NOTES AND STUDIES

A NEW TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER. II.

§ 1. The Text continued.

The continuation of the Ethiopic tract on the Second Coming, in which a large portion of the text of the Apocalypse of Peter is incorporated, has been published by M. Sylvain Grébaut in the last number of the Revue de l’Orient Chrétien. The present instalment contains, as will be speedily seen, only a small portion of the Apocalypse. The greater part of what is now published is due to the compiler of the tract, and is a comparatively late composition. In the following pages I transcribe M. Grébaut’s French version, and the corresponding portions of the Akhmim Greek text. I subjoin an analysis of the remainder of the Ethiopic tract. In dealing with the end of it I have again had the advantage of seeing M. Grébaut’s as yet unpublished version, which he has, with great courtesy and kindness, lent to me.

Mon Seigneur Jésus-Christ notre roi me dit: ‘Allons à la montagne sainte.’ Ses disciples vinrent avec lui, en priant.

Voici qu’il y avait deux hommes (sur la montagne).

Nous ne plûmes pas regarder le visage d’aucun d’eux, car il en provenait une lumière qui brillait plus que le soleil. Leurs vêtements étaient lumineux. Il est impossible d’exposer cela. Rien ne peut être comparé à cela dans le monde. La bouche n’ayant pas assez de douceur ne peut pas exposer la
beauté de leurs formes. En effet, leur aspect était merveilleux, prodigieux, et je dirai plus grand encore. Dans leur aspect ils brillaient plus que le cristal. Le type de la couleur de leur aspect et de leur corps était la fleur de rose.

Leur tête était une merveille. A leur front se trouvait une couronne. Sur leurs épaules tombaient des tresses (parfumées) de nard et (ornées) de belles fleurs. (The Ethiopic text is here confused, according to M. Grébaut.) Leur chevelure était comme l'arc-en-ciel (plongeant) dans l'eau. Telle était la grâce de leur visage. Ils étaient ornés de toutes sortes d'ornements. Lorsque nous les vîmes soudain, nous nous étonnâmes.


Il nous fit voir le paradis grand ouvert.
Il y avait un arbre fertile. (Ses) fruits de bénédiction étaient remplis d'odeurs de parfums et étaient remplis de bonnes odeurs. Leur odeur venait vers (le paradis ; more probably vers nous). A (cet arbre) je vis beaucoup de fruits.

Mon Seigneur et mon Dieu Jésus-Christ me dit : ‘As-tu vu la foule des Pères? Tel est leur repos.’

Je me réjouis, je crus et j’eus confiance.


Nous priâmes et descendimes de la montagne, en glorifiant le
Seigneur de ce qu'il avait écrit les noms des justes sur le livre de vie, qui est au ciels.

At this point there is a distinct break. The text continues in the words of Clement (who, it must be remembered, is the supposed recorder of the whole corpus of revelations):—

'Peter opened his mouth and said to me: Hearken, my son Clement. God created all things for His glory,' &c. This theme is dwelt upon at some length. There are promises, put into the mouth of the Father, to those who celebrate the glory of God. In the description of their future happiness, and in a description of the angels, which follows upon this, traits are drawn from the description of the blessed in A. P. Thus:

'(The Son) will at His coming raise the dead at the sound of His word, and will make my righteous ones shine seven times more than the sun, and will make their crowns shine like the crystal, and like the rainbow in the time of rain: (crowns) which are perfumed with nard, and cannot be contemplated: (which are adorned) with rubies, with the colour of emerald, shining brightly, with topazes, gems, and yellow pearls that shine like the stars in heaven, and like the rays of the sun, sparkling, which cannot be gazed upon.' Then, of the angels: 'The faces of His angels shine more than the sun; their crowns are as the rainbow in the time of rain. (They are perfumed) with nard. Their eyes shine like the morning star. The beauty of their appearance cannot be expressed. The music of their songs is as the sound of an instrument. Their hymns are sweet, their speech is pleasant to hear, and, above all, their joy has no end. Their raiment is not woven, but is white as that of the fuller, according as I saw on the mountain where Moses and Elias were.' He continues: 'Our Lord shewed at the transfiguration to Peter, James and John, sons of Zebedee, the raiment of the last day after the resurrection and the day (of judgement). He then speaks of the cloud and the Voice from heaven, and ends 'we knew not what we said, because of the greatness of that day, and of the mountain where He shewed us the second coming of Christ in the kingdom that has no end'.

A new start is then made: 'The Father has committed all judgement to Christ (John v 22 is quoted). A list of sins and virtues is given; and we now find that Peter is the speaker 'Forget me not in regard to the sinners, when thou hast pity upon them at the last day'. This begins an appeal on behalf of sinners addressed by Peter to Christ. He weeps for many hours, and finally receives an answer, with strict injunctions not to reveal it, lest men should go on in their sins. The answer is very diffuse and obscure, but it seems distinctly to promise at one point universal salvation. This occurs in the portion as yet unpublished. 'My Father will give to them all the life, the glory, and the kingdom which shall have no end.' It seems also that this is done for the sake
of the righteous. 'It is because of those who have believed in me that I am come. It is also because of those who have believed in me that, at their word, I shall have pity (on men).’ After a discourse of some length uttered by our Lord, Peter speaks again in his own person, and enjoins Clement to hide this revelation in a box that foolish men may not see it. Then follow orders as to the observance of the greater feasts, a last injunction as to secrecy, and the conclusion.

That the portion of the Ethiopic tract following the descent from the mountain is almost wholly of quite late date does not admit of doubt. But we see that it borrows a few traits from the A. P.; and the question will be worth considering at a later time whether the central topic—the final salvation of sinners—which the Ethiopic writer wraps up in such a mist of words, and as to which he shews so much hesitation, was not also in some form derived from the same source. That question I cannot undertake to discuss now. It is more immediately necessary to examine the relation of the Ethiopic text (Eth.) to our Greek fragment (Akh.) in the portion in which they are obviously connected.

There are two omissions of some length in Eth. The first extends from the word ἐδείημεν to ἐξομένων ἠμῶν. Eth. has for these lines only 'en priant'. It is a question whether this omission is not due to homoeoteleuton in Ethiopic. The two Greek words being of similar meaning may have been rendered in the Ethiopic (or its parent version) by the same word.

No such explanation is possible in the case of the other long omission,—that in the description of Paradise and its inhabitants. Eth. here gives us a much shorter text, which contains two striking phrases of Akh., but introduces a new feature in the shape of a tree. Possibly the text is corrupt: possibly the Tree of Life may be meant. Eth. also omits all mention of the inhabitants of Paradise.

An important difference between Eth. and Akh. is in the passage about the two glorified beings. In the description of their aspect almost every phrase of the Greek text can be traced in Eth., though the latter is confused and corrupt. But when Peter asks who the two saints are, the answer in Akh. is that they are 'your righteous brethren, whose forms ye desired to see', in Eth., that they are 'Moses and Elias'.

A reference to Eth. shews traces of a question corresponding to that in Akh.: 'And where are all the righteous?' &c. We thus have a text (in which the narrative of the Transfiguration is utilized) consistent with itself, but differing widely from Akh. Be it noted that the latter is difficult of interpretation. The Apostles have asked to be shewn 'one of their righteous brethren who have departed out of the world'. Now, though in the time of the real author of the A. P. there were many Christians who had departed this life, we must credit him with having
made some attempt at putting himself into the position, and throwing himself back into the time, of the Apostles: and in their days—more especially before the Ascension—there were no departed Christians to appear, and Old Testament saints are the most obvious persons to play the required part. Such are the worthies whom Paul meets in Paradise: such also the 'elect and righteous who dwell in the garden' according to Enoch.

There may be some other elements of the original conclusion of the A. P. in the text; in particular, the clause about the descent from the mountain is such as would have proved a very fitting end to the book. I do not forget that 2 Peter, which shews points of contact with Akh., mentions the Voice from Heaven, and the holy mountain: but I am not at present in a position to put forward a theory of the incorporation by the A. P. of the narrative of the Transfiguration.

§ 2. The Bodleian fragment.

In the additional notes to my last article I said something of this fragment. A fuller account of it is clearly desirable.

I will remind my readers that it is a vellum fragment measuring three-and-a-quarter inches in height by two in breadth: complete at top and bottom, containing thirteen lines of from eight to ten letters apiece on each side. In other words it is the greater part of a leaf of a very small book. It is in well-formed uncials assigned to the fifth century. It was acquired from Egypt in 1894 or 5: its class-mark is 'MS. Gr. Theol. f. 4 (P)', and it is No. 31810 in Madan's Summary Catalogue.

I owe my first knowledge of it to a photograph kindly sent to me by the Librarian soon after its acquisition by the Bodleian. Upon the discovery of the Ethiopic text I obtained the kind help of Dr Cowley and Mr E. O. Winstedt, the latter of whom has furnished me with most careful transcripts of all that could be read on the vellum. More recently Professor J. Vernon Bartlet has very generously sent me his own reading of the fragment. I have also procured another photograph of the very difficult verso of the leaf.

The result attained is that we have a short piece of a text of the A. P., which may be said to correspond to the end of the Akhmim fragment. The recto, which I printed in my Additional Note II (J. T. S. xii p. 157) is fairly legible.

\[\text{(γν)ναίκες κρατοῦσας ἀλυσεν καὶ μακράς γυναικεῖς} & \text{(έ)αντος εὐμελίας} \]
\[\text{προσβεβήσαν τοῦ} & \text{(τήρων ἀφίκων) καὶ ἀναψε ραττιστος} \]
\[\text{ἐξουσία τῆς κολασίας} & \text{(three dots, indicating a stop) καὶ εὐγενείᾳ .} \]

The passage corresponding to this in the Akhmim text is:—

\[\text{καὶ πληθύνων ἄνθρωπων ἀσιν (ἰσονταί) ἀλλοι ἀνθρώποι καὶ must be supplied at the beginning. Prof. Bartlet reads κρατοῦντες ἄλογος: I suggest κρατοῦν-} \]
\[\text{τες (= holding) as an amendment of this. He also reads εἴδωλον τῆ πλάνη.} \]
καὶ παρὰ τῷ κρημνῷ ἐκεῖνῳ τόπῳ ἦν πυρὸς πλείστου γέμων κάκει εἰστήκει-
σαν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ταῖς ἰδίαις χερώι ἐξάνα ἑαυτοίς ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ θεοῦ. καὶ
παρ' ἐκεῖνοις ἄνδρες ἔτεροι καὶ γυναικεῖς ράβδους πυρὸς ἔχοντες καὶ ἄλληλοις
τύπτοντες καὶ μηδέποτε πανόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.

_Eth._ has: Near these will be a furnace (?). Beneath them the angel
Ezrael will prepare a great flare of fire. There will be all the idols of
gold and silver, all the idols, the works of the hands of the sons of men,
and the images which are like them (i.e. images in human form):
images of cats and lions, of creeping things, and of beasts. As for the
men and women who have made these images, they will be loaded with
fiery chains, and will be chastised because of their error in the presence
of these idols. Such will be their punishment for ever.

_Akhmim_ seems to be clearly a faulty text here. If we cut out the
words καὶ παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις ἄνδρες ἔτεροι καὶ γυναικεῖς we get a more coherent
account: a single class of sinners whose sin and punishment are both
specified; whereas the present text mentions two classes, says nothing
distinctive about the punishment of the first, and nothing at all about
the sin of the second.

It has this much of resemblance to _Bodl._ that the sinners are ἄλληλοις
tύπτοντες (_Bodl._ μαστιγοῦντες ἑαυτῶν), and that the ceaselessness of the
punishment is specially mentioned.

_Eth._ and _Bodl._ have in common the mention of chains, and the
chastisement in the presence of the idols. Very probably the words
rendered ‘because of their error’ may represent the adjective πλάνων,
applied to the idols in _Bodl._

The _verso_ of _Bodl._ is in its upper part very faint. The last reading
of it which I have from Mr Winstedt, who has been untiring in the pains
he has kindly spent over it, is this

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Τ]ΩΝΕ ... [  
Ε]ΩΝΤΑΙΑ[Ν  
Δ]ΕΙΚΑΙ[ΤΥ  
Ν]ΑΙΚΕ[Κ[  
.].]Ε ... ΟΤΗ[  5  
].]ΕΙΤΩ[  
].]ΔΩΚΕ[Μ[  
]ΩΝΟΥΤΟ[1  
Δ]ΕΙΚΙΝΟ[1  
Τ]ΙΝΕΚΑ[  10  
ΤΕ]ΙΠΟΝΟ  
ΔΟ]ΝΤΟYΘΥΟ  
ΑΩ]ΚΑΙΠΡΟΕ
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The first lines (taken with the last line of the _recto_) seem then to have
been
In the next lines Prof. Bartlet reads καὶ οὕτων ἔτεροι ἐστονται ἄνδρες καὶ γυναίκες. The last word was suggested to him by Bodley's Librarian; it occurs in Athenagoras 29. This reading seems to me admirable. Lines 8-13 read: οὕτων δὲ εἰσιν οὕτων κατέλυτον ὄδυν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅλως (?)[κατέλ. τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄδυν Bartlet] καὶ προε . . .

The portion of Akhmim corresponding to this is: καὶ ἔτεροι πάλιν ἔγγυς ἐκεῖνος γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι, οὕτων δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὄδυν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Eth. Near them will be other men and women. They will burn in the flames of torment. Their punishment will be for ever. Here are they who have forsaken the commandments of the Lord and followed the suggestions of devils.

Here again Bodl. seems nearer to Eth. than to Akhmim. There is not room enough in Bodl. for the three long participles of Akhmim φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι. Note that it has the future tense ἔστονται, and a present εἰσὶν, both in agreement with Eth.

§ 3. The quotations from Apoc. Peter in Clement of Alexandria and Methodius.

These passages demand a fresh discussion in the light of the new Ethiopic text. Unnecessary doubt has been thrown on the Clementine passages in regard of the number and extent of the quotations from A. P. The passages in question are all in the collection of excerpts known as Eclogae ex prophetis scripturis. This collection is preserved in but one ancient manuscript. In this the excerpts are not divided, nor, of course, numbered. It is important to remember this, and to realize that the division and numbering of the excerpts in the printed editions is the work of comparatively modern scholars. That which appears in the Berlin edition of 1909 by Dr Otto Stählin differs widely from previous arrangements, and for our present purpose is perfectly satisfactory.

Leaving out of sight for the present the probable allusion to A. P. in Ecl. 38, 39, let us take the overt quotations. I use Stählin's text. (1) Ecl. 41. 1. 'Ἡ γραφὴ φησί τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἐκτεθέντα θημελούχω παραδίδοσθαι ἀγέλεα, ὥσ' οὗ πανδεύσαται τε καὶ αὐξεῖαν. 'καὶ ἐστονται' φησιν 'ὡς οἱ ἐκατόν ἐτῶν ἐνταῦθα πιστοί.'

2 Διὸ καὶ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει φησι: 'καὶ ἀστρατή πυρὸς πυρώσα ἄπο τῶν βρέφων ἐκεῖνων καὶ πλήρουσα τῶν δυσθαλμῶν τῶν γυναικῶν.' 3 ἔπει δὲ δίκαιος 'ὡς σπῶθη διὰ καλάμως ἐκλάμετε καὶ κρένει θηνή.' (Wisd. iii. 7.)

Zahn and others have referred § 1 to another Apocalypse, unnamed, because in § 2 the A. P. is named definitely. But nothing surely can
be clearer than that § 2 is a separate excerpt; by no possibility can Διο
be connected with § 1. The excerptor has simply copied all the references to the A. P. which he noticed. I suggested this in 1892. Surely, again when we find the words τά βρέφη... τημελούχω παραδιδο-
σθαι ἀγγέλῳ repeated as a definite quotation from the A. P. in Eccl. 48 we shall be going very far out of the plain track if we seek to attribute them to another source in Eccl. 41. The word τημελούχως, it may be useful to remind my readers, is found nowhere in Greek literature save in these two Eclogae of Clement and in the passage of Methodius which deals with the same subject. The Ethiopic version of the A. P. gives it under the form Temlakos as a proper name; and in the later Greek Apocalypses of Paul and John we find it again, misunderstood, corrupted, and made into a proper name, Τεμελούχος or Τεμελούχη. Not only so, but it becomes the name of a tormenting angel. The passages are: Paul 16 παραδοθήτω η ψυχή αὐτῆς ἄνελεν ἄγγελῳ Τεμελούχῳ. 34 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ Τεμελούχος κατείχεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ σώδρον: John, Tischendorf, p. 94, καὶ φωνήσει ὁ τεμελούχη (is paullo ante θυρωνδος constit-
tutus est) τῶν ταρωκ, and later on: καὶ λέγει ὁ τεμελούχη τῷ ταρωπѣ ἔγειρε τῶν ἄνω κτλ... καὶ συνάξει ὁ τεμελούχη τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν.

In the Latin version of Paul the word Tartaruchus is substituted for Temeluchus; thus '16 Tradatur ergo angelo Tartaruco qui prepositus est penis. 34 uidi... hominem subfocari ab angelos tartaricos abentes in manibus suis ferrum'.

This word Ταρταροῦχος, again, demands some attention. It is not given in the Thesaurus of Stephanus at all; but it does occur in Greek, though with extreme rarity. In Hippolytus Ref. Haer. x 34 we have (ἐκφευτεσθε) ταρταροῦχων ἄγγελων κολαστῶν ὁμα δὲ μένον ἐν ἀπειλῇ; in Paul 18 παραδοθήτω η ψυχὴ αὐτῆς Ταρταροῦχῳ ἄγγελῳ (apparently a proper name; the Latin has 'Anima ista in manibus Tartari tradatur'). In John we have seen it in the corrupt form ταρωκ. It occurs also in Latin in a fragment printed by De Bruyne as probably Priscillianist (Revue Bénédictine, 1907, p. 323) 'tradatur hunc ad angelum tartaruco', and once a few lines before. The Ethiopic of A. P. gives it as a proper name Τατηροκος.

I must add that Paul 40 speaking of the destiny of murdered infants, and approaching very near the A. P. as quoted by Clement, says (Gr.) καὶ ἐδοθην αὐτὰ ἄγγελῳ ἀπενεχθηναι αὐτὰ εἰς εὐφιλερον τότον, (Lat.) 'Infantes autem illi traditi sunt angelis tartari qui erant super penas ut ducerent eos in locum spaciosum misericordiae', where one cannot but suspect that our Greek text is guilty of an omission.

1 The unique MS of the Latin text reads doceret which happens to correspond with Clement's ταδείσεσθαι. But it is safer to take it (as I have done) as a corruption of ducerent-ἀπενεχθηναι of Gr.
The evidence I have set out leads me to the conclusion that these two very rare adjectives, τημελοὺχος and ταρταρούχος, both occurred in the source of Eth. and of Paul; and that this source was the A. P. is demonstrated in the case of τημελοὺχος, and almost absolutely certain in the case of ταρταρούχος.

καὶ ἔσονται, φήσον, ὡς οἱ ἐκατον ἐτῶν ἐπταίθα πιστοί.

This must be another quotation from the γραφή mentioned in the first clause, and was very likely continuous with it. It is alluded to again in Ecl. 48, where Clement speaks of the children attaining to γνῶσις and experiencing what they would have experienced had they remained in the body. Ecl. 48, in fact, contains Clement’s interpretation of the words (ὡς οὐ παιδεύσαθαι καὶ ἀξέειν) καὶ ἔσονται κτλ. The children will become equal in experience to the believers who survive to a patriarchal age on earth. The Ethiopic has no equivalent to this clause.

I can point to but one passage which shews a coincidence of language such as may have suggested the idea, viz. Isa. lxv 20 οὗτος ὁ μὴ γένηται ἐτί ἐκεῖ ἄωρος καὶ πρεσβύτης δι' οὐκ ἐμπλήσει τῶν χρόνων αὐτῶν: ἔσται γὰρ ὁ νίος ἐκατον ἐτῶν, ὦ δὲ ἄπορησσων ἀμαρτώλας ἐκατον ἐτῶν, καὶ ἐπικατάρατος ἔσται. The word ἄωρος occurs in the Akhmim text in connexion with our subject (20 Preuschen); in Wisdom, as we shall see, the thought of honourable age independent of grey hairs is expressed more than once.

The consideration of the future tense ἔσονται must be noted, but discussion of it is reserved.

καὶ ἀπτραπῆ πυρὸς πυρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἑκείνων καὶ πλήστουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.

The parallel passage in the Akhmim text, hardly coinciding with this at all in vocabulary, is: καὶ προήρχοντο εἰς αὐτῶν ἀκτίνες (οτι φλόγες: the letters -es only remain in the MS) πυρὸς, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπλησσον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. The antecedent to αὐτῶν is πάθες, not βρέφη.

The Ethiopic has: ‘a flash shall come from the children. There will be a dazzling in the eyes of the women who by fornication have brought about their corruption.’ The last clause may correspond to a separate sentence in the original, such as αὐταί εἰσιν αἱ πορνεύσασαι καὶ τὰ βρέφη φθείρασι: but on the other hand a similar sentence has already occurred (‘ce sont celles qui ont fait avorter leurs enfants et ont corrompu l’œuvre du Seigneur qui les avait formés’).

The tense—an important matter—is left undetermined in Clement’s quotation. The verb may equally well have been past or future.

As to the language, there is a curious reminder of it in Wisdom xi 18 ἡ δεινὸς ἀπ’ ὄμματων συνθέρας ἀπατᾶποντας: one of a good many resemblances, which will be presented all together at a later period.

(2) Ecl. 48, 1 Ἡ θεία πρόνοια (ο)δή (κ)ασταρέφει ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς ἐν σαρκί. αἰτία. ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει φησίν τὰ βρέφη ἐξαμβλωθήτα
The inverted commas are Stahlin's, and shew his view of the extent of the quotation. Zahn would stop at ἐσώμενα (or πείρας, the reading of the MS) and Harnack at μοῖρας. My view is that little if anything beyond the words τὰ βρέφη and ταῦτα ἁγγ. τημ. παραδίδοσθαι can be looked upon as quoted, and that the rest is Clement's interpretation or paraphrase. I see no reason for inserting any mark of distinction after γενόμενα.

As to the text, Stählin is the first editor who has rightly read the opening sentence ('H θεία...σαρκί) and has connected it with this excerpt instead of the preceding one. He also suggests and, I think, again rightly, that τὰ should be supplied after ἐξαμβλωθήνα.

Now as to the meaning of the excerpt. Two classes of children are distinguished in it. What are they? Not, as has been thought, τὰ ἐξαμβλωθήνα and τὰ ἐκτεθήνα, but (τὰ) τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσώμενα μοῖρας and τὰ ἐπερα : that is, the children who are destined to be of the better part (i.e. to be saved) and the children who are not so destined; in other words, those who, if they had attained maturity on earth, would have been saved, and those who, in the like case, would not. The first class are permitted to attain γνώσις, and to go through such probation as they would have experienced on earth; to the second, in consideration of the injury they have suffered at the hands of their parents, punishment is remitted, but no positive advantages are given. This interpretation (which I have not seen set forth before, though I think it must have been present to Dr Stählin's mind) seems to me to be required by the presence of ἐσώμενα, which qualifies the class of children described. The words have been thought to mean simply that the children in question 'will belong to the better part', but this would require γενόμενα. Possibly we ought to read ἐσώμενα ἄν: I do not think this essential to the interpretation I have given.

How much of this speculation did Clement derive from the text of A. P.? I think very little, and for this reason, that what we have of the text of A. P. is altogether on a lower plane of thought. It is materialistic in its imagery. It describes the destiny of these very children in a concrete way, 'they will be like the faithful here who have attained the age of a hundred years,' and I do not suppose that it said much more about them. The distinction drawn between the two classes seems to me too subtle to be attributed to the A. P.

The Ethiopic text, however, shews us the grounds upon which Clement built his distinction; for, though it does not mention two
different kinds of children, it does contain mention of two sets or groups of children, and says something about the destiny of the second set. This it does in the following manner:

First we have the punishment of the women who caused abortion. Their children are set over against them, and flashes of fire come from them and smite the women's eyes.

Then men and women are seen standing naked. Over against them also are children whom they have exposed to death. The children cry to God for vengeance on their parents. The milk of their mothers forms into beasts, which torment both the men and the women. These children are to be delivered to the angel Temlåkos.

Here, then, is mention of two groups of children, and what is said and not said about them furnishes a reason for, if it does not justify, the distinction which Clement draws between them. For be it noted that Eith. says nothing about the destiny of the first set. They are the means of inflicting punishment on their parents, and, though they are not themselves in torment, they are not represented as happy, nor is anything said as to there being happiness in store for them. Thus they correspond very well to the second class of children in Clement who merely escape punishment. The others, of whom it is said that they are handed over to the angel Temlåkos, are, of course, Clement's first class. Whether the author of A. P. really intended to draw a distinction between the ultimate destinies of these two groups of children, I do not feel sure; but it is evident that, by making the presence of the one class essential to the torment which he has devised, he has put it out of his own power to improve their prospects. In a somewhat similar fashion he brings the souls of murdered people to watch the torments of their murderers, and Dieterich (Nekyia p. 6r) points out that this is an indication that we are dealing with conceptions originally Greek.

At this point, having shewn, as I believe, that Clement's quotation is from a text which is pretty faithfully represented by Eith., I must take account of the passage in Methodius (Sympòs. ii 6):—

"Othev δὴ καὶ τημελοῦχοις ἀγγέλοις, καὶ ἐκ μοιχείας ὅσιν, τὰ ἀποτυκόμεα παραδίδονται παρειλήφαμεν ἐν θεοπνεύστοις γράμμασιν· εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν γράμμαν ἐγένοτο καὶ τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς μακαρίας εἰκώνις φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς ἀγγέλοις ταύτα παραδίδοτο τραφηγόμενα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ὑπατώσεως; πῶς δὲ καὶ κατηγορήσωστα σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς γονεῖς εὑπαρρησιαστώς εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐκλέκσθαιν τῷ Χριστῷ· 'Σὺ οὐκ ἐφθάνοντας ἥμιν, οὐ κύριε, τὸ κοινὸν λέγοντα τοῦτο φῶς, οὔτοι δὲ ἡμᾶς· εἰς θάνατον ἐξεθέντο καταφρονή-σαντες τῆς στῆς ἀντολῆς;"

If we make allowance for the desire for elegance which is conspicuous in this passage (we owe to it the plural ἀγγέλοις and much else) we shall see in it almost all the elements of the passage quoted by Clement
There is the delivery to the angel, the education, and (what is only implied in Clement) the happy abode of the children. What Methodius adds is the complaint of the children, and this he gives, very probably, in the exact words of the A. P., and certainly in a form which comes very close to Eth. This same incident is one of those borrowed by Paul (§ 40); the Greek text gives it very shortly, the Latin at greater length. It was very likely suggested to the author of A. P. by a passage in Wisdom (iv 6), which, indeed, Methodius himself, struck by the resemblance, quotes in the lines immediately following those I have transcribed.

εκ γαρ ἀνόμων ὑπὲρ τέκνα γεννώμενα μάρτυρες εἰσὶ σοφραίς κατὰ γονέων ἐν ἐξετασµῷ αἰτῶν.

Clement’s next quotation (τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν κτλ.) is again supported by Eth. and not by Akhmim. The evidence of Eth. leads us to conclude that it followed immediately upon the complaint of the children, and was followed by the passage about the τιμελοῦχος ἄγγελος. For this incident, again, there are curious parallels in Wisdom. A notable feature is the employment of future and present tenses (γεννήσει, κατεσθείε). But the discussion of the bearing of this belongs to another part of my subject.

As to the extent of the quotation. It clearly goes as far as κατεσθείε. The next words are διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας γενέσθαι τὰς κολάσεις διδάσκων, ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτίων γεννᾶσθαι αὐτὰς φησιν, ὡς διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐπράθη δὲ λαός κτλ. Clearly the clause διὰ ... διδάσκων need not be more than an inference drawn by Clement from the text he has quoted. But the next clause with its φησιν raises the question whether the A. P. is still the subject, and whether it contained a definite pronouncement to this effect. I do not think it did. The doctrine of like sin like suffering is taught in it not only here but throughout the description of Hell, so obviously that a definite statement would seem otiose. I suggest that in all probability some words have been omitted between διδάσκων and ἐκ τῶν ἀμ.: that we are dealing with a fresh extract. Further, that all the quotations from A. P. in the Eclogae are adduced as illustrations, and that in particular that of Ecl. 49 is an illustration of a passage in Wisdom. In more than one place in Wisdom this particular truth is enforced; perhaps the most striking is xi 16, 17 (of the Egyptian plagues): ἀντὶ δὲ λογισµῶν ἀσυνετῶν ἀδικίας αὐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς πλανηθέντες ἐθρήσκευον ἄλωγα ἐρπέτα καὶ κνώδαλα εὐσεῆ, ἐπατέστειλας αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἄλωγον ἥλων εἰς ἐκδικήσειν, ἢν γενόσιν ὅτι δὲ ὅν τις ἀμαρτάει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται. Here the plaguing of the Egyptians by beasts, and the retributive doctrine, occur in combination, so that the passage is one which might very easily recall to Clement’s mind the words he has quoted from A. P.

There is another of the Eclogae in which an allusion to the A. P. has been suspected by other editors as well as by myself, viz. Ecl. 38. 2, 39 εἰπε μὲν ὡς κολάσεις εἰσὶ βλασφηµίων, φλυαρίας, ἀκολαστῶν ῥηµάτων, λόγῳ
kolaxoméon kai paidevoménov éfasskev dé kai diá tás tríxas kolázeouthai kai tôn kósmon tás gynákias úpò dunameos tís épi toútous tetagméntos, ἢ kai tôn Σαμών δύναμιν παρείχε τάis θρεῖν, ἢτις κολάζει tás diá kóstou tríxan épi πορνεías oρμώσας. Τhis of course recalls the passage in the Akhmim text about women hung up by their hair: αὐταί δὲ ἦσαν 

The Ethiopic text puts it more nearly in the terms of Clement. 'Ce sont celles qui ont arrangé leurs tresses ... Elles se sont tournées vers la fornication', which might well be a rendering of ἐπὶ πορνείαν ὄρμωσας.

Yet there is a difficulty; ἐφασκεν cannot be meant to introduce a quotation from a written work. It must be the report of a spoken word, and the speaker was very probably the same who is mentioned in Ecil. 50 "Ελεγεν πρεσβύτης (τις) (or (ο) πρεσβ.) κατα γαστρός. My own belief is that the quotation from A. P. must be confined to the last clause of the excerpt, and that it is more probably due to Clement himself than to his authority.

I suggest that the excerpt is part of a comment on Wisdom i 8–11, in which these phrases occur: φθεγγόμενος ἄδικα οὐδεὶς μὴ λάθη, οὐδὲ μὴν παροδεύσῃ αὕτων ἐλέγχουσα ἡ δίκη. Εν γὰρ διαβουλίου ἀσέβειας ἐξέσται ἐστι... θρόνος γογγυσμῶν οὐκ ἀποκρύπτεται. φυλάξασθε τοῖν γογγυσμόν ἀνωφελῆ, καὶ ᾧ καταλαλίας φείσασθε γλώσσης.

§ 4. The Apocalypse of Peter and the Book of Wisdom.

More than once in the preceding pages I have adduced passages from the Wisdom of Solomon as possible sources of phrases in the A. P., or as texts on which Clement was commenting in the Eclogae. A perusal of Wisdom has yielded a rather large number of coincidences of language and thought, of varying force, which I have thought well to present in a collected form. They seem to me too striking to be the result of accident; and I cannot but believe that the writer of A. P. was very familiar with the Book of Wisdom.

I take the passages in the order of the Akhmim text, intercalating the fragments preserved in quotations in their proper places.

A. P. 1, 2, 3 ἀπόλεια ... ἀνομία.
Wisd. ν 7 ἀνομίας ἐνεπλάσθημεν ... καὶ ἀπωλείας.
A. P. 3 δοκιμάζοντες τὸς ψυχᾶς ἑαυτῶν.
Wisd. iii Ἑκατὼν δὲ ψυχή ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ ... 6 ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς. δοκιμάζων also occurs in i 3, ii 19, xi 10.

A. P. 6–11 The appearance of the glorified saints: οἱ ἑόρντες ἐθαμβώθημεν ... τὸ κάλλος αὐτῶν ... ἑόρντες τὸ κάλλος ἑκθαμβοῖ γεγόναμεν ... τοιαύτη ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ εὐπρέπεια.
Wisd. ν 1 Τότε στήσονται ἐν παρασκίᾳ πολλῇ (οἱ δίκαιοι) ... 2 (the sinners) ἑόρντες ταραχθήσονται ... καὶ ἑκστήσονται.
v 15, 16 δικαιο δε εις τον αιώνα ζωσι... λήψονται το βασιλείον της εὑρεσίας καὶ τὸ διάθημα τοῦ κόλλους.

A. P. 15 χῶρον... ὑπερλαμπρὸν τῷ φωτὶ, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀκτίων ἦλιον καταλαμβάνον... τὴν γῆν... ἀνθιζον αἱ ἀμαρτάντες ἀνθεόι.

Wis. xvii 20 ὁλος γὰρ ὁ κόσμος λαμπρὰ κατελάμβανε φωτὶ.

xviii 1 Τοὺς δὲ όριους σου μέγιστον ἦν φῶς.

vi 12 λαμπρὰ καὶ ἀμαρτάντος ἡ σοφία.

A. P. 22, 28 τὴν ὄδον τῆς δικαιοσύνης: 34 ἀφέντες τὴν ὄδον τοῦ θεοῦ.

Wis. v 6, 7 ἐπλανήθημεν ἀπὸ ὄσον ἀληθείας... τὴν δὲ ὄδον Κυρίου οὐκ ἔγνωμεν.

A. P. 21 σκοτειῶν εἶχον τὸ ἔνδυμα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ ἐπού.

Wis. xvii 21 εἰκὼν τοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτοῖς διαδέχεσθαι ἑκότους.

A. P. 26 Punishment of parents who destroyed and cast out their children; the children are the means of punishment.

Wis. xi 14 δι γὰρ ἐν ἐκδέχεται πάλαι βιβέντα ἀπειπὼν χιλιενάζοντες, ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἑκβάσεων θαῦμασαν.

xii 5 τέκνων φονέας ἀνελήμμονας.

xii 6 αὐθέντας γονεῖς ψυχῶν ἄβοηθήτων.

xiv 23 τεκνοφόνους τελετάς.

A. P. ap. Clem. ἀνταρπῇ τυρός πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἑκείνων καὶ πλύσοσοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.

Wis. xi 18 ἡ δεινοὶ ἀπ᾽ ἀμαρτῶν σπυνθήρας ἀστράπτοντας.1

A. P. ap. Clem. τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν... γεννήσει θηρία λεπτά σαρκοφάγα. With Clement's comment, διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας γενέσθαι τὰς κολάσεις διδάσκαλις, and ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν γεννάσθαι αὐτὰς φησιν.

Wis. xi 16 ἐπαπτεστείλας αὐτοῖς πλήθος ἄλογων ἐξῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι δὲ ὅσι σαμαρτάνει διὰ τούτων κολάσεται.

18 νεοκτίστους θυμοῦ πλήρεις θῆρας ἀγνώστους.

xii 23 διὰ τῶν ἱδίων ἐβασάνωσας βδηλογμάτων.

xvi 1 δὶ ὁμοίων ἐκολάσθησαν ἄξιως καὶ δὶ πλήθους κνῳδάλων ἐβασανι- σθησαν.

9 οὖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίδων καὶ μνιῶν ἀπέκτεινε δήγματα, καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη διὰ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἄξιον ἦν ἕπο τοιοῦτων κολάσθησαι.

Cf. xii 2 ἐν οἷς ἀμαρτάνοντες ὑπομμυρησκὸν νοθετεῖς, and xi 5.

A. P. ap Method. The complaint of the exposed children to God.

Wis. iv 6 ἐκ γὰρ ἀνόμων ὑπην τέκνα γεννώμενα μάρτυρες εἰς πονηρίας κατὰ γονέων ἐν ἐξετασμῷ αὐτῶν (quoted by Methodius himself).

A. P. ap Clem. (of the children) καὶ ἐστοῦται ὅσι ὦν ἐκατῶν ἀτῶν ἐνταῦθα πιστοὶ.

1 Dieterich Nekyia p. 62 quotes a striking parallel from an Orphic Hymn to the Eumenides (lxx 6): ἀναπράπτουσαι ἀπ᾽ ὀσῶν δεινὴν ἀνταρπῆς φάεος σαρκοφόρον αἴγλην. The date of the Hymn is uncertain: probably late.
Wisd. iii 16–18 (which seems at once to suggest this idea and to contradict the assertion contained in A. P.) τέκνα δὲ μοιχῶν ἀτέλεστα ἦσται κτλ.

In iv 8, 16 we have the thought that honourable age does not consist in length of days.

A. P. 26 ἀρχις, Wisd. iv 5, xiv 15.
A. P. 28, 29 Punishment of blasphemers and false witnesses.
Wisd. i 6–11 οὐκ ἄφησεν βλάσφημον ἀπὸ χειλέων αὐτοῦ κτλ.
A. P. 30 ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. 34 ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Wisd. iii 10 οἱ δὲ ἀσέβεις καὶ ἑλεγόντο ξέουσιν ἐπιτιμίαν, οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἀποστάτες.
A. P. 30 and Eth., and Bodleian fragment. Idolaters punished in presence of the idols.
Wisd. xii 27 εἰς τοὺς οὐκ ἔδοκον θεοὺς, εἰν αὐτοῖς κολαζόμενοι.
xiv 10 καὶ γὰρ τὸ πραχθὲν σὺν τῷ δράσαντι κολασθήσεται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς εἰδώλους ἐθνῶν ἑπισκοπὴ ἦσται.
A. P. Eth. Idols of silver and gold, images of cats and lions, &c.
Wisd. xiii 10 χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν, τέχνης ἐμμελέτημα, καὶ ἀπεικόσματα χρῶν.

Considering the small compass of the Greek text of A. P., I think that the above list is very striking in respect of the number and the closeness of its resemblances both in expression and in thought to Wisdom.

I have suggested already that some of Clement's Eclogae belong to comments on passages of Wisdom. To those who hold the view that these Eclogae are taken from the Hypotyposes, in which comments were made on all the books of scripture, this supposition will not appear improbable. But whatever may be our view of the source of the Eclogae, it seems worth while to point out that there are a good many passages and phrases in a particular group of them which might very readily be suggested by Wisdom. The group in question begins with Ecl. 39. This deals with the punishment of blasphemy and of women who tire their hair. I have quoted above somewords from Wisd. i 6–11 which might have served as the text for this.

Ecl. 40 begins καθάπερ ἄγαθον ἀπορροία ἀγαθίνονται.
In Wisd. vii 25 Wisdom is described as ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρνῆς.

Ecl. 41. 1. The exposed children educated by the angel. This might well be suggested by Wisd. iii 16–18 and iv 8, 16 cited above.
41. 2, 3. (Flashes from the eyes of the children.) Cf. Wisd. xi 18 quoted above. Clement himself quotes Wisd. iii 7, 8.
42–45 are comments on Ps. xvii 26, 44, 45, 51, xviii 11.
46 'Πνεύματα' λέγεται τὰ πάθη τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κτλ.
Wisd. vii 23 διὰ πάντων χωρὶς πνευμάτων νυστῶν κτλ. (also vii 20 πνευμάτων βίας).

47 relates to wealth; possibly suggested by Wisd. viii 5.

48. 1 'Ἡ θεία πρόνοια οὐ καταστρέφει ἐπὶ μόνοις τοὺς ἐν σαρκί.
Wisd. vi 7 ὅμοιοις τε προνοεῖ περὶ πάντων.

Two resemblances of language may be noted in passing:
Ibid. τὸ ἀμείωτος εἰσόμενα μοίρας.
Cf. Wisd. i 16 ἀξίων εἰς τὴς ἕκεινον μερίδος εἶναι.
iī 24 οἱ τῆς ἕκεινον μερίδος οὗτε.

48. 2 τὸντο γέρας λαβόντα.
Wisd. ii 22 γέρας ψυχῶν ἀμώμων.

49. 1. The milk of the mothers changing into beasts in accordance with the teaching διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας γεννάσθαι τὰς κολάσεις.
See Wisd. xi 15 sqq., xii 23, xvi 1, 9, &c., quoted above.

49. 12. Allusion to the people bitten by the serpents (1 Cor. x 9, quoted).
Cf. Wisd. xvi 5 δήγμασί τε σκολιῶν διεφθείροντο ὄφεων.

50. Ἑλέγειν πρεσβύτης ζῷων εἶναι τὸ κατὰ γαστρός. The infusion of the soul.

The extracts which follow are all comments on Ps. xviii, xix.

Outside this group of extracts, 39–41, 46–50, I find few if any allusions to Wisdom in the Eclogae, save in Ecl. το οἱ ἐν σαβρῷ οἰκοντες σῶματι καθάπερ ἐν πλοῖω πλέωντες παλαιῶ, with which compare Wisd. xiv 1 τοῦ φέροντος αὐτῶν πλοῖων σαβρότερον ξύλον.

My own present impression of the relations between Wisdom, A. P., and Clement, is that A. P. derived ideas from Wisdom, and that Clement, commenting on Wisdom, is therefore reminded of passages in A. P., and quotes them as illustrations. This was the case also with Methodius.

§ 5. The Apocalypse of Peter and the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Enoch has been mentioned once or twice in the course of this investigation as having furnished ideas or phrases to the A. P. It will be useful therefore to present the relevant passages together. The Greek fragment, as last edited by Flemming and Radermacher, and Dr Charles's version of the Ethiopic, will be used.


(2) En. xiv 16 (διαφέρων ἐν δόξῃ) ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι με ἑξετείν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δόξης κτλ. Ἀκκ. 7, 9.
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(3) **En. xiv 20** ἥλιον λαμπρότερον καὶ λευκότερον πάσης χιόνος.  
_Akhk._ 7 ἀκτίς ὥς ἥλιον 8 λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος.

(4) **En. xx 1** Ὅμωθλ ὅ εἰς τῶν ἀγώνων ἀγγέλων ὃ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ παραγόντος.  
_J. T. S._ xii p. 40 Ourâël . . . whom the Lord hath set over the resurrection of the dead at the judgement.

(5) **En. xxi 7** τῶρ μέγα ἐκεῖ καὶ διά τοῦ πλατείαν καὶ φλεγόμενον.  
Cf. _Akhk._ 23, 29, 34.

(6) The frequent use of τότος in these chapters recalls _Akhk._

(7) **En. xxii 9** οὗτος ἐξωρίζη εἰς τὰ πνεύματα τῶν δικαίων, οὐ ἡ πτηγή τοῦ ἔδατος ἐν αὐτῷ φωτεινή.  
Cf. the Paradise of _Akhk._

(8) **En. xxii 12** The souls of the murdered.  
Cf. _Akhk._ 25.

(9) **En. xxiv 4** ὅσιμος ἐξεν εὐδοκιμεῖν πάντων ἀρωμάτων καὶ τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄρθρο καὶ τὸ δέντρον οὐ φθείρει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.  
_Akhk._ 15, 16.

(10) **En. xxv 6** τότε εὐφρανθήσονται εὐφρανόμενοι.  
_Akhk._ 19.

(11) **En. xxvi 1** τότον ἦλογομένον ἐν ὧ δένδρα.  
_Akhk._ 15.

(12) **En. xxvii 3** ὁδὲ ἦλογομένου οἱ εὐσεβεῖς τῶν κύριων τῆς δόξης.  
_Akhk._ 19.

(13) **En. xxix 1** εἶδον κράτεσα δένδρα πνεύματα δικαίων.  
_Akhk._ 15.

(14) **En. xxxii 3** ἥλθον πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἶδον . . . δέντρον . . . 4 ὁ δὲ ὅσιμος αὐτοῦ διέτρεχεν πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ δέντρου.  
_Akhk._ 16.

(15) **En. xxxix 5-7** description of the dwelling-place of the righteous.  
They intercede for men (cf. _Sib. Orac._ ii 330–338). They are resplendent as lights of fire (cf. cviii 2–15) and their mouth is full of blessing.

(16) **En. liii 3, lvi 1, lxii 11 &c.** Angels of punishment.  
_Akhk._ 21, 23.

(17) **En. lx 8** The garden where the elect and righteous dwell.  
_Akhk._ 15 &c.

Also lxi 5 The elect who dwell in the garden of life.  
and lxx 4 There I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in this place.

(18) **En. lxi 5** They who have been devoured by the fish of the sea and by the beasts . . . will return . . . for no one will be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits.  
_J. T. S._ xii pp. 39, 40.

(19) **En. lxiii 1 sqq.** The sinners implore the angels of punishment to whom they were delivered to grant them a little respite.  
_J. T. S._ xii pp. 50, 51.

(20) **En. xciv 8** Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches.  
_Akhk._ 30 (ἡ πλοῦτι αὐτῶν πεποιθέται).

(21) **En. xcv 7** Ye persecute the righteous.  
_Akhk._ 27 οἱ διώκοντες τῶν δικαίων.

(22) **En. xcix 5** (Those who will be reduced to want) will mangle their
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children and cast them away, and there will be miscarriages; and they will cast away their sucklings and will not return unto them, and will have no pity on their beloved ones. Cf. Akh. 26 and J. T. S. xii p. 46.

(23) En. cii 1 sqq. When He brings a grievous fire upon you, whither will ye flee? and where will ye find deliverance? . . . 2 And all the luminaries will quake with great fear, and all the earth will be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed. J. T. S. xii pp. 42, 43.

(24) En. cvi 2 His body was white as snow and red as a blooming rose . . . when he opened his eyes he lighted up the whole house like the sun. 10 The colour of his body is whiter than snow and redder than a blooming rose . . . and his eyes are like the rays of the sun. Akh. 7, 8. Cf. no. 3 above.

(25) En. cviii 7 sqq. That which will befall the sinners and the spirits of the humble and of those who afflict their bodies. 9 and who . . . longed not after earthly food . . . and were much tried by the Lord, and their spirits were found pure. Cf. Akh. 3 πενήντας κ. δυσώντας κ. θλιβομένους κ. εν τούτω τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.

These passages constitute sufficient proof of the indebtedness of the A. P. to Enoch, and shew that the influence of the latter upon the former was not inconsiderable. It should also be noted that passages from all parts of Enoch, even the latest in date, seem to have been used in the A. P.

§ 6. The Apocalypse of Peter in the West.

While we have sufficient—if not abundant—evidence of the use of A. P. in writings of Egyptian and Asiatic provenance, it has hitherto been impossible to adduce any but the scantiest evidence of its use in the West. Harnack in Texte und Untersuchungen (xiii 1 pp. 71-73 Die Petrusapokalypse in der alten Abendländischen Kirche) brought together all the evidence which was accessible to him in 1895. Passing over the mention in the stichometry of the Codex Chromontanus, as not certainly Western, he cites (r) the Muratorian Canon, (2) Hippolytus Περὶ τῶν παντός and Ref. Haer. x 34, (3) a passage from the tract de laude Martyrii printed among Cyprian's works, but which H. ascribes to Novatian, (4) the Acts of SS. Felix, Fortunatus, and Achillaeus (Acta SS. 23 Ap.): he refers also to the Acts of Ferreolus and Ferrutio (16 June) and of Dorothea and Theophilus (6 Feb.).

1 I exclude African writings in Latin such as the Passion of Perpetua, the Carmen de resurrectione mortuorum, and Verecundus's poem de satisfactione poenitentiae in Pitra Spicil. Solesm. IV.
Bonwetsch Studien z. Hippolytus' Danielkommentar &c. p. 27 suggests that in comparing the lions' den to Hades and the lions to the angels of punishment Hippolytus had the A. P. in mind. It may be so, but the reminiscence is a faint one at best. However, I consider that Hippolytus's acquaintance with the A. P. is rendered certain by his use of the word παραπόνως in Ref. Haer. x 34.

To the above scanty list of Western references to the A. P. a few more, some probable, and some certain, can now be added. We ought, in the first place to interrogate Hermas. Judging from his use of other books, we shall expect to find, not overt quotations (it will be remembered that there is but one such in the whole of the Shepherd), but veiled allusions and reminiscences. I have compiled a list of these: it is not convincing, but it leaves me with the impression that he probably knew the A. P. I give the passages in the order in which they appear in the Shepherd.

Vis. i 1. 8 οἱ τῶν αἰώνα τοῦτον περιποιούμενοι καὶ γαυρίωντες ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἦν ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν μελλόντων.

Akh. 30 οὶ πλούτουτες καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεπιδότες κτλ.

Vis. i 2. 4 εἰς πάνθρωπον πνεῦμα καὶ ἤδη δεδοκιμασμένον.

Akh. 3 εἰς τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.

Vis. ii 1. 3 βλέπων άπειροι μον τὴν πρεσβυτέραν.

Akh. 6 διαφέρει δύο ἄνδρες ἔστωτες ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου.

Vis. iii 1. 5 ἵκαρμβος ἐγενόμην καὶ ὑστε τρόμος με ἔλαβεν.

Akh. 7 ἵκαρμβοι γεγονόμενοι πρὸς αὐτούς.

Vis. iii 1. 9 οἱ εἰς τὰ δεξαῖα μέρη τόπους ἄλλους ἐστίν, τῶν ἦδη εὐαρέστηκότων τῷ θεῷ καὶ παθόντων εὔεκτο τῶν ὑμῶν.

Akh. 20 οὔτος ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος τῶν ἄρχηγῶν (?) ὑμῶν τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων.

Vis. iii 4. 1 οἱ ἄγγελοι ἄγγελου ... οἰς παρέδωκεν οἱ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὐθείαν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν.

A. P. ap. Clem. Alex. παραδοθηκέας ἀγγέλων ὑφ’ ὑδ. ... αὐθείαν.

Vis. iii 4. 2 πάντες ὁμοί εὐφρανθήσονται κύκλῳ τῶν πυρικοῦ καὶ δοξάσοντι τῶν θεῶν.

Akh. 19 μὲ φωνῇ τῶν κυρίων θεῶν ἀνευφημόνων εὐφρανόμενοι.

Vis. iii 5. 3 τοῦτοι δὲ κύριος ἐδοκίμασεν. Cf. Vis. in 3. 4, Sim. ix 5. 2.

Akh. 3 quoted above.

Vis. iii 5. 4 νείοι εἰσίν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πιστοὶ νοοεῖν τούτοις ἐν τῇ πίστει ἀγγέλων.

A. P. ap. Clem. ἀγγέλων ὑψ’ οὐ παρεδόθη; ... 

Vis. iii 5. 1 νυσίες εἰς οἱ νυσί τῆς ἀνομίας.

Akh. 3 θεοῦ τούτων νύσει τῆς ἀνομίας.

Vis. iii 10. 2 περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν ἐν αἰῶναι μοῖ ἐνεκατανίσθη.

Akh. 13 τὰς μορφὰς ίδεῖν.

Vis. in 3. 5 τὸ δὲ λείκων μέρος δ’ αἰών ὁ ἐπερχόμενος ἐστιν, ἐν οἱ κατοικήσουσιν οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.
There are two phrases which recall passages of Eth. that I conjecture to belong to the A. P.:

Vis. i 2. 1 metà τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ἰδία ταῦτα ἐκλείσθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί.  
Eth. 'Alors se ferma le ciel qui s’était ouvert.'

Vis. i 3. 2 ἐγραφήσθησαν εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῆς ζωῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων.  
Cf. Sim. i 9.

Eth. 'Glorifiant le Seigneur de ce qu’il avait écrit les noms des justes sur le livre de vie qui est aux cieux.'

There are also passages which recall the Gospel of Peter:

Sim. ix 6. 1 εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀνὴρ τις υψηλός τῷ μεγέθει ὡστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν.  
2 καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ δεξιῶν τις καὶ ἄριστερῶν περιτετράχθησαν μετ’ αὐτοῦ.  
Cf. Sim. ix 12. 8.

Ev. 39, 40 τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν ἴδιον ὑπερβοῦσαν ... καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν χωροῦσαν μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ... ὑπερβαίνοντας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς.
Besides the possible, though not certain, testimony of Hermas, we have the passage in the tract de aleatoribus, adduced by me in my first article (p. 50, note). It may be repeated here:

§ 8. Aleae tabula qui ludet, et maleficium nosse debet, quod a dei servos longe sit scientes quoniam foris est maleficus et uenenarius, et iterum in iudicii diem in igne rotante torquebitur.

For foris est Harnack read furor iste with the MSS, and for diem in, dei. But there can be little doubt that in the former place there is an allusion to Rev. xxii 15, and the presence of et iterum is surely a very strong indication that the words which follow are again a quotation: this same section, two lines further on, has ' dicente domino: sacrificans diis eradicabitur etc., et iterum: nolite sacrificare diis alienis etc.' The same formula occurs some six times elsewhere in the tract. In Eth. there is a description of the torment of enchanters by wheels of fire, which I have no doubt was in the mind of the Latin writer.

Within the last few weeks an entirely fresh and undoubted quotation of the A. P. has come to light in a Latin text edited by Dom A. Wilmart in the first number of the new Bulletin d’ancienne litterature et archéologie chrétiennes. The text in question is an exposition of the Parable of the Ten Virgins, preserved as a ‘Homily’ in an Épinal MS. It is considered by Dom Wilmart to be a fragment of a series of Quaestiones on the Gospels, and he assigns it to the fourth century. On p. 37 is this sentence: ‘Ostium clausum flumen igneam est quo impii regno dei arcebuntur, ut apud Danielum et apud Petrum in Apocalypsi eius scriptum est.’ Later on: ‘Resurget et illa stultorum pars et inueniet ostium iam clausum, opposito scilicet flumine igneo.’

There are two mentions of a river of fire in the Ethiopic text of A. P.: one on p. 43 ‘the flames ... will make them come to the judgement of wrath, in a river of fire, inextinguishable &c.;’ the other on p. 44 ‘(My Father) will command them to pass through the river of fire ... the elect ... shall come to me ... But the unrighteous, ... shall be set in the midst of abysses of darkness, &c.’ Passages from Sib. Orac. ii 252 (πάντες διὰ αἰθομένου ποταμοῦ ... διελεύσονται κτλ.) and Cyril of Jerusalem Cat. xv 9 (ποταμὸν πυρὸς ... δοκιμαστικὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων) confirm, what the Latin text indicates, that the fiery river of Dan. vii had become, in the A. P., an instrument of punishment, and of discrimination between the righteous and the wicked.

M. R. James.