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# X. The Old Testament Quotations in the *Apocalypse of Peter*

JACQUES VAN RUITEN

The author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (*ApPt*) uses frequently existing texts and traditions to express his own thoughts. One can point to literary connections with the *Gospel of Peter*, the New Testament (especially *2 Peter* and *Matthew*), several early Jewish writings and also the Old Testament<sup>1</sup>. Mostly, the references are *implicit*. The words are assimilated into the own discourse of the author. However, on three places in *ApPt* the author refers *explicitly* to another text<sup>2</sup>. He uses an introduction formula to introduce a quotation. The first one is in *ApPt* 4.7b: 'And therefore it says in Scripture'. The other two are at the end of the book, i.e., *ApPt* 17.4a: 'And the word of Scripture was fulfilled'; and *ApPt* 17.5b: 'That the word of Scripture might be fulfilled which said'. The first reference seems to be to *Ezekiel* 37, the other two are to *Psalms* 24<sup>3</sup>. In this paper, I will restrict myself to

<sup>1</sup> For an inventarisation of the links of *ApPt* with Jewish and Christian themes and traditions, see R. Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. An Account of Research', *ANRW*, II, 25/6, (Berlin, 1988) 4712-50; see also: idem, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 7-111, reprinted in R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 160-258.

<sup>2</sup> Bauckham speaks about only one explicit citation to scripture, i.e. *ApPt* 4.7-9. See his 'A Quotation from 4Q Second Ezekiel in the Apocalypse of Peter', *RQ* 15 (1991-92) 437-64 (= *Fate of the Dead*, 259-68).

<sup>3</sup> In the Ethiopic text of the *ApPt*, I could find only one other *explicit reference* to a textual source outside the text itself, i.e., *ApPt* 16.5: 'And I understood what is written in the book of my Lord Jesus Christ'. This refers to

these explicit quotations from the Old Testament. How, in what way, and why makes the autor use of the quoted texts. In all three cases, we are left with the Ethiopic version of the Apocalypse, because the original Greek version is not extant<sup>4</sup>. This means that one has to be very cautious as far as the form of the quotations is concerned.

### 1. Apocalypse of Peter 4.7-9 and Ezekiel 37

The first text of interest is *ApPt* 4.7-9<sup>5</sup>:

- 7a For everything is possible for God
- b and therefore it thus says in Scripture:
- c 'The son of man prophesied to each of the bones.
- 8a And you said to the bone:
- b "Bone (be) to bones in limbs, tendons and nerves, and flesh and skin and hair on it".'
- 9a And soul and spirit the great Uriel will give at the command of God,
- b for him God has appointed over his resurrection of the dead at the day of judgment.

At first sight, it seems clear that the explicit quotation of Scripture in *ApPt* 4.7-8, contains a reference, most probably to *Ezek* 37.1-14. Firstly, the expression 'the son of man' (*ApPt* 4.7c) refers to *Ezek* 37.3c. It is a phrase that is used frequently in the book of Ezekiel. Secondly, the phrase '(he) prophesied to each of the bones' (*ApPt* 4.7c) refers to *Ezek* 37.4b ('Prophesy to these bones')<sup>6</sup>. The enumera-

what the author has just quoted, probably the *Gospel of Matthew*, cf. D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apococalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1988) 370-1.

<sup>4</sup> For a description of the Ethiopic manuscripts and the Greek fragments, see Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 119-56. Bauckham points to a paraphrase of *ApPt* in *Sibylline Oracle* 2.194-338, which can be used as a check on the accuracy of the Ethiopic version. See Bauckham, 'Quotation', 438.

<sup>5</sup> The translation is according to the literal translation of Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 183-5. Buchholz presents also a free translation, which is not useful for our presentation.

<sup>6</sup> The translation of the quotations from scripture is according to the *Revised Standard Version (RSV)*.

tion of the components of the resurrected people (*ApPt* 4.8b: 'Bone (be) to bones in limbs, sinews and nerves, and flesh and skin and hair on it') does refer to *Ezek* 37.6 ('I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh to come upon you, and cover you with skin...'), to *Ezek* 37.7 ('.. And the bones came together, bone to its bones'), and to *Ezek* 37.8 (...there were sinews on them, and flesh had come upon them, and skin had covered them'). Finally, the words 'and soul and spirit' (*ApPt* 4.9a) might refer to the word רוּחַ (πνεῦμα), which is used several times in *Ezek* 37 (see vv. 1, 5, 6, 8, 9 [3 times], 10, 14) and which is translated in the *RSV* by 'spirit', 'breath' and 'wind'. This רוּחַ finally enters into the resurrected people.

Although the references to *Ezek* 37 are reasonably clear, the extent of the quotation is subject to debate<sup>7</sup>. The problem with regard to the demarcations of the quotation is related to some text-critical and syntactical problems. The quotation begins in *ApPt* 4.7c-8a: 'The son of man prophesied (*tanabaja*) to each of the bones. And you said (*watbela*) to the bone'. The word *tanabaja* is found in both Ethiopic manuscripts<sup>8</sup>. It is a perfect form of the verb 'to prophesy', whereas *watbela* is an irregular perfect-form, 2nd person singular, of 'to say' ('and you said'). There is not only a somewhat peculiar transition from the 3rd singular ('He prophesied') to the 2nd singular ('You said'), but, moreover, these forms do not correspond with the imperative-form in *Ezek* 37.4: הִנְבֵּא עַל הָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה ('prophesy to these bones'), followed by a consecutive perfect, which has in the *consecutio temporum* the value of an imperative: וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם ('and say to them'). Because of the irregularities and because of peculiar punctuation marks in manuscript T, Buchholz suggests to understand the first line after the introduction formula (*ApPt* 4.7c) not yet as part of the quotation. In his eyes, the actual quotation starts from the second line onwards (*ApPt* 4.8: 'And you said etc.'). This does not seem to me a convincing solution, since a new problem rises, i.e., the distance between the introduction formula and the beginning words of the actual quotation. Moreover, the problem of the strange transition between 3rd and 2nd person singular remains.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 296; Bauckham, 'Quotation', 438-40.

<sup>8</sup> For a description of the Ethiopic manuscripts, see Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 119-39.

In his 1910 edition of the *ApPt*, Grébaud already emended *tanabaja* into *tanabaj*, which is the imperative form of the verb (prophesy)<sup>9</sup>. He is followed by others<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, most of them consider *watbela* as an imperative, as if it were in the *consecutio temporum*. In their eyes, therefore, the quotation starts in *ApPt* 4.7: 'Son of man, *prophesy* to each of the bones and *say* to the bone'. Although the author of the *Apocalypse* has not the intention to quote a text, which corresponds literally with *Ezek* 37, it is not necessary to harmonise with the biblical text; however, it is difficult to get around the emendation of Grébaud at this point<sup>11</sup>.

Also the end of the quotation is not completely clear. The Ethiopic text of the first part of *ApPt* 4.9 reads: *wanafas wamanfas wajehub 'abij 'Urael bat'ezaz 'egziabeher*, which is rendered literally: '... and soul and spirit, and the great Uriel gave at the command of God'. If we take the conjunction *wa* ('and') in *wajehub* ('and he gave') seriously, then the first two words of *ApPt* 4.9a ('and soul and spirit') should be added to the list of *ApPt* 4.8 ('bone [be] to bones in limbs, tendons and nerves, and flesh and skin and hair on it, and soul and spirit'). In that case, however, the verb *jehub* ('he gave') has no object, and it is not clear what Uriel gave at the command of God. Buchholz considers these first two words of *ApPt* 4.9 ('soul and spirit') as object of the verb *jehub*, although he has to ignore the conjunction<sup>12</sup>. In that case *ApPt* 4.9a could belong to the quotation of

<sup>9</sup> See S. Grébaud, 'Littérature Éthiopienne Pseudo-Clémentine. La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) 198-214, 307-23, 425-39 (at 201).

<sup>10</sup> E.g., C.D.G. Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Schneemelcher (ed), *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. 5. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten Sammlung. II. Apostolisches Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1989) 562-78; Bauckham, 'Quotation', 439.

<sup>11</sup> I have no clue as to the reason of the mistake in both manuscripts. It could be a mistranslation from the Greek. But it is also possible that the Ethiopic copyist made a mistake in a manuscript preceding both remaining manuscripts. The difference in Ethiopic between *-ja-* (*jaman* in the first order) and *-je-* [*jaman* in the sixth order) is only very small.

<sup>12</sup> See the literal translation of Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 296-7: 'And soul and spirit the great Uriel will give...'

*Ezek 37*. It can be considered as an interpretation of *Ezek 37.12-14*, where it is God who put the spirit into the resurrected bodies, so that they shall live. In *ApPt* this action is attributed to the angel Uriel<sup>13</sup>.

One could go one step further. When one ignores the conjunction 'and' before '(he) will give' in *ApPt 4.9a*, then one could consider also all the elements of the list of *ApPt 4.8c* as objects of the verb. In this case, we consider *ApPt 4.8c* as an enumeration of several elements and not as a nominal clause. However, this is in conflict with the view that the resurrection in *Ezek 37* takes place in two stages. First, there is the physical resurrection, then the psychological.

I am therefore inclined to consider the end of *ApPt 4.8* ('and hair on it') as the end of the quotation of Ezekiel, whereas the author of the Apocalypse refers in *ApPt 4.9* to another tradition of interpretation of Ezekiel<sup>14</sup>. The second part of *ApPt 4.9* ('For him God has appointed over his resurrection of the dead at the day of judgement') is clearly an explanation of the role of Uriel.

## 2. *The Context of the Quotation*

The reference in *ApPt 4.7-8* to *Ezek 37* is far from literal. *ApPt* does use words and phrases that occur in *Ezek 37*, but their grammatical form and syntactical function is different in both texts. Also the literary context of the quotation shows substantial differences with *Ezek 37*. As far as the aspect of *time* is concerned, the moment of the resurrection in *Ezek 37* is not specified, although it seems to be in the present or in the near future. In *ApPt* the resurrection will take place in the 'last days when the day of God comes' (*ApPt 4.1, 6*). This is 'the day of judgement, the day of punishment' (cf. *ApPt 4.2, 5, 9, 12, 13*). As far as the aspect of *space* is concerned, the place of the resurrection is in Ezekiel 'in the midst of the valley' (*Ezek 37.1*), whereas *Ezek 37.12* speaks about 'your graves'. In *ApPt* it is said that it will take place 'before my father who lives forever' (*ApPt 4.2*). As far as *the subject of the resurrection* is concerned, *Ezek 37* speaks about 'bones' (vv. 1, 3, 5, 7, 11) and 'dry bones' (vv. 4, 11).

<sup>13</sup> Baukham, 'Quotation', 439.

<sup>14</sup> Bauckham, 'Quotation', 439.

In *Ezek* 37.11, these bones are identified with the 'house of Israel'. This shows that 'bones' and 'resurrection' are used as metaphors. *ApPt* speaks about 'all the children of men' (*ApPt* 4.2), all the dead, which is 'each of the bones'. However, in *ApPt* 4.12, the resurrection seems to be limited to 'those who believe in him, and his elect ones'. In the *Apocalypse*, the (dry) bones are not used as metaphor, whereas the resurrection is understood as a literary resurrection of the dead. As far as the *aim* of the resurrection is concerned, Ezekiel speaks about the spirit, or the breath, that may enter in men so that they may live. Elsewhere in *Ezek* 37, this new life is interpreted as the return to the land<sup>15</sup>. *ApPt* just speaks about a resurrection, which is revivification, a literally life giving to man. Finally, Ezekiel seems to speak about two stages in the resurrection. First, there is a physical resurrection (bone to bone; sinews; flesh; skin) prophesied by the prophet (= the son of man). Secondly, there is a spiritual resurrection (breath / spirit) also prophesied by the prophet<sup>16</sup>. This phasing of the resurrection seems to be a rhetorical way to highlight the most important aspect of the enterprise, i.e., the giving of the spirit. Depending on the interpretation of the beginning of *ApPt* 4.9, it is also possible to assume these two stages in *ApPt*. First, we have the physical resurrection (bone to the bones in limbs, sinews, nerves, flesh, skin, hair) prophesied by the son of man. Secondly, there is a spiritual resurrection (soul and spirit) given by Uriel at the command of God.

### 3. 4Q385 as an Intermediary between Ezekiel 37 and Apocalypse of Peter 4.7-9?

Although the reference to *Ezek* 37 is marked off by an explicit quotation mark, the actual wording is very much different from the text of *Ezekiel*. As far as I can see, this can mean three things. Firstly, the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969) 888; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37* (New York, 1983) 747.

<sup>16</sup> E.R. Wendland, "Can These Bones Live Again?" A Rhetoric of the Gospel in Ezekiel 33-37, Part II', *Andrews Univ. Semin. Stud.* 39 (2001) 241-72 at 263-5.

author has no intention to quote *Ezekiel verbatim*. He needs the text as proof-text, but is not concerned with the actual wording. He paraphrases and summarises the text<sup>17</sup>. Although I cannot rule out the possibility completely, I consider it unlikely. We have to do here with one of the few explicit quotations from Scripture. One may assume that the author refers to Scripture with the actual words of Scripture. Secondly, it is possible that the author quotes a text-form that deviates from the Massoretic Text of *Ezekiel*. However, I did not find such a text-form. Thirdly, the author possibly does not intend to quote from *Ezek 37* at all, but from another text that is authoritative to him. He uses it as proof-text, and calls it 'Scripture'. I think this last option is possibly most likely the case here, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify an intermediary between *Ezekiel* and *ApPt 4.7-9*.

Bauckham has pointed to the *Ezekiel* apocalypse from Qumran Cave 4 as the source text of *ApPt 4.7-9*<sup>18</sup>. This text, the so-called *4QPseudo-Ezekiel*, is preserved in five or six fragments, and three of them (*4Q385*, frg. 2; *4Q386*, frg. 1, col.1; *4Q388*, frg. 8) reproduce partly a quotation of *Ezekiel 37*, which shows some resemblance with *ApPt 4.7-9*<sup>19</sup>. I would like to go into the question if this text could have possibly functioned as intermediary between *Ezek 37* and *ApPt 4*. I first briefly discuss the relation between *4Q385* with *Ezek 37* and, subsequently, the relationship between *4Q385* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

I give here the translation of Deborah Dimant in the official edition of *4Q385*, with my own lay-out, and line-counting<sup>20</sup>:

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Bauckham, 'Quotation', 440.

<sup>18</sup> Bauckham, 'Quotation', 437-45.

<sup>19</sup> See D. Dimant, *Parabiblical Texts, part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXX. Qumran Cave 4 – XXI* (Oxford, 2001) 17-51, pl. I. See also D. Dimant, 'Ezekiel, Book of: Pseudo-Ezekiel', in L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2000) I.282-4.

<sup>20</sup> Dimant, *Parabiblical Texts*, 24. The translation is slightly different from the previously published edition in D. Dimant and J. Strugnell, 'The Merkabah Vision in Second Ezekiel (*4Q385 4*)', *RQ* 14 (1989) 331-48.



- 1.1 (3)... And the]se (things) when will they come to be,  
 1.2 and how will they be recompensed for their piety?  
 1.3 and the Lord said (4) to me:  
 1.4 'I will make it manifest [ ] to the children of Israel to see,  
 1.5 and they shall know that I am the Lord'.  
 1.6 (5) And He said:]  
 1.7 'Son of Man, prophesy over the bones,  
 1.8 and speak  
 1.9 and let them be j[oi]ned bone to its bone and joint (6) [to its  
 joint.'  
 1.10 And it wajs so.  
 1.11 And He said a second time:  
 1.12 'Prophecy,  
 1.13 and let arteries come upon them,  
 1.14 and let skin cover them (7) [ from above'.  
 1.15 And it was so].  
 1.16 And He said:  
 1.17 'Prophecy once again over the four winds of heaven,  
 1.18 and let them blow breath (8) [into the slain'.  
 1.19 And it was so,]  
 1.20 and a large crowd of people came [to li]fe,  
 1.21 and blessed the Lord Sebaoth wh[o (9) had given them life'.]

The parallel with *Ezek 37* can be found in *4Q385.5-8* (1.6-21). This passage seems to be an answer to the question how they will be rewarded for their piety (cf. 1.2). The answer is in short that they will live again, i.e., they will be resurrected. The first question, i.e., when they will be (cf. line 1), seems to be answered in the next section, i.e., from line 22 onwards, but this section is preserved only fragmentary.

When one compares *4Q385* with *Ezek 37*, a few things catch the eye. In the first place, only the commandment of God is given, whereas the realisation is summarised (וַיְהִי כֵן: 'and it was so'; 'and so it happened'). Secondly, the phasing of the process of resurrection is made explicit: 'and he said' (1.6-10), 'and he said a second time' (1.11-15), and finally: 'And he said' (1.16-21). In the first stage, the command over the bones is given. This probably refers to *Ezek 37.7* ('... and the bones came together, bone to its bone'), although the phrasing is somewhat different. In the second stage, the covering of the bones with sinews and skins is described. It refers to *Ezek 37.6*

(‘And I will lay sinews upon you, and I will cause flesh to come upon you, and cover you with skin’) and 37.8 (‘... there were sinews on them ... and flesh had come upon them, and skin had covered them’). The third stage continues with a prophesy regarding the four winds, and refers clearly to *Ezek* 37.9-10 (‘... Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live ...’)<sup>21</sup>. The true meaning of the vision is given by a nonbiblical detail added to the biblical description. According to it, the resurrected people came to life and blessed the Lord who had given them life (1. 20-21)<sup>22</sup>. This means that the author interpreted the vision of *Ezekiel* literally, as referring to a real resurrection of the righteous in the eschatological future<sup>23</sup>.

Bauckham gives three arguments for the dependency of the *Apocalypse of Peter* on *4Q Second Ezekiel*. First, both texts use the words ‘son of man’ in combination with the divine command to prophecy over the bones. However, this argument is not of great value since the formula ‘son of man, prophecy over... and say’ is characteristic of *Ezekiel*. It occurs about 13 times in the book (*Ezek* 6.2-3; 13.2, 17-18; 21.7-8, 14, 33; 28.21-22; 29.2-3; 30.2; 34.2; 35.2-3; 38.2-3; 39.1). Secondly, both transfer the account of the resurrection of the bones in the command of YHWH to the prophet to prophecy. This argument seems to be decisive for Bauckham<sup>24</sup>. However, the argument is of not great value either, since the compositional technique to put something in the divine command what is said only in the narrative execution of the command in the biblical text occurs quite often in the literature of early Judaism, especially in the the so-called rewritten Bible<sup>25</sup>. Thirdly, the words פרק אל פרקו

<sup>21</sup> M. Kister and E. Qimran, ‘Observations on *4Q Second Ezekiel* (*4Q385* 2-3)’, *RQ* 15 (1991-92) 595-602, have proposed a slightly different restoration of 1. 18-19: ‘And let the wind blow upon them and they will live. And it was so’. According to this restoration the breath is blown into the bones. Dimant, *Parabiblical Texts*, 28, considers this unlikely.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Dimant, ‘Ezekiel’, 283.

<sup>23</sup> According to Dimant, ‘Ezekiel’, 283, this is the earliest witness for such an understanding of *Ezekiel* 37.1-14. Later, this understanding became widespread among Jews and Christians.

<sup>24</sup> Bauckham, ‘Quotation’, 441-3.

<sup>25</sup> P.S. Alexander, ‘Retelling the Old Testament’, in D.A. Carson and

(‘joints to its joints’) have no counterpart in the biblical text (*Ezek* 37.7), but do seem to have a counterpart in *westa melajaled* (‘in joints’ or ‘in limbs’) in *ApPt* 4.8.

Ezek 37.7 MT	Ezek 37.7 LXX	4Q385, 2.5-6	ApPt 4.8
ותקרבו עצמות עצם אל עצמו	προσήγαγε τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκάτερον	ה[קרבו] — עצם אל עצמו	— — ' <i>asem haba</i> ' <i>a'esmet</i>
—	πρὸς τὴν ἁρ- μονίαν αὐτοῦ	פרק אל פרקו	<i>westa melajaled</i>

As I have said before, both in *4Q385* and in *ApPt*, the words of the account are transferred into a command. Both in *4Q385* and *ApPt*, the word **עצמות** seems to be skipped over, although it is significant that the second word in *ApPt* (*'a'esmet*) is put into the plural. It might reflect therefore **עצמות** of the biblical text. In any case, *4Q385* has a singular form (**עצמו**). It is unlikely that *ApPt* is at this point dependent on the Septuagint, because this version renders the odd expression **עצם אל עצמו** with a more intelligible expression ἐκάτερον πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν αὐτοῦ (‘each one to its joint’), in which ἐκάτερον reflects the odd expression, whereas *ApPt* retains this expression. The expression *westa melajaled* could be dependent on *4Q385*, although this proposal is not unambiguous. The first **פרק** is omitted, the word **אל** is rendered by *westa*, which is possible, and the third word **פרקו** is taken over, but without the suffix. Moreover, the fact that ‘joint’ is already in the Septuagint suggests that this reading reflects an ancient tradition. It refutes the claim that *ApPt* 4.8 should be quoting *4Q385* at this point<sup>26</sup>.

H.G.M. Williamson (eds), *It Is Written. Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (Cambridge, 1988) 99-121, at 116-7; G. Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (Leiden, 1975) 60-91 (‘Bible and Midrash. Early Old Testament Exegesis’); see also J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden, 2000) 3-5.

<sup>26</sup> So also recently Dimant, *Parabiblical Texts*, 26 note 7.

My conclusion is therefore a rather negative one. One cannot say for sure that *ApPt* 4.8 is depending on *4QSecond Ezekiel*. Rather, it is depending on a tradition of interpretation of *Ezek* 37, of which *4QSecond Ezekiel* is also a witness<sup>27</sup>.

#### 4. Psalm 24 and Apocalypse of Peter 17.2-6

The second explicit reference to the Old Testament occurs in the final chapter of the book (*ApPt* 17). It is the last of five visions of the reward of the righteous. Visions which were granted to the disciples, once they went with Jesus to 'the holy mountain'. After the vision of the true Temple, and the accompanying audition of the true Messiah (*ApPt* 16.9-17.1), *ApPt* 17.2-6 describes the Ascension. The disciples witness the ascension of Jesus, with Moses and Elijah, first to the first heaven, where they meet people 'who were in the flesh'. Jesus took with him these people and entered the second heaven. I quote *ApPt* 17.2-6<sup>28</sup>:

- 2a And a cloud large in size came over head
- b and (it was) very white
- c and it lifted up our Lord and Moses and Elijah,
- d and I trembled
- e and was astonished.
- 3a And we watched
- b and this heaven opened
- c and we saw men who were in the flesh
- d and they came
- e and went to meet our Lord and Moses and Elijah
- f and they went into the second heaven.
- 4a And the word of scripture was fulfilled:
- b 'This generation seeks him
- c and seeks the face of the God of Jacob'.

<sup>27</sup> Dimant, *Parabiblical Texts*, 26 note 7 adds that the gap of date and languages which separates the two documents makes a direct quotation unlikely.

<sup>28</sup> The translation is according to the literal translation of Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 240-2.

- 5a And there was great fear and great amazement in heaven.
- b The angels flocked together that the word of scripture might be fulfilled which said:
- c 'Open the gates, princes'.
- 6a And then this heaven which had been opened was closed.

After the ascension, the disciples descended from the mountain, glorifying God, who has written the names of the righteous in the book of life in heaven. The description of the ascension is connected with the Transfiguration scene in the Gospel of Matthew. In *ApPt* 17.1, which describes the audition of the true Messiah, *Mt* 17.5b is quoted literally. Also the cloud in *ApPt* 17.2 ('And a cloud large in size came over head and (it was) very white') could be connected with the same verse. However, in Matthew the cloud overshadows the disciples who were with Jesus on the mountain, whereas in the *ApPt* the cloud became the instrument of an ascension, which is not described in chapter 17 of *Mt*. This might be due to the influence of the ascension scene in *Acts* 1.1-11, where the cloud functions as a means to deprive the sight of the disciples, but seems to be at the same time the instrument of the ascension: 'He was lifted up, and a cloud took him out of their sight'<sup>29</sup>.

In addition to these implicit references to the New Testament, the passage also contains a twofold explicit quotation from the Old Testament. The first one is a rather literal quotation of *Ps* 24.6 ('This generation seeks him and seeks the face of the God of Jacob'). *Ps* 24.6 is the end of the second strophe of the Psalm, which starts in *Ps* 24.3 with a question about who may be admitted to the temple ('Who shall ascend the hill of YHWH? And who shall stand in his holy place?'). *Ps* 24.4-6 give an answer to this question<sup>30</sup>. First, it sets out the ethical requirements ('He who has a clean hand and a pure heart, who does not lift up his soul to what is false, and does not swear deceitfully'). Secondly, it gives words of blessing to those who are qualified to enter the temple ('He will receive blessing from YHWH, and vindication from the God of his salvation. Such is the generation of those who seek the face of the God of Jacob'). Finally, the answer

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 373.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Day, *Psalms* (Sheffield, 1990) 60.

to the question 'who' is made concrete: it is this 'generation'. It is 'Jacob', that is Israel. The second strophe may have its *Sitz im Leben* in the liturgy and is often called an 'entrance liturgy'<sup>31</sup>. The worshipper seeks to enter the Temple and is instructed as to the necessary conditions. In the actual Psalm, this so-called entrance liturgy is part of a larger liturgical piece, which might involve a kind of procession into the Temple (the third strophe of the Psalm, *Ps* 24.7-10)<sup>32</sup>. It sings the praise of YHWH, the King of glory, the Lord of Hosts, who has been victorious over the waters at the creation (cf. the first strophe, *Ps* 24.1-2).

In the following table, the Hebrew text of *Ps* 24.6 is compared with the actual quotation of it in *ApPt* 17.4:

<i>Psalm</i> 24.6	<i>ApPt</i> 17.4
<p>זֶה דּוֹר דְּרִשׁוּ  מִבְקֵשֵׁי פָנֶיךָ יֵעֲקֹב סֵלָה</p> <p>Such is the generation of those  who seek him,  who seek your face, (it is) Jacob.  Selah.</p>	<p><i>zaitweled tah's lotu</i>  <i>w'tahsasa gaso la'amlak ja'eqob</i>  This generation seeks him,  and seeks <i>the face of the God of</i>  Jacob.</p>

The most important difference between the Hebrew text of *Ps* 24.6 and *ApPt* 17.4 can be found in the closure of the verse. In *Ps* 24.6 'your face' is object of the verb 'to seek', whereas 'Jacob' is not a vocative, but explains 'the generation'. According to the Psalm, this generation is Jacob. The structure of the parallelism in the Masoretic text of *Ps* 24.6 is fine: it has a clear chiastic pattern<sup>33</sup>. The actual text, however, contains some problems. In the first place, there is a transition from 3rd person singular ('who seek *him*') to 2nd person singular ('*your* face'). This incongruence could indicate that the Psalmist addresses himself directly to God at the end of his worship<sup>34</sup>. Al-

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g., Day, *Psalms*, 13, 60

<sup>32</sup> Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978<sup>5</sup>) 343-4; J. Ridderbos, *De Psalmen I, Ps 1-41* (Kampen, 1955) 208.

<sup>33</sup> The structure is according to the pattern ab b'a', in which a (זֶה דּוֹר) corresponds with a' (יֵעֲקֹב), and b (דְּרִשׁוּ) with b' (מִבְקֵשֵׁי פָנֶיךָ).

<sup>34</sup> So Ridderbos, *Psalmen*, 213.

though this transition is not impossible, it is unexpected and surprising. The second problem is the syntactical function of Jacob at the end of the verse, which can not function as a vocative. It should therefore be taken as explaining 'generation'<sup>35</sup>. Although also this solution is not impossible either, one would have expected something like אהוה ('he is') or זה ('this is') before 'Jacob'. These problems are reflected in the history of the text. Whereas the *Targum* changes the 2nd person into the 3rd person ('who seek *his* face, (it is) Jacob'), the *Septuagint* and the *Peshitta* omit the suffix of the 2nd person singular. They add 'God', and connect it with 'Jacob': 'That is the generation of those who seek him, who seek *the face of the God of Jacob*'. All these changes in the textual history of *Ps* 24.6 can be considered as attempts at clarifying the difficult Hebrew text which underlies the Masoretic version. I think therefore that the Masoretic text reflects the more original reading.

*ApPt* 17.4 has a syntactical structure somewhat different from the massoretic text of *Ps* 24.6. It has the verb ('he seeks') and an object ('the face of the God of Jacob'). It may be clear that *ApPt* 17.4 reflects the alternative reading of the *Septuagint* and the *Peshitta*. Whereas in the biblical text 'Such is the generation' refers to the worshipper with clean hands, who is about to enter the temple (cf. *Ps* 24.4), in *ApPt* 'this generation' refers to 'the men who were in the flesh', waiting in the first heaven before entering the second heaven. Although the text does not explain who these men in the flesh are, the reference to *Ps* 24 makes clear that they are the righteous, probably not yet covered with their heavenly clothes, and not yet having entered the sanctuary. They are waiting in a kind of hall, before they enter, in the following of Jesus, into the real sanctuary. It is clear that *Ps* 24 does not receive a historical interpretation. It is neither David<sup>36</sup> nor Solomon<sup>37</sup>, nor any other worshipper, who asks himself if he is able to enter the sanctuary<sup>38</sup>, but the text is eschatologically and

<sup>35</sup> See N.A. van Uchelen, *Psalmen II* (Nijkerk, 1977) 168.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Krauss, *Psalmen*, 348.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Day, *Psalms*, 74.

<sup>38</sup> Ridderbos, *Psalmen*, 208, 214, opts for a post-exilic date of the psalm.

cosmologically interpreted<sup>39</sup>. The righteous people are waiting after their death in the first heaven.

The last explicit quotation (*ApPt* 17.6: 'Open the gates, princes') refers also to *Ps* 24, i.e., *Ps* 24.7a, 9a ('Lift up your heads, o gates'). Also here *ApPt* does not follow a text that is identical with the Masoretic text. It comes close to the *Septuagint*. The *Septuagint* of *Ps* 24 (23).7a, 9a reads: 'Lift up the gates, your princes' (ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν). The wording of the *Vorlage* of the *Septuagint* seems to be the same as the massoretic text of *Ps* 24.7a, 9a: שָׂאוּ שַׁעְרֵיכֶם רִאשִׁיכֶם, but the syntactical construction of the verse is interpreted differently<sup>40</sup>. The vocative שַׁעְרֵיכֶם ('O gates') is read by the *Septuagint* as an accusative, whereas the accusative of the Hebrew text (רִאשִׁיכֶם: 'your heads') is interpreted by the translator as a nominative. Moreover, the reference of רִאשִׁיכֶם ('your heads') is interpreted as referring to a 'person' (οἱ ἄρχοντες). In the *Septuagint*, the word ἄρχων seems to be used especially with regard to people who exercise power over other people, the 'princes of the people', the enemies, the adversaries of the people of God. In the *Septuagint* version of *Ps* 24.7-10 the princes function as adversaries of the righteous, and especially as the adversaries of the might of YHWH. They try to prevent him from entering the holy city, from showing his power and kingdom. Because ἄρχωντες belongs to the same semantic field as βασιλεύς (cf. *Ps* 24 [23].7a, 8a, 9b, 10a), and the princes are the adversaries of the King YHWH, it is not surprising that in certain interpretations of *Ps* 24.7-10 the ἄρχοντες are understood as supernatural beings. This is also the case in *ApPt*. However, it is not completely clear whether 'the princes' does refer to foreign powers, adversaries of the righteous, or not. It is not completely impossible

<sup>39</sup> The Fathers interpreted *Ps* 24 as a Messianic psalm. Especially, they interpreted it typologically as the entrance of Christ after his ascension to heaven, cf. Ridderbos, *Psalmen*, 24. According to E. Kähler, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalm in der Alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1958) 53-5, *ApPt* 17.2-6 reflects the first christological interpretation of Psalm 24; cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 115. In rabbinic exegesis, one can find traces of a messianic interpretation of this psalm as well. See *Midrash Leqah Tob* 130a and *Targum Psalm 24.7-10*, cf. Kähler, *Studien*, 47-8.

<sup>40</sup> Kähler, *Studien*, 48-9.



that the princes of the quoted text from *Ps* 24.7a, 9a are the same as the angels mentioned in *ApPt* 17.5. In that case, the flocking together of the angels is the same action as the opening of the gates. However, it is more probable that they refer to another sort of group, adversaries of the angels, servants of Beliar, Satan. Comparable to the massoretic text of *Ps* 24, where the gates are closed for the entrance of YHWH, or the *Septuagint* version of *Ps* 24 (23), where the princes, the foreign kings, try to prevent YHWH from entering the city of his throne, Jerusalem, in the *ApPt* they try to prevent the Lord and the righteous people from entering into the higher heavens. The author of *ApPt* does not quote only *Ps* 24.7a, 9a, but he presupposes the whole Psalm. The quotation makes clear that it is the princes, the servants of Satan, who kept closed the gates. Most probably these are the gates that give entrance from the second into the third heaven<sup>41</sup>.

### 5. Conclusion

The *ApPt* contains three explicit quotations, all from the Old Testament. All three have an introduction formula, a phenomenon that is exceptional in the *ApPt*. The form and function of the quotation differ in these places. In the first one, the reference to *Ezek* 37 is fragmentary. It may be called a summarising quotation. We did not exclude the possibility that *ApPt* did not make direct use from the biblical text, but from an intermediary text, although we did not accept this text as 4Q385, as others have done. It is therefore safer to say that the *ApPt* depends on a tradition of interpretation of *Ezek* 37. The second and third references are both to *Ps* 24. The whole Psalm, in the version of the *Septuagint*, is presupposed, although only very few phrases are actually taken over. It is an eschatological and cosmological interpretation of the Psalm. The Psalm is taken as a prophecy to the Ascension of the Lord during which adversary powers should be conquered.

<sup>41</sup> The text does not state this explicitly. However, it is unlikely that the gates between the first and second heaven are meant, since the crowd is already in the second heaven.