

Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent

New Perspectives on Early Christian and
Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions

Edited by
PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI
and TONY BURKE

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Edited by
Pierluigi Piovaneli
and Tony Burke

With the collaboration
of Timothy Pettipiece

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*This volume is dedicated
to the memories of
Pierre Geoltrain (1929–2004) and
François Bovon (1938–2013),
without whom nothing of this
would have been possible.*

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Ottawa and Toronto, January 7, 2015

Pierluigi Piovanelli
Tony Burke

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I. Introduction

The Christian Apocryphal Texts at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meetings (2004–2006) and the Ottawa International Workshop (2006): Retrospects and Prospects

Pierluigi Piovanelli

1. Fostering a new approach to Christian apocryphal texts

In November 2003, at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) in Atlanta (Ga.), Kent H. Richards, who was at that time the executive director of the SBL and with whom I had already collaborated on the organization of the SBL International Meeting in Lausanne (Switzerland) in 1997, asked me if I would be interested in taking the direction of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha Section of the SBL International Meeting for the next three years. I accepted his offer with enthusiasm and as soon as I returned to Ottawa I started making plans for the next international conference to be held in Groningen, July 25–28, 2004.

Originally, the focus of that section was on Jewish Second Temple deutero-canonical (the so-called Apocrypha) and apocryphal texts (the so-called Pseudepigrapha). However, because of the ambivalent nature of many so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (such as the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*) that, in spite of their apparently Jewish aspect, were written (or rewritten) by (Jewish) Christians, I felt that the time was ripe to also take into account the phenomenon of the Jewish pseudepigraphic traditions written and/or appropriated by Christian authors.¹ Moreover, on account of the

¹ In the wake of the researches carried out by M. de Jonge, R. A. Kraft, E. Norelli, and a few others. See especially M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SVTP 18; Leiden 2003); idem, "The Authority of the 'Old Testament' in the Early Church: The Witness of the 'Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,'" in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge; BETL 163; Leuven 2003), 459–86; R. A. Kraft, "Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 371–95, reprinted in idem, *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and Their Christian Contexts* (JSJSup 137; Leiden 2009), 35–60; E. Norelli, *Ascension du prophète Isaïe* (Apocryphes 2; Turnhout 1993); idem, *L'Ascensione di Isaia. Studi su un*

absence of any specific international section devoted to the study of Christian apocryphal texts and in order to stress the continuity existing between Jewish and Christian parabiblical writings,² I chose to open, for the first time in its history, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha International Section to specialists of early Christian apocryphal literature.

An *ad hoc* call for papers was then sent to the members of the SBL, the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies (CSBS), the Associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo (AISG), the Enoch Seminar, and the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC). This initiative was so welcomed that at the meeting in Groningen we were able to organize no less than four panels devoted, respectively, to Second Temple Jewish Apocrypha³ and Pseudepigrapha,⁴ their Christian rewritings and/or counterparts,⁵ and Christian apocryphal texts.⁶ After an interlude in Singapore in 2005, which only a handful of specialists was able to attend,⁷ four other sessions were organized once again in

apocrifo al crocevia dei cristianesimi (Origini, n.s. 1; Bologna 1994). More recently, see R. Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (SBLJL 20; Atlanta, Ga. 2003) (even if Nir's hypothesis of a Christian authorship for 2 *Baruch* is hardly receivable, her provocative monograph still contains many insightful and useful observations on the permeable boundaries of late Second Temple Jewish and early Christian pseudepigraphic literature); J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* (JSJSup 105; Leiden 2005); T. Elgvin, "Jewish Christian Editing of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, Mass. 2007), 278–304; P. Piovanelli, "In Praise of 'The Default Position,' or Reassessing the Christian Reception of the Jewish Pseudepigraphic Heritage," *NedTT* 61 (2007): 233–50.

² As I argued in P. Piovanelli, "Rewritten Bible ou Bible in Progress? La réécriture des traditions mémoriales bibliques dans le judaïsme et le christianisme anciens," *RTP* 139 (2007): 295–310.

³ M. A. Christian, "Reading Tobit Backwards and Forwards: In Search of 'Lost Halakhah'"; S. Beyerle, "'Release Me to Go to My Everlasting Home' (Tob. 3:6): A Belief in an After-Life in Late Wisdom Literature?"; E. T. Noffke, "Adam, Man of Glory or First Sinner? The figure of Adam in the Book of Sirach."

⁴ H. Eshel, "Divevei ha-Me'orot and the 'Apocalypse of Weeks'"; H. C. Kim, "An Apology for God: *Psalms of Solomon* 11 and Its Jerusalem Tradition"; B. Embry, "The Name Solomon as a Prophetic Hallmark in Jewish and Christian Apocryphal Texts"; D. Patterson, "'Mother, Embrace Your Children': Maternal Imagery and the Corporate Community in 2 Esdras"

⁵ J. R. Davila, "Did Christians Write Old Testament Pseudepigrapha that Appear to be Jewish?"; J. R. C. Cousland, "The Gospel of Adam and Eve: The *Latin Life of Adam and Eve* as Gospel Antetype"; K. Coblenz Bautch, "The *Pseudo-Clementines*' Use of Jewish Pseudepigrapha."

⁶ P. Luomanen, "The Nazoreans' Commentary on Isaiah"; M. Laine Heimola, "Christians, Jews and Gentiles: Inter-faith Relationships and Identity in the *Gospel of Philip*"; T. Nicklas, "The Death of Peter"; P. Piovanelli, "Why Peter? The Authoritative Role of Peter in the Monophysite Collections of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles"; C. Horn, "Children as Literary Device in the Canonical and Apocryphal Acts"; V. Hovhannessian, "The *Rest of the Evangelist John* and the Armenian Bible."

⁷ H. C. Kim, "The Key Signifier of 'Forever' in *Psalms of Solomon* 11"; M. Harding, "The Destruction of Jerusalem: Guilt and Hope in the Baruch Tradition and Josephus"; R. Nir, "The Struggle Between 'The Image of God' and Satan in the *GLAE* (10–12)"; J. M. Asgerisson, "The Framing of the *Gospel of Thomas*: Logion 2"; J. W. Ludlow, "Notions of Death and Afterlife in

Edinburgh in 2006 on “Second Temple Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,”⁸ “More Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,”⁹ “Christian Reception and Apocryphicity,”¹⁰ and “Christian Apocryphal Texts.”¹¹

As it happens, in the course of my triennial mandate as chair of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha International Section there were no less than thirty-two papers presented on Jewish Apocrypha (Tobit, Sirach, additions to Esther) and Pseudepigrapha (*1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Psalms of Solomon*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*), Christian pseudepigraphic (re)writings (*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *Life of Adam and Eve*, *Odes of Solomon*) and apocryphal texts (*Gospel of Thomas*, *Gospel of Philip*, *On the Origin of the World*, *Jewish Christian Gospels*, *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*), as well as some transversal themes (such as pseudepigraphy and apocryphicity, resurrection, sacred space, and children). Some from among the best and most engaged young specialists of Jewish Second Temple and early Christian literature contributed to those panels and several of those lectures were eventually published.¹²

the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*”; E. Israeli, “The Messiah’s Expiatory Death in the Fourth Vision of IV Ezra (9:26–10:59).”

⁸ M. Tait, “Glorious and Resplendent? The Resurrection and the Resurrection Body in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha”; D. A. Fiensy, “Sacred Space in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha”; I. Fröhlich, “The Temple as a Theme in the Book of Tobit”; P. J. Jordaan, “Text, Ideology and Body in the Additions to Esther”; J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, “Chronological and Spatial Symmetry in the *Book of Jubilees*”; J. Hopkins, “The Description of Sacrificial Worship in the *Book of Jubilees*: Its Interpretation by and Authoritative Status for the Dead Sea Scrolls Movement.”

⁹ A. T. Wright, “Philo and the Book of Watchers”; M. H. McDowell, “Jael in Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*: A Comparative and Intertextual Approach”; R. Cousland, “When, Where, and Why: Space and Time in the *Books of Adam and Eve*”; J. R. Davila, “More Jewish Pseudepigrapha.”

¹⁰ B. J. Embry, “A Story of Love? Use of Song of Songs in the *Odes of Solomon*”; R. Nir, “The Conversion of Aseneth in a Christian Context”; P. Piovanelli, “Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges”; I. Czachesz, “Cognitive Constructs of the Divine in Apocryphal Literature.”

¹¹ P. Luomanen, “Jewish-Christian Gospels: A New Reconstruction”; B. van Os, “The Date and Provenance of the *Gospel of Philip*”; J. Brankaer, “Myth as Demonstration: The Program of *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II, 5; XIII, 2)”; V. Hovhanessian, “The Apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*: A Glance at a Lost Original or an Orthodox Revision?”; J. M. Asgeirsson, “Between the God of the Hebrews and the God of the Sun: Building the Kingdom of Heaven in the Latin Passio-Version of the *Acts of Thomas*”; P. G. Schneider, “The Johannine Origins and Purpose of the Lord’s Secret Sacrament in the *Acts of John*.”

¹² See H. Eshel, “*Dibre Hame’orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Satrian and R. A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden 2004), 149–54; S. Beyerle, “‘Release Me to Go to My Everlasting Home ...’ (Tob 3:6): A Belief in an Afterlife in Late Wisdom Literature?” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology. Papers of the First International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pépa, Hungary, 20–21 May, 2004* (ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 98; Leiden 2005), 71–88; B. J. Embry, “The Name ‘Solomon’ as a Prophetic Hallmark in Jewish and Christian Texts,” *Henoch* 28 (2006): 47–62; M. A. Christian, “Reading Tobit Backwards and Forwards: In Search of ‘Lost Halakhah’,” *ibid.*, 63–95; B. van Os, “Was the *Gospel of Philip* Written

The release, then, of the second volume of the *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* in 2005, edited by the late Pierre Geoltrain (1929–2004) and Jean-Daniel Kaestli on behalf of the AELAC, and hosting a wide selection of apocryphal texts produced in a variety of milieus and at different epochs,¹³ provided a splendid occasion for organizing an international workshop on “Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges,” held in Ottawa (On.), September 29–30 and October 1st, 2006.¹⁴ Twelve of the twenty-three papers presented there were devoted to three main areas of research – (1) the shadowy interface between Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Christian Apocrypha;¹⁵ (2) some methodological problems in the study of Christian apocryphal texts;¹⁶ and (3) Pseudo-Clementine literature as a privileged source for the history of the relations between Jews, Christians, and their cultural environment in late antique Syria¹⁷ – all inspired by, or related to, the guiding principles and textual choices of the Pléiade volume, while the remaining papers addressed specific texts and/or traditions.¹⁸

in Syria?” *Apocrypha* 17 (2006): 87–93; E. Noffke, “Man of Glory or First Sinner? Adam in the Book of Sirach,” *ZAW* 119 (2007): 618–24; R. Nir, “Did Adam and Eve Have Sex in the Garden of Eden? The Pseudepigraphic-Apocalyptic Tradition Between Judaism and Christianity,” *Henoch* 36 (2014): 1–14. See also D. Arbel, J.R.C. Cousland and D. Neufeld, “... And So They Went Out”: *The Lives of Adam and Eve as Cultural Transformative Story* (London and New York 2010); V.D. Arbel, *Forming Femininity in Antiquity: Eve, Gender, and Ideologies in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (Oxford and New York 2012).

¹³ P. Geoltrain and J.-D. Kaestli, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 2 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 516; Paris 2005). It was preceded by F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442; Paris 1997).

¹⁴ Thanks to a generous grant of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and with the support of both the Faculty of Arts and the University of Ottawa.

¹⁵ L. DiTommaso, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Christian Apocrypha: Definitions, Boundaries, and Points of Contact”; J.R. Davila, “More Christian Apocryphal Texts”; R. Phenix, Jr., “The Problem of the Source of Balai’s Sermons on Joseph and the *Nachleben* of Pseudepigraphical Joseph Material.”

¹⁶ T. Burke, “Researching the New Testament Apocrypha in the Twenty-First Century”; I. Henderson, “The Usefulness of Christian Apocryphal Texts in the Research on the Historical Jesus”; C.A. Evans, “The Apocryphal Jesus: Assessing the Possibilities and Problems”; P. Piovanelli, “Using Labels and Categories in a Responsible Way: The Making and Evolution of Early Christian Apocryphal Texts with the *Gospel of Mary* as a Test Case”; M. Kaler, “Gnostic Irony and the Adaptation of the Apocalyptic Genre.”

¹⁷ A. Y. Reed, “New Light on ‘Jewish-Christian’ Apocrypha and the History of Jewish/Christian Relations”; N. Kelley, “Pseudo-Clementine Polemics against Sacrifice: A Window onto Religious Life in the Fourth Century?”; F.S. Jones, “Jewish Tradition on the Sadducees in the *Pseudo-Clementines*”; D. Côté, “Orphic Theogony and the Context of the *Clementines*.”

¹⁸ T. Beech, “Unraveling the Complexity of the *Oracula Sibyllina*: The Value of a Socio-Rhetorical Approach in the Study of the *Sibylline Oracles*”; L. Painchaud, “À propos de la redécouverte de l’*Évangile de Judas*”; P.-H. Poirier, “La *Prôtennoia trimorphe* (NH XIII,1), le *Livre des secrets de Jean* et le Prologue johannique”; P.W. Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul* as an Experimental Control for the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles”; F. Bovon, “The *Revelation of Stephen* or the Invention of Stephen’s Relics (Sinaiticus graecus 493)”; D.R. MacDonald, “The *Gospel of Nicodemus* (or, the *Acta Pilati*) as a Christian Iliad and Odyssey”; C. Horn, “From Model

The novelty of the AELAC approach, concretized in the different publications of the Association,¹⁹ including the two-volume anthology, is essentially the blurring and breaking of the traditional boundaries between Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and New Testament Apocrypha, as well as early Christian and late antique/early medieval texts, in order to rediscover the continuity of the production of new memorial traditions and narratives about Christian origins.²⁰ Consequently, renewed attention is also paid to texts as late as, e.g., the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions*²¹ or to regional rewritings such as the Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic collections of the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* or the Syriac *Life of the Virgin*, texts which are normally marginalized in the usual introductions or anthologies of translations devoted to Christian apocryphal literature.²²

Contrary to common belief, the production of new apocryphal narratives did not come to an end somewhere in the third century to be replaced by a new wave of hagiographic or, perhaps more appropriately, homiletic texts.²³ Actually, those early Christian traditions and texts that did not become canonical, be they more or less “Jewish Christian,” “gnostic,” “encratite,” “proto-orthodox” – a series

Virgin to Maternal Intercessor: Mary, Children, and Family Problems in Late Antique Infancy Gospel Traditions”; S. J. Shoemaker, “Mary in Early Christian Apocrypha: Virgin Territory”; T. de Bruyn, “The Power of Apocryphal Narratives in Late Antiquity: The Testimony of Amulets”; T. Pettipiece, “Manichaean ‘Apocrypha’? From Mani to Manichaeism”; A. Bara, “The Convergence between Canonical Gospels, Apocryphal Writings and Liturgical Texts in Nativity and Resurrection Icons in Eastern Churches.”

¹⁹ Nineteen volumes of the *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*, three volumes of *Instrumenta*, fourteen volumes of the paperback series *Apocryphes* – the most recent one devoted to the Syriac version of the *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* translated into English –, twenty-five issues of the journal *Apocrypha*, and twenty-one fascicles of the *Bulletin de l’AELAC* published since 1983.

²⁰ On this and other “paradigmatic changes” introduced by the AELAC, see the insightful comments of T. Niklas, “Écrits apocryphes chrétiens: ein Sammelband als Spiegel eines Weitreichenden Paradigmenwechsels in der Apokryphenforschung,” *VC* 61 (2007): 70–95. One should not think, however, that such a new perspective was adopted without long and sometimes stormy debates between rather conservative and more progressive scholars.

²¹ Besides the integral translation of the Greek and Latin texts in the second Pléiade volume, see also the impressive volume of proceedings published by F. Amsler et al., eds., *Nouvelles intrigues pseudo-clémentines – Plots in the Pseudo-Clementine Romance. Actes du deuxième colloque international sur la littérature apocryphe chrétienne, Lausanne–Genève, 30 août–2 septembre 2006* (PIRSB 6; Lausanne 2008).

²² In this regard, the monograph of S. J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary’s Dormition and Assumption* (OECIS; Oxford and New York 2002), focused on both late antique and early medieval rewritings of the Dormition traditions, is quite exemplary.

²³ A phenomenon that I have especially discussed and highlighted in two complementary studies: P. Piovanelli, “What Is a Christian Apocryphal Text and How Does It Work? Some Observations on Apocryphal Hermeneutics,” *NedTT* 59 (2005): 31–40; idem, “Qu’est-ce qu’un ‘écrit apocryphe chrétien’, et comment ça marche? Quelques suggestions pour une herméneutique apocryphe,” in *Pierre Geoltrain, ou comment ‘faire l’histoire’ des religions. Le chantier des ‘origines’, les méthodes du doute, et la conversation contemporaine entre disciplines* (ed. S. C. Milmouni and I. Ullern-Weité; BEHESR 128; Turnhout 2006), 173–86.

of problematic labels that we use only for the sake of convenience²⁴ – or others, underwent a constant process of recycling and rewriting which occurred at every moment of the historical evolution from early to late antique Christianity and beyond. Thus, during the first three centuries C.E. the various groups and communities in dialogue and competition seem to develop rather different apocryphal genres (such as apocalypses, revelatory dialogues, ascents to heaven, acts of the apostles, etc.) and adopt different sets of characters in order to build their own narratives of their origins.²⁵ Originally produced to promote different understandings of what constitutes the essence of Christian identity, by the fourth century these writings were inherited by a new generation of more “globalized” Christians, who progressively transformed them into a new collection of more or less “orthodox” stories. Then, when centrifugal forces led to the emergence of new, regional churches, local editions and compilations of apocryphal texts started to see the light – and it took until the new, great globalization of the nineteenth and twentieth century to rediscover the extraordinary alterity of those late antique and medieval cultural artifacts.²⁶

If these were among the new perspectives that brought us together in Groningen, Edinburgh, and Ottawa between 2004 and 2006, two recent developments in the study of early Christianity and Christian literature have since then emerged to challenge too conventional understandings of our apocryphal texts. The first concerns the unceasing need to reassess, on the one hand, the enthusiastic allegations of the specialists who think that newly discovered texts are necessarily as ancient and meaningful as, for example, the Gospel of Mark or the *Gospel of Thomas*, and on the other hand, the apologetic counterclaims of those who dismiss every extra-canonical text as desperately late, secondary, and

²⁴ One should consider, for example, the extreme difficulty in categorizing an early Christian text as elusive as the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*: is it to be regarded as the outcome of a Jewish Christian, a proto-orthodox, a heterodox Johannine, or an early Valentinian circle? See Piovanelli, “In Praise of ‘The Default Position,’” 248–49.

²⁵ A. G. Brock, *Mary Magdalene, the First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority* (HTS 51; Cambridge, Mass. 2003), has drawn attention to the tendency to polemically emphasize, in both canonical and extra-canonical texts, the roles played by different heroes of the Jesus movement.

²⁶ I have described some aspects of such a complicated process in P. Piovanelli, “Le recyclage des textes apocryphes à l’heure de la petite ‘mondialisation’ de l’Antiquité tardive (ca. 325–451). Quelques perspectives littéraires et historiques,” in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l’honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (ed. A. Frey and R. Gounelle; PIRSB 5; Lausanne 2007), 277–95; idem, “The Reception of Early Christian Texts and Traditions in Late Antiquity Apocryphal Literature,” in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006* (ed. L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu; The Bible in Ancient Christianity 6; Leiden 2008), 429–39. Also see, in more general terms, P. Piovanelli, “Apocrifi e pseudepigrifi del Nuovo Testamento,” in *Dizionario del sapere storico-religioso del Novecento* (ed. A. Melloni; 2 vols.; Bologna 2010), 1:43–52; idem, “La réécriture des traditions mémoriales des origines dans le judaïsme et le christianisme anciens,” *Annuaire de l’École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses* 121 (2014): 205–7.

biased. As more accurate textual, literary, and historical analyses demonstrate, the situation is rarely that simple and, even if early Christian texts are relatively rare, late antique apocryphal (re)writings can still preserve earlier and invaluable traditions and, so much as modern forgeries, may still have a lot to teach us.²⁷ The second aspect we need to take into account is the “disintegration” of not only the traditional category of “Gnosticism” as a distinct religious phenomenon – to be eventually replaced with “Two Powers in Heaven” Jewish mysticism and “Sethian,” “Valentinian,” and other varieties of gnostic, intellectual, and/or mystical Christianities²⁸ –, but also the notion of a clear-cut separation between the faithful belonging to two well-defined religious entities called “Judaism” and “Christianity” before, at least, the fourth century C.E.²⁹ There should be no doubt that the progressive dismantling of these and other dubious categories is going to have a considerable impact on our understanding of the web of socio-rhetorical relations between the different texts and groups. This will certainly contribute, in

²⁷ In this very subjective domain I prefer to direct the reader to my own researches, regardless of how personal and debatable they might be. See P. Piovaneli, “Pre- and Post-canonical Passion Stories: Insights into the Development of Christian Discourse on the Death of Jesus,” *Apocrypha* 14 (2003): 99–128 (on the *Gospel of Peter*); idem, “L’Évangile secret de Marc trente trois ans après, entre potentialités exégétiques et difficultés techniques,” *RB* 114 (2007): 52–72, 237–54; idem, “Une certaine ‘Keckheit, Kühnheit und Grandiosität’... La correspondance entre Morton Smith et Gershom Scholem (1945–1982). Notes critiques,” *RHR* 228 (2011): 403–29; idem, “Halfway Between Sabbatai Tzevi and Aleister Crowley: Morton Smith’s ‘Own Concept of What Jesus ‘Must’ Have Been’ and, Once Again, the Questions of Evidence and Motive,” in *Ancient Gospel or Modern Forgery? The Secret Gospel of Mark in Debate. Proceedings from the 2011 York University Christian Apocrypha Symposium* (ed. T. Burke; Eugene, Or. 2013), 157–83; idem, “‘Un gros et beau poisson.’ L’Évangile selon Thomas dans la recherche (et la controverse) contemporaine(s),” *Adamantius* 15 (2009): 291–306; idem, “Thomas in Edessa? Another Look at the Original Setting of the *Gospel of Thomas*,” in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (ed. J. Dijkstra, J. Kroesen and Y. Kuiper; Numen Book Series 127; Leiden 2010), 443–61; idem, “Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior* and the *Dance of the Savior around the Cross*,” *Early Christianity* 3 (2012): 229–48.

²⁸ See the groundbreaking monographs of M. A. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton, N. J. 1996); K. L. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003); I. Dunderberg, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus* (New York 2008); D. Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass. 2010). Needless to say, as P.-H. Poirier, “Comment les gnostiques se sont-ils appelés? Comment doit-on les appeler aujourd’hui?” *SR* 33 (2004): 209–16, aptly reminds us, the target of such a constructive criticism should be more the traditional way of looking at Gnosticism than the reality of the phenomenon itself.

²⁹ Called especially into question by D. Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Divinations; Philadelphia 2004), and many contributors to the collective volume edited by A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed, *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (TSAJ 95; Tübingen 2003; 2nd ed., Minneapolis 2007). A stimulating discussion of Boyarin’s theses can be found in *Henoch* 28 (2006): 7–30 (interventions of V. Burrus, R. Kalmin, H. Lapin and J. Marcus) and 30–45 (Boyarin’s response). Also see D. Boyarin, “Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to Which Is Appended a Correction of My *Border Lines*),” *JQR* 99 (2009): 7–36.

the end, to the relativization of the boundaries between literary corpora as artificial and conventional as the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the New Testament Apocrypha, and the Gnostic/Nag Hammadi Scriptures.³⁰ In the meantime, just after the much-awaited publication of the first volume of the seventh edition of the prestigious Hennecke and Schneemelcher's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* under the new, highly significant title of *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*,³¹ and the first volumes of the equally momentous *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* and *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*,³² these new perspectives cannot but increase our expectations.

2. The present volume

Because of the high quality and thematic coherence of the Groningen and Ottawa papers, my original intention was to have them published as two different proceedings. However, in spite of numerous attempts and announcements, this was not possible. In 2007 I became the chair of our department of Classics and Religious Studies and, for the following five years, most of my energies were spent in dealing with administrative matters, an activity on behalf of the common good that I do not regret, but that did not leave me much space for the completion of major research and publication projects. As a result, the Groningen and Ottawa proceedings remained, so to speak, on the shelves until I had the chance to meet with Henning Ziebritzki, Mohr Siebeck's editorial director for theological and Jewish studies, at the occasion of the SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco in 2011. Henning suggested submitting the plan of the volume to Jörg Frey, the editor in chief of the prestigious *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* series, who readily accepted to publish it. My heartfelt gratitude goes to both of them. Finally, in September 2013, at the occasion of the second Christian Apocrypha Symposium organized by Tony Burke at York University,

³⁰ On the artificiality of such collections, see J.-C. Picard, "L'apocryphe à l'étroit. Notes historiographiques sur les corpus d'apocryphes bibliques," *Apocrypha* 1 (1990): 69–117 (reprinted in idem, *Le continent apocryphe. Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* [Instrumenta Patristica 36; Turnhout 1999], 13–51); A. Y. Reed, "The Modern Invention of 'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,'" *JTS* 60 (2009): 403–36.

³¹ C. Marksches and J. Schröter, in collaboration with A. Heiser, eds., *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I. Band: Evangelien und Verwandtes* (2 vols.; Tübingen 2012). The guiding principles of this new edition have been anticipated by C. Marksches, "'Neutestamentliche Apokryphen': Bemerkungen zu Geschichte und Zukunft einer von Edgar Hennecke im Jahr 1904 begründeten Quellensammlung," *Apocrypha* 9 (1998): 97–132.

³² R. Bauckham, J. Davila and A. Panayotov, eds., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 1* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 2013); T. Burke and B. Landau, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 1* (Grand Rapids, Mich. forthcoming).

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