one rejoices in the covenant of God, one flourishes. But the groaning penetrates into Sheol, where the judgment of God is heard, 1QH^a XVIII 34–38:

My groaning enters the depths and completely searches out the chambers of Sheol. I am terrified when I hear of Your judgements with powerful warriors, and Your dispute with the hosts of Your saints in [] and judgement against all Your creatures, and righteousness [].

Sheol here stands for the world of the dead. It is true that in the Qumran writings also a connection of Sheol with fire can be seen, which Lydia Lee has emphasized in an informative article and in which she recognizes a new aspect in contrast to the Hebrew Bible.²¹ However, the three passages she uses for this purpose should not be weighted too heavily. For two of them are only fragmentarily preserved and therefore have to be reconstructed, which makes it difficult to define in which way the fire is to be understood in these passages (cf. 1QH^a IV 25–26a; 1QM XIV 16–18; 4Q184 1 6–11).

²⁰ Emphasized by W. Nebe, ‘Scheol in den Schriften vom Toten Meer’, in J. Tubach *et al.* (eds), *Sehnsucht nach der Hölle? Höllen- und Unterweltsvorstellungen in Orient und Okzident, Beiträge des Leucorea-Kolloquiums 2010* (Wiesbaden, 2012) 169–98, here 181.

²¹ See L. Lee, ‘Fiery Sheol in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, *RevQ* 27 (2015) 249–70.

1.5. *Conclusion Regarding the Yahadic Texts*

Yahadic texts attest to a present judgment and a communion with the angels of the earthly community, yet expect a judgment at a certain future time, the day of wrath and vengeance, which leads to the destruction of the ungodly on the one hand and to the purification of the righteous on the other, thus beginning a new age. The judgment accordingly becomes the final word on the ungodly, determining their final fate. Eternal destruction therefore does not mean eternal torment in hell, but the final state of extinction.²² This also makes it possible to understand why no hell or punishments in hell are executed.

Hence the first half of the statement of John Collins is comprehensible: “the topography of the afterlife was still unclear ...”²³ However, the second part seems too pessimistic: “and the Scrolls give surprisingly little information on the subject.” In my opinion, the Dead Sea Scrolls speak much more about judgment and punishment than is often claimed. My short summary of some important paragraphs proves that. But they do not draw a topography of hell, because the judgment of the wicked aims at destruction. Therefore, there is no need for tours of hell. Nevertheless, the *yahad* looked into the judgment and the destiny of the righteous and the sinners after the earthly life.

Finally, the general observation is important that the judgment and destruction is contrasted with grace and mercy, for which the members of the *yahad* give thanks to God: “In your anger are all punishing judgments, but in your goodness is abundant forgiveness, and your compassion is for all the children of your good favour. For you have made known to them the secret counsel of your truth” (1QH^a XIX 11–12; trans. C. Newsom, DJD 40). The members of the *yahad* have a deep awareness that it is only by grace that they can stand before God and that it is God’s mercy that keeps them alive. The reason some experience mercy and others do not is explained with the providence of God, in which he sovereignly designs the different lives and destinies (e.g., 1QH^a VII 25–35 or 1QS III 13–IV 26). The individual deeds have much less impact on one’s eternal destiny than they do in later apocalyptic writings.

²² Lee, ‘Fiery Sheol’, 266–70 also argues for the idea of annihilation in the Qumran writings.

²³ Collins, ‘Otherworld’, 96.

2. *First Enoch*

In addition to these yaḥadic texts, compositions were also collected at Qumran that did not originate from the *yaḥad* itself. Among these is *1 Enoch*. John Collins recognizes similarities between the two traditions, especially in the question of the fate of the godless: “The continuity with the Enochic literature is most readily evident in the fate of the wicked”,²⁴ quoting 1QS IV 11–14. A special proximity can be seen in the idea of annihilation. In *1 Enoch*, however, a greater interest in punishment can be perceived and the underworld is described in a much more concrete way, which I briefly outline following.

2.1. *The Judgment of Annihilation*

Already the opening sentence tend to compare the living righteous and the annihilation of the sinners: “The blessing of Enoch: with which he blessed the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the ungodly ones”²⁵ (*1 En.* 1:1). This general view is amplified later in the text (*1 En.* 1:8–9), and again and again the destruction of sinners and ungodliness is emphasized (e.g. *1 En.* 10:15,20; 45:6; 52:9; 53:2; 62:2; 69:27–29; 92:5; 98:3; 99:16; 107:1; 108:3). Especially significant is *1 En.* 22, where the four-part underworld in the west is described. One of these four places is bright and has a water source, which is the place of the deceased righteous. But then there are other spaces for the unrighteous. A distinction is made between those who have already been punished during their lifetime. These will no longer be punished on the Day of Judgment, but they will not be resurrected either. Those of the remaining unrighteous in the other space, on the other hand, who have not yet experienced judgment in their lifetime, will be punished on the Day of Judgment.

²⁴ Collins, ‘Otherworld’, 102.

²⁵ Translation by E. Isaac, ‘(Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C.-First Century A.D.)’, in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* (Garden City, 1983) 5–89, here 72.

The idea that where judgment has already taken place on earth, there is no longer a need for resurrection fits with the previous remarks of the yahadic writings. The decisive thing is accomplished as soon as the judgment has taken place. Thus, the idea of an eternal torment in hell loses relevance and the perspective ends with the last judgment, which can certainly be combined with the yahadic texts.²⁶

A similar idea is also found in *1 En.* 91, part of the Epistle of Enoch. There it is announced that injustice will once again increase.

Then a great plague shall take place from heaven upon all these; the holy Lord shall emerge with wrath and plague in order that he may execute judgment upon the earth. In those days, injustice shall be cut off from its (sources of succulent) fountain and from its roots – (likewise) oppression together with deceit; they shall be destroyed from underneath heaven. All that which is (common) with the heathen shall be surrendered; the towers shall be inflamed with fire, and be removed from the whole earth. They shall be thrown into the judgment of fire, and perish in wrath and in the force of the eternal judgment (*1 En.* 91:7–9).

This destruction is contrasted with the resurrection of the righteous from the sleep of death (91:10). While the unrighteous are facing destruction, the righteous are being brought to life.

2.2. *The Judgment of Punishment*

Nevertheless, the Enochic literature shows more interest in eschatological images. Among these is the place where the fallen angels will be punished. This place is described with horrific illustrations of an environment of fire.²⁷ They will be bound there “until the time of the completion of their sin in the year of mystery” (*1 En.* 18:16). The

²⁶ R. Bauckham, ‘Early Jewish Visions of Hell’, *JThS* 41 (1990) 355–85 at 375 recognizes here “a transition from the belief that the punishment of the wicked will begin after the last judgement to the belief that it is already taking place in the intermediate state before the last judgement coincides with the emergence of visions of the punishments taking place in hell.” See also id., ‘Hades, Hell,’ *AYBD* 3 (1992) 14–15. However, I would not interpret the waiting room already as punishment before the judgment. Rather, judgment and punishment belong together, which is why the person whom judgment has not already struck in earthly life must still wait for the final judgment. That this cannot be the place of bliss is self-evident.

²⁷ Comparable to the description in *Apoc. Pet.* 5:1–9.

angels who have transgressed with the women will also be bound there “until the great day of judgment in which they shall be judged till they are finished” (19:1). This statement shows that the idea of hellish punishments does not contradict the concept of annihilation. It is precisely the punishments that lead to destruction.

Elsewhere it speaks of eternal captivity, so that the idea of annihilation is relegated to the farthest reaches. *First Enoch* 21:10: “This place is the prison house of the angels; they are detained here forever” (see also 18:14). Other texts speak accordingly of eternal torment in the fire, as 10:13: “In those days they will lead them into the bottom of the fire – and in torment – in the prison (where) they will be locked up forever.” But here too, the notion of the destruction follows immediately afterwards. Thus, it is called to “destroy all the souls of pleasure and the children of the Watchers, for they have done injustice to man. Destroy injustice from the face of the earth. And every iniquitous deed will end, and the plant of righteousness and truth will appear forever, and he will plant joy” (10:15–16).

In general, there is an eschatologization of the judgment in *1 Enoch*. Certainly, there is also the possibility mentioned, that the punishment took place already during one’s earthly life (*1 En.* 22). However, the focus shifts on individual punishment after the earthly death, where it has not already taken place during life. This environment of fire in the afterworld is the place, where the judgment is realized. Nevertheless, also here the narrative points to the annihilation. Through the destruction of injustice, the new age of salvation is implemented.

2.3. Conclusion Regarding *1 Enoch*

If we therefore return to the thesis of John Collins at this point, it is confirmed that there is definitely a continuity between the Enochic and yahadic tradition. *First Enoch* 22 expresses a judgment leading to annihilation, so that after the judgment no further confrontation with the godless would be necessary, as it is the case in the texts from Qumran. *First Enoch* 92:5 sums it up: “Sin and darkness shall perish forever and shall no more be seen from that day forevermore.”

Nevertheless, in contrast to the *yahad*, the judgment is more consistently transferred to the afterlife. Thus, communion with the angels

is not a present experience of the congregation, but a visionary-eschatological expectation.²⁸ Moreover, the focus shifts from judgment to punishment and thus from the enforcement of justice to the punishment of sinners in the afterworld. This is particularly evident in *I En.* 90. This chapter describes the execution of punishment in a way that is not found in the yahadic texts. That is why the closest proximity to the idea of an eternal torment in hell exists here:

Then his judgment took place. First among the stars, they received their judgment and were found guilty, and they went to the place of condemnation; and they were thrown into an abyss, full of fire and flame and full of the pillar of fire. Then those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty; and they were cast into that fiery abyss. In the meantime I saw how another abyss like it, full of fire, was opened wide in the middle of the ground; and they brought those blinded sheep, all of which were judged, found guilty, and cast into this fiery abyss, and they were burned – the abyss is to the right of that house; thus I saw those sheep while they were burning – their bones also were burning. Then I stood still, looking at that ancient house being transformed: All the pillars and all the columns were pulled out; and the ornaments of that house were packed and taken out together with them and abandoned in a certain place in the South of the land (*I Enoch* 90:24–28).

These lines do not explicitly speak of annihilation, but of burning. The statement foreshadows the notion of an eternal conscious suffering in hell, especially if one combines it with the idea of the eternal prison house (*I En.* 10:13; 18:14; 21:10). It is therefore not surprising that the youngest part of *I Enoch* also talks about this place where there “is no peace” for sinners (*I En.* 102:3), “they shall experience evil and great tribulation” (*I En.* 103:7), which underlines a conscious experience of hell.

But if one analyzes this passage on the basis of the other statements in *I Enoch*, a perpetual suffering in the hell is not necessarily in view here. If we read these on the basis of the statements in *I En.* 22, according to which those who are judged on earth do not rise again and the statement in *I En.* 91, that the sinners will be destroyed in the wrath of God, the idea of final annihilation is not unreasonable. Certainly, the punishment is now emphasized, and with it the act of suffering. Nevertheless, it aims at removing “the old house” to make

²⁸ See Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft*, 28–30.

way for the messianic kingdom (*I En.* 90:28–38). Also here, one thing is destroyed to make place for another.

So we are facing the interesting question in which context we want to interpret *I Enoch*. In my opinion we should do this in the context of the early Jewish writings of the 1st/2nd century BCE and not in the context of later apocalyptic writings. We should be careful to not read *I Enoch* through the lens of later “tours of hell.” Therefore, with regard to eschatology, Uhlig rightly emphasizes the notion of annihilation in *I Enoch*, which stands in contrast to the eternal joy of the righteous.²⁹

3. *Early Jewish Concepts of Judgment, Hell, and Punishment and the Apocalypse of Peter*

If we finally compare the *Apocalypse of Peter* with the yahadic texts and *I Enoch*, then a clear shift in the notion of judgment and hell can be observed. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* there is no talk of judgment as the enforcement of God’s justice and the eradication of ungodliness. Instead, the question of the punishment of sinners is decisively accentuated, combined with an individualization and focus on one’s deeds. In two respects, a changed view can be detected in this.

First, different conceptions of the relationship between judgment and punishment can be identified. On the one hand, we find a judgment that consists of annihilation in the texts of the *yahad* and the Enochic literature. In this view, judgment and punishment coincide because punishment is carried out along with God’s judgment. The goal of the judgment is the destruction of evil and purification of God’s people and thus has a cosmological-eschatological dimension.³⁰ We find this understanding in a special way in the texts of the *yahad*. On the other hand, a judgment that consists in punishment can be distinguished from it. In this case, judgment and punishment are successive actions. First, there is the judgment in the sense of a verdict on the deeds committed. The aim is to determine the chastisement due

²⁹ S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh, 1984) 493.

³⁰ See further C. Stettler, *Das letzte Gericht. Studien zur Endgerichtserwartung von den Schriftpropheten bis Jesus* (Tübingen, 2011) 130–38. He speaks of the “enforcement of the reign of God” (“Durchsetzung der Gottesherrschaft”).

to the sinner. Then follows the corresponding suffering of the punishments. Exemplary for this stands the *Apocalypse of Peter*. This no longer speaks of “eternal destruction” but now explicitly of “eternal punishment” (*Apoc. Pet.* 6:6, 9) and of “darkness that cannot be extinguished” (*Apoc. Pet.* 6:5).³¹ The judgment is oriented entirely on the individual’s past and has no future-oriented meaning, which is why it now lasts forever.

The view of *1 Enoch* contains both aspects. One finds the thought of a judgment unto annihilation that precedes a new age of salvation. But one also finds the thought of individual judgment based on past sins. Taken together, however, the views of *1 Enoch* are closer to the texts of the *yahad* than to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, because the thought of annihilation is leading.³²

³¹ Also in Matt 25:46; Heb 6:2; Rev 20:10. For a discussion whether *Apoc. Pet.* discusses *eternal* punishment, see, e.g., T.J. Kraus, ‘Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. «Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten»’, in H. Klein *et al.* (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96; T. Nicklas, ‘Petrusoffenbarung, Christusoffenbarung und ihre Funktion. Autoritätskonstruktion in der Petrusapokalypse’, in J. Frey, F. Tóth and M. Jost (eds.), *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten* (Tübingen, 2019) 319–35

³² See further J.N. Bremmer, ‘Descents to the Underworld from Gilgamesh to Christian Late Antiquity’, *Studia Religiosa* 50 (2017) 291–309. He concludes: “This underworld was appropriated by Hellenised Jews, who also made use of their own Jewish tradition in the measure-for-measure punishments, the demonstrative pronouns and the prominence of fire. Somewhere between *1 Enoch* and the middle of the second century AD, a Jew invented the genre of the Apocalypse, which contained features of classical Descent literature but also a number of ethical transgressions, with fire being the instrument of punishment for anonymous sinners.” See also P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. Nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur* (Hildesheim, 2003 [reprint]) 309, who emphasizes the notion of destruction, but at the same time recognizes a connection with the notion of punishment: “Das Gericht als Vernichtung hat überwiegend einen vorbereitenden Charakter, es sollen durch dasselbe, damit das Heil kommen kann, zuvor alle feindlichen Elemente aus der Welt geschafft werden, z.B. Hen 1 1. [...] Nicht selten weiss aber der Fromme von einem Strafzustand der Verdammnis, in den die Gottlosen versetzt werden, oder man beliebt, beides, Vernichtung und Verdammung, miteinander zu verbinden”.

Second, these two views are based on different concepts of how life is defined. In the texts of the *yahad* as well as in *1 Enoch*, judgment is primarily equated with annihilation. Whoever is removed from the community of God perishes, as 1QH^a XI 18 quotes: there is “destruction without your mercy” (כלה בלוא רחמיה). Therefore, eternal life is opposed to annihilation. Human life is a gift that depends on God’s judgment and can therefore be taken away. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, however, the meaning of death is limited to corporeality and the earthly loss of life. After the judgment there is only the possibility of being, either in a state of damnation or heavenly glory.³³

This brings us back to Peter’s question following a word of Jesus from Mark 14:21, to which I referred in the introduction. Would not being uncreated be better for sinners than suffering eternal hell? From this comparison, it can be concluded that the existence of human beings can no longer be erased. Life is not defined in dependence of a relationship with God but is simply grounded in being created. The consequence of this is that not life and death are combined, but creation and punishment. Not mercy is juxtaposed with punishment as in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but being created is contrasted with punishment.³⁴ The only fate for the soul of the sinners in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is the destiny in hell, or alternatively the (partial) apocatastasis, as Daniel Maier argues in his contribution to this volume.³⁵ Both

³³ Platonic influences can be suspected behind this shift. N. Artemov, ‘Erfindung Platons? Zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Hölle in der griechischen Antike’, in Tubach, *Sehnsucht nach der Hölle?*, 9–33, here 31 concludes in this way: “Die Geburtsstunde der Hölle scheint daher in einem gewissen Sinne mit der Geburtsstunde der ‘Seele’ in der europäischen Tradition zusammenzufallen.” But, we find this shift to the soul or human spirit also in *1 Enoch*. The souls go down to Sheol and the souls enter into the great judgment (e.g., *1 En.* 103:7–8).

³⁴ It is striking how the concepts of grace and mercy are almost completely absent from *Apoc. Pet.* Mercy is mentioned only from ch. 24 on in the Ethiopian version (except Prologue and 13:4). This is in striking contrast to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

³⁵ In the *GreekPetrApk* (P.Vindob.G 39756) one can also find the idea that sinners can be saved from punishment through the prayers of the elect; see Kraus, ‘Fürbitte’, 355–96; id. and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004).

conceptions give an answer to the question of the fate of the created immortal souls. But with it the greatest possible contrast to the conception of annihilation for the sinners is reached.

Thus, it can be acknowledged that Qumran cannot be regarded as the primary context of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Not only is the catalog of punishments for eschatological judgment so typically offered in the *Apocalypse of Peter* missing.³⁶ The differences are even more deeply located in different eschatological and anthropological concepts. The analysis of the Qumran writings, however, contributes decisively to obtaining a differentiated picture of the eschatological worldviews at the time of the Second Temple, in which such different concepts as annihilation and eternal torment in hell can be found.

Moreover, these insights show that we should be highly cautious about genealogical explanations of individual *topoi*, as judgment of sinners or descriptions of hell. The problem can be exemplified by an essay by Richard Bauckham, who, while himself critical of Martha Himmelfarb's account, looks for "transitions". In doing so, he draws a transition from the notion that punishment follows judgment to a notion that judgment happens immediately after death in the intermediate state before judgment.

The preceding four sections have shown how, within the tradition of four apocalypses, a transition from the belief that the punishment of the wicked will begin after the last judgement to the belief that it is already taking place in the intermediate state before the last judgement coincides with the emergence of visions of the punishments taking place in hell.³⁷

The insights from the Dead Sea Scrolls seem to problematize this explanation. The visions of eternal punishments in hell are not primarily to be connected with the intermediate state, but much more with the understanding of judgment, punishment, and life. It is not only a temporal transition regarding the time of the punishment. I see rather a tendency that the notion of annihilation has shifted to the

³⁶ Particularly emphasized in the works of Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, *passim* and J.N. Bremmer, 'Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell. Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter', in T. Nicklas *et al.* (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World* (Leiden, 2010) 306–21, updated in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 281–93.

³⁷ Bauckham, 'Early Jewish Visions of Hell', 375.

notion of suffering in hell. This ideological rupture can probably have been favored by the eschatologization of the notion of annihilation, but it cannot yet explain the redefinition of the content of the judgment. Therefore, a genealogy of the visions of hell is usually much more complex than the proposals want to make it.³⁸

³⁸ I wish to thank Daniel Maier and Christian Stettler for commenting a draft of this contribution and Jacob Cerone for reviewing the English of this article.

VIII. The *Apocalypse of Peter*, 2 Peter and *Sibylline Oracles II*: Alexandrian Debates?

JAN N. BREMMER

The status quo of the discussions concerning the *Apocalypse of Peter* (= *Apoc. Pet.*) can be summarised fairly quickly.¹ The main points of debate remain the provenance (Palestine or Egypt),² the time of composition (around 150 or several decades earlier), the priority regarding 2 Peter and the actual message of the *Apocalypse* (monitory or not). As I have recently defended my position for Egypt,³ Alexandria in particular, around 150, and accept the dependence of 2 Peter on our *Apocalypse*,⁴ following the new perspective, I will not repeat myself here, although I realise that these solutions can only be considered as

¹ For the most recent *Forschungsgeschichte*, see P. Piovaneli, ‘Les origines et la fortune de l’*Apocalypse de Pierre* reconsidérées’, in J. Lieu (ed.), *Peter in the Early Church: Apostle - Missionary - Church Leader* (Leuven, 2021) 311–29; J. Schröter, ‘Evangelientraditionen in der Offenbarung des Petrus’, in H.J. de Jonge et al. (eds), *The Gospels and their Receptions. Festschrift Joseph Verheyden* (Leuven, 2022) 453–77 at 45–65; D. Batovici, ‘Apocalypse of Peter (Greek)’, in J.Ch. Edwards (ed.), *Early New Testament Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids, 2022) 446–58.

² Note that E. Norelli, ‘L’*Apocalisse di Pietro* come apocalisse cristiana’, *RSCr* 17 (2020) 111–84 at 128–29 still supports the connection with Bar Kokhba but does admit the possibility that the *Apoc. Pet.* was written outside Judaea.

³ For further arguments, see M.G. Ruf, “‘In Aegyptum, ut denuo disseratur de me’”, in J. Frey et al. (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter: Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2020) 196–216.

⁴ See also E. Repo, *Der “Weg” als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums* (Helsinki, 1964) 97–107.

plausible, given that we have insufficient data to reach absolute certainty.⁵

It is not that everybody has accepted the late dating of the *Apoc. Pet.* In an article of a decade ago, Norelli restated his position, and rejected the various arguments adduced by Eibert Tigchelaar and Tobias Nicklas against the importance of Bar Kokhba for the interpretation of our *Apocalypse*.⁶ To give one example of his arguments, he adduces 1:4 ‘Take care not to be deceived lest you become doubters and worship other gods’.⁷ Now Norelli rightly argues that the author had in mind Matt 24:4–5 and connects also, again rightly, Deut 13:2–6. On the other hand, he surely goes too far in speculating what the author and his readers will have thought about the connection between these two texts. We have no idea about their thoughts, and there is no indication in the text that the author was inspired by Deuteronomy but chose Matthew for his treatise, as Norelli suggests. This is clearly special pleading to arrive at a single pseudo-prophet instead of the plurality mentioned in our text. We also notice that Norelli does not give any attention to the first part of the admonishment, which is not found in either biblical text: the reference to doubters. Apparently, with this mention of doubt the author updated his biblical pretext, but this doubt also fits better the worship of other gods. The latter comment is much more suitable to Egypt than Palestine and would hardly fit the Bar Kochba period.⁸ That does not mean that the latter could

⁵ J.N. Bremmer, ‘The *Apocalypse of Peter* as the First Christian Martyr Text: Its Date, Provenance and Relationship with *2 Peter*’, in Frey, *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*, 75–98 at 85–90.

⁶ Cf. E. Tigchelaar, ‘Is the Liar Bar Kokhba? Considering the Date and Provenance of the Greek (Ethiopic) *Apocalypse of Peter*’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 63–77; T. Nicklas, ‘Christliche Apokryphen als Spiegel der Vielfalt frühchristlichen Lebens: Schlaglichter, Beispiele und methodische Probleme’, *ASE* 23 (2006) 27–44 at 33–39, not refuted by Piovanelli, ‘Les origines et la fortune de l’*Apocalypse de Pierre* reconsidérées’, 324–27.

⁷ I use the translation by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73, but have sometimes adapted the text by checking it against other translations.

⁸ For arguments against the identification with Bar Kokhba, see also Schröter, ‘Evangelientraditionen’, 472.

not have been in the mind of our author, but we have to be careful with our arguments, as Norelli himself often stresses.⁹

Now very soon after the discovery and publication of the Greek Akhmîm fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it was seen that a relationship existed between the *Apocalypse* and the second book of the Sibylline Oracles,¹⁰ however complicated the text and tradition of the latter are.¹¹ Yet this relationship has rarely been studied in any depth. The exception to this situation – and let's stress that it is a brilliant exception – is the commentary by Jane Lightfoot on the first two books of the Sibyllines.¹² However, her analysis has had little impact on the investigation of the *Apocalypse* in recent years.¹³ Lightfoot has observed that the Sibyl differs from the *Apoc. Pet.* in three respects in particular: her use of Scripture, her borrowings from other Sibyllines and her use of classical literature.¹⁴ It cannot be my intention here to systematically compare the two writings, which would require a proper book, but it may be useful to offer some observations on the differences and similarities by taking account of Lightfoot's observations. In this analysis, I will mostly use the order of the Sibyl, as it is easier to follow than that of the *Apoc. Pet.*

⁹ E. Norelli, 'L'adversaire eschatologique dans l'Apocalypse de Pierre', in Y.-M. Blanchard *et al.* (eds), *Les forces du bien et du mal dans les premiers siècles de l'Église* (Paris, 2011) 291–317.

¹⁰ J.A. Robinson and M.R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation to Peter* (London, 1892) 61–63; A. Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus* (Leipzig, 1893) 49. For later bibliography, see T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98 at 85 note 44.

¹¹ Cf. J. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles* (Oxford, 2007) 257–68, 552–53.

¹² Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles*.

¹³ Cf. J. Frey, 'Fire and Water? Apocalyptic Imagination and Hellenistic Worldview in 2 Peter', in J. Baden *et al.* (eds), *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy* (Leiden, 2017) 451–71 at 460 note 36: 'Although *Sib. Or.* 2 might already use the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the correspondences can point to a common context', but see also J. Hultin, 'Reading 2 Peter 3 in the Light of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Sibylline Oracles*', in Frey, *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*, 160–95 at 191–93; note that Lightfoot is absent from the bibliography of Beck, *Justice and Mercy*.

¹⁴ See Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 131–43, 558–62, for the comparison.

Let me start with the point where the Sibylline Book is thought to incorporate the *Apoc. Pet.* Lightfoot begins at line 194 with the cosmic disaster, but one may at least wonder if the Sibyl had not also looked closely at the sections preceding Chapter 5, since the disaster starts in the *Apoc. Pet.* on the day of judgement, but before that Christ has stated that false Messiahs will come, with one in particular mentioned (1:5, 2:7–10). From line 165 and following, the Sibyl speaks of false prophets but also with one, Belial, singled out. Undoubtedly, close reworkings of our text start at l. 194, but it is not that likely that the Sibyl started to read the *Apocalypse* at Chapter 5:1, and the influence of our *Apocalypse*'s beginning on the Sibyl here can hardly be excluded.

However this may be, there is no doubt about the Sibyl's fairly detailed use of the *Apoc. Pet.* in her picture of the cosmic disaster. At this point, I would like to make two observations. First, without entering here in the debate about the relationship between *Apoc. Pet.* and 2 Peter, I am not sure that Jörg Frey is right when he notes: 'The parallel description of the cataclysm (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* [E] 4–6 and the shorter and focused argument 2 Pet 3:5–13) provides further confirmation for the view that 2 Peter is dependent on the *Apocalypse of Peter*. While Bauckham speculates about an otherwise unknown Jewish apocalyptic source in 2 Pet 3:5–7, 10, the assumption that the text (esp. 3:10) draws on a scenario as presented in *Apoc. Pet.* 4–6 provides an easier explanation'. I agree that Bauckham is unconvincing in adducing an unknown source, but at the same time, I wonder if the similarity is not exaggerated. 2 Peter mentions both the Flood and the future conflagration in Chapter 3, and the Flood and the fire of Sodom and Gomorrah in Chapter 2:5–6, whereas the *Apoc. Pet.*, followed by the Sibyl, only mentions the fire.¹⁵ Now the combination of flood and fire is an old one, which is already found in the Pythagorean Philolaus (44 A 18DK, with Huffman *ad loc.*) and Plato's *Timaeus* (22C), taken up by the Stoa and even found in the *Martyrdom of Pionius* (4:17–23).¹⁶ Its repeated combination,

¹⁵ See also E. Norelli, 'Les débats récents sur le rapport entre 2 Pierre et l'Apocalypse de Pierre: le cas de la conflagration universelle', *RSCr* 19 (2022), forthcoming; for the origin of the idea of conflagration, see Ch. Vasallo, 'Measuring the End: Heraclitus and Diogenes of Babylon on the Great Year and Ekpyrosis', *Apeiron* 56 (2023), forthcoming.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Chaîne, 'Cosmogonie aquatique et conflagration finale d'après la *Secunda Petri*', *RB* 46 (1937) 207–16; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in*

then, in 2 Peter probably depends on Hellenistic sources rather than on the *Apocalypse of Peter*. If we want to have a motif in 2 Peter that does depend on our Apocalypse, we might think of 3:12 where the heavenly bodies melt away. We find that same metaphor in *Apoc. Pet.* 5:4E, where Beck's translation of 'waste away' is less precise than Marrassini's 'seront fondue'.¹⁷ The same metaphor is found in the Septuagint version of Isaiah 34:4, but the lack of any other detail from its context and the fact that the *Apoc. Pet.* seems to quote only Ezekiel 37 and Psalm 24 from the Old Testament makes it less likely to see a reference to Isaiah.¹⁸

Second, it is clear that the Sibyl follows the *Apoc. Pet.* pretty closely in her description of the cosmic disaster. Unfortunately, we cannot see which Greek words the Sibyl repeated from *Apoc. Pet.*, as that would perhaps have enabled us to get a better idea of the author's literary knowledge, but it can easily be seen from Lightfoot's commentary that the Sibyl expands the picture of cosmic dissolution by adding an evocation of the desolation through reference to the absence of anything alive, from birds to fishes to ploughing bulls. Yet there is one other detail in the Sibyl's description, lacking in the *Apoc. Pet.*, which has not been properly commented upon by Lightfoot. In line 205, the Sibyl says: 'and ash will cover all' (τέφρα δέ τε πάντα καλύψει), which is a kind of closure of the description of the destructive fires. What Lightfoot does not notice is that the ash is taken from Book 4, where it describes the eruption of the Vesuvius (its *terminus post quem*) and ends with 'much smoking ashes will fill the great sky'

Ancient Pythagoreanism (Cambridge, MA, 1972) 315 n. 86; J. Mansfeld, 'Providence and the Destruction of the Universe', in M.J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden 1979) 129–88 at 146 n. 52 = id., *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy and Gnosticism* (London, 1989) Ch. I, 146 n. 52.

¹⁷ Cf. R. Bauckham and P. Marrassini, 'Apocalypse de Pierre', in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain (eds), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens I* (Paris, 1997) 747–85 at 761.

¹⁸ Cf. J. van Ruiten, 'The Old Testament Quotations in the *Apocalypse of Peter*', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 158–73; T. Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek? The *Apocalypse of Peter* as a Witness of Early 2nd-Cent. Christianity in Alexandria', in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 27–46 at 28.

(4:133: πολλή δ' αἰθαλόεσσα τέφρη μέγαν αἰθέρα πλήσῃ). In both cases, then, the covering with ash concludes a description of a cosmic or natural disaster.

The Sibyl continues with the resurrection, which, less logically, precedes the final destruction of the earth. It is noteworthy that she gives God a much more active role than in the *Apoc. Pet.* where God orders Uriel to reassemble the body parts (4:7–9) and the angel seems to replace the prophet in Qumran's *Second Ezekiel* (4Q385). However, as van Ruiten persuasively argues, the gap in time and language between the two documents makes direct reliance of the *Apoc. Pet.* on *Second Ezekiel* unlikely but does suggest sharing a tradition of interpretation.¹⁹ By all accounts, it is unlikely that the *Apoc. Pet.* predates the revolt under Trajan. But if indeed not, it would mean that certain Jewish traditions survived that terrible war, and not only the Septuagint. René Bloch has shown that it is likely that there always were some Judeans in Egypt who knew Hebrew.²⁰ Unfortunately, the time of the middle of the second century is basically a 'black hole' in our knowledge of Jewish history in Egypt. Yet this connection with *Second Ezekiel* suggests that, for a while at least, some exegetical Jewish traditions were still available in Alexandria after the revolt, although ongoing contact between Judeans in Egypt and in Palestine is not wholly impossible.²¹

In this passage, the enumeration of the various parts of the body in the *Apoc. Pet.* (4:8–9E) is nearly completely taken over by the Sibyl, although she has added a voice (221) and moved flesh forward in the list in order to effect a strictly 'inside-out' order.²² It is not clear why the Sibyl changed the singular of 'soul' in the *Apoc. Pet.* into 'souls' (221), as that is not metrically necessary. In any case, it seems almost certain that we can see a bit of the original Greek of the *Apoc. Pet.* in this passage as ψυχὰς καὶ πνεῦμα in the Sibylline version must reflect the Ethiopic 'soul and spirit' (4:9), which would give ψυχή καὶ πνεῦμα, a combination found in that order in Hebrews (4:12), although usually the order is the other way round (Phil 1:27; 1 Thess 5:23 and passim).

¹⁹ Van Ruiten, 'The Old Testament Quotations', 168.

²⁰ R. Bloch, 'How Much Hebrew in Jewish Alexandria?', in B. Schliesser *et al.* (eds), *Alexandria* (Tübingen, 2021) 261–68.

²¹ Thus Jeremiah Coogan (*per email* 6 June 2022).

²² As noted by Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 492–30.

It is noteworthy to observe that the Greek speaking author of the *Apoc. Pet.* has adapted the source text of Second Ezekiel at this point. The latter just says: ‘Prophesy over the four winds of the sky and the wind[s of the sky] will blow [upon them and they will live...]’ (4Q385 fr. 2.7–8, tr. García Martínez/Tigchelaar), which is a variant of Ezekiel’s: ‘I will cause breath to enter you and you shall live’ (37:5. tr. NRSV). In other words, the author has already made concessions to the Greek anthropology, in which a human consists of a body and soul. This anthropological concept took hold in the Christian world only gradually, and the juxtaposition of soul and spirit in our text seems typical of the transitory period between the originally Jewish holistic idea and the Platonic view of humans as consisting of a body and a soul.²³

The resurrection takes place from the underworld, which is described in a few words in contrast to the punishments, which are mentioned in great detail. We are only told that ‘(God) will command Gehenna that it opens its bars of adamant and return everything that there is within it’ (4:3). The meagreness of this description is immediately clear when we compare it with the Sibyl, who gives three lines to the description of the gates of Hades (2:227–29), which include the adamant, whereas the gates of hell are clearly presupposed, but only alluded to, by our author. Bauckham has argued that Gehenna in the Ethiopic text is its translation of an original Greek ‘Hades’.²⁴ For three reasons, this is not immediately necessary.

First, I would stress that the angel Uriel who is charged with the resurrection is also connected with the accursed valley, that is, Gehenna, in *1 Enoch* (27:2). Second, and more importantly, a Latin fragment of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Elijah* has survived in the *Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii*. In its final form, this Apocalypse probably dates to the fourth century, but it almost certainly goes back to a second-century original.²⁵ It describes

²³ See J.N. Bremmer, ‘Body and Soul in the Pre-Valerian Christian Martyr Acts’, in J. Frey and M. Nägele (eds), *Der Nous bei Paulus und in seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen, 2021) 259–78.

²⁴ Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 279, followed by Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 494.

²⁵ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 34–36; D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: the Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1993); Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 57–60, 70–71.

Gehenna where the angel of the Lord shows Elijah a series of torments that are clearly related to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, in that men and women are hanging by the limbs with which they sinned, but without the question/answer structure, if with the demonstrative pronouns that are characteristic for the tour of hell. Even if this Apocalypse would derive from a Jewish *Vorlage*, as Himmelfarb postulates, it still shows that the name Gehenna is not necessarily to be replaced by Hades.²⁶ Last but not least, also the Sibyl mentions that the sinners will be thrown ‘in the thick of night in Gehenna’ (2:290–91).

It is intriguing, though, that the connection between the legendary metal adamant and the underworld, as mentioned in both *Apoc. Pet.* and the *Sibyl*, is rather late and mostly found in Latin poets at the turn of the Christian era.²⁷ We probably have to think of a Hellenistic model, as the term is used by Theocritus (2.33–34: τὸν ἐν Ἰδα κινήσαις ἀδάμαντα), the Sicilian poet who worked in Alexandria. In any case, the usage of the term shows our author’s familiarity with Greek poetry.²⁸

In *Apoc. Pet.*, Uriel will fetch the souls of the sinners who perished in the flood (6:7E). This happens after the general resurrection (4E) and the ordeal of fire (6:2E), whereas the Sibyl lets it follow directly after the bodily resurrection and locates it before the judgment and ordeal of fire.²⁹ But there is an interesting difference between the two. Whereas the *Apoc. Pet.* does not expand on the identity of

²⁶ For the most recent edition, see M. Stone and J. Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah Parts 1&2* (Missoula, 1979) 14–15, cf. M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1981) 34–37; I. Miroshnikov and A. Somov, ‘A New Look at Enoch and Elijah in the Apocalypse of Elijah’, in A. Usacheva and A.-Ch. Jacobsen (eds), *Christian Discourse in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2020) 197–223.

²⁷ Gates of adamant: Verg. *Aen.* 6.552; Propertius 4.11.3; Ovid, *Met.* 4.453.

²⁸ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 166 has noted that *Sib. Or.* 2:227–29 seems to be modelled on *Il.* 9.158 (δηθήτω Ἀΐδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἦδ’ ἀδάμαστος), which is followed up by H. Van Noorden, ‘Hesiodic Rhapsody: The Sibylline Oracles’, in M. Fantuzzi *et al.* (eds), *Reception in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 2021) 344–70 at 365–66. Helen Van Noorden notes (*per email* 2 May 2022): ‘I do also find it interesting that in Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 146–54, the Bronze race, which is the first to go to Hades, is said to be made of adamant. Perhaps the seeds of the association ultimately lie here’.

²⁹ Cf. Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 495–96.

the souls brought back by Uriel, but gives much attention to idolatry, the Sibyl is clearly more interested in the identity of the sinners as opposed to idolatry. The difference shows that the Sibyl is not a slavish follower of the *Apoc. Pet.* in this part of her oracle but offers her own accents.

As regards identity, the Sibyl says that Uriel will bring to judgement ‘foremost there the ancient Titans’ shades and Giants and the victims of the flood, and those that came to grief upon the sea, and those on whom beasts, creeping things and birds, feasted’ (231–35, tr. Lightfoot). In these lines, the Sibyl has combined and expanded the passages of 4:4E and 6:7E, but in a manner that makes it not wholly clear which traditions she has used. Bauckham argues that with the sinners the author of *Apoc. Pet.* means the giants, the sons of the fallen angels and the mortal women, whom he also identifies as the demons of the idols to which we will come shortly. Yet our text clearly separates the two categories, and this is also what the Sibyl does. She does not specify where exactly all those to be judged come from, but there can be hardly any doubt that in the Jewish-Hellenistic tradition the Titans and Giants, who were even often confused with one another, formed one group and were relegated to the deepest part of the underworld, as they were in our earliest Greek sources.³⁰

In the Qumran version of *I Enoch* 10:11–12, God says to Michael about the angels who had ‘fornicated’ with the ‘daughters of men’: ‘[chain them up for] seventy ge[n]erations in the valleys of] the earth until the great day [of their judgment]’ (4Q202 IV.10–11, tr. García Martínez/Tigchelaar).³¹ This ultimate fate of the angels is also alluded to in the New Testament, where Jude (6) says regarding the fallen angels that ‘he (the Lord) has kept (them) in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgement of the great day’. And 2 Peter (2:4) states: ‘For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned but cast them

³⁰ For Jewish knowledge of the myth of the Titans and Giants, see J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 2008) 93–98; for the earliest sources, see J.L. Lamont, ‘Cosmogonies of the Bound: Titans, Giants, and Early Greek Binding Spells’, *Classical Philology* 116 (2021) 471–97.

³¹ The Qumran version is our oldest testimony of the text. For a discussion of the Ethiopic version and modern translations of *I Enoch*, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and The Days of the End* (Leiden, 1996) 144–51.

into hell (ταρταρώσας) and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgement...’ (tr. NRSV). This verse is particularly important, since virtually all passages with the verb κατα(ταρταρώ) refer to the struggle of Zeus against Kronos and the Titans, with which the author of 2 Peter presumably was acquainted.³² The knowledge of these New Testament writers of *I Enoch*³³ – Jude (14–15; see also Barnabas 16:6) explicitly names Enoch and quotes from *I Enoch* – suggests their familiarity with the Greek translation, which we primarily know from a codex found in Akhmîm in 1886–87,³⁴ although a recently published papyrus with a Greek text very close to that of *I Enoch* 17:1–5 has complicated the understanding of the history of the Greek translation.³⁵

Apparently, the Sibyl presumed that the *Apoc. Pet.* referred to the Titans and Giants, which is not impossible, given the Jewish traditions, but for some reason the *Apoc. Pet.* had no particular interest

³² B. Pearson, ‘A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at II Peter 2.4’, *GRBS* 10 (1969) 71–80.

³³ See the standard commentaries *ad loc.*

³⁴ U. Bouriant, ‘Fragments du texte grec du livre d’Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués à saint Pierre’, *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* IX.1 (Paris, 1892: editio princeps); for better photographs, see O. von Gebhardt, *Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus* (Leipzig, 1893); <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/AE/AE01.html>, accessed 17-5-2021. For a modern analysis of the codex, see P. van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 15–39.

³⁵ M. Bagnoud, ‘P.Gen. inv. 187: un texte apocalyptique apocryphe inédit’, *Museum Helveticum* 73 (2016) 129–53; see also M. Bagnoud and K. Coblentz Bautch, ‘An Otherworldly Journey of an Unknown Figure (P.Gen. inv. 187)’, in F. Feder and M. Henze (eds), *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures 2B* (Leiden, 2020) 387–88; D. Hamidović, ‘1Enoch 17 in the Geneva Papyrus 187’, in I. Dorfmann-Lazarev (ed.), *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Christianity and Judaism* (Leiden, 2021) 439–51. For the situation before this publication, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, ‘The Book of Enoch: Its Reception in Second Temple Jewish and in Christian Tradition’, *EC* 4 (2013) 7–40, but see now the circumspect analysis of M.J. Bokhorst, *Henoch und der Tempel des Todes: 1 Henoch 14-16 zwischen Schriftauslegung und Traditionsverarbeitung* (Berlin, 2021) 55–72, who concludes that we have ‘mit einer griechischen Vorlage zu rechnen, von der sowohl die beiden griechischen Zeugen als auch die altäthiopische Übersetzung abhängig ist’ (p. 71).

in the fate of these primeval beings, but was more interested in present day sinners and the current idols, which he enumerates in considerable detail. It is a great pity that we have this passage only in Ethiopic, as the author clearly employs quite a Greek vocabulary for the statues that were used in worship, but which is not recoverable from the translation. In fact, the translator seems to have had some trouble with the original, as the text is not wholly clear. What should we think of ‘and they who dwell in all the high places and stone and on the roads, who were called gods’ (6:8E). Although there were wooden statues, most contemporary ones will have been of stone, so its separate mention is a bit odd, as is the reference to high places, which has an Old Testament ring to it. And what should we think about those on the road? Will that have been the herms, which were ubiquitous on Greek roads? In any case, this abundance of pagan statues is hardly typical of Palestine but will have been normal for Greek Alexandria and the rest of Egypt.³⁶

After these idolators, the text of the *Apoc. Pet.* abruptly shifts to the fate of contemporary sinners. However, there is one previous point which deserves some attention. In 6:1–2E, Christ is seated on a throne next to God, who, presumably, is also sitting on a throne. In the background, are Old and New Testament traditions of God sitting on his throne, such as in Ezekiel (1 and 10), Daniel (7:9–14), Matthew (25:31) and Revelation (4:1–11). Now it is rather striking that the Sibyl does not have God and/or Christ seating on a throne, but on a βῆμα, ‘tribunal’ (2:235, 237, 243). This is clearly an adaptation to the contemporary situation, as in the Empire the Roman judge and his assessors were sitting on a semi-circular tribunal, βῆμα, in Latin *tribunal*;³⁷ in front of and below him there was a platform, which in

³⁶ For the statues, see T.J. Kraus, ‘Zur näheren Bedeutung der “Götzen(bilder)” in der *Apokalypse des Petrus (ApkPetr)*’, *ASE* 24 (2007) 147–76; for Jewish Alexandrian rejection of idols, see K. Berthelot, ‘Regards juifs alexandrins sur les religions’, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 234 (2017) 635–60; for the vocabulary, see J.N. Bremmer, *The World of Greek Religion and Mythology* (Tübingen, 2019) 101–04 (with extensive bibliography).

³⁷ H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt, 1984) 172–74; L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, D.C., 1994) 107–08; add *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 16.

Greek is also, rather confusingly, sometimes called βῆμα.³⁸ I suspect that the Sibyl must have witnessed such trials and therefore introduced the term βῆμα in connection with God/Christ as judge, as his readers would immediately recognise this situation.

Rather enigmatic, probably because of a corrupt text, is the mention of the river of fire, which the *Apoc. Pet.* gives as follows: ‘And he will command them (each of the nations) to pass through the middle of the river of fire ... But as for the elect, those who have done well, although they are dead, will certainly not see the devouring fire’ (6:2–4E). It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the Sibyl says that all will pass through the river of fire (2:252). Bauckham suggests that this was also meant by our Apocalypse. This is not impossible, but it presupposes really a larger corruption, also the addition that the elect will not see the fire, although dead (6:4E, following the translation by Marrassini), is somewhat odd.

Bauckham also sees a Zoroastrian background in the river of fire, ‘which is already found in the *Gathas*’. He does not give a reference, but probably means *Yast* 51, where the righteous and the wrongful ones must pass through ‘flaming fire’ and ‘molten metal’ (51:9–10, tr. M.L. West). There is no mention of a river, which we find only in the middle Persian *Bundahishn*, ‘Creation’: ‘Then fire and divine Ērman will melt the metal of the mountains and the hills which will lay on the earth like a river. Every person will pass through that molten metal and will be pure. To the righteous it will feel like walking through warm milk, while to the wicked it will feel like walking through molten metal in the material world’ (34:19, tr. Agostini/Thorpe).³⁹ Once again, there is no mention of molten metal in our text. In the end, if we would have to think of a Zoroastrian background, one can only say that it is not very pronounced, as fire is ubiquitous in our text with regard to punishment. One may seriously doubt if we need Zoroaster here, and if so, certainly not in a very direct manner.

The Sibyl calls the two groups who are separated by the river the δίκαιοι (εὐσεβεῖς in 314, 331) and the ἄσεβεῖς. Commenting on the

³⁸ For the term, see J.-J. Aubert, ‘The Setting and Staging of Christian Trials’, in F. de Angelis (ed.), *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World* (Leiden, 2010) 277–309 at 300.

³⁹ For the Zoroastrian tradition, see A. Panaino, *The “River of Fire” and the “River of Molten Metal”* (Vienna, 2021).

verses 253-54, Jane Lightfoot compares 2 Peter 2:9 where we have εὐσεβεῖς and ἄδικοι. She wonders: ‘Did the original Greek of Apoc. Petr. follow suit?’⁴⁰ The somewhat vague sentence seems to presuppose the priority of 2 Peter, which is less likely in the light of recent discussion, but the suggestion is also unlikely because the *Apoc. Pet.* continuously speaks of the ‘elect’ when referring to those who believe in Christ (4:12E, 6:4E, 13:1E, 14:1–2EG, 16:9E). In this respect, 4:12E is especially interesting as it mentions ‘those who believe in him and his elect’. We find this combination precisely in the Sibyl, who mentions ‘the confusion of ἐκλεκτοὶ πιστοὶ’ (169) and ‘ἐκλεκτοὶ πιστοὶ Ἑβραῖοι’ (175, cf. 3:69). The combination is very rare in that time. We find it in Revelation 17:14: κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί, although this book is not influential in the *Apoc. Pet.* if used at all, but otherwise in the second century only in the Sibyl and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.1.3.3, 7.2.6.6) – perhaps another indication of the Alexandrian origin of this Sibyl.

We should also pause a moment at the use of the term ἐκλεκτός. Whereas this word occurs less than 10 times in the older pagan literature, it takes off with dazzling speed in the Jewish Greek writings, starting with the *Letter of Aristeas* (c. 13), more than 100 occurrences in the Septuagint, only once in Posidonius and Philodemus, but again a number of times in the Sibylline Oracles, the Greek translation of *1 Enoch* and the New Testament. There can be no doubt, then, that the usage of the term is heavily overrepresented in Greek Jewish literature. I take it, therefore, that its usage here is also a part of the Greek Jewish tradition on which the *Apoc. Pet.* is drawing.

Even if 2 Peter, then, does not help us on a lexical level, Lightfoot may well be right that the opposition between the pious and the unjust has been taken from the Sibyl. But did the Sibyl know 2 Peter or did 2 Peter know the Sibyl? Building on Thomas Kraus’ dissertation, Lightfoot has shown a series of correspondences between the Sibyl and 2 Peter.⁴¹ However, in his thesis and 2003 article Kraus still supposed that *Apoc. Pet.* draws on 2 Peter,⁴² and Lightfoot does not

⁴⁰ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 502.

⁴¹ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 253, who has been overlooked by W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus* (Tübingen, 2013) 226–32.

⁴² T.J. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2001) 359 and ‘Die griechische Petrusapokalypse’.

pronounce herself on the problem of priority. Even in the book on Jörg Frey's Radboud lectures, there is no discussion of the Sibyl by those who analyse the relationship between the *Apoc. Pet.* and 2 Peter. Whatever the solution is, it seems clear to me that we should triangulate the problem. When 2 Peter is later than the Sibyl, it is virtually unthinkable that it is not later than the *Apoc. Pet.*, given that the latter is hardly dated later than 150 and the Sibyl not much earlier than 150. If Collins and Gauger are right that Book VIII of the Sibyl draws on Book 2, as seems the received opinion at the moment,⁴³ we have a *terminus ante quem* for our Sibyl of about 175 at the earliest. But that is as far as we can go.

We turn now to the sinners. It seems important to note with Lightfoot that the Sibyl has restructured the order in *Apoc. Pet.* along the lines of the classical *katabasis*, which separated the listing of the sinners from that of their punishments. Following Tigchelaar, Lightfoot calls the sins in the *Apoc. Pet.* 'a haphazardly assembled collection of diverse sins', but that is exaggerated, as I have shown.⁴⁴ I will not repeat myself but would like to point to a striking aspect of the Sibyl's characterisation of the apostates and persecutors. In the *Apoc. Pet.*, there is a fair amount of attention to these categories. In Chapter 9:2–4E, we read:

And angry spirits will beat them with all kinds of scourges, and the sleepless worms will eat their entrails. And these are those who have persecuted and betrayed my righteous. Close to those who are there, there are other men and women who will chew their tongues. They will be tortured with a fiery iron, burning their eyes. These are those who have blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness.⁴⁵ And opposite them will be other men and women, whose actions (have been carried out) with fraud, from whom they will cut the lips; fire will enter their mouth and their entrails. And these are the false witnesses.

⁴³ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 518–19; especially, O. Wassmuth, *Sibyllinische Orakel 1-2: Studien und Kommentar* (Leiden, 2011) 70–86.

⁴⁴ Tigchelaar, 'Is the Liar Bar Kokhba?', 71; Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 505, but see J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 284–91.

⁴⁵ This seems closer to the original than the Ethiopic 'have transformed (or perverted) my righteousness', cf. 22, 28, 34G and 2 Peter 2:2: δι' οὗς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται; 2:1: κρείττον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνώκῃν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης; see also Repo, *Der "Weg" als Selbstbezeichnung*, 91–93, 104–07.

Although the text in these verses is not always fully certain, the gist is partially clear. First, we find mentioned the persecutors and betrayers of my righteous (27G~9:2E), but who are ‘those who have blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness’ (28G~9:3E)? Tobias Nicklas has argued that we probably have to think of pagan rather than Jewish opponents of Christianity at this point, comparing Tacitus and Suetonius about the Christians.⁴⁶ I am not sure, though, that this is right. The passage has obviously to be compared, as Nicklas did, with the earlier ‘And some there will be hanging by their tongues. And these are those who blasphemed the way of righteousness’ (22G~7:2E). The punishment clearly has to do with people’s speech, not so much with people’s deeds. Before we come back to this passage, let us quickly also look at the next category of those being punished by gnawing their teeth and having fire in their mouth: ‘these are the false witnesses’ (29G~9:4E). It seems, then, that all three of these verses have to do with a situation of persecution, in which we first hear of the persecutors, then, of those who have abandoned the faith and probably slandered it, and finally the false witnesses who must have helped to condemn Christians to death.

Our text is not very informative about the slandering, but when we imagine a situation of Christians being on trial, we can compare the *Passion of the Scilitans*, where the proconsul Saturninus tells Speratus and his fellow Christians: ‘We too are religious, and our religion is honest and straight: we swear by the genius of our lord the emperor and we offer sacrifices for his health, as you also ought to do’.⁴⁷ Here we have a clear example of a Roman religious practice in the context of persecution that would have been interpreted as the slandering of God/Christ by the early Christians. And indeed, Philo (*Leg.* 368) also expresses his horror at blasphemy, such as when the emperor requests

⁴⁶ T. Nicklas, ““Insider” und “Outsider””: Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung “jenseitiger Orte” in der *Offenbarung des Petrus*’, in W. Ameling (ed.), *Topographie des Jenseits* (Stuttgart, 2011) 35–48 at 43.

⁴⁷ *Passio Scilitanorum* 3, cf. J.N. Bremmer, ‘Imitation of Christ in the *Passion of the Scilitan Martyrs*?’, in A. Bettenworth *et al.* (eds), *For Example: Martyrdom and Imitation in Early Christian Texts and Art* (Munich, 2020) 143–69 at 149–50.

worship. As prayers were part of Roman sacrifices, the allusive formulation of our Apocalypse may well refer to these practices.

We can check our interpretation, to a certain extent, by looking at the comparable passage of the Sibyl. Here we read:

δεινοί θ' ὕβρισταί τ' ἄνομοί τ' εἰδωλόατραι τε·
 ἦδ' ὅποσοι μέγαν ἄθάνατον θεὸν ἐγκατέλειψαν
 βλάσφημοι δ' ἐγένοντο καὶ εὐσεβέων κεραιίσται
 πιστολέται καὶ τῶν δικαίων φθισήνορες ἀνδρῶν·
 the terribly violent and lawless, and idolaters,
 and those who abandoned the great immortal God
 and became blasphemers and plunderers of the pious,
 faith-destroyers and killers of the righteous. (259–63)

What is striking in this passage is the literary register. It starts with an extraordinary adaptation of Hesiod's description of the monster Typho in his *Theogony* (307, noted by West *ad loc.*). There follows εἰδωλόατρης, a word that before the Sibyl occurs only in the New Testament and certainly is part of the latter's Jewish tradition. The word κεραιίστης occurs only in the archaic *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (336), πιστολέτης is found only in one other verse of the Sibyl (8:187), and φθισήνωρ is another epic word that after Homer and Hesiod does not occur before this passage. In other words, our author has done his best to give this passage as much literary relief as he could.

Lightfoot, who departs from an antiquated Ethiopic text in this case, has analysed the sinners in our passage and states that 'ultimately, they are all sins of speech', which seems only partially true. It is certainly the case that those who abandoned God and became blasphemers suggests apostates, who always must have been an aspect of persecutions,⁴⁸ although our surviving texts mainly focus on those

⁴⁸ For apostasy, a relatively underresearched subject, see S.G. Wilson *Leaving the Fold: Apostates and Defectors in Antiquity* (Minneapolis, 2004²) 66–99; J.M.G. Barclay, *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews* (Tübingen, 2011) 123–39 ('Deviance and Apostasy: Some Applications of Deviance Theory to First-Century Judaism and Christianity', first published in 1999); Z. Crook, 'Agents of Apostasy: Apostasy in a Collectivistic Culture', in B.S. Bøgh (ed.), *Conversion and Initiation in Antiquity* (Frankfurt, 2014) 119–34; C. Hornung, *Apostasie im antiken Christentum* (Leiden, 2016); L. Hurtado, *Why on Earth Did Anyone Become a Christian in the First Three Centuries?* (Milwaukee, 2016) 94–103.

who endured and did not abandon their faith. It is also the case for the ‘plunderers’, which will refer to the false accusations by private *delatores* for financial or otherwise personal gain, an abuse of the Roman legal system that was the subject of frequent complaints and that also hampered Pliny’s processing of the accusations against the Christians.⁴⁹ However, the killers of the righteous will hardly have been killing by speaking but must have actually murdered the martyrs. The Sibyl’s interpretation, then, supports the impression that the *Apoc. Pet.* was written in a situation of persecution.

In the subsequent verses, the Sibyl often continues to draw on the *Apoc. Pet.*, as Lightfoot demonstrates in detail, but for the sake of space, I will discuss only a few more cases, taken from her description of the punishments and paradise. First, let’s look at a moment in which whips are used in the *Apoc. Pet.* and by the Sibyl. The latter mentions that ‘angels will punish with whips of fire and fiery chains’ (2:288). The whipping angels clearly derive again from the *Apoc. Pet.* (9:2E~27G), but they also occur in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V.2) where angels whip a lawless soul (20:11). In Vergil’s description of the sinners in the underworld in the *Aeneid*, we find the Fury Tisiphone whipping the sinners.⁵⁰ Norden (*ad loc.*) noted that such whipping also occurs in Lucian’s description of the underworld (*VH* 2.26) and deduced from this coincidence a communal source which, however, he did not identify.⁵¹ Given Vergil’s dependence on an Orphic *katabasis*, it is important to note that the so-called Bologna papyrus, which contains an Orphic description of the underworld and which was

⁴⁹ Plin. *Ep.* 10.96.5: *Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt.* For the *delatores*, see S.H. Rutledge, *Imperial Inquisitions: Prosecutors and Informants from Tiberius to Domitian* (New York, 2001); Y. Rivière, *Les délateurs sous l’Empire romain* (Paris, 2002); O.F. Robinson, ‘The Role of Delators’, in J.W. Cairns and P.J. du Plessis (eds), *Beyond Dogmatics: Law and Society in the Roman World* (Cambridge, 2007) 206–20; M.F. Petracchia Lucernoni, *Indices e delatores nell’antica Roma* (Milan, 2014).

⁵⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6.570; note also the sound of *verbera* in 558.

⁵¹ E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis VI* (Leipzig, 1927³) 250; see also N.M. Horsfall, *Virgil, “Aeneid” 6*, 2 vols (Berlin and Boston, 2013) 2.143 (e); J.N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World* (Berlin, 2014) 191–92.

not yet known to Norden, also contains whipping Erinyes (*OF* 717.28).⁵² As Orphic influence on the tours of hell is clear, these whipping torturers, almost certainly, had a place in Orphic literature,⁵³ from which they were taken over by Jewish authors, on whom the author of the *Apoc. Pet.* was drawing.

Interestingly, we hear twice about intercession for those punished. The first time it regards Mary at the end of the Sibyl's enumeration of the punishments:

ἑπτὰ γὰρ αἰώνων μετανοίας ἡματ' ἔδωκεν
ἀνδράσι πλαζομένοις διὰ χειρὸς παρθένου ἀγνῆς.

For He has given seven days of ages of repentance
through the holy virgin's hand to men going astray. (311-12)

Although Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5:19) calls Mary Eve's *advocata*, she does not really function as an intercessor in that passage, as is, probably rightly, argued by Wassmuth.⁵⁴ In that respect, our passage is a unique early testimony of a more prominent place of Mary within the emerging Christian community than is often considered possible at such an early stage.⁵⁵ However, it is perhaps less improbable when we take the *Protevangeliium of James* into account, which was written

⁵² For this papyrus, see, most recently, M. Marinčič, 'Der "orphische" Bologna-Papyrus (*Pap.Bon.* 4), die Unterweltsbeschreibung im Culex und die lukrezische Allegorie des Hades', *ZPE* 122 (1998) 55–59; L. Arcari, 'Elementi giudaici (e/o proto-cristiani) in Pap. Bon. IV? Alcune osservazioni', in L. Arcari (ed.), *Acri Sanctori Investigatori. Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Gennaro Luongo* (Rome, 2019) 59–69; A.I. Jiménez San Cristóbal, 'El *P.Bon.* I 4 [*P.Bon.* inv. 24]: nuevas fotografías y nuevos problemas de lectura', in M.T. Martínez Manzano and F.G. Hernández Muñoz (eds), *Del manuscrito antiguo a la edición crítica de textos griegos* (Madrid, 2019) 141–56.

⁵³ See also Norden, *Aeneis VI*, 275 and Horsfall on Verg. *Aen.* 6.558. This has been overlooked by Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 515–16 and M. Scapini, 'Whipping in Myth, Ritual and Magic Practices: A Case of Convergence', in E. Suárez *et al.* (eds), *Los papiros mágicos griegos: entre lo sublime y lo cotidiano* (Madrid, 2015) 93–109.

⁵⁴ Wassmuth, *Sibyllinische Orakel I-2*, 425.

⁵⁵ J.B. Bauer, 'Die Messiasmutter in den Oracula Sibyllina', *Marianum* 18 (1956) 118–24; E. Dal Covolo, 'La "riparazione misericordiosa" di Maria in alcuni testi dell'età patristica', *Salesianum* 58 (1996) 63–80 = M.M. Pedico (ed.), *Maria presso la croce volto misericordioso di Dio per il nostro tempo* (Rovigo, 1996) 123–43.

about 180-190 in Egypt, plausibly in Alexandria.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, we cannot be certain about the place of composition of our Sibyl, but its usage of the *Apoc. Pet.* and it being in turn used by the, at least partially, Egyptian Sibylline Book VIII may support an Egyptian origin. An influence of Isis in the background of Mary would also fit Egypt,⁵⁷ but that is all we can say.

Mary's intercession has no background in the *Apoc. Pet.*, but there is a second intercession that does. After mentioning Mary's role, the Sibyl proceeds by revealing the fate of the just who are guided into a kind of paradise. Its description is more detailed than that of the place of the righteous as shown to Peter by Christ:

... a very large country outside this world, exceedingly bright with light, and the air there was lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible, and bearing blessed fruit. And so great was the perfume that it carried there even to us. (16:2–3G, tr. Kraus/Nicklas)

This Greek version is slightly more detailed than the Ethiopic one, which appears to have been abbreviated. The latter mentions a garden instead of a large country, which may well be an adaptation to Genesis, and lacks the light and the spices. Interestingly, in the Greek version, Paradise is not located very precisely, except that it is outside this world, but it is a very vast country, as in 2 *Baruch* (51:11, 59:8) – clearly a motif derived from the Jewish tradition because this characterisation is absent from the Greek material. The light, on the other hand, is already found in the Orphic underworld, like the wondrous smell.⁵⁸ Later in the second century AD, the apologist Theophilus of

⁵⁶ See J.N. Bremmer, 'Author, Date and Provenance of the *Protevangelium of James*', in J.N. Bremmer *et al.* (eds), *The Protevangelium of James* (Leuven, 2020) 49–70.

⁵⁷ Cf. S. Higgins, 'Divine Mothers: The Influence of Isis on the Virgin Mary in Egyptian Lactans-Iconography', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 2–4 (2012) 71–90.

⁵⁸ Pind. fr. 129 Maehler; Ar. *Frogs*, 455; Ps.-Plato *Axioch*, 371d; Verg. *Aen.* 6.640–41; Val. Flacc. 1.842; Plutarch, fr. 178, 211 Sandbach; Luc. *VH* 21.12; *Visio Pauli* 21; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.283–4; Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 528. Helen Van Noorden (*per email* 2 May 2022) also wonders about a connection with *Sib. Or.* 4:190-91: πάντες δὲ τότε εἰσὸψονται ἑαυτοῦς / ἠέλιον ἠελίου τερπνὸν φάος εἰσορόωντες.

Antioch also characterises paradise as ‘marked out by light, illumined by shining air, with very beautiful plants’.⁵⁹ Yet the Orphic tradition is trumped here by a greater stress on both light and fragrance, of which especially light, *lux perpetua*, already early on (Rev 21:23–25) became the defining characteristic of heaven for the Christian faithful.⁶⁰ Fragrance occurs as an important motif in the other world of *I Enoch* (24:3–25:6, 29–32 *passim*), but, as the Harvard ancient historian Paul Kosmin has noted in a recent lecture,⁶¹ descriptions of fragrance also occur in Ptolemaic court-sponsored explorations, which made travellers offer detailed botanical descriptions of the incense lands of southern Arabia and beyond. Our author may well depend on *I Enoch* in this respect or has been influenced by descriptions from the current and, evidently popular, travel literature. In any case, because they were not cheap at all at the time, the spices single Paradise out as something special.⁶²

Compared to the description of Paradise in the *Apoc. Pet.*, the one by the Sibyl (2:313–29) is more detailed with many classical motifs. Yet it is striking that some of these do not seem to occur before the

⁵⁹ Theophilus 2.19: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πλάσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο αὐτῷ χωρίον ἐν τοῖς τόποις τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς, διάφορον φωτὶ, διαυγὲς ἄερι λαμπροτέρῳ, φυτοῖς παγκάλοις, ἐν ᾧ ἔθετο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, tr. R.M. Grant.

⁶⁰ G. Sanders, *Licht en duisternis in de Christelijke grafchriften*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1965) 2.826–59; for a slightly later mention of light in the afterlife in a pagan epigram, see E. Cairon, ‘Une vie bienheureuse dans l’au-delà. L’épigramme pour Prôtè, IGUR, 3, n° 1146’, *REG* 119 (2006) 776–81.

⁶¹ P. Kosmin, ‘Enoch the Explorer: 1 Enoch 17–36 in its Hellenistic Context’, during the ‘11th Enoch Seminar / LMU Munich Congress on Apocalypticism in Antiquity’, May 2021. I am most grateful to Paul Kosmin for putting his lecture at my disposal.

⁶² Cf. S. Mrozek, ‘Zum Handel von einigen Gewürzen und Wohlgerüchen in der spätrömischen Zeit’, *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 1/2 (1982) 15–22; A. Händel, ‘Der Handel mit Drogen und Spezereien im Rom der Prinzipatszeit in Auswertung der Inschriften (Salz und Honig, Gewürze, Medikamente, Duftstoffe, Toilettegegenstände, Farben)’, *ibid.* 4/1 (1985) 30–48; L.R. LiDonnici, ‘Single-Stemmed Wormwood, Pinecones and Myrrh: Expense and Availability of Recipe Ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri’, *Kernos* 14 (2001) 61–91; Ch. Marek, ‘Imperial Asia Minor: Economic Prosperity and Names’, in R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* (Oxford, 2013) 175–94 at 184–89.

Roman period. Even though the combination of wine, milk and honey (318) is well attested in ancient Greece, especially for the Dionysiac sphere, we do not find milk and honey springing from wells before Seneca's tragedy *Oedipus* (495). Similarly, the theme of the communal ownership of land and the absence of any walls or hedges (319-20) seems to be attested only in Roman literature where it enjoyed great esteem in descriptions of the Golden Age or the *Saturnina regna*. Its popularity from the second half of the first century BC onwards can hardly be dissociated from the traumatic experiences of the civil wars when property was anything but safe.⁶³ Did the Sibyl perhaps have access to Roman literature or are there Greek examples that have been lost in the course of time?⁶⁴

After the depiction of Paradise, the Sibyl again turns to the subject of intercession, now fairly closely appropriating the *Apoc. Pet.* The debt of the Sibyl is clear from a juxtaposition of the texts, in which I have printed the parallels in bold:

παρ]έξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκ(κ)λεκτοῖς μου,
ὄν ἔαν ἐτήσωνταί με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως καὶ δώσω
αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα ἐν **σωτηρίᾳ Ἀχερουσία[ς] λίμνης**
ἦν καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ | Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, μέρος δικαιοσύνης
μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου (P.Vindob.G 39756)

and

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο **παρέξει**
εὐσεβέσιν, ὁπότεν θεὸν ἄφθιτον **αἰτήσωνται**
ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους **σῶσαι δώσει**· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει·
λεξάμενος γὰρ ἔσαυθις ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
ἄλλοσ' ἀποστήσας πέμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
εἰς ζωὴν ἐτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον **ἀθανάτοισιν**

⁶³ Cf. Lucr. 5.1108, 1440; Tib. 1.3.43–4, 1.10.9; Verg. *Ecl.* 4.31–3; Ovid *Am.* 3.8.42, *Met.* 1.97; Sen. *Phaed.* 538–39, *Ep.* 90.41; Juv. 6.2–3; Iustinus 43.1.3. For a possibly Varronian origin of this theme, see B. Reischl, *Reflexe griechischer Kulturentstehungslehren bei augusteischen Dichtern* (Munich, 1976) 136–37.

⁶⁴ For the Sibyl and influence of Roman literature, see Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 190–91; H. Van Noorden, “‘Vergil and Homer opened my Books’: The Sibylline Oracles and the non-Jewish canon”, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 32 (2022) 167–86.

Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρά
λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀγερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου (2:330-38)

It is clear that because of metrical reasons the Sibyl cannot reproduce the passage of *Apoc. Pet.* verbally, and in some cases she either abbreviates (κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκ{κ}λεκτοῖς ~ εὐσεβέσιν) or expands and clarifies (ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως ~ ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν). In one case, she even rather daringly, it seems to me, uses epic language (ἀθανάτοισιν) to fit her model (μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου) into her text.⁶⁵ Evidently, then, the *Apoc. Pet.* is followed very closely.⁶⁶ It is therefore striking that one detail is lacking. The Sibyl does not attest the words μέρος δικαιοσύνης in the papyrus.⁶⁷

This omission, which has not been commented upon before, enables us to see better the views of the Sibyl. But to do so, we need a small excursus. Thomas Kraus has usefully collected the older Jewish passages, such as those of 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, about the possibility of intercession for deceased sinners and has shown that they all presuppose the irrevocability of God's judgment at the end of time.⁶⁸ Their strongly worded opinions suggest debates about this judgment, but the alternative opinions have not survived, which probably says something about their lack of acceptability by later groups of believers. This makes the *Apoc. Pet.* particularly interesting.

It seems now to be the *communis opinio* that the Ethiopic translation, or its model, has been reworked in order to delete all references to the intercession for the sinners. This revision is clear from a comparison of the Sibyl, the Rainer fragment and the Ethiopic

⁶⁵ Is there an influence of *Od.* 4.563–64: ἀλλά σ' ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν?

⁶⁶ For the vocabulary of these passages, see also Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrusapokalypse', 87–88.

⁶⁷ This omission has not been considered by Norelli, 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro come apocalisse cristiana', 138–70, in an otherwise illuminating discussion of the problem of intercession in the *Apoc. Pet.*, also with more attention to the Ethiopic translation.

⁶⁸ T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse', 94–98 and, more elaborately, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum: "Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten"', in H. Klein *et al.* (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96.

translation.⁶⁹ Yet there is a subtle difference between the oldest Greek version of the *Apoc. Pet.* available to us, that is, the Rainer fragment, and the Sibyl. As can be easily seen from my comparison, the difference is that in the Rainer fragment the sinners will receive ‘a part of righteousness’. This must be the original, which we can still see in the Ethiopic version as ‘the part of the righteous’ (14:2E). In other words, although not elaborated, the sinners will be saved but they will not receive the full righteousness – presumably, they will be located at the edge of heaven or something like that.

The Sibyl has omitted this ‘part of righteousness’, which means that she is more generous to the sinners than the original *Apoc. Pet.* This generosity also appears from two other aspects of her reworking of the *Apoc. Pet.* As Lightfoot has noticed, she has none of the endless pits or the mud and lacks several discharges. Not that her hell is a pleasant place to be, but it is less detailed.⁷⁰ On the other hand, her Paradise is described in more pleasant colours than the one in the *Apoc. Pet.* Apparently, we must conclude that in the second century Christians could already have different ideas about the possibilities and results of intercession for sinners.

We have not many examples of intercession for deceased people around that time, but the Sibyl’s view can also be found in the *Acts of Paul*, which cannot have been later than a couple of decades.⁷¹ Here, Falconilla, the deceased daughter of Queen Tryphaina, appears to her mother in a dream and asks her to have in her place Thecla, a future martyr in the text, so that she may pray that ‘I may be translated to the place of the just’ (28: μετατεθῶ εἰς τὸν τῶν δικαίων τόπον). There is no mention of where Falconilla is at that moment, but she is clearly not in a kind of heaven. Thecla does as she is asked and prays that ‘she may live forever’ (29), which recalls the Sibyl’s εἰς

⁶⁹ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 522–31, to be added to B. Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell in the Early Christian Tradition* (New Haven and London, 2022) 194–203. I am grateful to Bart Ehrman for showing me his manuscript in advance.

⁷⁰ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 514–15.

⁷¹ For the latest discussion of date, unity and provenance of the *Acts of Paul*, see J.N. Bremmer, ‘The Onomastics and Provenance of the *Acts of Paul*’, in F. Barone et al. (eds), *Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre orient et occident* (Turnhout, 2017) 527–47.

ζωὴν ἐτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον (2. 336).⁷² Similarly, Perpetua prays that her prematurely deceased brother Dinocrates may leave a place of darkness, which is not specified, but which looks like a kind of hell. He is released after being baptised, just like the sinners in the *Apoc. Pet.*⁷³ Even though these early examples of intercession are not as detailed as the *Apoc. Pet.*, they show that our Apocalypse and the Sibyl were not the only Christians who had accepted the possibility of salvation for deceased sinners.

It is time to conclude. There are strong arguments to locate the composition of the *Apoc. Pet.* and 2 Peter in Alexandria,⁷⁴ and the location of our Sibyl in the same place is not implausible either, given her strong ties to both these writings.⁷⁵ This striking coincidence enables us to surmise that even in the same city contemporary Christians could arrive at very different solutions to highly important questions. If we take the *Apocalypse of Peter* as, plausibly, the oldest writing of these three, we should observe that it reacts against earlier Jewish writings, conceivably also circulating in Alexandria, with its pleading for the possibility of the salvation of sinners, even though not on the

⁷² Cf. W. Rordorf, *Liturgie, foi et vie des premiers chrétiens* (Paris, 1988²) 445–55.

⁷³ *Passio Perpetuae* 7–8, cf. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 373–77.

⁷⁴ Cf. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 234–86; A. Mambelli, ‘The Second Epistle of Peter: A Different Approach to Lexical Analysis’, in R. Berardi *et al.* (eds), *Defining Authorship, Debating Authenticity* (Berlin and Boston, 2020) 235–56, which appeared too late to be taken into account by J. Frey, ‘Locating New Testament Writings in Alexandria: on method and the aporias of scholarship’, in Schliesser, *Alexandria*, 345–65 at 357–61; B. Schliesser, ‘Jewish Beginnings: Earliest Christianity in Alexandria’, *ibid.*, 367–97 at 376–79 and T. Nicklas, ‘Jews and Christians? Sketches from Second Century Alexandria’, in J. Schröter *et al.* (eds), *Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE?* (Berlin and Boston, 2021) 347–79 at 363–66 (*ApPt*), 368–70 (2 Peter); Schröter, ‘Evangelientraditionen’, 476. A. Jakab, ‘The Social History of the Alexandrian Church’, in R. Heine and K.J. Torjesen (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Origen* (Oxford, 2022) 1–18 is not wholly up to date, and neither is D. Frankfurter, ‘Christian Eschatology in Late Antique/Byzantine Egypt’, in H. Marlow *et al.* (eds), *Eschatology in Antiquity: forms and functions* (London and New York, 2021) 540–53.

⁷⁵ Cf. Schliesser, ‘Jewish Beginnings’, 379–80.

same level as the saints. This point of view is taken in different directions by 2 Peter and the Sibyl. Whereas the former totally rejects this possibility, the Sibyl takes a more generous view. The later textual history of *Apoc. Pet.* shows that the debate continued with the possibility of salvation completely eradicated from the text by the Ethiopic translation or its model. One would have loved to know what the theologically interested Alexandrian Christians thought of this debate and which side they took. Unfortunately, as with so much about this intriguing Apocalypse, that is probably something we will never know.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ I am most grateful to Alessandro Bausi for information, to the Zurich audience and Jeremiah Coogan for comments, and to Clare Rothschild for her thoughtful correction of my English.

IX. The Ethiopic Pseudo-Clementine Framework of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: Chances and Challenges in the African Transmission Context¹

DANIEL C. MAIER

1. *The Transmission Context of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ethiopia*

Since the identification of the Ethiopic text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* onward,² the scarce scholarly endeavours which set out on the journey to understand more about early Christian apocalypticism and its visions of what comes after this earthly life have done a tremendous job of analysing the Ethiopic version of the apocalypse, which many believe to be closer than any other known textual witness to the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter*.³

¹ This study was graciously supported by a “Forschungskredit” by the University of Zurich. I owe thanks to Emmanouela Grypeou, Ted Erho, and Jacob Cerone for reading earlier versions of this article and for their valuable feedback.

² For the circumstances of its discovery and its identification, see M.R. James, ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *JTS* 12 (1911) 36–54, 157, 362–83, 573–83.

³ See for example D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 429–30 and R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. An Account of Research’, in *ANRW* 2.25.6 (1988) 4712–50 at 4713–18. For a critical view of the supposed superiority of the Ethiopian text over the Greek, consult E. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreananaye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon. Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (Edinburgh, 2021) 117–30.

Despite the valuable contributions of earlier scholarship which serve as a foundation upon which this volume gratefully builds, the Ethiopic text was often treated by previous researchers as if the manuscripts d'Abbadie 51 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (P) and the later microfilms of the manuscript Tana 35 (T), photographed by Ernst Hammerschmidt, contain a text unmistakably titled "*Apocalypse of Peter*" with the second-century contents in it and nothing else. However, as the previous article by Thomas J. Kraus in this volume points out in more detail, this is far from true.⁴ For the *Apocalypse of Peter* comprises less than half of the material contained within the document which describes itself in its prologue⁵ as reporting about the *Second Coming*. More than 50% is a sermon by Peter to his disciple Clement. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the first modern-western translator of the text, namely Sylvain Grébaud,⁶ considered the whole *Second Coming* to be part of the extant Arabic Pseudo-Clementine literature, which found its way into Ethiopia and was translated into Gəʿəz. For Grébaud, the text had to be understood as a whole, and he structured its contents and the relation between the individual parts accordingly.

⁴ See Kraus' article in this volume for an introduction to the various transmission carriers of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which will not be repeated here.

⁵ The authenticity of said prologue is debated. While Bauckham denies its authenticity (cf. R. Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba', in *id.* (ed.), *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 168) and the influential German translation by Müller omits it from its translation of the Ethiopic text (see C.D. Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Band 2: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1999) 566), Eric Beck in his recently published dissertation argues for a genuine origin of the prologue within the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Cf. E. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 74–76.

⁶ See S. Grébaud, 'Littérature Éthiopienne. Pseudo-Clémentine', *ROC* 12 (1907) 139–51; *ROC* 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; *ROC* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

However, since James announced in 1911 that one part of this Pseudo-Clementine treatise was the only fully extant version of the revelation by Jesus to one of his closest followers,⁷ the rest of the Ethiopic treatise fell into oblivion. For most later scholars aware of its existence, this Pseudo-Clementine framework remained a late addition by an Ethiopian scribe – despite its earlier proposed Arabic origin – with no real value for understanding the second-century text and no theological significance in itself.⁸

We can observe two common misconceptions in this procedure: First, the indifference regarding Ethiopian sources in biblical studies and patristics when they have no counterpart in other languages.⁹ Second, the neglect of the fact that the latter part within the *Second Coming* is among the most comprehensive witnesses to the *Nachleben* (“after life”) of the apocalypse we have at hand today, since these instructions from Peter to his disciple Clement function as a clarification of the main contents of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.¹⁰ The explanatory role of the latter part becomes evident when we take a closer look at the themes with which it engages; most of the *Second Coming*

⁷ Cf. M.R. James, ‘The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *CQR* 80 (1915) 1–36.

⁸ Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 376–98, for example, analysed the text to trace possible alternation of the Ethiopian scribe(s) within the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which is very beneficial for the present study, but he did not count it as a source for the understanding of the *Apoc. Pet.* nor did he grasp its relevance as a proof of its *Nachleben*.

⁹ For example, Attila Jakab does not mention the *Pseudo-Clementines* transmitting the *Apoc. Pet.* as a possible witness for its early reception. See A. Jakab, ‘The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 173–86. For a more general critic of this phenomenon of disregarding Ethiopic sources in biblical studies see the introduction in Gebreananaye, Williams, and Watson, *Beyond Canon*, 7.

¹⁰ M. Pesthy, ‘Thy Mercy, O Lord, Is in the Heavens and Thy Righteousness Reacheth unto the Clouds’, in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 40–51 at 50, perceives the Pseudo-Clementine part as an addition to the *Apoc. Pet.* by one author who “probably found the ideas expressed in it too cruel, so he wrote a continuation to it”.

refers to contents and topics in the *Apocalypse of Peter*,¹¹ which can be observed in the following chart:¹²

<i>Ps.-Cl.</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Ps.-Cl. annotations on the contents of the Apoc. Pet.</i>
20:1–4	16:8–9	The elect will inherit the place of the one tabernacle of the heavenly Father, and an interpretation of how “the hand of man has not made it” (<i>Apoc. Pet.</i> 16:9)
20:5–7	1:7; 15:2–7	The description of the just in the <i>Ps.-Cl.</i> relates heavily to the characteristics of Moses, Elijah, and Christ himself within the <i>Apoc. Pet.</i>
22:1–7	15:2–7	The glory of the angels is described as that of Moses and Elijah but with an additional reference to Mark 9:3

¹¹ As we have no other extant copy of a fairly complete *Apocalypse of Peter*, we first have to be sure where to draw the line between the assumed second-century Apocalypse and the later Pseudo-Clementine writing. The fact that we have at least two visibly separatable texts, one in 1:1–17:7 and the other in 18:1–40:7, is evident for the following reasons: First, the texts are not seamlessly connected, as will be pointed out shortly. Second, the “we” often used in the *Apoc. Pet.* is almost absent in the *Pseudo-Clementines*. Third, the repeated description of the transfiguration account in ch. 22 would be hard to explain if it was composed by one author, who already concluded his narration of these events in *Apoc. Pet.* 17. Fourth, the text in 25:8 refers to the first revelation and thereby identifies itself as a second vision. Fifth, there is a significant difference in the narration between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines*; while there are always transitions between visions in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the Pseudo-Clementine portion of the *Second Coming* is more philosophical and instructive in a direct sense. Sixth, the use of vocabulary changes remarkably. As Buchholz points out, the term ስብሐት, for example, “which in the *Apocalypse of Peter* has always stood for eternal light-glory now also carries the meaning of the ceaseless heavenly praises and singing of the various orders of creation” (Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 379). For further remarks regarding the relation of the *Pseudo-Clementines* to the contents of the *Apoc. Pet.*, see Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter’, 119–20.

¹² The following table is an updated and enhanced version of the one found in Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 383–85. Thereby, I am using the chapter and verse division from Eric Beck’s translation of the whole *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, including the Pseudo-Clementine Framework, at the end of the present volume in the chart and this article.

23:1–2	1:7; 6:1–2	The Father will not judge by himself but will turn judgment over to the son in loose connection to John 5:22–24
24:1–9	3:4–7	Peter reminds Jesus not to forget his earlier question about the mercy of God and repeats his claim that it would have been better for the sinners not to have been created
24:10; 30:11	6:7–9; 10:5–6	Forms of idolatry
24:11–12	1:8; 6; 13:6	The second death of the sinners; including the quote from the <i>Apoc. Pet.</i> : “because of their sin, they received recompense” in 24:11
25:1–7	4:1–4	God will raise the dead bodies for judgment, Ps.-Cl. interprets this as the second judgment for the second death
25:8–27:8	14:1–3 ¹³	God has mercy on the just and the unjust
28:1–7	2:8–10; 14:4	The liar who is the son of perdition and has said “I am Christ” and then made martyrs of those who refused to believe in him is followed by the sending of many evil spirits on the earth, which were previously locked away by Alexander the Great
29:2	4:3	The dead resurrect at Jesus’ word rather than by that of the Father
29:4	1:7; 6:1–2	The Father will place the crown on Jesus’ head in Jerusalem
29:5	2:12; 16:1	Moses/Enoch and Elijah will return after their appearance on Mount Tabor
29:7	6:1–2	Jesus’ throne will be in the middle of a river of fire
29:10–12	3:1–3	The heart of the just and the angels is troubled by the arrows of pain which shoot through the heart of sinners
31:9–10	14:1	At the word of those who have believed in Jesus, he will have pity
32:1–6	Ch. 6–12	Exhortation of sinners with the punishment by flames of fire so that they do not do injustice to one another
34:1–3	6:4	Those who believe in Jesus will not come to the fiery punishments

¹³ In the version of the *Apoc. Pet.* transmitted in the Rainer Fragment.

35:2	4:1–9	Judgment at the end of times will result in a second death for sinners
36:7	17:2–3	Physical abduction of the righteous into the clouds
36:9	4:5–6	Linking the creation and the destruction of the world through the will of God
37:3	Ch. 3–14	Summary of the visions Peter received through Jesus
40:5–6	1:1–3	How the revelation was revealed to Peter

The contents within the *Second Coming* are therefore connected, and the latter part heavily builds on the former. We encounter various comments on topics from the first part, such as God’s mercy and the characteristics of the just. Also, specific statements such as that Christ’s “Father will place a crown upon my head” (1:7; very similar in 6:2) are quoted quite directly (e.g., 29:4: “My Father will place a crown upon my head in Jerusalem”). Although the individual references would not conclusively prove a dependency of the *Pseudo-Clementines* on the contents of the *Apoc. Pet.* in each instance, the sheer number of such connections pointed out in the table above does so. Besides these direct allusions, many passages summarily refer to the punishments throughout the tour of hell and other aspects of the Petrine Visions throughout the *Apocalypse of Peter* (e.g., 30:10–11; 37:3). Consequently, this comparison of the contents of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines* shows the significance the first part of the *Second Coming* had for the latter. Therefore, we must perceive it as a source of information on the *Apocalypse of Peter* and ask the following questions:

- When and where were the Pseudo-Clementine passages composed and added to the text?
- What source material of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (compared to what we have today) did the author(s) have?
- Can we use these apocalyptic clarifications to achieve a better understanding of the *Apocalypse of Peter*?

To address these questions, this article is divided into three main parts: First, the contents we encounter in the *Second Coming* are introduced (§2). Subsequently, we will analyse central topics and passages of the text and examine if they could be utilized to narrow down

a possible timeframe in which the framework was composed (§ 3). For this task, an investigation of the Pseudo-Clementine author and his use of the figure of Clement proves helpful (§ 3.1). After that, we will put the references to the Alexander Romance of chapter 28 into a broader perspective (§ 3.2) and examine various thrones, such as the one of Enoch and Adam (cf. ch. 36), encountered in the *Second Coming* (§ 3.3) before a system of calendar conversion found in the text (cf. 39:1–18) is used to further approximate the time and place of its origin (§ 3.4). Finally, central conclusions will be presented, and future research questions shall be discussed (§ 4).

2. *The Contents of the Second Coming*

However, before we investigate the possible origins of the *Pseudo-Clementines*, let us take a step back and look at the whole of the *Second Coming* again. A possible outline of the treatise would be as follows:

- 1–3 Setting the Stage: Resurrected Jesus teaches disciples about end times on Mount of Olives

- 4–13 Terrifying Visions: Description of what Peter sees in the palm of the resurrected Jesus
 - 4:1–13 A detailed description of the resurrection of the dead
 - 5:1–6:9 Judgement of the sinners and the righteous within the conflagration
 - 7:1–13:6 The tour of hell

- 14–17 The Destiny of Peter, the Righteous, and Jesus: A glimpse into paradise
 - 14:1–6 The journey of the righteous to the eternal kingdom and Peter's destiny
 - 15:1–16:9 Revelation of paradise and the patriarchs inhabiting it to the disciples
 - 17:1–7 The glorious ascension of Jesus into the heavens

- 18–23 Peter's Instruction to Clement: God's glory at creation and the Day of Judgement
 - 18:1–21:5 Everything is created for the glory of God
 - 22:1–7 Re-narration of the canonical transfiguration with Peter, James, and John
 - 23:1–6 The life and fate of the righteous and the sinners

- 24–35 The Narrative Resumes: A dialogue between Jesus and Peter on mercy
- 24:1–26:3 A troubled Peter recaps the second death and begs Jesus for forgiveness
- 26:4–29:13 Jesus quotes the *Apoc. Pet.*: At second coming, all foes will be destroyed
- 30:1–32:6 Jesus explicates forgiveness but only because of Peter’s lament
- 33:1–34:11 Parables and exegesis of Adam’s life and Psalms (see Ps 36:6; 118:16–18)
- 35:1–7 Reminder: Sins of the unjust will be forgiven, but it should remain secret
- 36–40 Instructions to the Church: The narrative ends abruptly, and Peter speaks to Clement
- 36:1–15 Hierarchy in the hereafter and punishment of the devil and the demons
- 37:1–38:6 Summary of the whole of the previous *Second Coming*
- 39 Conversion from a Jewish lunar calendar to an Egyptian solar calendar
- 40 Last reminder: Clement must not reveal knowledge but hide it in a box

At the end of the well-known events of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which will not be summarized here, there is an abrupt change of characters and writing style between chapters 17 and 18. Despite these significant differences, manuscripts P and T show no sign of any separation between the two texts.¹⁴ In the Ethiopic text, the sentence does not even come to an end. In lieu, the word for heaven (ሰማያት) is simply followed by a conjugation and a verb (ወከሠተ) to introduce Peter’s teaching to Clement, whose name is *mentioned here for the first time*.¹⁵ This is the beginning of the lesser-known, latter portion of the *Second Coming*. The topics we encounter in the initial chapters of this Pseudo-Clementine text containing Peter’s lengthy instruction to Clement vary, but the passage overall treats the glory of God from the creation of the world to what happens to the righteous who glorify his name on the Day of Atonement. Thereby we learn that even the

¹⁴ See, for example, MS P, folio 137r.

¹⁵ According to James the material following *Apoc. Pet.* 17:7 is “very evidently of a later date”; see M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) 520.

devil was created for the glory of God and that everything that ceases praising him revokes its purpose for existence. Moreover, Peter talks about himself in the third person while giving Clement a summary of the transfiguration account – an event which the readers just witnessed in the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

Interestingly, this second transfiguration within the *Second Coming* resembles the one found in the canonical Gospels since only James, John, and Peter are present, while the account within the *Apoc. Pet.* talks about “his disciples” (15:1) who witness this event in a more general way. Afterward, the text shortly returns to the previous topic and points out the life and fate of the righteous and the sinners.

An entirely unintroduced conversation between Peter and Jesus follows suddenly in chapter 24, in which Peter paraphrases some of Jesus’ sayings from the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Thereby an emotionally agitated Peter emphasizes that it would have been better for the sinners not to have been created (see 3:4 and Mark 14:21) and apologizes in tears for his triple betrayal of Jesus.¹⁶ The risen Christ, on the other hand, repeatedly quotes himself from the Gospels and from the previous *Apocalypse* within the text. Such an exchange within the *Pseudo-Clementines* can be seen exemplarily in 26:4:

When I [Peter] had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me, ‘It is not fitting that you should cause me distress, since you know and understand my words within the *Gospel*: He makes the sun rise for the righteous and sinners, and sends rain upon the good and the evil.’ (Matt 5:45)

After this conversation goes back and forth for some time in a similar manner with other self-referential quotes by Jesus, and Peter’s distress about the second death becomes more and more apparent, Jesus explicitly reveals to him that he died for the sins of the unrighteous and that God will also have mercy on sinners (see especially ch. 30). To fully grasp the mercy of God, the *Pseudo-Clementine* Jesus uses parables to describe the divine mercy (see ch. 33), and in a remarkable exegesis of the life of Adam and different Psalms (see Pss 36:6; 118:16–18), he points out that God also cares for the people who abandoned him (cf. ch. 34). However, some passages suggest that

¹⁶ See Matt 26:69–75; Mark 14:66–72; Luke 22:56–62; John 18:15–18, 25–27.

only “those who believe and have received my body and my blood” (34:9; see further 31:3; 34:3; 37:9) may count on this forgiveness.

In one more sharp twist of perspective, the dialogue between Peter and Jesus ends without any notice and another monologue from Peter to Clement and the church in general starts in chapter 36. The text describes the last day, the fate of the righteous and the demons, including the devil as their leader, whereas the focus is clearly on the supernatural adversaries that will be locked away (cf. 36:12).¹⁷

The text recapitulates its essential points concerning God’s glory and mercy for everyone. Before the concluding passage, a lengthy section with a detailed scheme of calendar conversion that specifies the transfer of feast days from a Jewish lunar calendar to an Egyptian solar calendar appears suddenly. Since this passage provides opportunities for determining the provenience and subsequently a possible date of the *Second Coming*, we will return to it later.

The text’s central theme, however, is God’s great mercy. It is for this reason that Jesus repeatedly urges Peter to keep his freshly attained knowledge about salvation hidden from the world (see 37:2; 38:4–6; 40:1–6) lest people sin in reliance on forgiveness. Fittingly the text ends with Peter’s request to Clement to hide the instructions in a locked box since Jesus only revealed this knowledge to him because of his continual lament.

Overall, Peter becomes an even more central character in this latter part of the *Second Coming*: While Jesus is mainly a teacher who quotes his own words from the Gospels or the *Apocalypse of Peter* and interprets the Hebrew Bible, Peter is worried for his sins and the sins of others and interprets the teachings of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Peter is predestined for the role of advocate for sinners since he says about himself in chapter 26: “Show compassion to me, O Lord, a sinner and a pauper, because I am the chief of sinners and fools in waywardness, having sworn when saying, ‘I do not know him,’ three times before the cock crowed”¹⁸ (26:1).

Peter is the one who transmits Jesus’ words to Clement and therefore vouches for their reliability. *He* advances the revelations through

¹⁷ The handling of the demons on the last day is strongly reminiscent of the description of the punishment of the watchers in *1 En.* 15–16 and *Jub.* 10.

¹⁸ See also Matt 26:69–75 and the connection to *Apoc. Pet.* 9:3, where the ones who betray Christ’s righteousness are severely punished.

his actions and distress, urging Jesus to reveal what should not be revealed to mortals.¹⁹ *He* is the one who gives concrete advice to the church and summarizes the central teachings. On the other hand, the main message of the Pseudo-Clementine Jesus and the whole treatise is the good news about God's mercy for sinners and that this knowledge should remain a secret. This aspect should be repeated at this point of our investigation, for the text likewise persistently stresses this point.

3. *Time and Place of the Pseudo-Clementine Framework*

The little scholarly attention the Pseudo-Clementine framework has received so far was surprisingly not interested in determining the time and place in which this text was written. Scholars who did refer to the *Second Coming* as a whole avoided going into much detail about the provenience of the *Pseudo-Clementines* and simply worked with the hypothesis of an Ethiopian origin without properly explaining their reasons for this conclusion or did not say anything about the background of this text at all.²⁰

¹⁹ Pesthy, 'Thy Mercy, O Lord', 48, even goes a step further and claims that each revelation inside the Pseudo-Clementine text is provoked by a question from Peter. Therefore, she divides the whole *Second Coming* into three main parts which become increasingly 'esoteric'. Her analysis of the three questions and remarks of Peter which prompt the revelations are technically correct, but her proposed structure makes the text appear more linear than it actually is, since the topic of the revelations changes significantly within the same revelation.

²⁰ Neither Eric Beck nor Dennis Buchholz give much information about the background of the author of the latter part of the *Second Coming* (see for example Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 158). Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 123, just remarks: "It is not clear when it was written ... [N]o research has been done on this Pseudo-Clementine work". Another striking example of this lack of interest in introductory questions related to the date and place of origin of the *Second Coming* is Monika Pesthy, who provides no information about where and when she locates the text, which she so profoundly analyses in her article. See Pesthy, 'Thy Mercy, O Lord', 40–51. Very rarely, these Pseudo-Clementine writings as a whole are treated in modern research on Early Christianity in their own right. One remarkable exception is their reception in G. Lusini, 'Tradizione

Since we have to try to understand the *Umwelt* of any piece of literature to gain a deeper understanding of its composition and meaning, it is necessary to use the second part of this article to carefully consider some clues which could help us to locate the text somewhere between the first half of the second century as our *terminus post quem*, since this is the time when the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which the framework constantly refers to, was composed, and the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century as our *terminus ante quem*,²¹ when the earliest of the two surviving manuscripts of the teachings which Peter allegedly transmitted to Clement were copied. This dating of the *Second Coming* will also influence where we most likely can detect its redaction into a unified text.

Toward this end, the reception history of the *Apocalypse of Peter* proves to be helpful: By analysing its *Nachleben*, we will find that the text was debated, copied, and integrated into several influential Christian texts in different branches of Christianity, such as the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch*.²² The Pseudo-Clementine text within the *Second Coming* is thereby one of the most extant surviving witnesses of the *Nachleben* of the *Apocalypse of Peter*²³ from the time before the sixteenth century, regardless of whether we locate its provenience in Syria, Ethiopia, or Egypt.

origeniana in Etiopia', in P. Lorenzo (ed.), *Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* (Leuven, 2003) 1177–84, where the author uses them to retrace one possible gateway of Origen ideas into the Horn of Africa.

²¹ Cf. A. Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses', *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96 at 181.

²² Regarding the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* see Emiliano Fiori's article on the matter in this volume. On further possible traces of the reception of the *Apoc. Pet.* cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 412–24, T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98, and Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 32–53.

²³ Another text which engages heavily with the topics of the *Apoc. Pet.* is *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* which immediately follows the *Second Coming* in MSS P and T.R. Cowley, 'The Ethiopic Work Which Is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 36/1 (1985) 151–53 claims that this text should be viewed together with the *Second Coming* as one Pseudo-Clementine treatise. However, since both

In this regard it is remarkable that the *Apoc. Pet.* apparently possessed enough authority that the author of the Pseudo-Clementine framework thought it worthwhile to spend considerable time and energy integrating this challenging text into a larger theological agenda by explaining the more controversial passages, such as the possibility of salvation for the deceased sinners in chapter 14.²⁴ Thereby the uncertain material evidence of the Apocalypse's influence and impact at the Horn of Africa after its translation from Arabic to Gə'əz²⁵ gives us little information about its authority in Ethiopia since the text is *only* attested in manuscripts P and T from the area around Lake Tana. Furthermore, as Ted Erho correctly details in his article within this volume, its influence on other Ethiopian authors has not been adequately researched so far, and the previously proposed connections by Robert Beylot²⁶ and Anton Baumstark²⁷ are not able to make a reception of the *Second Coming* or *The Mystery of the*

Ethiopic text witnesses specify *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* as a separate work by the typical in-text separator that causes the following treatise to start in a new line and a marginal symbol indicating the start of a different composition (146v in MS P and 59r in MS T) and the relation of both Pseudo-Clementine treatises has not been the object of a throughout investigation so far (see Beck, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', 119–20), this article focuses only on the *Second Coming*, due to restrictions of time and space without negating the fact that a thorough analysis of *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* might result in additional valuable results for the purpose of this study.

²⁴ For a longer argumentation that the salvation of sinners after their death was part of a more original version of the *Apoc. Pet.*, see Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 155–69 and T. Kraus, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten', in C. Karakolis *et al.* (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96.

²⁵ Cf. P. Marrassini, 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro', in Y. Beyene *et al.* (eds), *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci* (Napoli, 1994) 171, 174, 178.

²⁶ R. Beylot (ed.), *Abbā Nabyud de Dabra Sihat. Visions et conseils ascétiques – Traduits* (Louvain, 1976) X, 39, 43, 45 suggested some interdependency between the fifteenth-century Vision of Nabyud and the *Second Coming* as well as *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners*.

²⁷ A. Baumstark, 'Zitate und Spuren der Petrusapokalypse in einem äthiopischen Texte', *OrChr* 4 (1904) 398–405 tried to find traces of the *Apoc. Pet.* within Ethiopian literature based on the Akhmim-Fragment. But since

Judgement of Sinners necessary for the material proposed so far.²⁸ At the same time, the possible use of the *Second Coming* as a whole by Retu‘a Hāymānot, which Erho points out in this volume, would suggest a familiarity with the Pseudo-Clementine composition in the second half of the fourteenth century, which means that if we assume a native Ethiopian authorship of the Second Coming, it must have been compiled before Retu‘a Hāymānot’s supposed tenure.²⁹ Therefore, depending on which interpretation of Erho’s remarks one prefers, we either have no traceable reception of the text in Ethiopia at all or one so early that the Pseudo-Clementine composition would need to be among the earliest traceable evidence of native literary production in Ethiopia.³⁰

On the other hand, we know from Greek fragments and traceable references to and dependencies on the *Apocalypse of Peter* that the text still circulated in Egypt, where it presumably originated,³¹ at least

the Ethiopic version of the *Apoc. Pet.* was not identified at his time his results have to be updated.

²⁸ For a summary of the possible allusions of Ethiopic texts to the *Second Coming* see, Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter’ 195.

²⁹ Cf. G. Haile, ‘Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, *OrChr* 65 (1981) 102–136 at 112–13.

³⁰ For a list of Ethiopian apocrypha, see P. Piovanelli, ‘The Adventures of the Apocrypha in Ethiopia’, in A. Bausi (ed.), *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity. Ethiopian* (Farnham, 2012) 87–110 at 103. Furthermore, on the same page Piovanelli classifies the “Apocalypse of Peter and the two eschatological tracts which follow it” into the category “apocryphal texts (or those containing apocryphal traditions) [...] translated from Arabic to Ge‘ez (between about the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries)”.

³¹ For a longer argumentation in favour of a composition of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Egypt in the first half of the second century CE, see W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus. Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2013) 97–144, 287–295, T. Nicklas, ‘Insider und Outsider. Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung jenseitiger Orte in der Offenbarung des Petrus’, in W. Ameling (ed.), *Topographie des Jenseits. Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 2011) 47–48 as well as J.N. Bremmer, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. Greek or Jewish?’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 1–14 and idem, ‘Orphic, Roman,

until the late sixth century. Pieces of evidence for the apocalypse's early use are the canon lists in the Muratorian Fragment and Codex Claromontanus, as well as the authority it had for Egyptian authors such as Clement of Alexandria. An additional sign of the Apocalypse's later significance in Egypt is its collection with other texts regarding the afterlife in the Akhmim Codex.³²

Given these much richer – but still limited – available data on the reception of the text in *Northern* Africa, we can draw the following conclusion: in such an environment as we can assume in the second half of the first millennia in Egypt, the production of an explanatory framework on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which made its way down to the Horn of Africa as a combined *Second Coming*, is more likely than the work of an Ethiopian scribe on a received text attributed to Peter with little to no authority in his tradition.

To provide substance to the claim that the text had an earlier provenience outside of Ethiopia, an investigation of some promising traditions regarding the dating of our Pseudo-Clementine framework is in order.

Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell. Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter', in T. Nicklas *et al.* (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World. Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2010) 305–21, updated in J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 269–80, 281–93, respectively. The Alexandrian provenance was supported by Bremmer recently with other arguments in idem, 'The Apocalypse of Peter as the First Christian Martyr Text. Its Date, Provenance and Relationship with 2 Peter', in J. Frey, M. den Dulk, and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019) 75–92.

³² Additional evidence for its later prominence outside of Egypt is its liturgical usage on Good Friday in Palestine, as Sozomen attests in the fifth century. However, active knowledge about its existence can be assumed in some branches of Christianity until the Middle Ages. See T. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004) 87–103. Even a thirteenth-century Armenian canon list copied by Mekhitar of Ayrivank attests to the importance of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, there is no evidence that the apocalypse itself ever made it to Armenia. Cf. M. Stone, 'Armenian Canon Lists III. The Lists of Mechitar of Ayrivank (c. 1285 C.E.)', *HTR* 69/3–4 (1976) 289–300.

3.1. *The Authority of Clement Through the Centuries*

First, we have to look at the alleged author of the text. The end of the Apocalypse is – as already mentioned – rather poorly connected to the following apocalyptic extension written down by Clement. The older apocalypse presumably finishes with the conclusion of the vision of paradise and the sentence, “we prayed and descended from the mountain while praising God who has written the names of the righteous in the book of life in the heavens” (*Apoc. Pet.* 17:7), which is immediately followed by a sermon of Peter to Clement about creation and its meaning.

Where does Clement, a famous Roman religious leader from the second half of the first century, suddenly come from? What happened to Peter and the disciples in the weeks and years after the ascension of Christ? Moreover, why are we already *in medias res*, without a proper transition? All these questions remain unanswered. While the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, i.e., the first part of the *Second Coming*, managed to make relatively smooth transitions in a very intense tour from the Mount of Olives to hell and with a detour to the Elysian Fields to heaven and back to earth, here at the transition from the Apocalypse to the *Pseudo-Clementines* we have only a basic exposition. Without any reference to the descending disciples, the text only states that an unspecified *he* “opened his mouth and said” (18:1: $\omega\eta\omega\tau : \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\psi : \omega\beta\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$) – an expression *never* used in the previous apocalypse.

Clement, to whom these words are directed and who apparently needs no introduction, is merely the recipient of and witness to the truthfulness of what has already been said. The function of the clarification to him regarding the harsh and terrifying contents of the apocalypse is to show God’s merciful masterplan behind all this. At *no point* in the *Second Coming* does Clement say *anything* or show *any personality*.³³ Instead, he functions as a counterpart for Peter’s monologues and only transmits the conversation between Jesus and Peter after the revelation of the events in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

This conversation – retold by Peter – comes as a surprise; if we follow the itinerary of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*, Jesus has already ascended into heaven after his revelations and the vision of paradise. Only in the Akhmim-version of the apocalypse is it possible

³³ In contrast to the various questions he constantly asks in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* to which we will come shortly in this chapter.

to assume that Jesus stayed in this world and can provide details about the topics of his revelation. However, due to the fact that the Akhmim Codex stops in the middle of the revelation of the punishments by Jesus in this Greek recension, this has to remain speculative.³⁴ At the same time, the Pseudo-Clementine author(s) could have imagined that the discussion between Jesus and Peter happened during a vision after Jesus' ascension.

Overall, the framework text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* uses an early Christian tradition according to which Clement was a disciple of Simon Peter. Besides other Pseudo-Clementine texts such as 2 *Clement* (here 2 *Clem.* 5:1–4), the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, also Tertullian's *Prescription Against Heretics* 32 and Epiphanius' *Panárion* 1.27.6 claim that Clement had a disciple-like connection to Peter and was declared bishop of Rome by the apostle. That this tradition of close proximity between Peter and Clement and the latter as the recipient of secret knowledge was still alive in early medieval Christianity can be seen in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, whose earliest layers were composed between the eighth and the tenth century,³⁵ and the seven Ethiopic books of *Qalementos*, whose first two books consist of a relatively accurate translation of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* and therefore preserve its apocalyptic nature, while books III to VII seem to be a compilation by an Ethiopian author of other related texts concerning canon law translated to Gə'əz from Arabic around the fourteenth century.³⁶ These later Clementine works

³⁴ See also the supposed structure of the original *Apoc. Pet.* by Jan Dochhorn within his article in this volume, who proposes that the *Apoc. Pet.* may have ended with the possibility of the forgiveness of the deceased's sins through baptism in the Acherusian lake and the Great Commission ("Missionsbefehl"), similar to the one in ch. 14.

³⁵ For an overview of different proposed dates for the earliest stratum of text within the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* see the article by Emmanouela Grypeou in this volume. However, as Grypeou has mentioned before, a dating of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* can only be tentative until a critical edition is available. Cf. E. Grypeou, 'The Re-written Bible in Arabic. The Paradise Story and Its Exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden and Boston, 2006) 113–29 at 114.

³⁶ In addition to the article by Alessandro Bausi on the manuscript tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalementos* in this volume, see also A. Bausi, 'Qäleməntos', in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* IV, 252.

from the Horn of Africa are therefore by no means proof of native Ethiopian Pseudo-Clementine literature production,³⁷ but bear witness to an Ethiopian manuscript creation process, wherein the scribe sees himself not only as a copyist but as a scholar,³⁸ who connects the similar teachings available to him.³⁹ Although no *direct* relation between the mentioned Pseudo-Clementine writings on the one side and the *Second Coming* on the other side has been found so far,⁴⁰ the discipleship of Clement was already well established from the third century onward. Thus, here Clement became the bearer of the apocalyptic knowledge revealed to Peter from *at least* the end of the first millennium onward. However, since several parts of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* attest to older traditions, Clement's revelatory role could similarly attest to a significantly earlier tradition.

Our preliminary expedition into the reception of the figure of Clement makes apparent that using him as an authority for the transmission of revelations to Peter cannot be a decisive factor for determining the provenience of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. From the late antique Greek and Latin Pseudo-Clementine narratives and the knowledge about them by various patristic sources to the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* to the early medieval *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*

³⁷ Cf. M. Goff, 'The Apocalypse of Peter and its Nachleben in Ethiopia. Absorption, Expansion, and Transformation', in J. Dochhorn (ed.), *Parabiblica Aethiopica I. Traditions of Ethiopian Christianity* [forthcoming]. I thank Matthew Goff for sending me a version of this essay before publication.

³⁸ For more on the self-understanding of some Ethiopian scholars who were responsible for the transmission of ancient texts, see A. Brita, 'Genres of Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian Literature with a Focus on Hagiography', in S. Kelly (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden, 2020) 252–81 at 252–53.

³⁹ For an extensive introduction to the Ethiopic Qalēmentos tradition, on which this short summary relies, see A. Bausi, ቀሌምንጥስ፣ *Il Qalēmentos Etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente I Libri 3–7* (Napoli, 1992) 13–41.

⁴⁰ This is not saying much at all considering the meager scholarship this text has received to date. For a variety of remarkable common themes between the Pseudo-Clementine *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* found at the beginning of the *Second Coming* analyzed here, such as the revelatory visions in the palm of Jesus, similar torments in hell in both texts, or the coming of Enoch and Elijah, see the extensive list in Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 10–19.

until the Ethiopic Clement compilation attested in books III to VII in *Qalēmentōs*, the whole imaginable timeframe and all the settings from Syria, to Egypt, down to Ethiopia seem plausible to varying degrees as locations for the composition of the Pseudo-Clementine text surrounding the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁴¹ The only take away from this short investigation is that the central time and place where Clement was evidently decisive for being the bearer and transmitter of apocalyptic knowledge seems to be the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* from Egypt, whose lengthy process of formation started between the eighth and tenth century⁴² through the addition of other Pseudo-Clementine texts in the following centuries. However, while Clement in this tradition already has a developed personality and poses questions to Peter, the Clement of the *Second Coming* is only the recipient of the Petrine monologue without any characteristics besides his discipleship with Peter. Furthermore, as a result of this investigation, it has to be emphasized that native Ethiopian literary production under the authority of Clement *has not been securely attested* so far.

⁴¹ Therefore, Goff's argument has to be questioned. Writing about Clement traditions in Ethiopia he claims: "There is also an indigenous Ethiopian tradition of presenting knowledge Jesus revealed to Peter as in turn transmitted by Peter to Clement. In addition to the *Second Coming* itself, this is the case in the document that follows it in T and P, the *Mystery of the Judgment*. Similarly, *Qalēmentōs (Clement)*, a significant text in Ethiopian Christianity, is presented as instruction Peter gives to Clement", in Goff, 'The Apocalypse of Peter and its Nachleben in Ethiopia' [forthcoming]. Since only parts of *Qalēmentōs* might be an original Ethiopian composition, which in turn heavily relies on other material of Arabic-Coptic origin, Goff's arguments on the provenience of the Pseudo-Clementine framework are circular.

⁴² For this dating by Mingana, see the still regularly quoted statement: "As the work stands in these MSS. it appears to me to be a genuine but composite Arabic lucubration with different layers of antiquity, a true *mixum compositum* [sic!]. The first and the most ancient of these Arabic layers I am tempted to ascribe to about A.D. 800. To this ancient layer many authors or copyists have at various times added here and there passages likely to render the original composition more interesting to their readers or hearers", in A. Mingana, *Woodbrook Studies – Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshuni, Edited and Translated with a Critical Apparatus. Volume III – Vision of Theophilus, Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge, 1931) 98.

3.2. *The Alexander Romance within the Pseudo-Clementines*

Another striking aspect that might help determine the date of the *Second Coming* is the allusion to the Alexander Romance. This reference to Alexander the Great has been completely overlooked in the literature on the *Second Coming* so far and was only unearthed in the process of translating and commenting on the text by Eric Beck and myself with the help of Ted Erho in the summer of 2021.⁴³ In 28:5–7, we read of the martyrs killed by the liar, whom we already know from *Apoc. Pet. 2*:

⁵ After the killing of the martyrs, God will send onto the Earth many evil demonic spirits [...] ⁷ And their king is named Gog.⁴⁴ Those who King Alexander harmed will be sent away by my will.⁴⁵

We encounter Gog (and Magog) from Ezek 38–39 and Rev 20:7–10⁴⁶ as the patriarch(s) of a Nordic barbaric people group from the Roman period onward. According to these legends, the Scythians are descendants of Magog, son of Japhet. Such ethnographic genealogies for these inhabitants at the edges of the known world are transmitted by ancient Jewish and early Christian authors such as Flavius Josephus (cf. *A.J.* 1.122–123) and Jerome.⁴⁷ As we learn in other passages of Josephus, Alexander expelled these Scythian tribes to the Caspian mountains,

⁴³ The separated name of the Macedonian ruler (Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) spelled “Ἄλῃ : ገድር” in MS P on folio 141r became “Ἄλῃ : ጸወርድ” in Sylvain Grébaud’s 1910 transcription of the text (cf. Grébaud, ‘Littérature Éthiopienne’, 316) and has to my knowledge not been corrected since.

⁴⁴ For identifying 𐤆𐤍 as Gog here see the arguments in the footnote to this passage in Eric Beck’s translation at the end of this volume.

⁴⁵ Luigi Moraldi’s translation reads similarly to Grébaud’s by not identifying Alexander in this passage: “Quelli che egli avrà imprigionato fino alla mia discesa, saranno posti sotto la mia volontà.” See L. Moraldi (ed.), *Apocriphi del Nuovo Testamento. Volume Secundo* (Turin, 1971) 1834.

⁴⁶ For an in-depth analysis of the relationship between Ezek 38–39 and Rev 19:17–20:10, see S. Bøe, *Gog and Magog. Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-text for Revelation 19,17–21 and 20,7–10* (Tübingen, 2001) 371–88.

⁴⁷ Cf. W. Kinzig, ‘Jewish and Judaizing Eschatologies in Jerome’, in R. Kalmin and S. Schwartz (eds), *Jewish Culture and Society under the Christian Roman Empire* (Leuven, 2003) 409–29 at 415, 419.

also known as the Caucasus mountains.⁴⁸ At a valley in these mountains, Alexander allegedly erected a wall with “iron gates” to keep these barbarians from entering and devastating the more civilised people groups in the south (cf. *A.J.* 18.97; *B.J.* 7.244–45).⁴⁹ Although we do not have Alexander the Great as part of an eschatological battle in the sober account of Josephus, we already see the foundation for a fight between good and evil with the Macedonian on the one side and Gog on the other.⁵⁰

An enhanced version of this tale, composed in Alexandria around the beginning of the Christian era in Egypt by Jewish authors seems to have added extensive details to this narrative. The text itself did not come down to us but seems, according to Peter Bietenholz, “to have inspired both Pseudo-Callisthenes, whose text became seminal for the further migrations of the legend in the Orient, and Pseudo-Methodius, the source of the medieval tradition in the West. From the Greek version of the Alexander legend authored by Pseudo-Callisthenes, the tale of Gog and Magog traveled to Syria, and from a Syrian version it found its way into the Koran. Suras 18 and 21 state that the unlocking of Alexander’s gates and the onslaught of Gog and Magog will be accomplished to the sound of the doomsday trumpet.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ This localisation, however, is disputed. Cf. E. van Donzel and A. Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources. Sallam’s Quest for Alexander’s Wall* (Leiden, 2010) 10–11.

⁴⁹ See *B.J.* 7.244–5: “²⁴⁴ The Alani – a race of Scythians, as we have somewhere previously remarked, inhabiting the banks of the river Tanais and the lake Maeotis – ²⁴⁵ contemplating at this period a predatory incursion into Media and beyond, entered into negotiations with the king of the Hyrcanians, who was master of the pass which king Alexander had closed with iron gates.” For this translation see H. Thackeray (ed.), *Josephus – The Jewish War. Volume III: Books IV–VII* (Cambridge, 1928) 575.

⁵⁰ For a more in-depth analysis of the various steps of the development of the Alexander Romance and related narratives see L. Greisiger, ‘Opening the Gates of the North in 627. War, Anti-Byzantine Sentiment and Apocalyptic Expectancy in the Near East Prior to the Arab Invasion’, in W. Brandes, F. Schmieder, and R. Voß (eds), *Peoples of the Apocalypse. Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios* (Berlin and Boston, 2016) 63–79.

⁵¹ P. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula. Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden, 1994) 123.

This legend regarding Alexander's gate at the last judgement was, therefore, considerably famous in Egyptian Jewish, Christian, and later Muslim circles after the mid-first millennium. One prominent example of this theme from the time of a possible compilation of the *Second Coming* is the already mentioned *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, probably composed in Syriac during the second half of the seventh century. The *Apocalypse* copes with the successful conquest of the Islamic Expansion. It explains that the Christians did not lose against the Muslims because God was on the side of the new faith, but instead, the Islamic conquerors were sent by God because the Christians neglected their rightful practices.⁵² In chapter 8 of this *Apocalypse*, we find a longer but similar account of the deeds of Alexander compared to the *Second Coming*, who not only imprisoned the people of Gog and Magog but twenty different kingdoms in the north during his conquest in the east. Later in this text, those warriors will be released on the civilised world in a time of peace (cf. *ApcMeth* 13:17–21), which is precisely the time in which the author of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* sees himself living. Remarkably, we learn in the following passage that by the time of their coming, the Antichrist or Satan will be revealed (cf. *ApcMeth* 13:21–14:14) as described in the *Second Coming* in 28:1–5.

Lastly, fragments of a Coptic version of the Alexander Romance, written in the Sahidic dialect, exist. The Jewish-Christian additions to the life of Alexander fell on fruitful ground in Egypt since, in pre-Christian Egypt, Alexander was the subject of various popular and mythological stories of priestly propaganda. He was even “identified with the son of the magician-priest Nektabenos [sic!], the last Egyptian pharaoh, who supposedly disguised himself as the horned God Ammon and seduced Alexander's mother Olympia to produce a child,

⁵² See *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* 11:5 in the German translation of the Syriac text by Reinink: “Denn er sagte durch Mose zu den Söhnen Israels: ‘Nicht weil der Herr, euer Gott, euch liebt, führt er euch ins Land der Völker hinein, um es zu erben, sondern wegen der Ungerechtigkeit seiner Einwohner.’ Auch diesen Söhnen Ismaels erlaubte Gott, hineinzugehen und sich des Königreichs der Christen zu bemächtigen, nicht weil er sie liebt, sondern wegen der Ungerechtigkeit und der Sünde, die durch die Christen begangen werden, solche, die nie begangen wurden in einem der früheren Geschlechter”, in G. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (Leuven, 1993) 43.

Alexander, who was thus known as ‘the two-horned one.’”⁵³ Therefore the Egyptian Christians were receptive to incorporating the famous Macedonian emperor in their view of the end of the world and their possible salvation. The extant fragments of the Coptic Alexander traditions were presumably composed during the first period of the Arab conquest in Egypt (ca. 640) in the White Monastery, which was a well-known intellectual hub for Egyptian Christianity.⁵⁴ Consequently, the Alexander Legend was evidently known in an elaborate form in the centres of late antique literature production in Egypt.⁵⁵

Since the Ethiopian Alexander Romance,⁵⁶ on the other hand, was only translated into Gəʿəz between the fourteenth and sixteenth century⁵⁷ and, therefore, around the time when the *Second Coming* was already copied within a larger collection of Pseudo-Clementine texts, an Ethiopian background is less likely. This, again, is by no means indisputable proof that the genuine new apocalyptic elements within the Pseudo-Clementine passages, which are combined with the topics

⁵³ Donzel and Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources*, 33–34.

⁵⁴ Cf. M. Cramer, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten einst und heute. Eine Orientierung* (Wiesbaden, 1959) 53 and G. Lusini, ‘Origine e significato della presenza di Alessandro Magno nella letteratura etiopica’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 38 (1994) 96–118 at 98.

⁵⁵ Although “the fragments make no mention of Alexander’s barricade against Gog and Magog, it is likely that the motif featured in the original text” of the Coptic Alexander Romance according to Donzel and Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources*, 34.

⁵⁶ For the connection between the Syriac Alexander Legend and the Ethiopian Alexander Romance, see E.A.T.W. Budge, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia. The Ethiopic Versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Chronicle of Almakīn, the Narrative of Joseph Ben Gorion, and a Christian Romance of Alexander* (London, 1933) 142–44. For the use of the Ethiopian Alexander Romance in interpreting the Revelation of John, see R. Cowley, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge, 1983) 258–70.

⁵⁷ For more information regarding the transmission of the tradition surrounding Alexander to Ethiopia see G. Lusini, ‘Alexander the Great’, in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* I, 195. Regarding the Arabic Alexander Romance from which the Ethiopian text is derived cf. F. Doufikar-Aerts, ‘Alexander the Flexible Friend. Some Reflections on the Representation of Alexander the Great in the Arabic Alexander Romance’, *JEastCS* 55/3 (2003) 195–210.

from the *Apocalypse of Peter*, such as the liar and the martyrs, originated in Egypt in the time between the sixth to the tenth century, but it shows that similar traditions regarding the origin of evil forces would have been around precisely at that time and place.⁵⁸

3.3. *Heavenly Hierarchies and Adam Traditions: A Game of Thrones*

Another hint helpful in our endeavours to date the text may be found in chapter 36. This passage indicates an elaborate hierarchy inside the church, including patriarchs, archbishops, archpriests, and many more who will sit on thrones of different classes of angels.⁵⁹ Even kings and princes are mentioned who “will sit on the thrones of Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” (36:3). This strong connection of Enoch with a throne, which is the throne of God for most of the time, is known from *1* and *2 Enoch*. However, it is only in *3 Enoch* – a text which to our knowledge never reached Ethiopia – that Enoch is finally enthroned as Metatron himself.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ On the other hand, the lack of all allusions to the Islamic conquest in the *Second Coming*, which frequently occur in Christian apocalypses composed after the mid seventh century, would hint at a prior composition. Only a few of those Christian apocalypses from the time after the early Muslim conquest survived to this day, but they often incorporated the experiences from these events, or they were added later to already existing apocalyptic texts. See for example *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ephrem*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, *The Edessene Apocalypse*, *The Apocalypse of Shenute*, *The Gospel of the twelve Apostles*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius*, *The Proto-Fourteenth Vision of Daniel*, *The Prophecy of the Nineteen Muslim Kings*, and *The Greek Apocalypse of Daniel*. For a short introduction to their time, place, and content, see D. Thomas and B. Roggema (eds), *Christian Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History – Volume 1 (600–900)* (Leiden, 2009) 160–75, 182–85, 222–25, 239–41, 274–80, 309–13, 411–18.

⁵⁹ Interestingly, their hierarchy is not entirely fitting with the influential order of the Pseudo-Dionysian *De Coelesti Hierarchia* (Περὶ τῆς Οὐρανίας Ἱεραρχίας) from the fifth century.

⁶⁰ For the thrones of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob see the *Testament of Isaac* 2:1, 5–9: “It came to pass, when the time drew near for our father Isaac, the father of fathers, to depart from this world and to go out from his body, that the Compassionate, the Merciful One sent to him the chief of the angels, Michael, the one whom he had sent to his father Abraham, on the morning of the twenty-eighth day of the month Misri. The angel said

The already mentioned relatively complex church structure we encounter in the Ethiopic manuscripts today (in addition to 36:2–3 see also 40:2) indicates the late fifth century as a *terminus post quem* for the text,⁶¹ a time when these titles seem to become more widely used in different documents in the eastern Roman Empire.⁶²

Additionally, 36:10–12 introduces us to an Adam tradition where the first man and his decedents will sit on the throne of the devil and his army:

And the offspring of Adam, who will be raised to life, will indeed receive the position and throne of the devil. And all the offspring will become the armies of angels instead of the armies of the devil.¹¹ But

to him, [...] ‘O my beloved Isaac, I have been sent to you from the presence of the living God to take you up to heaven to be with your father Abraham and all the saints. For your father Abraham is awaiting you; he himself is about to come for you, but now he is resting. There has been prepared for you the throne beside your father Abraham; likewise for your beloved son Jacob. And all of you shall be above everyone else in the kingdom of heaven in the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’; for the translation see W. Stinespring, ‘Testament of Isaac’, in J. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1* (New York, 1983) 903–911 at 905. Although *1 En.* 45:3; 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; 62:2–3 mention that the son of man will be seated on God’s throne, it is never called the “Throne of Enoch”. For other related thrones cf. M. Hengel, ‘Setze dich zu meiner Rechten. Die Inthronisation Christi zur Rechten Gottes und Psalm 110,1’, in id. (ed.), *Studien zur Christologie. Kleine Schriften IV* (Tübingen, 2006) 334–58. I was only able to find the Throne of Enoch in *3 Enoch*, where the transformed Enoch is enthroned in heaven (cf. *3 En.* 10:1–3 and 15:1). On the throne traditions regarding Enoch, see also A. Toepel, *Die Adam- und Seth-Legenden im syrischen Buch der Schatzhöhle. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Leuven, 2006) 74–86 and A. Orlov, *The Greatest Mirror. Heavenly Counterparts in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Albany, 2018) 8–36.

⁶¹ If we assume that the majority of the Pseudo-Clementine passages originated in the same period.

⁶² The title “patriarch” appears as a key designation within the church for the first time at the Council of Chalcedon but is not found in imperial legislative texts before 477 (cf. Codex Iustinianus 1.2.16). See further J.N. Bremmer, ‘Timothy, John and Ephesus in the Acts of Timothy’, in T. Nicklas, J.E. Spittler, and J.N. Bremmer (eds), *The Apostles Peter, Paul, John, Thomas and Philip with their Companions in Late Antiquity* (Leuven, 2021) 215–39 at 219–22. I am grateful to Jan Bremmer for this important observation.

God will seal the demons in Gehenna, which trembles, with their lord, the devil, (and) with all who have been their dwelling.¹² Each of their families with them will be sealed in the abyss of Sheol, because they were enemies of Adam. (36:10–12)⁶³

Monika Pesthy rightly points out that early Jewish and Christian traditions stand behind this concept, according to which “the thrones of the devil and his demons remained empty in the heavens after their fall, and these seats will be occupied by the blessed after the resurrection.”⁶⁴ We can find this, for example, in the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, where Adam “will sit on the throne of him who overcame him” (*LAE* 47:3), that is, Satan. Also, Timothy of Alexandria, a Patriarch of the See of St. Mark in Egypt from the late fourth century, reports in his *Discourse on Abbaton* that God enthroned Adam on a great throne, was given a crown of glory and a royal sceptre, and was worshiped by angels at God’s comand.⁶⁵

⁶³ The eschatological problem which arises from this passage of the *Second Coming* is that apparently everyone who was possessed by a demon is also sent into Gehenna/Sheol. Therefore, if we take Peter’s teaching to Clement seriously, we have to distinguish between God’s mercy for all (Christian) sinners who did this without being possessed by a servant of the devil and the punishment for everyone – and maybe even their families – who functioned as a host for his armies. Furthermore, there must have been a sudden change in speakers again from Jesus to Peter somewhere in the course of ch. 36 – probably at the very beginning in 36:2 – since in 36:5 it becomes apparent that we are now listening again to Peter. Therein, Peter instructs Clement on how to imagine the *Second Coming* and says about Jesus: “There are many dwellings, and he will establish a flock of angels and people.” (36:5). But again, this abrupt change of the narrator is not at all indicated in the Ethiopic manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Pesthy, ‘Thy Mercy, O Lord’, 47.

⁶⁵ See for a short introduction and the text E.A.T.W. Budge (ed.), *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (Oxford, 1914) X–XII, LXVIII–LXXII, 474–496. However, the authenticity of this piece and its provenance in the fourth century is disputed. It could likewise be composed by Timothy II Aelurus in the second half of the fifth century or be a later Egyptian pseudepigraphical work altogether. Therefore, the value of this witness should not be overestimated. I owe thanks to Emmanouela Grypeou for bringing this disputed provenience to my attention.

In the *Apocalypse of Moses*, presumably the Greek predecessor of the various recensions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*,⁶⁶ we already encounter a very similar ‘Adam against the devil’ tradition like the one attested in the *Second Coming*. In *Apoc. Mos.* 39:1–3, God gives an eulogy at the corpse of the freshly deceased Adam. Thereby he expresses sadness for the wrongdoings Adam did in his life but also mentions the evil forces behind his transgression. What follows is the promise that God, in a not specified future, will reinstall Adam on his rightful throne, which is currently occupied by the devil. In this eschatological passage, God elaborates that the current occupant of the throne will be cast down with all his subordinates. They will have to look up to the reinstated Adam on his throne and be sad, while those who were formerly miserable will rejoice. According to Jan Dochhorn, this *Substitutionsschema* where only *either Adam or the devil* can have the favorable position in paradise or on a heavenly throne, while the other is suffering, which we also experience in the *Second Coming*, can be identified in various Jewish and Christian sources around the turn of the era (cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 16:3; 39:1–3; 1 QM XVII 5–7; Rev 12).⁶⁷

Moreover, in chapter 11 in both recensions of the *Testament of Abraham*, composed within the first two centuries CE – probably in Egypt,⁶⁸ where it later was “particularly popular among Coptic Christians”⁶⁹ – Adam sits *on a throne* between two gates and judges the dead. When a soul finds its way through the narrow gate to life, he ecstatically rejoices. Correspondingly, he weeps when one goes through the other gate, which leads to destruction.⁷⁰ Like in the *Second Coming*, the damnation of the souls and the compassion of central religious figures play a significant role in this appearance of the throne

⁶⁶ Cf. J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2005) 3–14, idem, *Der Adammythos bei Paulus und im hellenistischen Judentum Jerusalems. Eine theologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Römer 7,7–25* (Tübingen, 2021) 247–48, as well as Dochhorn’s contribution to this volume.

⁶⁷ Cf. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose*, 514–21.

⁶⁸ Cf. E. Janssen, *Testament Abrahams* (Gütersloh, 1975) 198–201.

⁶⁹ D.C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* (Berlin, 2003), 33. See pp. 32–33 for Allison’s arguments in favour of an Egyptian origin.

⁷⁰ This dichotomy of *the wide path* and *the narrow door* (cf. also Matt 7:13) likewise appears in the *Second Coming* 23:3–5.

of Adam, while his adversaries are not mentioned in both recensions of the Apocalypse of Abraham.⁷¹

Taking these observations into account, it becomes evident that the throne of Adam was not a very prominent theme in ancient Jewish and early Christian texts. At the same time, most of the (late) antique instances where we encounter this topic are connected with Egypt.⁷² Therefore, the particular Adam traditions within the *Second Coming* would fit smoothly in a context where these texts examined here and the traditions they founded were well-known, coinciding with our proposed origin in Egypt between the sixth and tenth centuries.

3.4. *Conversions of Calendars*

Nearly at the end of the *Second Coming*, we are confronted with chapter 39, which is, in many aspects, the most confusing chapter in the entire treatise but may provide clues to the date of the composition of the text. Here we encounter a comparison between a Hebrew and

⁷¹ For more information on this fascinating appearance of Adam on his throne and many other examples of (golden) thrones from antiquity, see Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 244–45.

⁷² Even more remarkable is the fact that these early instances and their famous later reception in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* seem to have influenced the North-African apocalyptic literature from the middle of the first millennium onward such that we find Adam traditions similar to those in the *Second Coming*, such as the envy of Satan and his followers and their subsequent punishment, which for example is also present in the Arabic *Book of the Rolls*, as part of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. On the *Book of the Rolls* see M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901) 1–58, Mingana, *Woodbrook Studies*, 93, Grypeou, ‘The Re-written Bible in Arabic’, 116–17 as well as Grypeou’s contribution to the present volume. Again, this may hint at a Coptic-Arabic origin of these passages and thus to an Egyptian origin of the *Second Coming*. However, while Adam plays a crucial role in the *Book of the Rolls* and similar tropes as in the *Second Coming* are incorporated according to Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 10–19, the throne traditions analysed in this chapter (including the one connected with Adam) is not attested here. At the same time, the supposed *Vorlage* of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, namely the *Cave of Treasures*, has an enthronement of Adam in *Cav. Tr.* 2:18, which suggests that the *Second Coming* transmits an Adam tradition closer to the earlier Egyptian texts and the *Cave of Treasures*. For an analysis of the figure of Adam within the *Cave of Treasures* see Toepel, *Die Adam- und Seth-Legenden im syrischen Buch der Schatzhöhle*.

a Coptic calendar, which remains rather accurate for today's celebrations within the Coptic Church and betrays an Egyptian provenance for the following reasons:

First, the Jewish lunar calendar was not well known in Ethiopia. It seems to have been foreign even to the *Beta Israel*, so the comparison here is unusual. In Egypt (maybe even in Alexandria itself), however, there was significant intermingling between Jews and Christians, so the comparison would seem more natural within that setting. For example, an Alexandrian World Chronicle, composed between the fifth and late seventh century, gives similar dates for the events, which the end of the *Second Coming* prescribes to be celebrated with a day of rest, and this Chronicle is equally concerned with ordering and keeping the feasts at the correct time.⁷³

Second, the text uses Coptic names for the allegedly Hebrew months and Gəʿəz names for the Egyptian months, which seems to be a decision by a Gəʿəz translator since the text repeatedly refers to Coptic and not Ethiopian events during the year.

Third, the names of the months ጦቢ, “Tobi” and ፊሚናት “Phimnot” in 39:8 hint at a composition of the text in Greek (Τυβί/Φαμενώθ) or Coptic (ἸΩΒΙ/ἸΑΡΕΜΖΑΤ) and not an Arabic (طوبه, spelled Tubah/برمهات, spelled Baramhat) origin and could be a strong sign for the extra-Ethiopian origin of the *Second Coming* as a whole.⁷⁴

Fourth and lastly: There are only three feast days for the angel Michael (cf. 39:13–14) and not twelve, as has been customary since the earliest traceable veneration practices of this particular archangel in Ethiopia.⁷⁵ Additionally, there is no proof that the feast of the forty soldiers (see 39:12), the four animals (39:15), and the priests of

⁷³ On this tendency in Jewish circles in the second century BCE see the *Book of Jubilees*, which was apparently one of the sources for the Alexandrian World Chronicle. For an introduction to the Chronicle itself, see B. Garstad, *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius. An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, 2012) XVIII–XXXV at XXIII.

⁷⁴ Furthermore, it should be noted that many names in the Ethiopic text retain Greek endings, such as Clement (ቀሌምንጦስ; 18:1), Peter (ጴጥሮስ; 22:4; 26:1; 30:8; 34:9; 39:16; 40:5), and Elijah (ኤልያስ; 17:2).

⁷⁵ See O. Raineri, ‘Angels’, in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* I, 265.

heaven (39:15) were celebrated at any time in Ethiopia.⁷⁶ Therefore if an Ethiopian author was behind this order of festivities, more festivities particular to Ethiopia as opposed to those which are unknown would be expected.⁷⁷

So, the preponderance of evidence points again to an Egyptian-Coptic origin of the *Second Coming*.⁷⁸ There are additional shreds of evidence

⁷⁶ Cf. S. Kaplan, 'Feasts', in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* II, 510–14 as well as K. Merten, *Das äthiopisch-orthodoxe Christentum. Ein Versuch zu verstehen* (Berlin, 2012) 154–71.

⁷⁷ There are undoubtedly several chronological systems found in Ethiopia, some of Egyptian origin, but it is nearly unknown for them to be referred to in such a fashion.

⁷⁸ On the other hand, 39:16–18 is one – maybe the only – strong argument for a provenance (at least for this passage) at the Horn of Africa. Here we read the following command to the reader: “¹⁶ As our fathers instituted, celebrate both the days of the Sabbath and Sunday accurately. Peter and Paul commanded us and instructed the children of the church: in the week, there are two, the Sabbath day and the first day. ¹⁷ Let them do no work. Let that man die when he has violated it. Let him be destroyed. ¹⁸ We have commanded in this way for the obedience of the Scriptures with regard to the conduct of the church. Observe this thing (that) I have told you.” Note the close proximity to the orders in the *Synodicon*, which also attests that Peter and Paul gave the command to rest on the Sabbath and on Sunday. For a translation of the relevant passages of the *Synodicon* see G. Haile, 'The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church', *JSS* 33/2 (1988) 234–38. Especially 39:16–17 is closely connected to the closing passages of *Jubilees* (see *Jub.* 50:6–13), where the revelations regarding the division of times told by the Angel of Presence to Moses ends with a lengthy passage on what happens to the man, woman, child, or servant that does any work on the Sabbath. Repeatedly we read that “the man who does any work on it is to die” (*Jub.* 50:8). This passage in *Jubilees* together with the already mentioned teachings in the *Synodicon* as well as in an Ethiopian version of the fourth century Syrian Christian text *Didascalia of the Apostles* (for the relevant passages see idem, 'The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church', 238–39) were among the reasons for the controversies surrounding the monk Ewostatewos (1273–1352 CE) and his followers in the early reign of the so-called Solomonic dynasty in Ethiopia to claim that both Sabbaths – the Sabbath of the Old Testament and the Sunday as the celebration of the resurrection of Christ – should be kept strictly. This practice was finally declared law by the famous emperor Zara Yaqob, who reigned over Ethiopia from 1434 until 1468. Cf. L. Stuckenbruck, 'Die heiligen Schriften in der

that might speak for the providence of the text in Egypt that could be further elaborated in future research, such as the close proximity between the topics of the Pseudo-Clementine apocalypse and *2 Enoch*,⁷⁹ which was presumably also composed in Egypt in the first century and which never made it – as far as we know – down to Ethiopia. Likewise, we can observe the reminiscence of conflicts with Arianism and Docetism in some passages (e.g., 31:5; 37:4), which might hint at a contextualization of the *Second Coming* in Egypt between the sixth and the tenth century where these ideas were still entertained actively.

Correspondingly, the salvation of (Christian) sinners after their death is the main topic of the treatise, as has been discussed already. Similarly, we find this topic vehemently advocated for – as the consequent reconciliation of God with his entire creation – by the famous Egyptian theologian Origen (185–253). This controversial concept of *Apocatastasis*⁸⁰ was an important topic throughout the second

äthiopisch-orthodoxen Kirche. Ohne das Henochbuch kannst du kein Christ oder Jude sein', in H. Kaiser and B. Leicht (eds), *Christen in Äthiopien. Hüter der Bundeslade* (Stuttgart, 2015) 34. Because of the magnitude of this teaching for the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church – in stark contrast to its Coptic mother church, who condemned this practice of holding two Sabbaths – this passage in 39:16–17 may be viewed as an Ethiopic interpolation, since this theme of the celebration of two festal days does not appear anywhere else in this rather repetitive text. Also, Lusini, 'Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia', 1183, entertains the possibility that passages like this could be the product of the Ethiopic transmission. Additionally, the overall structure speaks for such an interpolation. In this passage we witness Peter's instruction to Clement. Although the author fiction in the *Second Coming* is not too strong (on the matter of author fiction see also the article by Jörg Frey in this volume as well as 22:4), it is still particularly odd that in 39:16 we encounter the sentence "*Peter and Paul* commanded us and instructed the children of the church: in the week, there are two, the Sabbath day and the first day".

⁷⁹ See, for example, the enthronization of Adam in *2 En.* 30:12 compared to chapter 36 of the *Second Coming* or the strong similarities between the righteous in chapter 20 and *2 En.* 66:7. For more information on *2 Enoch* itself and its Egyptian origin, consult C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh, 1996) 810–13.

⁸⁰ For a comprehensive study of this doctrine see I. Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis. A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena* (Leiden, 2013).

Origenist crisis during the sixth century.⁸¹ As a result, Origen's teachings were widely condemned, leading to the destruction of most of his works. In contrast, as Ted Erho points out in his article within this volume, "[t]he idea of penance is uncommon in medieval Ethiopia, and there are few known sources from which it might be derived." Hence, a composition of the Clementine elements of the *Second Coming*, which most likely treat Origenist ideas, would make sense before, during, or in the years following the second Origenist crisis,⁸² thus, long before the transmission of the text in Ethiopia.⁸³ This alone deserves its own in-depth analysis in a future investigation dedicated to this specific topic.

4. *Conclusion: A New Egyptian Apocalypse and Its Impact on the Study of the Apocalypse of Peter in Its Context*

As we have seen in this chapter, there are no indications about the provenance of the Pseudo-Clementine framework which would give us a definite *terminus ante quem* before the fifteenth century and a composition outside of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, as it became clear, there are good reasons in favour of an earlier composition of the text. The Clementine tradition within the text itself is closer to the one we encounter in Egyptian-Coptic literature than anything else, and a genuine Ethiopian literary production under the supposed authority of Clement has not been proven so far. Moreover, the specific form of traditions behind the allusion to the Alexander Romance and the thrones of Adam, Enoch, and the different hierarchies of angels make a composition in Egypt more likely. Finally, the conversion of feasts

⁸¹ On the first Origenist crisis in whose context the *Apocalypse of Paul* was possibly composed as an anti-Origenist compromise to some ideas within the *Apocalypse of Peter*, see the article by Emiliano Fiori in this volume.

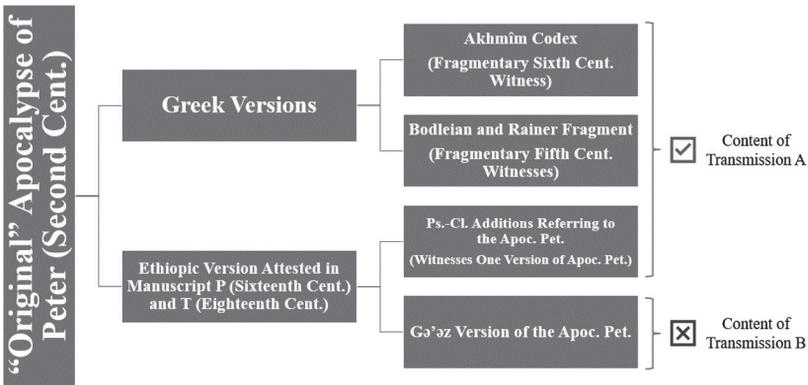
⁸² Cf. E. Harding, 'Origenist Crises', in J.A. McGuckin (ed.), *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* (Louisville, 2004) 162–67.

⁸³ Based on such Origenistic ideas, Lusini, 'Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia', 1183 concludes about the date of the *Pseudo-Clementines* "Le posizioni moderate in tema di apocatastasi, con la condanna eterna del diavolo e dei demoni, denotano un rapporto con riformulazioni del pensiero origeniano posteriori al IV secolo. Il fatto che in alcune comunità pacomiane dell'Egitto tardoantico siano circolate dottrine di osservanza origeniana ben oltre l'editto del 543 è più di un'ipotesi suggestiva."

from a Hebrew calendar into a Coptic one, which are attested in the Coptic-Orthodox rite but not or differently celebrated in the recorded history of Ethiopia, suggests an origin outside the Horn of Africa as well as a date of composition in the first millennium.

This conclusion prompts the question: if the text surrounding the *Apocalypse of Peter* turns out to be an Egyptian apocalyptic addition from the first millennium that comments on, specifies, and advances the themes found within the *Apocalypse of Peter* before the collective translation into Ḡəʿəz, what would be the consequences for the contents it transmits?

The Pseudo-Clementine text would unquestionably be a witness to an earlier state of the *Apocalypse of Peter* before its translation into Ḡəʿəz. When, consequently, the Greek fragments of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Pseudo-Clementine remarks on this very Apocalypse transmit the same contents *against* the Ethiopic text of the revelation to the Prince of the Apostles, we have an additional witness to the earlier state of the Apocalypse, by utilizing the whole of the *Second Coming*. The following chart illustrates this:



Let us suppose that the Greek version(s) of the *Apoc. Pet.*, together with the Pseudo-Clementine part of the *Second Coming*,⁸⁴ stand thematically (Content of Transmission A) against a reading of the work

⁸⁴ Possibly *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* can also be used as an additional transmission carrier if further research confirms its close connection and its shared provenance with the Pseudo-Clementine part of the *Second Coming*.

in the Ethiopic text (Content of Transmission B). In that case, it would be a strong indicator of the originality of a reading more similar to the Greek text at this particular point – as can be seen in the chart above.

Furthermore, the latter part of the *Second Coming* can give us at least some clarity regarding the contents of the former, which is not consistent in the Ethiopic version we have today – regardless of whether the corresponding passages survived in the Greek fragments. A prominent example where the Ethiopic and the Greek version of the *Apocalypse of Peter* transmit different messages is surely the possible corruption of the Ethiopic version of *Apoc. Pet.* 14. Here, the Ethiopic version only speaks about the baptism and the salvation of the righteous, while the Rainer Fragment clearly communicates the fact that the elect can save “whomever they ask [...] out of punishment” (*Apoc. Pet.* 14:1), which corresponds with the overall message of mercy for the sinners within the *Pseudo-Clementines*.⁸⁵

Another remarkable difference is that the Ethiopic account of paradise in the *Apocalypse of Peter* does not describe the inhabitants of this heavenly place, whereas the Akhmim Codex does so at great lengths.⁸⁶ Since we find extensive descriptions of this otherworldly location in the latter parts of the *Second Coming* (e.g., 20:1–21:5; 29:1–9; 36:1–5) and since the Ethiopic version of this entire paradise passage of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is, according to Eric Beck, “poorly written and often requires some degree of emendation in order to make it comprehensible”,⁸⁷ it is not unreasonable to entertain the

⁸⁵ On the role of mercy within the *Apoc. Pet.* see Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 85–88, 155–167. For a translation of the whole Rainer Fragment with remarks on its relation to the Bodleian Fragment, which presumably originates from the same manuscript, see Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 121–30.

⁸⁶ This is especially striking since Jesus’ disciples are interested in very different aspects of paradise in the two versions. In the Ethiopic version this place is characterised by the fathers such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Elijah who dwell there (16:4: “You have seen the nation of the fathers, and thus is their rest”), while the Akhmim Codex seems to be more concerned with the place where “your righteous brethren, whose forms you desired to see” (Akh *Apoc. Pet.* 13) are spending their life after death.

⁸⁷ Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter’, 126–7. On page 125, Beck points out that the proper name of Jesus only appears four times in the entire Ethiopic

possibility that the Ethiopic account of paradise, which only consists of roughly a third of the one in the Akhmim Codex, was shortened at some point during the extensive transmission process.⁸⁸ Therefore, we must read the Pseudo-Clementine additions and the Greek and Ethiopic versions together to get as close as possible to an “original” version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

If we accept this “early” dating of the composition of the *Second Coming* proposed here, we have a new Christian apocalypse in front of us, which has many features of more traditional “apocalypses” such as the ones attributed to John or Peter, but simultaneously illustrates distinct structures of later Christian texts – for instance, the interest in the correct chronology of Christian festivities or the use of the Alexander Romance in its apocalyptic visions. This apocalypse deserves its own analysis and gives us new material on how Christian communities negotiated pressing topics of their time through divine revelations to important figures such as Clement and Peter.⁸⁹

One such process, which we can observe in the present form of the *Second Coming*, is how a group of Christians coped with the

version of the *Apoc. Pet.* and each time in chs. 15 and 16. Moreover, these chapters introduce new titles for Jesus such as king (ግጥ) and God (እግዚአብሔር). This is another argument for a later interpolation of the Ethiopic passage. Already James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 521, wrote about this passage: “My impression is that the maker of the Ethiopic version (or of its Arabic parent, or of another ancestor) has designedly omitted or slurred over some clauses in the passage beginning: ‘Then will I give unto mine elect’, and that in his very diffuse and obscure appendix to the Apocalypse, he has tried to break the dangerous doctrine of the ultimate salvation of sinners gently to his readers”.

⁸⁸ Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 386, assumes that in this description of paradise in the Ethiopic text of the *Apoc. Pet.* the title of Jesus has been changed in three instances (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 15:1; 16:1, 4) “to bolster the divinity of Jesus, which may not have been evident in the Apocalypse of Peter”. This additionally supports the notion of editorial work in chs. 14–17 in the Ethiopic version.

⁸⁹ For this process of “Apocryphication”, see J. Frey, ‘From Canonical to Apocryphal Texts. The Quest for Processes of Apocryphication in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature’, in J. Frey, C. Clivaz, and T. Nicklas (eds), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts. Processes of Reception, Rewriting, and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2019) 1–43.

tension between the necessity of divine justice and the concept of an all-loving and merciful God who gave his own Son for sinners. We witnessed how the message of possible *salvation for deceased sinners* inside the *Apocalypse of Peter* was received by the Egyptian author of the Pseudo-Clementine framework.⁹⁰ Interestingly, the teaching about *postmortem salvation* was not condemned but was simultaneously perceived as a dangerous and destabilizing truth for any community. The author is obviously afraid that such merciful forgiveness would lead to a drastic increase in sins were the general population to learn of it. Hence, it must be only revealed to chosen individuals and be hidden from the rest. Thus, our so-far unjustified neglected Pseudo-Clementine framework provides us – along with the precious data on an earlier version of the *Apocalypse of Peter* with which he worked – fascinating insights into the author’s anthropology and theology. By accepting the necessity of the “false” teaching of a just and vengeful God, while standing firm behind the concept of penance after the death of the individual, the *Second Coming* is a prime example of a fine psychological and theological sensitivity within Christian apocalypticism which deserves more attention in future research.

⁹⁰ Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis*, 36, even claims that in the *Second Coming* along with Acts 3, “the announcement of Christ’s descent to hell in 1Peter and in the Gospel of Peter” we find a Petrine tradition that supports the expectation of the *Apokatastasis*.

X. “I Have Given You the Keys of Heaven and Earth”: The Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter* and the History of Christian Apocalyptic Literature

EMMANOUELA GRYPEOU

The Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter* (alternatively known as the *Book of the Rolls*) is a revelation dialogue between the resurrected Christ and Peter, narrated by Peter to Clement of Rome, which Clement writes down in rolls. According to the literary classification of pseudepigraphical literature, the text belongs roughly to the Pseudo-Clementine literature on account of its general narrative frame.¹ Significantly, it is said to be the sixth book of Clement of Rome. It is probably one of the earliest – if not even the earliest text preserved – which was originally composed in Christian Arabic. Moreover, it is one of the most emblematic texts to have been composed after the emergence of Islam. Notably, it relates to a variety of established pseudepigraphical, para-biblical, apocalyptic, and eschatological traditions.

Previous scholarship dated the work as early as the mid-eighth century on account of alleged cryptic references to political events in Byzantine and early Islamic history. However, more recent studies

¹ According to G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I (Città del Vaticano, 1944) 283: „Als jüngster Ausläufer pseudo-klementinischer Literatur gelangt in einem Teil der östlichen Christenheit ein in seiner Komposition und Redaktion original-arabisches Sammelwerk apokalyptischer Stoffe zu einem großen Ansehen” and further: “Sein Bestand blieb nicht immer derselbe”; cf. also F. Nau, ‘Clémentins (Apocryphes) II. L’apocalypse de Pierre ou Clément’, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* III (Paris, 1908) 216–19.

suggested a later date.² Still, it is highly probable that the work contains parts that originally were composed in different time periods, the earliest of which dates to the tenth century at the earliest, according to the palaeographic evidence.

The translations, numerous recensions, as well as the reception of this work in later literature attest to its popularity and significance.³ In particular, it was translated into Ge'ez under the brief title Qālementos ('Clement').⁴

² According to R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton, 1997) 294, the text relates to events in Seljuk-Fatimid Egypt and suggests the second half of the 11th cent., the date of the earliest attestation of manuscript Paris Ar 76. Other suggestions place the text in early Fatimid Egypt (mid or late 10th cent.): R. Griveau, 'Notes sur la lettre de Pisuntios', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914) 441–44 at 443. According to Assemani, some manuscripts contain information about the Muslim conquest of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1290): see E. Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-äthiop. Petrus-Apokalypse', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36.1 (1893) 454–93 at 461. Similarly, A. Mingana mentions additions that can be dated up to the 14th cent. (*apud* Graf, GCAL I, 287). However, G. Dillmann, 'Bericht über das äthiopische Buch Clemen-tinischer Schriften', *Nachrichten von der Georg-August-Universität und der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 17–19 (1858) 185–226, describes the text as "ein Denkmal aus der Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts, das uns einen Einblick gewährt in den Zustand der damaligen Christenheit und in die Gefühle und Anschauungen, welche sie bewegten."

³ On the reception of the text in Latin literature esp. in the context of the fifth Crusade, see K. Brewer, *Prester John. The Legend and Its Sources* (Farnham, 2015) 126–39; in the early 14th cent., Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt also refers to a book by Clement, the disciple of Peter, which is known as 'The Book of Secrets'. C.C. Rossini, 'Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente e la crociata di Damietta', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9 (1921) 32–35; B. Weber, 'Damiette, 1220. La cinquième croisade et l'Apocalypse arabe de Pierre dans leur contexte nilotique', *Médiévales* 79 (2020) 69–90; M. Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge: Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2018) 131–50.

⁴ See A. Bausi, *Il Qalēmentos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7* (Naples, 1992); C. Bezold, 'Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami', in id. (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Giessen, 1906) 839–912; S. Grébaud, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmentos. Version éthiopienne en sept*

The text is transmitted in Arabic and in Garshuni manuscripts and demonstrates a complicated manuscript and editorial history.⁵ It is a remarkably long and exceptionally complex, rich and at times even almost rambling text, for which we do not yet have a critical edition. As I have previously remarked: “Until a critical edition of this compelling and monumental work of Eastern Christianity becomes available, the interpretation of its apocalyptic symbols and ideas, as well as suggestions about dating and provenance, must remain tentative”.⁶ This observation sadly remains true.

Certain familiarity with Coptic customs, a positive attitude towards circumcision, as well as a conspicuous interest in the fate of Egypt suggest an Egyptian provenance. Thus, Egypt can be considered as the most probable place of composition, although the evidence of the Garshuni manuscript witnesses and perhaps more importantly, the engagement of the text with Syriac textual traditions attest to the popularity and dissemination of the text in Syria as well.⁷

livres traduite en français. Livres premier et deuxième (Paris, 1913); Dillmann, ‘Bericht’, 185–226; cf. P. Marrassini, ‘Peter, Apocalypse of’, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 135–37, who draws attention to a certain convergence, albeit very cautiously because of the lack of a critical edition of the Arabic text.

⁵ The text is extant in three main recension groups; on the manuscript evidence see Bratke, ‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung’; and the updated catalogue compiled by P. La Spisa, ‘À propos de l’Apocalypse de Pierre arabe ou Livre des Révélations (Kitab al-Magall)’, in A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2015) 511–26; La Spisa notes that there are at least 42 manuscripts, grouped in three recensions (23 mss.), along with two groups of summarised texts from miscellaneous collections and fragmentary texts (19 mss.) (op. cit. 520).

⁶ E. Grypeou, ‘Kitāb al-majāl; Jalayān Buṭrus’, in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500. A Bibliographical History* (Leiden, 2012) 636–37.

⁷ Dillmann, ‘Bericht’, 185–226, argued for an Egyptian origin of a definitely Monophysite text, which was composed originally in Arabic in the middle of the 8th cent. Bratke follows Dillmann and points out that Egypt was the main location for the production of apocalypses (‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung’, 491). Significantly, *Secreta Petri* were read in Egypt during church services; on the importance of the apostle Peter in Egypt, see K. Berger, ‘Unfehlbare Offenbarung. Petrus in der gnostischen und

The work may be viewed as a compilation of older and contemporary literary traditions. It often reads like an apocalyptic patchwork that uses the literary framework of the *erotapokriseis*, a quite common literary form for pseudepigraphical Christian literature in Late Antiquity.⁸ Thus, it is mainly structured as a series of questions and answers, in which certain topics, such as paradise or the heavenly Jerusalem are recurring, and their descriptions may even vary.⁹

The work is divided into three major sections. The first part, under the title *Kitāb al-majāll* or the Book of the Rolls, one of the Books of Clement, was originally edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson from a Sinai manuscript which dates to no later than the tenth century (Sinai Ar. 508).¹⁰ This section includes an Arabic version of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, together with a compendium of major biblical stories, mainly from the Old Testament, which focus on genealogies.¹¹ Furthermore, this part includes an Arabic version of

apokalyptischen Offenbarungsliteratur', in P.-G. Müller and W. Stenger (eds), *Kontinuität und Einheit. Festschrift für Franz Mußner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 1981) 261–326; A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1931) 214–15, suggests that the style, grammar, and vocabulary of the text denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian 'living in or near Egypt', and as the same author finally maintains: "There is hardly any need here to emphasise the fact that the country in which the present Apocalypse of Peter was first written is Egypt. It is also certain that the work itself is thoroughly Coptic in origin."

⁸ See P. Tóth, 'New Wine in Old Wineskin. Byzantine Reuses of the Apocryphal Revelation Dialogue', in A. Cameron and N. Gaul (eds), *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium* (New York, 2017) 77–93; On the use and popularity of the question/answer structure in later Christian apocalypses, see J.N. Bremmer, 'Descents to Hell and Ascents to Heaven in Apocalyptic Literature', in J.J. Collins (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford, 2015) 340–57 at 347, reprinted in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 329–45 at 336.

⁹ See Grypeou, 'Kitāb al-majāll, 632–37; E. Grypeou, 'The Re-Written Bible in Arabic. The Paradise Story and Its Exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden, 2006) 113–30 at 120–23.

¹⁰ M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901) 1–58.

¹¹ On the *Cave of Treasures* see S.-M. Ri, *La Caverne des trésors* (Louvain, 1987); C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1883).

the *Testament of Adam*, which is also attested in Syriac (among other languages).¹²

The second and third parts of the work were published by Alphonse Mingana in 1931.¹³ Mingana omitted the first part since it was already edited by M.D. Gibson, whereas he used several Arabic and Garshuni manuscripts for his own edition and translation into English. However, as Mingana concedes: “To edit all the above MSS. in a single publication is almost an impossibility” and so he has focused on the edition of one manuscript, which according to his opinion preserves the most ancient version of the work.¹⁴ This discussion uses Mingana’s text conscious of its limitations.

Mingana dubbed the parts of the text that he edited the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and this is the title I use here as well.¹⁵

The text itself testifies to the title *The Book of the Rolls*, as we read:

And I, Clement, did not cease to beseech the teacher Peter and to implore him to favour me with what I had asked of him until he granted my request and said: ‘Prepare the rolls and write down on them what I shall dictate to you. Make the present writing follow what we have already told you concerning the genealogy of Mary, the mother of light, and make one book of the whole’. This is the reason why I, Clement, have entitled this book *The Book of the Rolls*. And I began to write on the rolls what the holy teacher dictated to me, while my eyes were shedding tears and my hands were trembling.¹⁶

The first part of the work largely focuses on biblical history and genealogy. It appears to provide a general background for the more esoteric teachings that are to be revealed later in the apocalyptic narrative

¹² On the Syriac *Testament of Adam* see S.E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam. An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (Chico, CA, 1982); on the Arabic transmission of the same work, see C. Bezold, ‘Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami’, in id., *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, 893–912 at 898–909; G. Troupeau, ‘Une version arabe du ‘Testament d’Adam’, in R.-G. Coquin (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l’étude des christianismes orientaux* (Geneva, 1988) 3–14.

¹³ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*.

¹⁴ Cf. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 95.

¹⁵ On alternative attested titles, see Grypeou, ‘Kitab al-majall’, 632.

¹⁶ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 103.

that follows. This part concentrates on Clement's efforts to refute the Jews who challenge him about Mary's genealogy, Adam's creation, and the correct interpretation of the Torah. It concludes with the genealogy of Mary and a defence of her virginity. Significantly, the work indicates a strong interest in the veneration of Mary in general.

The second part, with which Mingana's text begins, contains an extensive account of heavenly and eschatological secrets, while the third part primarily consists of a historical-political apocalypse that narrates at length and in cryptic language the history of Islamic rule. This work is one of the very rare texts in apocalyptic literature that include visions of the afterlife as well as a political/historical apocalyptic prophecy. A final section begins with a description of the advent of the Antichrist but continues with a historical account of the apostolic mission with a special emphasis on Peter.

In the context of a consideration of the relationship of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* with the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, I am focusing here on the second part of the Arabic text, which includes visions of the afterlife and is also explicitly introduced as the revelation of hidden heavenly secrets that are not disclosed in Scripture, as Christ says to Peter: "Know that I have not imparted to Moses in the matter of the history of creation what I am imparting to you."¹⁷

This section begins with Clement telling Peter that he is now able to refute the Jews, but he still needs to know the heavenly secrets as revealed to him by Christ.¹⁸ The revelation of esoteric teachings bears a significant theological implication. The text deals extensively with fundamental questions of the Christian faith. These cover a description of the creation, basic information about the nature of the Godhead, including trinitarian explanations, cosmological and morphological details about the nature of angels according to their various ranks, the creation of Adam and Eve and their transgression, as well as descriptions of the afterlife. The interest in the afterlife specifically is reflected in Clement's questions about the meaning of life and death or the reason why God promised resurrection.

Peter takes Clement up to the Mount of Olives to the spot from which Jesus ascended to the heavens. There Peter prays to Jesus so he can confide to Clement these secrets. Peter's revelation, which is

¹⁷ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 128.

¹⁸ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 100.

described as divinely inspired and spoken through the Holy Spirit, requires cultic preparation. Peter prostrates himself to the ground and worships forty times. At the end of the forty genuflections, his face becomes illuminated and “something like a flame of a burning fire” radiates through him such that he undergoes a physical transformation before the revelation.¹⁹

Peter asks Clement to write down these words because afterwards there will be some who will not believe them. Peter begins with his narrative on the same spot Jesus also answered Peter’s questions regarding protological secrets about the abode of the Godhead and the throne before the creation of the world.

Thus, the setting of Jesus’ revelation, following common pseud-epigraphical motifs, also takes place on the Mount of Olives where Jesus gathers the apostles and Mary, his mother. However, the narrative develops into an exclusive conversation between Jesus and Peter. This revelatory discourse takes place post-resurrection but before Jesus’ ascension to which Peter is an eyewitness.

Peter’s importance and revelatory authority are stressed throughout the text, as Jesus explains: “The mysteries of my mercy are not known, and not comprehended, and no tongue is able to speak of them. I shall, however, reveal to you those of them that I know your mind and intelligence can comprehend, because I have given you the keys of heaven and earth, and have shown you their doors so that you might open them and close them at your will.”²⁰

The narrative shifts into a new sort of bracket narrative or perhaps even a meta-narrative, since Jesus is now the narrator who speaks to Peter, addressed here as the “foundation of his [Jesus’] church.” Jesus’ revelation starts with an exposition on the Trinity and the internal relation of three persons of the Trinity: “The Father is grace, I am wisdom and the Spirit is life”, whereby Jesus always speaks in the first person singular or plural: “We are not three but we are one”. And furthermore, as Jesus declares: “we are there without ceasing, without changing and without moving from one

¹⁹ Cf. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 104. The physical transformation of the visionary refers to common motifs in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings, i.e., 2 En. 28:11; T. Levi 4:2; 2 Bar. 51:12.

²⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 125.

thing to another, because all things move towards us, and everything is in our hand".²¹

In the context of this lengthy – and almost poetic – explanation about the Trinity, Jesus also describes creation as an act of the Trinity (“let us create divinely”) and does so in some detail. Thus, the work develops into a personal narration of the creation story, as when Jesus states: “and no one can number the heavens and the firmaments except ourselves, and no one can comprehend them besides us. We placed the waters in a vessel which surrounds the world.”²²

Jesus explains about the creation of everything material and immaterial, spiritual and corporeal. There is a special focus on the theological explanation of the creation of Adam as an angelic being, his transgression and fall. Similarly, the text also narrates and expands upon the creation of the “Archon” and his rebellion. Furthermore, he refers to the creation of the waters, the seven firmaments, and an extensive angelological part on the glorifying orders, the time, and even the days of their creation, their numbers and place, “all of them are divided into orders in three churches of light and fire”. In this context it also provides cosmological information including an explanation about weather phenomena, such as the formation of ice and snow.

Following the *Horarium of Adam*, which lists and elaborates upon the daily prayers and their appropriate time, the text includes instructions about the numbers and hours of the prayers with a special focus on ascetic practice. The timing of the prayers has a theological dimension related to the episodes from the biblical creation and paradise story. Moreover, it includes community and ritual rules, delineating the boundaries with other faith communities. It commands tolerance towards circumcision but intolerance towards the sacrifices of the sons of Kedar (the Muslims), the pagans, the Jews and an explicit and strict forbiddance of Sabbath observance, stressing at the same time the importance of the observance of the canons relating to Sunday with an emphasis on continuous prayer. The observance of these commands guarantees rewards for the faithful.

The description of the heavenly world and the divine throne unfolds in several visions with impressive vivid imagery, making eclectic use of material from the Rev 4:7, Dan 7:8–10, and Ezek 1.

²¹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 105–7.

²² Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 108.

Jesus urges Peter to look up and see “a pavilion of light. Around the pavilion hung curtains of light immersed in light”. Significantly, as Jesus explains, the Archon was initially near to the pavilion of light holding the cords of the veils of the divine grace. In contrast to the world of light above, Peter is then prompted to look at what is under him. “And I looked and saw a bottomless pit, dark and awful”.²³

Peter can observe almost simultaneously, albeit briefly, the heavenly throne and the abyss. In places, the narrative appears staged like a theatrical performance. So, we read: “He stretched His hand and lengthened His arm to the height of heaven, and He folded the heaven and the earth as parchment is folded, and as one folds the roll of a book (cf. Rev 6:14).²⁴ He collected them and placed them in the palm of His hand. Any one of the baptised Christians who does not believe in this and confesses that our Lord is able to do it may the curse of God be on him”.²⁵

1. *Visions of Afterlife in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*

This text includes remarkably extensive, detailed, and vivid descriptions of the places of heavenly reward, which are identified as paradise, Eden, the kingdom of heaven and the heavenly Jerusalem. The promise of rewards in the afterlife fulfilled important pastoral purposes as encouragement and support for the communities to persevere and follow the commandments of the faith.

Starting with Eden, we read that it is located in the land of Tigris.²⁶ It is the dwelling place of the angels and was created at the same time with the angels. It is the house of God’s mercy, where there

²³ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 124.

²⁴ A similar motif is mentioned by the anonymous pagan interlocutor of Macarius Magnes, *Apoc. IV.7*; Macarius understands this motif as a citation from an *Apocalypse of Peter*, see T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004) 93. I owe this reference to Daniel Maier.

²⁵ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 124.

²⁶ This motif reflects common biblically inspired speculations about an earthly location of Eden, see A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise. A History of Heaven and Earth* (Chicago, 2006).

is no darkness. Eden has together with paradise three doors. From this door, God hears and answers prayers. The first door, which is also the highest one, is located on the door of the sepulchre that is identified with Golgotha in the text. The second door overshadows the Mount of Olives, and the third door looks upon Mount Sinai. According to the text, all doors of paradise are related to biblical sacred geography. Personal worship practices are directly connected to sacred sites of revelation and to the heavenly realm. As Jesus explains here: "I did not become incarnate except to hear the prayers of those who are in need and to satisfy their wants."²⁷

Paradise is full of places of delight, exquisite perfumes, and rivers of light. It is sanctified by the glorifications of the spiritual beings. As we read: "It contains neither winter nor summer nor the perishable concupiscence of this world. It has neither food nor drink because its breeze satisfies the souls. The dwellers therein have no sinful thought, nor do they delight in sin. There is in it no hunger and no thirst, and its inmates are in no need of garments since there is in it no shame of nudity".²⁸

Paradise is placed below the kingdom and the divine throne and is created after the image of the church, prepared in heaven before the eons for the so-called 'marked faithful virgins' (Rev 14:4). This heavenly church is created as a dwelling for the believers and is located near the door of the pavilion of light.

The description of the heavenly Jerusalem which is located above the third heaven and overshadows the earthly Jerusalem is largely inspired by Rev 21. The work demonstrates a pronounced interest in liturgical life in general. Characteristically, the heavenly Jerusalem – which is also prepared for the children of baptism – is presented as the altar and the sanctuary of life, where liturgy never ends. On the day of the resurrection, the souls of the believers will go to the church of the heavenly Jerusalem that is established by the Father in the name of Christ.

The kingdom of heaven is located near the divine abode and is envisioned as even greater than paradise. Anyone who is worthy of the kingdom of heaven first experiences the pleasures of the gardens of paradise before they are taken up to the kingdom of heaven. The kingdom of heaven refers to descriptions of the apocalyptic heavenly

²⁷ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 135.

²⁸ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 137.

city. It is infused with divine grace; it possesses many doors, beautiful mansions, and delightful places, “pure, holy, sublime, arrayed in light”, as separate dwellings for the prophets and the righteous ones. Peter is the keyholder of all these heavenly abodes.

The rewards in the afterlife are categorised according to various ranks of believers depending on their merits. After the apostles, these ranks include the righteous and pure priests, who sanctify Jesus’ body and blood, offer their prayer at the appointed hour, are compassionate and pure in heart, and follow the laws and canons. For them, who will be “like the angels in heaven”, Jesus has prepared “marvellous garments and diadems and they will be placed in the mansions of heaven that overlook the sufferings of the abyss, in order to be rewarded with double joy and pleasures.”²⁹ The construction of paradise and hell as contrasting realities is accentuated by the ingenious placement of the abyss in full view of the inhabitants of the places of heavenly rewards.

After Jesus makes a sign to two angels, Peter is offered a brief tour of hell guided by angels who take Peter away and show him the place of punishments. As with paradise, hell has doors – partly, resembling large mountains. The angels open these doors to Peter to see “an accumulation of cold, blood and fire”. “Peter sees fires that burned, bodies that shook, sighs that mounted, and an uproar that kept alternately diminishing and increasing”.³⁰

The opening of respective doors by angels reveals a series of apocalyptic cosmological *tableaux vivants*, inspired by the book of Revelation – including images of parts of the sea turning into blood, the darkening of the sun, etc. Peter is presented as a seer here, resembling John of Patmos. As Mingana also remarks, “the author borrows freely from the Book of Revelation, but curiously enough with many modifications”.³¹ Characteristically, the opening of a red door in heaven reveals a red dragon (cf. Rev 12:3) with seven heads and twenty horns (cf. Rev 13:1).

Descriptions of hell, its torments and the sinners dwelling there can be found in the third part of the work. Tartarus is a place “full of the wrath, anger, and vengeance of God, and abundantly supplied

²⁹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 141.

³⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 142.

³¹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 100.

with the worms of the earth, which devour, sting and bite with various kinds of poisons".³²

Hell contains various compartments that are organised according to horizontal topography so as to accommodate various categories of sinners based on the perceived severity of their transgressions. An interesting feature here is that the most grievous sins listed, which also deserve a more elaborate treatment in this text, are transgressions related to the true faith, such as the unbelievers, the magicians, and the idolaters who knew about the creator God but nevertheless worshipped and offered sacrifices to the stars, stones, images, cows, and other animals.

Other similar categories include those who acted like Pharaoh, that is, people who compelled others to worship them, and made themselves gods. The most severe torments are reserved for those 'lawgivers', who knew their Lord with certainty but rejected him. "They will continually bite their tongues as their only answer to the benefits showered on them by the Father while they swore allegiance to the Rebel and rejected the services of their God who provides, vivifies, kills, and promises good things, and threatens with the torments of the abyss those who deny Him."³³

As the angel explains to Peter, the worm of those who disown Jesus will not die from their bodies. But their flesh will be eternally rejuvenated and the worms that are in it will increase and multiply.

Punishments include thick darkness that contains the smoke coming out of the torments of the abyss. It causes difficulty of breathing and gives rise to coughs and constriction in the chest. Other images describe cold that penetrates the bones so that "the teeth begin to gnash and grind, and the sufferers to shiver".³⁴

Thus, certain torments are described as essentially physical in a very realistic, almost trivial way. Compared to descriptions of the torments of hell common in other apocalyptic writings, these punishments seem to refer to common illnesses or severe physical discomfort. They are said to diminish the brightness of the colours, harden the hearts, increase the sorrows, and mar the beauty of the face.

³² Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 218.

³³ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 217–18.

³⁴ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 218.

In a way, eternal corporeality is perceived as the actual eternal punishment. The torments of the flesh and physical pain and discomfort are contrasted with the spiritual bliss of the pure souls.

The text adds a long list of worldly sins, common in Christian apocalyptic literature (envy, slander, false witness, fornication, robbery, murder, etc.). These sins will be punished with torments of hell as transgressions against the “praiseworthy commandments” of God.³⁵

Although the text mentions that “those localities are frequented by demons who are of different forces and bewilder the minds”,³⁶ these do not seem to have a specific punitive function here. However, the text also informs us that there are angels made of fire entrusted to take charge of the fire and of those sinners in the “lowest extremity” of the torments.³⁷

The envisioning of hell and of its punishments in the text is quite idiosyncratic and contains aspects which are unique or unusual in the context of the late antique Christian apocalyptic literature. However, it should be reiterated that the presentation and analysis of this material is fragmented and incomplete. Visions of hell are scattered in different parts of the work, and Mingana omitted folios in the third part of the work which “are followed by another version of the different kinds of torments inflicted on different types of sinners” (ff. 135b–137a), as well as folios 137–145b “on the end of the world and on the punishment of sinners, somewhat similar to those already reported”.³⁸

2. *The Arabic Apocalypse of Peter and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter: A Case of Lost Relatives?*

The *Arabic Apocalypse* (*Ar. Apoc. Pet.*) shares certain formal characteristics with the text commonly known as the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (*Eth. Apoc. Pet.*).³⁹ Both texts present revelatory discourses

³⁵ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 219.

³⁶ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 218.

³⁷ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 219.

³⁸ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 360.

³⁹ See D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988); E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019). All quotations are from Beck’s translation of the text, 66–73.

framed as *erotapokriseis* between Jesus and his disciples on the Mount of Olives, where Peter becomes the only interlocutor with Jesus and the only recipient of the revelation. The exclusivity as well as the secrecy of the revelation is stressed by both textual traditions. In the Arabic text, Jesus commands Peter to “keep the secrets which I have disclosed to you, because their knowledge will be required at the end of the time, and it will only be found with few people”.⁴⁰ In the Ethiopic text, Peter is instructed not to reveal these secrets to anyone but only to the wise and learned, such as patriarchs and priests (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 40).

Generally, there is a certain overlap in the “list of revealed things”.⁴¹ The *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* shares with the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* an interest in the eschatological realities, in paradise and hell in general, although not necessarily in the details of the description. Accordingly, a direct interdependency between these two textual traditions cannot be established, but they form part of a corpus of pseudepigraphical apocalyptic Petrine tradition or library.

Interestingly, both texts share some common moral exhortations and perceptions (such as lists of sins or of laudable behaviour to respectively be punished or rewarded in the afterlife). The rewards for the righteous are also distributed according to their rank of merits and both texts express the common belief that paradise has many dwellings. Descriptions of the divine throne demonstrate some commonalities, which are, however, ultimately, inspired by biblical prototypes (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 29:7–8).

Furthermore, there is a shared interest in angelology, protology, and in the secrets of the creation story. Both texts provide an elaborate narrative of the creation story, Adam’s transgression and fall, and the creation and rebellion of the devil.

Certain fundamental theological tenets about the nature of the Godhead are shared as well. Significantly, Jesus declares in the *Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 26:8: “There is no place that can contain us, but we perceive every place through the power of our divinity”; this statement is repeated in several places in the Arabic text such as, for example, in: “We contain everything, and nothing contains us”.⁴²

⁴⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 248.

⁴¹ See Buchholz, *Their Eyes Will Be Opened*, 10–16.

⁴² Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 106.

Interestingly, in both texts the revelation of the heavenly secrets and of the afterlife takes place as a “live” spectacle in the palm of Jesus’ hand, where protology, eschatology, and cosmology co-exist as parallel realities outside and beyond time and earthly history (*Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 3:1).

A pit as the locus of punishment is mentioned in the *Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 7:3 as well, employing well-known motifs such as venomous animals and castigating angels lighting the fire of punishment (*Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 7:4). However, the Ethiopic text famously offers more detailed descriptions of sins and tortures. More importantly, perhaps, it is also more concerned with questions of mercy and theodicy. The *Ar. Apoc. Pet.* develops a more comprehensive exposition of popularized Christian theology, and its main focus is the exhortation to persevere in the right faith. Accordingly, the Arabic text appears like a *vade mecum* to support and defend Christian theology and practice.

We may conclude that both texts provided their respective communities with alternative visions of the afterlife relevant to their specific pastoral needs.

The commonalities observed here remain peripheral and do not provide evidence for direct contact or communication between the two textual traditions. However, they testify to the dynamic and broad circulation of apocalyptic motifs and their eclectic use for the composition of new writings. Scholarship has established that the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* is a translation from an Arabic text, which apparently remains lost.⁴³ The missing Arabic link for a text which has been so fundamental and important to the history of Christian eschatology is remarkable. A possible reason could be an “inflation” of apocalyptic and eschatological literature in Arabic at the time. It has long been argued that the *Greek Apocalypse of Peter* became obsolete in Christian Late Antiquity and was gradually replaced by the *Apocalypse of*

⁴³ See A. Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96; Buchholz remarks: “Yet while we are justified to retain the possibility that the Arabic Book of the Rolls could be our Apocalypse of Peter, in a greatly expanded and altered form, it certainly does not contain the better text of the ancient apocalypse for which some scholars have been searching” (Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 15).

Paul (Visio Pauli) and later texts influenced by it.⁴⁴ As Georg Graf remarks in his monumental work on the history of Christian Arabic literature, there were several new writings composed in Arabic of a testamentary character, which imitated the apocryphal Jesus' revelation before his ascension on the Mount of Olives, including moral exhortations, apocalyptic revelations, and canonical/legal commandments.⁴⁵ Notably, popular apocalyptic texts, like the *Apocryphal Apocalypse of John*, the so-called *Apocalypse of (Ps.-)Gregory of Edessa*⁴⁶, and perhaps more importantly, the *Apocalypse of Paul* were also translated into Arabic from Syriac; latter witnessed in numerous – mostly Garshuni – manuscripts.⁴⁷ Additional Arabic apocalyptic writings recorded by Graf that focus on the fate of the souls remain unedited and possibly there exist other still undiscovered writings. The present evidence testifies to a strong interest in texts of an eschatological character, as well as to intense translation activity and dialogue between Eastern Christian communities.

⁴⁴ M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983) 19 classifies these texts as the “Apocalypse of Paul family”.

⁴⁵ Graf, *GCAL* I, 241–42.

⁴⁶ See A. Croq, *Les représentations de l'au-delà chez les chrétiens de Syrie-Mésopotamie durant les premiers siècles de l'Islam, à partir de l'édition critique de l'Apocalypse de Grégoire d'Édesse* (Paris, 2021) (unpublished PhD thesis); cf. I. Perczel, ‘The Revelation of the Seraphic Gregory Found in Two Indian Manuscripts’, *Adamantius* 19 (2013) 337–58.

⁴⁷ See A. Bausi, ‘A First Evaluation of “The Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Paul”’, *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999) 131–64 at 137, who lists 36 mss. Emiliano Fiori recently noted that about 20 new mss. have appeared since the publication of Bausi's inventory (‘Les deux versions syriaques de l'Apocalypse de Paul et leur place dans la transmission de cet apocryphe dans l'Orient chrétien’, *Apocrypha* 31 (2020) 129–53 at 142); cf. Graf, *GCAL* I, 271–72, who had significantly only noted 13 mss.; cf. also P. La Spisa, ‘La recensione araba antica dell'Apocalisse di Paolo secondo il codice Sinaitico Arabo 461 (IX sec.)’, *Apocrypha* 31 (2020) 155–85, who argues for a direct Arabic translation from an original Greek text without a Syriac intermediary.

3. *The Arabic Apocalypse of Peter and the Multifaceted History of Christian Apocalypticism*

The *Book of the Rolls/Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* is probably the first Christian pseudepigraphon originally composed in Arabic and represents an important witness to the continuation and adaptation of Christian pseudepigraphical literature in the context of new political, historical, and cultural conditions.

In many ways, this monumental work is representative of the development of Christian apocryphal literature in Late Antiquity, especially when examined in the context of its transition into the Middle Ages. It showcases how particular literary genres and streams of thought are developed and transformed parallel with the historical and confessional developments in Eastern Christianity and how they also reflect cultural, local, linguistic, and other peculiarities. Characteristically, this work testifies to the emergence of a Christian Arabic literary culture, which develops out of a dialogue between various Christian traditions and denominations as well as out of a dialogue or controversy with Judaism and Islam. Thus, apocalyptic writing becomes increasingly concerned with issues of orthodoxy and often also reflects the confessional affiliations of their authors.⁴⁸ In many cases, these texts may even read as a kind of theological propaganda polemising against the enemies of the right faith. The *Arabic Apocalypse* is a case in point for this tendency.

Furthermore, developments in Christian apocalyptic literature bear witness to the flexibility and mobility of apocalyptic writings in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Apocalyptic textual units can be found dispersed in a variety of literary forms and are often integrated in different heterogeneous works. Apocalyptic visions might be included in works that are composed as hagiographies and martyrologies but include several anecdotal episodes from the lives of celebrated real or fictional saints and martyrs and tend to deal with

⁴⁸ J.N. Bremmer, 'Christian Hell. From the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*,' *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325, at 314, repr. in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 295–312, has also noticed the importance of matters of religious concerns in the apocalyptic texts of Late Antiquity. He writes: "Moreover, there is no longer a border drawn against the pagans outside the Church but against those who do not profess the orthodox doctrines"

a variety of subjects, including visions of the afterlife and apocalyptic prophecies.

At a time when florilegia, catenae collections, and in general encyclopaedic works become increasingly popular, apocalyptic literature seems to follow this trend. Accordingly, Christian visionary literature is largely constructed as an encyclopaedic compilation of sorts. These writings present collections of revelations of divine secrets and ultimately aim at a systematisation of knowledge about the cosmos, the beginning and the end of the creation, and the fate of souls after death.

The *Book of the Rolls/Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* largely demonstrates this compilatory, encyclopaedic character indeed. The work appears as a series of – at times even seemingly unconnected – apocalyptic visions and prophecies, but which also integrates a certain variety of topics of an encyclopaedic character, such as questions and elaborations concerning angelology, protology, and cosmology or theological, ecclesiological, liturgical, and doctrinal issues.⁴⁹

In addition, later Christian apocalyptic literature testifies to a particular reception history in its treatment of earlier apocalyptic texts, and most notably the canonical apocalypses, the book of Daniel or Revelation, including re-writing parts of these books or their use as sources of inspiration for the composition of these “new” writings. In some respects, this body of literature builds a closed self-referential literary system, which is largely characterised by its commentary character. Thus, pseudepigraphical apocalyptic narratives partly function as ingenious exegetical approaches to these canonical books which they adapt to contemporary theological concerns and historical circumstances. Apocalyptic texts of a younger date intentionally use basic motifs from the older texts that have been authoritative or even canonical as a means of acquiring authority and trustworthiness for their own prophetic revelation.

⁴⁹ As P. Magdalino, ‘Byzantine Encyclopaedism of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries’, in J. König and G. Woolf (eds), *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2013) 219–31 at 219 remarks: “Byzantine culture was permanently encyclopaedic in the sense that it was continually collecting, summarising, excerpting and synthesising earlier texts. Most of this activity was religious and geared to theological controversy and ascetic devotion”.

Accordingly, I am tentatively arguing that texts like the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* suggest the latent existence or emergence of an apocalyptic “canon” in Late Antiquity. It is hardly possible to imagine any texts (and at least hardly any texts I am aware of) which are composed after the fifth century and do not contain implicit references to and influences from the book of Daniel and/or Revelation, or the *Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli)*. And of course, after the late seventh century, the Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* becomes part of the “canon” – at least for all political/historical apocalyptic writing.

In conclusion, later apocalyptic texts, such as the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, demonstrate a strong intertextuality by borrowing, integrating, and re-using established apocalyptic images and motifs. As an apocalyptic bricolage, the reception of older literature aims to enhance the prophetic credibility of the new writing for the intended audience since the re-cycled visions must persuade as parts of a shared authoritative revelatory knowledge. In a way, apocalyptic writing is produced in a continuum between infinite interplay and the redefinition of stability, or perhaps, canonicity.

Apocalyptic literature and visions may juggle with different literary genres, reflect contemporary literary and theological developments, demonstrate different aspects and degrees of intertextuality, establish trajectories of communication between faith and confessional communities, but ultimately they always strive to create and re-create alternative realities, almost like windows opening into the world of the divine, transcending mundane perceptions of heaven and earth – as Peter proclaims:

“And I opened my eyes and saw heaven and earth in His (Jesus’) hand, together with the sun and the moon. The rivers flowed in it, and the winds were also assembled there. All these, O my son Clement, I saw in the palm of the hand of my Lord, and all of them glorified and sanctified openly. I saw all this not in my dream and not as it was a jugglery but in true reality”.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 124–25.

XI. ‘Close and yet so faraway’: The *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*

EMILIANO B. FIORI

An exhaustive comparative assessment of the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* would require an extensive and thick literary analysis that transcends the limits of the present article.¹ Here I shall especially try and raise some general questions on how we should think about the relationship between the

¹ I owe the warmest thanks to Alessandro Bausi for his careful reading and revision of the present paper. Quotations in Latin from the *Apocalypse of Paul* throughout the paper are drawn from the Paris manuscript Paris, MS Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. Lat. 1631 as printed in T. Silverstein and A. Hilhorst (= Silverstein-Hilhorst), *Apocalypse of Paul. A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions* (Genève, 1997); the English translation is taken from J.K. Elliott (= Elliott), *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993). Quotations in Gə‘əz from the *Apocalypse of Peter* are drawn from P. Marrassini, ‘L’Apocalisse di Pietro’, in Y. Beyene *et al.* (eds), *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci* (Napoli, 1994) 171–232 (= Marrassini). The English translation comes from D.D. Buchholz (= Buchholz), *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988). The most recent state of the art concerning the manuscript tradition of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is provided by A. Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96; see also the relevant articles in this volume.

Among the rich bibliography on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the main reference works (if we exclude the Medieval traditions of the text) are P. Piovanelli, ‘Les origines de l’Apocalypse de Paul reconsidérées’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 25–64, reprinted in his *Apocryphités* (Turnhout, 2016) 367–404 and J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (Leuven, 2007).

two texts and thus on the meaning of this relationship for our understanding of early Christian apocalypticism.

1. *The Apocalypse of Paul: A Brief Overview of the Plot and of Some Remarkable Motifs*

Firstly, it is worth reminding the reader of the plot and main motifs of the *Apocalypse of Paul*,² and of the rough parallels between the two apocalypses. The *Apocalypse of Paul* displays, as is well known, the tour of the apostle Paul in the realm of the dead, elaborating upon 2 Cor 12:2–4. After some preliminary material, Paul is shown the departing of the soul of one righteous person and of two sinners from the body, and their respective judgment at God’s tribunal, which is structured as an actual court trial. He is then brought to the third heaven, where he meets Enoch and Elijah. Then he is led to the east of the ocean and visits the places of the blessed, who are divided into two categories: the righteous, who live in a miraculously fertile land of promise, and the perfect, who are recognisable as monks and live in the City of Christ, which is reminiscent of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation.³ Before entering this city, the blessed are washed and purified in the Acherusian lake. The perfect ones in the city have different rewards according to their main merits and enjoy the company of the biblical patriarchs. In the following section, Paul visits the place of the damned to the west of the ocean. There he is shown many different torments, and the angel who accompanies him explains them all in detail, illustrating their connection with the respective sins. A certain number of these sins are doctrinal in nature

² The clearest overview of the plot and structure of the *Apocalypse of Paul* remains that of J.-M. Rosenstiehl, ‘L’itinéraire de Paul dans l’au-delà. Contribution à l’étude de l’Apocalypse apocryphe de Paul’, in P. Nagel (ed.), *Carl-Schmidt-Kolloquium an der Martin-Luther-Universität* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1990) 197–212; see also J.N. Bremmer, ‘The Apocalypse of Paul’, in J.Ch. Edwards (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha* = Vol. 10 of *Ancient Literature for New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids, 2022) 427–45.

³ For a detailed treatment of this relation see T. Nicklas, ‘From Heavenly Jerusalem to the City of Christ. Revelation and the *Visio Pauli*’, in N. Betz (ed.), *Revelation’s New Jerusalem and its Receptions* (Tübingen, 2023) [forthcoming].

or committed by monks and members of the clergy. Paul repeatedly weeps over the fate of the damned, who, in seeing him do so, beg God for mercy: here the archangel Michael engages in a dialogue with them, rebukes them for having wasted the time they had to repent, but promises that he, together with Paul, will beseech God to give the damned some rest. Thereupon the voice of Christ is heard and he famously grants the damned a day of respite on Sunday (or on Easter Sunday). The last section, where Paul journeys to Eden, is of the utmost importance to understand the original historical context of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but it needs not retain us here.

A crucial characteristic feature of the text is that everything Paul sees, except for the short visit to the third heaven, is located on this earth. The tour of this Apocalypse – just as Dante’s divine comedy – is not properly “otherworldly”.⁴ For the purpose of the present paper, however, one motif is particularly noteworthy. Recent research has persuasively shown that many key aspects of the *Apocalypse of Paul* are dictated by a marked anti-Origenism.⁵ Indeed, the text was written in Egypt at the end of the fourth century, in the heyday of the first Origenist controversy.⁶ In fact, one of the main doctrinal sins it envisages is the denial of bodily resurrection, which was among the main anti-Origenist charges during the controversy.⁷ In an anti-Origenist

⁴ As remarked by K. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul. Geography, Genre and History*, PhD Dissertation (Princeton, 2001) 53–55: “Rare is the cosmic tour apocalypse that, like the Apocalypse of Paul, tours not only the heavens, but also the distant edges of this world” (54).

⁵ Cf. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul*, 104–20.

⁶ On this controversy, the obligatory reference is E. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992). The journal *Adamantius* featured a monographic section on the first Origenist controversy in vol. 19, 2013 (“La controversia origenista. Un affare mediterraneo”).

⁷ For the denial of bodily resurrection as a major imputation against Origen and the Origenists between the fourth and the fifth century, see Epiphanius, *Panarion* 64, where it is the first and main allegation in the pinax of the chapter titles: “Origenists, the disciples of the Origen who is called Adamantius the Author. They reject the resurrection of the dead...” (English translation from F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis Books II and III. De Fide* [Leiden, 2013] 3). And indeed, the chapter itself is almost entirely devoted to the refutation of Origen’s alleged denial of bodily resurrection, especially from 10,1 on, with a lengthy quotation from Methodius of Olympos’s

perspective, then, it is highly significant that, for almost every described punishment, the angel reminds Paul of the eternity of the torment.⁸ In the same line, the idea of granting the damned a temporary pause, which does not revoke the eternal duration of their punishment, should be regarded as a compromise with the doctrine of apokatastasis, whose subversive potential would thus be partially deactivated.⁹ Upon seeing

Aglaophon, or, on the Resurrection (third century) occupying the greatest part of the text. Jerome, *Letter* 96 is in fact a translation of Theophilus of Alexandria's Sixteenth Festal Letter of 401; in paragraphs 13 and 15 (*Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae Pars II. Epistulae LXXXI-CXX*, rec. I. Hilberg [Vienna and Leipzig, 1912] 172 and 174–75; Engl transl. in N. Russell, *Theophilus of Alexandria* [London and New York, 2007] 110–11 and 112–13), Theophilus's accusation is more subtle: according to him, Origen and his followers affirm that bodies do rise but they remain corruptible even after the resurrection, so that they will vanish completely: in a word they do not rise incorruptible and immortal. See also Shenute, *Contra Origenistas*, 11 (in H.-J. Cristea, *Schenute von Atripe. Contra Origenistas*, [Tübingen, 2011] Coptic text 155, German transl. 250); an English translation in D. Brakke and A. Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenute the Great. Community, Theology, and Social Conflict in Late Antique Egypt* (Cambridge, 2015) 61–62, and a new German translation of both Theophilus/Jerome and Shenute in A. Fürst (ed.), *Origenes im koptischen Ägypten. Der Traktat des Schenute von Atripe gegen die Origenisten* (Münster, 2022) 166–70, and 213.

⁸ The phrase (*indeficientes/indeficienter/incessabiliter persolvunt/persolvit penas*, “they/he unceasingly pay[s] the proper penalties”) is repeated nine times (once in par. 36, referring to a deacon who ate the oblation and fornicated; once in par. 37, referring to those who “in church disparage the Word of God”; once in par. 38, referring to lay fornicators and adulterers; five times in par. 39, referring to the virgins who broke their virginity unknown to their parents; to those who harmed orphans, widows, and the poor; to those who broke the fast before the appointed time; to the clients of whores; to the sodomites; and once in par 40, referring to “heathens who gave alms”).

⁹ This motif in the *Apocalypse of Paul* may or may not derive from the apocalypse of the Virgin in the *Book of Mary's Repose*, entirely preserved only in Gə'əz. The original redaction of this work would seem to be earlier than the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself, and it may have originally contained Mary's successful intercession for the damned and their consequent intermittent refreshment. This, however, does not have major consequences for the present research: the focus of the present paper lies in the specific anti-Origenist meaning that this motif takes up in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. To be sure, it cannot be excluded that the motif also had an anti-Origenist tinge in the apocalypse of the *Book of Mary's Repose*, which in its current form

the first few punishments, Paul weeps and mourns the human fate. This is a traditional and pivotal element in apocalyptic literature, to which I will return shortly. The angel's response to Paul's laments, which is traditional, too, is also highly significant: "Why do you weep? Are you more merciful than God?" This traditional exchange takes on a new meaning: the desire for apokatastasis is a human construct but does not correspond to God's plan.

2. Literary 'Parallels'

In 1892, Montague Rhodes James drafted a famous list of parallels between the *Apocalypses of Peter and Paul*, which he deemed to be signs of a direct literary influence of the former on the latter.¹⁰ More than ninety years later, in 1983, Martha Himmelfarb devoted some pages of her famous monograph, *Tours of Hell*, to a close reading of James's suggestions, reaching the conclusion that most of them had to be dismissed.¹¹ It is worth re-examining quickly those cases that Himmelfarb considers as pointing to a possibly direct influence.

1. People wearing rags or dark clothing in the Gə'əz *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:6–7, are those who trusted in riches (this phrase is also used for usurers in *Apocalypse of Paul* 37¹²) and were cruel towards

probably first appeared in Palestine in the fourth century at the latest (see R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead* [Leiden, 1998] 344–46; S.J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* [Oxford, 2002] 42–46; E. Norelli, *Marie des apocryphes. Enquête sur la mère de Jésus dans le christianisme antique* [Geneva, 2009] 115 and 133–36) – thus, in the throes of the first Origenist controversy, and in the region that, together with Egypt, was a major stage of the controversy. In such a case, it would not be surprising that the author, or final redactor, of the *Apocalypse of Paul* may have found the motif (if he really found it in the *Book of Mary's Repose* and borrowed from it) useful for his purpose, so that the *Apocalypse of Paul* applied it to the same goal.

¹⁰ J.A. Robinson and M.R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter* (London, 1892) 66–67.

¹¹ M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983) 140–47.

¹² *Contententes in duiciis suis* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 144). This is probably reminiscent of Ps 51:9 (numbering of the Vulgate), especially because it is associated with the usurers' lack of trust in God: the same lack is also mentioned in Ps 51:9.

widows and orphans.¹³ In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, precisely the same clothing is destined to those who seemed to lead a monastic life but showed no charity and had no pity on widows and orphans, so that the punishment is “monasticized”, according to specificity of this Apocalypse. Here, the lack of compassion for the widows is also a fault of bishops (*Apocalypse of Paul* 35¹⁴), and even more specific to them – which is explained by decades of reflection of the charitable duties of bishops in the fourth century. Also concerning the usurers, in both texts (in the *Apocalypse of Peter* only in the Akhmim text¹⁵) they are described as “claiming interests upon interests”,¹⁶ and both of their punishments involve immersion.

2. The punishment of people who committed infanticide in *Apocalypse of Paul* 40 is, according to Himmelfarb, “not unlike” the second punishment for infanticide in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8;¹⁷ Paul has generic devouring beasts, Peter the more iconic devouring beasts coming out from the women’s breasts.¹⁸ The presence in both texts of the murdered children, who accuse their mothers and are entrusted to the angel Ṭəmlakos or the angel of Tartarus,¹⁹ is particularly meaningful in terms of their reciprocal influence.
3. In *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:3, people who chew on their tongues are blasphemers and have doubted God’s righteousness;²⁰ in *Apoca-*

¹³ ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ እለ፡ ያሉብሱ፡ መሳሕግታተ፡ ወአፅርቅተ፡ ርሱሐ፡ [...] እለ፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ይትዌከሉ፡ በብዕሎሙ፡ ወእቤር፡ ወብእሲተ፡ እንላ፡ ማውታ፡ ተዐወሩ፡ ላዕለ፡ እግዚአብሔር። (Marrassini, 227).

¹⁴ *Uidae et orfanos [sic] non est misertus* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 140).

¹⁵ T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 114–15.

¹⁶ *Usuras usurarum exigentes* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 144).

¹⁷ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 141.

¹⁸ *Uidi ... bestias discerpent es* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 148).

¹⁹ *Apoc. Pet.* 8:10 (ጥምላኮስ፡ Marrassini, 227); *Apocalypse of Paul* 40 (*angelis tartari/angelo tartaruchol/angelo tartareo*, Silverstein-Hilhorst, 150–51). On this angel(s) see J.-M. Rosenstiehl, ‘Tartarouchos-Temeloukos. Contribution à l’étude de l’Apocalypse apocryphe de Paul’, in *Deuxième journée d’études coptes* (Louvain, 1986), 29–56, somewhat corrected and supplemented by J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 275–76.

²⁰ ወጎቤሆሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ህየ፡ ካልኣነ፡ [Buchholz፡ ካልኣነ፡] ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ወየሐይኩ፡ ልሳኖሙ፡ [...] እሱ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ፅሩፋነ፡ ወመያጥያነ፡ ለጽድቅየ፡ (Marrassini, 227).

lypse of Paul 37, as Himmelfarb rightly points out, as “the sin” has remained but it has become ecclesiastical: “mocking the work of God in church”.²¹

4. Although in different contexts (hell in *Apocalypse of Peter*, 7:10, the divine tribunal in *Apocalypse of Paul* 18), murderers are obliged to confront their victims.
5. A significant parallel: sins concerning almsgiving are punished with blindness in both *Apocalypse of Peter* 12:1–2 and *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, although the sin is slightly different in the two cases.²²
6. The idea of a pit where all runs down (the “abomination and excrement” of the tortured in *Apocalypse of Peter* 8:1,²³ the punishments in *Apocalypse of Paul* 38²⁴) is a motif common to both texts: it should be perhaps regarded as an actual parallel.

To the contrary, the following similarities are more tenuous in terms of a possible direct influence:

7. In both apocalypses, adulterers hang by some part of their body: in *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:5–7, women hang by their neck and hair, men by their loins (their feet in the Akhmim text);²⁵ in *Apocalypse of Paul* 39, men and women both hang by hair and eyebrows for adultery.²⁶
8. In *Apocalypse of Paul* 37 and 39 worms devour usurers and oppressors of widows and orphans and poor; in *Apocalypse of Paul* 42, the “worm that does not sleep” eats at the deniers of resurrection.²⁷ In *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:10 and 9:2, worms also eat murderers and the worm that does not sleep devours the persecutors and betrayers of the righteous.²⁸

²¹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 146.

²² ዕድ: ወአንስት: ዕዉራን: [...] እሉ: እሙንቱ: እለ: ይገብሩ: ምጽዋተ: ወይብሉ: ጻድቃን: ንሐነ: ለእግዚአብሔር: ጽድቀ: ኢጎሠሥዎ: (Marrassini, 229).

²³ [ወ]ሰቆራር: ጽብ: [P: ወሰቆራር: and T: ወሰቆራረ:] (Marrassini, 226).

²⁴ *In istam foueam influunt/transfluunt omnes pene* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 144).

²⁵ አንስት: ይሰቅልዎን: በክሳዶን: ወሥዕርቶን: [...] ወዕደውሂ: እለ: ይሰክቡ: ምስሌሆሙ: በዝሙት: ይሰቅልዎሙ: ውስተ: መንቃዕቶሙ: (Marrassini, 225).

²⁶ *Et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres suspensos a superciliis et capillis suis* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 146).

²⁷ *Et uidi illic uermem inquietem* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 156).

²⁸ Marrassini, 225 (murderers): ወይብዝሳ: ዕዲሆሙ: ከመ: እንተ: ደመና: ጽልመት: Marrassini, 227 (persecutors and betrayers): ወዘኢይነውም: ዕዲ: ይብልዎሙ: አግባቶሙ: እሙንቱ: ሰዳድያኒሆሙ: ወምግብአኒሆሙ: ለጻድቃንየ:

A rather obvious, although partial pattern already emerges from these few parallels, that is, a tendency towards a clericalisation of the imagery of sin coming from the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which is easy to explain in historical perspective. Himmelfarb's discussion and questioning of James's parallels has the advantage of being much more punctual than I can be here and of showing that, indeed, the majority of the parallels singled out by James are too generic to be considered decisive elements to argue for a direct literary influence of the earlier text on the later. However, Himmelfarb's analysis has quite a limited scope, and it simply demonstrates that the hells of the two Apocalypses are not quite the same, although they occasionally bear some significant resemblance.

At first sight, moreover, the differences between the two Apocalypses seem to be much more relevant. A first difference is that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is not an otherworldly journey, and we cannot even classify it as a 'tour of hell' as Himmelfarb did: the apostles do not move from the Mount of Olives and they see everything in the hand of Christ. A second, even more relevant difference is that the two Apocalypses have little in common as far as the judgment of the souls is concerned. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, after the first vision of the damned, Christ narrates the events of the eschatological resurrection of the dead. After a cosmic turmoil, Christ comes on a cloud with his angels and sits on his throne to the right of his Father to judge the nations who are proved by fire and confronted with their own actions. The judgment scene, then, is not very specific, as it mostly borrows from Matt 16:27 or 24:30 and rather concentrates on the condemnation of the sinners: it has nothing to do with the full-fledged tribunal with a threefold case system we have in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

3. *A Deeper Relationship: The Conflict of Justice and Mercy*

3.1. *The Apocalypse of Peter as a 'Scenario' for the Apocalypse of Paul*

The punishments of hell in the *Apocalypse of Paul* discussed by James and Himmelfarb, however, are not the only elements that remind one of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. As many have noticed over the last

century, and Thomas Kraus has more recently investigated,²⁹ at least another relevant detail of the *Apocalypse of Peter* seems to have directly inspired the *Apocalypse of Paul*: the purifying washing of the blessed in the Acherusian lake. This so-called baptism, which occurs in an Acherusian “field” in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* (but it is a lake in the Greek Vienna Rainer fragment: the field, being also called “Aneslas[a]leya”³⁰ in Gə‘əz, must rather be identified with the Elysian fields, as is clear from the Greek), is paralleled by the immersion in the Acherusian lake of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the blessed are immersed before entering the City of Christ. In the Vienna fragment, Christ says that after the baptism in the Acherusian Lake he and his elect ones will enter his Kingdom, where they will live with the patriarchs. This brief sentence seems to be a germinal outline of what would later be described as the City of Christ in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the blessed are rewarded with the company of the patriarchs, the city itself being modelled on the heavenly Jerusalem of *Revelation*. In the Greek fragment of Akhmim, no mention of the Acherusian lake or field can be found, but the blessed are seen in a shining world where the earth gives blessed fruits spontaneously and is rich in plants and spices.³¹ This parallels the land of promise of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which may otherwise have something to do with the Elysian fields of the Vienna fragment and the Ethiopic version. Whereas we can reasonably argue that the City of Christ is an original invention of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, just as the related division between it and the miraculously fertile land of promise, the idea of this blessed land, of a life with the patriarchs in the Kingdom of Christ, and of an Acherusian Lake close to it is found in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Martha Himmelfarb intended to show that we have no ‘smoking gun’ for a direct dependence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and that we must conceive the possibility

²⁹ Cf. T.J. Kraus, ‘Acherousia und Elysion. Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext’, *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2003) 145–63. The classical study of E. Peterson, ‘Die Taufe im acherusischen See’, *VigChris* 9 (1955) 1–20, remains an indispensable reference for this motif.

³⁰ See Buchholz, 229 in note 2: ἄνεσλας / ἄνεσλας.

³¹ Cf. Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 106–8.

that between them there were many lost pieces of a now unrecoverable literary puzzle.³² This is certainly a possibility but, as Kraus has observed,³³ the impression remains that the *Apocalypse of Paul* did incorporate single motifs of hell and paradise directly from the *Apocalypse of Peter* and reworked them into a whole to which other sources must have contributed, too: see, for example, the motif of the heavenly Jerusalem. I would further elaborate on this by saying that at the macro-structural level the *Apocalypse of Peter* does contain many elements that we find again in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but in a very embryonic form: the judgment, a detailed description by categories of sinners of the punishments in hell, the depiction of the place of the blessed as a fertile land with a purifying washing in the Acherusian Lake, and the idea of a realized Kingdom of Christ where the blessed will enjoy the company of the patriarchs. Thus, if the later apocalypse has elements of the earlier one but the two are not perfectly parallel, we are not obliged to argue from this that there have been many intermediary stages between them, as Himmelfarb argued. There is another possible explanation. One may think that the *Apocalypse of Paul* took up the *Apocalypse of Peter* as a direct model indeed, but only as a plot outline, as a generic scenario or as a theme, as we would call it in the language of music, to graft its own ideas into it. The *Apocalypse of Paul* can be regarded as an intentional expanded variation on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and I will now try to suggest why it is so.

3.2. *The Apocalypse of Paul as an Anti-Origenist Compromise*

If Himmelfarb's way of interrogating the two texts clears up old mistakes and provides us with precious information, it does not help us explain what the relationship between the two Apocalypses *means* or, in other terms, the reason why the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* deemed it worthy to relate in one way or another to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The information we draw from James's *Quellenforschung* and from Himmelfarb's welcome verifications must lead us to a deeper hermeneutical level of analysis. To understand the relationship of the two texts more precisely, one should also consider the broader

³² Cf. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 143.

³³ Cf. Kraus, 'Acherousia und ElySION', 160–61.

picture and the very logic of bliss and punishment in both Apocalypses, without limiting oneself to the single torments of hell. Are the macro-structures and aims, not only some discrete episodes or phrases, of the two texts rather unrelated or do they seem to be in dialogue? I think we can answer in the positive. Indeed, there is one much more substantial reason why we cannot deny that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is a reference text for the *Apocalypse of Paul*. This reason is the core question itself of the *Apocalypse of Paul*: the question of the “conflict of justice and mercy”, as Bauckham puts it,³⁴ and the fact that this question is asked within a vision of punishments and rewards in the hereafter – with, at the heart of this, the crucial conundrum, recently studied by Thomas Kraus and Enrico Norelli,³⁵ of the compassion for the damned and of the possibility for them to obtain a cessation of their torments. In this conceptual domain, too, and not by chance, we find literal parallels between the two Apocalypses that have not yet been noticed or valorized. The most relevant motif shared by the two texts in this regard is an almost identical re-use of the lamentation of Ezra in *4 Ezra* 4,12: “It would be better for us not to be here”.³⁶ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 3:4–5, upon seeing the damned crying, and before any detailed description of them, Peter exclaims: “it would have been better for them if they had never been created”.³⁷ Thereupon, Christ replies: “You are rebelling against God! You have not had more mercy on them, his formation, than he has had. For he created them and brought them fourth where they had not been”.³⁸ These words clearly echo those of Uriel in *4 Ezra* 5,33: “do you think

³⁴ Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 132–48 – the phrase “the conflict of justice and mercy” is the title of the chapter. The important monograph of E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019), is entirely devoted to this topic.

³⁵ T.J. Kraus, ‘Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten’, in H. Klein *et al.* (eds), *Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96; E. Norelli, ‘L’«Apocalisse di Pietro» come apocalisse cristiana’, *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 17 (2020) 111–83.

³⁶ Engl. transl. by Michael Stone, from M.E. Stone and M. Henze, *4 Ezra and 2 Baruch* (Minneapolis, 2013) 24.

³⁷ ጎየሶሙ፡ ሰበ፡ ኢተፈጥሩ፡ (Marrassini, 223; Buchholz, 179).

³⁸ አንተ፡ ዘትትቃወሞ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወኢኮነ፡ አንተ፡ ዘትምሕሮሙ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ልሕድተ፡ ዘአሁ፡ እስሙ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፈጠሮሙ፡ ወአምጽአሙ፡ ኀበ፡ ኢሀለወ፡

you love [Israel] more than He who created her?";³⁹ and in 8,47, in God's name: "You are far from loving my creation more than me".⁴⁰ In both cases, Ezra had besought God to pity the weakness of human beings. This whole motif surfaces again in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. At the end of his tour of hell, Paul uses almost the same words as Ezra and Peter: "it were better for us if we had not been born, all of us who are sinners".⁴¹ When, after seeing the first punishments in hell, Paul bursts out crying, the angel rebukes him with words that echo those of Uriel in *4 Ezra*:

(33) "Why do you weep? Are you more merciful than God? For though God is good, he knows that there are punishments, and he patiently bears with the human race, allowing each one to do his own will in the time in which he dwells on the earth⁴² ... (And again later on in c. 40) Why do you lament? Are you more merciful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who established judgement and sent forth every man to choose good and evil in his own will and do what pleases him?"⁴³

This sentence, which I had anticipated in the first paragraph of the present contribution, is a most evident declaration of the reciprocal borders of justice and mercy. "You cannot be more merciful than God, who established judgment on the basis of free will" means: God is merciful within the limits of what human beings choose in their lives characterized by time; beyond these limits, there is only judgment and there exists no time; hence, the eternity of rewards or

(Marrassini, 223; Buchholz, 179; I am mixing his "literal" and "free" translations here).

³⁹ Stone and Henze, *4 Ezra and 2 Baruch*, 31.

⁴⁰ Stone and Henze, *4 Ezra and 2 Baruch*, 56.

⁴¹ *Apocalypse of Paul* 42: *Melius erat nobis si non fuisemus [sic] nati nos omnes qui sumus peccatores* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 156; transl. Elliott, 638).

⁴² *Apocalypse of Paul* 33: *Quare ploras? Numquid tu magis misericors es quam Deus? Cum enim sit bo[nus] deus et scit quoniam sunt pene pac[ien]ter fert genus homin[um], dimittens unumquemque [pro]pria uoluntate facere in tempore quo habitat super [t]erram* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 140; transl. Elliott, 634).

⁴³ *Apocalypse of Paul* 40: *Quare ploras? Numquid tu magis misericors es quam dominus deus qui benedictus est in secula, qui constituit iudicium et dimisit unumquemque in propria uoluntate eligere bonum et malum et facere quod ei placet?* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 152; transl. Elliott, 637).

punishments. As I also anticipated above, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* this theme becomes an anti-Origenist *Leitmotiv*: humans cannot be more merciful than God; God's justice cannot be overcome by the human desire of forgiveness, to which any apokatastasis amounts. The thematic parallel is further confirmed by the lamentations and supplications of the damned themselves, and by the speeches of the angels. In *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5, the angel Taṭirokos (ታጢሮኮስ:) addresses the damned with the following words: "Now you repent when there is no time for repentance, and life did not remain".⁴⁴ As a result, the damned acknowledge God's justice and their own fault: "Righteous is the judgement of God, for we heard and knew that his judgement is good. For we have been paid back each one according to our deed".⁴⁵ This confession is paralleled by a similar one (but of the victims of murder who see the punishments of their murderers) in 7:11: "Justice and righteousness are the judgement of God. For we heard and did not believe that we would come into this eternal place of punishment".⁴⁶

In fact, however, this torment is undoubtedly characterised as eternal in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*, but not in its Greek versions. This divergence in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is a matter of debate. Thomas J. Kraus has convincingly argued that the Greek text of *Apocalypse of Peter* 14:1–3 as we read it in the Vienna Rainer fragment⁴⁷ (and in its elaboration in the Sibylline Oracles, as we will shortly see) envisages a chance for the damned to be saved.⁴⁸ Enrico Norelli has recently shown that, wherever we have passages in Greek of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (thus also in the Akhmîm text), one can

⁴⁴ ይእዜ፡ ትኔስሑ፡ አመ፡ አልቦ፡ ጊዜ፡ ለንስሓ፡ ወኢተረፈ፡ [T has ወኢተርፈ፡] ሕይወት፡ (Marrassini, 229; Buchholz, 227).

⁴⁵ ርቶዕ፡ ኩንኔሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ሰማዕነ፡ ወአእመርነ፡ ከመ፡ ሠናይ፡ ኩንኔሁ፡ እስመ፡ ተፈደደነ፡ ፩፩በከመ፡ ምግባሪነ፡ (Marrassini, 229–30; Buchholz, 227).

⁴⁶ ጽድቅ፡ ወርትዕ፡ ኩንኔሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ሰማዕነ፡ ወኢአምነ፡ ከመ፡ ንመጽእ፡ ውስተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ምኩናን፡ ዘለዓለም። (Marrassini, 226; Buchholz, 203).

⁴⁷ Published by C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du Christianisme écrits sur papyrus. Textes édités, traduits et annotés II* (Paris, 1924) 6b, 482–83, and identified by M.R. James, 'The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 32 (1931) 70–79.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kraus, 'Fürbitte', 374–76.

observe that any reference to an eternal duration of the punishments is absent.⁴⁹ The Rainer fragment famously reads:

I will give to my called and my chosen whomsoever they will ask me for, out of punishment, and I will give them a fine baptism in the salvation of what is called the Acherusian Lake, in the Elysian Field, apart of the justice with my holy ones. And I will depart, I and my rejoicing chosen together with the patriarchs to my eternal kingdom. And I will fulfil for them (or: “with them”) my promises that I have promised them, I and my Father in heaven.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Cf. Norelli, ‘L’«Apocalisse di Pietro»’, 138–55, with a detailed comparative textual analysis; see especially 148: “è quindi doveroso chiedersi se le menzioni dell’eternità delle pene non possano essere state aggiunte in una forma testuale modificata, quella poi tradotta in etiopico, o anche all’interno della trasmissione della traduzione etiopica”.

⁵⁰ T.J. Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]: Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003) 45–61, here 51–55; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 126–27:]έξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ εκ{κ}λητοῖς μου ὃν ἐὰν ἐτήσονταί με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα ἐν σωτηρίᾳ Ἰαχερουσία[ς] λίμνης ἣν καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, μέρος δικαιοσύνην μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου· καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἐκλεκτοί μου ἀγαλλιώντες μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν εἰς τῆ(ν) [α]ἰωνίαν μου [β]ασιλείαν καὶ ποιήσω μετ’αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπα[γ]ελίας μου, ἃς ἐπεγγειλάμην αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ π(ατῆ)ρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς. English translation *ibid.* 128. Compare with the Ethiopic: “And then I will give my elect, my righteous ones, the baptism and the salvation which they ask of me in the field of Akeroseya which is called Aneslasleya. [And] I will give the portion of the righteous ones and I will go now [and] rejoice with them, the crowd of the patriarchs [see Marrassini 214–15 and note 1 to p. 215], into my eternal kingdom. And I will do for them what I have promised them, I and my heavenly Father **ወአሜሃ፡ እሁቦሙ፡ ለጎሩያንዮ፡ ለጻድቃንዮ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ወመድኅኒተ፡ ዘሰአሉኒ፡ ቦጎበ፡ ሐቕለ፡ አክሮስያ፡ እንተ፡ ይብልዋ፡ አኔስለስልያ፡ እጼጉ፡** [or **ወእጼጉ፡** Buchholz: it is a conjecture to make sense of the MSS’ reading **ጻገዩ፡ መክፈልተ፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወአሐውር፡ {ይእዜ፡} እትፌሣኸ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ አበው፡ አሕዛብ፡ ውስተ፡ መንግሥትዮ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ወእገብር፡ ሎሙ፡ ዘአሰፈውክዎሙ፡ አነ፡ ወአቡዮ፡ ሰማያዊ፡** (Marrassini, 230; Buchholz, 227–30, with corrections). An alternative rendering of the second sentence is: “In the field of Akeroseya which is called Anslasleya I will give the portion of the righteous ones, etc.”.

The Ethiopic text, however, is relatively uncertain here: in fact (I thank Alessandro Bausi for calling my attention to this fact), MS P, on fol. 136r,

Sibylline Oracles 2, 330–338 is even more clearly and thus evidently elaborating on a similar Greek text:

The omnipotent and incorruptible God will grant still another thing to those pious ones, when they beseech the incorruptible God – he will give salvation to human beings from the violent fire and from the immortal gnashing of teeth. Also this he will do: after gathering them again from the unceasing flame and placing them elsewhere, he sends them, thanks to [the supplications of] his people, to a different and eternal life, among the immortal in the Elysian field, where the long waves of the eternal Acheron are, the deep-bosomed lake.⁵¹

From Kraus through Eric Beck⁵² to Enrico Norelli, there is recently general consensus that the Rainer fragment reflects the original doctrine of the *Apocalypse of Peter* more faithfully. Norelli tried to elaborate further on this and to argue by deduction that, according to the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*, all the damned will be saved.⁵³ I do not

bears the phrase “the baptism and the salvation” above the line. This is probably due to a simple oversight of the scribe, who then corrected his slip. But this may be a sign of contamination, although it is less likely, also because the scribe had corrected himself in like manner just two lines earlier. Moreover, considering that T, which also bears this reading, might be a copy of P, there can be no definitive certainty that the phrase was present in the branch of the manuscript tradition to which P (and possibly also T) belonged.

⁵¹ J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902) 44:

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει
εὐσεβέσιν, ὁπότεν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτήσωνται,
ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει·
λεξάμενος γὰρ ἐσαυθὶς ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
ἄλλοσ' ἀποστήσας πέμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
εἰς ζοὴν ἑτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτοισιν
Ἥλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρὰ
Λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου.

On the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Sibylline Oracles* see furthermore the contribution by Bremmer in the present volume as well as Maier's article concerning Origenist ideas in the Pseudo-Clementine Ethiopic framework of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

⁵² See Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 85–88, esp. 88: “the Apoc Pet likely originally contained the post-mortem salvation of the wicked as contained in the Rainer fragment and referenced in *Sibylline Oracles* 2.330–338”.

⁵³ Cf. Norelli, ‘L’ «Apocalisse di Pietro»’, 167–70.

know whether this intriguing hypothesis on a universal salvation is acceptable, since it has no definitive support in the text.⁵⁴ However, I fully agree with Norelli and Kraus that the Vienna fragment of paragraph 14, together with the Sibylline oracles, points to the possibility that the fate of at least some of the damned in the *Apocalypse of Peter* changes after the judgment, with the underlying assumption that, once divine justice has been firmly established the judgment, mercy can still prevail, at least in some exceptional cases.

Apocalypse of Paul 43 presents an exchange analogous to that between the damned and Taṭirokos (ⲧⲏⲗⲓⲣⲟⲕⲟⲥ) in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5, but the interlocutor of the damned is the archangel Michael. “Michael the archangel, have pity on us and on the human race”, they say, acknowledging their mistakes but still trying to justify themselves:

We now see the judgement and acknowledge the Son of God! It was impossible for us before these things to pray for this, before we entered this place (note the correspondence with the above mentioned *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:11: “we heard and did not believe that we would come into this place”); for we heard that there was a judgement before we went out of the world, but impediments and the life of the world did not allow us to repent.⁵⁵

Michael’s harsh reprimand is similar to that of Taṭirokos: “Where are your prayers? Where are your penances? You have lost your time contemptibly”.⁵⁶ The final result of this conversation, however, is the refreshment of the damned on Easter (or, more unlikely, every Sunday), thanks to Michael’s and Paul’s intercession: “But now weep”, Michael

⁵⁴ See also T. Nicklas, ‘Petrusoffenbarung, Christusoffenbarung und ihre Funktion. Autoritätskonstruktion in der Petrusapokalypse’, in J. Frey *et al.* (eds), *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten* (Tübingen, 2019) 319–35.

⁵⁵ *Apocalypse of Paul* 43: *Vidimus nunc iudicium et cognouimus filium dei. Impossibile nobis fuit ante aec pro hoc orare quam incederimus in hoc loco. Audiuimus enim quia esset iudicium priusquam exiremus de mundo, sed impedimenta et uita secularis nos penitere non sinuerunt* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 156–58; transl. Elliott, 638).

⁵⁶ *Apocalypse of Paul* 43: *Et uos contempsistis tempus in uanitate in quo debuistis penitere ... Ubi sunt ergo oracionis [sic] uestre, ubi penitenciae uestre?* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 158; transl. Elliott, 638): compare *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5.

says, “and I will weep with you and the angels who are with me with the well-beloved Paul, if by chance the merciful God will have pity and give you refreshment”.⁵⁷ After this comparison, and considering the other parallels we saw earlier, we have enough material to state with confidence that the relationship between the two Apocalypses of Peter and of Paul is intentional and direct. To be sure, one can imagine that the occurrence of these motifs in the *Apocalypse of Paul* derives from other sources unknown to us or directly from *4 Ezra*. However, the similarity of the context would rather point to a direct inspiration of the *Apocalypse of Paul* by the *Apocalypse of Peter*, or to a simultaneous inspiration by both the *Apocalypse of Peter* and *4 Ezra*. Indeed, one cannot avoid thinking that the *Apocalypse of Paul* turned to none other than its most illustrious Christian predecessor when it came to discussing justice and mercy in the hereafter: the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁵⁸ However, we still have to understand more precisely why it did so.

The author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is clearly aware of the dialectical line, concerning the possibility of forgiveness for the damned especially through the intercession of others, that starts from *4 Ezra* and reaches the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a line Thomas Kraus has brilliantly sketched. The *Apocalypse of Mary* in the *Book of Mary's Repose* may also have played a role.⁵⁹ Much of what the angel Uriel

⁵⁷ *Apocalypse of Paul* 43: *Nunc autem flete, et ego fleuo uobiscum et qui mecum sunt angeli sancti cum dilectissimum Paulum [sic], si forte miserator [sic] misericors Deus ut det uobis refrigerium* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 158; transl. Elliott, 638). *4 Ezra* 7:102–105 also discussed the possibility of a refrigerating intercession for the damned, but excluded it altogether, like *2 Baruch* and Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*. See the detailed discussion in Kraus, ‘Fürbitte’, 363–69.

⁵⁸ We should not forget, in this regard, that the fifth-century historian Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History* VII, 19), in informing his readership that the *Apocalypse of Paul* was enjoying success among Palestinian monks, also felt the need to specify that it was replacing the *Apocalypse of Peter* in their preferences. This replacement is a likely hint to the fact that the similarity between the two texts was clear to their earliest readers, and that, when their preference shifted, it did so towards a text (the *Apocalypse of Paul*) that was similar to their former favorite but had a marked monastic background.

⁵⁹ On the possible dependence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* on the apocalypse in the *Book of Mary's Repose*, especially in terms of the seer's intercession for the damned, see Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 340–46, and Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, 43–45, 284–85. See note 9 above.

says in 4 *Ezra* 7,102–105.115 is repeated by the *angelus interpretis* and the damned in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (the damned knew about the judgment, but they consciously ignored it – now they bear the full responsibility of their punishment – time is finished, so that there is no time left to repent), but it is mediated by a re-invention of the narrative of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which in its turn had recreated the 4 *Ezra* material in Christian garb in paragraph 13. This is the main reason why the *Apocalypse of Paul* takes up and creatively expands the ‘scenario’ of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The author or final redactor of the *Apocalypse of Paul* felt it was time to reset the whole problem, because in the meantime there had been Origen and the first Origenist controversy. The slight (or, according to Norelli, complete) preponderance of mercy over justice suggested by the *Apocalypse of Peter* is untenable after Origen and Origenism. This is patently demonstrated by the anti-Origenist antirrhexis to the above-mentioned passage of the *Sibylline Oracles*, referred to v. 330 and added in the margins in the manuscripts of the ψ -branch of the *Oracles*, to refute the passage that elaborates upon the apokatastatic conclusion of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Indeed, where the text of the *Oracles* gets close to the Rainer fragment, as we saw above, the marginal note writes:

[These are] evidently lies: for the fire that punishes the damned will never stop. Indeed, I would also pray that things be thus, if I were marked by the greatest wounds, which need a greater mercy. But let the chattering Origen be ashamed, who states that punishment have an end.⁶⁰

The relationship of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with the *Apocalypse of Peter* is identical to the relationship of this anti-Origenist antirrhexis with the text of the *Oracles*.

⁶⁰ Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, 45:
 ψεύδη προφανῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ λήξει ποτὲ
 τὸ πῦρ κολάζον τοὺς κατακεκριμένους.
 Κἀγὼ γὰρ ἂν εὐξαιμι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν
 οὐλαῖς μεγίσταις σφαλμάτων ἐστιγμένους,
 αἱ μείζονος χρήζουσι φιλανθρωπίας.
 ἄλλ' αἰσχυνέσθω φληναφῶν Ὀριγένης
 πέρας γενέσθαι τῶν κολάσεων λέγων.

4. Conclusion

The well-known macroscopic difference between the two Apocalypses, i.e., the fact that the *Apocalypse of Paul* displays no interest in the eschaton and focuses on the interim status of the souls, whereas the *Apocalypse of Peter* is entirely concerned with the eschaton, is also part of this set of problems. *Apocalypse of Peter* 14, as both Kraus and Norelli note,⁶¹ alludes to an eschaton outside of time: its perspective is completely uchronic although, of course, it happens in the future with regard to us, which explains the future [παρ]έξομαι in the Vienna fragment. Thus, there will be no more time to repent, as Tañirokos says, and yet someone will be saved. The *Apocalypse of Paul* also states that there is no more time. However, because of its anti-Origenist orientation, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* there is no time to repent, not because it depicts an eschaton where time does not exist, but because judgment happens immediately after death in the time of this world. Time still exists, but for the dead there is no time spared. Thus, in the later *Apocalypse* the exhaustive tour of the hereafter is the focus and the axis of the text because what Paul must see is the divine distributive justice acting just now, in this world and on this earth, where time exists, although beyond the ocean. This is the reason why the tour of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is not *stricto sensu* otherworldly but occurs on this earth. An accurate, somewhat casuistic description of punishments and rewards is the ideal way to represent this justice, as it conveys by itself the anti-Origenist message around which the whole text revolves: there is no progression from punishment to bliss in the other life, as Origen and his followers assumed. Everything is already fixed and organised now, once and for all, from the moment of one's death; only an evolution from the land of promise to the City of Christ is considered in some cases. This is also the reason why the *Apocalypse of Paul* elaborates on the plot of the *Apocalypse of Peter* by making the judgment become a precisely

⁶¹ Cf. Kraus, 'Fürbitte', 389–90; Norelli, 'L'«Apocalisse di Pietro»', 166: "Fondamentale ... è tener conto del fatto che l'intercessione non ha qui luogo nel quadro di una visita dell'inferno che si svolge durante il tempo di questo mondo, ma in occasione del giudizio finale, cioè quando tutti i giochi sono stati fatti, quando tutto il tempo di tutte le vite è finito e il tempo stesso di questo mondo è scomparso".

described tribunal, and by assigning two structurally balanced sections to rewards and punishments, with a further sub-categorization of the rewards. Contrariwise, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a balanced description of torture and bliss is not itself the main point of interest. This is already made evident by their reciprocal disproportion: reward is little more than a promising perspective, with a small handful of details in par. 14. Why are punishments, on the contrary, described in detail? Since its final message is the (partial or total) preponderance of mercy, the *Apocalypse of Peter* must insist on the fact that divine justice continues to exist.⁶² We could even say that the two texts pursue an opposite goal: the author or final redactor of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, after highlighting distributive justice so strongly, had the problem of safeguarding and re-introducing mercy after all, even if without making concessions to the Origenists. The author of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, on the contrary, had to keep divine justice on track despite the prominence of mercy.

Thus, we may affirm that the *Apocalypse of Paul* is a post-Origenist form of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, being the post-Origenist re-modulation of the motif of mercy prevailing over justice. Therefore, it enters into dialogue with this motif by prospecting what is by all means a compromise solution: the possibility of an intercession that does set the damned free from punishment, but recurrently and for a short time. This solution is a further limitation of the space, which was probably already limited, given to divine mercy in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In this sense, I would not define this compromise as a “hardly credible solution” of the problem of justice and mercy,⁶³ as it is seriously grounded in the attitude of the *Apocalypse of Paul* towards Origenist eschatology: not of complete rebuttal, but of minimal concessions – probably because the monastic milieu that produced it was not so unanimously and compactly hostile to Origenism.

⁶² In order to ‘integrate justice and mercy’, as Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 121–23, rightly puts it, elaborating upon the previous conclusions of L. Roig Lanzillotta, ‘Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the Apocalypse of Peter’, in Bremmer and Czachesz, *Apocalypse of Peter*, 127–57.

⁶³ As Norelli defines the eschatological compromise of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Norelli, “L’«Apocalisse di Pietro»”, 160.

XII. Der Acherusische See als Reinigungsort in christlicher und jüdischer Nachtodmythologie

JAN DOCHHORN

1. *Ein altes Thema*

Vom Acherusischen See ist die Rede in Überresten der *Petrusapokalypse* und in der weitaus besser überlieferten *Paulusapokalypse*; er ist in beiden christlichen Parabiblica ein Taufort für Tote. Wer in ihm getauft wird, kommt an den Ort der Seligen. Vergleichbare Heilsausagen, den Acherusischen See betreffend, kommen auch in anderen Texten vor, durchgehend solchen, die man als Parabiblica bezeichnen kann. Die meisten Belege sind seit Langem bekannt: Schon 1954 hat Erik Peterson ihnen einen Aufsatz mit dem Titel »Die Taufe im Acherusischen See« gewidmet.¹ Es folgten 2003 Marinus de Jonge und Michael White, die speziell den Beleg in der *Apokalypse des Mose* diskutierten (*Apc Mos* 37,3–4a: die Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See)², sowie 2004 Thomas J. Kraus, der in besonderem Maße pagane Texte einbezog.³

¹ Vgl. E. Peterson, 'Die Taufe im Acherusischen See', *VigChris* 8 (1954) 1–20.

² Vgl. M. de Jonge and M. White, 'The Washing of Adam in the Acherusian Lake (Greek Life of Adam and Eve 37:3) in the Context of Early Christian Notions of Afterlife', in M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature. The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (Leiden, 2003) 201–27.

³ Vgl. T.J. Kraus, 'Acherousia and Elysion. Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext', *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2003) 145–63.

Es gibt also schon Forschung zum Thema. Was wird hier Neues geboten? In der Hauptsache wird es mir um religionsgeschichtliche Konkretion gehen, und zwar in drei Punkten:

1. Es können meines Erachtens deutlicher als bisher Beziehungen zwischen den parabiblichen Belegen rekonstruiert werden, vornehmlich dahingehend, dass in der Regel die *Apokalypse des Mose* (*Apc Mos*) und eher noch die von ihr abhängende, mit ihr milieuverwandte und an der betreffenden Stelle wohl auch gleichlautende *Vita Adae et Evae* (*Vit Ad*) den Ausgangspunkt der Traditionsentwicklung bildet, direkt oder indirekt (die *Vit Ad* geht mit der *Apc Mos* weitgehend synoptisch parallel, ist aber anders als diese auf Griechisch kaum mehr erhalten und damit schwer zu rekonstruieren; s. § 3.6.1).
2. Es lässt sich zeigen, dass der christlichen Geschichte des Motivs eine jüdische vorausgeht: Die Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See, die *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a erzählt, ist nicht christlich, wie de Jonge und White fälschlicherweise annehmen, sondern jüdisch. Ein entsprechender Nachweis stand den vorhergehenden Beiträgen nicht zur Verfügung – mit der Folge, dass nie ganz klar wurde, ob die *Apokalypse des Mose* in Sachen Acherusischer See von christlicher Tradition abhängt oder aber auf jüdischer Gedankenarbeit beruht.⁴ Die jüdische Provenienz von *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a habe ich dann aber 2005 ausführlich in meiner Monographie zur *Apokalypse des Mose* aufgezeigt.⁵ Die dort geleistete Arbeit kann hier zu einem guten Teil aufgenommen werden, aber es wird auch Veränderungen geben: Die *Apokalypse des Mose* datiere ich inzwischen früher als damals, und ich kann sie besser in der Vorgeschichte des frühen Christentums unterbringen. Dies betrifft auch das hier zur Rede stehende Motiv.

⁴ Vgl. die eher tastenden Erwägungen bei Peterson, ‘Taufe’, 9–12; de Jonge und White, ‘Washing’, 211–12 schließen aus dem christlichen Profil der Parallelen, dass auch *Apc Mos* 37,3 christlich sein müsse, ähnlich M. de Jonge und J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield, 1997) 72–74. Methodisch ist hierzu anzumerken, dass es sich um Eisegese handelt, wenn man aus dem religionsgeschichtlichen Kontext einer Parallele auf die religionsgeschichtliche Provenienz eines Textes schließt.

⁵ Vgl. J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2005) 487–93.

3. Der Acherusische See ist ein Reinigungsort für Tote auch schon in griechischer Überlieferung. Jüdischer und christlicher Nachtodmythologie zum Acherusischen See liegt Griechisches zugrunde, und zwar ganz speziell und wohl nahezu ausschließlich der Schlussmythos des Sokrates in Platos *Phaidon*. Dies kann hier stärker herausgearbeitet werden als bisher, wobei anzumerken ist, dass de Jonge / White sowie Kraus dies durchaus im Blick haben, während ich in meiner vorhergehenden Arbeit zur *Apc Mos*, da vor allem um einen zweifelssicheren Erweis der jüdischen Provenienz des Motivs in der *Apc Mos* bemüht, mich weit mehr auf hebräische Bibelüberlieferung bezogen hatte als auf die griechischen Texte.

Um das vorangehend präsentierte Programm zu realisieren, werde ich nachfolgend zuerst ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit griechisches Material zum Acherusischen See präsentieren. Dann wissen wir zumindest ansatzweise, was man in der Antike als mehr oder weniger hellenisierten Bewohner der Mittelmeerwelt zum Thema wissen konnte; die jüdischen und christlichen Texte lesen sich dann einfacher (§2). Sodann werde ich – in zeitlich absteigender Reihenfolge – die christlichen und jüdischen Belege zum Acherusischen See als Reinigungsort erörtern (§3), zuerst einen Beleg aus dem *Liber Institutionis Michael* (3.1), der meinen Vorgängern noch unbekannt war, dann die Belege aus dem *Liber Bartholomaei* (3.2), der *Paulusapokalypse* (3.3), der *Petrusapokalypse* (3.4), den *Sibyllinischen Orakeln* (3.5) und der *Apokalypse des Mose* (3.6). Vor allem der letztgenannte Text wird ausführlich erörtert werden, nicht zuletzt mit Hinblick auf seine Relevanz für die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe. Ein Schlusskapitel wird religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven andeuten (§4): Zuerst wird erörtert, ob die Juden schon vor der *Apokalypse des Mose* vom Acherusischen See wussten, und dann wird die Entwicklungsgeschichte des hier verhandelten Motivs nachgezeichnet.

2. Zum Acherusischen See bei den Griechen

»Acherusischer See«, im Griechischen gewöhnlich Ἀχερουσία λίμνη, ist zunächst einmal ein Toponym, etwas, das mit lebensweltlich erfahrbarer Geographie zu tun hat, gewöhnlich ein See, in den sich ein Fluss namens Acheron ergießt. Es genügt ein Blick in das Wörterbuch von Passow, und man weiß, dass es in mehreren von Menschen bewohnten

Landschaften Acherusische Seen gegeben hat.⁶ Die Zahl der Belege vermehrt sich mit einer TLG-Recherche; die meisten werde ich hier unberücksichtigt lassen müssen. Thukydides I,46,4 etwa kennt einen Acherusischen See in der Thesprotis (Nordwestgriechenland), der sich dort ins Meer ergießt und seinerseits von dem Acheron gespeist wird; ähnliches liest man bei Pausanias, *Graecae Descriptio* I,17,5. Dagegen erwähnt Strabo, *Geogr* V,4,5 einen Acherusischen See in der Nähe des sizilischen Cumae. Er weiß auch von einem Nekromanteion dort und erwähnt, dass man die Totenbeschwörung des Odysseus mit diesem Ort in Verbindung gebracht habe; Geographie und Mythologie gehen ineinander über. Ähnliches geschieht bei Xenophon in *Anabasis* VI,2,2, wo Soldaten eine Acherusiadische Halbinsel im Land der Maryandynen passieren (in Bithynien). Dort sei, so Xenophon, Herakles zum Kerberus in den Hades hinabgestiegen; der Ort werde gezeigt. Wir sehen: Totenorte sind auf Erden als solche markiert; wir haben es, wenn wir von der Welt der Toten reden, mitunter durchaus mit Geographie zu tun. Es verhält sich im Grunde nicht anders, wenn wir nun zu Belegen kommen, die sortierendes Denken schon eher mit dem Jenseits oder mit der Anderwelt in Verbindung bringen wird; es wird auch bei diesen, mindestens in Resten, immer dabei bleiben, dass mythisches Wissen auch geographisches Wissen ist – oder umgekehrt. Wenden wir uns einigen paradigmatischen Traditionen zu:

1. Von Odysseus war schon die Rede. Auch für ihn ist (in *Odyssee* X,504–520), was wir mythisch nennen, zugleich auch geographisch.⁷ Um zu den Toten am Acheron zu kommen – ein acherusischer See wird nicht erwähnt –, muss er sich Kirkes Auskunft zufolge nur von dem Nordwind über den Ozean treiben lassen; an Persephones Gestade soll er dann aussteigen und zu dem Felsen gehen, wo in den Acheron der Pyriphlegethon und der Kokytos sich ergießt. Nahe diesem Ort soll er eine Totenbeschwörung vornehmen. Festzuhalten ist vor allem: Der Totenort hat hier offenbar etwas mit einer Konstellation von Gewässern zu tun. Wir haben

⁶ Vgl. F. Passow, *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache. Neu bearbeitet und zeitgemäß umgestaltet von Val. Chr. Rost, Friedrich Palm, Otto Kreuzler, Karl Keil, Ferd. Peter und G.E. Benseler*, (Leipzig, 1841–1857⁵, Nachdruck: 1993) I/1, 473 sub verbo Ἀχερούσιος.

⁷ Vgl. den Text bei T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera, Tomus III Odysseae Libros I–XII Continens. Editio Altera, Oxonii* (Oxford, 1917, Nachdruck: 1992) 186.

den Ozean (Okeanos), den Pyriphlegethon, den Kokytos und den Acheron – vier Gewässer, wobei die letzteren drei zusammenhängen. Diese vier Gewässer kennt auch Plato, der sie ähnlich wie das Epos und zugleich mit bemerkenswerten Abweichungen aufeinander bezieht.

2. Wir gehen über zu Lukian, der uns in *De Luctu* 2–9 ein kompendiarisches Bild vom Unterweltwissen seiner Zeit bietet⁸; wir befinden uns im zweiten Jahrhundert nach Christus und können, was wir hier lesen, als paradigmatisch für das nehmen, was in der Entstehungszeit der *Petrusapokalypse* Bildungskonvention war. Besonders viel hält Lukian von alledem nicht; es ist ihm Wissen von ἰδιῶται (*De Luctu* 2); wir dürfen das Wort wohl mit dem entsprechenden Lehnwort im Deutschen übersetzen. Schon der rapportartige Stil der Darstellung dürfte der Ironisierung dienen. Ähnliches bewirken Kommentare, die bei distanzierter Lektüre als kleinlich wahrgenommen werden können, tatsächlich aber wohl einer Technik satirischen Rasonnements entsprechen, das durch intellektuell sparsamen Witz das intellektuell Sparsame der ganzen Angelegenheit herausstellt: Man wisse von Homer, Hesiod und anderen Mythendichtern, dass es unter der Erde einen finsternen und sonnenlosen Ort gebe, den Hades. Wie man dort ohne Sonne trotzdem etwas sehen kann (was offenbar die Berichte über den Hades voraussetzen), will Lukian nicht so recht in den Kopf. Über den Hades herrsche Pluto, der Bruder des Zeus, der die Toten dort mit unentrinnbaren Fesseln gefangenhalte. Von allerlei scheußlichen Flüssen sei der Ort umflossen; der größte unter ihnen sei der Acherusische See, der hier offenbar als Fluss gedacht ist (identifiziert mit dem Acheron?). Über den kämen noch nicht einmal tote Vögel herüber (soll das ein Witz sein?); es geht nicht ohne den Fergen, der bei Lukian freilich namenlos bleibt (er berichtet ja erklärtermaßen auch nicht etwas, das niemand sonst wüsste). Dann gibt es den Kerberus, der ganz erschrecklich bellt, die asphodelische Wiese und den Lethefluss, der Vergessen bewirkt – nur offenbar nicht bei denjenigen (nur sehr wenigen), die vom Hades wieder nach oben kommen, wie Lukian etwas spitz konstatiert. Daraufhin ist vom Totengericht die Rede, das Minôs und Rhadamanthys,

⁸ Vgl. den Text bei M.D. MacLeod, *Luciani Opera, Tomus II. Libelli 26–43* (Oxford, 1993², Nachdruck: 2008) 310–12.

Kreter und Söhne des Zeus, vollziehen: Die Guten kommen ins elysische Feld, die Bösen werden den Erinyen übergeben und hauen im Lande der Frevler, wo sie verdreht, verbrannt, von Geiern gefressen, auf Räder geflochten werden, wo sie Steine hochwälzen und Tantalusqualen leiden. Die große Menge der Mittleren (*De Luctu* 9: οἱ ... τοῦ μέσου βίου) irren auf der Wiese umher, zerstioben wie Rauch, wenn man sie berührt, sind auf Totenopfer angewiesen. Soweit Lukian. Wir können bei ihm ein klares Raumkonzept ausmachen, eine Unterwelt-Geographie: Der Acherusische See trennt das Totenreich ab, muss überquert werden. Im Totenreich haben wir drei Abteilungen für Gute, Böse und – so können wir etwas umgangssprachlich sagen – Normale, wobei nur für letztere Totenopfer und somit Aufmerksamkeiten der Lebenden relevant zu sein scheinen; es sind wohl diese die Toten, an die man gewöhnlich zu denken hat, wenn man an Tote denkt.

3. Ein sehr umfänglich ausgearbeitetes Konzept zur Welt der Toten, verbunden mit einer auf typisch platonische Art kontraperzeptiver Auffassung davon, wie die Erde in Wirklichkeit beschaffen ist (nicht nach Maßgabe unser nur gebrochenen / uneigentlichen Wahrnehmung), bietet der Schlussmythos des Sokrates bei Plato in *Phaidon* 107c–114c.⁹ Es ist bei Plato also erst recht so, dass Wissen um Tote auch geographisches Wissen ist, so dass man sagen kann: Bei dem Philosophen sind Mythologie und Geographie noch deutlicher eine Einheit als anderswo, sogar begrifflich, insofern Sokrates seine Ausführungen explizit als Mythos bezeichnet (114d). Nur zentrale Züge der Sokrates-Erzählung sind hier vor Augen zu führen: A. Wie Frösche hocken wir um das Mittelmeer (109b) – in einer von vielen Erdsenken, in die hinein Luft und Nebel zusammenströmen (109b). Und wie ein Fisch am Meeresgrund das Wasser über ihm für den Himmel hält, so halten wir für den Himmel die Luft über uns (109c–e; 111b). Aber in Wirklichkeit ist der Himmel erkennbar nur in den ätherumflossenen Orten, die über den Erdsenken gelegen

⁹ Vgl. den Text bei E.A. Duke *et al.* (Hg.), *Platonis Opera, Tomus I Tetralogias I–II Continens* (Oxford, 1995) 170–80. Zur inhaltlichen Orientierung vgl. T. Menkhous, *Eidos, Psyche und Unsterblichkeit. Ein Kommentar zu Platons Phaidon* (Frankfurt, 2003) 35–50 (Exkurs zu Todes- und Jenseitsauffassungen vor Platon); C. Schäfer, 'Der Mythos im Phaidon (107d–115a)', in J. Müller (Hg.), *Phaidon* (Berlin, 2011) 159–74.

sind und die als Erde im eigentlichen Sinn zu gelten haben, wo die Menschen viel länger leben und statt der Bilder von Göttern tatsächlich Götter sehen (111b). **B.** Die Erde ist von Himmel umgeben und befindet sich innerhalb dieser Himmels-Umgebung in einem Gleichgewichtszustand (108e–109a). Um sie herum und durch sie hindurch – mit dem Tartarus als der zentralen, durch die Erde hindurchgehenden Röhre – winden sich Flüsse, die nach der Art eines Pumpwerkes funktionieren: Wasser fließen in die Erde hinein bis zur anderen Seite und, durch Gegendruck bedingt, aus ihr wieder heraus; sie fließen auf der Erde und unter der Erde (111c–112e). Vier Ströme sind dabei vor allem wichtig: Der Okeanos und gegenläufig zu ihm der Acheron, der unter der Erde in den Acherusischen See sich ergießt, der Pyriphlegethon, der am Acherusischen See angrenzend in den Tartaros strömt, ohne sich mit dem Wasser des Acherusischen Sees zu vermengen, und gegenüber zu ihm analog der Kokytos, der also ebenfalls an den Acherusischen See angrenzt, ohne sich mit ihm zu vermischen (112e–113c), und dann in den Tartarus weiterfließt. Während Homer Pyriphlegethon und Kokytos in den Acheron münden lässt, so dass die drei Flüsse ein System bilden, liegen für Plato ihre Ausmündungen nahe beieinander, ohne zu einem System zu werden. **C.** Wie sind die Toten in dieser Szenerie untergebracht? Nach dem Tod werden die Seelen von ihren Daimones geführt (107d–e), was auch nötig ist, denn viele Wege führen zum Totenreich (kaum erstaunlich, wo doch die Erde so vieltalig ist) (107e–108a). Danach gestaltet sich ihr Schicksal je unterschiedlich, entsprechend den Unterschieden zwischen den vor Augen geführten räumlichen Gegebenheiten der Erde, zuzüglich einer noch gar nicht genannten Wirklichkeit, nämlich einem außerirdischen Habitat: **a.** Am undeutlichsten scheint mir das Ergehen derjenigen, auf die es dem Philosophen am meisten ankommt: Diejenigen, die sich angemessen um ihre Seele gekümmert haben (107c), wohl identisch mit denen, die sich zuvor hinreichend gereinigt haben durch Philosophie (114c: οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι), kommen an Orte, die noch besser sind als die der wahren Erde und nicht weiter beschrieben werden, wo sie daraufhin körperfrei leben – anscheinend für immer, auch wenn das nicht explizit gesagt wird (114c). Offen bleibt, jedenfalls für mich, ob sie einem Hadesgericht unterworfen sind oder einfach so zu dem ihnen bestimmten Ort gelangen. **b.** Eine zweite Klasse stellen diejenigen

dar, die heiligmäßigem Leben besonders nahezukommen scheinen (114b: οἱ δὴ ἄν δοξῶσι ... πρὸς τὸ ὀσίως βιῶναι); sie »kommen nach oben in die reine Behausung und werden auf der Erde angesiedelt« (114c: ἄνω εἰς τὴν καθαρὰν οἴκησιν ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκίζόμενοι). Wahrscheinlich werden sie gleich nach dem Hadesgericht auf die zuvor in 109a–111c beschriebene obere Erde versetzt; darum werden sie mit Blick auf die Orte in der Erde als Freie und Ledige bezeichnet (ἐλευθερούμενοι τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι; 114b) und eben nicht als Befreite, Erlöste (es fällt etwas schwer, die betreffende Nuance wiederzugeben, die den präsentischen Partizipien hier zu eignen ist). An diesen Erdenorten werden sie vermutlich lange, aber nicht endlos leben, wie man aufgrund von Phaidon 111b annehmen kann, wo von der Langlebigkeit der Bewohner der oberen Erde die Rede ist. **c.** Eindeutiger erscheint das Geschick der unheilbar Bösen: Sie kommen für immer in den Tartaros (113e). **d.** Eine beträchtliche Ausdifferenzierung findet statt im Mittelfeld: Die meisten Seelen verbleiben, wohl auf Booten (113d: ἀναβάντες ἃ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὀχήματά ἐστιν), im Acherusischen See und werden dort belohnt und bestraft und je unterschiedlich lange Zeit geläutert (113d), bis sie wieder einem Leibe zugeführt werden (113a: πάλιν ἐκπέμπονται εἰς τὰς τῶν ζώων γενέσεις). Schwereren, aber nicht unheilbaren Fällen sind die Flüsse Kokytos und Pyriphlegethon reserviert: Mörder landen im Kokytos, Vater- und Muttermörder im Pyriphlegethon (113e–114a); vom Tartaros eingesogen und wieder aufgespült treiben sie in ihren Flüssen am Acherusischen See vorbei und können in diesen aufgenommen werden (wohl zwecks Läuterung), sobald sie diejenigen, denen sie geschadet haben, dazu haben überreden können (114a–b). Wir müssen uns merken: Im Acherusischen See findet Läuterung statt; dergleichen erfährt man meines Wissens nur bei Plato. Und ihm zufolge gibt es beim Acherusischen See auch Kommunikation, Tote betreffend, die auf eine Verbesserung ihres Geschicks hinauslaufen kann (letztlich wohl mit einer Rückkehr in den Lebenskreislauf).

Hervorzuheben ist abschließend die Adaptibilität des platonischen Systems: Es gibt Metempsychose genauso wie immerwährende Verdammnis und immerwährendes Leben, dazu noch Läuterungsstrafen, und dann wird auch noch unterschieden zwischen dem besonders langen wie komfortablen Leben von (halbwegs) Seligen und dem

immerwährenden Leben der Vollkommenen. Man gewinnt nahezu den Eindruck, es habe hier jemand alle entscheidenden Nachtodkonzepte der vorderorientalisch-europäischen Geistesgeschichte miteinander vereint. Tatsächlich verhält es sich eher umgekehrt: Es wird hier von einem und anscheinend auch aus einem Guss so viel geboten, dass für jeden etwas dabei ist; hier finden auch diejenigen etwas, die von den vielen Facetten nur bestimmte gebrauchen und andere großzügig übersehen können. Nicht ohne Grund ist die Wirkungsgeschichte unseres Textes beträchtlich: Er ist von Philosophen kommentiert und von Kirchenschriftstellern exzerpiert worden¹⁰ – und liegt direkt oder indirekt allen im nachfolgenden Kapitel erörterten Überlieferungen zugrunde, den christlichen wie den jüdischen.

3. Die parabiblischen Belege

3.1. Liber Institutionis Michael

Das *Buch der Einsetzung Michaels*, die *Institutio Michael (Inst Mich)*, erzählt in Abschnitt 17,1c¹¹ die Geschichte von einem beim Almosengeben verarmten Christen und einem untadeligen Heiden: Der Christ gab dem Heiden sein Kleid als Pfand, um erneut Almosen geben zu können, und verstarb dann vor der Rückerstattung. Da bedeckte der Heide dessen Leichnam mit eben diesem Kleid und stellte fest, der Heilige Geist sei in dem Christen gewesen. Nach dem Tod kommt der Christ unter den Lebensbaum – und der Heide ebenfalls, nachdem Engel ihn auf den Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes im Acherusischen See getauft haben. Als Taufort ist der

¹⁰ Durch TLG-Recherche stoße ich auf Kommentare von Damascius und Olympiodorus sowie auf Exzerpte in Eusebs *Praeparatio Evangelica*, in Theodorets *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* und bei Stobaeus, ohne damit Anspruch auf vollständige Erfassung zu erheben.

¹¹ Vgl. C.D.G. Müller (Hg.), *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* (Louvain, 1962) I, 52–53 (sahidischer Text); II, 63–65 (deutsche Übersetzung). Eine neue Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Kommentierung habe ich für die von Christoph Marksches und Jens Schröter herausgegebenen »Antike[n] Christliche[n] Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung« vorbereitet, vgl. J. Dochhorn, *Liber Institutionis Michael / Das Buch der Einsetzung des heiligen Erzengels Michael* = www.academia.edu/40583582/Liber_Institutionis_Michael.

Acherusische See bekannt aus *Apoc. Paul* 22; bei der koptischen (sahidischen) *Paulusapokalypse* entspricht dies Folio 29b–30a in der Handschrift London, Brit. Libr. 7022 (Budge 563).¹² Von der *Paulusapokalypse* dürfte die *Institutio Michael* das Motiv haben; sie ist auch sonst von dieser abhängig.¹³ Laut der *Paulusapokalypse* ist der Acherusische See ein Taufort für reuige Sünder; diese können danach in die Stadt Gottes kommen. In der *Institutio Michael* gilt Analoges für einen Heiden, der sich sittlich bewährt, wohl auch auf eher unklare Weise Anerkennung für Christliches äußert, ohne freilich erkennbar zu konvertieren. Die Konversion kann, so scheint es, nachgeholt werden: durch eine Taufe im Acherusischen See. Es zeigt sich hier eine Haltung gegenüber Heiden, die kaum auf Abgrenzung Wert zu legen scheint. Wahrscheinlich spiegelt sich hier ein alltäglich gutes Zusammenleben von Christen und Heiden wider, das mit dem Eiferertum etwa des Schenute nur wenig zu tun hat.¹⁴ Allein, dass es überhaupt Heiden gibt, legt eine eher frühe Datierung der Geschichte und wohl der *Institutio Michaelis* nahe. Ich gehe mit ihr in das fünfte oder frühe sechste Jahrhundert hinab; gegen Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts bezeugt Johannes von Paralos die Existenz eines Buches von der Einsetzung Michaels, welches wohl ziemlich sicher das vorliegende ist.¹⁵

3.2. *Ps-Bartholomaeus*, De Resurrectione

Wir bleiben in der koptischen Literatur – und haben es erneut mit Geschichten vom Jenseits zu tun, näherhin mit einer Episode im *Buch*

¹² Zur *Apoc. Paul* (sah/lond) vgl. E.A. Wallis Budge (Hg.), *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) 534–74 (Text – Es geht voraus Ps-Chrys, *De Raphaele*, aber unvollständig; nach einem Ausfall von ca. 80 Seiten beginnt unser Text, ohne den Anfang und durch Blattvertauschungen entstellt); 1043–84 (Übersetzung – mit Revision der Blattvertauschungen). Wichtig hierzu ist ebenfalls L. Roig Lanzillotta – J. van der Vliet, *The Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli) in Sahidic Coptic: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden, 2022).

¹³ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Liber Institutionis Michael*, Einleitung, § 5 (erscheint demnächst; siehe Anm. 11). Von der *Apoc. Paul* hat *Inst Mich* wohl vor allem die Lokalisierung der Totenorte auf der Erde.

¹⁴ Zu Schenutes Haltung vgl. J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (Leipzig, 1903) 175–82.

¹⁵ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Liber Institutionis Michael*, § 5 (erscheint demnächst; siehe Anm. 11).

des *Bartholomaeus über die Auferstehung* (in Brit. Libr. or. 6804, 17b–18b)¹⁶: Nach der Kreuzigung Christi hat Thomas, hier Didymus genannt, anderes zu tun, als sich mit den Jüngern zu versammeln. Sein Sohn Siophanes ist verstorben. Er geht zu dessen Grab, erweckt ihn von den Toten und lässt sich von ihm erzählen, wie es ihm nach dem Tod ergangen sei: Michael, begleitet von Engeln, entnimmt Siophanes die Seele. Ungutes ist auf der Reise zu sehen, unter anderem ein auch anderweitig bekannter Feuerstrom, aber die Details entgehen uns, weil die hier ausschließlich dokumentierende Handschrift (London, Brit. Mus. 6804) Lücken hat. Schließlich taucht Michael Siophanes dreimal in den Acherusischen See ein (fol. 18b; Budge 36), und eine Stimme vom Himmel gibt Weisung, die Seele des Siophanes solle »an die Orte der Unsterblichkeit und in das Paradies überhimmlichen Lebens verbracht werden« (ΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΜΝ̄ΤΑΤΜΟΥ: ΜΝ̄ <Π>ΠΑΡΑΔῙΣΟΣ Μ̄ΠΩΝ̄Ț̄ Ν̄ΕΠΟΥ[ΡΑ]Ν̄ΙΟΝ). Das dreimalige Untertauchen und ein offenbar im Himmel zu denkendes Paradies als Bestimmungsort verbindet *Ps-Bartholomaeus* nicht mit der *Paulusapokalypse*, sondern mit der *Apokalypse des Mose* (37,3) und noch eher der *Vita Adae et Evae* (67,3), denn es ist die *Vit Ad* und nicht die *Apc Mos*, die gewöhnlich in der koptischen Literatur bezeugt ist (s. § III.6.1). Von der *Vit Ad* wird *Ps-Bartholomaeus* das Motiv vom Acherusischen See also haben, wozu auch passt, dass eine weit vorhergehend erzählte Szene von einer Begnadigung Adams im Himmel (fol. 11–13 bei Budge 21–26)¹⁷ Affinitäten zum Kontext des Acherusia-Motivs in den Adamdiegesen aufweist (vgl. *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 par); ferner klingt *Ps-Barth, Res* fol 3b (Budge 6) an *Apc Mos* 39 par an.

3.3. Die Paulusapokalypse

Wir kommen in die Zeit um 400 n. Chr., in der die *Paulusapokalypse* verfasst worden sein dürfte¹⁸: Der Acherusische See ist in der

¹⁶ Zum Text von *Ps-Barth, Res* vgl. die Angaben bei M. Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992) § 80 (S. 57–58). Wichtig ist hier E.A. Wallis Budge (Hg.), *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913) 1–48, speziell 34–36.

¹⁷ Vgl. hierzu das Fragment aus Berlin, or. 1608 III bei A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte. 3 Bände* (Brüssel, 1930–1931) I, 79–81.

¹⁸ Vgl. hierzu J.N. Bremmer, 'Christian Hell. From the Apocalypse of Peter to the Apocalypse of Paul', *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325 (auf dem neuesten

Überlieferung zu *Apoc. Paul* 22 fest bezeugt. Er findet sich in der bereits erwähnten sahidischen Version der *Apokalypse des Paulus* (vgl. § 3.1) genauso wie in der lateinischen Rezension, die James 1893 aus dem Codex Paris, Nouv. Acqu. lat. 1631, fol. 3–25r veröffentlicht hat = *Apoc. Paul* (lat/par); der betreffende Teil der Handschrift ist im 8. Jahrhundert geschrieben; die Sprache des *Apoc. Paul*-Textes ist sehr stark mit Vulgarismen durchsetzt.¹⁹ Eine Entsprechung bietet auch der von Tischendorf im Jahre 1866 aus dem Codex Ambrosianus C 255 Inf. (15. Jh.) veröffentlichte griechische Text²⁰; weiteren Überlieferungsträgern der *Apoc. Paul* kann hier nicht nachgegangen werden (nahezu alle Sprachen des christlichen Orients sind beteiligt).²¹ In der *Paulusapokalypse* findet der Acherusische See Erwähnung ziemlich am Beginn eines umfänglichen Visionsberichts zu den Aufenthaltsorten der Seligen (*Apoc. Paul* 21–30): Es war von einem Land des Erbes die Rede, das im Osten gelegen ist (so jedenfalls eindeutig *Apoc. Paul* 21 nach dem sahidischen Text; fol. 28b–29a bei Budge 561–562). Danach sieht Paulus den Acherusischen See, der die Stadt der Heiligen / die Stadt Gottes / die Stadt Christi – so die unterschiedlichen Bezeichnungen in den Überlieferungen – als den postmortalen Aufenthalt von Seligen von der Umgebungswelt abtrennt. Nach *Apoc. Paul* (sah) liegt diese Stadt östlich, nach *Apoc. Paul* (gr) 22 innerhalb des Acherusischen Sees.²²

In dieser Stadt wohnen viele Selige schlicht aufgrund ihres frommen Lebenswandels, aber es gibt noch eine andere Klasse. In *Apoc.*

Stand jetzt in id., *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* [Tübingen, 2017] 295–312).

¹⁹ Vgl. M.R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota. A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments Now First Edited from Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1893, Nachdruck: 2004) 1–42, speziell 23.

²⁰ Vgl. K. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio Additis Evangeliorum et Actuum Apocryphorum Supplementis* (Leipzig, 1866, Nachdruck: 1966) XIV–XVII, 34–69, speziell 51.

²¹ Vgl. hierzu Geerard, *Clavis*, § 325 (S. 303–9); P. Piovanelli, ‘Les Origines de l’Apocalypse de Paul reconsidérées’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 25–64, Nachdruck in id., *Apocryphités* (Turnhout, 2016) 367–404.

²² Die Namensformen für den Acherusischen See bezeugen nicht besonders viel Verständnis von der Sache bei den Schreibern: *Apoc. Paul* (lat/par) hat *aceriosus lacus* und *aceriosium lacum*, *Apoc. Paul* (gr/ambro) ἀχέρουσαν λίμνην, *Apoc. Paul* (sah/lond) ΤΑΡΧΗΕΡΟΥΣΑ ΛΥΜΝΗ und ΤΑΡΧΙΑΛΥΜΝΗ.

Paul 22 wird nämlich erzählt (zitiert nach lat/par): Ein Sünder, der sich umgewandt und tätig Buße geleistet hat (lat: *si ... conversus penituerit et fecerit fructum dignum penitenciae*), wird nach seinem Ausgang aus dem Leibe zu Gott geführt, wo er ihn anbetet; dann wird er auf Befehl des Herrn Michael übergeben, der ihn im Acherusischen See tauft; so führt er ihn in die Stadt Christi zu denen, die überhaupt nicht gesündigt haben (... *cum exierit de corpore, ducitur et adorat deum et inde iussu domini traditur Michaelo angelo et baptizat eum in acerosium lacum; sic inducit eum in ciuitatem Christi iusta eos, qui nihil peccauerunt*).

Die Szenerie in der *Apoc. Paul* weicht, wie wir sehen werden, von derjenigen in der *Apoc. Pet.* stark ab: Anders als dort ist hier die Taufprozedur im Acherusischen See Folge einer bereinigten Gottesbeziehung, und anders als dort administriert Michael die Taufe und die Verbringung der betreffenden Seelen. Auf beide Spezifika der *Apoc. Paul* kann man von *Apc Mos 37 // Vit Ad 67* her kommen, wo Adam vor der Waschung im Acherusischen See (*Apc Mos 37,3–4a par*) die Vergebung Gottes zuteilwird (*37,2 par*), so dass Michael ihn dann in das Paradies im dritten Himmel bringt (*37,5–6 par*). Zugleich ist, wie sich zeigen wird, die geographische Konstellation in der *Apoc. Paul* weit deutlicher als in der *Apc Mos*, auch deutlicher als in der *Petrusapokalypse*: Der Acherusische See liegt zwischen dem Land des Erbes und der Stadt der Heiligen. Auf eine solche geographische Konstellation kommt man wohl von griechischem Unterweltwissen her, demzufolge der Acherusische See überquert werden muss, bevor man in Plutos Reich gelangt. Dieses geographische Wissen kann schon jüdisch vermittelt sein, denn es ist auch in der *Apokalypse des Zephania* vorausgesetzt (vgl. § IV). Freilich liegen Acherusischer See und die Stadt der Heiligen für die *Apoc. Paul* nicht in der Unterwelt, sondern wohl am östlichen Erdenrand.

Es bleibt zu vermerken, dass die *Apoc. Paul* es den Lesern, wenn es um die Stätten der Seligen geht, nicht unbedingt leicht macht: Die Stadt der Heiligen im Osten ist nicht der einzige Aufenthaltsort von Seligen in der *Apoc. Paul*: Auch ein Paradies im dritten Himmel kennt die *Apoc. Paul*: Es findet Erwähnung in *Apoc. Paul 1–3*, wo 1 Kor 12,2,4 aufgenommen wird, und ebenso in *Apoc. Paul 19–21*, wo es vor allem als Aufenthalt Henochs, Elias und der Gerechten zur Geltung kommt. Insgesamt gewinnt es dort wenig Kontur. In 45–51 haben wir dann noch einmal ein Paradies, diesmal eines auf der Erde.

In ihm trifft Paulus vieles an, was er eigentlich schon in der Stadt der Heiligen gesehen haben müsste, was hier nicht weiter vertieft werden kann. Es gibt offenbar Dubletten in der *Apoc. Paul* und mit ihnen ein Nebeneinander verschiedener Jenseitstraditionen. Überhaupt scheint die *Apoc. Paul* literarkritische Probleme aufzuweisen: In den meisten Überlieferungen endet sie abrupt, nur nicht in der sahidischen, ohne dass dem hier weiter nachgegangen werden könnte.

3.4. Die Petrusapokalypse

Eine Pergament-Doppelseite wohl vom 5. Jahrhundert nach Christus aus der Erzherzog Rainer-Sammlung in Wien (P. Vindob. G. 39756) überliefert eine Szene über die Taufe von Seelen im Acherusischen See,²³ die wir aufgrund einer eher undeutlichen Parallele in der *Petrusapokalypse* (aeth) zuordnen können. Es heißt dort: [Παρ]έξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκλέ{κ}κτοῖς μου ὃν ἐὰν <αἰ>τήσωνταί με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα ἐν σωτηρίᾳ Ἀχερουσία[ς] λίμνης ἣν καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἑλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, μέρος δικαιοσύνης μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου (»Ich werde meinen Berufenen und meinen Heiligen geben, um wen sie mich bitten, aus der Strafe, und ich werde ihnen eine gute Taufe geben in der Rettung des Acherusischen Sees, wie sie ihn nennen, im Elysischen Feld – einen Anteil an der Gerechtigkeit mit meinen Heiligen«). Der äthiopische Text ist von zwei Handschriften bezeugt, einer vom Tanasee und einer aus Paris (laut Cowley eine Kopie der erstgenannten); er lautet in beiden Handschriften **ወአሜሃ ፡ እሁብሙ ፡ ለጎሩያንዮ ፡ ለጻድቃንዮ ፡ ጥምቀተ ፡ ወመድኃኒተ ፡ በሰአሉኒ ፡ በጎበ ፡ ሐቅለ ፡ አክሮስዮ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይብልዋ ፡ አኔስለስልዮ ፡ ጻገዩ ፡ መክፈልተ ፡ ጻድቃን** (»Und danach werde ich

²³ Das Wiener Fragment gehört zusammen mit einem Fragment aus Oxford (Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]). Eine neue Ausgabe des gesamten Papyrus bietet T.J. Kraus, 'P. Vindob. G. 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]. Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61. Beide Fragmente des Papyrus sind schon länger als Bestandteile der *Apoc. Pet.* im Gespräch, vgl. M.R. James, 'Additional Notes on the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 12 (1911) 157 (Hinweis auf das Oxforder Fragment); idem, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter II', *JTS* 12 (1911) 362–83, speziell 367–69 (Edition des Oxforder Fragments); id., 'The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 32 (1931) 270–79 (dort die Vermutung, dass die beiden Fragmente zusammengehören).

meinen Erwählten, meinen Gerechten Taufe und Erlösung geben, worum sie mich bitten, im Felde Akerosejâ, das sie Anêslaslejâ nennen; sie haben geblüht, der Anteil der Gerechten.«).²⁴

Ganz ohne philologische Probleme geht es bei beiden Texten nicht. Im griechischen Fragment scheint die Lesung erschwert, wo es um die Hauptsache geht, nämlich die Bitte der Gerechten um die Freigabe von Sündern aus der Höllenqual: Statt ὄν ἐάν <αἰ>τήσονται με liest James ΘΕΟΝ ΕΑΝ ΤΕΤΩΝΤΑΙ ΜΕ (für ΘΕΟΝ *nomen sacrum*, also ΘΝ mit supralinearem Strich). James hat den Text zu ὄν ἐάν <αἰτή>σονται με verbessert. Fast genau dieses aber liest Kraus aufgrund einer genaueren Einsichtnahme in das Papyrus (er identifiziert ΟΝ ΕΑΝ ΕΤΗΣΩΝΤΑΙ ΜΕ).²⁵ Aufgrund der noch zu besprechenden Parallelen in den Sibyllinischen Orakeln können wir sicher sein, dass man so konjizieren darf wie James und so lesen darf wie Kraus; außerdem ist **ዘሰአሉኝ** dem ὄν ἐάν <αἰτή>σονται με wenigstens ähnlich; es wird auf *ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ ḳ̣ zurückgehen. Im Äthiopischen ist zudem **ጸገዩ** wohl inneräthiopische Verderbnis (es wird **ጸጋ** = »Gnade« zugrundeliegen), und bei der Namensform **አኔሰለሰይጎ** (wohl: *ʾAnêslaslejâ*) sind – ebenfalls inneräthiopisch – ein unnützes <s> und ein unnützes

²⁴ *Apoc. Pet.* (aeth) ist Teil einer pseudoklementinischen Komposition, die man herkömmlich in zwei Traktate aufteilt, vgl. R.W. Cowley, 'The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 36 (1985) 151–53. Die beiden Handschriften sind Paris, Bibl. Nat. de France, d'Abbadie 51,131r–157v, speziell 138r und Tanasee 35,46r–70v, speziell 50r–50v. Beide Handschriften konnte ich dank freundlicher Hilfe von Daniel Maier einsehen. In der Pariser Handschrift sind einige Wendungen des äthiopischen Textes von einem Korrektor interlinear nachgetragen; aufgrund der Handschrift vom Tanasee kann man schließen, dass diese Nachträge auf Einsichtnahme der Vorlage beruhen und nicht etwa sekundäre Lesarten darstellen. Der Pariser Text liegt zugrunde der Ausgabe von S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 139–51; 285–97; 380–92; 13 (1908) 166–80; 314–20; 15 (1910) 198–214; 307–23; 425–39; zu unserem Text vgl. 15 (1910) 208. Eine deutsche Übersetzung des Materials zur *Petrusapokalypse* bietet ferner C.D.G. Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Schneemelcher (Hg.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. II. Band: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1989⁵) 562–78; unser Text findet sich dort auf S. 575. Weiteres zu Text und Übersetzung von *Apoc. Pet.* (aeth) in Anm. 30.

²⁵ Vgl. Kraus, 'Petrus-Apokalypse', 51 (Text); 52–53 (Diskussion).

<l> dazwischengekommen, mit der Folge, dass eine äthiopischem Sprachempfinden weithin konforme Reduplikationsform entstand, die an den Kausativ fünfradikaliger Verba erinnert (vgl. etwa *ʾanqalqala*).²⁶ Die Grundform kann **አኔሌጆ** = *ʾEnêlesejâ* < EN ΗΛΥΣΙΩ gewesen sein; die Präposition ἐν hat man zum Namen gezogen und die Endung -ίω nach dem vorhergehenden **አካሮጆ** (*ʾAkroseja*) umgeformt; zu beachten ist, dass <ej> in der traditionellen Aussprache des Äthiopischen oft als /i/ oder /i/ zu realisieren ist.²⁷ Auf Verderbnis schon in der griechischen Vorlage des Äthiopen wird zurückgehen, wenn aus der Gewährung einer Freigabe von Sündern und deren anschließende Taufe die Gewährung von Taufe für die Christen geworden ist: Wahrscheinlich liegt dem äthiopischen Text *παρέξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκλέκτοις μου ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνταί με βάπτισμα zugrunde, das aus *παρέξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκλέκτοις μου ὃν ἐὰν <αι>τήσωνταί με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα verkürzt wurde: Es dürfte zuerst das Relativpronomen ὄν zu ὃ geworden sein (begünstigt durch den Schwund des auslautenden /n/ in der Aussprache).²⁸ Dann wird jemand ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς gestrichen haben, weil ihm καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς als Doppelung zu παρέξομαι erschien und ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως wegen einer Verlesung des Relativpronomens (ὃ statt ὄν) unverständlich geworden war; καλὸν wird irgendwie anders entfallen sein.

Bei aller Unsicherheit der Überlieferung wird man konstatieren dürfen: In der *Apokalypse des Petrus* werden nicht wie in der *Paulusapokalypse* reuige Sünder im Acherusischen See getauft und dann an den Ort der Seligen verbracht, sondern Sünder, die sich die Berufenen und Erwählten, also die Seligen, aus den Höllenqualen erbeten. Wir können ahnen, wie man auf eine solche Idee kommen kann: Bei Plato kommen schlimme Übeltäter, die am Acherusischen See vorbeitreiben, um wieder vom Tartarus aufgesogen zu werden, an einen besseren Ort,

²⁶ Zu den fünfradikaligen Verben im Äthiopischen vgl. J. Tropper, *Altäthiopisch. Grammatik des Ge'ez mit Übungstexten und Glossar* (Münster, 2002) § 44.8 = S. 134–35.

²⁷ Vgl. hierzu E. Mittwoch, *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen* (Berlin, 1926) 16.

²⁸ Zum Schwund des auslautenden /n/ in der Koinê vgl. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Leipzig, 1898) 88–91.

wenn es den Menschen im Acherusischen See gefällt, die von ihnen geschädigt wurden (vgl. § 2). Zudem gilt der Acherusische See Plato als ein Reinigungsort (ebenda). Aus den Verstorbenen im Acherusischen See, die über das Schicksal ihrer Mitmenschen entscheiden, sind in der *Apoc. Pet.* Christen geworden, und aus dem Reinigungsort hat man ein Taufbad gemacht. Festzuhalten ist, dass in der *Petrusapokalypse* kaum deutlich wird, wie sich elysisches Feld und acherusischer See zueinander verhalten. Dass der Acherusische See als Trenner fungiert, also zwischen dem Ort der Seligen und unserer Welt liegt, tritt in der *Paulusapokalypse* klarer hervor als hier.

Wie ist unser Motiv in der *Apoc. Pet.* kontextualisiert? Diese Frage zu beantworten fällt nicht leicht, denn die *Apoc. Pet.* ist uns nicht wirklich mehr zuhänden, indem die Textzeugen ein nur undeutliches Bild ihrer ursprünglichen Textgestalt bieten, auch was den Aufbau des Textes betrifft: Uns ist, von Kirchenvätertestimonien abgesehen, vor allem ein ziemlich umfänglicher, aber nicht vollständiger griechischer Text aus Akhmîm sowie der hier erörterte Papyrus und der äthiopische Text erhalten.²⁹ Die griechischen Texte sind fragmentarisch, und der äthiopische Text ist Teil einer pseudoklementinischen Komposition, in der mit Kürzungen, Erweiterungen und Umstellungen zu rechnen ist.³⁰

²⁹ Zu dem Text aus Akhmîm und den Kirchenvätertestimonien vgl. E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha I. Reste des Petrus-evangeliums, der Petrus-Apokalypse und des Kerygma Petri* (Bonn, 1908) 8–13 sowie T.J. Kraus und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse* (Berlin 2004) 87–130.

³⁰ Zum äthiopischen Text vgl. Anm. 24. Hier ist nachzutragen: Das Konvolut bei Grébaut besteht aus zwei pseudoklementinischen Traktaten. Der erste hat als Superscriptio ዳግመ : ምጽአት : ለክርስቶስ : ውትንግሳኤ : ምውታን ። ዘነገሮ : ለጴጥሮስ : እለ : ይመውቱ : በእንተ : ኃጢአቶሙ : እስመ : ኢዓቀቡ : ትእዛዞ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ፈጠሪሆሙ («Zweite Ankunft Christi und Auferstehung der Toten, die er Petrus mitteilte, welche sterben wegen ihrer Sünden, weil sie nicht das Gebot des Herrn, ihres Schöpfers, eingehalten haben»); er entstammt Paris, Abb. 51, 131r–146v und wird von Grébaut mit französischer Übersetzung veröffentlicht in *ROC* 15 (1910) 198–214; 307–23; 425–39. Der zweite hat die Superscriptio ነገረ : ምስጢር : ክቡር : ወስውር : ወተገሥሦቱ : ለዝንቱ : ነገር : በእንተ : ኩነኔ : ኃጥአን : ወሐተቶ : ጴጥሮስ : ለእግዚእነ : በእንተ : ምሕረተ : አዳም («Herrliches und geheimes Mysterienwort und Erforschung dieses Wortes über das Gericht der Sünder; und Petrus befragte unseren Herrn wegen des Erbarmens für Adam»); es entstammt Paris, Abb. 51, 146v–157v und wird von Grébaut mit französischer Übersetzung veröffentlicht in *ROC* 12 (1907) 285–97; 380–92; 13

Eingehend kann die Rekonstruktion der *Apoc. Pet.* hier nicht diskutiert werden, aber es wird postuliert werden dürfen, dass unser Motiv mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ziemlich prominent platziert war, nämlich kurz vor dem Ende der *Apokalypse*: Im Wiener Papyrus folgen auf die Nachricht vom Acherusischen See vier Zeilen, die eine Sendung Petri durch Jesus andeuten³¹; die äthiopischen Parallele hat dafür an analoger Stelle einen Missionsbefehl.³² Dieser passt recht gut als Abschluss der gesamten *Apokalypse*, so dass die Tradition von der Fürbitte der Gerechten und der Taufe von Sündern im Acherusischen See das letzte wäre, was Jesus Petrus an Wissen für seine Sendung mitgegeben hätte. Passend dazu steht eine solche Tradition auch am Ende der Weissagung über Weltgericht und Jenseitsergehen in *Or Sib II*, wie wir im nächsten Abschnitt sehen werden.

Die *Apoc. Pet.* bestand wohl aus folgenden Teilen: **I.** Einer aus der synoptischen Apokalypse bei Mt / Mk / Lk herausgewickelten Weissagung von Pseudomessiasen bzw. vom Antichristen; **II.** Einer Schau von Mose und Elia in ihrer verklärten Gestalt, ausgehend von der Verklärungsszene in den synoptischen Evangelien; **III.** Einer Schau des künftigen Lebens der Erlösten;

(1908) 166–80; 314–20. Die beiden Traktate erscheinen bei Grébaud also in umgekehrter Reihenfolge. Material, das ausweislich anderer Textzeugen der *Petrusapokalypse* entstammen kann (ohne dass Veränderungen auszuschließen wären), findet sich nur im ersten Teil des ersten Traktats, nämlich in Paris, Abb. 51, 131r–137r, bei Grébaud *ROC* 12 (1907) 285–97; 307–9 (äthiopisch); 316–17 (französisch). Formal ist es gekennzeichnet als Offenbarung Jesu an Petrus und die Jünger, während nachfolgend Clemens Belehrungen des Petrus empfängt (die freilich in starkem Maße Jesus-Offenbarungen weitergeben). Dieser zweite Teil des ersten Traktats überlappt sich stark mit dem zweiten Traktat und läuft wie dieser darauf hinaus, dass es eine Erlösung von der Hölle für diejenigen gebe, die am Leib und Blut des Herrn teilgehabt hätten (keineswegs für alle; etwas wie Allversöhnung ist nicht im Blick, so sehr die Aussage grundlegend ist, dass Gott Adam nicht zum Verderben erschaffen habe); diese Botschaft sei aber nur Auserwählten mitzuteilen und ansonsten geheim zu halten, weil sonst zu viel gesündigt würde. Im vorliegenden Band übersetzt Eric Beck aus dem ersten Traktat den pseudoklementinischen Rahmentext zur Petrusapokalypse ins Englische; Daniel Maier nimmt eine Analyse dieses Textes vor. Zu vergleichen ist auch der Beitrag von Ted Erho in diesem Band.

³¹ Vgl. Folio 2 recto, Zeilen 8–12 im Papyrus bei Kraus, ‘Petrus-Apokalypse’, 53–54.

³² Vgl. Paris, Abb. 51, 136r–v bei Grébaud, ‘Littérature’, *ROC* 15, 208.

IV. Einer Schau der zukünftigen Höllenqualen; V. Einer Zusage, die Fürbitte der Erlösten für Sünder betreffend; VI. Einem Missionsbefehl.

§ I ist nur im Äthiopen bezeugt, § II–IV im Zeugen von Akhmîm und beim Äthiopen, § V–VI beim Äthiopen und im Papyrusfragment von Oxford / Wien (das Oxforder Fragment deckt zusätzlich Passagen von § IV ab). § II–III sind beim Äthiopen hinter § IV–VI gestellt. Sie dürften ursprünglich wie im Akhmîm-Fragment ihnen vorausgegangen sein, denn das Akhmîm-Fragment wird einerseits durch den Befund im Oxforder / Wiener Papyrus gestützt und zum anderen lässt sich für die Umstellung im Äthiopischen ein Motiv benennen: § II–III handeln von den Seligen und ihrem Schicksal, und damit sollte das Werk abschließen.

3.5. Sibyllinische Orakel, *Buch II*

Was in der Überlieferung zur *Petrusapokalypse* verschüttet erscheint, uns nur noch durch einen zufälligen Papyrusfund einigermaßen erkennbar ist, tritt in aller Deutlichkeit zutage am Ende des zweiten Buches der *Oracula Sibyllina* (*Or Sib* II,330–338).³³ In diesem Buch, das fast durchweg den Themen Weltende, Totenaufstehung, Totengericht, postmortales Ergehen von Seligen und Verdammten gewidmet ist (mit unklarer Abgrenzung zum ersten Buch), gibt die Sibylle gegen Ende, vor abschließenden Worten der Klage, ihrem Publikum zu verstehen, dass »der allherrschende, unvergängliche Gott« (ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος) »den Frommen« (τοῖς ... εὐσεβέσιν) »Menschen zu retten aus dem gewaltigen Feuer und dem unsterblichen Zähneknirschen gewähren w[e]rd[e]« (ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν / ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δῶσει), wenn sie ihn, den unsterblichen Gott, nur bäten (ὁπότεν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτησώνται). Er nehme sie dann »um seines Volkes willen« (διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ) aus der unermüdlchen Flamme heraus und versetze sie »in ein anderes Leben« (εἰς ζῶην ἑτέραν) zu den Unsterblichen »auf dem elysischen Feld« (ἐν Ἥλυσίῳ πεδίῳ), »wo sich die großen Wellen des ewig fließenden und tiefgründigen Acherusischen Sees befänden« (ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρὰ λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου). Die Sibylle vereint hier wie gewohnt homerische Morphematik, Sprachfärbung und Metrik mit durchaus biblischem Vokabular; in christlichen Dingen erweist sie sich als kundig. Um beides zu zeigen, habe ich sie etwas ausführlicher zu Wort kommen lassen. Anklänge an die

³³ Vgl. J. Geffcken (Hg.), *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902) 44.

Petrusapokalypse lassen sich kaum verkennen: Man vergleiche vor allem ὁπόταν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτησῶνται hier und ὃν ἐὰν <αἰτή>σῶνται με im Wiener Papyrus. Auch wird man konstatieren können, dass die Sibylle, was die Geographie betrifft, in etwa genauso schwammig bleibt wie Petrus: Acherusischer See und elysisches Feld sind alles andere als klar miteinander korreliert. Es fehlt das Motiv der Taufe im Acherusischen See; vielleicht ließ es sich nicht in Verse bringen. Wie die Texte genauer aufeinander zu beziehen sind, kann ich hier nicht näher erörtern.³⁴ Auf jeden Fall stützt der eine Text den anderen: Sowohl Petrus als auch die Sibylle kennen und schätzen eine Fürbitte der Frommen für Menschen, die sich in der Verdammnis befinden.

Nicht immer freilich ist die Sibylle bei ihrem Urteil geblieben. In der Handschriftengruppe Ψ sieht sie sich zu einer Retractatio genötigt³⁵; wenn ich den Apparat bei Geffcken richtig verstehe (dort S. 45), dann gibt sie ganz am Ende des Buches die folgenden Verse von sich:

»Ganz offensichtlich Lüge: Niemals hört das
Feuergewicht für die Verdammten auf.
Ich wollte ja, es wäre so, von Narben
Schwerster Verirrungen gezeichnet, dass ich
Zu sehr in Menschenfreundlichkeit mich übte.
Es schäme sich Origenes, der plaudert,
Dass es ein Ende gebe aller Strafen.«

Bei den origenistischen Streitigkeiten scheint diese – spät zur Besinnung gekommene – Sibylle ganz Partei. Fraglich ist nur, wie zielgenau sie in ihrer Stellungnahme ist: Propagieren *Or Sib* II,230–238 mit der Parallele in der *Petrusapokalypse* wirklich ein Ende der Höllenstrafen? Ilaria Ramelli scheint es zu glauben; sie ordnet die *Petrusapokalypse* einer Vorgeschichte des Gedankens der ἀποκατάσις πάντων zu

³⁴ Vgl. Peterson, 'Taufe', 2–3; T.J. Kraus, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. »Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten«', in H. Klein *et al.* (Hg.), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96, speziell 374–76. Siehe hierzu ebenfalls den Beitrag zu der Thematik von Jan Bremmer in dem vorliegenden Band.

³⁵ Vgl. hierzu Kraus, 'Fürbitte', 371–72.

(der für sie unter anderem Bardaisanes zugehört).³⁶ Inwieweit das im Ganzen stimmt, wird anderswo zu erörtern sein; ich kann mich hier beschränken auf ein Caveat bezüglich der hier erörterten Texte der *Petrusapokalypse* und der – noch nicht zur Besinnung gekommenen – Sibylle zum Acherusischen See: Sie scheinen mir weniger ein Ende aller Höllenplagen zu behaupten als vielmehr ein Interesse der Frommen an einer Fürbitte für die Gerechten anzudeuten.³⁷ Dieses Motiv ist durchaus typisch, wo es um Hölle und ewiges Verderben geht, und zwar schon in jüdischen Traditionen: Im *Testament Abrahams* verhält sich der Protagonist zwar anfangs intransigent gegenüber Sündern (vgl. *Test Abr A 10*), aber am Ende betet er mit Michael zusammen für eine Seele, die nicht eindeutig gut und nicht eindeutig böse ist (*Test Abr A 14,1–9*). In der *Apokalypse Sedrachs* gibt der fromme Sedrach – es war wohl ursprünglich einmal Esra – keine Ruhe angesichts des Schicksals der Sünder.³⁸ Im *vierten Esra* erscheint Esra durchweg mehr um Nachsicht für die Sünder bemüht, als es dem Engel Uriel und mit ihm Gott recht ist. Paulus erbittet zusammen mit Michael und den Engeln in der *Paulusapokalypse* für die Sünder einen straffreien Sonntag (*Apoc. Paul 42–44*); dies leistet auch Maria in der äthiopischen *Marienapokalypse*, vgl. *Apc Mariae* (aeth) Ms. A 30v–31r³⁹; einen straffreien Sabbat erwirkt Königin Sabbat in *Teezâza Sanbat*, dem vielleicht wichtigsten Parabiblicum der Falascha.⁴⁰ Man mag geneigt sein, die Rede von der Hölle und der ewigen Strafe für frommen Sadismus zu halten, aber dem steht der hier angedeutete Befund entgegen: Eher scheint es so, als sei Strafe und Hölle für die Frommen einfach eine Tatsache, mit der ihre Menschenfreundlichkeit irgendetwie

³⁶ Vgl. I.L.E. Ramelli, ‘Origen, Bardaisan, and the Origin of Universal Salvation’, *HTR* 102 (2009) 135–68.

³⁷ Zu diesem Motiv vgl. Kraus, ‘Fürbitte’, passim.

³⁸ Zur *Apc Sedrach*, die in der Forschung kaum eine Rolle spielt, vgl. den Text bei O. Wahl (Hg.), *Apocalypsis Esdrae – Apocalypsis Sedrach – Visio Beati Esdrae* (Leiden, 1977) und als eine der wenigen Studien J. Dochhorn, ‘The Apocalypse of Sedrach’, in J.N. Bremmer, V. Hirschberger und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Figures of Ezra* (Leuven, 2018) 205–25.

³⁹ Vgl. M. Chaine, *Apocrypha de Beata Maria Virgine* (Leuven, 1909) 80.

⁴⁰ Zu *Teezâza Sanbat* vgl. den Text und die französische Übersetzung bei J. Halévy, *Tē’ēzâza Sanbat. Commandements du Sabbat. Accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphes admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d’Abyssinie* (Paris, 1902) 1–40; 134–64.

umzugehen versucht – im Sinne der Linderung, während Gott eher für das Realitätsprinzip steht: Es »ist nun einmal so« mit der Hölle, muss auch so sein; dafür steht der gerechte Gott, während seine Frommen damit nur schwer fertig werden.

3.6. *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6

3.6.1. Einleitung

Vom Acherusischen See ist auch in der *Apokalypse des Mose* und in der von ihr abhängigen *Vita Adae et Evae* die Rede: Adam wird nach seinem Tode im Rahmen eines liturgischen Aktes Gottes Vergebung zuteil (*Apc Mos* 33,2–37,2); ein Seraph wäscht ihn dreimal im Acherusischen See (37,3–4a), woraufhin Gott Adam in die Hand nimmt und ihn dem Erzengel Michael übergibt, damit dieser ihn in das Paradies im dritten Himmel verbringe (37,4b–6). Dieser Beleg bedarf in besonderem Maße der Erörterung: Es muss geklärt werden, ob er jüdischer Provenienz ist oder aber christlicher; ist er jüdisch, so müsste schon für Juden im Acherusischen See etwas haben stattfinden können, das einer Taufe im Acherusischen See mindestens ähnlich sieht. In der Tat ist dies meines Erachtens der Fall, und zwar eindeutig. Dies begründe ich hier vorweg in drei Schritten, einer etwas tiefergehenden Analyse des Textes vorausgreifend und zugleich mit dem Ziel, über die *Apokalypse des Mose* und die *Vita Adae et Evae* Orientierung zu vermitteln:

1. Die *Apokalypse des Mose* ist eine jüdische Schrift⁴¹ und ebenso die *Vit Ad*, die im Wesentlichen eine revidierte Fassung der *Apc Mos* darstellt, eine Ausgabe letzter Hand der im Entstehungsmilieu der *Apc Mos* und der *Vit Ad* entstandenen Adamserzählung.⁴² Beide Texte entwickeln durchgehend in griechischer Sprache aufgrund von Beobachtungen am hebräischen Bibeltext (speziell zu Gen 3) Erzählungen über Adam und Eva mit einer an rabbinische Haggada gemahnenden Methodik⁴³; passend dazu gibt es zu ihnen rabbinische Parallelen, die auf die exoterische Kommunikation des der *Apc*

⁴¹ Dies weise ich im Einzelnen nach in Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*.

⁴² Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 34–62 (*Vit Ad* gehört zu der von Subarchetyp *Ia der *Apc Mos* ausgehenden Textfamilie und ist damit abhängig von der *Apc Mos*); 139–48 (*Vit Ad* gehört demselben Milieu an wie die *Apc Mos*).

⁴³ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 139–48.

Mos und der *Vit Ad* zugrundeliegenden Schulbetriebes zurückgehen.⁴⁴ Paulus ist von der *Apc Mos* (nicht von der *Vit Ad*) abhängig⁴⁵; eindeutig lässt sich bei den zahlreichen Parallelen zwischen Paulus und der *Apc Mos* ein Traditionsgefälle von der *Apc Mos* zu Paulus feststellen.⁴⁶ Der literarische Prozess im Entstehungsmilieu der *Apc Mos* und der *Vit Ad*, die ich unter dem Begriff Adamdiegesen zusammenfasse, verlief folgendermaßen: Zur Zeit Herodes des Großen wurde ein *Testament Evas* erstellt, dem *Apc Mos* 15–30 und 33,2–37,6 entstammen; es wurde von der Adamdiegesen-Schule nicht veröffentlicht. Um die Zeitenwende war die *Apc Mos* im Wesentlichen abgeschlossen; von ihr hängt die vor dem Ende der Herrschaft des Archelaos verfasste *Assumptio Mosis* ab.⁴⁷ An der *Apc Mos* wurde indes bis in die Zeit des Jerusalemaufenthaltes von Paulus hinein weitergearbeitet, indem zuerst der Grundtext durch Glossen zu dem erweitert wurde, was wir als Archetyp rekonstruieren können, und dann der Archetyp weiter glossiert wurde – mit Subrezension *Ia als Ergebnis. Zur Zeit der Wirksamkeit Johannes des Täuflers oder kurz danach wurde dann – basierend auf dem Subarchetypen *Ia der *Apc Mos* – die *Vit Ad* erstellt⁴⁸ (sie lässt Adam

⁴⁴ Vgl. J. Doehorn, *Der Adammythos bei Paulus und im hellenistischen Judentum Jerusalems. Eine theologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Römer 7,7–25* (Tübingen, 2021) 316.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 515.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 320–54 (Rezeption der *Apc Mos* in Röm 2,14–15; 3,23; 5,12–21; 8,20; 8,33–34; 2 Kor 11,4); 354–62 (sieben weitere Spuren einer Benutzung der *Apc Mos* durch Paulus, speziell in 1 Kor 15,4); 362–65 (Paulus hatte in Jerusalem Kontakt mit dem Entstehungsmilieu der *Apc Mos*); 312–17 (Röm 7,7–25 basiert auf der Erzählung Evas vom Paradiesgeschehen in *Apc Mos* 15–30); 367–84 (es wird aufgezeigt, wie Paulus *Apc Mos* 15–30 in Röm 7,7–25 transformiert hat). Bei den paulinischen Belegen zu einer Rezeption der *Apc Mos* ist zu beachten, dass Röm 8,33–34 und 1 Kor 15,4 eine vorpaulinisch-frühchristliche Rezeption der *Apc Mos* widerspiegeln. Zur Benutzung der *Apc Mos* bei Paulus vgl. auch J.R. Levison, ‘Adam and Eve in Romans 1,18–25 and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve’, *NTS* 50 (2004) 519–34.

⁴⁷ Zur Abhängigkeit der *Ass Mos* von der *Apc Mos* vgl. Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 362–65.

⁴⁸ Vgl. das Szenario zur Entstehung von *Test Eva*, *Apc Mos* und *Vit Ad* (mit Glossierungen zwischen diesen drei Hauptstadien des evolutiven Prozesses) bei Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 283–89.

im Jordan büßen, was wohl als Reminiszenz an den ausweislich des Josephus und der Evangelien sehr populären Täufer zu verstehen ist; vgl. *Vit Ad* 6–10; 17,3; 20,1).⁴⁹ Die *Vit Ad* ist im Wesentlichen identisch mit der *Apc Mos*, nur dass sie vorne durch *Vit Ad* 1–21 erweitert wurde und nicht mehr auf eine Offenbarung an Mose zurückgeführt wird. Ihr zu *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 paralleler Text (*Vit Ad* 63,2–67,6) wird hier nicht weiter behandelt, da er dem der *Apc Mos* weitgehend geglichen haben dürfte⁵⁰; er ist auf Griechisch nicht mehr greifbar, wohl aber – oft stark verändert – in lateinischer, armenischer und georgischer Überlieferung⁵¹, ebenso in koptischer Überlieferung, wo er durch wenige Fragmente und eine durchaus passable Sekundärüberlieferung bezeugt ist.⁵²

2. Die Episode von der dreimaligen Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See (*Apc Mos* 37,3–4a) ist keine christliche Interpolation, denn sie lässt sich, wie ich in meiner Monographie zur *Apc Mos* gezeigt habe und unten weiter auszuführen ist, als konstitutiver Teil von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 erweisen, und zwar wie auch sonst in der *Apc Mos* dadurch, dass sie auf exegetische Beobachtungen an hebräischer Bibelüberlieferung zurückgeführt werden kann; sie ist also erklärbar als Produkt bibelphilologisch arbeitender haggadischer Phantasie.⁵³
3. Religionsgeschichtlich ist demnach *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a nicht von Christlichem herzuleiten, sondern liegt diesem eher zugrunde. Dieser Text gehört zur Vorgeschichte der Johannestaufe, der christlichen Taufe und mehrerer christlicher Überlieferungen von der

⁴⁹ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 526–29.

⁵⁰ Der textkritischen Dokumentation zu *Apc Mos* 37,3–4 bei Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 464 lassen sich keine Abweichungen der *Vit Ad* vom ursprünglichen Text der *Apc Mos* entnehmen (es ist dort die *Vit Ad* in allen Versionen berücksichtigt, da diese von *Apc Mos* nach Subarchetyp * Ia deriviert und somit ein Textzeuge der *Apc Mos* ist).

⁵¹ Zur Überlieferung der *Vit Ad* vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 38–60. *Vit Ad* (arm.georg.lat) werden synoptisch präsentiert bei J.-P. Petto-relli Adiuante et Opus Perficiente J.-D. Kaestli, *Vita Latina Adae et Evae*; A. Frey et al. (Hg.), *Synopsis Vitae Adae et Evae. Latine, Graece, Armeniace et Iberice* (Turnhout, 2012) II, 743–905.

⁵² Zur *Vit Ad* (kopt) vgl. Anm. 96.

⁵³ Zur Interpretation und zu den exegetischen Hintergründen von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 465–504.

Taufe im Acherusischen See; letzteres war in den vorhergehenden Abschnitten schon mehrfach angedeutet worden.

3.6.2. Die Erzählung in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6

Was ist das näherhin für eine Szenerie, in der eine Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See stattfindet? Erzählt wird, was sich unmittelbar nach Adams Tod ereignet, und was wir da vorgeführt bekommen, ist eine der umfassendsten Thronwagen-Epiphanien der frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur. Sie wurde ursprünglich von Eva erzählt, als *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 noch zum *Test Eva* gehörte; Spuren, aufgrund derer man auf eine Vorgeschichte von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 schließen kann, haben sich, wie wir nachfolgend sehen werden, im Text erhalten.

Zu Beginn sieht Eva einen Lichtwagen, gezogen von vier Adlern, aus dem Himmel kommen (33,2). Der Wagen bleibt stehen, wo der Leichnam Adams liegt; die Seraphim positionieren sich zwischen dem Wagen und Adam (33,3). Dann sieht Eva ein von Engeln dargebrachtes Räucheropfer, dessen Rauch die sieben Himmelfesten bedeckt (33,4). Nebenbei nehmen wir zur Kenntnis, dass *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 eine Sieben-Himmel-Kosmologie voraussetzt (vgl. *Test Levi* 3; *Asc Isa* 6–11). Zum Instrumentarium des Räucheropfers gehören drei Schalen. Warum es drei sein müssen, erfahren wir nicht, aber es wird sich zeigen, dass in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 immer wieder Dreiheit eine Rolle spielt, und das beginnt hier. Der zum Räucheropfer gehörige Altar ist übrigens einfach da, ohne vorher eingeführt worden zu sein, womit sich der Exzerpt-Charakter unseres Stückes zu erkennen gibt. Während des Räucheropfers bitten die Engel Gott, er möge Adam als seinem Ebenbild und Händewerk verzeihen (33,5). Das Wort für »verzeihen« ist συγχωρεῖν; es hatte in 27,3 mit Hinblick auf die Gebotsübertretung Adams im Paradies Verwendung gefunden (damals hatte Adam Gott vergeblich um Verzeihung gebeten). Wir haben hier eines der Momente vorliegen, die *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 näher mit *Apc Mos* 15–30 verbinden (beide Texte gehörten, wie bereits mitgeteilt, ursprünglich zum *Test Eva*).⁵⁴ Vor allem aber wird mit dieser Junktur gesichert, dass es die Gebotsübertretung im Paradies ist, was hier als Anlass für die Begnadigungs-Zeremonie zu gelten hat.

⁵⁴ Zur Herkunft von *Apc Mos* 15–30 und 33,2–37,6 aus dem *Test Eva* vgl. Doehorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 468–70.

Nachfolgend sieht Eva, hier partiell aus der Ich-Perspektive berichtend⁵⁵, das Geschehen etwas mehr im Detail (34,1–36,3), wobei ein Moment besonders hervorgehoben wird und den Rahmen des gesamten Abschnittes bildet: Sonne und Mond sind angesichts des Lichtglanzes, der Gott als den Vater des Lichtes umgibt, dunkelhäutig wie Äthiopen (34,1; 35,4–36,3). Nicht der Vater des Lichtes ist so hell (er ist unsichtbar: 35,3), sondern seine Umgebung. Adler, Sonne und Mond als Äthiopen, der Lichtglanz um Gott, ein Wagen, auf dem Gott Platz nimmt: Wir haben hier eine Konstellation, die solar-mythologische Hintergründe vermuten lässt (Adler sind Sonnentiere, die Sonne hat herkömmlich einen Wagen).⁵⁶ Der *Apokalypse des Mose* ist in besonderem Maße anzusehen, dass den Traditionen vom Thronwagenwerk und von dem Licht als Umgebung oder gar Wesenseigenschaft Gottes ein Bezug zur Sonnenreligion eignet (mit Tendenzen zur Abgrenzung und Überbietung), was den Gott Israels wiederum in die Nähe nicht tellurischer, sondern uranischer Gottheiten rückt.⁵⁷

Zu dem, was Eva genauer an der Szenerie wahrnimmt, gehört vor allem ein liturgisches Geschehen: Adams Leib (σῶμα) liegt mit dem Gesicht auf dem Boden, und die Engel beten mit ihm für ihn (35,2: καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ εὐχόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ), womit die besondere Positionierung Adams als ein Gebet zu verstehen ist, als eine mit der Engelfürbitte parallele Bitte um Verzeihung. Die Gebetshaltung der Engel wird nicht in letzter Deutlichkeit gezeichnet, aber in *Apc Mos* 37,1 erfahren wir dann, dass sie auf ihrem Antlitz gelegen haben, also genauso wie Adam dalag bei ihrem Gebet. Was Adam betrifft, hat es den Anschein, dass er als Leiche betet bzw. als ein Körperwesen, das kürzlich verstorben ist und dementsprechend nun liegt. Die Engel eignen sich Adams Leichen-Lage mit ihrer Gebetshaltung solidarisch an. Eva fragt in

⁵⁵ Wir haben hier eines der Momente, das *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 als älteres Quellenstück ausweist, vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 467–68.

⁵⁶ Zu solarer Motivik in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 und ihren Parallelen vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 474; 483–85.

⁵⁷ Ein uranisch und übrigens auch männlich bestimmtes Religionssystem ist nicht untypisch; Grundzüge eines entsprechenden Pantheons rekonstruiert für die Indogermanen T.V. Gamkrelidze, 'On the Structure of the Ancient Indo-European Pantheon', *General Linguistics* 41 (2001) 134–46.

dieser Situation, ob Adam in die Hände des unsichtbaren Gottes gegeben werde (35,3). Sie richtet diese Frage an Seth, der während des Geschehens als Visionsinterpret zugegen ist: Die Erzählerin ist privilegiert als Sehende, aber nicht als Wissende; in Letzterem ist ihr Sohn besser, ohne dass in dieser Szene erklärt würde, warum das der Fall ist.⁵⁸

Während nun Seth gerade seiner Mutter erklärt, warum Sonne und Mond aussehen wie Äthiopen, ereignet sich die entscheidende Wende, und die sehen wir als Leser nicht: »Der Engel« (ὁ ἄγγελος) trompetet (37,1); »der Engel« ist vermutlich Michael, denn dieser ist es, der in *Apc Mos* 22,1 trompetet⁵⁹; ein Wissen darum, dass Michael der aus dem Alten Testament bekannte Engel des Herrn ist (מִלְאֲכַל הַהוֹרָה), kann hier vorausgesetzt sein.⁶⁰ Er verkündet den Engeln, die sich nun erheben (37,1), dass Gott sich Adams als seines Händewerks

⁵⁸ Seth ist gegenüber Eva auch in *Apc Mos* 10–12 privilegiert: Anders als Eva ist er dort Ebenbild Gottes und übt dementsprechend Vollmacht gegenüber einem wilden Tier aus. Der Text gehört zur Endredaktion der *Apc Mos*, vgl. Doehorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 134–35. Als exklusiv Schauender begegnet Seth in *Apc Mos* 38,4, als vom Erzengel Michael Unterwiesener in 43,1–2.

⁵⁹ Michael wird in der *Apc Mos* oft erwähnt, vgl. *Apc Mos superscr.*; 3,2; 13,2; 22,1; 37,4.6; 38,1; 40,1.2; 43,1.2. Für ihn steht ὁ ἀρχάγγελος in *Apc Mos* 3,3; 22,2 und ὁ ἄγγελος in 14,1. In 32,3 begegnet »der Engel der Menschheit« (ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος), in 33,1 antonymisch aufgenommen als ὁ ἄγγελος. An diesen »Engel der Menschheit« kann – zumindest auf der endredaktionellen Ebene – auch in 37,1 zu denken sein, und da auf ihn mindestens in 33,1 mit ὁ ἄγγελος ähnlich referiert wird wie sonst auf Michael, wird der »Engel der Menschheit« wohl mit Michael identisch sein. Ist dies der Fall, so ergibt sich eine interessante Konstellation: Michael ist ansonsten der Engel des Volkes Israel (1 Hen 20,5; Dan 10,21; 12,1), während er in 32,3 offenbar für die ganze Menschheit steht. Dies entspricht einer universalistischen Tendenz in der Endredaktion der *Apc Mos*, vgl. 13,3–5; 37,6 und s.u. den Haupttext zu Anm. 61.

⁶⁰ Die Malʿak-Identität Michaels wirkt auch nach in Jud 9, wenn dort Michael eine Rolle innehat, die analog zu derjenigen des Malʿak in Sach 3 ist. Jud 9 entstammt laut Origenes der *Assumptio Mosis*, vgl. das Testimonium zur Ass Mos bei aus Origenes, *De Principiis* III,2,1 bei C. Clemen, *The Assumptio Mosis* (Cambridge, 1904) 15. Es ist unter anderem diesem Testimonium auch die bereits erwähnte Abhängigkeit der *Ass Mos* von der *Apc Mos* zu entnehmen. Beide Schriften stehen einander offenbar nahe, was sich auch in ihrer Michaelologie zeigt.

erbarmt hat (37,2: τὸ πλάσμα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ Ἀδάμ). Adam als Händewerk Gottes – das erinnert an die Erschaffung Adams aus Staub (Gen 2,7); Adam scheint auch hier als Körperwesen wahrgenommen zu sein. Michael teilt die gute Botschaft mit in Gestalt einer Eulogie auf die Doxa des Herrn: (εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ κτλ.). Die entscheidende Wende im liturgischen Geschehen manifestiert sich in einer Lobpreisung an die Doxa des Herrn; wer hier an die – ebenfalls liturgisch grundierte – Vision Jesajas von der Herrlichkeit des Herrn im Tempel denkt (Jes 6), der liegt, wie noch zu zeigen wird, nicht ganz falsch.

Was anschließend geschieht, ist Folgewirkung des göttlichen Erbarmens und zugleich der Perspektivpunkt des Ganzen in 33,2–37,6 erzählten Vorgangs: Adam erfährt das Erbarmen Gottes leibhaftig, indem Gott höchstselbst ihn in seine Hand nimmt, und wird danach ins Paradies verbracht (37,3–6). Das Procedere ist im Einzelnen das Folgende: Einer der Seraphim entrückt Adam (ἤρπασεν τὸν Ἀδάμ; 37,3) und bringt ihn in den Acherusischen See, wo er ihn dreimal abwäscht (ἀπέλουσεν αὐτὸν τρίτον; 37,3), bevor er ihn vor Gott bringt (37,4). Der Acherusische See ist offenbar weiter entfernt, sonst wäre keine Entrückung erforderlich, aber seiner Funktion nach ist er ein Zwischending: Adam muss zuerst von einem Seraphen in ihm gewaschen werden, ehe er vor Gott liegen kann. Auch vor Gott hat er erst einmal drei Stunden liegend zu warten (37,4a), und erst dann streckt der Vater des Alls, sitzend auf seinem Thron, seine Hand aus, nimmt Adam und übergibt ihn Michael (37,4b) mit der Anweisung, er solle Adam in das Paradies im dritten Himmel bringen, damit er dort bleibe bis zum Tage des Endgerichts (37,5), was Michael dann auch tut (37,6a). Ob Adam jetzt lebt oder nicht, erfahren wir übrigens nicht; aus der vorhergehenden Szenerie konnten wir schließen, dass er beten kann, ob als Leiche oder eben doch nicht als Leiche, oder er betete als Leiche und ist jetzt keine Leiche mehr – wie auch immer, mit seiner Gottesbeziehung jedenfalls ist jetzt alles in Ordnung. Die Engel reagieren entsprechend mit einem Engelhymnus, voller Staunen »über die Begnadigung Adams« (ἐπὶ τῇ συγχωρήσει τοῦ Ἀδάμ; 37,6b). Nachklappartig erfahren wir, dass diese Begnadigung auch seine Nachkommen betrifft (37,6c). Wahrscheinlich liegt hier eine von der Endredaktion der *Apokalypse des Mose* eingefügte Glosse vor; der Nachklapp entspricht jedenfalls einem Trend zum Heilsuniversalismus, der bei endredaktionellen Texten der *Apc Mos* besonders

hervortritt⁶¹ und vermutlich auch Paulus in seiner Theologie der Heidenmission beeinflusst hat.⁶²

3.6.3. Exegetische Hintergründe

Warum kann hier solchermaßen über die Geschehnisse nach Adams Tod berichtet werden? Kann man einfach dergleichen über Adam erzählen, ohne dass die Heiligen Schriften dies nahelegen? Es hat sich für mich in meiner Arbeit zur *Apc Mos* und zur *Vit Ad* herausgestellt, dass hiermit die entscheidende Frage zu diesen Texten gestellt ist, die positiv gewendet folgendermaßen lautet: Wo ist der exegetische Anhaltspunkt für das hier Erzählte, wie kam man, erzählerische Phantasie eingerechnet, von Heiliger Schrift auf die vorliegende Haggada?

Nun, der biblischen Adamüberlieferung in Gen 1–5 nach scheint Adam eher unauffällig dahinzuscheiden: Gen 5,5 vermerkt, dass Adam nach 930 Lebensjahren verstarb; mehr erfahren wir nicht. Nach einem exegetischen Anhaltspunkt sieht das nicht aus, nur dass eben auch keine Beerdigung berichtet wird, womit einer Unterbringung Adams im Himmel, wie sie *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 erzählt, wenigstens dies nicht im Wege gestanden hat. Kann der Autor von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 (bzw. des *Test Evas*) irgendwo anders als in Gen 1–5 einen Ansatzpunkt gefunden haben? Dies ist nicht auszuschließen; auch sonst haben sich die Erzähler-Exegeten, denen wir die Adamdiegesen verdanken, anderswo in Heiligen Schriften umgesehen – und dann außerhalb der Thora⁶³, worin sich vielleicht schon die aus dem Synagogengottesdienst bekannte Kombination von Thora- und Prophetenlesung niederschlägt.⁶⁴ Und in der Tat lässt sich als generativ für unsere Perikope ein haggadischer Erkenntnisprozess rekonstruieren, der außerhalb der Thora ansetzt, und zwar in dem, was man später die Propheten (Nebiim) genannt hat. Ich habe diesen Erkenntnisprozess

⁶¹ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 270, 284–85 und oben Anm. 59.

⁶² Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 334.

⁶³ In *Apc Mos* 5,1–3 wird Ri 12,8–10 ausgewertet, vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 221–24, in *Apc Mos* 29,6 wird Hld 4,14 aufgenommen, vgl. ibidem 432–33, in *Apc Mos* 40,3–5 wird Ez 24,7–8 hebr. verarbeitet, vgl. ibidem 534–35.

⁶⁴ Zur Praxis der Prophetenlesung nach der Thora, den sogenannten Aphtarot / Haphtarot, vgl. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Frankfurt, 1931, Nachdruck: 1995) 174–84.

ausführlich anderswo rekonstruiert⁶⁵; hier beschränke ich mich auf eine thetische Darstellung des Vorgangs in drei Schritten (die zuweilen über meine Vorarbeit hinausgeht):

1. Aus dem *Testament Hiobs* wusste man, dass fromme Menschen sterben und trotzdem postmortal weiterleben konnten wie Elia, also indem der Thronwagen kommt und den Betreffenden in den Himmel entrückt (vgl. 1 Kön 2,11–12 und dazu *Test Hiob* 52).⁶⁶ Das *Testament Hiobs* war zu einer solchen Lebens-Erwartung angeregt durch eine Notiz der Septuagintaüberlieferung am Ende des Hiobbuches, derzufolge Hiob teilhaben werde an der Auferstehung (vgl. *Test Hiob* 4,9 und Hiob 42,17a LXX). Angesichts dieses Wissens aus dem Hiobtestament ist es übrigens wahrscheinlich, dass man sich die Aufnahme Adams in den Himmel, wie in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6, nicht als Aufnahme einer Leiche, sondern eines Lebenden vorzustellen hat, nur dass die Erzählung den Fokus nicht auf (postmortales) Leben legt, sondern auf die Gottesbeziehung der Leiche gleichermaßen wie des Lebenden. Abweichend freilich von *Test Hiob* 52, wo der Thronwagen kommt, um Hiobs Seele zu entrücken, während der Leichnam auf der Erde bestattet wird, sah *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 ursprünglich, als es noch Bestandteil des *Test Eva* war, die Aufnahme Adams in den Himmel als ein Körpergeschehen. Das *Test Eva* scheint die dichotomistische Anthropologie des *Test Hiob* nicht aufzunehmen; eine solche wird erst in der Endredaktion der *Apc Mos* relevant, die 33,2–37,6 als Aufstieg der Seele Adams liest (vgl. 13,6; 31,1.4; 32,4) und dann in 38–43 die Bestattung seines Leichnams erzählt. Wahrscheinlich waren die Verfasser des *Test Eva* hinsichtlich der Konzeptualisierung des Todes konservativ im Sinne einer monanthropologischen Konzeption vom Menschen, wozu vielleicht passt, dass sie anders als das *Test Hiob* nicht überwiegend mit der Septuaginta, sondern mit hebräischer Bibeltextüberlieferung arbeiteten. Dieses Moment muss umso mehr ins Auge fallen, als das Motiv vom Acherusischen See

⁶⁵ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 497–501.

⁶⁶ Das *Test Hiob* ist vor dem *Test Eva* unter Herodes dem Großen geschrieben worden. *Apc Mos* 15–30, ursprünglich, wie mitgeteilt, dem *Test Eva* angehörig, ist von ihm inspiriert, vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 506–9. Das gleiche lässt sich über *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 sagen, das ja ebenfalls dem *Test Eva* entstammt.

- herkömmlich mit griechischer Seelenlehre assoziiert erscheint (vgl. §2, v.a. zu Plato, und s.u.).
2. Die Entrückung Elias haben unsere Exegeten sich etwas genauer angesehen – im hebräischen Bibeltext. Es ist dort im Zusammenhang mit der Erscheinung des Wagens bei Elia und Elisa von Wesenheiten die Rede, die eine Trennung vornehmen (im Hebräischen steht ויפרידו; 1 Kön 2,11), was man sich dahingehend vorstellen kann, dass mehrere Akteure den Wagen von den beiden Propheten abschirmen (etwa weil diese Propheten Fleischeswesen sind). Elisa identifiziert danach »Reiter Israels«; für »Reiter« steht im Hebräischen פרשים (1 Kön 2,12). Diese Reiter können die genannten Trennungs-Akteure sein, aber was sind das für Reiter? Ein wenig Buchstabenvertauschung kann weiterhelfen: Es sind die Seraphen (שרפים), die man sich in der Nähe des Thronwagens gut vorstellen kann. Damit ist erklärt, warum Seraphen so wichtig sind in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6: Adam wird wie Elia in Verbindung mit einer Thronwagenepiphanie entrückt, und es spielen dabei Seraphen eine Rolle als Trennungsakteure.
 3. Warum aber kann man sich die Seraphen so gut in einer Thronwagenepiphanie vorstellen? Hier kommen wir zu einem weiteren Bibeltext, der – ähnlich späterer Methodik der Rabbinen – nach Art einer kombinatorischen Lektüre in 1 Kön 2,11–12 hineingelesen wurde: Seraphen kennt man aus der Thronvision des Jesaja in Jes 6, wo wir ja auch immerhin den Thron Gottes haben, wenn auch nicht als Wagen visualisiert. Von diesem Text nun erklären sich dann auch ganz entscheidende Züge der Thronwagenepiphanie in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6: **A.** Ein Seraph überwindet in Jes 6 die Unreinheit des Propheten, indem er dessen Mund mit einer glühenden Kohle berührt (Jes 6,6–7), und so überwindet auch hier ein Seraph die Unreinheit Adams – durch Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See –, nachdem zuvor die Seraphen wie bei Elia und Elisa in 1 Kön 2,11–12 eine Trennung zwischen Adam und dem Thronwagen vorgenommen haben, weil Adam noch unrein war. **B.** In Jes 6 geht es um die Kabod / Doxa / Herrlichkeit Gottes, und eben diese spielt auch in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 eine wichtige Rolle, indirekt durch die von Hesekiel und aus Jes 6 herrührende Merkabah-Motivik und direkt durch eine Eulogie der Doxa des Herrn angesichts der Begnadigung Adams (*Apc Mos* 37,2). **C.** Auf das Dreimalheilig der Seraphen in Jes 6 dürften die zahlreichen Triaden in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6

verweisen: Drei Schalen für das Räucheropfer, drei Waschungen Adams im Acherusischen See, drei Stunden Wartezeit für Adam vor seiner Ergreifung durch Gottes Hand, die Verbringung Adams in den dritten Himmel – was mit Adam geschieht, die dafür statthabende Liturgie eingeschlossen, scheint geradezu herauszuwachsen aus dem Gott zugesprochenen und zu eigenen Dreimalheilig.

Es ist nun unschwer zu erkennen, welche Rolle dem Acherusischen See zukommt in der exegetisch-narrativen Konstellation, die wir in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 identifiziert haben: Er steht gewissermaßen für die Kohle, mit der in Jes 6 der Seraph Jesaja gereinigt hat; er ist das Reinigungsmittel. Warum aber hat in unser Adamgeschichte das Reinigungsmittel eine so andere Beschaffenheit? Hier kommt nun – weit über meine bisherigen Arbeiten zur *Apc Mos* hinausgehend – Plato ins Spiel, und das will heißen: Man hat Plato ganz ähnlich in die biblisch begründete parabiblische Szenerie eingelesen, wie man auch Jes 6 in 2 Kön 2,11–12 eingelesen hat. Bei Plato fand man nämlich etwas, das genau passte: Der Acherusische See ist *Phaidon* 113d zufolge ein Ort, in dem Menschen gereinigt werden (im Griechischen steht καθαρόμενοι), und es ist klar, dass es um moralische Unreinheit geht, die dabei überwunden wird, indem von ἀδικήματα die Rede ist. Wir haben eingehender erörtert, was es mit diesen Menschen bei Plato auf sich hat (s. § 2); hier genügt ohne allzu viel Kontexterörterung, dass für Plato Menschen im Acherusischen See sittlich gereinigt werden. Nicht zufällig wohl ist es ein eher kurzer Textausschnitt aus Platons *Phaidon*, der hier relevant ist, denn auch sonst arbeitet die *Apc Mos* exegetisch eher mit Einzelbeobachtungen an Bezugstexten als mit den größeren Zusammenhängen; ihre Exegese ist weitgehend atomistisch.⁶⁷

Nun wissen wir, warum man den Acherusischen See von Plato her in unsere biblisch-parabiblische Szenerie einbringen konnte, aber wird damit eigentlich mehr geleistet, als dass ein pittoreskes Detail aus der griechischen Totenweltmythologie angeeignet wird? In der Tat, es geht hier um mehr, nämlich um die nicht ganz unbeträchtliche

⁶⁷ Fast durchgehend sind es einzelne hebräische Wörter, die unsere Erzähler-Exegeten haggadisch auswerten, vgl. die Kommentierung bei Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 175–572; zur Orientierung vgl. auch den Überblick über die *Apc Mos* und dann speziell 15–30 sowie die *Vit Ad* bei Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 252–83.

Aussicht – mindestens für Adam – auf eine postmortale Zukunft in einer erdenjenseitigen Anderwelt (welche dann spätestens die Endredaktion in *Apc Mos* 37,6 universalisiert). Um dies festzustellen, benötigt man etwas Kontextwissen zum genannten Platobeleg, freilich nicht außerordentlich viel: Was ist denn das hauptsächliche Anliegen, das Plato mit seinem *Phaidon* verfolgt, speziell im Schlussmythos des Sokrates (*Phaidon* 107c–114c)? Es geht um nicht weniger als die Chance für den Philosophen, der sich ernsthaft um seine Seele gekümmert hat, auch durch Tugendpflege, nach dem Tode ein entschieden besseres Leben zu führen, bei dem man als Grieche an das elysische Feld erinnert sein kann (vgl. *Odysee* IV,563–569), als Jude aber auch an das Paradies, vielleicht auch, wenn man von *Test Hiob* 33 her um ein von Flüssen durchzogenes himmlisches Land / eine himmlische Erde weiß, in welcher der Fromme zur Rechten des Vaters sitzend König ist. Wie aber kommt man an einen dermaßen attraktiven postmortalen Ort? In *Phaidon* 114c liest man, dass man diesen Ort durch Reinigung erreicht; an ihm lebten ohne zeitliche Begrenzung diejenigen, die sich durch Philosophie zuvor hinreichend gereinigt hätten (οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι). Von Reinigung war schon die Rede, in *Phaidon* 113d, wo sie im Acherusischen See stattfindet, auch dort unter Verwendung des Wortes καθαίρεισθαι. Derlei Stichwortübereinstimmungen ziehen unsere Exegeten magisch an, und zwar dahingehend, dass gerne auch einmal der Kontext der davon betroffenen Passagen (oder gar Mikroeinheiten) außer Acht gerät. Aus der Stichwortübereinstimmung bei Plato konnte man schließen: Wer von moralischen Verfehlungen gereinigt wird im Acherusischen See, der kommt an einen außerirdischen Ort, etwa ein Paradies im dritten Himmel. Es verhält sich bei Plato etwas anders, aber es ist dies, was die Autoren des *Test Eva* bei Plato sahen.

Nur am Rande sind hier zwei weiterführende Fragestellungen anzudeuten:

1. Zu prüfen wäre, ob das Motiv vom Paradies im dritten Himmel (*Apc Mos* 37,5–6) dem *Test Eva* schon vorlag oder aber von ihm entwickelt wurde – etwa auf folgende Weise: Man wusste von Plato her über eine erdenjenseitige Anderwelt als postmortalem Aufenthaltsort von Menschen und man sah diesen Ort als paradiesisch an. Im dritten Himmel verortete man ihn, weil die Verbringung Adams an diesen Ort Folge eines Läuterungsgeschehens war, für das man Jes 6 mit dem Dreimalheilig als liturgische Vorlage hatte. Ob es so vonstattenging, wäre im Zusammenhang einer Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Himmelstopographie im

frühen Judentum zu klären: Woher stammte und wie entwickelte sich dort die Vorstellung von sieben Himmeln? 2. Während bei Plato mit Hinblick auf die Vorgänge nach dem Tod von Seelen die Rede ist, scheint im *Test Eva* ursprünglich das postmortale Ergehen Adam als ein Körperwesen zu betreffen. Es scheint sein Körper zu sein, der im Acherusischen See gewaschen wird, während bei Plato Seelen dort gereinigt werden (wie auch immer dies zu denken ist; sie befinden sich nämlich nicht im Wasser, sondern wohl über dem Wasser – auf Booten, vgl. §2). Wie passt das zusammen? Angedeutet wurde ein anthropologischer Konservatismus des *Test Eva*; es ist offenbar der Monanthropologie stärker verhaftet als das bereits dichotomistische *Test Hiob*. Aber liegt im *Test Eva* vielleicht eine komplexere, freilich dann nicht ausformulierte Sicht zum Ergehen des Menschen Adam *post mortem* vor, etwa dahingehend, dass Adam nach dem Tod Körper- und Seelenwesen zugleich ist, als Körper in Beziehung zu Gott befindlich und als Seele körperhaft zu denken? Auch die Seelen im *Phaidon* müssen nicht als unkörperliche Wesenheiten wahrgenommen werden. Um in dieser Frage weiterzukommen, müsste man erkunden, wie sich im frühen Judentum Seele / Geist / Geister / Engel / Gott zu den potentiell sehr unterschiedlichen Größen Nichtkörperlichkeit / Unsichtbarkeit / Immaterialität / Geisthaftigkeit verhalten; es könnte hier vor allem das *Testament Abrahams* weiterhelfen, nur dass hier besonders schwer zu eruieren ist, was jüdisch und was christlich / byzantinisch ist.

3.6.4. *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a und die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe

Die dreimalige Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See, wie *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a sie erzählt, erinnert an die christliche Taufe und ist auch sekundär mit dieser in Verbindung gebracht worden (durch die Rezeption der *Vit Ad* in der *Paulusapokalypse* und in koptischen Texten, vgl. §3.1; 3.2; 3.3). Liegt ein religionsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang vor, etwa dahingehend, dass *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a in einem gewissen Ausmaße vorbereitend für die Entstehung der christlichen Taufe wirkte? Dafür sprechen mehrere Beobachtungen, die sich für mich allerdings noch nicht zu einem entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Szenario zusammenfügen und hier nur angedeutet werden können:

1. Die dreifache Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See ist, wie soeben dargestellt, ein Akt entsündigender Reinigung, der auf das Dreimalheilig der Seraphim in Jes 6 gegründet ist.
2. Erinnerung an das Dreimalheilig hält sich auch in späteren Schichten der *Apc Mos*, nämlich in ihrem Explicit (43,4), das in der Grablegungsgeschichte, einer 38–43 zugrundeliegenden und dem *Test Eva*

gegenüber sekundären Quelle, angelegt sein mag, aber von der Endredaktion der *Apc Mos* mindestens mit Aufmerksamkeit bedacht worden sein wird⁶⁸: Der Erzengel Michael steigt in den Himmel auf, »verherrlichend und dabei sprechend: „Halleluja, Halleluja, Halleluja! Heilig, heilig, heilig ist der Herr“ für die Herrlichkeit Gottes, des Vaters, Amen« (δοξάζων καὶ λέγων· ἄλληλοῦια, ἄλληλοῦια, ἄλληλοῦια, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός, ἀμήν). Neben dem deutlichen Sanctus-Anklang verbindet auch der Vaternamen für Gott dieses Stück mit *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6. Das Explizit der *Apc Mos* steht religionsgeschichtlich nicht beziehungslos da: Es findet Parallelen im ursprünglichen Explizit des *Test Sal*, im Schlussgebet des hermetischen Traktats *Poimandres* (der vermutlich von Überlieferung aus dem Milieu der Adamdiegenen beeinflusst ist) und im Explicit der *Hypostase der Archonten*⁶⁹; mit Phil 2,11 hat es gemeinsam, dass liturgische Rede, hier das Sanctus und dort das Bekenntnis zu Christus als dem Herrn, »für die Herrlichkeit Gottes des Vaters« geschieht (beide Texte haben εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός). Mit seiner Doxa-Begrifflichkeit wird *Apc Mos* 43,4 zur Vorgeschichte der Doxologie gehören, die in christlichen Handschriften gewöhnlich ein Buch abschließt.⁷⁰

3. Erinnerung an Jes 6 spielt eine Rolle auch in der Geschichte von der Buße Adams und Evas in *Vit Ad* 4–11 und 17–21 passim: Adam weiß um die Unreinheit seiner Lippen und derer seiner Frau (*Vit Ad* 6,1), was deutlich an Jes 6,6 anklingt. Passend dazu gemahnt vieles in *Vit Ad* 4–11; 17–21 passim an *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6: Die Buße ist durch dasselbe Vergehen motiviert wie die Bitte um Verzeihen in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6, nämlich die Gebotsübertretung im Paradies (*Vit Ad* 1–4), sie hat hier wie da Erbarmen Gottes in der Perspektive (*Vit Ad* [gr] 4,3 = *Apc Mos* 29,9 (*II) hat σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, *Apc Mos* 37,2 ἐλεεῖν, das in *Apc Mos* 27,2 mit σπλαγχνίζεσθαι in Parallelstellung steht), und sie ist – wie die Waschung in *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a – ein Reinigungsritus, der mit Wasser vollzogen wird: Adam büßt im Jordan, Eva im Tigris.

⁶⁸ Vgl. Doehorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 131–32 (zur Grablegungserzählung und zu endredaktionellen Einflüssen in *Apc Mos* 43,4).

⁶⁹ Vgl. Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 539 (dort Anm. 122).

⁷⁰ Vgl. Doehorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 569–72.

4. Dass Adam gerade im Jordan büßt, hat seine exegetischen Hintergründe in Jos 3,16 hebr in Verbindung mit Hos 6,7 hebr⁷¹, aber es wird auch durch zeitgenössische Reminiszenzen verursacht sein: Im Jordan vollzog auch Johannes der Täufer seine Taufe.⁷² Und diese ist wie *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 und *Vit Ad* 4–11; 17–21 passim mit Sündenvergebung gleichermaßen wie mit Reinheit assoziiert; ersteres bezeugen Synoptiker und Josephus (Mk 1,4; Lk 3,3; *Antiquitates* XVIII,116–119 bei Niese IV,161–162), letzteres nur Josephus, dem man entnehmen kann, dass mit Hinblick auf die Johanna-Taufe über das Verhältnis zwischen Reinigung und dem damit verbundenen sittlichen Geschehen nachgedacht wurde (*Ant* XVIII,117). Diese beiden Momente stehen in den Adamdiegesen nebeneinander, freilich ohne explizit oder gar mit Abgrenzungen in ein Verhältnis gesetzt zu werden.
5. Bei der christlichen Taufe begegnet uns vieles, was bisher angesprochen wurde: Ein Wasserritus, die Assoziation mit dem Jordan, die Sündenvergebung, die Adammotivik (schon in Röm 6,1–11, insofern es dort um die Revision des in Röm 5,12–21 geschilderten Adamgeschehens geht), und mit Mt 28,19 eine triadische Struktur, die grundlegend für die Credo-Tradition wurde.⁷³

4. *Von den Anfängen bei den Juden bis zu den Kopten: Ein religionsgeschichtliches Szenario*

Wir sind mit *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 bei der ältesten Überlieferung zur sündenvergebenden Reinigung im Acherusischen See angelangt und können konstatieren: Hier, ganz am Anfang, wirkte eine Plato-Rezeption als der

⁷¹ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 142–43; D. Bertrand, *La vie grecque d'Adam et Ève* (Paris, 1987) 134.

⁷² Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 526–29

⁷³ Die in ihrer Grundstruktur triadisch / trinitarischen Glaubensbekenntnisse aus der Alten Kirche haben einen Hintergrund in der Taufpraxis, vgl. etwa die Hinweise zum Taufbekenntnis bei Justin, *Apol.* I,61 und die Beschreibung der Taufe bei Tertullian, *De Corona* 3 (dreimaliges Untertauchen, eine Antwort des Täuflings, die über das vom Herrn Gebotene hinausgeht; Mt 28,19 scheint im Blick). Zu den Texten vgl. H. Lietzmann (Hg.), *Symbole der Alten Kirche* (Bonn, 1906) 3–4; s. ferner das Material bei F. Loofs, *Symbolik oder christliche Konfessionskunde. Erster Band* (Tübingen, 1902) 6–58.

entscheidende Faktor, die im Geiste der in den Adamdiegesen praktizierten Bibelexegese betrieben wurde und mit dieser auch verbunden war. Gesah dies ohne jeglichen Kontext, d.h. ohne eine Kenntnis vom Acherusischen See in vorhergehender jüdischer Überlieferung, und lässt sich über bereits angedeutete traditionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen unseren »Tauftexten« hinaus auch ein einigermaßen organisches Bild einer Motiventwicklung entwickeln? Lässt sich hier Religionsgeschichte erzählen? Eben das soll nachfolgend versucht werden, wobei zuerst Belege für eine jüdische Vorgeschichte des Plato-Lektüreereignisses in der *Apc Mos* durchgegangen werden und dann eine Motivgeschichte dessen skizziert wird, was Peterson als »die Taufe im Acherusischen See« bezeichnet hat.

4.1. *Jüdische Vorgeschichte*

Was Lukian über die Unterwelt referiert, ist dem der Sache wenig geneigten Schriftsteller zufolge Allgemeinwissen (vgl. § 2). War dergleichen auch den Juden vertraut? Unwahrscheinlich ist dies nicht, zumal das Judentum anscheinend gerade Wissen über das Leben nach dem Tod gerne importierte⁷⁴, vielleicht weil es eher als geographisches oder kosmologisches Wissen durchgehen konnte und nicht als in engerem Sinne theologisches. Und in der Tat kennen wir einige mit mehr oder weniger Sicherheit vom Judentum derivierende Texte, die ein Wissen nach der Art Lukians voraussetzen scheinen, ein Wissen um den Acherusischen See auch ohne Plato. Es sind die folgenden:

1. Das überwiegend bis in die Zeit des 3. Jahrhunderts vor Christus zurückgehende Wächterengelbuch in *1 Hen* 1–36 enthält ab Kapitel 17 vor allem Reiseberichte Henochs – mit Dubletten, die einen komplizierten Traditionsentstehungsprozess andeuten; hauptsächlich

⁷⁴ Was den Import iranischer Traditionen anbetrifft, vgl. schon E. Böcklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902) sowie in jüngerer Zeit A.F. de Jong, 'Iranian Connections in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 2010) 479–500; immer noch gewinnbringend sind die Überlegungen und Materialien zum »religionsgeschichtlichen Problem« in der Erforschung des Judentums bei W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. In dritter verbesserter Auflage herausgegeben von Hugo Gressmann* (Tübingen, 1926) 469–524.

überschneidet sich 17–19 mit Traditionen in 21–36. In *1 Hen* 17,4–8, also gegen Anfang, finden wir Henoch im Westen vor, von Engeln dorthin entrückt. Er sieht daselbst das Lebenswasser und das Feuer des Westens, das die untergehende Sonne empfängt (17,4), kommt dann zu dem Feuerstrom, dessen Feuer sich in den großen See im Westen ergießt (17,5), und sieht danach große Flüsse (17,6a). Schließlich kommt er zu der großen Finsternis, wo alles Fleisch hingeht (17,6b). Dort gewahrt er dunkle Berge und den Abfluss des Abgrunds (17,7), die Mündung aller Flüsse, die Mündung des Abgrunds (17,8). Der Text ist auf griechisch und äthiopisch erhalten, weitgehend, aber nicht völlig ohne Differenzen⁷⁵; ein aramäisches Korrelat fehlt, wohl eher durch Zufall.⁷⁶ Vieles an ihm erinnert an griechische Unterwelt- / Totenwelt-Vorstellungen: Der große Feuerstrom kann der Pyriphlegethon sein, der große See der Acherusische See; die weiteren Flüsse könnten der Acheron, der Kokytos und der Okeanos sein. Der finstere Ort, wo alles Fleisch hingeht, kann als der Tartaros identifiziert werden, der hier auch wie bei Plato ein abgrundhafter Zielort aller Ströme ist. Wie bei Plato und Lukian stellt auch hier diese Szenerie nicht nur Wasser-, sondern auch Totenwelt dar, es sei denn, man wollte mit dem griechischen Text gehen, der gegen den äthiopischen in *1 Hen* 17,6b den von Henoch aufgesuchten finsternen Ort als einen kennzeichnet, an den sonst gerade »keinerlei Fleisch kommt«, was kaum überzeugend wirkt angesichts der Fülle an Reminiscenzen an griechische Unterweltvorstellungen in *1 Hen* 17,4–8 (eher zeigt sich hier, dass spätere Abschreiber diese Hintergründe nicht realisiert haben).⁷⁷ Es kann hier nicht geklärt werden, inwiefern zu *1 Hen* 17,4–8 Dubletten in *1 Hen* 21 ff existieren. In *1 Hen* 22

⁷⁵ Vgl. M. Black (Hg.), *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* / A.-M. Denis (Hg.), *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae Supersunt Graeca una cum Historicorum et Auctorum Iudaeorum Hellenistarum Fragmentis* (Leiden, 1970) 1–44, speziell 31; J. Flemming (Hg.), *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig, 1902) 22.

⁷⁶ Aramäische Überreste von *1 Hen* finden sich unter den Funden von Qumran, vgl. 4Q 201–7.212 = 4Q En ar^{a–g}.

⁷⁷ *1 Hen* (gr) 17,6b hat ὄπου πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐδὲ περιπατεῖ, *1 Hen* (aeth) 17,6b hat ጎበ : ኩሉ : ዘሥጋ : ያንሶሱ. Flemming (1902; wie Anm. 75) konjiziert aufgrund der griechischen Überlieferung ጎበ : ኩሉ : ዘሥጋ : <አ.>ያንሶሱ, wohl nicht mit Recht; eher ist οὐδὲ in *1 Hen* (gr) sekundär (ein Schreiber dachte an das privilegierte Wissen und Reiseerleben Henochs und machte ihn daher

jedenfalls haben wir intermediäre Seelenkammern und in 27 das für die endgültige Bestrafung der Sünder vorgesehene Gehinnom. Beides könnte mit dem »Ort, an den alles Fleisch kommt« in 17,6b konkurrieren, gemahnt aber nicht an Griechisches. Vielleicht ist 17,4–8 als eine hellenisierte Alternativtradition zu Unterwelt und Totenwelt-Traditionen in *I Hen* 21 ff konzipiert worden.

2. Die achmîmischen und sahidischen Reste der *Zephania-Apokalypse* (*Apc Soph*)⁷⁸, meines Erachtens ein relativ altes und wohl auch weitgehend unverändertes Stück jüdischer Literatur in koptischer Überlieferung, handelt fast durchgehend vom Ergehen der Seele nach dem Tode und nimmt unverkennbar griechische Traditionen zur Unter- und Totenwelt auf, etwa die seelengeleitenden Dämonen bei der Sterbestunde (akhm p. 1, Z. 1–4) oder die Erinyen in der Unterwelt (4,16–6,5), dies freilich alles ohne die entsprechenden Begriffe. Analoges gilt für den Acherusischen See: Nachdem der in der Apokalypse erzählende Totenweltreisende, der Prophet Zephanja, mit allerhand Schrecknissen fertig geworden ist, unter anderem mit dem »Ankläger« (ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ; 12,13–14), wohl dem Teufel, wird ihm mitgeteilt, er komme nun aus der Unterwelt hinauf und dürfe übersetzen an der »Anlegestelle« (ΠΛΑΝῪΩΡΕ), woraufhin er dann mit einem Schiff in Engelbegleitung zu den Patriarchen gelangt (12,16–14,14). Das versteht man, wenn man den Acherusischen See kennt – und wenn man weiß, dass man über ihn durch eine Überfahrt auf einem Schiff in eine bessere Lebenswelt gelangen kann, etwa das Elysium und hier

wohl eher unwillkürlich zum einzigen Besucher eines Ortes, übersah dabei indes die Intention des Textes, den Ort der Toten vor Augen zu führen).

⁷⁸ Zu den koptischen Überlieferungen vgl. G. Steindorff (Hg.), *Die Apokalypse des Elias. Eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Leipzig 1899) 33–65 (nach dem achmîmischen Codex), 110–13 (nach dem sahidischen Codex); in beiden Codices steht die *Apc Soph* zusammen mit der koptischen *Elia-Apokalypse*. Dass wir es mit einer *Zephania-Apokalypse* zu tun haben, ergibt sich aus dem sahidischen Fragment, in dem der Name Sophonias erscheint, vgl. *Apc Soph* (sah) I,22–23 bei Steindorff 112–13. Von einer *Apc Soph* überliefert ein Fragment auch Clemens Alexandrinus in *Stromateis* V,11,77 (GCS o.Z.; Stählin / Früchtel II,377), vgl. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum*, 129. Ob es von derselben Apokalypse stammt wie die koptischen Fragmente, muss hier offen bleiben.

wohl – wie für die Philosophen bei Plato vorgesehen – in eine obere Welt. All dies scheint in der *Apc Soph* schon fester Traditionsbesitz zu sein; es kann ohne Nennung von Namen erwähnt werden, wie es nur für Kenner einen Sinn ergibt.

3. In *Or Sib* II, 299–307 (Geffcken 20–21) prophezeit die Sibylle über das Menschengeschlecht nach der Sintflut, dass diesen ττηνευτῆρες ein langes Leben beschieden sein wird; sie werden ohne Krankheit sterben, in den Acheron zu den Hadesbehäusungen gelangen und dort als Selige (μάκαρες) leben. Griechisches Standardwissen über die Unterwelt ist hier in eine biblische Szenerie eingetragen. Über die Provenienz des Stückes mag ich hier keine Entscheidungen treffen; vieles in *Or Sib* I–II kann jüdisch sein (die in § 3.5 erörterte Tradition ist es allerdings nicht).
4. Der Zauberpapyrus London, Brit. Libr. or. 5987 erwähnt in Z. 13–14 sieben Gestalten (Arimiel, Dauithe, Elélêth, Ermoukratos, Adonai, Ermoustr der Unsichtbare, Bainchôôch) verbunden mit folgender Aufforderung (Z. 15–24): »Bringet euren Zorn nicht über alle ‚Verteiler‘ (ΝΙΡΜΕΠΩΩ), / bringet ihn über die unreinen Geister. / Sie mögen beschämt werden, dass sie fallen vor mir. / Denn ihr seid es, die weilen / nördlich und östlich von Antiochia // auf einem Myrtenbaum an jenem Ort, / der ‚Achelousia-See‘ (ΤΑΧΕΛΟΥΣΙΑ ΛΙΜΝΗ) [sic!] genannt wird, / der unter dem Throne von Jaô Sabaôth entströmt; / das Feld dieses Ortes trägt den Namen / Salômitis, die Pistis des Jaô Sabaôth.«⁷⁹ Diesen Text werde ich anderenorts ausführlicher analysieren; er geht meines Erachtens – über eine gnostische Zwischenstufe – auf eine jüdisch-antiochenische Tradition zurück und bezeugt ein Wissen vom Acherusischen See, das nicht von der *Apc Mos* herrühren dürfte, also eher für den Hintergrund von *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a steht als für die Rezeption dieses Textes.

4.2. Abriss einer Motivgeschichte

Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass zu einem bestimmten Augenblick im Judentum ein schon länger etabliertes Wissen um den Acherusischen See als Unterweltsort etwas erfuhr, das Forscher aus vorhergehenden

⁷⁹ Vgl. Kropp, *Zaubertexte* (1930–1931; wie Anm. 17) 22–28 (Text); II, 149–60 (Übersetzung). Ich übersetze eigenständig, habe aber die Übersetzung von Kropp konsultiert.

Generationen als religiöse Vertiefung bezeichnet hätten – und den Begriff verwende ich jetzt hier auch einmal: Griechischsprachige Juden in Jerusalem, dem Diasporarückwanderermilieu entstammend und dabei zunehmend in Kontakt gekommen mit hebräischer Bibelüberlieferung, die sie exegetisch erforschten, hatten sich angeschiedigt, eine Art Monographie zu Adam und Eva zu verfassen. Der kreative Prozess verlief in mehreren Stadien, und nun, zur Zeit des Herodes, befanden sie sich am Anfang, bei der Produktion des *Eva-Testaments* (im Wesentlichen eine Nacherzählung vom Paradiesgeschehen und von Adams Tod – aus der Perspektive des Augenzeugen Eva), das wohl schulintern blieb.⁸⁰ In diesem *Eva-Testament* nun brachten sie die Idee unter, dass Adam nach seinem Tod im Acherusischen See ähnlich von sündlicher Unreinheit gereinigt wurde wie ehemals Jesaja durch glühende Kohle, und sie trugen mit dieser Idee, die einem Gewässer bzw. Wasserbad soteriologische Bedeutung zuwachsen ließ, nicht zuletzt zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe bei. Plato wurde dabei selektiv gelesen: Gewöhnliche Menschen werden für Plato im Acherusischen See geläutert und kommen wieder auf die Erde (*Phaidon* 113d), Philosophen hingegen läutern sich durch Philosophie und kommen in ein nicht näher ausgeführtes Irgendwohin (das besser ist als eine Metempsychose; *Phaidon* 114c). Bei unseren Exegeten wird daraus die Aufnahme eines Menschen an einen genau bestimmten Ort (das himmlische Paradies) durch Läuterung im Acherusischen See. Es ist das privilegierte Ergehen der Philosophen, das hier die Adamdiegesen-Schule auf Adam überträgt, später sogar auf alle Menschen (in der universalistischen Endredaktion der *Moseapokalypse*; vgl. *Apc Mos* 37,6c). Die Szenerie scheint im Vergleich zu der bei Plato erheblich vereinfacht, und mit dem Paradies ist ein jüdisches Moment hinzugekommen. Dessen Verortung im Himmel hat vielleicht etwas mit der Tendenz bei Plato zu tun, die

⁸⁰ Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Adamdiegesen (**Test Eva* > *Apc Mos* > *Vit Ad*) vgl. § 3.6 und Doehring, *Adammythos*, 283–89. Der dort gegebene Überblick ist nicht alles, was in der betreffenden Monographie zu den Adamdiegesen verlautet, dient aber wohl am besten der Orientierung zu meiner Sicht der Dinge. Er geht weit über das hinaus, was ich 16 Jahre zuvor in meiner Dissertation zur Entstehung der Adamdiegesen festgestellt habe; auch in diesem Kapitel kommt Neues. Den Adamdiegesen ist für mich immer wieder Neues zu entnehmen, und ich nehme an, dass es auch anderen in Zukunft so gehen wird.

Philosophen anders als alle anderen postmortal aus dem Lebenskreislauf herauszunehmen – in ein besseres Irgendwohin.

Adams Aufnahme ins Paradies des dritten Himmels nach einer Waschung im Acherusischen See – das hat gewirkt: Die Endredaktion der *Moseapokalypse* interpretierte diese Szene bald im Sinne einer dichotomistischen Anthropologie, der zufolge es in ihr um Adams Seele ging (Apc Mos 13,6; 31,1.3b–4; 32,4).⁸¹ Vielleicht wirkt auch hier noch einmal Plato ein: Während das *Test Eva* den Dichotomismus Platos nicht übernahm, geht die *Apc Mos* mit ihm konform, möglicherweise aufgrund fortwährender Platolektüre. Wahrscheinlich hat die *Assumptio Mosis* sich dann – nach Abfassung der *Apc Mos* – von der Szene in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 dazu inspirieren lassen, Mose nach seinem Tod nicht auf Erden begraben, sondern in den Himmel aufgenommen zu sehen; der dafür im Titel des Werks verwendete Terminus ἀνάλημψις wirkt möglicherweise in Lk 9,51 christologisch nach.⁸² Die *Vita Adae et Evae* übernahm danach den Text der *Apc Mos*, ohne ihn viel zu ändern.

Motivgeschichtlich interferiert daraufhin ein zweites Kreativgeschehen, das erneut mit Platolektüre zu tun hat: Die *Petrusapokalypse* schließt markant ab mit der Vorstellung, dass die Gerechten eine Taufe von Sündern im Acherusischen See und deren Aufnahme in das elysische Feld erwirken könnten (§ 3.4). Es scheint mir hier ein Lektürevorgang zugrunde zu liegen, der dem in der *Apc Mos* bzw. dem *Test Eva* weitgehend ähnelt: Hier wie dort sind die beiden Läuterungsmotive (Läuterung der Normalmenschen im Acherusischen See, Läuterung der Philosophen durch Philosophie) dekontextualisiert und neu zusammengesetzt worden – mit der Folge, dass Menschen in das Elysium kommen, die wohl weniger herausragend sind als die Philosophen. In der *Petrusapokalypse* sind es gar Sünder, die profitieren – aufgrund von Fürbitten der Erlösten. Dies wurde möglich, weil man etwas bei Plato sah, das die *Apc Mos* bzw. das *Test Eva* nicht berücksichtigte, nämlich

⁸¹ *Apc Mos* 13,6; 31,1.3b–4; 32,4 stehen überwiegend in Rahmenpassagen, was typisch ist für redaktionelle Texte. Zur Endredaktion der *Apc Mos* und ihrem anthropologischen Dichotomismus vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 124–38 (allgemein zur Redaktionsgeschichte der *Apc Mos*); 437–55 (Einleitung zu *Apc Mos* 31–43; Kommentar zu *Apc Mos* 31,1–33,1, das überwiegend endredaktionell ist).

⁸² Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 363.

die Aufnahme von Schwerverbrechern in den Acherusischen See nach Einwilligung ihrer Angehörigen, die sich im Acherusischen See aufhalten (*Phaidon* 114a–b).

Es bleibt zu fragen, ob beide Lektürevorgänge historisch miteinander zusammenhängen. Meines Erachtens weisen Ähnlichkeit wie Differenz der Parallelen auf ein historisch-genetisches Verhältnis zwischen beiden hin – mit einem Gefälle von den Adamdiegesen zur *Petrusapokalypse*. Dies bedeutet: Der Verfasser der *Petrusapokalypse* oder eine von ihm benutzte Quelle hat weitergearbeitet mit Wissen, das von den Adamdiegesen deriviert. Dies kann man sich folgendermaßen vorstellen: **1.** Von einer bloßen Lektüre von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 kommt man nicht auf das in der *Petrusapokalypse* Erzählte. Dies geschieht eher, wenn man weiß, was die Autoren von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 und überhaupt die Verfasser der Adamdiegesen bei Plato gesehen haben. Dergleichen ist möglich: Die Verfasser der Adamdiegesen stehen für einen mindestens von der Zeit Herodes des Großen bis zur Zeit nach 30 n. Chr. aktiven Schulbetrieb, der ausweislich von Befunden bei Paulus und den Rabbinen, ja sogar im hermetischen Traktat *Poimandres*, die seinen Adamerzählungen zugrundeliegende exegetische Arbeit nach außen kommunizierte.⁸³ **2.** Die Anthropologie des *Poimandres* ist durch eine Zusammenschau der Adamologie der Adamdiegesen mit der Konzeption vom Inneren Menschen bei Plato geprägt, die im Entstehungsmilieu der Adamdiegesen seinen Ursprung haben wird.⁸⁴ Daraus folgt: Adamdiegesen-Wissen ist nach Ägypten gewandert. Dies bezeugt auch die *Sapientia Salomonis*, die sich in *Sap Sal* 3,23–25 (an sehr prominenter Stelle!) von der Satanologie der *Apc Mos* beeinflusst zeigt.⁸⁵ In Ägypten verortet man auch gerne die *Petrusapokalypse*.⁸⁶ **3.** Wie kann nun der Traditionsübergang zwischen Adamdiegesen und *Petrusapokalypse*

⁸³ Zur Außenkommunikation der Adamdiegesen-Schule vgl. die Hinweise bei Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 283–89. Sie nahm im Verlaufe der Zeit eher zu als ab, mit der Folge, dass *Vit Ad*-Überlieferungen überproportional Parallelen finden. Beziehungen zwischen Adamdiegesen, Plato, Paulus und *Poimandres* zeige ich in meinem Exkurs zu den traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergründen der Vorstellung vom Inneren Menschen bei Paulus auf (S. 220–24).

⁸⁴ Vgl. die vorhergehende Anmerkung.

⁸⁵ Vgl. Doehorn, *Adammythos*, 518.

⁸⁶ Vgl. etwa P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur. Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter* (Berlin, 1975) 507–13, speziell 508; Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', 566.

genau ausgesehen haben? Hat der Verfasser der *Petrusapokalypse* direkten Kontakt mit dem Entstehungsmilieu der Adamdiegesen gehabt oder ist ihm deren Wissen über ein Zwischenglied zugekommen? Letzteres liegt meines Erachtens näher, des zeitlichen Abstands zwischen *Vit Ad* (ca 30 n. Chr.) und *Petrusapokalypse* wegen, die ich nicht vor 100 n. Chr. ansetzen kann.⁸⁷ Näherhin stelle ich mir den Traditionsübermittlungs- und -transformationsvorgang zwischen Adamdiegesenmilieu und *Apoc. Pet.* folgendermaßen vor: A. Nach Abschluss der *Vit Ad* arbeitete die Adamdiegesen-Schule weiter: Ergebnisse ihrer Arbeit schlagen sich nieder in den jüdischen Grundlagen des Golgathamythos⁸⁸, in den Adamüberlieferungen von Esra-Apokalypsen (*4 Esra*, *Apc Esdrae Graeca*; *Apc Sedr*), in den Adamüberlieferungen des *2 Baruch*⁸⁹, sogar in einer Jeremiaüberlieferung des *4 Baruch*⁹⁰ und nicht zuletzt in der Adamchristolo-

⁸⁷ Man müsste prüfen, ob die Passagen zu dem Pseudomessias / den Pseudomessiasen in *Apoc. Pet.* 2 (nach der Kapitelzählung bei Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', 567) Bar Kochba voraussetzen oder nicht. Der äthiopische Text macht nicht den besten Eindruck. Man wird ihm freilich entnehmen können, dass der Verfasser mehrere Evangelien gleichzeitig benutzte, was etwa für den sekundären Markusschluss typisch ist und der Verwendung neutestamentlicher Schriften bei Polykarp nahekommt (aber findet in der *Apoc. Pet.* auch das Johannesevangelium Aufnahme?). Ziemlich relevant scheint mir die Frage, ob die *Apoc. Pet.* den zweiten Petrusbrief voraussetzt oder aber umgekehrt der zweite Petrusbrief die *Apoc. Pet.* Letzteres wurde schon sehr früh eine *Opinio communis* (vertreten etwa von Jülicher, Weinel, Feine). Das Gegenteil behauptet F. Spitta, 'Die Petrusapokalypse und der zweite Petrusbrief', *ZNW* 12 (1911) 237–42 (dort auch Material zur frühen Forschung). Neuerdings wurde die Abhängigkeit des zweiten Petrusbriefs von der *Apoc. Pet.* neu begründet von W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus* (Tübingen, 2013), und J. Frey, *Der Judasbrief und der zweite Petrusbrief* (Leipzig, 2015), s. zur Diskussion J. Frey et al. (Hg.), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter* (Leiden, 2019).

⁸⁸ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 536–37; id., 'Golgotha und die älteren Traditionen vom Adamgrab' (demnächst in einem von Harald Buchinger herausgegebenen Sammelband).

⁸⁹ Zu den genannten Esra-, Sedrach- und Baruchüberlieferungen vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 532–35.

⁹⁰ Laut *4 Bar* 9,2–6 bringt Jeremia vor seinem Tod ein Opfer dar und betet, wobei er unter anderem das Dreimalheilig erklingen lässt, seine Aufnahme (ἀνάληψις) zu Gott andeutet, die zwei Seraphim erwähnt, von Opferrauch redet, auf Michael zu sprechen kommt und Gott als seinen Schöpfer anredet. Einen inneren Zusammenhang ergibt das alles, wenn man den Tod Adams, die dabei vollzogene Liturgie und Adams Aufnahme in das Paradies, wie in *Apc*

gie des Hebräerbriefes, die der Adamologie der *Apc Sedr* ähnelt.⁹¹ Alle diese Innovationen zum Adammythos können ihren Ausgangspunkt im jüdischen Hellenistenmilieu Jerusalems während der Jahre 30–100 n. Chr. haben. **B.** In eben diesem Milieu wurde zunehmend manifest ein Interesse der Frommen, etwas Gutes für die Sünder erreichen zu können, deren postmortales Ergehen immer deutlicher als ein qualvolles gesehen wurde. Ein relativ frühes Zeugnis hierfür stellt das *Testament Abrahams* dar (das den arroganten Frommen parodiert und damit Anliegen der Jesusbewegung nahekommt)⁹²; in ihm schon spielt die Fürbitte des Frommen für Sünder eine Rolle (*Test Abr* A 14). Zu einem Parteigänger der Sünder entwickelt sich immer mehr Esra, am meisten in der *Apokalypse des Sedrach*.⁹³ In einem solchen – wohl palästinischen Milieu – könnte ein Grundlagentext für den Schlussteil der *Petrusapokalypse* entwickelt worden sein, durchaus noch von Juden, und zwar solchen, die mit dem Adamdiegesenmilieu noch Fühlung hatten. Man wird zu prüfen haben, ob die im *Pseudo-Titusbrief* zitierte *Eliaapokalypse*,⁹⁴ die vielleicht in der hebräischen *Eliaapokalypse* nachwirkt, diesen Text enthalten haben könnte.⁹⁵ **C.** Die *Petrusapokalypse* hat diesen Text dann christianisiert, nicht zuletzt durch explizites Reden von einer Taufe. Diese Traditionsübernahme dürfte ihr nicht schwergefallen sein, denn auch Christen konnten sich den Kopf zerbrechen darüber, was wohl mit ihnen nahestehenden Menschen geschehen werde, die sie realistischerweise als Sünder ansehen mussten. Nicht zufällig bezeugt der erste Korintherbrief, dass Christen sich für Verstorbene stellvertretend taufen ließen (1 Kor 15,29).

Mos 33,2–37,6 bzw. *Vit Ad* 63,2–67,6 beschrieben, vor Augen hat. Es begegnet denn auch wieder der Terminus ἀνάληψις – wie im Titel der von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 abhängigen *Assumptio Mosis* (Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως), vgl. § 3.6.

⁹¹ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 534–35.

⁹² Vgl. J. Dochhorn, ‘Zur Krise der Gerechtigkeit im frühen Judentum. Reflexionen über das Entstehungsmilieu des frühen Christentums’, *Biblische Notizen* 155 (2012) 77–111, speziell 100–106.

⁹³ Vgl. hierzu J. Dochhorn, ‘Apocalypse of Sedrach’, 205–25.

⁹⁴ Vgl. den Text bei D. de Bruyne, ‘Epistula Titi Discipuli Pauli de Dispositione Sanctimonii’, *Revue Bénédictine* 37 (1925) 47–72, speziell 58.

⁹⁵ Zur Bedeutung der *Eliaapokalypse* für die Geschichte der Höllenvorstellung und deren mögliches Nachwirken in der Hebräischen Elia-Apokalypse vgl. R. Bauckham, ‘Early Jewish Visions of Hell’, *JThS* 41 (1990) 355–85, speziell 362–65.

Was anschließend traditionsgeschichtlich vor sich geht, beruht entweder auf den Adamdiegesen oder der *Petrusapokalypse* oder beiden Texten zusammen: Die *Vita Adae et Evae* wandert nach Ägypten und wirkt dort auf den *Liber Bartholomaei* ein. Dort wurde das Adamgeschehen auf einen anderen Menschen übertragen (den Sohn des Thomas), dies durchaus im Sinne der Vorlage, die in *Apc Mos* 37,6 // *Vit Ad* 67,6 die Begnadigung Adams als eine Begnadigung aller Menschen ansah. Der *Liber Bartholomaei* ist keineswegs der einzige koptische Text, der Einfluss der *Vit Ad* belegt⁹⁶; ägyptische Juden und Christen wie dann auch die Kopten haben gerne Jüdisch-Palästinisches rezipiert, und so eben auch die *Vit Ad*. Zusammen mit der *Petrusapokalypse* inspirierte die *Vit Ad* dann auch die *Apokalypse des Paulus*: Was man dort zur Taufe im Acherusischen See erfährt, dürfte auf einer Zusammenschau von *Apc Petr* und *Vit Ad* beruhen, wobei freilich die *Apoc. Paul.* Weiteres hinzufügt: Anders als in *Apoc. Pet.* und *Vit Ad* erscheint in ihr das Taufgeschehen geographisch konkretisiert: Wir befinden uns am Rande der Erde. Der Erlösungsort ist nicht das Paradies, auch nicht das Elysium, sondern die Stadt des Geliebten (so eine der Bezeichnungen), die in der *Apoc. Paul.* merkwürdig mit dem Paradies konkurriert, dem himmlischen wie dem irdischen. Totenwelttopographie wird ein Problem, und interessanterweise kann man durchaus davon absehen, postmortales Dasein bloß im Himmel unterzubringen. Der *Liber Institutionis Michael* steht am Endpunkt unseres überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Szenarios. Und hier, speziell hier, tritt ein universalistisches Moment zutage, das religionsübergreifend wirksam wird: Es kann dem *Lib Inst Mich* zufolge jemand durch die Taufe im Acherusischen See ins Paradies kommen, der in seinem Leben Heide war – wenn er moralisch gut gelebt hat, was man einem Heiden offenbar zutrauen kann.

⁹⁶ Zur *Vit Ad* bei den Kopten vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 19 (dort Anm. 8: Rezeption in mehreren literarischen Texten), 55–61 (die koptischen Fragmente). Die Fragmente sind nicht sehr beeindruckend und lassen sich mit einiger Mühe der *Vit Ad* und nicht der *Apc Mos* zuweisen. Der rezeptionsgeschichtliche Befund in der koptischen Literatur ergibt schon deutlich mehr, womit sich zeigt, dass handschriftliche Bezeugung und literaturgeschichtliche Relevanz auseinandergehen können, dies wohl desto mehr, je mehr handschriftliche Zeugen verloren gegangen sind.

XIII. On the Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos* (*Book of Clement*, CAe 1957): News From Eritrea*

ALESSANDRO BAUSI

The research undertaken since the early 1990s up to 1997 by the Missione Italiana in Eritrea, led by Irma Taddia and funded by the Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) through the University of Bologna, with participation of myself and Gianfrancesco Lusini, was primarily aimed at collecting written documentary evidence relevant for the history of the land tenure, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹ This research project was carried

* The research for this note was funded: by the Langzeitvorhaben im Akademienprogramm (long-term project in the program of The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities), through a project of the Academy of Hamburg, ‘Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung’, at Universität Hamburg (2016–40); by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany’s Excellence Strategy, EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures’, project no. 390893796 (2019–25); by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC, at University of Oxford and at University College, London), and by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, Research German Foundation, at Universität Hamburg), project no. 672619, ‘Demarginalizing Medieval Africa: Images, Texts, and Identity in Early Solomonic Ethiopia (1270–1527)’ (2020–24). The research was conducted within the scope of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies (HLCEES) and of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), at Universität Hamburg. For some suggestions I would like to thank Paola Buzi. As always, the responsibility for any error and hypothesis remains exclusively with the

out in the short period between two Ethiopian-Eritrean wars when it was possible to western scholars, albeit already with strong limitations, to access directly the actually untouched and little known manuscript treasures hosted in Eritrean churches and monasteries.²

The research on this still virtually unexplored repository of textual heritage of huge importance for the history of the region and its literary and textual tradition in general, is presently committed, as it has to be, mainly to the care of Eritrean institutions.³ These have

author. The transcription of the Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) texts is according to W. Leslau, *Comparative dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1987), also adopted by the project ‘Beta maṣāḥəft’. For the references to the *Clavis aethiopica* (CAe), see <<https://betamasaheft.eu/works/list>>.

¹ For extensive references see the comprehensive publication of the conference proceedings by A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), *Materiale antropologico sul “Rim” in Etiopia ed Eritrea – Anthropological and Historical Documents on “Rim” in Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Torino, 2001), with all details to date. For the sense of the relationship between land tenure and documentary texts recorded in manuscripts, see A. Bausi, ‘Documentary Manuscripts and Archives. The Ethiopian Evidence’, *Studi Magrebini*, NS 12–13 (2014–15, pub. 2017–18 = A. Straface *et al.* (eds), *Labor limae. Atti in onore di Carmela Baffioni*, Napoli) II, 63–80, and A. Wion, ‘L’authorité de l’écrit pragmatique dans la société chrétienne éthiopienne (xv^e–xviii^e siècle)’, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 74/3–4 (2019) 559–89.

² For an overview, see A. Bausi, ‘Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell’Eritrea [I. Dabra Māryām]’, *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 38 (1994, pub. 1996) 13–69; *id.*, ‘id. [II. Dabra Bizan]’, *ibid.* 39 (1995, pub. 1997) 25–48; *id.*, ‘id. [III. Dabra Libānos. Dabra Abuna Beṣuʿa Amlāk. Dabra Marqorēwos]’, *ibid.* 41 (1997, pub. 1998) 13–56; G. Lusini, ‘Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḥuḥān e Dabra Şegē, Sarāʿē, Eritrea)’, *ibid.* 42 (1998, pub. 1999) 5–55.

³ For the state of the art see A. Bausi and G. Lusini, ‘The philological study of the Eritrean manuscripts in Gəʿəz. Methods and practices’, in Zemenfes Tsighe *et al.* (eds), *International Conference on Eritrean Studies*, I. *Literature, Linguistics, Philology, History, Discourse Analysis, Education, Socio-cultural Issues, Gender, Law, Regional Dynamics, and Tigrinya Literature* (Asmara, 2018) 125–41. For current work, for example, on one of the treasures of Eritrean manuscript collections, that is the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos, at Ham, see N. Valieva and P.M. Liuzzo, ‘Giving Depth to TEI-Based Descriptions of Manuscripts. The Golden Gospel of Ham’, *Aethiopica* 24 (2021) 175–211; and on the medieval inscription in the same site,

already undertaken systematic surveys which remain still unpublished though.⁴ Lack of qualified staff and human power, and the complex relationships with the religious institutions, have not yet allowed to reach the kind of results one hopes will be achieved in the near future. In particular, systematic coverage of manuscript collections by digitisation campaigns has neither been carried out nor planned, whereas basic conservation measures are being put in place, with traditional methods and doubtful results. Paradoxically, the work has proceeded at a better pace with the investigation of manuscripts in non-western collections abroad, for example in Egyptian institutions. These collections are supposed, as is to assume in the light of recent researches, to have had deep relationship to Eritrean institutions, even though it remains unclear to what extent this special relation can be projected backwards in the past.⁵

Among the several manuscripts from monastic collections that the MIE documented in the 1990s, still in the pre-digital era (most of the notes were copied by hand and manuscript descriptions carried out on the spot, in the absence of sophisticated equipment and

variously dated from the ninth to the thirteenth, and now to the tenth century, see A. Bausi, ‘“Paleografia quale scienza dello spirito”. Once more on the Gəʿəz inscription of Ham (RIÉ no. 232)’, in J.B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts. Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, I (Berlin–Boston, MA, 2021) 3–33.

⁴ For some activities undertaken, see M. Villa, ‘Monastic libraries in Eritrea. An agenda for the future’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici Serie terza*, 2 (49) (2018 = G. Lusini, ed., *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage. Facts and Projects. Italo-Eritrean Workshop*, Napoli–Roma, 2018) 157–81; A. Bausi et al., ‘Training Activities. Eritrean Manuscript Studies Summer Training Programme (Asmara, 25 August – 3 September 2019)’, *ibid.*, Serie terza, 4 (51) (2020) 193–94. For an interesting discovery that is an outcome of these field researches and cooperation activities, see A. Bausi and A. Desreumaux, ‘Une *ṭablītō* syriaque orthodoxe en Érythrée datée de 1295/1296: un témoin des «métropolitans syriens»?’, *Aethiopica* 24 (2021) 233–44.

⁵ See now in particular D. Nosnitsin and D. Reule, *The Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Egyptian Monastery of Dayr as-Suryān. A Catalogue* (Wiesbaden, 2021) xiv–xxii; for the general issues of the Egyptian-Ethiopian-Eritrean relationships see the comprehensive PhD dissertation by M. Ambu, *Du texte à la communauté: relations et échanges entre l’Égypte copte et les réseaux monastiques éthiopiens (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Thèse pour l’obtention du titre de Docteur en Histoire (Paris, 2022).

at times access clearance and microfilming permission), there was also an ancient witness of the *Revelation of Peter to Clement* or *Ethiopic version of the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is best known in the Ethiopian-Eritrean tradition as *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos* (*Book of Clement*) or simply (and here henceforth) *Qalemāntos* (*Clement*, CAe 1957).

As is well known, this work must be clearly distinguished from the (Greek-)Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* (CANT 317). Theologians and specialists of early-Christian literature call ‘Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*’⁶ the initial portion (partly corresponding to the *Greek Apocalypse of Peter*) of a treatise, *The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* (CAe 1127), which, along with the next treatise that follows in the manuscripts, *A speech on the glorious and arcane mystery of the judgment of sinners and a dispute concerning this speech* (CAe 2132), composes a substantial Ethiopic pseudo-Clementine dossier, for which only two manuscript witnesses are known.⁷

The Ethiopic *Qalemāntos* is still unpublished, even though there have been some progresses in the last years in the study of its manuscript tradition. More interest, however, as is to be expected, has raised, particularly for the ideological content, its partial *Vorlage*, that

⁶ This is not the subject of the present note and I will not spend much time to elaborate on this. The concept is absolutely essential and was first set forth clearly by R.W. Cowley, ‘The Ethiopic Work which is believed to contain the material of the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* NS 36 (1985) 151–53. For a balanced presentation and further general references, see P. Marrassini, ‘Peter, Apocalypse of’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 135b–37a.

⁷ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éthiopien, d’Abbadie 51 (a codicologically complex manuscript dating from the fifteenth/sixteenth century), and MS Lake Tānā, Tānāsee 35 = Kebrān 35 (dating from the eighteenth century). For all further details concerning the manuscripts, see my contribution A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the “Apocalypse of Peter”’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016, pub. 2017) 179–96, which to my knowledge still provides the most detailed and reliable state of the art on the manuscript tradition, editions, and translations of the two Ethiopic treatises. A further translation of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* is provided by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73; what I think of this translation is reserved for a review of this monograph that is in preparation.

is, the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, which is attested in a variety of recensions and still awaits a detailed and in-depth philological analysis.⁸ Interest has also raised in particular the use of the Arabic apocalyptic text in the context of the Crusades.⁹

As already stated, the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos* corresponds only partially to the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, in particular as far as the books III–VII are concerned, whereas books I–II have a closer correspondence to Arabic texts.¹⁰ The studies carried out so far confirm the existence of a stable structure and manuscript tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos*, whose matter is distributed in seven books.

⁸ See the overview in the Introduction of my translation of Books III–VII of the *Qalemāntos*, A. Bausi, ቀሌማንቦስ: *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7. Traduzione e introduzione* (Napoli, 1992), with coverage of the Arabic tradition as well, and detailed bibliographic indications, including numerous reviews. Essential contributions on the Arabic remain E. Bratke, ‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-aethiopischen Petrus-Apokalypse’, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36 (1893) 454–93; M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, 1. *Kitāb al-Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls* (London–New York, NY, 1901) i–xi, 1–55 (Arabic numbers), 1–58; A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies. Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni*, III, 2. *Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge, 1931) 93–449; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I. *Die Übersetzungen* (Città del Vaticano, 1944) 271–72, 283–92; G. Troupeau, ‘De quelques apocalypses conservées dans des manuscrits arabes de Paris’, *Parole de l’Orient* 18 (1993) 75–87 at 76–77; B. Roggema, ‘Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter – The Book of the Rolls*’, in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden, 2007) 131–50; P. La Spisa, ‘À propos de l’*Apocalypse de Pierre arabe* ou *Livre des Révélations (Kitāb al Mağāl)*’, in A. Bausi et al. (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2014) 511–26.

⁹ See C. Conti Rossini, ‘Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente e la crociata di Damietta’, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9/1–2 (1921) 32–35; M. Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge. Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2018) 130–34; B. Weber, ‘Damiette, 1220. La cinquième croisade et l’*Apocalypse arabe de Pierre* dans leur contexte nilotique’, *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire* 79/2 (2020) 69–90.

¹⁰ Besides Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, see a more concise presentation of the relationship in id., ‘Qālemāntos’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 251b–53b.

The work is available in its entirety in complementary French (books I–II, and part of the III, plus excerpts from other books) and Italian (books III–VII) translations.¹¹

The manuscript tradition of the *Qalēmāntos*, in fact, albeit stable and very far from the fluid transmission typology that characterizes the corresponding Arabic apocalypse, still poses problems. A comprehensive critical edition is still *in votis*, and some studies have only highlighted some aspects of the manuscript tradition.¹² The manuscripts I was able to analyse are the following, with the sigla I will

¹¹ See S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 16 (1911) 72–84, 167–75, 225–33; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 17 (1912) 16–31, 133–44, 244–52, 337–46; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 18 (1913) 69–78; all repr. in id., *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmāntos. Version éthiopienne en sept livres traduite en français*, I. *Livres premier et deuxième* (Paris, 1913); S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914) 324–30; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 20 (1915–17) 33–37, 424–30; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 21 (1918–19) 246–52; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 22 (1920–21) 22–28, 113–17, 395–400; S. Grébaut and A. Roman, ‘id.’, *ibid.* 26 (1927–28) 22–31; iid., ‘Un passage démonologique du Qalēmāntos’, *Journal Asiatique* 211 (1927) 331–39; iid., ‘Un passage eschatologique du Qalēmāntos’, *Aethiops* 3/2 (1930) 21–23; iid., ‘Le livre V du Qalēmāntos’, *ibid.* 3/3 (1930) 39–41; Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, with translation of book III–VII and further details. For books I–II, I will refer to the books (capital Roman), paragraphs (small Roman), and verses (Arabic numbers) of the French translation in Grébaut, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmāntos*; and for books III–VII to the books (capital Roman) and paragraphs (Arabic numbers) of my Italian translation.

¹² For details on available manuscripts, I refer here to Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 15–17; id., ‘The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmāntos*. A Short Note’, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59/1 (2006 = W. Witakowski and L. Łykowska (eds), *Wälättä Yohanna. Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University*). 47–57; id., ‘Qalēmāntos’; A. Bausi, ‘The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*. The Case of a Recent Ethiopian Edition and a Few Additional Remarks’, in A.C. McCollum (ed.), *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History. Festschrift for Getatchew Haile Presented by his Friends and Colleagues* (Wiesbaden, 2017) 221–37; see also id., ‘Writing, Copying, Translating. Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture’, in J.B. Quenzer *et al.* (eds), *Manuscript Cultures. Mapping the Field* (Berlin – Boston, MA, 2014) 37–77 at 57–60.

henceforth use to refer to them: MSS London, British Library, Orient. 751 [A], 752 [B], and 753 [C]; Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML),¹³ nos 370 [D], 1141 [E], 2147 [F], and 4857 [G]; Monumento Nazionale di Casamari, Veroli, MS 121 (MNC-020) [K];¹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éthiopien, d'Abbadie 78 [P]; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64 [S]; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1 [T]; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 122 [V].

A recent Ethiopian edition, with Gəʿəz text along with an Amharic translation, has been published a few years ago in Addis Ababa. This edition (*The Book of Clement of Rome in Gəʿəz and Amharic*) represents the individual attempt by the scholar Gabra Yoḥānnəs Gabra Māryām without any formal support from the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church institution, to make the text of the *Qaleməntos* accessible in the original text and in an interpretive Amharic translation.¹⁵ The edition does not match any scholarly standard and is marked by apparent flaws; one cannot exclude that the editor and translator has to some extent adapted, rearranged, and even rewritten the text. In the absence of detailed information, it is impossible to

¹³ The EMML manuscripts can be also consulted, along with manuscripts from many other collections, in the Reading Room (<https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/>) of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), at Collegeville, MN, where they are provided with permanent links (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/> plus number).

¹⁴ On MS K, one of the oldest manuscripts available, see D.V. Proverbio and G. Fiaccadori, 'Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli). "Appendice" di G. Fiaccadori: Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropolitani Yeshāq, Yāʿqob e Mārḳos d' Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)', *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie nona, 15 (2004) 665–93; A. Bausi, 'La tradizione scrittoria etiopica', *Segno e testo* 6 (2008) 507–57 at 514–15, n. 15; and lastly A. Brita *et al.*, 'Three Collections of Gəʿəz Manuscripts Recently Surveyed in Italy. An Inventory', *Aethiopica* 20 (2017) 167–89 at 184 (MS MNC-020).

¹⁵ See Yoḥānnəs Gabra Māryām, መጽሐፈ ቀሌሜንጦስ ዘሮም በግእዝና በአማርኛ (*Maṣḥafa Qaleməntos zaRom bagəʿəzənnā baʿamārəññā*, 'The Book of Clement of Rome in Gəʿəz and Amharic', Addis Ababā, 2008).

determine which are the manuscript sources on which the editor based his edition and if any manuscript actually corresponds to that text.¹⁶

Based on extensive collation of book II, it appears that the majority of the manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos* – seven out of twelve collated textual witnesses – are marked by a large transposition which seems to be due to a mechanical error: due to the transposition of leaves, a long lists of heresies is interrupted by the insertion of an abrupt passage, whereas the list is later resumed. With all evidence, this transposition demonstrates the existence of a subarchetype as a common ancestor of the branch of the tradition that shares that innovation.¹⁷ The same error also affects the Ethiopian printed edition.¹⁸

I finally come to the main point of this modest note. The manuscript of the *Qalemāntos* that the MIE documented was examined in 1992 in the monastery of ʿĒndā ʿAbuna Yonās Tähtāy, also known as Dabra Dəḥuḥān, in the Eritrean region of Sarāʿe.¹⁹

The manuscript was summarily described on the spot, copying some passages, and taking the few notes which the little time and the

¹⁶ See for further details Bausi, ‘The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*’. The survey of the printed edition has shown that the source text of the edition can be placed close to MSS F and T. In the same contribution I also considered three further manuscripts: the seventeenth-century MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 237, with book VII only on ff. 5r–16r; the fifteenth-century MS Jerusalem, Library of the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate, JE 300 E (with shelfmark 119), with excerpts on ff. 61r–84r from books II, III, IV, and VII: ff. 61r.16–70r.15: II,iv,2–viii,12; ff. 70r.15–72r.10: IV,1–5; ff. 72r.10–76v.20: III,48–59; ff. 76v.20–80v.13: IV,6–14; ff. 80v.13–83r.16: IV,69–73; ff. 83r.16–84r.1: VI,69–71; and the fourteenth-fifteenth century MS EMLL no. 1843, definitely the oldest manuscript witness, with five excerpts on ff. 56va–58ra from book III: III,1–5; III,60; III,99; III,114; III,165–67.

¹⁷ See details in Bausi, ‘The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmāntos*’, 47–57.

¹⁸ See id., ‘The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*’, 222–24.

¹⁹ See G. Lusini, ‘Däbrä Dəḥuḥān’, in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, II (Wiesbaden, 2005) 20b; the hagiography of the founder of the monastery, ʿAbbā Yonās, was published in the meanwhile, see Tedros Abraha, *Gädlä Abunä Yonas Zä-Bur. Eritrean Saint of the 15th Century. Geʿez text edited and translated* (Turnhout, 2015); on the saint, see also A. Bausi, ‘Yonas of Bur’, in A. Bausi and S. Uhlig (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, V (Wiesbaden, 2014) 92b–94a.

limited access to the manuscript allowed. The description appeared in the first Italian report of the MIE activities in 1993.²⁰ I reproduce it here in English:²¹

Qaleməntos. Parchment. Fifteenth century (at the latest); 31 × 18 cm; 166 ff.; 2 cols; 29–30 lines (sometimes more). Most of the leaves are detached and the quire structure is therefore not determinable. The codex is in a poor state of preservation; the beginning of the text is mutilous, some sheets are browned. Undecorated wooden cover. F. 166r: *zātti maṣḥaf zawahaba beta krəstiyān Ta[ta]mqa Madhən kama [yəza]k-kərwəwə 'ahawihu bamoto wabahəywato tasaffəwə baṣalotəkkəmu* ('This is the book that gave <to> the church Taṭamqə Madhən so that his brothers remember him, and in <their> life having hope in your prayer'). It contains the *Qaleməntos*: f. 1r: book I (beginning is wanting); f. 41r: book II: *basəma* [etc.] *qadāmi məsrāta zakāsāta qəddus Pētros. larad'u Qaleməntos* [etc.] ('In the name [etc.] First announcement that Saint Peter revealed to his disciple Clement'); f. 61r: book III [[in fact: book V]]: *basəma* [etc.] *šər'at zaqəddəst. beta krəstiyān zana-garo 'Əgzi'əna wamadhanina 'Iyasus Krəstos laPētros* ('In the name [etc.] Rule of the holy Church which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ told to Peter'); f. 66v: book IV [[in fact: book III]]: *basəma* [etc.] *nəqəddəm nəṣəḥəf* [sic] *ḥayla wata'ammər za'ar'aya 'Əgzi'abəḥer* ('In the name [etc.] We start to write the power and miracles which the Lord showed'); f. 102r: V libro [[in fact: book IV]]: *basəma* [etc.] *nagar zatanāgaro Pētros rə'əsa ḥawāryāt* ('In the name [etc.] Speech which Peter head of the Apostles spoke'); f. 133r: book VI: *batr zazabaṭo laSaytān Krəstos wə'ətu wabatra Muse 'ənta gabrat ta'amməra baqāla 'Əgzi'abəḥer baqadāmi ḥəgg 'ar'ayā tə'mərta masqal yə'əti baza saqa-ləwo laKrəstos* ('The rod by which Christ beat Satan is the rod of Moses, which accomplished miracles by the word of God in the first Law, at the image of the sign of that Cross on which Christ was crucified'); f. 148r: book VII *šāləs nagar watə'əzəz ba'ənta nəssəḥa la'əlla*

²⁰ See A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), 'Materiali di Studio dal Särə'ē (Eritrea): le istituzioni monastiche e la struttura della proprietà fondiaria', *Africa* (Roma) 48/3 (1993) 446–463 at 462–63. Documentary texts taken from manuscripts at the monastery were published by Lusini, *Scritture documentarie*, 5–55.

²¹ Note that the books of the *Qaleməntos* were at the time simply numbered on the basis of their sequence, as it was not possible to consider any further evidence. Based on the evidence collected later in 2019, I provide here in double square brackets [[]] the correct identification of the book number, according to what we know at present of the manuscript transmission. I also add in round brackets the translation of some passages.

gab'u ('Third speech and order concerning the penitence of those who have repented').

On 2 September 2019 I was able to examine directly in Asmara²² for a few hours the same manuscript I had seen and summarily described twenty-seven years before, on 21–22 October 1992, at the monastery of Dabra Dəḥuḥān.²³ The occasion was provided by the fact that the entire library of the monastery of Dabra Dəḥuḥān had been temporarily moved to Asmara for conservation and microfilming measures, at the care of the local Research and Documentation Centre, which hosted a summer school offered by the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies of the Universität Hamburg in cooperation with the Eritrean institutions. The manuscript was conventionally given the shelfmark DDAY-005,²⁴ but I will use here the siglum X when listing it along with other manuscript witnesses of the *Qalemāntos*. Here follows a new description of the content of this manuscript, compared with the available French and Italian translations, according to the sequence of the leaves.

The manuscript appeared in relatively better conditions in comparison to the state I observed in 1992, insofar that it was entirely reordered, and also rebound, furnished with a new red tooled leather cover over the wooden boards, with textile pastedowns. Yet, the binding had not taken into account the textual evidence and, as I will show in a moment, the coherence of the sequence was disregarded. One leaf appears to have gone lost, since the manuscript consisted of 165 leaves, against the 166 recorded in 1992 (if the counting was correct); pagination had been added on recto and verso (per each page) from 1 to 330. The size could be better specified: 316 × 207 × 97 mm. Two decorated *incipits* of chapter are found on pp. 169 (f. 85r) and 299 (f. 147r).

On f. 1r, which serves as an endleaf, a modern title in abbreviated form is found, which identifies the contents of the manuscript as:

²² My warm thanks go to Susanne Hummel and Denis Nosnitsin, who were part of the team who participated in the event and helped me to access the manuscript.

²³ See A. Bausi and G. Lusini, 'Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 36 (1992, pub. 1994) 5–36 at 15–16.

²⁴ DDAY being an acronym for Dabra Dəḥuḥān 'Abbā Yonaś.

ma(ṣḥafa) sərʾat za be(ta) krəstəyān ('Book of the rule of the church'). This could be an interesting clue on how traditionally the *Qaleməntos* is perceived, that is, more a work of canon law (predominant matter of books III–VII) than an apocalyptic writing (matter of books I–II). The title, however, could also have a more practical explanation, as is common in inventories of books, that is, the first text in the manuscript (here book V of the *Qaleməntos*) identifies the manuscript for the sake of inventorying it.²⁵ The *incipit* of book V is in fact the following: *basəma ʾab* [etc.] *śərʾat zaqəddəst. beta krəstiyān. zanagara ʾəgziʾəna wamadḥanina ʾiyasus krəstos la pētros* ('In the name of the Father [etc.] Rule of the holy Church that our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ told to Peter').

The content of the manuscript is the following:

- f. 1r: title: *ma(ṣḥafa) sərʾat za be(ta) krəstəyān* ('Book of the rule of the church'); f. 1v: blank;
- ff. 2–7ra: book V;
- f. 7rb: on the second line, part of the trinitarian formula, with first line left empty, probably to be later rubricated; lines 3–12 are erased;
- ff. 7va, 8, (lacuna of one leaf,) 47–48, 9–38, 45–46, 39–42: book III;²⁶ note that the passage on ff. 9ra.12–11vb.2, between III,21 and

²⁵ See on this T. Erho, 'The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia', in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa. Tradizioni e culture a confronto* (Milano, 2015) 97–118; A. Bausi, 'Ethiopia and the Christian Ecumene. Cultural Transmission, Translation, and Reception', in S. Kelly (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden, 2020) 217–51 at 230–33.

²⁶ Details: f. 7v: III,1–4; f. 8: III,4–8; lacuna of one leaf: III,8–12; f. 47: III,12–16; f. 48: III,16–21; f. 9 (f. 9ra.1–11): III,21; ff. 9ra.12–11vb.2: passage with no correspondence in the available translations; f. 11vb.2–end: III,22–23; f. 12: III,23–27; f. 13: III,27–29; f. 14: III,29–31; f. 15: III,31–34; f. 16: III,34–41; f. 17: III,41–44; f. 18: III,44–48; f. 19: III,48–52; f. 20: III,52–56; f. 21: III,56–62; f. 22: III,62–68; f. 23: III,68–73; f. 24: III,73–79; f. 25: III,79–84; f. 26: III,84–88; f. 27: III,88–94; f. 28: III,94–98; f. 29: III,98–104; f. 30: III,104–10; f. 31: III,110–18; f. 32: III,118–23; f. 33: III,123–31; f. 34: III,131–37; f. 35: III,137–40; f. 36: III,140–46; f. 37: III,146–50; f. 38: III,150–55; f. 45: III,155–62; f. 46: III,162–66; f. 39r: III,166–69; ff. 39v–40r: non digitized: presumably, III,169–77; f. 40v: III,177–79; f. 41: III,179–86; f. 42r–vb: III,186–91.

- III,22, has no apparent correspondence in the available translations, but it belongs to the *Qalemāntos*: it is found in at least four more manuscripts which, I assume, preserve the primary text, whereas the others share the omission and must depend from a common subarchetype, at least as far as this book is concerned;²⁷ from III,22 the text goes according to what all manuscripts I could check attest;
- ff. 43–44, 104–132r: book IV;²⁸
 - ff. 49–84rb: book I: acephalous with one leaf with *incipit* missing; otherwise complete;²⁹
 - f. 84rb–va: commemoration of the patriarchs;³⁰ f. 84vb: blank;
 - ff. 85–98, 102–103, 100–101, 99: book II; with a few transpositions; mutilous: the last paragraph at the end is missing;³¹ it is

²⁷ The passage is not found in MSS AB EF PT V; the passage is found in MSS C, ff. 25ra.31–26rc.15; D, ff. 40ra.24–41va.23; G, ff. 40ra.23–42rb.8; K, ff. 92vb.26–95rb.19; and S, ff. 72va.28–75ra.27. Note that this variant in MS S had not escaped a cataloguer of the stature of Veronika Six, who observed ‘Der Text von Bl.72va, Zl.28 (nach den zehn Geboten) bis 75ra fehlt in der Übersetzung von GPsCl VIII (Nr.8)’, that is Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 20 (1915–17) 33–37, 424–30 (as is also missing in Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 50–51, between III,21 and III,22), see V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, III. *Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften Deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen* (Stuttgart, 1999) 231.

²⁸ Details: ff. 43–44: IV,1–8; ff. 104–132ra: IV,8–164.

²⁹ Details: lacuna of one leaf: I,i,1–3; f. 49: I,i,3–ii,3; f. 50: I,ii,3; f. 51: I,ii,3–iii,3; f. 52: I,iii,3–6; f. 53: I,iii,6–iv,3; f. 54: I,iv,3–v,2; f. 55: I,v,2–vi,3; f. 56: I,vi,3–vii,1; f. 57: I,vii,1–3; f. 58: I,vii,3–4; f. 59: I,vii,4–viii,2; f. 60: I,viii,2–ix,3; f. 61: I,ix,4–x,2; f. 62: I,x,2–xi,2; f. 63: I,xi,2–xii,3; f. 64: I,xii,3–xiii,2; f. 65: I,xiii,2–xiv,2; f. 66: I,xiv,2–3; f. 67: I,xiv,3–xv,4; f. 68: I,xv,4–xvi,5; f. 69: I,xvi,5–11; f. 70: I,xvi,11–xviii,1; f. 71: I,xviii,1–xix,2; f. 72: I,xix,2–xx,2; f. 73: I,xx,2–xxi,1; f. 74: I,xxi,1–5; f. 75: I,xxi,5–8; f. 76: I,xxi,8–xxii,3; f. 77: I,xxii,3–7; f. 78: I,xxii,7–11; f. 79: I,xxii,11–xxiii,5; f. 80: I,xxiii,5–10; f. 81: I,xxiii,10–xxiv,1; f. 82: I,xxiv,2–4; f. 83: I,xxiv,4–9; f. 84: I,xxiv,9.

³⁰ This commemoration is present in other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*, see edition and translation from MSS C and D, in Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 179–80.

³¹ Details: f. 85: II,i,1–2; f. 86: II,i,2–3; f. 87: II,i,3–ii,1; f. 88: II,ii,1–4; f. 89: II,ii,4–7; f. 90: II,ii,7–8; f. 91: II,ii,8–iii,2; f. 92: II,iii,2–iv,3; f. 93: II,iv,3–vi,1; f. 94: II,vi,1–vii,1; f. 95: II,vii,1–viii,1; f. 96: II,viii,1–6; f. 97:

important to note that also this manuscript shares the transposition error that affects a list of heresies in book II, and thus depends from that same subarchetype as other manuscripts, at least as far as this book is concerned;³²

- ff. 132r–146: book VI;
- ff. 147–165ra: book VII; contrary to what is found in other manuscripts, part of the manuscript transmission, including MS X, introduces this book giving it as: *śālās nagar watə`əzāz ba`ənta nəssəħa la`əlla gab`u. fəkkāre rā`y śālās nagar zarə`ya pētros walda yonā* ('Third speech and order concerning the penitence of those who re-entered (the community). Interpretation of the vision, third speech, which Peter son of Jonah saw').³³

The distribution of this variant does not reflect the stemmatological classification based on the transposition in book II, but: 1) we cannot exclude that the indication of a 'third speech' at the beginning of the seventh and last book of the work was independently removed by more copyists, since it disturbs the sequence;³⁴ 2) we cannot exclude

II,viii,6–12; f. 98: II,viii,12–ix,6 (note: on this leaf there is the transposition of the list of heresies: this manuscript has the same arrangement as those with the transposition); f. 102: II,ix,6–12; f. 103: II,ix,12–17; f. 100: II,ix,17–22; f. 101: II,ix,22–25; f. 99: II,ix,25–28; the last paragraph at the end (within II,ix,28), is missing.

³² The transposed passage is II,ix,6–18: the French translation by Grébaud, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmentos*, that follows MS P, has this wrong sequence: II,ix,1–5, 6–18, 19–25, 26–28, whereas the correct textual sequence is: II,ix,1–5, 19–25, 6–18, 26–28. The wrong sequence, besides P, is also found in MSS CEFS TV. Manuscripts not affected by this wrong sequence are MSS AB DG K.

³³ The indication that this is a third speech is missing, for example, in MSS ABE (in MS A f. 80vc, book VII has the following *incipit*: *basəma`ab* [etc.] *zəntu rā`y zarə`əya sām`on walda yonā* [etc.], 'In the name of the Father [etc.] This is the vision that saw Simon son of Jonah'; see Bausi, *Il Qalēmentos etiopico*, 155); the indication is present in MSS CDFGKPS TV, as well as in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 237, with book VII only.

³⁴ See for example the comment by Veronika Six, who took this indication in MS S as a copyist's slip, Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*, III, 231, 'Das siebente Buch ist versehentlich Bl.39va als *śālās nagər* ... bezeichnet' (*nagər*: sic).

that for different parts or books of the work a different stemma applies; 3) we cannot exclude that this indication is itself an innovation: it would then be the introduction of a paratext, or better, paracontent, in the form of an explicatory title.³⁵

From this description of the manuscript, which takes into account the numerous transpositions of leaves, there emerges the following possible sequence of texts, distributed in at least five blocks:³⁶

- A) ff. 49–84rb: book I: acephalous: one leaf with *incipit* is missing; otherwise complete; f. 84rb–va: commemoration of the patriarchs;
- B) ff. 85–98, 102–103, 100–101, 99: book II: with a few transpositions; mutilous: the last paragraph at the end is missing;
- C) ff. 2–7ra: book V; ff. 7va, 8, 47–48, 9–38, 45–46, 39–42: book III;
- D) ff. 43–44, 104–132r: book IV; ff. 132r–146: book VI;
- E) ff. 147–165ra: book VII.

The evidence of the textual sequence, even in the absence of a codicological analysis, which was not possible for the time being, shows that the sequence of the books is at great variance with what is known from all other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*. In particular, even though it is possible that blocks A and B were arranged in this sequence, which would give: books I and II at the beginning, there is no doubt that what is usually known as book III could not follow, because it is preceded in block C by book V, and the sequence book V–book III is certain in this manuscript (book III ends on the recto of the same leaf on the verso of which book V begins).

³⁵ For ‘paracontent’ see G. Ciotti *et al.*, *Definition of Paracontent* (Hamburg, 2018); and for the title, see the last of a series of contributions by Paola Buzi on the Coptic manuscript tradition, P. Buzi, ‘Preliminary Remarks on Coptic Biblical Titles (From the Third to the Eleventh Century)’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3/1 (2017) 5–22, with further references.

³⁶ It is not possible to apply a consistent codicological description, because it was not possible to analyse the quire structure of MS X, but the source of inspiration for this approach, with the notion of ‘blocks’ separated by caesurae (in this case, the coincidence of beginning and/or end of textual units with sets of leaves) obviously is the well known contribution by J.P. Gumbert, ‘Codicological Units. Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex’, *Segno e testo* 2 (2004 = E. Crisci and O. Pecere (eds), *Il codice miscellaneo, tipologia e funzioni*) 17–42.

Yet, it is possible that what we know as book VII, indicated as ‘third speech’ in this as well as other manuscripts, could follow immediately book II, and then be in fact a third book; this arrangement could reflect an older layer of the tradition. As for books III, IV, V, and VI, the sequence in the leaves allows for two possibilities only: either C-D, that is books V, III, IV, VI; or D-C, that is books IV, VI, V, III.

More in general, we note contradictory evidence, which requires further examination and possibly also the consideration of phenomena of contamination: 1) the transposition in book II is an innovation shared by MSS C E F P S T V X, against MSS A B D G K; 2) the omission of a passage in book III is also an innovation shared by MSS A B E F P T V, which must depend from a common subarchetype, against MSS C D G K S X; and 3) the title of book VII as ‘third speech’ opposes manuscript witnesses with this indication, that is MSS C D F G K P S T V X, to those without this indication, that is MSS A B E.

The availability of digital surrogates of further manuscripts of the *Qalemantos*, new or already known from preliminary inventories, but still uncatalogued or only summarily catalogued, provides evidence that shall be the subject of another contribution. To only sum up a few preliminary conclusions of a cursory analysis of some of them:

- 1) the transposition in book II (like MSS C E F P S T V X) is also shared by the following manuscripts: MSS EMMML nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843;³⁷ MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḳos, DM-035;³⁸ MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḥāy Church, 012;³⁹ MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039;⁴⁰ MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA

³⁷ These four manuscripts are all uncatalogued and accessible at the HMML permanent link (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/>) nos 200044; 200134; 201178; 201511.

³⁸ Digitised by Mersha Alehegne, whom I thank for letting me access this uncatalogued material.

³⁹ The microfilm of this manuscript was digitised by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project, Project Director Steve Delamarter (George Fox University, Portland, Oregon, USA), for The IES Digital Collection of Ethiopian Manuscripts, in cooperation with the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.

⁴⁰ The manuscript was catalogued by Ted Erho, and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 533861. This manuscript has

- 00139 (C1-IV-124);⁴¹ MS EMLL no. 6976 is not complete and some portions, including books I and VII, are missing, but it has the transposition in book II.⁴² Only the following two manuscripts (like MSS A B D G K) do not have the transposition: MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249);⁴³ and MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011;⁴⁴
- 2) the omission of the passage in book III (like MSS A B E F P T V) is also shared by the following manuscripts: MSS EMLL nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843; MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḳos, DM-035; MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḥāy Church, 012; MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039. The following manuscripts (like MSS C D G K S X) do not have the omission: MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124); MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249); MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011; MS EMLL no. 6976;
- 3) the following manuscripts (like MSS A B E) do not title book VII ‘third speech’: MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḥāy Church, 012; MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039; MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249). The following manuscripts title book VII ‘third speech’ (like MSS C D F G K P S T V X): MSS EMLL nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843; MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḳos, DM-035; MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124); MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011. MS EMLL 6976 lacks book VII.

Note that MSS EMLL nos 6281, 6495, 7651, 8843, and MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḳos, DM-035, all share the same three textual features 1), 2), and 3) as MSS F P T V. MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḥāy Church, 012, and MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039 share features 1)

also the commemoration of the patriarchs, considered as an additional book, thus obtaining an arrangement in eight books.

⁴¹ Metadata were provided by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 500187.

⁴² The manuscript was catalogued by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 200601.

⁴³ Metadata were provided by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 138203.

⁴⁴ Digitised by Mersha Alehegne, whom I thank for letting me access this uncatalogued material.

and 2), but do not title book VII ‘third speech’. MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayašā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124), has the same features as MSS S (and X, aside from the order of books), that is transposition of the passage in book II and title of book VII as ‘third book’. MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011, like MSS G K, has no features 1) and 2), and titles book VII ‘third speech’. MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249), has no features 1) and 2), but does not title book VII ‘third speech’.

Concerning other EMLL manuscripts inventoried as *Qaleməntos*, note that no. 7364 is not a *Qaleməntos*;⁴⁵ and no. 8753 is the same as MS S (= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung, Tānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64). Other EMLL manuscripts could not yet be checked.⁴⁶

What I have presented here, at the example of the Ethiopic *Qaleməntos*, confirms what is well known and has been even recently repeated more times: the libraries of Eritrea and Ethiopia are a mine of historical and philological information. They host an essential documentary source for the investigation of the Eritrean and Ethiopian past and literary tradition, including all entanglements with other cultural areas and literatures, not only of the last two centuries, but even more, from the earliest attested writing evidence onwards – considering the related epigraphic sources, at times connected to church settlements, spanning over two millennia.

Having had the privilege to take part in several of the field trips (from 1992 to 1997) carried out by the Missione Italiana in Eritrea, the importance and vastness of the extant materials became immediately apparent. Among the tantalizing aspects of a research that was

⁴⁵ The manuscript is a Four Gospel manuscript, with acephalous prefatory materials; on f. 1r there is in fact the last part of a *List of apostles and disciple* (CAe 6241) that mentions also Clement, see edition and translation in A. Bausi, ‘Una “lista” etiopica di apostoli e discepoli’, in id. *et al.* (eds), *Æthiopica et Orientalia. Studi in onore di Yaqob Beyene* (Napoli, 2012) I, 43–67 at 64–65, § 20.

⁴⁶ The following EMLL manuscripts already listed in Bausi, *Il Qalēmēntos etiopico*, 16, were not yet available in an accessible format: MSS nos 6732, 7391 (= Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library of Ethiopia, 422), 8123, 8295, 8549, 8572, and 8578. To this list I was able to add here no. 6976.

still carried out in the pre-digital age was the fact that, despite the large amount of material examined, it was impossible (not permitted and not even technically feasible, in consideration of the available equipment) to collect materials by microfilming to be eventually analysed under better conditions, unless to a very limited extent. If, despite all these constraints, the outcome of this research was a not negligible collection of significant documents, it was nonetheless impossible to approach a more sophisticated level of investigation, in particular to fathom the phenomenology of the manuscript tradition of medieval works in Gəʿəz as attested in Eritrean institutions.

Thanks to recent developments and initiatives undertaken, it appears to be possible to go beyond this limit.⁴⁷ The case I have tried to enlighten here is, if not the first, one of the first analyses of a manuscript tradition of a Gəʿəz work, the (*Maṣḥafa*) *Qalemāntos* or *Book of Clement*, that compares the evidence emerged from a manuscript witness preserved in an Eritrean institution with the tradition known from other institutions of the Christian kingdom of the highlands. It is intended, not only as a contribution of philological character on the text of the *Qalemāntos*, but also as a diagnosis on the assumed role monastic networks had in medieval times, in spreading ideas, novelties, and knowledge, which we can still trace going through the books that are extant: not only at the macroscopic level of the evidence of added historical notes, but also in the small textual variations at a microscopic, almost molecular level.

In this case, the books sequence of the *Qalemāntos* attested by MS X (DDAY-005) of Dabra Dəḥuhān provides an undoubtful evidence of the existence of an arrangement of the work that is not the same as that known for all other manuscripts considered. Although the same manuscript shares an innovation in book II which determines its dependence from a subarchetype common to other manuscripts, it also preserves the primary reading in book III, with a relatively long passage that is omitted by some manuscripts. This state of facts still poses the question of the intentionality of an anomalous sequence of

⁴⁷ Efforts by the Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', and more recently by the Universität Hamburg, which I represent, supported by and in cooperation with Eritrean institutions, mark a first step. To give an idea of how much is still to be done, to my knowledge there are at least six further manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos* kept in Eritrean institutions.

books (either I, II, VII, V, III, IV, and VI; or I, II, VII, IV, VI, V, III) in the light of an explicit paratextual indication of book VII as ‘third speech’, which, in turn, is also shared with other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*.

XIV. New Evidence for the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ethiopia?

TED M. ERHO¹

in memoriam
Prof. Getatchew Haile

The century since M.R. James' identification of part of a text published and translated by Sylvain Grébaud with the early Christian *Apocalypse of Peter*, previously known only from some fragmentary Greek witnesses, has brought forth few advances in the study of the Ethiopic version.² Grébaud had access to a single mutilous manuscript, most probably to be assigned to the early sixteenth century on palaeographical grounds, acquired from the monastery of Dāgā Estifānos by French-Irish explorer Antoine d'Abbadie during his travels in Ethiopia between 1837–1848. Later transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale de France as *Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51*,³ it remained the only known witness to the Ethiopic version until 1968, when

¹ I am grateful to James Hamrick for reading and offering suggestions on the text and translation of the homily edited below, as well as to Steve Delamarter for kindly providing me copies of several manuscripts referenced in this article digitized by his Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project. Eric Beck also graciously provided me with a copy of his English translation of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is used for references to that text.

² M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 12 (1910) 36–54; S. Grébaud, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

³ A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) 60–63; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 34–37; C. Conti Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', *Journal Asiatique* ser. 10 vol. 20 (1912) 5–72, at 37–38.

Ernst Hammerschmidt microfilmed a second, eighteenth-century exemplar at the monastic library of Kebrān Gabre'ēl as his Ṭānāsee 35.⁴ Hammerschmidt's Ethiopian venture subsequently took him to Dāgā Eṣṭifānos, located only a few kilometers away on another island in Lake Ṭānā, where he would also microfilm a bifolium comprising the long-disconnected end of Éthiopian d'Abbadie 51.⁵

Despite more than a tenfold increase in the availability of Ethiopic manuscripts to Western scholars since that time, not even one further witness to this text has emerged to supplement the aforementioned Éthiopian d'Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35.⁶ This somewhat surprising situation raises a number of important questions: Was the circulation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ethiopia highly localized and more or less limited to the Lake Ṭānā area? Is there any evidence for the text in the Horn of Africa beyond the two known manuscripts? When did it first arrive there? Did the *Apocalypse of Peter* have any tangible impact upon the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition?

Any attempt to answer such questions must necessarily begin, though not end, with the direct material evidence itself. While the palaeographic age of the earlier manuscript does provide a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 1500 for the Ethiopic version of this apocalypse, the primary significance of this starting point is as a means of delimiting – or

⁴ E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee I* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67. The microfilming took place on November 6, 1968 (*ibid.*, 56), and the same manuscript would be microfilmed once again two decades later by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library project as EMLL no. 8294. On the materiality of the manuscripts, see also the article by Thomas J. Kraus in the present volume.

⁵ As Ṭānāsee 118, ff. 2–3. Despite being properly identified in V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3* (Stuttgart, 1999) 79, this fragment, in which the correct order of text runs ff. 3vr, 2vr, seems to have gone overlooked in recent scholarship. For the locations of the two monasteries in relation to one another, see the map in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Wiesbaden, 2003–2014) III:369.

⁶ For example, despite microfilming more than 9000 manuscripts over two decades in the late twentieth century, the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) project would only encounter the same copy from Kebrān Gabre'ēl recorded by Hammerschmidt. On the EMML, see C. Stewart, 'A Brief History of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML)', in A.C. McCollum (ed.), *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile* (Wiesbaden, 2017) 447–72.

rather problematizing the delimitation of – the text in question. On the one hand, it is clear that the boundaries which scholars assign to the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the strict sense cannot be applied to the text as presented in the Ethiopian tradition, as no division exists at this point in the manuscripts. On the other, however, reasonable arguments can be advanced for two different termini. Traditionally, as first suggested by Antoine d’Abbadie and later brought out even more explicitly by Grébaut in publishing the material under the separate subtitles “La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts” and “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs”, the work in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* is embedded has been interpreted as being followed by another discrete pseudo-Clementine text.⁷ Although this relational reconstruction may be correct, and a division of some sort clearly exists in both manuscripts here, its precise character cannot be so easily categorized. In neither case does this division result in a large gap or a start at the top of a new page, the clearest markers for the beginning of an independent work. Instead, the demarcations are of a less major type, occurring within just one of multiple columns, and the following material could be legitimately interpreted as either a completely new text or a subsection of the existing one. Thematic and contextual similarities between the material both preceding and following this division in combination with the fact that a proper colophon only appears after “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs” render the latter a distinct possibility.⁸

Regardless of the true terminus, these two works – or two sections of a work – have formed an inseparable bond in the extant Ethiopian tradition: neither is attested anywhere without its counterpart. In both surviving exemplars, moreover, the *Testamentum Domini* and the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee*, two more popular pseudo-apostolic texts that commonly circulate together, immediately precede this material.⁹

⁷ d’Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné*, 62; S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 139–51, 285–97, 380–92; 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39. On this pseudo-Clementine framework, see the contribution of Daniel Maier in the present book.

⁸ R.W. Cowley, ‘The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter,’ *JThS* 36 (1985) 151–53 strongly advocated for this position.

⁹ Respectively published in R. Beylot, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien* (Louvain, 1984) and L. Guerrier and S. Grébaut, *Le Testament en Galilée de*

This suggests that, at least in the Lake Ṭānā area, the *Apocalypse of Peter* was integrated into the pseudo-apostolic revelation tradition rather than the pseudo-Clementine one attested principally in *Qalēmentos*.¹⁰

The *Testamentum Domini* and the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* are not, however, the only other works found in Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35. The former opens with the unique Ethiopic witness of *Sargis of Aberga*,¹¹ while the latter closes with five additional texts, a truncated copy of pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem's *Homily on the resurrection* (CPG 3598), more or less an apocryphal gospel, standing at the end.¹²

Moving away from the two codices themselves to examine whether any known Ethiopian inventory lists might include the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it is crucial to bear in mind that the comparative brevity of the text and its constant collocation with other works results in the possibility that the apocalypse itself may have gone unrecorded even if present in an ecclesiastical library when an extant inventory was compiled. Not only, in fact, is this likely, it is theoretically conceivable that the work never received an Ethiopic title.¹³ As this is not

Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ (Paris, 1912). In many manuscripts, the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* indeed basically appears as another chapter or supplement to the *Testamentum Domini*.

¹⁰ On *Qalēmentos*, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:251–53. This may admittedly be due to other factors. With one possible exception (cf. A. Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 39 (1995) 25–48, at 34–39), the Ethiopic *Synodicon*, *Didascalia*, and *Qalēmentos* each seemed to have been copied exclusively as individual manuscripts until the end of the medieval period. Only later do they commonly combine with each other and other works in codices. It may therefore be that at the formative stage book production norms precluded supplementing such texts with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, whereas shorter works such as the *Testamentum Domini* and *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* were not governed by the same standards and could collocate with different works more easily.

¹¹ Edited and translated in S. Grébaud, *Sargis d'Aberga (Controverse judéo-chrétienne)* (Paris, 1909–1919).

¹² For the precise texts, see Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee 1*, 163–67. Among the other imperfect Ethiopic copies of CPG 3598 is a quire inserted at the beginning of the famous National Library Gospels in Addis Ababa (UNESCO 2.28, ff. 1r–8v).

¹³ Upwards of 90% of Ethiopic texts do not have indigenous titles as they were simply unneeded within the tradition. (Unfortunately, modern

the place for a comprehensive treatment of Ethiopian inventory and titling practices, for the present purposes it suffices to say that in general only the first or primary work in a manuscript is listed, i.e. that inventories are of codices and not of the texts contained therein. Yet even in a more detailed list, the *Apocalypse of Peter* might well go unnoted, as an entry for Éthiopiën d'Abbadie 51 at Dägā Estifānos before it left the monastery demonstrates: ጌመጽሐፈ. : ኪዳንና : ሰርጊስ “1 *Testamentum Domini* and *Sargis*.”¹⁴

While such realities challenge this endeavour, two late-medieval inventories nonetheless offer candidates for potential lost Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. One of these emerges from another Lake Ṭānā monastery, Dabra Māryām, whose famous illuminated gospelbook contains a list of books between Matthew and Mark.¹⁵ This inventory, almost certainly to be assigned to the late-fifteenth century on account of its reference to a metropolitan Yesḥaq,¹⁶ includes the title *Sargis* (ሰርጊስ), a text whose current *codex unicus* is Éthiopiën d'Abbadie 51. Given that most Ethiopic manuscripts were copied as complete units, i.e. that the full contents of an antigraph were reproduced in an apograph without addition or subtraction, it is tempting to believe that the geographic and chronographic proximity of this list to Éthiopiën d'Abbadie 51 might imply equivalency in the contents of the two volumes.¹⁷ Even if correct, however, such a theory barely expands the apocalypse's reach.

scholarship continues to manufacture ‘missing’ or insufficiently determinate ones for its own purposes.) The ‘title’ *the Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* could not function as such in Ethiopian practice given its length, and would be more appropriately understood along the lines of a rubric in other manuscript traditions. Whether this served as a title for the work in the antecedent Arabic version, or whether another title was lost in the translation process, remains unclear.

¹⁴ The full inventory list, located in Ṭānāsee 126, ff. 3v–4r, is published in Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3*, 115–16.

¹⁵ Catalogued in E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee 2* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 50–53.

¹⁶ On Yesḥaq, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, V: 62–63.

¹⁷ It cannot, in fact, be precluded that this entry is to Éthiopiën d'Abbadie 51 itself, with the manuscript having moved from Dabra Māryām to Dägā Estifānos at some point during the following three centuries.

A more promising candidate comes from the former capital city Lālibalā several hundred kilometers to the east. In its Bēta Gologotā church, another late-medieval gospelbook contains an inventory with the following curious title: **ዘከሙ : ተሰእሎ : ጴጥሮስ : ለእግዚእነ** “How Peter inquired of our Lord”.¹⁸ Unusually formulated, this title is otherwise unknown, but the basic contextual parameters hew far closer to the Petrine materials in *Éthiopien d’Abbadie* 51 and *Ṭānāsee* 35 than any other known Ethiopic text. Although they normally use a different verb to express the idea of inquiring (**ሐተተ**), which might raise doubts about such an identification, the colophon at the end of the (second) text contains a more congruent formulation: **ተፈጸመ : በዝዮ : ራዕዮ : ነገር : ዘተሰእሎ : ጴጥሮስ : በእንተ : ኃጥአን...** “It is here accomplished the vision on the subject on which Peter asked Him (i.e. Jesus) concerning the sinners...”¹⁹ Alongside the lack of other suitable alternatives, this colophonic parallel makes it highly probable that the recorded manuscript contained “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs” and, by extension, the *Apocalypse of Peter* since, if not a single work, the latter always appears before the former. This entry therefore not only provides the first evidence for the circulation of this text outside of the Lake Ṭānā region, but, since the inventory list is dated to the first or fourth regnal year of Emperor Eskender (reigned 1478–94),²⁰ provides a new *terminus ante quem* for its Ethiopic translation ca. 1480.

¹⁸ The full booklist is published in T. Erho, ‘The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia’, in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L’Africa, L’Oriente Mediterraneo e l’Europa: Tradizioni e Culture a Confronto* (Roma, 2015) 97–117, at 112.

¹⁹ As published by A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: A few remarks on the Ethiopic manuscript witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96, at 191 from *Ṭānāsee* 35. *Ṭānāsee* 118, f. 2r, originally the final page of *Éthiopien d’Abbadie* 51, contains a variant (**ራብዕ** instead of **ራዕዮ**); see Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil* 3, 79. Although impacting the meaning of the clause (“It is here accomplished the fourth subject about which Peter asked him concerning the sinners”), this variant does not affect the overlap between the colophon and the title from the Bēta Gologotā gospelbook. While other Ethiopic titles have occasionally been derived from subscriptions, it cannot be precluded that this particular formulation resulted from physical damage to the beginning of the text.

²⁰ The uncertainty is due to the visual similarity of the Ethiopic numerals for 1 (**፩**) and 4 (**፬**), which often creates problems in the tradition.

Efforts to identify citations of or allusions to the *Apocalypse of Peter* in indigenous Ge‘ez literature have been underwhelming thus far. As noted by Alessandro Bausi, only two scholars have suggested such relationships, Anton Baumstock in the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth* and Robert Beylot in (the *Vision of*) *Nabyud*.²¹ Upon close inspection, however, these supposed parallels prove vague and unconvincing, consisting of no more than common apocalyptic tropes or similar phraseology, any of which could also be derived from other works or have no particular source.

Assuming that no obvious citations or allusions to the *Apocalypse of Peter* have simply gone overlooked in published indigenous writings, it becomes necessary to move beyond this corpus and examine to whatever extent possible unpublished texts, particularly those of the medieval period. In comparison to the major theological works of fifteenth-century Ethiopia, all of which have been edited and published, very little scholastic attention has been applied to the writings of Ethiopian authors of late Antiquity and the rest of the medieval era. Indeed, within the extant indigenous literature of this period, only five of eight writers who either applied their given name or some sort of pseudonym to a homily have received similar treatment, and in each case it has been limited to a single text, not their full *oeuvre*.²²

Nowhere, perhaps, is this situation more jarring than with the fourteenth-century author who used the moniker Retu‘a Hāymānot “the Orthodox (one)”.²³ No less than thirteen homilies are directly

²¹ Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition’, 194–95.

²² Respectively published in C. Conti Rossini, ‘L’omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d’Aksum, in onore di Garimâ’, in *Actes du congrès international des orientalistes, Paris – 1897* (1898) 139–77; Getatchew Haile, ‘The Homily of Luləyanos, bishop of Axum, on the Holy Fathers’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 103 (1985) 385–91; G. Lusini, ‘L’omelia etiopica “Sui Sabati” di “Retu‘a Haymanot”’, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 11 (1988) 205–35; Getatchew Haile, ‘The Homily of Abba Eləyas, bishop of Aksum, on Mätta‘’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990) 29–47; Getatchew Haile, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church’s Tradition on the Holy Cross* (Leiden and Boston, 2018) 112–25. It is possible that some of the names, such as Tēwofelos and Yoḥannes, actually conceal the work of multiple similarly named individuals.

²³ Other Ethiopian authors before, after, and perhaps contemporaneous with him employed the same pseudonym. For some of the better known ones, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:382–83.

attributed to him, a total to which it might eventually prove possible to add various formally anonymous ones with which they circulate. At worst, this corpus matches the surviving output of any other indigenous author of pre-fifteenth-century Ethiopia.²⁴ Yet, until recently, Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work had not occupied the singular focus of even one journal article.²⁵

Such inattention cannot be dismissed on account of a lack of scholastic opportunity. Copies of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work reached Tübingen in 1842, France the same decade, London in 1868, and Berlin in 1906,²⁶ an unusually broad dissemination for any Ethiopian writer in Europe. But they were all completely ignored, a situation that the subsequent microfilming and digitization of a further thirteen major exemplars, as well as some fragments, in Ethiopia has done little to abate.²⁷

²⁴ That of an earlier Retu‘a Hāymānot, one whose work has, however, at least received a modicum of attention insofar as one of his homilies has been published by Lusini (‘L’omelia etiopica “Sui Sabati” di “Retu‘a Haymanot”).

²⁵ The first such publication was M. Krawczuk, ‘Rətu‘a Haymanot, Kazanie o Chrczie Chrystusa z rękopisu EMMML 7028, f. 6v–20r a postrzeżenie islamu w Etiopskim Kościele Ortodoksyjnym’, *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1 (2019) 37–47, though others, most notably Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981) 102–36, touched on the topic earlier.

²⁶ H. Ewald, ‘Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen’, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 164–201, at 197; d’Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné*, 93–94; Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens*, 53–54; C. Conti Rossini, ‘Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d’Abbadie’, *Journal Asiatique* ser. 11 vol. 2 (1913) 5–64, at 15–16; W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London, 1877) 231–32; E. Hammer Schmidt and V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 267–71.

²⁷ For descriptions of each of the principal manuscripts in question, most either unpublished or correcting the published catalogue entries, see the appendix to this article. In the present context, a notable comparison naturally arises between Éthiopiens d’Abbadie 51 and Éthiopiens d’Abbadie 80. Both are fifteenth/sixteenth-century manuscripts that Antoine d’Abbadie acquired from the monastery of Dāgā Estifānos and brought to France. However, while every word in the former, which, of course, contains the *Apocalypse of Peter* along with other works, has been published, not a single word from the latter, a copy of the Retu‘a Hāymānot homiliary, has hitherto received comparable treatment.

This is particularly unfortunate, as indications abound that Retu‘a Häymānot was among the best-read and most interesting writers of medieval Ethiopia. In one passage, for example, he displays knowledge of several rare ancient apocrypha and other works:²⁸

Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, St. Antony, etc. saw the glories of the kingdom of heaven and wrote (about them) to us. Jambres, Hippolytus the second, Bartholomew, the same Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, etc. saw Gehenna and wrote to us (about) its operations.

The second series references the following texts: (1) the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, (2) Hippolytus’ discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, (3) the *Vision or Questions of Bartholomew*, (4) *I Enoch*, (5) the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*, (6) *Apocalypse of Paul*, and (7) *Apocalypse of John*. Only the fourth and seventh of these are well known in the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition. The above quote adds marginally to the indirect evidence for the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Vision of Bartholomew*, both of which are recorded in inventory lists and whose existence in Ethiopic at one point has been presupposed by indigenous works’ reliance on them.²⁹ Limited material evidence has recently emerged for the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, but this would appear to be the only indigenous reference to the text.³⁰ A similar situation exists with the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*, for which the first complete copy of the Ethiopian Orthodox translation has finally

²⁸ For the Ethiopic text, see ll. 220–222 in the edition of the homily below.

²⁹ Inventory references include those from Urā Masqal published in Erho, ‘The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia’, 110–11, as well as British Library Or. 681, f. 208v. P. Piovanelli, ‘Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 197–224, at 210–12 highlights important citational material indicating direct knowledge of the *Questions of Bartholomew* in an indigenous Ethiopian work. The *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Mary* consists in part of a reworking of material from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, providing additional evidence that the latter once existed in Ge‘ez.

³⁰ T.M. Erho and W.B. Henry, ‘The Ethiopic *Jannes and Jambres* and the Greek Original’, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 65 (2019) 176–223. That Retu‘a Häymānot was acquainted with the *Apocryphon* itself in some form is supposed by the reference to Jambres as the writer rather than his more famous brother, since in the text the latter dies and thereafter describes to his brother the horrors of the underworld.

come to light.³¹ Hippolytus' discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, on the other hand, is otherwise completely unknown in the tradition. Given his apparent knowledge of so many rare texts, if the *Apocalypse of Peter* existed somewhere in his vicinity, it seems probable that Retu'a Hāymānot would have been acquainted with the work, making his corpus of writings a good probing point for unidentified citations or allusions thereto.

The question of the identity of the author using this moniker, a subject of occasional speculation, should be briefly discussed. Three different figures have been proposed: John Chrysostom, famed Ethiopian theologian Giyorgis of Saglā, and metropolitan *Abbā* Salāmā II. The first of these, suggested by Carlo Conti Rossini,³² can be refuted quite easily. Not only does Retu'a Hāymānot contradict certain of Chrysostom's positions, such as referencing *I Enoch* approvingly and authoritatively, he cites materials originating long after his death, such as the *Legend of Habbakuk*.³³ He even cites the Church Father himself!³⁴ The second, Giyorgis of Saglā, has somewhat more merit, given that this figure's lifetime overlaps to some extent with that estimated for Retu'a Hāymānot and there are two homilies in his *magnum*

³¹ EMMML 8775, ff. 143r–151r. (I personally examined a fragmentary late-medieval copy of the Christian version at Qorqor Māryām in 2019.) The existence of the heavily abridged Beta Israel version, published in J. Halévy, *Tě'ězāza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat) accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les falachas ou juifs d'Abyssinie* (Paris, 1902) 97–107, 210–19, naturally presupposed the antecedent Ethiopian Orthodox one.

³² Conti Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', 15.

³³ Cf. T.M. Erho and R. Lee, 'References to the *Shepherd of Hermas* at the Monastery of Gunda Gundē', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 98 (2022) 451–61, at 460. This *Legend of Habakkuk* (CAVT 215) is translated in C. Conti Rossini, 'La leggenda di Habacuch nella versione etiopica', in id. (ed.), *Studi Etiopici* (Roma, 1945) 17–40.

³⁴ Chrysostom is quoted in the homily for Palm Sunday. Among the other obvious anachronisms created by such a proposal are the references to Benjamin I of Alexandria (seventh century) and Severos of Antioch (born mid-fifth century) in the homily on the baptism of Jesus, both of whom were not yet alive when Chrysostom died in 407.

opus, the *Book of Mystery*, attributed to “the Orthodox (one)”.³⁵ A similarly designated anaphora included alongside of some old copies of the *Book of Mystery* might likewise be his.³⁶ However, although both of the aforementioned works seem to be recorded in his hagiography and the other texts mentioned therein comport very well with the historical record, suggesting a fairly comprehensive account of his literary output, no independent homilies or corpus thereof are ascribed to Giyorgis, rendering his potential authorship of the Retu‘a Hāymānot material under consideration doubtful.³⁷ Combined with its major theological discrepancies with his established writings, such as the authority of *Qalēmentos*,³⁸ this serves to eliminate his candidacy for the role. Lastly, one eighteenth-century manuscript begins with a supplementary adscription to metropolitan *Abbā Salāmā II* before the opening treatise on the theology of the Incarnation.³⁹ Given the commonality of his own name being attached to texts,⁴⁰ it would be strange for Salāmā to use a pseudonym in this instance, especially in view of his position at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Ethiopia. It therefore seems best to interpret Retu‘a Hāymānot as a figure whose historical identity cannot be ascertained.

The third of these names may have been occasioned by an erroneous assumption that all works circulating together in the major compendia of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work, the so-called homiliary of Retu‘a Hāymānot, emanate from the same pen. Nearly half of the known manuscripts contain an initial section of pseudo-Cyriacus of Bahnasā’s *Lament of Mary* (also known as the *Gospel of Gamaliel*) and/or a homily for Easter comprised of its remainder and some

³⁵ Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383. On Giyorgis, see e.g. *ibid.*, II:812.

³⁶ The anaphora in question is found in EMMML 6456, ff. 35rv, EMMML 6837, ff. 8v–9r, and EMMML 7018, ff. 33rv.

³⁷ Cf. Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville. Vol. V: Project Numbers 1501–2000* (Collegeville, 1981) 340.

³⁸ Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies’, 111.

³⁹ EMIP 816, f. 2r.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. van Lantschoot, ‘Abbā Salāmā, métropolitaine d’Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur,’ in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)* (Rome, 1960) 397–401.

prefatory materials.⁴¹ The subscription to the Ethiopic version of this Copto-Arabic work records *Abbā Salāmā* as the translator, which is reproduced in the usual textual place within its bifurcated version included in the homiliary. Other clearly foreign writings such as the *Death of Joseph*,⁴² the *Book which came from Jerusalem*,⁴³ and a *Rite of adoration at the end of the feast of Pentecost*⁴⁴ are also found in parts of the manuscript tradition.

While it is therefore certain that not all texts found in exemplars of this homiliary are products of a single author, the extent of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s own corpus remains unclear.⁴⁵ Ascriptions of individual homilies to him are quite fixed,⁴⁶ despite many unattributed ones, and although some or many other tractates are formally anonymous, they may well also derive from the same source. Nonetheless, it is clear that noteworthy ties exist between the formally attributed texts despite the extreme paucity of research on them to date: for example, all of

⁴¹ The first of these spans 1:1–5:1 in the enumeration of M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Freiburg, 1959), while the anonymous *Homily for Easter* contains 5:2–11:50.

⁴² Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. or. quart. 1166, ff. 55v–60r; cf. EMLL 1939, ff. 162r–168r. The text is not properly identified in Hammerschmidt and Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1*, 270.

⁴³ E.g. UNESCO 8.9, ff. 9r–12r; cf. EMLL 1763, ff. 63v–69r.

⁴⁴ E.g. EMLL 2375, ff. 42v–54r; cf. EMLL 2358, ff. 138r–154r.

⁴⁵ Several of the homilies found within the homiliary also circulate in other manuscripts, some even in the medieval period, although the majority do not exhibit this transience. The most common such texts are the anonymous *Homily on Mary*, often included in copies of the *Homiliary for Mary* (*Dersāna Māryām*), the anonymous *Homily on the archangel Michael* found in the widespread *Homiliary for the monthly feasts of the archangel Michael* (*Dersāna Mikā’ēl*), and the homily of Retu‘a Hāymānot on the four heavenly creatures, which appears in assorted contexts. As this involves items both directly attributed and not attributed to Retu‘a Hāymānot in roughly equal measure, it can hardly serve as *prima facie* evidence for differing origins or authors based on ascriptions alone. This phenomenon, however, does heighten the possibility of the original release of at least some of these homilies in contexts separate from the homiliary.

⁴⁶ The only variations in this respect seem to be the anonymous *Homily on the Ascension*, which is ascribed to Retu‘a Hāymānot in MS E, and the anonymous *Homily on the twelve apostles* similarly assigned to him in the subgroup of MSS B, C, I, and Q. All of the other core texts from the homiliary are universally consistent in their attributions across the currently available witnesses.

those which overtly reference the *Shepherd of Hermas* are of this type, and at least three of them contain a belief in penance, an unusual theological position for an Ethiopian Orthodox churchman.⁴⁷ Only the publication of a majority of the texts that principally or exclusively circulate within this homiliary will allow the bounds of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s personal corpus to be clarified.

Given the lack of personal and historical details available, the period when this figure was active cannot be definitively established, but Getatchew Haile has advanced a reasonable argument for the fourteenth century, most likely the latter half.⁴⁸ This fits well with the surviving material evidence, as the earliest witness to any of the writings is EMLL 7028, internally dated to 1397/8 CE. EMLL 7028, however, contains fewer homilies than any other exemplar of the homiliary, raising the possibility of multiple supplements to an earlier, more limited core.⁴⁹ Such a scenario might account for some of the variances seen in the ordering and precise contents of the various exemplars, though later editing doubtless played roles as well.⁵⁰ If this occurred, 1398 could not be fixed as a *terminus ante quem* for all of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work, but only those texts found in EMLL 7028, slightly muddying the dating of this author’s floruit since all data points brought to bear on it stem from homilies in that manuscript. Although a firm demarcation before the turn of the fifteenth century might not therefore be viable, the earliest witness to a full version of the corpus, the important illuminated manuscript first brought to scholarly attention by Eike Haberland and later microfilmed as EMLL

⁴⁷ Cf. Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 459–60 and Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383.

⁴⁸ Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies’, 112–13; Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville. Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, 1982) 451.

⁴⁹ This might be suggested by the reference to Retu‘a Hāymānot’s own *Homily on the four heavenly creatures* in the *Homily on Peter’s denial* (see ll. 194–195 in the edition below).

⁵⁰ See Table 1. Examples of late editing would include the integration of the *Rite of adoration at the end of the feast of Pentecost* in one branch of the tradition and the *Book which came from Jerusalem* in another, with neither possessing any witness older than the eighteenth century.

9084,⁵¹ could hardly have been copied more than a couple of decades into it, so the basic picture remains intact.

Table 1: Contents and sequences of text in surviving copies of the homiliary of Retu‘a Häymānot⁵²

	L	O	J	D	E	A	M	Q	I	B	C	P	K	N	F	H	G
Theology	1	1	1	1*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	4	4
Birth	2	2	2	2*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	5	5	5
Baptism	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	6	6	6
Start Lent				13	15	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	7	7	7
1 st Sunday				14	16	5	5	5	5	5	5	7	7	7	8	8	8
2 nd Sunday				15	17	6	6	6	6	6	6	8	8	8	9	9	9
3 rd Sunday				16	18	7	7	7	7	7	7	9	9	9	10	10	10
4 th Sunday				17	19	8	8					10	10	10	11	11	11
5 th Sunday				18	20	9	9					11	11	11	12	12	12
6 th Sunday				19	21	10*	10					12	12	12	13	13	13
Pentecost rite									8	8	8						
Death of Joseph				20													
Incarnation		4	4	4	4	24	12	8	9	9	9	14	14	14	15	15	15
Palm Sunday	4	5	5	5	5		11	9	10	10	10	13	13	13	14	14	14
Footwashing	5	6	6	6	6	11*	13	10	11	11	11	15	15	15	16	16	16
Peter’s denial				22	22	12	14					16	16	16	17	17	17
Trial				21		13	15					17	17	17*	18	18	18
Ps-Cyriacus						14		17* ⁵³				18	18		19	19	19
Death	6	7	7	7	7	15		11	12	12	12	19	19		20	20	20
Easter						16	16					20	20		21	21	21
Ascension	7	8	8	8*	8	17	17	12	13	13	13	21	21		22	22	22
Pentecost	8	9	9		9	18	18	13	14	14	14	22	22		23	23	23
Apostles	9	10	10		10	19	19	14	15	15	15		23		24	24	24
Transfiguration	10	11	11	9*	11	20	20	15	16	16	16		24		25	25	25
Mary	11*	12	12	10	12	21	21		17	17		23	25		26	26	26
Heavenly beasts		13	13	11	13	22	22	16	18	18	17	1	1	1	1	1	1
Michael	12	14	14	12	14	23	23*					2	2	2	2	2	2
Book Jerusalem															3	3	3

⁵¹ E. Haberland, *Altes-Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien* (Wiesbaden, 1976) 21. For a catalogue entry of EML 9084, see the appendix to this article.

⁵² Asterisks denote imperfect copies of texts.

⁵³ Possibly an addendum or different codicological unit.

The lack of prior research into Retu‘a Hāymānot’s body of work poses considerable challenges to determining whether this indigenous Ethiopian author might cite or allude to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Only a handful of his homilies have been summarized,⁵⁴ but careful examination of them as well as their counterparts is weighed down by the textual problems and uncertainty that make reliance on any single manuscript in the Ethiopic tradition highly inadvisable when multiple copies are available. An initial probe, therefore, can only be attempted here on the basis of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s *Homily on Peter’s denial*, a selection made principally because of its focus on the chief apostle and its lengthy description of hell, two major elements shared with the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

This homily, which is concerned with the perils of pride and the necessity of repentance, intersperses a retelling of part of the Passion narrative with various other vignettes. Opening with Jesus’ rebuttal to Peter after the latter claims to be willing to die for him (ll. 2–19), the text then adduces Jonah (ll. 23–50) and Macarius the Great (ll. 61–102) as other examples of individuals whose vain pride was confronted. An extended account of Peter’s three denials with various authorial interludes (ll. 104–142) segues into the second main theme, the necessity of repentance (ll. 142–148). The author then provides a description of the horrors of Gehenna, the future lot for whoever refuses to repent (ll. 148–205). After imploring his audience to repent if they have fallen and reminding them both of the glories of heaven and the suffering in Gehenna (ll. 210–226), he concludes his homily by returning to the Passion narrative, now with Jesus before Pilate (ll. 226–253).

A critical text and translation of the full homily are presented below, the *editio* and *translatio princeps* of not only the text itself, but any complete member of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s corpus. The text is transmitted in the following ten manuscripts:

- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien d’Abbadie 80, ff. 51r–55v (15th/16th century; siglum A)
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. quart. 1166, ff. 66r–69v (mutilous; 15th century; siglum D)

⁵⁴ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber, *Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500*, 452–56; Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 456–60.

- Dāgā Eṣṭifānos Monastery, Ṭānāsee 142, ff. 152r–158r (15th century; siglum E)⁵⁵
- Holy Trinity Cathedral (Addis Ababa), EMLL 1194, ff. 55v–57v (mid-20th century; siglum F)⁵⁶
- Bečanā Giyorgis Church, UNESCO 8.9, ff. 49r–51v (18th century; siglum G)
- Mārḳos Church (Addis Ababa), EMLL 12, ff. 76r–80v (early 20th century; siglum H)⁵⁷
- Ġar Šellāsē Monastery, EMLL 7019, ff. 93r–97v (15th century; siglum K)⁵⁸
- (Unknown library) EMLL 7638, ff. 84r–89v (15th century; siglum M)
- Ṭānā Qirḳos Monastery, EMLL 8459, ff. 89r–94v (15th century; siglum N)
- Berber Māryām Church, EMLL 9084, ff. 132r–139r (14th/15th century; siglum P)⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Later microfilmed a second time as EMLL 8382.

⁵⁶ Not collated as a descendant of MS G. Manuscript also microfilmed as UNESCO 5.25.

⁵⁷ Not collated as a descendant of MS G. Manuscript subsequently digitized as EMIP 1293.

⁵⁸ This witness was not available to me while editing the text and hence could not be used.

⁵⁹ While perhaps the most valuable witness to the text due to its age and relatively good text, the early leaves of EMLL 9084 are heavily waterlogged and completely illegible. Although lying halfway into the manuscript, significant parts of the leaves with the *Homily on Peter's denial* are also water damaged. Due to this situation, the decision was made not to integrate this witness into the textual apparatus, though the manuscript, where legible, was used to help adjudicate the critical text below.

(A: 51r; D: 66r; E: 152r; G: 49r; M: 84r; N: 89r)ድርሳን ፡ ዘደረሰ ፡
 ርቱዐ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ክሕዶ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡
 ሶበ ፡ ይቤሎሙ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ለሐዋርያቲሁ ፡ ኅበ ፡ አሐውር ፡ አነ ፡ አን
 ትሙ ፡ ኢትክሉ ፡ ተሊዎትየ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ይቤሎሙ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ተን
 5 ሥአ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወቀነተ ፡ ሐቋሁ ፡ ወአኅዘ ፡ ይክላሕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡
 ለምንት ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ኢይክል ፡ ተሊዎትከ ፡ ነፍሰየ ፡ እሜጡ ፡ በእንቲአክ ፡
 ወይቤሎ ፡ ማእምረ ፡ አልባ(E: 152v)ብ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ነፍስከኑ ፡ ትሜጡ ፡
 በእንቲአየ ፡ ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይንቁ ፡ ዶርሆ ፡ ሥልሰ ፡
 ትክሕደኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘኢታአምረኒ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ይቤሎ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ አኮ ፡ ዘእር
 10 መመ ፡ አላ ፡ አኅዘ ፡ ይንግር ፡ ጽንፀ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ ወድካመ ፡ አኅዊሁ ፡
 እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ክ(N: 89v)ሕዱክ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ኢይክሕደክ ፡
 አጴጥሮስ ፡ ለምንት ፡ ትትናገር ፡ ዘከመዝ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዘኢይደሉ ፡ ይፃእ ፡
 እምአፋሆሙ ፡ ለአግብርተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ ያንጽሑ ፡ ርእሶሙ ፡
 ወያርኩሱ ፡ ቢጸመ ፡ ርቱዕሰ ፡ ትበል ፡ አነኒ ፡ ኢይክሕደክ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወአ
 15 ኅዊየኒ ፡ ኢይክሕዱክ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ጸጋከ ፡ የዐቅ(D: 66v)በኒ ፡ ኢትቤ ፡ ከመዝ ፡
 በትሕትና ፡ ወበፍቅር ፡ አላ ፡ አንተሰ ፡ መጻእክ ፡ በትምክሕ(G: 49v)ት ፡
 ወኢያፍቅሮ ፡ አኅዊከ ፡ ስማዕኬ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ መደንግፀ ፡ አሜን ፡

1 ድርሳን በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ድርሳን
 DM | ዘደረሰ ፡ ርቱዐ ፡ ሃይማኖት] ዘርቱዐ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ዘደረሰ E | 2 ዘከመ] om.
 DN | ክሕዶ] ክኅደ A; ዘክሕደ D; ክሕደት E; ዘክህዶ N | ይቤ] ወይቤ DMN |
 ወንጌላዊ] ወንጌል N | 3 ሶበ] ወሶበ DN | አሐውር ፡ አነ] tr. GMN | አሐውር] አውር
 N* | አንትሙ] om. A | 4 ኢትክሉ ፡ ተሊዎትየ ፡ ይእዜ] ኢትክሉ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ተሊወ
 ትየ A; ኢትክሉ ፡ ተሊዎትየ D; ኢትክሉ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ተሊዎትየ E; ኢትክሉ ፡ መጺአ ፡
 ለተሊዎትየ ፡ ይእዜ G; ይእዜ ፡ ኢትክሉ ፡ ተሊወትየ N | ወ(ሶበ)] om. AG | ይቤ
 ሎሙ] ይቤ M | 6 ኢይክል] ዘኢይክል M | ተሊዎትከ] ተሊወተከ A; ተሊዎተከ
 DGN | ነፍሰየ] +ተቀ DN | 7 ማእምረ] ማእመረ A; እግዚእነ D; ማእምሩ E; ማዕረ
 ረረ G* | አልባብ—በእንቲአየ] om. D | አልባብ] አልበብ N | ነፍስከኑ ፡ ትሜጡ]
 ትሜጡት ፡ ነፍስከ M | 8 በእንቲአየ] በእንአየ E | ዮም] ዮምኬ DN | ይንቁ] ይኒቁ M |
 ሥልሰ] ሥልሰ G | 9 ትክሕደኒ] ትክህድኒ N | ከመ ፡ ኢታአምረኒ] ከመ ፡ ኢታአምረኒ
 DG; ከመዝ ፡ ኢተአምረኒ N | ሶበ] ሶቤሃ D | ይቤሎ] ይቤሎሙ N | 10 አላ] om. DN |
 ይንግር] ይግር M | ዚአሁ] ዜናሁ G | ወድካመ] ወድከመ M | አኅዊሁ] om. G |
 11 ይቤ] ወእመኒ A; ይቤሎ D | ለእመ] ይቤ A; ለእመ E | ኩሎሙ] ኩሎ A | አንሰ]
 ወአንሰ N | 12 አጴጥሮስ] ወይቤሎ ፡ አጴጥሮስ D; ወይቤሎ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ኢየሱስ E;
 ወይቤላኒ ፡ ጴጥሮስ N | ዘከመዝ] ከመዝ AD | ነገረ] ነባረ A; ነገር MN | ይደሉ]
 ይሉ E* | 13 ያንጽሑ] ያጽንፀ ፡ ወያንጽሑ AE | 14 ያርኩሱ] ያርኩሱ A; ያርኩሱ D |
 ርቱዕሰ] ርቱዕሰኬ DN | ትበል] ትብል A*D; ትብላኒ N | አነኒ] አንሰ E | ኢይክሕደክ ፡
 እግዚአ] እግዚአ ፡ ኢይክሕደክ D; ኢይክህደክ G; እግዚአ ፡ ኢይክህደክ N | አኅዊየኒ]
 አኃውየ G; አኃውየየኒ N | 15 ጸጋከ] ጸጋየ D | የዐቅበኒ] ያዓቅበኒ A; ያጸንዐኒ ፡ የዐ
 ቅብ D; ያጸንዐኒ ፡ ወያዐ*ቅበኒ E; የዓቅበነ GN | ትቤ] ትቤኬ M | ከመዝ ፡ በትሕትና]
 በትሕትና G | 16 ወበ(ፍቅር)] በ A; ወ D | አላ] om. D | አንተሰ] አንሰ E | መጻእክ]
 ትቤ D; መጻእኩ E; መጽእክ M | ትምክሕት] ትሕይልት M | 17 ስማዕኬ] ስማዕክ N |
 ዘንተ] om. G | ነገረ] +እነግረከ ፡ AE | መደንግፀ] +ዘረከበከ ፡ M | አሜን] አማን D

እብለክ ፡ አጲጥሮስ ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ ትክሕደኒ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይንቁ ፡ ዶርሆ ።
 በርቱዕኬ ፡ ረከበክ ፡ ዝብካይ ፡ መሪር ፡ እስክ ፡ ይትመላሕ ፡ ቀራንብቲክ ።
 አዛቲ ፡ ትምክሕት ፡ አውደቀቶሙ ፡ ለብዙኃን ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ይቤሉ ። 20
 አዕማድ ፡ ንሕነ ። (M: 84v)ንስማዕኬ ፡ በበጾታሁ ፡ ዘረከሶሙ ፡ ድቀት ፡
 ለአበዊነ ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ድኅኑ ፡ በሠናይ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ወበትሕትና ።
 ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለዮናስ ፡ ሖር ፡ ስብክ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ነዌ ፡ እንዘ ፡
 ትብል ፡ ትትገፈታእ ፡ ሀገርክሙ ። ወእእመረ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ በመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡
 ዘኅዱር ፡ ላዕ(A: 51v)ሌሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይድኅኑ ፡ በንስሐ ። ወተከዘ ፡ ዮናስ ። 25
 በእንተ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ርእሱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይኩን ፡ ሐሳዌ ። ወይቤ ፡ ለምንት ፡
 እግዚአ ፡ ትምሕሮሙ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ሰበኩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለግፍታኤ ፡ አኮኑ ፡
 አነ ፡ እከውን ፡ ሐሳዌ ። ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለእመ ፡ (E: 153r)
 መሐርኩ ፡ ተግባርየ ፡ ሚላዕሌክ ። ወገብረ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ ባእስ ፡ ምስለ ፡
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተኅጥአ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ እስራኤል ። 30
 ወረከበ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ተርሴስ ፡ ወተጽዕነ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሐመሮሙ ፡
 ወተንሥአ ፡ ማዕበል ፡ ወፈቀደ ፡ ያስጥማ ፡ ለሐመር ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ዮናስ ፡
 ለእመ ፡ ኢወረወክሙኒ ፡ ኪያየ ፡ ኢትድኅኑ ፡ እስመ ፡ ፈርሀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይ
 ኩኖ ፡ ኅጢአተ ፡ ሰበ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ በኅጢአተ ፡ ዚአሁ ። ዝኬ ፡ (N: 90r)ልማዶሙ ፡
 ለቅዱሳን ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ይድኅፁ ፡ ወድኅረ ፡ ይኔስሑ ፡ በከመ ፡ አድኅኖ ። 35
 ለጲጥሮስ ፡ ብካዩ ። እስመ ፡ ሠለስተ ፡ ጥምቀተ ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ፩ ፡

18 እብለክ] om. A | ሥልሰ] ሥልስ GN | ይንቁ] ይኔቁ M | ዶርሆ] ዶርሆ N |
 19 በ(ርቱዕኬ)] om. AE | ረከበክ] ረከብነ A; ትብኬ E; ረካበክ N | ዝብካይ] ዝብካየ A;
 ዛብካይ D; om. E; ብካይ G; ዝበካይ N | መሪር] መሪረ A | ቀራንብቲክ] ቀራንቲክ A* |
 20 አ(ዛቲ)] om. D; እስመ ፡ E | አውደቀቶሙ ፡ ለብዙኃን] tr. AN; ለብዙኅን ፡ አው
 ደቀቶሙ D; ላብዙኃን ፡ እንተ ፡ አውደቀቶሙ G | ይቤሉ] ይብሉ A*; ይብሉ A°N |
 21 አዕማድ] አእመርነ G | ንስማዕ(ኬ)] ስማዕ D | በበጾታሁ] በበጾታሆሙ A; በበ ፡
 ጾታሆሙ D; በበጾታሐሙ N | ድቀት] ድቀተ DM | 22 ኩሎሙ ፡ ድኅኑ] tr. E; ኩሎሙ
 M | ንስሐ] ትሕትና DN | ትሕትና] ነስሆ D; ንስሐ N | 23 ስብክ] ሰብሕ ፡ ወ[] N |
 ነዌ] ነኔዌ A | 24 ትትገፈታእ] ትትፈታዕ G*; ትትገፈታእኦ M | ወእእመረ ፡ ዮናስ]
 om. D | 25 ይድኅኑ] ይድኃኑ N | ንስሐ] ሠናይ ፡ ንስሐ M | ተከዘ] ትካዘ G | 26 ርእሱ]
 ርእሶም D | ይቤ] ይቤሎ AE | 27 ትምሕሮሙ] +እስክ ፡ ለ | ሰበኩ] ሰበኩ N | ሎሙ]
 om. M | አኮኑ] +አንተ ፡ ለ | 28 እከውን] እከው G | ሐሳዌ] ሐሳዊ M | 29 መሐርኩ]
 ሐርኩ D; +ሕዝብየ ፡ M | ተግባርየ] ተገቢርየ D; ተግባሪየ E | ሚላዕሌክ] ምላዕሌኬ E |
 ዮናስ] om. M | ባእስ] ባዕስ N | 30 ተኅጥአ] ኃጥአ A*; ኅጥአ E | 31 ረከበ] ረካብ D |
 ተርሴስ] ተርሴሰ G | 32 ፈቀደ] ፈድፋደ G | ያስጥማ ፡ ለሐመር] ይሰጠም ፡ ላዕለ ፡
 ሐመር A; ያስጥም ፡ ለሐመር D; ይሰጠም ፡ እምላዕለ ፡ መሐመር E; ያስጥማ ፡ ለ
 C
 M* | 33 ወረወክሙኒ] ወረወክሙ A; ወረድክሙኒ G | ኪያየ] om. DG; ኪያያ N |
 ፈርሀ] ፈርሃ AN; ፈርሁ D | ይኩኖ] ይኩኖሙ D | 34 ሞቱ] ሞተ A; +እሉ ፡ M | ዝኬ]
 +ውእቱ ፡ D; ill.+ N | 35 ቅድመ] om. E | ይድኅፁ] ድኅፁ AM; ይደነግጽ D | ይኔ
 ስሑ] ይነስሑ A | በከመ] ወበከመ D | አድኅኖ] +ብካዩ ፡ D | 36 ብካዩ] ብካዮ A; om.
 D; ብካዮ M | ሠለስተ] ሠለስቱ D; ፫ GMN | ጥምቀተ] ጥምቀት G[N] | ወሀቦ] ወሀቦ
 DGMN | እግዚእ] እግዚአ E; እግዚአብሔር M; እግዚእግዚእነ N | ፩] አሐደ AE; ፪ N

በዮርዳኖስ : ወ፩በአንብዕ : ወ፩በስምዕ ። እስመ : ዘይበኪ : ዘእንበለ : ጽር
 ዐት : ይሠውዕ : ደሞ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ወይከውን : ሱታፌሆሙ : ለሰማ
 ዕት ። ወዘኒ : ይዜሙ : ዘእንበለ : ጽርዐት : በሥጋሁ : ዝኒ : ይሠውዕ : ደሞ :
 40 ለአጋንንት : ወይከውን : ሱታፌሆሙ : ለገነውት ። ወይቤልዎ : እሙንቱ :
 ሰብእ : ለዮናስ : መነሃ : ታመልክ : ኦብእሲ ። ወይቤሎሙ : አመልኮ :
 ለሰማያዊ : ወእምኔሁ : ጎዮይኩ : (M: 85r)ወናሁኬ : እብለክ(D: 67r)ሙ :
 ለእመ : ኢወረድክሙኒ : ትትሐጎሉ : ወፈርሁ : ወአበይዎ : ወተወረወ :
 ለሊሁ : በፈቃዱ : ውስተ : ባሕር : ወውኅጠቶ : ዐንበሪ ። ከመዝኬ :
 45 ልማዶሙ : ለጻድቃን : ለአድኅኖ : ሰብእ : ይመክሩ : ወርእሶሙሰ : ይሚ
 ንኑ ። ወኃጥአንሰ : ለአድኅኖ : ርእሶሙ : ይመክሩ : ወለሐጎሉ : ባዕዳን ።
 ወዮናስሰ : ነበረ : ውስተ : ከርሠ : ዐንበሪ : ሠሉሰ : ዕለተ : ወሠሉሰ :
 ለያልየ : እስመ : ጸዋሬ : ትንቢት : ውእቱ : ለዘሀለዎ : ይትቀበር : ዮም :
 50 በኅልጎታ ። ወለዮናስሰ : ጎስዐ(A: 52r)ቶ : ዐንበሪ : ውስተ : ሀገረ : ነነዌ :
 ወሰበክ : ሎሙ : ግፍታኤ : እንዘ : ይትመሐለል : ሎሙ : ስርየተ ። እስመ :
 ኩሉ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ : ወያጠብብኒ : በከመ : አ(E: 153v)ጥበቦ : ለጴ
 ጥሮስ : ብካዩ ። አመ : ተስእሎ : እግዚእነ : ተንሢአ : እምነ : ምውታን :

37 ፩በአንብዕ] ፩አንብዕ DE; ፩በንስሐ : ምስለ : አንብዕ [M]; ቩበዓንብዕ N*; በዓን
 ብዕ N^c | ወ፩በስምዕ] ወ፩ : በከዊነ : ስምዕ M; om. N | እስመ] +ዘየዓቢ : ; +ዘየዐቢ :
 E | ይበኪ] ይቤለክ D | ዘእንበለ] በ[ጎጢአቱ M | ጽርዐት] ጸርዓት A; ከመ M |
 38 ይሠውዕ] ዘይሠውዕ M | ይከውን] ይከውኑ D | ሰማዕት] ጻድቃን : ወለሰማዕት D;
 ሰማዕተ G | 39 ወዘኒ : ይዜሙ] ዝኒ : ዘይዜሙ N | ጽርዐት] ጸርዓት A; ጽራዕት M |
 ሥጋሁ] ሥጋ N | ዝኒ] ወዘኒ A; om. DG | ይሠውዕ] ከመ : ዘይሰውዕ M; ይሠወዕ N |
 40 ሱታፌሆሙ] ሱታፎሙ G; ሱታፌሁ N | ገነውት] አጋውተ A*; ጋነውተ A^c;
 ill. D; አጋንንት : ወለገነት G*; አጋንንት : ወለገነውት G^c; አጋንንት N | ወ(ይቤልዎ)]
 om. D | እሙንቱ] እሉቱ A; እሉንቱ E; እሎንቱ G | 41 ለዮናስ] om. DN |
 መነሃ] መነ DG^c; ወ G* | ይቤሎሙ] ill.+ D | 42 እምኔሁ : ጎዮይኩ] እምድኅሬሁ :
 ዝዮይኩ N | (ናሁ)ኬ] om. MN | 43 ለእመ] om. AE | ኢወረድክሙኒ] om. AE;
 ኢወገርክሙኒ : ኪያየ D; ኢወረድክሙኒ G*; ኢያውረድክሙኒ G^c; +ኪያየ : N |
 ትትሐጎሉ] ትሐጎሉ N | ተወረወ] ትወርወ G; ተውርወ N | 44 ውኅጠቶ] ውሕጦ D;
 ውጡ E; ውኅጠ GM | ከመዝ] ወከመዝ EG | 45 ርእሶሙ] ርእሶሙ DMN |
 46 ኃጥአንሰ] ኅጥአንሰኬ N | አድኅኖ] አድኅነ G* | ወለሐጎሉ] ወለአጎሎ D;
 om. E | 48 ለያልየ] ሌሊተ E | እስመ] ዘእስመ A^c | ጸዋሬ] ለጸዋሬ N | ትንቢት]
 ትንቢቱ MN | ለዘሀለዎ] +ዮም : D; ለዘ G | ዮም] om. DM | 49 ኅልጎታ] ኅለጎታ D |
 ለዮናስሰ] ዮናስሰ A; ለዮናስ N | ጎስዐቶ] ጎስዐቶ D; ጎስዐ M | ውስተ] ውስተ
 A* | ሀገረ] ብሔር DN | ነነዌ] ነነዌ A; ነነዌ N | 50 ግፍታኤ] ፍፍታኤ G | ይትመሐለል]
 ይትመሀለሉ A; ይትማሀለል D | ስርየተ] ስሬተ A; ሰሬተ N | እስመ] om. G |
 51 ኩሉ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ] ኩሎ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ D | ያጠብብኒ] ያጥብ
 ብኒ A; ያጠብብኒ D; ill. M | በከመ] ከመ G | አጥበቦ] አንበቦ G | ለጴጥሮስ : ብካዩ]
 ብካዮ : ለጴጥሮስ A; tr. D | 52 አመ] ወከመ A; ወአመ E; እስመ G | ተስእሎ]
 ተሰእሎ D; ትስእሎ M | ተንሢአ] ተንሥአ E; ተንሥአ G*; ተንሢአ G^c | እምነ :
 ምውታን] እምውታን AGN; እሙታነ E

ወይቤሎ ፡ ስምዖን ፡ ዘዮና ፡ ታፈቅረኒኑ ፡ ኢይቤኬ ፡ <ክ>መ ፡ የም ፡ በተ
 መክሐ ፡ እወ ፡ አፈቅረከ ፡ አላ ፡ ይቤ ፡ አንተ ፡ ታአምር ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወሶባ ፡
 ርእየ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ትሕትናሁ ፡ ሢሞ ፡ ወወሀቦ ፡ መራኅተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ 55
 ሰማያት ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ረዐይኬ ፡ አባግዕየ ፡ አዛቲ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ዘረሰዮቶሙ ፡
 ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ሰማያዊያን ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ለኵሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡
 ይትመረገውዝዋ ፡ እንተ ፡ ተዐርግ ፡ ኅቦ ፡ ሉዓሌ ፡ እለ ፡ አጥረይዋ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡
 ምስለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተዓረ(N: 90v)ኩ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡
 እስመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘአዕባየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ የኅስር ፡ ወዘአትሐተ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ይክብር ፡ 60
 ይቤ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ አሐተ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ አባ ፡ መቃርዮስ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡
 መጽአ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ ዘይብል ፡ ምስለ ፡ እንጦንዮስኑ ፡ (G: 50r)እትዓረይ ፡
 ወሚመ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አውኪን ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ይኄሊ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሰም(M: 85v)ዐ ፡
 ቃለ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ማኅደርከሰ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡ አንስት ፡ በሰማያት ፡ 65
 እለ ፡ ሀለዋ ፡ በሰብሳብ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አምታቲሆን ፡ አንስቲያሆሙ ፡
 ለኖሎተ ፡ አልህምት ፡ ወሶባ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ አረጋይ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ደንገፀ ፡
 ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አይቴኑ ፡ ሀለዋ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ኅሥሦን ፡ በምሥራቅ ፡
 ወትረክቦን ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ሖረ ፡ አረጋይ ፡ በጉጉአ ፡ ወረከቦን ፡ ለክልኤሆን ፡

53 ኢ.(ይቤኬ) | ወኢ. AE | <ክ>መ] ከመ ADEGMN | በተመክሐ] በተመክሐ D;
 ኢይትሜካህ N | አፈቅረከ] ill.+ D | 54 ይቤ] ይቤሎ E | ታአምር] ill. D; ተአምር
 GN | 55 ርእየ] ርእየከ G* | እግዚእነ] om. DN; እግዚአብሔር G | ወሀቦ] ወሀቦ G;
 ወሀቦሙ M | መንግሥተ] ዘመንግሥተ M | 56 ሰማያት] ill.+ D | ወይቤሎ] om. M |
 ረዐይኬ] ill. D; om. M | አባግዕየ] ill. D; አማግዕቶ E; om. M | አ(ዛቲ)] ወ M |
 57 ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ሰማያዊያን] ለመሬታውያን ፡ ሰማውያን ፡ ወለመዋትያን ፡ ሕያዋነ
 G; ሰማያዊየን ፡ ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ወለመዋቲያን ፡ ሕያዋነ M | ለኵሎሙ] ለኵሎ AE;
 om. M | ለ(እለ)] D; om. GN | 58 ተዐርግ] ታአምር ፡ ወተዓርግ D | እለ] ወእለ
 M | ዛቲ] +ትሕትና ፡ N | 59 ምስለ] ዘምስለ M | ተዓረኩ] ተዓርኩ A; ተዐርኩ DE |
 ይቤ] ለሊሁ M | 60 እስመ] ይቤ M | ኩሉ] ኩሎ D; om. GM | ዘአዕባየ] om. M |
 ርእሶ] om. M | የኅስር] ይኃስር E; የኃሥር G; om. M; ያሐስር N | ወ(ዘአትሐተ)]
 om. M | ርእሶ] ርእሱ N* | ይክብር] +ወዘአዕባየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ የኅስር ፡ M | 61 ይቤ]
 ወይቤ DMN | ዕለተ] +በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ AE | መቃርዮስ] መቃርስ DG; መቃሪስ N |
 በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት] om. AE; አሱነ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎቱ G | 62 መጽአ] መጽአ A;
 መጽአ ፡ በውስተ ፡ N | ዘይብል] እንዘ ፡ ይብል AE | እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ AE | እትዓ
 ረይ] ትትዓረይ D; እትዓረይ G | 63 ዘንተ] +መጽአ ፡ A; መጽአ ፡ መንፈስ E | ሰምዐ]
 ወሰምዐ AE | 64 እንዘ ፡ ይብል] om. D; ዘይብል GM | ማኅደርከሰ] ማኅደርከ D;
 ማኅደርሰ G; ሚኅደርከ N | በሰማያት] om. D; በሰማይት N* | 65 ሰብሳብ] ሰብሳብ E |
 አምታቲሆን] እምታቲሆን ED | አንስቲያሆሙ] ወለአምታትይሆን A*; ወለአምታቲ
 ይሆን A^c; ወአንስቲያሆሙ D; ወለአምታቲሆንሰ E; om. N | 66 ለኖሎተ] ሎቶን A;
 ቦሙ ፡ ብዙኃ E; ለኖሎት G; ለኖለተ M; ብዙኃ ፡ N | አልህምት] አልህምተ AE |
 ወሶባ] om. E | ሰምዐ] ወሰሚያ E | አረጋይ] አረጋዊ D; om. E | ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ]
 om. AE | 67 እግዚአ] om. D | አይቴኑ] አይቴ DM | ሀለዋ] +እግዚአ ፡ D | ኅሥሦን]
 ኅሥን G | 68 ወ(ትረክቦን)] om. A | ሖረ] om. D | አረጋይ] አረጋዊ DE | ጉጉአ]
 ጉጉዒ A*; ጉጉአ N | ለክልኤሆን] ለ፪ ፡ አንስት D; ወለክልኤሆን E

እንዘ ፡ ያስተዳልዋ ፡ ድራረ ፡ ለአምታቲሆን ፡ እስመ ፡ ፩አቡሆን ፡ ለክልኤ
 70 ሆን ፡ ወአሐቲ ፡ እሞን ። ወአምታቲሆንሂ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ፩አቡሆሙ ፡ ወአሐቲ ፡
 እሞሙ ። ወሶበ ፡ ርእያኒ ፡ (D: 67v)ይቤላኒ ፡ እምአይቱ ፡ እንግዳ ፡
 ወእቤሎን ፡ እምገዳም ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ሀባኒ ፡ ማኅደረ ፡ ወወሀባኒ ። ወሶበ ፡
 አተወ ፡ አምታቲሆን ፡ ሖርኩ ፡ ኅቤሆ(A: 52v)ሙ ፡ ወእቤሎሙ ፡ ደቂቅየ ፡
 መጻእኩ ፡ ኅቤክሙ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ ትንግሩኒ ፡ ግዕዘ
 75 ክሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ አምላኪየ ፡ ፈነወኒ ። ወይቤሎኒ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ ሰማዕናሁ ፡ ለው
 እቱ ፡ (E: 154r)ቃል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትናገረከ ። ወለነኒ ፡ ይቤለነ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ይመ
 ጽእ ፡ ኅቤክሙ ፡ ዐምደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ወኢትኅብእዎ ፡ ግብ<ረ>ክሙ ። ወንቤሎ ፡
 መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ኅቤነ ። ወይቤ ፡ መቃርኖስ ፡ ለባሴ ፡ ገዳም ፡
 በኩሩ ፡ ለእንጦንዮስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ በልብሰተ ፡ አስኬማ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ አሐደ ፡
 80 ይከውን ፡ ማኅደርክሙ ፡ በመንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ። ወዘንተ ፡ ብሂሎ ፡
 ተሰወረ ፡ እምኔነ ። ወናሁ ፡ ንነግረከ ፡ በከመ ፡ ተአዘዘነ ፡ እምኅዳጥ ፡
 ምግባራቲነ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ በቅዕ ። ወሶበ ፡ ሰማዕኩ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ እምአፉሆሙ ፡
 ደንገዕኩ ፡ ወእቤሎሙ ፡ በሉኪ ፡ ደቂቅየ ፡ ወአኅዊየ ፡ ወአኃትየ ፡ ንግሩኒ ፡

69 እንዘ—ክልኤሆን] om. G | ድራረ] ድረራ A*; ደራረ D; ደራራ N | ለአምታቲሆን] አምታቲሆን D; ለአመታቲሆን N | ለክልኤሆን] om. AE; ለ□ሆን N | 70 ወአሐቲ ፡ እሞን] ወእሞን A; ወሞን E | አምታቲሆንሂ] ለአምታቲሆን AE; አምታቲሆን M; አምታቲሆሂ N | ከማሁ] om. D | ፩] om. G; ወ፩ N | አቡሆሙ] አቡሆን E | አሐቲ] om. DMN | 71 ሶበ] ሶበኒ N | ርእያኒ] ርእያን D; ርእያሁ M | ይቤላኒ] ይቤለኒ DEN; ይቤላ M | እንግዳ] እንግዳዓ G | 72 እቤሎን] እሎን D; ይቤሎን E; ሶበ ፡ እቤሎን G | እም(ገዳም)] እ N* | ሀባኒ] ሀበኒ M; ኅባኒ N | ወሀባኒ] ወሀባኒ D; ወሀበኒ N | 73 አተወ] አተወ E; ርኢኩ M | አምታቲሆን] አምታሆን M | ኅቤሆሙ] +ወኅቤሆን ፡ G; ኅቤሆን N | እቤሎሙ] ይቤሎሙ G; ይቤሎን N | ደቂቅየ] አደቂቅየ M; ill. N | 74 መጻእኩ] መጻኩ G | ኅቤክሙ] om. N | ግዕዘክሙ] ግዕዛክሙ EM; ግዕዝክሙ D; ግእዘክን N | ፈነወኒ] ፈንወኒ G | ወይቤሎኒ] ወይቤላኒ G; ወይቤልዎ M; om. N | ንሕነ] ወንሕኒ A; ንሕነሰ E; ንሕነኒ N | ሰማዕናሁ] ሰማዕኖ DN | ውእቱ] +ለውእቱ ፡ N | 76 ቃል] M* | ይትናገረከ] ይብለከ ፡ ወይትናገረከ AE | ይቤለነ] ይበለነ D | 77 ኅቤክሙ] ኅቤክን GN | ወኢትኅብእዎ] ወኢትኅብአሁ ፡ ዘከነ A*; ወኢትኅብአሁ ፡ ዘኮነ A*; ወኢትሕብአሁ D; +ዘኮነ ፡ E; ወኢትኅብአሁ G; ኢትሕብአሁ N | ግብ<ረ>ክሙ] ግብረክን D; ግዕዝክሙ D; እምግባርክሙ E; []ብርክሙ M; ግብርክን N | ንቤሎ] ንብሎ AG; ill. M | 78 ይመጽእ] ይማጽ[እ] M | ይቤ] ይበለነ DGM | ለባሴ] ለባሴ E; ለበሲ N | 79 በኩሩ] በኩሉ A; በኩሉ ፡ በኩሩ E | እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ E; እንጦኖስ G; እንጦንዮስ N | ቅዱስ] om. E | አሐደ] አ፩ A; አሐዱ E; ፩ N | 80 ይከውን] ይኩን DN | ማኅደርክሙ] ማኅደርክሙ N | መንግሥተ] om. AE | ወዘንተ] om. N | 81 ተሰወረ] ተሳወረ D | ንነግረከ] ነገርናከ E | ኅዳጥ] ኅደጥ D; ዳኅጥ G | 82 በቅዕ] ባቅዓ AN; ባቅዕ EG | ዘንተ ፡ እምአፉሆሙ] እምኔሆሙ AE; እምአፉሆሙ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ D; እምአፉሆን ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ N | 83 ወ(እቤሎሙ)] om. N | በሉ] በኩሉ AE | ደቂቅየ] አደቂቅየ D | አኅዊየ] አኃው M | ወአኃትየ] om. DN; ወአኅትየ E; ወአሐትየ [M] | ንግሩኒ] +ነበኩሉ ፡ በዘ ፡ ኮንክሙ ፡ A; om. D; +በኩሉ ፡ በዘ ፡ ኮንክሙ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ E; +ኮንክሙ ፡ G

እስማዕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ምድራዊያን ፡ ዘኮንክሙ ፡ ኅዳርያነ ፡ ውስ(M: 86r)ተ ፡
 ሰማይ ፡ በምግባርክሙ ። ወይቤሉኒ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ (N: 91r)ኣኅው ፡ ወአንስቲያነ ፡
 ኣኃት ። ወእምአመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ኢበላዕነ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይዕርብ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡
 በሰናብት ፡ ወበበዓላተ ፡ እግዚእነ ። ወሶበ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሰርከ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ርኢነ ፡
 እንግዳ ፡ ንትፌሣሕ ፡ ወናስተፌሥሖ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢአተወ ፡ እንግዳ ፡
 ንነሥእ ፡ ፫ኅብስተ ፡ ወ፩ጻሕበ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ አልብነ ፡ ሐሊበ ፡
 ጻሕበ ፡ ማይ ፡ ነኅሥሥ ፡ ነዳያነ ፡ ወንሁቦሙ ። ወለእመ ፡ ኢረከብነ ፡
 ነዳያነ ፡ ንጼውዕ ፡ ኣክልብተ ፡ ርኅባነ ፡ እለ ፡ ወለዳ ፡ ወንሁቦን ፡ ወነአቱ ፡
 ኅበ ፡ ድራርነ ። ወኢያርኩስነ ፡ ሥጋነ ፡ በዝሙት ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ኣንስቲያነ ፡
 ወእሎንሂ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ወኢያብጠልነ ፡ ጸሎታተ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ዘለለ ፡ ጊዜሁ ፡
 ወሰጊደ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ረከባ ፡ ትክቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ ፡ እኅታኒ ፡ ተኅድር ፡ ምስ
 ሌሃ ፡ ወኢትቀርብ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ብእሲሃ ። ወንሕነኒ ፡ ኣኅው ፡ ነኅድር ፡ ኅቡረ ፡
 እንዘ ፡ ናኣኩቶ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ጸገወነ ፡ ዘንተ ። ደቂቃ ፡ ለእን(A: 53r)ተ ፡ ትልህቅ ፡
 ይጠብቀ ፡ ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትንእስ ፡ ወደቂቃሂ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትንእስ ፡

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84 እስማዕ] om. D; እስመ [M] | እንዘ] om. DGN | ምድራዊያን] +ወመሬታ
 ዊያን ፡ AE; እምድራዊያን DN; አምድራውያን G | ኅዳርያነ] ኃዳርያን AD | ውስተ]
 ምስለ AE | 85 ሰማይ] ሰማያዊያን AE; ሰማያት D | በምግባርክሙ] om. AE;
 በምግራክሙ D; በምግባረ ፡ ሠናይ [M] | ይቤሉኒ] ይቤሉ D | ወአንስቲያነ] ወአንስ
 ቲነ A; ወአንቲያነ D; om. G; ወአንስቲያነኒ M | 86 ኣኃት] ኣሐተ D[M]N; om. G |
 ወ(እምአመ)] om. ADN | ይዕርብ] ይርዕብ G | 87 በ(ሰናብት)] om. AE | ወበበዓላተ]
 ወዘእንበለ ፡ በዓላት A; በበዓለ D; ወበዓላተ E; ወወበበዓላት G*; ወበበዓላት G°N |
 እግዚእነ] እግዚእ D | ሰርከ] ሰርክ A; ill. M | ርኢነ] ረከብነ M | 88 ንትፌሣሕ]
 +ወንትሐሠይ ፡ G; ንትፌሣሕ N | ወናስተፌሥሖ] om. AE; ወናስተፌሥሖ ፡
 ለውእቱ ፡ እንግዳ D; ወናስተፌሥሖ N | ወለእመ] om. N | ኢ(አተወ)] om. D | 89 ፫]
 om. [M] | ፩] om. M | ሐሊብ] ሐሊበ AN; ወሐሊበ M | ወለእመ] +ኢረከብነ ፡
 ሐሊበ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ A; om. D; +ኢረከብነ ፡ ሐሊበ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢተረከብነ ፡
 ሐሊበ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ E | አልብነ] ዘአልብነ AE; om. D; አልቦ MN | ሐሊበ]
 ንሕነ AE; om. D; ሐሊብ G | 90 ጻሕበ ፡ ማይ] om. ADE; ማየ N | ነኅሥሥ]
 ወናኅሥሥ D; ነኅሥሥነ E; ወነኃሥሥ G; ወነኅሥሥ M | ነዳያነ ፡ ወንሁቦሙ]
 ነዳየ ፡ ወነሐበሙ N | 91 ነዳያነ] ነዳየ N | ንጼውዕ] ንጸውዖሙ D | ንሁቦን] ንሆቦን G;
 ንሐቦን N | ነአቱ] ናአቱ D | 92 ኅበ ፡ ድራርነ] ውስተ ፡ ድራር E | በዝሙት] om. AE;
 ለዝሙት G | 93 ከማሁ] ከማሆሙ N | ጸሎታተ] ጸሎተ M | ሰዓታት] ወሰዓታተ AEN;
 ሰዓታተ D | ዘለለ] ዘእንበለ A; ለለ D; ዘበበ E | 94 ሰጊደ] ሰጊደ N | ወ(ለእመ)]
 om. A | ረከባ] ረከብነ D; ረከበኒ N | ትክቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ] ትክህቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ G; tr. M |
 እኅታኒ] አሐቲኒ ፡ ይእቲ A; ወአሐቲኒ ፡ ይእቲ E; ኣኅታ G; እኅታ N | ምስሌሃ]
 +ወኢተኃድር ፡ AE; ምስልህ N | ትቀርብ] ትቀረብ G | 95 ብእሲሃ] ምታ E | ንሕነኒ]
 ንኅነ A; ንሕነሂ G; ንሕነ N | ኣኅው] om. DN | ነኅድር] ናሐድር N | 96 ናኣኩቶ]
 ናኣኩቶ D; ነኣኩቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር E | ጸገወነ] ጸገወነ G | ደቂቃ] ወደቂቃ D;
 ወውሎዳ E | ትልህቅ] ትልሕቃ N | 97 ይጠብቀ] ያጠብው D | ጥባ] ጥበ AN; ill. D |
 ትንእስ—እንተ₂] om. E | ትንእስ] ትንዕሣ N | ደቂቃሂ] ደቂቃኒ A; ደቂቃ G;
 ለዘሂ N | ለእንተ] om. N | ትንእስ] ትንዕሥ ፡ ደቂቃ N

ይጠብቅ ፡ ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትልህቅ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይልህቁ ፡ ደቂቆን ። (D: 68r;
 E: 154v)ወአልቦ ፡ ጋእዘ ፡ ውስቴትነ ፡ ወኢተካፈልነሂ ፡ ንዋየነ ። ነዋኬ ፡
 100 ከመዝ ፡ ሕይወትነ ። ወሶባ ፡ ሰማዕኩ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ እምአፉሆሙ ፡ እቤ ፡ ወይ ፡
 ሊተ ፡ ወአሌ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እስመ ፡ አጎለቁ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትየ ፡ በጽ
 ርዓት ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አተውኩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማጎደርየ ፡ እንዝ ፡ እበኪ ። ርእየኬ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ኢትትመክሑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትድጎኑ ፡ እምዘ ፡ ረከቦ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ በዛቲ ፡
 ሌሊት ። ይቤ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ወሰድዎ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ እምጎባ ፡ ቀያፋ ፡
 105 ጎባ ፡ ሐና ፡ ወአብእዎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ውሳጤ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡ አምሐልናከ ፡
 በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕያው ፡ ከመ ፡ ትንግረነ ፡ እመ ፡ አንተኑ ፡ (M: 86v)ክር
 ስቶስ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ለቡሩክ ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ እወ ፡ አነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እምይእዜስ ፡
 እነብ(N: 91v)ር ፡ በየማነ ፡ ጎይል ፡ ወእመጽእ ፡ በደመና ፡ ሰማይ ። ወሶባ ፡
 ሰምዐ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ሠጠጠ ፡ አልባሲሁ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ምንተ ፡
 110 ትፈቅዱ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ሰማዕክሙ ፡ እምአፉሁ ። ወተንሥኡ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡
 በምልአሙ ፡ ወዘበ(G: 50v)ጥዎ ፡ ወአንበርዎ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይጸብሕ ። ወረከቦቶ ፡
 አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አንተሂ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡
 ወክሕደ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ። አጴጥሮስ ፡ ኢወረደ ፡ ላዕሌከ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡
 ወኢኩናት ፡ ወኢያግብኡከ ፡ ጎባ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወመኳንንት ። አላ ፡ ሶባ ፡

98 ይጠብቅ] ያጠብቅ N | ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ] ጥባ ፡ ለዘ A | ትልህቅ] ትንዕሣ N |
 እስከ] እስመ N | ይልህቁ] ልቁ A* ; ልጎቁ A° | ደቂቆን] ደቂቆሙ AE; ill. D |
 99 አልቦ] አልቦሙ A; አልቦነ E | ጋእዘ] ጋዕዝ G | ውስቴትነ] ውስቴቶን ADEM N |
 ወኢተካፈልነሂ—ሕይወትነ] om. N | ኢተካፈልነሂ] ትካፍላነ D; ኢተካፈልነሂ E;
 ኢተካፈልነ G | ንዋየነ] ንዋየ M | 100 ከመዝ] በዝ D; ዘከመዝ M | እምአፉ
 ሆሙ] እምኔሆሙ D; እምአፉሙ M; እምኔሆን N | እቤ] ወእቤ AE | ወይ ፡ ሊተ]
 አሌሊተ AE; +ወይሊተ ፡ N | 101 ወአሌ ፡ ሊተ] አሌሊተ AEGN | እስመ] ወ D |
 አጎለቁ] አሐለቁ N | መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትየ] መዋዕልየ ፡ ወሕይወትየ N | ጽርዓት]
 ጽራዓት D; ጽራዕት M | 102 ውስተ] ጎባ D | ማጎደርየ] ብሔርየ N | ርእየ] ርዩ G*;
 ርኢ N | 103 ከመ] om. N | ትትመክሑ] ትመክሑ D | ትድጎኑ] ትድኃኑ AGN;
 ትድጎኑ D | እምዘ ፡ ረከቦ] እምዝ ፡ ረከቦን N | 104 ይቤ] ወይቤ DM | ቀያፋ]
 ሐና M | 105 ጎባ] om. G* | ሐና] ወሐና G; ቀያፋ M | ውሳጤ] ውሳጤት AE |
 አምሐልናከ] እምሐልነከ D | 106 ትንግረነ] ትንግረነ A | እመ] እስመ G* | አንተኑ]
 አንተ[?] D; አንተሁ G; አንተ ፡ አንተ M | 107 እምይእዜስ] ወእምይእዜስ ፡
 ወኢትሬእየኒ A* ; ወእምይእዜስ ፡ ወኢትሬእየኒ A° ; ወእምይእዜስ ፡ ትሬእይዎ ፡
 እንዝ E | 108 እነብር] አነብር DE | 109 ዘንተ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት] ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡
 ዘንተ [D] | ሠጠጠ] ወሰጠጠ N | ወይቤ ፡ ምንተ] ይቤ ፡ መንተ N | 110 ትፈቅዱ]
 +ሎቱ ፡ AE; ill. D | ሰማዕተ] ሰማዕት D | 111 በምልአሙ] በምልሎሙ AE; ቦም
 ልሎሙ G | ይጸብሕ] ill. D; ይጸብሕ EG; ይበጽሕ N | ረከቦቶ] ርእየቶ DN |
 112 እምኔሁ] ምስሌሁ D | አንተ] om. A; ill. D | 113 ወክሕደ] ወክህዳ A; ill. D |
 ይቤላ] ይቤ GMN | ኢያአምሮ] ኢይአምሮ AE; ኢያአምሮ ፤ አንሰ G; ኢያአምሮ N |
 አጴጥሮስ] +ናሁ ፡ AEN | ኢ(ወረደ)] ወኢ N | 114 ኢ(ኩናት)] om. GN | ሶባ]
 om. AEM; ሰባ D

ሐተተተክ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ትቤ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡ አኮኑ ፡ አንተ ፡ ሊቆሙ ፡ 115
 ለአርዳኢሁ ። ናሁኬ ፡ አሐደ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወደቀ ፡ ኢትድግም ፡ ካዕበ ። ወይቤ ፡
 ወንጌላዊ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይወርቅ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይጸፍቦ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡
 ዘይነሥቶ ፡ ለምኸራብ ፡ ናሁ ፡ በጫብሩር ፡ ተሣየጥናክ ፡ ወባዕድኒ ፡ ብዙኅ ።
 ወፅአት ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እንታክቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ወረከበቶ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ 120
 ይስሕን ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አማን ፡ እብለክ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ እሱር ።
 ወይቤላ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ት(E: 155r)ብሊ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ደገምክ ፡
 ክሐደ ፡ ኢይደልወከኬ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ትፈጽም ፡ ቃለክ ፡ ዘትቤ ፡ እሜጡ ፡
 ነፍሱየ ፡ በእንቲ(A: 53v)አከ ። ናሁኬ ፡ ኢመጠውክ ፡ እዝነክ ፡ ለጸፍዐት ፡
 ኅድግስ ፡ ነፍሱከ ፡ ትሜጡ ፡ ዘባነከኒ ፡ ኢመጠውክ ። ምንትኑ ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ 125
 ሳዕሌክ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ዘከመዝ ፡ ትደነግፀ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡
 ወለት ፡ ዘቆማ ፡ ኢየአክል ፡ ፪እመተ ። ተፈጸመ ፡ ዘትቤ ፡ ሐና ፡ እመ ፡
 ሳሙኤል ፡ ኢይትመካሕ ፡ ኅያል ፡ በኅይሉ ፡ ወኢይትመካሕ ፡ ባዕል ፡
 በብዕሉ ፡ ወኢይትመካሕ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ በጥበቡ ፡ ወዘሰ ፡ (M: 87r)ይትሜካሕ ፡

115 ሐተተተክ] ሀተተክ A; ሐተተክ DG; ተሐተተክ E; ሐተተክ G; om. M | አሐቲ] om. AE | ወለት] om. A; +ሐተተክ ፡ M | ትቤ] ወትቤ AEM | ያአምሮ] ይአምሮ A; ያምሮ G; የአምሮ N | አኮኑ] አኮሁ AMN | አንተ ፡ ሊቆሙ] tr. A | 116 ናሁኬ] ወናሁኬ E | አሐደ] ፩ AN; አሕያ E; አሐተ GM | ወደቀ] ወድቀ AG | ኢትድግም] ወኢትድግም ADE | ካዕበ] ከዕበ M | ወ(ይቤ)] om. AGN | 117 ወቦ ፡ ዘይወርቅ] ቦዘይወርቁ D; ቦዘይወርቅ E; ቦዘይዌርቅ G; ወቦ ፡ ዘይዌርቅ M; ወቦበ ፡ ቦዘይወርቅ ፡ ምራቀ ፡ ርኩስ N | ይጸፍቦ] ጻፍኦ A; +ገጹ ፡ D | ይቤልዎ] ይቤሎ E; ቦ ፡ ዘይቤልዎ G | 118 ዘይነሥቶ ፡ ለምኸራብ] om. DN | ናሁ] ወናሁ AE; om. D | በ(ጫብሩር)] om. A; ለ E | ፱] om. DN | ተሣየጥናክ] +ናሁ ፡ D; ተሣየጥናሁ M | ባዕድኒ] ባዕደኒ AMN | ብዙኅ] ብዙኃ ፡ ይጸርፉ ፡ ሳዕሌሁ A; ብዙኃ D; ብዙኃ ፡ ይጸርፉ ፡ ሳዕሌሁ E; ብዙኅ G | 119 ወፅአት] ወወጽአት G; ወምጽአት M | እንታክቲ] እንታክቲት D | 120 ይስሕን] የኃዝን A; ይሐዝን E | ወትቤሎ] om. N | አማን] አማንየ GN | እብለክ] እብለ E; እብለኪ ፡ ወትቤሎ N | ዝንቱ] ውእቱ DM | እሱር] እሁር A* | 121 ያአምሮ] ያምሮ G; የአምሮ N | ለዘ ፡ ትብሊ] ትብልኑ AE; ለዘ ፡ ትቤሊ N | ናሁኬ DG | 122 ክሐደ] ክሐድክ D; ከሂደ GN | ኢይደልወከኬ] ይደልወኪ G; ይደልወክ M; ይደልወከኬ N | ትፈጽም] ፈጽም A; ፈጸሞ E; ትፌጽም N | ቃለክ] ቃለ D | 123 (ናሁኬ)] om. EM | ኢመጠውክ] ኢመጠክ G; አመጠውክ M | እዝነክ] እዝንክ D | 124 ነፍሱክ] ነፍሱክ D | ትሜጡ] ትሜጡ A*; ኢትመጡ G | ዘባነከኒ] ዛባንከሂ D; እዝነከሂ E; ዘባነከሂ M | መጠውክ] ትሜጡ AE; መጠክ G; +ለዝብጠት M; ትሜጡውክ N | ምንትኑ] ምንቱ A; ምንት D | 125 ዘከመዝ] ከመዝ AE | ትደነግፀ] ድንጋግ D; ትነግፀ G* | እምቅድመ] ቅድመ M; እመቀድመ N | ዛቲ] om. AE | 126 ዘቆማ] ill. M | ኢየአክል] om. A; ኢይአክል D; ኢያአክል E; ኢየዓክል G | ፪እመተ] ፪እመት AD; ፪ቱ ፡ በእመት G; ፪ ፡ እመታ M | ሐና] ናሁ A; +ነቢይት ፡ N | 127 ይትመካሕ] ይትሜካህ A; ይትሜካሕ D; ይትሜከሕ E; ይትሜሕ N | ወኢይትመካሕ] ኢይትሜካህ A; om. D; ኢይትሜከሕ E; ወኢይትሜከሕ M; ወእትሜከሕ N | ባዕል] om. D; ብዕል G | 128 በብዕሉ] om. D | ወኢይትመካሕ] ወይትሜካህ A*; ወኢይትሜካህ A^c; ወኢይትሜካሕ DEM; ኢይትመካሕ N | ወ(ዘሰ)] om. E

በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ለይትመካሕ ፡ ርቱዕኬ ፡ ኢንትመካሕ ፡ አላ ፡ ንበል ፡
 130 ኢታብአነ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንሱት ፡ ፡ (D: 68v)ወ(N: 92r)ይቤ ፡
 ወንጌላዊ ፡ ሥልሰመ ፡ ተጠየቀቶ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ወአስተጋብአት ፡ አበ
 ዊሃ ፡ ወካልአነኒ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ተአጎዘቶ ፡ ርግምት ፡ ወለት ፡ ዘመደ ፡ ሄሮ
 ድያዳ ፡ እስመ ፡ አእመረቶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደነግፅ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አማን ፡ እብለከ ፡
 135 እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡
 አማንዩ ፡ እብለከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ርኢኩከ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ገነት ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ለዝ ፡
 ሰዓሬ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ እስመ ፡ ርእዮ ፡ ዝብእሲ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈወሶ ፡
 ለመግጥፅ ፡ በሰንበት ፡ ወአጎዘ ፡ ይትረገም ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡
 ለእግዚእነ ፡ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ነቀወ ፡ ዶርሆ ፡ ወተዘከረ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወበከየ ፡
 መሪሪ ፡ ወተመይጦ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወርእዮ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡
 140 ኢትፍራህ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ሰረይኩ ፡ ለከ ፡ ዝኪ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ አኮ ፡ እምልብከ ፡
 አላ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይትሐሰው ፡ እስመ ፡ እቤለከ ፡
 ሥልሰ ፡ ትክሕደኒ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ተዘኪረከ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ለእመቦ ፡ ዘአበሰ ፡
 ወመጽአ ፡ ጎቤከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንሣእ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ኢትክልአ ፡ ስርየተ ፡ እስከ ፡
 145 ፸ ፡ በበ ፡ ሰብፅ ፡ ዝኪ ፡ ፬፻፺ወ፮ ፡ (E: 155v)አማኅበረ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስ
 ቲያን ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ጎቤክሙ ፡ ኃጥእ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ኢትክልእዎ ፡ ስም

129 ይትመካሕ] ይትሜካህ A; ይትሜካሕ DN; ይትሜካሕ EM | ርቱዕኬ] om. D |
 ኢንትመካሕ] om. D; ኢንትሜካሕ E; ኢንሜካሕ N | ንበል] +አቡነ ፡ ዘበሰማያት ፡ E;
 +አቡነ ፡ N | 130 ኢታብአነ] ወኢታብአነ N | እግዚአ] om. GN; እግዚአ M |
 መንሱት] መናት E; +እግዚአ ፡ [N] | ወ(ይቤ)] om. G | 131 (ሥልሰ)መ] om. AEDG |
 ወለት] om. D | ወ(አስተጋብአት)] om. AE | አበዊሃ] እምአጋዊሃ A; አበዊሃ D;
 እምአጎዊሃ E; አእበሊሃ M | 132 ካልአነኒ] ካልአነሂ A; ካልአነሂ E; ካልአነ N |
 ተአጎዘቶ] ወተአጋዘቶ A; ወአጋዘቶ D; ወተአሐዘቶ E | ወለት] ወለተ DM; om. GN |
 ዘመደ] om. DM; ዘማዱ(?) N | ሄሮድያዳ] ሄሮድያድ G; ለሄሮደያዳ N | 133 አማን]
 አማንዩ D[N] | እብለከ] +ከመ ፡ EN; om. M | 134 እምኔሁ] እመኔሁ N | ይቤላ]
 ይቤ G | ይቤሎ] ይቤ AE | አሐዱ] ፩እምኔሁ A; ፩ EG MN | እለ] እሉ N | ምስሌሃ]
 ምስልሃ N | 135 አማንዩ] አማን M; ሰማን N | ከመ] om. DN | ታሕተ] በታሕተ D |
 ምስሌሁ] om. N | 136 ሰዓሬ] ሰዐረ A | ሰንበት] ሰንበተ A | እስመ] om. M | ዝ(ብእሲ.)]
 ለዝ DN; ዝንቱ M | ፈወሶ] ፈወሶ G | 137 አጎዘ] ጎዘ M | ይትረገም ፡ ጴጥሮስ] ጴጥሮስ G |
 ይትረገም] DN; tr. M | ኢያአምሮ] ኢይአምሮ E; ያአምሮ E; ኢየአምሮ G |
 138 እግዚእነ] እግዚነ M | ተዘከረ] ተዘከር A*; ተከረ N | ወ(በከየ)] om. D | 139 ይበኪ]
 ይቤኪ N | 140 ኢትፍራህ ፡ አጴጥሮስ] tr. D | ዝኪ] አኮ AE; ዠ D; ዝኒ G | አኮ]
 om. AE; አምልኮ] እምልብከ] እምብከ D; እብልብከ E; ዘእምልብከ N | 141 ከመ]
 ከመ M | ይትሐሰው] ይትሐው A; ይትሐሰዉ DE; ይትሔሰዉ G; ትሐሰዉ N |
 142 ዘንተ ፡ ተዘኪረከ] ተዘከርኪ AE; ዘንተ ፡ ተዘከረከ M* | አጴጥሮስ] om. DN |
 ዘአበሰ ፡ ወመጽአ] አበሰ ፡ ወመጽአ D; ዘመጽአ ፡ ዘአበሰ E | 143 ጎቤከ] om. DEN |
 ይንሣእ] ይነስከ DM | ትክልአ] ትክለእ D; ትክል G* | ስርየተ] ስሪየተ E | 144 ፬፻፺ወ፮]
 ፵፻፺ወ፮ A; ፬፻፺ M; ፬፻ወ፺ N | አማኅበረ] ማኅበረ D; እማኅበረ N | 145 ይመጽእ]
 ይመጽኡ D | ኃጥእ] ኃጥአን D; ጎጥአን E; om. M; ጎጥፅ N | ትክልእዎ] +ንስሐ ፡
 DEN

ዕየ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘኅዱር ፡ ምስሌክሙ ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ ኩልክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡
 አልቦ ፡ ኅጢአት ፡ ዘይኔይላ ፡ ለንስሐ ። ስብሐት ፡ ለመርዓዊሃ ፡ ለዘ ፡
 ወሀባ ፡ ኅይለ ። ወእለስ ፡ አቦዩ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ በዝየ ፡ (A: 54r)በኅብስት ፡ ወማይ ፡
 ወበዔው ፡ ወበአሕማላት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያንፈሰፍስ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ነፋስ ፡ በህየ ፡
 ይሁብዎሙ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ገሃነም ፡ እሉ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ዕፀያተ ፡ ገሃነም ፡ 150
 እለ ፡ ኢይነውሙ ፡ እለ ፡ የዐብዩ ፡ ፈድፋድ ፡ (M: 87v)እምአዕዋመ ፡
 ዝዓለም ። ወአትማኒሃ ፡ የዐብዩ ፡ አርእስቲሆሙ ፡ እምአድባረ ፡ ዝዓለም ።
 ወነጌያት ፡ እለ ፡ ቆሞሙ ፡ ይበጽሕ ፡ እስከ ፡ ደመናት ፡ ወጽንጽንያ ፡
 ገሃነም ፡ ወትንንያሃ ፡ የዐብዩ ፡ እምአዕዋፈ ፡ ዝዓለም ፡ (N: 92v)ወካልአንሂ ፡ 155
 እለ ፡ አልቦሙ ፡ ፕልቄ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ዐባይ ፡
 ወረሐብ ፡ ህየ ፡ ዘይትሐወስ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ፕልቄ ። ባሕርስ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ገሃነም ፡
 ዘድልው ፡ መዋግዲሃ ፡ ለአስጥሞ ፡ ጊጉያን ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ አልቦ ፡
 ሰማይ ፡ ዘይጼልል ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ ወኢምድር ፡ ታሕቴሃ ፡ አላ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ እሳት ፡
 ይእቲ ፡ ጸናፊት ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ ፍጥረ(G: 51r)ት ፡ ወየዐውዳ ፡ ጽልመት ፡
 ፍጹም ፡ ወእሳትኒ ፡ አኮ ፡ ዘያንበለብል ፡ ላዕ(D: 69r)ለ ፡ ከመ ፡ እሳተ ፡ 160
 ዝዓለም ፡ አላ ፡ ያንበለብል ፡ ታሕተ ። ወቦ ፡ በውስቴታ ፡ ከመ ፡ እቶን ፡

146 ምስሌክሙ] ላዕሌክሙ DN; om. GM | ወ(ላዕለ)] om. GM | ኩልክሙ] ኩሎሙ D | 147 ኅጢአት] om. D; ኅጢአተ N | ይኔይላ] ይኔይሎ A; ይሄይሎ E | ንስሐ] +ላከ ፡ AE | መርዓዊሃ] መዓርጊሃ E | 148 ወሀባ] ወሀበአ[?] D; ወሀበ GN | ወእለስ] አመሰ D; እለስኬ G; እመሰ N | 149 ወበዔው] ወዔው AEM; በዔው D | አሕማላት] አኅማላት A; ኃይላት D; ሐምለት E; አሕማላት M | ያንፈሰፍስ] ያስተና ፍስ AE; ይነፍስ N | ሎሙ] ሦሙ AE | ነፋስ ፡ በህየ] ነፍስ ፡ በህየ A; tr. D; አኅማላት ፡ በህየ M | 150 ይሁብዎሙ] ይሁብዎ ADE | ካህናተ] ካህናት A; ካናተ N | እሉ—ገሃነም] om. M | እሙንቱ] om. AE | ዕፀያተ] ጽንፀያተ D | 151 ይነውሙ] ይነውሙ N | እለ] አላ G | የዐብዩ] ያዐቢዩ D; ያዐብዩ M | ፈድፋድ] om. AE | አዕዋመ ፡ ዝ] አዕ ፡ ዝንቱ A*; አዕዋመ ፡ ዝንቱ A; አእዋመ ፡ ዝንቱ E; አመ ፡ ዝ N | 152 አትማኒሃ] አትናሚሃ AE; አዕዋፈሃ N | የዐብዩ] ያዓቢ D; ያዐብዩ M | አድባረ ፡ ዝ] አባረ ፡ ዝንቱ A; አድባረ ፡ ዝንቱ EN | 153 ወነጌያት] ወነቢያት A; ወነገያተ D; ወትኒንያ ፡ ገሀነም M; om. N | ቆሞሙ ፡ ይበጽሕ] ቆሞሙ ፡ ወይበጽሐ A; tr. G; ቆሙሙ ፡ ይበጽሕ M* | እስከ] ኅበ GN | ጽንጽንያ] ጽንጽያተ D; ጽንጽያሃ E; ፅንፅ ንያተ N | 154 ገሃነም] om. AE | ትንንያሃ] ill. D; ትኒንሃ M | አዕዋፈ] አእዋፍ A[D]; አዕፈ G* | ዝዓለም] ዝንቱ ፡ ዓለም AE | ካልአን] ካልአ N | 155 ፕልቄ] ጉልቆ G | 156 ዘ(ይትሐወስ)] om. GN | ፕልቄ] ፕልቆ A; ጉልቆ G | ባሕርስ] ወባሕቱስ D; ባሕርስኬ M | ይእቲ] ዘይቤ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ውእቱ AE; ይእቲኬ G | 157 ጊጉያን] ill. D; ጊጉያን N | 158 ሰማይ] ill. D; ሰማየ EM | ላዕሌሃ] ዲቤሃ D | ወኢምድር ፡ ታሕቴሃ] ወኢምድር ፡ በታሕቴሃ AE; om. D | ባሕረ] ill. D; ባሕር E | 159 ይእቲ] ውእቱ AE | ጸናፊት] ጸናፍት A; ill. D; ወጸናፊት G; ጸናፊ ፡ ጽልመት M; ጸንፊሃ N | ወየዐውዳ] ወየዓውዳ AG; ill. D; ወያአውዳ E; ዘየዓውዳ N | 160 ፍጹም] ill. D; ፍጹም GM | እሳትኒ] እሳታኒ DM | ከመ] ወከመ AE | 161 ያንበለብል] ያንበለቢል D | (ወ)ቦ] om. D | በውስቴታ] በውስቴቱ A*; በውስቴቱ A*EG; ውስ ቴታ D; በውስቴተ M | ከመ] om. DN

ወከመ : ቅጽርኒ : ወከመ : ዐዘቅትኒ : ወከመ : ግብኒ : ወከመ : ጸላዕትኒ :
 ወከመ : ንቅዐታትኒ : ወከመ : አድባርኒ : ዐበይት : ወከመ : አውግርኒ :
 ንኡሳት : ወከመ : አጽዳፍኒ : ወከመ : ደደክ : ወውስቴቱ : ቍረ : እሳት :
 165 ዘየአኪ : እምዋዕይ : ወከመ : (E: 156r)መርቄሂ : ወህየ : ዋዕይ ። ወከመ :
 አፍላግ : ዐበይት : ፈድፋደ : እምአፍላግ : ዝግለም : ወህየ : ይውሕዝ :
 ፍሕም : ዕራቁ ። ወ<ይከልእ> : ፈለገ : ነድ : ዕራቁ ። ወቦ : ፈለግ :
 ዘይውሕዝ : ቀለምጽጽ : ዕራቁ ። ወቦ : ፈለግ : ዘይውሕዝ : ውስቴቱ :
 170 ጢስ : ጽልመት : ዘጺአቱ : የአኪ : እሞት ። ወቦ : ፈለግ : ዘይውሕዝ :
 ውስቴቱ : አስሐቲያ ። ወቦ : ፈለግ : ዘእምኔሁ : ይውሕዝ : ሕምዘ :
 እሳት ። ወውስተ : አድባርሃ : ወአውግሪሃ : አራዊት : ወአክይስት : ወአቃ
 ርብት : እለ : አልጦሙ : ፕልቄ : እንዘ : ይስእሉ : ጎበ : እግዚአብሔር :
 ሲሳዮሙ : ወለእመ : (M: 88r)ረከቡ : አሐደ : ሰብአ : ይገ(A: 54v)ብሩ :
 ባእሰ : በበሊዖቱ : ወከመ : ቅጽበት : ይትፈአምዎ : ወየሐውሩ ። እስመ :
 175 አስናኒሆሙ : ኩሉ : አስይፍት : ወኩያንው ። ወሶቤሃ : ከመ : ቅጽበት :
 የሐዩ : ውእቱ : ብእሲ : ዘተበልዐ ። ወይመጽኡ : ካልአን : ወይበልዕዎ :

162 ወ(ከመ)] om. N* | ዐዘቅትኒ] ዐዘቅት E | ወከመ—ጸላዕትኒ] om. M | ከመ]
 om. N | ጸላዕት] ጸልዓት D | 163 ንቅዐታት] ንቀዓት D; ንቅዓት N | ዐበይት] ዐቢ
 ያን E | አውግር] አድባር D | 164 ንኡሳት] ንኡሳን DM; ንኡሳነ E | ወከመ] om. D |
 አጽዳፍኒ] አፅዳፍኒ : ወከመ : አውግርኒ A; om. D; +ወከመ : አውግርኒ : E; አጽ
 ዳፍ GM | ደደክ] ደደክኒ N | ወውስቴቱ] ውስቴቱ AE; ወውስቴታ DN; ዘውስ
 ቴቱ GM | ቍረ] +አስሐቲያ : N | 165 የአኪ] ያአኪ. D | እምዋዕይ] ዋዕዩ A; እምዋ
 ዕዩ E | (መርቄሂ] om. DN | ወህየ] om. A*; ህየ A*E; ወቦ M | ዋዕይ] +ህየ : M;
 ዋዒ N | ወ(ከመ)] om. D | 166 አፍላግ] አፍላግኒ AE | ፈድፋደ] አፈድፈደ N |
 ዝ(ግለም)] ዝንቱ : AEN | 167 ፍሕም] om. G | ወ<ይከልእ>—ዕራቁ] om. ADEN |
 <ይከልእ>] ካልኡሂ G; ካልእሂ M | ፈለገ] ፈለግ M | ወቦ—ዕራቁ] om. DEN |
 (ወ)ቦ] ካልኡሂ M | 168 ዘይውሕዝ] om. M | ቀለምጽጽ] ቀለምጽጻት A; ቀለም
 ጻጽ G | ይውሕዝ] ይውዝ A*; ይሕዝ N | ውስቴቱ] om. AEG; ውስቴታ N |
 169 ጢስ] ጢስ G | ጽልመት] እሳት : ዘጽልመት AE | ዘጺአቱ] ወጺዓቱ AG; ወዒ
 አቱ E | የአኪ] ያአኪ N | እሞት] ሞት G | ዘይውሕዝ—ፈለግ] om. E | 170 ውስቴቱ]
 om. G; እምውስቴቱ M | ወቦ : ፈለግ] ወበአፍላግ N | ዘእምኔሁ] om. M; ዘእምገ
 ሃንም N | ይውሕዝ] ዘይውዝ D; ዘይውሕዝ G; ዘይውሕዝ : እምኔሁ : M; ዘውሕ N |
 ሕምዘ] om. D | 171 ውስተ] ቦ : ፈለግ : ወውስተ A; ቦ : ፈለግ : ወውስቴቱ E;
 ውስቴታ N | አድባርሃ : ወአውግሪሃ] አውግሪሃ : ወአድባርሃ E | አራዊት] አራዋት D |
 172 ፕልቄ] ጐልቀኑ G | እንዘ] እለ DN | 173 ሰብአ] ብእሲ. [D] | ይገብሩ] ዘይ
 ገብሩ A; ይወግሩ E | 174 ባእሰ] om. AE; ባዕለ G | በበሊዖቱ] በእሳት AE | ቅጽበት]
 +ዓይን : A; ዐይን : ቅጽበት : ይውሕጥዎ E | ይትፈአምዎ] ይትወፍዎ : ለበሊዖተ A;
 ill. D; ወይትወከፍዎ : ለበሊዖቱ E; ይትፈላምዎ G; ይተፍእዎ N | 175 አስናኒሆሙ]
 አስናናቲሆሙኒ A; አስናኒሆሙኒ E | ኩሉ] እሳት A; ከመ D; ዘእሳት E; om. M |
 ኩያንው] ኩናት AEN; ill. D; ኩያንው G | ቅጽበት] ill. D; ቅጽቦ G | 176 ካልአን]
 ill. D; ካልአነ E | ይበልዕዎ] ill. D; ይቤልዎ G*; ይቤልዕዎ G*

ወካዕበ : የሐዩ ። ዝኬ : ንብረቶሙ : ለቀታልያን ። ወካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይ
ትወደዩ : ውስ(N: 93F)ተ : እቶን ። ወቦ : ውስተ : ዐዘቅት : ወቦ : ውስተ :
ባሕር : ወቦ : ውስተ : አፍላግ : ወኸሎሙ : እሳት : ፍጹም ። ቦእስከ :
ጽፍሩ : ዘይትወደይ : ሀሎ : ወቦ : እስከ : ሰኩናሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : 180
ብረኪሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : ሐቃሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : ክሳዱ ። ወቦ : ዘይትወሐጥ :
ኸለንታሁ : ወቦ : ዘይወርድ : ውስተ : ማዕምቅት : መትሕተ : ታሕቲት :
ወበህየ : ይበልዕዎ : ሐርገጸት : ወዓሣተ : እሳት ። ወዘሰ : ኢይሁብ : ስብ
ሐተ : ለፈጣሪሁ : ይበውእ : ውስተ : አፉሁ : ቁርናንዓተ : እሳት ። ወገሃነም
ሰኬ : ዐባይ : ወግርምት : ባሕር : ይእቲ : ዘርኅበታ : የዐቢ : እምዝ : 185
ዓለም : ወዕመቃ : የዐቢ : እምድር : እስከ : ሰማይ : ወድምግ : የዐቢ : እም
ነጉድጓደ : ዝባለም : ወጥሕረታ : እመብረቅ ። ጥዩቅኬ : አል(E: 156v)ቦ :
ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ : ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ : ከመ : ሰማይ :
ወምድር : ለሊሃ : ዛቲኬ : ዐባይ : ዘታገምር : ዘንተ : ኸሎ : ወታነፍሶ :

177 ወካዕበ : የሐዩ] ill. D; ካዕበ : ወየሐዩ G | ካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይትወደዩ] ለካልኣንሰ :
ቦዘይትወደዩ D; ካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይትወደይ G; ካልኣንሰቦ : ዘይትወደይ M | 178 ውስተ]
ውስቲቱ AE | እቶን] ለእቶን AE; እሳት D | ቦ : ውስተ] ቦ : ኅበ AE; ወውስተ D;
ወበውስተ N | ውስተ] ኅበ AE | 179 ወኸሎሙ] ወኸሎ AE; ወኸሎሙ N | ፍጹም]
ፍጹም M | ቦእስከ] ወቦ : እስከ DGN | 180 ጽፍሩ] እግሩ M | ዘይትወደይ : ሀሎ]
om. AE | ሰኩናሁ] ዘይትወደይ A; ይትወደይ E | ወቦ : እስከ : ብረኪሁ] om. AE |
181 ክሳዱ] [?]-ብዱ N | ዘይትወሐጥ] እስከ : ይትወሐጥ N | 182 ኸለንታሁ] ኸል
ንታሁ ADEN | ማዕምቅት] ማእምቅተ A; ማዕምቅ D; ማዕምቅተ E; ማዓምቅት M;
ማዕምቅተ N | መትሕተ] ወታሕተ ADE | ታሕቲት] ታሕቲተ N | 183 ወበህየ :
ይበልዕዎ] om. AE | ሐርገጸት] ሐራግጽ A; ሐራግፅ E; አራግፅት G; ሐራግጽት M;
ሐርገጸት N | ዓሣተ] ዓሣት AEN; አክይስተ D | እሳት] om. AE | (ወ)ዘሰ] om. N |
ኢይሁብ] ይሁብ D; ኢይሁ M; ኢይሁቡ N | ስብሐተ] ስብሐት DG | 184 ፈጣሪሁ]
ፈጣሪ A; ፈጠሪሆሙ N | ይበውእ] ኢይበውኡ D; ይበውኡ M | ውስተ : አፉሁ]
om. E; ውስተ : አፉ M | ቁርናንዓተ] ቁርናዕነዓት D; ቊርናነአተ E; ቁርናነዓት G;
ቁርናንዓት N | ገሃነምሰኬ] ገኃምኬ A*; ገኃምሰኬ A^c; ገሃነምሰ D; ገህነምኬ M;
ገሃነምኬ N | 185 ዐባይ] ዐቢይ A; ዓቢይ D | ግርምት] ግርምተ D | ይእቲ] om. M |
ዘርኅበታ] ዘርኅባ AE; ርሕባ D; ዘርኅበተ G*; ርህባታ N | የዐቢ] ዐቢይ A*;
የዐቢይ A^c; የዓኪ G | እምዝ] እምዝንቲ AE | 186 ዕመቃ] እመታ A | እምድር]
om. E; እምሰማይ N | እስከ : ሰማይ] ወምድር N | የዐቢ] ያዓቢ N; ድንድር :
ዝ] እምነጉድጓደ : ክረምት : ዘዘናመ : ዝ A; እምነጉድጓድ : ዘዝ D; እምነጉድጓደ :
ክረምት : ዘዘናመ : ዝ E; እምነ : ነጉድጓድ : ዝ G; እምነጉድጉደዝ; እምነጓዳጓዳ :
ዝ N | 187 ጥሕረታ] ጽሕርታ A; ጽህርታ E | እመብረቅ] እምነ : መባርቅት D;
የዐቢ : እመብረቅ E; +ከማሁ : M | ጥዩቅ] ጥዩቀ MN | 188 ሰማይ] ሰማየ AM;
om. E | ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ] om. AE; ዘይጼልል : መልዕልቲሃ M; ዘይጼልል :
ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ N | ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ] ወምድረ : በታሕቲሃ : ወኢ
ሰማየ : በላዕሌሃ : ዘይጼልል A; ምድር : በታሕቲሃ : ወኢሰማየ : በላዕሌሃ : ዘይጼ
ልል E | ከመ—ለሊሃ] ከመ : ዝንቲ : ሰማይ AE; om. M | 189 ዐባይ] ዓቢይ N |
ዘታገምር : ዘንተ : ኸሎ] om. AE; ዘንተ : ኸሎ : ዘታገምር D; ዘተገምር :
ኸሎ M | ታነፍሶ] ታነፍሶ D; ነፍስ G; ተነፍሶ M

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190 እመዓቱ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ስብሐት ። እስመ ፡ አመቱ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወገባሪተ ፡
 ፈቃዱ ፡ ወማሕጉሊቱ ፡ ለዲያብሎ(D: 69v)ስ ፡ መምህራ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ኩሉ ፡
 መንሱት ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ኦብእሲ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወአጋንንት ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡
 ዘይትወደዩ ፡ ሚመጠነ ፡ ሀለው ፡ ፍጥረታት ፡ ካልአን ፡ እለ ፡ ቦሙ ፡
 ሥጋሂ ፡ ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋሂ ። ወሶበ ፡ ተናገርነ ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ ፡ ይነውኅ ፡
 195 ነገ(M: 88v)ር ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ኦብእሲ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ትሰምዕ ፡ እንዝ ፡ ይብል ፡
 መጽሐፍ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢነስሑ ፡ በዝየ ፡ በህየ ፡ ይኔስሑ ። ይመስለከኑ ፡
 በ፪ሱባዔ ፡ አው ፡ በ፫ሱባዔ ፡ ዘየኅልቅ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ በህየ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ከማሁ ፡
 ንስሐ ፡ በህየ ፡ ፲፫ዓመት ፡ ለእለ ፡ (N: 93v)ኢኮኑ ፡ ውፁአነ ፡ እመርዔተ ፡
 ክርስቶስ ፡ በሕይወቶሙ ። ወዓዲቦ ፡ ለዘይፈ(A: 55r)ደፍዶ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ለዘ
 200 ይውኅዶ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእለሰ ፡ ዘበሕግ ፡ አበሳሆሙ ፡
 ዘበሕግ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ፡ ወእለሰ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕግ ፡ አበሳሆሙ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡
 ሕግ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ። ወካልአንሰ ፡ እምክርስቲያን ፡ እለ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ውፁአነ ፡
 በምግባራቲሆሙ ፡ እምዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ እመርዔተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ንጹሓን ፡
 ወኮኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ አረሚ ፡ በእበዶሙ ፡ በህየኒ ፡ ይከውኑ ፡ ውፁአነ ፡ እምኩነኔ ፡

190 እመዓቱ] +ዘታገምር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ A; እምዓቱ D; እምዐቱ E; om. M | ስብሐት] +ዘታገምር ፡ ኩሎ E; +እመዐቱ M | አመቱ] መዓቱ DN; መዐቱ E | ገባሪተ] ገበሪተ N |
 191 ፈቃዱ] +ይእቲ ፡ E | ማሕጉሊቱ ፡ ለዲያብሎስ] ማኅጉሊተ ፡ ዲያብሎስ AEN | መምህራ] መምህር AE; መምህሩ G; ወመምሕራ N | ለዝ ፡ ኩሉ] ለኩሉ D; ለዛቲ G |
 192 ይመስለከኑ] ይምስለከኑ E; ወይመስለከኑ N | ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ ዘይትወደዩ] ዘይት ወደዩ ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ አላ DN; +ውስተ ፡ ገህነም ፡ M | 193 ሚመጠነ] ምመጠነ A*;
 ሚመጠን DG | ሀለው] +እስፍንቱ ፡ D; ሀለዉ M; +ወእስፍንቱ ፡ N | ፍጥረታት] ፍጥረታት N | ካልአን] ካልአንሰ AE | እለ] om. D | ቦሙ] አልቦሙ DM; በውስተ N |
 194 ሥጋሂ] ሥጋ AEM | ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋሂ] ወዘእንበለሰ ፡ ሥጋሂ AE; ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋ D; om. M | ተናገርነ] ተናገር D | በእንቲአሆሙ] በእንቲሆሙ M | ይነውኅ] ይውኅዝ A; ይበዝሕ E | 195 ኦብእሲ] ኦብሲ A; እሰብእ N | ሶበ] om. D | ትሰምዕ] ትሰማዕ D; ትምእ N* | 196 እለ] om. N | ኢነስሑ ፡ በዝየ] ይነስሑ ፡ በበዝየ G | በህየ] om. DE | ይኔስሑ] ይትኔስሑ AE; የሀብዎሙ ፡ ንስሐ D; ይነስሑ G; ይሑብ ምሙ ፡ ንስሐ N | ይመስለከኑ] om. G; +ኦብእሲ ፡ M | 197 ፪ሱባዔ] ፪ጉባኤ A | ፫ሱባዔ] ፫ጉባኤ A; ፫ G | በህየ] በህየሰ M | አልቦ ፡ ከማሁ] አልቦኬ ፡ ከማሁሰ D | 198 ንስሐ] ንስሐሰ DN; ወንስሐሰ M | በህየ] +አላ ፡ A; አላ E | ዓመት] ዓመተ AN | ለ(እለ) om. AE | ኢ(ኮኑ) om. E | ውፁአነ] ውፁኅን G | 199 በሕይወቶሙ] እግዚአብሔር ፡ በሕይወቶሙ E; ለሕይወትነ N | ቦ ፡ ለዘይፈደፍዶ] ለዘይፈደፍዶ D; +ኩነኔ ፡ E | ቦ] ዐዲ ፡ ቦ N | ለዘይውኅዶ] ዘይውኅዶ E | 200 ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእለሰ ፡ ዘበሕግ] ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእመሰ ፡ ዘሕግ N | 201 ዘበሕግ] በሕግ D; ዘሕግ N | ኩነኔሆሙ] ይትኔነጉ AE; ኩነኔሆሙ N | ወእለሰ—ኩነኔሆሙ] om. E | እለሰ] እመሰ N | ዘእንበለ—ኩነኔሆሙ] om. G | ዘእንበለ] እንበለ M | አበሳሆሙ—ሕግ] om. G | አበሳሆሙ] om. D | ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕግ] om. A | 202 ኩነኔሆሙ] ይትኔነጉ A; ኩነኔሆሙ N | ወካል አንሰ] ዘካልአንሰ A; ዘወካልአንሰ G; ወካልአን M | እም(ክርስቲያን) om. D | ኮኑ] ኢኮኑ G | 203 እምዝ] እዝ M | እመርዔተ] ለመርዔተ D | ንጹሓን] ንጹሐነ D | 204 ከመ ፡ አረሚ] አረሜ AE; +በምግባሮሙ ፡ D | በእበዶሙ] ወበእዶሙ D | በህየኒ] ወህየኒ G; በዝየኒ N | ውፁአነ] ውፀአነ E | ኩነኔ] ኩሉ DN

ክርስቲያን ፡ ወይትኳነት ፡ ምስለ ፡ አረሚ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ። ወበገሃነምስ ፡ 205
 ኢያቦውሐነ ፡ ንጸውዕ ፡ ስሞ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ እምብዝኅ ፡ ምንዳቤ ።
 በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሞት ፡ ዘይዘከረከ ፡
 ወበሲኦልኒ ፡ መኑ ፡ የአምነከ ። ንፍራህ ፡ እን(G: 51v)ከ ፡ ወኢንጎድግ ፡
 ትእዛዞ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንባእ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዕረ(E: 157r)ፍቱ ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ 210
 እስከ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። አንትሙሰኪ ፡ መምህራነ ፡ ቤተ ፡
 ክርስቲያን ፡ መሀርዎሙ ፡ ለኃጥአን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብሉ ፡ ዐምደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡
 ዘይጸውር ፡ ከሎ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ወዲቤሁ ፡ ሕኑጽ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወምድር ፡
 ወውስተ ፡ ልሳኑ ፡ መራኅተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወስሙኒ ፡ ኩኩሕ ፡
 ጽኑዕ ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል ። ናሁኪ ፡ ወድቀ ፡ ዮም ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ 215
 ወተንሥአ ፡ በብካይ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ሐዋርያት ። ነስሑኪ ፡ እለ ፡ ወደቅሙ ፡
 (M: 89r)ከመ ፡ ትኩኑ ፡ መዋርስቲሁ ፡ ለጲጥሮስ ፡ ወትወርሱ ፡ ሀገረ ፡
 ዘኢትከውን ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ሄጠ ፡ ርእዮታ ። ሄኖክ ፡ ወጎርጎርዮስ ፡
 ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ እንጦንዮ(D: *finit ex abrupto*)ስ ፡
 ወእለ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ርእዩ ፡ ዕባያቲሃ ፡ ለመንግሥተ ፡ (N: 94r)ሰማ
 ያት ፡ ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ ፡ ኢያንብሬስ ፡ ወሄጲሊጦስ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ወበርተ
 ሎሜዎስ ፡ ወሄኖክመ ፡ ወጎርጎርዮስ ፡ ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ ወእለ ፡ 220
 ምስሌሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ርእይዋ ፡ ለገሃነም ፡ ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ ፡ ምግባራቲሃ ። ወኩ
 ሎሙ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዳም ፡ አቡሆሙ ፡ እሙንቱሰ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡
 ሲኦል ፡ እስከ ፡ ይትከዐው ፡ ዝደም ፡ ዘቆመ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ወአሜሃ ፡

205 ይትኳነት] ይትኳነት D | ምስለ ፡ አረሚ] om. M | በገሃነምስ] በገሃነምስኪ DN;
 በውስተ ፡ ገሀነምስ M | 206 ያቦውሐነ] ይትከሀል ፡ ከመ M; +ከመ ፡ N | ንጸውዕ]
 ይጸውዑ M | ምሕረት] ስብሐት M | ብዝኅ] ብዝኃ AG; ዝሐ N | 207 ይቤ] om. D |
 ይዘከረከ] ይዘከረከ A | 208 (ሲኦል)ኒ] om. D | እንከ] om. D | ኢንጎድግ] ንጎድግ E;
 ኢሕድግ M | 209 ትእዛዞ] ትእዛዞ E | ዘ(ሎቱ)] om. AE | 210 እስከ] om. ADE |
 ዓለመ] om. EN | አንትሙሰኪ] ወአንትሙሰኪ D; አንትሙኪ E; ወአንትሙሰ MN |
 211 ትብሉ] om. N | 212 ዓለመ] om. D | ዲቤሁ] ዲቤ DN | ሕኑጽ] ill. D;
 ተጎን] M; ሕፅኑ N | ሰማያት] ሰማይ DG | 213 ወ(ውስተ)] ill. D; om. G[N] |
 214 ሥልሰ] ሰልሠ E | 215 ተንሥአ] ተንሣአ AE; ill. M; ተንሥአ N | ብካይ]
 +ወበንስሕ ፡ [M] | ሊቀ ፡ ሐዋርያት] ሊሊሐዋርያት G | 216 ትወርሱ] ill. D; ትራሱ GM |
 217 ሄጠ] ሄጣ AE | ርእዮታ] ርእዮ A; ርእዮሙ E; ርእየታ M | ሄኖክ] ሄኖክመ M |
 218 ወ(ጳውሎስ)] om. AE | ወቅዱስ ፡ እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ AE; ቅዱስ ፡ ወእንጦ
 ንዮስ ፡ ቅዱስ M; ወቅዱስ ፡ ዕንጦንዮስ ፡ ወቅዱሳን N | 219 እለ] ርእዩ A | ዕባያቲሃ]
 አብያቲሃ AE | 220 ወጸሐፉ] ጸሐፉ G*; ጸሐፉ G° | ኢያንብሬስ] እለ ፡ ኢያንበሬስ A;
 እለ ፡ ኢያንብሬስ E; ወኢያንበሬስ G; ill. N | ሄጲሊጦስ] ቁላጦስ A; ሄጲሊጦስ M;
 ሄጲልጦስ [N] | ዳግማዊ] ዳግማይ N | 221 ወሄኖክመ] om. A; ሄኖክ EG | ወጎር
 ጎርዮስ] om. N | ወ(እለ)] om. G | 222 ርእይዋ] ርእዩ N | ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ] ጸሐፉ G |
 223 ነቢያት] ነቢያትሰ G | ምስለ] +ከሎሙ ፡ AE | አዳም ፡ አቡሆሙ] ወአዳም ፡
 አቡሆሙ E; tr. N | እሙንቱሰ] ወእሙንቱሰ AN; ወእንቱሰ E; እሙንቱ M |
 224 ደም] ድም N | አሜሃ] አሚሃ A

- 225 ወፅኦ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እምሲኦል ፡ እመሰ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐሙ(A: 55v) ፡
 ወእንዘ ፡ ኢየሐሙ ፡ እንዳዒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ያአምር ። ንግባእኬ ፡ ኅበ ፡
 ቀዳሚ ፡ ነገርነ ፡ እስመ ፡ አምላክነ ፡ እሱር ፡ ይቀውም ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ቅድመ ፡
 ጲላጦስ ። ወኢቦኡ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዐውድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጸብሐ ፡ ዐርብ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ኢይርኩሱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ እሙንቱ ። ንስምዖኬ ፡ ለነቢይ ፡
- 230 እንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ወይብል ፡ እፎ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ሀ(E: 157v)ገረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ዘማ ፡
 ምእመን ፡ ወከዓዊተ ፡ ደም ። አስጥሞሙ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወምትር ፡ ልሳናቲ
 ሆሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ርኢኩ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡ ወቅስተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወኅጢአት ፡
 ማእከላ ። ወገሃደ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መድኅኒነ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡
 አይሁድ ። ለምንት ፡ አንገለጉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ነበቡ ፡ ከንቶ ፡
 235 ወተንሥኡ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወመላእክትኒ ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡
 ኅቡረ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ መሲሔ ። አማን ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡
 ሕዝበ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ መሲሔ ፡ ለእ(M: 89v)ግዚአብሔር ፡ በዛቲ ፡
 ዕለት ፡ ወአኅዝዎ ፡ ወአሰርዎ ፡ ወወሰድዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ወኅበ ፡ ሄሮ
 ድስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ረከብናሁ ፡ ለዝ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያዐልዎሙ ፡ ለሕዝብነ ፡
 240 ወይክልኦሙ ፡ ኢየሀቡ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ለቁሣር ፡ ወይሬሲ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ክርስቶስሃ ፡
 ንጉሠ ፡ እስራኤል ። ቦዘይረውጽ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የኅሥሥ ፡ ስምዐ ፡ ሐሰት ፡
 ወያ(N: 94v)ስተሴፉ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ንሁብክሙ ፡ በበጩብሩር ። ወቦ ፡
 ዘይረውጽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያብስር ፡ ለሄሮድስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ናሁ ፡ ተረክበ ፡

225 እመሰ] እስመ AE; ወእመሃ M | ነበሩ] +ኩሎሙ ፡ E | እንዘ] እን N | የሐሙ] የሐምሙ M; ያሐምምሙ N | 226 ወእንዘ ፡ ኢየሐሙ] ወእንዘ ፡ ኢይሐሙ A; om. GMN | ያአምር] የአምር AG; ill. N | 227 ነገርነ] ነገር M; ill. N | እሱር] A; እሱሩ GM | ሀሎ] om. AEN | 228 ውስተ ፡ ዐውድ] om. AEG; ቅድመ ፡ አውድ N | ጸብሐ] በጽሐ A | ዐርብ] ይብልዑ ፡ ፍሥሐ M | 229 ይርኩሱ] ያርኩሱ AEM; ያርኩሱ N | እንዘ] እስመ ፡ እስመ N | እሙንቱ] እሙን N | 230 ይበኪ ፡ ወይብል] ይብል ፡ ወይብል A; ይብል E | ኮነት] +ዘማ ፡ M | ዘማ ፡ ምእመን] ዘበአማን AE; ምእመን ፡ ወኮነት M | 231 ወከዓዊተ] ከዐዊተ AE; ከዓዊተ M | አስጥሞሙ] ወይቤ ፡ አስጥሞሙ E; ወካዕበ ፡ ረገሞሙ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ አስጥሞሙ M | ምትር] መትር N | 232 ርኢኩ] ርእዩኩ A | ቅስተ] ቅስት M; ቅሥት N | ሀገር] +ዐመፃ ፡ ወጉሕሉት ፡ A; +ወጉሕሉት ፡ E; +ወዐመፃ ፡ E | ወኅጢአት] ወሥራኅ M; ኅጢአት N | 233 ገሃደ] ገሃደመ N | በእንተ] ወበእንተ N | መድኅኒነ] መድኅነ N* | ሕዝበ ፡ አይሁድ] ሕዝብ ፡ አይሁድ N | 234 ለምንት] ወይቤ ፡ ለምንት AE; ill.+ N | ሕዝብኒ] ሕዝብኒ A | 235 መላእክትኒ] ለመላእክትኒ N | 236 አማን—መሲሔ] om. N | 237 በዛቲ] ወበዛቲ M | 238 ዕለት] ሌሊት G | ወ(አኅዝዎ)] om. M | ሄሮድስ] +በእሲ ፡ G | 239 ያዐልዎሙ] የዐልዎሙ A; የዓልዎሙ N | ሕዝብነ] ሕዝብ E | 240 ይክልኦሙ] ይክልኦሙ N | የሀቡ] ይሀቡ A; ሀሎ G* | 241 ቦዘይረውጽ ፡ እንዘ] ወቦ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይረውጽ N | የኅሥሥ] ወየሐሥሥ N | ስምዐ] ሰማዕተ EN | ሐሰት] ሐሰተ A | 242 ያስተሴፉ] ያሴፍዉ A; ያስተፍዉ E; ያስተሰፍሙ N*; ያስተሰፍዎ N° | ይብል] ይብሉ AEGN | በበጩብሩር] ብሩረ A; ብሩር E; ጩ ፡ ብሩር M | 243 ያብስር] ያብስሮ N | ይብል] ይብሉ N | ተረክበ] ትረክብ N

በመዋዕሊከ ፡ ዘኅሣዎ ፡ እኅከ ፡ ሄሮድስ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ኢረከቦ ፡ ቀተሎሙ ፡
 ለ፲ወ፬፻፳፻ሕ፻፵ት ፡ በእንቲአሁ ። ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ሄሮድስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተእኅዘ ፡ 245
 እግዚእነ ፡ ተፈሥሐ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይሰምዕ ፡ ነገሮ ፡ እምጉንዱይ ፡ ዕለት ፡
 ወይፈቅድ ፡ ይርአይ ፡ ተአምረ ፡ በላዕሌሁ ፡ ዘይገብር ። ወአብጽሕዎ ፡
 ሶቤሃ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ አሲሮሙ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡
 ወአኅዙኒ ፡ አሰዋር ፡ ስቡሓን ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ምንት ፡ ጌጋዩ ፡
 ወይ(E: 158r)ቤልዎ ፡ ይሜህር ፡ በገሊላ ፡ ወበይሁዳ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ 250
 ንጉሥ ፡ አነ ። ወሐተቶ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ወኢተሰጥዎ ። ወተፈጸመ ፡
 ዘይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ኢከሠተ ፡ አፉሁ ፡ በሕማሙ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለዓለመ ፡
 ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

244 ኅሣዎ] ኃሣዎ A; ኃሣወ G | ወሶበ] ዘንተ ፡ ሶበ AE | ረከቦ] ረከበ E | 245 ፲ወ፬፻፳፻
 ፲ወ፬፻፳፻ወ፵፻ EG; ፬፻፳፻ [N] | በእንቲአሁ] እንዘ ፡ ይመስሎ ፡ ዘይረከብ ፡ ኪያሁ M |
 ተእኅዘ] አኅዘ E; አኃዘዎ G; ትእሕዘ N | 246 እግዚእነ] ለእግዚእነ G | ጉንዱይ
 ጉዱይ G*; ጉንዱይ N | ዕለት] om. GM; መዋዕል N | 247 ወ(ይፈቅድ)] om. N*;
 ዘ N^c | ይገብር] ይንብር E; ገብረ N | አብጽሕዎ] አብአብጽሕዎ N | 248 ኢየሱስ]
 እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ M | 249 ወአኅዙኒ] አሓዙኒ N | ስቡሓን] ስብኅን N* | ምንት ፡
 ጌጋዩ] ምንተ ፡ ጌጋዩ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ብእሲ M | 250 ወይቤልዎ] om. N | ይሜህር] ይሜር N |
 በ(ይሁዳ)] om. AE | 251 ለኢየሱስ] om. M | ተሰጥዎ] ትሠጥዎ G | 252 ነቢይ] በነ
 ቢይ N | ኢከሠተ] ውእቱሰ ፡ ኢከሠተ M | ሎቱ] ዘሎቱ MN | ስብሐት] +ወክብር ፡ M;
 ill.+ N | 253 አሜን] አሜን ፡ ወአሜን ፡ ለይኩን ። A; አሜን ። ወአሜን ። ወአሜን ። E;
 አሜን ፡ አሜን ፡ ወአሜን ። G; አሜን ፡ አሜን ። ወአሜን ። ለይኩን ። ለይኩን ። M

¹A homily which Retu‘a Hāymānot composed about how Peter denied (Jesus).

²The evangelist said, “Then our Lord said to his apostles, ‘Where I am going you are not able to follow me now’.⁶⁰ ⁴When he spoke to them like this, Peter rose up, girded his loins, and began shouting ‘Why, O Lord, am I not able to follow you? I will hand over my life for you!’⁶¹ ⁷The diviner of hearts said to him, ‘O Peter, will you (really) hand over your life for me?’ ⁸Today, on this very night before the rooster crows, you will deny me like one who does not know me three times.’⁶² ⁹When he spoke to him like this, (Peter) did not keep silent, but began to declare his own steadfastness and the weakness of his brothers, for he said, ‘(Even) if all of them deny you, I shall not deny you.’⁶³ ¹²‘O Peter, why are you speaking like this, speech which is not worthy to emerge from the mouths of the Lord’s servants, that they might hold themselves innocent and defame their companions?’ ¹⁴You might correctly say instead, ‘I myself will not deny you, O Lord, and likewise my brothers will not deny you’, your kindness guarding me. ¹⁵You did not speak like this, with humility and love, but came with boasting and no love for your brothers. ¹⁷Now listen to this terrifying thing! Truly, I say to you, O Peter, you will deny me three times before a rooster crows.⁶⁴ ¹⁹In truth, such bitter weeping will fall upon you until your eyelids are salty’.”⁶⁵

²⁰O this boasting cast down many after they said “We are pillars”. ²¹Let us therefore listen to each kind of downfall which found our fathers; yet all of them were saved through proper repentance and humility.

²³The Lord said to Jonah, “Go, preach to the Ninevites saying ‘Your city will be overthrown!’” ²⁴Jonah knew through the Holy Spirit dwelling upon him that they would be saved through repentance. ²⁵Jonah was concerned about his own prestige – that he would not become a liar – and said, “Why, O Lord, will you show them mercy after I preach to them about the overthrow? Will I not be a liar

⁶⁰ John 13:36

⁶¹ John 13:37

⁶² Luke 22:34

⁶³ Matt 26:33

⁶⁴ Cf. Matt 26:34

⁶⁵ Cf. Matt 26:75; Luke 22:62

(then)?”²⁸The Lord said to him, “What is it to you if I show mercy?”²⁹So Jonah made a quarrel with the Lord and fled from before the face of the God of Israel.³¹He found men who were going to Tarshish and was loaded upon their ship.³²But rough seas rose up and threatened to sink the ship. Jonah said to them, “If you do not cast me overboard, you will not be spared”, for he was afraid lest it be a sin when they died on account of his sin.

³⁴Now this is the custom of the saints: at first they stumble and then they repent, like Peter’s weeping saved him.³⁶For the Lord gave him three baptisms: one in the Jordan, one through tears, and one through martyrdom.³⁷Since the one who weeps ceaselessly sacrifices the blood of the Lord and is a partner of the martyrs, so too the one who fornicates ceaselessly with his body sacrifices the blood of demons and is a partner of pagan priests.

⁴⁰Those men said to Jonah, “Who do you worship, O man?”⁴¹He said to them, “I worship the Celestial One, but ran away from him.⁴²Now then I tell you, if you do not cast me overboard, you will perish!”⁴³They were afraid and unwilling to do it, so he intentionally threw himself into the sea, and a sea creature swallowed him.

⁴⁴Now such is the custom of the righteous: they plot the salvation of men, but cast themselves aside.⁴⁶Conversely, sinners plot their own salvation and the ruin of strangers.

⁴⁷Jonah dwelt three days and three nights in the sea creature’s belly, for he is the bearer of the prophecy concerning the one who was to be buried this day at Golgotha.⁴⁹The sea creature vomited Jonah into the city of Nineveh, and he preached to them (about) the overthrow while earnestly seeking a pardon for them.

⁵⁰Since every admonition both makes humble and gives wisdom,⁶⁶ Peter’s weeping likewise made him wise.⁵²When our Lord, having risen from the dead, enquired of him and said, “Simon Bar-Jona, do you love me?” he did not <ju>st say (that) day with boasting “Yes, I love you” but “You know, O Lord”.⁶⁷⁵⁴Then our Lord saw his humility, and he gave him the keys to the kingdom of heaven⁶⁸ and charged him, saying “Tend my sheep”.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf. Prov 16:17

⁶⁷ Cf. John 21:15–16

⁶⁸ Cf. Matt 16:19

⁶⁹ Cf. John 21:15–17

⁵⁶O this humility which turned earthly creatures into heavenly ones! ⁵⁷It is a tree of life to all who lean on her,⁷⁰ which rises up to the heights. ⁵⁸Those who obtain this are friends with the Lord,⁷¹ for our Lord said, “For everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, but the one who humbles himself will be honoured.”⁷²

⁶¹It says, “When Father Macarius was in prayer one day, the thought arose (in his mind): ‘Have I become the equal of Antony or Awgin⁷³?’” ⁶³While pondering this, he heard a voice saying, ‘But your abode in the heavens will be alongside two women, the wives of cattle-herders, who are in a chaste marriage with their husbands.’ ⁶⁶When the elder heard this statement, he was perturbed and said, ‘O Lord, where are they?’ ⁶⁷It said to him, ‘Look for them in the East and you will find them.’ ⁶⁸The elder then went (there) in a hurry and found both of them preparing dinner for their husbands, because they both had the same father and mother. Their husbands similarly had one father and mother.⁷⁴ ⁷¹When (the women) saw me, they said to me, ‘From where (do you come) stranger?’ ⁷²I said to them, ‘From the desert; nevertheless, give me lodging.’ And they gave (it) to me. When their husbands came home, I went to them and said, ‘My children, since my God sent me, I came to you at the Lord’s command so that you might tell me about your conduct.’ ⁷⁵They said to me, ‘We heard that (same) voice which was speaking to you; to us it said, “Behold, a pillar of light is coming to you and you should not hide your conduct from him.”’ ⁷⁷We said to it, “Who is coming to us?”” ⁷⁸It said, “Macarius, wearer of the

⁷⁰ Prov 3:18

⁷¹ Cf. Wisd 7:14

⁷² Luke 14:11

⁷³ The Ethiopic form of this name, Awkin, does not appear in any of the standard apophthegmata collections in the Ethiopian tradition, but this monk is referenced in the abbreviated form of Dadisho’ Ʋaṭraya’s *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers*, which circulates under the name *Filkesyus*. Cf. Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II:542. Although it cannot be precluded that Awgin was included in some other presently unknown Ethiopian monastic compendium, if his presence here depends upon the *Filkesyus*, that text’s translation from Arabic into Ge‘ez in the time of Abbā Salāmā II (cf. van Lantschoot, ‘Abbā Salāmā,’ 400) would allow for a *terminus post quem* for the composition of this homily to be affixed in the mid-fourteenth century.

⁷⁴ I.e. the women were siblings and the men were siblings.

desert, the first-born of St. Antony, in monastic dress. ⁷⁹However, your abode in the kingdom of heaven will be the same.” ⁸⁰Upon saying this, it disappeared from us. ⁸¹Now we will tell you as we were commanded for our few deeds are useless.’ ⁸²When I heard this from their mouths, I was perturbed and said to them, ‘Speak then my children! My brothers and sisters, tell me! Let me hear! Although earthly creatures, you became heavenly residents because of your behavior.’ ⁸⁵They said to me, ‘We are brothers and our wives are sisters. ⁸⁶From the beginning of (our marriage), we have not eaten before sunset except on the Sabbath and on feasts of our Lord. ⁸⁷When it is evening, if we see a stranger we rejoice and make him comfortable; if the stranger does not go home, we take (him) three loaves of bread and a pitcher of milk. If we have no milk, we seek out a pitcher of water (for) the destitute and give (it) to them. ⁹⁰If we do not find the destitute, we summon the hungry dogs who are pregnant and give (it) to them. And (then) we return home to our dinner. ⁹²We have not defiled our bodies with sex apart from (with) our wives, and these (women have done) similarly. We have not reduced the hourly nighttime prayers, each with its proper time and prostration. If one (woman) begins to menstruate, her sister dwells with her and does not draw near to her husband. ⁹⁵We brothers dwell together, praising the one who granted us this (gift). ⁹⁶The children of the elder (sister) suckle the breast of the younger (sister), and the children of the younger (sister) suckle the breast of the elder (sister) until their children are grown. ⁹⁹There is no strife among us, and we have not even divided up our possessions. Behold, our life is indeed like this!’ ¹⁰⁰When I heard this from their mouths, I said, ‘Oh my! Woe to me, because I have wasted all the days of my life with laziness!’ Then I went home to my abode weeping.”

¹⁰²Therefore, see that you do not boast in order that you might be spared from that which befell Peter on this night!

¹⁰⁴The evangelist said, “Then they led Jesus from Caiaphas to Annas, and brought him into the interior (of the building). ¹⁰⁵They said to him, ‘We adjure you by the living God to tell us if you are the Christ, the son of the Blessed One.’ ¹⁰⁷(Jesus) said to them, ‘Yes, I am he. But from now on I will sit at the right hand of power and come with the cloud(s) of heaven.’ ⁷⁵ ¹⁰⁸When the high priest heard this, he tore his

⁷⁵ Cf. Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69

clothes and said, ‘What need have you of (further) testimony? Behold, you have heard (it) from his own mouth!’⁷⁶ ¹¹⁰All of them rose up together and smote him, and they continued until it grew light. ¹¹¹A certain girl came across Peter and said to him, ‘You yourself are for him.’ He denied (it) and said to her, ‘I know him not.’⁷⁷

¹¹³O Peter, neither sword nor spear came down upon you, nor did they hand you over to rulers and magistrates. ¹¹⁴But when only one girl questioned you, you said, “I know him not.” Are you not the chief of his disciples? ¹¹⁶Now then, you have fallen one time: do not repeat (it) again!

The evangelist said, “Someone spit in his face and someone slapped it. ¹¹⁷They said to the annuler of the temple, ‘Behold, we bought you with thirty pieces of silver’, as well as much else.⁷⁸ ¹¹⁹That girl went out again, came across Peter warming himself, and said to him, ‘Truly, I say to you, you are for this prisoner.’ ¹²¹He said to her, ‘I do not know the one of whom you speak’.”⁷⁹

O Peter, now you have repeated the denial! ¹²²Should you not, O Peter, in fact fulfill the words which you spoke: “I will hand over my life for you”?⁸⁰ ¹²³Yet now you did not (even) hand over your ear for a blow. ¹²⁴How much more is it to hand over your life? You did not even hand over your back. What has come over you like this tonight? ¹²⁵You are terrified before the face of this girl whose height does not amount to two cubits. ¹²⁶What Hannah, Samuel’s mother, said has been fulfilled: “Let not the mighty man boast in his might; and let not the wealthy man boast in his wealth; and let not the wise man boast in his wisdom; but the one who boasts in the Lord, let him boast.”⁸¹

¹²⁹It is therefore proper for us not to boast; instead, let us say, “Do not lead us, O Lord, into temptation.”⁸²

¹³⁰The evangelist said, “A third time that girl recognized him and she gathered her male relatives as well as other men. ¹³²Because she realized that (Peter) was terrified, the cursed girl, a relative of

⁷⁶ Cf. Matt 26:65

⁷⁷ Cf. Matt 26:69–70

⁷⁸ Cf. Luke 22:65

⁷⁹ Cf. John 18:25

⁸⁰ John 13:37

⁸¹ Cf. 1 Sam 2:10

⁸² Cf. Matt 6:13; Luke 11:4

Herodias, accosted him and said, ‘Truly, I say to you, you are for him.’ He said to her, ‘No.’¹³⁴ One of those with her said to him, ‘My own truth I will speak to you, that I saw you with this Sabbath-breaker below the garden,’⁸³ for this man had seen our Lord when he healed the paralytic on the Sabbath.¹³⁷ Peter began cursing that he did not know our Lord, and immediately the rooster crowed.¹³⁸ Peter remembered (what Jesus had said) and wept bitterly.⁸⁴ ¹³⁹Our Lord turned around, saw him weeping, and said to him, ‘Lest you fear, O Peter, I have forgiven you.’¹⁴⁰ Indeed, what happened was not from your heart, but for the glory of my word, that it would not be shown false since I said to you, “You will deny me three times”.¹⁴² Keeping this in mind, O Peter, if someone sins and comes to you so that he might receive penance, do not refuse him absolution up to seventy times seven: this is 495⁸⁵.”

¹⁴⁴O congregation of the church, when a sinner continually comes to you, do not impede him.¹⁴⁵ My witness⁸⁶, the Holy Spirit, is the one who dwells with you and upon you all, so that there is no sin which prevails over repentance.¹⁴⁷ Praise be to the bridegroom who gave it power.¹⁴⁸ To whomever refuses penance here – through the bread and wine⁸⁷, through salt and through herbs – while they still have life, the priests of Gehenna will offer penance there.¹⁵⁰ These are the worms of Gehenna who do not sleep, who are much larger than the trees of this world.¹⁵² Its snakes’ heads are larger than the mountains of this world.¹⁵³ The height of (its) elephants reaches up to the clouds, and the flies of Gehenna and its mosquitoes are larger than the birds of this world.¹⁵⁴ (There are) innumerable others also, as the prophet said, “This great and wide sea; there creeping things innumerable.”⁸⁸

⁸³ Cf. John 18:26

⁸⁴ Cf. Matt 26:74–75; Luke 22:60–62

⁸⁵ Cf. Matt 18:22. Some manuscripts have corrected the calculation, but the total of 495 goes back to the archetype. Moreover, a citation of the same verse followed by the same sum total of 495 is found in Retu‘a Hāymānot’s *Homily on the baptism of Jesus* (e.g. EMMML 7028, ff. 27v–28r), further indicating that this figure is intended.

⁸⁶ As contextually the speech of Jesus has ended in the previous section, “my witness” represents a solecism, one attested in all manuscripts and possibly going back to the original text.

⁸⁷ Literally “liquid”.

⁸⁸ Psalms 103:25 LXX

¹⁵⁶The sea is Gehenna, whose waves are ready to drown transgressors. ¹⁵⁷As Enoch said, “There is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it.”⁸⁹ ¹⁵⁸But the sea of fire is the outermost part of all creation, and total darkness encompasses it. ¹⁶⁰The fire does not emit flames upwards like the fire of this world, but emits flames downwards. ¹⁶¹Within it, there is such a furnace, as well as such a fortress, dungeon, abyss, and cavern; such crevices, as well as such big mountains, little hills, and cliffs; such a chilly place – in it, the fire is cold, which is worse than the heat – as well as such a torrid place – but the heat is there; ¹⁶⁵as well as such rivers, much bigger than the rivers of this world. ¹⁶⁶Bare embers flow there and <transform> (into) a river of bare flame. ¹⁶⁷There is a river in which bare sparks flow. ¹⁶⁸There is a river in which smoke flows, a darkness whose stench is worse than rotting flesh.⁹⁰ ¹⁶⁹There is a river in which ice flows. ¹⁷⁰There is a river from which a fiery poison flows. ¹⁷¹On its mountains and hills are innumerable reptiles, snakes, and scorpions asking the Lord for their sustenance. ¹⁷³If they find a man, they have a fight for the right to eat him; then, in a flash, they feed on him and depart. ¹⁷⁴For “their teeth are all swords and spears.”⁹¹ ¹⁷⁵Then, in a flash, that man who was consumed is healed; others come and eat him and again he is healed. ¹⁷⁷This is the murderers’ existence. As for the others, some are placed in the furnace, some in the dungeon, some in the sea, and some in the rivers: all of them are fire-filled. ¹⁷⁹One is placed nail-deep, another heel-deep, another knee-deep, another hip-deep, and another neck-deep. ¹⁸¹Another is swallowed entirely, and someone else descends to the deep, the bottom of the underworld, and crocodiles and fish of fire eat him there. ¹⁸³However, he cannot give praise to his creator: a frog of fire enters his mouth. Gehenna, therefore, is a great and terrible sea whose width is greater than (that of) this world, whose depth is greater than (the distance) between earth and heaven, whose sound is louder than the thunder of this world, and whose roaring (is louder) than a thunderbolt. ¹⁸⁷It is therefore certain that “there is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it”⁹² like the sky and the earth themselves. ¹⁸⁹Now this great one

⁸⁹ Cf. *1 En.* 18:12

⁹⁰ Literally “death”.

⁹¹ Cf. *Psalms* 56:5 LXX

⁹² Cf. *1 En.* 18:12

encompasses this all, and gives one respite from the wrath of the God of glory, since (Gehenna) is his maidservant, the worker of his will, and the destroyer of the devil, its instructor for all this affliction.

¹⁹²Does it seem to you, O man, that only men and demons are put (there)? How many other created things are there, both corporeal and incorporeal! ¹⁹⁴When we conversed about them, the discourse was long.⁹³ ¹⁹⁵When you listen, O man, does it seem to you the book says, “Whoever did not repent here will repent there”? ¹⁹⁶Does it seem to you that in two or three weeks one is finished (their) penance? ¹⁹⁷It is not so in that place. ¹⁹⁸Penance there is a thousand years for those who are not apostates from the flock of Christ in life. ¹⁹⁹Still, there are some which exceed (this sum) and some less than it, as Paul said: “Those who transgress with the Law are judged through the Law, but those who transgress without the Law are judged apart from the Law.”⁹⁴ ²⁰²Yet others from the Christians are apostates from the flock of Christ – the pure ones – through their worldly deeds, and they are like the heathens in their foolishness. ²⁰⁴Likewise, there they will be apostates from the Christian judgment, and they will be punished with the pagans forever.

²⁰⁵But he shall not concede us to Gehenna. ²⁰⁶Let us proclaim the name of the God of mercy from much affliction, as the prophet said, “Because in death there is no one who mentions you; and in Sheol who will profess you?”⁹⁵ ²⁰⁸So let us be afraid and not forsake his commandment so that we might enter into his rest.

²⁰⁹To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

²¹⁰So then, church teachers, instruct sinners saying, “A pillar of light holds up the entire world: heaven and earth are built on it and the kingdom of heaven’s keys are in its tongue. Its reputation is (as) a strong rock which does not shake.” ²¹⁴Now then, he fell today – three times on this night – and rose up weeping! ²¹⁵And he was the chief of the apostles! Therefore, you who have fallen, repent so that you might become Peter’s heirs and inherit the city whose value this world does not see! ²¹⁷Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, St. Antony, etc. saw the glories of the kingdom of heaven and wrote (about them) to us. ²²⁰Jambres, Hippolytus the second, Bartholomew, the same Enoch, Gregory, Paul,

⁹³ Reference to the homily of Retu‘a Hāymānot on the four heavenly creatures.

⁹⁴ Cf. Rom 2:12

⁹⁵ Psalms 6:6 LXX

John, etc. saw Gehenna and wrote to us (about) its operations. ²²²All the prophets along with their forefather Adam dwelt in Sheol until this blood – of he who stood before Pilate – was poured out, and at that time all of them came forth from Sheol. ²²⁵I do not know if they dwelt (there) being afflicted but not suffering; the Lord knows.

²²⁶Let us therefore return to our original topic. ²²⁷Our bound Lord is going to stand before Pilate. ²²⁸Since Friday had dawned, the Jews did not enter the court so that they would not be unclean⁹⁶ – though they are unclean. ²²⁹Let us now listen to the prophet weeping and telling how the city of Zion is a reliable whore and a spiller of blood: ²³¹“Drown them, O Lord, and interrupt their tongues, because I saw lawlessness and dispute in the city; and sin within it.”⁹⁷ ²³³The prophet clearly said about our saviour and the Jewish people: ²³⁴“Why did the nations band together and the peoples utter vain things? The kings of the earth rose up, and the rulers jointly assembled with them, against the Lord and against his Anointed One.”⁹⁸ ²³⁶(It is) true: the Jewish people assembled against the Lord’s Anointed One on this day. ²³⁸They seized, bound, and took him to Pilate and to Herod saying, “We found this (man) misleading our people, forbidding them to pay taxes to Caesar, and considering himself the Christ, the king of Israel.”⁹⁹ ²⁴¹One ran around seeking out false testimony and made promises saying, “We will give you each thirty pieces of silver.” ²⁴²One ran to announce the good news to Herod saying, “Behold! In your days the one whom your kinsman Herod sought has been found; when he did not find him, he killed 140,000¹⁰⁰ infants because of him.” ²⁴⁵When Herod heard that our Lord had been seized, he rejoiced because he was hearing word of (Jesus) after a long time and desiring to see a miracle performed by him.¹⁰¹ ²⁴⁷Having bound Jesus, (the Jews) then brought him to Pilate. ²⁴⁸As the prophet said, “And fat bulls seized me.”¹⁰² ²⁴⁹Pilate said to them, “What is his crime?”

⁹⁶ Cf. John 18:28

⁹⁷ Cf. Psalms 54:10–11 LXX

⁹⁸ Psalms 2:1–2

⁹⁹ Luke 23:2

¹⁰⁰ Some manuscripts read the “correct” figure of 144,000, but this is almost certainly the result of revision.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Luke 23:8

¹⁰² Psalms 21:13b LXX

²⁵⁰They said to him, “He is teaching in Galilee and in Judea saying ‘I am a king’.”¹⁰³ ²⁵¹Pilate questioned Jesus, but he did not answer him.¹⁰⁴ What the prophet said was fulfilled: “He did not open his mouth on account of his suffering.”¹⁰⁵

²⁵²To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

Close examination of this homily reveals a particularly challenging situation for the task outlined above. While Retu’a Hāymānot references a variety of biblical and non-biblical writings, slavish citations are rare and seem nearly limited to the gospels and Psalms. Much more commonly we encounter looser levels of textual dependence, such as the repeated reference to *I En.* 18:12, a text introduced as a formal quotation, but one whose relationship to the source would likely go overlooked without this formula.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, while the section about Jonah is loosely indebted to the canonical book, Retu’a Hāymānot has rather significantly adapted the contents and structure of the story to suit his own purposes.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the Macarius narrative, effectively introduced as a block quotation in the text, is derived from the *Life of Macarius the Great*, but although following its contours, much of the material is different; for example, Macarius speaks at length with the husbands in the homily, whereas he only meets their wives in the *Life*.¹⁰⁸ Thus if Retu’a Hāymānot references

¹⁰³ Cf. Luke 23:5

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Luke 23:9

¹⁰⁵ Isa 53:7

¹⁰⁶ “There is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it” (አለቦ : ሰማይ : ዘይጸልል : ላዕሌፕ : ወኢምድር : ታሕቲፕ) as opposed to *I Enoch* 18:12 itself: “It did not have the sky’s firmament above it nor earth’s foundation below it” (ወኢጽጎፐ : ሰማይ : ላዕሌሁ : ወኢመሰረተ : ምድር : በታሕቲሁ). The idea is the same, but the vocabulary and sentence structure quite different.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in the canonical book the sailors throw Jonah into the water after he tells them to do so, whereas in Retu’a Hāymānot’s retelling they refuse to do so and Jonah casts himself overboard instead.

¹⁰⁸ For the story in the Bohairic, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the *Life of Macarius the Great*, see S. Toda, *Vie de S. Macaire l’Egyptien* (Piscataway, 2012) 430–35 and B. Pirone, *Vita di San Macario* (Cairo and Jerusalem, 2008) 86–87. An Ethiopic translation of this hagiography, which Retu’a

the *Apocalypse of Peter* in our homily, there is little chance of this taking the form of a slavish citation.¹⁰⁹

Some potential points of contact can be readily dismissed. The worm or worms who do not sleep (ll. 150–151; *EthApPet* 9:2) is such a widespread image in apocalyptic literature that dependence on any particular source barring congruity with its supplementary elements cannot be entertained. The river of fire is of a similar character, especially since Retu‘a Hāymānot also includes multiple other rivers with dissimilar natures (ll. 165–171). Gehenna being a place of darkness (ll. 159–160; *EthApPet* 9:1) should also not be pursued. Likewise, at the end of his section on Gehenna, Retu‘a Hāymānot exhorts his audience to “not forsake his (God’s) commandment” (ll. 208–209: ወኢንጎድግ : ትእዛዞ), while “those who forsake the commandment of God” (10:7: የጌድጉ : ትእዛዞ : እግዚአብሔር) and those who “did not observe the commandment of God” (prologue: ኢዓቀቡ : ትእዛዞ : ለእግዚአብሔር) are subjected to punishment in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Yet, once again, such an exhortation is simply too general to suggest that a specific source occasioned it.

Other elements are a bit more promising. One of these is the biting question that Retu‘a Hāymānot asks his audience: “When you listen, O man, does it seem to you the book says, ‘Whoever did not repent here will repent there’?” (ll. 195–196) In certain respects this parallels a passage towards the end of the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* (13:4–5):

In one voice all of those who are in punishment will say, “Have mercy on us because now we have understood the judgment of God... [But the angel of Tartarus] will say to them, ‘Now you would repent, when there is no time left for repentance, and no life has remained.’”¹¹⁰

Hāymānot clearly read, is known from a few manuscripts, including EMMML 1844, ff. 114v–136v, but has yet to be published.

¹⁰⁹ Such a lack of precise congruity certainly allows for more things to be considered, but also less definitive conclusions since many motifs or ideas are found in multiple texts. This is particularly acute in this case, since Retu‘a Hāymānot knows the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which covers ground similar to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Lacking the Ethiopic version of the latter, however, it can be impossible in cases to adjudicate which one of the two more likely served as the source.

¹¹⁰ Here and below all translations from the *Apocalypse of Peter* and its broader pseudo-Clementine framework derive from the contribution of Eric Beck in this volume.

While this might therefore be an allusion to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ch. 43) expresses a similar sentiment from the mouth of Michael. Given the short and parodic character of the statement in the homily, neither option can be eliminated, nor can the book mentioned be limited to these two texts.

As the homily transitions from focusing on Peter's denial to Gehenna and the need for repentance, a potentially significant confluence of elements with one section of the *Apocalypse of Peter* emerges. One of the most pointed and unusual additions to the basic narrative of Peter's denials is its culmination in an accusation by a man who saw Jesus when he healed the paralytic on the Sabbath, immediately whereupon the apostle commits his third and final disavowal, leading to his bitter weeping (ll. 134–139). Earlier in the text, Retu'a Hāymānot states that "Peter's weeping saved him, for the Lord gave him three baptisms: one in the Jordan, one through tears, and one through martyrdom" (ll. 35–37). All of these elements – weeping, repentance, and the healing of the paralytic – appear together in close proximity in the pseudo-Clementine framework of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (26:4, 6): "When I had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me... 'They complained about me when I healed the sick on the Sabbath. When I said to the paralytic...'" Such a combination might bespeak some sort of interrelationship given that this miracle and Peter weeping are not associated in the canonical gospels.

Only one class of wrongdoers, the murderers, has their specific form of punishment described in the homily, unlike in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which outlines them for a wide array of sinners, including usurers, crafters of idols, fornicators, etc. The latter text also includes the murderers, stating that they and "those who associate with them, they will be put in fire that is full of venomous animals and they will be punished without rest" (*EthApPet* 7:9). Perpetual torture by venomous creatures is also their lot in the homily, albeit in far greater detail (ll. 171–177):

On its mountains and hills are innumerable reptiles, snakes, and scorpions asking the Lord for their sustenance. If they find a man, they have a fight for the right to eat him; then, in a flash, they feed on him and depart. For "their teeth are all swords and spears." Then, in a flash, that man who was consumed is healed; others come and eat him and again he is healed.

This represents a possible interpretation of the passage in the *Apocalypse*, especially because the parallel with venomous animals is so specific.

Retu'a Hāymānot expresses a clear belief in penance. This occurs not only in the homily published here, which says that it lasts a thousand years – or a little more or less – for Christians (ll. 198–200), but in at least two others. In his *Homily on the washing of the disciples' feet*, he makes the following statement:¹¹¹

This is those who died having denied the holy faith of baptism: they have no life. As Hermas said, “For the tree which has withered completely – it has nothing verdant upon it – it is therefore deserving of the fire (cf. *Sim.* IV 4 [53.4]). But the one which has verdant foliage, if they put it in the fire, it does not burn, but extinguishes its fire.” Likewise, therefore, if a Christian dies with his baptism, if he has not repented here, he will do penance there, in Gehenna; but he, having perished, will not be destroyed.

In a similar vein, his *Homily on the Incarnation* says:¹¹²

Behold, it is known that not a single Christian will ever perish, if he dies with his baptism intact. If he dies while in sin, before penance, he will be given penance in hell in the measure of his deeds. He will then be saved for the sake of the name of Christ.

The idea of penance is uncommon in medieval Ethiopia, and there are few known sources from which it might be derived. The *Apocalypse of Peter* stands as one of the best candidates. Although modern scholarship considers it to express apokatastasis rather than penance, it is not difficult to imagine the repeated emphasis on eternal damnation for sinners (e.g. 6:6, 6:9, 8:1, 10:3, 11:8–9, 13:2) combining with God's mercy on sinners later in the text (esp. ch. 31) to result in not universal forgiveness, but salvation limited to repentant Christians.¹¹³

¹¹¹ As published in Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 459–60.

¹¹² Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383.

¹¹³ E.J. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter: The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreanayye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon* (London, 2021) 117–30, at 120–24 offers several important observations on the form of apokatastasis found in the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* and how it diverges from that attested in the antecedent Greek version. While traces

It therefore seems as likely as not that Retu‘a Hāymānot encountered the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Indeed, his *Homily on Peter’s denial* contains not only the aforementioned points of contact, but basically serves as the outworking of a statement found in the broader Ethiopic *Apocalypse* (32:6): “But as for you, prioritize the gift of repentance for sinners and instruct concerning the judgment of burning fire.” The publication of further segments of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s works will doubtless allow for a more nuanced examination of this question. If, however, it is true that he was directly acquainted with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, we may push its arrival in Ethiopia back to the fourteenth century, and his lasting impact as a theologian, as attested by the wide diffusion of his writings, would mean that it played an impactful role in Ethiopian Orthodoxy, particularly if it served as the basis for the idea of penance.

Appendix

With the dual aims of making more transparent some of the claims above and trying to facilitate further scholarship on the corpus of the important and much neglected Retu‘a Hāymānot, presented below are catalogue entries for the seventeen primary witnesses to the Retu‘a Hāymānot homiliary currently available to scholars.¹¹⁴ While some

of this doctrine may exist in the Ethiopic text, they nonetheless remain extremely difficult to isolate, and the same theological conclusion probably would not be reached without recourse to other materials, none of which, of course, would have been available in late medieval Ethiopia. Indeed, the statement quoted by Beck (*ibid.*, 122) as evidence of apokatastasis can only be understood as supporting such a position if two groups are sequentially referenced, first the sinners who believed in Jesus (31:2–3), and second all sinners (31:4–8). Yet, given the return to those who believed in Jesus thereafter (31:9), it remains possible to interpret this entire chapter as relating to sinful Christians, or Christians who died in sin, rather than a grouping limited to them as well as a universal grouping in which they only constitute a portion. Such an interpretation provides a relatively clear lens through which the idea of penance might emerge.

¹¹⁴ Minor fragments of the homiliary, such as those at Gunda Gundē (cf. Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 455) are not treated here. It should be noted, however, that the bifolium in Rylands Ethiopic MS 44 supposedly containing material from this homiliary (thus

form of catalogue has been published for half of them, fresh inspection of the manuscripts has revealed many of these to be in need of correction. For example, although having been catalogued in triplicate, no published description of MS A has hitherto noted a number of displaced and missing leaves, and proper collation reveals part of an additional homily.

The following entries, prepared from full collations, focus on the original production units and provenances of the manuscripts, omitting *additiones* and occasional other minor details. Rather than providing extended titles for each homily, consistent abbreviated forms are utilized, which together with the Table above will allow for easy identification and reference to all witnesses found within these codices. Each manuscript has also been assigned an alphabetic siglum in accordance with its approximate sequential availability to (Western) scholarship, a series that can straightforwardly be added to as others become accessible. These will hopefully allow multiple scholars to work on the Retu‘a Hāymānot material without the emergence of a cacophony of conflicting independent systems, and encourage the publication of more of this corpus.

(siglum A) **Éthiopien d’Abbadie 80**

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

Parchment, 38.5 × 30 cm, i+155 ff., 2 cols., 27–32 lines, wooden boards partially covered with leather, 15th/16th cent.

ff. 3r–155r: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–6v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7r–15v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 15v–24v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 25rv, 42rv, 40rv, 26r–27r: Start of Lent; ff. 27v–30r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 30r–32r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 32v, 41rv, 33r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 33r–35v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 35v–38v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 39rv, mutilous: Sixth Sunday in Lent; acephalous, ff. 44r–51r: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 51r–55v: Peter’s denial; ff. 56r–62r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 62r–71v, 43rv,

S. Delamarter and Demeke Berhane, *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England* [Oxford, 2007] 26) is in fact derived from a manuscript of the funeral ritual (*Genzat*) – not Retu‘a Hāymānot – from the reign of Emperor Takla Hāymānot II (1769–1777).

72r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary¹¹⁵ 1:1–5:1; ff. 72r–84r: Death of Jesus; ff. 84v–95v: Easter; ff. 95v–96v, 98r–102r: Ascension; ff. 102r–104v, 97rv, 105r–111v: Pentecost; ff. 112r–115r: Twelve apostles; ff. 115r–119v: Transfiguration; ff. 120r–122v, 127r–128v, 123r–126v, 129r–133r: Mary; ff. 133r–138r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 138r–143v: Archangel Michael; ff. 143v–155r: Incarnation)

Harag: ff. 3r, 7r, 15v, 25r, 27v, 32v, 33r, 35v, 39r, 112r

Bibliography: A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) 93–94; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 53–54; C. Conti Rossini, “Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie,” *JA* ser. 11, vol. 2 (1913) 5–64, at 15–16

(siglum B) **Ma IX 2**

Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany

Paper, 24.5 × 19 cm, i+197+i ff., 1–2 cols., 23–37 lines, European binding, dated April 24, 1840 CE

ff. 2r–196v: **Retu'a Häymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 2r–8r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 8r–24r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24r–41r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 41r–49v: Start of Lent; ff. 49v–55r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 55r–59v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 59v–63r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 63r–86v: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost¹¹⁶; ff. 86v–106v: Incarnation; ff. 106v–110r: Palm Sunday; ff. 110r–125r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 125r–139v: Death of Jesus; ff. 139v–145v: Ascension; ff. 145v–158v: Pentecost; ff. 158v–163r: Twelve apostles; ff. 163r–169v: Transfiguration; ff. 170r–189r: Mary; ff. 189v–196v: Four heavenly creatures)

Completed in Ankobar on 16 Miyāzyā in the year of the evangelist John on Good Friday (=April 24, 1840 CE), with copying having commenced on 12 Ṭerr (January 21), f. 197r

¹¹⁵ CANT 74

¹¹⁶ Cf. EMMML 2358, ff. 138r–154r.

Copied by Habta Šellāsē for Yoḥannes Krāpf (i.e. Johann Ludwig Krapf), ff. 106v, 110r, 125r, 129v, 145v, 158v, 163r, 169v, 189r, 196v

Ownership note of Yoḥannes Krāpf (i.e. Johann Ludwig Krapf), f. 196v

Gift of (Johann) Ludwig Krapf to the University of Tübingen library on February 1, 1841 CE; sent by Krapf from Ankobar and arrived at Tübingen July 1, 1842 CE, f. 1r

Bibliography: H. Ewald, “Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen,” *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 164–201, at 197

NB: Copied from EMMML 2375 (siglum I)

(siglum C) **Or. 786**

British Library, London, United Kingdom

Parchment, 36.5 × 26.8 cm, 168+ii ff., 3 cols., 25 lines, wooden boards, between 1806–1813 CE

ff. 5r–167v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ገደማኖት]

(ff. 5r–10v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 10v–24v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24v–40r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 40r–47r: Start of Lent; ff. 47r–51r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 51r–54v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 54v–57r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 57r–72r: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost; ff. 72r–88v: Incarnation; ff. 88v–92v: Palm Sunday; ff. 92v–109v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 109v–124v: Death of Jesus; ff. 125r–132v: Ascension; ff. 132v–148v: Pentecost; ff. 148v–153v: Twelve apostles; ff. 154r–160v: Transfiguration; ff. 160v–167v: Four heavenly creatures)

Harag: f. 5r

Copied by Asba Giyorgis, ff. ff. 62v, 92v, 109v, 167v, for Šāhla Šellāsē, ff. 24v, 40r, 62v, 88v, 92v, 109v, 124v, 132v, 148v, 153v, 160v, 167v

Ownership note of Šāhla Šellāsē, king of Šawā (reigned 1806–1847 CE), his father Wasan Sagad (d. 1812/3 CE), and his mother Iyāsīmēr, f. 167v

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London, 1877) 231–32

(siglum D) **Ms. orient. quart. 1165** and **Ms. orient. quart. 1166**
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany

Parchment, 35 × 24 cm, 62+68 ff., 2 cols., 27–35 lines, European bindings, 15th cent.

Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 2r–63v and Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 2r–69v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(acephalous, Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 2r–5r: On the theology of the incarnation; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 5r–7v, wanting leaf, 8rv, 60rv, 10r–11v, 35rv, 13r–14v: Birth of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 14v, 12rv, 16r–24v: Baptism of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 25r–34v, 37r: Incarnation; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 37rv, 53rv, 36r: Palm Sunday; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 36v, 38r–47v, 9rv: Washing of the disciples’ feet; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 9v, 54rv, 50r–52v, 55r–56v, 48r–49v, 57r–59r: Death of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 59rv, 15rv, 61r–63v, mutilous: Ascension; acephalous, Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 2r–6r: Transfiguration; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 6r–21r: Mary; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 21v–27v: Four heavenly creatures; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 27v–32v: Archangel Michael; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 33r–38r: Start of Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 38r–41r: First Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 41r–43r: Second Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 43v–45r: Third Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 45v–48r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 48r–52r: Fifth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 52r–55v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 55v–60r: Death of Joseph¹¹⁷; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 60v–66r: Trial before Pilate; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 66r–69v, mutilous: Peter’s denial)

Name of commissioner effaced on Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 21r, 32v

Bibliography: E. Hammerschmidt and V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 267–71

¹¹⁷ CAVT 116 and 117. Cf. A.M. Butts *et al.*, ‘Notes on the *History of Joseph* (CAVT 113, 114) and the *Death of Joseph* (CAVT 116, 117)’, *Apocrypha* 28 (2017) 233–37.

(siglum E) **Ṭānāsee 142**

(also microfilmed later as EMLL no. 8382)

Monastery of Dāgā Estifānos, Goḡḡām, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34 × 25 cm, 159 ff., 2 cols., 25–30 lines, broken wooden boards, 15th cent.

ff. 4r–158r: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 4r–8v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 9r–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20v, 22r–33v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 33v–47v: Incarnation; ff. 48r–50v: Palm Sunday; ff. 51r–61v, 21rv, 62r–64v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 64v–78r: Death of Jesus; ff. 78v–84r: Ascension; ff. 84v–95v: Pentecost; ff. 96r–99r: Twelve apostles; ff. 99r–104r: Transfiguration; ff. 104r–119r: Mary; ff. 119r–124v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 125r–130v: Archangel Michael; ff. 131r–136r: Start of Lent; ff. 136r–139r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 139r–141v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 141v–143r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 143r–146r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 146r–149v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 149v–152r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 152r–158r: Peter’s denial)

Harag: f. 4r

Bibliography: V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3* (Stuttgart, 1999) 159–65

NB: ff. 46v–47r not microfilmed in Ṭānāsee 142

(siglum F) **EMLL no. 1194**

(also microfilmed earlier as UNESCO 5.25)

Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Paper, 35 × 22.5 cm, ff. i+153+x, 2 cols., 41 lines, hard paper covers, mid-20th cent.

ff. 1r–153v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–5v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 5v–10r: Archangel Michael; ff. 10r–15r: Book which came from Jerusalem¹¹⁸; ff. 15r–18v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18v–27v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 28r–37r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 37r–41v: Start of Lent; ff. 41v–44r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 44r–46r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 46v–48r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 48r–50r:

¹¹⁸ Cf. EMLL 1763, ff. 63v–69r.

Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 50r–52v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 53r–55r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 55v–57v: Palm Sunday; ff. 57v–67r: Incarnation; ff. 67r–76v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 76v–81r: Peter's denial; ff. 81r–86v: Trial before Pilate; ff. 86v–96r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 96r–106r: Death of Jesus; ff. 106r–115v: Easter; ff. 115v–120r: Ascension; ff. 120v–131r: Pentecost; ff. 131r–135r: Twelve apostles; ff. 135r–139v: Transfiguration; ff. 139v–153v: Mary)

Copied by Qalama Warq Lawṭē (baptismal name Gabra Ḥeywat) of Ašamā Qirqos and Gondar, ff. 52v, 86v, 153v

Commissioned by/for Ḥāyla Šellāsē and *mamher/abuna* Ḥabta Māryām, ff. 86v, 153v

Bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (1970); Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. IV: Project Numbers 1101–1500* (Collegeville, MN, 1979) 150–51

NB: Textual descendant of UNESCO 8.9 (siglum G)

(siglum G) **UNESCO 8.9**

Church of Bečanā Giyorgis, Goḡḡām, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 25 cm, ff. 93, 3 cols., 36–38 lines, wooden boards, late 18th cent.

ff. 4r–92v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 4r–6v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6v–9r: Archangel Michael; ff. 9r–12r: Book which came from Jerusalem; ff. 12r–14r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 14r–19v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 19v–25r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 25r–27v: Start of Lent; ff. 27v–29r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 29r–30v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 30v–31v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 31v–32v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 32v–34v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 34v–36r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 36r–37r: Palm Sunday; ff. 37v–43r: Incarnation; ff. 43r–49r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 49r–51v: Peter's denial; ff. 51v–55r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 55r–60v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and

lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 60v–66r: Death of Jesus; ff. 66r–71v: Easter; ff. 71v–74v: Ascension; ff. 74v–80r: Pentecost; ff. 80r–82r: Twelve apostles; ff. 82r–85r: Transfiguration; ff. 85r–92v: Mary)

Copied by Ḥāyla Šellāsē for Walda Gabre'ēl, f. 92v; name of owner Arsānyos, ff. 55r, 57v, 92v

Bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (1970)

NB: f. 1r not microfilmed

(siglum H) **EMML no. 12**

(also digitized later as EMIP 1293)

Qeddus Mārḳos Church, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 29.5 cm, ff. 147, 3 cols., 28 lines, leather over wooden boards covered with cloth, early 20th cent.

ff. 1r–145r: **Retu'ā Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–5r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 5r–9r: Archangel Michael; ff. 9r–13v: Book which came from Jerusalem; ff. 13v–18r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18r–27r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 27r–36r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 36r–40v: Start of Lent; ff. 40v–43r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 43r–46r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 46r–47v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 47v–49^{bis}r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 49^{bis}r–51v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 51v–54r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 54r–56r: Palm Sunday; ff. 56r–65v: Incarnation; ff. 65v–75v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 76r–80v: Peter's denial; ff. 80v–86r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 86r–95v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 95v–104v: Death of Jesus; ff. 104v–113v: Easter; ff. 113v–117v: Ascension; ff. 117v–126v: Pentecost; ff. 126v–129v: Twelve apostles; ff. 129v–133v: Transfiguration; ff. 133v–145r: Mary)

Copied by Walda Sinodā of Dabra Ṣemmunā for (future Emperor) Ḥāyla Šellāsē and for *mamher* Walda Māryām, ff. 86r, 90v, 145r
According to later anachronistic notes, the manuscript was given by Emperor Ḥāyla Šellāsē to Qeddus Mārḳos Church in 1918 EC (1925/6 CE), ff. 2r, 81r, 145r

Bibliography: W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm*

Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, Vol. I: Project Numbers 1–300 (Collegeville, MN, 1975) 14

NB: Descendant of UNESCO 8.9 (siglum G); nos. 14 and 44 skipped in foliation and an unnumbered leaf after f. 49; ff. 134v–137r not microfilmed

(siglum I) **EMML no. 2375**

Church of Ankobar Mikā'ēl, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 29 × 26 cm, 128 ff., 2 cols., 22–30 lines, broken wooden boards, 18th cent.

ff. 3r–127v: **Retu'ā Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–8r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 8r–18v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 18v–31r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 31v–36v: Start of Lent; ff. 36v–39r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 39r–41r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 41r–42v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 42v–54r: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost; ff. 54r–65r: Incarnation; ff. 65r–67v: Palm Sunday; ff. 67v–78v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 78v–89r: Death of Jesus; ff. 89r–93r: Ascension; ff. 93v–101v: Pentecost; ff. 101v–104r: Twelve apostles; ff. 104r–108r: Transfiguration; ff. 109r–122r: Mary; ff. 122r–127v: Four heavenly creatures)

Harag: ff. 3r, 109r

Copied for Abulidis, ff. 18v, 31r, 42v, 46v, 65r, 67v, 78v, 89r, 93r, 101v, 104r, 108r, 122r, 127v

Bibliography: Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, MN, 1981) 451–57

(siglum J) **EMML no. 2584**

Church of Mascā Māryām, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 24 × 20.4 cm., 126 ff., 2 cols., 22 lines, wooden boards, 18th cent.

ff. 3r–123r: **Retu'ā Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–7v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7v–24v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24v–27r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 27r–39r: Incarnation;

ff. 39r–42r: Palm Sunday; ff. 42r–56r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 56r–67r: Death of Jesus; ff. 67r–73r: Ascension; ff. 73r–84v: Pentecost; ff. 84v–89r: Twelve apostles; ff. 89r–94v: Transfiguration; ff. 95r–110v: Mary (incompletely copied); ff. 110v–117r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 117r–123r: Archangel Michael)

Ownership notes of Ḥāyala Krestos, f. 123r, *bālāmbārās* Kabbada Feššeḥa, ff. 2v, 124v, and *dabtarā* Walda Yoḥannes, ff. 124v, 125v–126r

Bibliography: Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Colledgeville, Vol. VII: Project Numbers 2501–3000* (Colledgeville, MN, 1983) 38

NB: The antigraph of this manuscript or another of its predecessors was defective, resulting in major omissions of textual material on ff. 10v, 25r, 63v, 66r, and 78v, and most of the homily on the baptism being copied as part of the homily on the birth of Jesus (ff. 17r–24r).

(siglum K) **EMML no. 7019**

Monastery of Ġar Šellāsē, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 32.5 × 22 cm., 168 ff., 2 cols., 24–34 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

ff. 1r–168v: **Retu'ā Ḥāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–6r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6r–11r: Archangel Michael; ff. 11v–15v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 16r–28v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 28v–41v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 42r–47v: Start of Lent; ff. 48r–50v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 51r–53v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 53v–55r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 56r–59r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 59r–63r: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 63v–66v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 66v–69r: Palm Sunday; ff. 69v–80v: Incarnation; ff. 80v–93r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 93r–97v: Peter's denial; ff. 98r–104r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 104v–115r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 115r–125v: Death of Jesus; ff. 125v–135r: Easter; ff. 135v–140r: Ascension; ff. 140r–150r: Pentecost; ff. 150v–153v: Twelve apostles; ff. 153v–157v: Transfiguration; ff. 157v–160v, 165r–166v, 161r–164v, 167r–168v: Mary)

Harag: f. 1r

NB: Nos. 31, 105, and 137 skipped in foliation and nos. 60 and 101 repeated on consecutive leaves (foliation given above as per actuality, not as written); ff. 105 and 111 later replacement leaves

(siglum L) **EMML no. 7028**

Church of Ešatan Māryām, Wallo, Ethiopia

Parchment, 35 × 24 cm, ff. 177+i, 2 cols., 27–33 lines, wooden boards, Part I (ff. 1–129) dated 1397/8 CE, Part II (ff. 130–177) 14th/15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–126v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 1r–6r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 6v–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20v–34v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 35r–38r: Palm Sunday; ff. 38r–53r: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 53v–67v: Death of Jesus; ff. 68r–75r: Ascension; ff. 75r–90r: Pentecost; ff. 90v–95r: Twelve apostles; ff. 95v–102r: Transfiguration; ff. 102v–114v, missing leaf, 115r–119v: Mary; ff. 120r–126v: Archangel Michael)
- 2) ff. 130r–167r: **Life of Hripsime** [ገድለ : አርሲማ]
- 3) ff. 167v–177v: **History of Mary the Egyptian**, for 7 Miyāzyā; cf. British Library Or. 686, ff. 168v–173r; EMMML 8458, ff. 43r–54v

Harag: ff. 95v, 102v

The first part of the manuscript (ff. 1–126) was commissioned by *abuna* Nob and completed in the 50th year of mercy (1397/8 CE), f. 126v. The Life of Hripsime is copied in the same hand as the first part of the manuscript.

NB: f. 1r not microfilmed

(siglum M) **EMML no. 7638**

Unidentified library, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 36 × 24 cm, 166 ff., 2 cols., 28–31 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–157v, 160r–166v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 1r–6v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7r–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 21r–32r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 32r–37v: Start of Lent; ff. 37v–40v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 40v–43v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 43v–45v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 45v–48v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 48v–52v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 52v–55v: Sixth

Sunday in Lent; ff. 55v–58r: Palm Sunday; ff. 58v–70v: Incarnation; ff. 71r–83v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 84r–89v: Peter's denial; ff. 90r–96v: Trial before Pilate; ff. 96v–108r: Easter; ff. 108r–113v: Ascension; ff. 114r–127r: Pentecost; ff. 127v–131v: Twelve apostles; ff. 132r–137v: Transfiguration; ff. 138r–154v: Mary; ff. 154v–157v, 160r–163r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 163r–166v, mutilous: Archangel Michael)

- 2) ff. 158r–159v: **2 Samuel** 6:5–7:21, displaced leaves from a 15th-century manuscript

Harag: ff. 1r, 7r, 21r

NB: ff. 36v–37r not microfilmed

(siglum N) **EMML no. 8459**

Monastery of Ṭānā Qirqos, Gondar, Ethiopia

Parchment, 30 × 21.5 cm, 96 ff., 2 cols., 25–38 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–58v, 60r–96v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት], mutilous
(ff. 2rv, 1rv, 3r–6v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6v–10v, 13r–14v: Archangel Michael; ff. 15r–16v, 11r–12v, 17r–18r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18v–30v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 31r–40v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 41r–45v: Start of Lent; ff. 45v–48r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 48v–52r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 52v–53v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 54r–55v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 56r–58v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 60r–61v, 49r–50v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 50v, 62r–63v: Palm Sunday; ff. 63v–76r: Incarnation; ff. 76r–89r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 89r–94v: Peter's denial; ff. 94v–96v, mutilous: Trial before Pilate)
- 2) ff. 59rv: **Life of Cyricus and Julitta** [ገድለ : ቂርቆስ], displaced leaf from a late-14th century manuscript

Harag: ff. 2r, 48v, 63v, 94v

(siglum O) **EMML no. 8913**

Church of Atkanā Giyorgis, Gondar, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 25 cm., 122 ff., 2 cols., 29–31 lines, without covers, 15th cent.

ff. 1r–122v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1rv, 90r–93v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 94r–95v, 2rv, 61r–70v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 70v–75v, 96r–102v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 102v–105v, 76r–84r: Incarnation; ff. 84v–87r: Palm Sunday; ff. 87r–89v, 3r–4v, 113rv, 106r–112v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 112v, 114r–122v, 5r–8r: Death of Jesus; ff. 8v–14v: Ascension; ff. 14v–20v: Pentecost; ff. 21r–25r: Twelve apostles; ff. 25v–29v, mutilous: Transfiguration; acephalous, ff. 30r–46r: Mary; ff. 46v–53v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 54r–60v: Archangel Michael)

Harag: ff. 1r, 8v, 21r, 25v, 46v, 54r, 70v, 84v, 94r, 112v

Name of scribe or commissioner effaced, f. 60v

National inventory no. H₂-IV-617

(siglum P) **EMML no. 9084**

Church of Berber Māryām, Gāmo Gofā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 32 × 24.5 cm., 236 ff., 2 cols., 26 lines, wooden boards, late-14th/early-15th cent.

ff. 1r–236v: **Retu'ā Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–9v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 11r–18r: Archangel Michael; ff. 19r–25r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 26r–42r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 43r–59v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 61r–68v: Start of Lent; ff. 69r–73r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 74r–77v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 78r–80v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 81r–85r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 85r–90v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 90v–94v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 95r–98v: Palm Sunday; ff. 100r–115v: Incarnation; ff. 116r–131r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 132r–139r: Peter's denial; ff. 140r–148r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 149r–163v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 165r–179r: Death of Jesus; ff. 180r–193v: Easter; ff. 195r–201v: Ascension; ff. 203r–215v: Pentecost; ff. 217r–236v: Mary)

Full-page miniatures: ff. 10v, 18v, 25v, 42v, 60v, 73v, 99v, 131v, 139v, 148v, 164v, 179v, 194v, 202v, 216v

Harag: ff. 1r, 11r, 19r, 26r, 43r, 61r, 69r, 74r, 78r, 81r, 85r, 90v, 95r, 100r, 116r, 132r, 140r, 149r, 165r, 180r, 195r, 203r, 217r

NB: Severe water damage to the first half of the manuscript, with the first leaves totally illegible on the microfilm; significant portions of text on each page are affected until well after the midpoint

Bibliography: E. Haberland, *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien: Eine vergessene Missionsepoche* (Wiesbaden, 1976) 21 (and plate)

(siglum Q) **EMIP no. 816**

Church of Čalaqot Šellāsē, Tegrāy, Ethiopia

Parchment, 23.7 × 20.4 cm, 137 ff., 2 cols., 22 lines, wooden boards covered with stamped leather, 18th/19th cent.

- 1) ff. 2r–121v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 2r–7v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7v–19v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20r–32r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 32r–38r: Start of Lent; ff. 38r–41v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 41v–44v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 45r–47r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 47r–60r: Incarnation; ff. 60r–62v: Palm Sunday; ff. 62v–75v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 75v–88r: Death of Jesus; ff. 88r–94r: Ascension; ff. 94r–106v: Pentecost; ff. 106v–111r: Twelve apostles; ff. 111r–116r: Transfiguration; ff. 116r–121v: Four heavenly creatures)
- 2) ff. 122r–137v, mutilous: **Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary** 1:1–9:2 [ላኦ : ማርያም]; cf. M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Freiburg, 1959)

Name of original owner effaced, ff. 2r, 7v, 19v–20r, 32r, 38r, 41v, 44v–45r, 47r, 60r, 62v, 75v, 87v, 94r, 106v, 111r, 116r, 121v–122r
Acquired by Emperor Tēwodros for his church of Madhānē Ālam at Magdala, where it was acquired by the British Army in April 1868, which presented this and hundreds of other manuscripts to the church of Čalaqot Šellāsē the following month, cf. f. 2r

National inventory no. C₄-IV-221

XV. Translation of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* including the Pseudo-Clementine Framework¹

ERIC J. BECK

Prologue The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead, which he told to Peter, who die for their sin because they did not observe the commandment of God, their creator. And this he reflected upon so that he might understand the mystery of the Son of God, the merciful and lover of mercy.

¹And when he was sitting on the Mount of Olives, his followers approached toward him.

And we worshipped and entreated him privately. ² And we asked him, saying to him, “Tell (us) what are the signs of your coming and of the end of the world, that we may know and understand the time of your coming and we may instruct those who come after us, ³ to

¹ Parts of this text, the prologue; 1–17; 30:5–33:1a; 40:5–7, have been edited and reprinted with the publisher’s permission from E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73, 76, 78–79, 81–86, 88–90, 157–159. For a discussion on some of the methodologies employed in this translation, see pages 59–65 of the same volume. I would also like to thank the Centre for Advanced Studies, “Beyond Canon” at the University of Regensburg for their invaluable aid in acquiring resources without which this translation would not have happened. The translation is based on the manuscripts P and T described in more detail by Thomas Kraus within this volume and in A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the “Apocalypse of Peter”’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96. Furthermore, the edition, translation and remarks of Grébaud to manuscript P have been consulted. See S. Grébaud, ‘Littérature Éthiopienne. Pseudo-Clémentine’, *ROC* 12 (1907) 139–51; *ROC* 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; *ROC* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

whom we will proclaim the word of your gospel and establish in your church. That they, having heard, may be watchful so that they might perceive the time of your coming.”

⁴And our Lord answered us, saying to us, “Take care not to be deceived lest you become doubters and worship other gods. ⁵ Many will come in my name saying, ‘I am the Christ.’ Do not believe them and do not approach them. ⁶ As for the coming of the Son of God, it will not be revealed, except like lightning, which flashes from the east to the west. Likewise, I will come on a cloud from heaven with great power in my glory while my cross will go before my face. ⁷ I will come in my glory shining seven times brighter than the sun. I will come in my glory with all my holy angels when my father will place a crown upon my head that I may judge the living and the dead ⁸ and recompense everyone according to his deeds. ²¹ But as for you, learn from the fig tree its lesson. As soon as its sprout emerges and its branches bud at that time will be the end of the world.”

² And I, Peter, answered him and said to him, “Explain to me about the fig tree and how we should understand it, ³ since each of its seasons the fig tree sprouts and each of its years its fruit is gathered for its masters. What is the fig tree’s lesson? We do not understand.”

⁴ And the master answered me and said to me, “Do you not understand that the fig tree is the house of Israel? ⁵ It is like a man (who) planted a fig tree in his garden and it did not produce fruit. And he sought its fruit many years, but he did not find it. And he said to his gardener, ‘Uproot this fig tree so that it won’t make our soil worthless for us.’ ⁶ And the gardener said to the master of the land, ‘Send (us). We will weed it and dig ashes beneath it and irrigate it with water. And if it does not bear fruit this time we will remove its roots from the garden and plant another in its place.’

⁷ Did you not perceive that the fig tree is the house of Israel? And indeed, I have told you, when its branches bud in the end, false messiahs will come. ⁸ And he will promise, ‘I am the Christ who has come into the world.’ And when they see his evil deeds, they will turn away. ⁹ And they will reject him who is called ‘the glory of our ancestors’, who crucified the first Christ and erred exceedingly. ¹⁰ But this liar is not the Christ. And when they resist him, he will wage war with the sword. And there will be many martyrs. ¹¹ Then at that time when the branches of the fig tree, this alone is the house of Israel, have budded, there will be many martyrs by his hand. And they will die and they will

be martyrs. ¹² Indeed, Enoch and Elijah will be sent in order to instruct them that this is the deceiver who will come into the world and perform signs and wonders to deceive it. ¹³ Therefore, all who die by his hand will be martyrs and will be counted in the company of the good and righteous martyrs who pleased God with their life.”

3¹ And he showed me in his right hand every soul and in the palm of his right hand the image of that which will be accomplished on the last day. ² And how the righteous and sinners will be separated and how the upright in heart will act and how the wicked will be rooted out for ever and ever. ³ We saw how the sinners will weep in great affliction and sorrow to the extent that everyone who has seen it with their eyes will weep, whether the righteous or angels, or even he himself.

⁴ And I asked him, saying to him, “O Lord, permit that I may proclaim your word about these sinners, because ‘it was better for them when they had not been created.’”

⁵ And the Savior answered me, saying to me, “O Peter, why do you speak in such a way: ‘Non-creation were better for them’? In fact, (it is) you who opposes God. ⁶ And it is not you who shows them, his formation, mercy rather than he. For he created them and brought them forth where they did not exist. ⁷ But when you saw the grief that will happen to the sinners in the last days and because of this your heart was sorrowful. But they who have transgressed against the Most High, I will show you their works.

4¹ And behold now what will happen to them in the last days when the day of God comes. ² And (on) the day of punishment, which is the judgment of God, from the east to the west all of humanity will be gathered before my father, who lives eternally. ³ And he will command Gehenna that it open its bars of steel and return everything that there is within it.² ⁴ And also to the animals and the birds he will command that they return all the flesh that they ate when he requires that people appear. ⁵ For nothing is lost for God and nothing is impossible for him. Everything in this way is his. For everything (will happen) on the day of punishment, on the day of judgment, with the expression of God. ⁶ And everything will happen in accordance with how he creates. The world and everything that is in it he commanded (to be) and everything was. Thus (it will be) in the last days, ⁷ because

² **ዘበቱ** could also be translated in a possessive manner as suggested by Buchholz: “...everything that he (God) has within it.”

everything is possible for God. And thus it says in the Scripture: ‘The Son of Man prophesied upon each of the bones ⁸ saying to the bone, “Bone to bones in limbs, sinew and muscle and flesh and skin and hair (be) onto it.”’ ⁹ And soul and spirit [and] the great Uriel will give at the command of God. For God established him over his resurrection of the dead on the day of judgment.

¹⁰ And look and understand the seeds which were sown in the earth. Like a withered thing that does not have a soul they are sown in the earth and live and bear fruit. ¹¹ And the earth will give back in accordance with the deposit that was put under its protection. And this is that which dies: the seed that was sown in the earth and lives and is given life is people. ¹² How much more for those who believe in him and his elect, for whose sake God made (the world). He will cause them to rise on the day of punishment. ¹³ And the earth will give everything back on the day of punishment, for it (the earth) will be required on it (the day of punishment) to be judged at the same time and also heaven with it.

⁵ And it will happen on the day of judgment (to) those who pervert the faith of God and to those who have committed sin. ² Cataracts of fire will be opened and there will be gloominess and darkness and it will clothe and cover the whole world. ³ And even the waters will be transformed and will be given into coals of fire and everything that is in it will burn and even the ocean will become fire. ⁴ From below heaven will be bitter fire that cannot be extinguished and flows for the judgment of wrath. And the stars also will be dissolved in a flame of fire like they had never been created. ⁵ And the firmaments of heaven from lack of water [and] will depart and become as what was not created. And the lightning of heaven will not exist. And because of their exorcism they will terrify the world. ⁶ And the spirit of the dead will be made like them and will become fire at the command of God. And then all creation has dissolved.

⁷ And humans who are in the east will flee to the west. Those (in the west) will flee to the east. And those in the south will flee to the north. And those (in the north) to the south. ⁸ And in every direction the terrible wrath of fire will find them while a flame that cannot be extinguished will drive them out. It will offer them for the judgment of wrath in a river of fire that cannot be extinguished.³ A fire that

³ Both manuscripts continue, saying, “And it will offer them for judgment and wrath in a river of fire that cannot be extinguished.”

flows while it burns [in it].⁹ But when the waves separate, boiling, [and] there will be much gnashing of teeth for humanity.

6¹ And all of them will see when I come on an eternal, bright cloud and the angels of God who are with me will sit (on) the throne of my glory at the right hand of my heavenly father.² And he will place a crown on my head. When the nations see it, each of their nations will weep. And he will command them to pass through the middle of the river of fire.³ And each one of their deeds will stand before them. Each one according to his deeds.⁴ But each of the elect who have done well, they will come to me and they will not see death by the devouring fire.⁵ But the wicked and sinners and hypocrites will stand in the midst of a pit of darkness that cannot be extinguished and their punishment will be fire.⁶ And the angels will bring their sin and they will prepare for them a place where they will be punished forever each one according to their transgression.⁷ And the angel of God, Uriel, will bring the soul of those sinners who perished in the flood and all who existed in every idol, in every molten statue, in every love, and in pictures.⁸ And they who dwell in all the high places and stone and in every path, who were called gods.⁹ They will be burned with them in an eternal fire. And after all of them and their places where they dwell come to an end, then they will be punished forever.

7¹ And then men and women will come to the place that they deserve.² By their tongue with which they blasphemed the way of righteousness they will be hung, being split for them, which cannot perish, so that they might be torn apart perpetually.

³ And behold another place. And there is a pit, large and full. In it are those who have rejected righteousness.⁴ And the angels of punishment will keep watch [and] there in it and light the fire of their punishment.

⁵ And furthermore, other⁴ women will be hanging by their neck and their hair. They will be cast into the pit.⁶ And these are those who braid braids, and not for a beautiful disposition but going around for fornication so that they might ensnare the soul of people for

⁴ This follows Buccholz's suggestion to read ካልእቲ (other) rather than ካልኡቲ (two). See D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 198.

destruction.⁷ And the very men who lie with them in fornication will hang by their thigh in that place which burns.⁸ And they will say among themselves, 'We did not know that we would come to be in eternal punishment.'

⁹ And [for] those who kill life and even those who associate with them, they will be put in fire that is full of venomous animals and they will be punished without rest while their suffering is revealed to them.¹⁰ And their worm will increase like a black cloud. And the angel Ezrael will bring the soul of those they killed, and they will be shown the punishment (of those who) killed them.¹¹ And they will say to them among themselves, 'Righteousness and justice is the judgment of God. For, we heard but we did not believe that we would come to this eternal place of judgment.'

8¹ And near this flame will be a very large and deep pit. And into it will flow everything from everywhere: judgment and horror (and) excreta.² And their women will be swallowed up to their necks and will be punished in great anguish. Now, these are those who vanquish their children and destroy the work of God, which he formed.³ And opposite them is another place where will sit their children who they prevented living.⁴ And they will cry out to God and lightning will come [and] from the infants, a drill in the eyes of those who in this fornication have brought about their destruction.

⁵ Other men and women will stand naked above there and their children will stand there opposite them in a place of delight.⁶ And crying out, [and] they will groan and cry out to God about their parents: 'These are those who despised and cursed and violated your commandment and died.'⁷ And they cursed the angel who formed (us) and they hung us up and were stingy with the light. But you gave (it) to everyone.'⁸ The milk of their mothers will flow from their breast and it will congeal and putrefy.⁹ From within it will be flesh-eating animals and they will emerge and turn and punish them forever with their husbands because they forsook the commandment of God and killed their children.¹⁰ But as for their children, they will be given to a care-taking angel. But those who killed them, they will punish them forever because it is the thing that God has required.

9¹ The angel of his wrath, Ezrael, will bring men and women who are partially burning and place them in a place of darkness, which is the Gehenna of men.² And a spirit of wrath will chastise them with every chastisement. And a worm that does not rest will

devour their bowels. They are the persecutors and refuters of my righteous ones.

³ And near to those there are other men and women. And they will gnaw their tongues and they will be tormented with a fiery iron and their eyes will be burned. These are [those] the blasphemers and renouncers of my righteousness.

⁴ But as for other men and women, their deeds are fraudulent. Their lips will be cut off, and fire will enter into their mouths and their bowels: those who killed the martyrs (with) a lie.

⁵ And near to those who were presented is a place by a stone column of fire, and the pillar is sharper than a sword. ⁶ (There are) men and women who will be clothed in worn out clothes and filthy rags, and they will be placed on it so that they might be judged with judgment, anguish that will not end. ⁷ These are those who trust in their riches and neglected the widows and women (with) orphans, against God.

10¹ And (there is) another place near to it, [and] full of excreta. And men and women will be put into it up to their knees. These are those who lend and take usury.

² And other men and women from a high (place) will throw themselves and again they will return and run and demons will drive them. These are [they] the idolaters. ³ And they will drive them to the edge of reason and they will cast themselves down and they will do this in this way continuously. They will be punished forever. ⁴ These are those who cut their flesh, men who copulate with men, and women who were with them. And in it are men who as women defile one another.

⁵ And near to those [*hel*]⁵ and below them the angel Ezrael will make a place of much fire and every idol of gold and silver, every idol made by human hands, and which resembles the image of cats and lions, the image of reptiles, and the image of animals. ⁶ And also those men and women who made their images will be in chains of fire (with) which they will beat themselves on account of their mistake before them. And such will be their judgment forever.

⁷ And near to them will be other men and women and they will burn in the flame of judgment. Their punishment is forever. These are

⁵ Unknown word.

those who forsake the commandment of God and followed [*faqat*]⁶ demons.

11¹ And another place, extremely high, (will be) teaching and [*hel*]⁷. (There will be) fire inside that which burns. It (will come) over the edge (of) that which burns. ² Men and women who stumble while it rolls will descend upon that which is trembling. And again, while what is made flows, they will ascend and descend and repeat. Thus, according to its rolling so they will be punished forever. ³ These then are they who do not honor their father and mother and of their own accord abandon them. Therefore, they will be punished eternally.

⁴ And furthermore, Ezrael the angel will bring children and virgins so that they might be shown those who are punished. They will be judged with anguish and with hanging and with many wounds, which flesh-eating birds will cause. ⁵ These are those who believe in their error. They do not obey their parents and the instruction of their ancestors they do not follow and their elders they do not honor. ⁶ With them will be ten virgins and they will wear darkness as clothing and they will be judged with judgment and their flesh will disperse. ⁷ These are those who do not preserve their virginity until they are given in marriage. And they also will be judged the very same judgment while it is revealed to them.

⁸ And furthermore, (there will be) other men and women who gnaw their tongues without rest while they are punished in eternal fire. ⁹ These then are slaves who do not obey their masters. This then will be their eternal judgment.

12¹ And near this punishment will be men and women blind and deaf and their clothes will be white. And consequently, they will crowd (into) one another and fall onto coals of fire that cannot be extinguished. ² These are those who practice almsgiving and say, 'We are righteous before God.' (But,) they have not pursued righteousness.

³ The angel of God, Ezrael, will bring them out of the flame and carry out the judgment of punishment. This then will be their judgment: ⁴ a river of fire will flow and every punishment will descend in the midst of the river. ⁵ And Uriel will establish them. And he will give a wheel of fire and men and women will be hanging on it by the force of its whirling. ⁶ The ones in the pit will burn. These then are

⁶ Unknown word.

⁷ Unknown word.

they: sorcerers and sorceresses. ⁷ This wheel will be in every punishment in limitless fire.

13¹ And then they will bring my elect and my righteous, the ones perfect in all righteousness, while angels carry them in their hands while they announce the clothes of life from above. ² And they will see those who cursed⁸ him while he takes vengeance on them ³ (with) punishment forever, each one according to his work. ⁴ In one voice all of those who are in punishment will say, ‘Have mercy on us because now we have understood the judgment of God, which he previously proclaimed to us but we did not believe.’ ⁵ And the angel of Tartarus will come and rebuke them with more punishment. And he will say to them, ‘Now you would repent, when there is no time for repentance and no life has remained.’ ⁶ And all of them will say, ‘Just is the judgment of God, for we have heard and understood that his judgment is fair because we have received recompense, each one according to our deeds.’

14¹ And then I will give to my elect and to my righteous ones the baptism and salvation that they have asked of me in the field of Acherusia, which is called Elysium. ² A portion of the righteous ones has bloomed and I will depart when I will rejoice with them. I will lead the nations into my eternal kingdom. ³ And I will do for them what I promised them eternally, I and my heavenly father.

I have told you, Peter, and informed you. ⁴ Go, therefore, and depart for the city in the west to the vineyard of which I will tell you so that, because of the suffering of my son who is without sin, the work of desolation may be sanctified. ⁵ But you, however, are the elect one according to the promise that I promised you. Therefore, [and] send into all the world my message in peace. ⁶ Because he rejoiced, my voice has poured out the promise of life and suddenly the world was torn.”

15¹ And my lord, Jesus Christ our king, said to me, “Let us proceed to the holy mountain.” And his disciples came with him while they were praying. ² And behold, (there were) two people. And we were powerless to look at their face, because from one of them was coming a light that was shining more than the sun. ³ And even their clothes were bright, and it is not possible to say. And there is nothing that can

⁸ Could also be “hated”.

be compared with them here in the world. ⁴ And a mouth is not able to say (in) simplicity the beauty of their splendor, because their appearance was stupefying and a wonder. ⁵ And the other, great I say, was shining more than snow in his appearance. Like a rose was the beauty of his appearance and his flesh ⁶ and the hair on his head. And down from his shoulders and upon their foreheads were garlands of spikenard woven with beautiful flowers. Like a rainbow in water was his hair. ⁷ Thus was the charm of his face. And (he was) adorned with every adornment. And when we saw them suddenly, we marveled.

16¹ And I approached near to God, Jesus Christ, and I said to him, “Lord, who is this?” And he said to me, “This is Moses and Elijah.” And I said to him, “(What about) Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the other righteous fathers?” ² And he showed us an open, large garden full of fruitful trees and blessed fruit, full of the aroma of perfume. Its aroma was delightful. ³ And its aroma was coming to it and from within it I saw a wonder: abundant fruit. ⁴ And my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, said to me, “[And] You have seen the nation of the fathers, and thus is their rest.” ⁵ And I rejoiced and believed such will be “the honor and glory for those who were persecuted for my righteousness.” ⁶ And I understood that which was written in the book of my Lord, Jesus Christ. ⁷ And I said to him, “My Lord, do you want me to make three tabernacles here, one for you, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah?” ⁸ And he said to me in anger, “Satan is attacking you and has veiled your understanding, and the affairs of this world are overcoming you.” ⁹ Now your eyes are uncovered and your ears are open that (there is) one tabernacle, which was not made by people’s hands, (but) which was made by my heavenly father for me and for the elect.” And when we saw (it) we were rejoicing.

17¹ And behold a voice came suddenly from heaven while saying, “This is my son whom I love and I have delighted in my commandment. ² And a cloud came over our heads great of size and very white, and it carried off our Lord, and Moses, and Elijah. And I trembled and was terrified. ³ And we looked and this heaven was opened and we saw people who were in the flesh, and they came and welcomed our Lord, and Moses, and Elijah. And they departed into the second heaven. ⁴ And the word of Scripture was accomplished: This generation sought him and sought the face of the God of Jacob. ⁵ And there was great fear and great dread in heaven. The angels were

crowding so that the word of Scripture might be accomplished that says, "Open the gates, princes." ⁶ And then this heaven that was opened was closed. ⁷ And we prayed and descended from the mountain while praising God who has written the names of the righteous in the book of life in the heavens.

18¹ And he opened his mouth and said to me, "Listen, my son Clement. Everything that he created is for his glory. ² He created angels and archangels; rulers and authorities and thrones and powers and chiefs; cherubim and seraphim: a thousand, ten thousand, and thousands of thousands. ³ And furthermore, he arranged the nations, each into their territory, and put kings over each of their subjects, and governors and judges and prophets and apostles in order to educate and teach those who obey the word of God. ⁴ However, those who did not obey, their judgment will be punishment. But if they did obey and endure, their reward will be joy and pleasure in the kingdom of heaven while they glorify and praise him with angels and with every righteous soul, glorifying God always and giving honor and glory to the one who created everything. ⁵ He created the heavens and the earth, the sea and the rivers and the animals and everything that is visible. In fact, everything that he created will glorify him, and his glory will also continue forever. ⁶ But, the one who has stumbled and been negligent regarding his glory has fallen according to God's will and glory.⁹ And those who fear God will not ever be kept silent regarding his glory. They will glorify God. ⁷ The sea and the rivers, the springs and the fire and the dew, that which has a soul and that which does not have a soul will glorify God.

19¹ He even created the devil for his glory, ² and in his negligence he was cast down from his honor with all of his followers under his authority who glorify him, who were created with him and are called demons because God in the beginning created them (to be) a race of angels for his glory. ³ When he rebelled, a race of angels remained with his followers.

⁴ Afterwards, Adam was created for the glory of God. ⁵ And he gave him the earth, out of it he was created, and he gave him everything that is upon it so that he will glorify him on it with his

⁹ Could also read "have fallen upon God's goodwill and glory".

children. ⁶ Indeed, they were not created for vanity, but for the glory of God. But, the devil was created for vanity, and he became an enemy of God who was negligent of his glory. ⁷ If someone was a child of God, they would glorify his holy name. But the one who has been negligent has fallen from the glory of God.

⁸ His glory is not deficient, because the heavens and the earth are full of the holiness of his glory. No one is able to count it. ⁹ Do not be negligent regarding the glory of God, because he created (everything) for the sake of his glory. Remain prepared and wait, being joyful. ¹⁰ And if you do not stop praising him and glorifying him, (you will receive) that which does not end.¹⁰ But if you are negligent, you will fall from your honor. ¹¹ The glory of God is not deficient. Your honor is for God. And as for those who serve here a little bit, their days will be long. Glorify and sing during the day and night. Their glory will remain. (Their) days will be long.

20¹ Glorify and sing (to) the one who will not leave (and) has come, for it says, ‘Those who persevere with me will inherit the earth. And my chosen will inherit the mountain of my sanctuary. ² And I will give them eternal joy as I see their glory when he sits on the mountain of my sanctuary, when he raises me up in my dismay, ³ the one who built the earth and planted paradise upon it, and spread out the sky and planted the sun upon it, and extended the sea and made the animals in it, ⁴ who caused the winds to blow and mixed fire and blew on it, who washed away the ancient world, which was decrepit, in the water of the flood and restored it. ⁵ At his coming he will cause the dead to rise by having heard his voice. And he will make my righteous ones seven times brighter than the sun. ⁶ And he will make their crowns bright like snow and like a rainbow of the rainy season that is made with spikard, which it is not possible to be ascertained, ⁷ with colorful jasper, bright emerald luster, and topaz which, having been intertwined with mother-of-pearl, shines like the stars in the heavens above and like a ray of sunlight that sparkles and that is not possible to look at.

21¹ And the eyes of the dead have perceived (that) because they glorified their creator without measure, he will also honor them. ² And as they glorified him in affliction, to the same extent they will praise him with glorification¹¹. ³ Indeed, the honor of the glory of my

¹⁰ The verb for the apodosis is entirely missing.

¹¹ Or “hymns”.

righteous ones, who glorified God in their lifetime (and) who honored him, is not conceived by the heart and is hidden from the mind of the dead. ⁴ And he will also exalt them. Indeed, he will make them rulers. ⁵ And just as the Father who is in heaven is honored, likewise (will be) the honor of my righteous ones in the presence of God.’

22¹ The faces of his angels are brighter than the sun; and their crowns are like a rainbow of the rainy season (that is made) with spike-nard; and their eyes are as bright as the morning star. ² The beauty of their appearance is ineffable, and the melody of their hymns is like the sound of a harp. Their hymns are pleasant. Their language is beautiful and delightful to hear. ³ Above all, their joy is unending. And their clothes are not woven; they are white as those of one who washes clothes, like I saw on the mountain in the presence of Moses and Elijah.

⁴ And our Lord showed through the transfiguration the clothes of the last day at the time of the resurrection to Peter, and to James, and to John the son of Zebedee. ⁵ A bright cloud made shade, and we heard the voice of the Father saying to us, ‘This is my Son, whom I love. I delight in him. Listen to him.’ ⁶ And while we were frightened, we forgot all who are here in the flesh, ⁷ and we did not know what we were saying on account of the great terror of that day and of that mountain, upon which he showed us the second coming in the kingdom that will not end.

23¹ Likewise, the Father has altogether committed to Christ the judgment of heaven and earth. ² As it is said, ‘The Father will not judge anyone but has committed his judgment to his Son, so that he will give all who believe in him eternal life in the kingdom of heaven.’ ³ (Such is) the reward of the righteous who fled this world, were strong in the spiritual fight, became friends with angels while walking on earth in a body, (and) fled the wide path¹² through which the multitudes go. ⁴ Worshiping idols, copulating with the wife of man, murdering, blowing false witness, hating a male neighbor, anger, indignation, theft, loving money, injustice, robbery, slander, strife, quarrel, fornication, and falsehood: this is the wide path. ⁵ But, the righteous go through the narrow door. Humility, love, gentleness, compassion, peace, purity of body, not angry at another, comfort of neighbor,

¹² Both manuscripts actually refer to the “narrow place” (ለመጽብብ), but, similar to Grébaud suggestion, the context necessitates that this is an error and should be replaced with ለስፍህት፡ ፍኖት from a few lines below.

hope, and faith: this is the door through which the righteous go. ⁶ But sinners are unable to go through it.”

24¹ “Nevertheless, do not forget me regarding sinners when you will have mercy on them on the last day and when there will be nothing because of^{f13} your goodness and the greatness of your majesty and your mercy. ² Tell me about what I asked you regarding those who will become sinners: it would have been better for them when they were created not to have been created at that time, because they will die two deaths. ³ Their first death is like all creation, for the righteous and for the sinners, for livestock and for wild animals, in accordance with death being prescribed for all that exists (and) being enveloped in intercourse for all carnal beings. ⁴ And furthermore, it is enveloped in suffering and infirmity. Moreover, it is enveloped upon the clean and the unclean, the righteous and the sinners, the good and the evil. ⁵ Did you not, my Lord the Messiah, Son of God, receive suffering in the body even though you did not experience death or infirmity of divinity? ⁶ For you are the Word of the Father, the living God, the primary creator of the heavens and earth. ⁷ You who have no beginning and no end, in the company of your Holy Spirit, as you previously told me when I asked you about your nature and the throne of your glory from before the world was created. ⁸ And you said to me, ‘There is no place that can contain us, but we perceive every place through the power of our divinity.’

⁹ But the second death of sinners will be after the resurrection of souls and bodies. Once more they will be consumed in fire. ¹⁰ It would have been better for them to arise to see his glory; the adornment of heaven and the slaves¹⁴ of the earth; the sun, the moon, and the stars; the mountains and the hills; (and) the wild animals and the livestock, from which they lived lives of pleasure. ¹¹ They transgressed and they died. This is the first death. Because of their sin, they received recompense. ¹² Therefore, this is the verdict: judgment and punishment from you, O Lord.

25¹ Once more you will achieve your will (through) resurrection. ² Having renewed (them), you will bring them forth from the earth, and you will wake up those who sleep and lie down in the soil. ³ Their bodies are worn out and their bones are crushed and became dust. ⁴ And after you raise the dead, (who) are renewed in soul and body, from sleep,

¹³ There may be a word missing between አልቦ and በእንተ.

¹⁴ Grébaud, perhaps rightly, changes ገብረ (slave) to ግብረ (product).

you will give them the second death through judgment. ⁵ The second verdict, death, is upon sinners. ⁶ Out of my futile heart I was poured out in terror while speaking about their sin (and) their second death. ⁷ After the resurrection, this death for sinners, which is worse, finds them.”

⁸ And my Lord answered me and said to me, “Is the first (revelation) that I told you evident to you? It is permissible for you not to understand this in your heart. ⁹ It is not fitting for you to tell sinners this account that you have heard, of which you have inquired, so that they will not increase transgression and sin. ¹⁰ It is not fitting for you to tell them this account. In fact, it is fitting to not disclose that which you have ascertained from me to others. ¹¹ If people see it, they will become sinners. There will be none who repent of their sin or of their transgression when they hear this word, of which you have inquired of me just now concerning the second death of sinners.”

26¹ I, your father Peter, fell down beneath his feet. I shed tears and wet his feet with my tongue while begging for mercy ² and saying, “Show compassion to me, O Lord, a sinner and a pauper, because I am the chief of sinners and fools in waywardness, having sworn when saying, ‘I do not know him,’ three times before the cock crowed.” ³ Then I wept, and wet his feet my tears, and wiped them off with my tongue, and kissed them with my mouth, while begging for mercy with all my heart.

⁴ When I had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me, “It is not fitting that you should cause me distress, since you know and understand my words within the Gospel: ‘He makes the sun rise for the righteous and sinners, and sends rain upon the good and the evil.’ ⁵ Indeed, (such is) the mercy of my Father. Just as the sun rises and the rain descends, so we have mercy and show compassion for all our work, as I said to the Jews concerning mercy for sinners. ⁶ They complained about me when I healed the sick on the Sabbath, when I said to the paralytic, ‘Rise up and take your bed. Your sin has been forgiven for you.’ ⁷ And they said to me, ‘This man speaks blasphemy against God and against people. Who can forgive sin on earth except God alone?’ ⁸ And I said to them, ‘Even my Father does such mercy to people on the Sabbath. And I also do the work of my Father. If you do not believe me, believe my actions.’ ⁹ Furthermore, I said to them at that time had I not done the work for them, which another has not done, they would have been saved from their error. ¹⁰ But now, there is no excuse for

them, because mercy is the work of my Father. ¹¹ And everything that he does, (I do), because I am in the Father and the Father is in me and the Holy Spirit, who originates from my Father and receives from me and glorifies me, as I previously said.”

27¹ And I answered and said to him, “How can I understand, my Lord, that which you have spoken to me in parables? ² You have not told me clearly that I, your servant a sinner, may rejoice, nor all who come after me. ³ You said to me, ‘Like the sun and the rain, so is my compassion.’ ⁴ There are those who want this on earth, but when the rain descends there are those who enter into a cave, and there are those who enter into a deep pit, and there are those who enter into the depths of the sea, and there are those who enter into the third floor. ⁵ How will the sun and the rain find them if they entered into the depths? Tell me clearly so that I may rejoice clearly.”

⁶ And he answered me, saying to me, “If you say to me, ‘tell me here’, I will reveal (it) to you. ⁷ But it is not fitting for you to tell sinners, so that they do not practice sin, expecting mercy. ⁸ Like the sun, when it rises, does not divide our light, but the sun gives light to everything spread out under the sky when it produces the dawn for us – and who does not wish to see the light of the sun, and who hates the rain from the sky? – so is mercy.

28¹ And even the devil will be destroyed, as Paul, your brother, says: ‘The last adversary he will destroy is death,’ that is to say the devil. ² As he says, ‘All will bow down beneath his feet.’ And on that day, even the Son will bow down to the one who has subjugated to himself all things, so that God may be in all and over all. ³ Listen, my account to your brother is secret, because my Spirit proclaimed his explanation of this last dead person, the liar, the son of perdition, who will say, ‘I am the Christ,’ in order to deceive all people. ⁴ And those who refuse to believe in him, he will judge them all with the sword. Nevertheless, there will be many martyrs. ⁵ And after the killing of the martyrs, God will send onto the earth many evil spirits of demons, who will not exist merely in the flesh and who will not exist merely in the spirit on the earth. ⁶ And everyone who has a body on the earth will eat and rejoice and end. ⁷ And their king is named Shackle¹⁵.

¹⁵ Although 𐤒𐤓 (*gag*) is used here as the name of the king, it should not be transliterated as though it were a common proper noun. Instead, it is better to translate the word in accordance with one of its English glosses,

Those who king Alexander harmed, they will be sent away by my will. And even this one will be destroyed by death.

29¹ And after this, I will come in my glory and my dominion with all my holy ones. ² The dead will be raised at my word, and the righteous and the wicked will be divided at my command. ³ And wings will be given to my chosen ones, and they will ride on my own chariot. And I will come and descend upon the earth. ⁴ My Father will place a crown upon my head in Jerusalem, my city, and Zion will come to my city and will appear in all her worthiness and construction. ⁵ And my chosen ones, Moses and Elijah, will appear like you saw on Mount Tabor when they were talking with me. ⁶ All of them will stand at the right hand of my Father: all my chosen ones at my Father's right hand. ⁷ My throne will be in a river of fire flowing before me, and flashes of fire will surround me. ⁸ And on the left hand of majesty restoration will surround me without and within. ⁹ A thousand and ten thousand will be pressed toward my glory and majesty (in) terror of my majesty.

¹⁰ Arrows of sorrow, in which will be a raging fire, will pierce the sinners in a moment, and will tear apart their hearts, and will smite the hearts of sinners. ¹¹ And their crying will be so bitter that they will disturb the hearts of angels and the righteous. ¹² The sinners will be extremely oppressed by shining angels, who do not have mercy, because on earth the sinners corrupted their way from me. ¹³ Indeed, when the numerous tortures find them, they will cry out for death."

30¹ Then I answered while crying out and weeping, saying to my Lord, "I fear this second death, my Lord, that will find sinners." ² And he looked at me and answered me, saying to me, "Listen and be patient until you find my account. ³ It is not you who teaches sinners more than me, because I was crucified on account of sinners so that I might intercede for them in the presence of my Father." ⁴ Then I was silent. ⁵ "Would that you were no longer sad and anxious. I will tell you what you asked me. ⁶ Take care with regard to this account which you asked me and understand and consider for you yourself. ⁷ And beware, that which I have said is not for others: not for the angels, nor for the righteous, nor for the martyrs, nor for the prophets.

shackle, fetter, collar, or chain for the neck, in order to convey the meaning of this particular name. It is also possible that this is a reference to Gog (and Magog) if one assumes some degree of corruption in spelling.

⁸ There is no one who knows this, my account, except for my Father. And I have revealed this mystery to you, O Peter. ⁹ You will not reveal (it) to other people except the wise and learned. Place and hide it in a chest so that foolish people will not see it so that they will not say in the last day, 'God will have mercy on us.' ¹⁰ And they will practice transgression toward their neighbor: murder, theft, fornication, fraud, conceit, pride, anger, and slander. ¹¹ And furthermore, they will transgress against me by worshiping idols, by not honoring the Sabbath, and not keeping my commandment, and taking an oath falsely, and disregarding my will. ¹² If the sinners do this, take care yourself, it is not fitting that you will reveal it, so that fools might not transgress because of the statement, 'He will have mercy on us.'

31¹ As for mercy, my Father is merciful and I also show mercy, because what is my Father's is mine, and everything that is mine is my Father's. ² And when the sinners who believed in me beg, I also will beg my Father with them while I seek mercy for them from my Father. ³ And I will say to him, 'Have mercy on them, because I have worn their flesh. And as for those who ate my body and drank my blood, I bore their distress and I took their sickness and was crucified for their sake so that the sinners who believed in me might be rescued.' ⁴ And when the sinners see me while interceding to my Father for their sake, they will beg me and I also will beg to my Father for their sake. ⁵ But as for them, they see no one except me; I who wore their flesh. And I see my Father, because I am one with my Father in divinity. ⁶ Indeed, I myself left from his presence because of my love, according to his will, so that I might perform his good pleasure. ⁷ And therefore, the Father will give to everyone life; honor; a kingdom that will not end; his judgment that will not be divided; a crown of honor that is beautiful and shining; and the glory of wonderful honor. ⁸ And I will sit on the honor of divinity and establish for you and for your brothers twelve thrones, and you will judge the twelve tribes of Israel. ⁹ It is because of those who believed in me that I came. And because of those who believed in me, on account of their expression, I will show them mercy. ¹⁰ And immediately they will pass into openness and straight away go to eternal life where there is no end.

32¹ Now then, you will not reveal (this) to those who are not able to bear it, so that they might not transgress against their neighbor. ² Because their work will be iniquity one against the other when they hear the judgment of burning fire. They will kill one another and be

treated wickedly. ³ When the sinners hear (this), their conduct will be sinful so that they might be shown mercy. There will not be one who does good works or repentance among all of the sinners who hear and understand. ⁴ Therefore, I held back from you the account, and I am telling you that it is not fitting that all the sinners might see and perceive it, so that they will not transgress against their neighbor. ⁵ Would that you had not cried and lamented. I told you so that hope would not abandon you. ⁶ But as for you, prioritize the gift of repentance for sinners and instruct concerning the judgment of burning fire so that they might be afraid and perform righteousness; so that they might not act wickedly against their neighbor; and so that they might not oppress the widow and the orphan in their need on account of our mercy.

33¹ Listen, I will tell you something that will assure you. ² When a woman decorates a vessel, (it is) the product of (her) handiwork, or if not (it is) the product of the potter who decorates the vessel. ³ While the potter decorates, dressing the clay, he smashes the vessel. He wants honor so that he might make beautiful handiwork, since he wants in his mind that it should be pure and spotless, that there be no fracture and no crack. ⁴ He thinks and says that it could be an oil jug, or a container for wine, or a honey pot. He does this while wanting to decorate his work. ⁵ And when he rejects it, or it breaks or cracks, does he not return it to clay? He kneads and smashes (it) again and shapes it a second time.

⁶ Similarly, he created your father Adam for the honor of (his) handiwork. ⁷ And on account of his rebellion (he returned him) to a second clay. And afterward, having decorated him a second time, would he destroy him again in death? God forbid! ⁸ Because great is the mercy of God upon people, as David says when he knew the mercy of his God: ‘Indeed, great is your mercy in heaven, your righteousness is up to the clouds.’ ⁹ Do you see, do you notice how honored and exalted this word is? See the size and nature of the height of heaven. ¹⁰ Understand and consider¹⁶ the greatness of God’s mercy. Even his righteousness is up to the clouds, which is to say that the judgment of God is righteous. ¹¹ Furthermore, he says, ‘The right hand of God has done valiantly. The right hand of God has lifted me

¹⁶ Or “celebrate”.

up. I shall not die but shall be kept alive. ¹² God has rebuked me severely, but, nevertheless, he has not handed me over to death.’ ¹³ Therefore, this is the voice of Adam. You do not hear me. According to our father, Adam, when he says to you, ‘He has rebuked me severely,’ it is concerning his departure from the garden and the departure of his soul from his body.

34¹ His entire account is in the mystery of David, the prophet. ² ‘But, nevertheless, he has not handed me over death,’ that is to say Sheol. Those who go down into that place are the devil and his demons, who do not believe in the Son of God. ³ Those who believe in him will not see all the judgments of fire. They have received the body and blood of Christ and have become his children, his brothers and sisters, and heirs of his kingdom. ⁴ Furthermore, ‘I will give thanks to you, O Lord, because you have accepted me and have not put upon me the ridicule of my enemies.’ ⁵ Who are the enemies of Adam? Are they not the devil and his demons, who want to deceive him in order to bring him down into his belief? ⁶ ‘You have delivered me from those who go down into the pit.’ Are they not the devil and his demons?

⁷ Furthermore, he says, ‘Sing to God, his righteous ones, and bow down to the memorial of his holiness, because chastisement comes from his anger and life from his will.’ ⁸ Chastisement is death and the grave, but life is the resurrection from the grave and joy for ever and ever. ⁹ O Peter, (understand) this mystery, so that you may believe because of it that he shows compassion on those who believe and have received my body and my blood. ¹⁰ They will not go down a second time into Sheol in the belief of the devil and his demons. ¹¹ Do you understand this honor or do you have doubt in your heart and not believe in what I have told you?”

35¹ And I answered him, saying to him, “It is true. You have told me clearly and interpreted for me the word of David, the prophet. Indeed, his mercy is so abundant. ² I have enquired of you concerning the sinners who are like me, because my heart scrutinizes me when I think about it: that after the resurrection of the dead there will be a second death of sinners descending into Sheol. ³ Because of this, make this word known to me. I will believe and will not have any doubt.” ⁴ He answered me, saying to me, “But, again, do not forget that you should not tell this word to any people that you come upon, ⁵ but rather it should be secret so that they might not treat one another wickedly; nor say, ‘We have hope of being saved;’ nor do evil things

to their neighbor on account of the statement, 'Their sins will be forgiven them.'⁶ As for you, you have wept and cried out and exhausted me exceedingly when you wet my feet with your tears. You have exhausted me completely with questions and requests.⁷ I have informed you with clear understanding. Do not reveal this to anyone, except for notable people who have understanding, because this account is that same hidden mystery.

36¹ As for those who believe in me, they will each inherit in accordance with their rank."² "The ranks of patriarchs (will sit on) the throne of the cherubim. The ranks of archbishops will sit on the throne of the seraphim. The bishops will sit on the throne of the (?)¹⁷. The archpriests will sit on the throne of the rulers.³ The ranks of priests will sit on the throne of the powers. The ranks of readers will sit on the throne of the chiefs. The ranks of kings and princes will sit on the thrones of Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.⁴ Everyone in accordance with their rank.⁵ There are many dwellings, and he will establish a flock of angels and people. They will glorify his holy name in the company of spiritual beings.

⁶ In the presence of angels he will come in his glory. The dead will rise and, as it says, 'the first will be last, and the last will be first.'⁷ Those who are in Christ will be first, and he will take them into the clouds as far as the air. They will be carried on the wings of the wind.⁸ The heavens and the earth will glow. There will be no more sun and moon, and there will be no more winter and no summer.⁹ (It will be) like it was in the beginning before everything was created.¹⁰ And the offspring of Adam, who will be raised to life, will indeed receive the position and throne of the devil. And all the offspring will become the armies of angels instead of the armies of the devil.¹¹ But God will seal the demons in Gehenna, which trembles, with their lord, the devil, (and) with all who have been their dwelling.¹² Each of their families with them will be sealed in the abyss of Sheol, because they were enemies of Adam.¹³ They wanted to bring him down into their death, that same Sheol.¹⁴ He will establish the burning to ashes of the flock, and, after the burning to ashes of the flock of angels has happened, then there will be no means be only one God and only his name.¹⁵ And he will reign for ever and ever, and there will be no end to his kingdom.

¹⁷ A word is missing here in both manuscripts.

37¹ Now then, listen, O my son Clement, all that my lord told me, I have revealed to you. ² Do not reveal it to foolish people who are not able to bear it and who do not know the explanation. For this account is a hidden mystery for those who will understand it. ³ First, I wrote your discourse concerning the affairs of the world, as I heard from the savior of the world. ⁴ Second, I informed you about the divinity of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. ⁵ Third, I explained to you the repentance of those who transgressed, so that they might repent and not transgress against their neighbor. ⁶ Fourth, I informed you about him granting me my request when I beseeched him at that time to open my heart.

⁶ Indeed, (we were) like a child who does not know good and evil before the Paraclete was sent to us. ⁷ At the time when the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, was sent, we knew everything that will come to pass in heaven and on earth in the knowledge of our hearts. ⁸ Indeed, he has bestowed upon us the Spirit of life, and we have become the children of God. We have heard our Father who is in heaven, because he loves us abundantly. ⁹ He who bestowed upon us the Spirit of life and true knowledge and the Spirit of wisdom and the understanding of God, the Word who descended from above, we have partaken of his body and his blood so that we might become his children and his brothers and sisters.

38¹ How great will be the honor that was graciously given to us from God if we do not reject our savior and if we know our place and our honor so that we do not forget the hope that is prepared for us, our reward, ² and do not become like an infant who begs his father to give him a bird; then when it is presented to him in his hand he is glad; then a little while later the bird flies out of his hand; then he is upset, because he did not know to safeguard it. ³ As for us, we should pursue and not abandon the righteousness that is prepared for us in heaven so that we might make a dwelling with the company of the holy ones and the heavenly beings, who glorify God and endure because of his counsel, so that we might enter into his city.

⁴ Guard this mystery. Put (it) into a box in a chest so that foolish people might not see it and say, 'Because such is our hope, let us do evil so that we might find the good (that) he has arranged for us on the last day;' ⁵ and might not carry out wickedness upon their neighbor; and might not kill a soul; and might not commit adultery [with the wife of a man]; and might not become false witnesses. ⁶ Indeed,

thereafter all deeds will be evil; good deeds will be idle. Mercy will prevail upon people, and even on murder likewise.

39¹ Let them pay honor to the celebration of the feast of the Nativity of Christ in the ninth month, in Koiak, that is to say Taḥśaś, on the twenty-fifth, according to the Hebrews, but, according to the Egyptians, in the fourth month, that is to say Taḥśaś, on the twenty-ninth, in accordance with the custom of the church.² Celebrate the feast of the Baptism in the tenth month, that is to say Tobi/Tərr, on the seventh, according to the Hebrews, but, according to the Egyptians, in the fifth month, that is to say Tərr, on the eleventh, in accordance with the custom of the church.³ Either in Mägabit or in Miyazya, in accordance with the custom of the church, celebrate the feast of the Ascension of (Christ)¹⁸ to his Father in glory.⁴ In accordance with the custom of the church, celebrate, at the end of fifty (days), the feast of the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles.⁵ Celebrate a feast on the seventh day after the fifty, and afterwards fast, children of the church.

⁶ Let them rest on the Circumcision of our Lord in the month of Tobi, that is to say Tərr, on the seventh in the fifth month, according to the Egyptians.⁷ Let them rest on the feast of Simeon on the eleventh in the eleventh month, according to the Hebrews, but, according to the Egyptians, in the sixth month, that is to say Yäkatit, on the twenty-eighth.⁸ Let them rest at the time when the angel announced to Mary on the twenty-ninth of the month of Mägabit, that is to say Phamenoth, among the Hebrews, but, among the Egyptians, on the twenty-ninth of the seventh month, that is to say Mägabit.⁹ Let them rest on the Passion of our Lord on the seventh day in great sadness on account of our savior, who was crucified, but also joy on account of our Lord, who came. Celebrate a feast on the eighth day after the Passion.¹⁰ Let them rest on the seventh of the fifth month, that is to say Mesori, among the Hebrews, at the time when his appearance was transfigured on Mount Tabor, (but), according to the Egyptians, on the thirteenth, that is to say Nāḥase.¹¹ Let them rest on the feast of martyrs, disciples, and apostles of our Lord, each feast of their death. Let them rest on the feast of Stephen on the fifteenth of the month of Mäskäräm.¹² Let them rest on the forty soldiers on the thirteenth of

¹⁸ The manuscripts use only the relative pronoun after the preposition.

the month of Mägabit. Let them rest on the birth of our Lady Mary on the first of Gənbət.

¹³ Let them rest on the twenty-first in the month of Säne. Let them rest on the seventeenth of the month of Nähase. Let them rest on the twenty-first of the month of Tərr. ¹⁴ Let them rest on the twelfth of the month Hədar on the feast of Michael, and on the twelfth of the month of Säne. Let them rest on the twelfth of the month Nähase. ¹⁵ Let them rest on the four animals on the eighth of Hədar. Let them rest on the priests of heaven on the twenty-fourth of Hədar. Let them rest on the nine supplications. ¹⁶ As our fathers instituted, celebrate both the days of the Sabbath and Sunday accurately. Peter and Paul commanded us and instructed the children of the church: in the week, there are two, the Sabbath day and the first day. ¹⁷ Let them do no work. Let that man die when he has violated it. Let him be destroyed. ¹⁸ We have commanded in this way for the obedience of the Scriptures with regard to the conduct of the church. Observe this thing (that) I have told you.

40¹ Let this account be secret with regard to those who do not have knowledge, so that they do not become transgressors and ones who are deceived by the hope of the mercy of God. ² Do not reveal (it), except to the patriarchs and priests, to those who have knowledge and understanding, who expound the Scriptures, which are hidden and clear, which are concealed and revealed. ³ Do not proclaim that which you know, which you have found, but hide and bind it in a chest. ⁴ Do not let foolish people see what I have told you, what you have inquired of me. I have made known to you what you have asked me.”

⁵ Our savior, Christ, spoke to Peter, his disciple. And Peter likewise revealed to his disciple, Clement. ⁶ And he made known to him the account of the mystery so that he might not reveal it but frighten them with the judgment of burning fire so that they will repent from their sin.

⁷ “Listen, O my son Clement, I am telling you my truth. Glory to the friend of people for ever and ever. Amen.”

XVI. Ṭānāsee/EMML Microfilm Correspondences: An Overview

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Between 30 October and 11 December 1968, Ernst Hammerschmidt microfilmed 179 manuscripts at the monasteries and churches of Kebrān Gabre'el, Dabra Māryām, Rēmā Madhanē Ālam, Dāgā Eṣṭifānos, and Q^warāṭā Walatta Pētros at Lake Ṭānā in northwestern Ethiopia, included among which was the second recorded copy of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (Ṭānāsee 35). A second microfilming campaign in the Lake Ṭānā area, covering a wider array of ecclesiastical collections and codices, was undertaken in the 1980s by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, and this project naturally included some items previously treated by Hammerschmidt, such as the aforementioned codex containing the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (EMML 8294). Due to the often poor quality of these sets of microfilms wherein parts of images are frequently illegible, this duplication has proven fortunate as use of both surrogate copies of a single manuscript generally allows for more text to be accurately and clearly read and transcribed. In some instances, moreover, changes in state of a manuscript or errors in the microfilming process also mean that one microfilm provides access to material unavailable via its counterpart. Over the past several years, independent copies of more than half of the codices microfilmed by Hammerschmidt have been identified within the EMML collection. These overlaps are listed in the table below in order to help facilitate the better scholarly use of these materials.

Ṭānāsee	EMML	Ṭānāsee	EMML	Ṭānāsee	EMML
1	8308	42	8306	115	8734
2	7603	43	8277	119	8719
4	8274	44	8266	122	8352
7	8287	45	8273	125	8354
8	8594	46	8319	126	8695
9	8292	47	8600	127	8694
10	8268	48	8612	128	8364
11	8598	49	8312	131	8367
12	8290	50	8303	132	8369
13	8632	51	8316	134	8370
15	8322	52	8299	137	8368
16	7605	53	8321	139	8377
17	8607	54	8320	140	8412
18	8275	55	8311	141	8378
21	8307	56	8283	142	8382
22	8278	58	8282	144	8754
24	8603	59	8645	145	8425
25	8309	60	8636	148	8394
26	8262	62	8613	151	8748
27	8677	63	8631	153	8420
28	8635	65	8657	156	8755
29	8293	66	8623	161	8404
30	8276	68	8640	162	8372
32	8295	72	8621	172	8384
34	8676	73	8610	173	8399
35	8294	77	8597	175	8753
36	8298	86	8659	176	8413
37	7596	113	8699	177	8744
39	8291	114	8709	179	8438
41	8606				