

stellung von Ambrosius und Augustinus zum Tod herausgearbeitet. Daher auch der Untertitel „De bono mortis“. Bemerkenswert ist hier, wie stark der Mailänder Bischof von den Stoikern, von Cicero und Plotin abhängig ist, die sich nach platonischer Manier die Seele im Leib wie in einem Gefängnis eingeschlossen dachten und daher den Tod nicht als Übel ansahen. Anders dagegen die zahlreichen Aussagen Augustins zu diesem Thema. Maßgeblich veranlaßt durch seinen Kampf gegen die asketischen Pelagianer zeigt dieser eine wesentlich positivere Einstellung, vor allem deswegen, weil er den einzelnen Gläubigen mit Christi Leiden und Sterben und mit dem Empfang der göttlichen Gnade in enge Beziehung bringt. Eine ähnliche Thematik greift die Untersuchung von C. Straw (Mount Holyoke College) auf, die mit „Martyrium und christliche Identität“ überschrieben ist. In einem großen zeitlichen Bogen von Augustinus über Gregor den Großen bis zur nachfolgenden Tradition wird zunächst ausgeführt, wie rücksichtslos der Oberhirte von Hippo nicht nur das klassische heidnische virtus-Ideal (Mucius Scaevola, Curtius, Decius Mus, Regulus, Sokrates, Cato) verurteilt, sondern auch die fanatische Martyriumsbereitschaft früherer Christen ins Visier nimmt. Allein eine von Gottes Gnade ausgehende Beendigung des Lebens sei für einen Christen zulässig. Noch erheblich weiter geht Gregor der Große, der ausschließlich ein „blutloses Martyrium“ in Friedenszeiten, geprägt von Gottes- und Nächstenliebe, in enger Übereinstimmung mit der bischöflichen Autorität zulassen möchte, das er dem oft theatralischen Sterben in früherer Zeit gegenüberstellt. Wie eng die Verbindung von Altertum und frühem Mittelalter tatsächlich gewesen ist, wird an dem letzten Aufsatz dieses Abschnitts von P. Mayvert (Executive Director Emeritus of the Medieval Academy of America) sichtbar, der sich unter der Überschrift „In den Fußstapfen der Väter“ Beda Venerabilis zuwendet. An Hand der Datierung von dessen *Quaestiones XXX in libros regum* zeigt der Verf., wie selbständig der Mönch aus Northumberland in dem abgechiedenen Kloster Jarrow (allerdings mit Hilfe einer reichen Bibliothek) mit den Schriften der Bibel und der Kirchenväter umgeht und dabei noch immer Wesentliches zu sagen hat.

Der Epilog bietet eine breite Schlußbetrachtung von P. Brown (Princeton University) über das Thema: „Gloriosus obitus: The End of the Ancient Other World“. Dabei benennt der auch in Europa gut bekannte Gelehrte als wesentliches Krite-

rium die veränderte Einstellung der Menschen zum Tod. Nun habe man sich vom frühesten Alter an auf den Tod und das folgende, andere Leben eingestellt, das man häufig durch Wunder und Visionen auf dem Totenbett bereits zu erkennen glaubte.

Ein sorgfältig angelegtes Quellenverzeichnis, ein Index moderner Autoren sowie ein General-Index für Namen und Sachen runden dieses Buch ab, das trotz seiner einseitigen Ausrichtung auf die angelsächsische Forschung Profan- wie Kirchengeschichtlern gleichermaßen erhebliche Bereicherung bringen kann.

Wendelstein

Richard Klein

Bovon, François/Bouvier, Bertrand/Amsler, Frédéric (Translation): *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, Introduction and notes (= Apocryphes 8), Turnhout (Brepols) 1996, 318 S., kt., ISBN 2-503-50422-1.
Gounelle, Rémi/Izydorczyk, Zbigniew: *L'Évangile de Nicodème ou Les Actes faits sous Ponce Pilate* (recension latine A) suivi La lettre de Pilate à l'empereur Claude (= Apocryphes 9), Turnhout (Brepols) 1997, 271 S., kt., ISBN 2-503-50581-3.

AELAC (L'Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne) was fruitful in the latter half of the 1990s, especially in bringing to press volumes 7–12 in the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum (CChrSA), which is already familiar to the readers of ZKG. AELAC has also produced the masterful *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 1 (François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain, eds.), which is now the best collection of modern translations of the early Christian apocrypha. (A second volume of later works is in preparation.) The two books under consideration here appear in Apocryphes-Collection de Poche de l'AELAC, a series which has not yet been reviewed in this journal, though it was first introduced in 1993 and is now in 10 vols. The series Apocryphes provides introductions to and annotated translations of individual apocryphal documents and will be of significant profit to students, biblical scholars, historians of Christianity, and cultivated readers alike. These red *livres de poche* occupy middle ground—they are at the same time more detailed than *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* and less expensive and technical than the CChrSA.

With Apocryphes, AELAC has succeeded admirably in creating helpful commentaries on Christian apocrypha for a large public. Indeed, it would be well worth the trouble of translating these volumes into English and German to make them even more accessible.

Actes de l'apôtre Philippe: A review of Apocryphes 8 is especially belated since Bovon, Bouvier and Amsler have brought to press two of the three volumes of the *Acta Philippi* in the CChrSA in late 1999, which includes the Greek text newly established, French translation and notes, and a massive 542 page commentary. The usefulness of *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, however, has not been diminished, for many will still find it a helpfully concise initiation to the subject.

Before Bovon, Bouvier and Amsler, scholars largely neglected the *Acts of Philip*. Notably, the popular *Neutestamentliche Apocryphen*, edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, has never provided a translation of these acts. This omission is regrettable since, as Amsler makes clear, the *Acts of Philip* is an important primary text illuminating the fourth and fifth century encratite movement. Alas, before the work of our three Swiss scholars, even our knowledge the *Acts of Philip* was founded upon an inadequate textual basis.

Bovon's and Bouvier's discovery at Mt. Athos of *Xenophontos 32* (fourteenth cent. paper) makes possible the reconstitution of a large portion of the *Acts of Philip* (esp. XI-XV) which was previously lost. But not only so, it is also the best representative of the ancient text. *Xenophontos 32* exhibits a longer version than the other principle MS, *Vaticanus 824* (eleventh cent. parchment), which contains Acts I-IX and the *Martyrdom* and is an abridgment eliminating passages offensive to later orthodox scruples (pp. 22-25). Although a later MS, *Xenophontos 32* is clearly the more encratite and so reproduces the more primitive text.

Even a cursory reading of the *Acts of Philip* will show that Amsler correctly discerns four independent cycles of tradition in the text. He identifies them as follows: Act I, a story of Philip's resurrection of a boy, is an encratite text, probably originating from the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. It appears further to contain an implicit polemic against orthodox Christians because it condemns those critical of the encratite faith. Act II recounts a debate between Philip and the Jewish High Priest before 300 philosophers in Athens and is probably a catholic recasting of Act VI; Act II likely originates in the fifth century by a writer whose motive was to reclaim Philip for orthodoxy and to sanitize him from the taint of heresy. The next cycle, Acts III-VII, tells of Philip's voyages first from Parthia to Azotus, where the healing and conversion of Charitine; then Philip goes to Nicatera where he turns the leading

Jew, Ireos, and his family to the Christian faith and defeats in debate Aristarchus, another leading Jew. These chapters reveal a rigor beyond typical encratism, and so Amsler suggests that they stem from the apotactites – a sect which shunned the Eucharist and private wealth; they insisted also upon wearing linen which, being made of vegetable matter, marks an effort to avoid any consumption or use of animal matter. Finally, the final cycle, Acts VIII-XIV and the *Martyrdom*, recounts how Philip voyages to Ophioryma during which he converts a leopard and a goat that have received human voice and twice vanquishes dragons and their offspring of serpents, actions which evidently signify the superiority of Christianity to the cult of Cybele (see pp. 55f.). Philip then arrives in Orphioryma, which Amsler identifies as Hierapolis, where he converts Nicanora, the governor's wife, and suffers martyrdom. This layer appears to have arisen from the encratites of Hierapolis who were in conflict with the cult of Cybele.

Amsler rightly points how the Acts of Philip are a precious witness to encratites in Asia Minor during the fourth and fifth centuries. I would argue that it is no exaggeration to claim that the worth of this literature for the study of the encratites is comparable to the Nag Hammadi Library for the study of gnostics or the Dead Sea Scrolls for the study of the Essenes. This is especially true with the publication of the unsanitized version of the *Acts of Philip* in the form of *Xenophontes 32*. It provides scholars with a rare glimpse at the encratites, not through the mediation of outsiders or adversaries but through cycles of primary texts arising from the sectarians themselves. These encratites and their stricter counterparts, the apotactites, seem more or less orthodox in their doctrine of the Trinity (e.g., XI, 9) and their Christology (e.g., VI, 13; *Martyrdom*, 35), yet they require a praxis too rigorous for the Great Church. They are not gnostic in their cosmology, yet they disdain the flesh in a way which shows more compromise with Greek dualism than what the orthodox would allow (cf. esp. III, 17). Thus, this encratism represents an important trend in the early Church. Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler have rendered a great service to historians of Christianity. Apocryphes 8 provides two appendices: (1) French translations of significant variants from *Vaticanus graecus 824*; (2) a French translation of and introduction to the long form of the *Martyrdom of Philippe* contained in *Vaticanus graecus 808*, which is longer at the beginning than the recen-

sion B, which is represented notably by *Xenophonos* 32 and is thus translated in the main body of the text. Finally, the volume provides several indices which will be a great aid to researchers (proper names, subjects, Biblical references, ancient texts and authors). –

L'Évangile de Nicodème: Gounelle and Izydorczyk supply a translation of the Latin recension A of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* with explanatory notes which provide helpful references to biblical allusions and glosses which only rarely fail to explain the reader's questions. This choice of Latin A is perhaps not self-evident since most modern editions have preferred the Greek text. Gounelle and Izydorczyk carefully explain their choice of text in their introduction (pp. 16–119), which is prudent, convincing and winsome in its arguments and conclusions, and it is undoubtedly the best primer to the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in print today. Here is a summary of the main conclusions of their introduction:

The first sixteen chapters of the tradition known by various names, especially the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or the *Acts of Pilate*, appeared in Greek in the fourth century, probably to counter the notorious anti-Christian *Memoirs of Pilate and Our Savior* mentioned in Eusebius *h.e.* 9.5–7, used by the Emperor Maximinus Daia to persecute Christians. The literary units of 1–11, dealing with Christ's trial and punishment, and 12–16, relating the testimony of Joseph of Arimathea, are a part of this original redaction, though what diverse traditions may lie behind it, Gounelle and Izydorczyk dare not speculate. This Greek *Acts of Pilate* was then translated into Latin. The earliest MS of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 1–16 is a Latin palimpsest now in Vienna. Crudely literal in its rendering of its Greek exemplar, this fifth century MS is now the best representative of the contours of the original Greek *Grundschrift*, better than the Greek recension A, whose earliest MS dates from the twelfth century. For the benefit of non-Latinists, Gounelle and Izydorczyk have also appended a French translation of this important MS.

Later, probably in the six century, another author created the *Descent of Christ into Hell* (chs. 17–27) in Latin; this brilliant narrative was conceived originally as a companion to a polished revision of the Latin translation represented in the Viennese palimpsest. The now complete *Gospel of Nicodemus* becomes the Latin recension A which is represented by MSS dating before the twelfth century. Among other less important representatives of the tradi-

tion, three other recensions: (1) the late medieval Greek B; (2) the recently discovered Latin C which scholars have not yet evaluated; and (3) Latin B whose chs. 1–16 are likewise based on the translation represented in the Viennese palimpsest, but whose version of chs. 17–27 are a revision of Latin A on theological grounds.

The full text of Latin A has never been translated into a modern language. This in itself is reason to justify its publication. In addition, Gounelle and Izydorczyk wanted to present the most popular, and arguably the most representative, form of the text. Their choice is also corrective, for previous editions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* most often present a mixed text: They translate for chs. 1–16 Greek A, which however lacks the *Descent of Christ into Hell*—thus for chs. 17–27, the translators supply a translation of either Latin A or Greek B. These editions thereby create forms of the text which exist nowhere in the MS tradition.

Gounelle and Izydorczyk provide three appendices. The first provides a comprehensive summary of the various titles for the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the MS tradition; the second supplies a handy renumbering of the chapters where necessary because of new MS discoveries; and finally, the French translation of the Viennese palimpsest. Indices for biblical references, for ancient and medieval authors and texts, and for subjects and proper names round off this handsome volume, which is a welcome addition to the shelves of both scholars and literary aficionados.

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Stemberger, Günter: *Jews and Christians in the Holy Land. Palestine in the Fourth Century*. Translated by Ruth Tuschling, Edinburgh (T&T Clark) 2000, XIV, 335 S., geb., ISBN 0-567-08699-2.

In diesem Buch begrüßen wir einen alten Freund in neuem Gewand: Es handelt sich um die Übersetzung des bewährten und beliebten „Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land. Palästina unter Konstantin und Theodosius“ (München 1987, der Untertitel ist im Englischen klarer). Das Original hat in der Fachwelt durchweg ein positives Echo gefunden, vgl. etwa Ernst Dassmann in: ZKG 100 (1989) 406–409; Helmut Opitz in: ThLZ 113 (1988) 738–740; Peter Stockmeier in: MThZ 39 (1988) 209 f.; Mireille Hadas-Label in: Revue des Études Juives 151 (1992) 374–377; S. Schreiner in: Judaica