X. The Old Testament Quotations in the Apocalypse of Peter

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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'. 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 text2. 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 Psalm 243. In this paper, I will restrict myself to


2 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).

3 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 author 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. 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 ApPr 4.7-9:

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 ApPr 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'). The enumera-
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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 נְפָשׁ (naphšā), 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 נְפָשׁ finally enters into the resurrected people.

Although the references to Ezek 37 are reasonably clear, the extent of the quotation is subject to debate. The problem with regard to the demarcations of the quotation is related to some text-critical and syntactical problems. The quotation begins in ApPt 4.7-8a: '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. 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: הָנָּבָא לְעֵלֶת הָעֵצִים הַאֱלֹהִים ('prophesy to these bones'), followed by a consecutive perfect, which has in the consecutio temporum the value of an imperative: אָמַרְתָּ אֱלֹהִים ('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.

7 Cf. Buchholz, Your Eyes, 296; Bauckham, 'Quotation', 438-40.
8 For a description of the Ethiopic manuscripts, see Buchholz, Your Eyes, 119-39.
In his 1910 edition of the ApPt, Grébaut already emended tanabaja into tanahaj, which is the imperative form of the verb (prophesy)⁹. He is followed by others¹⁰. Moreover, most of them consider wathela 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 Grébaut at this point".

Also the end of the quotation is not completely clear. The Ethiopic text of the first part of ApPt 4.9 reads: wanafas wamanfas wajelzhub 'abij 'Urael hat'ezaz 'egziaheher, 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 wajelzhub ('and he gave') seriously, then the first two words of ApPt 4.9a ('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". In that case ApPt 4.9a could belong to the quotation of

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¹¹ 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 Ethiopian beween -ja- (jaman in the first order) and -jič- (jaman in the sixth order) is only very small.
¹² 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\(^\text{13}\).

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\(^\text{14}\). 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).

\(^{13}\) Bauckham, 'Quotation', 439.

\(^{14}\) 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\(^{15}\). 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\(^{16}\). 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

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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. 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 *Ezekiel* 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. 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. I would like to go into the question if this text could have possible functioned as intermediary between *Ezekiel* 37 and *ApPt* 4. I first briefly discuss the relation between *4Q385* with *Ezekiel* 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:

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18 Bauckham, 'Quotation', 437-45.
THE OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS

1.1 (3)... And these (things) when will they come to be, and how will they be recompensed for their piety?
1.2 and the Lord said (4) to me:
1.3 'I will make it manifest [ ] to the children of Israel to see, and they shall know that I am the Lord'.
1.4 (5) And He said:
1.5 'Son of Man, prophesy over the bones, and let them be joined bone to its bone and joint (6) [to its joint].'
1.6 And it was so.
1.7 And He said a second time:
1.8 'Prophecy, and let arteries come upon them, and let skin cover them (7) [from above].
1.9 And it was so.
1.10 And He said:
1.11 'Prophecy once again over the four winds of heaven, and let them blow breath (8) [into the slain].
1.12 And it was so,]
1.13 and a large crowd of people came [to life, and blessed the Lord Sebaoth who (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 re -warded 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 (נָפַם: '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 ...’)21. 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)22. This means that the author interpreted the vision of Ezekiel literally, as referring to a real resurrection of the righteous in the eschatological future23.

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 Bauckham24. 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 Bible25. Thirdly, the words פְּרָקֵאל פַּרְקֵי

21 M. Kister and E. Qimran, 'Observations on 4QSecond 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, Parahiblical Tests, 28, considers this unlikely.
22 Cf. Dimant, 'Ezekiel', 283.
23 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.
24 Bauckham, 'Quotation', 441-3.
25 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 nelajaled (‘in joints’ or ‘in limbs’) in ApPt 4.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ezek 37.7 MT</th>
<th>Ezek 37.7 LXX</th>
<th>4Q385, 2.5-6</th>
<th>ApPt 4.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>תורכזת נסחי תנסים אל טסמנ</td>
<td>προσήγαγε γα δοστα ἐκάτερον</td>
<td>[κρόβε]</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>προς την ἀρμονίαν αὐτοῦ</td>
<td>Αλ Τζεμ ΡΠΥ</td>
<td>‘asem haba 'a’esmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>westa nelajaled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 תנסים seems to be skipped over, although it is significant that the second word in ApPt (‘a’esernet) is put into the plural. It might reflect therefore תנסים of the biblical text. In any case, 4Q38.5 has a singular form (תנסים). It is unlikely that ApPt is at this point dependent on the Septuagint, because this version renders the odd expression נסחי with a more intelligible expression ἐκάτερον πρός την ἀρμονίαν αὐτοῦ (‘each one to its joint’), in which ἐκάτερον reflects the odd expression, whereas ApPt retains this expression. The expression westa nelajeled could be dependent on 4Q38.5, although this proposal is not unambiguous. The first פך is omitted, the word נסחי is rendered by westa, which is possible, and the third word פך 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.


26 So also recently Dimant, Parabiblical Tests, 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.

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:

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'.

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

28 The translation is according to the literal translation of Buchholz, Your Eyes. 240-2.
And there was great fear and great amazement in heaven. The angels flocked together that the word of scripture might be fulfilled which said: 'Open the gates, princes'.

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'.

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. 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...
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 Lehen in the liturgy and is often called an 'entrance liturgy'\(^3\). 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, \(Ps 24.7-10\))\(^3\). 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 \(ApPr\) 17.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Psalm 24.6)</th>
<th>(ApPr) 17.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>וַהֲנָכִּים פִּיךְ עִצְּבֵךְ סֶלָּה</td>
<td>zatitweled tak's lotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Such is the generation of those who seek him, who seek your face, (it is) Jacob. Selah.</td>
<td>(w^*)tahsasa gaso la'amak ja'eqob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and seeks the face of the God of Jacob.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most important difference between the Hebrew text of \(Ps 24.6\) and \(ApPr\) 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\(^3\). 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\(^3\).

\(^3\) See, e.g., Day, Psalms, 13, 60

\(^3\) Cf. H.-J. Kraus, Psalmen I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978\(^5\)) 343-4; J. Ridderbos, De Psalmen I, Ps 1-41 (Karnpen, 1955) 208.

\(^3\) The structure is according to the pattern ab b’a’, in which a (הָדוּר עָצְבֵךְ) corresponds with a’ (עָצְבֵךְ), and b (הָדוּר) with b’ (עָצְבֵךְ).

\(^3\) 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’\textsuperscript{35}. Although also this solution is not impossible either, one would have expected something like נְֽגַנְּוּ ('he is') or נְֽגַנ ('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\textsuperscript{36} nor Solomon\textsuperscript{37}, nor any other worshipper, who asks himself if he is able to enter the sanctuary\textsuperscript{38}, but the text is eschatologically and

\textsuperscript{35} See N.A. van Uchelen, Psalmen II (Nijkerk, 1977) 168.
\textsuperscript{36} Cf. Krauss. Psalmen, 348.
\textsuperscript{37} Cf. Day. Psalms. 74.
\textsuperscript{38} Ridderbos, Psalmen, 208, 214, opts for a post-exilic date of the psalm.
The righteous people are waiting after their death in the first heaven.

The last explicit quotation (\textit{ApPr} 17.6: 'Open the gates, princes') refers also to \textit{Ps} 24, i.e., \textit{Ps} 24.7a, 9a ('Lift up your heads, o gates'). Also here \textit{ApPr} does not follow a text that is identical with the Masoretic text. It comes close to the \textit{Septuagint}. The \textit{Septuagint} of \textit{Ps} 24 (23).7a, 9a reads: 'Lift up the gates, your princes' (αρατε πολας οι αρχοντες ημων). The wording of the \textit{Vorlage} of the \textit{Septuagint} seems to be the same as the massoretic text of \textit{Ps} 24.7a, 9a: שערם ראשיכם, but the syntactical construction of the verse is interpreted differently\textsuperscript{40}. The vocative שערין ('O gates') is read by the \textit{Septuagint} as an accusative, whereas the accusative of the Hebrew text (ראשיכם: 'your heads') is interpreted by the translator as a nominative. Moreover, the reference of ראשיכם ('your heads') is interpreted as referring to a 'person' (οι αρχοντες). In the \textit{Sepruagint}, the word αρχον 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 \textit{Sepruagint} version of \textit{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 αρχοντες belongs to the same semantic field as βασιλεύς (cf. \textit{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 \textit{Ps} 24.7-10 the αρχοντες are understood as supernatural beings. This is also the case in \textit{ApPr}. 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


\textsuperscript{40} Kähler, \textit{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, adversar-
ies 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**.

5. Conclusion

The *ApPt* contains three explicit quotations, all from the Old Testa-
ment. All three have an introduction formula, a phenomenon that is
exceptional in the *ApPt*. The form and function of the quotation dif-
fer in these places. In the first one, the reference to *Ezek* 37 is frag-
mentary. It may be called a summarising quotation. We did not ex-
clude the possibility that *ApPt* did not make direct use from the
biblical text, but from an intermediary text, although we did not ac-
cept 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 pow-
ers should be conquered.

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41 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 al-
ready in the second heaven.