

DANIEL MAIER

Paradise Lost in Transmission

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament
563*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · Ruben Bühner (Siegen)

James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala) · Christina M. Kreinecker (Leuven)

Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)

J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

563



Daniel Maier

Paradise Lost in Transmission

The Return to Eden
in the Apocalypse of Peter
within Its Ethiopic and
Early Christian Contexts

Mohr Siebeck

Daniel Maier, born 1991; 2020 Doctorate (LMU Munich, Germany); 2025 Habilitation (University of Zurich, Switzerland); Associate Professor of New Testament Studies at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, and Research Fellow in the Department of New Testament and Related Literature at the University of Pretoria, South Africa.
orcid.org/ 0000-0002-1185-076X

The prepress production of this book was published with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation.

ISBN 978-3-16-200655-4 / eISBN 978-3-16-200656-1

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-200656-1

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

Published by Mohr Siebeck Tübingen 2026

© Daniel Maier

This publication is licensed under the license “Creative Commons Attribution – ShareAlike 4.0 International” (CC BY-SA 4.0). A complete version of the license text can be found at: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>.

Any use not covered by the above license is prohibited and illegal without the permission of the author. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper. Typesetting: SatzWeise in Bad Wünnenberg

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Deutschland
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

Meinen Eltern

Preface

What comes after death? In the Apocalypse of Peter, a vast garden is presented to its readership as the dwelling place of the patriarchs and of those destined to join them. This glimpse into a promised, otherworldly reality forms part of a broader agenda within the text, which seeks to underscore both the urgency and the rewards of a virtuous life. While the transmission of this account of paradise raises a number of complex questions that will be addressed in the following pages, the account itself, most likely the earliest extant description within the emerging Jesus movement of a paradisiacal garden as the resting place after death, has had far-reaching consequences that continue to shape religious imagination to this day.

Many Christians around the world who believe in an afterlife imagine the place where their souls will rest after earthly departure to be a garden-like realm, one in which all creation exists in harmony with its creator. Thus, consciously or unconsciously, they envision their eternal existence – or at least their existence until the second coming of Christ – as a return to Eden, the garden in which, according to Jewish and Christian traditions, everything began. Yet while the foundational role of the Apocalypse of Peter in the development of Christian conceptions of hell has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, this equally central step – the moment in which the return to Eden first becomes textually attested in the extant tradition and subsequently, as will be shown, influenced numerous early Christian depictions of paradise – has never been adequately analyzed. One major reason for this neglect lies in the complicated transmission history of this particular passage. It is precisely this lacuna that the present study seeks to address.

This book is a slightly revised version of my *Habilitationsschrift*, which was accepted in 2025 by the Faculty of Theology and the Study of Religion at the University of Zurich. For publication, I have sought to integrate the most recent scholarship that appeared after the completion of the study in early 2025 and to incorporate helpful comments from its early, attentive readers. To these valued colleagues, and to the many others who contributed in diverse ways to the completion of this work, I would like to express my sincere gratitude.

My first words of thanks are owed to my two highly esteemed academic teachers Jörg Frey and Loren Stuckenbruck. During my doctoral studies, Loren Stuckenbruck equipped me with the scholarly “tools” that proved indispensable

for this project: on the one hand, a profound familiarity with Jewish Second Temple and early Christian apocalyptic literature, into which he introduced me – alongside my research on ancient conceptions of happiness – with exceptional generosity and expertise; on the other hand, a deep and lasting fascination with Ge'ez and the Ethiopian transmission of texts. Additionally, he further supported me in developing this latter area of expertise by assisting in the arrangement of a semester abroad at Addis Ababa University. For this and for his consistently insightful and constructive comments on my work over the years, I am deeply grateful.

Jörg Frey entered my (academic) life at a decisive moment during the final phase of my doctoral studies in Munich – almost like a sign from heaven – when, after evaluating my dissertation for publication in WUNT II, he offered me a position as his assistant at the University of Zurich. I gratefully accepted his generous offer and remain deeply indebted to him for having kept me within academia at this pivotal stage of my career. In addition to the intellectually enriching work at his chair, he was also the one who first drew my attention to the fascinating questions surrounding the transmission of the Apocalypse of Peter. From the initial stages of this research project through the successful completion of the *Habilitation* procedure at the University of Zurich, and finally to the inclusion of this book in the WUNT series at Mohr Siebeck, he accompanied the entire process with his conceptual clarity, scholarly precision, and generous encouragement. Beyond this – and even more importantly – I owe him particular thanks for his long-standing mentorship and friendship which have shaped my path as a researcher, teacher, and human being in multiple ways, some of which he himself may scarcely imagine.

I am also grateful to my esteemed colleagues at the Center for Advanced Studies “Beyond Canon,” whose work overlapped in a most fortunate way with more than half a decade of work on this study, and whose activities influenced my observations in many respects. Special mention must be made of its director Tobias Nicklas, as well as of the fellows Jan Bremmer and Thomas Kraus, whose passionate and friendly engagement transformed my initial interest in the Apocalypse of Peter into a lasting fascination and who followed the development of this work with sustained interest and support.

After three wonderful and formative years in Zurich, during which substantial parts of this study were written, I had the great honor of being appointed as a tenure-track assistant professor at the University of Copenhagen in the summer of 2023. Although the move, together with the necessary acquisition of Danish, somewhat delayed the completion of this book, the Faculty of Theology in Copenhagen provided an ideal environment for bringing the project to completion during a research semester granted in the autumn term of 2024. I wish to express my deep gratitude to my colleagues in Zurich and Copenhagen, who supported me in manifold ways, posed critical questions at decisive moments,

and made it possible for me to devote the necessary time to research into the various transmission traditions presented here.

The project was further supported by a number of fellowships that afforded me the freedom to write alongside my teaching responsibilities and enabled important research stays and scholarly encounters. In particular, I am grateful for the various early career funding initiatives of the University of Zurich, specifically its Nachwuchsförderungskommission and Graduate Campus, whose support made it possible for me to participate in several international meetings and to organize my own conference on the Apocalypse of Peter at an early stage of my engagement with the material.¹ I also wish to thank the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature for granting me a research scholarship that allowed my family and me to spend the spring of 2023 in Jerusalem under the generous hospitality of Noam Mizrahi and Daniel R. Schwartz at the Hebrew University. Finally, the Swiss National Science Foundation generously supported the Open Access publication of this study.

Among the many colleagues and friends from around the world who have contributed to this book in large and small ways – far more than can be named here – I am especially indebted to Andrew Bowden, Jacob Cerone, Ted Erho, and Moritz F. Adam, who carefully read the manuscript at different stages and drew my attention to a number of inconsistencies and linguistic infelicities in the English. I would also like to thank the team at Mohr Siebeck for their professional guidance throughout the process of preparing the manuscript for publication. Any remaining errors, of course, are entirely my own.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to my family. I wish to thank my wife Irina and our children Samuel, Noemi, and Josua, who frequently had to forgo my presence during the course of this research, or accompanied me to research stays and new academic positions abroad, adapting with remarkable ease and confidence to unfamiliar cultures and circumstances. My wife, in particular, has borne an immeasurable share of the burdens of this journey, and words can scarcely convey my gratitude to her. Lastly, I thank my parents, Sabine and Dr. Dieter Maier, who have always supported me and, from the very beginning, instilled in me a love for the discovery of unknown places and new horizons, both literal and intellectual. It is to them, who first set me on this path, that this book is dedicated.

Copenhagen, January 2026

Daniel Christian Maier

¹ For the proceedings of this conference, see Daniel Maier, Jörg Frey, and Thomas Kraus, eds., *The Apocalypse of Peter in Context*, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 21 (Leuven: Peeters, 2024).

Table of Contents

Preface	VII
List of Figures	XIV
List of Tables	XIV
Abbreviations	XV
1. The Purpose of the Study	1
1.1 The Significance of the Apocalypse of Peter	3
1.2 Challenges and Structure of the Study	4
2. Introduction to the Apocalypse of Peter	7
2.1 Genre, Structure, and Content	9
2.2 Locating the Apocalypse of Peter: Revisiting the Question of Provenance	12
2.3 Dating the Apocalypse of Peter: Establishing Its Historical and Literary Context	16
3. The Transmission and Reconstruction of the Apocalypse of Peter . .	27
3.1 The Greek Witnesses	28
3.1.1 The Bodleian and Rainer Fragments	29
3.1.2 The Akhmim Codex	30
3.2 The Ethiopic Manuscripts	37
3.2.1 The Broader Context of Transmission: An Overview	40
3.2.2 The Apocalypse of Peter Within Its Pseudo-Clementine Framework	44
3.2.3 Situating the Composition of the Pseudo-Clementine Framework	50
3.3 Methodology: Determination of Original Content	54

4. Evidence for Editorial Changes in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter	59
4.1 The Eternity of Hell in the Ethiopic Version	60
4.2 High Christology in Eth. Apoc. Pet. 15–16	65
4.3 The Prospect of Postmortem Salvation through Intercession of the Righteous Ones	68
4.3.1 A Comparison of the Versions	68
4.3.2 The Scope of Postmortem Salvation in the Rainer Fragment	71
4.3.3 The Plausibility of the Versions	75
4.3.4 Postmortem Salvation in the Pseudo-Clementine Framework	77
4.3.5 The Extent and Nature of Postmortem Salvation	84
4.3.6 The Original Form of the Eschatological Baptism Scene . .	91
4.4 Results: Implications for the Reliability of the Ethiopic Version	93
5. Evidence for Editorial Changes in the Akhmîm Codex	95
5.1 The Shift from Prophecy to Report: The Change in Narrative Tense	95
5.2 Structural Reordering: The Sequence of Hell and Paradise	96
5.3 Results: Implications for the Reliability of the Akhmîm Codex . .	99
6. Recovering Eden: Reconstructing the Earliest Christian Description of Paradise	101
6.1 The Macrostructure	103
6.2 Setting the Scene	104
6.2.1 The Present Disciples	106
6.2.2 Christological Titles of Jesus	108
6.2.3 The (Holy) Mountain	109
6.3 The Scaffolding of the Vision of Paradise	110
6.3.1 The Heavenly Figures: Identity and Specifications	112
6.3.2 Framing Paradise: Questions, Proclamations, and the Role of the Patriarchs	122
6.3.3 Results: Textual Revisions and Narrative Continuities in the Transfiguration	128
6.4 Paradise Lost? A Comparison of the Versions	129
6.4.1 The Differing Texts	131
6.4.2 Paradise in Transition: The Afterlife of the Apocalypse of Peter's Afterlife	136

6.5 The Paradise Passages in Their Respective and Interconnected Contexts	167
6.5.1 The Communal Plea and Praise	167
6.5.2 The Garden Imagery in the Beginning and the End	169
6.5.3 The Heavenly Dress	170
6.5.4 The Aftermath in the Ethiopic and the Role of the Tabernacle	171
6.6 Results: Paradise Restored	180
7. Situating the Apocalypse of Peter within Early Christian Accounts of Paradise	187
7.1 Paradise in Translation: From Eden to Eschatology	188
7.2 Paradise in Early Christianity: Past, Present, and Future	189
7.2.1 Primeval Paradise: The Lost World	190
7.2.2 Eschatological Paradise: The World to Come	194
7.2.3 Hidden Paradise: The World to Be Revealed	200
7.3 Paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter: A Distinctive Vision in Comparative Perspective	213
8. Reconstructing Paradise: Conclusions and New Trajectories	217
8.1 Method and Milestones: Summary of the Steps	218
8.2 The Road Thus Far: Synthesis of the Core Results	220
8.3 The Path Ahead: Trajectories for Future Research	225
8.4 Epilogue: The Meaning of Paradise	228
9. Bibliography	231
Index of Ancient Sources	255
Index of Modern Authors	271
Index of Subjects	275

List of Figures

Figure 1: Contents of the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter in Percentage . . .	46
Figure 2: Diagram of the Transmission and Reception Streams of the Apocalypse of Peter	58

List of Tables

Table 1: The Contents of the Ethiopic Manuscripts from Lake Ṭānā . . .	40
Table 2: Correspondences Between the Apoc. Pet. and the Pseudo-Clementine Framework	49
Table 3: Eth. Apoc. Pet. 10:5–7, the Bodleian Fragment, and Akh. Apoc. Pet. 33–34	61
Table 4: Textual Comparison of Eth. Apoc. Pet. 14:1–3 and the Rainer Fragment	69
Table 5: The Macrostructure of the Events Surrounding the Vision of Paradise	104
Table 6: Textual Comparison of Eth. Apoc. Pet. 15:1 and Akh. Apoc. Pet. 4–5	105
Table 7: Textual Comparison of Eth. Apoc. Pet. 15:2–16:1a and Akh. Apoc. Pet. 6–13	111
Table 8: Textual Comparison of Eth. Apoc. Pet. 16:1b, 4 and Akh. Apoc. Pet. 14, 20	122
Table 9: Textual Comparison of Eth. Apoc. Pet. 16:2–3 and Akh. Apoc. Pet. 15–19	132
Table 10: Main Motifs in the Earliest Reconstructable Version of the Apocalypse of Peter	183

Abbreviations

Bibliographical references are provided in full at their first occurrence in the footnotes. All subsequent references cite the author's surname followed by a short title. Complete bibliographical information for all works cited is given in the bibliography at the end of this volume.

Unless otherwise indicated, abbreviations of biblical books, ancient texts, reference works, series titles, and journals follow the style guidelines set forth by Billie Jean Collins et al., eds., in *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014 [= SBL 2]). Abbreviations for works not listed in SBL 2 follow Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

References to specific sections of the present volume are indicated by the designation CHAPTER in small capitals, followed by the corresponding chapter and subchapter number (e.g., CHAPTER 4.3.6).

1. The Purpose of the Study

Theology is often defined as the discipline that grapples with fundamental questions about our origins, purpose, and ultimate destiny.¹ Among these inquiries, the question of where we go and what happens after death remains one of the most pressing and universally pondered issues. Despite the diverse and sometimes conflicting traditions within Christianity – and indeed across religious and philosophical thought – there is a remarkable consensus that knowledge of the afterlife remains limited.² Nevertheless, concrete depictions of the afterlife have persisted, many of which center around the image of a garden-like paradise devoid of suffering and filled with joy and abundance. Notably, these descriptions frequently emphasize the presence of other souls, particularly loved ones, indicating that the afterlife is imagined not only as a place of individual bliss but also as a realm of communal reunion.

But where do these specific conceptions of paradise originate within Christianity? While the New Testament offers metaphorical glimpses of the afterlife, it is remarkably reserved in providing detailed descriptions of what awaits beyond death. The parables of Jesus may hint at a future state of blessedness and restored relationships, yet the early Christian documents that later became canonical, thereby forming the New Testament, do not describe concrete elements, such as fragrant flora, radiant beings, or the physical appearance of the deceased in the afterlife.³ For these more detailed visions of paradise in early Christian texts, one must turn to the apocryphal literature – those texts that for various reasons did not become part of the Christian canon.

Among these apocryphal works, the Apocalypse of Peter stands out as a particularly significant text concerning the question of the individual's ultimate destiny. Notably, it offers what is arguably the earliest extant account within the emerging Jesus movement that devotes substantial attention to both heavenly bliss and infernal torment, presenting a detailed vision of the place for the

¹ See, e.g., Alister McGrath, *Theology: The Basics*, 4th ed. (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), XIII–XVII.

² Douglas Davies, “Death and Afterlife,” in *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, ed. Robert Segal (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 229–37.

³ For a discussion of the various explicit and implicit references to paradise within the New Testament, see CHAPTER 7.2.

righteous witnessed by none other than the disciple Peter himself.⁴ However, as is often the case with early Christian apocrypha, the transmission history of the Apocalypse of Peter is anything but straightforward. Thus, there is no consensus within scholarship about which of the vastly different versions of the paradise description – Greek or Ethiopic – most closely reflects the original text.⁵ At the same time, this particular question about the Apocalypse of Peter has not been the subject of a dedicated investigation so far.⁶

⁴ See CHAPTER 7.3 for further discussion.

⁵ The view that the longer recension of the paradise passage, as preserved in the Greek Akhmîm Codex, represents the original form of the account has been explicitly defended – and at times implicitly assumed – by a number of scholars in recent decades. This position is evident, for example, in Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 140–47; Tamás Adamik, “The Description of Paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter*, ed. Jan Bremmer and István Czachesz, *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 7* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 78–90; Eric Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter: A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text*, WUNT 427 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 91–92; and most recently Nikolai Kiel, “The Apocalypse of Peter as the Origin of the Christian Hell: Sense and Purpose of the Afterlife Punishment in Fire,” *Millennium – Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.* 21 (2024): 58–62; as well as Jan Bremmer, “The Apocalypse of Peter, 2 Peter and Sibylline Oracles II: Alexandrian Debates?” in *The Apocalypse of Peter in Context*, ed. Daniel Maier, Jörg Frey, and Thomas Kraus, *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 21* (Leuven: Peeters, 2024), 153–77, here 171, where the latter writes: “This Greek [paradise] version is slightly more detailed than the Ethiopic one, which appears to have been abbreviated.” Conversely, the view that the shorter Ethiopic version represents the more original form is either explicitly argued or implicitly presupposed by scholars such as Karl Prümm, “De Genuino Apocalypsis Petri Textu: Examen Testium Iam Notorum et Novi Fragmenti Raineriani,” *Biblica* 10.1 (1929): 74–75; Christian Maurer, “Offenbarung des Petrus,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung: II. Band: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, 3rd ed., ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 468–83, here 470–71; Richard Bauckham, “The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, ed. Richard Bauckham, NovTSup 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 160–258, here 240–42; and Bart Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell: Tours of the Afterlife in the Early Christian Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 81. A more ambivalent position is adopted by Dennis Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter*, SBLDS 97 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 368–70, who initially states on page 386: “I am inclined to believe that an originally short account based on a tradition similar to those in Enoch has been expanded in the Akhmîm tradition by material found in other descriptions of paradise,” but subsequently acknowledges on page 370 the possibility that “the mention of the inhabitants of the garden (as in Akhmîm) has fallen out of the Ethiopic.”

⁶ The only article I am aware of that is dedicated to this topic is Adamik, “The Description of Paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter,” 78–90, and – despite the title of his study suggesting otherwise – engages only peripherally with the paradise descriptions found within the Apocalypse of Peter.

1.1 The Significance of the Apocalypse of Peter

As will be shown in the course of this study, the previous neglect of this paradise passage is unjustified, and it is crucial to recognize that the Apocalypse of Peter represents the earliest known Christian text to offer a detailed depiction of paradise as a garden-like realm for the righteous. This fact alone warrants closer examination within scholarship,⁷ especially given the scant attention paradise has received in the study of early Christian apocalyptic literature compared to the considerable focus on depictions of hell.⁸ To state one well-known example, Martha Himmelfarb, in the introduction to her seminal work *Tours of Hell*, illustrates this imbalance in research not only regarding the Apocalypse of Peter but also in the broader study of apocalypticism, declaring:

The decision to treat the tours of hell but to give relatively little attention to the tours of paradise that accompany some of them requires a word of explanation. While other tours contain glimpses of paradise, a real tour of paradise appears only in the Apocalypse of Paul and its Ethiopic descendants. Thus paradise is of less interest than hell for the development of these tours.⁹

While Himmelfarb's observations on the tours of the afterlife are insightful, she underestimates the importance of these glimpses of paradise found in the early Christian literature, which appear for the first time in the Apocalypse of Peter, and – although not as extensive as their hellish counterparts – fill crucial gaps left by the nearly contemporary New Testament texts and other first- and early second-century Christian Apocrypha's reticence on the subject.¹⁰

⁷ See, for example, the recent verdict by Bart Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell*, 1: "Scholars have paid surprisingly little attention to the 'journeys to the afterlife' in the early Christian tradition. The oldest surviving account is the *Apocalypse of Peter*, first circulated in the early part of the second century CE."

⁸ For the sake of simplicity, this study will refer to the place of torments described in the Apocalypse of Peter as "hell" and employ the adjective "hellish," even though specific terms such as Hades or Sheol are not explicitly used for this place in any extant version of the text (see, however, ὁ οὐ τοῦ ἐν Ἄιδου in P. Vindob. G 39756). See Tobias Nicklas, "And I Saw Another Place ...' (ApcPet 21): The Greek Apocalypse of Peter and Its Otherworldly Landscape of Memories," in *Social Memory Theory and Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish and Christian Antiquity*, ed. Thomas Hatina and Jiří Lukeš, *Studies in Cultural Contexts of the Bible* 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 251–66, here 257. For a discussion on the potential presence of the term "paradise" in the original description of the heavenly place in the Apocalypse of Peter, see CHAPTER 6.4.1.

⁹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 2. It should also be mentioned that a decade later, Himmelfarb published a book which engaged with the heavenly aspect of otherworldly journeys, although visions of paradise only comprise a small part of this study; see Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ For a concise overview of early Christian apocryphal literature of this period – including texts such as the Didache and 1 Clement – see Christoph Marksches, "Hauptleitung," in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung: I. Band – Evangelien und Verwandtes*,

This information about paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter appears to blur the boundaries between the earthly and the divine, depicting a realm of multi-sensory richness that bridges the physical and celestial. It is therefore likely that, alongside the vivid portrayals of hellish torments, the promise of heavenly joys significantly contributed to the Apocalypse of Peter's rapid rise in prominence during the early centuries after its composition. As a result of its early prominence, this particular apocalypse inspired a multitude of other journeys into the otherworld, not only in their respective conception of hell but – as we will see – also in their notion of paradisiacal heaven (see CHAPTER 6.4.2). At the same time, the original soteriology of the Apocalypse of Peter – suggesting the possibility of postmortem salvation for sinners through the intercession of the elect, intimately tied to its vision of the blissful life to come – may have been one of the primary reasons for its eventual fall into oblivion (see CHAPTER 4.3).

1.2 Challenges and Structure of the Study

Before this study proceeds to fill the outlined lacuna by delving into the specifics of the paradise account and its surroundings, a clarification of its methodology is necessary. The reconstruction of any ancient text depends on surviving sources, which are often incomplete, fragmented, only extant in translations, or revised with editorial biases, in short, *shaped by their transmission*. Scholars must therefore approach the material with caution, acknowledging both the limitations of the sources and the interpretive challenges that arise from textual fluidity. In the case of the Apocalypse of Peter, the two primary textual witnesses for its passage about paradise – the Greek account preserved in the Akhmîm Codex and the Ethiopic version – present distinct challenges that complicate our understanding of the text's original form.

To address these challenges, this study adopts a comparative and reconstructive methodology. Following a general introduction to the Apocalypse of Peter and a discussion of its origin and historical context (see CHAPTER 2), the transmission history of all available textual witnesses will be analyzed in detail and the methodology for the following chapters will be outlined (see CHAPTER 3). While the Greek transmission has already been the subject of illuminating scholarly studies, the Pseudo-Clementine framework that preserves the Ethiopic text is of particular interest here and will be utilized for the determination of the earliest reconstructable themes within the Apocalypse of Peter in a pioneering way.

7th ed., ed. Christoph Marksches and Jens Schröter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 1–180, here 29–50.

In the two subsequent chapters, evidence for intentional editorial changes within *both* the Greek and Ethiopic streams of transmission for the paradise passage will be systematically presented (see CHAPTERS 4 and 5). This analysis will then trace textual variations between the two versions, examining these differences within the micro-context of the paradise account itself, the macro-context of the Apocalypse of Peter as a whole, and the broader context of its transmitting material (see CHAPTER 6).

Special attention will be given to the early reception of the Apocalypse of Peter's vision of paradise in (late) antiquity,¹¹ especially in the Pseudo-Clementine framework in the Ethiopic context, providing further insights into the evolving understanding of this depiction of the afterlife in early Christian thought. This approach enables the presentation of substantial evidence supporting the judgment on the earliest themes of the text that can be reconstructed. Subsequently, this study will situate the reconstructed account within the broader conceptual framework of paradise as it appears in early Christian literature in the first two centuries (see CHAPTER 7). This will allow for a comparison with roughly contemporary notions of the afterlife, forming the basis for the final conclusions of this investigation and offering an outlook on future possibilities within scholarship in light of the proposed reconstruction of the paradisiacal themes (see CHAPTER 8).

The Apocalypse of Peter's depiction of paradise deserves more scholarly attention, not only because of its influence on later epochal texts, such as the Apocalypse of Paul or Dante's *La Divina Commedia*, but also because of what it reveals about early Christian spatiality. Unlike the sparse and metaphorical allusions to paradise in the canonical New Testament, the Apocalypse of Peter offers a fully fleshed-out vision of a blissful, Eden-like afterlife, complete with references to radiant figures, abundant fruit, and heavenly joy, as will be demonstrated. By carefully reconstructing the themes of the earliest version of this paradise account using a specific methodology and situating it within the broader context of early Christian theology, this study aims to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the eschatology and soteriology of one particular branch of the early Jesus movement and to put the much-needed scholarly attention and engagement with this topic on a secure foundation. Additionally, this study seeks to restore a central yet often overlooked early stage

¹¹ For the purpose of this study, *late antiquity* is understood as the period extending roughly from the third to the eighth century CE. Rather than marking a phase of decline, this epoch is approached here as a period of sustained cultural, religious, and intellectual transformation, characterized by the creative reception, reinterpretation, and reconfiguration of earlier traditions; see most recently Jan Meister, Cristina Murer, and Seraina Ruprecht, "Die Spätantike als Rezeptionsepoche: Zur Rezeption einer rezipierenden Epoche," in *Die Spätantike als Rezeptionsepoche*, ed. Jan Meister, Cristina Murer, and Seraina Ruprecht, *Antike nach der Antike* 6 (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2026), 11–32.

in the development of Christian conceptions of the afterlife – one that offered a hopeful vision of paradise and significantly shaped enduring answers to the question of “where do we go and what happens after death?” – even though crucial elements necessary for reconstructing this vision were nearly lost in transmission.

2. Introduction to the Apocalypse of Peter

For a long time, most scholars considered the Apocalypse of Peter to be among the many lost works of early Christianity, known only through external references.¹ Among such references of its popularity in the first centuries of the Jesus movement are the famous Muratorian Canon, which notes at the end of the second century² regarding the Apocalypses of John and Peter that “some of us

¹ For excellent summaries of the history of research on the Apocalypse of Peter with different emphases, see Richard Bauckham, “The Apocalypse of Peter: An Account of Research,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Religion*, ed. Wolfgang Haase, ANRW 25/6 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 4712–50; Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 2–17; as well as Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell*, 1–6, 145–151.

² Clare Rothschild, “The Muratorian Fragment as Roman Fake,” *NovT* 60.1 (2018): 55–82, has recently argued that the Muratorian Fragment is not a second-century document but a fourth-century pseudepigraphon (with possible later additions), proposing that it was composed to lend authority to a particular Western canonical position rather than serving as an early witness to the New Testament canon. This argument was further developed in her monograph Clare Rothschild, *The Muratorian Fragment: Text, Translation, Commentary*, STAC 132 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022) and in Clare Rothschild and Jeremy Thompson, “Honig gemischt mit Galle: Neue Fragen zu Form, Datierung und problematischen Passagen im Muratorischen Fragment,” *ZNT* 26.51 (2023): 81–92. She bases her argument on linguistic and stylistic observations that, according to her reading, suggest a later Latin composition rather than an originally Greek one, as well as on perceived theological anachronisms and an apparent dependence on later canonical classifications, which she interprets as evidence that the fragment was composed in order to fabricate an earlier canonical precedent. Rothschild’s thesis has been met with resistance from several scholars who maintain a second-century dating. For example, Christophe Guignard, “The Muratorian Fragment as a Late Antique Fake? An Answer to C. K. Rothschild,” *RSR* 93.1–2 (2019): 73–90, argues in regard to Rothschild’s 2018 article that her dating is implausible and fails to account for key historical evidence. He points out that the Muratorian Fragment was already known and used by Chromatius of Aquileia (†407), which eliminates any dating later than the early fifth century. Furthermore, Guignard emphasizes the Greek origin of the text, arguing that its linguistic features, combined with its canonical structure, point to a Western second-century setting, where scriptural corpora were still fluid but beginning to solidify. He also critiques Rothschild’s argument, highlighting that the fragment does not present a fully closed canon, which is precisely what one would expect in a late second-century context rather than a fourth-century or later forgery. While Rothschild’s ongoing work on the matter has sparked renewed debate on the Muratorian Fragment’s authenticity, many scholars remain unconvinced by her proposed late dating and continue to argue for a second-century provenance. Based on the persuasive (counter-)arguments recently proposed by Joseph Verheyden, “Das Muratorische Fragment: Eine Stimme von der anderen Seite,” *ZNT* 26.51 (2023): 93–106, this study on the Apocalypse of Peter will continue to work with the traditional second-century dating of the Muratorian Canon.

do not want [them] to be read in church,”³ and the writings of the influential theologian Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–215), who cites it as *γραφή* – Scripture (*Eclogae propheticae* 41.1–3, cf. 48.1–49.2).⁴ Evidence that the Apocalypse of Peter retained an authoritative role well into late antiquity includes its presence in the stichometries of Codex Claromontanus (sixth century) and a list of canonical, disputed, and apocryphal writings attributed to Nicephorus⁵ (ca. 758–828) appearing at the end of the *Chronographikon Syntomon* as well as the fact that even the fifth-century historian Sozomen (ca. 400–450) recounts that this apocalypse was still read in the churches of his Palestinian homeland during his lifetime on Good Friday (*Hist. eccl.* 7.19.9).⁶ Despite these prominent attestations of the reverence and use of the Apocalypse of Peter, however, no substantial portion of its text was extant beyond a handful of citations from various ancient sources.⁷

Since the formative period of European “Oriental” scholarship, during which early Christian apocryphal literature attracted renewed academic attention, scholars have speculated that the Apocalypse of Peter might have survived alongside other Peter-centered Pseudo-Clementine⁸ literature preserved at the Horn of Africa.⁹ However, its structure and contents remained unknown in the

³ The translation – including the added “[them]” – is taken from Rothschild, *The Muratorian Fragment*, 40.

⁴ For the various quotations from and references to the Apocalypse of Peter in antiquity, see Thomas Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse: Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung*, GCS NF 11 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 87–99.

⁵ These stichometries arose because scribes roughly had to know how much space they should allocate for the writing they want to copy. It should also be mentioned that in the latter of the two lists, namely the stichometry of Nicephorus, the Apocalypse of Peter is in the category of disputed writings alongside the Epistle of Barnabas, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse of John. See Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 40–42.

⁶ Furthermore, active knowledge about its existence can be assumed in some branches of Christianity until the Middle Ages. Even a thirteenth-century Armenian canon list copied by Mechitar of Ayrivank attests to the importance of the Apocalypse of Peter. However, there is no evidence that the apocalypse ever made it to Armenia. See Michael Stone, “Armenian Canon Lists III: The Lists of Mechitar of Ayrivank (c. 1285 CE),” *HTR* 69.3–4 (1976): 289–300.

⁷ For a selection of direct and indirect references to the Apocalypse of Peter in early Christian literature, see Attila Jakab, “The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter*, ed. Jan Bremmer and István Czachesz, *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* 7 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 174–86; Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 20–81; and CHAPTER 6.4.2.

⁸ The term “Pseudo-Clementines” in this study does not refer to the late antique romance that survives in the form of the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. Instead, it more generally designates literature that was attributed to Clement due to his authority as a prime representative of the second (or possibly third) generation of Jesus followers.

⁹ See August Dillmann, “Bericht über das Äthiopische Buch Clementinischer Schriften,” *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen* 17 (1858): 185–86. For a broader introduction into the development of European scholarly interest in Ethiopia, see Jan Loop and Asaph Ben-Tov, “Scholarship and the Quest for Ethiopia in the Seven-

Western world until the late nineteenth century when a Greek text – apparently incomplete and containing material resembling the presumed content of the Apocalypse of Peter – was discovered in the Upper Egyptian city of Akhmîm (Akh. Apoc. Pet.).¹⁰ Yet, while this excerpt gave a more substantial insight into the contents of the Apocalypse of Peter, a complete version of the text containing nearly all of the early Christian citations mentioned above remained unknown until the early twentieth century, when M. R. James identified a passage within a larger Pseudo-Clementine treatise on the *Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead*, published and translated by Sylvain Grébaut in previous years,¹¹ to include the Apocalypse of Peter in its presumed entirety.¹² Subsequent research largely confirmed his hypothesis, thereby allowing modern scholars for the first time to study a coherent version of the Apocalypse of Peter in its Ethiopic version as a prime example of early Christian eschatology and soteriology.¹³

2.1 Genre, Structure, and Content

The Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter (Eth. Apoc. Pet.),¹⁴ which was now rediscovered in its presumed entirety for Western scholars, represents an early Christian text that fulfills many of the criteria set forth in John Collins's widely cited definition of the genre "apocalypse."¹⁵ In this narrative, which is situated during the final hours before Jesus's ascension, the resurrected Christ – who can be

teenth Century: Hiob Ludolf and Johann Michael Wansleben," in *Hiob Ludolf and Johann Michael Wansleben: Oriental Studies, Politics, and History Between Gotha and Africa, 1650–1700*, ed. Asaph Ben-Tov, Jan Loop, and Martin Mulsow, *The History of Oriental Studies* 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 1–22.

¹⁰ Two additional short fragments should surface in subsequent decades. A proper introduction to these three fragments will be given later in CHAPTER 3.1.

¹¹ See Sylvain Grébaut, "Littérature Éthiopienne: Pseudo-Clémentine," *ROC* 12 (1907): 139–51; Grébaut, "Littérature Éthiopienne: Pseudo-Clémentine," *ROC* 13 (1908): 166–80, 314–20; Grébaut, "Littérature Éthiopienne: Pseudo-Clémentine," *ROC* 15 (1910): 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

¹² See Montague Rhodes James, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter: I," *JTS* 12.45 (1910): 34–54; idem, "Additional Notes on the Apocalypse of Peter," *JTS* 12.45 (1910): 157; idem, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter: II," *JTS* 12.47 (1911): 362–83; and idem, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter: III," *JTS* 12.48 (1911): 573–83.

¹³ Montague Rhodes James, "The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter," *CQR* 80 (1915): 1–36.

¹⁴ As will be discussed in greater detail in CHAPTER 3.2, the Apocalypse of Peter constitutes only the initial section of a more extensive revelatory composition within the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter.

¹⁵ Collins's definition of the genre is as follows: "Apocalypse" is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural

understood as an otherworldly being – reveals a transcendent reality to his human companion Peter (see, e.g., Matt 16:17–19; John 21). In the relatively short Apocalypse of Peter,¹⁶ Jesus is depicted sitting on the Mount of Olives. There, he warns his disciples – only Peter is known by name – of false Christs and a time of temptation (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 1–2). Subsequently, Peter sees the last days of earth in the palm of the risen one (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 3:1). This vision describes both the passing away of heaven and earth in a fiery last judgment (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 4–6) and various punishments for sinners in a hellish place (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 7–13). The text now moves on to the fate of the righteous; they are led to a special place called Acherusia or Elysium and enter the eternal kingdom there (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 14:1–3), while Peter is instructed by Jesus to go to the “city of the West” (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 14:4; presumably Rome, where Peter is said to have suffered martyrdom according to early legends¹⁷) to proclaim the message of Jesus to the whole world, and with this announcement the vision ends and the text returns to the initial narrative situation on the Mount of Olives. Jesus invites his disciples to come with him to the “holy mountain,” where his ascension will subsequently take place (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 15–17).

During this ascension scene, Jesus enters another heaven with Moses and Elijah.¹⁸ The whole crowd of the disciples is then shown the paradise of the deceased righteous in a sensually perceptible way.¹⁹ These visions are embedded in the narrative of the risen Christ’s instruction to his disciples and his subsequent ascension (Matt 28:16–20; Mark 16:14–20; Luke 24:13–51; Acts 1:2–9).²⁰

However, this summary of the content of the Apocalypse of Peter only reflects the structure of the events as recorded in the Ethiopic version. In the Greek Akhmîm Codex, the initial warning against the false prophets (Akh.

world.” John Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John Collins, Semeia 14 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1979), 1–20, here 9.

¹⁶ The Ethiopic version of the Apocalypse of Peter is approximately half the length of the canonical Epistle to the Hebrews.

¹⁷ Tobias Nicklas, “Antike Petruserzählungen und der erinnerte Petrus in Rom,” in *Petrus-literatur und Petrusarchäologie: Römische Begegnungen*, ed. Martin Wallraff and Jörg Frey, Rom und Protestantismus – Schriften des Melanchthon Zentrums in Rom 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 159–87.

¹⁸ Furthermore, certain elements in the Apocalypse of Peter appear to draw upon the transfiguration narrative of Jesus as found in Matt 17:1–8. Some scholars have interpreted this as evidence that the version of the transfiguration account known to the apocalypse presupposed a post-Easter context. See Karl Goetz, *Petrus als Gründer und Oberhaupt der Kirche und Schauer von Gesichtern nach den altchristlichen Berichten und Legenden*, UNT 13 (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1927), 79–81.

¹⁹ Carlos Olivares, “Contrasting Places of Joy and Punishment in the Akhmîm Text of the Apocalypse of Peter Through Sensory Experience Textual Lens,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter in Context*, ed. Daniel Maier, Jörg Frey, and Thomas Kraus, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 21 (Leuven: Peeters, 2024), 112–31.

²⁰ Bauckham, “The Apocalypse of Peter (1988),” 4733.

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible

<i>Genesis</i>	188, 193, 195	<i>Song of Songs</i>	
2–3	188–189, 192, 198	1:4	134
2:8–17	165	2:12–13	134
2:8	188, 194	4	189
2:9	197	4:10–15	134
3:22–24	196	4:10–11	134
3:23	148, 188	6:10	134
3:24	188		
6	85	<i>Isaiah</i>	
6:1–2	85	27:13	110
6:4	85	51	189
11:1	168	51:1–4	189
		51:3	189
<i>Exodus</i>		65:17	198
24:3	168	66:22	198
34:29–30	113–114		
34:35	113–114	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
		1:10	189
<i>Numbers</i>		12:7–12	189
27:20	114	18:7–9	189
		24:5–7	189
<i>Psalms</i>	47, 173, 176, 178	29:5	189
2:6	109–110	29:28	189
23 LXX	165, 175–176, 178, 180,		
	222	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
23:3 LXX	176, 179	28	189
23:3–5 LXX	176	28:26	189
23:4 LXX	176	31	189
23:5 LXX	176	36:33–36	189
23:6 LXX	175, 178	36:35	189
23:6–10 LXX	176	47:1–12	198
23:7–10 LXX	176, 179		
30:4–5	81	<i>Daniel</i>	
36:5	81	12	178
36:6	47	12:1	177
118:16–18	47	12:2–3	177
118:18	84		

<i>Joel</i>		<i>Amos</i>	
2	189	4:9	189
3:17	110		
4:17	110	<i>Micah</i>	
		4:3–4	189

Septuagintal Writings Outside the Hebrew Bible

<i>Tobit</i>		<i>Sirach</i>	
13:10	175	45:2	114
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	15	<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
12:24	16	8:29	168
15:18	16		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>	15, 17–18, 105, 107, 171, 173, 177	27:44	207
5:5	154	27:52	177
5:6	154	27:53	177
5–7	17	28:2–3	119
5:10	171, 173	28:3	119
5:12	173	28:16	106–107
5:45	78, 81	28:16–20	10
6:33	171, 173	<i>Mark</i>	
16:17–19	10	2:1–9	81
17:1	110, 116, 118, 120	9:2	110, 116, 118, 120
17:1–8	10	9:3	48, 116
17:1–13	120	9:4	117
17:2	116	9:6	174
17:3	117	9:7	116, 121
17:5	116, 121	10:35–45	160
17:7	174	14:29–31	78
20:16	81	14:66–72	49
20:20–28	160	15:27	207
24	105	15:32	207
24:3	106	16:14–20	10
24:7	106		
24–25	17	<i>Luke</i>	17, 151, 207–213
25:31	172	9:28	110, 116, 118
26:33–35	78	9:29	116
26:69–75	49	9:30	117
27:5	106	9:31–32	172
27:38	207	9:34	174

9:35	116, 121	18–20	194
11:29–32	209	18:25–27	49
13:28–30	211	18:26	194
13:28	211	19:41	194
14:13–14	208	20:15	194–196
14:14	208	21	10
16	210, 212		
16:9	211	<i>Acts</i>	208, 213–214
16:19–31	151, 210, 213	1:2–9	10
16:19	210	1:9–11	118
16:20–21	210	1:10	119
16:22–23	209–210	1:10–11	119
16:22	210–211	1:11	118
16:23–31	151	1:18	106
16:23–24	210	1:25	208
16:23	211, 215	4:1–2	208
16:24	210	4:2	208
16:25	210	7:55	209
16:26	211	7:55–60	208
16:27–31	210, 214	9:3–7	134
16:31	212	14:22	208
20:27–39	208	17:32	208
22:33–34	78	24:15	208
22:56–62	49		
23	207	<i>Romans</i>	
23:32–33	207	3:23	194
23:39–43	207–209	5:12–21	193
23:39	207	8:18–23	194
23:40–41	207–208		
23:42	207	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
23:43	189, 207–211, 213	3:5–23	87
23:44	207	12:2–4	205
24:13–51	10	15:5	108
24:33	106	15:20–49	194
<i>John</i>	17, 194–196, 202, 214	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	204, 207
1:18	210	11:5	204
3:14	208	11:16	204
5:22–24	48	11:16–12:13	204
8:28	208	11:17	204
12:26	207, 213	12	154
12:32	208	12:1	206
13:25	210	12:1–4	204, 206
13:36–38	78	12:2	204–205
14:2–4	207, 213	12:2–3	206
18:1	194	12:2–4	204–205, 207
18:15–18	49	12:2–9	206

12:4	189, 205–206, 214	<i>Revelation</i>	8, 11, 37, 149, 164, 196,
12:11	204		198–200, 202, 214
		1:1	198
<i>Philippians</i>		1:4	198
1:23	213	1:18	208
		2–3	198
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		2:7	189, 197
4:13–18	206	3:12	197–198
		3:21	197
<i>2 Timothy</i>		4:4	147
4:18	213	4:8	147
		12	87
<i>Hebrews</i>		17–18	198
7:26–27	208	20:7–10	198
9:11–14	208	21	149
		21:1	198
<i>1 Peter</i>		21:2	198
3:18–19	208	21:3	175
4:6	208	21:6	198
		21:10	198
<i>2 Peter</i>	14, 16–18, 21–23, 36, 107,	21:11	152
	110, 120–121, 128–129,	21–22	198–199, 214–215
	165	21:22	147, 199
1:13–14	121	21:23–24	199
1:14	22	21:23	152
1:16–18	120–121	22:1–5	197
1:17	121, 172	22:1	198
1:18	110, 120–121	22:2	197–198
1:19	116–117	22:5	199
3:3–4	22	22:14	197–198
3:8	22	22:17	198
3:8–10	22	22:16	116–117
3:9	22	22:19	197–198
3:12	22		

Ancient Jewish Literature and Pseudepigrapha

<i>1 Enoch</i>		20:2–21:9	31
Work	11, 31, 33–34, 89, 114,	22:2–14	227
	136, 138, 149, 164, 200,	22–25	97
	209	24:1–25:7	169, 227
1:1–32:6	31	24:4–25:7	197
1–36	31–34	24:4	170
8:4–9:3	179	25	175
15–16	49, 85	25:5	170
19:3	31	28–33	138

32:3	133	42:3–5	227
45:3	172	65:9–10	227
47:2	168–169	66:7–8	227
50:1–5	75		
50:1–3	88	<i>2 Baruch</i>	
51:1–5	178	4:1–6	227
55:4	172	4:2–6	200
60:2	172	29–31	209
60:8	133, 200, 227	51:7–16	227
60:23	133, 200, 227	51:11	133
61:8	172	59:8	133, 227
61:9	168–169	85:1–15	74
61:11	168–169		
61:12	133, 200, 227	<i>3 Baruch</i>	
62:1–63:12	75	10	205
62:1	75	10:1–7	205
62:2	172		
62:3	172	<i>4 Ezra</i>	
62:5	169, 172	Work	18, 222
62:6	169	4	18
62:9	169	4:7–8	200, 227
62:10–12	170	5:33	18
62:10–11	169	6:13	97
62:15	170	6:26	124
62:16	170	6:35–9:22	97
69:29	172	7	209
70	200	7:26–44	227
70:1–4	200, 227	7:36	18
70:3–4	123	7:88–101	227
71:7	172	7:102–126	18
72–82	179	7:102–105	74
77:3	133, 200, 227	7:103	72
90	198	7:120–126	227
90:31	123	7:123	197
104:2	179	8:12	18
106:2	113	8:44–47	18
106:10	113	8:46–54	227
106:28	113	8:52	18, 197
108:11–15	138	14	18
		14:9	123
<i>2 Enoch</i>			
Work	11, 136, 149, 206	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>	
8:1–8	200, 205	Work	206
8:1–9:1	227	16:3	87
20:1–4	205	20:1–21:6	194
22:8–10	147	28:4	197
31:2	227	37	70

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 37:5–6 | 200 | <i>Sibylline Oracles</i> | |
| 37:5 | 205 | Work | 2, 15, 52, 55–56, 64, 71, |
| 39:1–3 | 87 | | 95, 97, 131, 133, 136–137, |
| 40:1 | 200 | | 139–144, 165 |
| | | 1:324–386 | 140 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i> | | 2 | 140, 143 |
| Work | 136, 155 | 2:219–338 | 140 |
| 5:1–6 | 227 | 2:254 | 64 |
| 6:11 | 227 | 2:255 | 64 |
| 8:1–5 | 227 | 2:313–329 | 144 |
| 9:1–5 | 227 | 2:313–338 | 140–141 |
| | | 2:315–316 | 143 |
| <i>Jubilees</i> | | 2:316 | 143 |
| Work | 85 | 2:317 | 143 |
| 3:12 | 175 | 2:318 | 143 |
| 3:27 | 175 | 2:319–338 | 143 |
| 4:24 | 200 | 2:320–321 | 143 |
| 4:26 | 175 | 2:330–338 | 70, 88 |
| 8:16 | 200 | 2:332–334 | 142 |
| 8:19 | 175 | 2:333 | 64 |
| 8:21 | 200 | 2:334–338 | 74 |
| 10 | 49, 85 | 2:335–338 | 142 |
| | | 2:337 | 143 |
| <i>Letter of Aristeas</i> | | 3:30–31 | 16 |
| 138 | 16 | 3:75–92 | 15 |
| | | 3:744–795 | 140 |
| <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i> | | 3:788 | 144 |
| 12:1 | 114 | 4:188–192 | 140 |
| 32:8 | 200 | 5:260–270 | 140 |
| 44:5 | 16 | 7:139–150 | 140 |
| | | 7:150 | 144 |
| Philo | | <i>Testament of Abraham</i> | |
| Work | 114 | Work | 101, 156, 211 |
| <i>De decalogo</i> | | 10:11 | 200 |
| 76–80 | 16 | 13–14 | 70 |
| <i>De specialibus legibus</i> | | 20:4 | 200 |
| 1.45 | 114 | 20:14 | 210 |
| <i>De vita contemplativa</i> | | <i>Testament of Benjamin</i> | |
| 8 | 16 | 10:6–7 | 124 |
| <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> | | 10:6–11 | 177 |
| 139 | 16 | <i>Testament of Dan</i> | |
| 163 | 16 | 5:12 | 175 |

Testament of Isaac
Work 156

Testament of Judah
25:1 124
25:1–5 177

Dead Sea Scrolls

1Q28 (1QS)
IV 23 194

1Q33 (1QM)
XVII 5–7 87

1QH^a
IV 15 194
XVI 4–26 206

4Q204 (4QEn^c)
Work 114

Testament of Levi
18:6–14 175
18:10–11 197

Testament of Moses
2:7 16

4Q209
Work 200

4Q210
Work 200

4Q265
7 14 175

4Q504
8 4–9 194

CD
III 20 194

Rabbinic Literature

Jerusalem Talmud
Sukkah
5.1.55b 24

Sifrei Bamidbar
140 114

Sifrei Zutta
Work 114

Targum Onkelos
Num. 27:20 114

Early Christian Apocrypha

Acts of Paul
28–29 72
29 70

Apocalypse of Elijah
Work 16
5:27–29 74
5:29 70

Apocalypse of Paul
Work 3, 5, 16, 18, 21, 52, 55–56,
124, 131, 136–137, 153–
157, 164, 166–167
20 154
21 154
21–22 154
22 154

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 22-23 | 70, 154 | 17-19 | 103, 161, 178, 180 |
| 22-24 | 154 | 18-19 | 183 |
| 23 | 154 | 19 | 134, 147, 161-164, 166-167, 172-173 |
| 25 | 154 | 20 | 65, 104, 122, 125, 129, 135, 148, 178, 183 |
| 26-29 | 154 | 21 | 97, 125, 134, 151 |
| 27 | 154 | 21-34 | 11, 104, 125 |
| 28 | 154 | 24 | 169 |
| 30 | 154 | 24-25 | 64 |
| 45-51 | 153-154, 156 | 27 | 35, 64 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> | | 30 | 64 |
| Akhmîm Apocalypse of Peter | | 32 | 64 |
| 3 | 156 | 33-34 | 60-61, 64 |
| 4 | 65, 98, 109, 118 | 34 | 11, 32 |
| 4-5 | 103, 105 | <i>Bodleian Fragment</i> | |
| 4-6 | 182 | (Bodl. MS Gr. Th. f. 4 [P]) | |
| 4-20 | 11 | Work | 28-30, 54-56, 60-62, 64, 95, 98, 102, 127 |
| 5 | 103, 106, 112, 116, 119, 125, 178, 180, 214 | <i>Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter</i> | |
| 5-13 | 99 | Prologue | |
| 6 | 103, 115, 159 | 44-45, 73, 105, 116, 184 | |
| 6-11 | 17 | 1:1-3 | |
| 6-13 | 110-111, 123, 171 | 49, 214 | |
| 7 | 115-116, 129, 172 | 1:1-17:7 | |
| 7-10 | 103 | 45 | |
| 7-11 | 182 | 1-2 | |
| 8 | 147 | 10, 174 | |
| 8-9 | 115, 146 | 1:2 | |
| 9 | 148 | 21 | |
| 10 | 115, 158 | 1:2-3 | |
| 11 | 103 | 106, 112, 180 | |
| 12 | 65, 103 | 1:3 | |
| 12-14 | 182 | 23 | |
| 13 | 103, 112, 119, 125, 156 | 1:4-8 | |
| 13-14 | 125, 178 | 174 | |
| 14 | 103, 120, 122, 129, 147-148, 164, 172-173 | 1:7 | |
| 14-15 | 214 | 48-49, 116-117, 159 | |
| 15 | 65, 133-134, 138, 143, 146, 182, 202 | 1:8 | |
| 15-16 | 103, 147-148 | 48 | |
| 15-19 | 48, 101, 122, 132, 177 | 1-17 | |
| 15-20 | 18, 163, 179-180, 214 | 48 | |
| 16 | 133-134, 146, 183 | 2 | |
| 17 | 116, 134, 146-147, 161, 170-171, 183 | 124, 169 | |
| | | 2:5 | |
| | | 169 | |
| | | 2:6 | |
| | | 169 | |
| | | 2:6-8 | |
| | | 17 | |
| | | 2:7 | |
| | | 169 | |
| | | 2:8-10 | |
| | | 12, 49 | |
| | | 2:12 | |
| | | 49, 113 | |
| | | 3 | |
| | | 45, 80 | |
| | | 3:1 | |
| | | 10, 134 | |
| | | 3:1-4 | |
| | | 48-49 | |
| | | 3:2 | |
| | | 60 | |
| | | 3:3 | |
| | | 73, 184 | |
| | | 3:4-7 | |
| | | 48, 77 | |
| | | 3:5-6 | |
| | | 79 | |
| | | 3:6 | |
| | | 49, 79, 184 | |

3-6	226	11:4	151
3-14	49	11:8	60, 62
4	168	11:8-9	62
4:1-4	48	11:9	62
4:1-9	49	12	14
4:3	49	13	94, 184
4:5	73	13:1	116, 143, 146, 170-171
4:5-6	49	13:1-4	150
4-6	10, 22, 98, 163	13:1-6	168, 184
4-13	21, 142, 150	13:3	60
5	14	13:4	80, 167, 169, 222
5-6	139	13:4-6	49, 73, 214
6	14, 48	13:5	15, 168
6:1	172, 197	13:6	48, 80, 150
6:1-2	48-49, 160	14	45, 76-77, 91-92
6:2	150	14:1	15, 49, 80, 146, 184
6:4	11, 49	14:1-2	91
6:5	11, 60	14:1-3	10, 49, 68-69, 179, 184
6:5-6	72	14:1-4	22
6:6	60	14:2	64, 123
6:7	38	14:3	69
6:7-9	48, 85	14:4	10, 49
6:8	85	14:4-6	20
6:9	85	14-17	128
6:13	72	15	65-66
6-12	49	15:1	48, 65-67, 97, 103, 105-106, 108-109, 116, 118, 120, 172
7:8	60, 64, 80, 169	15:1-2	182
7:11	60, 64, 80	15:1-16:4	102
7-13	10-11, 71, 75, 78, 104, 226	15:2	103, 113, 116, 158-159, 182
8	15	15:2-7	48, 103, 113-116, 165, 171-172
8:9	60, 64	15:2-16:1	110-112, 123
8:10	15, 82	15:4	113, 129, 148
9:1	35	15:5	147
9:2	150	15:5-6	158
9:6	60, 64	15:5-7	113
10:3	38	15:7	103, 113
10:4	60, 64	15-16	65-67, 108-109, 166, 223
10:5	38	15-17	10, 94, 150, 158
10:5-6	48	16	65-66, 120
10:5-7	60-61, 63	16:1	48-49, 65, 103, 108, 112, 120, 122-123, 128-129, 135, 147, 156, 164, 178, 180, 182, 184, 211
10:6	16, 60, 62		
10:6-7	64		
10:7	38, 60, 62		
11:1	38		
11:1-3	59		
11:2	60		
11:3	60		

16:1-4	179	19:11	115, 173
16:2	134, 146, 182-183	20:1-4	48
16:2-3	48, 59, 101, 103, 122, 132, 143, 147-148, 177, 185	20:2	158
16:2-4	135	20:3	158
16:3	133-134, 146	20:5	116
16:3-4	172	20:5-7	48, 115, 118, 158
16:4	65-66, 104, 108, 123, 126, 128, 135, 181, 183-184, 211	21:1-5	48
16:4-5	214	21:3	172
16:5	12, 121, 147-148, 154, 159, 171-173, 221, 224	21:3-5	173
16:5-6	171, 200	21:4	176
16:5-7	104	22	128
16:5-17:6	182	22:1	116, 159
16:5-17:7	131	22:1-4	115, 118
16:6	65-66, 113, 173	22:1-7	48, 115, 117
16:7	48, 66, 120-121, 127	22:2-3	159
16:7-17:2	173-174	22:4	116
16:8-9	48, 104, 135	22:5	116
16:8-17:1	174	22:5-7	116
16:9	121, 127, 147-148, 165, 174-175, 177, 179-180, 182-185, 206, 224	22:7	116
16-17	214	23:1-2	48
17	160	23:2-3	161
17:1	104, 121, 174	23:3	161
17:1-2	116, 177	23:5	161
17:2	174-175	24:1	48
17:2-3	49, 104	24:1-9	48, 77
17:2-6	128	24:5	66
17:3	77, 127, 144, 159, 163, 175-177, 224	24:5-6	184
17:3-6	104, 127, 175, 179-180, 182-183, 185	24:5-8	66
17:4	175, 178	24:8	184
17:5	147, 159-160, 176, 179	24:9	163
17:5-6	148, 165	24:9-12	226
17:6	176	24:10	48
17:7	104, 176, 224	24:11-12	48
18:1	45, 158	24-35	51
18:1-40:7	45, 57	25:1-7	48, 226
18:4	158	25:4-5	163
18-22	185	25:4-11	63
18-23	77	25:8	184
19:9	158	25:8-27:8	49
		25:11	163
		26	80
		26:1-3	78
		26:1-4	163
		26:1-11	92
		26:1-27:8	79
		26:5	78, 81
		26:8	81

27:1	66, 184	34:7–11	63
27:4	78	34:8	63
27:5	78	34:9	89
27:7	78	34:10	63
27:8	78	35:1	81, 163
28:1	85–86	35:1–3	226
28:1–7	49	35:2	49
28:5–7	51	35:2–7	63
29	128, 160	35:7	81
29:1	67	36	48, 51, 87, 89, 156
29:1–5	117	36:1	86, 156
29:1–9	163	36:1–6	161
29:1–30:4	226	36:2–3	50
29:2	49	36:5	87–88
29:4	49	36:6	81
29:5	49, 109, 117–118	36:6–15	226
29:5–9	160	36:7	49, 89
29:6	160	36:7–8	161
29:7	49	36:9	49
29:10–12	49	36:10–15	87
30:1	63, 79, 163, 184	36:11	86
30:1–4	63	36:11–12	89
30:1–12	163	36:14–15	67, 86
30:2–31:5	79	37:1	184
30:3	49, 79	37:3	49
30:10–12	226	37:4	66
30:11	48	37:9	89
31:1–2	80	38:3	160
31:2	49	39	51
31:2–3	80	40:1–7	124
31:3	89	40:2	50
31:5	66	40:5–6	49
31:7	80, 89, 173		
31:7–10	161	Rainer Fragment (P.Vindob.G 39756)	
31:8	66	Work	3, 20, 22, 28–30, 49, 54–
31:9–10	49		56, 64, 68–76, 80, 88, 91,
32:1–6	49		98, 102, 123, 126–128,
32:2–6	226		142, 145, 154, 179, 184,
33:1–7	81		211
33:1–13	63		
33:8	81	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>	
33:9–10	81	Work	149
34:1–3	49	7:7–11:41	227
34:2	85–86	9:2	147
34:2–3	86		
34:3	50, 67, 86, 89		
34:7	81		

- Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, by Bartholomew the Apostle*
 21:6 70
- Epistula Apostolorum*
 Work 18, 20, 40–41, 43–44, 108, 123, 223
 27:1–2 178
 40 70
- First Revelation of James*
 Work 123
- Gospel of the Hebrews*
 Work 8, 118
- Gospel of Judas*
 Work 106
 45:14 202
- Gospel of Peter*
 Work 31–36, 68, 95–96, 107–108, 118–119, 122, 221, 225
 36 119
 37 119
 59 107
- Gospel of Thomas*
 Work 189, 201–204, 214
 19:2 201
 19:3 201, 203
 19:4 201
 37:1–3 203
 51:1 202
 51:2 203
- Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*
 5:20–23 178
- Hymn to Christ in Praise of the Incarnation*
 Work 40, 43
- Letter of Peter to Philip*
 Work 123
- Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners*
 Work 40, 42, 45, 53–54, 57–59, 66–67, 77, 91, 131, 137, 161–164, 183, 228
 P fol. 146^{va} / T fol. 59^{rc} 57
 P fol. 149^{va} / T fol. 62^{ra} 162
 P fol. 150^{ra} / T fol. 62^{rc} 162–163
 P fol. 150^{rb} / T fol. 62^{va} 67
 P fol. 150^{vb} / T fol. 62^{vc} 67
 P fol. 151^{ra} / T fol. 63^{rb} 162
 P fol. 152^{rb} / T fol. 64^{rc} 162
 P fol. 152^{va} / T fol. 62^{rc} 66
 P fol. 152^{vb} / T fol. 64^{vb} 67
 P fol. 157^{va} 162
 P fol. 157^{vb} / T fol. 68^{vb} 67
 P fol. 3^{vb} / T fol. 69^{rb} 67
 P fols. 148^{vb}–149^{ra} / T fols. 61^{rc}–vc 161
 P fols. 150^{va}–151^{va} / T fols. 62^{vb}–63^{va} 163
- Narrative on the Announcement by Archangel Gabriel*
 Work 40, 43
- Narrative on the Conception of the Savior by Mary*
 Work 40, 43
- Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*
 Work 55–56, 72, 131, 136, 144–150, 164–165
 1–2 144
 3–10 144
 4.5 146
 4.8–10 145
 7–8 70, 72, 145
 11.2 146
 11.5 146
 11.5–6 147
 11.7 147
 11.9 147
 11–13 144
 12.1 147
 12.2 147
 12.3–6 147
 12.7 147

13.1–6 147
 13.7 147
 13.8 148
 14.1 149
 14–21 144

Secret Book of James
 Work 123

Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Galilee

Work 40–41, 43–44

Testamentum Domini

Work 40–41, 44, 223

Wisdom of Jesus Christ

Work 123

Apostolic Fathers and Patristic Literature

1 Clement

Work 3, 126
 14:3 137
 40 126
 41 126

Augustine

De civitate Dei

21 85
 21.18 71

Clement of Alexandria

Eclogae prophetae

40 87
 40–57 82
 41 16, 82, 87
 41.1 82, 87
 41.1–3 8, 19
 48 16, 82
 48.1–49.2 8, 19
 56 88
 57 87–88
 57.5 87

Hypotyposes

Work 19

Stromata

9 83

Cyril of Jerusalem

Treatise on the Resurrection of Christ

Work 40, 43

Didache

Work 3, 126
 13:3 126

Epistle of Barnabas

Work 8

Epistle to Diognetus

Work 190–193, 214
 12 192
 12:1 192
 12:2–3 192
 12:2–5 192
 12:4 192
 12:5 193

Eusebius of Caesarea

Historia ecclesiastica

4.2.1–5 24
 4.2.3 24
 4.24 137
 6.14.1 19, 87
 7.19.9 8

Hippolytus of Rome

De universo / Against Plato

Work 55–56, 131, 136, 150–152,
 211

Irenaeus of Lyon

Adversus haereses

1.5.2 190

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 1.30.5 | 190 | <i>De Laude Martyrii</i> | |
| 1.30.8 | 190 | 21 | 152 |
| 1.31.1 | 107 | | |
| 2.30.7–8 | 190 | Pseudo-Dionysius | |
| 4.33.13 | 178 | <i>De coelesti hierarchia</i> | |
| 5.5.1 | 190 | Work | 87 |
| 5.10.1 | 190 | | |
| 5.20.2 | 190 | Pseudo-Epiphanius | |
| 5.33.3–4 | 195 | <i>Beginning of the Faith</i> | |
| 5.36.1–2 | 190 | Work | 40, 43 |
| <i>Epideixis</i> | | <i>Sargis of Abergia / Doctrina Iacobi</i> | |
| 1.12–13 | 190 | Work | 40–41 |
| 1.16 | 190 | | |
| 84 | 178 | Sozomen | |
| Justin Martyr | | <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> | |
| <i>Apologia Prima</i> | | 7.19.9 | 8 |
| 51 | 178 | Theodoret | |
| <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i> | | <i>Haereticarum fabularum compendium</i> | |
| Work | 190–193, 214 | 1.15 | 107 |
| 36 | 178 | Theophilus of Antioch | |
| 85 | 178 | <i>Ad Autolycum</i> | |
| 86 | 191 | Work | 19–20, 55–56, 131, 136, 139, 165 |
| 86:1 | 191 | 1.14 | 137 |
| 86:1–2 | 192 | 2.14 | 137 |
| <i>Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus</i> | | 2.19.5 | 138 |
| Work | 31–34 | 2.20 | 138 |
| Origen | | 2.36 | 137 |
| <i>Homiliae in Jeremiam</i> | | | |
| 15.10 | 118 | | |
| Pseudo-Cyprian | | | |
| <i>Greek and Roman Authors</i> | | | |
| Appian of Alexandria | | Cassius Dio | |
| <i>Excerpts on the Diaspora Revolt</i> | | <i>Historia Romana</i> | |
| Work | 23 | LXVIII, 32:1–3 | 24 |

Lucian		Plato	
<i>Descent into Hades</i>		<i>Phaedo</i>	
Work	19–20, 210	107c–114c	71
<i>True Histories</i>		112e–113c	70
Work	19–20	113d	71
		<i>Republic</i>	
Ovid		10.614–621	227
<i>Metamorphoses</i>			
2.319–328	15		

Manuscripts, Ancient Lists, and Documentary Sources

<i>Armenian canon list of Mechitar of Ayrivank</i>		<i>Muratorian Canon</i>	
Work	8	Work	7–8, 19–20, 152
<i>Codex Claromontanus</i>		<i>P. Oxy. 16.1874 (= Trismegistos 378772)</i>	
Work	8, 37, 97	15–16	210
<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>		<i>Stichometry of Nicephorus</i>	
1.2.16	51	Work	8, 37, 97

Codex Panopolitanus, see *Akhmîm Codex*

Ancient Egyptian Textual Traditions

<i>Book of the Dead</i>		<i>Tale of Setne Khamwas and Si-Osire</i>	
Work	33	Work	227

Index of Modern Authors

- Adam, Moritz 213
 Adamik, Tamás 2, 70
 Aejmelaesus, Lars 205
 Aland, Barbara 104
 Aland, Kurt 23, 104
 Allison, Dale 156, 211
 Anthony, Peter 17, 109, 127, 172, 175
 Anthony, Sean 41
 Archambault, Georges 191

 Bardenhewer, Otto 50
 Batovici, Dan 13, 57
 Bauckham, Richard 2, 7, 10, 13, 17–18, 20, 27, 30–31, 34, 38, 45, 53, 57, 59, 63, 71, 80, 85, 93, 101, 107, 109–110, 113, 127, 130, 135–136, 138, 141, 151, 163, 165, 167–168, 171, 174–175, 178–179, 210, 212–213
 Baumeister, Theofried 191
 Baumstark, Anton 54
 Bausi, Alessandro 31–32, 38–39, 43–46, 50, 52, 55, 58, 68, 70, 171, 180, 223, 226, 228
 Beck, Eric 2, 7, 12, 15–16, 19, 21, 25, 27–28, 30, 38, 44–45, 53, 57, 59–60, 65–66, 70, 72–74, 77, 79–80, 89, 92, 102, 110, 113, 120, 132, 135, 138, 145, 169, 174, 180–181, 185–186
 Ben-Tov, Asaph 8–9
 Berger, Klaus 138
 Bergler, Siegfried 107
 Betz, Hans Dieter 205
 Beylot, Robert 41, 54
 Bird, Michael 191–192
 Black, George 41
 Black, Matthew 31, 123
 Bockmuehl, Markus 101, 190
 Boehmer, Julius 117
 Böttrich, Christfried 205
 Bovon, François 207, 211–212

 Bowersock, Glen 20
 Bratke, Eduard 53
 Bremmer, Jan 2, 11–16, 18–19, 23, 51, 71, 88, 90, 124, 130–131, 133, 136, 140–141, 143–149, 153, 155, 167, 188, 221, 227
 Brown, Raymond 126
 Buchholz, Dennis 2, 8, 17–19, 23, 27, 29–30, 32, 37–40, 43–45, 48, 53, 55, 59, 61, 66–67, 69–70, 72, 77, 80, 82, 92, 96, 98, 113, 119, 121–123, 135, 137–138, 141, 144, 148–151, 153, 168, 171, 174, 185
 Bucur, Bogdan 87–88
 Burge, Stephen 38
 Burnet, Régis 174

 Carroll, John 207
 Černušková, Veronika 82–83
 Cerrato, Jessica 150
 Claußen, Carsten 114
 Coblentz Bautsch, Kelley 31, 34
 Collins, John 9–11, 139–141, 177
 Coogan, Jeremiah 24
 Cooper, James 41
 Copeland, Kirsti 154–155, 161
 Cowley, Roger 39, 57

 Daley, Brian 74, 85
 Davies, Douglas 1
 Davila, James 206
 DeConick, April 101, 202–203
 Dieterich, Albrecht 14, 33–34, 124
 DiLella, Alexander 177
 Dillmann, August 8
 Doehorn, Jan 11, 51, 68, 70–71, 87, 92, 97, 143, 194
 Dods, Marcus 145
 Donzel, Emeri van 51
 Drawnel, Henryk 33–34
 Duensing, Hugo 38, 124, 132, 153
 Dugan, Elena 31

- Dulk, Matthijs den 22, 191
 Dunn, James 126
 Dupont, Jacques 208

 Ehrman, Bart 2–3, 7, 34–37, 55, 57, 62,
 64, 71, 74–75, 82, 92, 96, 119, 124, 141,
 153, 155, 174, 178, 225
 Elliott, James 72, 130
 Erho, Ted 39–42, 54, 69, 80, 89

 Falls, Thomas 190–191
 Feiss, Hugh 211
 Fiedler, Peter 177
 Fiensy, David 25
 Fiori, Emiliano 18, 52, 153, 179
 Fitzmyer, Joseph 208
 Fletcher-Louis, Crispin 194
 Ford, Josephine 197
 Formisano, Marco 144, 149
 Foster, Paul 22, 33
 Frettlöh, Magdalena 196
 Frey, Jörg 12, 15, 17, 21–23, 25, 43, 45, 50–
 51, 64, 68, 107, 109–110, 116–117, 120–
 121, 129, 141, 171, 198–199, 201, 213

 Gamble, Harry 30
 Gathercole, Simon 201–203
 Gauger, Jörg-Dieter 140
 Gaylord, Harry 205
 Gestermann, Louise 33
 Gilmour, Michael 25
 Goetz, Karl 10
 Goff, Matthew 11, 27, 40, 53, 226
 Goguel, Maurice 97
 Golitzin, Alexander 194
 Gooder, Paula 205
 Grant, Robert 137–138, 193
 Grässer, Erich 22
 Grébaut, Sylvain 9, 33, 41, 44–45, 59, 76,
 161–162
 Green, Joel 208, 211
 Grundmann, Walter 177
 Grünstäudl, Wolfgang 13–14, 17, 22, 36,
 83, 87, 107, 117, 120, 205, 225
 Grypeou, Emmanouela 51, 227
 Guignard, Christophe 7
 Gunkel, Hermann 195

 Halton, Thomas 190–191
 Hammerschmidt, Ernst 39–40, 43
 Handl, András 150
 Harding, Elizabeth 53
 Harnack, Adolf von 37, 126, 130, 145, 152
 Hartenstein, Judith 123
 Hartman, Louis 177
 Häusl, Maria 198
 Heffernan, Thomas 144, 146–147
 Heide, Martin 156
 Heilmann, Jan 30
 Heinen, Heinz 149
 Hellholm, David 213
 Helmer, Robert 17, 66, 105
 Hengel, Martin 24
 Henning, Meghan 17, 78, 102, 215
 Hieke, Thomas 197–198
 Hilhorst, Anthony 154, 200
 Hill, Charles 18
 Hills, Julian 38, 65
 Himmelfarb, Martha 2–3, 27, 96, 124,
 136, 153, 155, 157, 182
 Hintzen, Johannes 211–212
 Holst, Søren 200
 Horovitz, Saul 114
 Huber, Konrad 130
 Hultgård, Anders 188
 Hultin, Jeremy 64, 141

 Irmscher, Johannes 82

 Jakab, Attila 8, 102
 James, Montague Rhodes 9, 29, 37–38, 42,
 47, 70, 76–77, 82, 91, 95–96, 101, 104,
 115–116, 129, 130, 132, 142, 145, 151,
 153, 157, 183
 Jefford, Clayton 191–193
 Jeremias, Joachim 188, 193, 195, 197, 208,
 214
 Jirousková, Lenka 153
 Jost, Michael 25
 Jülicher, Adolf 37, 211–212

 Kähler, Ernst 165, 176
 Karrer, Martin 196
 Kee, Howard 124
 Kiel, Nikolai 2, 19, 23, 101, 138, 166

- Klostermann, Erich 110, 125
 Konradt, Matthias 18
 Köster, Helmut 137, 190
 Kramp, Igna 195
 Kraus, Thomas 8, 11, 13–14, 16, 18, 28–35, 39, 70, 74, 102, 107, 110, 122, 125, 127, 130, 132, 140–142, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 166, 169
 Kyratas, Dimitris 71

 La Spisa, Paolo 227
 Lampe, Geoffrey 126
 Lanfer, Peter 189
 Lang, Friedrich Gustav 37
 Lee, Simon 13, 109, 114, 122, 171, 178
 Lehtipuu, Outi 189, 197, 200, 206, 208–209, 211–212
 Leslau, Wolf 62, 79, 97, 112, 121, 133
 Lightfoot, Jane 52, 64, 97, 139–143
 Lincoln, Andrew 205
 Lindemann, Andreas 126
 Linjamaa, Paul 44
 Lona, Horacio 191
 Loop, Jan 8–9
 Lössl, Josef 55
 Luibheid, Colm 87
 Lundhaug, Hugo 220
 Lusini, Gianfrancesco 39, 57, 84, 163, 223
 Luttikhuisen, Gerard 101
 Luz, Ulrich 17, 177

 Macaskill, Grant 193, 197, 206–207, 209
 Mackerras, Kirsten 191–192
 Maclean, Arthur 41
 Maddox, Robert 208
 Maier, Daniel 12, 15–16, 27, 45–46, 48–50, 52–54, 57, 73, 77, 85, 87, 89, 116, 139, 150, 161, 168, 173, 177, 210–211, 213, 227
 Manns, Frédéric 118
 Marcovich, Miroslav 137–138, 150
 Marksches, Christoph 3–4, 37, 201
 Marrassini, Paolo 27–28, 33, 38–39, 43–44, 52–53, 59, 69, 85, 95, 107, 113, 226–227
 Matthews, Mark 164
 Mattill, Andrew 211

 Maurer, Christian 2, 18, 120
 Mazzucco, Clementina 149
 McGrath, Alister 1
 Meister, Jan 5
 Merkt, Andreas 215
 Michaelis, Wilhelm 97
 Milik, Józef 34, 200
 Minnen, Peter van 13, 28–29, 31, 33–37, 70, 119, 125, 128–129, 139, 141, 150, 157, 225
 Möllendorff, Peter von 19
 Montefiore, Claude 208
 Moore, Anthony 195
 Müller, Caspar Detlef 28, 35, 38, 45, 57, 138
 Müller, Mogens 18
 Murer, Cristina 5

 Nickelsburg, George 33, 75, 89, 114, 123, 168, 170, 172, 178, 198, 209–210
 Nicklas, Tobias 3, 8, 10–11, 13–15, 17, 20–21, 23, 27–28, 32–37, 58, 70, 82, 90, 96, 107–108, 110, 117, 119, 122, 124–125, 132, 134, 149, 153, 159, 164, 169, 187, 197, 221, 225
 Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm 15
 Nikiprowetzky, Valentin 140
 Norelli, Enrico 13, 39, 50, 58, 62–63, 85, 91–92, 120, 123, 226

 Olivares, Carlos 10, 174, 177

 Pesthy, Monika 53, 79, 81, 87, 90, 159, 161
 Pfeiffer, Stefan 227
 Pietersma, Albert 175
 Piovanelli, Pierluigi 54, 155
 Plisch, Uwe-Karsten 202–203
 Popkes, Enno Edzard 198, 201, 203
 Prümm, Karl 2, 70, 97
 Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam 24

 Quispel, Gilles 137–138

 Ramelli, Ilaria 73–74, 84
 Ratzon, Eshbal 179
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 123
 Repo, Eero 97

- Riedl, Andrea 70
 Riedweg, Christoph 189
 Robinson, Joseph 130, 145, 149, 151, 153
 Roessli, Jean-Michel 34, 50
 Roggema, Barbara 52
 Roig Lanzillotta, Lautaro 90, 93, 113, 153
 Rorem, Paul 87
 Rosenstiehl, Jean-Marc 15, 168
 Rothschild, Clare 7–8, 152
 Ruiten, Jacques van 15, 171
 Runia, David 173
 Ruprecht, Seraina 5

 Salmond, Stewart 151
 Santos Otero, Aurelio de 124, 153
 Satake, Akira 197
 Schliesser, Benjamin 25, 140
 Schmeller, Thomas 204–206
 Schmid, Konrad 18, 189
 Schmidt, Andrea 51
 Schmidt, David 168
 Schneider, Gerhard 209
 Schnelle, Udo 18
 Schott, Jeremy 24
 Schröter, Jens 4, 107, 123, 201–202
 Scott, Mark 84
 Shanks, Monte 196
 Shoukry, Zacharias 195–196
 Six, Veronika 40
 Slusser, Michael 190–191
 Smallwood, Mary 24
 Sommer, Michael 138
 Stern, Menahem 23–24
 Stone, Michael 8, 18, 97, 124, 178
 Stordalen, Terje 189
 Strecker, Georg 82
 Strong, Justin 212
 Stroumsa, Guy 101
 Stuckenbruck, Loren 85, 114, 164, 179

 Tabor, James 206
 Thomas, David 51–52
 Thomassen, Einar 189
 Thompson, Jeremy 7, 152
 Tigchelaar, Eibert 13, 23, 59, 109, 113–114, 133, 135, 189, 200
 Touati, Charlotte 82–83, 88
 Treu, Ursula 140
 Trumbower, Jeffrey 71–73, 88, 92, 145
 Tuckett, Christopher 20
 Turner, Eric 29

 Uhlig, Siegbert 51

 Vaganay, Léon 35
 van der Watt, Jan 22
 VanderKam, James 75, 89, 168, 172, 175, 178
 VanMaaren, John 194
 Varner, Eric 149
 Vercesi, Martina 149, 164
 Verheyden, Joseph 7
 Vielhauer, Philipp 21, 96, 120
 Volz, Paul 124, 177

 Wallis, Ernest 152
 Waßmuth, Olaf 139–141, 144
 Watson, Francis 18, 41, 178
 Weinel, Heinrich 187
 Wick, Peter 197
 Williams, Michael 202
 Witetschek, Stephan 197
 Wolff, Christian 204
 Wolter, Michael 210, 212
 Wright, Benjamin 175
 Wurst, Gregor 107
 Wyatt, Nicolas 195

 Yarbro Collins, Adela 18, 177

Index of Subjects

- Acherusia / Acherusian Lake 10, 14–15, 68–71, 75, 88, 91–92, 143, 154, 179
- Afterlife 1–5, 217, 228–230 *see also* Eschatology; Hell; Paradise
 - Christian conceptions 196–230
 - communal dimension 1, 70, 73, 106, 134, 161–164, 167–169, 181, 221, 229
 - concrete depiction 1–5, 101–102, 180–185, 221–225
 - dual destinies 10–11, 18, 25, 68–75, 140–151, 180–185, 221–222
 - intermediate state 11–12, 72–75, 88–91, 137, 149–150, 156, 161–166, 180–185, 204–215
- Akhmîm Codex *see also* Corpus Petrinum; Narrative tense; Petrine material
 - codicology and dating 30–32
 - reliability 93, 95–99, 219
 - selective transmission 32–36
 - structural reordering 95–99, 219
 - textual revision 35–37, 95–99, 219
- Alexandria
 - early Christian context 14–25, 72, 82–89, 125, 191
 - Petrine discourses 14, 17, 22, 36, 107, 117, 120, 225
 - provenance of the Apocalypse of Peter 12–16, 21–25
 - provenance of the Pseudo-Clementine framework 51–53
- Angelic figures *see also* Moses and Elijah; Patriarchs
 - angels and the righteous 143, 147–148, 161–164, 168–172, 181–185, 221
 - radiant appearance 112–119, 129, 147–148, 182, 221
 - Temelouchos and Tartarouchos 15–16, 82–83, 168
- Animal worship *see* Egypt / animal worship
- Apocalypse, genre of 9–12, 136, 213
- Apocalyptic literature 3–5, 7–12, 25, 209–210, 227
 - spatiality 5, 11–12, 221
- Apocalypticism *see* Apocalyptic literature; Eschatology
- Apocrypha 1–5, 7–9
 - canon 7–8, 19–20, 37, 97, 152
 - Ethiopic transmission 37–50, 225–228
- Apokatastasis *see* Postmortem salvation; Universal salvation
- Arabic transmission 38, 51–54, 180–181, 227–228
- Baptism 68–71, 75, 80, 88, 91–92, 96, 154, 178–179
- Bar Kokhba revolt 13, 20, 139
- Bodleian Fragment 28–30, 56, 60–64, 95, 98, 102, 127
- Book culture
 - burial books 30–34
 - miniature codices 29–30
 - multiple-text manuscripts 31–33, 37–40
- Canon *see also* Muratorian Canon
 - Apocalypse of Peter 7–9, 19–20, 37, 97, 116, 213–215, 224–225
 - stichometries 8, 37, 97
- Christology
 - Christological titles 108–109
 - high Christology in the Ethiopic version 58, 65–67, 93, 108–109, 223
 - Lord-title 35, 66–67, 108–109
 - Sonship and divine voice 116–121, 172
- City of the West 10
- Clement of Alexandria
 - Apocalypse of Peter, reception of 8, 19, 82–84, 95–96, 222

- apokatastasis and selective disclosure 82–84, 89, 222
- heavenly hierarchy and postmortem ascent 87–89
- scriptural status of the Apocalypse of Peter 8, 19, 82
- Ṭemelouchos / Ṭemēlakos 15–16
- Codex Claromontanus *see* Canon / stichometries
- Codicology
 - Akhmīm Codex 30–37
 - Ethiopic manuscripts 37–46
 - Greek fragments 28–30
- Communal existence *see* Afterlife / communal dimension
- Comparative reconstruction *see also* Reconstruction
 - micro-context and macro-context 4–5, 54–58, 101–103, 167–180
 - reception as evidence 54–58, 136–167, 181–185, 218–225
- Coptic transmission 38, 51–53, 82
- Corpus Petrinum 34–37, 95–96, 99, 103, 128–129

- Dating of the Apocalypse of Peter 16–25 *see also* Trajanic Revolt
 - terminus ante quem 18–20
 - terminus post quem 17–18
- Death
 - martyrdom 11–12, 20–21, 144–150, 171–173
 - return from the dead 177–179, 208–213
- Divine mercy 42, 45, 49–50, 71–93, 168–170, 222, 224, 228–230 *see also* Judgment; Postmortem salvation; Pseudo-Clementine framework; Secrecy; Sinners; Universal salvation

- Eden
 - garden of 188–199, 214–215, 221, 224
 - return to 5, 101–102, 180–185, 220–225, 228–230
 - translation into paradise 188–189
 - tree of life 191–192, 196–199
- Editorial changes
 - Akhmīm Codex 95–99
 - Ethiopic version 59–94
 - intentional changes 99, 218–225
 - paradise passage 101–103, 129–136, 180–185, 218–225
- Egypt
 - animal worship 16, 61
 - funerary traditions 30–34
 - provenance 12–16, 21–25
 - reception 16, 19, 51–53, 139–144, 153–164
- Elysian Field / Elysium 10, 14–15, 69–71, 75, 88, 142–143, 227
- Eschatological baptism *see* Baptism
- Eschatology 1–5, 221–230
 - delay of the parousia 21–23
 - imminent expectation 20–23
 - individual destiny 1–5, 10–12, 68–76, 84–93, 187–190, 204–207, 208–215
 - judgment and reward 10–12, 59–64, 71–77, 91–97, 221–230
 - martyrdom 11–12, 20–21, 144–150, 171–173
 - spatial dimension 5, 11–12, 101–103, 129–135, 180–185, 221–225
- Ethiopic manuscripts
 - Lake Ṭānā context 39–44, 54–58, 92, 220
 - scribal corrections 68–69

- False Christs and false prophets 10–13, 105–106, 174
- Fig tree parable 17, 169–170
- Fire 11, 14–15, 22, 60–64, 72, 139–142, 221
- Flora *see also* Sensory perception
 - fragrance 133–134, 146–148, 163, 169, 199, 221, 228
 - fruit 132–133, 141–143, 151–152, 154, 163, 169–170, 192, 194–195, 199, 227
 - trees 132–134, 141–143, 169–170, 192, 197–199
- Funerary context *see* Book culture / burial books

- Garden imagery *see* Paradise / garden imagery
- Genre *see* Apocalypse, genre of

- Greek witnesses *see* Akhmîm Codex; Bodleian Fragment; Rainer Fragment
- Hades / Sheol 3, 25, 63, 208–212
- Happiness *see* Joy
- Harrowing of Hell 177–178, 208–211
- Heaven *see also* Tabernacle
- another heaven 10, 87–89, 103, 127, 171, 176, 178, 205–207, 224
 - paradise 101–108, 129–134, 180–185, 204–209
- Heavenly dress 112–119, 148, 170–171, 181–184, 197–198, 224–225
- Heavenly figures *see* Angelic figures; Moses and Elijah; Patriarchs
- Hell *see also* Postmortem salvation; Sinners
- eternity 60–64, 93–94, 218–219
 - place of punishment 10–11, 60–64, 95–99, 124, 129–130, 134
 - relation to paradise 3–4, 95–99, 129–130, 180–185, 221–225
 - torments 60–64, 71–75, 78–82, 140–144, 153–157, 165–170
 - tours of 3–4, 19, 124, 155, 166
- Hidden paradise *see* Paradise / hidden
- High Christology *see* Christology / high Christology in the Ethiopic version
- High priests 122–126, 175, 178
- Holy mountain 97, 105, 109–110, 118, 120, 172
- Honor and glory of the elect 12, 121, 147–148, 154, 171–173, 221–222, 229
- Horn of Africa 8–9, 53–55, 164, 220, 223, 227–228
- Imminent eschatology *see* Eschatology / imminent expectation
- Intercession 145, 154, 184–185, 229 *see also* Divine mercy; Postmortem salvation; Rainer Fragment
- of the elect 68–94
- Jewish, Christian, and Greco-Roman traditions *see also* Egypt / provenance
- Alexandrian context 14–16, 23–25
 - fusion of traditions 14–16, 23–25, 139–144, 220–228
- Joy 4–5, 42, 63, 78, 87, 98, 127, 132–135, 147–148, 152, 158–159, 162–163, 167–168, 171–175, 177–178, 187, 211, 213, 221, 229–230
- Judgment 25, 96–97
- final 10–12, 43, 59–65, 96–97, 123, 160, 168–172, 179, 202, 208–210, 213
 - mercy 71–93, 222–225, 229–230
 - punishment 59–64, 71–75, 140–144, 150–151
- Lake Ṭānā manuscripts *see* Ethiopic manuscripts / Lake Ṭānā context
- Liar 12–13, 59 *see also* False Christs and false prophets
- Martyrdom
- of Peter 10, 20–22, 80, 179
 - paradise 11–12, 124, 144–150, 152, 171–173
- Mercy *see* Divine mercy, Postmortem salvation
- Methodology
- comparative 4–5, 54–58, 101–103
 - determination of original content 54–58, 180–185, 218–224
- Miniature codex *see* Book culture / miniature codices
- Moses and Elijah
- identity of heavenly figures 112–122, 128
 - transfiguration 10, 110–122, 171–178
 - witnesses in paradise vision 103–104, 158–160, 171–178, 181–183
- Mount of Olives 10, 48, 105, 109, 124
- Mount Tabor *see* Holy mountain
- Muratorian Canon 7–8, 19–20, 152
- Narrative continuity 47–51, 70, 75–77, 81, 92, 95–99, 101–109, 115–122, 128–129, 167–183, 217–224, 229
- Narrative tense 28, 32, 95–99, 219
- Nero 10, 20–21
- New creation *see* Paradise / eschatological

- Origen of Alexandria
- apokatastasis and controversy 52–53, 72–74, 83–86, 92
 - Mount Tabor and transfiguration tradition 118
 - Origenian influence on Pseudo-Clementine framework 83–84
- Otherworldly journey 3–4, 11–12, 19–20, 164–167, 201–215, 227 *see also* Hell / tours of
- Papias 195–196
- Paradise *see also* Eden; Heavenly dress; Paradise passage; Patriarchs; Righteous; Sensory perception; Tabernacle
- communal dimension 1, 70, 73, 106, 134, 161–164, 167–169, 181, 221, 229
 - eschatological 194–200, 214–215, 221–224
 - garden imagery 1–3, 129–135, 144–145, 157, 163–170, 173, 180–185, 188–199, 221–222, 225, 227–230
 - hidden 199–215, 219
 - in early Christian reception 136–167
 - materiality and spatiality 129–135, 180–185, 213–215, 228–230
 - primeval 188–194, 199–200, 204
 - vocabulary of 188–189
- Paradise passage *see also* Comparative reconstruction; Paradise; Transmission
- comparison of versions 129–136
 - context 110–128, 167–180
 - earliest reconstructable form 101–103, 180–185, 218–225
 - macrostructure 103–104
 - reception 136–167
 - setting 104–110
- Parousia 41, 86, 106, 117, 123, 174, 206, 209
- delay 21–23
 - expectation 20–23
- Patriarchs *see also* High priests
- Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the other righteous fathers 122–124
 - as inhabitants of paradise 11, 75, 88, 122–128, 135, 150–157, 160, 165–168, 173–183, 211, 220–221
 - as title 50–51
 - bodily resurrection and ascent with Christ 177–179
 - Moses and Elijah 112–113, 119–128, 165
 - role in framing paradise 122–128
- Peter
- authority 40–50, 77–84
 - death and martyrdom 10, 20–22
 - recipient of revelation 2, 9–12, 77–84, 91–92, 103–108, 110, 115–128, 180–185
 - Rome 10, 20–21
- Petrine discourses 14, 17, 21–23, 34–37, 83, 107–108, 117, 119–120, 222, 227
- Petrine material *see also* Akhmîm Codex; Petrine discourses
- Corpus Petrinum and Akhmîm redaction 34–36, 95–99, 103, 118–122, 129, 221
 - selective transmission 31–34, 36–37
- Postmortem salvation 4, 63–65, 68–93, 96, 127, 137, 161–166, 180–185, 222–224, 229 *see also* Divine mercy; Intercession; Secrecy; Sinners; Universal salvation
- extent and nature 84–91
 - Pseudo-Clementine framework 77–93
 - Rainer Fragment 68–76, 88, 91
- Primeval paradise *see* Paradise / primeval
- Provenance of the Apocalypse of Peter 14–16, 21–25 *see also* Alexandria; Egypt; Trajanic Revolt
- Pseudo-Clementine framework 4–5, 40–58, 63–67, 76, 102–103, 106, 108–109, 122, 131, 172–173, 181, 184–186, 217–228
- Clementine authority 41–45, 48–50, 77–83
 - composition 50–54
 - Moses and Elijah 114–118, 160
 - Origenian influence 83–84
 - postmortem salvation 77–93
 - paradise 136, 156–164, 166, 183–185, 222–224, 228
 - relationship to Apocalypse of Peter 44–50, 54–58, 218–228

- secrecy and arcane knowledge 42–43, 78–83, 89–93
- transmission context 40–44
- Punishments 14, 25, 137, 142, 167–170, 180–185, 208 *see also* Postmortem salvation
- catalog 10–11, 60–64, 68–75, 78, 95–98, 125
- eternity 60–64, 93–94, 218–219
- sinners 10–11, 21, 32, 58–64, 68–93, 167–170, 186
- Rainer Fragment 3, 20, 22, 28–30, 49, 54–56, 64, 68–76, 80, 88, 91, 98, 102, 123, 126–128, 142, 145, 154, 179, 184, 211
- Peter's death 20, 22
- postmortem salvation 68–76, 88, 91
- proximity to Ethiopic version 28–30, 54–56, 64, 68–76
- Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter 3–5, 7–9, 16, 19–20, 52–58, 181–185, 218–229
- Apocalypse of Paul 153–157, 164–167
- Clement of Alexandria 8, 19, 82–84, 95–96, 222
- Hippolytus 150–152, 165, 211
- Passion of Perpetua and Felicity 144–150, 164–165
- Pseudo-Clementine framework 136, 157–166, 181, 184–185, 222–223, 226, 228
- Sibylline Oracles 139–144, 165
- Theophilus of Antioch 19–20, 137–139, 165
- Reconstruction *see also* Comparative reconstruction
- earliest paradise account 101–185, 217–230
- methodological criteria 4–5, 54–58, 101–103, 218–220
- results 180–185, 217–230
- Return to Eden *see* Eden / return to
- Righteous 10–12, 17–18, 45, 68–76, 80, 84–89, 122–135, 180–185, 204–215, 220–224, 228–230 *see also* Intercession / of the elect; Sinners
- Rome *see* Peter / Rome
- Second Coming 11–12, 21–23, 40–45, 115–119, 203, 206, 209, 226, 229
- Secrecy 42–43, 51, 86, 107, 213
- divine mercy and 78–83, 89–93
- Pseudo-Clementine framework and 42–43, 78–83, 89–93
- Sensory perception
- fragrance 1, 133–134, 146–148, 163, 169, 199, 221, 228
- taste 145–146
- Sequence of hell and paradise 10–11, 32, 95–99, 180–185, 219–224
- Sinners *see also* Divine mercy; Righteous; Secrecy
- punishment 10–11, 21, 32, 58–64, 68–75, 167–170, 186
- salvation 4, 68–93, 184–185, 222–223
- Spatiality 5, 11–12, 221 *see also*
 - Tabernacle
 - concrete paradise 101–185, 221–225
 - otherworldly realms 11–12, 187–215
- Stichometry *see* Canon / stichometries
- Supralinear additions 68–69
- Tabernacle 48, 104, 121, 126–127, 165, 171–179, 182–185, 199, 206, 221–222, 228
- Tartarouchos *see* Angelic figures / Temelouchos and Tartarouchos
- Temelouchos *see* Angelic figures / Temelouchos and Tartarouchos
- Torments *see* Hell / torments; Punishments
- Trajanic Revolt 23–25
- Transfiguration 10, 17, 36, 76, 99, 101, 109–128, 130, 147, 182, 221, 229 *see also* Heavenly dress
- ascension 171–179
- Moses and Elijah 10, 109–122, 159–160, 171–178, 221
- paradise passage and narrative continuities 66–68, 101, 109–122, 125–128, 171–179, 182, 221
- Translation *see also* Arabic transmission
- Coptic 38, 51–53
- paradise vocabulary 188–189

- Transmission 2, 4–6, 11, 13, 17, 20, 25,
27–58, 101–103, 119, 124–125, 129, 131,
180–186, 217–228, 230 *see also* Arabic
transmission; Coptic transmission; Edi-
torial changes; Reconstruction
- Ethiopic 37–46, 50–54, 77–94, 108–
109, 142, 171–172, 218–220, 223
 - Greek 28–37, 59–68, 95–99, 118–119,
122, 150, 224–225
 - Pseudo-Clementine 40–54, 77–94,
113–118, 156–167, 222
 - translation 38, 51–54, 181, 188–189
- Tree of life *see* Eden / tree of life
- Universal salvation 71–93, 222–224, 229
- Vision *see also* Hell; Paradise
- Peter as recipient 9–12, 32, 45–46, 95–
99, 134, 217, 229