

NOTES AND STUDIES

A NEW TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

SINCE 1907 M. Sylvain Grébaud has been publishing at intervals in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* the text of certain Ethiopic books attributed to Clement of Rome, and purporting to contain teachings and revelations transmitted to Clement by Peter.

The existence of such books both in Arabic and in Ethiopic has long been known. The imperfect *capitula* of an Arabic Revelation were published in 1821 by Nicoll in his catalogue of the Bodleian Oriental manuscripts (reprinted by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* p. xx). An account of an Ethiopic text (apparently not identical with that which we are to study) was given by Dillmann in 1858 (*Nachrichten d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*). The most recent and comprehensive study of the literature that is known to me is that by E. Bratke (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1893, 454-493). None of the copies to which he had access seems to have contained M. Grébaud's text.

An important constituent in most of the recensions is a chronicle of Biblical history from the Arabic which has much in common with the 'Cave of Treasures' edited by Bezold, and the 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' edited by Trumpp, and translated by Malan. A text of this from a Sinai MS was published in 1901 by Mrs Gibson (*Studia Sinaitica* viii, *Apocrypha Arabica*) under the title of 'the Book of the Rolls'.

This *Corpus Clementinum*, as we may call it, is of late date: Bratke assigns it to the eighth century, and believes it to have been reissued in an altered form at the time of the First Crusade. Jacques de Vitry saw it in 1219.

It had always been my hope that in one or other of the numerous members of this *corpus*, the ancient Apocalypse of Peter would be found imbedded—indeed I expressed the hope in so many words in 1892 (*Revelation of Peter* p. 57 note). It was a fairly obvious forecast, and it has now been verified. A recent number of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (second series, vol. v (xv) no. 2 pp. 198-214) contains M. Grébaud's last instalment of his edition of the 'Littérature éthiopienne Pseudo-Clémentine', and in it is a large portion of the ancient Apocalypse of Peter. M. Grébaud's text rests on a single authority, MS 51 of the D'Abbadie collection, and is, as we might expect, obscure and

corrupt in many places. The great interest attaching to it will I hope stimulate scholars to examine all the available manuscripts of the Ethiopic Clementine *corpus* in the hope of clearing up difficulties. Those in the British Museum described in Wright's Catalogue under Nos. 320, 321, 322 will merit investigation, and also the Tübingen manuscript which Dillmann analysed; for it appears that this also contains descriptions of the torments of Hell and of the bliss of Heaven (Bratke p. 478), though not in the connexion in which they appear in M. Grébaud's text.

M. Grébaud's edition is not yet completed: but in an earlier number of the *Revue* (1907, pp. 139 sqq.) he has given a short analysis of the whole document. It is a revelation made by our Lord to Peter and transmitted by him to Clement, and it treats of the following topics:—

1. The Second Coming, the End of the World, and the Last Judgment.
2. The torments of the lost.
3. The abode of the blessed.
4. The final purpose of creation.
5. The compassion of God to mankind.
6. Ordinances for the observance of the principal Christian feasts.

So far only the text of the first two sections has appeared. I propose to give a very full *résumé* of the contents, quoting copiously from M. Grébaud's French version, and giving the corresponding portions of the Greek text and such other parallels as I have been able to bring together at short notice.¹

Second Coming of Christ and Resurrection of the Dead—(a mystery) which (Christ) revealed to Peter—who died because of their sins, because they kept not the commandments of the Lord their Creator.

(Peter) pondered upon this, that he might learn the mystery of the Son of God, the Merciful and the Friend of mercy.

When *the Lord* was seated on the Mount of Olives, His *disciples* drew near to Him. As for us, we worshipped Him, we besought Him, each of us separately, and asked Him saying: 'Let us learn what shall be the signs of thy coming, and of the end of the world, that we may know and

Cf. First Book of Clement (Gk. retranslation by Lagarde *Rel. Iur. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 80) καὶ ὑπέλαβον Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ κύριε ἡμῶν εἰπέ ἡμῖν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ τέλους . . . ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς γνωρίσωμεν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν . . . (= Testamentum Domini § 2).

¹ I have M. Grébaud's kind sanction for this; and he has also generously allowed me to see the proofs of a further instalment of his translation.

understand the time of thy coming, and may instruct those who shall come after us' (both converts and Church officers).

Our Lord answered us saying: 'Beware that *men* deceive you not, that ye become not subject to doubt nor worship other gods. Many will come in my name saying "I am the Christ". Trust them not nor draw near to them. Verily, the coming of the Son of God is not known: but, as the lightning that shines from East to West, so shall I come on the clouds of heaven with a great host, in my glory, with my cross going before me. I shall come in my glory, seven times brighter than the sun, with all my saints and angels. My Father will set a crown on my head, that I may judge the quick and the dead, and reward every man according to his works.

As for you, understand this by the parable of the fig-tree. When its shoots are come forth, and its branches grow green, then the end of the world will come.' Peter asks how this is to be understood, seeing that the fig-tree burgeons every year. Christ explains that the tree is the house of Israel, and quotes the parable of the barren fig-tree. When the branches are green, there will come false Messiahs. Men will follow them and deny the true Christ. 'This deceiver', He continues, 'is not the Christ. He will slay his opponents with the sword. [This is the meaning of the fig-tree's branches

Cf. *Αποκ. Petri* 2 James 5 Preuschen ὅπως . . . παραβαρσύνωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους.

Cf. a passage printed by Bratke (l. c. p. 483) from a Tübingen MS of the Ethiopic Clementine book.

'They will be beheaded by him and will become martyrs. In that day will be fulfilled that which is said in the Gospel: when the twigs of the fig-tree become full of sap, know ye that the time of gathering is at hand. Twigs of the fig-tree are the righteous called, who become martyrs at his hand.'

Cf. *Αποκ. Petri* 1 πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ψευδοπροφήται.

growing green, that is, the house of Israel.] There will be many martyrs. Enoch and Elias will be sent to undeceive men.

The Lord shewed me at His right hand the souls of all creatures and at His left hand the 'tableau' which shall be accomplished at the last day. He shewed me how the righteous and the sinners shall be separated . . . We beheld how the sinners wept: so deplorably that the righteous, the angels, and Christ Himself could not refrain from tears. I asked the Lord it would not have been better that they should not have been created. He replied: 'Thou resistest God who created them and thee. I will shew thee their works.'

[It is after this point that I conceive the Apocalypse of Peter to have been employed to the exclusion of other sources. Later elements may well be present in the Introduction. Probably, however, the scene and the general lines are those of the Apocalypse.]

Behold now what shall overtake them in the last days, when the day of the Lord shall come, the day of condemnation, the judgement of the Lord.

From the east to the west all the sons of men shall be gathered before my Father the eternal, the living one.

He will command Gehenna to open its bars of steel and bring all the creatures that are in it.

He will command the beasts and birds to give up all the flesh

Sib. Orac. ii 214 sqq. (the angels Barakiel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel, and Azael).

ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἀπὸ ζόφου
ἠερόεντος

εἰς κρίσιν ἄξουσιν πάσας ἐπὶ
βῆμα θεοῦ

ἀθανάτου μεγάλου· εἰς γὰρ μόνος
ἄφθιτός ἐστιν.

227 καὶ τότε ἀμειλίκτιο καὶ ἀρρή-
κτου ἀδάμαντος

κλείθρα πέλωρα πυλῶν τε ἀχαλ-
κεύτου Ἴδιαι

ρηξάμενος Οὐριήλ μέγας ἄγγελος
εὐθὺ βαλεῖται.

233 καὶ ὅς ἐν πελάγεσσι ἀπώ-
λεσε κῆμα θαλάσσης

they have eaten, that man may appear.

ἡδ' ὀπόσας θήρες καὶ ἔρπετὰ καὶ
πετεηνὰ
θουήσαντο, ὅλας ταύτας ἐπὶ
βῆμα καλέσσει.

Ephr. Syr. ed. Rom. ii 213 (et fere passim) δώσει ἡ γῆ τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῆς, ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς ἑαυτῆς νεκροὺς, καὶ ὁ ἄδης τοὺς ἰδίους νεκροὺς, καὶ εἴτε θηρίον ἤρπασεν, ἢ ἰχθύς ἐμέλισεν, εἴτε ὄρνειον διήρπασεν, πάντες ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀρθαλοῦ παραστήσονται, καὶ θριξὶ μία οὐκ ἀπολειφθήσεται. He also has a passage on the bones rejoining each other (l. c. 192 &c.) and on the river of fire (ibid.).

Verily nothing is lost with the Lord. Nothing is impossible to Him. Everything will appear at the day of condemnation and of judgement. Indeed (this agrees) with the word of the Lord. All things will become as (they were when He) created the world; He will command all that is therein. All therefore will be so at the last day. Verily all things are possible with God. It is thus that he saith in the Scripture: 'Son of man, prophesy on these bones. Thou shalt say to them: Bone, go to the other bones. Arrange yourselves in limbs, with muscles, sinews, flesh, skin, hair set in the skin, soul, and spirit.'

Celsus ap. Orig. v 14, of the resurrection of the body, καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀποπρωτάτην ἀναχώρησιν ὅτι πᾶν δυνατὸν τῷ θεῷ. Also *Origen ap. Method. de Resurr.* xxi Bonwetsch ἐπὶ τὸ πάντα εἶναι δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ καταφεύγουσιν (then quoting Ezekiel).¹

Sib. Orae. ii 222

καὶ τ' ὄστέα ἀρμυσθέντα
ἀρμοῖς παντοίοις σάρκες καὶ νεῦρα
...
καὶ φλέβες ἡδέ τε δέρμα περὶ χροῖ
καὶ πρὶν ἔθειραι
ἀμβροσίως πηχθέντα κτλ.

The great 'Ourâ'el will accomplish this at the word of the Lord. It is he whom the Lord hath set over the resurrection of the dead at the judgement. Behold and consider the seeds which are sown in the earth. They are sown dry

Sib. Orae. ii 229 above: Οὐρήλ.

¹ See also Hippol. *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, Lagarde, p. 70, and the objectors in Macar. Magn. iv 24 and Minuc. *Felix Octar.* ii; also Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* xviii.

and lifeless. They live and are fruitful, and the earth restores them as a deposit committed to it. That which dies is the seed sown in the earth. Man will live and be restored to life. How much more those who believe in the Lord, and His elect, for whom the Lord hath made all things.

Cf. the Third Ep. to the Corinthians (from *Acta Pauli*) v 31, ed. Harnack 'quanto magis uos, pusilli fide, et eos qui crediderunt in Christum Ihesum excitabit sicut ipse resurrexit?'

Compare the *Carmen de Iudicio Domini* ll. 103-136, e. g.

105 Aut aliquid Dominus rerum non posse uidetur?
 112 reddit magis omnia tellus:
 iussa retexet enim quidquid contexerat olim.
 si quem forte rogis aboleuit flamma sepultum
 aut aliquem caecis disiecerit aequor in undis
 si cuiusque fame satiarunt uiscera pisces
 aut fixere ferae crudelia funera membris
 alitibus iacuit raptato corpore sanguis;
 ultima non domino rapient sua munera magno.
 122 arida sic uacuis redduntur semina terris
 et penitus fixis putrescunt mortua sulcis;
 nonne animatur et hinc reparatis culmus aristas
 atque iterum uiuis flauescunt fortia granis etc.

The earth will bring all creatures at the day of judgement, for it must be judged together with them. The heaven also will be judged with it.

There will be at the day of judgement those who have forsaken the faith of the Lord and those who have committed sin.

The cataracts of fire shall be let loose.

There will come up obscurity and darkness which will cover the whole world.

Apocalypse of Peter quoted in Macarius Magnes *Apocritica* iv 6
 Ἡ γῆ παραστήσει πάντας τῷ θεῷ
 (κρινουμένους) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, καὶ
 αὐτὴ μέλλουσα κρίνεσθαι σὺν καὶ τῷ
 περιέχοντι οὐρανῷ.

Sib. Orac. ii 194

ἀχλὺς γὰρ ζοφερῆ σκεπάσει τὸν
 ἀπίρονα κόσμον

195 ἀντολίης δύσεως τε μεσημβρίας
 τε καὶ ἄρκτου.
 καὶ τότε δὴ ποταμός τε μέγας
 πυρὸς αἰθόμενιο
 βεύσει ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ πάντα
 τόπον δαπανήσει
 γαῖάν τ' ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν γλαυ-
 κήν τε θάλασσαν

The waters will be changed and transformed into coals of fire. All that is in them will burn. The sea also will become fire.

Under the heaven there will be a fierce fire that shall not be put out. It will pour down for the judgement of wrath. The stars also will be melted by the flames of fire (and become) as though they had not been created. The firmaments of heaven for want of water will depart and become as though they had not been created.

The lightnings of heaven will exist no longer. 'Par des incantations on éprouvantera le monde' (doubtless corrupt). The spirits of the dead bodies will resemble fire and will become fire at the command of the Lord. Then all creatures will be melted.

λίμνας καὶ ποταμούς πηγὰς καὶ
ἀμείλιχον Ἄϊδην

200 καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον

ἀτὰρ οὐράνιοι φωστῆρες
εἰς ἔν συρρήξουσιν καὶ εἰς μορφὴν
πανέρημον.
ἄστρα γὰρ οὐρανόθεν τε θαλάσση
πάντα πεσεῖται.

203 ψυχὰι δ' ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαι βρύ-
ξουσιν ὀδοῦσιν
καϊόμεναι ποταμῶ καὶ θείῳ καὶ
πυρὸς ὄρμη
ἐν δαπέδῳ μαλερῶ, τέφρα δέ τε
πάντα καλύψει
καὶ τότε χηρεύσει στοιχεῖα πρό-
παντα τὰ κόσμον

207 ἀῆρ γαῖα θάλασσα φάος πόλος
ἤματα νύκτες

212 . . . ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντα
εἰς ἔν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν
διαλέξει.

(Cf. also *Sib. Orac.* iii 80-90.)

80 τότε δὴ στοιχεῖα πρόπαντα
χηρεύσει κόσμον, ὅποταν θεὸς
αιθέρι ναίων
οὐρανὸν εἰλίξῃ καθ' ἅπερ βιβλίον
εἰλεῖται
καὶ πέσεται πολύμορφος ὅλος
πόλος ἐν χθονὶ δῆ
καὶ πελάγει· ρεύσει δὲ πυρὸς
μαλεροῦ καταράκτης

85 ἀκάματος, φλέξει γαῖαν, φλέξει
δὲ θάλασσαν.

καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον καὶ ἤματα
καὶ κτίσιν αὐτῆν

εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν
διαλέξει.

The sons of men who are in the parts of the east (will flee) towards the west, (those who are in the west) will flee to the east; those who are in the south will flee to the north, and those who are in the north (will flee to the south). Everywhere the wrath of the fearful fire will overtake them. Pursuing them, the flames which shall not be put out will make them come to the judgement of wrath, in a river of fire, inextinguishable, and which shall flow, burning. When the waves thereof part themselves one from another, boiling, there will be a great gnashing of teeth of the sons of men (above, *Sib. Orac.* ii 203).

See also Ephraem, quoted in Bousset *Der Antichrist* pp. 159, 160; and Commodian *Carm. Apol.* 999-1041, *Instr.* ii 2, 4, Dombart.

[In the earlier part of this section we may place the other fragment of the Apocalypse quoted in Macarius Magnes iv 7, which is practically identical with Isa. xxxiv 4, viz. καὶ τακῆσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐλιχθήσεται ὁ οὐρανοῦς ὡς βιβλίον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα ἐξ ἀμπέλου, καὶ ὡς πίπτει φύλλα ἀπὸ συκῆς.]

They will all behold me coming on a shining (and) eternal cloud. The angels of the Lord who will be with me will be seated on the throne of my glory at the right hand of my heavenly Father. (My Father) will set a crown on my head. Then, beholding (that), the peoples will weep, every one apart (*Zech.* xii 10-14: and cf. Cyril. Hieros. *Catech.* xv 9 τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ

Sib. Orac. ii 252

καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες διὰ αἰθομένον
ποταμοῖο

καὶ φλόγος ἀσβέστου διελεύσονθ'·
οἱ τε δίκαιοι

πάντες σωθήσονται· ἀσεβεῖς δ' ἐπὶ
τοῖσιν ὀλοῦνται

εἰς αἰῶνας ὄλουσ, ὅποσοι κακὰ
πρόσθεν ἔρεξαν κτλ.

Cyril. Hier. *Cat.* xv 9 ἔρχεται
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν
τὴν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν (sc. Dan.

τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόψονται φυλαὶ κατὰ φυλάς). (My Father) will command them to pass through the river of fire. The works of every one will be set before them. Each (shall be rewarded) according to his works. The elect who have done good shall come to me ; none of them shall see death nor the devouring fire. But the unrighteous, the sinners and hypocrites, shall be set in the midst of abysses of darkness which shall not pass away. The fire will be their torment. The angels will bring forward their sins and will prepare for (the sinners) a place where they will be punished for ever according to their sins.

The Angel of the Lord 'Ourá'él will bring the souls of the sinners who were destroyed by the Flood, and all the souls of the beings that have existed in all manner of idols, in all manner of molten images, in all manner of unclean emblems, in (all manner of) paintings, in all manner of (sanctuaries built on the) hills, and of stones. The beings that were set by the waysides, who were called gods, shall be burnt with them in eternal fire. When all these beings are destroyed (*perdus*) they will be cast into the place where they are to abide, and will be punished eternally.

[Here begins the equivalent of the description of Hell which we possess in Greek. The opening words are corrupt in the Ethiopic, but the correspondence is unmistakeable.]

Alors des hommes et des femmes viendront dans l'endroit qui leur

vii) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν ποταμοῦ πυρὸς ἔλκοντας δοκιμαστικοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Sib. Orac. ii 227

καὶ τότε ἀμειλίκτιο καὶ ἀρρήκτου
ἀδάμαντος
κλειῖθρα πέλωρα πυλῶν τε ἀχαλ-
κεῖτου Ἄϊδαο
ῥηξάμενος Οὐριήλ μέγας ἄγγελος
εὐθὺ βαλεῖται
καὶ πάσας μορφὰς πολυπενθείας
εἰς κρίσιν ἄξει
εἰδῶλων τὰ μάλιστα παλαιγενέων
Τισήνων
ἦδὲ τε Γιγάντων καὶ ὄσας εἶλεν
κατακλυσμός,

Apoc. Petri 7 ed. James 21 ed. Preuschen, &c.

conviendra, suivant la langue dans laquelle ils ont maudit le chemin de la justice. On les pendra. On les surveillera, afin qu'ils n'échappent jamais (au feu) qui ne s'éteindra pas.

[The words rendered '(suivant) la langue'—'on les pendra' correspond to ἐκ τῆς γλώσσης κρεμάμενοι.]

Voici encore un endroit : là se trouvera une fosse grande et pleine. En elle se trouveront ceux qui auront renié la justice. Les anges du supplice feront des rondes. Ils seront là dans cette fosse et ils feront brûler le feu du supplice.

Voici en outre deux femmes : on les pendra par le cou et par les cheveux. On les jettera dans la fosse. Ce sont celles qui ont arrangé leurs tresses. Elles ne l'ont pas (fait) pour l'accomplissement du bien, mais elles se sont tournées vers la fornication, afin de prendre au piège les âmes des hommes pour leur perte. Quant aux hommes qui ont couché avec elles, en forniquant, on les pendra par la cuisse dans cet endroit qui brûle. Ils se diront entre eux : 'Nous ne savions pas que nous devions venir au supplice éternel.'

Les homicides et ceux qui se sont associés à eux, on les jettera dans le feu, à l'endroit rempli de bêtes furieuses. Ils seront punis sans trêve, alors que des souffrances (atroces) seront ressenties par eux. Les vers (qui les rongeront) seront aussi nombreux que les nuées des ténèbres. L'ange 'Ezrà'él fera venir

(Εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τόπον κατα-
τικρὺς ἐκείνου αὐχμηρὸν πάνυ (ορ-
-ότατον) καὶ ἦν τόπος κολάσεως· καὶ
οἱ κολαζόμενοι ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ κολάζοντες
ἄγγελοι σκοτινὸν εἶχον αὐτῶν τὸ
ἔνδυμα) κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου.

Καὶ τινες ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἐκ τῆς γλώσσης
κρεμάμενοι· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βλασφη-
μοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης· καὶ
ὑπέκειτο αὐτοῖς πῦρ φλεγόμενον καὶ
κολάζον αὐτούς.

Καὶ λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρω-
μένη βορβόρου φλεγόμενου, ἐν ᾗ ἦσαν
ἄνθρωποι τινες ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν
δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς
ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.

*Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες τῶν
πλοκάμων ἐξηρτημέναι ἀνωτέρω τοῦ
βορβόρου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀναπαφλά-
ζοντος· αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ πρὸς μοι-
χείας κοσμηθεῖσαι· οἱ δὲ συμμιγνέτες
αὐταῖς τῷ μιάσματι τῆς μοιχείας ἐκ
τῶν ποδῶν ἦσαν κρεμάμενοι καὶ τὰς
κεφαλὰς εἶχον ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κρυφ-
θείσας, καὶ ἔλεγον· (ορ καὶ πάντες
ἔλεγον·) Οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν ἐλευσεσθαι
εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον. Cf. Clem.
Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* 39, 40.

Καὶ τοὺς φονεῖς ἔβλεπον καὶ τοὺς
συνειδότας αὐτοῖς βεβλημένους ἐν τινι
τόπῳ τεθλιμμένῳ καὶ πεπληρωμένῳ
έρπετῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ πλησοσόμενος
ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐκείνων καὶ οὕτω
στρεφομένους ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ κολάσει
ἐκείνῃ. ἐπέκειτο δὲ αὐτοῖς σκώληκες
ὥσπερ νεφέλαι σκότους· αἱ δὲ ψυχὰι
τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐστῶσαι καὶ ἐφορῶ-

les âmes de ceux qui ont été tués. Ils verront les supplices (de ceux qui) les ont tués. (Les hommes) se diront entre eux : 'Le jugement du Seigneur est justice et droiture, car nous avions appris, mais nous n'avons pas cru que nous devions venir à ce lieu de supplice éternel.'

Auprès de ces flammes se trouvera une fosse très grande et très profonde. En celle couleront toutes sortes (d'éléments) provenant de partout. Il y aura des supplices, des lamentations, des tourments (?). Des femmes seront dévorées jusqu'au cou et seront punies par de grands tourments. Ce sont celles qui ont fait avorter leurs enfants et ont corrompu l'œuvre du Seigneur, qui les avait formés. En face de leur visage se trouvera un autre endroit où demeureront leurs enfants. Deux seront vivants et crieront au Seigneur. Un éclair viendra de (l'endroit où demeurèrent) les enfants. Il y aura une vrille dans les yeux de celles qui par la fornication ont accompli leur corruption.

D'autres hommes et d'autres femmes se tiendront nus au-dessus de cet endroit-là. Leurs enfants se tiendront là en face de leur visage, dans un lieu de lamentations (?)¹ et de cris. Ils gémiront et crieront au Seigneur au sujet de leurs parents. Ce sont ceux qui ont négligé, ont maudit, ont transgressé tes ordres. Ils sont morts. Ils ont maudit l'ange qui les avait formés. Ils nous ont pendus. Ils ont envié la lumière à tout être.

¹ The rendering 'pleasantness' appears to me possible.

σαι τὴν κόλασιν ἐκείνων τῶν φονέων ἔλεγον· ὁ θεός, δικαία σου ἡ κρίσις.

Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου εἶδον ἕτερον τόπον τεθλιμμένον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἰχώρ καὶ ἡ δυσωδία τῶν κολαζομένων κατέρρευε καὶ ὡσπερ λίμνη ἐγένετο ἐκεῖ. κακεῖ ἐκάθητο γυναῖκες ἔχουσαι τὸν ἰχώρα μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων καὶ ἀντικρὺς αὐτῶν πολλοὶ παῖδες, οἷτινες ἄωροι ἐτίκτοντο, καθήμενοι ἔκλαιον· καὶ προήρχοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄκτινες πυρὸς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπλησσον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ (ἀγαμοὶ συλλαβοῦ)σαι (οἱ αἱ τὰ βρέφη φθείρασαι) καὶ ἐκτρώσασαι.

Frag. ap. Clem. Alex. Καὶ ἀστραπή πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων καὶ πλήσσουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.

Frag. ap. Method. πῶς δὲ καὶ κατηγορήσοντα σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς γονεῖς εὐπαρησιάζοντας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐκίκλησκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· 'Σὺ οὐκ ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν, ὦ κύριε, τὸ κοινὸν' λέγοντα, 'τοῦτο φῶς· οὗτοι δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰς θάνατον ἐξέθεντο, καταφρονήσαντες τῆς σῆς ἐντολῆς.

Tu avais donné¹ le lait à leurs mères. Il coulait de leurs mamelles. Il se coagula et il puera. (Il surgira) des bêtes carnivores. Elles s'en iront et reviendront. Elles les puniront pour toujours avec leurs maris pour avoir abandonné les commandements du Seigneur et avoir tué leurs enfants. Les enfants, on les donnera à l'ange Temlâkos. Quant à ceux qui les ont tués, on les punira éternellement, car le Seigneur l'exige.

[The Ethiopic omits the matter quoted by Clement and Methodius as to the destiny of the infants. See the editions.]

'Ezrà'ël, l'ange de la colère, fera venir des hommes et des femmes dont la moitié sera consumée. On les jettera dans l'endroit des ténèbres de la géhenne, (dans l'endroit) des hommes. L'esprit de colère les châtiara par toutes sortes de châtiments. Le ver qui ne dort pas mangera leurs intestins (?). Ce sont les persécuteurs et les bourreaux (?) de mes justes.

Près de ceux qui seront là se trouveront d'autres hommes et d'autres femmes. Ils rongeront leur langue. On les torturera avec un fer rouge et on brûlera leurs yeux. Ce sont les médisants et les infidèles à ma justice.

D'autres hommes et d'autres femmes (ont trompé). Leurs œuvres (ont été faites) avec fourberie. On

Ap. Clem. Alex. τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν ῥέον ἀπὸ τῶν μαστῶν καὶ πηγνύμενον γενήσκει θηρία λεπτὰ σάρκοφάγα, καὶ ἀνατρέχοντα εἰς αὐτὰς κατεσθίει.

Ap. Clem. Alex. τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἐξαμβλωθέντα τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα μοίρας. ταῦτα ἀγγέλῳ τημελούχῳ παραδίδουσθαι.

Method. Ὅθεν καὶ τημελούχος ἀγγέλοις κἂν ἐκ μοιχείας ὧσιν τὰ ἀποτικτόμενα παραδίδουσθαι παρελιφάμεν.

Καὶ ἕτεροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες φλεγόμενοι ἦσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἡμίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ βεβλημένοι ἐν τόπῳ σκοτεινῷ καὶ μαστιζόμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ ἐσθιόμενοι τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ σκωλήκων ἀκοιμήτων. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ διώξαντες τοὺς δικαίους καὶ παραδόντες αὐτούς.

τοὺς πιστοῦς μου (1 James 3 Preuschen).

Καὶ πλησίον ἐκείνων πάλιν γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες μασώμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ χεῖλη καὶ κολαζόμενοι καὶ πεπυρωμένοι σίδηρον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνοντες. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βλασφημήσαντες καὶ κακῶς εἰπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

Καὶ κατανατικρὺ τούτων ἄλλοι πάλιν ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν μασώμενοι καὶ πῦρ φλεγό-

¹ It is fairly evident that whether the Ethiopic is corrupt or not the sense required is: 'Ils (nous) ont envié la lumière que tu avais donnée à tout être. Le lait de leurs mères coulera de leurs mamelles, &c.'

coupera leurs lèvres. Du feu entrera dans leur bouche et (dans) leurs entrailles. Ce sont ceux qui ont fait mourir les martyrs par leurs mensonges.

Chez ceux qui sont proches de cet endroit il y aura, sur une pierre, une colonne de feu. Cette colonne sera plus tranchante qu'une épée. (Là seront) des hommes et des femmes qu'on revêtira de guenilles et de haillons sordides. On les jettera dans cet endroit, afin qu'ils soient châtiés sévèrement par des tourments qui ne finiront pas. Ce sont ceux qui ont mis confiance dans leurs richesses, ont méprisé la veuve, la femme et l'orphelin et (ont péché) envers le Seigneur.

Un autre endroit se trouvera près de celui-ci. (Là seront) les êtres rassasiés de vexations (?). On les jettera dans cet endroit. Des hommes et des femmes (seront torturés) jusqu'aux genoux. Ce sont ceux qui ont prêté et ont tiré usure.

D'autres hommes et d'autres femmes se précipiteront de haut. Ils reviendront encore. Ils courront. Les démons les harcèleront. [Ce sont les idolâtres.]¹ On les mettra à bout. Ils se précipiteront. Ils feront ainsi toujours. Ils seront punis éternellement. Ce sont ceux qui ont coupé le corps de nos apôtres, des hommes et des femmes qui étaient avec eux. Dans cet endroit se trouveront les hommes qui contre nature se sont souillés entre eux.

¹ I bracket this clause as clearly intrusive. The end of the paragraph is also corrupt.

μενον ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στόματι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ψευδομάρτυρες.

Καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τόπῳ χάλικες ἦσαν ὀξύτεροι ξιφῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀβελίσκου πεπυρωμένοι, καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπαρὰ ἐνδεδυμένοι ἐκυλίοντο ἐπ' αὐτῶν κολαζόμενοι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες καὶ μὴ ἐλεήσαντες ὀρφανούς καὶ χήρας, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.

Ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ λίμνῃ μεγάλη καὶ πεπληρωμένη πύου καὶ αἵματος καὶ βορβόρου ἀναζέοντος εἰσπήκεισαν ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μέχρι γονάτων. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ δανείζοντες καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τόκους τόκων.

* Ἄλλοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ κρημονοῦ μεγάλου καταστρεφόμενοι ἤρχοντο κάτω καὶ πάλιν ἠγλάνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἀναβῆναι ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ κρημονοῦ καὶ κατεστρέφοντο ἐκεῖθεν κάτω καὶ ἡσυχίαν οὐκ εἶχον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ μίαναντες τὰ σώματα ἐαυτῶν ὡς γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν γυναῖκες αὐταὶ ἦσαν αἱ συγκοιμηθεῖσαι ἀλλήλαις ὡς ἂν ἀνὴρ πρὸς γυναῖκα.

Près de ceux-ci il y aura un brasier (?) Au-dessous d'eux l'ange 'Ezrà'ël préparera un endroit de feu considérable. Là seront toutes les idoles en or et en argent, toutes les idoles, œuvres de la main des fils de l'homme, et les images qui leur ressemblent: (images) de chats et de lions, images de reptiles, images de bêtes. Quant aux hommes et aux femmes qui ont fabriqué ces images, ils seront chargés de chaînes de feu et seront châtiés à cause de leur égarement, en présence de ces idoles. Telle sera leur punition pour toujours.

A côté d'eux se trouveront d'autres hommes et d'autres femmes. Ils brûleront dans les flammes de supplice. Leur punition sera pour toujours. Ce sont ceux qui ont abandonné les commandements du Seigneur et ont suivi les suggestions (?) des démons.

Il y aura un autre endroit très profond. Là seront une fournaise (?) et un brasier (?) dans lesquels brûlera du feu. Le feu qui brûlera (viendra) d'une extrémité du brasier. Les hommes et les femmes qui feront un faux pas descendront en se roulant, dans (cet endroit) qui est épouvantable. En outre, pendant que le feu attisé coulera, ils monteront, descendront, et recommenceront à se rouler ainsi. Ils seront punis ainsi pour toujours. Ce sont ceux qui n'ont pas honoré leur père ni leur mère et de leur gré se sont abstenus (de les révéler). C'est pourquoi ils seront punis éternellement.

Καὶ παρὰ τῷ κρημνῷ ἐκείνῳ τόπος ἦν πυρὸς πλείστου γέμων κακεῖ εἰσθήκεισαν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ ξόανα ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ θεοῦ. καὶ παρ' ἐκείνους ἄνδρες ἕτεροι καὶ γυναῖκες ῥάβδους πυρὸς ἔχοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους τύπτοντες καὶ μηδέποτε παύόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.¹

The Greek text of this paragraph as compared with the Ethiopic seems to me to bear traces of abridgement. The editors mark a lacuna at the end.

Καὶ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐγγὺς ἐκείνων γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.
[Here the Akhmim fragment ends.]

¹ See *Additional Note*, p. 157.

De plus, l'ange 'Ezrà'èl fera venir des enfants et des vierges pour leur faire voir ceux qui seront punis et seront châtiés par des tortures, par la pendaison et par les plaies nombreuses que leur feront les oiseaux carnivores. Ce sont ceux qui se sont fiés à leur impiété, n'ont pas obéi à leurs parents, n'ont pas suivi les enseignements de leur père et n'ont pas honoré ceux qui étaient plus vieux qu'eux.

Avec eux se trouveront des vierges. Elles auront les ténèbres pour vêtement. Elles seront châtiées sévèrement. Leur corps sera fracassé. Ce sont celles qui n'ont pas conservé leur virginité jusqu'à ce qu'on les donnât en mariage. Elles seront châtiées pour cela, alors que le châtiement sera ressenti par elles.

De plus, il y aura d'autres hommes et d'autres femmes qui rongeront leur langue sans repos, alors qu'ils seront punis par le feu éternel. Ce sont les serviteurs qui n'ont pas obéi à leurs maîtres. Ceci donc sera leur châtiement éternel.

Près (de ce lieu) de punition se trouveront des hommes et des femmes aveugles et sourds. Leurs vêtements seront blancs. Alors ils s'entasseront réciproquement. Ils tomberont sur les charbons d'un feu qui ne s'éteindra pas. Ce sont ceux qui ont fait l'aumône et ont dit : 'Nous sommes justes à l'égard du Seigneur' mais n'ont pas cherché la justice.

'Ezrà'èl l'ange du Seigneur les fera sortir de ces flammes. Il établira un châtiement et une punition. Ceci sera leur châtiement : un fleuve de feu coulera. Tous les êtres punis descendront au milieu du fleuve. 'Ourà'èl les (y) placera. Il apportera des roues de feu. Des hommes et des femmes seront suspendus dans ces roues par la puissance de la rotation. Les êtres qui seront dans la fosse brûleront. Ce sont les enchanteurs et les enchanteresses. De telles roues seront dans toute punition par le feu. Elles seront innombrables.¹

Alors les anges feront venir mes élus et mes justes (qui ont été) parfaits en toute espèce de justice, en les portant dans leurs mains et en disant : '(Revêtons-les) des habits de la vie d'en-haut.' (Les justes) verront ceux qui les auront haïs, alors que le supplice les vengera pour toujours. Chacun (sera rétribué selon) ses œuvres. D'une seule voix tous ceux qui sont dans le supplice diront : 'Aie pitié de nous, car nous connaissons maintenant le jugement du Seigneur, que (le Seigneur) nous avait fait connaître auparavant et auquel nous n'avions pas cru.' L'ange Tâtirokos (τατραποῦχος) viendra. Il les châtiéra énormément dans un

¹ I can hardly doubt that this trait of the punishment of enchanters by wheels of fire is alluded to in the tract *de Aleatoribus* 8 'Aleae tabula qui ludit et maleficia nosse debet, quod a dei seruos longe sit scientes quoniam *foris est* ('furor iste' Harnack) *maleficus et uenenarius* (Rev. xxii 15) et iterum *in iudicii dei (or diem in) igne rotante torquebitur*': where 'et iterum' must surely introduce a quotation, as it does repeatedly in this tract.

supplice. Il leur dira : 'Maintenant vous vous repentez, alors qu'il n'y a plus de temps pour le repentir, et que la vie ne vous reste plus.'¹ Tous diront : 'Le jugement du Seigneur est droit, car nous avons appris (ces supplices). Nous savons que le jugement du Seigneur est juste, car nous sommes rétribués selon nos œuvres.'²

The document which furnishes the best parallel to the portion of the Inferno which is not represented in our Greek fragment is *Sib. Orac.* ii 255-310. This gives a long list of sinners, of which the greater part corresponds with the text of the Apocalypse, though the order is not preserved. The latter part must be quoted.

273 ὅσοι δὲ γονεῖς ἐνὶ γήρᾳ
 κάλλιπον οὐ τίσαντες ὄλως, οὐ θρέπτρα γονεῦσιν
 ἀντιπαρασχόντες, αὐτὰρ δ' ὅσοι ἠπειθήσαν
 ἢ δὲ καὶ ἀντεῖπαν λόγον ἄγριον εἰς γενετῆρας·
 ἢ δ' ὅποσοι πίστευς τε ἀπηρηνήσαντο λαβόντες
 καὶ θεράποντες ὅσοι κατὰ δεσποτέων ἐγένοντο,
 καὶ πάλιν οἱ τὴν σάρκα ἀσελγείῃ ἐμίγησαν,
 ἢ δ' ὅποσοι ζώνην τὴν παρθενικὴν ἀπέλυσαν
 λάβρη μισγόμενοι, ὅσσοι δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι φόρτους
 ἐκτρώσκουσιν, ὅσοι τε τόκους ῥίπτουσιν ἀθέσμως·
 φαρμακὸν ἢ φαρμακίδας.

The next lines summarize the torments:

283 σὺν τοῖσι καὶ αὐτοὺς
 ὄργῃ ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ θεοῖο
 285 κίονι προσπελάσειεν, ὅπου περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα
 ἀκάματος ποταμὸς πύρινος ῥεῖ, τοὺς δ' ἅμα πάντας
 ἄγγελοι ἀθανάτῳ θεοῖο τε αἰὲν ἑόντος
 ἐν φλογίναῖς μᾶστιξι καὶ ἐν πυρίναῖς ἀλύσεισιν
 δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις τε περισφίγγαντες ὑπερθεῖν
 290 δεινοτάτως κολάσουσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ
 ἐν γέννῃ θηρῶν ὑπὸ ταρταρίοισι βαλοῦνται
 πολλοῖς δειμαλέοισιν, ὅπου σκότος ἐστὶν ἄμετρον
 ἀλλ' ὅποταν πολλὰς κολάσεις ἐνιποιήσωνται
 πᾶσιν, ὅσων κακὸν ἦτορ ἔην, αὐτὰρ ὕστερον αὐτε
 295 ἐκ ποταμοῦ μεγάλου πύρινος τροχὸς ἀμφικατέρξει
 αὐτούς, ὅτι ἄρα τοῖσιν ἀτάσθαλα ἔργα μέμνηεν·

¹ Cf. Apoc. Pauli Lat. 40 'et uidi angelum penarum ualidissime penam superponentem eis et dicentem : Agnoscite filium dei ; praedictum est enim uobis, cum legerentur uobis scripturae diuinae non attendebatis ; propter quod iustum est iudicium dei ; adprehenderunt enim uos actus uestri mali et adduxerunt uos in has penas.'

² Cf. Ephr. Syr. ed. Rom. 229 τότε ὁμολογήσουσιν ὅτι δικαία ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ ἠκούομεν ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἡμῶν πράξεων· καὶ τότε οὐδὲν ἀνοίσουσιν ταῦτα λέγοντες.

Then the vain lamentations of the lost are described in ll. 296-310.

In 312-316 the matter of the Ethiopic text is continued :

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ὅποσους τε δίκη καλὰ τ' ἔργα μέμηλεν
ἦδὲ καὶ εὐσεβίῃ τε δικαιοτάτοί τε λογισμοί,
ἄγγελοι αἰρόμενοι δι' αἰθομένου ποταμοῦ
εἰς φῶς ἄξουσιν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν ἀμέριμον.

The Ethiopic proceeds :

'Then will I give to mine elect and to my righteous the washing and the salvation which they have asked of me in the field of 'Akrosya (*Ἀχερουσία λίμνη*), which is called 'Aneslaslya (?'*Ἡλύσιον*). Some of the righteous will be adorned with flowers. I shall go and rejoice with them. I shall bring the nations into my everlasting kingdom and give them the eternal (happiness) which I have promised them, with my heavenly Father.

'I have spoken unto thee, Peter, and have instructed thee. Go forth therefore, go unto the city of the west, (and enter) into the vineyard which I shall tell thee of. It is by the sufferings of the Son without sin that the work of conception is sanctified. As for thee, thou art chosen according to the promise I have given thee. Spread thou therefore my gospel throughout all the world in peace. Verily men shall rejoice : my words will be the source of hope and of life "et soudain le monde sera ravi".'

The *Sibylline Oracles* (ii 316 sqq.) appear to continue the parallelism : ll. 316-329 are occupied with a description of Paradise : in 330-338 we have the unusual view that God will allow the righteous to save some sinners from torment. The last lines are :

πέμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
εἰς ζωὴν ἑτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτουςιν
Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρὰ
λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου.

Compare *Akrosya* and *Aneslaslya* above. It must be noted in connexion with this that a subsequent section of the Ethiopic text as yet unpublished deals at great length with the mercy of God towards sinners, in which, to judge from the analysis, a doctrine of deliverance from hell-torments is hinted at. The section itself cannot be regarded as belonging to the Apocalypse, but may well have been suggested by it.

Thus ends the present instalment of the text.

In a previous volume of the *Revue* (1907 p. 142) M. Grébaud gives a short analysis of the next section, which evidently corresponds generally to the earlier portion (§§ 2-5 James 4-20 Preuschen) of the Akhmim

fragment of the Apocalypse, upon which an account of the Transfiguration has been welded.

The elect and the righteous will be brought by angels into the kingdom of heaven (this portion is translated above). In order that he may more fully understand the glory of heaven, Jesus commands Peter to accompany Him to the holy mountain. Here are seen men with faces shining more than the sun and with glittering raiment. In answer to Peter's question Jesus tells him that they are Moses, Elias, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest of the righteous Fathers. Paradise is then opened. Peter desires to set up three tabernacles for Christ, Moses, and Elias. A voice is heard from heaven: 'This is my beloved son', 'en qui je me plais. Il observe mes ordres.' The Apostles look up and see in the sky certain real men—'de vrais hommes'—coming to meet Christ, Moses, and Elias. They then pass into another heaven. The heaven is then closed. The Apostles come down from the mountain and give thanks to Christ for having written the names of the righteous in the Book of Life.¹

It is not to be expected that one's views on this important text should be finally formed on two or three days' study. But a few general propositions may be put forward, with all reserve.

1. The fact that a large portion of the Apocalypse of Peter is embedded in M. Grébaud's text is not to be contested. We have in it the equivalent of one fragment quoted in Macarius Magnes, and the whole of the description of Hell contained in the Akhmim fragment.

2. This warrants us in assuming that the Ethiopic text represents portions of the Apocalypse previously unknown.

Among these I reckon

- a. the matter relating to the resurrection of the body;
- b. the description of the final fire;
- c. the torments which follow in the Ethiopic after the end of the Akhmim fragment;
- d. the matter relating to the destiny of the blessed.

3. It seems beyond doubt that the *Sibylline Oracles* Book II follows the Apocalypse very closely indeed.

4. The Ethiopic text is in some respects better than the Akhmim text. It contains matter corresponding to the passages quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Methodius which are not in the Akhmim text. It seems clear that the latter must be regarded as something like an abridgement, or a series of excerpts from the Apocalypse. I suppose this to be true of the opening paragraph as well as of the description of Hell.

¹ See *Additional Note*, p. 157.

5. The question of the order in which the various topics were treated in the Apocalypse is a difficult one. The Akhmim text gives us

- a. prophecy of false Messiahs ;
- b. description of Paradise ;
- c. description of Hell.

The Ethiopic text has

- a. the Resurrection, final conflagration, and judgement ;
- b. the description of Hell ;
- c. the description of Paradise.

It will have been noticed, moreover, that whereas the Greek text gives the description of Hell in the past tense ('I saw', 'there were men and women', &c.), the Ethiopic puts the whole into the future, and does not represent the various torments as being shewn to Peter. This important difference may be due to a recasting of the whole text ; and it is natural to give the preference *a priori* to the Akhmim text on account of its antiquity. But it should not be forgotten, on the other hand, that in the passages quoted by Clement of Alexandria the future tense is prominent ; notably in the sentence τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν . . . γενήσεται θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα.

A final decision does not appear possible as yet.

6. A study of the Ethiopic text and of the patristic and other parallels makes it probable to my mind that the Apocalypse laid stress upon the resurrection of the flesh, employing the argument that all things are possible with God, and using the vision of the dry bones in Ezekiel and the simile of the seed sown in the ground ; and that its treatment of this topic furnished a ready handle to heathen objectors. Further, that it described in some detail the destruction of the world by fire (agreeing in this with the Second Epistle of Peter). It seems likely that the Ethiopic text has preserved these sections very much in their original form. I conjecture also that it indicated the possibility of sinners being freed from torment by the intercession of the righteous. More light may be thrown on this point by the publication of the final portion of the book. Its teaching on all these points fell into disfavour, and led to its suppression. In the time of the writer of the Muratorian Fragment objections were already felt to it 'quam quidam nostris in ecclesia legi nolunt'.

The best thanks of all students of early Christian literature are due to M. Grébaud. He has restored to us a large portion of a book whose influence upon the beliefs and imaginations of Christendom has been far-reaching, both directly, and still more by means of the many apocalyptic visions which were based upon it.

M. R. JAMES.