University of Groningen

The Apocalypse Of Peter

Bremmer, Jan N.; Czachesz, István

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11   The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*

PETER VAN MINNEN

In this chapter I discuss the Greek fragments of the *Apocalypse of Peter (ApPt)* from Egypt from a palaeographical, codicological, and philological point of view. I hope some basic insights will follow from this discussion with implications for the historical and theological interpretation of the text.

First, I want to describe the codex containing the most substantial Greek fragment of the *ApPt*. This has not been done before in sufficient detail. Without recourse to the original, now kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, part of what I am going to say will remain hypothetical. Second, I want to reconsider briefly in what sense this Greek text represents an edited version of the original text of the *ApPt,* known very imperfectly through the Ethiopic text and a few other Greek fragments. In an appendix I present revised texts of these fragments.

When the first substantial fragment of the *ApPt* was published in 1892[1], little attention was paid to the physical aspects of the parch-

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U. Bouriant, *Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch* (Paris, 1892) 91-147. The subscription is dated to November 1891. D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 84, says that James had access to the text before it was published, but this is incorrect. O. von Gebhardt, *Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus* (Leipzig, 1893) remarks in his preface that Bouriant's edition was available in September 1892. James and other scholars in Europe apparently began studying the text in November 1892. Thus, J.A. Robinson and M.R. James, *The Gospel According to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (London 1892), state in their preface that Bouriant's edition arrived in Cambridge on November 17, 1892 (their own preface is dated December 1, 1892: they wrote their booklet, which is still useful, in

ment codex that contained it. This is quite understandable: the discovery of substantial fragments of both the *Gospel of Peter* (*GPt*) and the *ApPt* as well as the first part of I *Enoch* in Greek caused great excitement. Scholars focused on the text of the fragments and more particularly on the content of the *GPt* and of the *ApPt.* The circumstances of the find, the composition of the Akhmim codex, and the date of the manuscripts (plural) contained in it are very hard to pin down in the literature[2]. The limited palaeographical analysis focused on the date of the manuscripts, which could not be established at the time for lack of parallels. Hundred years ago few comparable manuscripts from late antique Egypt had been published. Although this situation began to change soon after the publication of the Akhmim codex, the dating of the manuscripts continued to trouble scholars. Suggested dates range from the fourth/fifth century (C. Wessely) through the late fifth (H.A. Sanders), fifth/sixth (B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt,) and sixth century (E.G. Turner) to the eighth/twelfth century with a preference for the eighth/ninth century, first suggested on the basis of the earliest minuscule manuscripts by H. Omont. Only in 1987, in their pioneering study on the Greek bookhands of late antiquity', G. Cavallo and H. Maehler redated the manuscripts to the late

two weeks). Plates were published by May of next year (Gebhardt refers in his preface, which is dated to May 13, 1893, to these plates as having been published a few days earlier) by A. Lods, *L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre* (Paris, 1893), who provides retouched images of all pages of the codex except pp. 11-12, followed closely by Gebhardt, who gives photographic images of pp. 1-20 only. Lods also gives an image of the inside of the cover, but not of the outside. Only Gebhardt provides a sustained palaeographical description of both the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the Akhmim codex. We had to wait until 1987 for the next palaeographical analysis of the codex (see note 3 below).

[2] For a brief statement see L. Vaganay, *L'Évangile de Pierre* (Paris, 1930) 14-6.

[3] G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period. A.D. 300-800* (London, 1987) no. 41, with three illustrations of the hands represented in the codex. The hand of the fragment of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus* also contained in the codex is not taken into consideration by Cavallo and Maehler. They provide a brief bibliography on earlier suggestions for the date of the codex.

sixth century. It is important to restate the case for such a date, be-
cause their study may not be in the hands of all those interested in the
Greek *ApPt*.

But first I want to say something about the circumstances of the
find. The codex was found in the winter of 1886/1887 about 200 me-
ters north-east from the top of a cemetery at Akhmim, ancient
Panopolis in Upper Egypt. In this particular area of the cemetery
Middle Kingdom tombs had also been found. On the map (fig. 1)[4] the
three cemeteries to the north-east of Akhmim are clearly marked.
Cemeteries B and C were not yet explored in 188611887, so that the
codex was found in the central cemetery A. Cemeteries B and C con-
tain tombs cut in the rock dating from the Middle Kingdom to the
Graeco-Roman period. Cemetery A is quite different, being a low
ridge of over two kilometers. This area has been used as a cemetery
from the pre-dynastic period onwards. The tombs were dug in the
surface and are generally not well preserved. This is the result not
only of the wear of time, but also of human intervention. In 1884 the
then director of the Egyptian antiquities service G. Maspero started
digging there, but he did not exercise the supervision in person. The
result is that no reliable information exists on anything that was
found there. For five years the antiquities service worked on the site,
but so did the local population. Both retrieved masses of objects that
were carted off to the museum in Gizeh or to the antiquities market.
From 1884 onwards many objects, especially textiles, from cemetery
A were sold to museums around the world.

Somewhere in this mess the codex containing a substantial frag-
ment of the **ApPt** in Greek was found. Looking at the map and at
photos from cemetery A, I would guess that the find was made in the
central part of the cemetery, near Dayr al-Wastani. Where the Middle
Kingdom tombs were found is unknown. The antiquities service had
started from the north and was working its way to the south, which it
did not reach until 1888. The first editor of the Akhmim codex claims
that it was found in the tomb of a monk. This was no doubt merely an
inference from the content of the codex, not based on actual indica-

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[4] Taken from K.P. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Ge-
schichte des Raumes von Achmim* (Mainz, *1983) 53,* **Abb.** 14.
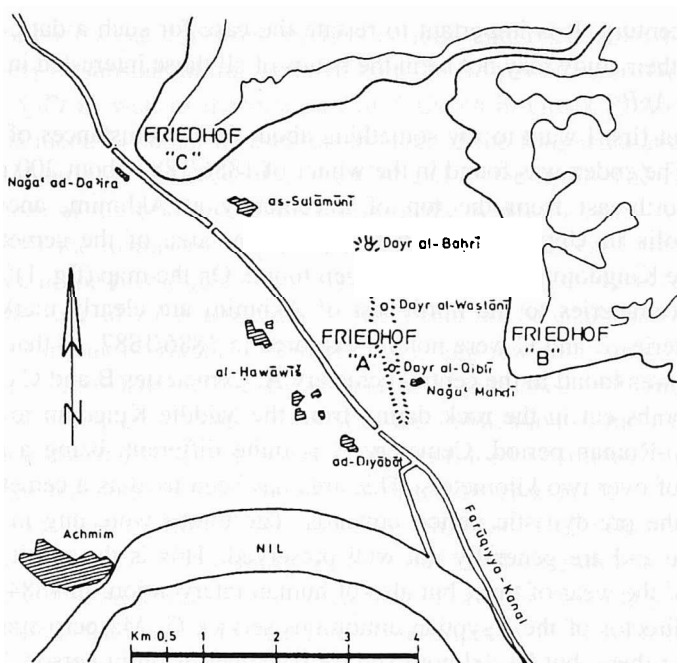
A = al-Ḥawāwīš — B = (Bayt) al-Madina
— C = as-Salāmūnī

Fig. 1 The Akhmim cemeteries (see n. 4)

tions in the tomb itself. The inference may be correct, but it should not be used as an independent fact in discussing the codex. As one can tell from the map, there are nowadays three monasteries in cemetery A. In Arabic they are appropriately called the Northern, the Middle and the Southern monastery. These are only a couple of centuries old, but they may ultimately go back to late antiquity. There were, however, many other monastic sites in the Akhmim area, and monks are certainly not the only candidates for the ownership of early Christian texts. Any Greek-speaking inhabitant of Panopolis with a penchant for apocalyptic literature may have been buried in

cemetery A. It would have been natural to include a codex with his or her[5] favourite apocalyptic texts in the tomb.

The composition of the codex is not satisfactorily discussed by the first editor. Unfortunately, E.G. Turner in his monograph on the typology of the early codex does not pay much attention to the codex *per* **se**[6]. The codex is in fact made up of several parchment manuscripts and the leftovers of other parchment manuscripts. Although the first editor does not say anything about the quires, I have reconstructed the codex physically with the help of paper, glue, and common sense[7].

The first quire containing a fragment of the *GPt* in Greek is a binio consisting of two bifolia or four leaves or eight pages to which a bifolium consisting of two leaves or four pages has been added (a new photo shows that pages 9-12 are one bifolium). The first page contains an illustration, an ornamental cross. The second page is headed by a small cross to indicate the beginning of the text. The fragment of the Greek text of the *GPt* occupies nine pages, which leaves the last two pages of the added bifolium blank. At the bottom of page ten we find an ornamental border with three small crosses to indicate the end of the text. The text ends abruptly in mid-sentence. This has usually been taken as an indication that the text was copied from a defective exemplar, just as the text of the *ApPt* contained in the next quire. But both texts begin with a proper sentence and the *ApPt* ends with one, so I do not think the inference is correct. I rather

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[5]   This is not merely deference to feminism on my part. The only documentary attestation of a Greek reading public for apocalyptic texts in Egypt happens to relate to a woman. P. *Oxy.* 63.4365 is a fourth-century letter in which the writer asks a woman to lend him/her a copy of 4 *Ezra* in exchange for a copy of the *Book of Jubilees* (the 'Little Genesis'). On this text see D. Hagedom, 'Die "kleine Genesis" in P. Oxy. XLIII 4365', ZPE 116 (1997) 147-8.

[6]   E.G. Tumer, *The Typology of the Early Codes* (Philadelphia, 1977) 185, dating it to the sixth century.

[7]   Making a mock-up of a codex helps one to get a clear physical grasp of it. Detailed descriptions can only take one so far. In this case detailed descriptions are lacking. T.J. Kraus kindly showed me some new photos of the codex.

think that the fragments of the *GPt* and the *ApPt* were considered complete in themselves, but that in the case of the *GPt* there was no room left at the bottom of page 10 to finish the fragment. It seems as if the scribe drew the ornamental border first and that he could not continue the text beyond it on the next page. Originally he used a binio, as in the case of the fragment of the *ApPt,* but towards the end of page eight he realised that he had to add more text. He must have calculated the length of the remainder and found that the text would occupy another two pages. He added a bifolium of which he thought he could use only two pages, because the other two pages would be folded before page one, thus creating a ternio. The binder, however, folded the other two pages after page ten, so that page one with the illustration remained up front. The scribe apparently could not fore-see this, so he drew the ornamental border on page ten, which he ex-pected to be the last page. He continued to copy the Greek text on page nine. When he had almost reached the end on page ten he found that there was not enough room. He put as many words in the last line as possible, but the sentence could not be completed. Presumably there was not much text left to copy. The fragment of the *GPt* he wanted to copy consisted of a selection from the larger text which started with a proper sentence and ended with one. This selection will not have been much longer than what we now have. I score an impor-tant point here, because the selection we have was made on purpose. What dictated the choice of this particular section will be considered later when I deal with the fragment of the *ApPt,* which also seems to be a selection rather than a leftover.

The handwriting of the fragment of the *GPt* and the *ApPt* is the same. It is a carefully written documentary hand, which is difficult to date precisely. The scribe uses traditional capital letterforms along-side more recent cursive letterforms. The latter (occasional delta and pi, occasional final upsilon) in conjunction with telltale cursive com-binations of letters (epsilon-iota, epsilon-rho, tau-epsilon) date the hand to the sixth or seventh century. Cavallo and Maehler put the hand in the late sixth century, the date they assign to the hands used for 1 Enoch contained in the same codex. The hand of the *GPt* and the *ApPt* is highly individual because of its unusual but not unparal-

leled leftward slant. Because it tries to produce the regularity of a
bookhand and avoids the flourish of the contemporary documentary
hand, it uses more traditional capital letterforms and only occasion-
ally more recent cursive letterforms. This is in fact the same process
as that which produced the Greek minuscule hand in the eighth cen-
tury, but the process is here seen in an early stage. Most documents
of the sixth and seventh centuries were written by professional
scribes such as notaries. The hand of the *GPt* and the *ApPt* in the
Akhmim codex is not a typical notarial hand, but the most direct par-
allels are in fact found in notarial documents of the late sixth **cen-
tury**[8]. The most remarkable features are the triangular delta and espe-
cially the enlarged sigma, usually in final position. The latter is
occasionally but never so consistently found in documents of the
sixth and seventh century. It is odd that the scribe did not use con-
temporary literary letterforms for these two literary texts. One would
rather have expected something in the order of the biblical majuscule
used by the two scribes who wrote the fragment of I *Enoch* con-
tained in the same codex. Yet the scribe knew what he was doing, be-
cause, as we have seen, he calculated the length of the text before-
hand. *Nonzina sacra* are strictly limited to KC, ΘC, and ANOC for
κύριος, θεός and ἄνθρωπος respectively (occasionally κύριος and
θεός are written out in full)[9].

The second quire is a binio consisting of two bifolia or four
leaves or eight pages. It was bound upside down in the codex. The
first page is left blank. No doubt it was intended for an illustration
such as the one adorning the first page of the first quire, but this was
never added. The second page is headed by a small cross to indicate
the **beginning** of the text just as in the first quire. The Greek text of
the *ApPt* occupies seven pages. On page 7 the text is headed by an-
other small cross. Something went wrong here, because the text ends
at the bottom of page 8, where one might have rather expected the

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[8]   *P. Münch.* I.1 and 7 of 574 and 583 respectively. *P. Münch.* 1.14 of 594
and *P. Lond.* 3.1012 of *633* use even more capital letterforms, but show less
general similarity with the hand of the *GPt* and the *ApPt*.
[9]   In the *GPt* and the *ApPt* there are no *nomina sacra* for Ἰερουσαλήμ,
Ἰσραήλ, οὐρανός, σωτήρ, and υἱός.

cross. There is no ornamental border there either, and the writing stops in the middle of the line. The last sentence is complete as it stands, and the letters in the last line are larger than in the rest of the text, indicating that it is the end.

The third quire is written in a different hand. It is a quatemio consisting of four bifolia or eight leaves or sixteen pages. The first leaf is missing now, but my reconstruction of the quires presupposes its presence. It must have fallen out before the codex was deposited in the tomb. This may be an indication that the codex was used before it ended up in the tomb and that it was therefore not specifically made for the tomb, but the quire may also have been incomplete when it was first put in the codex. The text starts with a section of 1 *Enoch* repeated from further down. Only on the third preserved page does chapter 1, verse 1 start without any indication that it does, right in the middle of a line. How much text preceded this we cannot tell, because yet another quire may have preceded originally. The mistake probably arose because the exemplar had skipped sections 20 and following and added them at the front. The scribe copied this addition supposing it was the beginning of the text, but he also copied it at its proper place where the exemplar had no doubt added a marginal note referring to the addition at the front.

The fourth quire is written in the same hand as the third. It is again a quaternio consisting of four bifolia or eight leaves or sixteen pages. The text continues that of the preceding quire.

The fifth quire is written in yet another hand. It is again a quatemio consisting of four bifolia or eight leaves or sixteen pages. The text continues that of the preceding quire, but breaks off at the end. This is indicated by a small symbol that fills the space at the end of the line. Clearly, the person who put the Akhmim codex together had only the first three quires of a larger codex with *1 Enoch* at his disposal. Such codices with incomplete texts are quite common in late antiquity.

The last leaf of the codex was glued to the inside of the cover. That is at least what the first editor claims. Perhaps the leaf merely stuck to the inside. Originally this may have been another quatemio 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. The Greek text is from the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus*[10]. The handwriting is the most literary in the codex and can be securely dated to the first half of the seventh century. The ornamental roundels underneath delta and the sling to the left at the bottom of beta are features that do not occur before the end of the sixth century. If this leaf was used to fasten the inside of the cover, as the first editor claimed, it might have been added to the codex at a later date. The size of the leaf, the pricking holes, and the ruling in any case suggest a link between it and the preceding three quires, which have a similar make-up.

The last leaf therefore must stem from the same scriptorium as the preceding three quires. It employed three different scribes or styles, but not necessarily concomitantly. The fragment of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus* may have been written at a slightly later date. The first scribe of the fragment of I *Enoch* is rather clumsy and sticks to the ruling even if the lines are not straight. His letterforms are slightly more difficult to date than those of the other scribe of the fragment of I *Enoch* and those of the scribe of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus.* Cavallo and Maehler assign the hand of the first fragment of I *Enoch* with a small margin of error to the late-sixth century. It could conceivably be contemporary with the hand of the last leaf in the codex, which I put in the first half of the seventh century. The second scribe of I *Enoch* is more careful[11], disregards the ruling if necessary and embellishes his letters with ornamental roundels at the end of thin letter-strokes but not underneath delta. The literary letterforms suggest a rather late date in the development of this type of script. Cavallo and Maehler put it also in the late sixth century, but again the script could also be slightly later and contemporary with that of the last leaf in the codex. The first half of

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[10]   A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen his zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts 1* (Leipzig, *1937)* 70-2, is confused about the identification.

[11]   Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands,* no. *41,* claim that the writing is equally crude as that of the first scribe, but this seems excessive.

the seventh century is the latest possible date for the composition of the portions of the codex written in bookhands. The traditional date assigned to the codex (eighth/ninth century) is in any case too late.

The hand of the first two quires with the fragments of the *GPt* and the *ApPt* may be contemporary or a little earlier than those of the other quires and the last leaf. It looks as if the codex was composed of leftovers. The three quires with 1 *Enoch* and the leaf of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus* are clearly incomplete and were certainly not written for the present codex. The first two quires, however, although they do not give a complete text, were nevertheless regarded as selections complete in themselves. Were they specifically written for the codex or were they available before it was put together just as the leftovers of 1 *Enoch* and the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus?* If they were written specifically for this codex, they were presumably copied from an exemplar in a different size, which did not fit the codex, and perhaps also on different material (papyrus). The exemplar may in any case have been written in a reformed documentary hand, as most of the earliest Christian literary texts on papyrus were until the fourth century. While copying such a text, a scribe might have preferred using documentary letterforms himself, because it would have been easier to calculate beforehand how much space the fragments would take up. The exemplar must have contained both the *GPt* and the *ApPt,* because the latter was edited to fit the former, as we can tell from a comparison with the Ethiopic. Yet the exemplar must also have clearly distinguished the two texts. The *ApPt* was not incorporated into the *GPt*, and the first two quires in the Akhmim codex do not represent detached fragments of a single composite text, but selections complete in themselves, as I have suggested.

The first two quires may have been available for some time before the codex was put together. This may seem less likely on the surface. The first quire with its illustration seems to have been made for the opening of a codex and does not seem large enough by itself to form a separate codex, but there were other such small booklets in late antique Egypt. The second quire also seems rather small for an independent booklet that was only incorporated into a larger codex at a later date, but the blank page on its cover strongly suggests that it

was also meant to form a separate booklet. It never received an illustration such as the one found on the first booklet because it was kept with the first booklet. The two booklets were no doubt made at the same time and by the same scribe and in the order in which the two booklets were later incorporated into the composite codex. The script is most careful at the beginning of the *GPt*, but becomes less careful later on. The *ApPt* continues this less careful script, which shows that the same scribe wrote it immediately after the *GPt*. Whoever made up the booklets transferred two older, but related fragments onto parchment leaves in a size similar to that of the fragments of I *Enoch* and the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus* with which they were eventually joined in a composite codex. These were written on rather small and squarish leaves (about 12 x 15 cm), which are otherwise rare at such a late date[12]. This format must have been current in the scriptorium where the various components of the codex were written. The first two texts were also written on quires of this size but without any ruling and in a documentary hand[13]. This must have happened at about the same time as the leftovers of I *Enoch* were written. When the codex was put together is not known. The owner did not mind the incomplete state of the texts. The *GPt* and the *ApPt* were incomplete, but they represented already edited chunks of the original compositions. After the codex was constructed, it may not have been used much. There are no certain signs of use. The occasional correction seems original, that is, made by the scribes themselves[14]. The leaf of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazar-bus,* which was glued to the back cover, perhaps to strengthen it, may have been added at a later stage, which would indicate that the codex was not immediately deposited in the tomb in which it was found.

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[12] A fifth-century parallel from Panopolis is the famous Berlin gnostic papyrus codex (inv. 8502).

[13] The size of the individual leaves can only be established with the original in hand. The plates of Lods, *Évangile* and Gebhardt, *Evangelium,* do not seem to be consistently printed in natural size.

[14] I think the correction of βανισται to βα\σα/νισταί in section 23 is also original, but Gebhardt, *Evangelium,* 33, thought this could be in a later hand.

In late antiquity, leftovers of several manuscripts were often put together in a bundle to create a new codex, or selections from various texts were made to create a composite manuscript. Both phenomena seem to be at work in our codex[15]. The last three quires and the last leaf are clearly leftovers. The first two quires are complete as they stand, but their texts are selections of larger compositions. We may be tempted to look for a specific reason why the different parts were thus combined. The common denominator in the codex is Greek, and the combination of two apocalypses (that of Peter and 1 *Enoch)* seems deliberate. The *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarhus* may well be connected with the *GPt,* which records the trial of Christ just as much as it records the trial of Julian. The *GPt* naturally joins the *ApPt.* The parallel between the Jews who condemned Jesus with whom the *Gospel* fragment opens and the false prophets with whom the *Apocalypse* fragment opens may well be deliberate. Why were all these texts put together in the seventh century or even later? There may be a link with the great upheavals in Egypt at the time, notably the Arab conquest, but I do not want to speculate on this.

What does this interpretative description tell us about the *ApPt?* If the text was copied from a defective exemplar, which was incomplete, there is no use speculating about the selection of this particular portion of the text. But if the selection was made already in the exemplar the choice itself becomes the subject of historical inquiry. The fact that the order of the text is inverted compared to the Ethiopic text is also intriguing. Both the *GPt* and the *ApPt* begin with a proper sentence, even if the sentences seem to refer back to something that originally preceded it. The *Gospel* fragment ends abruptly, but this may well have been the result of lack of space, as I have suggested. The *Apocalypse* fragment ends with a proper sentence. If the selection of these texts was made specifically for the two booklets, it would be one of the last creative acts in Greek on the part of Egyptian Christians. It is not impossible to identify Egyptian Christians literate in Greek at this late date, even in monasteries, but if they

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[15] **A.** Petrucci has discussed this for Latin manuscripts in A. Giardina (ed), *Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura* (Rome and Bari, 1986) 173-87.

were not writing documents but creative works of literature, they would no longer do so in Greek. There may still have been pockets of Greek-speaking Origenists in Egypt, who may not have been unsympathetic towards this kind of early Christian literature, but even they would be preserving, not creating, such selections by this date.

If the selection of the first two texts in the codex was already made in the exemplar or earlier still, this would push its date back to a time when Greek was still in active use among Egyptian Christians. The Greek text of the *ApPt* inverts the order of the original as we can tell from the Ethiopic. To make the text intelligible a few sentences had to be added at the beginning and between the two portions. This was the work of whoever made the selection from the *ApPt*. It is difficult to decide when this happened.

Most intriguing is the fact that the first two quires are related, not in the sense that they are detached fragments of the same book, as many have thought[16], but in that the selection of both texts together was a coordinated effort which resulted in a set of two distinct texts transmitted together. The scribe of the exemplar and the scribe of the first two quires in the Akhmim codex knew that they were dealing with two distinct texts, but the scribe of the exemplar (or an even earlier scribe) had edited the fragment of the *ApPt* to conform it to the *Gospel* fragment. Because we do not have another text of the *GPt*, we cannot tell whether the *Gospel* fragment was also edited in the process. I think that the opening sentence of the *Apocalypse* fragment, for which there is no parallel in the Ethiopic text, was added when the selection was made and edited. 'Many of them will be pseudo-prophets' cannot refer back to a previous portion of the text of the *ApPt,* because there is nothing in the Ethiopic to link it with. I think that it should be read in light of the opening of the *GPt*. There the first sentence begins with a clear reference to the Jews. It is an anti-Jewish text and blames the Jews and king Herod while it let Pilate off the hook: 'Of the Jews no one washed his hands'. The reference to the Jews is picked up in the added opening of the *Apocalypse* fragment: 'Many of them will be pseudo-prophets'. Here

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[16] E.g. M.R. James, 'The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter', JTS 32 (1931) 275-8, criticising Vaganay, *Évangile,* 187-92.

'them' cannot refer to a group of people mentioned earlier in the *ApPt,* as we know from the Ethiopic. Because it was added when the selection was made, it must refer to a group of people the editor had in mind when selecting the fragment of the *ApPt,* which immediately follows the fragment of the *GPt.*

   If the slant put on the *ApPt* derives from the anti-Jewish slant of the *GPt*, we can understand why the text of the *ApPt* was edited the way it was. Everywhere the positive references to things Jewish have been deftly edited away. An originally Jewish Christian text has thus been changed to an anti-Jewish text. This may have been done in the second or third century. It may have been done in Egypt and more particularly in Alexandria, where anti-Jewish feelings were strong. We know that the original version of the *ApPt* was available to Clement of Alexandria, but not necessarily in Alexandria itself''. If the edited version was made in the second century in Egypt, it must have been done in Alexandria, because it would be too early for Christian literary activity in the Egyptian *chora.* But it may also have been made in the third century, in which case it might have been made in the *chora.* The reference to animal worship in section 10.5 of the Ethiopic text does not point to an original composition of the *ApPt* in Alexandria. This was general knowledge (cf. *Romans* 1.23). It is remarkable that section 33 of the Akhmim text drops this reference, but then it drops many more precise references as well.

   Another startling feature of the edited version of the *ApPt* represented by the Akhmim text is the suppression of the section on the generic 'guardian' (τημελοῦχος) angel''. This is the only section of the *ApPt* actually quoted by Christian authors of the second and third century[19]. This was its trademark, so to speak, yet it was suppressed in the edited version represented by the Akhmim text. This version

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[17]   Origen does not mention it, but by his time the *Apocalypse of Paul* may have replaced the *ApPt.*

[18]   Section 26 of the Akhmim text as against section 8.10 in the Ethiopic, where Τημελοῦχος is regarded as a proper name. For the angel, see also Bremmer, this volume. 10f.

[19]   Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae Pɪ-opheticae* 41 and 48 and Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium* 2.6. where τημελοῦχος appears in the plural.

was probably meant to be more orthodox than the Jewish Christian original. The mention of the angel Ezrael (sections 7.10, 9.1 and 10.5 of the Ethiopic text) has also been removed in the version attested in the Akhmim text (sections 25, 27 and 33).

R. Bauckham claims that the original *ApPt* was a Jewish Christian tract from Palestine written during the persecution of Christians by Bar Kokhba, the false messiah[20]. This is way too precise for the very general references to martyrs, false messiahs, and Jews, the very stuff of this kind of eschatology, to be accepted[21]. But it is nevertheless clear from the vision at the end (sections 15-17 of the Ethiopic text) that the original text was written from a Jewish Christian perspective[21]. The focus on 'pagan' sins does not necessarily point to a

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[20]   R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 160-258, which is taken from *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 7-111. Cf. Tigchelaar, this volume, Ch. IV.

[21]   Bauckham, *The Fate,* 183-4, claims that the reference to the punishment of those who have persecuted or betrayed martyrs is unique. But that does not mean that it can only refer to Jewish Christians persecuted under Bar Kokhba (cf. Matthew 25.31-46 for the punishment of those who have failed to help martyrs, where the reference cannot be to Jewish Christians persecuted under Bar Kokhba). Note in this connection that Bauckham, *op. cit.*, 184 and 241, adopts the translation of Muller (not Buchholz, as Bauckham, *op. cir.,* 241, note 95, claims) for section 16.5 of the Ethiopic text ('those who are [or will be] persecuted for my righteousness' sake' instead of 'those who pursued my righteousness'. as in Buchholz, *Your Eyes,* 238). See C.D.G. Muller in W. Schneemelcher (ed), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 2 (Tübingen 1989[5]) 577, who regards the phrase 'those who are persecuted for my righteousness' sake' as a direct quotation of *Matthew* 5.10. The corresponding Greek text (section 20) just has 'the righteous'. Immediately following, the Ethiopic text (16.6) identifies 'those who pursued my righteousness' as a quotation from 'the book of my Lord Jesus Christ'. Cf. also E. Norelli, 'Situation des apocryphes pétriniens', *Apocrypha* 2 (1991) 31-83 at 45-6. note 43.

[22]   It is therefore remarkable that the *ApPt* assumes a 'high christology', notwithstanding the strictures of Buchholz, *Your Eyes,* 392-3. The false messiah claims in section 2.8 of the Ethiopic text: 'I am the Christ who has come into the world'. This implies that the true Christ has come into the world in the Johannine sense. The *ApPt* does not develop this idea further, but then it did not have to.

place of composition outside Palestine, but certainly does not rule it
out either. Perhaps Rome should be considered a good candidate. The
martyrdom of Peter in Rome is here unequivocally mentioned for the
first time in an early Christian text[23]. Moreover, the *ApPt* is first
mentioned in the Canon Muratori. Bauckham places special emphasis
on the absence of any mention of the imperial cult[24], which in his
view would be strange anywhere but in Palestine, but even if we al-
low this argument from silence, it would not rule out Rome, where
the imperial cult was not very intrusive[25]. In section 14.4 of the
Ethiopic text the enemy of the faithful is at any rate clearly identified
with the Roman state embodied by the emperor Nero ('the son of the
one in Hades'), as in *Revelation.* The original question with which
the final vision in the *ApPt* grappled was the present fate of the Jew-
ish believers before the coming of Christ. In the edited version of the
Akhmim codex this has been carefully changed to a question about
the present fate of the Christian believers who had passed away in the
meantime. References to Moses, Elijah, and the patriarchs have been
carefully removed[26]. The *Apocalypse of Paul* (*ApPl*) follows the

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[23]   My confirmation of James's reading of the Rainer fragment (see the ap-
pendix) puts this beyond doubt.

[24]   Bauckham, *The Fate,* 185.

[25]   In Alexandria or Antioch one would perhaps have expected a reference
to the imperial cult. For Antioch as a possible place of composition of the
ApPt, see Norelli, 'Situation', 62.

[26]   The only problem seems to be the possible reference to Jewish high-
priests in section 20 of the Akhmim text. The reading there, αρχερω(ν), can
be variously explained. In light of section 5 of the Akhmim text, which has
no counterpart in the Ethiopic text, but is one of the sections added in the
revision, we would expect ἀδελφῶ(ν) here with Wilamowitz, but
αρχερω(ν) looks rather like a misspelling for ἀρχιερέω(ν), 'highpriests',
as Harnack thought. There were officers within some Christian communities
called 'highpriests' (see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon,* s.v. ἀρχιερεύς),
but I suspect that αρχερω(ν) is a misreading for ἀρχαίω(ν), 'ancients'. This
could refer to the previous generation(s) of Christians who had died in the
meantime. The difficulty glossed over by the revision is that at the dramatic
date of the vision itself there were as yet no Christian 'brethren' about
whose fate the disciples might be worried. At any rate the 'brethren' of sec-
tions 5 and 13 of the Akhmim text are meant here. The Ethiopic text refers

Akhmim version of the *ApPt* in presenting the fate of the sinners also as a vision rather than as a prophecy as in the Ethiopic version and the other Greek fragments[2'].

After the detailed description of the future punishments of the sinners follows the brief description of the future bliss of the believe r ~In the.Ethiopic text this occupies section 14.1-3. This is followed by a prophecy for Peter personally and then, in sections 15-17, by a vision of the present fate of Jewish believers from before Christ came, which the Akhmim text has changed into a vision of the present fate of the previous generation(s) of Christian believers who have died in the meantime. Section 14.1-3 of the Ethiopic text is garbled, but a Greek fragment (see the appendix) preserves what seems a more correct version of this part of the text[29]. In it the claim is made that believers can ask for the release of sinners out of punishment. This is a startling statement in full contradiction with the rest of the *ApPt* as it is known from the Ethiopic. The Ethiopic text is consistent in itself and makes a careful distinction between the eternal punishments of the sinners and the eternal bliss of the believers, both future. Section 13 of the Ethiopic text contains the final demonstration of the idea that the punishment of sinners is fully justified, and the righteous are witness to this. They are even said to be content with the punishment of the sinners, not in the sense that they are satisfied so that they can subsequently plead for mercy. Not all sins committed by the sinners were directed specifically at the righteous, but all sins were directed against God (see section 3.7 of the Ethiopic text). In the Ethiopic text there is no room for last-minute transfers of sinners at the request of the righteous as there seems to be in the Greek fragment. This has been interpreted by Buchholz in such a way that the Ethiopic text has been edited, whereas the Greek frag-

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to 'fathers' at this point and to Moses and Elijah in the text corresponding to section 13 of the Akhmim text, which was also revised.

[27]   It would be odd if the *ApPl* would have preceded the edited version of the *ApPr.* In that case the publication of the *ApPl* would have triggered the revision of the *ApPr.*

[28]   So in the Ethiopic; the punishments are in the present in the Akhrnim text.

[29]   Cf. Adamik, this volume, Ch. VI.

ment would preserve the original sense. This is hardly credible. The
Ethiopic text is consistent in itself so that it is difficult to believe that
this is the result of editing. If we would read section 14.1-3 in the
Ethiopic text as Buchholz does, it would be very odd and terse. In
fact, it is difficult to believe that the Greek text is completely under-
standable as it stands. The correct reading, ὃν ἐὰν ἐτήσωνταί (for
αἰτήσωνται) με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως is completely out of tune with
the rest of the text, even with what little remains of the Greek, be-
cause the punishments are clearly eternal and moreover future, thus
the reference is not to some kind of 'intermediate' state out of which
sinners might still be extracted through the good offices of the right-
eous[30].

Moreover, I think that the original Greek texts read just ὃ ἐὰν
αἰτήσωνταί με, which makes perfect sense and is compatible with
the Ethiopic. The first thing said about the future bliss of believers is
that they will receive what they have asked for. Although this is one
step down from the New Testament, where believers receive what
they ask for right now, it is understandable. In some of the parallels
adduced by James this is in fact what is meant''. In the Coptic
Apocalypse of Elijah the believers will receive what they have asked
for while the unbelievers will be punished[32]. One of the things be-
lievers have asked for is revenge (cf. section 13.2 of the Ethiopic text
of the ApPt)[33]. In other texts the thought that believers can ask for the

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[30]   Cases of prayers for deceased sinners are not particularly common early
on. See on this generally E. Peterson, *Friikkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*
(Freiburg, 1959) 310-2; J.A. Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead. The Posthu-
mous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity* (Oxford, 2001).
Consider such cases as the *Acts of Paul arid Thecla* 28-29. Here Thecla
prays for the soul of the dead girl Falconilla. who had commissioned her
mother in a dream to ask Thecla to do so. Strictly speaking, Falconilla is in
an 'intermediate' state.
[31]   James 'Rainer Fragment', 272-3; cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes,* 43-79 (a dis-
cussion of the indirect witnesses of the *ApPt*), and Bauckham, *The Fate,*
232-5.
[32]   Section 5.27-29 in the recent edition of this text by D. Frankfurter,
Elijah in Upper Egypt (Minneapolis, 1993).
[33]   James interpreted the Coptic to mean that believers could ask in the fu-

salvation of sinners clearly applies to the present, not to some future time. In the *Epistula Apostolorum*[34] and even in the *Sibylline Oracles* this is the case. In the latter text, however, there is an important addition. Believers can indeed request the salvation of sinners now, but this will in some cases be granted only at the end of time and not right away (e.g. through the conversion of the sinner prayed for). In *SibOr* 2.334-8 the release of sinners from punishments they are already experiencing is spoken of (note the use of ἔσαυθις, 'later', in line 334). As James has suggested, this idea must have been taken from the *ApPt*. But not from the original version, which we know through the Ethiopic and which I assume to have read ὃ Ἐάν αἰτήσωνταί με, but from a version represented by the Greek fragment. What probably happened very early on in the transmission of the text was an alteration from ὅ to ὅν, a difference of just one letter. To make sense of the new reading, it had to be specified in what sense God would give 'whomsoever' at the request of the believers. This specification is lacking in the Ethiopic and it presumably also lacked in the original text, because it needed no further specification when it said that believers would receive 'whatsoever' they asked for''. Buchholz incorrectly states that the verb αἰτήσωνται is in the future[36]. It is an aorist subjunctive and refers to requests made by believers now which are to be finally granted at the end of time (no doubt including requests for revenge). By changing ὅ to ὅν and adding that believers would receive 'whomsoever they asked for' *our of punishment*, the Greek fragment changes the meaning of the phrase – without, however, transposing the requests themselves to the future[3'].
This rewriting of the *ApPt* gave rise to the idea that the requests of believers would save some sinners out of punishment at the end of

ture for the release of those punished. but this is incorrect in light of Frankfurter's new edition.
[34]   In section 40 the righteous promise to evangelise the sinners, so this clearly refers to the present.
[35]   Most scholars assume the specification was removed from the Ethiopic; see, e.g., Buchholz, *Your Eyes,* 349; Trumbower, *Rescue*, 51.
[36]   Buchholz, *Your Eyes,* 349.
[37]   Future requests are. however, assumed by the *misericordes* mentioned by Augustine, *De Civitate Dei 21.18.1.*

time (and not now, e.g. through the conversion of the sinner prayed
for). This idea is found in the *Sibylline Oracles,* which probably used
an already corrupt text of the *ApPt.* It is not found in other early
texts. There are other ideas about the ultimate salvation of sinners
even out of punishment, such as Origen's idea that eventually all sin-
ners would have served their time, but this is not what the Greek text
of the *ApPt* implies[3]*.

 The conclusion must be that the idea that through the interces-
sion of believers some sinners can be saved out of (rather than from)
eternal punishment arose from a misreading of a text regarded as al-
most scripture in the second century. In section 14.1-3 of the
Ethiopic text, which in my view fairly represents the original *ApPt,*
only one kind of people is meant: the elect who will experience fu-
ture bliss. First it is stated that they will be granted whatever they
have asked for, next that they will be purified, which is apparently a
necessary prerequisite for entering bliss. Even in the Greek text it is
clearly the elect who will be purified. Although it had changed ὅ
ἐὰν αἰτήσωνταί με to ὅν ἐὰν ἐτήσωνταί με, it kept the plural
αὐτοῖς in the next sentence, in which Christ says he will give them
(i.e. the elect of the previous sentence) their baptism in the
Acherusian Lake[39]. Thus they will be able to enjoy their rightful
share of bliss.

Appendix: The Bodleian and Rainer Fragments

Two fragments of a fifth-century Greek manuscript have survived[40],
which contained a version of the *ApPt* much closer to the Ethiopic

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[38]
 In the *Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners,* which is included in the
same Ethiopic manuscript as the *ApPt,* it is Jesus who will plead for the re-
lease of sinners out of punishment, but this must be kept a secret. This is a
late version of the idea that ultimately all sinners will be saved, but this is
not the selective salvation of sinners implied by the Greek fragment of the
ApPt.

[39]
 See on this Copeland, this volume, Ch. **VII.**

[40]
 This is James's date for the Bodleian fragment. For a parallel see

than the Akhmim text. The Bodleian fragment was first published by James[41], the Rainer fragment by Wessely[42], who did not recognise it as a fragment of the *ApPt*. James correctly surmised that the fragments were from the same manuscript. From photographs of both fragments I can confirm that they are indeed from the same manuscript. There is a distinct possibility that other fragments lie undetected in other collections. In what follows I give a revised version of the Bodleian and Rainer fragments, which contain different sections of the *ApPt*[43]. The photographs do not always allow one to check the readings of the previous editors, especially in the case of the verso of the Bodleian fragment. From a comparison between the Bodleian fragment and the corresponding Akhmim text, which I have included for convenience, it follows that the latter is a rewriting of the Greek text. The Bodleian and Rainer fragments are much closer to the Ethiopic text and retain the future character of the punishments, whereas in the Akhmim text the punishments are in the present.

Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, no. 24a (the Cotton Genesis). This would point to the second half of the fifth century. The tiny format of the codex is compatible with such a date, not with Wessely's date for the Rainer fragment (third century), which is in any case too early. To the lower stroke of the epsilon a small stroke is often added so that it looks as thick as the upper stroke. Sometimes this small stroke is detached from the lower stroke of the epsilon. Wessely inadvertantly interpreted these detached strokes as 'commas'.

[41] M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter I-111', JTS 12 (1911) 367-9 (addenda to p. 157).

[42] C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme* 2 (Paris, 1924) 258-9. It was recognised as a fragment of the *ApPt* by K. Prümm, *Biblica* 10 (1929) 77-80, and subsequently republished by James, 'Rainer Fragment', 270-9.

[43] I do not give a revised version of the Greek text in the Akhmim codex. For this see E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha* I. *Reste des Petrusevangeliums, der Petrusapokalypse und des Kerygma Petri* (Berlin, 1933, a reissue of the 2nd edition of 1908). Further work on this text has been spotty. See my note on section 20 (αρχερω(ν)) above and L. Radermacher, *Wiener Studien* 32 (1910) 157, on section 21 (χιτῶν' ἐνδεδυμένοι for αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυμένα).

Bodleian Ms. Gr.th. f. 4 (P)	The corresponding Akhmim text (33):
Recto	(καὶ nap' ἐκείνοις ἄνδρες ἕτεροι καὶ)
[γυ]γαῖκες κ[ρα]-	γυναῖκες ῥάβδους πυρὸς ἔχοντες
[το]ῦντες ἀλ[ύ]-	καὶ ἀλλήλους τύπτοντες (skipping
[σε]ις καὶ μα-	ἔμπροσθεν τούτων εἰδώλων πλανῶν)
4 [στ]ιγοῦντε[ς]	καὶ μηδέποτε παυόμενοι τῆς
[ἑα]υτοὺς ἔ[μ]-	τοιαύτης κολάσεως
[πρ]οσθεν τ[ού]-	
[τ]ων εἰδώ-	James: εἰδώ[λων]
8 [λ]ων πλαν[ῶ(ν)]	τῶν πλανῶν – Presumably πλαν[ῶ] MS
καὶ ἀνανα-	
παύστως [ἔ]-	
ξουσιν τὴ[ν]	
12 κόλασιν >–	High dot and paragraph mark in MS
—	Paragraph mark in MS
καὶ ἐγ'γὺς [αὐ]-	Apostrophe in MS
Verso	The corresponding **Akhmim** text (34):
[τ]ῶν ἕτερ[οι]	καὶ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐγγὺς ἐκείνων
[ἔ]σονται ἄ[ν]-	γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες φλεγόμενοι
[δ]ρες καὶ γ[υ]-	καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ
4 [ν]αῖκες και]-	τηγανιζόμενοι (skipping
[ό]μενοι τῆ	τῆ καύσει τῶν εἰδωλομανῶν).
[κ]αύσει τῷ[ν]	οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ἀφέντες
[ε]ἰδωλομ[α]-	τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
8 [ν]ῶν. οὗτο[ι]	
[δ]έ εἰσιν ο[ἵ]-	
[τι]νες κα-	
[τέ]λιπον	James: δ-
12 [τὴ]ν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ὅ-	[δο]ν – θῦ MS – James: δ-
[δο]ν καὶ προε-	[λως]

Recto, 7-8: There is no room for James's reading. The εἴδωλα are the
ξόανα mentioned just before in the Akhmim text.
Verso 11-13: James's reading is odd. If there is a trace after κατέλιπον, it
is most likely a line filler (read as omicron by James). The present reading
was already suggested by Bartlett *apud* James.

P.Vindob. G.
39756⁴⁴

F. 1, recto   On preceding page: nap-
ἔξομαι τοῖς
κλητοῖς μου.   Dot in MS
καὶ ἐκ'κλε-   Apostrophe in MS – Read: ἐκλε-
4 κτοῖς μου ὃν   κτοῖς – ὃν MS – Wessely: θ(εὸ)ν
Eαv ἐτήσων-   Eαv ο ρήσων-
τα\ί/ με Ἐκ τῆς   τα\ί/ – Iota added above the line – Read:
κολάσεως καὶ   αἰτήσωνται
8 Shoo αὐτοῖς
καλόν βάπτι-
σμα Ἐν σωτη-
ρίᾳ ᾿Αχερουσία[ς]
12 λίμνης ἥν κᾳ-   ἥν MS
λοῦσιν Ἐν τῷ

F. 1, verso
᾿Ηλυσίῳ πεδίῳ
μέρος δικαιο-
σύνης μετὰ
4 τῶν ἁγίων
μου· καὶ ἀπε-   High dot in MS
λεύσομαι E-
γὼ καὶ οἱ ἐκλε-
8 κτοί μου ἀγαλ-
λιῶντες με-
τὰ τῶν πατρι-
αρχῶν εἰς τὴ(ν)   τῆ MS
12 αιονιαν μου
[β]ασιλείαν. >–   Dot (?) and paragraph mark in MS

The inventory number has not been reported before. See also the photo
and text in Adamik, this volume. Ch. VI.

F. 2, recto

≻–	Paragraph mark in MS
καὶ ποιήσω με-	
τ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπα[γ]-	
ελίας μου ἃς ἐ-	
4 πηγ᾽γειλάμην	Apostrophe in MS
αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ καὶ b	
π(ατ)ήρ μου 6 Εν	π̅η̅ρ MS – b MS
τοῖς οὐ(ραν)οῖς. ≻–	ο̅υ̅ν̅ο̅ι̅ς̅ MS – Dot and paragraph mark in MS
≻–	Paragraph mark in MS
8 ἰδοὺ ἐδήλωσά	ϊδου MS
σοι Πέτρε	
καὶ ἐξεθέ-	
μην πάντα.	Dot in MS
12 καὶ πορεύου	
εἰς πόλιν ἄρ:-	Dots in MS

F. 2, verso

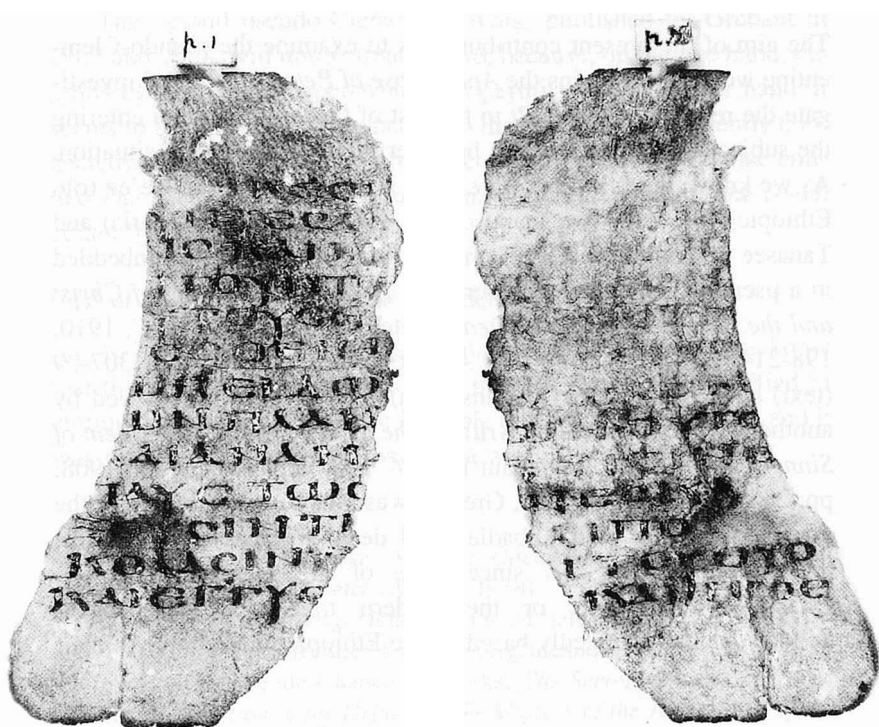|	
χουσαν δύσε-	Wessely: ὀπύσε-
ως καὶ πί-	ως
Ε τὸ ποτήρι-	
ον ὃ ἐπηγ-	Wessely: line filler in MS
4 γειλάμην σοι	
ἐν χειρεὶ τοῦ	Read: χειρί – Wessely: χειροῖν
υ(ἱο)ῦ τοῦ Εν ῞Αι-	υ̅υ̅ MS
δου εἶνα ἀρ-	Read: ἵνα
8 χὴν λάβῃ αὐ-	
τοῦ ἡ ἀφά-	Read: ἀφά-
νια· καὶ σὺ	νεια- High dot in MS – Wessely: line filler
δεκτὸς τῆς	in MS
12 ἐπαγ᾽γελεί-	Apostrophe in MS
	On next page: -aq – Read: ἐπαγγελίας

F. 1, recto 4-6: James's correction of Wessely's reading is confirmed by the photograph. There is no horizontal bar in the omicron in bv, but there is one in the epsilon in ἐτήσωνται. H. Harrauer confirmed the existence of a rough breathing above ὅν.

F. 1, recto 10 – f. 1, verso 1: Translate: 'in the salvation of what is called the Acherusian Lake in the Elysian Field'. This was correctly translated by James, but not by more recent editors such as Buchholz and Müller.

F. 2, verso 1-2: James's correction of Wessely's reading is confirmed by the MS. What Wessely read as οπ is nothing but πο shining through from the back (f. 2, recto 1). H. Harrauer confirmed the existence of delta, which is visible in ultraviolet light.

F. 2, verso 6-8: Not: 'the son who is in Hades', which the Greek would allow, but 'the son of the one who is in Hades'. The emperor Nero is intended: Peter's execution was the beginning of the end for Nero.

*Appendix: **Photos of the Bodleiart Fragment***

Bodleian Library Ms. Gr. Th. f. 4 (P) r+v