

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 106

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 106

Apocryphal Gospels, the Virgin Mary and the Acts of
Pilate

c. AD 100 – 900

S E R M O N I N D E X

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Volume 106: Apocryphal Gospels, the Virgin Mary and the Acts of Pilate

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and sixth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. The first volumes of the series follow the writers in order of date; this volume belongs to the later part of the series, which gathers the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings: the gospels of Christ's birth and childhood, the stories of the Virgin Mary and the cycle of the Acts of Pilate. This volume holds the fragments of lost gospels, the gospels of the infancy of Jesus and of the birth of Mary, the accounts of the death of the Virgin, and the Gospel of Nicodemus with the other writings about Pilate.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. All the works in this volume are printed in older public-domain translations. The Ante-Nicene translations of Alexander Walker were transcribed by the volunteers of English Wikisource. The translations of M. R. James and A. Mingana were read by machine from scans of the printed books and have not been proofread against the pages, so a misreading may remain. Page numbers and footnotes are left out. Greek, Hebrew and Latin words in the editors' notes are left out or, where a Greek word occurs in the text itself, given in Latin letters.

In this volume

The gospels of this volume are not the lost gospels of the first century but the legends that grew up after it. They tell of the childhood of Jesus, the birth and

early life of Mary, the carpenter Joseph, and what Pilate saw and did. Most were written between the second and the ninth centuries, and they were widely read and often copied, and they filled the churches with feast days and paintings.

The Acts of Pilate, which also carries the Descent of Christ into Hell, was the most influential of them in the Middle Ages. It is given here in its Greek and Latin forms, with the reports and letters of Pilate that were attached to it. The translations are those of Alexander Walker in the Ante-Nicene Library, with M. R. James for the earlier fragments.

Dates and authorship

None of these books is part of the Bible. Some were written by Jews before the time of Christ, some by Christians in the first centuries, and some much later, and many carry the name of a patriarch, an apostle or a Father who did not write them. Some of them contain stories that the Church never received and teaching that it rejected. They are printed here so that a reader can see what they say and judge them against the Scriptures, as the Fathers themselves did. The books in this volume range from the second century to the ninth; the Gospel of Nicodemus and the Pilate legends grew over many centuries.

P A R T O N E

Lost Gospels and Dialogues

Fragments of gospels that are lost, the Gospel of Peter, and dialogues of the risen Lord with his apostles.

Fragments of Early Gospels, the Preaching of Peter and the Agrapha

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

2nd–5th century AD

What the Fathers and the papyri preserve of lost gospels and of the Preaching of Peter, with the sayings of Jesus that are not in the four gospels. James gives the passage in English with a short comment: the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Ebionites and Egyptians in Clement, Origen, Epiphanius and Jerome, the Preaching of Peter in Clement of Alexandria, the Sixty Books, the Oxyrhynchus Sayings and the Egerton Gospel.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS

¹ THIS is on a different level from all the other books we have to deal with. It was a divergent yet not heretical form of our Gospel according to St. Matthew. Even to sketch the controversies which have raged about it is impracticable here. What may be regarded as established is that it existed in either Hebrew or Aramaic, and was used by a Jewish Christian sect who were known as Nazaraeans (Nazarenes), and that it resembled our Matthew closely enough to have been regarded as the original Hebrew of that Gospel. I believe few, if any, would now contend that it was that original. It is generally, and I believe rightly, looked upon as a secondary document. What was the extent of the additions to or omissions from Matthew we do not know: but two considerations must be mentioned bearing on this: (1) The Stichometry of Nicephorus assigns it 2,200 lines, 300 less than Matthew. This figure, if correct, means that a good deal was left out. (2) If the Oxyrhynchus Sayings (see post) are really, as competent scholars think, extracts from it, we must suppose a large quantity of additional matter: for we have but two rather brief fragments of that collection of sayings, and eight out of thirteen sayings are either not represented in the canonical text, or differ widely therefrom.

²Jerome, who is our chief source of knowledge about this Gospel, says that he had made a Greek and a Latin version of it. The statement is wholly rejected by some, and by others thought to be an exaggeration. It is very difficult to accept it as it stands. Perhaps, as Lagrange suggests, the truth may be that Jerome took notes of the text in Greek and Latin. Schmidtke, it should be added, has tried to show that all Jerome's quotations from it are borrowed from an earlier writer, Apollinaris; but there is no positive evidence for this. If the Oxyrhynchus Sayings do come from Hebrews, they seem to imply the existence of a Greek version before Jerome's time. This is also implied by the entry in the Stichometry. I will translate the fragments as they appear in the most recent study on the subject, that of the Rev. Père Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique*, 1922.

³He begins by giving the fragments quoted by Epiphanius from what is properly called the Gospel of the Ebionites. Then he gives those of our Gospel, arranging them in the chronological order of the writers and the works in which they are found. This entails some little repetition, but is otherwise historically interesting, and sound. IRENAEUS against Heresies, i. 26. 2. But the Ebionites use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew, and repudiate the Apostle Paul, calling him an apostate from the Law. iii. 11. 7. For the Ebionites, who use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew, are convicted out of that very book as not holding right views about the Lord. The Ebionites mentioned here are a more primitive sect than those of whom Epiphanius speaks. See below. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromateis*), i. 9. 45. Even (or also) in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is written the saying, 'he that wondereth shall reign, and he that reigneth shall rest'.

⁴id. (*Strom.*) v. 14. 96. For those words have the same force as these: He shall not cease from seeking until he find, and having found, he will be amazed, and having been amazed will reign, and having reigned will rest. This is identical with one of the Sayings from Oxyrhynchus: see below. ORIGEN on John, ii. 12. And if any accept the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself saith, 'Even now did my mother the Holy Spirit take me by one of mine hairs, and carried me away unto the great mountain Thabor', he will be perplexed, &c.... On Jeremiah, homily xv. 4. And if any one receive that saying, 'Even now my mother the Holy Spirit took me and carried me up unto the great mountain Thabor', and the rest.... The description of the Holy Spirit as 'my mother' is due to the fact that the Hebrew word

for spirit is of the feminine gender. The saying, it is generally thought, refers to the Temptation.

⁵ EUSEBIUS, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39. 17, speaking of the early writer Papias, says: He has also set forth (or expounded) another story, about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews also contains. It is the obvious; and general, view that this story was that of the woman taken in adultery, which, as is well known, forms no part of the true text of St. John's Gospel, though it is inserted by most manuscripts at the beginning of the eighth chapter. A few manuscripts place it in St. Luke's Gospel. The description suggests that Papias's story, with its mention of many sins, differed from ours in detail. *id.* iv. 22. 8. Hegesippus made use in his *Memoirs of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.* *id.* iii. 25. 5 (in his list of antilegomena, writings whose canonicity was disputed): And among them some have placed the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is the especial delight of those of the Hebrews who have accepted Christ.

⁶ iii. 27. 4. (The Ebionites repudiated Paul) and used only the Gospel called according to the Hebrews, making but slight account of the others. Theophany, iv. 12 (preserved in Syriac). As we have found somewhere in the Gospel which the Jews have in the Hebrew tongue, where it is said: I choose for myself them that are good (or well pleasing): the good are they whom my Father which in heaven giveth (or hath given) me. *ibid.* (A passage preserved in Greek also.) But since the Gospel written in Hebrew characters which has reached our hands turns the threat not against the man who hid the talent, but against him who had lived riotously (for it told of three servants, one who devoured his master's substance with harlots and flute-girls, another who multiplied it by trading, and another who hid the talent; and made the one to be accepted, another only rebuked, and another to be shut up in prison), the question occurs to me whether in Matthew, after the conclusion of the speech against the man who did nothing, the threat that follows may refer, not to him, but by epanalepsis (i. e. taking up a former subject again) be said of the first, who ate and drank with the drunken.

⁷ EPIPHANIUS, *Heresy* xxix. 9. 4 (Nazoraeans). They have the Gospel according to Matthew quite complete, in Hebrew: for this Gospel is certainly still preserved among them as it was first written, in Hebrew letters. I do not know if they have even removed the genealogy from Abraham to Christ. Their Gospel was 'quite complete' as distinguished from the Ebionite Gospel,

which was mutilated. STICHOMETRY OF NICEPHORUS (of uncertain date, but much older than the ninth-century chronicle to which it is attached). Antilegomena of the New Testament: Apocalypse of John, Apocalypse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, and Gospel according to the Hebrews, 2,200 lines (300 lines less than the canonical Matthew). JEROME. He is our principal authority in this matter. On Ephesians, v. 4. As also we read in the Hebrew Gospel: 'And never, saith he, be ye joyful, save when ye behold your brother with love.' On Micah, vii. 6. (The quotation about the Holy Spirit given above under Origen. Jerome quotes it again several times, not always in full.)

8 Of illustrious men, 2 (on James the Lord's brother). Also the Gospel called according to the Hebrews, lately translated by me into Greek and Latin speech, which Origen often uses, tells, after the resurrection of the Saviour: 'Now the Lord, when he had given the linen cloth unto the servant of the priest, went unto James and appeared to him (for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour wherein he had drunk the Lord's cup until he should see him risen again from among them that sleep)', and again after a little, 'Bring ye, saith the Lord, a table and bread', and immediately it is added, 'He took bread and blessed and brake and gave it unto James the Just and said unto him: My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep'. This is a famous passage. One interesting clause is apt to escape notice, about the giving of the shroud to the servant of the (high) priest, which implies that the priests must have been apprised of the resurrection as soon as the apostles. Was the servant of the priest Malchus? Presumably the servant was at the sepulchre: if so, it was being guarded by the Jews as well as the Roman soldiers (as in the Gospel of Peter).

9 *ibid.* 3. Further, the Hebrew itself (or original) is preserved to this day in the library at Caesarea which was collected with such care by the martyr Pamphilus. I also had an opportunity of copying it afforded me by the Nazarenes who use the book, at Beroea, a city of Syria. This Beroea is Aleppo. In later years Jerome ceased to regard this Hebrew Gospel as the original Matthew. *ibid.* 16. Of the Epistle of Ignatius 'to Polycarp' (really to Smyrna). In it he also inserts a testimony about the person of Christ, from the Gospel which was lately translated by me; his words are: But I both saw him (this is wrongly quoted) in the flesh after the resurrection, and believe that he is in the flesh: and when he came to Peter and those who were with Peter, he said

to them: Lo, feel me and see that I am not a bodiless spirit (demon). And forthwith they touched him and believed.

¹⁰ Ignatius, to the Smyrnaeans, iii. 1, really says: For I know, and I believe that he is in the flesh even after his resurrection. Another citation of these words of Christ is given by Origen as from the Doctrine of Peter: see p. 18. On Matt. ii. Bethlehem of Judaea. This is a mistake of the scribes: for I think it was originally expressed by the Evangelist as we read in the Hebrew, 'of Judah', not Judaea. On Matt. vi. 11 (the Lord's prayer). In the Gospel called according to the Hebrews for 'super-substantial' bread I found mahar, which means 'of the morrow', so that the sense is: Our bread of the morrow, that is, of the future, give us this day. The word supersubstantial is meant to render literally the difficult word *epiousios* which we translate 'daily'. On Ps. cxxxv. In the Hebrew Gospel according to Matthew it is thus: Our bread of the morrow give us this day; that is, 'the bread which thou wilt give us in thy kingdom, give us this day'.

¹¹ On Matt. xii. 13. In the Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use (which I have lately translated into Greek from the Hebrew, and which is called by many (or most) people the original of Matthew), this man who has the withered hand is described as a mason, who prays for help in such words as these: 'I was a mason seeking a livelihood with my hands: I pray thee, Jesu, to restore me mine health, that I may not beg meany for my food.' The mention of the Ebionites here is gratuitous. Jerome nowhere else speaks of them as using the Gospel, and everything goes to show that, in his time, they did not. Letter to Damasus (20) on Matt. xxi. 9. Matthew, who wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew speech, put it thus: *Osanna barrama*, i. e. *Osanna in the highest*. On Matt. xxiii. 35. In the Gospel which the Nazarenes use, for 'son of Barachias' I find 'of Joiada' written.

¹² This reading avoids an historical difficulty, and is doubtless secondary. On Matt. xxvii. 16. This Barabbas, in the Gospel entitled (written) according to the Hebrews, is interpreted 'son of their master' (teacher). By 'interpreted', says Lagrange, it is not meant that the Gospel translated the name, but that it used a form of it which suggested the meaning—*Bar-rabban*. On Matt. xxvii. 51. In the Gospel I so often mention we read that a lintel of the temple of immense size was broken and divided. Letter to Hedibia (ep. 120) 8. But in the Gospel that is written in Hebrew letters we read, not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that a lintel of the temple of wondrous size fell. This

was probably a change made under the influence of Isa. vi. 4, 'the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried'. On Isa. xi. 2. (The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him) not partially as in the case of other holy men: but, according to the Gospel written in the Hebrew speech, which the Nazarenes read, 'There shall descend upon him the whole fount of the Holy Spirit'.... In the Gospel I mentioned above, I find this written: And it came to pass when the Lord was come up out of the water, the whole fount of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon him, and said unto him: My son, in all the prophets was I waiting for thee that thou shouldst come, and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first begotten son, that reignest for ever.

¹³ On Isa. xi. 9, My mother the Holy Spirit. On Isa., preface to bk. xviii. For when the Apostles thought him to be a spirit, or, in the words of the Gospel which is of the Hebrews which the Nazarenes are wont to read, 'a bodiless demon', he said to them (Luke xxiv. 38). On Ezek. xvi. 13. My mother, the Holy Spirit. On Ezek. xviii. 7. And in the Gospel according to the Hebrews which the Nazarenes are accustomed to read, it is placed among the greatest sins 'if a man have grieved the spirit of his brother'. Dialogue against Pelagius, iii. 2. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is indeed in the Chaldean and Syrian speech but is written in Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes use to this day, called 'according to the apostles', or, as most term it, 'according to Matthew', which also is to be seen in the library of Caesarea, the story tells: Behold, the mother of the Lord and his brethren said unto him: John Baptist baptizeth unto the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized of him. But he said unto them: Wherein (what) have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized of him? unless peradventure this very thing that I have said is a sin of ignorance.

¹⁴ *ibid.* And in the same book: If thy brother (saith he) have sinned by a word and made thee amends, seven times in a day receive thou him. Simon his disciple said unto him: Seven times in a day? The Lord answered and said unto him: Yea, I say unto thee, unto seventy times seven times. For in the prophets also, after they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, the word of sin was found. 'Word of sin' is Hebraistic for 'somewhat of sin': similarly 'sinned by a word' means 'sinned in anything'. Latin version of Origen on Matthew (now called Pseudo-Origen). It is written in a certain Gospel which is called according to the Hebrews (if at least any one care to accept it, not as authoritative, but to throw light on the question before us): The second of the rich

men (it saith) said unto him: Master, what good thing can I do and live? He said unto him: O man, fulfil (do) the law and the prophets.

¹⁵ He answered him: I have kept them. He said unto him: Go, sell all that thou ownest, and distribute it unto the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him: How sayest thou: I have kept the law and the prophets? For it is written in the law: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and lo, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth, dying for hunger, and thine house is full of many good things, and nought at all goeth out of it unto them. And he turned and said unto Simon his disciple who was sitting by him: Simon, son of Joanna, it is easier for a camel to enter in by a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

¹⁶ It is probable that this extract was found by the translator of Origen's commentary in some work of Jerome. It seems to be agreed that it was not in Origen's own commentary. Some manuscripts of the Gospels have marginal notes recording readings of 'the Jewish' Gospel, by which our Gospel is evidently meant. Some of these were published by Tischendorf, others more recently by Schmidtke. According to the latter these notes were originally made between 370 and 500 by some one who did his work at Jerusalem. Matt. iv. 5. The Jewish copy has not 'unto the holy city' but 'in Jerusalem'. Matt. v. 22. The word 'without cause' is not inserted in some copies, nor in the Jewish. Matt. vii. 5. The Jewish has here: If ye be in my bosom and do not the will of my Father which is in heaven, out of my bosom will I cast you away.

¹⁷ (The 'Second Epistle of Clement', iv. 5, has: The Lord said: If ye be with me gathered together in my bosom and do not my commandments, I will cast you away and say unto you: Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of wickedness.) Matt. x. 16. The Jewish has '(wise) more than serpents' instead of 'as serpents'. Matt. xi. 12. (The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.) The Jewish has: 'is ravished (or plundered).' Matt. xi. 25. (I thank thee (lit. confess unto thee), O Father.) The Jewish: 'I give thee thanks.' Matt. xii. 40. The Jewish has not: three days and three nights (in the heart of the earth). Matt. xv. 5. The Jewish: Corban by which ye shall be profited by us. Probably it is meant that the verse ran: But ye say to your father and mother: Corban, &c. Matt. xvi. 2, 3. Omitted by 'the Jewish' (as by many extant manuscripts).

¹⁸ Matt. xvi. 17. The Jewish: (Simon) son of John. Matt. xviii. 22. The Jewish has, immediately after the seventy times seven: For in the prophets, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there was found in them a word (matter) of sin. This shows the identity of 'the Jewish' with Jerome's gospel. Matt. xxvi. 74. The Jewish: and he denied and swore and cursed. Matt. xxvii. 65. The Jewish: And he delivered unto them armed men, that they might sit over against the cave and keep it day and night. A commentary on Isaiah (liii. 12) by Haimo of Auxerre (c. 850) has this apropos of the word 'Father forgive them': For, as is contained in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, at this word of the Lord many thousands of Jews that stood round about the Cross believed. A marginal note (thirteenth century) on a copy of the versified Bible called the *Aurora* (by Petrus de Riga), in a manuscript at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (one of a number of remarkable notes) is:

¹⁹ At the cleansing of the Temple: In the books of the Gospels which the Nazarenes use it is read that rays issued from his eyes whereby they were terrified and put to flight.

THE GOSPEL OF THE EBIONITES

¹ Jerome on Matt. xxi. 12 says that the people whom Jesus drove out did not resist him: 'For a certain fiery and starry light shone (radiated) from his eyes and the majesty of Godhead gleamed in his face.' When I published the note, I took it that it was a reminiscence of Jerome's words: ray and radiate occur in both. But Dr. Zahn was of opinion that it might really represent something in the old Gospel: so I include it, though with hesitation. One other mention of this Gospel has to be added. ² In Budge's *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts* is a Discourse on Mary by Cyril of Jerusalem. Cyril (Pseudo-Cyril) relates that he had to send for a monk of Maiôma of Gaza who was teaching false doctrine. Called on for an account of his belief the monk (p. 637, Eng. trans.) said: It is written in the Gospel to the Hebrews that when Christ wished to come upon the earth to men, the Good Father called a mighty power in the heavens which was called Michael, and committed Christ to the care thereof. And the power came down into the world and it was called Mary, and Christ was in her womb seven months. Afterwards she gave birth to him, and he increased in stature, and he chose the apostles,... 'was crucified, and taken up by the Father'. Cyril asked: Where in the Four Gospels is it said that the holy Virgin Mary the mother of God is a force? The monk said: In the Gospel to the Hebrews. Then, said Cyril, there are five Gospels? Where

is the fifth? The monk said: It is the Gospel that was written to the Hebrews. (Cyril convinced him of his error and burned the books. No more is told of the Gospel, which, whatever it may have been, was certainly not the book we have been dealing with, but a writing of pronouncedly heretical (Docetic?) views. The last sentence of the monk's account of Christ, which I did not quote in full just now, is perhaps worth recording.) 'After they had raised him up on the cross, the Father took him up into heaven unto himself.' This, with its omission of all mention of the resurrection, might be construed as heretical: on the other hand, it may be merely a case of extreme compression of the narrative.

The Gospel of the Ebionites

³ All our knowledge of this is derived from Epiphanius, and he uses very confusing language about it (as about many other things). The passages are as follows: all occur in his work against Heresies—no. xxx. And they (the Ebionites) receive the Gospel according to Matthew. For this they too, like the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus, use to the exclusion of others. And they call it according to the Hebrews, as the truth is, that Matthew alone of New Testament writers made his exposition and preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew and in Hebrew letters. Epiphanius goes on to say that he had heard of Hebrew versions of John and Acts kept privately in the treasures (Geniza?) at Tiberias, and continues: In the Gospel they have, called according to Matthew, but not wholly complete, but falsified and mutilated (they call it the Hebrew Gospel), it is contained that 'There was a certain man named Jesus, and he was about thirty years old, who chose us. And coming unto Capernaum he entered into the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter, and opened his mouth and said: As I passed by the lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and (Philip and Bartholomew, James the son of Alphaeus and Thomas) Thaddaeus and Simon the Zealot and Judas the Iscariot: and thee, Matthew, as thou satest at the receipt of custom I called, and thou followedst me. You therefore I will to be twelve apostles for a testimony unto (of) Israel.

⁴ And: John was baptizing, and there went out unto him Pharisees and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat (it saith) was wild honey, whereof the taste is the taste of manna, as a cake dipped in oil. That, forsooth, they may pervert the word of truth into a lie and for locusts put a cake

dipped in honey (sic). These Ebionites were vegetarians and objected to the idea of eating locusts. A locust in Greek is akris, and the word they used for cake is enkris, so the change is slight. We shall meet with this tendency again. And the beginning of their Gospel says that: It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judaea (when Caiaphas was high priest) that there came (a certain man) John (by name), baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who was said to be of the lineage of Aaron the priest, child of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and all went out unto him.

5 The borrowing from St. Luke is very evident here. He goes on: And after a good deal more it continues that: After the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John; and as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a dove that descended and entered into him: and a voice from heaven saying: Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased: and again: This day have I begotten thee. And straightway there shone about the place a great light. Which when John saw (it saith) he saith unto him: Who art thou, Lord? and again there was a voice from heaven saying unto him: This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And then (it saith) John fell down before him and said: I beseech thee, Lord, baptize thou me. But he prevented him saying: Suffer it (or let it go): for thus it behoveth that all things should be fulfilled.

THE GOSPELS OF THE EGYPTIANS, OF PHILIP, OF MATTHIAS, OF PETER
AND OF THOMAS; THE PREACHING OF PETER

1 And on this account they say that Jesus was begotten of the seed of a man, and was chosen; and so by the choice of God he was called the Son of God from the Christ that came into him from above in the likeness of a dove. And they deny that he was begotten of God the Father, but say that he was created, as one of the archangels, yet greater, and that he is Lord of angels and of all things made by the Almighty, and that he came and taught, as the Gospel (so called) current among them contains, that, 'I came to destroy the sacrifices, and if ye cease not from sacrificing, the wrath of God will not cease from you'. (With reference to the Passover and the evasion of the idea that Jesus partook of flesh:) They have changed the saying, as is plain to all from the combination of phrases, and have made the disciples say: Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee to eat the Passover? and him, forsooth, say: Have I desired with desire to eat this flesh of the Passover with you?

² These fragments show clearly that the Gospel was designed to support a particular set of views. They enable us also to distinguish it from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, for, among other things, the accounts of the Baptism in the two are quite different. Epiphanius is only confusing the issue when he talks of it as the Hebrew Gospel—or rather, the Ebionites may be guilty of the confusion, for he attributes the name to them. The Gospel according to the Twelve, or 'of the Twelve', mentioned by Origen (Ambrose and Jerome) is identified by Zahn with the Ebionite Gospel. He makes a good case for the identification. If the two are not identical, it can only be said that we know nothing of the Gospel according to the Twelve. Revillout, indeed, claims the title for certain Coptic fragments of narratives of the Passion which are described in their proper place in this collection: but no one has been found to follow his lead.

The Gospel According to the Egyptians

³ Origen, in his first Homily on Luke, speaks of those who 'took in hand' or 'attempted' to write gospels (as Luke says in his prologue). These, he says, came to the task rashly, without the needful gifts of grace, unlike Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke himself. Such were those who composed the Gospel which is written 'according to the Egyptians' and the Gospel entitled 'of the Twelve'. Apart from this there are but few mentions of the book. A series of passages from Clement of Alexandria is our chief source of knowledge. They are as follows: CLEM. ALEX. Strom. iii. 9. 64. Whence it is with reason that after the Word had told about the End, Salome saith: Until when shall men continue to die? (Now the Scripture speaks of man in two senses, the one that is seen, and the soul: and again, of him that is in a state of salvation, and him that is not: and sin is called the death of the soul) and it is advisedly that the Lord makes answer: So long as women bear children.

⁴ 66. And why do not they who walk by anything rather than the true rule of the Gospel go on to quote the rest of that which was said to Salome: for when she had said, 'I have done well, then, in not bearing children?' (as if childbearing were not the right thing to accept) the Lord answers and says: Every plant eat thou, but that which hath bitterness eat not. iii. 13. 92. When Salome inquired when the things concerning which she asked should be known, the Lord said: When ye have trampled on the garment of shame, and when the two become one and the male with the female is neither male nor female. In the first place, then, we have not this saying in the four Gos-

pels that have been delivered to us, but in that according to the Egyptians. (The so-called Second Epistle of Clement has this, in a slightly different form, c. xii. 2:

5 For the Lord himself being asked by some one when his kingdom should come, said: When the two shall be one, and the outside (that which is without) as the inside (that which is within), and the male with the female neither male nor female.) There are allusions to the saying in the Apocryphal Acts, see pp. 335, 429, 450. iii. 6. 45. The Lord said to Salome when she inquired: How long shall death prevail? 'As long as ye women bear children', not because life is an ill, and the creation evil: but as showing the sequence of nature: for in all cases birth is followed by decay. Excerpts from Theodotus, 67. And when the Saviour says to Salome that there shall be death as long as women bear children, he did not say it as abusing birth, for that is necessary for the salvation of believers. Strom. iii. 9. 63. But those who set themselves against God's creation because of continence, which has a fair-sounding name, quote also those words which were spoken to Salome, of which I made mention before. They are contained, I think (or I take it) in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. For they say that 'the Saviour himself said: I came to destroy the works of the female'. By female he means lust: by works, birth and decay.

6 HIPPOLYTUS against Heresies, v. 7. (The Naassenes) say that the soul is very hard to find and to perceive; for it does not continue in the same fashion or shape or in one emotion so that one can either describe it or comprehend it in essence. And they have these various changes of the soul, set forth in the Gospel entitled according to the Egyptians. EPIPHANIUS, Heresy lxii. 2 (Sabellians). Their whole deceit (error) and the strength of it they draw from some apocryphal books, especially from what is called the Egyptian Gospel, to which some have given that name. For in it many suchlike things are recorded (or attributed) as from the person of the Saviour, said in a corner, purporting that he showed his disciples that the same person was Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. All this goes to show that this Gospel was a secondary work with a distinct doctrinal tendency. It resembles the later Gnostic books such as the Pistis Sophia in assigning an important rôle in the dialogues with Christ to the female disciples.

Gospel of Philip

⁷ One mention and citation of this occurs in Epiphanius, Heresy xxvi. 13. Speaking of the 'Gnostics' of Egypt in his time (fourth century) he says: They produce a Gospel forged in the name of Philip the holy disciple, which says: The Lord revealed unto me what the soul must say as it goeth up into heaven, and how it must answer each of the Powers above. 'I have taken knowledge (it saith) of myself, and have gathered myself together out of every quarter and have not begotten (sown) children unto the Ruler, but have rooted out his roots and gathered together the members that were scattered abroad. And I know thee who thou art, for I (it saith) am of them that are from above.' A very leading Gnostic doctrine was that the soul contained sparks of the Divine, which were dispersed about among the world of matter, and must be collected, destined as they were some day to be removed out of the influence of matter and taken up into the higher world. This is enunciated here.

⁸ In the Pistis Sophia Philip is one of the disciples who are specially ordered to write the revelations uttered by Christ.

Gospel or Traditions of Matthias

⁹ Origen on Luke (Hom. 1) says that he knows of a Gospel according to Matthias. Ambrose and Jerome, it seems, repeat his statement. Eusebius also mentions the book: none of these give more than the bare name. In the Gelasian Decree it is condemned, which need not mean that it was known to the condemner. It also occurs in the Greek 'List of the Sixty Books'. It is possible that this book was identical with the Traditions of Matthias, a writing of which Clement of Alexandria speaks in the following passages: Strom. ii. 9. 45. The beginning (of truth) is to wonder at things, as Plato says in the Theaetetus, and Matthias in the Traditions, advising us: Wonder thou at the things that are before thee: making this the first step to further knowledge. iii. 4. 26. (The Gnostics) say that Matthias also taught thus: that we should fight with the flesh and abuse it, not yielding to it at all for licentious pleasure, but should make the soul grow by faith and knowledge.

¹⁰ vii. 13. 82. They say that in the Traditions Matthias the apostle said that on every occasion, if the neighbour of a chosen one sin, the chosen one hath sinned: for had he behaved himself as the word enjoins, the neighbour also would have been ashamed of his way of life, so as not to sin. This, too, is

thought by Zahn to be traceable to the same source: Strom. iv. 6. 35. It is said that Zacchaeus (or, as some say, Matthias), the chief publican, when he had heard the Lord, who condescended to come to him, said: Behold, the half of my goods I give in alms, Lord: and if I have defrauded any man of ought, I restore it fourfold. Whereupon also the Saviour said: The Son of man is come to-day and hath found that which was lost. Hippolytus tells us that the heretics Basilides and Isidorus (his son) asserted that Matthias had spoken unto them certain secret words which he had heard from the Saviour, being taught by him apart.

Gospel of Peter

¹¹ The two fragments which we possess of the text of this book will be found among the Passion narratives and the Apocalypses respectively. Here I place the notices of it that are found in the Church writers. There are but three. ORIGEN on Matthew, x. 17. (They of Nazareth thought that Jesus) was the son of Joseph and Mary: but the brothers of Jesus some (founding on a tradition of the Gospel entitled according to Peter or of the Book of James) say were sons of Joseph by a former wife who had lived with him before Mary. The Book of James is the so-called Protevangelium, given below. EUSEBIUS, Eccl. Hist. vi. 12, treating of Serapion, bishop of Antioch about A.D. 190, says: There is another treatise composed by him about the Gospel called 'according to Peter', which he drew up to expose the false statements contained in it, for the benefit of some members of the church at Rhossus, who by the means of the aforesaid book had succumbed to unorthodox doctrines. Of this it will be well to adduce some passages in which he states his view of the book, writing thus:

¹² For we, brethren, accept Peter and the other apostles as we would Christ, but, as experienced men, we repudiate what is falsely written under their name, knowing that we have not had any such things delivered to us. For I, when I was with you, supposed that all of you adhered to the right faith, and, not having gone through the Gospel which they produced under the name of Peter, I said: If this is all that seems to cause you scruples, let it be read. But now that I have learned from what has been told me, that somewhat of heresy was nesting in their mind (lit. their mind had its lair in a certain heresy), I will take care to come to you again: so, brethren, expect me soon. But you, who have comprehended of what manner of heresy Marcion (Gr. Marcianus) was, and how he contradicted himself, not understanding

what he uttered, will learn the truth from what has been written to you (in this treatise).

¹³ For we have been enabled to borrow this very Gospel from others who used it, namely, the successors of those who were its authors (lit. began it) whom we call Docetae (Seemers)—for most of their notions belong to that school—and to go through it, and to find that most of it is of the right teaching (word) of the Saviour, but some things are adventitious; a list of which we have drawn up for you. EUSEBIUS (iii. 3. 2) also names the Gospel (with the Acts, Apocalypse, and Preaching of Peter) as a writing not handed down among the 'Catholic' Scriptures, and not used as testimony by ancient or modern church writers. (This, as regards the Apocalypse and Preaching, is an exaggeration.) THEODORET (of heretical Fables, ii. 2) says: 'The Nazaraeans are Jews who know Christ as a righteous man, and use the Gospel called "according to Peter".' (What we know of the Gospel and of the Nazarenes forbids us to give credence to this statement.)

Gospel of Thomas

¹⁴ The Infancy Gospel current under the name of Thomas is also given below. The ancient testimonies, as in the case of Peter, are placed here. We are not absolutely certain that our Gospel of Thomas is a form of the older one, though the one quotation we have of the latter coincides curiously with the subject of the former. I have, myself, very little doubt that our Gospel is the skeleton of the old one—the stories retained and the unorthodox discourses cut out. ORIGEN says (Hom. 1 on Luke): There is also current the Gospel according to Thomas. HIPPOLYTUS against Heresies, v. 7. The Naassenes speak of a nature of man at once hidden and manifesting itself, which they say is within man, and is the kingdom of heaven that is sought after: and they deliver this concerning it, expressly, in the Gospel entitled according to Thomas, in these words: He that seeketh me will find me in children from seven years old and upwards: for there am I manifested, who am hidden in the fourteenth age (aeon).

¹⁵ Our Gospel of Thomas tells of the acts of Jesus at five, six, and eight years of age: the naming of the age may originally have been significant. The fragment seems to indicate that the years from seven to fourteen were a period of mystic importance. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (A. D. 348) speaks of this book as a Manichaeian production. Very likely the Manichaeans used it, but it was older than their sect. He says (Catech. iv. 36): And of the New Testament

read the four Gospels only. The others are apocryphal (pseudepigraphic) and harmful. The Manichaeans also wrote a Gospel according to Thomas, which, though coloured with the fragrance of a gospel-name, corrupts the souls of the simpler. *ib.* vi. 31. Let no one read the Gospel according to Thomas, for it is not by one of the twelve apostles, but by one of the three wicked disciples of Manes.

¹⁶ Eusebius names it among undoubtedly spurious books. The Sticho-metry of Nicephorus assigns it 1,300 lines. IRENAEUS (*i.* 13. 1) says that the Marcosian sect support their doctrines by a vast number of apocryphal writings. 'They adduce, too, this false invention, that when the Lord as a child was learning the alphabet, and his teacher said, as the custom is: Say Alpha; he answered: Alpha. But when the teacher bade him say Beta, the Lord answered: First tell thou me what Alpha is, and then will I tell thee what Beta is. And this they interpret as meaning that he alone knew the unknown mystery, which he manifested in the form of Alpha.' It seems probable from Irenaeus's language that the Marcosians took original reading, and that if so, it might be interpreted as suggesting a connexion with the further East. The case stands thus. The Greek text-A calls the writer 'Thomas the Israelite the Philosopher'. Greek B, 'the holy apostle Thomas'. Latin, 'Thomas the Israelite (or Ismaelite) the apostle of the Lord'. 'Israelite' is a curious and pointless designation, if the apostle is meant, and a very easy corruption of Ismaelite. 'Philosopher' is a strikingly unusual description. The combination of Ismaelite and Philosopher would serve to convey the idea of an Eastern sage.

¹⁷ From a somewhat different point of view, it is not to be forgotten that Thomas the apostle was connected with India by a tradition probably a good deal older than the Acts of Thomas. this from an apocryphal writing. I have not much doubt that that was the Gospel of Thomas. The story occurs in text A, c. vi, and in all Infancy Gospels in some form. It is also told shortly in the Epistle of the Apostles, c. 4: see p. 486.

The Preaching of Peter

¹⁸ Again our principal source of knowledge is Clement of Alexandria, who makes a series of quotations from it. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Strom.* i. 29. 182. And in the Preaching of Peter you may find the Lord called 'Law and Word'. Twice again he quotes this phrase. vi. 5. 39. But that the most approved of the Greeks do not know God by direct knowledge, but indirectly, Peter says in his Preaching: Know ye then that there is one God who made

the beginning of all things and hath power over their end; and: The invisible who seeth all things, uncontainable, who containeth all, having need of nought, of whom all things stand in need and for whose sake they exist, incomprehensible, perpetual, incorruptible, uncreated, who made all things by the word of his power.... that is, the Son. ¹⁹ Then he goes on: This God worship ye, not after the manner of the Greeks... showing that we and the good (approved) Greeks worship the same God, though not according to perfect knowledge for they had not learned the tradition of the Son. 'Do not', he says, 'worship'—he does not say 'the God whom the Greeks worship', but 'not after the manner of the Greeks': he would change the method of worship of God, not proclaim another God. What, then, is meant by 'not after the manner of the Greeks'? Peter himself will explain, for he continues: Carried away by ignorance and not knowing God as we do, according to the perfect knowledge, but shaping those things over which he gave them power, for their use, even wood and stones, brass and iron, gold and silver (forgetting) their material and proper use, they set up things subservient to their existence and worship them; and what things God hath given them for food, the fowls of the air and the creatures that swim in the sea and creep upon the earth, wild beasts and fourfooted cattle of the field, weasels too and mice, cats and dogs and apes; yea, their own eatables do they sacrifice as offerings to eatable gods, and offering dead things to the dead as to gods, they show ingratitude to God, by these practices denying that he exists.... He will continue again in this fashion: Neither worship ye him as do the Jews, for they, who suppose that they alone know God, do not know him, serving angels and archangels, the month and the moon: and if no moon be seen, they do not celebrate what is called the first sabbath, nor keep the new moon, nor the days of unleavened bread, nor the feast (of tabernacles?), nor the great day (of atonement).

²⁰ Then he adds the finale (colophon) of what is required: So then do ye, learning in a holy and righteous sort that which we deliver unto you, observe it, worshipping God through Christ in a new way. For we have found in the Scriptures, how the Lord saith: Behold, I make with you a new covenant, not as the covenant with your fathers in mount Horeb. He hath made a new one with us: for the ways of the Greeks and Jews are old, but we are they that worship him in a new way in a third generation (or race), even Christians. Shortly after this he cites Paul 'in addition to the Preaching of Peter' as refer-

ring to the Sibyl and Hystaspes. The passage is given below as a possible fragment of the Acts of Paul. After his quotation from Paul, Clement continues: Therefore Peter says that the Lord said to the apostles: If then any of Israel will repent, to believe in God through my name, his sins shall be forgiven him: (and) after twelve years go ye out into the world, lest any say: We did not hear.

²¹ In the next chapter (vi. 6) he has: For example, in the Preaching of Peter the Lord says: I chose out you twelve, judging you to be disciples worthy of me, whom the Lord willed, and thinking you faithful apostles; sending you unto the world to preach the Gospel to men throughout the world, that they should know that there is one God; to declare by faith in me [the Christ] what shall be, that they that have heard and believed may be saved, and that they which have not believed may hear and bear witness, not having any defence so as to say 'We did not hear'. After a few lines: And to all reasonable souls it hath been said above: Whatsoever things any of you did in ignorance, not knowing God clearly, all his sins shall be forgiven him. vi. 15. 128. Peter in the Preaching, speaking of the apostles, says: But we having opened the books of the prophets which we had found, sometimes expressed by parables, sometimes by riddles, and sometimes directly (authentically) and in so many words naming Jesus Christ, both his coming and his death and the cross and all the other torments which the Jews inflicted on him, and his resurrection and assumption into the heavens before Jerusalem was founded (MS. judged), even all these things as they had been written, what he must suffer and what shall be after him. When, therefore, we took knowledge of these things, we believed in God through that which had been written of him.

²² And a little after he adds that the prophecies came by Divine providence, in these terms: For we know that God commanded them in very deed, and without the Scripture we say nothing. The character of the heathen worship, with its mention of weasels, cats, &c., and the fact that our authorities are all Alexandrine, point to the Egyptian origin and currency of the Preaching. We see also that it was an orthodox book. Origen even faces the possibility of its being genuine in whole or in part. The earliest of the Greek apologists for Christianity whose work we have, Aristides, takes a very similar line to the Preaching, and is thought to have used it. A Syriac Preaching of Simon Cephas in the city of Rome (to be found in Cureton's Syriac Docu-

ments) has nothing in common with our book. Its gist is, briefly, this: A great assembly gathers to hear Peter. He speaks to them of the life and death of Jesus, and the call of the apostles, exhorts them to shun idolatry: reverts to the signs at the crucifixion, and the report of Pilate to Caesar and the senate, and warns them against Simon Magus. We then have the incident of the dead man raised by Peter after Simon had failed. Peter's episcopate of twenty-five years, his martyrdom and that of Paul, Nero's death, and a famine which ensued after many years, are shortly told.

²³ In the Clementine Recognitions, &c., a great deal is said about books of Preachings of Peter: but these are to a great extent imaginary, and, if ever they existed, must have belonged to the same peculiar school of thought as the rest of that literature. There are certain other fragments of a 'Teaching of Peter' which may be another name for the Preaching. Opinion is divided. Probably the first, from Origen, is from the Preaching. The others are of a different complexion. ORIGEN on First Principles i, prologue 8. But if any would produce to us from that book which is called The Doctrine of Peter, the passage where the Saviour is represented as saying (lit. seems to say) to the disciples: I am not a bodiless spirit (demon): he must be answered in the first place that that book is not reckoned among the books of the church: (and then) it must be shown that the writing is neither by Peter nor by any one else who was inspired by the spirit of God.

LOST HERETICAL BOOKS; THE SIXTY BOOKS AND THE STICHOMETRY

¹ The quotation agrees with one from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. See p. 4. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, ep. 16. 'A soul in trouble is near unto God', saith Peter somewhere—a marvellous utterance. (JOHN OF DAMASCUS), Sacred Parallels, A. 12: Of Peter: Wretched that I am, I remembered not that God seeth the mind and observeth the voice of the soul. Allying myself with sin, I said unto myself: God is merciful, and will bear with thee: and because I was not immediately smitten, I ceased not, but rather despised pardon, and exhausted the long-suffering of God. *ibid.* From the Teaching of Peter: Rich is he that hath mercy on many, and he that, imitating God, giveth of that he hath. For God hath given all things unto all, of his own creatures. Understand then, ye rich, that ye ought to minister, for ye have received more than ye yourselves need. Learn that others lack the things ye have in superfluity. Be ashamed to keep things that belong to others. Imitate the fairness (equality) of God, and no man will be poor.

² OECUMENUS on James, v. 16. And that happens to us which blessed Peter says: One building and one pulling down! they gain nought but their labour.

Lost Heretical Books

³ Three such are quoted or described by Epiphanius which may be properly reckoned as New Testament Apocrypha. I exclude the Gospel of Eve and such books as the prophecies of Parchor and other mythical persons, and the book of Elxai. First is a book called the Birth of Mary. EPIPHANIUS, Heresy xxvi. 12. (The Gnostics have a book which they call the Birth (or Descent) of Mary, in which are horrible and deadly things.) For they say that the reason of Zacharias being slain in the Temple was this, because, say they, he saw a vision and in his fear, as he was about to tell the vision, his mouth was stopped. For, say they, he saw at the hour of incense, as he was burning incense, a man standing there who had the form of an ass. And when he went out, they say, and would have said: Woe unto you! what (or whom) do ye worship? he that was seen of him within the Temple shut his mouth, that he might not be able to speak. And when his mouth was opened, so that he could speak, then he revealed it to them and they slew him. And thus, say they, died Zacharias. For on this account the priest was commanded by the lawgiver himself to wear bells, that when he enters in to do his priestly office, he whom they worship may hear the sound of the bells and hide himself, that the likeness of his shape may not be detected.

⁴ This is the vulgarest expression of the hatred of the Old Covenant of which Marcion was the noblest exponent. I need not dwell here upon the prevalence of the belief among heathens that Jews and Christians worshipped a deity in the form of an ass. The Palatine graffito of the crucified figure with an ass's head will occur to many readers. Another Gospel (?) of similar tendency was that which was used by the nameless 'Adversary of the Law and the Prophets' whom Augustine refutes, and from which the following is quoted: The apostles having asked the Lord what they were to think about the Jewish prophets, who were thought in the past to have foretold his coming, he was troubled that they even yet had such thoughts, and answered: Ye have given up (let go) the living one who is before your eyes, and talk idly of the dead.

⁵ EPIPHANIUS in Her. xxvi. 8 quotes the Lesser Questions of Mary: but I must be excused from repeating the passage. In Her. xxx. 16 he tells of a book

used by the Ebionites called the Ascents of James: Certain supposititious Ascents, and Discourses, so called, do they produce in the Ascents of James, representing him as speaking against the Temple and the sacrifices, and the fire on the altar; and many other things full of empty sound. And there, too, they are not ashamed to indict Paul, with forged discourses full of the malice and error of their false apostles: calling him a man of Tarsus (which he confesses and does not deny), but asserting that he came of the Greeks; taking their occasion from the place, because of the words truthfully spoken by him: I am a man of Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city; they then say that he was a Greek, the child of a Greek mother and a Greek father, and that he went up to Jerusalem and remained there some time, and desired to take the daughter of the high priest to wife, and on that account became a proselyte and was circumcised, and when he failed to secure the maiden he was enraged, and wrote against circumcision and against the sabbath and the Law.

⁶ The book, as Lightfoot (Galatians, 330, n. 2) says, 'was so called doubtless as describing the ascents of James up the Temple stairs, whence he harangued the people'. Relics of it may probably be discerned in the latter chapters of the first book of the Clementine Recognitions. Lightfoot also suggests, very ingeniously (l.c. 367, n. 1), that the account of the death of James, quoted by Eusebius from Hegesippus, in which James is cast down from the pinnacle of the Temple, 'was the grand finale of these ascents'. In the Recognitions he addresses the people from the Temple steps, and is thrown down and left for dead by the enemy (Paul); in Hegesippus he speaks from the pinnacle, 'is hurled from the still loftier station, and this time his death is made sure'. It is an attractive conjecture. Epiphanius mentions some other heretical apocrypha: a Gospel of Judas Iscariot (Irenaeus also speaks of this) and an heretical Ascension (Anabaticon) of Paul, used by the Caianites or Cainites. They are mere names to us.

⁷ We also hear of 'Gospels' of heresiarchs—Basilides, Valentinus, and others: but these we cannot think of as real Gospels. They are—if they are not mere ghost-books—the treatises in which these teachers set forth their views, and they were nicknamed Gospels. The Gospel of Marcion is of a different class: it was an edition of Luke, from which all that went counter to Marcion's views was removed. He made a similar text of the Pauline Epistles. From a Latin writer, Orosius, comes our only fragment of another heretical apocryphon, the Memoria (? Memoirs) of the Apostles. It was current among

the Priscillianists who had their head-quarters in Spain in the fourth century. It was evidently a dualist book, no doubt Manichaean in origin. ⁸ OROSIUS, Admonition of the errors of the Priscillianists and Origenists. Priscillian delivered that the names of the Patriarchs are members (parts) of the soul: for that Ruben was in the head, Levi in the heart, Juda in the heart, Benjamin in the thighs, and the like. In the members of the body, on the other hand, the heavenly signs are arranged, viz. the Ram in the head, the Bull in the neck, the Twins in the arms, the Crab in the heart, &c. He would have it understood that the darkness is eternal, and that out of it the ruler of this world came forth. He confirms this from a book called the Memoria of the Apostles, where the Saviour is represented as being questioned privately by the disciples, and explaining that in the parable of the Gospel which says: A sower went forth to sow his seed, the sower was not good: asserting, that had he been good, he would not have been careless, nor cast the seed by the wayside or on stony places or untilled ground: willing it to be understood that this (the ruler of the world?) was the sower, who scattered the souls he had caught into various bodies, as he pleased. In the same book much is said of the principle of moist things, and the principle of fire: he would have it understood that all good things happen in this world, not by the power of God, but by contrivance (art).

9 (The cause of rain is then expounded in a manner best not repeated.) In the Gelasian Decree 'Of Books to be received and not to be received' are the titles of many Apocryphal books. The date and source of this Decree are matters of dispute, but it cannot be later than the sixth century. Many of the titles that occur in it are derived from the works of Church writers, especially Jerome: the books had not been seen by the author of the Decree. Its list of New Testament Apocrypha is remarkable alike for omissions and insertions. It runs thus: The Itinerary under the name of the apostle Peter which is called of Saint Clement, nine books. (= the Clementine Recognitions: in ten books.) Acts under the name of Andrew the apostle. " " Thomas " --- --- --- --- " " Peter " " " Philip " ¹⁰ (These will be found in their place in this collection.) Gospel under the name of Matthias (see p. 12). Gospel under the name of Barnabas. (Both the above occur in the Greek list of the Sixty Books, but the existence of a Gospel of Barnabas is most doubtful. The extant book under that name (ed. Ragg, 1907) is in Italian, a forgery of the late fifteenth or sixteenth century, by a renegade from Christianity to Islam.) Gospel under

the name of James the Less. (Probably the Protevangelium: but a lesson on the Circumcision of Christ (printed by Bannister in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1908, p. 417), in a fragment of a tenth-century service book in an Irish hand, is headed: Lesson of the Gospel according to James son of Alphaeus. It is hardly worth translating.) Gospel under the name of Peter the Apostle (fragments exist). Gospel under the name of Thomas which the Manichaeans use (extant).

¹¹ Gospel under the name of Bartholomew (extant). Gospels under the name of Andrew (non-existent: a confusion with the Acts). Gospels which Lucianus falsified. "Hesychius" (These are recensions of the text of the canonical gospels, of which we know little.) Book concerning the Infancy of the Saviour (Pseudo-Matthew's Gospel). Book concerning the birth of the Saviour, and Mary, or the midwife (the same as the last, or the Protevangelium). The book called of the Shepherd (of Hermas). All the books which Leucius the disciple of the devil made. (Leucius is really the name attached to the Acts of John only: the entry is quite a vague one). The book called the Foundation. The book called the Treasure. (Writings attributed to Manes, founder of the Manichaean sect.) I omit, in what follows, the titles of Old Testament Apocrypha and patristic writings. The book called the Acts of Thecla and Paul (an episode from the Acts of Paul, current separately).

¹² The Revelation called of Paul (extant). Thomas (extant). Stephen (see under Apocalypses). The book called the Passing of Saint Mary (probably Pseudo-Melito's narrative). The book called the Lots of the Apostles (a system of divination). The book called *Lusa apostolorum* (an unexplained title). The book called *Canons of the Apostles* (extant, but not given in this collection). Epistle of Jesus to Abgarus. Epistle of Abgarus to Jesus (extant). I may append to this the portions of the leading Greek lists of biblical books which mention New Testament Apocrypha.

a. The Text of the Sixty Books

¹³ It is as old as the seventh century. The Sixty Books are those of the Bible. Then follow lists of those 'outside the sixty' (nine) and of 'such as are Apocryphal'. Nos. 1-14 of these are Old Testament. 16. Apocalypse of Peter. 17. Travels and Teachings of the Apostles (the Apocryphal Acts in general). 18. Epistle of Barnabas. 19. Acts of Paul. 20. Apocalypse of Paul. 21. Teaching (Didascalia) of Clement (Apostolic Constitutions). 24. Gospel according to Barnabas (see p. 22). 25. Gospel according to Matthias (see p. 12).

b. Stichometry of Nicephorus

¹⁴ Thought to have been drawn up in Jerusalem: possibly as old as the fourth century: appended ultimately to the ninth-century Chronography of Nicephorus. Such of the New Testament books as are disputed. 1. Apocalypse of John lines 1,400 2. Apocalypse of Peter 300 3. Epistle of Barnabas 1,360 4. Gospel according to the Hebrews 2,200 Such of the New Testament as are Apocryphal. 1. Travels of Paul (= Acts) lines 3,600 2. Travels of Peter 2,750 3. Travels of John (=Acts) lines 2,600 4. Travels of Thomas 1,600 5. Gospel according to Thomas 1300 6. Teaching (Didache) of the Apostles 200 7. Of Clement (two Epistles) 2,600 8. Of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hermas. c. The Synopsis of Scripture 'of Athanasius'. Extant in but one manuscript, at Eton. In the list of Old Testament Apocrypha it is identical with the last, only it does not give the number of lines. In the New Testament list it is confused, calling the obviously apocryphal books 'disputed' only, and omitting the real 'antilegomena'. Thus:

¹⁵ Of the New Testament again these are disputed. Travels of Peter, Travels of John, Travels of Thomas, Gospel according to Thomas, Teaching of the Apostles, Clementine writings: out of which the truer and inspired portions have been selected and paraphrased.

FRAGMENTS DISCOVERED IN RECENT YEARS: FAYUM, OXYRHYNCHUS
AND EGERTON

¹ This is a piece of papyrus of the third (?) century, in the Archduke Rainer's collection of papyri at Vienna: first published in 1885. There have been many attempts (as in all these cases) at restoring the missing words and letters. The first line remains quite doubtful. What may be regarded as certain is: all ye in this night shall be offended according to the scripture: I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered. And when Peter said: Even if all, not I, the Lord said: The cock shall twice crow and thou said: Before the cock crow twice to-day first shalt thrice deny me thou shalt thrice deny me. It is not certain that this is a fragment of a Gospel: it may be, and is by many held to be, a somewhat abridged quotation made by a preacher or commentator. It omits, for instance, the clause: After I am risen I will go before you into Galilee. If the preacher or expositor wished to emphasize Peter's denial, he might easily pass over these words. On the other hand the first editor of it, and others, have thought that the omission was a mark of early date.

² The word for crow is literally cry cuckoo.

2. The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus

³ These are on two papyri found at Oxyrhynchus by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in excavations carried out for the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The first was found in 1897: it is a leaf of a papyrus book, of the third century. It is numbered, apparently, '11'. The second was found in 1903: it is a piece of a papyrus roll, also of the third century, but a little later in date than the other. It has a title or prologue. Both are mutilated. The latest editor, Professor H. G. Evelyn White (*The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, Cambridge, 1920), has shown good cause for believing both fragments to belong to the same collection of Sayings. He makes the second precede the first (as I said, it has a title), and believes that the Sayings are extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. I shall follow his order in translating the Sayings: but I must refrain from quoting all his very ingenious restorations. As a rule I shall only give the practically certain supplements.

⁴ Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654. Prologue. These are the (...) words which Jesus that liveth and (...) spake to (...) and to Thomas. And he said: (Whosoever heareth) these words shall not taste (of death). i. Let not him that seeketh cease (seeking till he) find, and when he findeth (he shall marvel, and) having marvelled he shall reign, and (having reigned) he shall rest. (Quoted by Clement of Alexandria as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: see p. 2.) vii. Jesus saith: If ye fast not from the world ye shall not find the kingdom of God, and if ye keep not Sabbath for the whole week, ye shall not see the Father. viii. Jesus saith: I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh appeared I unto them: and I found all men drunken, and none did I find thirsting among them and my soul is afflicted for the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not...

⁵ (bottom of the column gone) ix, col. 2. poverty x. (Jesus saith) Wheresoever there are (two, they are not without) God: and where there is one alone I say I am with him. Lift up the stone and there shalt thou find me: cleave the wood, and I am there. xi. Jesus saith: A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, nor doth a physician do cures upon them that know him. xii. Jesus saith: A city built upon the top of an high mountain and established can neither fall nor be hidden. xiii. Jesus saith: Thou hearest with(in) thy (one) ear (but the other thou hast closed).... It is not practicable to give the numerous attempts at restoration which have been made. For these I refer the reader to Evelyn White's excellent edition. But by way of a specimen I will give

Evelyn White's and Lagrange's suggestions for Saying II, which is one of the most puzzling of them all. Lagrange's appeared in the *Revue Biblique*, 1922, p. 432.

⁶Evelyn White would restore thus: Judas) saith: (Who then are they that draw us, (and when shall come the kingdom that is in heaven? (Jesus saith:) The fowls of the heaven (and of the beasts what -ever is beneath the earth (or upon the earth, and) the fishes of the sea, (these are they that draw you: and the kingdom (of heaven) is within you: (and whosoever) knoweth (himself) shall find (it: and having found it) ye shall know yourselves, (that) ye are (sons and heirs) of the Father the (Almighty, and) shall know yourselves (that ye are) in (God and God in you). And ye are the (City of God). Judas the interrogator is 'not Iscariot'. Lagrange: (Judas) saith: (Who then are they that draw us (unto heaven above, if the kingdom (is) in heaven? (Jesus saith) The fowls of the heaven, (the beasts and if 5 there be anything beneath the earth (or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea (are they that) draw you (unto God) and the kingdom (of heaven) is within you (and whosoever) knoweth (God) shall find it: (for if ye know him) 10 ye shall know yourselves (and shall know that) ye are (sons) of the Father that is (perfect: and likewise) ye shall know yourselves (to be citizens in heaven). And ye are the city (of God) or (that which affrighteth Satan). He gives an alternative for lines 8-10: is within you (and whosoever) knoweth (himself) shall find it. (Take pains therefore) to know yourselves, &c.

Fragment of a Gospel

⁷Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655. This is a broken leaf of a papyrus roll of the third century. Very little of the second column—only the beginnings of words—remains. (Take no thought) from morning until evening nor from evening to morning, either for your food, what ye shall eat, nor for your raiment, what ye shall put on. Much better are ye than the lilies which do not card nor spin... having one garment, what... and ye, who can add unto your stature? He shall give you your raiment. His disciples say unto him When wilt thou be manifest unto us and when shall we see thee? He saith: When ye have put off your raiment and are not ashamed. (Cf. the Gospel according to the Egyptians.) Col. 2. The sense of the lower part only can be made out with certainty. He said The key of knowledge have ye hidden: yourselves ye entered not in, and to them that were coming in ye opened not

⁸(after two lines) harmless as doves. The other little pieces of the leaf give no sense.

Fragment of Another Gospel

⁹ Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part V, 1908. A leaf of a parchment book of the third century, almost complete, first, before he doeth wrong he excuseth himself (or falleth into error). But take ye heed lest haply ye also suffer like things with them. For not only among the living do evildoers among men receive (retribution), but they endure also a punishment and great torment. And he took them with him and led them to the cleansing-place itself (or holy place) and walked in the Temple. And there came near a Pharisee, an high priest, Levi (?) by name, and met them and said unto the Saviour: Who hath given thee leave to tread this holy place and to look upon these holy vessels, without thy first bathing thyself, and without thy disciples having washed their feet, but unclean as thou art hast thou walked in this Temple, which is a clean place, wherein no man walketh but one that hath bathed himself and changed his clothes, nor presumeth to look upon these holy vessels?

¹⁰ And straightway (the Saviour) stood with his disciples and answered him: Art thou then clean, that art here in the Temple? He said unto him: I am clean, for I have bathed myself in the pool of David, and when I had gone down into it by the one ladder (stair), I came up by the other: and I have put on white and clean raiment, and then did I come, and have looked upon these holy vessels. The Saviour answered him and said: Woe unto you, ye blind, that see not! Thou hast bathed thyself in these waters that are poured forth, into which, night and day, dogs and swine are cast: and after thou hadst washed thyself didst scour thine outer skin, which the harlots also and flutegirls anoint and bathe and scour and beautify to (arouse) desire in men, but within it is (or they are) filled with scorpions and all evil. But I and my disciples, of whom thou sayest, that we are not washed, have been washed in living waters which came down from (God out of heaven). But woe unto them that (wash the outside, but within are unclean, is Dr. Swete's suggested supplement).

¹¹ The writer seems to show gross ignorance of Jewish matters in assuming that swine could be suffered in the neighbourhood of the Temple, and in other ways. Yet some have defended him on this score. We have no clue to the identity of the book from which the fragment comes. If it were not that Jesus is here spoken of as 'the Saviour', not 'the Lord', I should suggest the

Gospel of Peter. 'Saviour' is the common word in the Gnostic literature. The Gospel of the Egyptians is an obvious possibility: but all is uncertain. At least, the leaf is not from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: and it approaches the style of the Synoptists more nearly than do the next fragments.

B. Coptic

12 1. A fragmentary papyrus of the fourth or fifth century at Strasburg, edited by A. Jacoby in 1900. I follow the rendering in Hennecke's *Apokr. d. N.T.*, which seems better than Jacoby's. [front] that he may be known by his (hospitality to strangers) and be praised for his fruit: for ...Amen. Give me now thy (strength) O Father, that (they) with me may endure the world. Amen. (I have) received the crown (or sceptre) of the kingdom. I am become king through thee, Father. Thou wilt subject all things unto me. (Amen.) Through whom shall (the last) enemy be destroyed? Through (Christ). Through whom shall the sting of death be (destroyed)? (Through the) only-begotten. Amen. Unto whom belongeth the dominion? (Unto the Son.) Amen. [back] Now when he had ended all the (song of praise to his Father?) he turned himself to us and said (unto us): The hour is come when I shall be taken from you.

13 The spirit (is) willing, but the flesh is weak: (stay) and watch with me. But we the apostles wept, saying: He answered and said unto us: Fear not (because of) the destruction (of the body) but (fear) much more... the power of (darkness). Remember all (that I) have said unto you: (If) they have persecuted me, (they will) persecute you also.... (Ye) rejoice because I (have overcome the world). [front] (that I) may reveal unto you all my glory and show you all your strength and the mystery of your apostleship.... [back] Our eyes penetrated through all places. We beheld the glory of his Godhead and all the glory of his dominion. He clothed us with the power of (our) apostleship. We gain little from this. The scene is evidently the garden of Gethsemane. Our Lord utters a hymn to the Father: a faint resemblance to that in the Acts of John is perceptible. In it are clear reminiscences of 1 Cor. xv. Further reminiscences of St. John's Gospel occur just after this. The second fragment implies a vision of the glorified Christ seen by the apostles. The writing of which these are fragments cannot have been a very early production. The apostles speak in the first person plural: but we need not infer that the book was a Gospel or the Gospel according to the Twelve (though this is Revil-

lout's view). As in other cases (e.g. the Gospel of Peter) a single apostle would most likely have figured as the author in some other part of it.

¹⁴ 2. Bound up with the fifth-century manuscript which contains the Pistis Sophia is a slightly later leaf on which is the end of a book that may have been a Gospel. It has echoes of the last twelve verses of St. Mark. the righteous man. They went forth by threes to the four regions of the heaven and preached the gospel of the kingdom in the whole world, Christ working with them by the word of strengthening and the signs and wonders which accompanied them. And so have men learned of the kingdom of God in all the earth and in the whole world of Israel for a testimony for all nations that are from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof. 3. Similarly the remains of the ancient manuscript of the Acts of Paul include a single leaf of a Gospel narrative: ¹⁵ ... the works... they wondered greatly and pondered in their hearts. He said unto them: Why marvel ye that I raise the dead, or that I make the lame to go, or that I cleanse the lepers or raise up the sick, or that I have healed the palsied and the possessed, or that I have parted a few loaves and satisfied many, or that I have walked on the sea or that I have commanded the winds? If ye believe this and are convinced, then are ye great. For verily I say unto you: If ye say unto this mountain Lift thyself and be cast into the sea without having doubted in your soul, it shall happen unto you... as one of them was convinced. whose name was Simon, and who said: O Lord verily great are the works which thou doest. For we have never heard, nor have we seen [2nd page] ever a man that hath raised the dead, save thee. The Lord said unto him: Ye shall pray for the works, which I myself shall do... But the other works will I do straightway. For these I do for the sake of (? a momentary salvation in time, in these places where they are, that they may believe on him who hath sent me. Simon said unto him: O Lord, command me, that I may speak. He said unto him: Speak, Peter. For from that day he did call them by name. He said:

¹⁶ What then is this work which is greater than these... except the raising of the dead and the feeding of such a multitude? The Lord said unto him: There is somewhat that is greater than this, and blessed are they, that have believed with their whole heart. But Philip lifted up his voice in wrath saying: What manner of thing is this, that thou wilt teach us? But he said unto him: Thou ¹⁷ This again is not very instructive. The burden of it is, 'Greater works than these will I do'. There is nothing in it which goes outside the

sphere of the canonical Gospels, save Philip's anger. We shall see that in the Acts of Philip his proneness to wrath is emphasized.

AGRAPHA: SAYINGS OF THE LORD NOT IN THE GOSPELS

By this curious name, which means 'unwritten things', it is usual to designate sayings and traditions of Christ which are not recorded in our Gospels, and are not capable of being traced to their source. But collectors of them—especially Resch—have swept into their net all manner of fragments which do not come under the original definition. Many of these appear in other parts of this volume: but there is a residue for which a place must be found here. I distinguish two classes. First, those which are found as additions to the text of our Gospels, in manuscripts of the Gospels; second, those which are quoted by other writers.

A

1. At Matt. xx. 28, Codex Bezae (D of the Gospels, at Cambridge) and some Latin and Syriac authorities add: But ye seek (or seek ye) to increase from smallness and from the greater to become less. And when ye go in and are invited to dine, do not recline in the prominent place lest haply one more illustrious than thou come in, and he that bade thee to dinner say to thee: Go yet lower down; and thou shalt be put to shame. But if thou recline in the lesser place, and a lesser man come in, he that bade thee to dinner will say to thee: Get thee yet higher up; and this will be profitable to thee. Cf. Luke xiv. 8-10. 2. At Luke vi. 4, Codex Bezae has: On the same day, seeing one working on the sabbath, he said unto him: Man, if indeed thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed: but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed, and a transgressor of the law.

3. At Matt. iii. 17, the fourth-century Latin Codex Vercellensis has: And when he was being baptized, a very great light shone round about from the water, so that all that had come thither feared. The Codex Sangermanensis (g) has: And when Jesus was being baptized, a great light shone from the water, so that all that were gathered together feared. The same addition is found in many early writers. Justin Martyr (Dialogue with Trypho, 88) says, 'a fire was kindled in Jordan'. Ephraem Syrus (fourth century) has, 'a light rising over the water'. See also the Gospel of the Ebionites. 4. At Mark xvi. 3, after the words 'roll away the stone from the door of the sepulchre', the early Codex Bobiensis k (at Turin) has: But suddenly at the third hour of the day

(or by day) there came darkness throughout all the globe of the earth; and angels came down from the heavens, and rising in the glory (brightness) of the living God they went up together with him, and immediately there was light. Then the women drew near to the sepulchre and saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great.

Compare the account of the resurrection in the Gospel of Peter.

5. The 'Freer-logion'.

At Mark xvi. 14, W, a fifth-century uncial Greek manuscript of Mark discovered in recent years in Egypt, and purchased by Mr. Freer of Detroit, has: (Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen) and they made excuse (defended themselves), saying: This age of wickedness and unbelief is under Satan who, by means of unclean spirits, permitteth not men to apprehend the true power of God: therefore do thou now reveal thy righteousness. They, then, said these things unto Christ. And Christ said unto them: The limit of the years of the power of Satan is fulfilled: but other fearful things draw near even upon them for whom, because they had sinned, I was delivered unto death that they may return unto the truth and sin no more: that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven. But go ye into all the world, &c.

Part of this remarkable addition was already known through St. Jerome, who in the Dialogue against Pelagius, ii. 15, says that it was found in some copies, and especially Greek manuscripts. He has: And they excused themselves (lit. made satisfaction) saying: This age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan who (which) by unclean spirits suffereth not the true power of God to be perceived: therefore now forthwith reveal thou thy righteousness. Dr. Swete observes: 'It seems probable that almost from the beginning there were two recensions (of the Last Twelve Verses) of which one contained our passage and the other did not, and that the latter for some reason was commonly preferred.'... 'The style of the addition does not differ markedly from the language of the rest of the Appendix.' It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to observe that the Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark and the story of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53–viii. 11) form no part of the original text of the Gospels.

To discuss other small additions or supposed additions to the text would take us into the sphere of textual criticism.

B

Of sayings, &c., preserved in other sources the following are the most important: 1. It is more blessed to give than to receive. Quoted by Paul at Miletus, Acts xx. 35. 2. Wherein I find you, there will I judge you. Quoted by Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 47), by Clement of Alexandria, and by many others; one writer attributes it to the prophet Ezekiel. 3. Ask ye for the greater things, and the small shall be added unto you: and ask for the heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added unto you. Origen (on prayer, 2) quotes both parts of this saying; Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 24. 158) the first part only. 4. Be ye approved (or tried) money-changers (bankers). Quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 28. 177) and many others. Paul's words in 1 Thess. v. 21, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good', are really a comment on the saying, and show its meaning.

5. The 'Second Epistle of Clement', v. 2-4 has: For the Lord saith: Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. And Peter answering saith unto him: If then the wolves tear the lambs in pieces? Jesus said unto Peter: Let not the lambs fear the wolves, after they are dead. And do not ye fear them that kill you, and can do nothing unto you, but fear him who, after ye are dead, hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the hell of fire. 6. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Excerpts from Theodotus, 2: As the Valentinians say... on this account the Saviour saith: Be thou saved (or Save thyself, thou) and thy soul. 7. TERTULLIAN on Baptism, 20. The disciples were tempted because they fell asleep, so that they forsook the Lord when he was taken, and even he who abode with him and used the sword, so that he even denied thrice: for the saying had gone before, that: No man that is not tempted shall obtain the kingdom of heaven.

Didascalia, ii. 8. The scripture saith: A man that is not tempted is not approved. 8. ORIGEN on Jeremiah, hom. 3. 3 (Latin). I have read somewhere that the Saviour said—and I question whether some one has assumed the person of the Saviour, or called the words to memory, or whether it be true that is said—but at any rate the Saviour himself says: He that is near me is near the fire. He that is far from me is far from the kingdom. DIDYMUS on Ps. lxxxviii. 8, quotes the same in Greek. 9. In the Apostolic Church Order is this curious passage. Peter said: We have gone too fast in making ordinances:

let us signify accurately concerning the offering of the body and the blood. John said: Ye have forgotten, brethren, when the Teacher asked for the bread and the cup, and blessed them, saying: This is my body and my blood, that he permitted not these women to be (stand) with us. Martha said: It was because of Mary, because he saw her smiling. Mary said: I laughed not yet (or I laughed no more): for he said unto us before that: That which is weak shall be saved by means of that which is strong.

(So the Greek and Latin texts. The Syriac, which seems better, has:) I did not verily laugh, but I remembered the words of our Lord, and was glad: for ye know that he said unto us aforetime, when he taught us, that, &c. 10. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Strom. v. 10. 63. For the prophet saith: Who shall understand a parable of the Lord save he that is wise and knowledgeable and loveth his Lord? For it is given to few to contain all things: for it is not as grudging (saith he) that the Lord commanded in a certain Gospel: My secret (mystery) for me and for the sons of mine house. Clementine Homilies, xix. 20. For we remember our Lord and Teacher, how he charged us saying: Ye shall keep my secrets (mysteries) for me and for the sons of mine house. The source of the words is Isa. xxiv. 16 (Greek).

11. JUSTIN, Dialogue with Trypho, 35. For he said: Many shall come in my name clad outwardly with sheep skins, but within they are ravening wolves. And: There shall be divisions (schisms) and heresies. 12. Acts of Philip, 34. For the Lord said unto me: If ye make not that which is below in you to be above, and the left hand things to be right, ye shall not enter into my kingdom. Linus, Martyrdom of Peter, 17. The Lord said in a mystery: If ye make not the left hand as the right and the right as the left, and the things that are above as those that are below, and the things that are before as those that are behind, ye shall not know the kingdom of God. 13. IRENAEUS against Heresies, v. 33. 3. As the elders remember, which saw John the Lord's disciple, that they heard from him how the Lord taught concerning those times, and said: The days shall come wherein vines shall grow each having ten thousand branches, and on one branch ten thousand shoots, and on every shoot ten thousand clusters, and in every cluster ten thousand grapes, and every grape when it is pressed shall yield five and twenty measures (metrêtes) of wine. And when any of the saints taketh hold of one of the clusters, another will cry out: I am a better cluster, take me, through me bless thou the Lord. Likewise also he said that a grain of wheat shall bring forth

ten thousand ears, and every ear shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain shall yield five double pounds of white clean flour; and all other fruits and seeds and plants according to the agreement that followeth with them (sc. in the same proportion): and all animals using those foods which are got from the earth shall be peaceable and in concord one with another, subject unto men with all obedience. These things Papias also, a hearer of John, and an associate of Polycarp, an ancient man, testifies in writing in the fourth of his books—for he wrote five. And he adds, saying: But these things are credible unto believers. And, he says, when Judas the traitor believed not, and asked: How then shall these growths be accomplished by the Lord? the Lord said: They shall see who shall come thereto.

HIPPOLYTUS on Daniel, 4. 60. So when the Lord was telling the disciples about the future kingdom of the saints, how glorious and wonderful it should be, Judas was struck by his words, and said: Who then shall see these things? And the Lord said: These things shall they see who are worthy. In the Jewish Apocalypse of Baruch (xxix. 5) is a passage describing the Messianic kingdom in similar terms: and other Rabbinic parallels are not uncommon. The words in Baruch are: The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousand fold, and on one vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. The Papias text is somewhat fuller. One more parallel may be quoted, from one of the writings which I have omitted from the collection. In an Encomium on John the Baptist attributed—absurdly—to Chrysostom (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 1913, p. 348), an Apocalypse by James the Lord's brother is quoted (pretended to have been found in a library at Jerusalem).

(The Saviour tells the apostles of the glories of John Baptist, who lives in the third heaven and ferries those who honour him on earth in a golden boat over the river of fire. He then takes the apostles to Paradise, and Thomas asks him how much fruit the trees bear.) The Saviour said: I will hide nothing from you about the things concerning which ye have questioned me. As regardeth the vine, concerning the fruit of which ye have asked, there are ten thousand bunches of grapes upon it, and each bunch will produce six metres (the same word as in Irenaeus) of wine. As regards the palm-trees in Paradise, each cluster yieldeth ten thousand dates, and each cluster is as long as a man is high. So likewise is it in the matter of the fig-

trees: each shoot produceth ten thousand figs, and if three men were to partake of one fig, each of them would be satisfied. On each ear of the wheat which is in Paradise there are ten thousand grains, and each grain produceth six measures of flour. And the cedars also are on the same scale: each tree produceth ten thousand cones and is of a very great height. And the apple-tree and the thourakion-tree are of the same height; there are ten thousand apples on each shoot, and if three men were to partake of one apple, each of them would be satisfied.

The Gospel According to Peter

TRANSLATED BY J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON

2nd century

A second-century account of the passion and resurrection, found in Egypt in 1886.

The Gospel According to Peter. 1 But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of his judges. And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commandeth that the Lord be taken, saying to them, What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do. 2 And there was standing there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and, knowing that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and asked the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and asked his body. And Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him, we purposed to bury him, especially as the sabbath draweth on: for it is written in the law, that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death. 3 And he delivered him to the people on the day before the unleavened bread, their feast. And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over him. And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgment, saying, Judge righteously, O king of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks: others pricked him with a reed; and some scourged him, saying, With this honour let us honour the Son of God.

4 And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But he held his peace, as though having no pain. And when they had raised the cross, they wrote the title: This is the king of Israel. And having set his garments before him they parted them among them, and cast lots for them. And one of those malefactors reproached them, saying, We for the evils that we have done have suffered thus, but this man, who hath be-

come the Saviour of men, what wrong hath he done to you? And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment. 5 And it was noon, and darkness came over all Judæa: and they were troubled and distressed, lest the sun had set, whilst he was yet alive: [for] it is written for them, that the sun set not on him that hath been put to death. And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar. And they mixed and gave him to drink, and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down. And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it he was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

6 And then they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth, and the whole earth quaked, and great fear arose. Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour: and the Jews rejoiced, and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen what good things he had done. And he took the Lord, and washed him, and rolled him in a linen cloth, and brought him into his own tomb, which was called the Garden of Joseph. 7 Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins: the judgement hath drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple. And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.

8 But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured and beat their breasts saying, If by his death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how righteous he is,—the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, Give us soldiers, that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away, and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead and do us evil. And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. And with them came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone together with the centurion and the soldiers, they all together who were there set it at the door of the sepulchre; and they affixed seven seals, and they pitched a tent there

and guarded it. And early in the morning as the sabbath was drawing on, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about, that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed.

9 And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard two by two in a watch, there was a great voice in the heaven; and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with great light and approach the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled of itself and made way in part; and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in. 10 When therefore those soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurion and the elders; for they too were hard by keeping guard. And, as they declared what things they had seen, again they see three men come forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross following them: and of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou hast preached to them that sleep. And a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

11 They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and shew these things to Pilate. And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again are seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sepulchre. When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed and saying, Truly he was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am pure from the blood of the Son of God: but it was ye who determined this. Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen: For it is better, say they, for us to be guilty of the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

12 And at dawn upon the Lord's day Mary Magdalen, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which women are wont to do for those that die and for those that are beloved by them—she took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although on that day on which he

was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at his sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by him and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home.

13 And they went and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright: who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not [here]; for he is risen and gone thither, whence he was sent. Then the women feared and fled. 14 Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved: and each one, being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord...

The Epistle of the Apostles

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

c. AD 150

A letter from the eleven apostles to the churches, in the form of a revelation after the resurrection, against Simon and Cerinthus: Christ's descent through the heavens, the answer to the question of the resurrection of the flesh, the coming of the Lord and the picture of the last things.

The authorities for the text are: (a) a Coptic MS. of the fourth or fifth century at Cairo, mutilated; (b) a complete version in Ethiopic; (c) a leaf of a fifth-century MS. in Latin, palimpsest, at Vienna. The only edition which makes use of all the authorities is C. Schmidt's, 1919. The Ethiopic was previously edited by Guerrier in *Patrologia orientalis* under the title of Testament of our Lord in Galilee. A notice of this text by Guerrier in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (1907) enabled me to identify it with the Coptic text, of which Schmidt had given a preliminary account to the Berlin Academy. As to the date and character of the book, Schmidt's verdict is that it was written in Asia Minor about A. D. 160 by an orthodox Catholic. The orthodoxy has been questioned (see a review by G. Bardy in *Revue Biblique*, 1921). No ancient writer mentions it, and very few traces of its use can be found: the (third?)-century poet Commodian seems to use it in one place (see § 11).

There has so far been no English rendering of the text; my version depends on Schmidt and Guerrier. In the Ethiopic version another writing, a prophecy of our Lord concerning the signs of the end, is prefixed to the Epistle. Parts of this recur in the Syriac Testament of the Lord and part is repeated in the Epistle itself. It is noteworthy that this prophecy ends with a passage which is identical with one quoted by Clement of Alexandria from a source he does not name—only calling it 'the Scripture'. Testament 11 in Guerrier. And the righteous, that have walked in the way of righteousness, shall inherit the glory of God; and the power shall be given to them which no eye hath seen and no ear heard; and they shall rejoice in my kingdom

Clem. Alex. Protrept. ciii. But the saints of the Lord shall inherit the glory of God, and his power.

Tell me what glory, O blessed one. That which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it come up upon the heart of man; and they shall rejoice at the kingdom of their Lord for ever. Amen. A similar passage is in the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 22. On the possible derivation from the Apocalypse of Elias see my *Lost Apocrypha of O. T.*, p. 54. The first four leaves of the Coptic MS. are lost, so we depend on the Ethiopic for the opening of the text. 1 The book which Jesus Christ revealed unto his disciples: and how that Jesus Christ revealed the book for the company (college) of the apostles, the disciples of Jesus Christ, even the book which is for all men. Simon and Cerinthus, the false apostles, concerning whom it is written that no man shall cleave unto them, for there is in them deceit wherewith they bring men to destruction. (The book hath been written) that ye may be steadfast and not flinch nor be troubled, and depart not from the word of the Gospel which ye have heard. Like as we heard it, we keep it in remembrance and have written it for the whole world. We commend you our sons and our daughters in joy (to the grace of God (?)) in the name of God the Father the Lord of the world, and of Jesus Christ. Let grace be multiplied upon you.

2 We, John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas, write unto the churches of the east and the west, of the north and the south, declaring and imparting unto you that which concerneth our Lord Jesus Christ: we do write according as we have seen and heard and touched him, after that he was risen from the dead: and how that he revealed unto us things mighty and wonderful and true. 3 This know we: that our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ is God the Son of God, who was sent of God the Lord of the whole world, the maker and creator of it, who is named by all names, and high above all powers, Lord of lords, King of kings, Ruler of rulers, the heavenly one, that sitteth above the cherubim and seraphim at the right hand of the throne of the Father: who by his word made the heavens, and formed the earth and that which is in it, and set bounds to the sea that it should not pass: the deeps also and fountains, that they should spring forth and flow over the earth: the day and the night, the sun and the moon, did he establish, and the stars in the heaven: that did separate the light from the darkness: that called forth hell, and in the twinkling of an eye ordained the rain of the winter, the snow

(cloud), the hail, and the ice, and the days in their several seasons: that maketh the earth to quake and again establisheth it: that created man in his own image, after his likeness, and by the fathers of old and the prophets is it declared (or, and spake in parables with the fathers of old and the prophets in verity), of whom the apostles preached, and whom the disciples did touch. In God, the Lord, the Son of God, do we believe, that he is the word become flesh: that of Mary the holy virgin he took a body, begotten of the Holy Ghost, not of the will (lust) of the flesh, but by the will of God: that he was wrapped in swaddling clothes in Bethlehem and made manifest, and grew up and came to ripe age, when also we beheld it.

4 This did our Lord Jesus Christ, who was sent by Joseph and Mary his mother to be taught. [And] when he that taught him said unto him: Say Alpha: then answered he and said: Tell thou me first what is Beta (probably: Tell thou me first what is (Alpha and then will I tell thee what is) Beta. Cf. the Marcosian story quoted by Irenaeus (see above, Gospel of Thomas, p. 15). The story is in our texts of the Gospel of Thomas, and runs through all the Infancy Gospels). This thing which then came to pass is true and of verity. 5 Thereafter was there a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and they bade him with his mother and his brethren, and he changed water into wine. He raised the dead, he caused the lame to walk: him whose hand was withered he caused to stretch it out, and the woman which had suffered an issue of blood twelve years touched the hem of his garment and was healed in the same hour. And when we marvelled at the miracle which was done, he said: Who touched me? Then said we: Lord, the press of men hath touched thee. But he answered and said unto us: I perceive that a virtue is gone out of me. Straightway that woman came before him, and answered and said unto him: Lord, I touched thee. And he answered and said unto her: Go, thy faith hath made thee whole. Thereafter he made the deaf to hear and the blind to see; out of them that were possessed he cast out the unclean spirits, and cleansed the lepers. The spirit which dwelt in a man, whereof the name was Legion, cried out against Jesus, saying: Before the time of our destruction is come, thou art come to drive us out. But the Lord Jesus rebuked him, saying: Go out of this man and do him no hurt. And he entered into the swine and drowned them in the water and they were choked.

Thereafter he did walk upon the sea, and the winds blew, and he cried out against them (rebuked them), and the waves of the sea were made calm. And

when we his disciples had no money, we asked him: What shall we do because of the tax-gatherer? And he answered and told us: Let one of you cast an hook into the deep, and take out a fish, and he shall find therein a penny: that give unto the tax-gatherer for me and you. And thereafter when we had no bread, but only five loaves and two fishes, he commanded the people to sit them down, and the number of them was five thousand, besides children and women. We did set pieces of bread before them, and they ate and were filled, and there remained over, and we filled twelve baskets full of the fragments, asking one another and saying: What mean these five loaves? They are the symbol of our faith in the Lord of the Christians (in the great christendom), even in the Father, the Lord Almighty, and in Jesus Christ our redeemer, in the Holy Ghost the comforter, in the holy church, and in the remission of sins.

6 These things did our Lord and Saviour reveal unto us and teach us. And we do even as he, that ye may become partakers in the grace of our Lord and in our ministry and our giving of thanks (glory), and think upon life eternal. Be ye steadfast and waver not in the knowledge and confidence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he will have mercy on you and save you everlastingly, world without end.

Here begins the Coptic text.

7 Cerinthus and Simon are come to go to and fro in the world, but they are enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, for they do pervert the word and the true thing, even (faith in) Jesus Christ. Keep yourselves therefore far from them, for death is in them, and great pollution and corruption, even in these on whom shall come judgement and the end and everlasting destruction. 8 Therefore have we not shrunk from writing unto you concerning the testimony of Christ our Saviour, of what he did, when we followed with him, how he enlightened our understanding... 9 Concerning whom we testify that the Lord is he who was crucified by Pontius Pilate and Archelaus between the two thieves (and with them he was taken down from the tree of the cross, Eth.), and was buried in a place which is called the place of a skull (Kranion). And thither went three women, Mary, she that was kin to Martha, and Mary Magdalene (Sarrha, Martha, and Mary, Eth.), and took ointments to pour upon the body, weeping and mourning over that which was come to pass. And when they drew near to the sepulchre, they looked in

and found not the body (Eth. they found the stone rolled away and opened the entrance).

10 And as they mourned and wept, the Lord showed himself unto them and said to them: For whom weep ye? weep no more, I am he whom ye seek. But let one of you go to your brethren and say: Come ye, the Master is risen from the dead. Martha (Mary, Eth.) came and told us. We said unto her: What have we to do with thee, woman? He that is dead and buried, is it possible that he should live? And we believed her not that the Saviour was risen from the dead. Then she returned unto the Lord and said unto him: None of them hath believed me, that thou livest. He said: Let another of you go unto them and tell them again. Mary (Sarrha, Eth.) came and told us again, and we believed her not; and she returned unto the Lord and she also told him.

11 Then said the Lord unto Mary and her sisters: Let us go unto them. And he came and found us within (sitting veiled or fishing, Eth.), and called us out; but we thought that it was a phantom and believed not that it was the Lord. Then said he unto us: Come, fear ye not. I am your master, even he, O Peter, whom thou didst deny thrice; and dost thou now deny again? And we came unto him, doubting in our hearts whether it were he. Then said he unto us: Wherefore doubt ye still, and are unbelieving? I am he that spake unto you of my flesh and my death and my resurrection. But that ye may know that I am he, do thou, Peter, put thy finger into the print of the nails in mine hands, and thou also, Thomas, put thy finger into the wound of the spear in my side; but thou, Andrew, look on my feet and see whether they press the earth; for it is written in the prophet: A phantom of a devil maketh no footprint on the earth.

12 And we touched him, that we might learn of a truth whether he were risen in the flesh; and we fell on our faces (and worshipped him) confessing our sin, that we had been unbelieving. Then said our Lord and Saviour unto us: Rise up, and I will reveal unto you that which is above the heaven and in the heaven, and your rest which is in the kingdom of heaven. For my Father hath given me power (sent me, Eth.) to take you up thither, and them also that believe on me. 13 Now that which he revealed unto us is this, which he spake: It came to pass when I was about (minded) to come hither from the Father of all things, and passed through the heavens, then did I put on the wisdom of the Father, and I put on the power of his might. I was in heaven, and I passed by the archangels and the angels in their likeness, like as if I

were one of them, among the principedoms and powers. I passed through them because I possessed the wisdom of him that had sent me. Now the chief captain of the angels, [is] Michael, and Gabriel and Uriel and Raphael followed me unto the fifth firmament (heaven), for they thought in their heart that I was one of them; such power was given me of my Father. And on that day did I adorn the archangels with a wonderful voice (so Copt.: Eth., Lat., I made them quake—amazed them), so that they should go unto the altar of the Father and serve and fulfil the ministry until I should return unto him. And so wrought I the likeness by my wisdom; for I became all things in all, that I might praise the dispensation of the Father and fulfil the glory of him that sent me (the verbs might well be transposed) and return unto him. (Here the Latin omits a considerable portion of text without notice, to near the beginning of c. 17.)

14 For ye know that the angel Gabriel brought the message unto Mary. And we answered: Yea, Lord. He answered and said unto us: Remember ye not, then, that I said unto you a little while ago: I became an angel among the angels, and I became all things in all? We said unto him: Yea, Lord. Then answered he and said unto us: On that day whereon I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared unto Mary and spake with her. Her heart accepted me, and she believed (She believed and laughed, Eth.), and I formed myself and entered into her body. I became flesh, for I alone was a minister unto myself in that which concerned Mary (I was mine own messenger, Eth.) in the appearance of the shape of an angel. For so must I needs (or, was I wont to) do. Thereafter did I return to my Father (Copt. After my return to the Father, and run on).

15 But do ye commemorate my death. Now when the Passover (Easter, pascha) cometh, one of you shall be cast into prison for my name's sake; and he will be in grief and sorrow, because ye keep the Easter while he is in prison and separated from you, for he will be sorrowful because he keepeth not Easter with you. And I will send my power in the form of mine angel Gabriel, and the doors of the prison shall open. And he shall come forth and come unto you and keep the night-watch with you until the cock crow. And when ye have accomplished the memorial which is made of me, and the Agape (love-feast), he shall again be cast into prison for a testimony, until he shall come out thence and preach that which I have delivered unto you. And we said unto him: Lord, is it then needful that we should again take the cup and

drink? (Lord, didst not thou thyself fulfil the drinking of the Passover? is it then needful that we should accomplish it again? Eth.) He said unto us: Yea, it is needful, until the day when I come again, with them that have been put to death for my sake (come with my wounds, Eth.).

16 Then said we to him: Lord, that which thou hast revealed unto us (revealed, Eth.) is great. Wilt thou come in the power of any creature or in an appearance of any kind? (In what power or form wilt thou come? Eth.) He answered and said unto us: Verily I say unto you, I shall come like the sun when it is risen, and my brightness will be seven times the brightness thereof! The wings of the clouds shall bear me in brightness, and the sign of the cross shall go before me, and I shall come upon earth to judge the quick and the dead. 17 We said unto him: Lord, after how many years shall this come to pass? He said unto us: When the hundredth part and the twentieth part is fulfilled, between the Pentecost and the feast of unleavened bread, then shall the coming of my Father be (so Copt.: When an hundred and fifty years are past, in the days of the feast of Passover and Pentecost, &c., Eth.:... (imperfect word) year is fulfilled, between the unleavened bread and Pentecost shall be the coming of my Father, Lat.).

We said unto him: Now sayest thou unto us: I will come; and how sayest thou: He that sent me is he that shall come? Then said he to us: I am wholly in the Father and my Father is in me. Then said we to him: Wilt thou indeed forsake us until thy coming? Where can we find a master? But he answered and said unto us: Know ye not, then, that like as until now I have been here, so also was I there, with him that sent me? And we said to him: Lord, is it then possible that thou shouldst be both here and there? But he answered us: I am wholly in the Father and the Father in me, because of (in regard of) the likeness of the form and the power and the fullness and the light and the full measure and the voice. I am the word, I am become unto him a thing, that is to say (word gone) of the thought, fulfilled in the type (likeness); I have come into the Ogdoad (eighth number), which is the Lord's day. (In place of these sentences Eth. has: I am of his resemblance and form, of his power and completeness, and of his light. I am his complete (fulfilled, entire) Word.

18 But it came to pass after he was crucified, and dead and arisen again, when the work was fulfilled which was accomplished in the flesh, and he was crucified and the ascension come to pass at the end of the days, then said he thus, &c. It is an interpolation, in place of words which the translator did

not understand, or found heretical.) But the whole fulfilment of the fulfilment shall ye see after the redemption which hath come to pass by me, and ye shall see me, how I go up unto my Father which is in heaven. But behold, now, I give unto you a new commandment: Love one another and [a leaf lost in Copt.] obey one another, that peace may rule alway among you. Love your enemies, and what ye would not that man do unto you, that do unto no man. 19 And this preach ye also and teach them that believe on me, and preach the kingdom of heaven of my Father, and how my Father hath given me the power, that ye may bring near the children of my heavenly Father. Preach ye, and they shall obtain faith, that ye may be they for whom it is ordained that they shall bring his children unto heaven.

And we said unto him: Lord, unto thee it is possible to accomplish that whereof thou tellest us; but how shall we be able to do it? He said to us: Verily I say unto you, preach and proclaim as I command you, for I will be with you, for it is my good pleasure to be with you, that ye may be heirs with me in the kingdom of heaven, even the kingdom of him that sent me. Verily I say unto you, ye shall be my brethren and my friends, for my Father hath found pleasure in you: and so also shall they be that believe on me by your means. Verily I say unto you, such and so great joy hath my Father prepared for you that the angels and the powers desired and do desire to see it and look upon it; but it is not given unto them to behold the glory of my Father. We said unto him: Lord, what is this whereof thou speakest to us?

Copt. begins again: words are missing. He answered us: Ye shall behold a light, more excellent than that which shineth... (shineth more brightly than the light, and is more perfect than perfection. And the Son shall become perfect through the Father who is Light, for the Father is perfect which bringeth to pass death and resurrection, and ye shall see a perfection more perfect than the perfect. And I am wholly at the right hand of the Father, even in him that maketh perfect. So Eth.: Copt. has gaps. And we said unto him: Lord, in all things art thou become salvation and life unto us, for that thou makest known such a hope unto us. And he said to us: Be of good courage and rest in me. Verily I say unto you, your rest shall be above (?), in the place where is neither eating nor drinking, nor care (Copt. joy) nor sorrow, nor passing away of them that are therein: for ye shall have no part in (the things of earth, Eth.) but ye shall be received in the everlastingness of my Father. Like as I am in him, so shall ye also be in me.

Again we said unto him: In what form? in the fashion of angels, or in flesh? And he answered and said unto us: Lo, I have put on your flesh, wherein I was born and crucified, and am risen again through my Father which is in heaven, that the prophecy of David the prophet might be fulfilled, in regard of that which was declared concerning me and my death and resurrection, saying: Lord, they are increased that fight with me, and many are they that are risen up against me. Many there be that say to my soul: There is no help for him in his God. But thou, O Lord, art my defender: thou art my worship, and the lifter up of my head. I did call upon the Lord with my voice and he heard me (out of the high place of his temple, Eth.). I laid me down and slept, and rose up again: for thou, O Lord, art my defender.

I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about. Up, Lord, and help me, O my God: for thou hast smitten down all them that without cause are mine enemies: thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly. Salvation belongeth unto the Lord, and his good pleasure is upon his people (Ps. iii. 1-8). If, therefore, all the words which were spoken by the prophets have been fulfilled in me (for I myself was in them), how much more shall that which I say unto you come to pass indeed, that he which sent me may be glorified by you and by them that believe on me? 20 And when he had said this unto us, we said to him: In all things hast thou had mercy on us and saved us, and hast revealed all things unto us; but yet would we ask of thee somewhat if thou give us leave. And he said unto us: I know that ye pay heed, and that your heart is well-pleased when ye hear me: now concerning that which ye desire, I will speak good words unto you. 21 For verily I say unto you: Like as my Father hath raised me from the dead, so shall ye also rise (in the flesh, Eth.) and be taken up into the highest heaven, unto the place whereof I have told you from the beginning, unto the place which he who sent me hath prepared for you. And so will I accomplish all dispensations (all grace, Eth.), even I who am unbegotten and yet begotten of mankind, who am without flesh and yet have borne flesh (and have grown up like unto you that were born in flesh, Eth.): for to that end am I come, that (gap in Copt.: Eth. continues) ye might rise from the dead in your flesh, in the second birth, even a vesture that shall not decay, together with all them that hope and believe in him that sent me: for so is the will of my Father, that I should give unto you, and unto them whom it pleaseth me, the hope of the kingdom.

Then said we unto him: Great is that which thou sufferest us to hope, and tellest us. And he answered and said: Believe ye that everything that I tell you shall come to pass? We answered and said: Yea, Lord. (Copt. resumes for a few lines: then another gap. I follow Eth.) He said unto us: Verily I say unto you, that I have obtained the whole power of my Father, that I may bring back into light them that dwell in darkness, them that are in corruption into incorruption, them that are in death into life, and that I may loose them that are in fetters. For that which is impossible with men, is possible with the Father. I am the hope of them that despair, the helper of them that have no saviour, the wealth of the poor, the health of the sick, and the resurrection of the dead.

22 When he had thus said, we said unto him: Lord, is it true that the flesh shall be judged together with the soul and the spirit, and that the one part shall rest in heaven and the other part be punished everlastingly yet living? And he said unto us: (Copt. resumes) How long will ye inquire and doubt? 23 Again we said unto him: Lord, there is necessity upon us to inquire of thee—because thou hast commanded us to preach—that we ourselves may learn assuredly of thee and be profitable preachers, and that they which are instructed by us may believe in thee. Therefore must we needs inquire of thee. 24 He answered us and said: Verily I say unto you, the resurrection of the flesh shall come to pass with the soul therein and the spirit. And we said unto him: Lord, is it then possible that that which is dissolved and brought to nought should become whole? and we ask thee not as unbelieving, neither as if it were impossible unto thee; but verily we believe that that which thou sayest shall come to pass. And he was wroth with us and said: O ye of little faith, how long will ye ask questions? But what ye will, tell it me, and I myself will tell you without grudging: only keep ye my commandments and do that which I bid you, and turn not away your face from any man, that I turn not my face away from you, but without shrinking and fear and without respect of persons, minister ye in the way that is direct and narrow and strait. So shall my Father himself rejoice over you.

25 Again we said unto him: Lord, already are we ashamed that we question thee oft-times and burden thee. And he answered and said unto us: I know that in faith and with your whole heart ye do question me; therefore do I rejoice over you, for verily I say unto you: I rejoice, and my Father that is in me, because ye question me; and your importunity (shamelessness) is unto

me rejoicing and unto you it giveth life. And when he had so said unto us, we were glad that we had questioned him, and we said to him: Lord, in all things thou makest us alive and hast mercy on us. Wilt thou now declare unto us that which we shall ask thee? Then said he unto us: Is it the flesh that passeth away, or is it the spirit? We said unto him: The flesh is it that passeth away. Then said he unto us: That which hath fallen shall rise again, and that which was lost shall be found, and that which was weak shall recover, that in these things that are so created the glory of my Father may be revealed. As he hath done unto me, so will I do unto all that believe in me.

26 Verily I say unto you: the flesh shall arise, and the soul, alive, that their defence may come to pass on that day in regard of that that they have done, whether it be good or evil: that there may be a choosing-out of the faithful who have kept the commandments of my Father that sent me; and so shall the judgement be accomplished with strictness. For my Father said unto me: My Son, in the day of judgement thou shalt have no respect for the rich, neither pity for the poor, but according to the sins of every man shalt thou deliver him unto everlasting torment. But unto my beloved that have done the commandments of my Father that sent me will I give the rest of life in the kingdom of my Father which is in heaven, and they shall behold that which he hath given me. And he hath given me authority to do that which I will, and to give that which I have promised and determined to give and grant unto them.

27 For to that end went I down unto the place of Lazarus, and preached unto the righteous and the prophets, that they might come out of the rest which is below and come up into that which is above; and I poured out upon them with my right hand the water (?) (baptism, Eth.) of life and forgiveness and salvation from all evil, as I have done unto you and unto them that believe on me. But if any man believe on me and do not my commandments, although he have confessed my name, he hath no profit therefrom but runneth a vain race: for such will find themselves in perdition and destruction, because they have despised my commandments. 28 But so much the more have I redeemed you, the children of light, from all evil and from the authority of the rulers (archons), and every one that believeth on me by your means. For that which I have promised unto you will I give unto them also, that they may come out of the prison-house and the fetters of the rulers. We answered and said: Lord, thou hast given unto us the rest of life and hast giv-

en us (joy?) by wonders, unto the confirmation of faith: wilt thou now preach the same unto us, seeing that thou hast preached it unto the (righteous) and the prophets? Then said he unto us: Verily I say unto you, all that have believed on me and that believe in him that sent me will I take up into the heaven, unto the place which my Father hath prepared for the elect, and I will give you the kingdom, the chosen kingdom, in rest, and everlasting life.

29 But all they that have offended against my commandments and have taught other doctrine, (perverting) the Scripture and adding thereto, striving after their own glory, and that teach with other words them that believe on me in uprightness, if they make them fall thereby, shall receive everlasting punishment. We said unto him: Lord, shall there then be teaching by others, diverse from that which thou hast spoken unto us? He said unto us: It must needs be, that the evil and the good may be made manifest; and the judgment shall be manifest upon them that do these things, and according to their works shall they be judged and shall be delivered unto death.. Again we said unto him: Lord, blessed are we in that we see thee and hear thee declaring such things, for our eyes have beheld these great wonders that thou hast done. He answered and said unto us: Yea, rather blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed, for they shall be called children of the kingdom, and they shall be perfect among the perfect, and I will be unto them life in the kingdom of my Father.

Again we said unto him: Lord, how shall men be able to believe that thou wilt depart and leave us; for thou sayest unto us: There shall come a day and an hour when I shall ascend unto my Father? 30 But he said unto us: Go ye and preach unto the twelve tribes, and preach also unto the heathen, and to all the land of Israel from the east to the west and from the south unto the north, and many shall believe on (me) the Son of God. But we said unto him: Lord, who will believe us, or hearken unto us, or (how shall we be able, Eth.) to teach the powers and signs and wonders which thou hast done? Then answered he and said to us: Go ye and preach the mercifulness of my Father, and that which he hath done through me will I myself do through you, for I am in you, and I will give you my peace, and I will give you a power of my spirit, that ye may prophesy to them unto life eternal. And unto the others also will I give my power, that they may teach the residue of the peoples.

(Six leaves lost in Copt.: Eth. continues.) 31 And behold a man shall meet you, whose name is Saul, which being interpreted is Paul: he is a Jew, circum-

cised according to the law, and he shall receive my voice from heaven with fear and terror and trembling. And his eyes shall be blinded, and by your hands by the sign of the cross shall they be protected (healed: other Elh. MSS. with spittle by your hands shall his eyes, &c.). Do ye unto him all that I have done unto you. Deliver it (? the word of God) unto the other. And at the same time that man shall open his eyes and praise the Lord, even my Father which is in heaven. He shall obtain power among the people and shall preach and instruct; and many that hear him shall obtain glory and be redeemed. But thereafter shall men be wroth with him and deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and he shall bear witness before kings that are mortal, and his end shall be that he shall turn unto me, whereas he persecuted me at the first. He shall preach and teach and abide with the elect, as a chosen vessel and a wall that shall not be overthrown, yea, the last of the last shall become a preacher unto the Gentiles, made perfect by the will of my Father. Like as ye have learned from the Scripture that your fathers the prophets spake of me, and in me it is indeed fulfilled.

And he said unto us: Be ye also therefore guides unto them; and all things that I said unto you, and that ye write concerning me (tell ye them), that I am the word of the Father and that the Father is in me. Such also shall ye be unto that man, as becometh you. Instruct him and bring to his mind that which is spoken of me in the Scripture and is fulfilled, and thereafter shall he become the salvation of the Gentiles. 32 And we asked him: Lord, is there for us and for them the self-same expectation of the inheritance? He answered and said unto us: Are then the fingers of the hand like unto each other, or the ears of corn in the field, or do all fruit-trees bear the same fruit? Doth not every one bear fruit according to its nature? And we said unto him: Lord, wilt thou again speak unto us in parables? Then said he unto us: Lament not. Verily I say unto you, ye are my brethren, and my companions in the kingdom of heaven unto my Father, for so is his good pleasure. Verily I say unto you, unto them also whom ye teach and who believe on me will I give that expectation.

33 And we asked him again: When shall we meet with that man, and when wilt thou depart unto thy Father and our God and Lord? He answered and said unto us: That man will come out of the land of Cilicia unto Damascus of Syria, to root up the church which ye must found there. It is I that speak through you; and he shall come quickly; and he shall become strong in

the faith, that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled, which saith: Behold, out of Syria will I begin to call together a new Jerusalem, and Sion will I subdue unto me, and it shall be taken, and the place which is childless shall be called the son and daughter of my Father, and my bride. For so hath it pleased him that sent me. But that man will I turn back, that he accomplish not his evil desire, and the praise of my Father shall be perfected in him, and after that I am gone home and abide with my Father, I will speak unto him from heaven, and all things shall be accomplished which I have told you before concerning him.

34 And we said unto him again: Lord, so many great things hast thou told us and revealed unto us as never yet were spoken, and in all hast thou given us rest and been gracious unto us. After thy resurrection thou didst reveal unto us all things that we might be saved indeed; but thou saidst unto us only: There shall be wonders and strange appearances in heaven and on earth before the end of the world come. Tell us now, how shall we perceive it? And he answered us: I will teach it you; and not that which shall befall you only, but them also whom ye shall teach and who shall believe, as well as them who shall hear that man and believe on me. In those years and days shall it come to pass. And we said again unto him: Lord, what shall come to pass? And he said unto us: Then shall they that believe and they that believe not hear (see, Eth.) a trumpet in the heaven, a vision of great stars which shall be seen in the day, wonderful sights in heaven reaching down to the earth; stars which fall upon the earth like fire, and a great and mighty hail of fire (a star shining from the east unto this place, like unto fire, Eth. 2). The sun and the moon fighting one with the other, a continual rolling and noise of thunders and lightnings, thunder and earthquake; cities falling and men perishing in their overthrow, a continual dearth for lack of rain, a terrible pestilence and great mortality, mighty and untimely, so that they that die lack burial: and the bearing forth of brethren and sisters and kinsfolk shall be upon one bier. The kinsman shall show no favour to his kinsman, nor any man to his neighbour. And they that were overthrown shall rise up and behold them that overthrew them, that they lack burial, for the pestilence shall be full of hatred and pain and envy: and men shall take from one and give to another. And thereafter shall it wax yet worse than before. (Bewail ye them that have not hearkened unto my commandments, Eth. 2.)

35 Then shall my Father be wroth at the wickedness of men, for many are their transgressions, and the abomination of their uncleanness weigheth heavy upon them in the corruption of their life. And we asked him: What of them that trust in thee? He answered and said unto us: Ye are yet slow of heart; and how long? Verily I say unto you, as the prophet David spake of me and of my people, so shall it be (?) for them also that believe on me. But they that are deceivers in the world and enemies of righteousness, upon them shall come the fulfilment of the prophecy of David, who said: Their feet are swift to shed blood, their tongue uttereth slander, adders' poison is under their lips. I behold thee companying with thieves, and partaking with adulterers, thou continuest speaking against thy brother and putteth stumbling-blocks before thine own mother's son. What thinkest thou, that I shall be like unto thee? Behold now how the prophet of God hath spoken of all, that all things may be fulfilled which he said aforetime.

36 And again we said unto him: Lord, will not then the nations say: Where is their God? And he answered and said unto us: Thereby shall the elect be known, that they, being plagued with such afflictions, come forth. We said: Will then their departure out of the world be by a pestilence which giveth them pain? He answered us: Nay, but if they suffer such affliction, it will be a proving of them, whether they have faith and remember these my sayings, and fulfil my commandments. These shall arise, and short will be their expectation, that he may be glorified that sent me, and I with him. For he hath sent me unto you to tell you these things; and that ye may impart them unto Israel and the Gentiles and they may hear, and they also be redeemed and believe on me and escape the woe of the destruction. But whoso escapeth from the destruction of death, him will they take and hold him fast in the prison-house in torments like the torments of a thief.

And we said unto him: Lord, will they that believe be treated like the unbelievers, and wilt thou punish them that have escaped from the pestilence? And he said unto us: If they that believe in my name deal like the sinners, then have they done as though they had not believed. And we said again to him: Lord, have they on whom this lot hath fallen no life? He answered and said unto us: Whoso hath accomplished the praise of my Father, he shall abide in the resting-place of my Father. 37 Then said we unto him: Lord, teach us what shall come to pass thereafter? And he answered us: In those years and days shall war be kindled upon war; the four ends of the earth shall

be in commotion and fight against each other. Thereafter shall be quakings of clouds (or, clouds of locusts), darkness, and dearth, and persecutions of them that believe on me and against the elect. Thereupon shall come doubt and strife and transgressions against one another. And there shall be many that believe on my name and yet follow after evil and spread vain doctrine. And men shall follow after them and their riches, and be subject unto their pride, and lust for drink, and bribery, and there shall be respect of persons among them.

38 But they that desire to behold the face of God and respect not the persons of the rich sinners, and are not ashamed before the people that lead them astray, but rebuke (?) them, they shall be crowned by the Father. And they also shall be saved that rebuke their neighbours, for they are sons of wisdom and of faith. But if they become not children of wisdom, whoso hateth his brother and persecuteth him and showeth him no favour, him will God despise and reject. (Copt. resumes.) But they that walk in truth and in the knowledge of the faith, and have love towards me—for they have endured insult—they shall be praised for that they walk in poverty and endure them that hate them and put them to shame. Men have stripped them naked, for they despised them because they continued in hunger and thirst, but after they have endured patiently, they shall have the blessedness of heaven, and they shall be with me for ever. But woe unto them that walk in pride and boasting, for their end is perdition.

39 And we said unto him: Lord, is this thy purpose, that thou leavest us, to come upon them? (Will all this come to pass, Eth.) He answered and said unto us: After what manner shall the judgement be? whether righteous or unrighteous? (In Copt. and Eth. the general sense is the same: but the answer of Jesus in the form of a question is odd, and there is probably a corruption.) We said unto him: Lord, in that day they will say unto thee: Thou hast not distinguished between (probably: will they not say unto thee: Thou hast distinguished between) righteousness and unrighteousness, between the light and the darkness, and evil and good? Then said he: I will answer them and say: Unto Adam was power given to choose one of the two: he chose the light and laid his hand thereon, but the darkness he left behind him and cast away from him. Therefore have all men power to believe in the light which is life, and which is the Father that hath sent me. And every one that believeth and doeth the works of the light shall live in them; but if there be any that con-

fesseth that he belongeth unto the light, and doeth the works of darkness, such an one hath no defence to utter, neither can he lift up his face to look upon the Son of God, which Son am I. For I will say unto him: As thou soughtest, so hast thou found, and as thou askedest, so hast thou received. Wherefore condemnest thou me, O man? Wherefore hast thou departed from me and denied me? And wherefore hast thou confessed me and yet denied me? hath not every man power to live and to die? Whoso then hath kept my commandments shall be a son of the light, that is, of the Father that is in me. But because of them that corrupt my words am I come down from heaven. I am the word: I became flesh, and I wearied myself (or, suffered) and taught, saying: The heavy laden shall be saved, and they that are gone astray shall go astray for ever. They shall be chastised and tormented in their flesh and in their soul.

40 And we said unto him: O Lord, verily we are sorrowful for their sake. And he said unto us: Ye do rightly, for the righteous are sorry for the sinners, and pray for them, making prayer unto my Father. Again we said unto him: Lord, is there none that maketh intercession unto thee (so Eth.)? And he said unto us: Yea, and I will hearken unto the prayer of the righteous which they make for them. When he had so said unto us, we said to him: Lord, in all things hast thou taught us and had mercy on us and saved us, that we might preach unto them that are worthy to be saved, and that we might obtain a recompense with thee. (Shall we be partakers of a recompense from thee? Eth.) 41 He answered and said unto us: Go and preach, and ye shall be labourers, and fathers, and ministers. We said unto him: Thou art he (or, Art thou he) that shalt preach by us. (Lord, thou art our father. Eth.) Then answered he us, saying: Be not (or, Are not ye) all fathers or all masters. (Are then all fathers, or all servants, or all masters? Eth.) We said unto him: Lord, thou art he that saidst unto us: Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your Father, which is in heaven, and your master. Wherefore sayest thou now unto us: Ye shall be fathers of many children, and servants and masters? He answered and said unto us: According as ye have said (Ye have rightly said, Eth.). For verily I say unto you: whosoever shall hear you and believe on me, shall receive of you the light of the seal through me, and baptism through me: ye shall be fathers and servants and masters.

42 But we said unto him: Lord, how may it be that every one of us should be these three? He said unto us: Verily I say unto you: Ye shall be called fath-

ers, because with praiseworthy heart and in love ye have revealed unto them the things of the kingdom of heaven. And ye shall be called servants, because they shall receive the baptism of life and the remission of their sins at my hand through you. And ye shall be called masters, because ye have given them the word without grudging, and have admonished them, and when ye admonished them, they turned themselves (were converted). Ye were not afraid of their riches, nor ashamed before their face, but ye kept the commandments of my Father and fulfilled them. And ye shall have a great reward with my Father which is in heaven, and they shall have forgiveness of sins and everlasting life, and be partakers in the kingdom of heaven.

And we said unto him: Lord, even if every one of us had ten thousand tongues to speak withal, we could not thank thee, for that thou promisest such things unto us. Then answered he us, saying: Only do ye that which I say unto you, even as I myself also have done it. 43 And ye shall be like the wise virgins which watched and slept not, but went forth unto the lord into the bridechamber: but the foolish virgins were not able to watch, but slumbered. And we said unto him: Lord, who are the wise and who are the foolish? He said unto us: Five wise and five foolish; for these are they of whom the prophet hath spoken: Sons of God are they. Hear now their names. But we wept and were troubled for them that slumbered. He said unto us: The five wise are Faith and Love and Grace and Peace and Hope. Now they of the faithful which possess this (these) shall be guides unto them that have believed on me and on him that sent me. For I am the Lord and I am the bridegroom whom they have received, and they have entered in to the house of the bridegroom and are laid down with me in the bridal chamber rejoicing. But the five foolish, when they had slept and had awakened, came unto the door of the bridal chamber and knocked, for the doors were shut. Then did they weep and lament that no man opened unto them.

We said unto him: Lord, and their wise sisters that were within in the bridegroom's house, did they continue without opening unto them, and did they not sorrow for their sakes nor entreat the bridegroom to open unto them? He answered us, saying: They were not yet able to obtain favour for them. We said unto him: Lord, on what day shall they enter in for their sisters' sake? Then said he unto us: He that is shut out, is shut out. And we said unto him: Lord, is this word (determined?). Who then are the foolish? He said unto us: Hear their names. They are Knowledge, Understanding (Percep-

tion), Obedience, Patience, and Compassion. These are they that slumbered in them that have believed and confessed me but have not fulfilled my commandments. 44 On account of them that have slumbered, they shall remain outside the kingdom and the fold of the shepherd and his sheep. But whoso shall abide outside the sheepfold, him will the wolves devour, and he shall be (condemned?) and die in much affliction: in him shall be no rest nor endurance, and (Eth.) although he be hardly punished, and rent in pieces and devoured in long and evil torment, yet shall he not be able to obtain death quickly.

45 And we said unto him: Lord, well hast thou revealed all this unto us. Then answered he us, saying: Understand ye not (or, Ye understand not) these words? We said unto him: Yea, Lord. By five shall men enter into thy kingdom (and by five shall men remain without): notwithstanding, they that watched were with thee the Lord and bridegroom, even though they rejoiced not because of them that slumbered (yet will they have no pleasure, because of, Eth.). He said unto us: They will indeed rejoice that they have entered in with the bridegroom, the Lord; and they are sorrowful because of them that slumbered, for they are their sisters. For all ten are daughters of God, even the Father. Then said we unto him: Lord, is it then for thee to show them favour on account of their sisters? (It becometh thy majesty to show them favour, Eth.) He said unto us: (It is not mine,) but his that sent me, and I am consenting with him (It is not yours, &c., Eth.).

46 But be ye upright and preach rightly and teach, and be not abashed by any man and fear not any man, and especially the rich, for they do not my commandments, but boast themselves (swell) in their riches. And we said unto him: Lord, tell us if it be the rich only. He answered, saying unto us: If any man who is not rich and possesseth a small livelihood giveth unto the poor and needy, men will call him a benefactor. 47 But if any man fall under the load (because) of sin that he hath committed, then shall his neighbour correct him because of the good that he hath done unto his neighbour. And if his neighbour correct him and he return, he shall be saved, and he that corrected him shall receive a reward and live for ever. For a needy man, if he see him that hath done him good sin, and correct him not, shall be judged with severe judgement. Now if a blind man lead a blind, they both fall into a ditch: and whoso respecteth persons for their sake, shall be as the two (blind), as the prophet hath said: Woe unto them that respect persons and justify the

ungodly for reward, even they whose God is their belly. Behold that judgement shall be their portion. For verily I say unto you: On that day will I neither have respect unto the rich nor pity for the poor.

48 If thou behold a sinner, admonish him betwixt him and thee: (if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother, Eth.) and if he hear thee not, then take to thee another, as many as three, and instruct thy brother: again, if he hear thee not, let him be unto thee (Copt. defective from this point.) as an heathen man or a publican. 49 If thou hear aught against thy brother, give it no credence; slander not, and delight not in hearing slander. For thus it is written: Suffer not thine ear to receive aught against thy brother: but if thou seest aught, correct him, rebuke him, and convert him. And we said unto him: Lord, thou hast in all things taught us and warned us. But, Lord, concerning the believers, even them to whom it belongeth to believe in the preaching of thy name: is it determined that among them also there shall be doubt and division, jealousy, confusion, hatred, and envy? For thou sayest: They shall find fault with one another and respect the person of them that sin, and hate them that rebuke them. And he answered and said unto us: How then shall the judgement come about, that the corn should be gathered into the garner and the chaff thereof cast into the fire?

50 They that hate such things, and love me and rebuke them that fulfil not my commandments, shall be hated and persecuted and despised and mocked. Men will of purpose speak of them that which is not true, and will band themselves together against them that love me. But these will rebuke them, that they may be saved. But them that will rebuke and chasten and warn them, them will they (the others) hate, and thrust them aside, and despise them, and hold themselves far from them that wish them good. But they that endure such things shall be like unto the martyrs with the Father, because they have striven for righteousness, and have not striven for corruption. And we asked him: Lord, shall such things be among us? And he answered us: Fear not; it shall not be in many, but in a few. We said unto him: Yet tell us, in what manner it shall come to pass. And he said unto us: There shall come forth another doctrine, and a confusion, and because they shall strive after their own advancement, they shall bring forth an unprofitable doctrine. And therein shall be a deadly corruption (of uncleanness), and they shall teach it, and shall turn away them that believe on me from my commandments and cut them off from eternal life. But woe unto them that

falsify this my word and commandment, and draw away them that hearken to them from the life of the doctrine and separate themselves from the commandment of life: for together with them they shall come into everlasting judgement.

51 And when he had said this, and had finished his discourse with us, he said unto us again: Behold, on the third day and at the third hour shall he come which hath sent me, that I may depart with him. And as he so spake, there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heavens parted asunder, and there appeared a light (bright) cloud which bore him up. And there came voices of many angels, rejoicing and singing praises and saying: Gather us, O Priest, unto the light of the majesty. And when they drew nigh unto the firmament, we heard his voice saying unto us: Depart hence in peace.

The Questions of Bartholomew

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

3rd–6th century AD

A dialogue between Bartholomew and the risen Lord, the Virgin Mary and Satan: the descent into Hades, the way in which Mary bore Christ, and the fall of Satan, with the Latin and Slavonic additions on sin.

Greek. 1 After the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ, Bartholomew came unto the Lord and questioned him, saying: Lord, reveal unto me the mysteries of the heavens. 2 Jesus answered and said unto him: If I put (not) off the body of the flesh, I shall not be able to tell them unto thee. 3 Om. Slavonic. 1 Before the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the apostles said: Let us question the Lord: Lord, reveal unto us the wonders. 2 And Jesus said unto them: If I put (not) off the body of the flesh, I cannot tell them unto you. 3 But when he was buried and risen again, they all durst not question him, because it was not (possible) to look upon him, but the fullness of his Godhead was seen. 4 But Bartholomew, &c. Latin 2. 1 At that time, before the Lord Jesus Christ suffered, all the disciples were gathered together, questioning him and saying: Lord, show us the mystery in the heavens.

2 But Jesus answered and said unto them: If I put not off the body of flesh I cannot tell you. 3 But after that he had suffered and risen again, all the apostles, looking upon him, durst not question him, because his countenance was not as it had been aforetime, but showed forth the fullness of power. Greek. 4 Bartholomew therefore drew near unto the Lord and said: I have a word to speak unto thee, Lord. 5 And Jesus said to him: I know what thou art about to say; say then what thou wilt, and I will answer thee. 6 And Bartholomew said: Lord, when thou wentest to be hanged upon the cross, I followed thee afar off and saw thee hung upon the cross, and the angels coming down from heaven and worshipping thee. And when there came darkness, 7 I beheld, and I saw thee that thou wast vanished away from the cross,

and I heard only a voice in the parts under the earth, and great wailing and gnashing of teeth on a sudden. Tell me, Lord, whither wentest thou from the cross?

8 And Jesus answered and said: Blessed art thou, Bartholomew, my beloved, because thou sawest this mystery; and now will I tell thee all things whatsoever thou askest me. 9 For when I vanished away from the cross, then went I down into Hades that I might bring up Adam and all them that were with him, according to the supplication of Michael the archangel. 10 Then said Bartholomew: Lord, what was the voice which was heard? 11 Jesus saith unto him: Hades said unto Beliar: As I perceive, a God cometh hither. [Slavonic and Latin 2 continue: And the angels cried unto the powers, saying: Remove your gates, ye princes, remove the everlasting doors, for behold the King of glory cometh down. 12 Hades said: Who is the King of glory, that cometh down from heaven unto us? 13 And when I had descended five hundred steps, Hades was troubled, saying: I hear the breathing of the Most High, and I cannot endure it. (Latin 2. He cometh with great fragrance and I cannot bear it.) 14 But the devil answered and said: Submit not thyself, O Hades, but be strong: for God himself hath not descended upon the earth. 15 But when I had descended yet five hundred steps, the angels and the powers cried out: Take hold, remove the doors, for behold the King of glory cometh down. And Hades said: O, woe unto me, for I hear the breath of God.]

Greek. 16-17 And Beliar said unto Hades: Look carefully who it is that (cometh), for it is Elias, or Enoch, or one of the prophets that this man seemeth to me to be. But Hades answered Death and said: Not yet are six thousand years accomplished. And whence are these, O Beliar; for the sum of the number is in mine hands. [Slavonic. 16 And the devil said unto Hades: Why affrightest thou me, Hades? it is a prophet, and he hath made himself like unto God: this prophet will we take and bring him hither unto those that think to ascend into heaven. 17 And Hades said: Which of the prophets is it? Show me: Is it Enoch the scribe of righteousness? But God hath not suffered him to come down upon the earth before the end of the six thousand years. Sayest thou that it is Elias, the avenger? But before (the end) he cometh not down. What shall I do, whereas the destruction is of God: for surely our end is at hand? For I have the number (of the years) in mine hands.]

Greek. 18 (And Beliar said unto Hades): Be not troubled, make safe thy gates and strengthen thy bars: consider, God cometh not down upon the earth. 19 Hades saith unto him: These be no good words that I hear from thee: my belly is rent, and mine inward parts are pained: it cannot be but that God cometh hither. Alas, whither shall I flee before the face of the power of the great king? Suffer me to enter into myself (thyself, Latin): for before (of, Latin) thee was I formed. 20 Then did I enter in and scourged him and bound him with chains that cannot be loosed, and brought forth thence all the patriarchs and came again unto the cross. 21 Bartholomew saith unto him: [Latin 2, I saw thee again, hanging upon the cross, and all the dead arising and worshipping thee, and going up again into their sepulchres.] Tell me, Lord, who was he whom the angels bare up in their hands, even that man that was very great of stature? [Slav., Lat. 2, And what spakest thou unto him that he sighed so sore?]

22 Jesus answered and said unto him: It was Adam the first-formed, for whose sake I came down from heaven upon earth. And I said unto him: I was hung upon the cross for thee and for thy children's sake. And he, when he heard it, groaned and said: So was thy good pleasure, O Lord. 23 Again Bartholomew said: Lord, I saw the angels ascending before Adam and singing praises. 24 But one of the angels which was very great, above the rest, would not ascend up with them: and there was in his hand a sword of fire, and he was looking steadfastly upon thee only. [Slav. 25 And all the angels besought him that he would go up with them, but he would not. But when thou didst command him to go up, I beheld a flame of fire issuing out of his hands and going even unto the city of Jerusalem. 26 And Jesus said unto him: Blessed art thou, Bartholomew my beloved, because thou sawest these mysteries. This was one of the angels of vengeance which stand before my Father's throne: and this angel sent he unto me. 27 And for this cause he would not ascend up, because he desired to destroy all the powers of the world. But when I commanded him to ascend up, there went a flame out of his hand and rent asunder the veil of the temple, and parted it in two pieces for a witness unto the children of Israel for my passion because they crucified me. (Lat. 1. But the flame which thou sawest issuing out of his hands smote the house of the synagogue of the Jews, for a testimony of me, wherein they crucified me.)].

Greek. 28 And when he had thus spoken, he said unto the apostles: Tarry for me in this place, for to-day a sacrifice is offered in paradise. 29 And Bartholomew answered and said unto Jesus: Lord, what is the sacrifice which is offered in paradise? And Jesus said: There be souls of the righteous which to-day have departed out of the body and go unto paradise, and unless I be present they cannot enter into paradise. 30 And Bartholomew said: Lord, how many souls depart out of the world daily? Jesus saith unto him: Thirty thousand. 31 Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, when thou wast with us teaching the word, didst thou receive the sacrifices in paradise? Jesus answered and said unto him: Verily I say unto thee, my beloved, that I both taught the word with you and continually sat with my Father, and received the sacrifices in paradise every day. 32 Bartholomew answered and said unto him: Lord, if thirty thousand souls depart out of the world every day, how many souls out of them are found righteous? Jesus saith unto him: Hardly fifty [three] my beloved. 33 Again Bartholomew saith: And how do three only enter into paradise? Jesus saith unto him: The [fifty] three enter into paradise or are laid up in Abraham's bosom: but the others go into the place of the resurrection, for the three are not like unto the fifty.

34 Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, how many souls above the number are born into the world daily? Jesus saith unto him: One soul only is born above the number of them that depart. [30. &c., Latin 1. Bartholomew said: How many are the souls which depart out of the body every day? Jesus said: Verily I say unto thee, twelve (thousand) eight hundred, four score and three souls depart out of the body every day.] 35 And when he had said this he gave them the peace, and vanished away from them.

II

1 Now the apostles were in the place [Cherubim, Cheltoura, Chritir] with Mary. 2 And Bartholomew came and said unto Peter and Andrew and John: Let us ask her that is highly favoured how she conceived the incomprehensible, or how she bare him that cannot be carried, or how she brought forth so much greatness. But they doubted to ask her. 3 Bartholomew therefore said unto Peter: Thou that art the chief, and my teacher, draw near and ask her. But Peter said to John: Thou art a virgin and undefiled (and beloved) and thou must ask her. 4 And as they all doubted and disputed, Bartholomew came near unto her with a cheerful countenance and said to her: Thou that art highly favoured, the tabernacle of the Most High, unblemished, we, even

all the apostles, ask thee (or All the apostles have sent me to ask thee) to tell us how thou didst conceive the incomprehensible, or how thou didst bear him that cannot be carried, or how thou didst bring forth so much greatness.

5 But Mary said unto them: Ask me not (or Do ye indeed ask me) concerning this mystery. If I should begin to tell you, fire will issue forth out of my mouth and consume all the world. 6 But they continued yet the more to ask her. And she, for she could not refuse to hear the apostles, said: Let us stand up in prayer. 7 And the apostles stood behind Mary: but she said unto Peter: Peter, thou chief, thou great pillar, standest thou behind us? Said not our Lord: the head of the man is Christ (but the head of the woman is the man, Slav., Lat. 2)? now therefore stand ye before me and pray. 8 But they said unto her: In thee did the Lord set his tabernacle, and it was his good pleasure that thou shouldest contain him, and thou oughtest to be the leader in the prayer (al. to go with us to). 9 But she said unto them: Ye are shining stars, and as the prophet said, 'I did lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence shall come mine help'; ye, therefore, are the hills, and it behoveth you to pray. 10 The apostles say unto her: Thou oughtest to pray, thou art the mother of the heavenly king. 11 Mary saith unto them: In your likeness did God form the sparrows, and sent them forth into the four corners of the world, 12 But they say unto her: He that is scarce contained by the seven heavens was pleased to be contained in thee.

13 Then Mary stood up before them and spread out her hands toward the heaven and began to speak thus: Elphuë Zarethra Charboum Nemioth Melitho Thraboutha Mephnounos Chemiath Aroua Maridön Elisön Marmiadön Seption Hesaboutha Ennouna Saktinos Athoör Belelam Öpheöth Abö Chrasar (this is the reading of one Greek copy: the others and the Slavonic have many differences, as in all such cases: but as the original words—assuming them to have once had a meaning—are hopelessly corrupted, the matter is not of importance), which is in the Greek tongue (Hebrew, Slav.): O God the exceeding great and all-wise and king of the worlds (ages), that art not to be described, the ineffable, that didst establish the greatness of the heavens and all things by a word, that out of darkness (or the unknown) didst constitute and fasten together the poles of heaven in harmony, didst bring into shape the matter that was in confusion, didst bring into order the things that were without order, didst part the misty darkness from the light, didst

establish in one place the foundations of the waters, thou that makest the beings of the air to tremble, and art the fear of them that are on (or under) the earth, that didst settle the earth and not suffer it to perish, and filledst it, which is the nourisher of all things, with showers of blessing: (Son of) the Father, thou whom the seven heavens hardly contained, but who wast well-pleased to be contained without pain in me, thou that art thyself the full word of the Father in whom all things came to be: give glory to thine exceeding great name, and bid me to speak before thy holy apostles.

14 And when she had ended the prayer she began to say unto them: Let us sit down upon the ground; and come thou, Peter the chief, and sit on my right hand and put thy left hand beneath mine armpit; and thou, Andrew, do so on my left hand; and thou, John, the virgin, hold together my bosom; and thou, Bartholomew, set thy knees against my back and hold my shoulders, lest when I begin to speak my bones be loosed one from another. 15 And when they had so done she began to say: When I abode in the temple of God and received my food from an angel, on a certain day there appeared unto me one in the likeness of an angel, but his face was incomprehensible, and he had not in his hand bread or a cup, as did the angel which came to me aforetime. 16 And straightway the robe (veil) of the temple was rent and there was a very great earthquake, and I fell upon the earth, for I was not able to endure the sight of him. 17 But he put his hand beneath me and raised me up, and I looked up into heaven and there came a cloud of dew and sprinkled me from the head to the feet, and he wiped me with his robe. 18 And said unto me: Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the chosen vessel, grace inexhaustible. And he smote his garment upon the right hand and there came a very great loaf, and he set it upon the altar of the temple and did eat of it first himself, and gave unto me also. 19 And again he smote his garment upon the left hand and there came a very great cup full of wine: and he set it upon the altar of the temple and did drink of it first himself, and gave also unto me. And I beheld and saw the bread and the cup whole as they were.

20 And he said unto me: Yet three years, and I will send my word unto thee and thou shalt conceive my (or a) son, and through him shall the whole creation be saved. Peace be unto thee, my beloved, and my peace shall be with thee continually. 21 And when he had so said he vanished away from mine eyes, and the temple was restored as it had been before. 22 And as she was saying this, fire issued out of her mouth; and the world was at the point

to come to an end: but Jesus appeared quickly (Lat. 2, and laid his hand upon her mouth) and said unto Mary: Utter not this mystery, or this day my whole creation will come to an end (Lat. 2, and the flame from her mouth ceased). And the apostles were taken with fear lest haply the Lord should be wroth with them.

III

1 And he departed with them unto the mount Mauria (Lat. 2, Mambre), and sat in the midst of them. 2 But they doubted to question him, being afraid. 3 And Jesus answered and said unto them: Ask me what ye will that I should teach you, and I will show it you. For yet seven days, and I ascend unto my Father, and I shall no more be seen of you in this likeness. 4 But they, yet doubting, said unto him: Lord, show us the deep (abyss) according unto thy promise. 5 And Jesus said unto them: It is not good (Lat. 2, is good) for you to see the deep: notwithstanding, if ye desire it, according to my promise, come, follow me and behold. 6 And he led them away into a place that is called Cherubim (Cherukt Slav., Chairoudec Gr., Lat. 2 omits), that is the place of truth. 7 And he beckoned unto the angels of the West, and the earth was rolled up like a volume of a book and the deep was revealed unto them. 8 And when the apostles saw it, they fell on their faces upon the earth. 9 But Jesus raised them up, saying: Said I not unto you, 'It is not good for you to see the deep'. And again he beckoned unto the angels, and the deep was covered up.

IV

1 And he took them and brought them again unto the Mount of Olives. 2 And Peter said unto Mary: Thou that art highly favoured, entreat the Lord that he would reveal unto us the things that are in the heavens. 3 And Mary said unto Peter: O stone hewn out of the rock, did not the Lord build his church upon thee? Go thou therefore first and ask him. 4 Peter saith again: O tabernacle that art spread abroad (it behoveth thee to ask). 5 Mary saith: Thou art the image of Adam: was not he first formed and then Eve? Look upon the sun, that according to the likeness of Adam it is bright, and upon the moon, that because of the transgression of Eve it is full of clay. For God did place Adam in the east and Eve in the west, and appointed the lights that the sun should shine on the earth unto Adam in the east in his fiery chariots, and the moon in the west should give light unto Eve with a countenance like

milk. And she defiled the commandment of the Lord. Therefore was the moon stained with clay (Lat. 2, is cloudy) and her light is not bright. Thou therefore, since thou art the likeness of Adam, oughtest to ask him: but in me was he contained that I might recover the strength of the female.

6 Now when they came up to the top of the mount, and the Master was withdrawn from them a little space, Peter saith unto Mary: Thou art she that hast brought to nought the transgression of Eve, changing it from shame into joy; it is lawful, therefore, for thee to ask. 7 When Jesus appeared again, Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, show us the adversary of men that we may behold him, of what fashion he is, and what is his work, and whence he cometh forth, and what power he hath that he spared not even thee, but caused thee to be hanged upon the tree. 8 But Jesus looked upon him and said: Thou bold heart! thou askest for that which thou art not able to look upon. 9 But Bartholomew was troubled and fell at Jesus' feet and began to speak thus: O lamp that cannot be quenched, Lord Jesu Christ, maker of the eternal light, that hast given unto them that love thee the grace that beautifieth all, and hast given us the eternal light by thy coming into the world, that hast... the heavenly essence by a word... hast accomplished the work of the Father, hast turned the shame-facedness of Adam into mirth, hast done away the sorrow of Eve with a cheerful countenance by thy birth from a virgin: remember not evil against me but grant me the word of mine asking. (Lat. 2, who didst come down into the world, who hast confirmed the eternal word of the Father, who hast called the sadness of <Adam> joy, who hast made the shame of Eve glad, and restored her by vouchsafing to be contained in the womb.)

10 And as he thus spake, Jesus raised him up and said unto him: Bartholomew, wilt thou see the adversary of men? I tell thee that when thou beholdest him, not thou only but the rest of the apostles and Mary will fall on your faces and become as dead corpses. 11 But they all said unto him: Lord, let us behold him. 12 And he led them down from the Mount of Olives and looked wrathfully upon the angels that keep hell (Tartarus), and beckoned unto Michael to sound the trumpet in the height of the heavens. And Michael sounded, and the earth shook, and Beliar came up, being held by 660 (560 Gk., 6,064 Lat. 1, 6,060 Lat. 2) angels and bound with fiery chains. 12 And the length of him was 1,600 cubits and his breadth 40 (Lat. 1, 300; Slav. 17) cubits (Lat. 2, his length 1,900 cubits, his breadth 700, one wing of him

80), and his face was like a lightning of fire and his eyes full of darkness (like sparks, Slav.). And out of his nostrils came a stinking smoke; and his mouth was as the gulf of a precipice, and the one of his wings was four-score cubits. 14 And straightway when the apostles saw him, they fell to the earth on their faces and became as dead. 15 But Jesus came near and raised the apostles and gave them a spirit of power, and he saith unto Bartholomew: Come near, Bartholomew, and trample with thy feet on his neck, and he will tell thee his work, what it is, and how he deceiveth men. 16 And Jesus stood afar off with the rest of the apostles. 17 And Bartholomew feared, and raised his voice and said: Blessed be the name of thine immortal kingdom from henceforth even for ever. And when he had spoken, Jesus permitted him, saying: Go and tread upon the neck of Beliar: and Bartholomew ran quickly upon him and trode upon his neck: and Beliar trembled. (For this verse the Vienna MS. has: And Bartholomew raised his voice and said thus: O womb more spacious than a city, wider than the spreading of the heavens, that contained him whom the seven heavens contain not, but thou without pain didst contain sanctified in thy bosom, &c.: evidently out of place.

Latin 1 has only: Then did Antichrist tremble and was filled with fury.) 18 And Bartholomew was afraid, and fled, and said unto Jesus: Lord, give me an hem of thy garments (Lat. 2, the kerchief (? from thy shoulders) that I may have courage to draw near unto him. 19 But Jesus said unto him: Thou canst not take an hem of my garments, for these are not my garments which I wore before I was crucified. 20 And Bartholomew said: Lord, I fear lest, like as he spared not thine angels, he swallow me up also. 21 Jesus saith unto him: Were not all things made by my word, and by the will of my Father the spirits were made subject unto Solomon? thou, therefore, being commanded by my word, go in my name and ask him what thou wilt. (Lat. 2 omits 20.) 22 [And Bartholomew made the sign of the cross and prayed unto Jesus and went behind him. And Jesus said to him: Draw near. And as Bartholomew drew near, fire was kindled on every side, so that his garments appeared fiery. Jesus saith to Bartholomew: As I said unto thee, tread upon his neck and ask him what is his power. And Bartholomew went and trode upon his neck, and pressed down his face into the earth as far as his ears. 23 And Bartholomew saith unto him: Tell me who thou art and what is thy name. And he said to him:

Lighten me a little, and I will tell thee who I am and how I came hither, and what my work is and what my power is. 24 And he lightened him and saith to him: Say all that thou hast done and all that thou doest. 25 And Beliar answered and said: If thou wilt know my name, at the first I was called Satanael, which is interpreted a messenger of God, but when I rejected the image of God my name was called Satanas, that is, an angel that keepeth hell (Tartarus). 26 And again Bartholomew saith unto him: Reveal unto me all things and hide nothing from me. 27 And he said unto him: I swear unto thee by the power of the glory of God that even if I would hide aught I cannot, for he is near that would convict me. For if I were able I would have destroyed you like one of them that were before you. 28 For, indeed, I was formed (al. called) the first angel: for when God made the heavens, he took a handful of fire and formed me first, Michael second [Vienna MS. here has these sentences: for he had his Son before the heavens and the earth and we were formed (for when he took thought to create all things, his Son spake a word), so that we also were created by the will of the Son and the consent of the Father.

He formed, I say, first me, next Michael the chief captain of the hosts that are above], Gabriel third, Uriel fourth, Raphael fifth, Nathanael sixth, and other angels of whom I cannot tell the names. [Jerusalem MS., Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Xathanael, and other 6,000 angels. Lat. 1, Michael the honour of power, third Raphael, fourth Gabriel, and other seven. Lat. 2, Raphael third, Gabriel fourth, Uriel fifth, Zathal sixth, and other six. For they are the rod-bearers (lictors) of God, and they smite me with their rods and pursue me seven times in the night and seven times in the day, and leave me not at all and break in pieces all my power. These are the (twelve, Lat. 2) angels of vengeance which stand before the throne of God: these are the angels that were first formed. 30 And after them were formed all the angels. In the first heaven are an hundred myriads, and in the second an hundred myriads, and in the third an hundred myriads, and in the fourth an hundred myriads, and in the fifth an hundred myriads, and in the sixth an hundred myriads, and in the seventh (an hundred myriads, and outside the seven heavens, Jerusalem MS. is the first firmament (flat surface) wherein are the powers which work upon men. 31 For there are four other angels set over the winds. The first angel is over the north, and he is called Chairoum (... broil, Jerusalem MS.;

Lat. 2, angel of the north, Mauch), and hath in his hand a rod of fire, and restraineth the superfluity of moisture that the earth be not overmuch wet. 32 And the angel that is over the north is called Oertha (Lat. 2, Alfatha): he hath a torch of fire and putteth it to his sides, and they warm the great coldness of him that he freeze not the world. 33 And the angel that is over the south is called Kerkoutha (Lat. 2, Cedar), and they break his fierceness that he shake not the earth. 34 And the angel that is over the south-west is called Naoutha, and he hath a rod of snow in his hand and putteth it into his mouth, and queneheth the fire that cometh out of his mouth. And if the angel quenched it not at his mouth it would set all the world on fire. 35 And there is another angel over the sea which maketh it rough with the waves thereof. 36 But the rest I will not tell thee, for he that standeth by suffereth me not.

37 Bartholomew saith unto him: How chastisest thou the souls of men? 38 Beliar saith unto him: Wilt thou that I declare unto thee the punishment of the hypocrites, of the back-biters, of the jesters, of the idolaters, and the covetous, and the adulterers, and the wizards, and the diviners, and of them that believe in us, and of all whom I look upon (deceive)? (38 Lat. 2: When I will show any illusion by them. But they that do these things, and they that consent unto them or follow them, do perish with me. 39 Bartholomew said unto him: Declare quickly how thou persuadest men not to follow God, and thine evil arts, that are slippery and dark, that they should leave the straight and shining paths of the Lord.) 39 Bartholomew saith unto him: I will that thou declare it in few words. 40 And he smote his teeth together, gnashing them, and there came up out of the bottomless pit a wheel having a sword flashing with fire, and in the sword were pipes. 41 And I (he) asked him, saying: What is this sword? 42 And he said: This sword is the sword of the gluttonous: for into this pipe are sent they that through their gluttony devise all manner of sin; into the second pipe are sent the backbiters which backbite their neighbour secretly; into the third pipe are sent the hypocrites and the rest whom I overthrow by my contrivance. (Lat. 2: 40 And Antichrist said: I will tell thee.

And a wheel came up out of the abyss, having seven fiery knives. The first knife hath twelve pipes (canales).... 42 Antichrist answered: The pipe of fire in the first knife, in it are put the casters of lots and diviners and enchanters, and they that believe in them or have sought them, because in the iniquity

of their heart they have invented false divinations. In the second pipe of fire are first the blasphemers... suicides... idolaters.... In the rest are first perjurers... (long enumeration).) 43 And Bartholomew said: Dost thou then do these things by thyself alone? 44 And Satan said: If I were able to go forth by myself, I would have destroyed the whole world in three days: but neither I nor any of the six hundred go forth. For we have other swift ministers whom we command, and we furnish them with an hook of many points and send them forth to hunt, and they catch for us souls of men, enticing them with sweetness of divers baits, that is by drunkenness and laughter, by backbiting, hypocrisy, pleasures, fornication, and the rest of the trifles that come out of their treasures. (Lat. 2 amplifies enormously.)

45 And I will tell thee also the rest of the names of the angels. The angel of the hail is called Mermeöth, and he holdeth the hail upon his head, and my ministers do adjure him and send him whither they will. And other angels are there over the snow, and other over the thunder, and other over the lightning, and when any spirit of us would go forth either by land or by sea, these angels send forth fiery stones and set our limbs on fire. (Lat. 2 enumerates all the transgressions of Israel and all possible sins in two whole pages.) 46 Bartholomew saith: Be still (be muzzled) thou dragon of the pit. 47 And Beliar said: Many things will I tell thee of the angels. They that run together throughout the heavenly places and the earthly are these: Mermeöth, Onomatath, Douth, Melioth, Charouth, Graphathas, Oethra, Nephonos, Chalkatoura. With them do fly (are administered?) the things that are in heaven and on earth and under the earth.

48 Bartholomew saith unto him: Be still (be muzzled) and be faint, that I may entreat my Lord. 49 And Bartholomew fell upon his face and cast earth upon his head and began to say: O Lord Jesu Christ, the great and glorious name. All the choirs of the angels praise thee, O Master, and I that am unworthy with my lips... do praise thee, O Master. Hearken unto me thy servant, and as thou didst choose me from the receipt of custom and didst not suffer me to have my conversation unto the end in my former deeds, O Lord Jesu Christ, hearken unto me and have mercy upon the sinners. 50 And when he had so said, the Lord saith unto him: Rise up, suffer him that groaneth to arise: I will declare the rest unto thee. 51 And Bartholomew raised up Satan and said unto him: Go unto thy place, with thine angels; but the Lord hath mercy upon all his world. (50, 51, again enormously amplified

in Lat. 2. Satan complains that he has been tricked into telling his secrets before the time. The interpolation is to some extent dated by this sentence: 'Simon Magus and Zaroës and Arfaxir and Jannes and Mambres are my brothers.' Zaroës and Arfaxat are wizards who figure in the Latin Acts of Matthew and of Simon and Jude (see below). 49 follows 51 in this text.)

52 But the devil said: Suffer me, and I will tell thee how I was cast down into this place and how the Lord did make man. 53 I was going to and fro in the world, and God said unto Michael: Bring me a clod from the four corners of the earth, and water out of the four rivers of paradise. And when Michael brought them God formed Adam in the regions of the east, and shaped the clod which was shapeless, and stretched sinews and veins upon it and established it with joints; and he worshipped him, himself for his own sake first, because he was the image of God, therefore he worshipped him. 54 And when I came from the ends of the earth Michael said: Worship thou the image of God, which he hath made according to his likeness. But I said: I am fire of fire, I was the first angel formed, and shall I worship clay and matter? 55 And Michael saith to me: Worship, lest God be wroth with thee. But I said to him: God will not be wroth with me; but I will set my throne over against his throne, and I will be as he is. Then was God wroth with me and cast me down, having commanded the windows of heaven to be opened. 56 And when I was cast down, he asked also the six hundred that were under me, if they would worship: but they said:

Like as we have seen the first angel do, neither will we worship him that is less than ourselves. Then were the six hundred also cast down by him with me. 57 And when we were cast down upon the earth we were senseless for forty years; and when the sun shone forth seven times brighter than fire, suddenly I awaked; and I looked about and saw the six hundred that were under me senseless. 58 And I awaked my son Salpsan and took him to counsel how I might deceive the man on whose account I was cast out of the heavens. 59 And thus did I contrive it. I took a vial in mine hand and scraped the sweat from off my breast and the hair of mine armpits, and washed myself (Lat. 2, I took fig-leaves in my hands and wiped the sweat from my bosom and below mine arms and cast it down beside the streams of waters. 59 is greatly prolonged in this text) in the springs of the waters whence the four rivers flow out, and Eve drank of it and desire came upon her: for if she had

not drunk of that water I should not have been able to deceive her. 60 Then Bartholomew commanded him to go into hell.

61 And Bartholomew came and fell at Jesus' feet and began with tears to say thus: Abba, Father, that art past finding out by us, Word of the Father, whom the seven heavens hardly contained, but who wast pleased to be contained easily and without pain within the body of the Virgin: whom the Virgin knew not that she bare: thou by thy thought hast ordained all things to be: thou givest us that which we need before thou art entreated. 62 Thou that didst wear a crown of thorns that thou mightest prepare for us that repent the precious crown from heaven; that didst hang upon the tree, that (a clause gone): (Lat. 2, that thou mightest turn from us the tree of lust and concupiscence (etc., etc.). The verse is prolonged for over 40 lines) (that didst drink wine mingled with gall) that thou mightest give us to drink of the wine of compunction, and wast pierced in the side with a spear that thou mightest fill us with thy body and thy blood: 63 Thou that gavest names unto the four rivers: to the first Phison, because of the faith (pistis) which thou didst appear in the world to preach; to the second Geon, for that man was made of earth (gē); to the third Tigris, because by thee was revealed unto us the consubstantial Trinity in the heavens (to make anything of this we must read Trigis);

to the fourth Euphrates, because by thy presence in the world thou madest every soul to rejoice (euphrānai) through the word of immortality. 64 My God, and Father, the greatest, my King: save, Lord, the sinners. 65 When he had thus prayed Jesus said unto him: Bartholomew, my Father did name me Christ, that I might come down upon earth and anoint every man that cometh unto me with the oil of life: and he did call me Jesus that I might heal every sin of them that know not... and give unto men (several corrupt words: the Latin has) the truth of God. 66 And again Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, is it lawful for me to reveal these mysteries unto every man? 67 Jesus saith unto him: Bartholomew, my beloved, as many as are faithful and are able to keep them unto themselves, to them mayest thou entrust these things. For some there are that be worthy of them, but there are also other some unto whom it is not fit to entrust them: for they are vain (swaggers), drunkards, proud, unmerciful, partakers in idolatry, authors of fornication, slanderers, teachers of foolishness, and doing all works that are of the devil, and therefore are they not worthy that these should be entrusted to them. 68 And also they are secret, because of those that cannot contain

them; for as many as can contain them shall have a part in them. Herein (Hitherto?), therefore, my beloved, have I spoken unto thee, for blessed art thou and all thy kindred which of their choice have this word entrusted unto them; for all they that can contain it shall receive whatsoever they will in the (day?) of my judgement.

69 Then I, Bartholomew, which wrote these things in mine heart, took hold on the hand of the Lord the lover of men and began to rejoyce and to speak thus: Glory be to thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that givest unto all thy grace which all we have perceived. Alleluia. Glory be to thee, O Lord, the life of sinners. Glory be to thee, O Lord, death is put to shame. Glory be to thee, O Lord, the treasure of righteousness. For unto God do we sing. 70 And as Bartholomew thus spake again, Jesus put off his mantle and took a kerchief from the neck of Bartholomew and began to rejoyce and say (70 Lat. 2, Then Jesus took a kerchief (?) and said: I am good: mild and gracious and merciful, strong and righteous, wonderful and holy): I am good. Alleluia. I am meek and gentle. Alleluia. Glory be to thee, O Lord: for I give gifts unto all them that desire me. Alleluia.

Glory be to thee, O Lord, world without end. Amen. Alleluia. 71 And when he had ceased, the apostles kissed him, and he gave them the peace of love.

V

1 Bartholomew saith unto him: Declare unto us, Lord, what sin is heavier than all sins? 2 Jesus saith unto him: Verily I say unto thee that hypocrisy and backbiting is heavier than all sins: for because of them, the prophet said in the psalm, that 'the ungodly shall not rise in the judgement, neither sinners in the council of the righteous', neither the ungodly in the judgement of my Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, that every sin shall be forgiven unto every man, but the sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven. 3 And Bartholomew saith unto him: What is the sin against the Holy Ghost? 4 Jesus saith unto him: Whosoever shall decree against any man that hath served my holy Father hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost: For every man that serveth God

P A R T T W O

Birth and Childhood

*The birth of Mary, the birth of Jesus, the flight into Egypt and
the boyhood miracles, with Joseph the carpenter and John the
Baptist.*

The Protevangelium of James

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

c. AD 150

The second-century gospel of the birth and childhood of Mary, her marriage to Joseph and the birth of Jesus. It is not by James and is not part of the New Testament.

The Protevangelium of James. The Birth of Mary the Holy Mother of God, and Very Glorious Mother of Jesus Christ. 1. In the records of the twelve tribes of Israel was Joachim, a man rich exceedingly; and he brought his offerings double, saying: There shall be of my superabundance to all the people, and there shall be the offering for my forgiveness to the Lord for a propitiation for me. For the great day of the Lord was at hand, and the sons of Israel were bringing their offerings. And there stood over against him Rubim, saying: It is not meet for thee first to bring thine offerings, because thou hast not made seed in Israel. And Joachim was exceedingly grieved, and went away to the registers of the twelve tribes of the people, saying: I shall see the registers of the twelve tribes of Israel, as to whether I alone have not made seed in Israel. And he searched, and found that all the righteous had raised up seed in Israel. And he called to mind the patriarch Abraham, that in the last day God gave him a son Isaac. And Joachim was exceedingly grieved, and did not come into the presence of his wife; but he retired to the desert, and there pitched his tent, and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying in himself: I will not go down either for food or for drink until the Lord my God shall look upon me, and prayer shall be my food and drink.

2. And his wife Anna mourned in two mournings, and lamented in two lamentations, saying: I shall bewail my widowhood; I shall bewail my childlessness. And the great day of the Lord was at hand; and Judith her maid-servant said: How long dost thou humiliate thy soul? Behold, the great day of the Lord is at hand, and it is unlawful for thee to mourn. But take this headband, which the woman that made it gave to me; for it is not proper that I

should wear it, because I am a maid-servant, and it has a royal appearance. And Anna said: Depart from me; for I have not done such things, and the Lord has brought me very low. I fear that some wicked person has given it to thee, and thou hast come to make me a sharer in thy sin. And Judith said: Why should I curse thee, seeing that the Lord hath shut thy womb, so as not to give thee fruit in Israel? And Anna was grieved exceedingly, and put off her garments of mourning, and cleaned her head, and put on her wedding garments, and about the ninth hour went down to the garden to walk. And she saw a laurel, and sat under it, and prayed to the Lord, saying: O God of our fathers, bless me and hear my prayer, as Thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and didst give her a son Isaac.

3. And gazing towards the heaven, she saw a sparrow's nest in the laurel, and made a lamentation in herself, saying: Alas! who begot me? and what womb produced me? because I have become a curse in the presence of the sons of Israel, and I have been reproached, and they have driven me in derision out of the temple of the Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like the fowls of the heaven, because even the fowls of the heaven are productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like the beasts of the earth, because even the beasts of the earth are productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like these waters, because even these waters are productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like this earth, because even the earth bringeth forth its fruits in season, and blesseth Thee, O Lord.

4. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by, saying: Anna, Anna, the Lord hath heard thy prayer, and thou shalt conceive, and shall bring forth; and thy seed shall be spoken of in all the world. And Anna said: As the Lord my God liveth, if I beget either male or female, I will bring it as a gift to the Lord my God; and it shall minister to Him in holy things all the days of its life. And, behold, two angels came, saying to her: Behold, Joachim thy husband is coming with his flocks. For an angel of the Lord went down to him, saying: Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God hath heard thy prayer. Go down hence; for, behold, thy wife Anna shall conceive. And Joachim went down and called his shepherds, saying: Bring me hither ten she-lambs without spot or blemish, and they shall be for the Lord my God; and bring me twelve tender calves, and they shall be for the priests and the elders; and a hundred goats for all the people. And, behold, Joachim came with his flocks; and

Anna stood by the gate, and saw Joachim coming, and she ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now I know that the Lord God hath blessed me exceedingly; for, behold the widow no longer a widow, and I the childless shall conceive. And Joachim rested the first day in his house.

5. And on the following day he brought his offerings, saying in himself: If the Lord God has been rendered gracious to me, the plate on the priest's forehead will make it manifest to me. And Joachim brought his offerings, and observed attentively the priest's plate when he went up to the altar of the Lord, and he saw no sin in himself. And Joachim said: Now I know that the Lord has been gracious unto me, and has remitted all my sins. And he went down from the temple of the Lord justified, and departed to his own house. And her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said to the midwife: What have I brought forth? and she said: A girl. And said Anna: My soul has been magnified this day. And she laid her down. And the days having been fulfilled, Anna was purified, and gave the breast to the child, and called her name Mary.

6. And the child grew strong day by day; and when she was six months old, her mother set her on the ground to try whether she could stand, and she walked seven steps and came into her bosom; and she snatched her up, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk on this earth until I bring thee into the temple of the Lord. And she made a sanctuary in her bed-chamber, and allowed nothing common or unclean to pass through her. And she called the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and they led her astray. And when she was a year old, Joachim made a great feast, and invited the priests, and the scribes, and the elders, and all the people of Israel. And Joachim brought the child to the priests; and they blessed her, saying: O God of our fathers, bless this child, and give her an everlasting name to be named in all generations. And all the people said: So be it, so be it, amen. And he brought her to the chief priests; and they blessed her, saying: O God most high, look upon this child, and bless her with the utmost blessing, which shall be for ever. And her mother snatched her up, and took her into the sanctuary of her bed-chamber, and gave her the breast. And Anna made a song to the Lord God, saying:

I will sing a song to the Lord my God, for He hath looked upon me, and hath taken away the reproach of mine enemies; and the Lord hath given the fruit of His righteousness, singular in its kind, and richly endowed before

Him. Who will tell the sons of Rubim that Anna gives suck? Hear, hear, ye twelve tribes of Israel, that Anna gives suck. And she laid her to rest in the bed-chamber of her sanctuary, and went out and ministered unto them. And when the supper was ended, they went down rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel. 7. And her months were added to the child. And the child was two years old, and Joachim said: Let us take her up to the temple of the Lord, that we may pay the vow that we have vowed, lest perchance the Lord send to us, and our offering be not received. And Anna said: Let us wait for the third year, in order that the child may not seek for father or mother. And Joachim said: So let us wait. And the child was three years old, and Joachim said: Invite the daughters of the Hebrews that are undefiled, and let them take each a lamp, and let them stand with the lamps burning, that the child may not turn back, and her heart be captivated from the temple of the Lord. And they did so until they went up into the temple of the Lord. And the priest received her, and kissed her, and blessed her, saying: The Lord has magnified thy name in all generations. In thee, on the last of the days, the Lord will manifest His redemption to the sons of Israel. And he set her down upon the third step of the altar, and the Lord God sent grace upon her; and she danced with her feet, and all the house of Israel loved her.

8. And her parents went down marvelling, and praising the Lord God, because the child had not turned back. And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel. And when she was twelve years old there was held a council of the priests, saying: Behold, Mary has reached the age of twelve years in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her, lest perchance she defile the sanctuary of the Lord? And they said to the high priest: Thou standest by the altar of the Lord; go in, and pray concerning her; and whatever the Lord shall manifest unto thee, that also will we do. And the high priest went in, taking the robe with the twelve bells into the holy of holies; and he prayed concerning her. And behold an angel of the Lord stood by him, saying unto him: Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and assemble the widowers of the people, and let them bring each his rod; and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be. And the heralds went out through all the circuit of Judæa, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all ran.

9. And Joseph, throwing away his axe, went out to meet them; and when they had assembled, they went away to the high priest, taking with them

their rods. And he, taking the rods of all of them, entered into the temple, and prayed; and having ended his prayer, he took the rods and came out, and gave them to them: but there was no sign in them, and Joseph took his rod last; and, behold, a dove came out of the rod, and flew upon Joseph's head. And the priest said to Joseph, Thou hast been chosen by lot to take into thy keeping the virgin of the Lord. But Joseph refused, saying: I have children, and I am an old man, and she is a young girl. I am afraid lest I become a laughing-stock to the sons of Israel. And the priest said to Joseph: Fear the Lord thy God, and remember what the Lord did to Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah; how the earth opened, and they were swallowed up on account of their contradiction. And now fear, O Joseph, lest the same things happen in thy house. And Joseph was afraid, and took her into his keeping. And Joseph said to Mary: Behold, I have received thee from the temple of the Lord; and now I leave thee in my house, and go away to build my buildings, and I shall come to thee. The Lord will protect thee.

10. And there was a council of the priests, saying: Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said: Call to me the undefiled virgins of the family of David. And the officers went away, and sought, and found seven virgins. And the priest remembered the child Mary, that she was of the family of David, and undefiled before God. And the officers went away and brought her. And they brought them into the temple of the Lord. And the priest said: Choose for me by lot who shall spin the gold, and the white, and the fine linen, and the silk, and the blue, and the scarlet, and the true purple. And the true purple and the scarlet fell to the lot of Mary, and she took them, and went away to her house. And at that time Zacharias was dumb, and Samuel was in his place until the time that Zacharias spake. And Mary took the scarlet, and span it.

11. And she took the pitcher, and went out to fill it with water. And, behold, a voice saying: Hail, thou who hast received grace; the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women! And she looked round, on the right hand and on the left, to see whence this voice came. And she went away, trembling, to her house, and put down the pitcher; and taking the purple, she sat down on her seat, and drew it out. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all, and thou shalt conceive, according to His word. And she hearing, reasoned with herself, saying: Shall I conceive by the Lord, the living

God? and shall I bring forth as every woman brings forth? And the angel of the Lord said: Not so, Mary; for the power of the Lord shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Most High. And thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. And Mary said: Behold, the servant of the Lord before His face: let it be unto me according to thy word.

12. And she made the purple and the scarlet, and took them to the priest. And the priest blessed her, and said: Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed in all the generations of the earth. And Mary, with great joy, went away to Elizabeth her kinswoman, and knocked at the door. And when Elizabeth heard her, she threw away the scarlet, and ran to the door, and opened it; and seeing Mary, she blessed her, and said: Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for, behold, that which is in me leaped and blessed thee. But Mary had forgotten the mysteries of which the archangel Gabriel had spoken, and gazed up into heaven, and said: Who am I, O Lord, that all the generations of the earth should bless me? And she remained three months with Elizabeth; and day by day she grew bigger. And Mary being afraid, went away to her own house, and hid herself from the sons of Israel. And she was sixteen years old when these mysteries happened.

13. And she was in her sixth month; and, behold, Joseph came back from his building, and, entering into his house, he discovered that she was big with child. And he smote his face, and threw himself on the ground upon the sackcloth, and wept bitterly, saying: With what face shall I look upon the Lord my God? and what prayer shall I make about this maiden? because I received her a virgin out of the temple of the Lord, and I have not watched over her. Who is it that has hunted me down? Who has done this evil thing in my house, and defiled the virgin? Has not the history of Adam been repeated in me? For just as Adam was in the hour of his singing praise, and the serpent came, and found Eve alone, and completely deceived her, so it has happened to me also. And Joseph stood up from the sackcloth, and called Mary, and said to her: O thou who hast been cared for by God, why hast thou done this and forgotten the Lord thy God? Why hast thou brought low thy soul, thou that wast brought up in the holy of holies, and that didst receive food from the hand of an angel? And she wept bitterly, saying: I am innocent, and have known no man. And Joseph said to her: Whence then is that

which is in thy womb? And she said: As the Lord my God liveth, I do not know whence it is to me.

14. And Joseph was greatly afraid, and retired from her, and considered what he should do in regard to her. And Joseph said: If I conceal her sin, I find myself fighting against the law of the Lord; and if I expose her to the sons of Israel, I am afraid lest that which is in her be from an angel, and I shall be found giving up innocent blood to the doom of death. What then shall I do with her? I will put her away from me secretly. And night came upon him; and, behold, an angel of the Lord appears to him in a dream, saying: Be not afraid for this maiden, for that which is in her is of the Holy Spirit; and she will bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins. And Joseph arose from sleep, and glorified the God of Israel, who had given him this grace; and he kept her.

15. And Annas the scribe came to him, and said: Why hast thou not appeared in our assembly? And Joseph said to him: Because I was weary from my journey, and rested the first day. And he turned, and saw that Mary was with child. And he ran away to the priest, and said to him: Joseph, whom thou didst vouch for, has committed a grievous crime. And the priest said: How so? And he said: He has defiled the virgin whom he received out of the temple of the Lord, and has married her by stealth, and has not revealed it to the sons of Israel. And the priest answering, said: Has Joseph done this? Then said Annas the scribe: Send officers, and thou wilt find the virgin with child. And the officers went away, and found it as he had said; and they brought her along with Joseph to the tribunal. And the priest said: Mary, why hast thou done this? and why hast thou brought thy soul low, and forgotten the Lord thy God? Thou that wast reared in the holy of holies, and that didst receive food from the hand of an angel, and didst hear the hymns, and didst dance before Him, why hast thou done this? And she wept bitterly, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, I am pure before Him, and know not a man. And the priest said to Joseph: Why hast thou done this? And Joseph said: As the Lord liveth, I am pure concerning her. Then said the priest: Bear not false witness, but speak the truth. Thou hast married her by stealth, and hast not revealed it to the sons of Israel, and hast not bowed thy head under the strong hand, that thy seed might be blessed. And Joseph was silent.

16. And the priest said: Give up the virgin whom thou didst receive out of the temple of the Lord. And Joseph burst into tears. And the priest said: I will

give you to drink of the water of the ordeal of the Lord, and He shall make manifest your sins in your eyes. And the priest took the water, and gave Joseph to drink and sent him away to the hill-country; and he returned unhurt. And he gave to Mary also to drink, and sent her away to the hill-country; and she returned unhurt. And all the people wondered that sin did not appear in them. And the priest said: If the Lord God has not made manifest your sins, neither do I judge you. And he sent them away. And Joseph took Mary, and went away to his own house, rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel. 17. And there was an order from the Emperor Augustus, that all in Bethlehem of Judæa should be enrolled. And Joseph said: I shall enrol my sons, but what shall I do with this maiden? How shall I enrol her? As my wife? I am ashamed. As my daughter then? But all the sons of Israel know that she is not my daughter. The day of the Lord shall itself bring it to pass as the Lord will. And he saddled the ass, and set her upon it; and his son led it, and Joseph followed. And when they had come within three miles, Joseph turned and saw her sorrowful; and he said to himself: Likely that which is in her distresses her. And again Joseph turned and saw her laughing. And he said to her: Mary, how is it that I see in thy face at one time laughter, at another sorrow? And Mary said to Joseph: Because I see two peoples with my eyes; the one weeping and lamenting, and the other rejoicing and exulting. And they came into the middle of the road, and Mary said to him: Take me down from off the ass, for that which is in me presses to come forth. And he took her down from off the ass, and said to her: Whither shall I lead thee, and cover thy disgrace? for the place is desert.

18. And he found a cave there, and led her into it; and leaving his two sons beside her, he went out to seek a widwife in the district of Bethlehem. And I Joseph was walking, and was not walking; and I looked up into the sky, and saw the sky astonished; and I looked up to the pole of the heavens, and saw it standing, and the birds of the air keeping still. And I looked down upon the earth, and saw a trough lying, and work-people reclining; and their hands were in the trough. And those that were eating did not eat, and those that were rising did not carry it up, and those that were conveying anything to their mouths did not convey it; but the faces of all were looking upwards. And I saw the sheep walking, and the sheep stood still; and the shepherd raised his hand to strike them, and his hand remained up. And I looked upon the current of the river, and I saw the mouths of the kids resting on the

water and not drinking, and all things in a moment were driven from their course.

19. And I saw a woman coming down from the hill-country, and she said to me: O man, whither art thou going? And I said: I am seeking an Hebrew midwife. And she answered and said unto me: Art thou of Israel? And I said to her: Yes. And she said: And who is it that is bringing forth in the cave? And I said: A woman betrothed to me. And she said to me: Is she not thy wife? And I said to her: It is Mary that was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her by lot as my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but has conceived of the Holy Spirit. And the midwife said to him: Is this true? And Joseph said to her: Come and see. And the midwife went away with him. And they stood in the place of the cave, and behold a luminous cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said: My soul has been magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen strange things—because salvation has been brought forth to Israel. And immediately the cloud disappeared out of the cave, and a great light shone in the cave, so that the eyes could not bear it. And in a little that light gradually decreased, until the infant appeared, and went and took the breast from His mother Mary. And the midwife cried out, and said: This is a great day to me, because I have seen this strange sight. And the midwife went forth out of the cave, and Salome met her. And she said to her: Salome, Salome, I have a strange sight to relate to thee: a virgin has brought forth—a thing which her nature admits not of. Then said Salome: As the Lord my God liveth, unless I thrust in my finger, and search the parts, I will not believe that a virgin has brought forth.

20. And the midwife went in, and said to Mary: Show thyself; for no small controversy has arisen about thee. And Salome put in her finger, and cried out, and said: Woe is me for mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living God; and, behold, my hand is dropping off as if burned with fire. And she bent her knees before the Lord, saying: O God of my fathers, remember that I am the seed of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; do not make a show of me to the sons of Israel, but restore me to the poor; for Thou knowest, O Lord, that in Thy name I have performed my services, and that I have received my reward at Thy hand. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by her, saying to her: Salome, Salome, the Lord hath heard thee. Put thy hand to the infant, and carry it, and thou wilt have safety and joy. And Salome went and carried it, saying: I will worship Him, because a great King

has been born to Israel. And, behold, Salome was immediately cured, and she went forth out of the cave justified. And behold a voice saying: Salome, Salome, tell not the strange things thou hast seen, until the child has come into Jerusalem.

21. And, behold, Joseph was ready to go into Judæa. And there was a great commotion in Bethlehem of Judæa, for Magi came, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. And when Herod heard, he was much disturbed, and sent officers to the Magi. And he sent for the priests, and examined them, saying: How is it written about the Christ? where is He to be born? And they said: In Bethlehem of Judæa, for so it is written. And he sent them away. And he examined the Magi, saying to them: What sign have you seen in reference to the king that has been born? And the Magi said: We have seen a star of great size shining among these stars, and obscuring their light, so that the stars did not appear; and we thus knew that a king has been born to Israel, and we have come to worship him. And Herod said: Go and seek him; and if you find him, let me know, in order that I also may go and worship him. And the Magi went out. And, behold, the star which they had seen in the east went before them until they came to the cave, and it stood over the top of the cave. And the Magi saw the infant with His mother Mary; and they brought forth from their bag gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And having been warned by the angel not to go into Judæa, they went into their own country by another road.

22. And when Herod knew that he had been mocked by the Magi, in a rage he sent murderers, saying to them: Slay the children from two years old and under. And Mary, having heard that the children were being killed, was afraid, and took the infant and swaddled Him, and put Him into an ox-stall. And Elizabeth, having heard that they were searching for John, took him and went up into the hill-country, and kept looking where to conceal him. And there was no place of concealment. And Elizabeth, groaning with a loud voice, says: O mountain of God, receive mother and child. And immediately the mountain was cleft, and received her. And a light shone about them, for an angel of the Lord was with them, watching over them. 23. And Herod searched for John, and sent officers to Zacharias, saying: Where hast thou hid thy son? And he, answering, said to them: I am the servant of God in holy things, and I sit constantly in the temple of the Lord: I do not know

where my son is. And the officers went away, and reported all these things to Herod. And Herod was enraged, and said: His son is destined to be king over Israel. And he sent to him again, saying: Tell the truth; where is thy son? for thou knowest that thy life is in my hand. And Zacharias said: I am God's martyr, if thou sheddest my blood; for the Lord will receive my spirit, because thou sheddest innocent blood at the vestibule of the temple of the Lord. And Zacharias was murdered about daybreak. And the sons of Israel did not know that he had been murdered.

24. But at the hour of the salutation the priests went away, and Zacharias did not come forth to meet them with a blessing, according to his custom. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias to salute him at the prayer, and to glorify the Most High. And he still delaying, they were all afraid. But one of them ventured to go in, and he saw clotted blood beside the altar; and he heard a voice saying: Zacharias has been murdered, and his blood shall not be wiped up until his avenger come. And hearing this saying, he was afraid, and went out and told it to the priests. And they ventured in, and saw what had happened; and the fretwork of the temple made a wailing noise, and they rent their clothes from the top even to the bottom. And they found not his body, but they found his blood turned into stone. And they were afraid, and went out and reported to the people that Zacharias had been murdered. And all the tribes of the people heard, and mourned, and lamented for him three days and three nights. And after the three days, the priests consulted as to whom they should put in his place; and the lot fell upon Simeon. For it was he who had been warned by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.

And I James that wrote this history in Jerusalem, a commotion having arisen when Herod died, withdrew myself to the wilderness until the commotion in Jerusalem ceased, glorifying the Lord God, who had given me the gift and the wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with them that fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory to ages of ages. Amen.

The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

8th–9th century

The birth of Mary, the nativity of Jesus, the flight into Egypt and the wonders of his childhood, in a Latin gospel that was falsely said to be by Matthew and translated by Jerome.

PREFACE

¹ The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. Here beginneth the book of the Birth of the Blessed Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour. Written in Hebrew by the Blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the Blessed Presbyter Jerome. To their well-beloved brother Jerome the Presbyter, Bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus in the Lord, greeting. The birth of the Virgin Mary, and the nativity and infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we find in apocryphal books. But considering that in them many things contrary to our faith are written, we have believed that they ought all to be rejected, lest perchance we should transfer the joy of Christ to Antichrist. While, therefore, we were considering these things, there came holy men, Parmenius and Varinus, who said that your Holiness had found a Hebrew volume, written by the hand of the most blessed Evangelist Matthew, in which also the birth of the virgin mother herself, and the infancy of our Saviour, were written. And accordingly we entreat your affection by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, to render it from the Hebrew into Latin, not so much for the attainment of those things which are the insignia of Christ, as for the exclusion of the craft of heretics, who, in order to teach bad doctrine, have mingled their own lies with the excellent nativity of Christ, that by the sweetness of life they might hide the bitterness of death. It will therefore become your purest piety, either to listen to us as your brethren entreating, or to let us have as bishops exacting, the debt of affection which you may deem due.

² Reply to Their Letter by Jerome. To my lords the holy and most blessed Bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus, Jerome, a humble servant of Christ, in

the Lord greeting. ³ He who digs in ground where he knows that there is gold, does not instantly snatch at whatever the upturned trench may pour forth; but, before the stroke of the quivering spade raises aloft the glittering mass, he meanwhile lingers over the sods to turn them over and lift them up, and especially he who has not added to his gains. An arduous task is enjoined upon me, since what your Blessedness has commanded me, the holy Apostle and Evangelist Matthew himself did not write for the purpose of publishing. For if he had not done it somewhat secretly, he would have added it also to his Gospel which he published. But he composed this book in Hebrew; and so little did he publish it, that at this day the book written in Hebrew by his own hand is in the possession of very religious men, to whom in successive periods of time it has been handed down by those that were before them. And this book they never at any time gave to any one to translate. And so it came to pass, that when it was published by a disciple of Manichæus named Leucius, who also wrote the falsely styled Acts of the Apostles, this book afforded matter, not of edification, but of perdition; and the opinion of the Synod in regard to it was according to its deserts, that the ears of the Church should not be open to it. Let the snapping of those that bark against us now cease;

⁴ for we do not add this little book to the canonical writings, but we translate what was written by an Apostle and Evangelist, that we may disclose the falsehood of heresy. In this work, then, we obey the commands of pious bishops as well as oppose impious heretics. It is the love of Christ, therefore, which we fulfil, believing that they will assist us by their prayers, who through our obedience attain to a knowledge of the holy infancy of our Saviour. ⁵ There is extant another letter to the same bishops, attributed to Jerome:— You ask me to let you know what I think of a book held by some to be about the nativity of St. Mary. And so I wish you to know that there is much in it that is false. For one Seleucus, who wrote the Sufferings of the Apostles, composed this book. But, just as he wrote what was true about their powers, and the miracles they worked, but said a great deal that was false about their doctrine; so here too he has invented many untruths out of his own head. I shall take care to render it word for word, exactly as it is in the Hebrew, since it is asserted that it was composed by the holy Evangelist Matthew, and written in Hebrew, and set at the head of his Gospel. Whether this be true or not, I leave to the author of the preface and the trustworthiness of

the writer: as for myself, I pronounce them doubtful; I do not affirm that they are clearly false. But this I say freely—and I think none of the faithful will deny it—that, whether these stories be true or inventions, the sacred nativity of St. Mary was preceded by great miracles, and succeeded by the greatest; and so by those who believe that God can do these things, they can be believed and read without damaging their faith or imperilling their souls. In short, so far as I can, following the sense rather than the words of the writer, and sometimes walking in the same path, though not in the same footsteps, sometimes digressing a little, but still keeping the same road, I shall in this way keep by the style of the narrative, and shall say nothing that is not either written there, or might, following the same train of thought, have been written.

CHAPTER 1

Chapter 1. In those days there was a man in Jerusalem, Joachim by name, of the tribe of Judah. He was the shepherd of his own sheep, fearing the Lord in integrity and singleness of heart. He had no other care than that of his herds, from the produce of which he supplied with food all that feared God, offering double gifts in the fear of God to all who laboured in doctrine, and who ministered unto Him. Therefore his lambs, and his sheep, and his wool, and all things whatsoever he possessed, he used to divide into three portions: one he gave to the orphans, the widows, the strangers, and the poor; the second to those that worshipped God; and the third he kept for himself and all his house. And as he did so, the Lord multiplied to him his herds, so that there was no man like him in the people of Israel. This now he began to do when he was fifteen years old. And at the age of twenty he took to wife Anna, the daughter of Achar, of his own tribe, that is, of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David. And though they had lived together for twenty years, he had by her neither sons nor daughters.

CHAPTER 2

¹ Chapter 2. ² And it happened that, in the time of the feast, among those who were offering incense to the Lord, Joachim stood getting ready his gifts in the sight of the Lord. And the priest, Ruben by name, coming to him, said: It is not lawful for thee to stand among those who are doing sacrifice to God, because God has not blessed thee so as to give thee seed in Israel. Being therefore put to shame in the sight of the people, he retired from the temple

of the Lord weeping, and did not return to his house, but went to his flocks, taking with him his shepherds into the mountains to a far country, so that for five months his wife Anna could hear no tidings of him. And she prayed with tears, saying: O Lord, most mighty God of Israel, why hast Thou, seeing that already Thou hast not given me children, taken from me my husband also? Behold, now five months that I have not seen my husband; and I know not where he is tarrying; nor, if I knew him to be dead, could I bury him. And while she wept excessively, she entered into the court of His house; and she fell on her face in prayer, and poured out her supplications before the Lord. After this, rising from her prayer, and lifting her eyes to God, she saw a sparrow's nest in a laurel tree, and uttered her voice to the Lord with groaning, and said:

³ Lord God Almighty, who hast given offspring to every creature, to beasts wild and tame, to serpents, and birds, and fishes, and they all rejoice over their young ones, Thou hast shut out me alone from the gift of Thy benignity. For Thou, O God, knowest my heart, that from the beginning of my married life I have vowed that, if Thou, O God, shouldst give me son or daughter, I would offer them to Thee in Thy holy temple. And while she was thus speaking, suddenly an angel of the Lord appeared before her, saying: Be not afraid, Anna, for there is seed for thee in the decree of God; and all generations even to the end shall wonder at that which shall be born of thee. And when he had thus spoken, he vanished out of her sight. But she, in fear and dread because she had seen such a sight, and heard such words, at length went into her bed-chamber, and threw herself on the bed as if dead. And for a whole day and night she remained in great trembling and in prayer. And after these things she called to her her servant, and said to her: Dost thou see me deceived in my widowhood and in great perplexity, and hast thou been unwilling to come in to me? Then she, with a slight murmur, thus answered and said: If God hath shut up thy womb, and hath taken away thy husband from thee, what can I do for thee?

⁴ And when Anna heard this, she lifted up her voice, and wept aloud.

CHAPTER 3

¹ Chapter 3. ² At the same time there appeared a young man on the mountains to Joachim while he was feeding his flocks, and said to him: Why dost thou not return to thy wife? And Joachim said: I have had her for twenty years, and it has not been the will of God to give me children by her. I have

been driven with shame and reproach from the temple of the Lord: why should I go back to her, when I have been once cast off and utterly despised? Here then will I remain with my sheep; and so long as in this life God is willing to grant me light, I shall willingly, by the hands of my servants, bestow their portions upon the poor, and the orphans, and those that fear God. And when he had thus spoken, the young man said to him: I am an angel of the Lord, and I have to-day appeared to thy wife when she was weeping and praying, and have consoled her; and know that she has conceived a daughter from thy seed, and thou in thy ignorance of this hast left her. She will be in the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit shall abide in her; and her blessedness shall be greater than that of all the holy women, so that no one can say that any before her has been like her, or that any after her in this world will be so.

³ Therefore go down from the mountains, and return to thy wife, whom thou wilt find with child. For God hath raised up seed in her, and for this thou wilt give God thanks; and her seed shall be blessed, and she herself shall be blessed, and shall be made the mother of eternal blessing. Then Joachim adored the angel, and said to him: If I have found favour in thy sight, sit for a little in my tent, and bless thy servant. And the angel said to him: Do not say servant, but fellow-servant; for we are the servants of one Master. But my food is invisible, and my drink cannot be seen by a mortal. Therefore thou oughtest not to ask me to enter thy tent; but if thou wast about to give me anything, offer it as a burnt-offering to the Lord. Then Joachim took a lamb without spot, and said to the angel: I should not have dared to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord, unless thy command had given me the priest's right of offering. And the angel said to him: I should not have invited thee to offer unless I had known the will of the Lord. And when Joachim was offering the sacrifice to God, the angel and the odour of the sacrifice went together straight up to heaven with the smoke.

⁴ Then Joachim, throwing himself on his face, lay in prayer from the sixth hour of the day even until evening. And his lads and hired servants who were with him saw him, and not knowing why he was lying down, thought that he was dead; and they came to him, and with difficulty raised him from the ground. And when he recounted to them the vision of the angel, they were struck with great fear and wonder, and advised him to accomplish the vision of the angel without delay, and to go back with all haste to his wife. And when Joachim was turning over in his mind whether he should go back

or not, it happened that he was overpowered by a deep sleep; and, behold, the angel who had already appeared to him when awake, appeared to him in his sleep, saying: I am the angel appointed by God as thy guardian: go down with confidence, and return to Anna, because the deeds of mercy which thou and thy wife Anna have done have been told in the presence of the Most High; and to you will God give such fruit as no prophet or saint has ever had from the beginning, or ever will have. And when Joachim awoke out of his sleep, he called all his herdsmen to him, and told them his dream. And they worshipped the Lord, and said to him: See that thou no further despise the words of the angel. But rise and let us go hence, and return at a quiet pace, feeding our flocks.

5 And when, after thirty days occupied in going back, they were now near at hand, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Anna, who was standing and praying, and said: Go to the gate which is called Golden, and meet thy husband in the way, for to-day he will come to thee. She therefore went towards him in haste with her maidens, and, praying to the Lord, she stood a long time in the gate waiting for him. And when she was wearied with long waiting, she lifted up her eyes and saw Joachim afar off coming with his flocks; and she ran to him and hung on his neck, giving thanks to God, and saying: I was a widow, and behold now I am not so: I was barren, and behold I have now conceived. And so they worshipped the Lord, and went into their own house. And when this was heard of, there was great joy among all their neighbours and acquaintances, so that the whole land of Israel congratulated them.

CHAPTER 4

Chapter 4. After these things, her nine months being fulfilled, Anna brought forth a daughter, and called her Mary. And having weaned her in her third year, Joachim, and Anna his wife, went together to the temple of the Lord to offer sacrifices to God, and placed the infant, Mary by name, in the community of virgins, in which the virgins remained day and night praising God. And when she was put down before the doors of the temple, she went up the fifteen steps so swiftly, that she did not look back at all; nor did she, as children are wont to do, seek for her parents. Whereupon her parents, each of them anxiously seeking for the child, were both alike astonished, until they found her in the temple, and the priests of the temple themselves wondered.

CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5. Then Anna, filled with the Holy Spirit, said before them all: The Lord Almighty, the God of Hosts, being mindful of His word, hath visited His people with a good and holy visitation, to bring down the hearts of the Gentiles who were rising against us, and turn them to Himself. He hath opened His ears to our prayers: He hath kept away from us the exulting of all our enemies. The barren hath become a mother, and hath brought forth exultation and gladness to Israel. Behold the gifts which I have brought to offer to my Lord, and mine enemies have not been able to hinder me. For God hath turned their hearts to me, and Himself hath given me everlasting joy.

CHAPTER 6

¹Chapter 6. ²And Mary was held in admiration by all the people of Israel; and when she was three years old, she walked with a step so mature, she spoke so perfectly, and spent her time so assiduously in the praises of God, that all were astonished at her, and wondered; and she was not reckoned a young infant, but as it were a grown-up person of thirty years old. She was so constant in prayer, and her appearance was so beautiful and glorious, that scarcely any one could look into her face. And she occupied herself constantly with her wool-work, so that she in her tender years could do all that old women were not able to do. And this was the order that she had set for herself: From the morning to the third hour she remained in prayer; from the third to the ninth she was occupied with her weaving; and from the ninth she again applied herself to prayer. She did not retire from praying until there appeared to her the angel of the Lord, from whose hand she used to receive food; and thus she became more and more perfect in the work of God. Then, when the older virgins rested from the praises of God, she did not rest at all; so that in the praises and vigils of God none were found before her, no one more learned in the wisdom of the law of God, more lowly in humility, more elegant in singing, more perfect in all virtue.

³She was indeed steadfast, immoveable, unchangeable, and daily advancing to perfection. No one saw her angry, nor heard her speaking evil. All her speech was so full of grace, that her God was acknowledged to be in her tongue. She was always engaged in prayer and in searching the law, and she was anxious lest by any word of hers she should sin with regard to her companions. Then she was afraid lest in her laughter, or the sound of her beauti-

ful voice, she should commit any fault, or lest, being elated, she should display any wrong-doing or haughtiness to one of her equals. She blessed God without intermission; and lest perchance, even in her salutation, she might cease from praising God; if any one saluted her, she used to answer by way of salutation: Thanks be to God. And from her the custom first began of men saying, Thanks be to God, when they saluted each other. She refreshed herself only with the food which she daily received from the hand of the angel; but the food which she obtained from the priests she divided among the poor. The angels of God were often seen speaking with her, and they most diligently obeyed her. If any one who was unwell touched her, the same hour he went home cured.

CHAPTER 7

Chapter 7. Then Abiathar the priest offered gifts without end to the high priests, in order that he might obtain her as wife to his son. But Mary forbade them, saying: It cannot be that I should know a man, or that a man should know me. For all the priests and all her relations kept saying to her: God is worshipped in children and adored in posterity, as has always happened among the sons of Israel. But Mary answered and said unto them: God is worshipped in chastity, as is proved first of all. For before Abel there was none righteous among men, and he by his offerings pleased God, and was without mercy slain by him who displeased Him. Two crowns, therefore, he received—of oblation and of virginity, because in his flesh there was no pollution. Elias also, when he was in the flesh, was taken up in the flesh, because he kept his flesh unspotted. Now I, from my infancy in the temple of God, have learned that virginity can be sufficiently dear to God. And so, because I can offer what is dear to God, I have resolved in my heart that I should not know a man at all.

CHAPTER 8

¹ Chapter 8. ² Now it came to pass, when she was fourteen years old, and on this account there was occasion for the Pharisees' saying that it was now a custom that no woman of that age should abide in the temple of God, they fell upon the plan of sending a herald through all the tribes of Israel, that on the third day all should come together into the temple of the Lord. And when all the people had come together, Abiathar the high priest rose, and mounted on a higher step, that he might be seen and heard by all the people;

and when great silence had been obtained, he said: Hear me, O sons of Israel, and receive my words into your ears. Ever since this temple was built by Solomon, there have been in it virgins, the daughters of kings and the daughters of prophets, and of high priests and priests; and they were great, and worthy of admiration. But when they came to the proper age they were given in marriage, and followed the course of their mothers before them, and were pleasing to God. But a new order of life has been found out by Mary alone, who promises that she will remain a virgin to God. Wherefore it seems to me, that through our inquiry and the answer of God we should try to ascertain to whose keeping she ought to be entrusted. Then these words found favour with all the synagogue.

3 And the lot was cast by the priests upon the twelve tribes, and the lot fell upon the tribe of Judah. And the priest said: To-morrow let every one who has no wife come, and bring his rod in his hand. Whence it happened that Joseph brought his rod along with the young men. And the rods having been handed over to the high priest, he offered a sacrifice to the Lord God, and inquired of the Lord. And the Lord said to him: Put all their rods into the holy of holies of God, and let them remain there, and order them to come to thee on the morrow to get back their rods; and the man from the point of whose rod a dove shall come forth, and fly towards heaven, and in whose hand the rod, when given back, shall exhibit this sign, to him let Mary be delivered to be kept.

4 On the following day, then, all having assembled early, and an incense-offering having been made, the high priest went into the holy of holies, and brought forth the rods. And when he had distributed the rods, and the dove came forth out of none of them, the high priest put on the twelve bells and the sacerdotal robe; and entering into the holy of holies, he there made a burnt-offering, and poured forth a prayer. And the angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying: There is here the shortest rod, of which thou hast made no account: thou didst bring it in with the rest, but didst not take it out with them. When thou hast taken it out, and hast given it him whose it is, in it will appear the sign of which I spoke to thee. Now that was Joseph's rod; and because he was an old man, he had been cast off, as it were, that he might not receive her, but neither did he himself wish to ask back his rod. And when he was humbly standing last of all, the high priest cried out to him with a loud voice, saying: Come, Joseph, and receive thy rod; for we are

waiting for thee. And Joseph came up trembling, because the high priest had called him with a very loud voice.

5 But as soon as he stretched forth his hand, and laid hold of his rod, immediately from the top of it came forth a dove whiter than snow, beautiful exceedingly, which, after long flying about the roofs of the temple, at length flew towards the heavens. Then all the people congratulated the old man, saying: Thou hast been made blessed in thine old age, O father Joseph, seeing that God hath shown thee to be fit to receive Mary. And the priests having said to him, Take her, because of all the tribe of Judah thou alone hast been chosen by God; Joseph began bashfully to address them, saying: I am an old man, and have children; why do you hand over to me this infant, who is younger than my grandsons? Then Abiathar the high priest said to him: Remember, Joseph, how Dathan and Abiron and Core perished, because they despised the will of God. So will it happen to thee, if thou despise this which is commanded thee by God. Joseph answered him: I indeed do not despise the will of God; but I shall be her guardian until I can ascertain concerning the will of God, as to which of my sons can have her as his wife. Let some virgins of her companions, with whom she may meanwhile spend her time, be given for a consolation to her. Abiathar the high priest answered and said: Five virgins indeed shall be given her for consolation, until the appointed day come in which thou mayst receive her;

6 for to no other can she be joined in marriage. 7 Then Joseph received Mary, with the other five virgins who were to be with her in Joseph's house. These virgins were Rebecca, Saphora, Susanna, Abigea, and Cael; to whom the high priest gave the silk, and the blue, and the fine linen, and the scarlet, and the purple, and the fine flax. For they cast lots among themselves what each virgin should do, and the purple for the veil of the temple of the Lord fell to the lot of Mary. And when she had got it, those virgins said to her: Since thou art the last, and humble, and younger than all, thou hast deserved to receive and obtain the purple. And thus saying, as it were in words of annoyance, they began to call her queen of virgins. While, however, they were so doing, the angel of the Lord appeared in the midst of them, saying: These words shall not have been uttered by way of annoyance, but prophesied as a prophecy most true. They trembled, therefore, at the sight of the angel, and at his words, and asked her to pardon them, and pray for them.

CHAPTER 9

Chapter 9. And on the second day, while Mary was at the fountain to fill her pitcher, the angel of the Lord appeared to her, saying: Blessed art thou, Mary; for in thy womb thou hast prepared an habitation for the Lord. For, lo, the light from heaven shall come and dwell in thee, and by means of thee will shine over the whole world. Again, on the third day, while she was working at the purple with her fingers, there entered a young man of ineffable beauty. And when Mary saw him, she exceedingly feared and trembled. And he said to her: Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And when she heard these words, she trembled, and was exceedingly afraid. Then the angel of the Lord added: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God: Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a King, who fills not only the earth, but the heaven, and who reigns from generation to generation.

CHAPTER 10

Chapter 10. While these things were doing, Joseph was occupied with his work, house-building, in the districts by the sea-shore; for he was a carpenter. And after nine months he came back to his house, and found Mary pregnant. Wherefore, being in the utmost distress, he trembled and cried out, saying: O Lord God, receive my spirit; for it is better for me to die than to live any longer. And the virgins who were with Mary said to him: Joseph, what art thou saying? We know that no man has touched her; we can testify that she is still a virgin, and untouched. We have watched over her; always has she continued with us in prayer; daily do the angels of God speak with her; daily does she receive food from the hand of the Lord. We know not how it is possible that there can be any sin in her. But if thou wishest us to tell thee what we suspect, nobody but the angel of the Lord has made her pregnant. Then said Joseph: Why do you mislead me, to believe that an angel of the Lord has made her pregnant? But it is possible that some one has pretended to be an angel of the Lord, and has beguiled her. And thus speaking, he wept, and said: With what face shall I look at the temple of the Lord, or with what face shall I see the priests of God? What am I to do? And thus saying, he thought that he would flee, and send her away.

CHAPTER 11

Chapter 11. And when he was thinking of rising up and hiding himself, and dwelling in secret, behold, on that very night, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in sleep, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not; receive Mary as thy wife: for that which is in her womb is of the Holy Spirit. And she shall bring forth a son, and His name shall be called Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins. And Joseph, rising from his sleep, gave thanks to God, and spoke to Mary and the virgins who were with her, and told them his vision. And he was comforted about Mary, saying: I have sinned, in that I suspected thee at all.

CHAPTER 12

¹ Chapter 12. After these things there arose a great report that Mary was with child. And Joseph was seized by the officers of the temple, and brought along with Mary to the high priest. And he with the priests began to reproach him, and to say: Why hast thou beguiled so great and so glorious a virgin, who was fed like a dove in the temple by the angels of God, who never wished either to see or to have a man, who had the most excellent knowledge of the law of God? If thou hadst not done violence to her, she would still have remained in her virginity. And Joseph vowed, and swore that he had never touched her at all. And Abiathar the high priest answered him: As the Lord liveth, I will give thee to drink of the water of drinking of the Lord, and immediately thy sin will appear.

² Then was assembled a multitude of people which could not be numbered, and Mary was brought to the temple. And the priests, and her relatives, and her parents wept, and said to Mary: Confess to the priests thy sin, thou that wast like a dove in the temple of God, and didst receive food from the hands of an angel. And again Joseph was summoned to the altar, and the water of drinking of the Lord was given him to drink. And when any one that had lied drank this water, and walked seven times round the altar, God used to show some sign in his face. When, therefore, Joseph had drunk in safety, and had walked round the altar seven times, no sign of sin appeared in him. Then all the priests, and the officers, and the people justified him, saying: Blessed art thou, seeing that no charge has been found good against thee. And they summoned Mary, and said: And what excuse canst thou have? or what greater sign can appear in thee than the conception of thy womb,

which betrays thee? This only we require of thee, that since Joseph is pure regarding thee, thou confess who it is that has beguiled thee. For it is better that thy confession should betray thee, than that the wrath of God should set a mark on thy face, and expose thee in the midst of the people. Then Mary said, stedfastly and without trembling: O Lord God, King over all, who knowest all secrets, if there be any pollution in me, or any sin, or any evil desires, or unchastity, expose me in the sight of all the people, and make me an example of punishment to all. Thus saying, she went up to the altar of the Lord boldly, and drank the water of drinking, and walked round the altar seven times, and no spot was found in her.

3 And when all the people were in the utmost astonishment, seeing that she was with child, and that no sign had appeared in her face, they began to be disturbed among themselves by conflicting statements: some said that she was holy and unspotted, others that she was wicked and defiled. Then Mary, seeing that she was still suspected by the people, and that on that account she did not seem to them to be wholly cleared, said in the hearing of all, with a loud voice, As the Lord Adonai liveth, the Lord of Hosts before whom I stand, I have not known man; but I am known by Him to whom from my earliest years I have devoted myself. And this vow I made to my God from my infancy, that I should remain unspotted in Him who created me, and I trust that I shall so live to Him alone, and serve Him alone; and in Him, as long as I shall live, will I remain unpolluted. Then they all began to kiss her feet and to embrace her knees, asking her to pardon them for their wicked suspicions. And she was led down to her house with exultation and joy by the people, and the priests, and all the virgins. And they cried out, and said: Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever, because He hath manifested thy holiness to all His people Israel.

CHAPTER 13

1 Chapter 13. And it came to pass some little time after, that an enrolment was made according to the edict of Cæsar Augustus, that all the world was to be enrolled, each man in his native place. This enrolment was made by Cyrinus, the governor of Syria. It was necessary, therefore, that Joseph should enrol with the blessed Mary in Bethlehem, because to it they belonged, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the house and family of David. When, therefore, Joseph and the blessed Mary were going along the road which leads to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph: I see two peoples before me, the one weep-

ing, and the other rejoicing. And Joseph answered: Sit still on thy beast, and do not speak superfluous words. Then there appeared before them a beautiful boy, clothed in white raiment, who said to Joseph: Why didst thou say that the words which Mary spoke about the two peoples were superfluous? For she saw the people of the Jews weeping, because they have departed from their God; and the people of the Gentiles rejoicing, because they have now been added and made near to the Lord, according to that which He promised to our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: for the time is at hand when in the seed of Abraham all nations shall be blessed.

² And when he had thus said, the angel ordered the beast to stand, for the time when she should bring forth was at hand; and he commanded the blessed Mary to come down off the animal, and go into a recess under a cavern, in which there never was light, but always darkness, because the light of day could not reach it. And when the blessed Mary had gone into it, it began to shine with as much brightness as if it were the sixth hour of the day. The light from God so shone in the cave, that neither by day nor night was light wanting as long as the blessed Mary was there. And there she brought forth a son, and the angels surrounded Him when He was being born. And as soon as He was born, He stood upon His feet, and the angels adored Him, saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good pleasure. Now, when the birth of the Lord was at hand, Joseph had gone away to seek midwives. And when he had found them, he returned to the cave, and found with Mary the infant which she had brought forth. And Joseph said to the blessed Mary: I have brought thee two midwives—Zelomi and Salome; and they are standing outside before the entrance to the cave, not daring to come in hither, because of the exceeding brightness. And when the blessed Mary heard this, she smiled; and Joseph said to her: Do not smile;

³ but prudently allow them to visit thee, in case thou shouldst require them for thy cure. Then she ordered them to enter. And when Zelomi had come in, Salome having stayed without, Zelomi said to Mary: Allow me to touch thee. And when she had permitted her to make an examination, the midwife cried out with a loud voice, and said: Lord, Lord Almighty, mercy on us! It has never been heard or thought of, that any one should have her breasts full of milk, and that the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin. But there has been no spilling of blood in his birth, no pain in bringing him forth. A virgin has conceived, a virgin has brought forth, and

a virgin she remains. And hearing these words, Salome said: Allow me to handle thee, and prove whether Zelomi have spoken the truth. And the blessed Mary allowed her to handle her. And when she had withdrawn her hand from handling her, it dried up, and through excess of pain she began to weep bitterly, and to be in great distress, crying out, and saying: O Lord God, Thou knowest that I have always feared Thee, and that without recompense I have cared for all the poor; I have taken nothing from the widow and the orphan, and the needy have I not sent empty away. And, behold, I am made wretched because of mine unbelief, since without a cause I wished to try Thy virgin.

4 And while she was thus speaking, there stood by her a young man in shining garments, saying: Go to the child, and adore Him, and touch Him with thy hand, and He will heal thee, because He is the Saviour of the world, and of all that hope in Him. And she went to the child with haste, and adored Him, and touched the fringe of the cloths in which He was wrapped, and instantly her hand was cured. And going forth, she began to cry aloud, and to tell the wonderful things which she had seen, and which she had suffered, and how she had been cured; so that many through her statements believed. And some shepherds also affirmed that they had seen angels singing a hymn at midnight, praising and blessing the God of heaven, and saying: There has been born the Saviour of all, who is Christ the Lord, in whom salvation shall be brought back to Israel.

5 Moreover, a great star, larger than any that had been seen since the beginning of the world, shone over the cave from the evening till the morning. And the prophets who were in Jerusalem said that this star pointed out the birth of Christ, who should restore the promise not only to Israel, but to all nations.

CHAPTER 14

Chapter 14. And on the third day after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most blessed Mary went forth out of the cave, and entering a stable, placed the child in the stall, and the ox and the ass adored Him. Then was fulfilled that which was said by Isaiah the prophet, saying: The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib. The very animals, therefore, the ox and the ass, having Him in their midst, incessantly adored Him. Then was fulfilled that which was said by Abacuc the prophet, saying: Between two an-

imals thou art made manifest. In the same place Joseph remained with Mary three days.

CHAPTER 15

¹ Chapter 15. And on the sixth day they entered Bethlehem, where they spent the seventh day. And on the eighth day they circumcised the child, and called His name Jesus; for so He was called by the angel before He was conceived in the womb. Now, after the days of the purification of Mary were fulfilled according to the law of Moses, then Joseph took the infant to the temple of the Lord. And when the infant had received parhithomus,—parhithomus, that is, circumcision—they offered for Him a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons. Now there was in the temple a man of God, perfect and just, whose name was Symeon, a hundred and twelve years old. He had received the answer from the Lord, that he should not taste of death till he had seen Christ, the Son of God, living in the flesh. And having seen the child, he cried out with a loud voice, saying: God hath visited His people, and the Lord hath fulfilled His promise. And he made haste, and adored Him. And after this he took Him up into his cloak and kissed His feet, and said: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel.

² There was also in the temple of the Lord, Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, who had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and she had now been a widow eighty-four years. And she never left the temple of the Lord, but spent her time in fasting and prayer. She also likewise adored the child, saying: In Him is the redemption of the world.

CHAPTER 16

¹ Chapter 16. ² And when the second year was past, Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, bringing great gifts. And they made strict inquiry of the Jews, saying: Where is the king who has been born to you? for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. And word of this came to King Herod, and so alarmed him that he called together the scribes and the Pharisees, and the teachers of the people, asking of them where the prophets had foretold that Christ should be born. And they said: In Bethlehem of Judah.

For it is written: And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art by no means the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Leader who shall rule my people Israel. Then King Herod summoned the magi to him, and strictly inquired of them when the star appeared to them. Then, sending them to Bethlehem, he said: Go and make strict inquiry about the child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also. And while the magi were going on their way, there appeared to them the star, which was, as it were, a guide to them, going before them until they came to where the child was. And when the magi saw the star, they rejoiced with great joy; and going into the house, they saw the child Jesus sitting in His mother's lap. Then they opened their treasures, and presented great gifts to the blessed Mary and Joseph. And to the child Himself they offered each of them a piece of gold. And likewise one gave gold, another frankincense, and the third myrrh. And when they were going to return to King Herod, they were warned by an angel in their sleep not to go back to Herod; and they returned to their own country by another road.

CHAPTER 17

Chapter 17. And when Herod saw that he had been made sport of by the magi, his heart swelled with rage, and he sent through all the roads, wishing to seize them and put them to death. But when he could not find them at all, he sent anew to Bethlehem and all its borders, and slew all the male children whom he found of two years old and under, according to the time that he had ascertained from the magi. Now the day before this was done Joseph was warned in his sleep by the angel of the Lord, who said to him: Take Mary and the child, and go into Egypt by the way of the desert. And Joseph went according to the saying of the angel.

CHAPTER 18

Chapter 18. And having come to a certain cave, and wishing to rest in it, the blessed Mary dismounted from her beast, and sat down with the child Jesus in her bosom. And there were with Joseph three boys, and with Mary a girl, going on the journey along with them. And, lo, suddenly there came forth from the cave many dragons; and when the children saw them, they cried out in great terror. Then Jesus went down from the bosom of His mother, and stood on His feet before the dragons; and they adored Jesus, and there-

after retired. Then was fulfilled that which was said by David the prophet, saying: Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons; ye dragons, and all ye deeps. And the young child Jesus, walking before them, commanded them to hurt no man. But Mary and Joseph were very much afraid lest the child should be hurt by the dragons. And Jesus said to them: Do not be afraid, and do not consider me to be a little child; for I am and always have been perfect; and all the beasts of the forest must needs be tame before me.

CHAPTER 19

Chapter 19. Lions and panthers adored Him likewise, and accompanied them in the desert. Wherever Joseph and the blessed Mary went, they went before them showing them the way, and bowing their heads; and showing their submission by wagging their tails, they adored Him with great reverence. Now at first, when Mary saw the lions and the panthers, and various kinds of wild beasts, coming about them, she was very much afraid. But the infant Jesus looked into her face with a joyful countenance, and said: Be not afraid, mother; for they come not to do thee harm, but they make haste to serve both thee and me. With these words He drove all fear from her heart. And the lions kept walking with them, and with the oxen, and the asses, and the beasts of burden which carried their baggage, and did not hurt a single one of them, though they kept beside them; but they were tame among the sheep and the rams which they had brought with them from Judæa, and which they had with them. They walked among wolves, and feared nothing; and no one of them was hurt by another. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet: Wolves shall feed with lambs; the lion and the ox shall eat straw together. There were together two oxen drawing a waggon with provision for the journey, and the lions directed them in their path.

CHAPTER 20

¹ Chapter 20. ² And it came to pass on the third day of their journey, while they were walking, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to Joseph: Let me rest a little under the shade of this tree. Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit, and said to Joseph: I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph said to her: I wonder that thou sayest this, when

thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest of eating of its fruit. I am thinking more of the want of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle. Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my mother with thy fruit. And immediately at these words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, with which they were all refreshed. And after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent down, waiting the order to rise from Him who had commanded it to stoop. Then Jesus said to it:

3 Raise thyself, O palm tree, and be strong, and be the companion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my Father; and open from thy roots a vein of water which has been hid in the earth, and let the waters flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee. And it rose up immediately, and at its root there began to come forth a spring of water exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring of water, they rejoiced with great joy, and were satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their beasts. Wherefore they gave thanks to God.

CHAPTER 21

Chapter 21. And on the day after, when they were setting out thence, and in the hour in which they began their journey, Jesus turned to the palm, and said: This privilege I give thee, O palm tree, that one of thy branches be carried away by my angels, and planted in the paradise of my Father. And this blessing I will confer upon thee, that it shall be said of all who conquer in any contest, You have attained the palm of victory. And while He was thus speaking, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared, and stood upon the palm tree; and taking off one of its branches, flew to heaven with the branch in his hand. And when they saw this, they fell on their faces, and became as it were dead. And Jesus said to them: Why are your hearts possessed with fear? Do you not know that this palm, which I have caused to be transferred to paradise, shall be prepared for all the saints in the place of delights, as it has been prepared for us in this place of the wilderness? And they were filled with joy; and being strengthened, they all rose up.

CHAPTER 22

Chapter 22. After this, while they were going on their journey, Joseph said to Jesus: Lord, it is a boiling heat; if it please Thee, let us go by the sea-shore, that we may be able to rest in the cities on the coast. Jesus said to him: Fear not, Joseph; I will shorten the way for you, so that what you would have taken thirty days to go over, you shall accomplish in this one day. And while they were thus speaking, behold, they looked forward, and began to see the mountains and cities of Egypt. And rejoicing and exulting, they came into the regions of Hermopolis, and entered into a certain city of Egypt which is called Sotinen; and because they knew no one there from whom they could ask hospitality, they went into a temple which was called the Capitol of Egypt. And in this temple there had been set up three hundred and fifty-five idols, to each of which on its own day divine honours and sacred rites were paid. For the Egyptians belonging to the same city entered the Capitol, in which the priests told them how many sacrifices were offered each day, according to the honour in which the god was held.

CHAPTER 23

Chapter 23. And it came to pass, when the most blessed Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground, so that all of them were lying on their faces shattered and broken to pieces; and thus they plainly showed that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled that which was said by the prophet Isaiah: Behold, the Lord will come upon a swift cloud, and will enter Egypt, and all the handiwork of the Egyptians shall be moved at His presence.

CHAPTER 24

Chapter 24. Then Affrodosius, that governor of the city, when news of this was brought to him, went to the temple with all his army. And the priests of the temple, when they saw Affrodosius with all his army coming into the temple, thought that he was making haste only to see vengeance taken on those on whose account the gods had fallen down. But when he came into the temple, and saw all the gods lying prostrate on their faces, he went up to the blessed Mary, who was carrying the Lord in her bosom, and adored Him, and said to all his army and all his friends: Unless this were the God of our gods, our gods would not have fallen on their faces before Him; nor would they be lying prostrate in His presence: wherefore they silently confess that

He is their Lord. Unless we, therefore, take care to do what we have seen our gods doing, we may run the risk of His anger, and all come to destruction, even as it happened to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians, who, not believing in powers so mighty, was drowned in the sea, with all his army. Then all the people of that same city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 25

Chapter 25. After no long time the angel said to Joseph: Return to the land of Judah, for they are dead who sought the child's life.

CHAPTER 26

¹Chapter 26. ²And it came to pass, after Jesus had returned out of Egypt, when He was in Galilee, and entering on the fourth year of His age, that on a Sabbath-day He was playing with some children at the bed of the Jordan. And as He sat there, Jesus made to Himself seven pools of clay, and to each of them He made passages, through which at His command He brought water from the torrent into the pool, and took it back again. Then one of those children, a son of the devil, moved with envy, shut the passages which supplied the pools with water, and overthrew what Jesus had built up. Then said Jesus to him: Woe unto thee, thou son of death, thou son of Satan! Dost thou destroy the works which I have wrought? And immediately he who had done this died. Then with great uproar the parents of the dead boy cried out against Mary and Joseph, saying to them: Your son has cursed our son, and he is dead. And when Joseph and Mary heard this, they came forthwith to Jesus, on account of the outcry of the parents of the boy, and the gathering together of the Jews. But Joseph said privately to Mary: I dare not speak to Him; but do thou admonish Him, and say: Why hast Thou raised against us the hatred of the people; and why must the troublesome hatred of men be borne by us? And His mother having come to Him, asked Him, saying:

³My Lord, what was it that he did to bring about his death? And He said: He deserved death, because he scattered the works that I had made. Then His mother asked Him, saying: Do not so, my Lord, because all men rise up against us. But He, not wishing to grieve His mother, with His right foot kicked the hinder parts of the dead boy, and said to him: Rise, thou son of iniquity for thou art not worthy to enter into the rest of my Father, because thou didst destroy the works which I had made. Then he who had been dead

rose up, and went away. And Jesus, by the word of His power, brought water into the pools by the aqueduct.

CHAPTER 27

Chapter 27. And it came to pass, after these things, that in the sight of all Jesus took clay from the pools which He had made, and of it made twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this, and there were very many children with Him. When, therefore, one of the Jews had seen Him doing this, he said to Joseph: Joseph, dost thou not see the child Jesus working on the Sabbath at what it is not lawful for him to do? for he has made twelve sparrows of clay. And when Joseph heard this, he reprov'd him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath such things as are not lawful for us to do? And when Jesus heard Joseph, He struck His hands together, and said to His sparrows: Fly! And at the voice of His command they began to fly. And in the sight and hearing of all that stood by, He said to the birds: Go and fly through the earth, and through all the world, and live. And when those that were there saw such miracles, they were filled with great astonishment. And some praised and admired Him, but others reviled Him. And certain of them went away to the chief priests and the heads of the Pharisees, and reported to them that Jesus the son of Joseph had done great signs and miracles in the sight of all the people of Israel. And this was reported in the twelve tribes of Israel.

CHAPTER 28

Chapter 28. And again the son of Annas, a priest of the temple, who had come with Joseph, holding his rod in his hand in the sight of all, with great fury broke down the dams which Jesus had made with His own hands, and let out the water which He had collected in them from the torrent. Moreover, he shut the aqueduct by which the water came in, and then broke it down. And when Jesus saw this, He said to that boy who had destroyed His dams: O most wicked seed of iniquity! O son of death! O workshop of Satan! verily the fruit of thy seed shall be without strength, and thy roots without moisture, and thy branches withered, bearing no fruit. And immediately, in the sight of all, the boy withered away, and died.

CHAPTER 29

¹ Chapter 29. ² Then Joseph trembled, and took hold of Jesus, and went with Him to his own house, and His mother with Him. And, behold, suddenly

from the opposite direction a boy, also a worker of iniquity, ran up and came against the shoulder of Jesus, wishing to make sport of Him, or to hurt Him, if he could. And Jesus said to him: Thou shalt not go back safe and sound from the way that thou goest. And immediately he fell down, and died. And the parents of the dead boy, who had seen what happened, cried out, saying: Where does this child come from? It is manifest that every word that he says is true; and it is often accomplished before he speaks. And the parents of the dead boy came to Joseph, and said to him: Take away that Jesus from this place, for he cannot live with us in this town; or at least teach him to bless, and not to curse. And Joseph came up to Jesus, and admonished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things? For already many are in grief and against thee, and hate us on thy account, and we endure the reproaches of men because of thee. And Jesus answered and said unto Joseph: No one is a wise son but he whom his father hath taught, according to the knowledge of this time; and a father's curse can hurt none but evil-doers. Then they came together against Jesus, and accused him to Joseph. When Joseph saw this, he was in great terror, fearing the violence and uproar of the people of Israel. And the same hour Jesus seized the dead boy by the ear, and lifted him up from the earth in the sight of all: and they saw Jesus speaking to him like a father to his son. And his spirit came back to him, and he revived. And all of them wondered.

CHAPTER 30

¹ Chapter 30. ² Now a certain Jewish schoolmaster named Zachyas heard Jesus thus speaking; and seeing that He could not be overcome, from knowing the power that was in Him, he became angry, and began rudely and foolishly, and without fear, to speak against Joseph. And he said: Dost thou not wish to entrust me with thy son, that he may be instructed in human learning and in reverence? But I see that Mary and thyself have more regard for your son than for what the elders of the people of Israel say against him. You should have given more honour to us, the elders of the whole church of Israel, both that he might be on terms of mutual affection with the children, and that among us he might be instructed in Jewish learning. Joseph, on the other hand, said to him: And is there any one who can keep this child, and teach him? But if thou canst keep him and teach him, we by no means hinder him from being taught by thee those things which are learned by all. And Jesus, having heard what Zachyas had said, answered and said unto him:

The precepts of the law which thou hast just spoken of, and all the things that thou hast named, must be kept by those who are instructed in human learning; but I am a stranger to your law-courts, because I have no father after the flesh. Thou who readest the law, and art learned in it, abidest in the law; but I was before the law.

³ But since thou thinkest that no one is equal to thee in learning, thou shalt be taught by me, that no other can teach anything but those things which thou hast named. But he alone can who is worthy. For when I shall be exalted on earth, I will cause to cease all mention of your genealogy. For thou knowest not when thou wast born: I alone know when you were born, and how long your life on earth will be. Then all who heard these words were struck with astonishment, and cried out: Oh! oh! oh! this marvellously great and wonderful mystery. Never have we heard the like! Never has it been heard from any one else, nor has it been said or at any time heard by the prophets, or the Pharisees, or the scribes. We know whence he is sprung, and he is scarcely five years old; and whence does he speak these words? The Pharisees answered: We have never heard such words spoken by any other child so young. And Jesus answered and said unto them: At this do ye wonder, that such things are said by a child? Why, then, do ye not believe me in those things which I have said to you? And you all wonder because I said to you that I know when you were born. I will tell you greater things, that you may wonder more. I have seen Abraham, whom you call your father, and have spoken with him; and he has seen me.

⁴ And when they heard this they held their tongues, nor did any of them dare to speak. And Jesus said to them: I have been among you with children, and you have not known me; I have spoken to you as to wise men, and you have not understood my words; because you are younger than I am, and of little faith.

CHAPTER 31

¹ Chapter 31. ² A second time the master Zachyas, doctor of the law, said to Joseph and Mary: Give me the boy, and I shall hand him over to master Levi, who shall teach him his letters and instruct him. Then Joseph and Mary, soothing Jesus, took Him to the schools, that He might be taught His letters by old Levi. And as soon as He went in He held His tongue. And the master Levi said one letter to Jesus, and, beginning from the first letter Aleph, said to Him: Answer. But Jesus was silent, and answered nothing. Wherefore the

preceptor Levi was angry, and seized his storax-tree rod, and struck Him on the head. And Jesus said to the teacher Levi: Why dost thou strike me? Thou shalt know in truth, that He who is struck can teach him who strikes Him more than He can be taught by him. For I can teach you those very things that you are saying. But all these are blind who speak and hear, like sounding brass or tinkling cymbal, in which there is no perception of those things which are meant by their sound. And Jesus in addition said to Zachyas: Every letter from Aleph even to Thet is known by its arrangement. Say thou first, therefore, what Thet is, and I will tell thee what Aleph is. And again Jesus said to them: Those who do not know Aleph, how can they say Thet, the hypocrites? Tell me what the first one, Aleph, is;

3 and I shall then believe you when you have said Beth. And Jesus began to ask the names of the letters one by one, and said: Let the master of the law tell us what the first letter is, or why it has many triangles, gradate, subacute, mediate, obduced, produced, erect, prostrate, curvistrate. And when Levi heard this, he was thunderstruck at such an arrangement of the names of the letters. Then he began in the hearing of all to cry out, and say: Ought such a one to live on the earth? Yea, he ought to be hung on the great cross. For he can put out fire, and make sport of other modes of punishment. I think that he lived before the flood, and was born before the deluge. For what womb bore him? or what mother brought him forth? or what breasts gave him suck? I flee before him; I am not able to withstand the words from his mouth, but my heart is astounded to hear such words. I do not think that any man can understand what he says, except God were with him. Now I, unfortunate wretch, have given myself up to be a laughing-stock to him. For when I thought I had a scholar, I, not knowing him, have found my master. What shall I say? I cannot withstand the words of this child: I shall now flee from this town, because I cannot understand them.

4 An old man like me has been beaten by a boy, because I can find neither beginning nor end of what he says. For it is no easy matter to find a beginning of himself. I tell you of a certainty, I am not lying, that to my eyes the proceedings of this boy, the commencement of his conversation, and the up-shot of his intention, seem to have nothing in common with mortal man. Here then I do not know whether he be a wizard or a god; or at least an angel of God speaks in him. Whence he is, or where he comes from, or who he will turn out to be, I know not. Then Jesus, smiling at him with a joyful

countenance, said in a commanding voice to all the sons of Israel standing by and hearing: Let the unfruitful bring forth fruit, and the blind see, and the lame walk right, and the poor enjoy the good things of this life, and the dead live, that each may return to his original state, and abide in Him who is the root of life and of perpetual sweetness. And when the child Jesus had said this, forthwith all who had fallen under malignant diseases were restored. And they did not dare to say anything more to Him, or to hear anything from Him.

CHAPTER 32

Chapter 32. After these things, Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus into the city of Nazareth; and He remained there with His parents. And on the first of the week, when Jesus was playing with the children on the roof of a certain house, it happened that one of the children pushed another down from the roof to the ground, and he was killed. And the parents of the dead boy, who had not seen this, cried out against Joseph and Mary, saying: Your son has thrown our son down to the ground, and he is dead. But Jesus was silent, and answered them nothing. And Joseph and Mary came in haste to Jesus; and His mother asked Him, saying: My lord, tell me if thou didst throw him down. And immediately Jesus went down from the roof to the ground, and called the boy by his name, Zeno. And he answered Him: My lord. And Jesus said to him: Was it I that threw thee down from the roof to the ground? And he said: No, my lord. And the parents of the boy who had been dead wondered, and honoured Jesus for the miracle that had been wrought. And Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus to Jericho.

CHAPTER 33

Chapter 33. Now Jesus was six years old, and His mother sent Him with a pitcher to the fountain to draw water with the children. And it came to pass, after He had drawn the water, that one of the children came against Him, and struck the pitcher, and broke it. But Jesus stretched out the cloak which He had on, and took up in His cloak as much water as there had been in the pitcher, and carried it to His mother. And when she saw it she wondered, and reflected within herself, and laid up all these things in her heart.

CHAPTER 34

Chapter 34. Again, on a certain day, He went forth into the field, and took a little wheat from His mother's barn, and sowed it Himself. And it sprang up,

and grew, and multiplied exceedingly. And at last it came to pass that He Himself reaped it, and gathered as the produce of it three kors, and gave it to His numerous acquaintances.

CHAPTER 35

¹ Chapter 35. ² There is a road going out of Jericho and leading to the river Jordan, to the place where the children of Israel crossed: and there the ark of the covenant is said to have rested. And Jesus was eight years old, and He went out of Jericho, and went towards the Jordan. And there was beside the road, near the bank of the Jordan, a cave where a lioness was nursing her cubs; and no one was safe to walk that way. Jesus then, coming from Jericho, and knowing that in that cave the lioness had brought forth her young, went into it in the sight of all. And when the lions saw Jesus, they ran to meet Him, and adored Him. And Jesus was sitting in the cavern, and the lion's cubs ran hither and thither round His feet, fawning upon Him, and sporting. And the older lions, with their heads bowed down, stood at a distance, and adored Him, and fawned upon Him with their tails. Then the people who were standing afar off, not seeing Jesus, said: Unless he or his parents had committed grievous sins, he would not of his own accord have offered himself up to the lions. And when the people were thus reflecting within themselves, and were lying under great sorrow, behold, on a sudden, in the sight of the people, Jesus came out of the cave, and the lions went before Him, and the lion's cubs played with each other before His feet.

³ And the parents of Jesus stood afar off, with their heads bowed down, and watched; likewise also the people stood at a distance, on account of the lions; for they did not dare to come close to them. Then Jesus began to say to the people: How much better are the beasts than you, seeing that they recognise their Lord, and glorify Him; while you men, who have been made after the image and likeness of God, do not know Him! Beasts know me, and are tame; men see me, and do not acknowledge me.

CHAPTER 36

Chapter 36. After these things Jesus crossed the Jordan, in the sight of them all, with the lions; and the water of the Jordan was divided on the right hand and on the left. Then He said to the lions, in the hearing of all: Go in peace, and hurt no one; but neither let man injure you, until you return to the place whence you have come forth. And they, bidding Him farewell, not only with

their gestures but with their voices, went to their own place. But Jesus returned to His mother.

CHAPTER 37

Chapter 37. Now Joseph was a carpenter, and used to make nothing else of wood but ox-yokes, and ploughs, and implements of husbandry, and wooden beds. And it came to pass that a certain young man ordered him to make for him a couch six cubits long. And Joseph commanded his servant to cut the wood with an iron saw, according to the measure which he had sent. But he did not keep to the prescribed measure, but made one piece of wood shorter than the other. And Joseph was in perplexity, and began to consider what he was to do about this. And when Jesus saw him in this state of cogitation, seeing that it was a matter of impossibility to him, He addresses him with words of comfort, saying: Come, let us take hold of the ends of the pieces of wood, and let us put them together, end to end, and let us fit them exactly to each other, and draw to us, for we shall be able to make them equal. Then Joseph did what he was bid, for he knew that He could do whatever He wished. And Joseph took hold of the ends of the pieces of wood, and brought them together against the wall next himself, and Jesus took hold of the other ends of the pieces of wood, and drew the shorter piece to Him, and made it of the same length as the longer one. And He said to Joseph: Go and work, and do what thou hast promised to do. And Joseph did what he had promised.

CHAPTER 38

Chapter 38. And it came to pass a second time, that Joseph and Mary were asked by the people that Jesus should be taught His letters in school. They did not refuse to do so; and according to the commandment of the elders, they took Him to a master to be instructed in human learning. Then the master began to teach Him in an imperious tone, saying: Say Alpha. And Jesus said to him: Do thou tell me first what Betha is, and I will tell thee what Alpha is. And upon this the master got angry and struck Jesus; and no sooner had he struck Him, than he fell down dead. And Jesus went home again to His mother. And Joseph, being afraid, called Mary to him, and said to her: Know of a surety that my soul is sorrowful even unto death on account of this child. For it is very likely that at some time or other some one will strike him in malice, and he will die. But Mary answered and said: O man of God! do not believe that this is possible. You may believe to a certainty that He who has

sent him to be born among men will Himself guard him from all mischief, and will in His own name preserve him from evil.

CHAPTER 39

Chapter 39. Again the Jews asked Mary and Joseph a third time to coax Him to go to another master to learn. And Joseph and Mary, fearing the people, and the overbearing of the princes, and the threats of the priests, led Him again to school, knowing that He could learn nothing from man, because He had perfect knowledge from God only. And when Jesus had entered the school, led by the Holy Spirit, He took the book out of the hand of the master who was teaching the law, and in the sight and hearing of all the people began to read, not indeed what was written in their book; but He spoke in the Spirit of the living God, as if a stream of water were gushing forth from a living fountain, and the fountain remained always full. And with such power He taught the people the great things of the living God, that the master himself fell to the ground and adored Him. And the heart of the people who sat and heard Him saying such things was turned into astonishment. And when Joseph heard of this, he came running to Jesus, fearing that the master himself was dead. And when the master saw him, he said to him: Thou hast given me not a scholar, but a master; and who can withstand his words? Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Psalmist: The river of God is full of water: Thou hast prepared them corn, for so is the provision for it.

CHAPTER 40

Chapter 40. After these things Joseph departed thence with Mary and Jesus to go into Capernaum by the sea-shore, on account of the malice of his adversaries. And when Jesus was living in Capernaum, there was in the city a man named Joseph, exceedingly rich. But he had wasted away under his infirmity, and died, and was lying dead in his couch. And when Jesus heard them in the city mourning, and weeping, and lamenting over the dead man, He said to Joseph: Why dost thou not afford the benefit of thy favour to this man, seeing that he is called by thy name? And Joseph answered him: How have I any power or ability to afford him a benefit? And Jesus said to him: Take the handkerchief which is upon thy head, and go and put it on the face of the dead man, and say to him: Christ heal thee; and immediately the dead man will be healed, and will rise from his couch. And when Joseph heard this, he went away at the command of Jesus, and ran, and entered the house

of the dead man, and put the handkerchief which he was wearing on his head upon the face of him who was lying in the couch, and said: Jesus heal thee. And forthwith the dead man rose from his bed, and asked who Jesus was.

CHAPTER 41

Chapter 41. And they went away from Capernaum into the city which is called Bethlehem; and Joseph lived with Mary in his own house, and Jesus with them. And on a certain day Joseph called to him his first-born son James, and sent him into the vegetable garden to gather vegetables for the purpose of making broth. And Jesus followed His brother James into the garden; but Joseph and Mary did not know this. And while James was collecting the vegetables, a viper suddenly came out of a hole and struck his hand, and he began to cry out from excessive pain. And, becoming exhausted, he said, with a bitter cry: Alas! alas! an accursed viper has struck my hand. And Jesus, who was standing opposite to him, at the bitter cry ran up to James, and took hold of his hand; and all that He did was to blow on the hand of James, and cool it: and immediately James was healed, and the serpent died. And Joseph and Mary did not know what had been done; but at the cry of James, and the command of Jesus, they ran to the garden, and found the serpent already dead, and James quite cured.

CHAPTER 42

Chapter 42. And Joseph having come to a feast with his sons, James, Joseph, and Judah, and Simeon and his two daughters, Jesus met them, with Mary His mother, along with her sister Mary of Cleophas, whom the Lord God had given to her father Cleophas and her mother Anna, because they had offered Mary the mother of Jesus to the Lord. And she was called by the same name, Mary, for the consolation of her parents. And when they had come together, Jesus sanctified and blessed them, and He was the first to begin to eat and drink; for none of them dared to eat or drink, or to sit at table, or to break bread, until He had sanctified them, and first done so. And if He happened to be absent, they used to wait until He should do this. And when He did not wish to come for refreshment, neither Joseph nor Mary, nor the sons of Joseph, His brothers, came. And, indeed, these brothers, keeping His life as a lamp before their eyes, observed Him, and feared Him. And when Je-

sus slept, whether by day or by night, the brightness of God shone upon Him. To whom be all praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen, amen.

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

9th century

A Latin gospel of the birth and childhood of the Virgin Mary, a shorter form of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.

CHAPTER 1

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary. Chapter 1. The blessed and glorious ever-virgin Mary, sprung from the royal stock and family of David, born in the city of Nazareth, was brought up at Jerusalem in the temple of the Lord. Her father was named Joachim, and her mother Anna. Her father's house was from Galilee and the city of Nazareth, but her mother's family from Bethlehem. Their life was guileless and right before the Lord, and irreproachable and pious before men. For they divided all their substance into three parts. One part they spent upon the temple and the temple servants; another they distributed to strangers and the poor; the third they reserved, for themselves and the necessities of their family. Thus, dear to God, kind to men, for about twenty years they lived in their own house, a chaste married life, without having any children. Nevertheless they vowed that, should the Lord happen to give them offspring, they would deliver it to the service of the Lord; on which account also they used to visit the temple of the Lord at each of the feasts during the year.

CHAPTER 2

Chapter 2. And it came to pass that the festival of the dedication was at hand; wherefore also Joachim went up to Jerusalem with some men of his own tribe. Now at that time Issachar was high priest there. And when he saw Joachim with his offering among his other fellow-citizens, he despised him, and spurned his gifts, asking why he, who had no offspring, presumed to stand among those who had; saying that his gifts could not by any means be acceptable to God, since He had deemed him unworthy of off-spring: for the

Scripture said, Cursed is every one who has not begot a male or a female in Israel. He said, therefore, that he ought first to be freed from this curse by the begetting of children; and then, and then only, that he should come into the presence of the Lord with his offerings. And Joachim, covered with shame from this reproach that was thrown in his teeth, retired to the shepherds, who were in their pastures with their flocks; nor would he return home, lest perchance he might be branded with the same reproach by those of his own tribe, who were there at the time, and had heard this from the priest.

CHAPTER 3

¹ Chapter 3. ² Now, when he had been there for some time, on a certain day when he was alone, an angel of the Lord stood by him in a great light. And when he was disturbed at his appearance, the angel who had appeared to him restrained his fear, saying: Fear not, Joachim, nor be disturbed by my appearance; for I am the angel of the Lord, sent by Him to thee to tell thee that thy prayers have been heard, and that thy charitable deeds have gone up into His presence. For He hath seen thy shame, and hath heard the reproach of unfruitfulness which has been unjustly brought against thee. For God is the avenger of sin, not of nature: and, therefore, when He shuts up the womb of any one, He does so that He may miraculously open it again; so that that which is born may be acknowledged to be not of lust, but of the gift of God. For was it not the case that the first mother of your nation—Sarah—was barren up to her eightieth year? And, nevertheless, in extreme old age she brought forth Isaac, to whom the promise was renewed of the blessing of all nations. Rachel also, so favoured of the Lord, and so beloved by holy Jacob, was long barren; and yet she brought forth Joseph, who was not only the lord of Egypt, but the deliverer of many nations who were ready to perish of hunger. Who among the judges was either stronger than Samson, or more holy than Samuel?

³ And yet the mothers of both were barren. If, therefore, the reasonableness of my words does not persuade thee, believe in fact that conceptions very late in life, and births in the case of women that have been barren, are usually attended with something wonderful. Accordingly thy wife Anna will bring forth a daughter to thee, and thou shalt call her name Mary: she shall be, as you have vowed, consecrated to the Lord from her infancy, and she shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from her mother's womb. She shall

neither eat nor drink any unclean thing, nor shall she spend her life among the crowds of the people without, but in the temple of the Lord, that it may not be possible either to say, or so much as to suspect, any evil concerning her. Therefore, when she has grown up, just as she herself shall be miraculously born of a barren woman, so in an incomparable manner she, a virgin, shall bring forth the Son of the Most High, who shall be called Jesus, and who, according to the etymology of His name, shall be the Saviour of all nations. And this shall be the sign to thee of those things which I announce: When thou shalt come to the Golden gate in Jerusalem, thou shalt there meet Anna thy wife, who, lately anxious from the delay of thy return, will then rejoice at the sight of thee. Having thus spoken, the angel departed from him.

CHAPTER 4

Chapter 4. Thereafter he appeared to Anna his wife, saying: Fear not, Anna, nor think that it is a phantom which thou seest. For I am that angel who has presented your prayers and alms before God; and now have I been sent to you to announce to you that thou shalt bring forth a daughter, who shall be called Mary, and who shall be blessed above all women. She, full of the favour of the Lord even from her birth, shall remain three years in her father's house until she be weaned. Thereafter, being delivered to the service of the Lord, she shall not depart from the temple until she reach the years of discretion. There, in fine, serving God day and night in fastings and prayers, she shall abstain from every unclean thing; she shall never know man, but alone, without example, immaculate, uncorrupted, without intercourse with man, she, a virgin, shall bring forth a son; she, His hand-maiden, shall bring forth the Lord—both in grace, and in name, and in work, the Saviour of the world. Wherefore arise, and go up to Jerusalem; and when thou shalt come to the gate which, because it is plated with gold, is called Golden, there, for a sign, thou shalt meet thy husband, for whose safety thou hast been anxious. And when these things shall have so happened, know that what I announce shall without doubt be fulfilled.

CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5. Therefore, as the angel had commanded, both of them setting out from the place where they were, went up to Jerusalem; and when they had come to the place pointed out by the angel's prophecy, there they met

each other. Then, rejoicing at seeing each other, and secure in the certainty of the promised offspring, they gave the thanks due to the Lord, who exalteth the humble. And so, having worshipped the Lord, they returned home, and awaited in certainty and in gladness the divine promise. Anna therefore conceived, and brought forth a daughter; and according to the command of the angel, her parents called her name Mary.

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6. And when the circle of three years had rolled round, and the time of her weaning was fulfilled, they brought the virgin to the temple of the Lord with offerings. Now there were round the temple, according to the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, fifteen steps going up; for, on account of the temple having been built on a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which stood outside, could not be reached except by steps. On one of these, then, her parents placed the little girl, the blessed virgin Mary. And when they were putting off the clothes which they had worn on the journey, and were putting on, as was usual, others that were neater and cleaner, the virgin of the Lord went up all the steps, one after the other, without the help of any one leading her or lifting her, in such a manner that, in this respect at least, you would think that she had already attained full age. For already the Lord in the infancy of His virgin wrought a great thing, and by the indication of this miracle foreshowed how great she was to be. Therefore, a sacrifice having been offered according to the custom of the law, and their vow being perfected, they left the virgin within the enclosures of the temple, there to be educated with the other virgins, and themselves returned home.

CHAPTER 7

¹ Chapter 7. ² But the virgin of the Lord advanced in age and in virtues; and though, in the words of the Psalmist, her father and mother had forsaken her, the Lord took her up. For daily was she visited by angels, daily did she enjoy a divine vision, which preserved her from all evil, and made her to abound in all good. And so she reached her fourteenth year; and not only were the wicked unable to charge her with anything worthy of reproach, but all the good, who knew her life and conversation, judged her to be worthy of admiration. Then the high priest publicly announced that the virgins who were publicly settled in the temple, and had reached this time of life, should return home and get married, according to the custom of the nation and the

ripeness of their years. The others readily obeyed this command; but Mary alone, the virgin of the Lord, answered that she could not do this, saying both that her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord, and that, moreover, she herself had made to the Lord a vow of virginity, which she would never violate by any intercourse with man.

3 And the high priest, being placed in great perplexity of mind, seeing that neither did he think that the vow should be broken contrary to the Scripture, which says, Vow and pay, nor did he dare to introduce a custom unknown to the nation, gave order that at the festival, which was at hand, all the chief persons from Jerusalem and the neighbourhood should be present, in order that from their advice he might know what was to be done in so doubtful a case. And when this took place, they resolved unanimously that the Lord should be consulted upon this matter. And when they all bowed themselves in prayer, the high priest went to consult God in the usual way. Nor had they long to wait: in the hearing of all a voice issued from the oracle and from the mercy-seat, that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, a man should be sought out to whom the virgin ought to be entrusted and espoused. For it is clear that Isaiah says: A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall ascend from his root; and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of wisdom and piety; and he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord.

4 According to this prophecy, therefore, he predicted that all of the house and family of David that were unmarried and fit for marriage should bring there rods to the altar; and that he whose rod after it was brought should produce a flower, and upon the end of whose rod the Spirit of the Lord should settle in the form of a dove, was the man to whom the virgin ought to be entrusted and espoused.

CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8. Now there was among the rest Joseph, of the house and family of David, a man of great age: and when all brought there rods, according to the order, he alone withheld his. Wherefore, when nothing in conformity with the divine voice appeared, the high priest thought it necessary to consult God a second time; and He answered, that of those who had been designated, he alone to whom the virgin ought to be espoused had not brought his rod. Joseph, therefore, was found out. For when he had brought his rod,

and the dove came from heaven; and settled upon the top of it, it clearly appeared to all that he was the man to whom the virgin should be espoused. Therefore, the usual ceremonies of betrothal having been gone through, he went back to the city of Bethlehem to put his house in order, and to procure things necessary for the marriage. But Mary, the virgin of the Lord, with seven other virgins of her own age, and who had been weaned at the same time, whom she had received from the priest, returned to the house of her parents in Galilee.

CHAPTER 9

¹ Chapter 9. ² And in those days, that is, at the time of her first coming into Galilee, the angel Gabriel was sent to her by God, to announce to her the conception of the Lord, and to explain to her the manner and order of the conception. Accordingly, going in, he filled the chamber where she was with a great light; and most courteously saluting her, he said: Hail, Mary! O virgin highly favoured by the Lord, virgin full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou above all women, blessed above all men that have been hitherto born. And the virgin, who was already well acquainted with angelic faces, and was not unused to the light from heaven, was neither terrified by the vision of the angel, nor astonished at the greatness of the light, but only perplexed by his words; and she began to consider of what nature a salutation so unusual could be, or what it could portend, or what end it could have. And the angel, divinely inspired, taking up this thought, says: Fear not, Mary, as if anything contrary to thy chastity were hid under this salutation. For in choosing chastity, thou hast found favour with the Lord; and therefore thou, a virgin, shalt conceive without sin, and shalt bring forth a son. He shall be great, because He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth;

³ and He shall be called the Son of the Most High, because He who is born on earth in humiliation, reigns in heaven in exaltation; and the Lord God will give Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end; forasmuch as He is King of kings and Lord of lords, and His throne is from everlasting to everlasting. The virgin did not doubt these words of the angel; but wishing to know the manner of it, she answered: How can that come to pass? For while, according to my vow, I never know man, how can I bring forth without the addition of man's seed? To this the angel says: Think not,

Mary, that thou shalt conceive in the manner of mankind: for without any intercourse with man, thou, a virgin, wilt conceive; thou, a virgin, wilt bring forth; thou, a virgin, wilt nurse: for the Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, without any of the heats of lust; and therefore that which shall be born of thee shall alone be holy, because it alone, being conceived and born without sin, shall be called the Son of God. Then Mary stretched forth her hands, and raised her eyes to heaven, and said: Behold the hand-maiden of the Lord, for I am not worthy of the name of lady; let it be to me according to thy word.

4 It will be long, and perhaps to some even tedious, if we insert in this little work every thing which we read of as having preceded or followed the Lord's nativity: wherefore, omitting those things which have been more fully written in the Gospel, let us come to those which are held to be less worthy of being narrated.

CHAPTER 10

1 Chapter 10. 2 Joseph therefore came from Judæa into Galilee, intending to marry the virgin who had been betrothed to him; for already three months had elapsed, and it was the beginning of the fourth since she had been betrothed to him. In the meantime, it was evident from her shape that she was pregnant, nor could she conceal this from Joseph. For in consequence of his being betrothed to her, coming to her more freely and speaking to her more familiarly, he found out that she was with child. He began then to be in great doubt and perplexity, because he did not know what was best for him to do. For, being a just man, he was not willing to expose her; nor, being a pious man, to injure her fair fame by a suspicion of fornication. He came to the conclusion, therefore, privately to dissolve their contract, and to send her away secretly. And while he thought on these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in his sleep, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not; that is, do not have any suspicion of fornication in the virgin, or think any evil of her; and fear not to take her as thy wife: for that which is begotten in her, and which now vexes thy soul, is the work not of man, but of the Holy Spirit. For she alone of all virgins shall bring forth the Son of God, and thou shalt call His name Jesus, that is, Saviour;

3 for He shall save His people from their sins. Therefore Joseph, according to the command of the angel, took the virgin as his wife; nevertheless he knew her not, but took care of her, and kept her in chastity. And now the

ninth month from her conception was at hand, when Joseph, taking with him his wife along with what things he needed, went to Bethlehem, the city from which he came. And it came to pass, while they were there, that her days were fulfilled that she should bring forth; and she brought forth her first-born son, as the holy evangelists have shown, our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns God from everlasting to everlasting.

Gospel of Thomas: First Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd century and later

Stories of the boyhood miracles of Jesus, told in the name of Thomas the Israelite. This is the first Greek form.

The Gospel of Thomas. First Greek Form. Thomas the Israelite Philosopher's Account of the Infancy of the Lord. 1. I Thomas, an Israelite, write you this account, that all the brethren from among the heathen may know the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ in His infancy, which He did after His birth in our country. The beginning of it is as follows:— 2. This child Jesus, when five years old, was playing in the ford of a mountain stream; and He collected the flowing waters into pools, and made them clear immediately, and by a word alone He made them obey Him. And having made some soft clay, He fashioned out of it twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when He did these things. And there were also many other children playing with Him. And a certain Jew, seeing what Jesus was doing, playing on the Sabbath, went off immediately, and said to his father Joseph: Behold, thy son is at the stream, and has taken clay, and made of it twelve birds, and has profaned the Sabbath. And Joseph, coming to the place and seeing, cried out to Him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath what it is not lawful to do? And Jesus clapped His hands, and cried out to the sparrows, and said to them: Off you go! And the sparrows flew, and went off crying. And the Jews seeing this were amazed, and went away and reported to their chief men what they had seen Jesus doing.

3. And the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph; and he took a willow branch, and let out the waters which Jesus had collected. And Jesus, seeing what was done, was angry, and said to him: O wicked, impious, and foolish! what harm did the pools and the waters do to thee? Behold, even now thou shalt be dried up like a tree, and thou shalt not bring forth either

leaves, or root, or fruit. And straightway that boy was quite dried up. And Jesus departed, and went to Joseph's house. But the parents of the boy that had been dried up took him up, bewailing his youth, and brought him to Joseph, and reproached him because, said they, thou hast such a child doing such things. 4. After that He was again passing through the village; and a boy ran up against Him, and struck His shoulder. And Jesus was angry, and said to him: Thou shalt not go back the way thou camest. And immediately he fell down dead. And some who saw what had taken place, said: Whence was this child begotten, that every word of his is certainly accomplished? And the parents of the dead boy went away to Joseph, and blamed him, saying: Since thou hast such a child, it is impossible for thee to live with us in the village; or else teach him to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our children.

5. And Joseph called the child apart, and admonished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things, and these people suffer, and hate us, and persecute us? And Jesus said: I know that these words of thine are not thine own; nevertheless for thy sake I will be silent; but they shall bear their punishment. And straightway those that accused Him were struck blind. And those who saw it were much afraid and in great perplexity, and said about Him: Every word which he spoke, whether good or bad, was an act, and became a wonder. And when they saw that Jesus had done such a thing, Joseph rose and took hold of His ear, and pulled it hard. And the child was very angry, and said to him: It is enough for thee to seek, and not to find; and most certainly thou hast not done wisely. Knowest thou not that I am thine? Do not trouble me.

6. And a certain teacher, Zacchæus by name, was standing in a certain place, and heard Jesus thus speaking to his father; and he wondered exceedingly, that, being a child, he should speak in such a way. And a few days thereafter he came to Joseph, and said to him: Thou hast a sensible child, and he has some mind. Give him to me, then, that he may learn letters; and I shall teach him along with the letters all knowledge, both how to address all the elders, and to honour them as forefathers and fathers, and how to love those of his own age. And He said to him all the letters from the Alpha even to the Omega, clearly and with great exactness. And He looked upon the teacher Zacchæus, and said to him: Thou who art ignorant of the nature of the Alpha, how canst thou teach others the Beta? Thou hypocrite! first, if thou knowest, teach the A, and then we shall believe thee about the B. Then He began to question the teacher about the first letter, and he was not able to

answer Him. And in the hearing of many, the child says to Zacchæus: Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and notice here how it has lines, and a middle stroke crossing those which thou seest common; (lines) brought together; the highest part supporting them, and again bringing them under one head; with three points of intersection; of the same kind; principal and subordinate; of equal length. Thou hast the lines of the A.

7. And when the teacher Zacchæus heard the child speaking such and so great allegories of the first letter, he was at a great loss about such a narrative, and about His teaching. And He said to those that were present: Alas! I, wretch that I am, am at a loss, bringing shame upon myself by having dragged this child hither. Take him away, then, I beseech thee, brother Joseph. I cannot endure the sternness of his look; I cannot make out his meaning at all. That child does not belong to this earth; he can tame even fire. Assuredly he was born before the creation of the world. What sort of a belly bore him, what sort of a womb nourished him, I do not know. Alas! my friend, he has carried me away; I cannot get at his meaning: thrice wretched that I am, I have deceived myself. I made a struggle to have a scholar, and I was found to have a teacher. My mind is filled with shame, my friends, because I, an old man, have been conquered by a child. There is nothing for me but despondency and death on account of this boy, for I am not able at this hour to look him in the face; and when everybody says that I have been beaten by a little child, what can I say? And how can I give an account of the lines of the first letter that he spoke about? I know not, O my friends; for I can make neither beginning nor end of him. Therefore, I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him home. What great thing he is, either god or angel, or what I am to say, I know not.

8. And when the Jews were encouraging Zacchæus, the child laughed aloud, and said: Now let thy learning bring forth fruit, and let the blind in heart see. I am here from above, that I may curse them, and call them to the things that are above, as He that sent me on your account has commanded me. And when the child ceased speaking, immediately all were made whole who had fallen under His curse. And no one after that dared to make Him angry, lest He should curse him, and he should be maimed. 9. And some days after, Jesus was playing in an upper room of a certain house, and one of the children that were playing with Him fell down from the house, and was killed. And, when the other children saw this, they ran away, and Jesus alone

stood still. And the parents of the dead child coming, reproached...and they threatened Him. And Jesus leaped down from the roof, and stood beside the body of the child, and cried with a loud voice, and said: Zeno—for that was his name—stand up, and tell me; did I throw thee down? And he stood up immediately, and said: Certainly not, my lord; thou didst not throw me down, but hast raised me up. And those that saw this were struck with astonishment. And the child's parents glorified God on account of the miracle that had happened, and adored Jesus.

10. A few days after, a young man was splitting wood in the corner, and the axe came down and cut the sole of his foot in two, and he died from loss of blood. And there was a great commotion, and people ran together, and the child Jesus ran there too. And He pressed through the crowd, and laid hold of the young man's wounded foot, and he was cured immediately. And He said to the young man: Rise up now, split the wood, and remember me. And the crowd seeing what had happened, adored the child, saying: Truly the Spirit of God dwells in this child. 11. And when He was six years old, His mother gave Him a pitcher, and sent Him to draw water, and bring it into the house. But He struck against some one in the crowd, and the pitcher was broken. And Jesus unfolded the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother. And His mother, seeing the miracle that had happened, kissed Him, and kept within herself the mysteries which she had seen Him doing.

12. And again in seed-time the child went out with His father to sow corn in their land. And while His father was sowing, the child Jesus also sowed one grain of corn. And when He had reaped it, and threshed it, He made a hundred kors; and calling all the poor of the village to the threshing-floor, He gave them the corn, and Joseph took away what was left of the corn. And He was eight years old when He did this miracle. 13. And His father was a carpenter, and at that time made ploughs and yokes. And a certain rich man ordered him to make him a couch. And one of what is called the cross pieces being too short, they did not know what to do. The child Jesus said to His father Joseph: Put down the two pieces of wood, and make them even in the middle. And Joseph did as the child said to him. And Jesus stood at the other end, and took hold of the shorter piece of wood, and stretched it, and made it equal to the other. And His father Joseph saw it, and wondered, and em-

braced the child, and blessed Him, saying: Blessed am I, because God has given me this child.

14. And Joseph, seeing that the child was vigorous in mind and body, again resolved that He should not remain ignorant of the letters, and took Him away, and handed Him over to another teacher. And the teacher said to Joseph: I shall first teach him the Greek letters, and then the Hebrew. For the teacher was aware of the trial that had been made of the child, and was afraid of Him. Nevertheless he wrote out the alphabet, and gave Him all his attention for a long time, and He made him no answer. And Jesus said to him: If thou art really a teacher, and art well acquainted with the letters, tell me the power of the Alpha, and I will tell thee the power of the Beta. And the teacher was enraged at this, and struck Him on the head. And the child, being in pain, cursed him; and immediately he swooned away, and fell to the ground on his face. And the child returned to Joseph's house; and Joseph was grieved, and gave orders to His mother, saying: Do not let him go outside of the door, because those that make him angry die.

15. And after some time, another master again, a genuine friend of Joseph, said to him: Bring the child to my school; perhaps I shall be able to flatter him into learning his letters. And Joseph said: If thou hast the courage, brother, take him with thee. And he took Him with him in fear and great agony; but the child went along pleasantly. And going boldly into the school, He found a book lying on the reading-desk; and taking it, He read not the letters that were in it, but opening His mouth, He spoke by the Holy Spirit, and taught the law to those that were standing round. And a great crowd having come together, stood by and heard Him, and wondered at the ripeness of His teaching, and the readiness of His words, and that He, child as He was, spoke in such a way. And Joseph hearing of it, was afraid, and ran to the school, in doubt lest his master too should be without experience. And the master said to Joseph: Know, brother, that I have taken the child as a scholar, and he is full of much grace and wisdom; but I beseech thee, brother, take him home. And when the child heard this, He laughed at him directly, and said: Since thou hast spoken aright, and witnessed aright, for thy sake he also that was struck down shall be cured. And immediately the other master was cured. And Joseph took the child, and went away home.

16. And Joseph sent his son James to tie up wood and bring it home, and the child Jesus also followed him. And when James was gathering the fagots,

a viper bit James' hand. And when he was racked with pain, and at the point of death, Jesus came near and blew upon the bite; and the pain ceased directly, and the beast burst, and instantly James remained safe and sound. 17. And after this the infant of one of Joseph's neighbours fell sick and died, and its mother wept sore. And Jesus heard that there was great lamentation and commotion, and ran in haste, and found the child dead, and touched his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, be not dead, but live, and be with thy mother. And directly it looked up and laughed. And He said to the woman: Take it, and give it milk, and remember me. And seeing this, the crowd that was standing by wondered, and said: Truly this child was either God or an angel of God, for every word of his is a certain fact. And Jesus went out thence, playing with the other children.

18. And some time after there occurred a great commotion while a house was building, and Jesus stood up and went away to the place. And seeing a man lying dead, He took him by the hand, and said: Man, I say to thee, arise, and go on with thy work. And directly he rose up, and adored Him. And seeing this, the crowd wondered, and said: This child is from heaven, for he has saved many souls from death, and he continues to save during all his life. 19. And when He was twelve years old His parents went as usual to Jerusalem to the feast of the passover with their fellow-travellers. And after the passover they were coming home again. And while they were coming home, the child Jesus went back to Jerusalem. And His parents thought that He was in the company. And having gone one day's journey, they sought for Him among their relations; and not finding Him, they were in great grief, and turned back to the city seeking for Him. And after the third day they found Him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing the law and asking them questions. And they were all attending to Him, and wondering that He, being a child, was shutting the mouths of the elders and teachers of the people, explaining the main points of the law and the parables of the prophets. And His mother Mary coming up, said to Him: Why hast thou done this to us, child? Behold, we have been seeking for thee in great trouble. And Jesus said to them: Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I must be about my Father's business? And the scribes and the Pharisees said: Art thou the mother of this child? And she said: I am. And they said to her: Blessed art thou among women, for God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb; for such glory, and such virtue and wisdom, we have neither seen nor heard

ever. And Jesus rose up, and followed His mother, and was subject to His parents. And His mother observed all these things that had happened. And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and stature, and grace. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Gospel of Thomas: Second Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd century and later

Stories of the boyhood miracles of Jesus, told in the name of Thomas the Israelite. This is the second Greek form, a shorter one.

Second Greek Form. The Writing of the Holy Apostle Thomas Concerning the Childhood of the Lord. 1. I Thomas the Israelite have deemed it necessary to make known to all the brethren of the heathen the great things which our Lord Jesus Christ did in His childhood, when He dwelt in the body in the city of Nazareth, going in the fifth year of His age. 2. On one of the days, there being a rainstorm, He went out of the house where His mother was, and played on the ground where the waters were flowing. And He made pools, and brought in the waters, and the pools were filled with water. Then He says: It is my will that you become clear and excellent waters. And they became so directly. And a certain boy, the son of Annas the scribe, came past, and with a willow branch which he was carrying threw down the pools, and the water flowed out. And Jesus turning, said to him: O impious and wicked, how have the pools wronged thee, that thou hast emptied them? Thou shalt not go on thy way, and thou shalt be dried up like the branch which thou art carrying. And as he went along, in a short time he fell down and died. And when the children that were playing with him saw this, they wondered, and went away and told the father of the dead boy. And he ran and found his child dead, and he went away and reproached Joseph.

3. And Jesus made of that clay twelve sparrows, and it was the Sabbath. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying: Behold, thy child is playing about the stream, and of the clay he has made sparrows, which is not lawful. And when he heard this, he went, and said to the child: Why dost thou do this, profaning the Sabbath? But Jesus gave him no answer, but looked upon the sparrows, and said: Go away, fly, and live, and remember me. And at this

word they flew, and went up into the air. And when Joseph saw it, he wondered. 4. And some days after, when Jesus was going through the midst of the city, a boy threw a stone at Him, and struck Him on the shoulder. And Jesus said to him: Thou shalt not go on thy way. And directly falling down, he also died. And they that happened to be there were struck with astonishment, saying: Whence is this child, that every word he says is certainly accomplished? And they also went and reproached Joseph, saying: It is impossible for thee to live with us in this city: but if thou wishest to do so, teach thy child to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our children, and everything that he says is certainly accomplished.

5. And Joseph was sitting in his seat, and the child stood before him; and he took hold of Him by the ear, and pinched it hard. And Jesus looked at him steadily, and said: It is enough for thee. 6. And on the day after he took Him by the hand, and led Him to a certain teacher, Zacchæus by name, and says to him: O master, take this child, and teach him his letters. And he says: Hand him over to me, brother, and I shall teach him the Scripture; and I shall persuade him to bless all, and not to curse. And Jesus hearing, laughed, and said to them: You say what you know; but I know more than you, for I am before the ages. And I know when your fathers' fathers were born; and I know how many are the years of your life. And hearing this, they were struck with astonishment. And again Jesus said to them: You wonder because I said to you that I knew how many are the years of your life. Assuredly I know when the world was created. Behold, you do not believe me now. When you see my cross, then will ye believe that I speak the truth. And they were struck with astonishment when they heard these things.

7. And Zacchæus, having written the alphabet in Hebrew, says to Him: Alpha. And the child says: Alpha. And again the teacher: Alpha; and the child likewise. Then again the teacher says the Alpha for the third time. Then Jesus, looking in the master's face, says: How canst thou, not knowing the Alpha, teach another the Beta? And the child, beginning from the Alpha, said by Himself the twenty-two letters. Then also He says again: Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and know how many entrances and lines it has, and strokes common, crossing and coming together. And when Zacchæus heard such an account of the one letter, he was so struck with astonishment, that he could make no answer. And he turned and said to Joseph: This child assuredly, brother, does not belong to the earth. Take him, then,

away from me. 8. And after these things, on one of the days Jesus was playing with other children on the roof of a house. And one boy was pushed by another, and hurled down upon the ground, and he died. And seeing this, the boys that were playing with him ran away; and Jesus only was left standing upon the roof from which the boy had been hurled down. And when the news was brought to the parents of the dead boy, they ran weeping; and finding their boy lying dead upon the ground, and Jesus standing above, they supposed that their boy had been thrown down by Him; and fixing their eyes upon Him, they reviled Him. And seeing this, Jesus directly came down from the roof, and stood at the head of the dead body, and says to him: Zeno, did I throw thee down? Stand up, and tell us. For this was the name of the boy. And at the word the boy stood up and adored Jesus, and said: My lord, thou didst not throw me down, but thou hast brought me to life when I was dead.

9. And a few days after, one of the neighbours, when splitting wood, cut away the lower part of his foot with the axe, and was on the point of death from loss of blood. And a great number of people ran together, and Jesus came with them to the place. And He took hold of the young man's wounded foot, and cured him directly, and says to him: Rise up, split thy wood. And he rose up and adored Him, giving thanks, and splitting the wood. Likewise also all that were there wondered, and gave thanks to Him. 10. And when He was six years old, Mary His mother sent Him to bring water from the fountain. And as He went along, the pitcher was broken. And going to the fountain He unfolded His overcoat, and drew water from the fountain, and filled it, and took the water to His mother. And seeing this, she was struck with astonishment, and embraced Him, and kissed Him.

11. And when Jesus had come to the eighth year of His age, Joseph was ordered by a certain rich man to make him a couch. For he was a carpenter. And he went out into the field to get wood; and Jesus went with him. And having cut two pieces of wood, and smoothed them with the axe, he put the one beside the other; and in measuring he found it too short. And when he saw this he was grieved, and sought to find another piece. And seeing this, Jesus says to him: Put these two pieces together, so as to make both ends even. And Joseph, in doubt as to what the child should mean, did as he was told. And He says to him again: Take a firm hold of the short piece. And Joseph, in astonishment, took hold of it. Then Jesus also, taking hold of the other end, drew it towards Himself, and made it equal to the other piece of wood.

And He says to Joseph: Grieve no more, but do thy work without hindrance. And seeing this, he wondered greatly, and says to himself: Blessed am I, because God has given me such a boy. And when they came back to the city, Joseph gave an account of the matter to Mary. And when she heard and saw the strange miracles of her son, she rejoiced and glorified Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and for evermore. Amen.

Gospel of Thomas: Latin Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd century and later

Stories of the boyhood miracles of Jesus, told in the name of Thomas. This is the Latin form, which begins with the flight into Egypt.

CHAPTER 1

Latin Form. Here Beginneth the Treatise of the Boyhood of Jesus According to Thomas. Chapter I.—How Mary and Joseph Fled with Him into Egypt. When a commotion took place in consequence of the search made by Herod for our Lord Jesus Christ to kill Him, then an angel said to Joseph: Take Mary and her boy, and flee into Egypt from the face of those who seek to kill Him. And Jesus was two years old when He went into Egypt. And as He was walking through a field of corn, He stretched forth His hand, and took of the ears, and put them over the fire, and rubbed them, and began to eat. And when they had come into Egypt, they received hospitality in the house of a certain widow, and they remained in the same place one year. And Jesus was in His third year. And seeing boys playing, He began to play with them. And He took a dried fish, and put it into a basin, and ordered it to move about. And it began to move about. And He said again to the fish: Throw out thy salt which thou hast, and walk into the water. And it so came to pass. And the neighbours, seeing what had been done, told it to the widow woman in whose house Mary His mother lived. And as soon as she heard it, she thrust them out of her house with great haste.

CHAPTER 2

Chapter II.—How a Schoolmaster Thrust Him Out of the City. And as Jesus was walking with Mary His mother through the middle of the city market-place, He looked and saw a schoolmaster teaching his scholars. And behold twelve sparrows that were quarrelling fell over the wall into the bosom of that schoolmaster, who was teaching the boys. And seeing this, Jesus was very

much amused, and stood still. And when that teacher saw Him making merry, he said to his scholars with great fury: Go and bring him to me. And when they had carried Him to the master, he seized Him by the ear, and said: What didst thou see, to amuse thee so much? And He said to him: Master, see my hand full of wheat. I showed it to them, and scattered the wheat among them, and they carry it out of the middle of the street where they are in danger; and on this account they fought among themselves to divide the wheat. And Jesus did not pass from the place until it was accomplished. And this being done, the master began to thrust Him out of the city, along with His mother.

CHAPTER 3

Chapter III.—How Jesus Went Out of Egypt. And, lo, the angel of the Lord met Mary, and said to her: Take up the boy, and return into the land of the Jews, for they who sought His life are dead. And Mary rose up with Jesus; and they proceeded into the city of Nazareth, which is among the possessions of her father. And when Joseph went out of Egypt after the death of Herod, he kept Him in the desert until there should be quietness in Jerusalem on the part of those who were seeking the boy's life. And he gave thanks to God because He had given him understanding, and because he had found favour in the presence of the Lord God. Amen.

CHAPTER 4

1 Chapter IV.—What the Lord Jesus Did in the City of Nazareth. It is glorious that Thomas the Israelite and apostle of the Lord gives an account also of the works of Jesus after He came out of Egypt into Nazareth. Understand all of you, my dearest brethren, what the Lord Jesus did when He was in the city of Nazareth; the first chapter of which is as follows:— 2 And when Jesus was five years old, there fell a great rain upon the earth, and the boy Jesus walked up and down through it. And there was a terrible rain, and He collected it into a fish-pond, and ordered it by His word to become clear. And immediately it became so. Again He took of the clay which was of that fish-pond, and made of it to the number of twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this among the boys of the Jews. And the boys of the Jews went away, and said to Joseph His father: Behold, thy son was playing along with us, and he took clay and made sparrows, which it was not lawful to do on the Sabbath; and he has broken it. And Joseph went away to the boy Jesus,

and said to Him: Why hast thou done this, which it was not lawful to do on the Sabbath? And Jesus opened His hands, and ordered the sparrows, saying: Go up into the air, and fly; nobody shall kill you. And they flew, and began to cry out, and praise God Almighty. And the Jews seeing what had happened, wondered, and went away and told the miracles which Jesus had done. But a Pharisee who was with Jesus took an olive branch, and began to let the water out of the fountain which Jesus had made. And when Jesus saw this, He said to him in a rage: Thou impious and ignorant Sodomite, what harm have my works the fountains of water done thee? Behold, thou shalt become like a dry tree, having neither roots, nor leaves, nor fruit. And immediately he dried up, and fell to the ground, and died. And his parents took him away dead, and reproached Joseph, saying: See what thy son has done; teach him to pray, and not to blaspheme.

CHAPTER 5

Chapter V.—How the Citizens Were Enraged Against Joseph on Account of the Doings of Jesus. And a few days after, as Jesus was walking through the town with Joseph, one of the children ran up and struck Jesus on the arm. And Jesus said to him: So shalt thou not finish thy journey. And immediately he fell to the ground, and died. And those who saw these wonderful things cried out, saying: Whence is that boy? And they said to Joseph: It is not right for such a boy to be among us. And Joseph went and brought Him. And they said to him: Go away from this place; but if thou must live with us, teach him to pray, and not to blaspheme: but our children have been killed. Joseph called Jesus, and reprov'd Him, saying: Why dost thou blaspheme? For these people who live here hate us. And Jesus said: I know that these words are not mine, but thine; but I will hold my tongue for thy sake: and let them see to it in their wisdom. And immediately those who were speaking against Jesus became blind. And they walked up and down, and said: All the words which proceed from his mouth are accomplished. And Joseph seeing what Jesus had done, in a fury seized Him by the ear; and Jesus said to Joseph in anger: It is enough for thee to see me, not to touch me. For thou knowest not who I am; but if thou didst know, thou wouldst not make me angry. And although just now I am with thee, I was made before thee.

CHAPTER 6

¹ Chapter VI.—How Jesus Was Treated by the Schoolmaster. ² Therefore a certain man named Zacheus listened to all that Jesus was saying to Joseph, and in great astonishment said to himself: Such a boy speaking in this way I have never seen. And he went up to Joseph, and said: That is an intelligent boy of thine; hand him over to me to learn his letters; and when he has thoroughly learned his letters, I shall teach him honourably, so that he may be no fool. But Joseph answered and said to him: No one can teach him but God alone. You do not believe that that little boy will be of little consequence? And when Jesus heard Joseph speaking in this way, He said to Zacheus: Indeed, master, whatever proceeds from my mouth is true. And before all I was Lord, but you are foreigners. To me has been given the glory of the ages, to you has been given nothing; because I am before the ages. And I know how many years of life thou wilt have, and that thou wilt be carried into exile: and my Father hath appointed this, that thou mayest understand that whatever proceeds from my mouth is true. And the Jews who were standing by, and hearing the words which Jesus spoke, were astonished, and said: We have seen such wonderful things, and heard such words from that boy, as we have never heard, nor are likely to hear from any other human being,—either from the high priests, or the masters, or the Pharisees. Jesus answered and said to them:

³ Why do you wonder? Do you consider it incredible that I have spoken the truth? I know when both you and your fathers were born, and to tell you more, when the world was made: I know also who sent me to you. And when the Jews heard the words which the child had spoken, they wondered, because that they were not able to answer. And, communing with Himself, the child exulted and said: I have told you a proverb; and I know that you are weak and ignorant. ⁴ And that schoolmaster said to Joseph: Bring him to me, and I shall teach him letters. And Joseph took hold of the boy Jesus, and led Him to the house of a certain schoolmaster, where other boys were being taught. Now the master in soothing words began to teach Him His letters, and wrote for Him the first line, which is from A to T, and began to stroke Him and teach Him. And that teacher struck the child on the head: and when He had received the blow, the child said to him: I should teach thee, and not thou me; I know the letters which thou wishest to teach me, and I know that you are to me like vessels from which there come forth only

sounds, and no wisdom. And, beginning the line, He said the letters from A to T in full, and very fast. And He looked at the master, and said to him: Thou indeed canst not tell us what A and B are; how dost thou wish to teach others? O hypocrite, if thou knowest and will tell me about the A, then will I tell thee about the B. And when that teacher began to tell about the first letter, he was unable to give any answer. And Jesus said to Zacheus: Listen to me, master; understand the first letter. See how it has two lines; advancing in the middle, standing still, giving, scattering, varying, threatening; triple intermingled with double; at the same time homogeneous, having all common.

5 And Zacheus, seeing that He so divided the first letter, was stupefied about the first letter, and about such a human being and such learning; and he cried out, and said: Woe's me, for I am quite stupefied; I have brought disgrace upon myself through that child. And he said to Joseph: I earnestly entreat thee, brother, take him away from me, because I cannot look upon his face, nor hear his mighty words. Because that child can tame fire and bridle the sea: for he was born before the ages. What womb brought him forth, or what mother nursed him, I know not. Oh, my friends, I am driven out of my senses; I have become a wretched laughing-stock. And I said that I had got a scholar; but he has been found to be my master. And my disgrace I cannot get over, because I am an old man; and what to say to him I cannot find. All I have to do is to fall into some grievous illness, and depart from this world; or to leave this town, because all have seen my disgrace. An infant has deceived me. What answer can I give to others, or what words can I say, because he has got the better of me in the first letter? I am struck dumb, O my friends and acquaintances; neither beginning nor end can I find of an answer to him.

6 And now I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him away from me, and lead him home, because he is a master, or the Lord, or an angel. What to say I do not know. And Jesus turned to the Jews who were with Zacheus, and said to them: Let all not seeing see, and not understanding understand; let the deaf hear, and let those who are dead through me rise again; and those who are exalted, let me call to still higher things, as He who sent me to you hath commanded me. And when Jesus ceased speaking, all who had been affected with any infirmity through His words were made whole. And they did not dare to speak to Him.

CHAPTER 7

Chapter VII.—How Jesus Raised a Boy to Life. One day, when Jesus was climbing on a certain house, along with the children, He began to play with them. And one of the boys fell down through a back-door, and died immediately. And when the children saw this, they all ran away; but Jesus remained in the house. And when the parents of the boy who had died had come, they spoke against Jesus: Surely it was thou who made him fall down; and they reviled Him. And Jesus, coming down from the house, stood over the dead child, and with a loud voice called out the name of the child: Sinoo, Sinoo, rise and say whether it was I that made thee fall down. And suddenly he rose up, and said: No, my lord. And his parents, seeing such a great miracle done by Jesus, glorified God, and adored Jesus.

CHAPTER 8

Chapter VIII.—How Jesus Healed a Boy's Foot. And a few days thereafter, a boy in that town was splitting wood, and struck his foot. And a great crowd went to him, and Jesus too went with them. And He touched the foot which had been hurt, and immediately it was made whole. And Jesus said to him: Rise, and split the wood, and remember me. And when the crowd saw the miracles that were done by Him, they adored Jesus, and said: Indeed we most surely believe that Thou art God.

CHAPTER 9

Chapter IX.—How Jesus Carried Water in a Cloak. And when Jesus was six years old, His mother sent Him to draw water. And when Jesus had come to the fountain, or to the well, there were great crowds there, and they broke His pitcher. And He took the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother Mary. And His mother, seeing the miracles which Jesus had done, kissed Him, and said: O Lord, hear me, and save my son.

CHAPTER 10

Chapter X.—How Jesus Sowed Wheat. In the time of sowing, Joseph went out to sow wheat, and Jesus followed him. And when Joseph began to sow, Jesus stretched out His hand, and took as much wheat as He could hold in His fist, and scattered it. Joseph therefore came at reaping-time to reap his harvest. Jesus came also, and collected the ears which He had scattered, and they made a hundred pecks of the best grain; and he called the poor, and the

widows, and the orphans, and distributed to them the wheat which He had made. Joseph also took a little of the same wheat, for the blessing of Jesus to his house.

CHAPTER 11

Chapter XI.—How Jesus Made a Short Piece of Wood of the Same Length as a Longer One. And Jesus reached the age of eight years. Joseph was a master builder, and used to make ploughs and ox-yokes. And one day a rich man said to Joseph: Master, make me a couch, both useful and beautiful. And Joseph was in distress, because the wood which he had brought for the work was too short. And Jesus said to him: Do not be annoyed. Take hold of this piece of wood by one end, and I by the other; I and let us draw it out. And they did so; and immediately he found it useful for that which he wished. And He said to Joseph: Behold, do the work which thou wishest. And Joseph, seeing what He had done, embraced Him, and said: Blessed am I, because God hath given me such a son.

CHAPTER 12

¹Chapter XII.—How Jesus Was Handed Over to Learn His Letters. And Joseph, seeing that He had such favour, and that He was increasing in stature, thought it right to take Him to learn His letters. And he handed Him over to another teacher to be taught. And that teacher said to Joseph: What letters dost thou wish me to teach that boy? Joseph answered and said: First teach him the Gentile letters, and then the Hebrew. For the teacher knew that He was very intelligent, and willingly took Him in hand. And writing for Him the first line, which is A and B, he taught Him for some hours. But Jesus was silent, and made him no answer. Jesus said to the master: If thou art indeed a master, and if thou indeed knowest the letters, tell me the power of the A, and I shall tell thee the power of the B. Then His master was filled with fury, and struck Him on the head. And Jesus was angry, and cursed him; and he suddenly fell down, and died.

²And Jesus returned home. And Joseph gave orders to Mary His mother, not to let Him go out of the court of his house.

CHAPTER 13

Chapter XIII.—How He Was Handed Over to Another Master. Many days after came another teacher, a friend of Joseph, and said to him: Hand him over to me, and I with much sweetness will teach him his letters. And Joseph

said to him: If thou art able, take him and teach him. May it be attended with joy. When the teacher had taken Him, he went along in fear and in great firmness, and held Him with exultation. And when He had come to the teacher's house, He found a book lying there, and took it and opened it, and did not read what was written in the book; but opened His mouth, and spoke from the Holy Spirit, and taught the law. And, indeed, all who were standing there listened to Him attentively; and the master sat down beside Him, and listened to Him with pleasure, and entreated Him to teach them more. And a great crowd being gathered together, they heard all the holy teaching which He taught, and the choice words which came forth from the mouth of Him who, child as He was, spake such things. And Joseph, hearing of this, was afraid, and running...the master, where Jesus was, said to Joseph: Know, brother, that I have received thy child to teach him or train him; but he is filled with much gravity and wisdom. Lo, now, take him home with joy, my brother; because the gravity which he has, has been given him by the Lord. And Jesus, hearing the master thus speaking, became cheerful, and said: Lo, now, master, thou hast truly said. For thy sake, he who is dead shall rise again. And Joseph took Him home.

CHAPTER 14

Chapter XIV.—How Jesus Delivered James from the Bite of a Serpent. And Joseph sent James to gather straw, and Jesus followed him. And while James was gathering the straw, a viper bit him; and he fell to the ground, as if dead from the poison. And Jesus seeing this, blew upon his wound; and immediately James was made whole, and the viper died.

CHAPTER 15

¹ Chapter XV.—How Jesus Raised a Boy to Life. A few days after, a child, His neighbour, died, and his mother mourned for him sore. Jesus, hearing this, went and stood over the boy, and knocked upon his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, do not die, but live. And immediately the child rose up. And Jesus said to the boy's mother: Take thy son, and give him the breast, and remember me. And the crowd, seeing this miracle, said: In truth, this child is from heaven; for already has he freed many souls from death, and he has made whole all that hope in him. The scribes and Pharisees said to Mary: Art thou the mother of this child? And Mary said: Indeed I am. And they said to her: Blessed art thou among women, since God hath blessed the fruit of thy

womb, seeing that He hath given thee such a glorious child, and such a gift of wisdom, as we have never seen nor heard of. Jesus rose up and followed His mother. And Mary kept in her heart all the great miracles that Jesus had done among the people, in healing many that were diseased. And Jesus grew in stature and wisdom; and all who saw Him glorified God the Father Almighty, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

2 And all these things I Thomas the Israelite have written what I have seen, and have recounted them to the Gentiles and to our brethren, and many other things done by Jesus, who was born in the land of Judah. Behold, the house of Israel has seen all, from the first even to the last; how great signs and wonders Jesus did among them, which were exceedingly good, and invisible to their father, as holy Scripture relates, and the prophets have borne witness to His works in all the peoples of Israel. And He it is who is to judge the world according to the will of immortality, since He is the Son of God throughout all the world. To Him is due all glory and honour for ever, who lives and reigns God through all ages of ages. Amen.

The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

An Arabic gospel of the infancy of Jesus: the flight into Egypt, the healings worked by the water in which he was washed, and the wonders of his childhood.

The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. With the help and favour of the Most High we begin to write a book of the miracles of our Lord and Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is called the Gospel of the Infancy: in the peace of the Lord. Amen. 1. We find what follows in the book of Joseph the high priest, who lived in the time of Christ. Some say that he is Caiaphas. He has said that Jesus spoke, and, indeed, when He was lying in His cradle said to Mary His mother: I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom thou hast brought forth, as the Angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father has sent me for the salvation of the world. 2. In the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander, Augustus put forth an edict, that every man should be enrolled in his native place. Joseph therefore arose, and taking Mary his spouse, went away to Jerusalem, and came to Bethlehem, to be enrolled along with his family in his native city. And having come to a cave, Mary told Joseph that the time of the birth was at hand, and that she could not go into the city; but, said she, let us go into this cave. This took place at sunset. And Joseph went out in haste to go for a woman to be near her. When, therefore, he was busy about that, he saw an Hebrew old woman belonging to Jerusalem, and said: Come hither, my good woman, and go into this cave, in which there is a woman near her time.

3. Wherefore, after sunset, the old woman, and Joseph with her, came to the cave, and they both went in. And, behold, it was filled with lights more

beautiful than the gleaming of lamps and candles, and more splendid than the light of the sun. The child, enwrapped in swaddling clothes, was sucking the breast of the Lady Mary His mother, being placed in a stall. And when both were wondering at this light, the old woman asks the Lady Mary: Art thou the mother of this Child? And when the Lady Mary gave her assent, she says: Thou art not at all like the daughters of Eve. The Lady Mary said: As my son has no equal among children, so his mother has no equal among women. The old woman replied: My mistress, I came to get payment; I have been for a long time affected with palsy. Our mistress the Lady Mary said to her: Place thy hands upon the child. And the old woman did so, and was immediately cured. Then she went forth, saying: Henceforth I will be the attendant and servant of this child all the days of my life.

4. Then came shepherds; and when they had lighted a fire, and were rejoicing greatly, there appeared to them the hosts of heaven praising and celebrating God Most High. And while the shepherds were doing the same, the cave was at that time made like a temple of the upper world, since both heavenly and earthly voices glorified and magnified God on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. And when that old Hebrew woman saw the manifestation of those miracles, she thanked God, saying: I give Thee thanks, O God, the God of Israel, because mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world. 5. And the time of circumcision, that is, the eighth day, being at hand, the child was to be circumcised according to the law. Wherefore they circumcised Him in the cave. And the old Hebrew woman took the piece of skin; but some say that she took the navel-string, and laid it past in a jar of old oil of nard. And she had a son, a dealer in unguents, and she gave it to him, saying: See that thou do not sell this jar of unguent of nard, even although three hundred denarii should be offered thee for it. And this is that jar which Mary the sinner bought and poured upon the head and feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, which thereafter she wiped with the hair of her head. Ten days after, they took Him to Jerusalem; and on the fortieth day after His birth they carried Him into the temple, and set Him before the Lord, and offered sacrifices for Him, according to the commandment of the law of Moses, which is: Every male that openeth the womb shall be called the holy of God.

6. Then old Simeon saw Him shining like a pillar of light, when the Lady Mary, His virgin mother, rejoicing over Him, was carrying Him in her arms.

And angels, praising Him, stood round Him in a circle, like life guards standing by a king. Simeon therefore went up in haste to the Lady Mary, and, with hands stretched out before her, said to the Lord Christ: Now, O my Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy compassion, which Thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples, a light to all nations, and glory to Thy people Israel. Hanna also, a prophetess, was present, and came up, giving thanks to God, and calling the Lady Mary blessed. 7. And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judæa, in the time of King Herod, behold, magi came from the east to Jerusalem, as Zeraduscht had predicted; and there were with them gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And they adored Him, and presented to Him their gifts. Then the Lady Mary took one of the swaddling-bands, and, on account of the smallness of her means, gave it to them; and they received it from her with the greatest marks of honour. And in the same hour there appeared to them an angel in the form of that star which had before guided them on their journey; and they went away, following the guidance of its light, until they arrived in their own country.

8. And their kings and chief men came together to them, asking what they had seen or done, how they had gone and come back, what they had brought with them. And they showed them that swathing-cloth which the Lady Mary had given them. Wherefore they celebrated a feast, and, according to their custom, lighted a fire and worshipped it, and threw that swathing-cloth into it; and the fire laid hold of it, and enveloped it. And when the fire had gone out, they took out the swathing-cloth exactly as it had been before, just as if the fire had not touched it. Wherefore they began to kiss it, and to put it on their heads and their eyes, saying: This verily is the truth without doubt. Assuredly it is a great thing that the fire was not able to burn or destroy it. Then they took it, and with the greatest honour laid it up among their treasures.

9. And when Herod saw that the magi had left him, and not come back to him, he summoned the priests and the wise men, and said to them: Show me where Christ is to be born. And when they answered, In Bethlehem of Judæa, he began to think of putting the Lord Jesus Christ to death. Then appeared an angel of the Lord to Joseph in his sleep, and said: Rise, take the boy and His mother, and go away into Egypt. He rose, therefore, towards cock-crow, and set out. 10. While he is reflecting how he is to set about his jour-

ney, morning came upon him after he had gone a very little way. And now he was approaching a great city, in which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of the Egyptians offered gifts and vows. And there stood before this idol a priest ministering to him, who, as often as Satan spoke from that idol, reported it to the inhabitants of Egypt and its territories. This priest had a son, three years old, beset by several demons; and he made many speeches and utterances; and when the demons seized him, he tore his clothes, and remained naked, and threw stones at the people. And there was a hospital in that city dedicated to that idol. And when Joseph and the Lady Mary had come to the city, and had turned aside into that hospital, the citizens were very much afraid; and all the chief men and the priests of the idols came together to that idol, and said to it: What agitation and commotion is this that has arisen in our land? The idol answered them: A God has come here in secret, who is God indeed; nor is any god besides Him worthy of divine worship, because He is truly the Son of God. And when this land became aware of His presence, it trembled at His arrival, and was moved and shaken; and we are exceedingly afraid from the greatness of His power. And in the same hour that idol fell down, and at its fall all, inhabitants of Egypt and others, ran together.

11. And the son of the priest, his usual disease having come upon him, entered the hospital, and there came upon Joseph and the Lady Mary, from whom all others had fled. The Lady Mary had washed the cloths of the Lord Christ, and had spread them over some wood. That demoniac boy, therefore, came and took one of the cloths, and put it on his head. Then the demons, fleeing in the shape of ravens and serpents, began to go forth out of his mouth. The boy, being immediately healed at the command of the Lord Christ, began to praise God, and then to give thanks to the Lord who had healed him. And when his father saw him restored to health, My son, said he, what has happened to thee? and by what means hast thou been healed? The son answered: When the demons had thrown me on the ground, I went into the hospital, and there I found an august woman with a boy, whose newly-washed cloths she had thrown upon some wood: one of these I took up and put upon my head, and the demons left me and fled. At this the father rejoiced greatly, and said: My son, it is possible that this boy is the Son of the living God who created the heavens and the earth: for when he came

over to us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell, and perished by the power of his magnificence.

12. Here was fulfilled the prophecy which says, Out of Egypt have I called my son. Joseph indeed, and Mary, when they heard that that idol had fallen down and perished, trembled, and were afraid. Then they said: When we were in the land of Israel, Herod thought to put Jesus to death, and on that account slew all the children of Bethlehem and its confines; and there is no doubt that the Egyptians, as soon as they have heard that this idol has been broken, will burn us with fire. 13. Going out thence, they came to a place where there were robbers who had plundered several men of their baggage and clothes, and had bound them. Then the robbers heard a great noise, like the noise of a magnificent king going out of his city with his army, and his chariots and his drums; and at this the robbers were terrified, and left all their plunder. And their captives rose up, loosed each other's bonds, recovered their baggage, and went away. And when they saw Joseph and Mary coming up to the place, they said to them: Where is that king, at the hearing of the magnificent sound of whose approach the robbers have left us, so that we have escaped safe? Joseph answered them: He will come behind us.

14. Thereafter they came into another city, where there was a demoniac woman whom Satan, accursed and rebellious, had beset, when on one occasion she had gone out by night for water. She could neither bear clothes, nor live in a house; and as often as they tied her up with chains and thongs, she broke them, and fled naked into waste places; and, standing in cross-roads and cemeteries, she kept throwing stones at people, and brought very heavy calamities upon her friends. And when the Lady Mary saw her, she pitied her; and upon this Satan immediately left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying: Woe to me from thee, Mary, and from thy son. So that woman was cured of her torment, and being restored to her senses, she blushed on account of her nakedness; and shunning the sight of men, went home to her friends. And after she put on her clothes, she gave an account of the matter to her father and her friends; and as they were the chief men of the city, they received the Lady Mary and Joseph with the greatest honour and hospitality.

15. On the day after, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away, and on the evening of that day arrived at another town, in which they were celebrating a marriage; but, by the arts of accursed Satan

and the work of enchanters, the bride had become dumb, and could not speak a word. And after the Lady Mary entered the town, carrying her son the Lord Christ, that dumb bride saw her, and stretched out her hands towards the Lord Christ, and drew Him to her, and took Him into her arms, and held Him close and kissed Him, and leaned over Him, moving His body back and forwards. Immediately the knot of her tongue was loosened, and her ears were opened; and she gave thanks and praise to God, because He had restored her to health. And that night the inhabitants of that town exulted with joy, and thought that God and His angels had come down to them.

16. There they remained three days, being held in great honour, and living splendidly. Thereafter, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away and came to another city, in which, because it was very populous, they thought of passing the night. And there was in that city an excellent woman: and once, when she had gone to the river to bathe, lo, accursed Satan, in the form of a serpent, had leapt upon her, and twisted himself round her belly; and as often as night came on, he tyrannically tormented her. This woman, seeing the mistress the Lady Mary, and the child, the Lord Christ, in her bosom, was struck with a longing for Him, and said to the mistress the Lady Mary: O mistress, give me this child, that I may carry him, and kiss him. She therefore gave Him to the woman; and when He was brought to her, Satan let her go, and fled and left her, nor did the woman ever see him after that day. Wherefore all who were present praised God Most High, and that woman bestowed on them liberal gifts

17. On the day after, the same woman took scented water to wash the Lord Jesus; and after she had washed Him, she took the water with which she had done it, and poured part of it upon a girl who was living there, whose body was white with leprosy, and washed her with it. And as soon as this was done, the girl was cleansed from her leprosy. And the townspeople said: There is no doubt that Joseph and Mary and that boy are gods, not men. And when they were getting ready to go away from them, the girl who had laboured under the leprosy came up to them, and asked them to let her go with them. 18. When they had given her permission, she went with them. And afterwards they came to a city, in which was the castle of a most illustrious prince, who kept a house for the entertainment of strangers. They turned into this place; and the girl went away to the prince's wife; and she found her weeping and sorrowful, and she asked why she was weeping. Do not be sur-

prised, said she, at my tears; for I am overwhelmed by a great affliction, which as yet I have not endured to tell to any one. Perhaps, said the girl, if you reveal it and disclose it to me, I may have a remedy for it. Hide this secret, then, replied the princess, and tell it to no one. I was married to this prince, who is a king and ruler over many cities, and I lived long with him, but by me he had no son. And when at length I produced him a son, he was leprosy; and as soon as he saw him, he turned away with loathing, and said to me: Either kill him, or give him to the nurse to be brought up in some place from which we shall never hear of him more. After this I can have nothing to do with thee, and I will never see thee more. On this account I know not what to do, and I am overwhelmed with grief. Alas! my son. Alas! my husband. Did I not say so? said the girl.

I have found a cure for thy disease, and I shall tell it thee. For I too was a leper; but I was cleansed by God, who is Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary. And the woman asking her where this God was whom she had spoken of, Here, with thee, said the girl; He is living in the same house. But how is this possible? said she. Where is he? There, said the girl, are Joseph and Mary; and the child who is with them is called Jesus; and He it is who cured me of my disease and my torment. But by what means, said she, wast thou cured of thy leprosy? Wilt thou not tell me that? Why not? said the girl. I got from His mother the water in which He had been washed, and poured it over myself; and so I was cleansed from my leprosy. Then the princess rose up, and invited them to avail themselves of her hospitality. And she prepared a splendid banquet for Joseph in a great assembly of the men of the place. And on the following day she took scented water with which to wash the Lord Jesus, and thereafter poured the same water over her son, whom she had taken with her; and immediately her son was cleansed from his leprosy. Therefore, singing thanks and praises to God, she said: Blessed is the mother who bore thee, O Jesus;

dost thou so cleanse those who share the same nature with thee with the water in which thy body has been washed? Besides, she bestowed great gifts upon the mistress the Lady Mary, and sent her away with great honour. 19. Coming thereafter to another city, they wished to spend the night in it. They turned aside, therefore, to the house of a man newly married, but who, under the influence of witchcraft, was not able to enjoy his wife; and when they had spent that night with him, his bond was loosed. And at daybreak,

when they were girding themselves for their journey, the bridegroom would not let them go, and prepared for them a great banquet. 20. They set out, therefore, on the following day; and as they came near another city, they saw three women weeping as they came out of a cemetery. And when the Lady Mary beheld them, she said to the girl who accompanied her: Ask them what is the matter with them, or what calamity has befallen them. And to the girl's questions they made no reply, but asked in their turn: Whence are you, and whither are you going? for the day is already past, and night is coming on apace. We are travellers, said the girl, and are seeking a house of entertainment in which we may pass the night. They said: Go with us, and spend the night with us. They followed them, therefore, and were brought into a new house with splendid decorations and furniture. Now it was winter; and the girl, going into the chamber of these women, found them again weeping and lamenting. There stood beside them a mule, covered with housings of cloth of gold, and sesame was put before him; and the women were kissing him, and giving him food. And the girl said: What is all the ado, my ladies, about this mule? They answered her with tears, and said: This mule, which thou seest, was our brother, born of the same mother with ourselves. And when our father died, and left us great wealth, and this only brother, we did our best to get him married, and were preparing his nuptials for him, after the manner of men.

But some women, moved by mutual jealousy, bewitched him unknown to us; and one night, a little before daybreak, when the door of our house was shut, we saw that this our brother had been turned into a mule, as thou now beholdest him. And we are sorrowful, as thou seest, having no father to comfort us: there is no wise man, or magician, or enchanter in the world that we have omitted to send for; but nothing has done us any good. And as often as our hearts are overwhelmed with grief, we rise and go away with our mother here, and weep at our father's grave, and come back again. 21. And when the girl heard these things, Be of good courage, said she, and weep not: for the cure of your calamity is near; yea, it is beside you, and in the middle of your own house. For I also was a leper; but when I saw that woman, and along with her that young child, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which His mother had washed Him, and I was cured. And I know that He can cure your affliction also. But rise, go to Mary my mistress; bring her into your house, and tell her your secret; and entreat and supplicate her

to have pity upon you. After the woman had heard the girl's words, they went in haste to the Lady Mary, and brought her into their chamber, and sat down before her weeping, and saying: O our mistress, Lady Mary, have pity on thy hand-maidens; for no one older than ourselves, and no head of the family, is left—neither father nor brother—to live with us; but this mule which thou seest was our brother, and women have made him such as thou seest by witchcraft. We beseech thee, therefore, to have pity upon us. Then, grieving at their lot, the Lady Mary took up the Lord Jesus, and put Him on the mule's back; and she wept as well as the women, and said to Jesus Christ: Alas! my son, heal this mule by Thy mighty power, and make him a man endowed with reason as he was before.

And when these words were uttered by the Lady Mary, his form was changed, and the mule became a young man, free from every defect. Then he and his mother and his sisters adored the Lady Mary, and lifted the boy above their heads, and began to kiss Him, saying: Blessed is she that bore Thee, O Jesus, O Saviour of the world; blessed are the eyes which enjoy the felicity of seeing Thee. 22. Moreover, both the sisters said to their mother: Our brother indeed, by the aid of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the salutary intervention of this girl, who pointed out to us Mary and her son, has been raised to human form. Now, indeed, since our brother is unmarried, it would do very well for us to give him as his wife this girl, their servant. And having asked the Lady Mary, and obtained her consent, they made a splendid wedding for the girl; and their sorrow being changed into joy, and the beating of their breasts into dancing, they began to be glad, to rejoice, to exult, and sing—adorned, on account of their great joy, in most splendid and gorgeous attire. Then they began to recite songs and praises, and to say: O Jesus, son of David, who turnest sorrow into gladness, and lamentations into joy! And Joseph and Mary remained there ten days. Thereafter they set out, treated with great honours by these people, who bade them farewell, and from bidding them farewell returned weeping, especially the girl.

23. And turning away from this place, they came to a desert; and hearing that it was infested by robbers, Joseph and the Lady Mary resolved to cross this region by night. But as they go along, behold, they see two robbers lying in the way, and along with them a great number of robbers, who were their associates, sleeping. Now those two robbers, into whose hands they had fallen, were Titus and Dumachus. Titus therefore said to Dumachus: I be-

seech thee to let these persons go freely, and so that our comrades may not see them. And as Dumachus refused, Titus said to him again: Take to thyself forty drachmas from me, and hold this as a pledge. At the same time he held out to him the belt which he had about his waist, to keep him from opening his mouth or speaking. And the Lady Mary, seeing that the robber had done them a kindness, said to him: The Lord God will sustain thee by His right hand, and will grant thee remission of thy sins. And the Lord Jesus answered, and said to His mother: Thirty years hence, O my mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two robbers will be raised upon the cross along with me, Titus on my right hand and Dumachus on my left; and after that day Titus shall go before me into Paradise. And she said: God keep this from thee, my son. And they went thence towards a city of idols, which, as they came near it, was changed into sand-hills.

24. Hence they turned aside to that sycamore which is now called Matarea, and the Lord Jesus brought forth in Matarea a fountain in which the Lady Mary washed His shirt. And from the sweat of the Lord Jesus which she sprinkled there, balsam was produced in that region. 25. Thence they came down to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh, and remained three years in Egypt; and the Lord Jesus did in Egypt very many miracles which are recorded neither in the Gospel of the Infancy nor in the perfect Gospel. 26. And at the end of the three years He came back out of Egypt, and returned. And when they had arrived at Judæa, Joseph was afraid to enter it; but hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son had succeeded him, he was afraid indeed, but he went into Judæa. And an angel of the Lord appeared to him, and said: O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide.

Wonderful indeed, that the Lord of the world should be thus borne and carried about through the world! 27. Thereafter, going into the city of Bethlehem, they saw there many and grievous diseases infesting the eyes of the children, who were dying in consequence. And a woman was there with a sick son, whom, now very near death, she brought to the Lady Mary, who saw him as she was washing Jesus Christ. Then said the woman to her: O my Lady Mary, look upon this son of mine, who is labouring under a grievous disease. And the Lady Mary listened to her, and said: Take a little of that water in which I have washed my son, and sprinkle him with it. She therefore took a little of the water, as the Lady Mary had told her, and sprinkled it over her son. And when this was done his illness abated; and after sleeping a

little, he rose up from sleep safe and sound. His mother rejoicing at this, again took him to the Lady Mary. And she said to her: Give thanks to God, because He hath healed this thy son.

28. There was in the same place another woman, a neighbour of her whose son had lately been restored to health. And as her son was labouring under the same disease, and his eyes were now almost blinded, she wept night and day. And the mother of the child that had been cured said to her: Why dost thou not take thy son to the Lady Mary, as I did with mine when he was nearly dead? And he got well with that water with which the body of her son Jesus had been washed. And when the woman heard this from her, she too went and got some of the same water, and washed her son with it, and his body and his eyes were instantly made well. Her also, when she had brought her son to her, and disclosed to her all that had happened, the Lady Mary ordered to give thanks to God for her son's restoration to health, and to tell nobody of this matter.

29. There were in the same city two women, wives of one man, each having a son ill with fever. The one was called Mary, and her son's name was Cleopas. She rose and took up her son, and went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offering her a beautiful mantle, said: O my Lady Mary, accept this mantle, and for it give me one small bandage. Mary did so, and the mother of Cleopas went away, and made a shirt of it, and put it on her son. So he was cured of his disease; but the son of her rival died. Hence there sprung up hatred between them; and as they did the house-work week about, and as it was the turn of Mary the mother of Cleopas, she heated the oven to bake bread; and going away to bring the lump that she had kneaded, she left her son Cleopas beside the oven. Her rival seeing him alone—and the oven was very hot with the fire blazing under it—seized him and threw him into the oven, and took herself off. Mary coming back, and seeing her son Cleopas lying in the oven laughing, and the oven quite cold, as if no fire had ever come near it, knew that her rival had thrown him into the fire. She drew him out, therefore, and took him to the Lady Mary, and told her of what had happened to him. And she said: Keep silence, and tell nobody of the affair;

for I am afraid for you if you divulge it. After this her rival went to the well to draw water; and seeing Cleopas playing beside the well, and nobody near, she seized him and threw him into the well, and went home herself.

And some men who had gone to the well for water saw the boy sitting on the surface of the water; and so they went down and drew him out. And they were seized with a great admiration of that boy, and praised God. Then came his mother, and took him up, and went weeping to the Lady Mary, and said: O my lady, see what my rival has done to my son, and how she has thrown him into the well; she will be sure to destroy him some day or other. The Lady Mary said to her: God will avenge thee upon her. Thereafter, when her rival went to the well to draw water, her feet got entangled in the rope, and she fell into the well. Some men came to draw her out, but they found her skull fractured and her bones broken. Thus she died a miserable death, and in her came to pass that saying: They have digged a well deep, but have fallen into the pit which they had prepared.

30. Another woman there had twin sons who had fallen into disease, and one of them died, and the other was at his last breath. And his mother, weeping, lifted him up, and took him to the Lady Mary, and said: O my lady, aid me and succour me. For I had two sons, and I have just buried the one, and the other is at the point of death. See how I am going to entreat and pray to God. And she began to say: O Lord, Thou art compassionate, and merciful, and full of affection. Thou gavest me two sons, of whom Thou hast taken away the one: this one at least leave to me. Wherefore the Lady Mary, seeing the fervour of her weeping, had compassion on her, and said: Put thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes. And when she had put him in the bed in which Christ was lying, he had already closed his eyes in death; but as soon as the smell of the clothes of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, he opened his eyes, and, calling upon his mother with a loud voice, he asked for bread, and took it and sucked it. Then his mother said: O Lady Mary, now I know that the power of God dwelleth in thee, so that thy son heals those that partake of the same nature with himself, as soon as they have touched his clothes. This boy that was healed is he who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.

31. Moreover, there was there a leprous woman, and she went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said: My lady, help me. And the Lady Mary answered: What help dost thou seek? Is it gold or silver? or is it that thy body be made clean from the leprosy? And that woman asked: Who can grant me this? And the Lady Mary said to her: Wait a little, until I shall have washed my son Jesus, and put him to bed. The woman waited, as Mary had told her;

and when she had put Jesus to bed, she held out to the woman the water in which she had washed His body, and said: Take a little of this water, and pour it over thy body. And as soon as she had done so, she was cleansed, and gave praise and thanks to God. 32. Therefore, after staying with her three days, she went away; and coming to a city, saw there one of the chief men, who had married the daughter of another of the chief men. But when he saw the woman, he beheld between her eyes the mark of leprosy in the shape of a star; and so the marriage was dissolved, and became null and void. And when that woman saw them in this condition, weeping and overwhelmed with sorrow, she asked the cause of their grief. But they said: Inquire not into our condition, for to no one living can we tell our grief, and to none but ourselves can we disclose it. She urged them, however, and entreated them to entrust it to her, saying that she would perhaps be able to tell them of a remedy. And when they showed her the girl, and the sign of leprosy which appeared between her eyes, as soon as she saw it, the woman said: I also, whom you see here, laboured under the same disease, when, upon some business which happened to come in my way, I went to Bethlehem. There going into a cave, I saw a woman named Mary, whose son was he who was named Jesus; and when she saw that I was a leper, she took pity on me, and handed me the water with which she had washed her son's body. With it I sprinkled my body, and came out clean. Then the woman said to her:

Wilt thou not, O lady, rise and go with us, and show us the Lady Mary? And she assented; and they rose and went to the Lady Mary, carrying with them splendid gifts. And when they had gone in, and presented to her the gifts, they showed her the leprous girl whom they had brought. The Lady Mary therefore said: May the compassion of the Lord Jesus Christ descend upon you; and handing to them also a little of the water in which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she ordered the wretched woman to be bathed in it. And when this had been done, she was immediately cured; and they, and all standing by, praised God. Joyfully therefore they returned to their own city, praising the Lord for what He had done. And when the chief heard that his wife had been cured, he took her home, and made a second marriage, and gave thanks to God for the recovery of his wife's health.

33. There was there also a young woman afflicted by Satan; for that accursed wretch repeatedly appeared to her in the form of a huge dragon, and prepared to swallow her. He also sucked out all her blood, so that she was left

like a corpse. As often as he came near her, she, with her hands clasped over her head, cried out, and said: Woe, woe's me, for nobody is near to free me from that accursed dragon. And her father and mother, and all who were about her or saw her, bewailed her lot; and men stood round her in a crowd, and all wept and lamented, especially when she wept, and said: Oh, my brethren and friends, is there no one to free me from that murderer? And the daughter of the chief who had been healed of her leprosy, hearing the girl's voice, went up to the roof of her castle, and saw her with her hands clasped over her head weeping, and all the crowds standing round her weeping as well. She therefore asked the demoniac's husband whether his wife's mother were alive. And when he answered that both her parents were living, she said: Send for her mother to come to me. And when she saw that he had sent for her, and she had come, she said: Is that distracted girl thy daughter? Yes, O lady, said that sorrowful and weeping woman, she is my daughter. The chief's daughter answered:

Keep my secret, for I confess to thee that I was formerly a leper; but now the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, has healed me. But if thou wishest thy daughter to be healed, take her to Bethlehem, and seek Mary the mother of Jesus, and believe that thy daughter will be healed; I indeed believe that thou wilt come back with joy, with thy daughter healed. As soon as the woman heard the words of the chief's daughter, she led away her daughter in haste; and going to the place indicated, she went to the Lady Mary, and revealed to her the state of her daughter. And the Lady Mary hearing her words, gave her a little of the water in which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and ordered her to pour it on the body of her daughter. She gave her also from the clothes of the Lord Jesus a swathing-cloth, saying: Take this cloth, and show it to thine enemy as often as thou shalt see him. And she saluted them, and sent them away.

34. When, therefore, they had gone away from her, and returned to their own district, and the time was at hand at which Satan was wont to attack her, at this very time that accursed one appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon, and the girl was afraid at the sight of him. And her mother said to her: Fear not, my daughter; allow him to come near thee, and then show him the cloth which the Lady Mary hath given us, and let us see what will happen. Satan, therefore, having come near in the likeness of a terrible dragon, the body of the girl shuddered for fear of him; but as soon as she

took out the cloth, and placed it on her head, and covered her eyes with it, flames and live coals began to dart forth from it, and to be cast upon the dragon. O the great miracle which was done as soon as the dragon saw the cloth of the Lord Jesus, from which the fire darted, and was cast upon his head and eyes! He cried out with a loud voice: What have I to do with thee, O Jesus, son of Mary? Whither shall I fly from thee? And with great fear he turned his back and departed from the girl, and never afterwards appeared to her. And the girl now had rest from him, and gave praise and thanks to God, and along with her all who were present at that miracle.

35. Another woman was living in the same place, whose son was tormented by Satan. He, Judas by name, as often as Satan seized him, used to bite all who came near him; and if he found no one near him, he used to bite his own hands and other limbs. The mother of this wretched creature, then, hearing the fame of the Lady Mary and her son Jesus, rose up and brought her son Judas with her to the Lady Mary. In the meantime, James and Joses had taken the child the Lord Jesus with them to play with the other children; and they had gone out of the house and sat down, and the Lord Jesus with them. And the demoniac Judas came up, and sat down at Jesus' right hand: then, being attacked by Satan in the same manner as usual, he wished to bite the Lord Jesus, but was not able; nevertheless he struck Jesus on the right side, whereupon He began to weep. And immediately Satan went forth out of that boy, fleeing like a mad dog. And this boy who struck Jesus, and out of whom Satan went forth in the shape of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Him to the Jews; and that same side on which Judas struck Him, the Jews transfixed with a lance.

36. Now, when the Lord Jesus had completed seven years from His birth, on a certain day He was occupied with boys of His own age. For they were playing among clay, from which they were making images of asses, oxen, birds, and other animals; and each one boasting of his skill, was praising his own work. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys: The images that I have made I will order to walk. The boys asked Him whether then he were the son of the Creator; and the Lord Jesus bade them walk. And they immediately began to leap; and then, when He had given them leave, they again stood still. And He had made figures of birds and sparrows, which flew when He told them to fly, and stood still when He told them to stand, and ate and drank when He handed them food and drink. After the boys had gone away

and told this to their parents, their fathers said to them: My sons, take care not to keep company with him again, for he is a wizard: flee from him, therefore, and avoid him, and do not play with him again after this.

37. On a certain day the Lord Jesus, running about and playing with the boys, passed the shop of a dyer, whose name was Salem; and he had in his shop many pieces of cloth which he was to dye. The Lord Jesus then, going into his shop, took up all the pieces of cloth, and threw them into a tub full of indigo. And when Salem came and saw his cloths destroyed, he began to cry out with a loud voice, and to reproach Jesus, saying: Why hast thou done this to me, O son of Mary? Thou hast disgraced me before all my townsmen: for, seeing that every one wished the colour that suited himself, thou indeed hast come and destroyed them all. The Lord Jesus answered: I shall change for thee the colour of any piece of cloth which thou shalt wish to be changed. And immediately He began to take the pieces of cloth out of the tub, each of them of that colour which the dyer wished, until He had taken them all out. When the Jews saw this miracle and prodigy, they praised God.

38. And Joseph used to go about through the whole city, and take the Lord Jesus with him, when people sent for him in the way of his trade to make for them doors, and milk-pails, and beds, and chests; and the Lord Jesus was with him wherever he went. As often, therefore, as Joseph had to make anything a cubit or a span longer or shorter, wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus stretched His hand towards it; and as soon as He did so, it became such as Joseph wished. Nor was it necessary for him to make anything with his own hand, for Joseph was not very skilful in carpentry. 39. Now, on a certain day, the king of Jerusalem sent for him, and said: I wish thee, Joseph, to make for me a throne to fit that place in which I usually sit. Joseph obeyed, and began the work immediately, and remained in the palace two years, until he finished the work of that throne. And when he had it carried to its place, he perceived that each side wanted two spans of the prescribed measure. And the king, seeing this, was angry with Joseph; and Joseph, being in great fear of the king, spent the night without supper, nor did he taste anything at all. Then, being asked by the Lord Jesus why he was afraid, Joseph said: Because I have spoiled all the work that I have been two years at. And the Lord Jesus said to him: Fear not, and do not lose heart; but do thou take hold of one side of the throne; I shall take the other; and we shall put that to rights. And Joseph, having done as the Lord Jesus had said and each having

drawn by his own side, the throne was put to rights, and brought to the exact measure of the place. And those that stood by and saw this miracle were struck with astonishment, and praised God. And the woods used in that throne were of those which are celebrated in the time of Solomon the son of David; that is, woods of many and various kinds.

40. On another day the Lord Jesus went out into the road, and saw the boys that had come together to play, and followed them; but the boys hid themselves from Him. The Lord Jesus, therefore, having come to the door of a certain house, and seen some women standing there, asked them where the boys had gone; and when they answered that there was no one there, He said again: Who are these whom you see in the furnace? They replied that they were kids of three years old. And the Lord Jesus cried out, and said: Come out hither, O kids, to your Shepherd. Then the boys, in the form of kids, came out, and began to dance round Him; and the women, seeing this, were very much astonished, and were seized with trembling, and speedily supplicated and adored the Lord Jesus, saying: O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, Thou art of a truth that good Shepherd of Israel; have mercy on Thy handmaidens who stand before Thee, and who have never doubted: for Thou hast come, O our Lord, to heal, and not to destroy. And when the Lord Jesus answered that the sons of Israel were like the Ethiopians among the nations, the women said: Thou, O Lord, knowest all things, nor is anything hid from Thee; now, indeed, we beseech Thee, and ask Thee of Thy affection to restore these boys Thy servants to their former condition. The Lord Jesus therefore said: Come, boys, let us go and play. And immediately, while these women were standing by, the kids were changed into boys.

41. Now in the month Adar, Jesus, after the manner of a king, assembled the boys together. They spread their clothes on the ground, and He sat down upon them. Then they put on His head a crown made of flowers, and, like chamber-servants, stood in His presence, on the right and on the left, as if He were a king. And whoever passed by that way was forcibly dragged by the boys, saying: Come hither, and adore the king; then go thy way. 42. In the meantime, while these things were going on, some men came up carrying a boy. For this boy had gone into the mountain with those of his own age to seek wood, and there he found a partridge's nest; and when he stretched out his hand to take the eggs from it, a venomous serpent bit him from the middle of the nest, so that he called out for help. His comrades accordingly

went to him with haste, and found him lying on the ground like one dead. Then his relations came and took him up to carry him back to the city. And after they had come to that place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the rest of the boys standing round Him like His servants, the boys went hastily forward to meet him who had been bitten by the serpent, and said to his relations: Come and salute the king. But when they were unwilling to go, on account of the sorrow in which they were, the boys dragged them by force against their will. And when they had come up to the Lord Jesus, He asked them why they were carrying the boy. And when they answered that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys: Let us go and kill that serpent. And the parents of the boy asked leave to go away, because their son was in the agony of death; but the boys answered them, saying: Did you not hear the king saying:

Let us go kill the serpent? and will you not obey him? And so, against their will the couch was carried back. And when they came to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys: Is this the serpent's place? They said that it was; and the serpent, at the call of the Lord, came forth without delay, and submitted itself to Him. And He said to it: Go away, and suck out all the poison which thou hast infused into this boy. And so the serpent crawled to the boy, and sucked out all its poison. Then the Lord Jesus cursed it, and immediately on this being done it burst asunder; and the Lord Jesus stroked the boy with his hand, and he was healed. And he began to weep; but Jesus said: Do not weep, for by and by thou shalt be my disciple. And this is Simon the Cananite, of whom mention is made in the Gospel.

43. On another day, Joseph sent his son James to gather wood, and the Lord Jesus went with him as his companion. And when they had come to the place where the wood was, and James had begun to gather it, behold, a venomous viper bit his hand, so that he began to cry out and weep. The Lord Jesus then, seeing him in this condition, went up to him, and blew upon the place where the viper had bitten him; and this being done, he was healed immediately. 44. One day, when the Lord Jesus was again with the boys playing on the roof of a house, one of the boys fell down from above, and immediately expired. And the rest of the boys fled in all directions, and the Lord Jesus was left alone on the roof. And the relations of the boy came up and said to the Lord Jesus: It was thou who didst throw our son headlong from the roof. And when He denied it, they cried out, saying: Our son is dead, and

here is he who has killed him. And the Lord Jesus said to them: Do not bring an evil report against me; but if you do not believe me, come and let us ask the boy himself, that he may bring the truth to light. Then the Lord Jesus went down, and standing over the dead body, said, with a loud voice: Zeno, Zeno, who threw thee down from the roof? Then the dead boy answered and said: My lord, it was not thou who didst throw me down, but such a one cast me down from it. And when the Lord commanded those who were standing by to attend to His words, all who were present praised God for this miracle.

45. Once upon a time the Lady Mary had ordered the Lord Jesus to go and bring her water from the well. And when He had gone to get the water, the pitcher already full was knocked against something, and broken. And the Lord Jesus stretched out His handkerchief, and collected the water, and carried it to His mother; and she was astonished at it. And she hid and preserved in her heart all that she saw. 46. Again, on another day, the Lord Jesus was with the boys at a stream of water, and they had again made little fish-ponds. And the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and had arranged them round His fish-pond, three on each side. And it was the Sabbath-day. Wherefore a Jew, the son of Hanan, coming up, and seeing them thus engaged, said in anger and great indignation: Do you make figures of clay on the Sabbath-day? And he ran quickly, and destroyed their fish-ponds. But when the Lord Jesus clapped His hands over the sparrows which He had made, they flew away chirping.

Then the son of Hanan came up to the fish-pond of Jesus also, and kicked it with his shoes, and the water of it vanished away. And the Lord Jesus said to him: As that water has vanished away, so thy life shall likewise vanish away. And immediately that boy dried up. 47. At another time, when the Lord Jesus was returning home with Joseph in the evening, He met a boy, who ran up against Him with so much force that He fell. And the Lord Jesus said to him: As thou hast thrown me down, so thou shalt fall and not rise again. And the same hour the boy fell down, and expired. 48. There was, moreover, at Jerusalem, a certain man named Zacchæus, who taught boys. He said to Joseph: Why, O Joseph, dost thou not bring Jesus to the to learn his letters? Joseph agreed to do so, and reported the matter to the Lady Mary. They therefore took Him to the master; and he, as soon as he saw Him, wrote out the alphabet for Him, and told Him to say Aleph. And when He had said Aleph, the master ordered Him to pronounce Beth. And the Lord

Jesus said to him: Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I shall pronounce Beth. And when the master threatened to flog Him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meanings of the letters Aleph and Beth; also which figures of the letter were straight, which crooked, which drawn round into a spiral, which marked with points, which without them, why one letter went before another; and many other things He began to recount and to elucidate which the master himself had never either heard or read in any book. The Lord Jesus, moreover, said to the master: Listen, and I shall say them to thee. And He began clearly and distinctly to repeat Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, on to Tau. And the master was astonished, and said: I think that this boy was born before Noah. And turning to Joseph, he said: Thou hast brought to me to be taught a boy more learned than all the masters. To the Lady Mary also he said: This son of thine has no need of instruction.

49. Thereafter they took Him to another and a more learned master, who, when he saw Him, said: Say Aleph. And when He had said Aleph, the master ordered him to pronounce Beth. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and said: First tell me the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I shall pronounce Beth. And when the master hereupon raised his hand and flogged Him, immediately his hand dried up, and he died. Then said Joseph, to the Lady Mary: From this time we shall not let him go out of the house, since every one who opposes him is struck dead. 50. And when He was twelve years old, they took Him to Jerusalem to the feast. And when the feast was finished, they indeed returned; but the Lord Jesus remained in the temple among the teachers and elders and learned men of the sons of Israel, to whom He put various questions upon the sciences, and gave answers in His turn. For He said to them: Whose son is the Messiah? They answered Him: The son of David. Wherefore then, said He, does he in the Spirit call him his lord, when he says, The Lord said to my lord, Sit at my right hand, that I may put thine enemies under thy footsteps? Again the chief of the teachers said to Him: Hast thou read the books? Both the books, said the Lord Jesus, and the things contained in the books. And He explained the books, and the law, and the precepts, and the statutes, and the mysteries, which are contained in the books of the prophets—things which the understanding of no creature attains to. That teacher therefore said: I hitherto have neither attained to nor heard of such knowledge: Who, pray, do you think that boy will be?

51. And a philosopher who was there present, a skilful astronomer, asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied astronomy. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and explained the number of the spheres, and of the heavenly bodies, their natures and operations; their opposition; their aspect, triangular, square, and sextile; their course, direct and retrograde; the twenty-fourths, and sixtieths of twenty-fourths; and other things beyond the reach of reason. 52. There was also among those philosophers one very skilled in treating of natural science, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied medicine. And He, in reply, explained to him physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hypophysics, the powers likewise and humours of the body, and the effects of the same; also the number of members and bones, of veins, arteries, and nerves; also the effect of heat and dryness, of cold and moisture, and what these give rise to; what was the operation of the soul upon the body, and its perceptions and powers; what was the operation of the faculty of speech, of anger, of desire; lastly, their conjunction and disjunction, and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect. Then that philosopher rose up, and adored the Lord Jesus, and said: O Lord, from this time I will be thy disciple and slave.

53. While they were speaking to each other of these and other things, the Lady Mary came, after having gone about seeking Him for three days along with Joseph. She therefore, seeing Him sitting among the teachers asking them questions, and answering in His turn, said to Him: My son, why hast thou treated us thus? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee with great trouble. But He said: Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I ought to occupy myself in my Father's house? But they did not understand the words that He spoke to them. Then those teachers asked Mary whether He were her son; and when she signified that He was, they said: Blessed art thou, O Mary, who hast brought forth such a son. And returning with them to Nazareth, He obeyed them in all things. And His mother kept all these words of His in her heart. And the Lord Jesus advanced in stature, and in wisdom, and in favour with God and man.

54. And from this day He began to hide His miracles and mysteries and secrets, and to give attention to the law, until He completed His thirtieth year, when His Father publicly declared Him at the Jordan by this voice sent down from heaven: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; the Holy Spirit being present in the form of a white dove. 55. This is He whom

we adore with supplications, who hath given us being and life, and who hath brought us from our mothers' wombs; who for our sakes assumed a human body, and redeemed us, that He might embrace us in eternal compassion, and show to us His mercy according to His liberality, and beneficence, and generosity, and benevolence. To Him is glory, and beneficence, and power, and dominion from this time forth for evermore. Amen. Here endeth the whole Gospel of the Infancy, with the aid of God Most High, according to what we have found in the original.

The History of Joseph the Carpenter

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

An Egyptian legend of the life and death of Joseph, which Jesus is said to have told the apostles on the Mount of Olives.

The History of Joseph the Carpenter. In the name of God, of one essence and three persons. The History of the death of our father, the holy old man, Joseph the carpenter. May his blessings and prayers preserve us all, O brethren! Amen. His whole life was one hundred and eleven years, and his departure from this world happened on the twenty-sixth of the month Abib, which answers to the month Ab. May his prayer preserve us! Amen. And, indeed, it was our Lord Jesus Christ Himself who related this history to His holy disciples on the Mount of Olives, and all Joseph's labour, and the end of his days. And the holy apostles have preserved this conversation, and have left it written down in the library at Jerusalem. May their prayers preserve us! Amen. 1. It happened one day, when the Saviour, our Master, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, was sitting along with His disciples, and they were all assembled on the Mount of Olives, that He said to them: O my brethren and friends, sons of the Father who has chosen you from all men, you know that I have often told you that I must be crucified, and must die for the salvation of Adam and his posterity, and that I shall rise from the dead. Now I shall commit to you the doctrine of the holy gospel formerly announced to you, that you may declare it throughout the whole world. And I shall endow you with power from on high, and fill you with the Holy Spirit. And you shall declare to all nations repentance and remission of sins. For a single cup of water, if a man shall find it in the world to come, is greater and better than all the wealth of this whole world. And as much ground as one foot can occupy in the house of my Father, is greater and more excellent than all the riches of the earth. Yea, a single hour in the joyful dwelling of the pious is

more blessed and more precious than a thousand years among sinners: inasmuch as their weeping and lamentation shall not come to an end, and their tears shall not cease, nor shall they find for themselves consolation and repose at any time for ever.

And now, O my honoured members, go declare to all nations, tell them, and say to them: Verily the Saviour diligently inquires into the inheritance which is due, and is the administrator of justice. And the angels will cast down their enemies, and will fight for them in the day of conflict. And He will examine every single foolish and idle word which men speak, and they shall give an account of it. For as no one shall escape death, so also the works of every man shall be laid open on the day of judgment, whether they have been good or evil. Tell them also this word which I have said to you to-day: Let not the strong man glory in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but let him who wishes to glory, glory in the Lord. 2. There was a man whose name was Joseph, sprung from a family of Bethlehem, a town of Judah, and the city of King David. This same man, being well furnished with wisdom and learning, was made a priest in the temple of the Lord. He was, besides, skilful in his trade, which was that of a carpenter; and after the manner of all men, he married a wife. Moreover, he begot for himself sons and daughters, four sons, namely, and two daughters. Now these are their names—Judas, Justus, James, and Simon. The names of the two daughters were Assia and Lydia. At length the wife of righteous Joseph, a woman intent on the divine glory in all her works, departed this life. But Joseph, that righteous man, my father after the flesh, and the spouse of my mother Mary, went away with his sons to his trade, practising the art of a carpenter.

3. Now when righteous Joseph became a widower, my mother Mary, blessed, holy, and pure, was already twelve years old. For her parents offered her in the temple when she was three years of age, and she remained in the temple of the Lord nine years. Then when the priests saw that the virgin, holy and God-fearing, was growing up, they spoke to each other, saying: Let us search out a man, righteous and pious, to whom Mary may be entrusted until the time of her marriage; lest, if she remain in the temple, it happen to her as is wont to happen to women, and lest on that account we sin, and God be angry with us. 4. Therefore they immediately sent out, and assembled twelve old men of the tribe of Judah. And they wrote down the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. And the lot fell upon the pious old man, righteous

Joseph. Then the priests answered, and said to my blessed mother: Go with Joseph, and be with him till the time of your marriage. Righteous Joseph therefore received my mother, and led her away to his own house. And Mary found James the Less in his father's house, broken-hearted and sad on account of the loss of his mother, and she brought him up. Hence Mary was called the mother of James. Thereafter Joseph left her at home, and went away to the shop where he wrought at his trade of a carpenter. And after the holy virgin had spent two years in his house her age was exactly fourteen years, including the time at which he received her.

5. And I chose her of my own will, with the concurrence of my Father, and the counsel of the Holy Spirit. And I was made flesh of her, by a mystery which transcends the grasp of created reason. And three months after her conception the righteous man Joseph returned from the place where he worked at his trade; and when he found my virgin mother pregnant, he was greatly perplexed, and thought of sending her away secretly. But from fear, and sorrow, and the anguish of his heart, he could endure neither to eat nor drink that day. 6. But at mid-day there appeared to him in a dream the prince of the angels, the holy Gabriel, furnished with a command from my Father; and he said to him: Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife: for she has conceived of the Holy Spirit; and she will bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus. He it is who shall rule all nations with a rod of iron. Having thus spoken, the angel departed from him. And Joseph rose from his sleep, and did as the angel of the Lord had said to him; and Mary abode with him.

7. Some time after that, there came forth an order from Augustus Cæsar the king, that all the habitable world should be enrolled, each man in his own city. The old man therefore, righteous Joseph, rose up and took the virgin Mary and came to Bethlehem, because the time of her bringing forth was at hand. Joseph then inscribed his name in the list; for Joseph the son of David, whose spouse Mary was, was of the tribe of Judah. And indeed Mary, my mother, brought me forth in Bethlehem, in a cave near the tomb of Rachel the wife of the patriarch Jacob, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin. 8. But Satan went and told this to Herod the Great, the father of Archelaus. And it was this same Herod who ordered my friend and relative John to be beheaded. Accordingly he searched for me diligently, thinking that my kingdom was to be of this world. But Joseph, that pious old man, was warned

of this by a dream. Therefore he rose and took Mary my mother, and I lay in her bosom. Salome also was their fellow-traveller. Having therefore set out from home, he retired into Egypt, and remained there the space of one whole year, until the hatred of Herod passed away.

9. Now Herod died by the worst form of death, atoning for the shedding of the blood of the children whom he wickedly cut off, though there was no sin in them. And that impious tyrant Herod being dead, they returned into the land of Israel, and lived in a city of Galilee which is called Nazareth. And Joseph, going back to his trade of a carpenter, earned his living by the work of his hands; for, as the law of Moses had commanded, he never sought to live for nothing by another's labour. 10. At length, by increasing years, the old man arrived at a very advanced age. He did not, however, labour under any bodily weakness, nor had his sight failed, nor had any tooth perished from his mouth. In mind also, for the whole time of his life, he never wandered; but like a boy he always in his business displayed youthful vigour, and his limbs remained unimpaired, and free from all pain. His life, then, in all, amounted to one hundred and eleven years, his old age being prolonged to the utmost limit.

11. Now Justus and Simeon, the elder sons of Joseph, were married, and had families of their own. Both the daughters were likewise married, and lived in their own houses. So there remained in Joseph's house, Judas and James the Less, and my virgin mother. I moreover dwelt along with them, not otherwise than if I had been one of his sons. But I passed all my life without fault. Mary I called my mother, and Joseph father, and I obeyed them in all that they said; nor did I ever contend against them, but complied with their commands, as other men whom earth produces are wont to do; nor did I at any time arouse their anger, or give any word or answer in opposition to them. On the contrary, I cherished them with great love, like the pupil of my eye. 12. It came to pass, after these things, that the death of that old man, the pious Joseph, and his departure from this world, were approaching, as happens to other men who owe their origin to this earth. And as his body was verging on dissolution, an angel of the Lord informed him that his death was now close at hand. Therefore fear and great perplexity came upon him. So he rose up and went to Jerusalem; and going into the temple of the Lord, he poured out his prayers there before the sanctuary, and said:

13. O God! author of all consolation, God of all compassion, and Lord of the whole human race; God of my soul, body, and spirit; with supplications I reverence thee, O Lord and my God. If now my days are ended, and the time draws near when I must leave this world, send me, I beseech Thee, the great Michael, the prince of Thy holy angels: let him remain with me, that my wretched soul may depart from this afflicted body without trouble, without terror and impatience. For great fear and intense sadness take hold of all bodies on the day of their death, whether it be man or woman, beast wild or tame, or whatever creeps on the ground or flies in the air. At the last all creatures under heaven in whom is the breath of life are struck with horror, and their souls depart from their bodies with strong fear and great depression. Now therefore, O Lord and my God, let Thy holy angel be present with his help to my soul and body, until they shall be dissevered from each other. And let not the face of the angel, appointed my guardian from the day of my birth, be turned away from me; but may he be the companion of my journey even until he bring me to Thee: let his countenance be pleasant and glad-some to me, and let him accompany me in peace.

And let not demons of frightful aspect come near me in the way in which I am to go, until I come to Thee in bliss. And let not the doorkeepers hinder my soul from entering paradise. And do not uncover my sins, and expose me to condemnation before Thy terrible tribunal. Let not the lions rush in upon me; nor let the waves of the sea of fire overwhelm my soul—for this must every soul pass through—before I have seen the glory of Thy Godhead. O God, most righteous Judge, who in justice and equity wilt judge mankind, and wilt render unto each one according to his works, O Lord and my God, I beseech Thee, be present to me in Thy compassion, and enlighten my path that I may come to Thee; for Thou art a fountain overflowing with all good things, and with glory for evermore. Amen.

14. It came to pass thereafter, when he returned to his own house in the city of Nazareth, that he was seized by disease, and had to keep his bed. And it was at this time that he died, according to the destiny of all mankind. For this disease was very heavy upon him, and he had never been ill, as he now was, from the day of his birth. And thus assuredly it pleased Christ to order the destiny of righteous Joseph. He lived forty years unmarried; thereafter his wife remained under his care forty-nine years, and then died. And a year after her death, my mother, the blessed Mary, was entrusted to him by the

priests, that he should keep her until the time of her marriage. She spent two years in his house; and in the third year of her stay with Joseph, in the fifteenth year of her age, she brought me forth on earth by a mystery which no creature can penetrate or understand, except myself, and my Father and the Holy Spirit, constituting one essence with myself.

15. The whole age of my father, therefore, that righteous old man, was one hundred and eleven years, my Father in heaven having so decreed. And the day on which his soul left his body was the twenty-sixth of the month Abib. For now the fine gold began to lose its splendour, and the silver to be worn down by use—I mean his understanding and his wisdom. He also loathed food and drink, and lost all his skill in his trade of carpentry, nor did he any more pay attention to it. It came to pass, then, in the early dawn of the twenty-sixth day of Abib, that Joseph, that righteous old man, lying in his bed, was giving up his unquiet soul. Wherefore he opened his mouth with many sighs, and struck his hands one against the other, and with a loud voice cried out, and spoke after the following manner:—

16. Woe to the day on which I was born into the world! Woe to the womb which bare me! Woe to the bowels which admitted me! Woe to the breasts which suckled me! Woe to the feet upon which I sat and rested! Woe to the hands which carried me and reared me until I grew up! For I was conceived in iniquity, and in sins did my mother desire me. Woe to my tongue and my lips, which have brought forth and spoken vanity, detraction, falsehood, ignorance, derision, idle tales, craft, and hypocrisy! Woe to mine eyes, which have looked upon scandalous things! Woe to mine ears, which have delighted in the words of slanderers! Woe to my hands, which have seized what did not of right belong to them! Woe to my belly and my bowels, which have lusted after food unlawful to be eaten! Woe to my throat, which like a fire has consumed all that it found! Woe to my feet, which have too often walked in ways displeasing to God! Woe to my body; and woe to my miserable soul, which has already turned aside from God its Maker! What shall I do when I arrive at that place where I must stand before the most righteous Judge, and when He shall call me to account for the works which I have heaped up in my youth? Woe to every man dying in his sins! Assuredly that same dreadful hour, which came upon my father Jacob, when his soul was flying forth from his body, is now, behold, near at hand for me. Oh! how wretched I am this day, and worthy of lamentation! But God alone is the dis-

poser of my soul and body; He also will deal with them after His own good pleasure.

17. These are the words spoken by Joseph, that righteous old man. And I, going in beside him, found his soul exceedingly troubled, for he was placed in great perplexity. And I said to him: Hail! my father Joseph, thou righteous man; how is it with thee? And he answered me: All hail! my well-beloved son. Indeed, the agony and fear of death have already environed me; but as soon as I heard Thy voice, my soul was at rest. O Jesus of Nazareth! Jesus, my Saviour! Jesus, the deliverer of my soul! Jesus, my protector! Jesus! O sweetest name in my mouth, and in the mouth of all those that love it! O eye which seest, and ear which hearest, hear me! I am Thy servant; this day I most humbly reverence Thee, and before Thy face I pour out my tears. Thou art altogether my God; Thou art my Lord, as the angel has told me times without number, and especially on that day when my soul was driven about with perverse thoughts about the pure and blessed Mary, who was carrying Thee in her womb, and whom I was thinking of secretly sending away. And while I was thus meditating, behold, there appeared to me in my rest angels of the Lord, saying to me in a wonderful mystery: O Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife;

and do not grieve thy soul, nor speak unbecoming words of her conception, because she is with child of the Holy Spirit, and shall bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. Do not for this cause wish me evil, O Lord! for I was ignorant of the mystery of Thy birth. I call to mind also, my Lord, that day when the boy died of the bite of the serpent. And his relations wished to deliver Thee to Herod, saying that Thou hadst killed him; but Thou didst raise him from the dead, and restore him to them. Then I went up to Thee, and took hold of Thy hand, saying: My son, take care of thyself. But Thou didst say to me in reply: Art thou not my father after the flesh? I shall teach thee who I am. Now therefore, O Lord and my God, do not be angry with me, or condemn me on account of that hour. I am Thy servant, and the son of Thine handmaiden; but Thou art my Lord, my God and Saviour, most surely the Son of God.

18. When my father Joseph had thus spoken, he was unable to weep more. And I saw that death now had dominion over him. And my mother, virgin undefiled, rose and came to me, saying: O my beloved son, this pious old man Joseph is now dying. And I answered: Oh my dearest mother, assuredly

upon all creatures produced in this world the same necessity of death lies; for death holds sway over the whole human race. Even thou, O my virgin mother, must look for the same end of life as other mortals. And yet thy death, as also the death of this pious man, is not death, but life enduring to eternity. Nay more, even I must die, as concerns the body which I have received from thee. But rise, O my venerable mother, and go in to Joseph, that blessed old man, in order that thou mayst see what will happen as his soul ascends from his body.

19. My undefiled mother Mary, therefore, went and entered the place where Joseph was. And I was sitting at his feet looking at him, for the signs of death already appeared in his countenance. And that blessed old man raised his head, and kept his eyes fixed on my face; but he had no power of speaking to me, on account of the agonies of death, which held him in their grasp. But he kept fetching many sighs. And I held his hands for a whole hour; and he turned his face to me, and made signs for me not to leave him. Thereafter I put my hand upon his breast, and perceived his soul now near his throat, preparing to depart from its receptacle. 20. And when my virgin mother saw me touching his body, she also touched his feet. And finding them already dead and destitute of heat, she said to me: O my beloved son, assuredly his feet are already beginning to stiffen, and they are as cold as snow. Accordingly she summoned his sons and daughters, and said to them: Come, as many as there are of you, and go to your father; for assuredly he is now at the very point of death. And Assia, his daughter, answered and said: Woe's me, O my brothers, this is certainly the same disease that my beloved mother died of. And she lamented and shed tears; and all Joseph's other children mourned along with her. I also, and my mother Mary, wept along with them.

21. And turning my eyes towards the region of the south, I saw Death already approaching, and all Gehenna with him, closely attended by his army and his satellites; and their clothes, their faces, and their mouths poured forth flames. And when my father Joseph saw them coming straight to him, his eyes dissolved in tears, and at the same time he groaned after a strange manner. Accordingly, when I saw the vehemence of his sighs, I drove back Death and all the host of servants which accompanied him. And I called upon my good Father, saying:— 22. O Father of all mercy, eye which seest, and ear which hearest, hearken to my prayers and supplications in be-

half of the old man Joseph; and send Michael, the prince of Thine angels, and Gabriel, the herald of light, and all the light of Thine angels, and let their whole array walk with the soul of my father Joseph, until they shall have conducted it to Thee. This is the hour in which my father has need of compassion. And I say unto you, that all the saints, yea, as many men as are born in the world, whether they be just or whether they be perverse, must of necessity taste of death.

23. Therefore Michael and Gabriel came to the soul of my father Joseph, and took it, and wrapped it in a shining wrapper. Thus he committed his spirit into the hands of my good Father, and He bestowed upon him peace. But as yet none of his children knew that he had fallen asleep. And the angels preserved his soul from the demons of darkness which were in the way, and praised God even until they conducted it into the dwelling-place of the pious. 24. Now his body was lying prostrate and bloodless; wherefore I reached forth my hand, and put right his eyes and shut his mouth, and said to the virgin Mary: O my mother, where is the skill which he showed in all the time that he lived in this world? Lo! it has perished, as if it had never existed. And when his children heard me speaking with my mother, the pure virgin, they knew that he had already breathed his last, and they shed tears, and lamented. But I said to them: Assuredly the death of your father is not death, but life everlasting: for he has been freed from the troubles of this life, and has passed to perpetual and everlasting rest. When they heard these words, they rent their clothes, and wept.

25. And, indeed, the inhabitants of Nazareth and of Galilee, having heard of their lamentation, flocked to them, and wept from the third hour even to the ninth. And at the ninth hour they all went together to Joseph's bed. And they lifted his body, after they had anointed it with costly unguents. But I entreated my Father in the prayer of the celestials—that same prayer which with my own hand I made before I was carried in the womb of the virgin Mary, my mother. And as soon as I had finished it, and pronounced the amen, a great multitude of angels came up; and I ordered two of them to stretch out their shining garments, and to wrap in them the body of Joseph, the blessed old man. 26. And I spoke to Joseph, and said: The smell or corruption of death shall not have dominion over thee, nor shall a worm ever come forth from thy body. Not a single limb of it shall be broken, nor shall any hair on thy head be changed. Nothing of thy body shall perish, O

my father Joseph, but it will remain entire and uncorrupted even until the banquet of the thousand years. And whosoever shall make an offering on the day of thy remembrance, him will I bless and recompense in the congregation of the virgins; and whosoever shall give food to the wretched, the poor, the widows, and orphans from the work of his hands, on the day on which thy memory shall be celebrated, and in thy name, shall not be in want of good things all the days of his life. And whosoever shall have given a cup of water, or of wine, to drink to the widow or orphan in thy name, I will give him to thee, that thou mayst go in with him to the banquet of the thousand years. And every man who shall present an offering on the day of thy commemoration will I bless and recompense in the church of the virgins: for one I will render unto him thirty, sixty, and a hundred.

And whosoever shall write the history of thy life, of thy labour, and thy departure from this world, and this narrative that has issued from my mouth, him shall I commit to thy keeping as long as he shall have to do with this life. And when his soul departs from the body, and when he must leave this world, I will burn the book of his sins, nor will I torment him with any punishment in the day of judgment; but he shall cross the sea of flames, and shall go through it without trouble or pain. And upon every poor man who can give none of those things which I have mentioned this is incumbent: viz., if a son is born to him, he shall call his name Joseph. So there shall not take place in that house either poverty or any sudden death for ever.

27. Thereafter the chief men of the city came together to the place where the body of the blessed old man Joseph had been laid, bringing with them burial-clothes; and they wished to wrap it up in them after the manner in which the Jews are wont to arrange their dead bodies. And they perceived that he kept his shroud fast; for it adhered to the body in such a way, that when they wished to take it off, it was found to be like iron—impossible to be moved or loosened. Nor could they find any ends in that piece of linen, which struck them with the greatest astonishment. At length they carried him out to a place where there was a cave, and opened the gate, that they might bury his body beside the bodies of his fathers. Then there came into my mind the day on which he walked with me into Egypt, and that extreme trouble which he endured on my account. Accordingly, I bewailed his death for a long time; and lying upon his body, I said:—

28. O Death! who makest all knowledge to vanish away, and raisest so many tears and lamentations, surely it is God my Father Himself who hath granted thee this power. For men die for the transgression of Adam and his wife Eve, and Death spares not so much as one. Nevertheless, nothing happens to any one, or is brought upon him, without the command of my Father. There have certainly been men who have prolonged their life even to nine hundred years; but they died. Yea, though some of them have lived longer, they have, notwithstanding, succumbed to the same fate; nor has any one of them ever said: I have not tasted death. For the Lord never sends the same punishment more than once, since it hath pleased my Father to bring it upon men. And at the very moment when it, going forth, beholds the command descending to it from heaven, it says: I will go forth against that man, and will greatly move him. Then, without delay, it makes an onset on the soul, and obtains the mastery of it, doing with it whatever it will. For, because Adam did not the will of my Father, but transgressed His commandment, the wrath of my Father was kindled against him, and He doomed him to death; and thus it was that death came into the world. But if Adam had observed my Father's precepts, death would never have fallen to his lot.

Think you that I can ask my good Father to send me a chariot of fire, which may take up the body of my father Joseph, and convey it to the place of rest, in order that it may dwell with the spirits? But on account of the transgression of Adam, that trouble and violence of death has descended upon all the human race. And it is for this cause that I must die according to the flesh, for my work which I have created, that they may obtain grace. 29. Having thus spoken, I embraced the body of my father Joseph, and wept over it; and they opened the door of the tomb, and placed his body in it, near the body of his father Jacob. And at the time when he fell asleep he had fulfilled a hundred and eleven years. Never did a tooth in his mouth hurt him, nor was his eyesight rendered less sharp, nor his body bent, nor his strength impaired; but he worked at his trade of a carpenter to the very last day of his life; and that was the six-and-twentieth of the month Abib. 30. And we apostles, when we heard these things from our Saviour, rose up joyfully, and prostrated ourselves in honour of Him, and said: O our Saviour, show us Thy grace. Now indeed we have heard the word of life: nevertheless we wonder, O our Saviour, at the fate of Enoch and Elias, inasmuch as they had not to undergo death. For truly they dwell in the habitation of the righteous even to

the present day, nor have their bodies seen corruption. Yet that old man Joseph the carpenter was, nevertheless, Thy father after the flesh. And Thou hast ordered us to go into all the world and preach the holy Gospel; and Thou hast said: Relate to them the death of my father Joseph, and celebrate to him with annual solemnity a festival and sacred day. And whosoever shall take anything away from this narrative, or add anything to it, commits sin. We wonder especially that Joseph, even from that day on which Thou wast born in Bethlehem, called Thee his son after the flesh. Wherefore, then, didst Thou not make him immortal as well as them, and Thou sayest that he was righteous and chosen?

31. And our Saviour answered and said: Indeed, the prophecy of my Father upon Adam, for his disobedience, has now been fulfilled. And all things are arranged according to the will and pleasure of my Father. For if a man rejects the commandment of God, and follows the works of the devil by committing sin, his life is prolonged; for he is preserved in order that he may perhaps repent, and reflect that he must be delivered into the hands of death. But if any one has been zealous of good works, his life also is prolonged, that, as the fame of his old age increases, upright men may imitate him. But when you see a man whose mind is prone to anger, assuredly his days are shortened; for it is these that are taken away in the flower of their age. Every prophecy, therefore, which my Father has pronounced concerning the sons of men, must be fulfilled in every particular. But with reference to Enoch and Elias, and how they remain alive to this day, keeping the same bodies with which they were born; and as to what concerns my father Joseph, who has not been allowed as well as they to remain in the body: indeed, though a man live in the world many myriads of years, nevertheless at some time or other he is compelled to exchange life for death. And I say to you, O my brethren, that they also, Enoch and Elias, must towards the end of time return into the world and die—in the day, namely, of commotion, of terror, of perplexity, and affliction. For Antichrist will slay four bodies, and will pour out their blood like water, because of the reproach to which they shall expose him, and the ignominy with which they, in their lifetime, shall brand him when they reveal his impiety.

32. And we said: O our Lord, our God and Saviour, who are those four whom Thou hast said Antichrist will cut off from the reproach they bring upon him? The Lord answered: They are Enoch, Elias, Schila, and Tabitha.

When we heard this from our Saviour, we rejoiced and exulted; and we offered all glory and thanksgiving to the Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. He it is to whom is due glory, honour, dignity, dominion, power, and praise, as well as to the good Father with Him, and to the Holy Spirit that giveth life, henceforth and in all time for evermore. Amen.

A New Life of John the Baptist

TRANSLATED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA

medieval, from Syriac and Garshuni manuscripts

A Garshūni life of John the Baptist, with the story of his birth, his preaching, his death and five miracles worked through his relics. It is a late devotional legend.

¹I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an unknown life of John the Baptist. I have edited the text from two MSS. of my own collection, numbered Mingana Syr. 22 and Mingana Syr. 183, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham. (Hereafter M. 22 and M. 183). In spite of a thorough search I have failed to discover the existence of a third MS. in the public libraries of Europe the catalogues of which are at my disposal. The MSS. exhibit short lacunæ, but fortunately these lacunæ do not affect identical passages, and by collating the two I was able to establish a complete, continuous, and unbroken text. M. 22 is also in many places in a bad state of preservation, and some words and occasionally whole lines have disappeared from it, apart from the lacuna of one leaf referred to in the present edition. This deficiency has, however, been supplied from M. 183 and the words that are missing in the former MS. are inserted between parentheses and marked (a a). M. 22 is dated 1838 of the Greeks (A.D. 1527) and M. 183 has no colophon, but on palæographical grounds it may be ascribed to about A.D. 1750. In spite of some important variants, there is reason to believe that both MSS. represent a single recension of the story, although M. 22 may be supposed to have been written for the use of Egyptian Christians and M. 183 for that of Syrian Christians.

²If we are to believe the contents of the story, it was written by Serapion, bishop of a town in Egypt, during the Patriarchate of Theophilus who governed the sea of Alexandria in 385–412. But from the mention of Theodosius the Great in connection with some events of the narrative, it may be affirmed with a good deal of probability that Serapion was writing in one of

the years falling within A.D. 385-395. If the story is a translation from Greek, as in many passages it appears to be, the translator must have used his proper names such as 'Ain Kārim, Assuan and Homs in the form in which they were known in his day. Without entering into minute details, I may state, however, that the text seems to contain sentences that have been interpolated by authors or copyists who might have lived at a date much later than that of Serapion. Some notes that I have ventured to add to the narrative will, I hope, help the reader to form his own opinion on the value of the story in the domain of history, exegesis, and Apocryphal literature.

3 In the edition I placed in the main body of the page the text of M. 22 and in the footnotes the various readings exhibited by M. 183, but in the translation I followed the text of either of the two MSS. that appeared to me to be more genuine and archaic. I have transcribed the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and given a facsimile of each MS. to show the reader its palæographic peculiarities. The Arabic style used in the story is in correctness and excellency of diction about equal to that used in the "Apocryphal Jeremiah" published above.

Translation.

4 With the assistance of God and His divine guidance we begin to write the life of the holy Man John the Baptist, son of Zacharias: may his intercession be with us. Amen! There was an aged priest-Levite from the tribe of Judah, whose name was Zacharias. He was a prophet who rose among the children of Israel in the days of Herod, King of Judaea. He had a God-loving wife, called Elizabeth, and she was from the daughters of Aaron, from the tribe of Levi. She was barren and had no children, and she and her husband were advanced in years. They were both righteous and pious people, guiding their steps by all the commandments and ordinances of God. And Zacharias was officiating constantly in the Temple of the Lord. When it fell to him, during the turn of his division, to burn incense to the Lord, he entered the Temple according to his habit, at the time of the burning of the incense, and the angel of the Lord appeared to him immediately, standing on the right of the altar. When Zacharias saw him he was frightened and startled. But the angel said to him: "Do not be afraid, but rather rejoice, O Zacharias! God has heard your prayer, and your wife Elizabeth shall conceive and bear you a son, who shall be called John; you shall have joy and delight, and many shall rejoice over his birth. He shall be great before the Lord, and he shall not drink

any wine or strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while still in the womb of his mother, and shall reconcile many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God. He shall go before Him in the spirit and with the power of Elijah, in order to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him."

5 Zacharias was astonished at these words, and doubt overtook him, because no child had been born to him. He did not remember Abraham, the head of the Patriarchs, to whom God gave Isaac, after he had reached the age of a hundred years, nor his wife Sarah who was also barren like his own wife. Zacharias said, therefore, to the angel: "How can this happen to me while I am an old man, and my wife is advanced in years?" And the angel answered and said to him: "I am the angel Gabriel. I have been sent to speak to you and bring you this news. And from now you shall be silent and unable to speak until the day when this takes place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in due course." And he disappeared from his sight. Meanwhile the people were waiting for Zacharias wondering at his remaining so long in the Temple. When he came out he was unable to speak to the people, and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the Temple, and he kept making signs to them. And as soon as his term of service was finished, he returned home. And Elizabeth got information of the affair (from God).

6 In those days Elizabeth conceived, and lived in seclusion till the fifth month, because she felt somewhat ashamed. She feared to appear in her old age while pregnant and milk dripping from her breasts. She lived in a secluded room of her own house, and Zacharias also lived likewise. Between them stood a locked door, and they did not speak at all to anyone in all those days. When she reached her sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a town in Galilee called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph, from the house of David; and the name of the virgin was Mary. When the angel came into her presence he said to her: "Rejoice, O Mary, because you have been favoured with a grace from God. You shall be with child and shall give birth to a son, who shall be called Jesus. He shall be great and shall be called 'Son of the Most High.'" And Mary said to the angel: "How can this happen to me while I have not known any man?" And the angel said to her: "The Holy Spirit shall descend upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, because the child that is born of you is holy and shall be called 'Son of God,' and lo Elizabeth who is related to you is also

expecting a child in her old age, and it is now the sixth month with her who is called barren, because with God there is nothing impossible." And she had no doubt on the matter but said to the head of the angels: "I am the servant of the Lord, let it be with me as you have said." He then greeted her and disappeared.

7 Mary was astonished at the fact that Elizabeth was expecting a child, and kept saying in her heart: "Thy acts are wonderful and great, O God Omnipotent, because Thou hast given descendants to an old and barren woman. I shall not cease walking until I have met her and beheld the wonderful miracle which God has performed in our times: a virgin giving birth to a child, and a barren woman suckling." In those days she rose up in haste and went into the hill-country, to the town of Judah, and she entered the house of Zacharias, and the fact that both of them may be referred to the end of the fifth month. The particle *ila* "till" may designate either the beginning or the end of a specified time. M. 22 takes this "till" to imply all (or the end of) the fifth month, and M. 183 uses the same "till" to mean only the beginning of the sixth month, or in other words the end of the fifth.

81 Syr. Kaitona. 2 Presumably Elizabeth. 3 Presumably Mary herself. greeted Elizabeth. The latter went to her with great joy and delight, and greeted her, saying: "Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb." The holy and pious virgin embraced then the true turtle-dove, and the Word baptised John while still in the womb of his mother. And David appeared in the middle and said: "Mercy and truth have met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other." And immediately after John moved in the womb, as if wishing to come out and greet his master. After they had finished their mutual greetings, the Virgin stayed with Elizabeth three months, until the latter's time was near, and then returned to her home. When the holy Elizabeth gave birth (to her son) there was a great joy and delight in her house, and after eight days they went to circumcise him, and wished to call him Zacharias. His mother, however, said: "No, call him John." And they said to her: "You have no relation of that name." And she said to them: "Ask his father about his name." And he asked for a writing-tablet and wrote thus: "His name is John." When he had written this he recovered the use of his tongue forthwith, and he glorified God who had granted him this great mercy, and uttered prophecies concerning his son John the Baptist, and was cognisant of the gift that he had received from God.

9 John grew up in a beautiful childhood and sucked his mother two years. The grace of God was on his face, and he grew up fortified by the Spirit. When Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, behold magians came from the East saying: "Where is he that is born, the King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East and are come to worship Him." When Herod the king heard these words he was troubled by what he had heard from the magians that (that child) was the King of the Jews, and he immediately desired to kill him. Then the angel of the Lord appeared forthwith to Joseph and said to him: "Arise and take the child and his mother and flee into the land of Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word." 10 Then Herod sought the Master in order to destroy Him, but he did not find Him, and he began to kill all the children of Bethlehem. And Elizabeth feared that her son John might be killed like them, and she took him immediately to Zacharias in the Temple, and she said to him: "My lord, let us go with our son John to some other countries, in order to save him from Herod the unbeliever, who is murdering children because of Jesus the Christ. Mary and Joseph have already gone to the land of Egypt. Get up quickly that they may not kill our son, and change our joy into grief." And Zacharias answered and said to her: "I must not leave the service of the Temple of the Lord and go to a foreign land the inhabitants of which worship idols." And she said to him: "What should I do in order to save my infant child?" And the old man answered and said to her: "Arise and go to the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim, and by the will of God you will be able to save your son. If they seek after him, they will shed my blood instead of his."

11 How great was the amount of grief that occurred at that time when they separated from each other! The holy Zacharias took the child to his bosom, blessed him, kissed him and said: "Woe is me, O my son John, O glory of my old age! They have impeded me from having any access to your face which is full of grace." He then took him and went into the Temple, and blessed him, saying: "May God protect you in your journey!" Immediately after Gabriel, the head of the angels, came down to him from heaven holding a raiment and a leathern girdle, and said to him: "O Zacharias, take these and put them on your son. God sent them to him from heaven. This raiment is that of Elijah, and this girdle that of Elisha." And the holy Zacharias took them from the angel, prayed over them and gave them to his son, and fastened on him the raiment which was of camel's hair with the leathern

girdle. He then brought him back to his mother and said to her: "Take him and bring him into the desert, because the hand of the Lord is with him. I have learnt from God that he will stay in the desert till the day of his showing unto Israel."

¹² The blessed Elizabeth took the child while weeping and Zacharias also was weeping, and the latter said: "I know that I shall not see you again in the flesh. Go in peace. May God guide you." Elizabeth walked then away with her son, and went into the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim, and stayed there with him. It happened that when King Herod sent troops to Jerusalem to kill its children, they came and began to kill children till the evening. That day was the seventh of September. When they began to return to their king, behold, Satan came to them and said: "How did you leave the son of Zacharias without killing him? He is hidden with his father in the Temple. Do not spare him but kill him in order that the king may not wax angry with you. Go for him, and if you do not find the son, kill the father in his place."

¹³ The troops did what Satan taught them, and went to the Temple early in the morning, and found Zacharias standing and serving the Lord, and they said to him: "Where is thy son whom thou hast hidden from us here?" And he answered them: "I have no child here." They said to him: "You have a child whom you have hidden from the king." And he answered and said: "O cruel ones whose king drinks blood like a lioness, how long will you shed the blood of innocent people?" They said to him: "Bring out your child so that we may kill him; if not, we shall kill you in his place." And the prophet answered and said: "As to my son, he has gone with his mother to the wilderness, and I do not know his whereabouts." Now when Zacharias has said goodbye to Elizabeth and his son John, he had blessed him and made him a priest, and afterwards delivered him to his mother, who said to him: "Pray over me O my holy father, so that God may render my path in the wilderness easy." And he said to her: "May He who made us beget our child in our old age, direct your path." Then she took the child and went into the wilderness in which no soul lived.

¹⁴ "O blessed Elizabeth, your story is truly wonderful and praiseworthy. You did not ask for an adult to accompany you, and you knew neither the way nor a hiding place. You did not care to provide food nor a little drinking water for the child. You did not say to his father Zacharias: 'To whom are you sending me in the wilderness?' At that time there was neither a monastery in

the desert nor a congregation of monks so that you may say: 'I shall go and stay with them with my son.' Tell me, O blessed Elizabeth: whom did you trust, inasmuch as the evangelist testifies to the fact that you were advanced in years without having had any child, and now you have been suckling this child of yours for three years?" Listen now to the answer of the blessed Elizabeth: ¹⁵ "Why are you astonished at me that I am going alone into the wilderness? What should I fear while a kinsman of God is in my arms? Behold Gabriel is accompanying me and paving the way for me." And she said: "I have confidence in the kiss that Mary, His mother, gave me, because when I greeted her the babe leaped with joy in my womb, and I heard both babes embracing each other in our wombs." And Elizabeth added: "I went and put on my son a raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle in order that the mountain of the holy wilderness may (in future) be inhabited, and in order that monasteries and congregations of monks may increase in it and that sacrifice may be offered in it in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. If God assisted Hagar and her son when they wandered in the desert, and they were only slaves, how will He not apply to us the precedent that He has himself established beforehand?"

¹⁶ In the above words we have described to you the merits of the holy Elizabeth. Let us now proceed and commemorate the holy Zacharias, the martyr, and relate to you a few of his numerous merits: "I should wish to praise your true life, but I fear to hear a reproof from you, similar to that you made to the blessed Elizabeth. I am full of admiration for you, O pious Zacharias! In the time when the soldiers of Herod came to you and asked you saying: Where is your infant son, the child of your old age?"—You did not deny the fact and say: "I have no knowledge of such a child," but you simply answered: "His mother took him into the desert." And when Zacharias uttered these words to the soldiers concerning his son, they killed him inside the Temple, and the priests shrouded his body and placed it near that of his father Berechiah in a hidden cemetery, from fear of the wicked (king); and his blood boiled on the earth for fifty years, until Titus son of Vespasian, the Emperor of the Romans, came and destroyed Jerusalem and killed the Jewish priests for the blood of Zacharias, as the Lord ordered him.

¹⁷ As to the blessed John he wandered in the desert with his mother, and God prepared for him locusts and wild honey as food, in accordance with what his mother was told about him not to let any unclean food enter his

mouth. After five years the pious and blessed old mother Elizabeth passed away, and the holy John sat weeping over her, as he did not know how to shroud her and bury her, because on the day of her death he was only seven years and six months old. And Herod also died the same day as the blessed Elizabeth. The Lord Jesus Christ who with His eyes sees heaven and earth saw His kinsman John sitting and weeping near his mother, and He also began to weep for a long time, without anyone knowing the cause of His weeping. When the mother of Jesus saw Him weeping, she said to Him: "Why are you weeping? Did the old man Joseph or any other one chide you?" And the mouth that was full of life answered: "No, O my mother, the real reason is that your kinswoman, the old Elizabeth, has left my beloved John an orphan. He is now weeping over her body which is lying in the mountain."

¹⁸ When the Virgin heard this she began to weep over her kinswoman, and Jesus said to her: "Do not weep, O my virgin mother, you will see her in this very hour." And while he was still speaking with his mother, behold a luminous cloud came down and placed itself between them. And Jesus said: "Call Salome and let us take her with us." And they mounted the cloud which flew with them to the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim and to the spot where lay the body of the blessed Elizabeth, and where the holy John was sitting.

¹⁹ The Saviour said then to the cloud: "Leave us here at this side of the spot." And it immediately went, reached that spot, and departed. Its noise, however, reached the ears of Mar John, who, seized with fear, left the body of his mother. A voice reached him immediately and said to him: "Do not be afraid, O John. I am Jesus Christ, your master. I am your kinsman Jesus, and I came to you with my beloved mother in order to attend to the business of the burial of the blessed Elizabeth, your happy mother, because she is my mother's kinswoman." When the blessed and holy John heard this, he turned back, and Christ the Lord and His virgin mother embraced him. Then the Saviour said to His virgin mother: "Arise, you and Salome, and wash the body." And they washed the body of the blessed Elizabeth in the spring from which she used to draw water for herself and her son. Then the holy virgin Mary got hold of the blessed (John) and wept over him, and cursed Herod on account of the numerous crimes which he had committed. Then Michael and Gabriel came down from heaven and dug a grave; and the Saviour said to them: "Go and bring the soul of Zacharias, and the soul of the priest Simeon, in order that they may sing while you bury the body." And

Michael brought immediately the souls of Zacharias and Simeon, who shrouded the body of Elizabeth and sang for a long time over it.

²⁰ And the mother of Jesus and Salome wept, and the two priests made the sign of the cross on the body and prayed over it three times before they laid it to rest in the grave; then they buried it, and sealed the grave with the sign of the cross, and went back to their own places in peace. And Jesus Christ and His mother stayed near the blessed and the holy John seven days, and condoled with him at the death of his mother, and taught him how to live in the desert. And the day of the death of the blessed Elizabeth was the 15th of February. Then Jesus Christ said to His mother; "Let us now go to the place where I may proceed with my work." The Virgin Mary wept immediately over the loneliness of John, who was very young and said: "We will take him with us, since he is an orphan without anyone." But Jesus said to her: "This is not the will of My Father who is in the heavens. He shall remain in the wilderness till the day of his showing unto Israel. Instead of a desert full of wild beasts, he will walk in a desert full of angels and prophets, as if they were multitudes of people. Here is also Gabriel, the head of the angels, whom I have appointed to protect him and to grant to him power from heaven. Further, I shall render the water of this spring of water as sweet and delicious to him as the milk he sucked from his mother. Who took care of him in his childhood? Is it not I, O my mother, who love him more than all the world? Zacharias also loved him, and I have ordered him to come to him and inquire after him, because although his body is buried in the earth, his soul is alive.

²¹ "As to Elizabeth his mother, she will constantly visit him and comfort him, as if she was not dead at all. Blessed is she, O my mother, because she bore my beloved. Her mouth will never suffer putrefaction, because she kissed your pure lips; and her tongue will not be dismembered in the earth, because she prophesied concerning you and said: Happy is she who believed that the promise that she received from the Lord would be fulfilled"; nor will her womb decay in the earth, because her body, like her soul, shall suffer no putrefaction. And my beloved John will last for ever, and he will see us and be comforted." These words the Christ our Lord spoke to his mother, while John was in the desert. And they mounted the cloud, and John looked at them and wept, and Mary wept also bitterly over him, saying: "Woe is me, O John, because you are alone in the desert without anyone. Where is

Zacharias, your father, and where is Elizabeth, your mother? Let them come and weep with me to-day."

22 And Jesus Christ said to her: "Do not weep over this child, O my mother. I shall not forget him." And while he was uttering these word, behold the clouds lifted them up and brought them to Nazareth. And He fulfilled there everything pertaining to humanity except sin. And John dwelt in the desert, and God and His angels were with him. He lived in great asceticism and devotion. His only food was grass and wild honey. He prayed constantly, fasted much and was in expectation of the salvation of Israel. And Herod the Younger who reigned over Judea, lived with his brother's wife, in the second year of his reign. He did not marry her openly, but he used to find an opportune moment to send after her and usher her in his bedchamber which was full of corruption, and there perpetrate their abomination. At that time Gabriel, head of the angels, taught John in the desert to say: "O King, you have no right to live with the wife of your brother, while he is still alive." And he repeated this, crying in the desert, as the angel had taught him. In the night people could hear his voice, and Herodias used to light a lamp and search the bedchamber, believing that somebody may have intruded into it, but found nobody, and only heard the voice.

23 The two began then to have misgivings on account of this happening, and Herodias said to Herod: "Arise and despatch troops to the desert of 'Ain Kārim, in order that they may kill John, because the voice we hear is his." God, however, was with the lad, and delivered him from their hands. When she ascertained that through him there would be no peace for her in her (iniquitous) act, she persuaded the wicked king who gave her the following promise: "If we happen to hear this voice again, we shall summon the magicians and inform them to take hold of John and kill him secretly." And the voice did not cease to worry them. And the wicked Herodias said: "How can this John, a wanderer in the desert and in the wilderness, a man whose body is not fit to wear the clothing of men, but a raiment of camel's hair, rebuke the king of his own country, whose authority extends to his own region?" Then Herodias said to the king: "What pleases you to do, do it openly, and do not believe that anyone in this region will blame you for it, except John, and when opportunity offers itself we shall get rid of him." It is in this way that the adulteress set the heart of Herod on their sin, and persuaded him to deliver his brother to death, and to marry her openly.

24 And John did not cease to rebuke Herod every day in the desert until he was thirty years old. As to Jesus, He increased in wisdom, stature, and grace with God and men, and did not show any deeds of His Divinity, but acted with humility towards all men. And when He was twelve years old, He began to rebuke the Teachers and deceivers of the people. And in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, who reigned after Augustus, when Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and when Annas and Caiaphas were high priests, in that year the word of God came unto John, son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. He came into the countries that surround the Jordan preaching and saying: "Repent ye for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." And people from all the region of Judæa and Jerusalem went out to him and were baptised by him in the Jordan confessing their sins.

25 In those days the Saviour came to him from Galilee to the Jordan and said to him: "Baptize me." When John saw God standing before him and wishing to be baptized by him, he was seized with great fright and said to him: "He who made the children of Israel walk in the Red Sea and drink sweet water from a solid rock, stands before His servant who is in need to be baptized with His Divine hands, and says 'Baptize me'! And he began to turn away from Him. But (Jesus) said to him: Stop now; it is thus that we must fulfil all righteousness." Then both of them went down into the water, and the holy John baptized Him, saying: "I baptize the One Whom the Father has sent to establish a great sacrament." And immediately after the heavens opened and the Holy Spirit descended upon Him, like a dove. And John saw it face to face, and the Father cried saying: "This is my beloved Son in whom I delight, obey Him." And our Saviour came out of the water and went forth-into the desert. As to John, he remained near the Jordan, baptizing all those who came to him.

26 In that time Herod rose against Philip his brother and intrigued against him with the Emperor Cæsar, saying: "The one whom you have appointed to be the ruler of Trachonitis, who is Philip, has misgoverned your region, and said: I shall not pay tribute to the king because I am also a king." Cæsar waxed greatly angry and ordered Herod to dispossess him of his region and to confiscate all his estate and his house, and not to have any pity, not even on his soul. Herod acted on the orders of the Emperor and plundered the region of his brother Philip with his house and all his possessions, and reigned over his region. And Philip had a wife called Herodias, who had a

daughter by the same Philip, called Arcostiana. The mother was even more adulteress than the daughter. When Philip became poorer than anybody else, Herodias hated him greatly, and said to him: "I shall not remain with you any more, but shall go to your new lord Herod who is better than you." Then she wrote immediately to Herod saying: "Herodias writes to Herod as follows: 'Now that you have all Syria under your sway and you reign over all the earth, you have not taken me as your wife. I am very beautiful and better than all the women of Judæa. I have also a daughter the like of whom I have never seen in all the world for beauty and stature. I wish to be your wife. I hated your brother very much in order to strengthen your kingdom.'"

²⁷ When these cunning words reached the wicked (king), he was pleased with them, and he immediately gave orders that she and her daughter be taken out of the house of Philip. When Philip saw that his wife was being taken from him by force, he wept bitterly and said to his daughter: "You stay with your father in case your mother is taken from me." But the adulteress said to him: "I shall not stay with you, but shall accompany my mother wherever she goes." They were, therefore, taken both of them and presented to Herod, who was greatly pleased with them, because he was an adulterer. They performed marvels of diabolical cunning, and the wicked king lived daily with both of them in adultery. Some people, however, brought their story to the knowledge of John the Baptist on behalf of Philip, Herodias' husband. Now John was considered by all as a prophet, and everybody praised him because he was teaching the people and saying: "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance, because every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire."

²⁸ When John heard the news from Philip he was much afflicted at the perdition of Herod and Herodias, and he immediately sent a message to Herod and said to him: "John the Baptist, son of Zacharias, tells you, O Herod, that you have no right to marry the wife of your brother, while he is still alive." When Herod heard these words he was much frightened and perplexed, and he went to Herodias and said to her: "O Herodias, what shall we do? It is the end of our sinful union as it has been brought to the knowledge of John the Baptist, and behold he has rebuked me. Woe to us, because our sins have increased greatly and reached the ears of the prophets." The wicked woman said then to him: "Long live you, O king! Who is John, the wearer of camel's hair, to contradict and rebuke a mighty monarch like you? He surely

deserves that somebody should pull out and cut off his tongue." And he said to her: "What can we do? We cannot bear the rebuke of that great (prophet)." And she answered and said to him: "Summon him here and I will kill him, and we shall continue our mutual relations in peace." And she performed before him obscene acts and immoral artifices, and Satan filled his heart against the holy and just man Mar John the Baptist, and he dispatched soldiers against him, who seized him and cast him in prison.

29 Then Herodias summoned him out of prison to her presence and said to him: "What is your business with me, O chaste man, that you wish to separate me from the king? I conjure you by the God of your father not to do this with me again. To tell you the truth, if you are silent concerning me and do not rebuke me another time, I shall deliver you from prison and bestow great favours upon you." And the holy Mar John the Baptist said to her: "I say to you, O Herodias, not to live with Herod while your husband Philip is alive." When the wicked woman heard this, she was incensed with anger against him and said to him: "You will surely die at my hands, and I shall put the hair of your head in the pillow on which I lay my head with Herod, and I shall bury your head in the place where I wash after having enjoyed myself with the king." John then said to her: "The Lord will allow you to kill me but my head you will not see. It will remain after me, and proclaim your iniquity and shame to all the world. Woe to you for my unjust murder, because your end is at hand."

30 She then said to his keepers: "Take him and keep him in prison with fetters, and if he escapes, you shall lose your souls." And the soldiers took him and kept him in prison with chains. And Herodias tried to induce Herod to kill him, but he said to her: "I cannot kill him in this way. People will rise against me, drive me out, and bring accusation against me to the Emperor, who will take my kingdom from me as he took that of my brother Philip." And he said to her: "Show me a better method of doing away with him." And she said to him: "I will tell you a word, and if you listen to it, you will have an opportunity of killing him." And he said to her: "Tell it to me." And she said to him: "Behold the envoys of the king are with you, arise and prepare a dinner for them, to which you will invite all your high officials; and your birthday falls also in these days. When people become hilarious and begin to get drunk with wine, I shall send in my daughter dressed in her best clothes, and she will dance before you, O king, with her sweet face. When she has done

this ask her, saying, 'Desire of me whatever you like,' and you will swear to her by the life of the Emperor that you will give her whatever she wishes. She will then ask for the head of John, and you will have an opportune moment to cut off his head."

³¹ Herod was circumvented by the reasoning of the adulteress, and began to fulfil her desires, as he loved her because of her beauty and diabolical artifices. In that very day he prepared the dinner, and the messengers of the Emperor were sitting next to him. When they began to get drunk the accursed Uxoriana entered the room, and on her were strings of gold and silver, perfumes and jewellery of high value, and presented herself to all the company. She danced with a diabolical passion, and Satan filled the hearts of the guests with evil and passion through her iniquitous artfulness. All were pleased with her, and Herod was proud and said to her: "Ask me for whatever you like, and by the life of the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, I will give it to you, even if it be the half of my kingdom and my possessions." And she said what she was taught by her mother: "I wish here to have the head of John the Baptist, on a dish." The king began to be very sad, on account of the oath he had taken by the life of the Emperor, and he owned to the guests that he was unable to break his oath.

³² He therefore dispatched an executioner, who went to the prison and there cut off John's head on a dish, on the second of the month of September, and he brought it to Herod, who handed it to the girl, and the girl handed it to her mother. Now, before the messengers of the king and the executioner had gone to him, to behead him, John had said to his disciples: "Behold the king has sent men to cut off my head. They have already left with unsheathed swords in their hands, and with lanterns, lamps, and weapons. What is happening in this hour will happen in the night in which Christ will be betrayed. As to me, my head will be cut off and be shown on a dish, but the Christ will be lifted up on the cross, in order that He may purify all with His pure blood; as to me I am going to my place, but woe to the king who ordered my head to be cut off; many calamities will befall him, and the people of Israel will be scattered because of him. As to you, do not be afraid, because no one will be able to do you any harm." He then opened his mouth and blessed and glorified God for his incomprehensible gifts, saying: "I bless Thee and praise Thee, O invisible Father, O visible Son, and O comforting Holy Spirit."

³³ Let us now proceed to describe the story of the head of the blessed Mar John the Baptist. When it was brought before Herodias, the eyes of the holy John were open and his ears were hearing as in his lifetime. The adulteress spoke then with ire before the head as follows: "O accursed one, who were not ashamed to look at the king in the face and answer him, I shall put out your eyes with my hands and place them on a dish, and I shall cut off the tongue which used to say to the king that it was unlawful for him to marry Herodias, his brother's wife. As to the hair of your head and of your beard I shall pluck it and place it under the feet of my bedstead." ³⁴ She said all this with malice and wickedness, and she stretched her hand to hold the head of Mar John the Baptist and do with it what she had said. But immediately after the head of the blessed John let the locks of its hair rise from the dish, and it flew to the middle of the convivial room before the king and his high officials. In that very moment the roof of the house was opened and the head of John flew in the air. As to Herodias her eyes were put out and fell on the floor and the roof of her room fell upon her, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed her up to her neck, and she went alive to the depth of hell. As to her daughter she became mad and broke all the utensils of the dinner party. In her madness she went to the icy pond and danced on it, and by order of the Lord the ice broke under her and she sank to her neck. In vain did the soldiers endeavour to pull her up, because the Lord did not wish her deliverance. Then they cut off her head with the very sword that was used to kill John the Baptist. Then a fish cast her out of the pond, dead. May God not have mercy upon her!

³⁵ In that moment Herod also had a sudden stroke before his guests. When his agent noticed these great miracles, he repaired quickly to the prison, took the body of the saint and gave it to his disciples, who took it to the town of Sebaste where they buried it, near the body of the prophet Elisha. As to his head, it flew over Jerusalem, and cried for three years to the town, saying: "It is not lawful for you, O Herod, to marry the wife of your brother while he is still alive." After it had cried for three years, it went to all the world shouting and proclaiming the horrible crime of Herod, and repeating the words: "It is not lawful for you, O Herod, to marry the wife of your brother while he is still alive." Fifteen years after it had been cut off it ceased proclaiming, and rested on the town of Homs. The faithful who were in that town took it and buried it with great pomp. A long time after, a church was

built on it, which is still standing in our time. And the head of the holy John the Baptist was buried there fifteen years after the resurrection of Christ, the Lord, and it remained there down to our own days.

³⁶ As to the body of the holy John the Baptist, the saint whose feast we are celebrating to-day, it remained in Sebaste—which is Nabulus of Samaria—for four hundred years. Then a pagan king, whose name was Julian, reigned over the world. He had been a Christian at the beginning of his reign, but after that Satan filled his heart and he forsook the faith of our Lord the Christ and worshipped fire. He ordered temples and places of worship to be built in every place where idols could be worshipped, and intimated that such a temple should be erected in the town of Sebaste where lay the body of the holy Baptist. People, however, were unable to comply with the order and to worship idols in that place, on account of the (holy) bodies that were buried there. ³⁷ They, therefore, assembled and informed the Emperor that as bodies of holy men were buried there, they had been delayed in their building of the temples. Then he said to them: "Go and burn (the bodies) with fire." The Lord, however, did not allow the fire to come near the place where lay the coffins of the prophets, but the same fire consumed a great number of the pagans who had kindled it, and great treasures were brought to light there. Above one of the coffins was seen a vessel containing a leathern girdle, a raiment of camel's hair, a frock, and two leathern belts. The faithful who were in that place understood immediately that the coffins belonged to John the Baptist and to the prophet Elisha, and they wished to remove them from there, but from fear of the wicked Emperor they were not able to do so. When, however, God destroyed him with a death more wretched than that of any other, pious men assembled there and carried the two coffins to the sea with the intention of bringing them to Alexandria, to the holy Father, the Patriarch Athanasius, because they said: "There is in these days no one in the world worthy to take care of these except Father Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria."

³⁸ When they reached the sea they found a boat bound for Alexandria, and they boarded it with the coffins. They journeyed on the sea and landed on the shores of Alexandria, but as they were unable to disclose their affair to any one because the time was not convenient for that, they went direct to the Patriarch and related to him all that had occurred, and how they were moved by the Holy Spirit to bring the coffins to him. He was greatly pleased

with them and went by night to the boat with his brother, and they took the remains in a kerchief and brought them with them, and (the Patriarch) placed them with him in a place in his dwelling, and he did not disclose their whereabouts to anyone. And this Father wished to build a church to John the Baptist, and he was not able to do so because of the troubles caused by the wicked ones.

³⁹ The bodies remained therefore hidden in the place in which Father Athanasius had secretly placed them, until the time of his death. After his death he was succeeded by Father Peter, whose throne was occupied after his death by Father Timothy, who ordained my humble self, your Father Serapion, to this see, without merits on my part. After his death, he was succeeded by Father Theophilus who is now sitting on the (Patriarchal) see. In his time the grace of God increased, and the faith was strengthened through the pious Theodosius and God united the Emperor and the Patriarch with ties of love. The former threw open the temples in which were treasures, and especially the great temple of Alexandria, in which there was great quantity of gold and silver. And the pious Theodosius honoured the Patriarch, made him superintendent of all the treasures, and said to him: "O Father Theophilus, take these and enrich the churches with them, from this town to Aswan, for the glory of God and His saints." After this he began to build churches. The first church to be built was one under the name of the holy Mar John the Baptist in the great city of Alexandria. He adorned it and made it a great church and wished to place in it the body of the holy Mar John the Baptist. When he had finished it completely, he thought of consecrating it, and he sent immediately to all the bishops under his jurisdiction to congregate for the consecration of the church.

⁴⁰ The invitation was also sent to my weakness, and I went with the rest of the bishops to the Pope, the Father Theophilus of Alexandria. When it came to his knowledge that all the bishops were nearing the city of Alexandria, he was pleased with us, like one who had found much booty. He came out to meet us accompanied by all the (clergy) who were in the city. We entered the city and stayed some days with him. After this he began to consecrate the church, and he took us and showed it to us, and we found in it wonderful buildings, and he said to us: "O my children, this is the place designated for the purpose by Athanasius, whom time did not favour." And Father Theophilus added: "I was walking with them while I was a simple aco-

lyte at that time and serving him. And when he came to this place, he said to me: O my son, Theophilus, if you can find opportunity, build in this place a church to Mar John the Baptist and place his bones in it, and after I had built this place, I remembered the saying of the man of God, the Father Athanasius, especially when I bethought me that my Father was like the prophet David, who wished to build a house to God, but was not favoured with it, on account of wars in which he was continually engaged, and God said to him: Thou shalt not build a house for me, but the one who comes out of thy loins shall build it for me," and this was Solomon. Since I have finished with the wars against the pagans, I considered myself worthy of building this church which is under the name of the holy Mar John the Baptist, the morning star."

⁴¹ When the second of the month of June came, he took us to the place where the body was placed, and we did not know the right spot, but after praying nocturns God showed it to him. And when he brought it out, he called all the inhabitants of the town and they assembled to him with many lanterns and lamps so that the night shone like day. He let the bishops carry the coffin on their heads and the Patriarch preceded them, and the deacons were singing with majesty and splendour, until we brought the coffin to the church in great pomp. When we entered the church, the Patriarch took hold of the coffin, embraced it, and allowed all the people to be blessed by the holy body, which he placed afterwards inside the church on a chair at a corner of the altar. He then prepared to consecrate the church in that day, and we said mass, and all of us received the sacrament from the Patriarch, and it was the second day of the month Baouna.

⁴² After this the Patriarch said goodbye to us, and we left the town, each one of us going to his own country, in the peace of God. Amen. And the body of the holy Mar John the Baptist wrought miracles, prodigies, and wonders of healings in the people of the Lord Jesus Christ. The miracles (which we will mention below) will bear witness to this. Praise, glory, and power are due to you, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit who is one in nature, now, always, and for ever and ever. In the name of God, one in nature, and three in persons and attributes, and by the help and assistance of God we will narrate the miracles of the precursor, Saint John the Baptist, which God wrought through him on the day of the consecration of his Church. May his intercession be with us! Amen.

The First Miracle.

⁴³ There was in the town a girl of a respectable family, the pangs of whose labour had lasted three days without having been delivered of her child, as it was her first babe. The midwives who were present said to her parents: "The babe has died in her womb, and she cannot live." All began to weep over her because she was much loved by them. When men who were carrying the body of Mar John the Baptist to the church reached the house of the girl singing, she asked her parents: "What are these voices?" They answered her: "A Christian was martyred for the name of Jesus Christ, and the Christians are carrying his body and observing a feast for him." Now the girl and her parents were pagans. And she said to them: "Carry me to this window so that I may see the body." And four attendants carried her and brought her to the spot she had desired. When she looked down she saw a great and indescribable pomp, and she cried aloud: "O my Lord Jesus Christ for whose holy name this man has been martyred, deliver me from this calamity of mine, through the intercession of this holy man, in order that all may know that you, Jesus Christ, are the only God." While she was saying these words, the babe who was in her womb came out while she was being carried, and he was found to be alive. People were amazed and cried, saying: "Jesus Christ, the God of this martyr, is the only God." And all of them believed and gave to the infant the name of John, and were baptised in the Church of Mar John the Baptist, and remained Christian till the day in which they passed away in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

⁴⁴ A rich official of the town had a daughter betrothed to a man. A great wedding was prepared for her because she was very rich. On the night in which her husband was to be with her, the holy Mar John, the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, appeared to her in great glory, and she was frightened, but he said to her: "Do you know who I am?" And she answered: "No, my lord." And he said: "I am John the Baptist, the precursor of Christ. When you rise to-morrow go to my church, and take the sign and abundance of your salvation from what you will see on my grave where my body lies." And he disappeared from her sight. And she rose in the night and went and sat near the door of the church till the morning. When the door of the church was opened she made haste and entered and went to the place in which the coffin was buried. She immediately saw on the grave of the holy Mar John the Baptist a garment of sackcloth, a belt of leather, and a veil. When she no-

ticed them she was amazed and said: "This garment is not for a worldly life," and she ascertained that God wanted her to be a virgin. She then threw immediately in the church the garment of gold that she was wearing, and put on that which she saw on the grave, and went out glorifying God and His saint, Mar John the Baptist, and she became a virgin till the day of her death through the intercession of John the Baptist. May this intercession be with us! Amen.

The Third Miracle.

⁴⁵ There was in the town a cripple who worshipped idols. Everyone knew him, children and grown ups. When he walked he used to drag his feet on the ground and wrap tightly on them a piece of leather in order that they might not move to and fro. He used to sit every day at the door of the church in order to receive alms from the church-goers. One day he made bold to enter the church, in order to put oil on his feet from the lamp of the martyr Mar John the Baptist. For this purpose he loosened the leather that was wrapped on his feet and oiled them from the oil of the lamp. Immediately after his limbs became strong. When he noticed the miracle he raised himself up and cried, saying: "The God of Mar John the Baptist is the one true God." He then received the baptism and became a Christian till he died in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

The Fourth Miracle.

⁴⁶ There was in the town a woman afflicted with dropsy, and her body was swollen all over. She was very rich, but no physician was able to heal her. She rose up and went to the church of the holy Mar John the Baptist and was oiled with the oil of the lamp which burns before the body of the saint, towards the sanctuary; and she slept there. While she was asleep her body was torn open and all the foul matter went out of it, and she awakened from her sleep sound and in good health. And she went home glorifying God—to whom be everlasting glory! Amen.

The Fifth Miracle.

⁴⁷ There were two blind men in the town who were friendly to each other and ate jointly from the same alms. They went to the church of the holy Mar John the Baptist and oiled their eyes with the oil of the lamp that burns over the body of the saint. The eyes of one of them saw but not those of the other. The latter had a heavy heart, stood up and confessed to God, saying: "O my

Lord Jesus have pity on the weakness of my faith, and give light to my eyes as Thou gavest to those of my friend, because to Thee belong power, glory, and honour for ever and ever. Amen." He recited this prayer to the Lord on the grave of the blessed saint Mar John the Baptist, and he immediately saw, and he and all the onlookers glorified God. Glory, power, and majesty be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit who is consubstantial, One God, now, always, and for ever and ever! Amen.

P A R T T H R E E

The Passing of the Virgin

*The accounts of the death and the assumption of Mary, and her
lament at the cross.*

The Passing of Mary: First Latin Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The first Latin form of the Passing of Mary: the Virgin asks her Son about her death, and the apostles are gathered to her.

¹The Passing of Mary. First Latin Form. Concerning the Passing of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In that time before the Lord came to His passion, and among many words which the mother asked of the Son, she began to ask Him about her own departure, addressing Him as follows:—O most dear Son, I pray Thy holiness, that when my soul goes out of my body, Thou let me know on the third day before; and do Thou, beloved Son, with Thy angels, receive it. Then He received the prayer of His beloved mother, and said to her: O palace and temple of the living God, O blessed mother, O queen of all saints, and blessed above all women, before thou carriedst me in thy womb, I always guarded thee, and caused thee to be fed daily with my angelic food, as thou knowest: how can I desert thee, after thou hast carried me, and nourished me, and brought me down in flight into Egypt, and endured many hardships for me? Know, then, that my angels have always guarded thee, and will guard thee even until thy departure. But after I undergo suffering for men, as it is written, and rise again on the third day, and after forty days ascend into heaven, when thou shalt see me coming to thee with angels and archangels, with saints and with virgins, and with my disciples, know for certain that thy soul will be separated from the body, and I shall carry it into heaven, where it shall never at all have tribulation or anguish. Then she joyed and gloried, and kissed the knees of her Son, and blessed the Creator of heaven and earth, who gave her such a gift through Jesus Christ her Son.

²In the second year, therefore, after the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most blessed Virgin Mary continued always in prayer day and night. And on the third day before she passed away, an angel of the Lord

came to her, and saluted her, saying: Hail, Mary, full of grace! the Lord be with thee. And she answered, saying: Thanks to God. Again he said to her: Receive this palm which the Lord promised to thee. And she, giving thanks to God, with great joy received from the hand of the angel the palm sent to her. The angel of the Lord said to her: Thy assumption will be after three days. And she answered: Thanks to God. Then she called Joseph of the city of Arimathæa, and the other disciples of the Lord; and when they, both relations and acquaintances, were assembled, she announced her departure to all standing there. Then the blessed Mary washed herself, and dressed herself like a queen, and waited the advent of her Son, as He had promised to her. And she asked all her relations to keep beside her, and give her comfort. And she had along with her three virgins, Sepphora, Abigea, and Zaël; but the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ had been already dispersed throughout the whole world to preach to the people of God.

3 Then at the third hour there were great thunders, and rains, and lightnings, and tribulation, and an earthquake, while queen Mary was standing in her chamber. John the evangelist and apostle was suddenly brought from Ephesus, and entered the chamber of the blessed Mary, and saluted her, and said to her: Hail, Mary, full of grace! the Lord be with thee. And she answered: Thanks to God. And raising herself up, she kissed Saint John. And the blessed Mary said to him: O my dearest son, why hast thou left me at such a time, and hast not paid heed to the commands of thy Master, to take care of me, as He commanded thee while He was hanging on the cross? And he asked pardon with bended knee. Then the blessed Mary gave him her benediction, and again kissed him. And when she meant to ask him whence he came, and for what reason he had come to Jerusalem, behold, all the disciples of the Lord, except Thomas who is called Didymus, were brought by a cloud to the door of the chamber of the blessed Mary. They stood and went in, and saluted the queen with the following words, and adored her: Hail, Mary, full of grace! the Lord be with thee. And she eagerly rose quickly, and bowed herself, and kissed them, and gave thanks to God. These are the names of the disciples of the Lord who were brought thither in the cloud:

4 John the evangelist and James his brother, Peter and Paul, Andrew, Philip, Luke, Barnabas, Bartholomew and Matthew, Matthias who is called Justus, Simon the Chananæan, Judas and his brother, Nicodemus and Maximianus, and many others who cannot be numbered. Then the blessed Mary

said to her brethren: What is this, that you have all come to Jerusalem? Peter, answering, said to her: We had need to ask this of thee, and dost thou question us? Certainly, as I think, none of us knows why we have come here to-day with such rapidity. I was at Antioch, and now I am here. All declared plainly the place where they had been that day. And they all wondered that they were there when they heard these things. The blessed Mary said to them: I asked my Son, before He endured the passion, that He and you should be at my death; and He granted me this gift. Whence you may know that my departure will be to-morrow. Watch and pray with me, that when the Lord comes to receive my soul, He may find you watching. Then all promised that they would watch. And they watched and prayed the whole night, with psalms and chants, with great illuminations.

5 And when the Lord's day came, at the third hour, just as the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles in a cloud, so Christ descended with a multitude of angels, and received the soul of His beloved mother. For there was such splendour and perfume of sweetness, and angels singing the songs of songs, where the Lord says, As a lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters, that all who were there present fell on their faces, as the apostles fell when Christ transfigured Himself before them on Mount Thabor, and for a whole hour and a half no one was able to rise. But when the light went away, and at the same time with the light itself, the soul of the blessed virgin Mary was taken up into heaven with psalms, and hymns, and songs of songs. And as the cloud went up the whole earth shook, and in one moment all the inhabitants of Jerusalem openly saw the departure of St. Mary.

6 And that same hour Satan entered into them, and they began to consider what they were to do with her body. And they took up weapons, that they might burn her body and kill the apostles, because from her had gone forth the dispersions of Israel, on account of their sins and the gathering together of the Gentiles. But they were struck with blindness, striking their heads against the walls, and striking each other. Then the apostles, alarmed by so much brightness, arose, and with psalms carried the holy body down from Mount Zion to the valley of Jehoshaphat. But as they were going in the middle of the road, behold, a certain Jew, Reuben by name, wishing to throw to the ground the holy bier with the body of the blessed Mary. But his hands dried up, even to the elbow; whether he would or not, he went down even to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, weeping and lamenting because his hands

were raised to the bier, and he was not able to draw back his hands to himself. And he began to ask the apostles that by their prayer he might be saved and made a Christian. Then the apostles, bending their knees, asked the Lord to let him loose. And he, being healed that same hour, giving thanks to God and kissing the feet of the queen of all the saints and apostles, was baptized in that same place, and began to preach the name of our God Jesus Christ.

7 Then the apostles with great honour laid the body in the tomb, weeping and singing through exceeding love and sweetness. And suddenly there shone round them a light from heaven, and they fell to the ground, and the holy body was taken up by angels into heaven. 8 Then the most blessed Thomas was suddenly brought to the Mount of Olivet, and saw the most blessed body going up to heaven, and began to cry out and say: O holy mother, blessed mother, spotless mother, if I have now found grace because I see thee, make thy servant joyful through thy compassion, because thou art going to heaven. Then the girdle with which the apostles had encircled the most holy body was thrown down from heaven to the blessed Thomas. And taking it, and kissing it, and giving thanks to God, he came again into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. He found all the apostles and another great crowd there beating their breasts on account of the brightness which they had seen. And seeing and kissing each other, the blessed Peter said to him: Truly thou hast always been obdurate and unbelieving, because for thine unbelief it was not pleasing to God that thou shouldst be along with us at the burial of the mother of the Saviour. And he, beating his breast, said: I know and firmly believe that I have always been a bad and an unbelieving man; therefore I ask pardon of all of you for my obduracy and unbelief. And they all prayed for him. Then the blessed Thomas said: Where have you laid her body? And they pointed out the sepulchre with their finger. And he said: The body which is called most holy is not there. Then the blessed Peter said to him:

9 Already on another occasion thou wouldst not believe the resurrection of our Master and Lord at our word, unless thou went to touch Him with thy fingers, and see Him; how wilt thou believe us that the holy body is here? Still he persists saying: It is not here. Then, as it were in a rage, they went to the sepulchre, which was a new one hollowed out in the rock, and took up the stone; but they did not find the body, not knowing what to say, because they had been convicted by the words of Thomas. Then the blessed Thomas

told them how he was singing mass in India—he still had on his sacerdotal robes. He, not knowing the word of God, had been brought to the Mount of Olivet, and saw the most holy body of the blessed Mary going up into heaven, and prayed her to give him a blessing. She heard his prayer, and threw him her girdle which she had about her. And the apostles seeing the belt which they had put about her, glorifying God, all asked pardon of the blessed Thomas, on account of the benediction which the blessed Mary had given him, and because he had seen the most holy body going up into heaven. And the blessed Thomas gave them his benediction, and said: Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

¹⁰ And the same cloud by which they had been brought carried them back each to his own place, just like Philip when he baptized the eunuch, as is read in the Acts of the Apostles; and as Habakkuk the prophet carried food to Daniel, who was in the lions' den, and quickly returned to Judæa. And so also the apostles quickly returned to where they had at first been, to preach to the people of God. Nor is it to be wondered at that He should do such things, who went into the virgin and came out of her though her womb was closed; who, though the gates were shut, went in to His disciples; who made the deaf to hear, raised the dead, cleansed the lepers, gave sight to the blind, and did many other wonderful things. To believe this is no doubtful matter. I am Joseph who laid the Lord's body in my sepulchre, and saw Him rising again; and who, before the ascension and after the ascension of the Lord, always kept his most sacred temple the blessed ever-virgin Mary, and who have kept in writing and in my breast the things which came forth from the mouth of God, and how the things mentioned above were done by the judgment of God. And I have made known to all, Jews and Gentiles, those things which I saw with my eyes, and heard with my ears; and as long as I live I shall not cease to declare them. And her, whose assumption is at this day venerated and worshipped throughout the whole world, let us assiduously entreat that she be mindful of us in the presence of her most pious Son in heaven, to whom is praise and glory through endless ages of ages. Amen.

The Passing of Mary: Second Latin Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The second Latin form of the Passing of Mary: the death of the Virgin, the gathering of the apostles and the burial of her body.

Second Latin Form. Here Beginneth the Passing of the Blessed Virgin Mary. 1. Therefore, when the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was hanging on the tree fastened by the nails of the cross for the life of the whole world, He saw about the cross His mother standing, and John the evangelist, whom He peculiarly loved above the rest of the apostles, because he alone of them was a virgin in the body. He gave him, therefore, the charge of holy Mary, saying to him: Behold thy mother! and saying, to her: Behold thy son! From that hour the holy mother of God remained specially in the care of John, as long as she had her habitation in this life. And when the apostles had divided the world by lot for preaching, she settled in the house of his parents near Mount Olivet. 2. In the second year, therefore, after Christ had vanquished death, and ascended up into heaven, on a certain day, Mary, burning with a longing for Christ, began to weep alone, within the shelter of her abode. And, behold, an angel, shining in a dress of great light, stood before her and gave utterance to the words of salutation saying: Hail! thou blessed by the Lord, receive the salutation of Him who commanded safety to Jacob by His prophets. Behold, said He, a palm branch—I have brought it to thee from the paradise of the Lord—which thou wilt cause to be carried before thy bier, when on the third day thou shalt be taken up from the body. For, lo, thy Son awaits thee with thrones and angels, and all the powers of heaven. Then Mary said to the angel: I beg that all the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ be assembled to me. To whom the angel said: Behold, to-day, by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ, all the apostles will come to thee. And Mary says to him: I ask that thou send upon me thy blessing, that no power of the lower

world may withstand me in that hour in which my soul shall go out of my body, and that I may not see the prince of darkness. And the angel said: No power indeed of the lower world will hurt thee; and thy Lord God, whose servant and messenger I am, hath given thee eternal blessing;

but do not think that the privilege of not seeing the prince of darkness is to be given thee by me, but by Him whom thou hast carried in thy womb; for to Him belongeth power over all for ever and ever. Thus saying, the angel departed with great splendour. And that palm shone with exceeding great light. Then Mary, undressing herself, put on better garments. And, taking the palm which she had received from the hands of the angel, she went out to the mount of Olivet, and began to pray, and say: I had not been worthy, O Lord, to bear Thee, unless Thou hadst had compassion on me; but nevertheless I have kept the treasure which Thou entrustedst to me. Therefore I ask of Thee, O King of glory, that the power of Gehenna hurt me not. For if the heavens and the angels daily tremble before Thee, how much more man who is made from the ground, who possesses no good thing, except as much as he has received from Thy benignant bounty! Thou art, O Lord, God always blessed for ever. And thus saying, she went back to her dwelling.

3. And, behold, suddenly, while St. John was preaching in Ephesus, on the Lord's day, at the third hour of the day, there was a great earthquake, and a cloud raised him and took him up from the eyes of all, and brought him before the door of the house where Mary was. And knocking at the door, he immediately went in. And when Mary saw him, she exulted in joy, and said: I beg of thee, my son John, be mindful of the words of my Lord Jesus Christ, in which He entrusted me to thee. For, behold, on the third day, when I am to depart from the body, I have heard the plans of the Jews, saying, Let us wait for the day when she who bore that seducer shall die, and let us burn her body with fire. She therefore called St. John, and led him into the secret chamber of the house, and showed him the robe of her burial, and that palm of light which she had received from the angel, instructing him that he should cause it to be carried before her couch when she was going to her tomb.

4. And St. John said to her: How shall I alone perform thy funeral rites, unless my brethren and fellow-apostles of my Lord Jesus Christ come to pay honour to thy body? And, behold, on a sudden, by the command of God, all the apostles were snatched up, raised on a cloud, from the places in which

they were preaching the word of God, and set down before the door of the house in which Mary dwelt. And, saluting each other, they wondered, saying: What is the cause for which the Lord hath assembled us here? 5. Then all the apostles, rejoicing with one mind, finished their prayer. And when they had said the Amen, behold, on a sudden, there came the blessed John, and told them all these things. The apostles then, having entered the house, found Mary, and saluted her, saying: Blessed art thou by the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth. And she said to them: Peace be with you, most beloved brethren! How have you come hither? And they recounted to her how they had come, each one raised on a cloud by the Spirit of God, and set down in the same place. And she said to them: God hath not deprived me of the sight of you. Behold, I shall go the way of all the earth, and I doubt not that the Lord hath now conducted you hither to bring me consolation for the anguish which is just coming upon me. Now therefore I implore you, that without intermission you all with one mind watch, even till that hour in which the Lord will come, and I shall depart from the body.

6. And when they had sat down in a circle consoling her, when they had spent three days in the praises of God, behold, on the third day, about the third hour of the day, a deep sleep seized upon all who were in that house, and no one was at all able to keep awake but the apostles alone, and only the three virgins who were there. And, behold, suddenly the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels; and a great brightness came down upon that place, and the angels were singing a hymn, and praising God together. Then the Saviour spoke, saying: Come, most precious pearl, within the receptacle of life eternal. 7. Then Mary prostrated herself on the pavement, adoring God, and said: Blessed be the name of Thy glory, O Lord my God, who hast deigned to choose me Thine handmaid, and to entrust to me Thy hidden mystery. Be mindful of me, therefore, O King of glory, for Thou knowest that I have loved Thee with all my heart, and kept the treasure committed to me. Therefore receive me, Thy servant, and free me from the power of darkness, that no onset of Satan may oppose me, and that I may not see filthy spirits standing in my way. And the Saviour answered her: When I, sent by my Father for the salvation of the world, was hanging on the cross, the prince of darkness came to me; but when he was able to find in me no trace of his work, he went off vanquished and trodden under foot. But when thou shalt see him, thou shalt see him indeed by the law of the human race,

in accordance with which thou hast come to the end of thy life; but he cannot hurt thee, because I am with thee to help thee. Go in security, because the heavenly host is waiting for thee to lead thee in to the joys of paradise. And when the Lord had thus spoken, Mary, rising from the pavement, reclined upon her couch, and giving thanks to God, gave up the ghost. And the apostles saw that her soul was of such whiteness, that no tongue of mortals can worthily utter it; for it surpassed all the whiteness of snow, and of every metal, and of gleaming silver, by the great brightness of its light.

8. Then the Saviour spoke, saying: Rise, Peter, and take the body of Mary, and send it to the right hand side of the city towards the east, and thou wilt find there a new tomb, in which you will lay her, and wait until I come to you. And thus saying, the Lord delivered the soul of St. Mary to Michael, who was the ruler of paradise, and the prince of the nation of the Jews; and Gabriel went with them. And immediately the Saviour was received up into heaven along with the angels. 9. And the three virgins, who were in the same place, and were watching, took up the body of the blessed Mary, that they might wash it after the manner of funeral rites. And when they had taken off her clothes, that sacred body shone with so much brightness, that it could be touched indeed for preparation for burial, but the form of it could not be seen for the excessive flashing light: except that the splendour of the Lord appeared great, and nothing was perceived, the body, when it was washed, was perfectly clean, and stained by no moisture of filth. And when they had put the dead-clothes on her, that light was gradually obscured. And the body of the blessed Mary was like lily flowers; and an odour of great sweetness came forth from it, so that no sweetness could be found like it.

10. Then, accordingly, the apostles laid the holy body on the bier, and said to each other: Who is to carry this palm before her bier? Then John said to Peter: Thou, who hast precedence of us in the apostleship, shouldst carry this palm before her couch. And Peter answered him: Thou wast the only virgin among us chosen by the Lord, and thou didst find so great favour that thou didst recline upon His breast. And He, when for our salvation He was hanging upon the stem of the cross, entrusted her to thee with His own mouth. Thou therefore oughtest to carry this palm, and let us take up that body to carry it even to the place of sepulture. After this, Peter, raising it, and saying, Take the body, began to sing and say: Israel hath gone forth out of Egypt. Alleluiah. And the other apostles along with him carried the body of

the blessed Mary, and John bore the palm of light before the bier. And the other apostles sang with a most sweet voice.

11. And, behold, a new miracle. There appeared above the bier a cloud exceeding great, like the great circle which is wont to appear beside the splendour of the moon; and there was in the clouds an army of angels sending forth a sweet song, and from the sound of the great sweetness the earth resounded. Then the people, having gone forth from the city, about fifteen thousand, wondered, saying: What is that sound of so great sweetness? Then there stood up one who said to them: Mary has departed from the body, and the disciples of Jesus are singing praises around her. And looking, they saw the couch crowned with great glory, and the apostles singing with a loud voice. And, behold, one of them, who was chief of the priests of the Jews in his rank, filled with fury and rage, said to the rest: Behold, the tabernacle of him who disturbed us and all our race, what glory has it received? And going up, he wished to overturn the bier, and throw the body down to the ground. And immediately his hands dried up from his elbows, and stuck to the couch. And when the apostles raised the bier, part of him hung, and part of him adhered to the couch; and he was vehemently tormented with pain, while the apostles were walking and singing. And the angels who were in the clouds smote the people with blindness.

12. Then that chief cried out, saying: I implore thee, Saint Peter, do not despise me, I beseech thee, in so great an extremity, because I am exceedingly tortured by great torments. Bear in mind that when, in the prætorium, the maid that kept the door recognised thee, and told the others to revile thee, then I spoke good words in thy behalf. Then Peter answering, said: It is not for me to give other to thee; but if thou believest with thy whole heart on the Lord Jesus Christ, whom she carried in her womb, and remained a virgin after the birth, the compassion of the Lord, which with profuse benignity saves the unworthy, will give thee salvation. To this he replied: Do we not believe? But what shall we do? The enemy of the human race has blinded our hearts, and confusion has covered our face, lest we should confess the great things of God, especially when we ourselves uttered maledictions against Christ, shouting: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then Peter said: Behold, this malediction will hurt him who has remained unfaithful to Him; but to those who turn themselves to God mercy is not denied. And he

said: I believe all that thou sayest to me; only I implore, have mercy upon me, lest I die.

13. Then Peter made the couch stand still, and said to him: If thou believest with all thy heart upon the Lord Jesus Christ, thy hands will be released from the bier. And when he had said this his hands were immediately released from the bier, and he began to stand on his feet; but his arms were dried up, and the torture did not go away from him. Then Peter said to him: Go up to the body, and kiss the couch, and say: I believe in God, and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom she bore, and I believe all whatsoever Peter the apostle of God has said to me. And going up, he kissed the couch, and immediately all pain went away from him, and his hands were healed. Then he began greatly to bless God, and from the books of Moses to render testimony to the praises of Christ, so that even the apostles themselves wondered, and wept for joy, praising the name of the Lord.

14. And Peter said to him: Take this palm from the hand of our brother John, and going into the city thou wilt find much people blinded, and declare to them the great things of God; and whosoever shall believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt put this palm upon their eyes, and they shall see; but those who will not believe shall remain blind. And when he had done so, he found much people blinded, lamenting thus: Woe unto us, because we have been made like the Sodomites struck with blindness. Nothing now is left to us but to perish. But when they heard the words of the chief who had been cured speaking, they believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; and when he put the palm over their eyes, they recovered sight. Five of them remaining in hardness of heart died. And the chief of the priests going forth, carried back the palm to the apostles, reporting all things whatsoever had been done.

15. And the apostles, carrying Mary, came to the place of the Valley of Jehoshaphat which the Lord had showed them; and they laid her in a new tomb, and closed the sepulchre. And they themselves sat down at the door of the tomb, as the Lord had commanded them; and, behold, suddenly the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels, with a halo of great brightness gleaming, and said to the apostles: Peace be with you! And they answered and said: Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, as we have hoped in Thee. Then the Saviour spoke to them, saying: Before I ascended to my Father I promised to you, saying that you who have followed me in the regenera-

tion, when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of His majesty, will sit, you also, upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Her, therefore, did I choose out of the tribes of Israel by the command of my Father, that I should dwell in her. What, therefore, do you wish that I should do to her? Then Peter and the other apostles said: Lord, Thou didst choose beforehand this Thine handmaid to become a spotless chamber for Thyself, and us Thy servants to minister unto Thee. Before the ages Thou didst foreknow all things along with the Father, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit there is one Godhead, equal and infinite power. If, therefore, it were possible to be done in the presence of the power of Thy grace, it had seemed to us Thy servants to be right that, just as Thou, having vanquished death, reignest in glory, so, raising up again the body of Thy mother, Thou shouldst take her with Thee in joy into heaven.

16. Then the Saviour said: Let it be according to your opinion. And He ordered the archangel Michael to bring the soul of St. Mary. And, behold, the archangel Michael rolled back the stone from the door of the tomb; and the Lord said: Arise, my beloved and my nearest relation; thou who hast not put on corruption by intercourse with man, suffer not destruction of the body in the sepulchre. And immediately Mary rose from the tomb, and blessed the Lord, and falling forward at the feet of the Lord, adored Him, saying: I cannot render sufficient thanks to Thee, O Lord, for Thy boundless benefits which Thou hast deigned to bestow upon me Thine handmaiden. May Thy name, O Redeemer of the world, God of Israel, be blessed for ever.

17. And kissing her, the Lord went back, and delivered her soul to the angels, that they should carry it into paradise. And He said to the apostles: Come up to me. And when they had come up He kissed them, and said: Peace be to you! as I have always been with you, so will I be even to the end of the world. And immediately, when the Lord had said this, He was lifted up on a cloud, and taken back into heaven, and the angels along with Him, carrying the blessed Mary into the paradise of God. And the apostles being taken up in the clouds, returned each into the place allotted for his preaching, telling the great things of God, and praising our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in perfect unity, and in one substance of Godhead, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Book of John Concerning the Falling Asleep of Mary

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A Greek account, ascribed to John the Theologian, of the last days of the Virgin Mary, her death and the burial of her body.

¹ The Book of John Concerning the Falling Asleep of Mary. The Account of St. John the Theologian of the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God. As the all-holy glorious mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, as was her wont, was going to the holy tomb of our Lord to burn incense, and bending her holy knees, she was importunate that Christ our God who had been born of her should return to her. And the Jews, seeing her lingering by the divine sepulchre, came to the chief priests, saying: Mary goes every day to the tomb. And the chief priests, having summoned the guards set by them not to allow any one to pray at the holy sepulchre, inquired about her, whether in truth it were so. And the guards answered and said that they had seen no such thing, God having not allowed them to see her when there. And on one of the days, it being the preparation, the holy Mary, as was her wont, came to the sepulchre; and while she was praying, it came to pass that the heavens were opened, and the archangel Gabriel came down to her and said: Hail, thou that didst bring forth Christ our God! Thy prayer having come through to the heavens to Him who was born of thee, has been accepted; and from this time, according to thy request, thou having left the world, shall go to the heavenly places to thy Son, into the true and everlasting life.

² And having heard this from the holy archangel, she returned to holy Bethlehem, having along with her three virgins who ministered unto her. And after having rested a short time, she sat up and said to the virgins: Bring me a censer, that I may pray. And they brought it, as they had been commanded. And she prayed, saying: My Lord Jesus Christ, who didst deign

through Thy supreme goodness to be born of me, hear my voice, and send me Thy apostle John, in order that, seeing him, I may partake of joy; and send me also the rest of Thy apostles, both those who have already gone to Thee, and those in the world that now is, in whatever country they may be, through Thy holy commandment, in order that, having beheld them, I may bless Thy name much to be praised; for I am confident that Thou hearest Thy servant in everything.

³ And while she was praying, I John came, the Holy Spirit having snatched me up by a cloud from Ephesus, and set me in the place where the mother of my Lord was lying. And having gone in beside her, and glorified Him who had been born of her, I said: Hail, mother of my Lord, who didst bring forth Christ our God, rejoice that in great glory thou art going out of this life. And the holy mother of God glorified God, because I John had come to her, remembering the voice of the Lord, saying: Behold thy mother, and, Behold thy son. And the three virgins came and worshipped. And the holy mother of God says to me: Pray, and cast incense. And I prayed thus: Lord Jesus Christ, who hast done wonderful things, now also do wonderful things before her who brought Thee forth; and let Thy mother depart from this life; and let those who crucified Thee, and who have not believed in Thee, be confounded. And after I had ended the prayer, holy Mary said to me: Bring me the censer. And having cast incense, she said, Glory to Thee, my God and my Lord, because there has been fulfilled in me whatsoever Thou didst promise to me before thou didst ascend into the heavens, that when I should depart from this world Thou wouldst come to me, and the multitude of Thine angels, with glory. And I John say to her:

⁴ Jesus Christ our Lord and our God is coming, and thou seest Him, as He promised to thee. And the holy mother of God answered and said to me: The Jews have sworn that after I have died they will burn my body. And I answered and said to her: Thy holy and precious body will by no means see corruption. And she answered and said to me: Bring a censer, and cast incense, and pray. And there came a voice out of the heavens saying the Amen. And I John heard this voice; and the Holy Spirit said to me: John, hast thou heard this voice that spoke in the heaven after the prayer was ended? And I answered and said: Yes, I heard. And the Holy Spirit said to me: This voice which thou didst hear denotes that the appearance of thy brethren the

apostles is at hand, and of the holy powers that they are coming hither to-day.

5 And at this I John prayed. And the Holy Spirit said to the apostles: Let all of you together, having come by the clouds from the ends of the world, be assembled to holy Bethlehem by a whirlwind, on account of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; Peter from Rome, Paul from Tiberia, Thomas from Hither India, James from Jerusalem. Andrew, Peter's brother, and Philip, Luke, and Simon the Cananæan, and Thaddæus who had fallen asleep, were raised by the Holy Spirit out of their tombs; to whom the Holy Spirit said: Do not think that it is now the resurrection; but on this account you have risen out of your tombs, that you may go to give greeting to the honour and wonder-working of the mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, because the day of her departure is at hand, of her going up into the heavens. And Mark likewise coming round, was present from Alexandria; he also with the rest, as has been said before, from each country. And Peter being lifted up by a cloud, stood between heaven and earth, the Holy Spirit keeping him steady. And at the same time, the rest of the apostles also, having been snatched up in clouds, were found along with Peter. And thus by the Holy Spirit, as has been said, they all came together.

6 And having gone in beside the mother of our Lord and God, and having adored, we said: Fear not, nor grieve; God the Lord, who was born of thee, will take thee out of this world with glory. And rejoicing in God her Saviour, she sat up in the bed, and says to the apostles: Now have I believed that our Master and God is coming from heaven, and I shall behold Him, and thus depart from this life, as I have seen that you have come. And I wish you to tell me how you knew that I was departing and came to me, and from what countries and through what distance you have come hither, that you have thus made haste to visit me. For neither has He who was born of me, our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of the universe, concealed it; for I am persuaded even now that He is the Son of the Most High.

7 And Peter answered and said to the apostles: Let us each, according to what the Holy Spirit announced and commanded us, give full information to the mother of our Lord. And I John answered and said: Just as I was going in to the holy altar in Ephesus to perform divine service, the Holy Spirit says to me, The time of the departure of the mother of thy Lord is at hand; go to Bethlehem to salute her. And a cloud of light snatched me up, and set me

down in the door where thou art lying. Peter also answered: And I, living in Rome, about dawn heard a voice through the Holy Spirit saying to me, The mother of thy Lord is to depart, as the time is at hand; go to Bethlehem to salute her. And, behold, a cloud of light snatched me up; and I beheld also the other apostles coming to me on clouds, and a voice saying to me, Go all to Bethlehem. And Paul also answered and said: And I, living in a city at no great distance from Rome, called the country of Tiberia, heard the Holy Spirit saying to me, The mother of thy Lord, having left this world, is making her course to the celestial regions through her departure; but go thou also to Bethlehem to salute her. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me down in the same place as you. And Thomas also answered and said:

⁸ And I, traversing the country of the Indians, when the preaching was prevailing by the grace of Christ, and the king's sister's son Labdanus by name, was about to be sealed by me in the palace, on a sudden the Holy Spirit says to me, Do thou also, Thomas, go to Bethlehem to salute the mother of thy Lord, because she is taking her departure to the heavens. And a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me down beside you. And Mark also answered and said: And when I was finishing the canon of the third day in the city of Alexandria, just as I was praying, the Holy Spirit snatched me up, and brought me to you. And James also answered and said: While I was in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit commanded me, saying, Go to Bethlehem, because the mother of thy Lord is taking her departure. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me beside you. And Matthew also answered and said: I have glorified and do glorify God, because when I was in a boat and overtaken by a storm, the sea raging with its waves, on a sudden a cloud of light overshadowing the stormy billow, changed it to a calm, and having snatched me up, set me down beside you. And those who had come before likewise answered, and gave an account of how they had come. And Bartholomew said:

⁹ I was in the Thebais proclaiming the word, and behold the Holy Spirit says to me, The mother of thy Lord is taking her departure; go, then, to salute her in Bethlehem. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, brought me to you. ¹⁰ The apostles said all these things to the holy mother of God, why they had come, and in what way; and she stretched her hands to heaven and prayed, saying: I adore, and praise, and glorify Thy much to be

praised name, O Lord, because Thou hast looked upon the lowliness of Thine handmaiden, and because Thou that art mighty hast done great things for me; and, behold, all generations shall count me blessed. And after the prayer she said to the apostles: Cast incense, and pray. And when they had prayed, there was thunder from heaven, and there came a fearful voice, as if of chariots; and, behold, a multitude of a host of angels and powers, and a voice, as if of the Son of man, was heard, and the seraphim in a circle round the house where the holy, spotless mother of God and virgin was lying, so that all who were in Bethlehem beheld all the wonderful things, and came to Jerusalem and reported all the wonderful things that had come to pass. And it came to pass, when the voice was heard, that the sun and the moon suddenly appeared about the house; and an assembly of the first-born saints stood beside the house where the mother of the Lord was lying, for her honour and glory. And I beheld also that many signs came to pass, the blind seeing, the deaf hearing, the lame walking, lepers cleansed, and those possessed by unclean spirits cured;

11 and every one who was under disease and sickness, touching the outside of the wall of the house where she was lying, cried out: Holy Mary, who didst bring forth Christ our God, have mercy upon us. And they were straightway cured. And great multitudes out of every country living in Jerusalem for the sake of prayer, having heard of the signs that had come to pass in Bethlehem through the mother of the Lord, came to the place seeking the cure of various diseases, which also they obtained. And there was joy unspeakable on that day among the multitude of those who had been cured, as well as of those who looked on, glorifying Christ our God and His mother. And all Jerusalem from Bethlehem kept festival with psalms and spiritual songs.

12 And the priests of the Jews, along with their people, were astonished at the things which had come to pass; and being moved with the heaviest hatred, and again with frivolous reasoning, having made an assembly, they determine to send against the holy mother of God and the holy apostles who were there in Bethlehem. And accordingly the multitude of the Jews, having directed their course to Bethlehem, when at the distance of one mile it came to pass that they beheld a frightful vision, and their feet were held fast; and after this they returned to their fellow-countrymen, and reported all the frightful vision to the chief priests. And they, still more boiling with rage, go to the procurator, crying out and saying: The nation of the Jews has been

ruined by this woman; chase her from Bethlehem and the province of Jerusalem. And the procurator, astonished at the wonderful things, said to them: I will chase her neither from Bethlehem nor from any other place. And the Jews continued crying out, and adjuring him by the health of Tiberius Cæsar to bring the apostles out of Bethlehem. And if you do not do so, we shall report it to the Cæsar. Accordingly, being compelled, he sends a tribune of the soldiers against the apostles to Bethlehem. And the Holy Spirit says to the apostles and the mother of the Lord: Behold, the procurator has sent a tribune against you, the Jews having made an uproar. Go forth therefore from Bethlehem, and fear not:

13 for, behold, by a cloud I shall bring you to Jerusalem; for the power of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit is with you. The apostles therefore rose up immediately, and went forth from the house, carrying the bed of the Lady the mother of God, and directed their course to Jerusalem; and immediately, as the Holy Spirit had said, being lifted up by a cloud, they were found in Jerusalem in the house of the Lady. And they stood up, and for five days made an unceasing singing of praise. And when the tribune came to Bethlehem, and found there neither the mother of the Lord nor the apostles, he laid hold of the Bethlehemites, saying to them: Did you not come telling the procurator and the priests all the signs and wonders that had come to pass, and how the apostles had come out of every country? Where are they, then? Come, go to the procurator at Jerusalem. For the tribune did not know of the departure of the apostles and the Lord's mother to Jerusalem. The tribune then, having taken the Bethlehemites, went in to the procurator, saying that he had found no one. And after five days it was known to the procurator, and the priests, and all the city, that the Lord's mother was in her own house in Jerusalem, along with the apostles, from the signs and wonders that came to pass there. And a multitude of men and women and virgins came together, and cried out:

14 Holy virgin, that didst bring forth Christ our God, do not forget the generation of men. And when these things came to pass, the people of the Jews, with the priests also, being the more moved with hatred, took wood and fire, and came up, wishing to burn the house where the Lord's mother was living with the apostles. And the procurator stood looking at the sight from afar off. And when the people of the Jews came to the door of the house, behold, suddenly a power of fire coming forth from within, by means

of an angel, burnt up a great multitude of the Jews. And there was great fear throughout all the city; and they glorified God, who had been born of her. And when the procurator saw what had come to pass, he cried out to all the people, saying: Truly he who was born of the virgin, whom you have thought of driving away, is the Son of God; for these signs are those of the true God. And there was a division among the Jews; and many believed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in consequence of the signs that had come to pass.

¹⁵ And after all these wonderful things had come to pass through the mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary the mother of the Lord, while we the apostles were with her in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit said to us: You know that on the Lord's day the good news was brought to the Virgin Mary by the archangel Gabriel; and on the Lord's day the Saviour was born in Bethlehem; and on the Lord's day the children of Jerusalem came forth with palm branches to meet him, saying, Hosanna in the highest, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; and on the Lord's day He rose from the dead; and on the Lord's day He will come to judge the living and the dead; and on the Lord's day He will come out of heaven, to the glory and honour of the departure of the holy glorious virgin who brought Him forth. And on the same Lord's day the mother of the Lord says to the apostles: Cast incense, because Christ is coming with a host of angels; and, behold, Christ is at hand, sitting on a throne of cherubim. And while we were all praying, there appeared innumerable multitudes of angels, and the Lord mounted upon cherubim in great power; and, behold, a stream of light coming to the holy virgin, because of the presence of her only-begotten Son, and all the powers of the heavens fell down and adored Him. And the Lord, speaking to His mother, said: Mary. And she answered and said:

¹⁶ Here am I, Lord. And the Lord said to her: Grieve not, but let thy heart rejoice and be glad; for thou hast found grace to behold the glory given to me by my Father. And the holy mother of God looked up, and saw in Him a glory which it is impossible for the mouth of man to speak of, or to apprehend. And the Lord remained beside her, saying: Behold, from the present time thy precious body will be transferred to paradise, and thy holy soul to the heavens to the treasures of my Father in exceeding brightness, where there is peace and joy of the holy angels,—and other things besides. And the mother of the Lord answered and said to him: Lay Thy right hand upon me, O Lord, and bless me. And the Lord stretched forth His undefiled right

hand, and blessed her. And she laid hold of His undefiled right hand, and kissed it, saying: I adore this right hand, which created the heaven and the earth; and I call upon Thy much to be praised name Christ, O God, the King of the ages, the only-begotten of the Father, to receive Thine handmaid, Thou who didst deign to be brought forth by me, in a low estate, to save the race of men through Thine ineffable dispensation; do Thou bestow Thine aid upon every man calling upon, or praying to, or naming the name of, Thine handmaid. And while she is saying this, the apostles, having gone up to her feet and adored, say:

17 O mother of the Lord, leave a blessing to the world, since thou art going away from it. For thou hast blessed it, and raised it up when it was ruined, by bringing forth the Light of the world. And the mother of the Lord prayed, and in her prayer spoke thus: O God, who through Thy great goodness hast sent from the heavens Thine only-begotten Son to dwell in my humble body, who hast deigned to be born of me, humble as I am, have mercy upon the world, and every soul that calls upon Thy name. And again she prayed, and said: O Lord, King of the heavens, Son of the living God, accept every man who calls upon Thy name, that Thy birth may be glorified. And again she prayed, and said: O Lord Jesus Christ, who art all-powerful in heaven and on earth, in this appeal I implore Thy holy name; in every time and place where there is made mention of my name, make that place holy, and glorify those that glorify Thee through my name, accepting of such persons all their offering, and all their supplication, and all their prayer. And when she had thus prayed, the Lord said to His mother: Let thy heart rejoice and be glad; for every favour and every gift has been given to thee from my Father in heaven, and from me, and from the Holy Spirit:

18 every soul that calls upon thy name shall not be ashamed, but shall find mercy, and comfort, and support, and confidence, both in the world that now is, and in that which is to come, in the presence of my Father in the heavens. And the Lord turned and said to Peter: The time has come to begin the singing of the hymn. And Peter having begun the singing of the hymn, all the powers of the heavens responded with the Alleluiah. And then the face of the mother of the Lord shone brighter than the light, and she rose up and blessed each of the apostles with her own hand, and all gave glory to God; and the Lord stretched forth His undefiled hands, and received her holy and blameless soul. And with the departure of her blameless soul the

place was filled with perfume and ineffable light; and, behold, a voice out of the heaven was heard, saying: Blessed art thou among women. And Peter, and I John, and Paul, and Thomas, ran and wrapped up her precious feet for the consecration; and the twelve apostles put her precious and holy body upon a couch, and carried it. And, behold, while they were carrying her, a certain well-born Hebrew, Jephonias by name, running against the body, put his hands upon the couch; and, behold, an angel of the Lord by invisible power, with a sword of fire, cut off his two hands from his shoulders, and made them hang about the couch, lifted up in the air.

19 And at this miracle which had come to pass all the people of the Jews who beheld it cried out: Verily, He that was brought forth by thee is the true God, O mother of God, ever-virgin Mary. And Jephonias himself, when Peter ordered him, that the wonderful things of God might be showed forth, stood up behind the couch, and cried out: Holy Mary, who broughtest forth Christ who is God, have mercy upon me. And Peter turned and said to him: In the name of Him who was born of her, thy hands which have been taken away from thee, will be fixed on again. And immediately, at the word of Peter, the hands hanging by the couch of the Lady came, and were fixed on Jephonias. And he believed, and glorified Christ, God who had been born of her. 20 And when this miracle had been done, the apostles carried the couch, and laid down her precious and holy body in Gethsemane in a new tomb. And, behold, a perfume of sweet savour came forth out of the holy sepulchre of our Lady the mother of God; and for three days the voices of invisible angels were heard glorifying Christ our God, who had been born of her. And when the third day was ended, the voices were no longer heard; and from that time forth all knew that her spotless and precious body had been transferred to paradise. And after it had been transferred, behold, we see Elisabeth the mother of St. John the Baptist, and Anna the mother of the Lady, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and David, singing the Alleluiah, and all the choirs of the saints adoring the holy relics of the mother of the Lord, and the place full of light, than which light nothing could be more brilliant, and an abundance of perfume in that place to which her precious and holy body had been transferred in paradise, and the melody of those praising Him who had been born of her—sweet melody, of which there is no satiety, such as is given to virgins, and them only, to hear. We apostles, therefore, having beheld the sudden precious translation of her holy body,

glorified God, who had shown us His wonders at the departure of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prayers and good offices may we all be deemed worthy to receive, under her shelter, and support, and protection, both in the world that now is and in that which is to come, glorifying in every time and place her only-begotten Son, along with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Assumption of the Virgin: Coptic and Syriac Texts

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

4th–6th century AD

The Coptic and Syriac accounts of the death and assumption of the Virgin Mary in James's English: the Discourse of Theodosius and the Coptic texts, and the Syriac narratives. The Latin accounts of the Passing of Mary are printed beside it in this volume.

COPTIC TEXTS

¹ As was the case with the Acts of Pilate, we must admit that we have as yet no critical edition of the very numerous forms of this legend. We have texts in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, not to mention derivatives in many vernacular mediaeval versions, all of which would have to be dealt with in a comprehensive survey. Clearly the present collection cannot attempt to do that. What it can do is to present a statement of the contents of the principal ancient versions. My own belief is that the legend was first elaborated, if it did not originate, in Egypt: and therefore the Sahidic and Bohairic texts will receive special attention. The standard Greek writing on the subject is one attributed to St. John, which is edited from five manuscripts (of eleventh–fourteenth centuries) by Tischendorf. This was exploited and inflated in sermon-form by John, archbishop of Thessalonica, in the seventh century. It will be translated here.

² The standard Latin form is that attributed to Melito, bishop of Sardis: often printed, last by Tischendorf (Transitus Mariae B). What Tischendorf calls the Latin A form is attributed to Joseph of Arimathaea. The text, which is very divergent in various copies, is printed by Tischendorf from three late manuscripts, all Italian. Of the Syriac, of which there are many forms, we have editions by Wright, Budge, and Mrs. Lewis. The Arabic, edited by En-

ger in 1854, is akin to the Syriac; it is not very important for our purpose, nor is the Ethiopic, edited by Chaine in *Apocrypha de B. V. M.*

The Assumption. Coptic Texts

3 Of these we have two complete texts in Bohairic and one in Sahidic, with fragments of others. The first Bohairic account is in a Homily attributed to Evodius (usually described as first bishop of Antioch, but here), archbishop of Rome, the successor and spiritual son of Peter; he insists that he was an eye-witness of all that he tells. (Ed. by Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*.) The first four sections of the homily are panegyric. The narrative begins with V. Evodius first tells of his calling by Jesus. He was with Peter and Andrew and Alexander and Rufus his kinsmen, and followed Jesus when Peter and Andrew did, and was of the seventy-two disciples. They lived with Mary after the Passion, as did Salome and Joanna and the rest of the virgins who were with her, and Peter sanctified an altar in the house. VI. On the twentieth of the month Tobi, they were all gathered at the altar, and Jesus appeared and greeted them. He bade Peter prepare the altar because 'I must needs take a great offering from your midst on the morrow, before that each one of you goes to the lot that hath fallen to him to preach therein'. He then ordained Peter archbishop, and others, including Evodius, presbyters, and also deacons, readers, psalmists, and doorkeepers; and departed to heaven. They remained, wondering what the offering was to be.

4 VII. On the twenty-first of Tobi Jesus returned, on the chariot of the cherubim, with thousands of angels, and David the sweet singer. 'We' besought him to tell what the great offering was to be, and he told them that it was his Mother whom he was to take to himself. (Here, as elsewhere, I do not pretend to give the long discourses which occur, but only the bare skeleton of the story.) VIII. We all wept, and Peter asked if it was not possible that Mary should never die, and then if she might not be left to them for a few days. But the Lord said that her time was accomplished. IX. The women, and also Mary, wept, but Jesus consoled her. She said: I have heard that Death has many terrible faces. How shall I bear to see them? He said: How dost thou fear his divine shape when the Life of all the world is with thee? And he kissed her, and blessed them all, and bade Peter look upon the altar for heavenly garments which the Father had sent to shroud Mary in.

5 X. Mary arose and was arrayed in the garments, and turned to the east and uttered a prayer in the language of heaven, and then lay down, still fa-

cing eastward. Jesus made us stand for the prayer, and the virgins also who used to minister in the temple and had come to wait on Mary after the Passion. We asked them why they left it. They said: When we saw the darkness at the crucifixion we fled into the holy of holies and shut the door. We saw a strong angel come down with a sword, and he rent the veil in twain: and we heard a great voice (from the house of the altar Sah.), saying, Woe to thee, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets. The angel of the altar flew up into the canopy of the altar with the angel of the sword: and we knew that God had left his people, and we fled to his Mother.

6 XI. The virgins stood about Mary singing, and Jesus sat by her. She besought him to save her from the many terrors of the next world—the accusers of Amenti, the dragon of the abyss, the river of fire that proves the righteous and the wicked. (All this Sah. omits.) XII. He comforted her and said to the apostles: Let us withdraw outside for a little while, for Death cannot approach while I am here. And they went out and he sat on a stone, and looked up to heaven and groaned and said: I have overcome thee, O Death, that dwellest in the storehouses of the south. Come, appear to my virgin mother: but not in a fearful shape. He appeared, and when she saw him, her soul leaped into the bosom of her son—white as snow, and he wrapped it in garments of fine linen and gave it to Michael.

7 All the women wept; Salome ran to Jesus and said: Behold, she whom thou lovest is dead. David the singer rejoiced and said: Right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. (The Sahidic does not describe the moment of death, but says it took place at the ninth hour of the 21st of Tobi: and omits David.) XIII. They re-entered the house and found her lying dead, and Jesus blessed her. XIV. Jesus shrouded the body in the heavenly garments, and they were fastened thereto. He bade the apostles take up the body, Peter bearing the head and John the feet, and carry it to a new tomb in the field of Jehoshaphat, and watch it for three and a half days. David rejoiced, saying: She shall be brought unto the King, &c. (Ps. xlv. 14), and: Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place (Ps. cxxxii. 8).

8 (Sah. omits details: the order is merely to carry the body to the tomb: David again omitted.) XV. Jesus ascended with Mary's soul in the chariot of the Cherubim. (Sah. merely: he hid himself from us.) We took up the body, and when we came to the field of Jehoshaphat, the Jews heard the singing and came out intending to burn the body. But a wall of fire encompassed us,

and they were blinded: and the body was laid in the tomb and watched for three and a half days. (Sah. omits all after the blindness.) XVI. The Jews were in terror and confessed their sin and asked pardon. Their eyes were opened and they sought and found not the body: and they were amazed and confessed themselves guilty. (Here Sah. has a very confusing insertion. When the eyes of the Jews have been opened: 'there came a great choir of angels and caught away the body of the Virgin, and Peter and John and we looked on while she was carried to heaven, until we lost sight of it. And the Jews saw it also, and confessed themselves guilty.

9 XVII. At mid-day on the fourth day all were gathered at the tomb. A great voice came, saying: Go every one to his place till the seventh month: for I have hardened the heart of the Jews, and they will not be able to find the tomb or the body till I take it up to heaven. Return on the 16th of Mesore. We returned to the house. In the seventh month after the death, i. e. on 15th of Mesore, we reassembled at the tomb and spent the night in watching and singing. (Sah. has only: We returned to the house.) XVIII. At dawn on the 16th of Mesore, Jesus appeared. Peter said: We are grieved that we have not seen thy Mother since her death. Jesus said: She shall now come. The chariot of the Cherubim appeared with the Virgin seated in it. There were greetings. Jesus bade the apostles go and preach in all the world. He spent all that day with us and with his Mother, and gave us the salutation of peace and went up to heaven in glory.

10 XIX. Such was the death of the Virgin on the 21st of Tobi, and her assumption on 16th Mesore. I, Evodius, saw it all. The sermon ends with a blessing. (Sah. has: XVIII. At dawn on the eighth day after her death Jesus appeared (as in Boh.), and the fragment ends at his promise that the apostles shall now see the Virgin.) The other Sahidic account is in the 'Twentieth Discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem', edited by Budge (Misc. Copt. texts). We have seen what he says of the early part of the life of the Virgin. At p. 642 (Eng. trans.) he takes up the subject of her death. A considerable portion of this had been already edited by Robinson as Sahidic Fragment IV of the Life of the Virgin, pp. 24-40. For ten (Rob. fifteen) years after the resurrection, according to Josephus and Irenaeus(!), John and Mary lived together at Jerusalem. One day the Virgin bade John summon Peter and James: and they sat down before her and she addressed them, reminding them of the life of Jesus (up to the Ascension and Pentecost). She went on to say that Jesus had come

to her and warned her that her time was accomplished. 'I will hide thy body in the earth, no man shall find it until the day when I raise it incorruptible. A great church shall be built over it.' Now therefore summon the virgins.

¹¹ It was done. Mary took the hand of one of them, Mary Magdalene, now very old, and committed the others to her charge. She bade Peter fetch from the house of his disciple Birrus the linen clothes she had committed to him: James was to buy for a stater (shekel, Rob.) spices and perfumes. John lighted the lamps. Mary spread the linen on the ground and poured the spices upon it and stood and prayed, facing east: she asked to be delivered from the terrors of the next world—the dragon and the river of fire. Then she lay down facing east. Jesus appeared on the Cherubim and bade her not fear death. And said to Death: Come, O thou who art in the chambers of the south. When Mary saw him her soul leaped into the bosom of her Son, and he wrapped it in a garment of light. She fell asleep on the night of the 20th day of Tobi (early on the 21st, Rob.).

¹² The Lord bade the apostles take the body to the valley of Jehoshaphat and set down the bier, because of the Jews, and he would hide it. In the morning they took it forth. The Jews heard the singing, and took counsel and set out with fire to burn it. The apostles saw them coming, and dropped the bier and fled. The Jews found nothing but the bier, and that they burnt. A sweet odour came from the place where the body was laid, and a voice said: Let no man give himself the trouble of seeking it till the great day of the appearing of Christ. The Jews were ashamed and fled, and told their neighbours, but bade them tell no one. This is Cyril's account, which entirely shuts out a corporal assumption, but has frequent coincidences of language and matter with the Bohairic account of Evodius, and the Sahidic fragments of the same.

The Discourse of Theodosius

¹³ Archbishop of Alexandria (probably the Jacobite Patriarch of 536–68). It is in Bohairic, edited by Robinson (p. 90), who calls it the Second Bohairic account: he omits fifteen pages of homiletic matter at the beginning. I. At the moment of the Ascension Jesus charged Peter, 'his bishop', and John to remain with Mary till her death. 11. She was living in Jerusalem with a number of virgins. 'We also, the apostles Peter and John', were with her. On the 20th of Tobi we came to her and found her amazed. She explained that that night, after she had finished the 'little office (synaxis)', she slumbered and

saw a beautiful youth about thirty years of age, 'and you also standing at his right hand, with garments in your hands'. She perceived that it was Jesus, and he told her that the garments were her shroud; and he vanished. Then Mary makes a long discourse on the horrors of death—the river of fire, the two powers of light and darkness, the avengers with diverse faces, the worm, the unquenchable fire which three tears will put out, the ruler of darkness.

14 On hearing this we wept. 111. There was a knocking at the door. It was the virgins who had come from the Mount of Olives, with censers and lamps. They had been warned by a voice in the night to come to Mary, who was to die next day. Mary bade us withdraw a little, and uttered a (long) thanksgiving to her Son, and a prayer to be delivered from the terrors of the next world. IV. There were thunderings and lightnings. Jesus came on a chariot of light with Moses, David, the prophets, and the righteous kings, and addressed Mary. (There is a refrain to the speech, 'O my beloved Mother, arise, let us go hence'.) Mary spoke comfort to the apostles. Jesus spoke of the necessity of death. If she were translated, 'wicked men will think concerning thee that thou art a power which came down from heaven, and that the dispensation (the Incarnation) took place in appearance'.

15 V. He turned to the apostles—to me Peter and to John—and said that Mary should appear to them again. 'There are 206 days from her death unto her holy assumption. I will bring her unto you arrayed in this body.' He bade them bring garments and perfumes from the altar, which were sent from heaven. They spread them on the bed. The Virgin arose and prayed him to receive her. VI. She lay down on the garments, turned her face to him, and straightway commended her spirit into his hands. He bade us prepare her for burial, and gave us three palms from paradise and three branches of the olive-tree which Noah's dove brought to Noah, and we laid them on her body. Peter was to bear the head, John the feet. The Jews would plot against her, but they should be blinded. The body was to be placed in the stone coffin and watched, and in 206 days he would bring the soul to it.

16 He went up to heaven and presented the soul to the Father and the Holy Ghost. And the voice of the Holy Trinity was heard welcoming the soul. VII. We carried the body out to the field of Jehoshaphat. The Jews saw it and took counsel to come and burn it. The apostles set down the bier and fled. Darkness came on the Jews, and they were blinded and smitten by their own fire. They cried out for mercy and were healed, and many were conver-

ted. We returned to Jerusalem, and often came back to the tomb. VIII. When the 206 days were over, on the evening of the 15th, that is the morning of the 16th of Mesore, we gathered at the tomb and watched all night. At the tenth hour there were thunderings, and a choir of angels was heard, and David's harp. Jesus came on the chariots of the Cherubim with the soul of the Virgin seated in his bosom, and greeted us.

¹⁷ He called over the coffin and bade the body arise (a long address). IX. The coffin, which had been shut like Noah's ark, opened. The body arose and 'embraced its own soul, even as two brothers who are come from a strange country, and they were united one with another'. David said, 'Mercy and truth are met together' (&c.). Jesus went up to heaven, blessing us, and we heard the voice of the powers singing: Bring to the Lord the honour due unto his name. The virgins that be her fellows (her holy deeds) shall be her company (&c.). Here we have the corporal assumption after 206 days. Yet another Sahidic fragment is to be found in Revillout (*Patrol. Orient. Apocryphes Coptes*, I, fr. 16, p. 174). He attributes it quite without reason to the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles. It is told by an eyewitness, but he cannot be identified.

¹⁸ We here encounter the high priest whose hand is smitten off when he touches the bier: he appears in the other versions. The high priest begs to be healed. Peter says, if he believes in Jesus Christ he can be healed. The high priest acknowledges that he and his people crucified Jesus (knowing him to be the Son of God) because he drove the traders out of the temple. Peter bids him, if he believes, to embrace the body of the Virgin and profess his belief. He does so and takes his own cut-off hand and puts it to the stump, and it adheres. Peter bids him take 'this palm branch' and go to the city and lay it on the eyes of those who are blind. He found many of them lamenting, and all who believed were healed. Meanwhile the apostles laid the body in the tomb and remained there, to wait till the Lord should come and raise it up as he had said.

¹⁹ They bade the virgins go home in peace: but they wanted to stay there too. Peter and John reassured them. They asked to be blessed, and Peter blessed them. At the third hour of the day the converted high priest came and told Peter that the Jews were still plotting to burn the body and the tomb. Peter warned the disciples: but God sent forgetfulness upon the Jews. And the apostles took courage. And a voice from heaven came also, prom-

ising safety. It came to pass after that we reached the 16th of Mesore, and were gathered with the apostles at the tomb. We saw lightnings and were afraid. There was a sweet odour and a sound of trumpets. The door of the tomb opened: there was a great light within. A chariot descended in fire: Jesus was in it; he greeted us. He called into the tomb: Mary, my mother, arise! And we saw her in the body, as if she had never died. Jesus took her into the chariot. The angels went before them. A voice called, 'Peace be to you, my brethren'.

²⁰ The miracle was even greater than that of the resurrection of Jesus, which no one saw except Mary and Mary Magdalene.

THE SYRIAC NARRATIVES

¹ The Syriac narratives of the Assumption of the Virgin form a very large mass of writing. The principal texts are: 1. That edited by W. Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for 1865, and again by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica*, XI. *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 1902. In the latter the translation fills pp. 12–69 in quarto. 2. 2, 2 a. Edited by Wright in *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the N. T.*, 1865, pp. 18–24 (2), and 24–41 (2 a). These are pieces of two distinct works, which he has put together under one heading. Both are fragmentary: the first is the simplest of the Syriac versions. The second (2 a) is akin to 1. 3. That in Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's *History of the B. V. M.*, *Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series*, vol. v, 1899, pp. 97–153. 4. The fragments in Wright's *Contributions* called *Obsequies of the Holy Virgin* (pp. 42–51 and Preface, 10–15).

² Of these nos. 1, 2, 2 a, 3 have much in common; 4 is very peculiar. Some account of each shall be given. No. 1 (Wright and Lewis) is a congeries of documents divided into six books (really five, but six are promised): Book I, after a panegyric introduction, tells how the narrative was found. It was attested in autograph by James, bishop of Jerusalem. Two apostles wrote each of the six books, and they were entrusted to John. His copy was found at Ephesus, attested by the Twelve and the Seventy-two, and written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Book II. In the year 344 (of the era of the Greeks), on the third day of the latter Teshrin (September), being the third day of the week at the third hour, Mary went to the tomb. The Jews immediately after the Passion had closed it with great stones, and forbidden resort to it on pain of death. They also hid the cross, spear, sponge, robe, crown of thorns, and nails.

3 The priests told the guardians of the tomb to stone Mary if she came there again. They said, 'Do it yourselves'. On the Friday Mary burnt incense there: Gabriel came down and told her of her approaching death. (There is no mention of a palm.) The guards informed the priests that Mary had come again. The priests asked the governor to forbid her. At this time Abgar of Edessa (converted by Addai) wished to destroy Jerusalem because of Christ's death, and came as far as Euphrates, but hesitated to cross it. He wrote to the procurator Sabinus, who sent the letter to Tiberius, who was greatly moved against the Jews. The Jews were alarmed. They said to the governor: Forbid Mary to go to the tomb. He said: Forbid her yourselves. A long abusive speech of the Jews to Mary follows. She left Jerusalem and went to Bethlehem with her three virgins, Callêtha, daughter of Nicodemus, Neshra, daughter of Gamaliel, Tabitha, daughter of Arehelaus. (There is a description of the service which these did to Mary: Gabriel tells her to go to Bethlehem.)

4 On Friday Mary burnt incense and prayed that John might be sent to her. John was brought from Ephesus. His arrival and conversation with Mary. The other apostles were brought. Here we are following the Greek text pretty closely. John received the apostles. They each told Mary how they had come. The correspondence with the Greek is curiously exact. Mark was performing the service of the third hour. Matthew says: 'I have given and am giving glory to God,' and so on. The Greek, however, does not give the speeches of those who had been raised from the grave to come, but the Syriac does, for Philip, Simon, Luke, and Andrew. And after Andrew, Bartholomew (not already dead) follows, as in the Greek. There was a great concourse of angels, and the Bethlehemites in fear went and told the governor and the priests. Book III. All the great signs attracted people from many quarters. Before this many used to come to the Virgin to be healed. (Five instances are given of cures.)

5 There was now a festival at Jerusalem, and many sick went out to Bethlehem to be healed. 2,800 were cured. = Gk. 28, but more diffuse. On the 21st of Teshrin II in the night, men rose up to attack the house. Angels of fire descended from heaven. = Gk. 29, but there the attackers are confounded and turned back. Syr. has nothing of this. The priests insisted on Mary's banishment by the governor. He sent a chiliarch to Bethlehem with thirty men. The Spirit told the apostles to take Mary to Jerusalem. They did so and held a five days' service. Meanwhile the chiliarch found nothing at Bethlehem, and

the priests said this was due to magic. This last is not in Gk. 31-3, which is, otherwise, represented well. After the five days, Mary's presence in Jerusalem was realized. The Jews wished the governor to burn the house: he told them to do so themselves, and watched from a distance. The attackers were scorched and burnt. The governor declared his belief in Christ. = Gk. 34-5. Here the Syriac has a very long digression not represented in the Greek, and belonging properly, it seems, to the story of the Cross (pp. 39-50).

6 Caleb the Sadducee, who was a secret believer, whispered to the governor that he should adjure the Jews by the God of Israel to tell him their real opinion about Jesus. So all Jerusalem was assembled: and there follows a long altercation between the believers and unbelievers before the governor. Eventually some of the latter are forced by scourging to tell how they had hidden the cross, &c. The governor (rather inconsequently) has the place obstructed with great stones. He then goes to see Mary. He greets the apostles (and they tell him how they came there. This is only in 2). Mary at his request tells him the story of the Annunciation. The governor left Jerusalem and went to Rome and told the emperor, and the account of all this was written down by disciples at Rome, who also wrote to the apostles telling them of various miracles (seven are told) which Mary had wrought.

7 The text then leaps to § 45 of the Greek, omitting (in this place) all notice of the death of the Virgin. The Spirit told the apostles to bear her to a place where were three caves, and to lay her on a bench there and await his bidding. Jephonias, 'strong and tall, and handsome of figure', attacked them — was smitten and healed (but Mary is not dead yet, for she speaks to him). Peter gave a dry rod to Jephonias and sent him to the Jews. The rod blossomed. He healed a man born blind, and many others. = Gk. 45-7, and Lat. xii-xv. The Greek has not the healing of the Jews, and the Syriac has distorted it. The apostles laid Mary in the eastern cave and held a service of three days and nights. Some Jews came to the cave: three ventured in, and were burnt and swallowed up. Many believed, but the priests threatened and bribed them.

8 This, which concludes Book III, is badly confused in the Syriac, which has made the great mistake of saying that the apostles bore the Virgin to the cave before she was dead. Book IV. While the apostles were ministering about Mary in the cave the Spirit spoke to them, and told the story of the Annunciation. He spoke also of the date of her death, and then told how Sunday is

the day of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Entry, Resurrection, Ascension, and Judgement. = Gk. 36. Eve, Anna, Elisabeth, Adam, and other patriarchs now came and greeted Mary, and then the procession of heavenly chariots, and then Christ. His words to her, and her answer. Her kissing of his hand, and prayers and blessing and death, are as in Gk. 38–44, but the blessing is far longer. Then the body was prepared for burial. Twelve chariots took up the apostles and bore them all to Paradise (cf. the alternative text of Gk. 48): and they returned thence and ordained a commemoration of her three times a year. Cf. Gk. 49.

⁹ After this is a very long disquisition on the rules which the apostles made about the commemoration: it need not even be summarized here (pp. 59–62). When they had come back to the cave they agreed to write a book in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and commit it to John: and, with more unimportant matter following on this, the book ends. Book V, pp. 64–9. This is a diffuse account of the Virgin's visit to Paradise. One paragraph tells of her seeing Gehenna. John and Peter were with her, and she revealed everything to John and told him to write it: it would be made public at the end of the world. Christ then says he will tell her what is to happen at his second coming: but nothing is told. Mary answers with thanksgiving and prayer—and Book V ends. Book VI does not appear. 2. (Wright: Contributions, p. 18.)

¹⁰ A prefatory section declares the apostles to be the witnesses and authors of what follows. The story then begins, and gives a shorter form of what we have had, in this order: Mary goes to the tomb. The Jews threaten to stone her. She asks Jesus to take her out of the world. The angel comes to tell her her prayer is heard. The guards of the tomb report this. The Jews ask Sabinus the governor to banish her. He refers them to her. They come and abuse her. She goes to Bethlehem with the three virgins (named as in 1). She prays that John may be sent. He comes. The other apostles arrive. They begin to tell how they came. The first fragment ends in John's narrative. It was left unfinished by the scribe. 2 a. p. 24. This begins in the midst of the dispute between believers and unbelievers before the governor, and the story follows the course of 1 down to the point where the apostles lay Mary in the cave. Here the first fragment of 2 a ends.

¹¹ p. 39. The second fragment of 2 a does not seem to have an exact textual equivalent in 1. Chariots of light and saints arrive, and Mary is borne to paradise. The apostles return to the Mount of Olives, and pray to be allowed

to ordain a commemoration of Mary. And so with rather a long doxology the book ends. It is, so far as we have it, far more compact and coherent than 1 or 3. 3. (Budge.) This is mainly identical in content with 1, but has points of its own. Mary goes to the tomb. The Jews plot to kill her, close the cave, set guards on it. Gabriel comes. The guards report it. Mary goes to Bethlehem with the three virgins (as above). The Jews hid the cross, &c., and asserted that 'here are buried the Book of Moses and the box of manna and the rod of Aaron and the mantle of Elijah', so that if miracles did happen there, they could be attributed to those relics.

¹² Abgar's letter. Sabinus is angry with the Jews. Mary prayed that the apostles might be sent. John came. Then the others. The statement that they came and the circumstances of their doing so are put into one narrative, not repeated as in 1. After the apostles had greeted Mary, Anne, Elisabeth, Adam, &c., came, and all the various orders of saints and angels: and Christ. This dialogue and her prayers are rather shortened, but essentially as in 1. Mary died and her soul was taken up. Then we have a bad dislocation. The believers in the city went to the governor and told him the truth about Jesus and the Jews. He was angry with the chiefs, and smote them and told them not to harm the Christians. This is a condensation into a few lines of the dispute before the governor. Yet this dispute occurs later on. Here, however, we have the sequel.

¹³ The governor visited Mary with his sick son (who was healed). The apostles told him of their miraculous coming. The governor went to Rome and told the emperor, and the believers there wrote down the wonderful record. This is a shorter form of 1. A paragraph on the age of Mary (52) follows. The apostles said, 'Let us make a distinction between the burial of believers and non-believers, and make a beginning with Mary'. They prepared her body for burial, and set out in procession. The Jews saw it and bribed the governor not to interfere with them. They also bribed a gigantic soldier of his, Yophana, to go with them and attack the bier. Then we have the affliction and cure of Yophana, who goes back to the governor, and he laughs at the Jews. The apostles laid the body in the cave. Peter asked the multitude to set guards over it. He also spoke to the believers of the glory of Mary.

¹⁴ The Jews plotted and put a number of dead bodies in the cave, but in vain: and then tried to burn the body but were burnt themselves. Then the apostles brought out the body and laid it on a bier. Then came all the chari-

ots of light, and the body was put in a chariot of light, and it and all the apostles went up to Paradise. And the cloud took them back to Jerusalem. And they wrote down all the triumphs of the Virgin and sent the books everywhere, and ordained three yearly commemorations; and were taken back to the places whence they had come. Then a homiletical paragraph. It introduces the revelation of John about the Virgin in Paradise. = No. 1, Book V. The Jews thought the body was still in the cave, and they went in and found it not. Many believed. The unbelievers (again?) put dead bodies in the cave.

¹⁵ The believers told the governor, and he sent Yophana, who confiscated all the goods of the offenders. 'Here I will write of the miracles which the Bethlehemites saw wrought in the upper chamber where Mary lay.' Visions of angels, multitudes of sick healed: six miracles narrated, as in 1. The healing of 2,800 people. Plot to attack the house. Descent of angels of fire. All this is in 1. The priests insisted on the banishment of Mary. The chiliarch sent. The apostles bore Mary to Bethlehem (read Jerusalem). The five days' service. The house in Jerusalem attacked, the besiegers burnt, the governor's declaration of belief. The dispute between believers and unbelievers before the governor. The hiding-place of the cross obstructed. Then afterwards the disciples of the apostles wrote (to various places), and wrote an account of the departure of Mary, and took it with them to Byzantium. And then a series of miracles is narrated, which are nearly all identical with those in 1.

¹⁶ 4. Wright. (Obsequies of the Holy Virgin, Contributions, p. 42.) The fragments printed and summarized by Wright in the Preface contain these incidents: The appearance of the Lord to his mother: her last words and death. Her soul is delivered to Michael. Peter begins to speak to Christ. The funeral procession. Jews are blinded, and he who tries to upset the bier has his arms fixed to it. They are restored. Peter gives him a staff with which he heals 5,000 blinded people. p. 42. First long fragment. Paul is speaking, and telling a long story about Solomon, who had been told by a demon that a certain young man would die. A form of this story occurs in the Testament of Solomon. The apostles ask Paul to go on speaking, 'for our Lord hath sent thee to gladden us during these three days'. Paul asks them what they will preach when they go forth: and is answered by Peter, John, and Andrew. He criticizes them as too severe, and recommends a gentler policy. They are angry.

17 And as they were all sitting disputing before the entrance to Mary's tomb, Jesus appeared and justified Paul's view, as against the others. He summoned Michael and bade him bring forth the body of Mary into the clouds. They were all carried to Paradise. The apostles then asked the Lord to show them the place of torment, reminding him of his promise that on the day of the departure of Mary they should see it. They were all taken on a cloud to the west. The Lord spoke to the angels of the pit, and the earth sprang upwards and they saw the pit. The lost saw Michael and begged for respite. Mary and the apostles fell down and interceded for them. Michael spoke to them, telling them that at all the twelve hours of the day and of the night the angels intercede for creation. The angel of the waters intercedes for the waters. Here the fragment ends.

18 p. 48. The next fragment is a story told by Michael to Mary, of the concealing of the bones of Joseph in the Nile by Pharaoh and their discovery by Moses. It seems as if this must have been told in answer to some inquiry of Mary's about her own body, and therefore it should be placed earlier in order. p. 50. The last fragment is a curious story about Jesus testing the apostles, evidently during his life on earth. It is so puzzling and uncommon as to be worth quoting in full: 'them according to their wish. And he sent by the hand of the apostles to them (to ask) were these things not so? And he said: These are the shepherds of the house of Israel, who are praying for the sheep, that they may be sanctified and made glorious before the sons of men: and themselves they are not able to sanctify, because they exalt themselves like the strong. Did I not give them many signs?

19 And the apostles said: Lord, lo they beseech and pray, and repent, and kneel upon their knees. Why dost thou not hear them? Our Lord says unto them: I too was willing to hear them, but there is deception in them (as) ye too know. And when Jesus wished to show the apostles for what reason he did not hear them, he took them up into a mountain and let them become hungry. And when the apostles had gone, they asked of him, and say unto him: Lord we are hungry; what have we then to eat in this desert? And Jesus told them to go to the trees which were before them. And he said to them: Go to those trees which are over against us, whose branches are many and fair and beautiful at a distance, and from them ye shall get food. And when the apostles went, they did not find fruit on the trees.

20 And they returned to Jesus, and said: Good Teacher, thou didst send us to those trees which are over against us, and we went and found on them no fruit, but only branches which were fair and beautiful, but there was no fruit on them. And Jesus said to them: Ye have not seen them, because the trees grow straight upwards. Go therefore at once, because the trees are bending themselves, and ye shall find on them fruit, and get yourselves food. And when they went, they found the trees bending down, but they did not find fruit upon them. And they returned again to Jesus in great distress, and say to him: What is this, Teacher, that we are mocked? For at first thou didst say to us, 'Ye shall find trees which are straight, and there is fruit on them,' and we found none. Why are we mocked? But it is fitting that thou shouldst teach us what this is that has happened; for we think that what thou didst wish to teach us is false; for by a visible power the trees were laid hold of and bent down. If this be a temptation, make known to us what it is.

21 And Jesus said to them: Go and sit under them, and ye shall see what it is that abides on them, but ye shall not be able to bend them again. And when the apostles went and sat under the trees, straightway the trees threw down stinking worms. And the apostles came again to Jesus and say to him: Teacher, dost thou wish to lead us astray or to turn us away from thee.'... The trees of course represent the leaders or priests of the Jews whose prayers are ineffectual because of their moral defects. The story has no parallel that I know of, and to my mind has a rather ancient complexion. This whole book of the Obsequies stands quite apart from the rest of the narratives: it had, we see, the framework, with the Jew attacking the bier and so forth; but this framework was evidently used for the insertion of a number of quite extraneous discourses and stories, and what we have of these is so unusual that we must greatly regret the loss of the rest. The undoubted fact that this form of the story somehow penetrated to Ireland gives additional interest to the book.

22 Wright assigned the manuscript to the latter part of the fifth century. Besides the forms we have reviewed there are versions in Arabic (ed. Enger, 1854), Aethiopic (Chaine, *Corpus script. christ. Orient.*, 1909), Armenian (Vetter, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1902). These agree in their main features with the Syriac books and do not demand a detailed analysis. The Armenian, as usual, has its own peculiar and 'unauthorized' additions. Our survey of the narratives shows that there are two great groups, one of which is represented

in Coptic only—but not uniformly by all the Coptic authorities. In this there is a long interval between the death of Mary and her corporal assumption—206 days, from 21 Tobi to 16 Mesore (one authority gives only seven days, and one excludes a corporal assumption). Also we hear nothing of the summoning of the apostles from their missionary work: Peter and John are the only two who are prominent. Further, only one fragment (Copt. 4) has the story of a Jew smitten for touching the bier, and healed.

²³ Also in all Mary is warned of her death by her Son, not by an angel. In the Greek, Latin, and Syriac (1, 2, 3) the death is announced by an angel; in Greek and Latin he brings a palm-branch (and so, too, in Copt. 4), but not in Syriac. The apostles are summoned from all parts of the world and from their graves, and tell how they came. The 'governor' figures largely in Syriac and appears in Greek. The controversy before him, which is only in the oriental versions, seems to have been borrowed from another writing: the real point of it is the hiding of the cross at the end. The Jew who attacks the bier (usually Jephonias, but Ruben in the latest text, Lat. A) is a constant feature: he also figures in the Coptic fragment 4. In Greek, Latin, and Copt. 4 he heals the blinded people with the palm-branch: in Syriac with Peter's staff.

²⁴ The corporal assumption takes place very soon after the death. Less emphasis is laid upon it than in the Coptic texts.

The Lament of the Virgin

TRANSLATED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA

medieval, from Syriac and Garshuni manuscripts

A Garshūni account, ascribed to Cyriacus of Behnesa, of the lament of Mary at the tomb, the resurrection of Christ and the conversion of Pilate. It is apocryphal and is not scripture.

¹I. The Lament of the Virgin.

Prefatory Note.

²I GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a new document dealing with the resurrection of our Lord and the lamentations of His mother over His body on the occasion of His crucifixion. The immediate author of the document is said to be Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real although naturally apocryphal author of all the historical events that it contains is Gamaliel, who often speaks in it in the first person. It seems to constitute another link in the apocryphal chain of the *Acta Pilati* or the Gospel of Nicodemus. It has also the advantage of supplying the deficiencies of the Coptic fragments published by Reville under the general but possibly inaccurate title of *Evangile des douze Apôtres*. In some respect it may also be brought within the circle of the documents edited by Lacau in his *Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes*, and of the Coptic Gospel of Bartholomew first translated by Crum and then edited and translated by Budge.

³I have edited the work from two MSS. of my own collection numbered Mingana Syr. 87 and Mingana Syr. 127 (henceforth M. 87 and M. 127). M. 87 has no date, but on palæographic ground may be ascribed to about A.D. 1450, and M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683). I was unable to find a third MS. containing the document in the catalogues of the public libraries of Europe. There are sufficient variants in the two MSS. to justify us in holding that they are independent of each other, but we should be infringing the

rules of philology and textual criticism were we to assert that they represent two distinct recensions of the same story. The story is undoubtedly one and the variant readings exhibited by the MSS. are to a greater or lesser degree similar to those exhibited by more than half of all the existing Oriental MSS.

⁴I placed the text of M. 87 in the body of the page and relegated to the foot-notes the variants of M. 127. As the number of these variants is not very considerable, I have not found it cumbersome to register almost all of them with the exception of those which are exclusively of the domain of orthography. I have likewise referred in the translation to all the important discrepancies of the two MSS. I have edited the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and in order not to swell the foot-notes without appreciable advantage I have neglected to correct the numerous grammatical mistakes committed by the author. These are more or less similar to those to which I often drew the attention of the reader in the notes found in the first volume of my Woodbrooke Studies. To show the close relationship that exists between our new document and the mutilated Coptic fragments published by E. Revillout in the *Pat. Orient.* (ii. 169-174), I shall give here a complete translation of the latter. It will be seen at a glance that our new document is derived from Coptic sources, and that in the case of fragment 15 it is a direct translation from such Coptic texts as the following. I indicate the lacunæ in the fragments by three dots.

Fragment 14.

⁵"... The mothers who in these countries have seen the death of their children, when they go to their tomb in order to see the body of those over whom they weep, great consolation and great... result for them. As to me I came out to see it... with all these... hanging on the cross like a robber... Lo...
"... She opened her eyes, as they were closed in order not to look towards the earth because of its scandals. And she said to Him with joy: 'O Master, my Lord, my God, my Son, you have risen, you have truly risen.' But He restrained her and implored her, saying: 'O my mother, do not touch me. Wait for a while, because it is the garment which my Father gave me when He raised me up. It is impossible that anything carnal should touch me until I go to heaven.'

⁶"This body, however, is the one in which I spent nine months in your womb.... Know these things, O my mother. This flesh is the one which I received in you. It is the one which rested in my tomb, and it is also the one

which rose to-day and which stands now before you. Examine well my hands and my feet, O Mary, my mother, and know that it is me whom you have nourished. Do not doubt, O my mother, that I am your Son. It is I who delivered you into the hands of John at the time when I was hanging on the cross. "Now, O my mother, go in haste and tell my brethren and say to them... according to His words which I uttered to you, go to Galilee where you will find me. Hasten because it is not possible for me not to go to heaven to my Father.

7 "Those who have suffered with me on the earth... (The rest is missing.)

Fragment 15.

8 "... And (Pilate) called the second (soldier) and said to him: 'I know that you are more truthful than all these. Tell me (how many Apostles) took the body of Jesus in the tomb? And he answered: Eleven of them came with their disciples, and took it by stealth, and separated themselves only from this one' (i.e. Judas?). "And he summoned the third and said to him: 'I esteem your witness more than that of the rest. Who took the body of Jesus in the tomb?' And he replied to him: 'Joseph and Nicodemus and their parents' (sic). "And he summoned the fourth and said to him: 'You are the most important one among them, and I let them go all of them. Tell me now (what happened) when they took from your hands the body of Jesus in the tomb?' And he replied to him: 'O my lord, we were asleep. We had forgotten ourselves and we were not able to know who took it. Then we rose up and looked for it but did not find it.... We have appraised...'

9 "... Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion: 'These people are lying in this way and their words are contradictory.' And he gave orders to secure soldiers until he had gone to the tomb. At that moment he rose up with the heads of the Jews, the Sanhedrin, and the high priests. They found the wrappings placed on the ground without body there. "And Pilate said, 'O men who hate their own souls, if they had taken the body they would have also taken the wrappings.' And they said to him: 'Do you not see that they are not his but that they belong to some others?' Pilate remembered then the words of Jesus: 'It is imperative that great miracles should take place in my tomb.' Pilate hastened then to enter into the tomb. He seized the wrappings of Jesus, which he pressed against his breast and over which he wept. He kissed them with joy as if Jesus were wrapt in them. Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the door of the tomb and noticed that he had one

eye only—because they had put out the other in a war—which he hid with his hand all the time in order not to see the light.

10 "Then Pilate... " ... The flame of his wrath has come on you. And they acquiesced in this condemnation, saying: 'may His blood and His death be on us for ever!' "And Pilate said to the centurion: 'O my brother, do not exchange in vain the true life which you have received for the lie and the quiet (sic) of the Jews.' This is what he said in the presence of the Jews.... " ... Pilate and the centurion went to the well of water of the garden, which was very deep. And I Gamaliel followed them in the crowd. They looked in the well and the Jews cried: 'O Pilate... Is this not the body of Jesus who died?' And (Joseph and Nicodemus) said: 'O our Lord, the wrappings which you hold are those of Jesus. As to this body it belongs to the robber who was crucified with Jesus... Joseph and Nicodemus placed the wrappings...

11 "... And Pilate remembered what Jesus had said: 'The dead shall rise in my tomb.' And thereupon he summoned the heads of the Jews and said to them: 'Do you believe that this is the Nazarene?' And they answered: 'We believe.' And he said: 'It is right then to place His body in His tomb, as it is done to all the dead...'" There is no doubt whatever that the present Garshūni document which I am editing and translating is a translation, or at least a very close imitation, of a Coptic document of which fragments only have come down to us. That Egypt is also responsible for many other statements of the author will be made abundantly clear in the footnotes that I have ventured to add to the narrative. In my opinion the present document has nothing in common with Syriac literature or with the Syrian and Palestinian Church in general. It has been preserved to us by West Syrian copyists living either in Egypt or in Palestine, and this constitutes the only link that connects it with the great Syrian Church. This remark applies with equal right to the two works: A Jeremiah Apocryphon and A New Life of John the Baptist which I edited and translated in the first volume of my Woodbrooke Studies and to the Martyrdom of Pilate which I have also edited and translated below.

12 I give to the work the provisional title of The Lament of the Virgin.

Translation.

13 In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will write a discourse composed by Cyriacus, bishop of the town of Bahnasa, on the merits of the pure Virgin our Lady Mary, and her affectionate weeping

on the day of the crucifixion of our Lord, when on the day of His holy resurrection she went to the door of the sepulchre of her Son and did not find His body, because He had risen up from the dead. May his blessing be with us. Amen. He said: The weeping of Jacob, the head of the Patriarchs, has been renewed to-day, O my beloved; why then should not the Virgin Mary weep over her Son whom she conceived in virginity? Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one for whom she suffered the pangs of parturition? Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one into whose divine mouth she placed her virginal breast? Why should not the Virgin weep over the manger, which is in Bethlehem? Why should not the Virgin weep over her beloved Son whom she carried during nine months of gestation? Why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she brought forth and suckled?

¹⁴ If Rachel weeps over children whom she has never embraced, why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she carried in her arms like all babes? If Rachel weeps over children for whom she did not run from place to place, why should not the Virgin weep over her child with whom she ran from country to country? If Rachel weeps over children whose tombs she has not seen, why should not the Virgin weep at the door of her only Son's sepulchre? ¹⁵ The weeping of a venerable old man has been renewed to-day for a young, virgin woman. Jacob did not see Joseph bound by his brothers, but the Virgin saw her Son nailed to the wood of the cross. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers threw him while hungry into the depths of the well, so that he might weep over him; but the Virgin saw her Son hanging on the cross in the middle (of two male-factors), before all the Jews. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers stripped him of his clothes, but the Virgin saw her Son in a naked state in the middle of Jews devoid of understanding. Jacob did not see Joseph being sold to Egyptian merchants for thirty denarii, but the Virgin saw her Son when Judas sold Him for thirty pieces of silver. Jacob wept over a foreign blood and over a robe that was not torn by wild beasts, but it is over a divine blood smeared on the rock of the Kranion that the Virgin is weeping, and over the foreign robe which her Son was wearing, since they had divided His garments among themselves. The brothers of Joseph wept and repented that they had sold their brother, but the Children of Israel did not weep when they sold their Lord. The sons of Jacob rejoiced when their brother reigned (over Egypt), but the Jews did not rejoice when their Lord rose up from the dead.

16 O pure Virgin, your wailing over the tomb of your beloved Son is truly sweet and your voice is melodious in the middle of the angels, when they brought to you the sad news and said: "O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is standing before the Governor and is being judged and insulted by the High Priest of the Jews?" O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being stripped in the court of His garment dyed (with His blood)? O daughter of Joiakim, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is carrying alone a cross in the streets of Jerusalem, and no one comes near Him? O dove of Hannah what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being crucified in the place of the Kranion? O seed of David, why have they lifted your Son on the cross? 17 O my pure and Virgin Lady, your wailing is truly sweet to-day in the house of John, while saying: "Oh, how bitter is this messenger who came to me to-day! He is more bitter than the messenger of death who came to Job and to Jacob—Israel. Oh, how cruel is the intelligencer who came to me to-day, O my Child! He is more cruel than the one who announced to Lot the burning of his town. Oh, how painful is the news that came to me to-day, O my child! It is more painful than the news concerning the death of the valiant men of Israel. Oh, how cruel is the messenger who brought me this bad news, O my child! (This child) has comforted me for thirty years, and He never furnished me with an occasion to chide Him and scold Him. (What adds bitterness) to the news is that the one who brought it to me is Salome! All my sorrow has begun again!

18 "O my child, I have never been to a Governor, nor have I ever stood before a judge. I have never seen a robber being killed, nor have I ever gone to the Kranion, nor do I know the place of the Golgotha. O my child, I have never stood before a man engaged in litigation so that I might realise the false wisdom (that has been applied to your case); nor have I ever been present in a law court, so that I might realise the injustice that has been done to you. O my child, I am inside the house of John, and you are in the house of the High-Priest Annas. O my child, this cruel news that concerns you has outweighed the sadness of my orphanhood, and the painful information relating to you has to-day deprived me of my joy. The angel announced to me your birth in Nazareth, and I have been announced this cruel news about you in Jerusalem. Your Annunciation occurred to me in the house of Joseph, and this bad news was brought to me in the house of John. O my beloved, I was rejoicing in my heart and saying constantly, 'To-morrow we shall have our

passover, accomplish the ordinance of the feast and return to our home; the passover has come to me, O my beloved Son, with weeping and wailing! My feast has changed into lamentation and my passover into grief!"

¹⁹ The Virgin uttered this affectionate wailing in the house of John when they brought to her the sad news of her Son. Then she began to look for one of His holy disciples to walk with her, but she did not find any, because all had fled and forsaken Him from fear of the Jews. She asked for Peter to accompany her, and she was informed that from his fear of the High Priest he had denied her Son, saying, "I do not know Him," and that he had gone and hidden himself from Him. She asked for James, the brother of the Lord, and she was informed that he had fled and left Him on the mount where He was seized. She asked for Andrew, and she was informed that he had never come with Him to town at all. She asked for Thomas, and she was informed that he had thrown down his garments and fled. She asked for the son of Tulmas, and she was informed that he was the first of His brethren to flee. She asked for Philip, and she was informed that when he saw the torches burning, he was terrified and fled. She asked for James, the brother of John, and she was informed that he never even looked at Him. She asked for Matthew, and she was informed that he was afraid of the Jews more than all others, as they had a special grudge against him from the time he used to collect taxes from them, and he had, therefore, fled in the darkness of the night. In short she asked for all of them, and she did not find a single one of them except John who had accompanied Him to the Kranion and the Golgotha.

²⁰ Then the Virgin resumed her weeping and wailing, because she was not able to find any of the Apostles, the disciples of her Son, except John, and said while weeping: "Woe is me, O my Son and O my beloved, because your brethren fled and disappeared. O my father Peter, I was thinking every day that you would not deny your Master. You have not been given gold and silver that you denied Him so quickly. You have not been presented with a boat and oars, why then did you deny to-day your Master and your Lord? You have not had the gift of a son or a daughter (as the price of your denial), O Peter, and you have not had the offer of exchanging Him for a brother or a friend, why then this spiritless weakness of yours? You did not see a second cross, O Peter, which you believed might be for you, that you were so terrified that you denied Him. He gave you a tongue of iron, O Peter, and you melted it and spoiled it without fire or a smith. He bestowed grace upon you, O Peter,

more than all men, and you did not bear now a single slap for your Master. He bestowed on you, O Peter, two eyes the light of which does not fade, and you did not feel ashamed to deny their light. He confided to you, O Peter, the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and you did not suffer a short time (for Him) in the prison of the High Priest.

²¹ "He made you, O Peter, His deputy to all the world, and you did not endure a single temptation for your Master. He made you, O Peter, a father to all the world, and you did not act in a brotherly love for a single short hour towards my Son. He imposed His divine hand on your head, O Peter, and you did not agree to have a crown of thorns on your head before you had denied Him. Even if you say, O Peter, that my Son is not your Master but only your friend, it did not behove you to deny Him in this way. If you had to endure, O Peter, all the tribulations undergone with us by my father Joseph, you should have been dragged to Herod with my Son. If you had to bear like him the pains of the journey to the country of Egypt, you might not have been able to endure a single one of them. May the dew of heaven nurture your bones, O my father Joseph, the just man, and may the tree of life nourish your soul because you have endured my tribulations with me, and have not denied my Son! O Peter, they have not brought you before the Governor, nor have they placed you before the high tribunal that you denied your Master so quickly."

²² When the Virgin finished her lamentations over the denial of Peter in the house of John, she sent for John, who came and found her weeping. Then both John and the Virgin wept over the Lord Jesus. Then John said to the Virgin: "O my mother, do not weep over Peter for his denial of my Master, because he has not the same blame attached to him as that which attaches to Judas who betrayed Him. I heard what my Master said at the evening meal and what Peter said to Him, 'Be it far from you, Lord, this shall not be unto you,' but I will give my life for you. And I heard my Lord and my Master rebuking him three times saying to him, 'Go ye behind me, Satan, you have become an offence to me, for you think not of the things that be of God, but of those things that be of men.' Now, O my Lady and my mother, do not weep over my father Peter, because his denial will be (the symbol of) repentance to sinners, as he gave the lie to his own words and corroborated the words of his Master."

23 Then the Virgin gave herself to bitter weeping because she had not seen her Son, and she reverted again to her painful lamentations in the house of John and said: "I adjure you, O John, to show me the way to the Kranion. I adjure you, O John, to accompany me to the Golgotha. I have never seen yet a robber being crucified, nor have I stood near a robber when he was being beheaded. I shall forsake my town and my great freedom, and shall go barefooted to the place in which my beloved Son has been crucified like common robbers, because He is alone and not one of His brethren is standing near Him, and there is not here with you any of your friends who would say anything about you. O my child, the sorrow of a mother for her beloved son is something, and the sorrow of a friend for his friend is another thing; the pain of the heart of a mother weeping over her beloved son is something, and the weeping of a friend over his friend is another thing. My sorrow, O my child, is to-day greater than that of all the world, and of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and my weeping is more bitter than that of all who shall gather near me."

24 When John noticed that she was not able to cease her weeping and wailing and that he on his part was unable to comfort her, because she was saying: "If I do not see Him I cannot be comforted," he said to her: "Get up, and I will accompany you to the Kranion, so that you may see Him." The Virgin, therefore, went out of the house of John and walked in the streets of Jerusalem. People who saw the Virgin walking said to one another: "From where is this wailing woman?" And the people of the bazaars said: "We have never seen this woman buying anything from this bazaar." Some others said "This is a foreign woman and she walks in this street as if she did not know it." The people, however, who recognised in John the disciple of the Lord Jesus, said: "This may perhaps be His mother going to see Him on the cross." Some people said: "This is the wife of Joseph," and some others said: "The news of His conception was brought to her." Finally, some people said: "Look at her, how beautiful is her face and her weeping," and yet some others said: "We have not seen another one in this town like her, and her face resembles that of her Son." In short, every one in the market was saying something about her and how noticeable was her appearance in the streets of the town. And Salome was walking behind her, while some other women covered her with her veil, but she was not observing anything but only listening to the sorrow of her heart.

25 When she reached the Golgotha, she noticed a great throng of people in groups of different tribes and clans looking at (her Son) on the Cross. People of various nationalities, from all districts had assembled in Jerusalem in that holy month for the immolation of the lamb: Amgazites, Balakites, Moabites, Kabarites, and Ishmaelites. All these were pressing in groups against one another for the great and wonderful sight. Some people were saying: "They condemned this one to-day with injustice," and some others were saying: "They have emptied their wrath on Him." Some were saying: "They were seeking the death of this one for many years," and some others were saying: "They have killed a brave man to-day." Some were saying: "If there was justice in this town, they would never have been able to kill this one," and yet some others were saying: "This is the one for whom the Emperor sent in order to make Him a King over all Judæa, and that is why Herod ordered His death." Some people cursed Herod because of Him, saying: "The one who took his brother's wife while he was still alive and rendered him a poor and a wretched man, has also killed this one without pity."

26 As to the Virgin she inclined her face towards the earth on account of her weeping and humility, and she was not able to see her Son quickly because of her painful weeping and the thronging of the great multitudes of people. She said, therefore, to John: "Where is my beloved Son so that I may see Him; the pressing of these numerous people against one another does not allow me to see Him." And John said to her: "Lift your head towards the western side of these people, and you will see Him extended on the cross." And the Virgin looked towards all those multitudes of people, and she saw Him. She did not cease to wade with John through the multitudes until she came and stood at His right, and looked at Him in His sufferings. 27 When God saw His mother He looked towards John and said to him: "O man, this is your mother," and then He said to His mother: "O mother, this is your son." And John held the Virgin's hand in order to take her to his house, but the Virgin, his mother, said: "O John, let me weep over Him, as He has no brother and no sister, and do not deprive me of Him. O my Son, would that I had with you a crown of thorns on my head, and would that I could make it as painful as yours. If the penalty of all the robbers is crucifixion, why have they not stripped you of your garments, O Judas, since you are a thief and stole from the bag? O John, look at my wretchedness to-day in the middle of these multitudes. Look at my lowliness and at the pains of my heart. Let me

look at His face to my satisfaction. Let me look at His sufferings to my satisfaction, as I have never seen Him in such a state before, except to-day. Let me weep over Him, because my sufferings are to-day greater than His sufferings. The lying-place of all the paupers is the dung-heap, let me then look at Him to my satisfaction, because I am an orphan without father, without mother, and without relatives."

²⁸ This is the wailing indulged in by the Virgin while she was at the right side of her Son. She was in a state of confusion owing to the intensity of her pain, and because of the greatness of her sorrow she did not notice the great multitudes that were present. She was only bent on weeping. Now there were present there Joanna, wife of Chuza, Mary Magdalene and Salome, and these got hold of the Lady (Mary) and lifted her up. Her wailing was truly sweet while she was surrounded by pure women, who were weeping with her because of the sweetness of her words. Other Jewish women who heard her weeping scoffed at her saying: "Our vengeance has come to-day on you and on your Son, because it is through you that our wombs have become childless from the year in which you brought Him forth." ²⁹ The heads of the Jews spoke then with the soldiers of Herod and hardened their hearts to kill (Jesus). They had informed Herod that Pilate with a great number of people loved Jesus, and they had added: "We fear that in going to crucify Him, those people might raise against us and snatch Him from our hands on the advice of Pilate. Give us, therefore, order and power to crucify Him." And they had given him much money, and he had given them the power required and sent his soldiers to them. This is the reason why Pilate did not go out with him that day; he feared an armed conflict between him and the Jews. Indeed Pilate and his wife loved (Jesus) like their own soul, and the flogging that he had ordered for Him was done in order to satisfy the wicked Jews, and so to save Him from death. Had he known that they would crucify Him, if he were to die with his wife and his sons, he would not have laid hands on Him at all. The Jews had lied to Pilate saying: "If you only chastise this rebel for us, and if he ceases to heal people on the Sabbath day, we will release Him." It is under this false pretext that Pilate had ordered Him to be flagellated.

³⁰ The above conspiracy took place before the Virgin stood at the right side of Her Son and John wished to take her to his house. She then rose weeping and lamenting and returned to town, saying: "I leave you in peace, O my child, you and the cross upon which you have been lifted up. I salute your

face full of grace, which they have insulted and at which they have railed. I salute your nudity, O King, who is in the middle of robbers. I salute your royal garment, O my child, which is in the hands of your enemies. I salute you, O my beloved, with the crown of thorns which is overshadowing you." The Virgin was saying all this while she was being taken weeping to the house of John. There she did not cease to weep, nor did she give slumber to her eyelids, but she kept weeping and wailing. After (John) had placed her in the house he did not neglect to go to the Kranion and witness till the end all the sufferings of his Master. When the body had ceased to function, He gave up the ghost. Then all the town shook from the great earthquake that occurred in the earth and the signs that took place in heaven. When the Virgin noticed that the earth quaked and that darkness spread over all the town, she said: "This is a sign that my Son has died." While she was saying this, lo, John came weeping. And the Virgin said to him: "Is it not true that my Son died on the cross?" And he inclined his head and said, "Yes, He died."

³¹ How great were the weeping and the lamentations of the Virgin at that hour! With intense pains of the heart she wept and said: "Woe is me, O my child, because of this dreadful death which you have incurred. I did not find a Governor to inquire into the injustice done to me, nor a judge to gauge the pains of my heart. O Governor, if you had judged with justice according to the law, the Son of the King would not have been killed while hungry and thirsty. O High Priest, if you had judged with justice, Judas would have been worthy of crucifixion instead of my Son. If you had pondered over your decision, O Governor, you would not have crucified my Son in His nudity. If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have released a robber from death, and killed the Prince. If you had judged with equity, O Governor, you would not have killed a valiant man while war is looking you in the face. If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have uttered insulting words to your Master.

³² "I hear that at a time when people are at war, if it happens that they capture the son of the King, they take great care of him and do not kill him, but send him to his father as an honour, why then, O High Priest, when you asked (my Son) the truth and He told it to you, you hated Him? You preferred a lie and put your trust on it. You asked for truth, do you not know then that the one who is standing before you is truthful, nay truth and life?" Truly, O Virgin, O holy Mary, you have met with injustice in the town of

Jerusalem more than many of your generation, because they attacked the great one who was in it, and delivered Him to the judgment of death.

³³ After all this, the Christ was still hanging on the cross, and many confessed saying: "This man who performed all these deeds is the Son of God." All the people who believed wept while He was on the cross. Then Pilate summoned the centurion who was sent by Herod in order to crucify (Jesus), and he ushered him into his house and said to him: "Have you seen, O my brother, what the Jews and Herod did to this just Man, and how they killed Him with such an injustice that all this happened on the earth? I tell you, O my brother, that all this evil is not by my will but on the advice of Herod. I wished to release Him and save Him from death, but when I noticed that this was against the wish of Herod, I delivered Him to the Jews for crucifixion. See now, what ransom shall we give to God for His Son whom we have killed?" Then the centurion together with the owner of the spear and Pilate began to weep bitterly saying: "May His blood be on Herod and on the High Priest!"

³⁴ Then Pilate summoned the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas before the public and said to them: "O haters of bodies and drinkers of blood unjustly shed, see now what happened as a consequence of the death of Jesus of Nazareth on the cross. May His blood be on you and on your children!" And they struck at their chests and at their faces saying: "May the blood of this erring man be on us and on our children for a thousand generations!" And Pilate said, "What! even now after all the signs that He showed in heaven and earth, you are not awestruck and amazed like all the people?" And they said: "We are not afraid because we have fulfilled the law." And Pilate said: "O High Priest, if you have fulfilled the law, why are your clothes rent? The law says that if a High Priest rends his clothes, he falls from office." And he answered: "I rent my clothes because He blasphemed against the Most High God and against the law." And Pilate said to him: "I order you not to enter the temple another time like a High Priest but like a rebel. And if anyone tells me that you have gone to the temple I will cut off your head." And the High Priest said to him: "Which Governor among your predecessors has in the preceding time interdicted a High Priest, and has enjoyed a long term of office?" He said this because he was under the jurisdiction of Herod.

³⁵ And Pilate said to him: "Are not then the signs that have so far occurred sufficient for you, as they are for all the people?" And the High Priest

said to Pilate: "You are a young shoot in this town, and you do not know the meaning and the portent of these signs. This month is Barmudah and in it the revolution of the sun and the moon takes place. At this time the sorcerers give to the moon the colour of blood and detract the ray of the sun by their spells. They do it in order to exact work from the husbandman and to prognosticate concerning the fruits, the crops, the wines and the oils." This is what the High Priest lied and said. Then Pilate rose from his chair and scourged him with a rough whip; he plucked also the hair of his beard, and tormented him and said: "You wish to bring the wrath (of God) on the earth on account of your hatred for Jesus." Then the centurion and the soldier said: "You prefer death to life." After having chastised him on the recommendation of Pilate, they sent him to prison on the advice of the centurion, until such time as they would send him to the Emperor.

³⁶ After this Pilate conferred with the centurion and said: "Is His body going to hang on the cross?" And the centurion said to Pilate: "The power is in your hands, O Governor." And Pilate said to him: "Do you wish that we should take Him down from the cross and confide Him to a reliable man for three days, in order that perchance He may rise as He Himself raised many people from the dead?" When Pilate uttered these words the heads of the Jews shouted suddenly and said: "It is against the law to deliver a dead man to any one. The grave is the resting-place of the dead." After this Joseph, who is from Arimathea, came to Pilate and asked permission to take down the body of Jesus Christ from the cross. And Pilate was pleased and he ordered it to be given to him; and the Jews walked behind him with the guards. Joseph, then, took it down from the cross and buried it in conjunction with Nicodemus. The Jews, however, had an argument with him because they did not wish to bring down His body from the cross, but to leave it on the wood like that of all other robbers, because Jesus had made mention of His resurrection. After they had shrouded Him well in perfume, myrrh, and new linen wrappings, which had not been used for another man at all, they laid Him in a new tomb in which no other body had ever been laid, because it was newly made for Joseph himself, the owner of the garden. They then fastened Him well till the third day.

³⁷ When the body of Jesus was placed in the sepulchre the Jews went to Pilate and said: "You know that it is the Sabbath;" and they asked for four witnesses for His tomb, two from the soldiers of Herod, and two from the sol-

diers of the centurion. They confided the tomb to them and ordered them to guard it till the third day. And the centurion remained in Jerusalem till the third day in order to see the miracle; and he said: "If Jesus rises from the dead, I shall have no further need of the power of Herod." After all this John went in haste to the Virgin and said to her: "They have laid my Master in a good new tomb, and have shrouded Him with new wrappings, good perfume, and myrrh of a high quality. And the Virgin enquired: Who was the one who did this good thing to my beloved Son?" And he informed her that it was Joseph and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs.

³⁸ And the Virgin did not cease her weeping and wailing, and said: "If they have placed my beloved Son under the tree of life, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If they have placed the robe of Solomon over the body of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see His tomb. If they have poured the perfume of Aaron over the body of my Son, I cannot be comforted unless I see His burial-place. If they have laid my Son in the graves of the prophets, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the grave in which my Son is lying is that of Elisha, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the place in which they have placed my son is Paradise itself, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. May the dew of Heaven nurture you, O my father Joseph, and may the firmament nourish you, O Nicodemus, for the little good work you did to my Son on the cross!

³⁹ "Would that I had been weeping under your cross, O my Son! Even if I could not find your body, O my beloved, I would have grasped your blood, because although Jacob did not find the blood of Joseph, he wept over the blood of another. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because I have not seen your body and your blood. If I had found your blood, O my Child, I would have purified my garment with it, and if I had found your garment, it would have been as a garment of Joseph to me. The blood over which Jacob wept was a foreign blood, and that over which I weep is flowing from the side of my Son. If they have not broken your bones, O my Son, as it is written in their law, so that (the malefactors) might be delivered from their pain, they have pushed the spear-head into your divine side.

⁴⁰ "No evil deed was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you before they crucified you, and no injustice was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my reins are bursting inside me. I never saw a physician healing people like you, O my beloved Son, and

in spite of that they struck you. You have been a physician to their diseases which you cured, and in spite of that they nailed you to the wood of the cross. You have been a physician, O my Child, to their men born blind, and you gave them their sight, and in spite of that the unbelieving Jews did not feel ashamed to insult you. You have been a physician, O my Son, and you drove out their demons from them, and in spite of that they did not honour you but said, 'You drive them out by Beel-Zebul.' You have been a physician, O my Son, and you cured them from hæmorrhage, and in spite of that they did not feel ashamed of you, but they pierced you in your side, O my beloved, with a spear-head. I adjure you, O John, to come with me to the tomb of my Son. I implore you, O John, to accompany me to my only Son so that I may pay a visit to His cross. I know, O John, that I am putting you to much trouble with the sorrow of my heart, but have patience with me and you will receive much blessing from my beloved Son."

⁴¹ The Virgin uttered these and similar words in her lamentations and said: "O John, if I do not see His tomb I shall not be comforted in my sorrow." And John used to comfort her saying: "Cease your weeping because they have buried Him with perfume, incense, and new wrappings, near a garden." The Virgin, however, wept, saying: "If the ark of Noah were the place of the burial of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him and weep over Him." And John said to her: "How can you go while four soldiers from the soldiers of the Governor are lying on the sepulchre?" And the Virgin remained in this weeping and wailing over her Son in the day of His crucifixion, the Sabbath day, to the morning of Sunday. As to the soldiers whom the Governor had detailed to guard the tomb, the heads of the Jews had entered with them into a conspiracy unknown to the Governor and the Centurion, to the effect that if the erring one were perchance to rise they should inform them of the fact before the Governor. For this and for their not disclosing this conspiracy to Pilate they were promised much money and silver. The Jews held this conspiracy with the soldiers before the latter went to guard the tomb.

⁴² When, however (Jesus) rose and many signs took place at His resurrection, the soldiers were frightened and terrified, and became like dead men. They entered the town early in the morning and remembering the deceitful words of the Jews they went to them while it was still dark before they went to the Governor and apprised them of the fact that Jesus of Nazareth had ris-

en from the dead as He had predicted. The Jews went then in haste and related to the High Priest the words of the soldiers to the effect that Jesus had risen from the dead; and they shouted saying: "Woe to the Jews and to their lives, because this day has more evil in it for them than the day in which He was crucified. What shall we do if the Governor and the centurion hear that He rose from the dead. We shall all fall into his hands. But let us see first what really took place." And they went to the tomb while it was still early in the morning, and did not find the body of Jesus in it. Then they tore their garments, gave silver to the four soldiers apart from His garments and said: "Will He appear to everybody?" In short every one of them (in their confusion) said something.

⁴³ As to the Virgin she did not neglect to go to the tomb early on Sunday morning. Mary Magdalene had, however, preceded her to the sepulchre and noticed that the stone had been rolled away from it. And the Virgin said: "This is a sign that occurred in the case of my Son, and it perplexes me; Who rolled away this stone from the door of the sepulchre?" The Virgin looked then in the four directions of the tomb, and did not find in it the body of her Son, and she sat down and reverted to her wailing and lamentation and said: "Woe is me, O my beloved Son, who is it that carried your body and added to the sorrow of my heart? I have not been at all to the tomb of my father nor to that of my mother; when my father died I was a young girl in the temple. Nor have I ever been to the grave of my father Joseph who endured so many troubles with you, O my Son. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Son, in order to inform myself concerning your body, another sorrow has been added to my sorrow. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Child, I met with a bitter disappointment, as I did not find your body in it, O my Son. On the Golgotha they did not permit me to satisfy my desire for looking at you to my satisfaction, and to-day they did not allow me to satisfy my desire for looking at your body in the grave to my heart's desire. On the day of your birth, in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, when your star shone, Herod did not glorify you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son, when the sun suffered eclipse, the Jews did not believe in you.

⁴⁴ "On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, your angels surrounded you in order to glorify you, and on the day of your resurrection, O my beloved Son, your brethren forsook you. On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, the shepherds came at day-break and

worshipped you, and on the day of your death, O my beloved Son, I came to your tomb and did not find your body in it. On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the Magi came to you with their offerings, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son, a wicked robber insulted you. The day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the animals praised it, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, I met with pain and sorrow. On the day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, Joseph served you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, the same Joseph, my father, died.

⁴⁵ "Woe is me, O my beloved, there is no sorrow like my sorrow, nor is there any pain like the pain of a mother looking at her son on the wood of the cross. O my Son, I went to the Golgotha and did not see your body on the wood of the cross; and I came to the door of your tomb asking for you, and you did not answer me. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my sorrow is two-fold to-day, because I did not see your body on the wood so that I might weep over it, and because I did not find it in the tomb so that I might worship it. I adjure the four soldiers who keep watch over your tomb and your body to deliver your body if perchance they have removed it through bribery. I implore Joseph and weep before Nicodemus to reassure me concerning your body since they took it on their own responsibility from Pilate and laid it in this tomb. I have never seen Joseph nor do I know Nicodemus, but on account of the intensity of my pain I let my heart go to them."

⁴⁶ This is what the Virgin said over the tomb of her Son. She was perplexed in her soul from her fear of the Jews and from the fact that she did not find the body of her Son in the tomb. While she was thinking deeply a sudden light shone and an exquisite perfume was perceived from the right side of the tomb, as if wafted from an incense tree. The Virgin looked towards the direction of the scent and saw the good God standing, clad in a heavenly robe and His face greatly suffused with joy. And He said to her: "O woman, what makes you burst into this affectionate wailing at this empty tomb which contains no body?" And she replied: "It is my sorrow; and this sorrow, O my Lord, arises from the fact that I did not find the body of my Son, so that I might weep over it and be somewhat comforted." And Jesus said to her: "If you were not satisfied in weeping and wailing throughout all this length of time, had you found the body of your Son in the tomb you would have never ceased your lamentation." And she replied: "O my lord, if I had found it I would have been somewhat comforted by it."

⁴⁷ And he said to her: "O woman, if you had seen your Son dead, you would have had no comfort in looking at His side pierced with a spear, at His hands and feet wounded by the driving of nails in them, and at His body smeared with blood. Now, O woman, comfort yourself, because it was more advantageous for you not to have seen Him dead and wept all the more over Him. What comfort did you derive when you saw Him alive on the cross, and dead with wrappings round Him? Truly, O woman, you have had much courage in your soul in coming to this place, while it is still dark and while all this great disturbance reigns in the town. The guards went from here and are now conspiring with the Jews in lying terms concerning your Son. Does the tomb, in which the body of your Son was laid belong to the Jews? No, O woman, I know the man called Joseph, and this garden belongs to him."

⁴⁸ And the Virgin said to him: "O my lord, you know everything that happened to my Son, and the love which they showed to Him in laying Him in this tomb. I could not bear to stay in the house of John any longer, but I came to enquire after Him. Now, O my lord, since you are the owner of the garden—and the beauty of your dresses and the sweet words with which you have answered me testify to this—if there is pity in your heart for me show it to me now, because I have no other child. Disclose to me His secret and what they did with His body since I did not find it in His tomb. Have the Jews carried it away because of their hatred for the Governor concerning it? And also, O my lord, if it is hidden in your garden and you know who took it there, have pity on me and show me its place so that I may just see it. By your life, O my brother, I have never seen this place except to-day."

⁴⁹ And Jesus said to her: "O Mary, you have wept sufficiently. The living one is the one who is speaking to you; the one who was crucified is now standing near you; the one whom you are seeking is the one who is comforting you; the one for whom you are asking is the one who is clad in this heavenly robe; the one whose tomb you are wishing to see is the one who smashed the doors of brass. O Mary, recognise my glory; lo I am comforting you with the words of life, be not ashamed therefore, nor afraid. Look at my face, O my mother, and you will recognise me. It is I who raised Lazarus in Bethany. It is I Jesus who is resurrection and life. It is I Jesus whose blood flowed on the rock in the Kranion. It is I Jesus who is comforting you in your sorrow. It is I Jesus over whom you are weeping, who is now comforting you at the beginning of His resurrection. No one took away my body, O my

mother, but I rose according to the will of my Father. You came to-day to the tomb, O my mother, and I took up out of Hades all those who were fettered in it, and saved those who had fallen into sin."

⁵⁰ When the Virgin heard this she received strength and comfort and ceased her weeping and anxiety. She lifted up her eyes from the ground, filled her sight from Him, saw Him in the grace of His divinity and said: "You have truly risen, O my Son and my Lord! You have truly risen!" And she bent over Him and embraced Him. And He said to her: "Enough, O mother, of the joy which I granted you through my resurrection. Look now at the spoliation of Hades, O my mother, and see how glad and joyful its inmates are. I shall present them as an offering to my Father before I take them to Paradise." And the Virgin looked round Him and saw the multitudes which He had taken up from Hades, clad in white robes. She was amazed at them, and Jesus said to her: "Go in haste and announce my resurrection from the dead to my brethren. Go in haste, O my mother, leave this place and do not stand at the right side of my tomb, because a company of the Jews will come with Pilate to find out what took place, and see if I would raise the dead, and give sight to the blind and motion to the lame."

⁵¹ After the Lord Jesus said this to His mother He disappeared from her sight. She then left the tomb with haste and went and told the Apostles and the women that the Lord had risen from the dead, and they also came to see what had happened. The news spread then in all the town that Jesus of Nazareth rose from the dead as He had said, and that He told His mother: "I will precede you to Jerusalem, you will all see me and I will bless you there." As to the High Priests and the Jews, they went in the morning to Pilate, the Governor, as if they had heard nothing, and said to him: "O our lord Governor, error has increased and scandals have multiplied to-day at the sepulchre. Summon the soldiers, one by one, so that they may relate His story to us, before any of us goes there." And Pilate said to them "I heard that He rose from the dead. I believe what I saw in a vision that Jesus rose this day from the dead. By the life of the Emperor and by the law of Moses I do not lie when I say that I saw Him last night while I was lying in my bed, and was grieved at the fact that I had laid hands on Him, and thought that perchance He may be the Son of God on account of the signs that appeared in heaven when He died on the cross. I saw Him standing and shining more than the sun. All

the town, except the gathering-place of the Jews, shone with His light more than the light of the sun. And He said to me:

⁵² 'O Pilate, why are you weeping because you ordered Jesus to be flogged? What is written about Him has been fulfilled. Return to me, and I will forgive you. I am Jesus who died on the cross. I am Jesus who rose to-day from the dead. This light which you see to-day is the glory of my resurrection which has enlightened all the world with joy. Look well, O Pilate, and see that this sign which shines on the inhabited earth is more luminous than the light of the sun and is to convince you that I rose from the dead. Hasten to my tomb and you will see the wrappings lying in it guarded by angels. Kiss them and worship them. Fight for my resurrection and you will witness many miracles to-day at the sepulchre: the lame shall walk, the blind shall see, and the dead shall rise by my power. O Pilate, you will shine in the light of my resurrection, which the Jews will deny.'"

⁵³ When Pilate uttered these words in his house the Jews raised their voices and said: "O our lord, the emir, it is not necessary to relate all this to the people, as it is nothing but a dream. The law says, 'At the mouth of two or three witnesses every word is established'; instead of three witnesses, lo there are four who guarded the tomb. If these tell you that He rose, their words are true, and if they do not do so, we shall have nothing to do with dreams." Then Pilate summoned the four soldiers and said to them: "What happened to-day at the sepulchre?" And they divided curse among themselves and lied and said that He did not rise but was carried away. And Pilate ordered that they should be separated from one another in different places. The first one was then ushered in, and Pilate said to him: "Tell me the truth who carried away the body of Jesus?" And he answered: "Peter and John." And the Governor ordered him to be removed to a place by himself. Then he summoned the second one and said to him: "I know that you do not speak but the truth, tell me which of the apostles carried away the body of Jesus from the tomb?" And he answered: "The eleven apostles came with His disciples and carried Him away by stealth." And Pilate ordered that this one also should be removed to a place by himself. He then summoned the third one and said to him: "I value your testimony more than that of all the others, tell me who carried away the body of Jesus from the sepulchre?" And he answered: "Joseph and Nicodemus."

54 Pilate then called the fourth one and said to him: "You are the head of these soldiers and I confided them to you. Disclose to me now all what took place, and how they removed the body of Jesus from the tomb while you were guarding it." And he answered: "O our Lord the emir, we were asleep and we do not know who carried it away. When we woke up we looked for it and found it below the water which is in the garden, and we said that they did this, out of fear." Then Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion: "Are these words consistent? Are they not sustained by lies?" And he ordered that the soldiers should be kept under guard until he had gone himself to the tomb. Then he arose with the high priests and the heads of the soldiers and went to the tomb. They found the wrappings lying in the tomb without the body. And Pilate said: "O men who hate their own life, if they had taken away the body would they not have taken the wrappings with it?" And (the Jews) answered: "See, these wrappings do not belong to Him, but to some one else." And Pilate recalled the words of Jesus to him that great miracles will take place in the sepulchre, and he hastened and entered into it, and took the wrappings, that is to say the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy.

55 Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the entrance of the tomb, and who was with one eye only as his other eye had been put out in a war, and a considerable time had elapsed without him having seen anything with it. Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the centurion's eye and with this thought he presented the wrappings to him and said: "O my brother, do you not perceive the exquisiteness of the odour of these wrappings and see as if they were sprinkled with perfume and incense?" And the Jews said: "O Pilate, you know that Joseph placed on Him much perfume and incense, and that they shrouded Him with myrrh and sweet spices of aloe, and this sweet scent comes from them." And Pilate said to them: "If they placed perfumes on the wrappings only, why is all this tomb perfumed with musk and sweet spices of high value and exquisite odour?" And they answered: "The scent that you are smelling is the odour of the flowers of the gardens, wafted by the winds." And Pilate replied to them: "You have trodden on the path of perdition for yourselves, have walked in it and fallen in a place from which you will have no deliverance for ever." And they said to him: "Nothing is due to you from us, and you had no right to come to the tomb of this man. You are the Gov-

ernor of the City and not of this tomb. Lo, the High Priests and the heads of the Jews are cognisant of the affair, and it does not behove you to fight the Jews for the sake of a dead man."

56 And Pilate said to the centurion: "O brother, do you not notice the bitterness of the hatred that the Jews have for the Lord Jesus? We have acted according to their desires and have crucified Him, and all the world was on the brink of ruin and destruction on account of their injustice. They want us now to stumble on their sin and aver that He has not risen from the dead, in order that His wrath may come back on us another time and destroy us completely.' Pilate uttered these words to the centurion while holding the wrappings with his hands and embracing them. Then he said: I believe that the body which has been wrapped in you rose from the dead." And the centurion also had faith like Pilate, and seizing the wrappings he embraced them, and when they touched his face he immediately saw with the blind eye as before, as if Jesus had laid His hand on it as He had done with the man who was born blind.

57 How great was the spectacle of the multitudes who had also gone to the tomb! They were from all countries, and they had come to Jerusalem for the Passover, and seen (Jesus) on the cross on the day of the crucifixion. When they had heard that Pilate had gone to the sepulchre to see whether Jesus had risen, they also had come with the expectation that He might rise and appear to them like Lazarus. This is the reason why great multitudes had come to the tomb of Jesus in order to see Him. And they beheld the great miracles and how the centurion saw, and were amazed at what (Jesus) had done. And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, observe the miracles of Jesus in His tomb apart from the miracles that took place at His death on the cross." And the centurion tore up his clothes in order the better to show his joy and the favour which he had received, and said: "The power of Jesus has been made manifest. He is truly God and Son of God, and I have believed in Him. My faith has increased from the fact that He being God rose from the dead. I shall not serve a king any more, but solely my God Jesus." And he threw away his sword and gave up his military career. While the wrappings were twisted round his hands he ran to this place and that place and embraced them. And Pilate was greatly amazed and glorified God.

58 And the Jews said to the centurion: "You are a stranger, and you do not know the deeds done by Jesus through Beel-Zebul. What He did in His life

He is now doing at His death." And they added: "When a sorcerer dies, the Genii do other deeds in his grave and they deceive many people through them. These deeds are indeed those of sorcerers and conjurers." And Pilate said to them: "We have never heard that sorcerers and conjurers performed such miracles. Since you are heaping lies out of your own mind on the life of the Lord, His wrath will come on you." And they said: "We deliver our souls to judgment, may His blood be on us and our children for ever and ever." And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, do not exchange cheaply the great gift which you have received for the lie of the hatred of the Jews."

⁵⁹ Then Pilate turned to the Jews and said to them: "Where is the dead man who, you said, was Jesus? It is perchance He." And the Jews preceded Pilate and the centurion to the well which was in the garden, and it was a deep well. And I Gamaliel was following with the crowd. And they went down to the bottom of the well, and found in it the dead man shrouded and laid in a separate place. And the Jews shouted: "Here is the Nazarene sorcerer who gave us so much trouble! You say that He rose, and He is at the bottom of the well!" And Pilate ordered them to draw him up, and summoned Joseph and Nicodemus and said to them: "Are these the wrappings with which you shrouded the body of Jesus?" And they answered: "The wrappings which you are holding in your hands are those of Jesus. As to this corpse it is that of the robber who was crucified with Jesus." And the company of the Jews threw themselves on Joseph and Nicodemus wishing to cast them into the depth of the well because they had spoken the truth. They would have done it were it not for the fact that Pilate and his soldiers shielded them.

⁶⁰ When Pilate noticed their confusion and their cry he beckoned to them to be quiet. He had full confidence in the words spoken to him by the Lord Jesus to the effect that dead men would rise from His tomb. He summoned, therefore, the heads of the Jews and said to them: "We do not believe at all that this is Jesus of Nazareth." And they replied to him: "If you believe it or do not believe it, we do believe it." And he said to them: "It is right then that we should leave him in his tomb like other dead men." And he summoned Joseph and Nicodemus another time and said to them: "Shroud him with these wrappings as before." And the Jews shouted: "We do not accept Joseph, and Nicodemus has no portion with us, because his portion is with Jesus." And Pilate said: "I have greater right."

⁶¹ Then they took the wrappings that belonged to the Lord Jesus and shrouded the body of that dead man with them. And Pilate and his soldiers lifted it and placed it in the tomb in which Jesus lay. And he ordered the people to place the stone at the entrance of the tomb as they had done in the case of Jesus. Then Pilate stretched his hands and prayed at the door of the sepulchre and said thus:— "I implore you to-day, O Lord Jesus. You are the resurrection and the life, the giver of life to all and to the dead. I believe that you rose again as you appeared to me. Do not judge me, O my Lord, because I am doing this. I have not done it from fear of the Jews, nor to test your resurrection. O my Lord, I have confidence in your words and in the miracles which you have wrought. You are living because you raised many dead men. Now, O my Lord, do not be angry with me because I placed a foreign corpse in the place in which lay your body. I did this to put to shame and confusion those who deny your resurrection. To them belong shame and confusion for ever and ever, and to you are due glory and honour from the mouth of your servant Pilate for ever and for ever and ever."

⁶² When Pilate recited this prayer with outstretched hands at the tomb, a voice came from the dead man saying: "O my lord Pilate, open to me the door of the tomb in order that I may come out. I was the first to open the door of Paradise. Lift the stone, O my lord Pilate, so that I may come out by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ who rose from the dead." And Pilate shouted with jubilation on account of the joy and happiness which filled his heart and his soul, to such an extent that the rocks echoed his voice. And he then ordered the people that were standing to lift the stone from the door of the tomb, and immediately the dead man came out walking, and he bowed before Pilate, the Governor. As to the Jews who were present, they were seized with panic, shame, and confusion, and ran away wailing secretly from their fear of the Governor.

⁶³ And Pilate ordered all the soldiers to pursue the Jews and strike them with the swords which they were holding, and they wounded many of them. Then Pilate turned to the dead man and said to him: "O my son, who raised you in this short time? It is only in case Jesus was with you that He would have been able to raise you so quickly." And the dead man said to him: "Did you not see the great light that shone? The Lord Jesus raised me while you were praying, and spoke to me saying, 'Tell my beloved Pilate to fight for my resurrection because I have decided to appoint him his portion in Paradise as

I appointed to you. It is imperative that they should condemn him as they have condemned me, before they take off his head." And Pilate said to him: "From where are you, and who threw you in this well?" And the robber replied, saying: "I am the robber who has been crucified at His right. I have been deemed worthy of all favours and gifts before my Lord Jesus Christ because of the few comforting words that I uttered while He was on the wood of the cross. I was the first one to rise from the tomb of Jesus, O my lord Pilate, and as you opened to me the door of His sepulchre, so He opened to me the door of Paradise. I recognise this high perfume as it is from the tree of life which my soul is enjoying."

⁶⁴ At that moment I Gamaliel followed the crowd and my fathers Joseph and Nicodemus, because fear did not allow the Apostles to come to the sepulchre and witness what happened to Him. They were hiding in every place from fear of the Jews. I, Gamaliel, walked with the crowds and witnessed all what happened in the tomb of my Lord Jesus, and the great fight that Pilate undertook against the High Priests, who returned to town with haste, pressing against one another on account of His resurrection from the dead, while Pilate was holding the wrappings on his arms. And the multitudes wished to see those men who had come to town on the occasion of the feast of the Passover from every district and from every tribe. Then Pilate repaired to the house of the High Priest along with the crowd, and they demolished it and plundered all what he had. And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, you saw with your own eyes and heard (with your own ears) the great number of people who believed in Jesus Christ on account of the resplendent miracles witnessed also by the wicked and accursed Jews, who did not believe."

⁶⁵ Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These (words) have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city, and in all the districts that surround it, by the grace and love of our Lord and God Jesus Christ to whom are due glory, power, and honour for ever and ever. Amen. Here ends this great discourse. May God have mercy upon the scribe, the reader, the attentive hearers, and all the believers! Amen. Amen. Amen.

PART FOUR

The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Story of Pilate

*The trial and resurrection of Jesus as the Acts of Pilate tell them
in three forms, the descent into Hades in three forms, and the
legends of Pilate's letter, his report and his end.*

Acts of Pilate: First Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus: the trial, the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus, told as the record of Pilate's court. This is the first Greek form.

PROLOGUE

¹ The Gospel of Nicodemus. Part I.—The Acts of Pilate. First Greek Form. Memorials of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Done in the Time of Pontius Pilate. Prologue.—I Ananias, of the proprætor's body-guard, being learned in the law, knowing our Lord Jesus Christ from the Holy Scriptures, coming to Him by faith, and counted worthy of the holy baptism, searching also the memorials written at that time of what was done in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews had laid up in the time of Pontius Pilate, found these memorials written in Hebrew, and by the favour of God have translated them into Greek for the information of all who call upon the name of our Master Jesus Christ, in the seventeenth year of the reign of our Lord Flavius Theodosius, and the sixth of Flavius Valentinianus, in the ninth indiction. All ye, therefore, who read and transfer into other books, remember me, and pray for me, that God may be merciful to me, and pardon my sins which I have sinned against Him.

² Peace be to those who read, and to those who hear and to their households. Amen. In the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and Herod being king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth day before the Kalends of April, which is the twenty-fifth of March, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, Joseph Caiaphas being high priest of the Jews. The account that Nicodemus wrote in Hebrew, after the cross and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour God, and left to those that came after him, is as follows:—

CHAPTER 1

¹ Chapter 1. Having called a council, the high priests and scribes Annas and Caiaphas and Semes and Dathaes, and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Nephthalim, Alexander and Jāirus, and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate accusing Jesus about many things, saying: We know this man to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king; moreover, he profanes the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers. Pilate says: And what are the things which he does, to show that he wishes to do away with it? The Jews say: We have a law not to cure any one on the Sabbath; but this man has on the Sabbath cured the lame and the crooked, the withered and the blind and the paralytic, the dumb and the demoniac, by evil practices. Pilate says to them: What evil practices? They say to him: He is a magician, and by Beelzebul prince of the demons he casts out the demons, and all are subject to him. Pilate says to them: This is not casting out the demons by an unclean spirit, but by the god Æsculapius.

² The Jews say to Pilate: we entreat your highness that he stand at thy tribunal, and be heard. And Pilate having called them, says: Tell me how I, being a procurator, can try a king? They say to him: We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says that he is. And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Let Jesus be brought in with respect. And the runner going out, and recognising Him, adored Him, and took his cloak into his hand, and spread it on the ground, and says to him: My lord, walk on this, and come in, for the procurator calls thee. And the Jews seeing what the runner had done, cried out against Pilate, saying: Why hast thou ordered him to come in by a runner, and not by a crier? for assuredly the runner, when he saw him, adored him, and spread his doublet on the ground, and made him walk like a king.

³ And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Why hast thou done this, and spread out thy cloak upon the earth, and made Jesus walk upon it? The runner says to him: My lord procurator, when thou didst send me to Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the sons of the Hebrews held branches in their hands, and shouted; and other spread their clothes under him saying, Save now, thou who art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. The Jews cry out, and say to the runner: The sons of the Hebrews shouted in Hebrew; whence then hast thou

the Greek? The runner says to them: I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it they are shouting in Hebrew? And he interpreted it for me. Pilate says to them: And what did they shout in Hebrew? The Jews say to him: Hosanna membrome Baruchamma Adonai. Pilate says to them: And this hosanna, etc., how is it interpreted? The Jews say to him: Save now in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate says to them: If you bear witness to the words spoken by the children, in what has the runner done wrong? And they were silent. And the procurator says to the runner: Go out, and bring him in what way thou wilt. And the runner going out, did in the same manner as before, and says to Jesus: My lord, come in; the procurator calleth thee.

4 And Jesus going in, and the standard-bearers holding their standards, the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus. And the Jews seeing the bearing of the standards, how they were bent down and adored Jesus, cried out vehemently against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews: Do you not wonder how the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate: We saw how the standard-bearers bent them down, and adored him. And the procurator having called the standard-bearers, says to them: Why have you done this? They say to Pilate: We are Greeks and temple-slaves, and how could we adore him? and assuredly, as we were holding them up, the tops bent down of their own accord, and adored him. 5 Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Do you choose for yourselves men strong and powerful, and let them hold up the standards, and let us see whether they will bend down with them. And the elders of the Jews picked out twelve men powerful and strong, and made them hold up the standards six by six; and they were placed in front of the procurator's tribunal. And Pilate says to the runner: Take him outside of the prætorium, and bring him in again in whatever way may please thee. And Jesus and the runner went out of the prætorium. And Pilate, summoning those who had formerly held up the standards, says to them: I have sworn by the health of Cæsar, that if the standards do not bend down when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the procurator ordered Jesus to come in the second time. And the runner did in the same manner as before, and made many entreaties to Jesus to walk on his cloak. And He walked on it, and went in. And as He went in, the standards were again bent down, and adored Jesus.

CHAPTER 2

¹ Chapter 2. And Pilate seeing this, was afraid, and sought to go away from the tribunal; but when he was still thinking of going away, his wife sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on his account this night. And Pilate, summoning the Jews, says to them: You know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and prefers to adhere to the Jewish religion along with you. They say to him: Yes; we know. Pilate says to them: Behold, my wife has sent to me, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, say unto Pilate: Did we not tell thee that he was a sorcerer? behold, he has sent a dream to thy wife. And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, says to Him: What do these witness against thee? Sayest thou nothing? And Jesus said: Unless they had the power, they would say nothing; for every one has the power of his own mouth to speak both good and evil. They shall see to it.

² And the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus: What shall we see? first, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the murder of the infants; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence in the people. Some of the bystanders, pious men of the Jews, say: we deny that he was born of fornication; for we know that Joseph espoused Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This story of yours is not true, because they were betrothed, as also these fellow-countrymen of yours say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: All the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and are not believed; these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They are by birth children of the Greeks, and have now become Jews. And those that said that He was not born of fornication, viz.—Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Amnes, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippas, and Judas—say: We are not proselytes, but are children of the Jews, and speak of the truth; for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

³ And Pilate, calling these twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, says to them: I adjure you by the health of Cæsar, to tell me whether it be true that you say, that he was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate: We have a law against taking oaths, because it is a sin; but they will

swear by the health of Cæsar, that it is not as we have said, and we are liable to death. Pilate says to Annas and Caiaphas: Have you nothing to answer to this? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: These twelve are believed when they say that he was not born of fornication; all the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and that he is a sorcerer, and he says that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

⁴ And Pilate orders all the multitude to go out, except the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, and he ordered Jesus to be separated from them. And Pilate says to them: For what reason do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: They are angry because he cures on the Sabbath. Pilate says: For a good work do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: Yes.

CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3. And Pilate, filled with rage, went outside of the prætorium, and said to them: I take the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the procurator: Unless this man were an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him to thee. And Pilate said, Do you take him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate: It is not lawful for us to put any one to death. Pilate said: Has God said that you are not to put to death, but that I am? And Pilate went again into the prætorium, and spoke to Jesus privately, and said to Him: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate: Dost thou say this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus: Am I also a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have given thee up to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight in order that I should not be given up to the Jews: but now my kingdom is not from thence. Pilate said to Him: Art thou then a king? Jesus answered him: Thou sayest that I am a king. Because for this have I been born, and have I come, in order that every one who is of the truth might hear my voice. Pilate says to him: What is truth? Jesus says to him: Truth is from heaven. Pilate says: Is truth not upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Thou seest how those who speak the truth are judged by those that have the power upon earth.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Chapter 4. And leaving Jesus within the prætorium, Pilate went out to the Jews, and said to them: I find no fault in him. The Jews say to him: He said, I can destroy this temple, and in three days build it. Pilate says: What temple? The Jews say: The one that Solomon built in forty-six years, and this man speaks of pulling it down and building it in three days. Pilate says to them: I am innocent of the blood of this just man. See you to it. The Jews say: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And Pilate having summoned the elders and priests and Levites, said to them privately: Do not act thus, because no charge that you bring against him is worthy of death; for your charge is about curing and Sabbath profanation. The elders and the priests and the Levites say: If any one speak evil against Cæsar, is he worthy of death or not? Pilate says: He is worthy of death. The Jews say to Pilate: If any one speak evil against Cæsar, he is worthy of death; but this man has spoken evil against God.

² And the procurator ordered the Jews to go outside of the prætorium; and summoning Jesus, he says to Him: What shall I do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: As it has been given to thee. Pilate says: How given? Jesus says: Moses and the prophets have proclaimed beforehand of my death and resurrection. And the Jews noticing this, and hearing it, say to Pilate: What more wilt thou hear of this blasphemy? Pilate says to the Jews: If these words be blasphemous, do you take him for the blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate: Our law bears that a man who wrongs his fellow-men is worthy to receive forty save one; but he that blasphemeth God is to be stoned with stones. Pilate says to them: Do you take him, and punish him in whatever way you please. The Jews say to Pilate: We wish that he be crucified. Pilate says: He is not deserving of crucifixion.

³ And the procurator, looking round upon the crowds of the Jews standing by, sees many of the Jews weeping, and says: All the multitude do not wish him to die. The elders of the Jews say: For this reason all the multitude of us have come, that he should die. Pilate says to the Jews: Why should he die? The Jews say: Because he called himself Son of God, and King.

CHAPTER 5

¹Chapter 5. And one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the procurator, and said: I beseech your honour, let me say a few words. Pilate says: Say on. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, What do you seek to do with this man? This man does many miracles and strange things, which no one has done or will do. Let him go, and do not wish any evil against him. If the miracles which he does are of God, they will stand; but if man, they will come to nothing. For assuredly Moses, being sent by God into Egypt, did many miracles, which the Lord commanded him to do before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And there were there Jannes and Jambres, servants of Pharaoh, and they also did not a few of the miracles which Moses did; and the Egyptians took them to be gods—this Jannes and this Jambres. But, since the miracles which they did were not of God, both they and those who believed in them were destroyed. And now release this man, for he is not deserving of death.

²The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and therefore thou defendest him. Nicodemus says to them: Perhaps, too, the procurator has become his disciple, because he defends him. Has the emperor not appointed him to this place of dignity? And the Jews were vehemently enraged, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why do you gnash your teeth against him when you hear the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou receive his truth and his portion. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; may I receive it, as you have said.

CHAPTER 6

¹Chapter 6. One of the Jews, stepping up, asked leave of the procurator to say a word. The procurator says: If thou wishest to say any thing, say on. And the Jew said: Thirty-eight years I lay in my bed in great agony. And when Jesus came, many demoniacs, and many lying ill of various diseases, were cured by him. And some young men, taking pity on me, carried me, bed and all, and took me to him. And when Jesus saw me, he had compassion on me, and said to me: Take up thy couch and walk. And I took up my couch, and walked. The Jews say to Pilate: Ask him on what day it was that he was cured. He that had been cured says: On a Sabbath. The Jews say: Is not this the very thing that we said, that on a Sabbath he cures and casts out demons?

² And another Jew stepped up and said: I was born blind; I heard sounds, but saw not a face. And as Jesus passed by, I cried out with a loud voice, Pity me, O son of David. And he pitied me, and put his hands upon my eyes, and I instantly received my sight. And another Jew stepped up and said: I was crooked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I was a leper, and he cured me with a word.

CHAPTER 7

Chapter 7. And a woman cried out from a distance, and said: I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and the issue of blood which I had had for twelve years was stopped. The Jews say: we have a law, that a woman's evidence is not to be received.

CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8. And others, a multitude both of men and women, cried out, saying: This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to them who said that the demons were subject to Him: Why, then, were not your teachers also subject to him? They say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said: He raised Lazarus from the tomb after he had been dead four days. And the procurator trembled, and said to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to pour out innocent blood?

CHAPTER 9

¹ Chapter 9. And having summoned Nicodemus and the twelve men that said He was not born of fornication, he says to them: What shall I do, because there is an insurrection among the people? They say to him: We know not; let them see to it. Again Pilate, having summoned all the multitude of the Jews, says: You know that it is customary, at the feast of unleavened bread, to release one prisoner to you. I have one condemned prisoner in the prison, a murderer named Barabbas, and this man standing in your presence, Jesus, in whom I find no fault. Which of them do you wish me to release to you? And they cry out: Barabbas. Pilate says: What, then, shall we do to Jesus who is called Christ? The Jews say: Let him be crucified. And others said: Thou art no friend of Cæsar's if thou release this man, because he called himself Son of God and king. You wish, then, this man to be king, and not Cæsar?

² And Pilate, in a rage, says to the Jews: Always has your nation been rebellious, and you always speak against your benefactors. The Jews say: What

benefactors? He says to them: Your God led you out of the land of Egypt from bitter slavery, and brought you safe through the sea as through dry land, and in the desert fed you with manna, and gave you quails, and quenched your thirst with water from a rock, and gave you a law; and in all these things you provoked your God to anger, and sought a molten calf. And you exasperated your God, and He sought to slay you. And Moses prayed for you, and you were not put to death. And now you charge me with hating the emperor. And rising up from the tribunal, he sought to go out. And the Jews cry out, and say: We know that Cæsar is king, and not Jesus. For assuredly the magi brought gifts to him as to a king. And when Herod heard from the magi that a king had been born, he sought to slay him; and his father Joseph, knowing this, took him and his mother, and they fled into Egypt. And Herod hearing of it, destroyed the children of the Hebrews that had been born in Bethlehem.

3 And when Pilate heard these words, he was afraid; and ordering the crowd to keep silence, because they were crying out, he said to them: So this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews say: Yes, it is he. And, taking water, Pilate washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see you to it. Again the Jews cry out: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then Pilate ordered the curtain of the tribunal where he was sitting to be drawn, and says to Jesus: Thy nation has charged thee with being a king. On this account I sentence thee, first to be scourged, according to the enactment of venerable kings, and then to be fastened on the cross in the garden where thou wast seized. And let Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors, be crucified with thee.

CHAPTER 10

1 Chapter 10. And Jesus went forth out of the prætorium, and the two malefactors with Him. And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of his clothes, and girded Him with a towel, and put a crown of thorns on Him round His head. And they crucified Him; and at the same time also they hung up the two malefactors along with Him. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted His clothes among them; and the people stood looking at Him. And the chief priests, and the rulers with them, mocked Him, saying: He saved others; let him save himself. If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the

soldiers made sport of Him, coming near and offering Him vinegar mixed with gall, and said: Thou art the king of the Jews; save thyself.

² And Pilate, after the sentence, ordered the charge made against Him to be inscribed as a superscription in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, according to what the Jews had said: He is king of the Jews. And one of the malefactors hanging up spoke to Him, saying: If thou be the Christ, save thyself and us. And Dysmas answering, reproved him, saying: Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we receive the fit punishment of our deeds; but this man has done no evil. And he said to Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Amen, amen; I say to thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

CHAPTER 11

¹ Chapter 11. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the earth until the ninth hour, the sun being darkened; and the curtain of the temple was split in the middle. And crying out with a loud voice, Jesus said: Father, Baddach ephkid ruel, which is, interpreted: Into Thy hands I commit my spirit. And having said this, He gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what had happened, glorified God, and said: This was a just man. And all the crowds that were present at this spectacle, when they saw what had happened, beat their breasts and went away. And the centurion reported what had happened to the procurator. And when the procurator and his wife heard it, they were exceedingly grieved, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews, and said to them: Have you seen what has happened? And they say: There has been an eclipse of the sun in the usual way.

² And His acquaintances were standing at a distance, and the women who came with Him from Galilee, seeing these things. And a man named Joseph, a councillor from the city of Arimathæa, who also waited for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in clean linen, and placed it in a tomb hewn out of the rock, in which no one had ever lain.

CHAPTER 12

¹ Chapter 12. ² And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought him and the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others who had stepped up before Pilate and

declared His good works. And of all these that were hid, Nicodemus alone was seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus says to them: How have you come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: How hast thou come into the synagogue? for thou art a confederate of his, and his portion is with thee in the world to come. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen. And likewise Joseph also stepped out and said to them: Why are you angry against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Behold, I have put him in my new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the tomb. And you have acted not well against the just man, because you have not repented of crucifying him, but also have pierced him with a spear. And the Jews seized Joseph, and ordered him to be secured until the first day of the week, and said to him: Know that the time does not allow us to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning; and know that thou shalt not be deemed worthy of burial, but we shall give thy flesh to the birds of the air. Joseph says to them:

³ These are the words of the arrogant Goliath, who reproached the living God and holy David. For God has said by the prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. And now he that is uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, has taken water, and washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I am afraid lest the wrath of God come upon you, and upon your children, as you have said. And the Jews, hearing these words, were embittered in their souls, and seized Joseph, and locked him into a room where there was no window; and guards were stationed at the door, and they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in.

⁴ And on the Sabbath, the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, made a decree that all should be found in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And rising up early, all the multitude in the synagogue consulted by what death they should slay him. And when the Sanhedrin was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity. And having opened the door, they found him not. And all the people were surprised, and struck with dismay, because they found the seals unbroken, and because Caiaphas had the key. And they no longer dared to lay hands upon those who had spoken before Pilate in Jesus' behalf.

CHAPTER 13

¹ Chapter 13. And while they were still sitting in the synagogue, and wondering about Joseph, there come some of the guard whom the Jews had begged of Pilate to guard the tomb of Jesus, that His disciples might not come and steal Him. And they reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what had happened: how there had been a great earthquake; and we saw an angel coming down from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the tomb, and sat upon it; and he shone like snow, and like lightning. And we were very much afraid, and lay like dead men; and we heard the voice of the angel saying to the women who remained beside the tomb, Be not afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here: He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay: and go quickly, and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

² The Jews say: To what women did he speak? The men of the guard say: We do not know who they were. The Jews say: At what time was this? The men of the guard say: At midnight. The Jews say: And wherefore did you not lay hold of them? The men of the guard say: We were like dead men from fear, not expecting to see the light of day, and how could we lay hold of them? The Jews say: As the Lord liveth, we do not believe you. The men of the guard say to the Jews: You have seen so great miracles in the case of this man, and have not believed; and how can you believe us? And assuredly you have done well to swear that the Lord liveth, for indeed He does live. Again the men of the guard say: We have heard that you have locked up the man that begged the body of Jesus, and put a seal on the door; and that you have opened it, and not found him. Do you then give us the man whom you were guarding, and we shall give you Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph has gone away to his own city. The men of the guard say to the Jews: And Jesus has risen, as we heard from the angel, and is in Galilee.

³ And when the Jews heard these words, they were very much afraid, and said: We must take care lest this story be heard, and all incline to Jesus. And the Jews called a council, and paid down a considerable sum of money, and gave it to the soldiers, saying: Say, while we slept, his disciples came by night and stole him; and if this come to the ears of the procurator, we shall persuade him, and keep you out of trouble. And they took it, and said as they had been instructed.

CHAPTER 14

¹Chapter 14. And Phinees a priest, and Adas a teacher, and Haggai a Levite, came down from Galilee to Jerusalem, and said to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: We saw Jesus and his disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamilch; and he said to his disciples, Go into all the world, and preach to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall attend those who have believed: in my name they shall cast out demons, speak new tongues, take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall be well. And while Jesus was speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up to heaven. ²The elders and the priests and Levites say: Give glory to the God of Israel, and confess to Him whether you have heard and seen those things of which you have given us an account. And those who had given the account said: As the Lord liveth, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and the priests and the Levites say to them: Have you come to give us this announcement, or to offer prayer to God? And they say: To offer prayer to God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say to them: If you have come to offer prayer to God, why then have you told these idle tales in the presence of all the people? Says Phinees the priest, and Adas the teacher, and Haggai the Levite to the rulers of the synagogues, and the priests and the Levites: If what we have said and seen be sinful, behold, we are before you; do to us as seems good in your eyes. And they took the law, and made them swear upon it, not to give any more an account of these matters to any one. And they gave them to eat and drink, and sent them out of the city, having given them also money, and three men with them; and they sent them away to Galilee.

³And these men having gone into Galilee, the chief priests, and the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders, came together into the synagogue, and locked the door, and lamented with a great lamentation, saying: Is this a miracle that has happened in Israel? And Annas and Caiaphas said: Why are you so much moved? Why do you weep? Do you not know that his disciples have given a sum of gold to the guards of the tomb, and have instructed them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? And the priests and the elders said: Be it that his disciples have stolen his body; how is it that the life has come into his body, and that

he is going about in Galilee? And they being unable to give an answer to these things, said, after great hesitation: It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised.

CHAPTER 15

¹ Chapter 15. And Nicodemus stood up, and stood before the Sanhedrin, saying: You say well; you are not ignorant, you people of the Lord, of these men that come down from Galilee, that they fear God, and are men of substance, haters of covetousness, men of peace; and they have declared with an oath, We saw Jesus upon the mountain Mamilch with his disciples, and he taught what we heard from him, and we saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them in what form he went up. For assuredly, as the book of the Holy Scriptures taught us, Helias also was taken up into heaven, and Elissæus cried out with a loud voice, and Helias threw his sheepskin upon Elissæus, and Elissæus threw his sheepskin upon the Jordan, and crossed, and came into Jericho. And the children of the prophets met him, and said, O Elissæus, where is thy master Helias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elissæus, Has not a spirit seized him, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But let us take our servants with us, and seek him. And they persuaded Elissæus, and he went away with them. And they sought him three days, and did not find him; and they knew he had been taken up. And now listen to me, and let us send into every district of Israel, and see lest perchance Christ has been taken up by a spirit, and thrown upon one of the mountains? And this proposal pleased all. And they sent into every district of Israel, and sought Jesus, and did not find Him; but they found Joseph in Arimathæa, and no one dared to lay hands on him.

² And they reported to the elders, and the priests, and the Levites: We have gone round to every district of Israel, and have not found Jesus; but Joseph we have found in Arimathæa. And hearing about Joseph, they were glad, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, having held a council as to the manner in which they should meet with Joseph, took a piece of paper, and wrote to Joseph as follows:— Peace to thee! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee; and we have prayed to the God of Israel, that thou shouldst deign to come to thy fathers, and to thy children, because we have all been grieved. For having opened the door, we did not find thee. And we know that we have counselled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord has de-

fended thee, and the Lord Himself has scattered to the winds our counsel against thee, O honourable father Joseph.

³ And they chose from all Israel seven men, friends of Joseph, whom also Joseph himself was acquainted with; and the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, say to them: Take notice: if, after receiving our letter, he read it, know that he will come with you to us; but if he do not read it, know that he is ill-disposed towards us. And having saluted him in peace, return to us. And having blessed the men, they dismissed them. And the men came to Joseph, and did reverence to him, and said to him: Peace to thee! And he said: Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph having received it, read the letter and rolled it up, and blessed God, and said: Blessed be the Lord God, who has delivered Israel, that they should not shed innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord, who sent out His angel, and covered me under his wings. And he set a table for them; and they ate and drank, and slept there. And they rose up early, and prayed. And Joseph saddled his ass, and set out with the men; and they came to the holy city Jerusalem. And all the people met Joseph, and cried out: Peace to thee in thy coming in! And he said to all the people: Peace to you! and he kissed them. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him. And Nicodemus received him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders, and the priests, and the Levites to his house. And they rejoiced, eating and drinking with Joseph; and after singing hymns, each proceeded to his own house. But Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

⁴ And on the following day, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites went early to the house of Nicodemus; and Nicodemus met them, and said: Peace to you! And they said: Peace to thee, and to Joseph, and to all thy house, and to all the house of Joseph! And he brought them into his house. And all the Sanhedrin sat down, and Joseph sat down between Annas and Caiaphas: and no one dared to say a word to him. And Joseph said: Why have you called me? And they signalled to Nicodemus to speak to Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said to Joseph: Father, thou knowest that the honourable teachers, and the priests and the Levites, see to learn a word from thee. And Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas having taken the law, made Joseph swear, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give Him confession; for

Achar being made to swear by the prophet Jesus, did not forswear himself, but declared unto him all, and did not hide a word from him. Do thou also accordingly not hide from us to the extent of a word. And Joseph said: I shall not hide from you one word. And they said to him: With grief were we grieved because thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. And on account of this we secured thee in a room where there was no windows: and we put locks and seals upon the doors and guards kept watching where thou wast locked in. And on the first day of the week we opened, and found thee not, and were grieved exceedingly; and astonishment fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. And now relate to us what has happened to thee.

5 And Joseph said: On the preparation, about the tenth hour, you locked me up, and I remained all the Sabbath. And at midnight, as I was standing and praying, the room where you locked me in was hung up by the four corners, and I saw a light like lightning into my eyes. And I was afraid, and fell to the ground. And some one took me by the hand, and removed me from the place where I had fallen; and moisture of water was poured from my head even to my feet, and a smell of perfumes came about my nostrils. And he wiped my face, and kissed me, and said to me, Fear not, Joseph; open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking up, I saw Jesus. And I trembled and thought it was a phantom; and I said the commandments, and he said them with me. Even so you are not ignorant that a phantom, if it meet anybody, and hear the commandments, takes to flight. And seeing that he said them with me, I said to him, Rabbi Helias. And he said to me, I am not Helias. And I said to him, Who art thou, my lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate; and thou didst clothe me with clean linen, and didst put a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the tomb.

6 And I said to him that was speaking to me, Show me the place where I laid thee. And he carried me away, and showed me the place where I laid him; and the linen cloth was lying in it, and the napkin for his face. And I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand, and placed me, though the doors were locked, in the middle of my house, and led me away to my bed, and said to me, Peace to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me, For

forty days go not forth out of thy house; for, behold, I go to my brethren into Galilee.

CHAPTER 16

¹Chapter 16. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, when they heard these words from Joseph, became as dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus, along with Joseph, exhorted Annas and Caiaphas, the priests and the Levites, saying: Rise up and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and strengthen your souls, because to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they rose up, and prayed to God, and ate and drank, and departed every man to his own house. And on the Sabbath our teachers and the priests and Levites sat questioning each other, and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? for we know his father and mother. Levi, a teacher, says: I know that his parents fear God, and do not withdraw themselves from the prayers, and give the tithes thrice a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him to this place, and gave sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. And when the great teacher Symeon took him into his arms, he said, Now Thou sendest away Thy servant, Lord, according to Thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all the peoples: a light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And Symeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother, I give thee good news about this child. And Mary said, It is well, my lord. And Symeon said to her, It is well; behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against; and of thee thyself a sword shall go through the soul, in order that the reasoning of many hearts may be revealed.

²They say to the teacher Levi: How knowest thou these things? Levi says to them: Do you not know that from him I learned the law? The Sanhedrin say to him: We wish to see thy father. And they sent for his father. And they asked him; and he said to them: Why have you not believed my son? The blessed and just Symeon himself taught him the law. The Sanhedrin says to Rabbi Levi: Is the word that you have said true? And he said: It is true. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, said to themselves: Come, let us send into Galilee to the three men that came and told about his teaching and his taking up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this saying pleased all. And they sent away the three men who had already gone away into Galilee with them; and they say to them: Say to

Rabbi Adas, and Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai: Peace to you, and all who are with you! A great inquiry having taken place in the Sanhedrin, we have been sent to you to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.

³ And the men set out into Galilee, and found them sitting and considering the law; and they saluted them in peace. And the men who were in Galilee said to those who had come to them: Peace upon all Israel! And they said: Peace to you! And they again said to them: Why have you come? And those who had been sent said: The Sanhedrin call you to the holy city Jerusalem. And when the men heard that they were sought by the Sanhedrin, they prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank, and rose up, and set out in peace to Jerusalem. And on the following day the Sanhedrin sat in the synagogue, and asked them, saying: Did you really see Jesus sitting on the mountain Mamilch teaching his eleven disciples, and did you see him taken up? And the men answered them, and said: As we saw him taken up, so also we said.

⁴ Annas says: Take them away from one another, and let us see whether their account agrees. And they took them away from one another. And first they call Adas, and say to him: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? Adas says: While he was yet sitting on the mountain Mamilch, and teaching his disciples, we saw a cloud overshadowing both him and his disciples. And the cloud took him up into heaven, and his disciples lay upon their face upon the earth. And they call Phinees the priest, and ask him also, saying: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? And he spoke in like manner. And they again asked Haggai, and he spoke in like manner. And the Sanhedrin said: The law of Moses holds: At the mouth of two or three every word shall be established. Buthem, a teacher, says: It is written in the law, And Enoch walked with God, and is not, because God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said: And the death of holy Moses we have heard of, and have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord, And Moses died from the mouth of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said: Why did Rabbi Symeon say, when he saw Jesus, "Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against?" And Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, because my name has been called upon him.

5 Then Annas and Caiaphas said: Rightly have you said what is written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no one has named the death of Moses; but Jesus was tried before Pilate, and we saw him receiving blows and spittings on his face, and the soldiers put about him a crown of thorns, and he was scourged, and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified upon the Cranium, and two robbers with him; and they gave him to drink vinegar with gall, and Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear; and Joseph our honourable father begged his body, and, as he says, he is risen; and as the three teachers say, We saw him taken up into heaven; and Rabbi Levi has given evidence of what was said by Rabbi Symeon, and that he said, Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against. And all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord: If this was from the Lord, and is wonderful in your eyes, knowing you shall know, O house of Jacob, that it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree. And another Scripture teaches: The gods which have not made the heaven and the earth shall be destroyed. And the priests and the Levites said to each other: If his memorial be until the year that is called Jubel, know that it shall it endure for ever, and he hath raised for himself a new people. Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, announced to all Israel, saying: Cursed is that man who shall worship the work of man's hand, and cursed is the man who shall worship the creatures more than the Creator. And all the people said, Amen, amen.

6 And all the people praised the Lord, and said: Blessed is the Lord, who hath given rest to His people Israel, according to all that He hath spoken; there hath not fallen one word of every good word of His that He spoke to Moses His servant. May the Lord our God be with us, as He was with our fathers: let Him not destroy us. And let Him not destroy us, that we may incline our hearts to Him, that we may walk in all His ways, that we may keep His commandments and His judgments which He commanded to our fathers. And the Lord shall be for a king over all the earth in that day; and there shall be one Lord, and His name one. The Lord is our king: He shall save us. There is none like Thee, O Lord. Great art Thou, O Lord, and great is Thy name. By Thy power heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed: save us, O Lord, and we shall be saved; because we are Thy lot and heritage. And the Lord will not leave His people, for His great name's sake; for the Lord has begun to make us into His people.

7 And all, having sung praises, went away each man to his own house, glorifying God; for His is the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Acts of Pilate: Second Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus: the trial, the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus, told as the record of Pilate's court. This is the second Greek form.

PROLOGUE

Second Greek Form. A narrative about the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His holy resurrection. Written by a Jew, Æneas by name, and translated out of the Hebrew tongue into the Romaic language by Nicodemus, a Roman toparch. After the dissolution of the kingdom of the Hebrews, four hundred years having run their course, and the Hebrews also coming at last under the kingdom of the Romans, and the king of the Romans appointing them a king; when Tiberius Cæsar at last swayed the Roman sceptre, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he appointed as king of Judæa, Herod, the son of the Herod who had formerly slaughtered the infants in Bethlehem, and he made Pilate procurator in Jerusalem; when Annas and Caiaphas held the high-priesthood of Jerusalem, Nicodemus, a Roman toparch, having summoned a Jew, Æneas by name, asked him to write an account of the things done in Jerusalem about Christ in the times of Annas and Caiaphas. The Jew accordingly did this, and delivered it to Nicodemus; and he, again, translated it from the Hebrew writing into the Romaic language. And the account is as follows:—

CHAPTER 1

1 Chapter 1. Our Lord Jesus Christ having wrought in Judæa many and great and extraordinary miracles, and on account of this being hated by the Hebrews, while Pilate was procurator in Jerusalem, and Annas and Caiaphas high priests, there came of the Jews to the chief priests, Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Syrus, and many others, speaking against Christ. And

these chief priests sent them away to say these things to Pilate also. And they went away, and said to him: A man walks about in this city whose father is called Joseph, and his mother Mary; and he calls himself king and Son of God; and being a Jew, he overturns the Scriptures, and does away with the Sabbath. Pilate then asked, in order to learn from them in what manner he did away with the Sabbath. And they answered, saying: He cures the sick on the Sabbath. Pilate says: If he makes the sick whole, he does no evil. They say to him: If he effected the cures properly, small would be the evil; but by using magic he does these things, and by having the demons on his side. Pilate says: To cure a person that is ill is not a diabolic work, but a grace from God.

² The Hebrews said: We beseech your highness to summon him, in order that thou mayst make accurate inquiry into what we say. Pilate therefore, throwing off his cloak, gave it to one of his officers, saying: Go away, and show this to Jesus, and say to him, Pilate the procurator calls thee to come before him. The officer accordingly went away, and finding Jesus, summoned Him, having unfolded on the ground also Pilate's mantle, and urged Him to walk upon it. And the Hebrews, seeing this, and being greatly enraged, came to Pilate, murmuring against him, how he had deemed Jesus worthy of so great honour. And he, having inquired of the officer who had been sent how he had done so, the officer answered: When thou didst send me to the Jew Alexander, I came upon Jesus entering the gate of the city, sitting upon an ass. And I saw that the Hebrews spread their garments in the way, and the ass walked upon the garments; and others cut branches, and they went forth to meet him, and cried out, Hosanna in the highest! Thus, therefore, it was necessary for me also to do.

³ The Jews, hearing these words, said to him: How didst thou, being a Roman, know what was said by the Hebrews? The officer answered: I asked one of the Hebrews, and he told me these things. Pilate said: What means Hosanna? The Jews said: Save us, O Lord. Pilate answered: Since you confess that your children said so, how now do you bring charges, and say against Jesus what you do say? The Jews were silent, and had nothing to answer. Now, as Jesus was coming to Pilate, the soldiers of Pilate adored Him. And others also were standing before Pilate holding standards. And as Jesus was coming, the standards also bowed down, and adored Him. As Pilate, therefore, was wondering at what had happened, the Jews said to him: My lord, it was not the standards that adored Jesus, but the soldiers who were holding them

carelessly. Pilate says to the ruler of the synagogue: Choose twelve powerful men, and give them the standards, so that they may hold them firmly. And this having taken place, Pilate ordered the officer to take Jesus outside, and bring Him in again. And as He was coming in, the standards again bowed down, and adored Him. Pilate therefore wondered greatly. But the Jews said: He is a magician, and through that he does these things.

CHAPTER 2

¹ Chapter 2. Pilate says to Jesus: Hearest thou what these testify against thee, and answerest thou not? And Jesus answered and said: Every man has power to speak either good or bad, as he wishes; these also, therefore, having power, say what they wish. The Jews said to Him: What have we to say about thee? First, that thou wast begotten from sin; second, that on account of thee, when thou wast born, the infants were murdered; third, that thy father and thy mother fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people. To these the Jews who were there present, God-fearing men, answered and said: We say that his birth is not from sin; for we know that Joseph received into keeping his mother Mary, according to the practice of betrothal. Pilate said: Consequently you lie who say that his birth is from sin. They say again to Pilate: All the people testify that he is a magician. The God-fearing Jews answered and said: We also were at the betrothal of his mother, and we are Jews, and know all his daily life; but that he is a magician, that we do not know. And the Jews that thus said were these: Lazarus, Astharius, Antonius, James, Zaras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Dagrippus, Amese, and Judas.

² Pilate therefore says to them: By the life of Cæsar, I wish you to swear whether the birth of this man is without sin. They answered: Our law lays down that we are to swear not at all, because an oath is great sin. Notwithstanding, by the life of Cæsar we swear that his birth is without sin; and if we lie, order us all to be beheaded. And when they had thus spoken, the Jews that were bringing the charge answered Pilate, and said: And dost thou believe these twelve single Jews more than all the multitude and us, who know for certain that he is a magician and blasphemer, and that he names himself Son of God? Then Pilate ordered them all to go forth out of the prætorium except the said twelve alone. And when this had been done, Pilate says to them privately: As to this man, it appears that from envy and madness the Jews wish to murder him: for of one thing—that he does away with the Sabbath—they accuse him; but he then does a good work, because he cures the

sick. For this, sentence of death is not upon the man. The twelve also say to him: Assuredly, my lord, it is so.

CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3. Pilate therefore went outside in rage and anger, and says to Annas and Caiaphas, and to the crowd who brought Jesus: I take the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The crowd answered: If he were not a sorcerer, and a magician, and a blasphemer, we should not have brought him to your highness. Pilate said: Try him yourselves; and since you have a law, do as your law says. The Jews said: Our law permits to put no man to death. Pilate says: If you are unwilling to put him to death, how much more am I! Then Pilate returned to the palace, and says to Jesus: Tell me, art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered: Dost thou say this, or have the other Jews said this to thee, that thou mightst question me? Pilate said: Thou dost not think that I am a Hebrew? I am not a Hebrew. Thy people and the chief priests have delivered thee into my hands; and tell me if thou art king of the Jews? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were in this world, my soldiers would not be unconcerned at my being seized: wherefore my kingdom is not in this world. Pilate says: But art thou a king? Jesus said: Thou hast said: for this was I born, to bear witness to the truth; and if any one be a man of the truth, he believes my word, and does it. Pilate says: What is the truth? Jesus answered: The truth is from the heavens. Pilate says: On earth, then, is there no truth? Christ says: I am the truth; and how is the truth judged on earth by those that have earthly power!

CHAPTER 4

¹ Chapter 4. Pilate therefore, leaving Christ alone, went outside, and says to the Jews: I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered: Let us tell your highness what he said. He said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and in three days to build it. Pilate says: And what temple did he say that he was to destroy? The Hebrews say: The temple of Solomon, which Solomon built in forty-six years. Pilate says privately to the chief priests and the scribes and the Pharisees: I entreat you, do nothing evil against this man; for if you do evil against him, you will do unjustly: for it is not just that such a man should die, who has done great good to many men. They said to Pilate: If, my lord, he who has dishonoured Cæsar is worthy of death, how much more this man who dishonours God!

² Then Pilate dismissed them, and they all went outside. Thereupon he says to Jesus: What dost thou wish that I shall do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: Do to me as is determined. Pilate says: How is it determined? Jesus answered: Moses and the prophets wrote about me being crucified, and rising again. The Hebrews, hearing this, said to Pilate: Why do you seek to hear a greater insult out of him against God? Pilate says: These words are not an insult against God, since they are written in the books of the prophets. The Hebrews said: Our Scripture says, If a man offend against a man, that is to say, if he insult him, he is worthy to receive forty strokes with a rod; but if any one insult God, to be stoned. Then came a messenger from Procle, the wife of Pilate, to him; and the message said: Take care that thou do not agree that any evil should happen to Jesus the good man; because during this night I have seen fearful dreams on account of him. And Pilate spoke to the Hebrews, saying: If you hold as insult against God the words which you declare Jesus to have spoken, take and judge him yourselves according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate: We wish that you should crucify him. Pilate says: This is not good.

³ And Pilate, turning towards the people, saw many weeping, and said: To me it seems that it is not the wish of all the people that this man should die. The priests and the scribes say: We on this account have brought all the people, that thou mightst have full conviction that all wish his death. Pilate says: For what evil hath he done? The Hebrews said: He says that he is a king, and the Son of God.

CHAPTER 5

¹ Chapter 5. A God-fearing Jew, therefore, Nicodemus by name, stood up in the midst, and said to Pilate: I entreat your highness to permit me to say a few words. Say on, said Pilate. Nicodemus says: I, being present in the synagogue, said to the priests, and the Levites, and the scribes, and the people, What have you to say against this man? This man does many miracles, such as man has never yet done nor will do. Let him go, therefore; and if indeed what he does be from God, it will stand; but if from man, it will be destroyed. Just as happened also when God sent Moses into Egypt, and Pharoah king of Egypt told him to do a miracle, and he did it. Then Pharoah had also two magicians, Jannes and Jambres; and they also did miracles by the use of magic art, but not such as Moses did. And the Egyptians held these magicians to be gods; but because they were not from God, what they did was des-

troyed. This Jesus, then, raised up Lazarus, and he is alive. On this account I entreat thee, my lord, by no means to allow this man to be put to death.

² The Hebrews were enraged against Nicodemus, and said: Mayst thou receive the truth of Jesus, and have a portion with him. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; be it to me as you say.

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6. And when Nicodemus had thus spoken, another Hebrew rose up, and said to Pilate: I beg of thee, my lord Pilate, hear me also. Pilate answered: Say what thou wishest. The Hebrew says: I lay sick in bed thirty-eight years; and when he saw me he was grieved, and said to me, Rise, take up thy couch, and go into thine house. And while he was saying the word to me, I rose and walked about. The Hebrews say: Ask him on what day of the week this happened. He says: On Sabbath. The Jews said: And consequently we say truly, that he does not keep the Sabbath. Another, again, standing in the midst, said: I was born blind; and as Jesus was going along the road, I cried to him, saying, Have mercy upon me, Lord, thou son of David. And he took clay, and anointed mine eyes; and straightway I received my sight. Another said: I was crooked; and seeing him, I cried, Have mercy upon me, O Lord. And he took me by the hand, and I was immediately raised. Another said: I was a leper, and he healed me merely by a word.

CHAPTER 7

Chapter 7. There was found there also a woman named Veronica, and she said: Twelve years I was in an issue of blood, and I only touched the edge of his garment, and directly I was cured. The Jews say: Our law does not admit the testimony of a woman.

CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8. Other men cried: This man is a prophet, and the demons are afraid of him. Pilate says: And how were the demons not at all thus afraid of your parents also? They say: We do not know. Others, again, said: Lazarus, after having been four days in the tomb, he raised by a single word. Pilate therefore, hearing of the raising of Lazarus, was afraid, and said to the people: Why do you wish to shed the blood of a just man?

CHAPTER 9

¹ Chapter 9. Then he summoned Nicodemus and the twelve God-fearing Jews, and said to them: What do you say that I should do? because the people

are in commotion. They say: We do not know: do as thou wilt; but what the people do, they do unjustly, in order to kill him. Pilate again went outside, and said to the people: You know that in the feasts of unleavened bread it is customary that I free on your account one of the criminals kept in custody. I have, then, one malefactor in the prison, a robber named Barabbas. I have also Jesus, who has never done any evil. Which of the two, then, do you wish that I release to you? The people answered: Release to us Barabbas. Pilate says: What then shall I do with Jesus? They say: Let him be crucified. Again, others of them cried out: If thou release Jesus, thou art no friend of Cæsar, because he calls himself Son of God, and king. And if thou free him, he becomes a king, and will take Cæsar's kingdom.

² Pilate therefore was enraged, and said: Always has your nation been devilish and unbelieving; and ever have you been adversaries to your benefactors. The Hebrews say: And who were our benefactors? Pilate says: God, who freed you out of the hand of Pharaoh, and brought you through the Red Sea as upon dry land, and fed you with quails, and gave you water to drink out of the dry rock, and who gave you a law which, denying God you broke; and if Moses had not stood and entreated God, you would have perished by a bitter death. All these, then, you have forgotten. Thus also, even now, you say that I do not at all love Cæsar, but hate him, and wish to plot against his kingdom. And having thus spoken, Pilate rose up from the throne with anger, wishing to flee from them. The Jews therefore cried out, saying: We wish Cæsar to be king over us, not Jesus, because Jesus received gifts from the Magi. And Herod also heard this—that there was going to be a king—and wished to put him to death, and for this purpose sent and put to death all the infants that were in Bethlehem. And on this account also his father Joseph and his mother fled from fear of him into Egypt.

³ So then Pilate, hearing this, silenced all the people, and said: This, then, is the Jesus whom Herod then sought that he might put him to death? They say to him: Yes. Pilate therefore, having ascertained that he was of the jurisdiction of Herod, as being derived of the race of the Jews, sent Jesus to him. And Herod, seeing Him, rejoiced greatly, because he had been long desiring to see Him, hearing of the miracles which He did. He put on Him, therefore, white garments. Then he began to question Him. But Jesus did not give him an answer. And Herod, wishing to see also some miracle or other done by Jesus, and not seeing it, and also because He did not answer him a single word,

sent Him back again to Pilate. Pilate, seeing this, ordered his officers to bring water. Washing, then, his hands with the water, he said to the people: I am innocent of the blood of this good man. See you to it, that he is unjustly put to death, since neither I have found a fault in him, nor Herod; for because of this he has sent him back again to me. The Jews said: His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

⁴ Then Pilate sat down upon his throne to pass sentence. He gave order, therefore, and Jesus came before him. And they brought a crown of thorns, and put it on His head, and a reed into His right hand. Then he passed sentence, and said to Him: Thy nation says, and testifies against thee, that thou wishest to be a king. Therefore I decree that they shall beat thee first with a rod forty strokes, as the laws of the kings decree, and that they shall mock thee; and finally, that they shall crucify thee.

CHAPTER 10

¹ Chapter 10. The sentence to this effect, then, having been passed by Pilate, the Jews began to strike Jesus, some with rods, others with their hands, others with their feet; some also spat in His face. Immediately, therefore, they got ready the cross, and gave it to Him, and flew to take the road. And thus going along, bearing also the cross, He came as far as the gate of the city of Jerusalem. But as He, from the many blows and the weight of the cross, was unable to walk, the Jews, out of the eager desire they had to crucify Him as quickly as possible, took the cross from Him, and gave it to a man that met them, Simon by name, who had also two sons, Alexander and Rufus. And he was from the city of Cyrene. They gave the cross, then, to him, not because they pitied Jesus, and wished to lighten Him of the weight, but because they eagerly desired, as has been said, to put Him to death more speedily.

² Of His disciples, therefore, John followed Him there. Then he came fleeing to the mother of God, and said to her: Where hast thou been, that thou hast not come to see what has happened? She answered: What is it that has happened? John says: Know that the Jews have laid hold of my Master, and are taking Him away to crucify Him. Hearing this, His mother cried out with a loud voice, saying: My son, my son, what evil then hast thou done, that they are taking thee away to crucify thee? And she rose up as if blinded, and goes along the road weeping. And women followed her—Martha, and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, and other virgins. And John also was with her. When, therefore, they came to the multitude of the crowd, the mother of

God says to John: Where is my son? John says: Seest thou Him bearing the crown of thorns, and having His hands bound? And the mother of God, hearing this, and seeing Him, fainted, and fell backwards to the ground, and lay a considerable time. And the women, as many as followed her, stood round her, and wept. And as soon as she revived and rose up, she cried out with a loud voice: My Lord, my son, where has the beauty of thy form sunk? how shall I endure to see thee suffering such things? And thus saying, she tore her face with her nails, and beat her breast. Where are they gone, said she, the good deeds which thou didst in Judæa? What evil hast thou done to the Jews? The Jews, then, seeing her thus lamenting and crying, came and drove her from the road; but she would not flee, but remained, saying: Kill me first, ye lawless Jews.

³ Then they got safe to the place called Cranium, which was paved with stone; and there the Jews set up the cross. Then they stripped Jesus, and the soldiers took His garments, and divided them among themselves; and they put on Him a tattered robe of scarlet, and raised Him, and drew Him up on the cross at the sixth hour of the day. After this they brought also two robbers, the one on His right, the other on His left. Then the mother of God, standing and looking, cried out with a loud voice, saying: My son! my son! And Jesus, turning to her, and seeing John near her, and weeping with the rest of the women, said: Behold thy son! Then He says also to John: Behold thy mother! And she wept much, saying: For this I weep, my son, because thou sufferest unjustly, because the lawless Jews have delivered thee to a bitter death. Without thee, my son, what will become of me? How shall I live without thee? What sort of life shall I spend? Where are thy disciples, who boasted that they would die with thee? Where those healed by thee? How has no one been found to help thee? And looking to the cross, she said: Bend down, O cross, that I may embrace and kiss my son, whom I suckled at these breasts after a strange manner, as not having known man. Bend down, O cross; I wish to throw my arms round my son. Bend down, O cross, that I may bid farewell to my son like a mother. The Jews, hearing these words, came forward, and drove to a distance both her and the women and John.

⁴ Then Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying: Father, let not this sin stand against them; for they know not what they do. Then He says: I thirst. And immediately there ran one of the soldiers, and took a sponge, and filled it with gall and vinegar mixed, and put it on a reed, and gave Jesus to drink.

And having tasted it, He would not drink it. And the Jews standing and looking on laughed at Him, and said: If thou truly sayst that thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross, and immediately, that we may believe in thee. Others said mocking: Others he saved, others he cured, and he healed the sick, the paralytic, the lepers, the demoniacs, the blind, the lame, the dead; and himself he cannot cure. In the same manner also, the robber crucified on His left hand said to Him: If thou art the Son of God, come down and save both thyself and us. His name was Gistas. And he that was crucified on the right, Dysmas by name, reproved that robber, saying: O wretched and miserable man, dost thou not fear God? We suffer the due punishment of what we have done; but this man has done no evil at all. And turning to Jesus, he says to Him: Lord, when Thou shalt reign do not forget me. And He said to him: To-day, I tell thee truth, I shall have thee in paradise with me.

CHAPTER 11

¹ Chapter 11. Then Jesus, crying out with a loud voice, Father, into Thy hands I shall commit my spirit, breathed His last. And immediately one could see the rocks rent: for there was an earthquake over all the earth; and from the earthquake being violent and great, the rocks also were rent. And the tombs of the dead were opened, and the curtain of the temple was rent, and there was darkness from the sixth hour till the ninth. And from all these things that had happened the Jews were afraid, and said: Certainly this was a just man. And Longinus, the centurion who stood by, said: Truly this was a son of God. Others coming and seeing Him, beat their breasts from fear, and again turned back. ² And the centurion having perceived all these so great miracles, went away and reported them to Pilate. And when he heard, he wondered and was astonished, and from his fear and grief would neither eat nor drink that day. And he sent notice, and all the Sanhedrin came to him as soon as the darkness was past; and he said to the people: You know how the sun has been darkened; you know how the curtain has been rent. Certainly I did well in being by no means willing to put to death the good man. And the malefactors said to Pilate: This darkness is an eclipse of the sun, such as has happened also at other times. Then they say to him: We hold the feast of unleavened bread to-morrow; and we entreat thee, since the crucified are still breathing, that their bones be broken, and that they be brought down. Pilate said: It shall be so. He therefore sent soldiers, and they found the two

robbers yet breathing, and they broke their legs; but finding Jesus dead, they did not touch Him at all, except that a soldier speared Him in the right side, and immediately there came forth blood and water.

3 And as the day of the preparation was drawing towards evening, Joseph, a man well-born and rich, a God-fearing Jew, finding Nicodemus, whose sentiments his foregoing speech had shown, says to him: I know that thou didst love Jesus when living, and didst gladly hear his words, and I saw thee fighting with the Jews on his account. If, then, it seem good to thee, let us go to Pilate, and beg the body of Jesus for burial, because it is a great sin for him to lie unburied. I am afraid, said Nicodemus, lest Pilate should be enraged, and some evil should befall me. But if thou wilt go alone, and beg the dead, and take him, then will I also go with thee, and help thee to do everything necessary for the burial. Nicodemus having thus spoken, Joseph directed his eyes to heaven, and prayed that he might not fail in his request; and he went away to Pilate, and having saluted him, sat down. Then he says to him: I entreat thee, my lord, not to be angry with me, if I shall ask anything contrary to what seems good to your highness. And he said: And what is it that thou askest? Joseph says: Jesus, the good man whom through hatred the Jews have taken away to crucify, him I entreat that thou give me for burial. Pilate says:

4 And what has happened, that we should deliver to be honoured again the dead body of him against whom evidence of sorcery was brought by his nation, and who was in suspicion of taking the kingdom of Cæsar, and so was given up by us to death? And Joseph, weeping and in great grief, fell at the feet of Pilate, saying: My lord, let no hatred fall upon a dead man; for all the evil that a man has done should perish with him in his death. And I know your highness, how eager thou wast that Jesus should not be crucified, and how much thou saidst to the Jews on his behalf, now in entreaty and again in anger, and at last how thou didst wash thy hands, and declare that thou wouldst by no means take part with those who wished him to be put to death; for all which reasons I entreat thee not to refuse my request. Pilate, therefore, seeing Joseph thus lying, and supplicating, and weeping, raised him up, and said: Go, I grant thee this dead man; take him, and do whatever thou wilt.

5 And then Joseph, having thanked Pilate, and kissed his hands and his garments, went forth, rejoicing indeed in heart as having obtained his desire, but carrying tears in his eyes. Thus also, though grieved, he was glad.

Accordingly he goes away to Nicodemus, and discloses to him all that had happened. Then, having bought myrrh and aloes a hundred pounds, and a new tomb, they, along with the mother of God and Mary Magdalene and Salome, along with John, and the rest of the women, did what was customary for the body with white linen, and placed it in the tomb. And the mother of God said, weeping: How am I not to lament thee, my son? How should I not tear my face with my nails? This is that, my son, which Symeon the elder foretold to me when I brought thee, an infant of forty days old, into the temple. This is the sword which now goes through my soul. Who shall put a stop to my tears, my sweetest son? No one at all except thyself alone, if, as thou saidst, thou shalt rise again in three days.

6 Mary Magdalene said, weeping: Hear, O peoples, tribes, and tongues, and learn to what death the lawless Jews have delivered him who did them ten thousand good deeds. Hear, and be astonished. Who will let these things be heard by all the world? I shall go alone to Rome, to the Cæsar. I shall show him what evil Pilate hath done in obeying the lawless Jews. Likewise also, Joseph lamented, saying: Ah, me! sweetest Jesus, most excellent of men, if indeed it be proper to call thee man, who hast wrought such miracles as no man has ever done. How shall I enshroud thee? How shall I entomb thee? There should now have been here those whom thou fedst with a few loaves; for thus should I not have seemed to fail in what is due. Then Joseph, along with Nicodemus, went home; and likewise also the mother of God, with the women, John also being present with them.

CHAPTER 12

1 Chapter 12. When the Jews were made acquainted with these things done by Joseph and Nicodemus, they were greatly stirred up against them. And the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas sent for Joseph, and said: Why hast thou done this service to Jesus? Joseph says: I know that Jesus was a man just, and true, and good in all respects; and I know also that you, through hatred, managed to murder him: and therefore I buried him. Then the high priests were enraged, and laid hold of Joseph, and threw him into prison, and said to him: If we had not to-morrow the feast of unleavened bread, tomorrow also should we have put thee, like him, to death; but being kept in the meantime, early in the morning of the Lord's day thou shalt be given up to death. Thus they spoke, and affixed their seal to the prison, having secured it by fastenings of all sorts.

² Thus, therefore, when the Preparation was ended, early on the Sabbath the Jews went away to Pilate, and said to him: My lord, that deceiver said, that after three days he should rise again. Lest, therefore, his disciples should steal him by night, and lead the people astray by such deceit, order his tomb to be guarded. Pilate therefore, upon this, gave them five hundred soldiers, who also sat round the sepulchre so as to guard it, after having put seals upon the stone of the tomb. The Lord's day, then, having dawned, the chief priests, along with the Jews, called a council, and sent to take Joseph out of the prison, in order to put him to death. But having opened it, they found him not. And they were astonished at this—how, with the doors shut, and the bolts safe, and the seals unbroken, Joseph had disappeared.

CHAPTER 13

¹ Chapter 13. And upon this there came up one of the soldiers guarding the tomb, and he said in the synagogue: Learn that Jesus has risen. The Jews say: How? And he said: First there was an earthquake; then an angel of the Lord, clothed with lightning, came from heaven, and rolled the stone from the tomb, and sat upon it. And from fear of him, all of us soldiers became as dead, and were able neither to flee nor speak. And we heard the angels saying to the women who came there to see the tomb: Be not you afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus. He is not here, but is risen, as He told you before. Bend down and see the tomb where His body lay; but go and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead, and let them go into Galilee, for there shall they find Him. For this reason I tell you this first.

² The Jews say to the soldiers: What sort of women were they who came to the tomb? and why did you not lay hold of them? The soldiers say: From the fear and the mere sight of the angel, we were able neither to speak nor move. The Jews said: As the God of Israel liveth, we do not believe a word you say. The soldiers say: Jesus did so great wonders, and you believed not, and are you going to believe us? You say truly that God liveth; and certainly he whom you crucified truly liveth. But we have heard that you had Joseph shut up in the prison, and that you afterwards opened the doors, and did not find him. Do you then present Joseph, and so we also shall present Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph, that fled from the prison, you will find in Arimathæa, his own country. And the soldiers say: Go you too into Galilee, and you will find Jesus, as the angel said to the women.

³ At these words the Jews were afraid, and said to the soldiers: See that you tell this story to nobody, or all will believe in Jesus. And for this reason they gave them also much money. And the soldiers said: We are afraid lest by any chance Pilate hear that we have taken money, and he will kill us. And the Jews said: Take it; and we pledge ourselves that we shall speak to Pilate in your defence. Only say that you were asleep, and in your slumber the disciples of Jesus came and stole him from the tomb. The soldiers therefore took the money, and said as they were bid. And up to this day this same lying tale is told among the Jews.

CHAPTER 14

¹ Chapter 14. And a few days after there came from Galilee to Jerusalem three men. One of them was a priest, by name Phinees; the second a Levite, by name Aggai; and the third a soldier, by name Adas. These came to the chief priests, and said to them and to the people: Jesus, whom you crucified, we have seen in Galilee with his eleven disciples upon the Mount of Olives, teaching them, and saying, Go into all the world, and proclaim the good news; and whosoever will believe and be baptized shall be saved; but whosoever will not believe shall be condemned. And having thus spoken, he went up into heaven. And both we and many others of the five hundred besides were looking on. And when the chief priests and the Jews heard these things, they said to these three: Give glory to the God of Israel, and repent of these lies that you have told. They answered: As the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob liveth, we do not lie, but tell you the truth. Then the high priest spoke, and they brought the old covenant of the Hebrews out of the temple, and he made them swear, and giving them also money, he sent them into another place, in order that they might not proclaim in Jerusalem the resurrection of Christ.

² And when these stories had been heard by all the people, the crowd came together into the temple, and there was a great commotion. For many said: Jesus has risen from the dead, as we hear, and why did you crucify him? And Annas and Caiaphas said: Do not believe, ye Jews, what the soldiers say; and do not believe that they saw an angel coming down from heaven. For we have given money to the soldiers, in order that they should not tell such tales to any one; and thus also have the disciples of Jesus given them money, in order that they should say that Jesus has risen from the dead.

CHAPTER 15

¹Chapter 15. Nicodemus says: O children of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the prophet Helias went up into the height of heaven with a fiery chariot, and it is nothing incredible if Jesus too has risen; for the prophet Helias was a prototype of Jesus, in order that you, hearing that Jesus has risen, might not disbelieve. I therefore say and advise, that it is befitting that we send soldiers into Galilee, to that place where these men testify that they saw him with his disciples, in order that they may go round about and find him, and that thus we may ask pardon of him for the evil which we have done to him. This proposal pleased them; and they chose soldiers, and sent them away into Galilee. And Jesus indeed they did not find; but they found Joseph in Arimathæa. When, therefore, the soldiers had returned, the chief priests, having ascertained that Joseph was found, brought the people together, and said: What shall we do to get Joseph to come to us? After deliberating, therefore, they wrote to him a letter to the following effect:—O father Joseph, peace be to thee and all thy house, and thy friends! We know that we have offended against God, and against thee His servant. On account of this, we entreat thee to come here to us thy children. For we have wondered much how thou didst escape from the prison, and we say in truth that we had an evil design against thee. But God, seeing that our designs against thee were unjust, has delivered thee out of our hands. But come to us, for thou art the honour of our people.

²This letter the Jews sent to Arimathæa, with seven soldiers, friends of Joseph. And they went away and found him; and having respectfully saluted him, as they had been ordered, they gave him the letter. And after receiving it and reading it, he glorified God, and embraced the soldiers; and having set a table, ate and drank with them during all the day and the night. And on the following day he set out with them to Jerusalem; and the people came forth to meet him, and embraced him. And Nicodemus received him into his own house. And the day after, Annas and Caiaphas, the chief priests, having summoned him to the temple, said to him: Give glory to the God of Israel, and tell us the truth. For we know that thou didst bury Jesus; and on this account we laid hold of thee, and locked thee up in the prison. Thereafter, when we sought to bring thee out to be put to death, we did not find thee, and we were greatly astonished and afraid. Moreover, we prayed to God that we might find thee, and ask thee. Tell us therefore the truth.

³Joseph said to them: In the evening of the Preparation, when you secured me in prison, I fell a-praying throughout the whole night, and throughout the whole day of the Sabbath. And at midnight I see the prison-house that four angels lifted it up, holding it by the four corners. And Jesus came in like lightning, and I fell to the ground from fear. Taking hold of me, therefore, by the hand, he raised me, saying, Fear not, Joseph. Thereafter, embracing me, he kissed me, and said, Turn thyself, and see who I am. Turning myself, therefore, and looking, I said, My lord, I know not who thou art. He says, I am Jesus, whom thou didst bury the day before yesterday. I say to him, Show me the tomb, and then I shall believe. He took me, therefore, by the hand, and led me away to the tomb, which had been opened. And seeing the linen and the napkin, and recognising him, I said, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; and I adored him. Then taking me by the hand, and accompanied by the angels, he brought me to my house in Arimathæa, and said to me, Sit here for forty days; for I go to my disciples, in order that I may enable them fully to proclaim my resurrection.

CHAPTER 16

¹ Chapter 16. When Joseph had thus spoken, the chief priests cried out to the people: We know that Jesus had a father and mother; how can we believe that he is the Christ? One of the Levites answered and said: I know the family of Jesus, noble-minded men, great servants of God, and receiving tithes from the people of the Jews. And I know also Symeon the elder, that he received him when he was an infant, and said to him: Now thou sendest away Thy servant, O Lord. The Jews said: Let us now find the three men that saw him on the Mount of Olives, that we may question them, and learn the truth more accurately. They found them, and brought them before all, and made them swear to tell the truth. And they said: As the God of Israel liveth, we saw Jesus alive on the Mount of Olives, and going up into heaven.

² Then Annas and Caiaphas took the three apart, one by one, and questioned them singly in private. They agreed with one another, therefore, and gave, even the three, one account. The chief priests answered, saying: Our Scripture says that every word shall be established by two or three witnesses. Joseph, then, has confessed that he, along with Nicodemus, attended to his body, and buried him, and how it is the truth that he has risen.

Acts of Pilate: Latin Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus: the trial, the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus, told as the record of Pilate's court. This is the Latin form.

PROLOGUE

¹The Gospel of Nicodemus. Part I.—The Acts of Pilate. Latin Form. I Æneas was at first a protector of the Hebrews, and follower of the law; then the grace of the Saviour and His great gift took possession of me. I recognised Christ Jesus in holy Scripture; I came to Him, and embraced His faith, so that I might become worthy of His holy baptism. First of all I searched for the memoirs written in those times about our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews published in the age of Pontius Pilate, and we found them in Hebrew writings, drawn up in the age of the Lord Jesus Christ; and I translated them into the language of the Gentiles, in the reign of the eminent Theodosius, who was fulfilling his seventeenth consulship, and of Valentinian, consul for the fifth time in the ninth indiction. Whosoever of you read this book, and transfer it to other copies, remember me, and pray for me, Æneas, least of the servants of God, that He be merciful to me, and pardon my sins which I have committed against Him. Peace be to all who shall read these, and to all their house, for ever! Amen.

²Now it came to pass, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, son of Herod king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth day before the kalends of April, which is the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, in the consulship of Rufinus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the 202d Olympiad, under the rule of Joseph and Caiaphas, priests of the Jews: the things done by the chief priests and the rest of the Jews, which Nicodemus recorded after the

cross and passion of the Lord, Nicodemus himself committed to Hebrew letters.

CHAPTER 1

¹ Chapter 1. Annas and Caiaphas, Summas and Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Neptalim, Alexander and Jairus, and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate, accusing the Lord Jesus Christ of many things, and saying: We know him to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king. Not only so, but he also breaks the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers. Pilate says: What is it that he does, and wishes to destroy the law? The Jews say: We have a law, not to heal any one on the Sabbath; but he, by evil arts, heals on the Sabbath the lame and the hunchbacked, the blind, the palsied, the lepers, and the demoniacs. Pilate says to them: By what evil arts? They say to him: He is a sorcerer; and by Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casts out demons, and they are all subject to him. Pilate says to them: It is not in an unclean spirit to cast out demons, but in the god of Scolapius.

² The Jews say: We pray thy majesty to set him before thy tribunal to be heard. Pilate, calling the Jews to him, says to them: How can I, seeing that I am a governor, hear a king? They say to him: We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says he is. And Pilate, calling a runner, says to him: Let Jesus be brought in with kindness. And the runner, going out and recognising Him, adored Him, and spread on the ground the cloak which he carried in his hand, saying: My lord, walk upon this, and come in, because the governor calls thee. But the Jews, seeing what the runner did, cried out against Pilate, saying: Why didst not thou make him come in by the voice of a crier, but by a runner? for the runner, too, seeing him, has adored him, and has spread out before him on the ground the cloak which he held in his hand, and has said to him: My lord, the governor calls thee.

³ And Pilate, calling the runner, says to him: Wherefore hast thou done this, and honoured Jesus, who is called Christ? The runner says to him: When thou didst send me into Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews breaking branches from the trees, strewing them in the way; and others held branches in their hands; and others spread their garments in the way, shouting and saying, Save, therefore, Thou who art in the highest; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord! The Jews cried out, saying against the runner: The chil-

dren of the Hebrews indeed cried out in Hebrew. How canst thou, a Gentile, know this? The runner says to them: I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it that they cry out in Hebrew? and he explained to me. Pilate says to them: And how did they cry out in Hebrew? The Jews said: Osanna in the highest! Pilate says to them: What is the meaning of Osanna in the highest? They say to him: Save us, Thou who art in the highest. Pilate says to them: If you yourselves bear witness to the terms and words in which the children cried out, in what has the runner sinned? And they were silent. The governor says to the runner: Go out, and lead him in, in whatever way thou wilt. And the runner, going forth, did after the same form as before, and says to Jesus: My lord, go in, because the governor calls thee.

⁴ As Jesus, then, was going in, and the standard-bearers bearing the standards, the heads of the standards were bowed of themselves, and adored Jesus. And the Jews, seeing the standards, how they bowed themselves and adored Jesus, cried out the more against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews: Do you not wonder at the way in which the standards have bowed themselves and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate: we saw how the men carrying the standards bowed themselves and adored Jesus. And the governor, calling the standard-bearers, says to them: Why have you so done? They say to Pilate: We are Gentile men, and slaves of the temples: how had we to adore him? for when we were holding the figures, they themselves bowed and adored him. Pilate says to the chiefs of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Choose ye men powerful and strong, and let them hold the standards, and let us see whether they will bow of themselves. And the elders of the Jews, taking twelve men very strong and powerful, made them hold the standards, six and six; and they stood before the governor's tribunal. Pilate says to the runner: Take out Jesus outside of the *prætorium*, and bring him in again, in whatever way thou wilt. And Jesus and the runner went outside of the *prætorium*. And Pilate, calling those who had formerly held the standards, said to them: By the health of *Cæsar*, if the standards do not bow themselves when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the governor ordered Jesus to come in a second time. And the runner did after the same form as before, and besought Jesus much that He would go up and walk upon his cloak. And He walked upon it, and went in. And as Jesus was going in, immediately the standards bowed themselves, and adored Jesus.

CHAPTER 2

¹ Chapter 2. And Pilate seeing, fear seized him, and immediately he wished to rise from the tribunal. And while he was thinking of this, viz., to rise and go away, his wife sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much on account of him this night. And Pilate, calling the Jews, said to them: Ye know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and in Judaism thinks rather with you. The Jews say to him: So it is, and we know. Pilate says to them: Lo, my wife has sent to me, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, said to Pilate: Did we not say to thee that he is a magician? Lo, he has sent a vision of dreams to thy wife.

² Pilate called Jesus, and said to him: What is it that these witness against thee, and sayest thou nothing to them? And Jesus answered: If they had not the power, they would not speak. Every one has power over his own mouth to say good and evil; let them see to it. And the elders of the Jews answering, say to Jesus: What shall we see? First, that thou wast born of fornication; second, that at thy birth in Bethlehem there took place a massacre of infants; third, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people. Some of the bystanders, kind men of the Jews, say: We say that he was not born of fornication; but we know that Mary was espoused to Joseph, and that he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This speech of yours is not true, seeing that the betrothal took place, as these of your nation say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: We with all the multitude say that he was born of fornication, and that he is a magician; but these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They have been born sons of the Gentiles, and then have become Jews. Then answered those who testified that Jesus was not born of fornication, Lazarus and Asterius, Antonius and James, Annes and Azaras, Samuel and Isaac, Finees and Crispus, Agrippa and Judas: We were not born proselytes, but are sons of the Jews, and we speak the truth; for we were present at the betrothal of Mary.

³ And Pilate, calling to him those twelve men who proved that Jesus had not been born of fornication, said to them: I adjure you by the health of Cæsar, tell me if it be true that Jesus was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate: We have a law not to swear, because it is a sin; but let them swear by

the health of Cæsar that it is not as we say, and we are worthy of death. Then said Pilate to Annas and Caiaphas: Answer you nothing to those things which these testify? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: Those twelve are believed that he is not born of fornication; we—all the people—cry out that he was born of fornication, and is a magician, and says that he himself is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed. And Pilate ordered all the multitude to go outside, except the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, and ordered to separate Jesus from them. And Pilate says to them: For what reason do the Jews wish to put Jesus to death? And they say to him: They are angry because he heals on the Sabbath. Pilate said: For a good work do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: Yes, my lord.

CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3. Pilate, filled with fury, went forth outside of the prætorium, and says to them: I take the sun to witness that I find in this man not even one fault. The Jews answered and said to the governor: If he were not an evil-doer, we should never have delivered him to thee. Pilate says to them: Take him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews answered: It is not permitted to us to put any one to death. Pilate says to them: Has God said to you not to put any one to death? has He therefore said to me that I am to kill? Pilate, having again gone into the prætorium, called Jesus to him privately, and said to Him: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate: Speakest thou this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered: Am I a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have delivered thee to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answering, said: My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would assuredly strive that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said to Him: Art thou then a king? Jesus said to him: Thou sayest that I am a king. For I for this was born, and for this have I come, that I should bear witness to the truth; and every one who is of the truth hears my voice. Pilate says to him: What is truth? Jesus says: Truth is from heaven. Pilate says: Is not there truth upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Notice how the truth-speaking are judged by those who have power upon earth.

CHAPTER 4

1 Chapter 4. Pilate therefore, leaving Jesus within the prætorium, went out to the Jews, and says to them: I find not even one fault in him. The Jews say

to him: He said, I can destroy that temple, and in three days raise it again. Pilate said to them: What temple? The Jews say to him: The temple which Solomon built in forty and six years; and he says that he can destroy and build it in three days. Pilate says to them: I am innocent of the blood of this man; see ye to it. The Jews say to him: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And Pilate, calling the elders and priests and Levites, says to them privately: Do not do so; for in nothing, though you accuse him, do I find him deserving of death, not even about the healing and the breaking of the Sabbath. The priests and Levites and elders say: Tell us, if any one blaspheme Cæsar, is he deserving of death or not? Pilate says to them: He deserves to die. The Jews answered him: How much more is he who has blasphemed God deserving to die!

² And the governor ordered the Jews to go outside of the prætorium; and calling Jesus, said to Him: What am I to do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: As it has been given thee. Pilate says: How has it been given? Jesus says: Moses and the prophets made proclamation of my death and resurrection. And the Jews, hearing this, say to Pilate: Why do you desire any more to hear blasphemy? And Pilate said: If this speech is blasphemous, do you take him, and lead him to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate: Our law holds, If a man have sinned against a man, he is worthy to receive forty less one; but he who has blasphemed against God, to be stoned. Pilate says to them: Then judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate: We wish that he be crucified. Pilate says to them: He does not deserve to be crucified.

³ And the governor, looking upon the people of the Jews standing round, saw very many of the Jews weeping, and said: All the multitude does not wish him to die. The elders say to Pilate: And for this reason have we come—the whole multitude—that he should die. Pilate said to the Jews: What has he done that he should die? They say: Because he said that he was the Son of God, and a king.

CHAPTER 5

¹ Chapter 5. But one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the governor, and said: I entreat, mercifully allow me to say a few words. Pilate says to him: Say on. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and the Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews, in the synagogue, What have you to do with this man? This man does many wonders and signs, which no one of men has

done or can do. Let him go, and do not devise any evil against him: if the signs which he does are of God, they will stand; but if of men, they will come to nothing. For Moses also, being sent by God into Egypt, did many signs, which God told him to do before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And the sorcerers Jamnes and Mambres were there healing, and they did, they also, the signs which Moses did, but not all; and the Egyptians deemed them as gods, Jamnes and Mambres. And since the signs which they did were not of God, they perished, both they and those who believed in them. And now let this man go, for he is not deserving of death.

² The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and takest his part. Nicodemus says to them: Has the governor also become his disciple, and does he take his part? Has not Cæsar set him over that dignity? And the Jews were raging and gnashing with their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why do you gnash with your teeth against him, when you are hearing the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou receive his truth, and a portion with him! Nicodemus says: Amen, amen, amen; may I receive it, as you have said!

CHAPTER 6

¹ Chapter 6. And of the Jews a certain other one, starting up, asks the governor that he might say a word. The governor says: What thou wishest to say, say. And he said: For thirty-eight years I lay in infirmity in my bed in very grievous pain. And at the coming of Jesus, many demoniacs, and persons held down by divers infirmities, were healed by him. And some young men had pity on me; and carrying me in my bed, laid me before him. And Jesus, seeing, had pity on me, and said the word to me, Take up thy bed, and walk. And immediately I was made whole; I took up my bed, and walked. The Jews say to Pilate: Ask him what was the day on which he was healed. He said: The Sabbath. The Jews say: Have we not so informed thee, that on the Sabbath he heals, and drives out demons?

² And a certain other Jew starting up, said: I was born blind; I heard a voice, and saw no man. And as Jesus was passing by, I cried out with a loud voice, Have pity upon me, thou son of David. And he had pity upon me, and laid his hands upon my eyes, and I saw immediately. And another Jew starting up, said: I was hunchbacked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I was leprous, and he healed me with a word.

CHAPTER 7

Chapter 7. And also a certain woman, Veronica by name, from afar off cried out to the governor: I was flowing with blood for twelve years; and I touched the fringe of his garment, and immediately the flowing of my blood stopped. The Jews say: We have a law, that a woman does not come to bear witness.

CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8. And certain others, a multitude of men and women, cried out, saying: That man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to those who said the demons are subject to him: And your masters, why are they not subject to him? They say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said to Pilate: He raised up dead Lazarus from the tomb after four days. The governor, hearing this, said trembling to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to shed innocent blood?

CHAPTER 9

¹ Chapter 9. And Pilate, calling Nicodemus and the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, says to them: What am I to do, seeing that there is a sedition among the people? They say to him: We do not know; let them see to it. Again Pilate, calling all the multitude of the Jews, said: You know that you have a custom during the day of unleavened bread, that I should release to you one that is bound. I have a notable one bound in the prison, a murderer who is called Barabbas, and Jesus who is called Christ, in whom I find no cause of death. Whom do you wish that I should release unto you? And they all cried out, saying: Release unto us Barabbas. Pilate says to them: What, then, am I to do with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say: Let him be crucified. Again the Jews said: Thou art no friend of Cæsar's if thou release this man, for he called himself the Son of God, and a king; unless, perhaps, thou wishest this man to be king, and not Cæsar.

² Then, filled with fury, Pilate said to them: Always has your nation been seditious, and always have you been opposed to those who were for you. The Jews answered: Who are for us? Pilate says to them: Your God,—who rescued you from the hard slavery of the Egyptians, and led you forth out of Egypt through the sea as if through dry land, and fed you in the desert with manna and quail, and brought water to you out of the rock, and gave you to drink, and gave you a law; and in all these things you provoked your God, and

sought for yourselves a god, a molten calf. And you exasperated your God, and He wished to slay you; and Moses made supplication for you, that ye should not die. And now you say that I hate the king. And rising up from the tribunal, he wished to go outside. And the Jews cried out, and said to him: We know that Cæsar is king, and not Jesus. For the Magi also presented gifts to him as to a king; and Herod, hearing from the Magi that a king was born, wished to slay him. But when this was known, his father Joseph took him and his mother, and fled into Egypt; and Herod hearing, destroyed the infants of the Jews which were born in Bethlehem.

³ Pilate, hearing those words, was afraid. And silence being made among the people, who were crying out, Pilate said: This, then, is he whom Herod sought? They say to him: It is he. And taking water, Pilate washed his hands in presence of the people, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. Again the Jews cried out, saying: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then Pilate ordered the veil to be loosened, and said to Jesus: Thine own nation have brought charges against thee as a king; and therefore I have sentenced thee first to be scourged on account of the statutes of the emperors, and then to be crucified on a cross.

CHAPTER 10

¹ Chapter 10. And when Jesus was scourged, he delivered Him to the Jews to be crucified, and two robbers with Him; one by name Dismas, and the other by name Gestas. And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of His garments, and girt Him about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon His head. Likewise also they hanged the two robbers with Him, Dismas on the right and Gestas on the left. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted His garments among them. And the people stood waiting; and their chief priests and judges mocked Him, saying among themselves: He saved others, now let him save himself; if he is the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers mocked Him, falling prostrate before Him, and offering vinegar with gall, and saying: If thou art the King of the Jews, set thyself free.

² And Pilate, after sentence, ordered a title to be written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin letters, according to what the Jews said: This is the King of the Jews. And one of the robbers who were hanged, by name Gestas, said to Him: If thou art the Christ, free thyself and us. And Dismas answering, rebuked him, saying: Dost not even thou fear God, who art in this condemna-

tion? for we justly and deservedly have received those things which we endure; but He has done no evil. And he kept saying to Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Verily I say unto thee, that to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.

CHAPTER 11

¹ Chapter 11. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the whole earth; and the sun was obscured, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst. And crying out with a loud voice, He said: Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. And thus saying, He gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what was done, glorified God, saying: This was a just man. And all the people who were present at that spectacle, seeing what was done, beating their breasts, returned. And the centurion reported to the governor what was done. And the governor and his wife hearing, were very sorrowful, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate, calling together the Jews, said to them: Have you seen what has been done? And they said to the governor: There has been an eclipse of the sun, as is usual.

² And his acquaintances also stood afar off, and the women who had followed Him from Galilee, seeing these things. And lo, a certain man, by name Joseph, holding office, a man good and just, who did not consent to their counsels nor their deeds, from Arimathæa, a city of the Jews, waiting, he also, for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And taking Him down from the cross, he wrapped Him in clean linen, and laid Him in his own new tomb, in which no one had been laid.

CHAPTER 12

¹ Chapter 12. ² And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought for him; and those twelve men who had said that He was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others, who had stood before Pilate and declared His good works. And all of them being hid, Nicodemus alone appeared to them, because he was a chief man of the Jews; and he says to them: How have ye come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: And thou, how hast thou come into the synagogue, seeing that thou consentest with him? May his portion be with thee in the world to come! Nicodemus said: Amen, amen, amen. Likewise also Joseph, coming forth, said to them: Why are you enraged against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Lo, I have laid him in my own new tomb, wrapping him in clean lin-

en; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the cave. And ye have not acted well against a just man, since you have not borne in mind how you crucified him, and pierced him with a lance. The Jews therefore, laying hold of Joseph, ordered him to be imprisoned because of the Sabbath-day; and they say to him: Know that the hour compels us not to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning. But understand that thou art worthy not even of burial, but we will give thy flesh to the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth. Joseph says to them:

3 That is the speech of proud Goliath, who reviled the living God against holy David. And God hath said, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. And Pilate, intercepted in his heart, took water, and washed his hands before the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I fear that some time or other the wrath of God will come upon you and your children, as you have said. And the Jews, hearing this, were embittered in heart; and taking Joseph, shut him up in a house where there was no window, and set guards at the gates, and sealed the gate where Joseph had been shut up. 4 And on the Sabbath morning they took counsel with the priests and the Levites, that they should all be assembled after the Sabbath-day. And awaking at dawn, all the multitude in the synagogue took counsel by what death they should slay him. And when the assembly was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity; and opening the gate, they found him not. All the people therefore were in terror, and wondered with exceeding astonishment, because they found the seals sealed, and because Caiaphas had the keys. And no longer did they dare to lay hand upon those who spoke before Pilate in Jesus' defence.

CHAPTER 13

1 Chapter 13. And while they were sitting in the synagogue, and recriminating about Joseph, there came certain of the guards whom they had asked from Pilate to guard the sepulchre of Jesus, lest His disciples coming should steal Him. And they reported, saying to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what had happened: how there had happened a great earthquake, and we saw how an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb, and sat upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment like snow. And for fear, we became as dead. And we heard the voice of the angel speaking to the wo-

men who had come to the sepulchre, and saying, Be not ye afraid; for I know that ye seek Jesus who was crucified: He is not here; He has risen, as He said: come and see the place where the Lord was laid. And go immediately and tell His disciples that He has risen from the dead, and will go before you into Galilee, as He said to you.

² The Jews say: To what women was he speaking? The soldiers say: We do not know who the women were. The Jews say: At what hour was it? The guards say: At midnight. The Jews say: And why did you not detain them? The guards say: We became as dead from fear of the angel, not hoping now to see the light of day; and how could we detain them? The Jews says: As the Lord God liveth, we do not believe you. And the guards said to the Jews: You have seen so great signs in that man, and have not believed; and how can you believe us, that the Lord lives? For well have ye sworn that the Lord Jesus Christ lives. Again the guards say to the Jews: we have heard that you have shut up Joseph, who begged the body of Jesus, in the prison, and have sealed it with your rings; and on opening, that you have not found him. Give us Joseph, then, and we shall give you Jesus Christ. The Jews said: Joseph has gone to Arimathea, his own city. The guards say to the Jews: And Jesus, as we have heard from the angel, is in Galilee.

³ And the Jews, hearing these sayings, feared exceedingly, saying: Lest at some time or other this saying be heard, and all believe in Jesus. And the Jews, taking counsel among themselves, brought forth a sufficient number of silver pieces, and gave to the soldiers, saying: Say that, while we slept, his disciples came and stole him. And if this be heard by the governor, we shall persuade him, and make you secure. And the soldiers, taking the money, said as they were advised by the Jews; and their saying was spread abroad among all.

CHAPTER 14

¹ Chapter 14. And Finees a certain priest, and Addas a teacher, and Egias a Levite, coming down from Galilee to Jerusalem, reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, how they had seen Jesus sitting, and his disciples with him, on the Mount of Olivet, which is called Mambre or Malech. And he said to his disciples: Go into all the world, and declare to every creature the Gospel of the kingdom of God. He who believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he who believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall follow them who believe: In my name shall they cast out

demons; they shall speak in new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they have drunk any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands upon the sick, and they shall be well. And as Jesus was thus speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.

² The priests and the Levites and the elders say to them: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to Him, whether you have both heard and seen those things which you have related. Those who had made the report say: As the Lord God of our fathers liveth, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, we have heard and seen. The Jews say to them: Have you come for this—to tell us? or have you come to give prayer to God? They said: We have come to give prayer to God. The elders and chief priests and Levites say to them: And if you have come to give prayer to God, why have you murmured before all the people about that foolish tale? Finees the priest, and Addas the teacher, and Egias the Levite, say to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: If those words which we have spoken, which we have seen and heard, be sin, behold, we are in your presence; do unto us according to that which is good in your eyes. And they, taking the law, adjured them to report the words to no one thereafter. And they gave them to eat and drink, and put them outside of the city, giving them silver and pieces, and three men with them, who should conduct them as far as Galilee.

³ Then the Jews took counsel among themselves when those men had gone up into Galilee; and the rulers of the synagogue shut themselves in, and were cut up with great fury, saying: What sign is this which hath come to pass in Israel? And Annas and Caiaphas say: Why are your souls sorrowful? Are we to believe the soldiers, that an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? No; but that his disciples have given much gold to those who were guarding the sepulchre, and have taken Jesus away, and have taught them thus to say: Say ye that an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb. Do you not know that it is unlawful for Jews to believe foreigners in a single word, knowing that these same who received sufficient gold from us have said as we taught them?

CHAPTER 15

¹ Chapter 15. And Nicodemus rising up, stood in the midst of the counsel, and said: You have said rightly. And are not the men who have come down

from Galilee God-fearing, men of peace, hating a lie? And they recounted with an oath, how “we saw Jesus sitting on Mount Mambre with his disciples, and he taught them in our hearing,” and that they saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them this: How he was taken up into heaven. And, as the writing of the holy book teaches us, holy Elias too was taken up into heaven, and Elisæus cried out with a loud voice, and Elias threw his sheepskin over Elisæus; and again Elisæus threw that sheepskin over the Jordan, and went over and came to Jericho. And the sons of the prophets met him, and said to Elisæus, Where is thy master Elias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elisæus, Has a spirit snatched him away, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But rather let us take our boys with us and seek him. And they persuaded Elisæus, and he went with them. And they sought him for three days and three nights, and found him not, because he was taken up. And now, men, hear me, and let us send into all Israel, and see lest Jesus can have been taken up somewhere or other, and thrown upon one of the mountains. And that saying pleased all. And they sent to all the mountains of Israel to seek Jesus, and they found Him not; but they found Joseph of Arimathæa, and no one dared to lay hold of him.

² And they reported to the elders and priests and Levites: We have gone round all the mountains of Israel, and not found Jesus; but we have found Joseph in Arimathæa. And hearing of Joseph, they rejoiced, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, taking counsel in what manner they should send to Joseph, took paper, and wrote to Joseph:— Peace to thee and all that is thine! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee; and thou hast prayed to the God of Israel, and He has delivered thee out of our hands. And now deign to come to thy fathers and thy children, because we have been vehemently grieved. We have all sought for thee—we who opened the door, and found thee not. We know that we counselled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord hath supplanted our counsel against thee. Thou art worthy to be honoured, father Joseph, by all the people.

³ And they chose out of all Israel seven men friendly to Joseph, whom also Joseph knew to be friendly; and the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites say to them: See, if he take the letter and read it, for certain he will come with you to us; but if he do not read it, you may know that he is ill-disposed toward us, and, saluting him in peace, return to us.

And blessing them, they sent them away. And they came to Arimathæa to Joseph, and adored him on their face upon the ground, and said: Peace to thee and all thine! And Joseph said: Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph took and read it, and rolled up the letter, and blessed God, and said: Blessed be the Lord God, who hath delivered Israel from shedding innocent blood; and blessed be God, who sent His angel, and covered me under his wings. And he kissed them, and set a table for them; and they ate and drank, and slept there.

⁴ And they rose in the morning; and Joseph saddled his ass, and travelled with them, and they came into the holy city Jerusalem. And there met them all the people, crying out, and saying: Peace be in thy coming in, father Joseph! To whom he answered and said: The peace of the Lord be upon all the people! And they all kissed him. And they prayed with Joseph, and were terrified at the sight of him. And Nicodemus took him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders and chief priests and Levites, to his house. And making merry, and eating and drinking with Joseph, they blessed God, and went every one to his own house. And Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus. ⁵ And on the next day, which is the preparation, the priests and the rulers of the synagogue and the Levites rose early, and came to the house of Nicodemus. And Nicodemus met them, and said to them: Peace to you! And they said to him: Peace to thee and Joseph, and to thy house and Joseph's house! And Nicodemus brought them into his house. And the council sat; and Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas, and no one dared to say a word. And Joseph said to them: Why have you called me? And they made signs with their eyes to Nicodemus, that he should speak with Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said: Father Joseph, thou knowest that the reverend teachers, priests, and Levites seek to hear a word from thee. And Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas, taking up the law, adjured Joseph, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to Him, that thou wilt not hide any word from us. And they said to him: With grief were we grieved that thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. Therefore we shut thee up in a house where there was no window, and put a lock and a seal on the gate; and on the first day of the week we opened the gates, and found thee not. We were therefore exceedingly grieved, and astonishment came over all the

people of God. And therefore hast thou been sent for; and now tell us what has happened.

6 Then said Joseph: On the day of the Preparation, about the tenth hour, you shut me in, and I remained there the whole Sabbath in full. And when midnight came, as I was standing and praying, the house where you shut me in was hung up by the four corners, and there was a flashing of light in mine eyes. And I fell to the ground trembling. Then some one lifted me up from the place where I had fallen, and poured over me an abundance of water from the head even to the feet, and put round my nostrils the odour of a wonderful ointment, and rubbed my face with the water itself, as if washing me, and kissed me, and said to me, Joseph, fear not; but open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking, I saw Jesus; and being terrified, I thought it was a phantom. And with prayer and the commandments I spoke to him, and he spoke with me. And I said to him: Art thou Rabbi Elias? And he said to me: I am not Elias. And I said: Who art thou, my lord? And he said to me: I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate, and wrap in clean linen; and thou didst lay a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and roll a stone to the door of the tomb. Then I said to him that was speaking to me: Show me, Lord, where I laid thee.

7 And he led me, and showed me the place where I laid him, and the linen which I had put on him, and the napkin which I had wrapped upon his face; and I knew that it was Jesus. And he took hold of me with his hand, and put me in the midst of my house though the gates were shut, and put me in my bed, and said to me: Peace to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me: For forty days go not out of thy house; for, lo, I go to my brethren into Galilee.

CHAPTER 16

1 Chapter 16. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, hearing these words from Joseph, became as it were dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Joseph and Nicodemus entreated them, saying: Arise and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and comfort your souls, seeing that to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they arose, and entreated the Lord, and ate and drank, and went every man to his own house. And on the Sabbath the teachers and doctors sat questioning each other, and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? because we know his father and mother. Levi the teacher said: I know that his

parents fear God, and never depart from prayer, and give tithes thrice a-year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him up to this place, and gave to God sacrifices and burnt-offerings. And assuredly the great teacher Simeon took him into his arms, saying: Now Thou sendest away Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light for the revealing of the nations, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And he blessed Mary his mother, and said, I make an announcement to thee concerning this child. And Mary said, Well, my lord. And Simeon said, Well. And he said again, Lo, he has been set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; and a sword shall pierce thine own soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

2 And the Jews said to Levi: And how knowest thou these things? Levi says: Do you not know that from him I learned the law? They of the council say: We wish to see thy father. And they searched out his father, and got information; for he said: Why did you not believe my son? The blessed and just Simeon taught him the law. The council says to Rabbi Levi: The saying which thou hast spoken is true. The chief priests and rulers of the synagogue, and Levites, said to each other: Come, let us send into Galilee to the three men who came hither and gave an account of his teaching and his being taken up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up into heaven. And that saying pleased all. Then they sent three men into Galilee; and Go, said they, say to Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Finees and Rabbi Egias, Peace to you and yours! Many investigations have been made in the council concerning Jesus; therefore have we been instructed to call you to the holy place, to Jerusalem.

3 The men went to Galilee, and found them sitting, and meditating on the law. And they saluted them in peace. And they said: Why have you come? The messengers said: The council summon you to the holy city Jerusalem. And the men, hearing that they were sought for by the council, prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank with them. And rising in the morning, they went to Jerusalem in peace. And on the morrow the council sat; and they questioned them, saying: Did you plainly see Jesus sitting on Mount Mambre teaching his disciples, and taken up into heaven?

4 First Addas the teacher says: I really saw him sitting on Mount Mambre teaching his disciples; and a shining cloud overshadowed him and his disciples, and he went up into heaven; and his disciples prayed upon their faces

on the ground. And calling Finees the priest, they questioned him also, saying: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? And he said the same as the other. And again they called the third, Rabbi Egias, and questioned him, and he said the same as the first and second. And those who were in the council said: The law of Moses holds that by the mouth of two or three every word should stand. Abudem, a teacher, one of the doctors, says: It is written in the law, Enoch walked with God, and was translated; for God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said: And we have heard of the death of holy Moses, and have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord, And Moses died according to the word of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his burying even to the present day. Rabbi Levi said: What is it that Rabbi Simeon said: Lo, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against? Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law, Lo, I send mine angel, who shall go before thy face to keep thee in every good way, because I have brought his new name.

5 Then Annas and Caiaphas said: Rightly have ye said that these things are written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no one has named the burying of holy Moses. And Jesus gave account to Pilate, and we saw him scourged, and receiving spitting on his face; and the soldiers put a crown of thorns on him, and he received sentence from Pilate; and then he was crucified, and they gave him gall and vinegar to drink, and two robbers were crucified with him, and the soldier Longinus pierced his side with a lance; and our honourable father Joseph begged his body, and he has risen again, and, as they say, the three teachers have seen him taken up into heaven. And Rabbi Levi has borne witness to what was said by Simeon the elder—that he has been set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against.

6 Then Didas, a teacher, said to all the assembly: If all the things which these have borne witness to have come to pass in Jesus, they are from God, and let it not be wonderful in our eyes. The chiefs of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, said to each other how our law holds, saying: His name shall be blessed for ever: His place endureth before the sun, and His seat before the moon: and all the tribes of earth shall be blessed in Him, and all nations shall serve Him; and kings shall come from far, adoring and magnifying Him.

Descent of Christ into Hell: Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus: how Christ went down into Hades and set the righteous free. This is the Greek form.

CHAPTER 1

¹The Gospel of Nicodemus. Part II.—The Descent of Christ into Hell. Greek Form. Chapter 1 (17). Joseph says: And why do you wonder that Jesus has risen? But it is wonderful that He has not risen alone, but that He has also raised many others of the dead who have appeared in Jerusalem to many. And if you do not know the others, Symeon at least, who received Jesus, and his two sons whom He has raised up—they at least you know. For we buried them not long ago; but now their tombs are seen open and empty, and they are alive, and dwelling in Arimathæa. They therefore sent men, and they found their tombs open and empty. Joseph says: Let us go to Arimathæa and find them. Then rose up the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, and Joseph, and Nicodemus, and Gamaliel, and others with them, and went away to Arimathæa, and found those whom Joseph spoke of. They made prayer, therefore, and saluted each other. Then they came with them to Jerusalem, and brought them into the synagogue, and secured the doors, and placed in the midst the old covenant of the Jews; and the chief priests said to them: We wish you to swear by the God of Israel and Adonai, and so that you tell the truth, how you have risen, and who has raised you from the dead.

²The men who had risen having heard this, made upon their faces the sign of the cross, and said to the chief priests: Give us paper and ink and pen. These therefore they brought. And sitting down, they wrote thus:—

CHAPTER 2

¹Chapter 2 (18). O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the world, grant us grace that we may give an account of Thy resurrection, and

Thy miracles which Thou didst in Hades. We then were in Hades, with all who had fallen asleep since the beginning of the world. And at the hour of midnight there rose a light as if of the sun, and shone into these dark regions; and we were all lighted up, and saw each other. And straightway our father Abraham was united with the patriarchs and the prophets, and at the same time they were filled with joy, and said to each other: This light is from a great source of light. The prophet Hesaias, who was there present, said: This light is from the Father, and from the Son, and from the Holy Spirit; about whom I prophesied when yet alive, saying, The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, the people that sat in darkness, have seen a great light.

2 Then there came into the midst another, an ascetic from the desert; and the patriarchs said to him: Who art thou? And he said: I am John, the last of the prophets, who made the paths of the Son of God straight, and proclaimed to the people repentance for the remission of sins. And the Son of God came to me; and I, seeing Him a long way off, said to the people: Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. And with my hand I baptized Him in the river Jordan, and I saw like a dove also the Holy Spirit coming upon Him; and I heard also the voice of God, even the Father, thus saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And on this account He sent me also to you, to proclaim how the only begotten Son of God is coming here, that whosoever shall believe in Him shall be saved, and whosoever shall not believe in Him shall be condemned. On this account I say to you all, in order that when you see Him you all may adore Him, that now only is for you the time of repentance for having adored idols in the vain upper world, and for the sins you have committed, and that this is impossible at any other time.

CHAPTER 3

1 Chapter 3 (19). While John, therefore, was thus teaching those in Hades, the first created and forefather Adam heard, and said to his son Seth: My son, I wish thee to tell the forefathers of the race of men and the prophets where I sent thee, when it fell to my lot to die. And Seth said: Prophets and patriarchs, hear. When my father Adam, the first created, was about to fall once upon a time into death, he sent me to make entreaty to God very close by the gate of paradise, that He would guide me by an angel to the tree of compassion and that I might take oil and anoint my father, and that he might rise up from his sickness: which thing, therefore, I also did. And after the prayer

an angel of the Lord came, and said to me: What, Seth, dost thou ask? Dost thou ask oil which raiseth up the sick, or the tree from which this oil flows, on account of the sickness of thy father? This is not to be found now. Go, therefore, and tell thy father, that after the accomplishing of five thousand five hundred years from the creation of the world, then shalt come into the earth the only begotten Son of God, being made man; and He shall anoint him with this oil, and shall raise him up; and shall wash clean, with water and with the Holy Spirit, both him and those out of him, and then shall he be healed of every disease; but now this is impossible.

² When the patriarchs and the prophets heard these words, they rejoiced greatly.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Chapter 4 (20). And when all were in such joy, came Satan the heir of darkness, and said to Hades: O all-devouring and insatiable, hear my words. There is of the race of the Jews one named Jesus, calling himself the Son of God; and being a man, by our working with them the Jews have crucified him: and now when he is dead, be ready that we may secure him here. For I know that he is a man, and I heard him also saying, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death. He has also done me many evils when living with mortals in the upper world. For wherever he found my servants, he persecuted them; and whatever men I made crooked, blind, lame, lepers, or any such thing, by a single word he healed them; and many whom I had got ready to be buried, even these through a single word he brought to life again.

² Hades says: And is this man so powerful as to do such things by a single word? or if he be so, canst thou withstand him? It seems to me that, if he be so, no one will be able to withstand him. And if thou sayest that thou didst hear him dreading death, he said this mocking thee, and laughing, wishing to seize thee with the strong hand; and woe, woe to thee, to all eternity! Satan says: O all-devouring and insatiable Hades, art thou so afraid at hearing of our common enemy? I was not afraid of him, but worked in the Jews, and they crucified him, and gave him also to drink gall with vinegar. Make ready, then, in order that you may lay fast hold of him when he comes.

³ Hades answered: Heir of darkness, son of destruction, devil, thou hast just now told me that many whom thou hadst made ready to be buried, be brought to life again by a single word. And if he has delivered others from the tomb, how and with what power shall he be laid hold of by us? For I not

long ago swallowed down one dead, Lazarus by name; and not long after, one of the living by a single word dragged him up by force out of my bowels: and I think that it was he of whom thou speakest. If, therefore, we receive him here, I am afraid lest perchance we be in danger even about the rest. For, lo, all those that I have swallowed from eternity I perceive to be in commotion, and I am pained in my belly. And the snatching away of Lazarus beforehand seems to me to be no good sign: for not like a dead body, but like an eagle, he flew out of me; for so suddenly did the earth throw him out. Wherefore also I adjure even thee, for thy benefit and for mine, not to bring him here; for I think that he is coming here to raise all the dead. And this I tell thee: by the darkness in which we live, if thou bring him here, not one of the dead will be left behind in it to me.

CHAPTER 5

1 Chapter 5 (21). While Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other, there was a great voice like thunder, saying: Lift up your gates, O ye rulers; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. When Hades heard, he said to Satan: Go forth, if thou art able, and withstand him. Satan therefore went forth to the outside. Then Hades says to his demons: Secure well and strongly the gates of brass and the bars of iron, and attend to my bolts, and stand in order, and see to everything; for if he come in here, woe will seize us. The forefathers having heard this, began all to revile him, saying: O all-devouring and insatiable! open, that the King of glory may come in. David the prophet says: Dost thou not know, O blind, that I when living in the world prophesied this saying: Lift up your gates, O ye rulers? Hesaias said: I, foreseeing this by the Holy Spirit, wrote: The dead shall rise up, and those in their tombs shall be raised, and those in the earth shall rejoice. And where, O death, is thy sting? where, O Hades, is thy victory?

2 There came, then, again a voice saying: Lift up the gates. Hades, hearing the voice the second time, answered as if forsooth he did not know, and says: Who is this King of glory? The angels of the Lord say: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. And immediately with these words the brazen gates were shattered, and the iron bars broken, and all the dead who had been bound came out of the prisons, and we with them. And the King of glory came in in the form of a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up.

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6 (22). Immediately Hades cried out: We have been conquered: woe to us! But who art thou, that hast such power and might? and what art thou, who comest here without sin who art seen to be small and yet of great power, lowly and exalted, the slave and the master, the soldier and the king, who hast power over the dead and the living? Thou wast nailed on the cross, and placed in the tomb; and now thou art free, and hast destroyed all our power. Art thou then the Jesus about whom the chief satrap Satan told us, that through cross and death thou art to inherit the whole world? Then the King of glory seized the chief satrap Satan by the head, and delivered him to His angels, and said: With iron chains bind his hands and his feet, and his neck, and his mouth. Then He delivered him to Hades, and said: Take him, and keep him secure till my second appearing.

CHAPTER 7

Chapter 7 (23). And Hades receiving Satan, said to him: Beelzebul, heir of fire and punishment, enemy of the saints, through what necessity didst thou bring about that the King of glory should be crucified, so that he should come here and deprive us of our power? Turn and see that not one of the dead has been left in me, but all that thou hast gained through the tree of knowledge, all hast thou lost through the tree of the cross: and all thy joy has been turned into grief; and wishing to put to death the King of glory, thou hast put thyself to death. For, since I have received thee to keep thee safe, by experience shalt thou learn how many evils I shall do unto thee. O arch-devil, the beginning of death, root of sin, end of all evil, what evil didst thou find in Jesus, that thou shouldst compass his destruction? how hast thou dared to do such evil? how hast thou busied thyself to bring down such a man into this darkness, through whom thou hast been deprived of all who have died from eternity?

CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8 (24). While Hades was thus discoursing to Satan, the King of glory stretched out His right hand, and took hold of our forefather Adam, and raised him. Then turning also to the rest, He said: Come all with me, as many as have died through the tree which he touched: for, behold, I again raise you all up through the tree of the cross. Thereupon He brought them all out, and our forefather Adam seemed to be filled with joy, and said: I thank

Thy majesty, O Lord, that Thou hast brought me up out of the lowest Hades. Likewise also all the prophets and the saints said: We thank Thee, O Christ, Saviour of the world, that Thou hast brought our life up out of destruction. And after they had thus spoken, the Saviour blessed Adam with the sign of the cross on his forehead, and did this also to the patriarchs, and prophets, and martyrs, and forefathers; and He took them, and sprang up out of Hades. And while He was going, the holy fathers accompanying Him sang praises, saying: Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord: Alleluia; to Him be the glory of all the saints.

CHAPTER 9

Chapter 9 (25). And setting out to paradise, He took hold of our forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the just, to the archangel Michael. And as they were going into the door of paradise, there met them two old men, to whom the holy fathers said: Who are you, who have not seen death, and have not come down into Hades, but who dwell in paradise in your bodies and your souls? One of them answered, and said: I am Enoch, who was well-pleasing to God, and who was translated hither by Him; and this is Helias the Thesbite; and we are also to live until the end of the world; and then we are to be sent by God to withstand Antichrist, and to be slain by him, and after three days to rise again, and to be snatched up in clouds to meet the Lord.

CHAPTER 10

¹ Chapter 10 (26). While they were thus speaking, there came another lowly man, carrying also upon his shoulders a cross, to whom the holy fathers said: Who art thou, who hast the look of a robber; and what is the cross which thou bearest upon thy shoulders? He answered: I, as you say, was a robber and a thief in the world, and for these things the Jews laid hold of me, and delivered me to the death of the cross, along with our Lord Jesus Christ. While, then, He was hanging upon the cross, I, seeing the miracles that were done, believed in Him, and entreated Him, and said, Lord, when Thou shalt be King, do not forget me. And immediately He said to me, Amen, amen: to-day, I say unto thee, shalt thou be with me in paradise. Therefore I came to paradise carrying my cross; and finding the archangel Michael, I said to him, Our Lord Jesus, who has been crucified, has sent me here; bring me, therefore, to the gate of Eden. And the flaming sword, seeing the sign of the

cross, opened to me, and I went in. Then the archangel says to me, Wait a little, for there cometh also the forefather of the race of men, Adam, with the just, that they too may come in. And now, seeing you, I came to meet you.

² The saints hearing these things, all cried out with a loud voice: Great is our Lord, and great is His strength.

CHAPTER 11

Chapter 11 (27). All these things we saw and heard; we, the two brothers, who also have been sent by Michael the archangel, and have been ordered to proclaim the resurrection of the Lord, but first to go away to the Jordan and to be baptized. Thither also we have gone, and have been baptized with the rest of the dead who have risen. Thereafter also we came to Jerusalem, and celebrated the passover of the resurrection. But now we are going away, being unable to stay here. And the love of God, even the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. Having written these things, and secured the rolls, they gave the half to the chief priests, and the half to Joseph and Nicodemus. And they immediately disappeared: to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Christ's Descent into Hell: Latin, First Version

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus: two men raised from the dead tell the Jewish council how Christ went down into Hades and set the righteous free. This is the first Latin version.

CHAPTER 1

¹ The Gospel of Nicodemus. Part II.—Christ's Descent into Hell. Latin. First Version. Chapter 1 (17). And Joseph rose up and said to Annas and Caiaphas: Truly and well do you wonder, since you have heard that Jesus has been seen alive from the dead, ascending up into heaven. But it is more to be wondered at that he is not the only one who has risen from the dead: but he has raised up alive out of their tombs many others of the dead, and they have been seen by many in Jerusalem. And hear me now, that we all know the blessed Simeon, the great priest, who took up with his hands Jesus, when an infant, in the temple. And Simeon himself had two sons, full brothers; and we all were at their falling asleep, and at their burial. Go, therefore, and see their tombs: for they are open, because they have risen; and, behold, they are in the city of Arimathæa, living together in prayers. And, indeed, they are heard crying out, but speaking with nobody, and they are silent as the dead. But come, let us go to them; let us conduct them to us with all honour and respect. And if we adjure them, perhaps they will speak to us of the mystery of their resurrection.

² At hearing this they all rejoiced. And Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus, and Joseph, and Gamaliel, went, and did not find them in their sepulchres; but, walking into the city of Arimathea, they found them there, on their bended knees, and spending their time in prayer. And kissing them, they conducted them to Jerusalem, into the synagogue, with all veneration and

fear of God. And shutting the doors, and lifting up the law of the Lord, they put it in their hands, adjuring them by the God Adonai, and the God of Israel, who by the law and the prophets spoke to our fathers, saying: Do you believe that it was Jesus who raised you from the dead? Tell us how you have risen from the dead. Karinus and Leucius, hearing this adjuration, trembled in their body, and groaned, being disturbed in heart. And together they looked towards heaven, and with their fingers made the sign of the cross on their tongues, and immediately they spoke together, saying: Give each of us sheets of paper, and let us write what we have seen and heard. And they gave it to them. And they sat down, and each of them wrote, saying:—

CHAPTER 2

¹ Chapter 2 (18). O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the dead, permit us to speak mysteries through the death of Thy cross, because we have been adjured by Thee. For Thou didst order Thy servants to relate to no one the secrets of Thy divine majesty which Thou didst in Hades. And when we were, along with all our fathers, lying in the deep, in the blackness of darkness, suddenly there appeared a golden heat of the sun, and a purple royal light shining upon us. And immediately the father of all the human race, with all the patriarchs and prophets, exulted, saying: That light is the source of eternal light, which hath promised to transmit to us co-eternal light. And Esaias cried out, and said: This is the light of the Father, the Son of God, as I predicted when I was alive upon earth: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim across Jordan, Galilee of the nations, the people who sat in darkness, have seen a great light; and light was shining among those who are in the region of the shadow of death. And now it has come and shone upon us sitting in death.

² And when we were all exulting in the light which shone over us, there came up to us our father Simeon; and he said, exulting: Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; because I took Him up when born, an infant, in my hands in the temple; and instigated by the Holy Spirit, I said to Him, confessing: Now mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared in the sight of all peoples, a light for the revealing of the nations, and the glory of Thy people Israel. When they heard this, all the multitude of the saints exulted more. And after this there comes up, as it were, a dweller in the desert; and he is asked by all: Who art thou? To whom he says in answer: I am John, the voice and prophet of the Most High, going before the face of His

coming to prepare His ways, to give the knowledge of salvation to His people for the remission of their sins. And seeing Him coming to me, instigated by the Holy Spirit, I said: Behold the Lamb of God! behold Him who taketh away the sins of the world! And I baptized Him in the river of Jordan, and I saw the Holy Spirit descending upon Him in the form of a dove; and I heard a voice from the heavens saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And now I have gone before His face, and have descended to announce to you that the rising Son of God is close at hand to visit us, coming from on high to us sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.

CHAPTER 3

¹ Chapter 3 (19). And when the first created, father Adam, had heard this, that Jesus was baptized in Jordan, he cried out to his son Seth: Tell thy sons, the patriarchs and the prophets, all that thou heardest from Michael the archangel when I sent thee to the gates of paradise to implore God that he might send thee His angel to give thee oil from the tree of mercy, with which to anoint my body when I was sick. Then Seth, coming near to the holy patriarchs and prophets, said: When I, Seth, was praying to the Lord at the gates of paradise, behold Michael, the angel of the Lord, appeared to me, saying, I have been sent to thee by the Lord. I am set over the human race. And to thee, Seth, I say, do not labour with tears in prayers and supplications on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pain of his body, because in no wise shalt thou receive of it, except in the last days and times, except when five thousand and five hundred years have been fulfilled: then will come upon the earth the most beloved Son of God, to raise up again the body of Adam, and the bodies of the dead; and He, when He comes, will be baptized in Jordan. And when he shall have come out of the water of Jordan, then with the oil of His mercy shall He anoint all that believe on Him; and that oil of mercy shall be for the generation of those who shall be born out of water and the Holy Spirit into life eternal. Then, descending upon earth, Christ Jesus, the most beloved Son of God, will lead our father Adam into paradise to the tree of mercy.

² And when they heard all these things from Seth, all the patriarchs and prophets exulted with great exultation.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Chapter 4 (20). And when all the saints were exulting, lo, Satan, the prince and leader of death, said to Hades: Make thyself ready to receive Jesus, who boasts himself to be the Son of God, and is a man fearing death, and saying, My soul is sorrowful, even unto death. And he has withstood me much, doing me evil; and many whom I made blind, lame, deaf, leprous, and demoniac, he has healed with a word; and those whom I have brought to thee dead, he has dragged away from thee. Hades, answering, said to Prince Satan: Who is he that is so powerful, when he is a man in fear of death? For all the powerful of the earth are kept in subjection by my power, whom thou hast brought into subjection by thy power. If then, thou art powerful, what is that man Jesus like, who, though fearing death, withstands thy power? If he is so powerful in humanity, verily I say unto thee, he is all-powerful in divinity, and his power can no one resist. And when he says that he fears death, he wishes to lay hold on thee, and woe will be to thee to the ages of eternity. And Satan, prince of Tartarus, answered and said: Why hast thou doubted, and feared to receive this Jesus, thy adversary and mine? For I have tempted him, and I have roused up my ancient people the Jews with hatred and anger against him; I have sharpened a lance to strike him; I have mixed gall and vinegar to give him to drink; and I have prepared wood to crucify him, and nails to pierce him, and his death is near at hand, that I may bring him to thee, subject to thee and me.

² Tartarus answered and said: Thou hast told me that it is he himself who has dragged away the dead from me. Now there are many who are here kept by me, who, while they lived on earth, took the dead from me, not by their own powers, but by godly prayers, and their almighty God dragged them away from me. Who is that Jesus, who by his word has withdrawn the dead from me without prayers? Perhaps he is the same who, by the word of his command, brought alive Lazarus, after he had been four days in stench and corruption, whom I kept dead. Satan prince of death answered and said: That Jesus is the same. And when Hades heard this he said to him: I adjure thee by thy powers and mine, do not bring him to me. For I at that time, when I heard the command of his word, trembled with terror and dismay, and all my officers at the same time were confounded along with me. Nor could we keep that Lazarus; but, shaking himself like an eagle, he sprang out, and went forth from us with all activity and speed, and the same ground which

held the dead body of Lazarus immediately gave him forth alive. So now, I know that that man who could do these things is God, strong in authority, powerful in humanity, and He is the Saviour of the human race. But if thou bring Him to me, all who are here shut up in the cruelty of the prison, and bound by their sins in chains that cannot be loosened, He will let loose, and will bring to the life of His divinity for ever.

CHAPTER 5

¹ Chapter 5 (21). And as Prince Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other in turn, suddenly there was a voice as of thunders, and a shouting of spirits: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. Hades hearing this, said to Prince Satan: Retire from me, and go outside of my realms: if thou art a powerful warrior, fight against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with Him? And Hades thrust Satan outside of his realms. And Hades said to his impious officers: Shut the cruel gates of brass, and put up the bars of iron, and resist bravely, that we, holding captivity, may not take Him captive. And all the multitude of the saints, hearing this, said to Hades, with the voice of reproach: Open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And David cried out, saying: Did I not, when I was alive upon earth, prophesy to you: Let them confess to the Lord His tender mercies and His wonderful works to the children of men: for He has shattered the brazen gates, and burst the iron bars; He has taken them up out of the way of their iniquity? And after this, in like manner, Esaias said: Did not I, when I was alive upon earth, prophesy to you: The dead shall rise up, and those who are in their tombs shall rise again, and those who are upon earth shall exult; because the dew, which is from the Lord, is their health? And again I said, Where, O Death, is thy sting? where, O Hades, is thy victory?

² And when all the saints heard this from Esaias, they said to Hades: Open thy gates. Since thou art now conquered, thou wilt be weak and powerless. And there was a great voice, as of thunders, saying: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye infernal gates; and the King of glory shall come in. Hades, seeing that they had twice shouted out this, says, as if not knowing: Who is the king of glory? David says, in answer to Hades: I recognise those words of the shout, since I prophesied the same by His Spirit. And now, what I have said above I say to thee, The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle; He is the King of glory. And the Lord Himself hath

looked down from heaven upon earth, to hear the groans of the prisoners, and to release the sons of the slain. And now, most filthy and most foul Hades, open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. While David was thus speaking, there came to Hades, in the form of a man, the Lord of majesty, and lighted up the eternal darkness, and burst asunder the indissoluble chains; and the aid of unconquered power visited us, sitting in the profound darkness of transgressions, and in the shadow of death of sins.

CHAPTER 6

¹ Chapter 6 (22). When this was seen by Hades and Death, and their impious officers, along with their cruel servants, they trembled at perceiving in their own dominions the clearness of so great a light, when they saw Christ suddenly in their abodes; and they cried out, saying: We have been overcome by thee. Who art thou, that to the Lord directest our confusion? Who art thou, that, undestroyed by corruption, the uncorrupted proof of thy majesty, with fury condemnest our power? Who art thou, so great and little, lowly and exalted, soldier and commander, wonderful warrior in the form of a slave, and the king of glory dead and alive, whom slain the cross has carried? Thou, who didst lie dead in the sepulchre, hast come down to us alive; and in thy death every creature trembled, and the stars in a body were moved; and now thou hast been made free among the dead, and disturbest our legions. Who art thou, that settest free those who art held captive, bound by original sin, and recallest them to their former liberty? Who art thou, who sheddest a divine, and splendid, and illuminating light upon those who have been blinded by the darkness of their sins?

² In like manner, also, all the legions of the demons, terror-stricken with like fear from their fearful overthrow, cried out, saying: Whence art thou, O Jesus, a man so powerful and splendid in majesty, so excellent, without spot, and free from guilt? For that world of earth which has been subject to us always until now, which used to pay tribute for our uses, has never sent us such a dead man, has never destined such gifts for the powers below. Who therefore art thou, that hast so intrepidly entered our bounds, and who hast not only no fear of our punishments, but, moreover, attemptest to take all away from our chains? Perhaps thou art that Jesus of whom our prince Satan said, that by thy death of the cross thou wast destined to receive the dominion of the whole world. Then the King of glory, trampling on death by His

majesty, and seizing Prince Satan, delivered him to the power of Hades, and drew Adam to His brightness.

CHAPTER 7

¹ Chapter 7 (23). ² Then Hades, receiving Prince Satan, said to him, with vehement revilings: O prince of perdition, and leader of extermination, Beelzebub, derision of angels, to be spit upon by the just, why didst thou wish to do this? Didst thou wish to crucify the King of glory, in whose death thou didst promise us so great spoils? Like a fool, thou didst not know what thou wast doing. For, behold, that Jesus by the splendour of His divinity is putting to flight all the darkness of death, and He has broken into the strong lowest depths of our dungeons, and has brought out the captives, and released those who were bound. And all who used to groan under our torments insult us, and by their prayers our dominions are taken by storm, and our realms conquered, and no race of men has now any respect for us. Moreover, also, we are grievously threatened by the dead, who have never been haughty to us, and who have not at any time been joyful as captives. O Prince Satan, father of all impious wretches and renegades, why didst thou wish to do this? Of those who from the beginning, even until now, have despaired of salvation and life, no bellowing after the usual fashion is now heard here; and no groaning of theirs resounds, nor in any of their faces is a trace of tears found.

³ O Prince Satan, possessor of the keys of the lower regions, all thy riches which thou hadst acquired by the tree of transgression and the loss of paradise, thou hast now lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy joy has perished. When thou didst hang up that Christ Jesus the King of glory, thou wast acting against thyself and against me. Henceforth thou shalt know what eternal torments and infinite punishments thou art to endure in my everlasting keeping. O Prince Satan, author of death, and source of all pride, thou oughtest first to have inquired into the bad cause of that Jesus. Him in whom thou perceivedst no fault, why, without reason, didst thou dare unjustly to crucify? and why hast thou brought to our regions one innocent and just, and lost the guilty, the impious, and the unjust of the whole world? ⁴ And when Hades had thus spoken to Prince Satan, then the King of glory said to Hades: Satan the prince will be in thy power for ever, in place of Adam and his sons, my just ones.

CHAPTER 8

¹ Chapter 8 (24). And the Lord stretched out His hand, and said: Come to me, all my saints, who have my image and likeness. Do you, who have been condemned through the tree and the devil and death, now see the devil and death condemned through the tree. Immediately all the saints were brought together under the hand of the Lord. And the Lord, holding Adam by the right hand, said to him: Peace be to thee, with all thy children, my righteous ones! And Adam fell down at the knees of the Lord, and with tearful entreaty praying, said with a loud voice: I will extol Thee, O Lord; for Thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me. O Lord God, I cried unto Thee, and Thou hast healed me. O Lord, Thou hast brought out my soul from the powers below; Thou hast saved me from them that go down into the pit. Sing praises to the Lord, all His saints, and confess to the memory of His holiness; since there is anger in His indignation, and life in His goodwill. In like manner also all the saints of God, falling on their knees at the feet of the Lord, said with one voice: Thou hast come, O Redeemer of the world: as Thou hast foretold by the law and Thy prophets, so hast Thou fulfilled by Thy deeds. Thou hast redeemed the living by Thy cross; and by the death of the cross Thou hast come down to us, to rescue us from the powers below, and from death, by Thy majesty. O Lord, as Thou hast set the title of Thy glory in heaven, and hast erected as the title of redemption Thy cross upon earth, so, O Lord, set in Hades the sign of the victory of Thy cross, that death may no more have dominion.

² And the Lord, stretching forth His hand, made the sign of the cross upon Adam and upon all His saints; and holding Adam by the right hand, went up from the powers below: and all the saints followed Him. Then holy David cried out aloud, saying: Sing unto the Lord a new song, for He hath done wonderful things; His right hand and His holy arm have brought salvation to Himself. The Lord hath made known His salvation; His righteousness hath He revealed in the sight of the heathen. And all the multitude of the saints answered, saying: This is glory to all His saints. Amen, alleluia. And after this the prophet Habacuc cried out, saying: Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, to deliver Thine elect. And all the saints answered, saying: Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord; God is the Lord, and He hath shone upon us. Amen, alleluia. In like manner after this the prophet Michæas as also cried out, saying: Who is a God like unto

thee, O Lord, taking away iniquities and passing by sins? And now Thou dost withhold Thine anger for a testimony against us, because Thou delightest in mercy. And Thou turnest again, and hast compassion upon us, and pardonest all our iniquities; and all our sins hast Thou sunk in the multitude of death, as Thou hast sworn unto our fathers in the days of old. And all the saints answered, saying: This is our God to eternity, and for ever and ever; and He will direct us for evermore. Amen, alleluia. So also all the prophets, quoting the sacred writings concerning His praises, and all the saints crying, Amen, alleluia, followed the Lord.

CHAPTER 9

Chapter 9 (25). And the Lord, holding the hand of Adam, delivered him to Michael the archangel: and all the saints followed Michael the archangel, and he led them all into the glorious grace of paradise. And there met them two men, ancient of days. The saints asked them: Who are you, that have not yet been dead, along with us in the regions below, and have been placed in paradise in the body? One of them answered, and said: I am Enoch, who by the word of the Lord have been translated hither; and he who is with me is Elias the Thesbite, who was taken up by a fiery chariot. Here also even until now we have not tasted death, but have been reserved to the coming of Antichrist, by divine signs and wonders to do battle with him, and, being killed by him in Jerusalem, after three days and half a day to be taken up alive again in the clouds.

CHAPTER 10

¹Chapter 10 (26). ²And while the saints Enoch and Elias were thus speaking, behold, there came up another man, most wretched, carrying on his shoulders the sign of the cross. And seeing him, all the saints said to him: Who art thou? because thy appearance is that of a robber. And what is the sign which thou carriest on thy shoulders? In answer to them, he said: Truly have you said that I was a robber, doing all sorts of evil upon the earth. And the Jews crucified me along with Jesus; and I saw the miracles in created things which were done through the cross of Jesus crucified, and I believed Him to be the Creator of all created things, and the King omnipotent; and I entreated Him, saying, Be mindful of me, Lord, when Thou shalt have come into Thy kingdom. Immediately He accepted my entreaty, and said to me, Amen; I say to thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise. And He gave

me this sign of the cross, saying, Walk into paradise carrying this; and if the guardian angel of paradise will not let thee go in, show him the sign of the cross, and thou shalt say to him, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who has now been crucified, has sent me. Having done so, I said all this to the guardian angel of paradise.

³ And when he heard this, he immediately opened, and led me in, and placed me at the right of paradise, saying, Lo, hold a little, and there will come in the father of the whole human race, Adam, with all his children, holy and just, after the triumph and glory of the ascension of Christ the crucified Lord. Hearing all these words of the robber, all the holy patriarchs and prophets with one voice said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord Almighty, Father of everlasting benefits, and Father of mercies, who hast given such grace to Thy sinners, and hast brought them back into the grace of paradise, and into Thy rich pastures; for this is spiritual life most sure. Amen, amen.

CHAPTER 11

¹ Chapter 11 (27). These are the divine and sacred mysteries which we saw and heard, I Karinus, and Leucius. More we are not allowed to tell of the other mysteries of God, as Michael the archangel adjured us, and said: You shall go into Jerusalem with your brethren, and continue in prayers, and you shall cry out, and glorify the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, who has raised you up again from the dead with Himself. And with none of men shall you speak; and you shall sit as if dumb, until the hour shall come when the Lord Himself shall permit you to relate the mysteries of His divinity. And Michael the archangel ordered us to walk across Jordan into a place rich and fertile, where there are many who rose again along with us for an evidence of the resurrection of Christ the Lord; because only three days were allowed to us who have risen from the dead to celebrate in Jerusalem the passover of the Lord, with our living relations, for an evidence of the resurrection of Christ the Lord: and we have been baptized in the holy river of Jordan, receiving each of us white robes. And after three days, when we had celebrated the passover of the Lord, all who rose again along with us were snatched up into the clouds, and taken across the Jordan, and were no longer seen by any one. But we were told to remain in the city of Arimathæa in prayers.

² These are the things which the Lord commanded us to relate to you. Give Him praise and confession, and be penitent, that He may have mercy upon you. Peace be to you from the same Lord Jesus Christ, and the Saviour

of all of us! Amen. And after they had finished all, writing on separate sheets of paper, they arose. And Karinus gave what he wrote into the hands of Annas and Caiaphas and Gamaliel; in like manner also Leucius gave what he wrote into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph. And being suddenly transfigured, they became exceedingly white, and were seen no more. And their writings were found exactly the same, not one letter more or less. All the synagogue of the Jews, hearing all these wonderful sayings of Karinus and Leucius, said to each other: Truly all these things have been done by the Lord, and blessed be the Lord for ever and ever. Amen. And they all went out with great anxiety, beating their breasts with fear and trembling; and they went away, each to his own house.

³ All these things which were said by the Jews in their synagogue Joseph and Nicodemus immediately reported to the proconsul. And Pilate himself wrote all which had been done and said concerning Jesus by the Jews, and he placed all the words in the public records of his praetorium.

CHAPTER 12

¹ Chapter 12 (28). After this, Pilate going into the temple of the Jews, assembled all the chief priests, and learned men, and scribes, and teachers of the law, and went in with them into the sanctuary of the temple, and ordered that all the gates should be shut, and said to them: We have heard that you have a certain great collection of books in this temple: therefore I ask you that it be presented before us. And when four officers brought in that collection of books, adorned with gold and precious gems, Pilate said to all: I adjure you by the God of your fathers, who ordered you to build this temple in the place of his sanctuary, not to conceal the truth from me. You all know what is written in that collection of books; but now say whether you have found in the writings that Jesus, whom you have crucified, to be the Son of God that was to come for the salvation of the human race, and in how many revolutions of the seasons he ought to come. Declare to me whether you crucified him in ignorance of this, or knowing it.

² Being thus adjured, Annas and Caiaphas ordered all the others who were with them to go out of the sanctuary; and themselves shut all the gates of the temple and the sanctuary, and said to Pilate: We have been adjured by thee, O good judge, by the building of this temple, to give thee the truth, and a clear account of this matter. After we had crucified Jesus, not knowing Him to be the Son of God, thinking that He did miracles by means of some

charm, we made a great synagogue in this temple. And conferring with each other of the signs of the miracles which Jesus had done, we found many witnesses of our nation who said that they had seen Jesus alive after suffering death, and that He had penetrated into the height of heaven. And we have seen two witnesses, whom Jesus raised up again from the dead, who told us many wonderful things that Jesus did among the dead, which we have in our hands, written out. And our custom is, every year before our synagogue, to open that holy collection of books, and seek out the testimony of God. And we have found in the first book of the LXX., where the archangel Michael spoke to the third son of Adam, the first man, of five thousand and five hundred years, in which the Christ, the most beloved Son of God, was to come from the heavens;

3 and upon this we have considered that perhaps He was the God of Israel who said to Moses, Make to thee the ark of the covenant, two cubits and a half in length, one cubit and a half in breadth, one cubit and a half in height. In these five and a half cubits we have understood and recognised, from the structure of the ark of the old covenant, that in five and a half thousands of years, Jesus Christ was to come in the ark of the body; and we have found Him to be the God of Israel, the Son of God. Because after His passion, we, the chief priests, wondering at the signs which happened on account of Him, opened this collection of books, searching out all the generations, even to the generation of Joseph, and reckoning that Mary the mother of Christ was of the seed of David; and we have found that from the time that God made the heaven and the earth and the first man, to the deluge, are two thousand two hundred and twelve years; and from the deluge to the building of the tower, five hundred and thirty-one years; and from the building of the tower to Abraham, six hundred and six years; and from Abraham to the arrival of the children of Israel from Egypt, four hundred and seventy years; from the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt to the building of the temple, five hundred and eleven years;

4 and from the building of the temple to the destruction of the same temple, four hundred and sixty-four years. Thus far have we found in the book of Esdras. After searching, we find that from the burning of the temple to the advent of Christ, and His birth, there are six hundred and thirty-six years, which together were five thousand five hundred years, as we have found written in the book that Michael the archangel foretold to Seth the

third son of Adam, that in five and a half thousands of years Christ the Son of God would come. Even until now we have told no one, that there might be no dissension in our synagogues. And now thou hast adjured us, O good judge, by this holy book of the testimonies of God, and we make it manifest to thee. And now we adjure thee, by thy life and safety, to make manifest these words to no one in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 13

¹ Chapter 13 (29). Pilate, hearing these words of Annas and Caiaphas, laid them all up in the acts of our Lord and Saviour, in the public records of his prætorium, and wrote a letter to Claudius, king of the city of Rome, saying: — Pontius Pilate to Claudius his king, greeting. It has lately happened, as I myself have also proved, that the Jews, through envy, have punished themselves and their posterity by a cruel condemnation. In short, when their fathers had a promise that their God would send them from heaven his holy one, who should deservedly be called their king, and promised that he would send him by a virgin upon the earth: when, therefore, while I was procurator, he had come into Judæa, and when they saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing the lepers, curing the paralytics, making demons flee from men, even raising the dead, commanding the winds, walking dryshod upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other signs of miracles; and when all the people of the Jews said that he was the Son of God, the chief priests felt envy against him, and seized him, and delivered him to me; and, telling me one lie after another, they said that he was a sorcerer, and was acting contrary to their law.

² And I believed that it was so, and delivered him to be scourged, according to their will. And they crucified him, and set guards over him when buried. And he rose again on the third day, while my soldiers were keeping guard. But so flagrant was the iniquity of the Jews, that they gave money to my soldiers, saying, Say that his disciples have stolen his body. But after receiving the money they could not keep secret what had been done; for they bore witness both that he had risen again, that they had seen him, and that they had received money from the Jews. This accordingly I have done, lest any one should give a different and a false account of it, and lest thou shouldst think that the lies of the Jews are to be believed.

Christ's Descent into Hell: Latin, Second Version

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus: how Christ went down into Hades and set the righteous free. This is the second Latin version.

CHAPTER 1

¹ Latin. Second Version. Chapter 1 (17). Then Rabbi Addas, and Rabbi Fin-ees, and Rabbi Egias, the three men who had come from Galilee, testifying that they had seen Jesus taken up into heaven, rose up in the midst of the multitude of the chiefs of the Jews, and said before the priests and the Levites, who had been called together to the council of the Lord: When we were coming from Galilee, we met at the Jordan a very great multitude of men, fathers who had been some time dead. And present among them we saw Karinus and Leucius. And they came up to us, and we kissed each other, because they were dear friends of ours; and we asked them, Tell us, friends and brothers, what is this breath of life and flesh? and who are those with whom you are going? and how do you, who have been some time dead, remain in the body?

² And they said in answer: We have risen again along with Christ from the lower world, and He has raised us up again from the dead. And from this you may know that the gates of death and darkness have been destroyed, and the souls of the saints have been brought out thence, and have ascended into heaven along with Christ the Lord. And indeed to us it has been commanded by the Lord Himself, that for an appointed time we should walk over the banks of Jordan and the mountains; not, however, appearing to every one, nor speaking to every one, except to those to whom He has permitted us. And just now we could neither have spoken nor appeared to you, unless it had been allowed to us by the Holy Spirit. And when they heard

this, all the multitude who were present in the council were struck with fear and trembling, and wondered whether these things had really happened which these Galilæans testified. Then Caiaphas and Annas said to the council: What these have testified, first and last, must shortly be altogether made clear: If it shall be found to be true that Karinus and Leucius remain alive in the body, and if we shall be able to behold them with our own eyes, then what they testify is altogether true; and if we find them, they will inform us of everything; but if not, you may know that it is all lies.

³ Then the council having suddenly risen, it pleased them to choose men fit for the duty, fearing God, and who knew when they died, and where they were buried, to inquire diligently, and to see whether it was as they had heard. The men therefore proceeded to the same place, fifteen in number, who through all were present at their falling asleep, and had stood at their feet when they were buried, and had beheld their tombs. And they came and found their tombs open, and very many others besides, and found a sign neither of their bones nor of their dust. And they returned in all haste, and reported what they had seen. Then all their synagogue was in great grief and perplexity, and they said to each other: What shall we do? Annas and Caiaphas said: Let us turn to where we have heard that they are, and let us send to them men of rank, asking and entreating them: perhaps they will deign to come to us. Then they sent to them Nicodemus and Joseph, and the three men, the Galilæan rabbis who had seen them, asking that they should deign to come to them. And they went, and walked round all the region of Jordan and of the mountains, and they were coming back without finding them.

⁴ And, behold, suddenly there appeared coming down from Mount Amalech a very great number, as it were, twelve thousand men, who had risen with the Lord. And though they recognised very many there, they were not able to say anything to them for fear and the angelic vision; and they stood at a distance gazing and hearing them, how they walked along singing praises, and saying: The Lord has risen again from the dead, as He had said; let us all exult and be glad, since He reigns for ever. Then those who had been sent were astonished, and fell to the ground for fear, and received the answer from them, that they should see Karinus and Leucius in their own houses. ⁵ And they rose up and went to their houses, and found them spending their time in prayer. And going in to them, they fell on their faces to the ground, saluting them; and being raised up, they said: O friends of God, all

the multitude of the Jews have directed us to you, hearing that you have risen from the dead, asking and beseeching you to come to them, that we all may know the great things of God which have happened around us in our times. And they immediately, at a sign from God, rose up, and came with them, and entered their synagogue. Then the multitude of the Jews, with the priests, put the books of the law in their hands, and adjoined them by the God Heloi, and the God Adonai, and by the law and the prophets, saying: Tell us how you have risen from the dead, and what are those wonderful things which have happened in our times, such as we have never heard to have happened at any other time; because already for fear all our bones have been benumbed, and have dried up, and the earth moves itself under our feet: for we have joined all our hearts to shed righteous and holy blood.

6 Then Karinus and Leucius signed to them with their hands to give them a sheet of paper and ink. And this they did, because the Holy Spirit did not allow them to speak to them. And they gave each of them paper, and put them apart, the one from the other in separate cells. And they, making with their fingers the sign of the cross of Christ, began to write on the separate sheets; and after they had finished, as if out of one mouth from the separate cells, they cried out, Amen. And rising up, Karinus gave his paper to Annas, and Leucius to Caiaphas; and saluting each other, they went out, and returned to their sepulchres. Then Annas and Caiaphas, opening the sheet of paper, began each to read it in secret. But all the people took it ill, and so all cried out: Read these writings to us openly; and after they have been read through we shall keep them, lest perchance this truth of God be turned through wilful blindness, by unclean and deceitful men, into falsehood. At this Annas and Caiaphas fell a-trembling, and delivered the sheet of paper to Rabbi Addas, and Rabbi Finees, and Rabbi Egias, who had come from Galilee, and announced that Jesus had been taken up into heaven. All the multitude of the Jews trusted to them to read this writing. And they read the paper containing these words:—

CHAPTER 2

Chapter 2 (18). I Karinus. O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, permit me to speak of Thy wonders which Thou hast done in the lower world. When, therefore, we were kept in darkness and the shadow of death in the lower world, suddenly there shone upon us a great light, and Hades and the gates of death trembled. And then was heard the voice of the Son of the

Father most high, as if the voice of a great thunder; and loudly proclaiming, He thus charged them: Lift up your gates, ye princes; lift up the everlasting gates; the King of glory, Christ the Lord, will come up to enter in. Then Satan, the leader of death, came up, fleeing in terror, saying to his officers and the powers below: My officers, and all the powers below, run together, shut your gates, put up the iron bars, and fight bravely, and resist, lest they lay hold of us, and keep us captive in chains. Then all his impious officers were perplexed, and began to shut the gates of death with all diligence, and by little and little to fasten the locks and the iron bars, and to hold all their weapons grasped in their hands, and to utter howlings in a direful and most hideous voice.

CHAPTER 3

¹ Chapter 3 (19). Then Satan said to Hades: Make thyself ready to receive him whom I shall bring down to thee. Thereupon Hades thus replied to Satan: That voice was from nothing else than the cry of the Son of the Father most high, because the earth and all the places of the world below so trembled under it: wherefore I think that myself and all my dungeons are now lying open. But I adjure thee, Satan, head of all evils, by thy power and my own, bring him not to me, lest, while we wish to take him, we be taken captive by him. For if, at his voice only, all my power has been thus destroyed, what do you think he will do when he shall come in person? To him Satan, the leader of death, thus replied: What art thou crying out about? Do not be afraid, my old most wicked friend, because I have stirred up the people of the Jews against him; I have told them to strike him with blows on the face, and I have brought upon him betrayal by one of his disciples; and he is a man in great fear of death, because from fear he said, My soul is sorrowful, even unto death; and I have brought him to this, that he has just been lifted up and hanged on the cross.

² Then Hades said to him: If he be the same who, by the mere word of his command, made Lazarus fly away like an eagle from my bosom, when he had already been dead four days, he is not a man in humanity, but God in majesty. I entreat thee not to bring him to me. And Satan says to him: Make thyself ready nevertheless; be not afraid; because he is already hanging on the cross, I can do nothing else. Then Hades thus replied to Satan: If, then, thou canst do nothing else, behold, thy destruction is at hand. I, in short, shall re-

main cast down and dishonoured; thou, however, wilt be tortured under my power.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Chapter 4 (20). And the saints of God heard the wrangling of Satan and Hades. They, however, though as yet not at all recognising each other, were, notwithstanding, in the possession of their faculties. But our holy father Adam thus replied to Satan at once: O captain of death, why dost thou fear and tremble? Behold, the Lord is coming, who will now destroy all thy inventions; and thou shalt be taken by Him, and bound throughout eternity. Then all the saints, hearing the voice of our father Adam, how boldly he replied to Satan in all points, were strengthened in joy; and all running together to father Adam, were crowded in one place. Then our father Adam, gazing on all that multitude, wondered greatly whether all of them had been begotten from him into the world. And embracing those who were standing everywhere around him, and shedding most bitter tears, he addressed his son Seth, saying: Relate, my son Seth, to the holy patriarchs and prophets what the guardian of paradise said to thee, when I sent thee to bring to me of that oil of compassion, in order to anoint my body when I was ill.

² Then he answered: I, when thou sentest me before the gates of paradise, prayed and entreated the Lord with tears, and called upon the guardian of paradise to give me of it therefrom. Then Michael the archangel came out, and said to me, Seth, why then dost thou weep? Know, being informed beforehand, that thy father Adam will not receive of this oil of compassion now, but after many generations of time. For the most beloved Son of God will come down from heaven into the world, and will be baptized by John in the river Jordan; and then shall thy father Adam receive of this oil of compassion, and all that believe in him. And of those who have believed in him, their kingdom will endure for ever.

CHAPTER 5

¹ Chapter 5 (21). Then all the saints, hearing this again, exulted in joy. And one of those standing round, Isaias by name, cried out aloud, and thundered: Father Adam, and all standing round, hear my declaration. When I was on earth, and by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, in prophecy I sang of this light: The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light; to them dwelling in

the region of the shadow of death light has arisen. At these words father Adam, and all of them, turned and asked him: Who art thou? because what thou sayest is true. And he subjoined, and said: My name is Isaias. Then appeared another near him, as if a hermit. And they asked him, saying: Who art thou, who bearest such an appearance in thy body? And he firmly answered: I am John the Baptist, voice and prophet of the Most High. I went before the face of the same Lord, that I might make the waste and rough places into plain ways. I with my finger pointed out and made manifest the Lamb of the Lord, and Son of God, to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. I baptized Him in the river Jordan. I heard the voice of the Father from heaven thundering over Him, and proclaiming, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. I received from Him the answer that He would descend to the lower world

² Then father Adam, hearing this, cried with a loud voice, exclaiming: Alleluia! which is, interpreted, The Lord is certainly coming.

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6 (22). After that, another standing there, pre-eminent as it were, with a certain mark of an emperor, David by name, thus cried out, and said: When I was upon earth, I made revelations to the people of the mercy of God and His visitation, prophesying future joys, saying through all ages, Let them make confession to the Lord of His tender mercy and His wonderful works to the sons of men, because He has shattered the gates of brass, and broken the bars of iron. Then the holy patriarchs and prophets began mutually to recognise each other, and each to quote his prophecies. Then holy Jeremias, examining his prophecies, said to the patriarchs and prophets: When I was upon earth, I prophesied of the Son of God, that He was seen upon earth, and dwelt with men. Then all the saints, exulting in the light of the Lord, and in the sight of father Adam, and in the answering of all the patriarchs and prophets, cried out, saying: Alleluia! blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord; so that at their crying out Satan trembled, and sought a way of escape. And he could not, because Hades and his satellites kept him bound in the lower regions, and guarded at all points. And they said to him: Why dost thou tremble? We by no means allow thee to go forth hence. But receive this, as thou art worthy, from Him whom thou didst daily assail; but if not, know that thou, bound by Him, shall be in my keeping.

CHAPTER 7

¹Chapter 7 (23). And again there came the voice of the Son of the Father most high, as it were the voice of a great thunder, saying: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates, and the King of glory will come in. Then Satan and Hades cried out, saying: Who is the king of glory? And it was answered to them in the voice of the Lord: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. After this voice there came a man, whose appearance was that of a robber, carrying a cross on his shoulder, crying from the outside of the door, and saying: Open to me, that I may come in. And Satan, opening to him a little, brought him inside into his dwelling, and again shut the door after him. And all the saints saw him most clearly, and said to him forthwith: Thy appearance is that of a robber. Tell us what it is that thou carriest on thy back. And he answered, and said with humility: Truly I was a robber altogether; and the Jews hung me up on a cross, along with my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father most high. I, in fine, have come heralding Him; He indeed is coming immediately behind me.

²Then holy David, inflamed with anger against Satan, cried out aloud: Open thy gates, most vile wretch, that the King of glory may come in. In like manner also all the saints of God rose up against Satan, and would have seized him, and divided him among them. And again a cry was heard within: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. Hades and Satan, at that clear voice, again asked, saying: Who is this king of glory? And it was said to them by that wonderful voice: The Lord of powers, He is the King of glory.

CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8 (24). And, behold, suddenly Hades trembled, and the gates of death and the bolts were shattered, and the iron bars were broken and fell to the ground, and everything was laid open. And Satan remained in the midst, and stood confounded and downcast, bound with fetters on his feet. And, behold, the Lord Jesus Christ, coming in the brightness of light from on high, compassionate, great, and lowly, carrying a chain in His hand, bound Satan by the neck; and again tying his hands behind him, dashed him on his back into Tartarus, and placed His holy foot on his throat, saying: Through all ages thou hast done many evils; thou hast not in any wise rested. To-day I deliver thee to everlasting fire. And Hades being suddenly summoned, He

commanded him, and said: Take this most wicked and impious one, and have him in thy keeping even to that day in which I shall command thee. And he, as soon as he received him, was plunged under the feet of the Lord along with him into the depth of the abyss.

CHAPTER 9

Chapter 9 (25). Then the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of all, affectionate and most mild, saluting Adam kindly, said to him: Peace be to thee, Adam, with thy children, through immeasurable ages of ages! Amen. Then father Adam, falling forward at the feet of the Lord, and being raised erect, kissed His hands, and shed many tears, saying, testifying to all: Behold the hands which fashioned me! And he said to the Lord: Thou hast come, O King of glory, delivering men, and bringing them into Thy everlasting kingdom. Then also our mother Eve in like manner fell forward at the feet of our Lord, and was raised erect, and kissed His hands, and poured forth tears in abundance, and said, testifying to all: Behold the hands which made me! Then all the saints, adoring Him, cried out, saying: Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord! The Lord God hath shone upon us—amen—through all ages. Alleluia for ever and ever! Praise, honour, power, glory! because Thou hast come from on high to visit us. Singing Alleluia continually, and rejoicing together concerning His glory, they ran together under the hands of the Lord. Then the Saviour, inquiring thoroughly about all, seized Hades, immediately threw some down into Tartarus, and led some with Him to the upper world.

CHAPTER 10

Chapter 10 (26). Then all the saints of God asked the Lord to leave as a sign of victory the sign of His holy cross in the lower world, that its most impious officers might not retain as an offender any one whom the Lord had absolved. And so it was done. And the Lord set His cross in the midst of Hades, which is the sign of victory, and which will remain even to eternity. Then we all went forth thence along with the Lord, leaving Satan and Hades in Tartarus. And to us and many others it was commanded that we should rise in the body, giving in the world a testimony of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of those things which had been done in the lower world. These are the things, dearest brethren, which we have seen, and which, ad-

jured by you, we testify, He bearing witness who died for us, and rose again; because, as it was written, so has it been done in all points.

CHAPTER 11

¹Chapter 11 (27). And when the paper was finished and read through, all that heard it fell on their faces, weeping bitterly, and cruelly beating their breasts, crying out, and saying through all: Woe to us! Why has this happened to us wretched? Pilate flees; Annas and Caiaphas flee; the priests and Levites flee; moreover also the people of the Jews, weeping and saying, Woe to us wretched! we have shed sacred blood upon the earth. For three days, therefore, and three nights, they did not taste bread and water at all; nor did any of them return to the synagogue. But on the third day again the council was assembled, and the other paper of Leucius was read through; and it was found neither more nor less, to a single letter, than that which the writing of Karinus contained. Then the synagogue was perplexed; and they all lamented forty days and forty nights, looking for destruction from God, and the vengeance of God. But He, pitier affectionate and most high, did not immediately destroy them, bountifully giving them a place of repentance. But they were not found worthy to be turned to the Lord.

²These are the testimonies of Karinus and Leucius, dearest brethren, concerning Christ the Son of God, and His holy deeds in the lower world; to whom let us all give praise and glory through immeasurable age of ages. Amen.

The Narrative of Joseph

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

Joseph of Arimathaea tells how the Jews shut him in prison for asking Pilate for the body of Jesus, and how the Lord freed him. It belongs to the circle of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

CHAPTER 1

¹ The Narrative of Joseph. Narrative of Joseph of Arimathæa, That Begged the Lord's Body; In Which Also He Brings In the Cases of the Two Robbers. Chapter 1. I am Joseph of Arimathæa, who begged from Pilate the body of the Lord Jesus for burial, and who for this cause was kept close in prison by the murderous and God-fighting Jews, who also, keeping to the law, have by Moses himself become partakers in tribulation and having provoked their Lawgiver to anger, and not knowing that He was God, crucified Him and made Him manifest to those that knew God. In those days in which they condemned the Son of God to be crucified, seven days before Christ suffered, two condemned robbers were sent from Jericho to the procurator Pilate; and their case was as follows:— The first, his name Gestas, put travellers to death, murdering them with the sword, and others he exposed naked. And he hung up women by the heels, head down, and cut off their breasts, and drank the blood of infants limbs, never having known God, not obeying the laws, being violent from the beginning, and doing such deeds.

² And the case of the other was as follows: He was called Demas, and was by birth a Galilæan, and kept an inn. He made attacks upon the rich, but was good to the poor—a thief like Tobit, for he buried the bodies of the poor. And he set his hand to robbing the multitude of the Jews, and stole the law itself in Jerusalem, and stripped naked the daughter of Caiaphas, who was priestess of the sanctuary, and took away from its place the mysterious deposit itself placed there by Solomon. Such were his doings. And Jesus also was taken on the third day before the passover, in the evening. And to Caiaphas

and the multitude of the Jews it was not a passover, but it was a great mourning to them, on account of the plundering of the sanctuary by the robber. And they summoned Judas Iscariot, and spoke to him, for he was son of the brother of Caiaphas the priest. He was not a disciple before the face of Jesus; but all the multitude of the Jews craftily supported him, that he might follow Jesus, not that he might be obedient to the miracles done by Him, nor that he might confess Him, but that he might betray Him to them, wishing to catch up some lying word of Him, giving him gifts for such brave, honest conduct to the amount of a half shekel of gold each day. And he did this for two years with Jesus, as says one of His disciples called John.

³ And on the third day, before Jesus was laid hold of, Judas says to the Jews: Come, let us hold a council; for perhaps it was not the robber that stole the law, but Jesus himself, and I accuse him. And when these words had been spoken, Nicodemus, who kept the keys of the sanctuary, came in to us, and said to all: Do not do such a deed. For Nicodemus was true, more than all the multitude of the Jews. And the daughter of Caiaphas, Sarah by name, cried out, and said: He himself said before all against this holy place, I am able to destroy this temple, and in three days to raise it. The Jews say to her: Thou hast credit with all of us. For they regarded her as a prophetess. And assuredly, after the council had been held, Jesus was laid hold of.

CHAPTER 2

¹ Chapter 2. And on the following day, the fourth day of the week, they brought Him at the ninth hour into the hall of Caiaphas. And Annas and Caiaphas say to Him: Tell us, why hast thou stolen our law, and renounced the ordinances of Moses and the prophets? And Jesus answered nothing. And again a second time, the multitude also being present, they say to Him: The sanctuary which Solomon built in forty and six years, why dost thou wish to destroy in one moment? And to these things Jesus answered nothing. For the sanctuary of the synagogue had been plundered by the robber. And the evening of the fourth day being ended, all the multitude sought to burn the daughter of Caiaphas, on account of the loss of the law; for they did not know how they were to keep the passover. And she said to them: Wait, my children, and let us destroy this Jesus, and the law will be found, and the holy feast will be fully accomplished. And secretly Annas and Caiaphas gave considerable money to Judas Iscariot, saying: Say as thou saidst to us before, I know that the law has been stolen by Jesus, that the accusation may be

turned against him, and not against this maiden, who is free from blame. And Judas having received this command, said to them: Let not all the multitude know that I have been instructed by you to do this against Jesus; but release Jesus, and I persuade the multitude that it is so. And craftily they released Jesus.

² And Judas, going into the sanctuary at the dawn of the fifth day, says to all the people: What will you give me, and I will give up to you the overthrower of the law, and the plunderer of the prophets? The Jews say to him: If thou wilt give him up to us, we will give thee thirty pieces of gold. And the people did not know that Judas was speaking about Jesus, for many of them confessed that he was the Son of God. And Judas received the thirty pieces of gold. And going out at the fourth hour, and at the fifth, he finds Jesus walking in the street. And as evening was coming on, Judas says to the Jews: Give me the aid of soldiers with swords and staves, and I will give him up to you. They therefore gave him officers for the purpose of seizing Him. And as they were going along, Judas says to them: Lay hold of the man whom I shall kiss, for he has stolen the law and the prophets. Going up to Jesus, therefore, he kissed Him, saying: Hail, Rabbi! it being the evening of the fifth day. And having laid hold of Him, they gave Him up to Caiaphas and the chief priests, Judas saying: This is he who stole the law and the prophets. And the Jews gave Jesus an unjust trial, saying: Why hast thou done these things? And he answered nothing.

³ And Nicodemus and I Joseph, seeing the seat of the plagues, stood off from them, not wishing to perish along with the counsel of the ungodly.

CHAPTER 3

¹ Chapter 3. Having therefore done many and dreadful things against Jesus that night, they gave Him up to Pilate the procurator at the dawn of the preparation, that he might crucify Him; and for this purpose they all came together. After a trial, therefore, Pilate the procurator ordered Him to be nailed to the cross, along with the two robbers. And they were nailed up along with Jesus, Gestas on the left, and Demas on the right. And he that was on the left began to cry out, saying to Jesus: See how many evil deeds I have done in the earth; and if I had known that thou wast the king, I should have cut off thee also. And why dost thou call thyself Son of God, and canst not help thyself in necessity? how canst thou afford it to another one praying for help? If thou art the Christ, come down from the cross, that I may be-

lieve in thee. But now I see thee perishing along with me, not like a man, but like a wild beast. And many other things he began to say against Jesus, blaspheming and gnashing his teeth upon Him. For the robber was taken alive in the snare of the devil.

² But the robber on the right hand, whose name was Demas, seeing the Godlike grace of Jesus, thus cried out: I know Thee, Jesus Christ, that Thou art the Son of God. I see Thee, Christ, adored by myriads of myriads of angels. Pardon me my sins which I have done. Do not in my trial make the stars come against me, or the moon, when Thou shalt judge all the world; because in the night I have accomplished my wicked purposes. Do not urge the sun, which is now darkened on account of Thee, to tell the evils of my heart, for no gift can I give Thee for the remission of my sins. Already death is coming upon me because of my sins; but Thine is the propitiation. Deliver me, O Lord of all, from Thy fearful judgment. Do not give the enemy power to swallow me up, and to become heir of my soul, as of that of him who is hanging on the left; for I see how the devil joyfully takes his soul, and his body disappears. Do not even order me to go away into the portion of the Jews; for I see Moses and the patriarchs in great weeping, and the devil rejoicing over them. Before, then, O Lord, my spirit departs, order my sins to be washed away, and remember me the sinner in Thy kingdom, when upon the great most lofty throne thou shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel. For Thou hast prepared great punishment for Thy world on account of Thyself.

³ And the robber having thus spoken, Jesus says to him: Amen, amen; I say to thee, Demas, that to-day thou shalt be with me in paradise. And the sons of the kingdom, the children of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And thou alone shalt dwell in paradise until my second appearing, when I am to judge those who do not confess my name. And He said to the robber: Go away, and tell the cherubim and the powers, that turn the flaming sword, that guard paradise from the time that Adam, the first created, was in paradise, and sinned, and kept not my commandments, and I cast him out thence. And none of the first shall see paradise until I am to come the second time to judge living and dead. And He wrote thus: Jesus Christ the Son of God, who have come down from the heights of the heavens, who have come forth out of the bosom of the invisible Father without being separated from Him, and who have come down into the world to be

made flesh, and to be nailed to a cross, in order that I might save Adam, whom I fashioned,—to my archangelic powers, the gatekeepers of paradise, to the officers of my Father: I will and order that he who has been crucified along with me should go in, should receive remission of sins through me; and that he, having put on an incorruptible body, should go in to paradise, and dwell where no one has ever been able to dwell.

⁴ And, behold, after He had said this, Jesus gave up the ghost, on the day of the preparation, at the ninth hour. And there was darkness over all the earth; and from a great earthquake that happened, the sanctuary fell down, and the wing of the temple.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Chapter 4. And I Joseph begged the body of Jesus, and put it in a new tomb, where no one had been put. And of the robber on the right the body was not found; but of him on the left, as the form of a dragon, so was his body. And after I had begged the body of Jesus to bury, the Jews, carried away by hatred and rage, shut me up in prison, where evil-doers were kept under restraint. And this happened to me on the evening of the Sabbath, whereby our nation transgressed the law. And, behold, that same nation of ours endured fearful tribulations on the Sabbath. And now, on the evening of the first of the week, at the fifth hour of the night, Jesus comes to me in the prison, along with the robber who had been crucified with Him on the right, whom He sent into paradise. And there was a great light in the building. And the house was hung up by the four corners, and the place was opened, and I came out. Then I first recognised Jesus, and again the robber, bringing a letter to Jesus. And as we were going into Galilee, there shone a great light, which the creation did not produce. And there was also with the robber a great fragrance out of paradise.

² And Jesus, having sat down in a certain place, thus read: We, the cherubim and the six-winged, who have been ordered by Thy Godhead to watch the garden of paradise, make the following statement through the robber who was crucified along with Thee, by Thy arrangement: When we saw the print of the nails of the robber crucified along with Thee, and the shining light of the letter of Thy Godhead, the fire indeed was extinguished, not being able to bear the splendour of the print; and we crouched down, being in great fear. For we heard that the Maker of heaven and earth, and of the whole creation, had come down from on high to dwell in the lower parts of

the earth, on account of Adam, the first created. And when we beheld the undefiled cross shining like lightning from the robber, gleaming with sevenfold the light of the sun, trembling fell upon us. We felt a violent shaking of the world below; and with a loud voice, the ministers of Hades said, along with us: Holy, holy, holy is He who in the beginning was in the highest. And the powers sent up a cry: O Lord, Thou hast been made manifest in heaven and in earth, bringing joy to the world; and, a greater gift than this, Thou hast freed Thine own image from death by the invisible purpose of the ages.

CHAPTER 5

¹ Chapter 5. After I had beheld these things, as I was going into Galilee with Jesus and the robber, Jesus was transfigured, and was not as formerly, before He was crucified, but was altogether light; and angels always ministered to Him, and Jesus spoke with them. And I remained with Him three days. And no one of His disciples was with Him, except the robber alone. And in the middle of the feast of unleavened bread, His disciple John comes, and we no longer beheld the robber as to what took place. And John asked Jesus: Who is this, that Thou hast not made me to be seen by him? But Jesus answered him nothing. And falling down before Him, he said: Lord, I know that Thou hast loved me from the beginning, and why dost Thou not reveal to me that man? Jesus says to him: Why dost thou seek what is hidden? Art thou still without understanding? Dost thou not perceive the fragrance of paradise filling the place? Dost thou not know who it is? The robber on the cross has become heir of paradise. Amen, amen; I say to thee, that it shall belong to him alone until that the great day shall come. And John said: Make me worthy to behold him.

² And while John was yet speaking, the robber suddenly appeared; and John, struck with astonishment, fell to the earth. And the robber was not in his first form, as before John came; but he was like a king in great power, having on him the cross. And the voice of a great multitude was sent forth: Thou hast come to the place prepared for thee in paradise. We have been commanded by Him that has sent thee, to serve thee until the great day. And after this voice, both the robber and I Joseph vanished, and I was found in my own house; and I no longer saw Jesus. And I, having seen these things, have written them down, in order that all may believe in the crucified Jesus Christ our Lord, and may no longer obey the law of Moses, but may believe in the signs and wonders that have happened through Him, and in order

that we who have believed may inherit eternal life, and be found in the kingdom of the heavens. For to Him are due glory, strength, praise, and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

Letter of Pontius Pilate

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A short letter in which Pilate reports to the emperor Tiberius on the trial and punishment of Jesus.

The Letter of Pontius Pilate, Which He Wrote to the Roman Emperor, Concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ. Pontius Pilate to Tiberius Cæsar the emperor, greeting. Upon Jesus Christ, whose case I had clearly set forth to thee in my last, at length by the will of the people a bitter punishment has been inflicted, myself being in a sort unwilling and rather afraid. A man, by Hercules, so pious and strict, no age has ever had nor will have. But wonderful were the efforts of the people themselves, and the unanimity of all the scribes and chief men and elders, to crucify this ambassador of truth, notwithstanding that their own prophets, and after our manner the sibyls, warned them against it: and supernatural signs appeared while he was hanging, and, in the opinion of philosophers, threatened destruction to the whole world. His disciples are flourishing, in their work and the regulation of their lives not belying their master; yea, in his name most beneficent. Had I not been afraid of the rising of a sedition among the people, who were just on the point of breaking out, perhaps this man would still have been alive to us; although, urged more by fidelity to thy dignity than induced by my own wishes, I did not according to my strength resist that innocent blood free from the whole charge brought against it, but unjustly, through the malignity of men, should be sold and suffer, yet, as the Scriptures signify, to their own destruction. Farewell. 28th March.

Report of Pilate: First Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A report that Pilate is said to have sent to the emperor on the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus. This is the first Greek form.

¹ The Report of Pilate the Procurator Concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ. Sent to the August Cæsar in Rome. First Greek Form. In those days, our Lord Jesus Christ having been crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Palestine and Phœnicia, these records were made in Jerusalem as to what was done by the Jews against the Lord. Pilate therefore, along with his private report, sent them to the Cæsar in Rome, writing thus:— ² To the most mighty, venerable, most divine, and most terrible, the august Cæsar, Pilate the governor of the East sends greeting. I have, O most mighty, a narrative to give thee, on account of which I am seized with fear and trembling. For in this government of mine, of which one of the cities is called Jerusalem, all the people of the Jews have delivered to me a man named Jesus, bringing many charges against him, which they were not able to convict him of by the consistency of their evidence. And one of the heresies they had against him was, that Jesus said that their Sabbath should not be a day of leisure, and should not be observed. For he performed many cures on that day: he made the blind receive their sight, the lame walk; he raised up the dead, he cleansed the lepers; he healed paralytics that were not at all able to make any movement of their body, or to keep their nerves steady, but who had only speech and the modulation of their voice, and he gave them the power of walking and running, removing their illness by a single word. Another thing again, more powerful still, which is strange even with our gods: he raised up one that had been dead four days, summoning him by a single word, when the dead man had his blood corrupted, and when his body was destroyed by the worms produced in it, and when it had the stink of a dog.

³ And seeing him lying in the tomb, he ordered him to run. Nor had he anything of a dead body about him at all; but as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth from the tomb filled with very great fragrance. And strangers that were manifestly demoniac, and that had their dwelling in deserts, and ate their own flesh, living like beasts and creeping things, even these he made to be dwellers in cities, and by his word restored them to soundness of mind, and rendered them wise and able and reputable, eating with all the enemies of the unclean spirits that dwelt in them for their destruction, which he cast down into the depths of the sea. And again there was another having a withered hand; and not the hand only, but rather the half of the body of the man, was petrified, so that he had not the form of a man, or the power of moving his body. And him by a word he healed, and made sound. And a woman that had an issue of blood for many years, and whose joints and veins were drained by the flowing of the blood, so that she did not present the appearance of a human being, but was like a corpse, and was speechless every day, so that all the physicians of the district could not cure her. For there was not any hope of life left to her. And when Jesus passed by, she mysteriously received strength through his overshadowing her;

⁴ and she took hold of his fringe behind, and immediately in the same hour power filled up what in her was empty, so that, no longer suffering any pain, she began to run swiftly to her own city Kepharnaum, so as to accomplish the journey in six days. ⁵ And these are the things which I lately had in my mind to report, which Jesus accomplished on the Sabbath. And other signs greater than these he did, so that I have perceived that the wonderful works done by him are greater than can be done by the gods whom we worship. And him Herod and Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered to me, making a great uproar against me that I should try him. I therefore ordered him to be crucified, having first scourged him, and having found against him no cause of evil accusations or deeds. And at the time he was crucified there was darkness over all the world, the sun being darkened at mid-day, and the stars appearing, but in them there appeared no lustre; and the moon, as if turned into blood, failed in her light. And the world was swallowed up by the lower regions, so that the very sanctuary of the temple, as they call it, could not be seen by the Jews in their fall; and they saw below them a chasm of the earth, with the roar of the thunders that fell upon it. And in that terror dead men were seen that had risen, as the

Jews themselves testified; and they said that it was Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses and Job, that had died, as they say, three thousand five hundred years before. And there were very many whom I also saw appearing in the body; and they were making a lamentation about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had come to pass through them, and the destruction of the Jews and of their law.

⁶ And the fear of the earthquake remained from the sixth hour of the preparation until the ninth hour. And on the evening of the first day of the week there was a sound out of the heaven, so that the heaven became enlightened sevenfold more than all the days. And at the third hour of the night also the sun was seen brighter than it had ever shone before, lighting up all the heaven. And as lightnings come suddenly in winter, so majestic men appeared in glorious robes, an innumerable multitude, whose voice was heard as that of a very great thunder, crying out: Jesus that was crucified is risen: come up out of Hades, ye that have been enslaved in the underground regions of Hades. And the chasm of the earth was as if it had no bottom; but it was as if the very foundations of the earth appeared along with those that cried out in the heavens, and walked about in the body in the midst of the dead that had risen. And he that raised up all the dead, and bound Hades, said: Say to my disciples, He goes before you into Galilee; there shall you see him.

⁷ And all that night the light did not cease shining. And many of the Jews died, swallowed up in the chasm of the earth, so that on the following day most of those who had been against Jesus could not be found. Others saw the appearing of those that had risen, whom no one of us had ever seen. And only one synagogue of the Jews was left in this Jerusalem, since all disappeared in that fall. With that terror, being in perplexity, and seized with a most frightful trembling, I have written what I saw at that time, and have reported to thy majesty. Having set in order also what was done by the Jews against Jesus, I have sent it, my lord, to thy divinity.

Report of Pilate: Second Greek Form

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A report that Pilate is said to have sent to Tiberius on the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus. This is the second Greek form.

¹ The Report of Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judæa, Sent to Rome to Tiberius Cæsar. Second Greek Form. ² To the most mighty, venerable, awful, most divine, the august,—Pilatus Pontius, the governor of the East: I have to report to thy reverence, through this writing of mine, being seized with great trembling and fear, O most mighty emperor, the conjuncture of the present times, as the end of these things has shown. For while I, my lord, according to the commandment of thy clemency, was discharging the duties of my government, which is one of the cities of the East, Jerusalem by name, in which is built the temple of the Jewish nation, all the multitude of the Jews came together, and delivered to me a certain man named Jesus, bringing against him many and groundless charges; and they were not able to convict him in anything. And one heresy of theirs against him was, that he said that the Sabbath was not their right rest. And that man wrought many cures, in addition to good works. He made the blind see; he cleansed lepers; he raised the dead; he healed paralytics who could not move at all, except that they only had their voice, and the joining of their bones; and he gave them the power of walking about and running, commanding them by a single word. And another mightier work he did, which was strange even with our gods: he raised up a dead man, Lazarus, who had been dead four days, by a single word ordering the dead man to be raised, although his body was already corrupted by the worms that grow in wounds;

³ and that ill-smelling body lying in the tomb he ordered to run; and as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth out of the tomb, filled with exceeding fragrance. And some that were cruelly vexed by

demons, and had their dwellings in deserts, and ate the flesh of their own limbs, and lived along with reptiles and wild beasts, he made to be dwellers in cities in their own houses, and by a word he rendered them sound-minded; and he made those that were troubled by unclean spirits to be intelligent and reputable; and sending away the demons in them into a herd of swine, he suffocated them in the sea. Another man, again, who had a withered hand, and lived in sorrow, and had not even the half of his body sound, he rendered sound by a single word. And a woman that had a flow of blood for many years, so that, in consequence of the flowing of her blood, all the joinings of her bones appeared, and were transparent like glass; and assuredly all the physicians had left her without hope, and had not cleansed her, for there was not in her a single hope of health: once, then, as Jesus was passing by, she took hold of the fringe of his clothes behind, and that same hour the power of her body was completely restored, and she became whole, as if nothing were the matter with her, and she began to run swiftly to her own city Paneas.

⁴ And these things indeed were so. And the Jews gave information that Jesus did these things on the Sabbath. And I also ascertained that the miracles done by him were greater than any which the gods whom we worship could do. Him then Herod and Archelaus and Philip, and Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered to me to try him. And as many were exciting an insurrection against me, I ordered him to be crucified. And when he had been crucified, there was darkness over the whole earth, the sun having been completely hidden, and the heaven appearing dark though it was day, so that the stars appeared, but had at the same time their brightness darkened, as I suppose your reverence is not ignorant of, because in all the world they lighted lamps from the sixth hour until evening. And the moon, being like blood, did not shine the whole night, and yet she happened to be at the full. And the stars also, and Orion, made a lament about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had been done by them.

⁵ And on the first of the week, about the third hour of the night, the sun was seen such as it had never at any time shone, and all the heaven was lighted up. And as lightnings come on in winter, so majestic men of indescribable splendour of dress and of glory appeared in the air, and an innumerable multitude of angels crying out, and saying: Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace, among men goodwill: come up out of Hades, ye who

have been kept in slavery in the underground regions of Hades. And at their voice all the mountains and hills were shaken, and the rocks were burst asunder; and great chasms were made in the earth, so that also what was in the abyss appeared. And there were seen in that terror dead men raised up, as the Jews that saw them said: We have seen Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, that died two thousand five hundred years ago; and we have seen Noah manifestly in the body. And all the multitude walked about, and sang praises to God with aloud voice, saying: The Lord our God that has risen from the dead has brought to life all the dead, and has plundered Hades, and put him to death.

6All that night therefore, my lord, O king, the light ceased not. And many of the Jews died, and were engulphed and swallowed up in the chasms in that night, so that not even their bodies appeared. Those, I say, of the Jews suffered that had spoken against Jesus. And one synagogue was left in Jerusalem, since all those synagogues that had been against Jesus were engulphed. From that fear, then, being in perplexity, and seized with much trembling, at that same hour I ordered what had been done by them all to be written; and I have reported it to thy mightiness.

The Death of Pilate, Who Condemned Jesus

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A legend of how the emperor Tiberius, who was ill, sent for Jesus as a physician, and of how Pilate was brought to Rome and put to death.

¹ The Death of Pilate, Who Condemned Jesus. ² And when Tiberius Cæsar, the emperor of the Romans, was labouring under a grievous disease, and understanding that there was at Jerusalem a certain physician, Jesus by name, who by a single word cured all infirmities, he, not knowing that the Jews and Pilate had put Him to death, ordered a certain friend of his named Volusianus: Go as quickly as possible across the seas; and thou shalt tell Pilate, my servant and friend, to send me this physician, that he may restore me to my former health. And this Volusianus, having heard the emperor's command, immediately departed, and came to Pilate, as he had been commanded. And he related to the same Pilate what had been entrusted to him by Tiberius Cæsar, saying: Tiberius Cæsar, the emperor of the Romans, thy master, having heard that in this city there is a physician who by his word alone heals infirmities, begs thee earnestly to send him to him for the curing of his infirmity. Pilate, hearing this, was very much afraid, knowing that through envy he had caused Him to be put to death. Pilate answered the same messenger thus, saying: This man was a malefactor, and a man who drew to himself all the people; so a council of the wise men of the city was held, and I caused him to be crucified. And this messenger returning to his inn, met a certain woman named Veronica, who had been a friend of Jesus; and he said:

³ O woman, a certain physician who was in this city, who cured the sick by a word alone, why have the Jews put him to death? And she began to weep, saying: Ah me! my lord, my God and my Lord, whom Pilate for envy

delivered, condemned, and ordered to be crucified. Then he, being exceedingly grieved, said: I am vehemently grieved that I am unable to accomplish that for which my lord had sent me. And Veronica said to him: When my Lord was going about preaching, and I, much against my will, was deprived of His presence, I wished His picture to be painted for me, in order that, while I was deprived of His presence, the figure of His picture might at least afford me consolation. And when I was carrying the canvas to the painter to be painted, my Lord met me, and asked whither I was going. And when I had disclosed to Him the cause of my journey, He asked of me the cloth, and gave it back to me impressed with the image of His venerable face. Therefore, if thy lord will devoutly gaze upon His face, he shall obtain forthwith the benefit of health. And he said to her: Is a picture of such a sort procurable by gold or silver? She said to him: No; but by the pious influence of devotion. I shall therefore set out with thee, and shall carry the picture to be seen by Cæsar, and shall come back again.

⁴ Volusianus therefore came with Veronica to Rome, and said to Tiberius the emperor: Jesus, whom thou hast been longing for, Pilate and the Jews have delivered to an unjust death, and have through envy affixed to the gibbet of the cross. There has therefore come with me a certain matron, bringing a picture of Jesus himself; and if thou wilt devoutly look upon it, thou shalt immediately obtain the benefit of thy health. Cæsar therefore ordered the way to be strewn with silk cloths, and the picture to be presented to him; and as soon as he had looked upon it, he regained his former health. ⁵ Pontius Pilate, therefore, by the command of Cæsar, is taken and brought through to Rome. Cæsar, hearing that Pilate had arrived at Rome, was filled with exceeding fury against him, and caused him to be brought to him. But Pilate brought down with him the seamless tunic of Jesus; and he wore it on him in presence of the emperor. And as soon as the emperor saw him, he laid aside all his anger, and forthwith rose up to meet him. Nor was he able to speak harshly to him in anything; and he who seemed so terrible and fierce in his absence, now in his presence is somehow found to be mild. And when he had sent him away, immediately he blazed out against him terribly, crying out that he was a wretch, inasmuch as he had not at all shown him the fury of his heart. And immediately he made him be called back, swearing and declaring that he was the son of death, and that it was infamous that he should live upon the earth. And as soon as he saw him, he forthwith saluted

him, and threw away all the ferocity of his mind. All wondered; and he himself wondered that he should thus blaze out against Pilate when he was absent, and that while he was present he could say nothing to him roughly.

⁶ Then, by a divine impulse, or perhaps by the advice of some Christian, he caused him to be stripped of that tunic, and immediately resumed against him his former ferocity of mind. And when at this the emperor wondered very much, it was told him that that tunic had belonged to the Lord Jesus. Then the emperor ordered him to be kept in prison, until he should deliberate in a council of the wise men what ought to be done with him. And a few days after, sentence was therefore passed upon Pilate, that he should be condemned to the most disgraceful death. Pilate, hearing this, killed himself with his own knife, and by such a death ended his life. ⁷ When Cæsar knew of the death of Pilate, he said: Truly he has died by a most disgraceful death, whom his own hand has not spared. He is therefore bound to a great mass, and sunk into the river Tiber. But malignant and filthy spirits in his malignant and filthy body, all rejoicing together, kept moving themselves in the waters, and in a terrible manner brought lightnings and tempests, thunders and hail-storms, in the air, so that all men were kept in horrible fear. Wherefore the Romans, drawing him out of the river Tiber, in derision carried him down to Vienna, and sunk him in the river Rhone. For Vienna is called, as it were, *Via Gehennæ*, the way of Gehenna, because it was then a place of cursing. But there evil spirits were present, working the same things in the same place. Those men therefore, not enduring such a visitation of demons, removed from themselves that vessel of malediction, and sent him to be buried in the territory of Losania. And they, seeing that they were troubled by the aforesaid visitations, removed him from themselves, and sunk him in a certain pit surrounded by mountains, where to this day, according to the account of some, certain diabolical machinations are said to bubble up.

The Giving Up of Pontius Pilate

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The emperor Tiberius, enraged at the darkness and the earthquake at the crucifixion, has Pilate seized and brought to Rome, and his end is told.

¹ The Giving Up of Pontius Pilate. And the writings having come to the city of the Romans, and having been read to the Cæsar, with not a few standing by, all were astounded, because through the wickedness of Pilate the darkness and the earthquake had come over the whole world. And the Cæsar, filled with rage, sent soldiers, and ordered them to bring Pilate a prisoner. And when he was brought to the city of the Romans, the Cæsar, hearing that Pilate had arrived, sat in the temple of the gods, in the presence of all the senate, and with all the army, and all the multitude of his power; and he ordered Pilate to stand forward. And the Cæsar says to him: Why hast thou, O most impious, dared to do such things, having seen so great miracles in that man? By daring to do an evil deed, thou hast destroyed the whole world.

² And Pilate said: O almighty king, I am innocent of these things; but the multitude of the Jews are violent and guilty. And the Cæsar said: And who are they? Pilate says: Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, and all the multitude of the Jews. The Cæsar says: For what reason didst thou follow out their counsel? And Pilate says: Their nation is rebellious and insubmissive, not submitting themselves to thy power. And the Cæsar said: When they delivered him to thee, thou oughtest to have made him secure, and to have sent him to me, and not to have obeyed them in crucifying such a man, righteous as he was, and one that did such good miracles, as thou hast said in thy report. For from such miracles Jesus was manifestly the Christ, the King of the Jews. And as the Cæsar was thus speaking, when he named the name of Christ, all the multitude of the gods fell down in a body, and became as dust, where the Cæsar was sitting with the senate. And the people standing

beside the Cæsar all began to tremble, on account of the speaking of the word, and the fall of their gods; and being seized with terror, they all went away, each to his own house, wondering at what had happened. And the Cæsar ordered Pilate to be kept in security, in order that he might know the truth about Jesus.

3 And on the following day, the Cæsar, sitting in the Capitol with all the senate, tried again to question Pilate. And the Cæsar says: Tell the truth, O most impious, because through thy impious action which thou hast perpetrated against Jesus, even here the doing of thy wicked deeds has been shown by the gods having been cast down. Say, then, who is he that has been crucified; because even his name has destroyed all the gods? Pilate said: And indeed the records of him are true; for assuredly I myself was persuaded from his works that he was greater than all the gods whom we worship. And the Cæsar said: For what reason, then, didst thou bring against him such audacity and such doings, if thou wert not ignorant of him, and altogether devising mischief against my kingdom? Pilate said: On account of the wickedness and rebellion of the lawless and ungodly Jews, I did this.

4 And the Cæsar, being filled with rage, held a council with all his senate and his power, and ordered a decree to be written against the Jews as follows:—To Licianus, the governor of the chief places of the East, greeting. The reckless deed which has been done at the present time by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the cities of the Jews round about, and their wicked action, has come to my knowledge, that they have forced Pilate to crucify a certain god named Jesus, and on account of this great fault of theirs the world has been darkened and dragged to destruction. Do thou then speedily, with a multitude of soldiers, go to them there, and make them prisoners, in accordance with this decree. Be obedient, and take action against them, and scatter them, and make them slaves among all the nations; and having driven them out of the whole of Judæa, make them the smallest of nations, so that it may not any longer be seen at all, because they are full of wickedness.

5 And this decree having come into the region of the East, Licianus, obeying from fear of the decree, seized all the nation of the Jews; and those that were left in Judæa he scattered among the nations, and sold for slaves: so that it was known to the Cæsar that these things had been done by Licianus against the Jews in the region of the East; and it pleased him. And again the Cæsar set himself to question Pilate; and he orders a captain named Albius to

cut off Pilate's head, saying: Just as he laid hands upon the just man named Christ, in like manner also shall he fall, and not find safety. And Pilate, going away to the place, prayed in silence, saying: Lord, do not destroy me along with the wicked Hebrews, because I would not have laid hands upon Thee, except for the nation of the lawless Jews, because they were exciting rebellion against me. But Thou knowest that I did it in ignorance. Do not then destroy me for this my sin; but remember not evil against me, O Lord, and against Thy servant Procla, who is standing with me in this the hour of my death, whom Thou didst appoint to prophesy that Thou shouldest be nailed to the cross. Do not condemn her also in my sin; but pardon us, and make us to be numbered in the portion of Thy righteous.

6 And, behold, when Pilate had finished his prayer, there came a voice out of the heaven, saying: All the generations and families of the nations shall count thee blessed, because under thee have been fulfilled all those things said about me by the prophets; and thou thyself shall be seen as my witness at my second appearing, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and those that have not owned my name. And the prefect struck off the head of Pilate; and, behold, an angel of the Lord received it. And his wife Procla, seeing the angel coming and receiving his head, being filled with joy herself also, immediately gave up the ghost, and was buried along with her husband.

The Avenging of the Saviour

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

7th–8th century

A Latin legend of Veronica's image, of the healing of the emperor Tiberius, and of the revenge taken on the Jews.

¹ The Avenging of the Saviour. This version of the legend of Veronica is written in very barbarous Latin, probably of the seventh or eighth century. An Anglo-Saxon version, which Tischendorf concludes to be derived from the Latin, was edited and translated for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, by C. W. Goodwin, in 1851. The Anglo-Saxon text is from a ms. in the Cambridge Library, one of a number presented to the Cathedral of Exeter by Bishop Leofric in the beginning of the eleventh century. The reader will observe that there are in this document two distinct legends, somewhat clumsily joined together—that of Nathan's embassy, and that of Veronica. Here Beginneth the Avenging of the Saviour. In the days of the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, when Herod was tetrarch, Christ was delivered under Pontius Pilate by the Jews, and revealed by Tiberius. ² In those days Titus was a prince under Tiberius in the region of Equitania, in a city of Libia which is called Burgidalla. And Titus had a sore in his right nostril, on account of a cancer, and he had his face torn even to the eye. There went forth a certain man from Judæa, by name Nathan the son of Nahum; for he was an Ishmaelite who went from land to land, and from sea to sea, and in all the ends of the earth. Now Nathan was sent from Judæa to the Emperor Tiberius, to carry their treaty to the city of Rome. And Tiberius was ill, and full of ulcers and fevers, and had nine kinds of leprosy. And Nathan wished to go to the city of Rome. But the north wind blew and hindered his sailing, and carried him down to the harbour of a city of Libia. Now Titus, seeing the ship coming, knew that it was from Judæa; and they all wondered, and said that they had never seen any vessel so coming from that quarter. And Titus ordered the captain to

come to him, and asked him who he was. And he said: I am Nathan the son of Nahum, of the race of the Ishmaelites, and I am a subject of Pontius Pilate in Judæa. And I have been sent to go to Tiberius the Roman emperor, to carry a treaty from Judæa. And a strong wind came down upon the sea, and has brought me to a country that I do not know.

3 And Titus says: If thou couldst at any time find anything either of cosmetics or herbs which could cure the wound that I have in my face, as thou seest, so that I should become whole, and regain my former health, I should bestow upon thee many good things. And Nathan said to him: I do not know, nor have I ever known, of such things as thou speakest to me about. But for all that, if thou hadst been some time ago in Jerusalem, there thou wouldst have found a choice prophet, whose name was Emanuel, for He will save His people from their sins. And He, as His first miracle in Cana of Galilee, made wine from water; and by His word He cleansed lepers, He enlightened the eyes of one born blind, He healed paralytics, He made demons flee, He raised up three dead; a woman caught in adultery, and condemned by the Jews to be stoned, He set free; and another woman, named Veronica, who suffered twelve years from an issue of blood, and came up to Him behind, and touched the fringe of His garment, He healed; and with five loaves and two fishes He satisfied five thousand men, to say nothing of little ones and women, and there remained of the fragments twelve baskets. All these things, and many others, were accomplished before His passion. After His resurrection we saw Him in the flesh as He had been before. And Titus said to Him:

4 How did he rise again from the dead, seeing that he was dead? And Nathan answered and said: He was manifestly dead, and hung up on the cross, and again taken down from the cross, and for three days He lay in the tomb: thereafter He rose again from the dead, and went down to Hades, and freed the patriarchs and the prophets, and the whole human race; thereafter He appeared to His disciples, and ate with them; thereafter they saw Him going up into heaven. And so it is the truth, all this that I tell you. For I saw it with my own eyes, and all the house of Israel. And Titus said in his own words: Woe to thee, O Emperor Tiberius, full of ulcers, and enveloped in leprosy, because such a scandal has been committed in thy kingdom; because thou hast made such laws in Judæa, in the land of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they have seized the King, and put to death the Ruler of the

peoples; and they have not made Him come to us to cure thee of thy leprosy, and cleanse me from mine infirmity: on which account, if they had been before my face, with my own hands I should have slain the carcasses of those Jews, and hung them up on the cruel tree, because they have destroyed my Lord, and mine eyes have not been worthy to see His face.

5 And when he had thus spoken, immediately the wound fell from the face of Titus, and his flesh and his face were restored to health. And all the sick who were in the same place were made whole in that hour. And Titus cried out, and all the rest with him, in a loud voice, saying: My King and my God, because I have never seen Thee, and Thou hast made me whole, bid me go with the ship over the waters to the land of Thy birth, to take vengeance on Thine enemies; and help me, O Lord, that I may be able to destroy them, and avenge Thy death: do Thou, Lord, deliver them into my hand. And having thus spoken, he ordered that he should be baptized. And he called Nathan to him, and said to him: How hast thou seen those baptized who believe in Christ? Come to me, and baptize me in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. For I also firmly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all my heart, and with all my soul; because nowhere in the whole world is there another who has created me, and made me whole from my wounds.

6 And having thus spoken, he sent messengers to Vespasian to come with all haste with his bravest men, so prepared as if for war. Then Vespasian brought with him five thousand armed men, and they went to meet Titus. And when they had come to the city of Libia, he said to Titus: Why is it that thou hast made me come hither? And he said: Know that Jesus has come into this world, and has been born in Judæa, in a place which is called Bethlehem, and has been given up by the Jews, and scourged, and crucified on Mount Calvary, and has risen again from the dead on the third day. And His disciples have seen Him in the same flesh in which he was born, and He has shown Himself to His disciples, and they have believed in Him. And we indeed wish to become His disciples. Now, let us go and destroy His enemies from the earth, that they may now know that there is none like the Lord our God on the face of the earth.

7 With this design, then, they went forth from the city of Libia which is called Burgidalla, and went on board a ship, and proceeded to Jerusalem, and surrounded the kingdom of the Jews, and began to send them to destruction.

And when the kings of the Jews heard of their doings, and the wasting of their land, fear came upon them, and they were in great perplexity. Then Archelaus was perplexed in his words, and said to his son: My son, take my kingdom and judge it; and take counsel with the other kings who are in the land of Judah, that you may be able to escape from our enemies. And having thus said, he unsheathed his sword and leant upon it; and turned his sword, which was very sharp, and thrust it into his breast, and died. And his son allied himself with the other kings who were under him, and they took counsel among themselves, and went into Jerusalem with their chief men who were in their counsel, and stood in the same place seven years. And Titus and Vespasian took counsel to surround their city. And they did so. And the seven years being fulfilled, there was a very sore famine, and for want of bread they began to eat earth. Then all the soldiers who were of the four kings took counsel among themselves, and said: Now we are sure to die: what will God do to us?

8 or of what good is our life to us, because the Romans have come to take our place and nation? It is better for us to kill each other, than that the Romans should say that they have slain us, and gained the victory over us. And they drew their swords and smote themselves, and died, to the number of twelve thousand men of them. Then there was a great stench in that city from the corpses of those dead men. And their kings feared with a very great fear even unto death; and they could not bear the stench of them, nor bury them, nor throw them forth out of the city. And they said to each other: What shall we do? We indeed gave up Christ to death, and now we given up to death ourselves. Let us bow our heads, and give up the keys of the city to the Romans, because God has already given us up to death. And immediately they went up upon the walls of the city, and all cried out with a loud voice, saying: Titus and Vespasian, take the keys of the city, which have been given to you by Messiah, who is called Christ.

9 Then they gave themselves up into the hands of Titus and Vespasian, and said: Judge us, seeing that we ought to die, because we judged Christ; and he was given up without cause. Titus and Vespasian seized them, and some they stoned, and some they hanged on a tree, feet up and head down, and struck them through with lances; and others they gave up to be sold, and others they divided among themselves, and made four parts of them, just as they had done of the garments of the Lord. And they said: They sold Christ

for thirty pieces of silver, and we shall sell thirty of them for one denarius. And so they did. And having done so, they seized all the lands of Judæa and Jerusalem. ¹⁰ Then they made a search about the face or portrait of Jesus, how they might find it. And they found a woman named Veronica who had it. Then they seized Pilate, and sent him to prison, to be guarded by four quaternions of soldiers at the door of the prison. Then they forthwith sent their messengers to Tiberius, the emperor of the city of Rome, that he should send Velosianus to them. And he said to him: Take all that is necessary for thee in the sea, and go down into Judæa, and seek out one of the disciples of him who is called Christ and Lord, that he may come to me, and in the name of his God cure me of the leprosy and the infirmities by which I am daily exceedingly burdened, and of my wounds, because I am ill at ease. And send upon the kings of the Jews, who are subject to my authority, thy forces and terrible engines, because they have put to death Jesus Christ our Lord, and condemn them to death. And if thou shalt there find a man as may be able to free me from this infirmity of mine, I will believe in Christ the Son of God, and will baptize myself in his name. And Velosianus said: My lord emperor, if I find such a man as may be able to help and free us, what reward shall I promise him? Tiberius said to him: The half of my kingdom, without fail, to be in his hand.

¹¹ Then Velosianus immediately went forth, and went on board the ship, and hoisted the sail in the vessel, and went on sailing through the sea. And he sailed a year and seven days, after which he arrived at Jerusalem. And immediately he ordered some of the Jews to come to his power, and began carefully to ask what had been the acts of Christ. Then Joseph, of the city of Arimathæa, and Nicodemus, came at the same time. And Nicodemus said: I saw Him, and I know indeed that He is the Saviour of the world. And Joseph said to him: And I took Him down from the cross, and laid Him in a new tomb, which had been cut out of the rock. And the Jews kept me shut up on the day of the preparation, at evening; and while I was standing in prayer on the Sabbath-day, the house was hung up by the four corners, and I saw the Lord Jesus Christ like a gleam of light, and for fear I fell to the ground. And He said to me, Look upon me, for I am Jesus, whose body thou buriedst in thy tomb. And I said to Him, Show me the sepulchre where I laid Thee. And Jesus, holding my hand in His right hand, led me to the place where I buried Him.

12 And there came also the woman named Veronica, and said to him: And I touched in the crowd the fringe of His garment, because for twelve years I had suffered from an issue of blood; and He immediately healed me. Then Velosianus said to Pilate: Thou, Pilate, impious and cruel, why hast thou slain the Son of God? And Pilate answered: His own nation, and the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, gave him to me. Velosianus said: Impious and cruel, thou art worthy of death and cruel punishment. And he sent him back to prison. And Velosianus at last sought for the face or the countenance of the Lord. And all who were in that same place said: It is the woman called Veronica who has the portrait of the Lord in her house. And immediately he ordered her to be brought before his power. And he said to her: Hast thou the portrait of the Lord in thy house? But she said, No. Then Velosianus ordered her to be put to the torture, until she should give up the portrait of the Lord. And she was forced to say: I have it in clean linen, my lord, and I daily adore it. Velosianus said: Show it to me. Then she showed the portrait of the Lord. When Velosianus saw it, he prostrated himself on the ground; and with a ready heart and true faith he took hold of it, and wrapped it in cloth of gold, and placed it in a casket, and sealed it with his ring.

13 And he swore with an oath, and said: As the Lord God liveth, and by the health of Cæsar, no man shall any more see it upon the face of the earth, until I see the face of my lord Tiberius. And when he had thus spoken, the princes, who were the chief men of Judæa, seized Pilate to take him to a sea-port. And he took the portrait of the Lord, with all His disciples, and all in his pay, and they went on board the ship the same day. Then the woman Veronica, for the love of Christ, left all that she possessed, and followed Velosianus. And Velosianus said to her: What dost thou wish, woman, or what dost thou seek? And she answered: I am seeking the portrait of our Lord Jesus Christ, who enlightened me, not for my own merits, but through His own holy affection. Give back to me the portrait of my Lord Jesus Christ; for because of this I die with a righteous longing. But if thou do not give it back to me, I will not leave it until I see where thou wilt put it, because I, most miserable woman that I am, will serve Him all the days of my life; because I believe that He, my Redeemer, liveth for everlasting.

14 Then Velosianus ordered the woman Veronica to be taken down with him into the ship. And the sails being hoisted, they began to go in the vessel in the name of the Lord, and they sailed through the sea. But Titus, along

with Vespasian, went up into Judæa, avenging all nations upon their land. At the end of a year Velosianus came to the city of Rome, brought his vessel into the river which is called Tiberis, or Tiber, and entered the city which is called Rome. And he sent his messenger to his lord Tiberius the emperor in the Lateran about his prosperous arrival. Then Tiberius the emperor, when he heard the message of Velosianus, rejoiced greatly, and ordered him to come before his face. And when he had come, he called him, saying: Velosianus, how hast thou come, and what hast thou seen in the region of Judæa of Christ the Lord and his disciples? Tell me, I beseech thee, that he is going to cure me of mine infirmity, that I may be at once cleansed from that leprosy which I have over my body, and I give up my whole kingdom into thy power and his.

¹⁵ And Velosianus said: My lord emperor, I found thy servants Titus and Vespasian in Judæa fearing the Lord, and they were cleansed from all their ulcers and sufferings. And I found that all the kings and rulers of Judæa have been hanged by Titus; Annas and Caiaphas have been stoned, Archelaus has killed himself with his own lance; and I have sent Pilate to Damascus in bonds, and kept him in prison under safe keeping. But I have also found out about Jesus, whom the Jews most wickedly attacked with swords, and staves, and weapons; and they crucified him who ought to have freed and enlightened us, and to have come to us, and they hanged him on a tree. And Joseph came from Arimathæa, and Nicodemus with him, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds, to anoint the body of Jesus; and they took him down from the cross, and laid him in a new tomb. And on the third day he most assuredly rose again from the dead, and showed himself to his disciples in the same flesh in which he had been born. At length, after forty days, they saw him going up into heaven. Many, indeed, and other miracles did Jesus before his passion and after. First, of water he made wine; he raised the dead, he cleansed lepers, he enlightened the blind, he cured paralytics, he put demons to flight; he made the deaf hear, the dumb speak; Lazarus, when four days dead, he raised from the tomb;

¹⁶ the woman Veronica, who suffered from an issue of blood twelve years, and touched the fringe of his garment, he made whole. Then it pleased the Lord in the heavens, that the Son of God, who, sent into this world as the first-created, had died upon earth, should send his angel; and he commanded Titus and Vespasian, whom I knew in that place where thy throne is.

And it pleased God Almighty that they went into Judæa and Jerusalem, and seized thy subjects, and put them under that sentence, as it were, in the same manner as they did when thy subjects seized Jesus and bound him. And Vespasian afterwards said: What shall we do about those who shall remain? Titus answered: They hanged our Lord on a green tree, and struck him with a lance; now let us hang them on a dry tree, and pierce their bodies through and through with the lance. And they did so. And Vespasian said: What about those who are left? Titus answered: They seized the tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of it made four parts; now let us seize them, and divide them into four parts,—to thee one, to me one, to thy men another, and to my servants the fourth part. And they did so. And Vespasian said: But what shall we do about those who are left? Titus answered him: The Jews sold our Lord for thirty pieces of silver: now let us sell thirty of them for one piece of silver. And they did so.

¹⁷ And they seized Pilate, and gave him up to me, and I put him in prison, to be guarded by four quaternions of soldiers in Damascus. Then they made a search with great diligence to seek the portrait of the Lord; and they found a woman named Veronica who had the portrait of the Lord. Then the Emperor Tiberius said to Velosianus: How hast thou it? And he answered: I have it in clean cloth of gold, rolled up in a shawl. And the Emperor Tiberius said: Bring it to me, and spread it before my face, that I, falling to the ground and bending my knees, may adore it on the ground. Then Velosianus spread out his shawl with the cloth of gold on which the portrait of the Lord had been imprinted; and the Emperor Tiberius saw it. And he immediately adored the image of the Lord with a pure heart, and his flesh was cleansed as the flesh of a little child. And all the blind, the lepers, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, and those possessed by various diseases, who were there present, were healed, and cured, and cleansed. And the Emperor Tiberius bowed his head and bent his knees, considering that saying: Blessed is the womb which bore Thee, and the breasts which Thou hast sucked; and he groaned to the Lord, saying with tears:

¹⁸ God of heaven and earth, do not permit me to sin, but confirm my soul and my body, and place me in Thy kingdom, because in Thy name do I trust always: free me from all evils, as Thou didst free the three children from the furnace of blazing fire. ¹⁹ Then said the Emperor Tiberius to Velosianus: Velosianus, hast thou seen any of those men who saw Christ? Velosianus

answered: I have. He said: Didst thou ask how they baptize those who believed in Christ? Velosianus said: Here, my Lord, we have one of the disciples of Christ himself. Then he ordered Nathan to be summoned to come to him. Nathan therefore came and baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Immediately the Emperor Tiberius, made whole from all his diseases, ascended upon his throne, and said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord God Almighty, and worthy to be praised, who hast freed me from the snare of death, and cleansed me from all mine iniquities; because I have greatly sinned before Thee, O Lord my God, and I am not worthy to see Thy face. And then the Emperor Tiberius was instructed in all the articles of the faith, fully, and with strong faith.

²⁰ May that same God Almighty, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, Himself shield us in His faith, and defend us, and deliver us from all danger and evil, and deign to bring us to life everlasting, when this life, which is temporary, shall fail; who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

The Martyrdom of Pilate

TRANSLATED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA

medieval, from Syriac and Garshuni manuscripts

An apocryphal story from the Coptic and Syriac churches in which Pontius Pilate becomes a believer and a martyr and is honoured as a saint. It is a late legend, ascribed to Cyriacus of Behnesa.

¹ I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an apocryphal document entitled Martyrdom of Pilate. Like the previous document it is attributed to Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real author of all its historical narrative is, as we learn from the beginning and the end of the story and from some passages found in the middle of it, Gamaliel himself. We may, therefore, consider it as a second Gamaliel apocryphon. I have edited the text from three independent MSS. Two of them belong to my own collection of MSS. and are numbered Mingana Syr. 127 and Mingana Syr. 355 (hereafter M. 127 and M. 355). The third MS. is Paris Arab. 152 (hereafter P.). M. 127 and M. 355 are written in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) and P. is in Arabic characters. From notes that I have ventured to write at the foot of the following pages, it will be seen that I believe that M. 355 is transcribed from a MS. which was in Arabic characters. The same conclusion may to some extent be reached with regard to M. 127.

² I have placed the text of M. 127 in the body of the page and the variants of M. 355 and P. in the footnotes. I have transcribed each MS. in the characters in which it was found, viz. M. 127 and M. 355 in Garshūni, and P. in Arabic. I have given almost all the variants of M. 355, but in order not to render the text of the notes very bulky I have noted only the most important variants of P. In the final section, however, which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome—a section which is completely missing in M. 127—I registered also nearly all the variants of P. As there were only two MSS. to be dealt with, the footnotes did not appear to me to be abnormally bulky by

the adoption of such a method. I have also read Cod. Vat. Syr. 199 which is in Garshūni like my own MSS. I noticed that it follows generally either M. 127 or M. 355, and that only occasionally it agrees with P.

3 I adopted also the above method for another and a more cogent reason. The variant readings exhibited by the three MSS. are so numerous, so varied in character and so important that I have come to the conclusion that they represent three more or less different recensions of the story, and that P. was executed with an eye on the interest of Egyptian Christians. Now to condense in a single narrative the text of three different recensions of a story is almost an impossibility. The problem could have been better solved if I had edited separately the text of all M. 127, all M. 355, and all P. as I did in the case of the Apocryphal Jeremiah but the story did not appear to me to be of such importance as to justify this course. M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683), and it is the same MS. as that which contains the above documents dealing with the Virgin Mary and the death and resurrection of Christ or the Lament of the Virgin as I have called it. M. 355 has no date, but may be ascribed to about A.D. 1800. P. is assigned by Baron de Slane to the 16th Christian century, which is probable, with the sole reservation that I am tempted to place it towards the end rather than the beginning or the middle of the 16th century.

4 In the translation I only registered in the footnotes the most important variants which seemed to me likely to throw light on the sources of the author. Further, I did not attempt to correct the numerous lexicographical and grammatical mistakes found in the text of the three MSS. for reasons given in the preface of the previous document. The document appears to me to be, like its predecessors, exclusively Coptic in origin. Among the Christian Churches of the East it is only the Coptic Church that considers Pilate as a saint and holds a feast in his honour. The Syrian Churches while not so hostile to Pilate as the Western Churches, do not certainly go so far as to make a saint of him, in spite of the fact that a West Syrian Patriarch bore the name Pilate. That the document falls within the circle of the *Acta Pilati* and the '*Anaphora Pilatou* goes without saying'. The *Anaphora* seems to presuppose the *Acta*, itself later than the *paradosis Pilatou* which relates, like the present document, that the Emperor summoned Pilate to Rome to answer for the crucifixion of Jesus, and there condemned him to death. In my opinion all these Greek documents emanate also from Egypt, and Egypt alone. They

have nothing to do with Syria and Palestine, and have very little in common with the Churches of the West.

5 The reader will doubtless notice from my foot-notes that I have compared the present document with the Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic apocrypha so ably edited and translated by Budge, and also with some other parallel documents.

Translation.

6 In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will begin with the help and assistance of God to write the history of Pilate, the Governor of the City of Jerusalem. May his prayers be with the children of baptism. Amen. A treatise composed by the holy Cyriacus, bishop of the town of Bahnasa, on the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, and on the tribulations undergone by Pontius Pilate in the holy city, at the time of the crucifixion. In it he makes mention also of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and of the persecution suffered by Pilate at the hand of the Jews for the name of Christ—to whom be glory and worship—and of the torments inflicted on him by Herod before he was sent by the latter to the Metropolis, the great city of Rome, where his head was cut off and his martyrdom completed. The story is told as found in the copy written by Gamaliel and Horus, the good, pious, and respectable teachers in all things dealing with God. They wrote it, because they were present with Joseph and Nicodemus and witnessed the ordeals of Christ which became the source of our life, and His glorious resurrection. They related that they wrote this martyrdom after the prodigies and miracles that took place in the tomb of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, consequent upon His resurrection from the dead, and at the end of the machinations and intrigues of the wicked Jews. May the peace of God be with us. Amen.

7 When our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified in the place called Kranion, which being interpreted means a row of stones—and it is the Golgotha—the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus got possession of His body and placed it in a new tomb. The Virgin Mary began then to weep and to show a keen desire to go to the tomb of her Son, but she could not do so from fear of the Jews, because it was the Sabbath Day, which follows Friday, and in it no one was allowed to proceed anywhere or to undertake any work. When the morning of Sunday arrived Mary took with her other women who carried with them sweet spices and perfumes with which to anoint the tomb of

the Saviour. And Mary preceded the other women who followed her to the sepulchre early in the morning. When she reached the sepulchre she found the stone rolled away from it, and while in a state of amazement, she looked into the place in which lay the body of Jesus, but did not find it; she found, however, the linen clothes lying there, and the napkin that was over the head separated from the linen clothes and wrapped together in a place by itself. She saw also two angels in white sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet.

8 While she was weeping she turned herself back and saw the Saviour standing, and He said to her: "Woman, why are you weeping?" She, supposing Him to be the gardener answered Him saying: "Sir, if you have borne Him hence tell me where you have laid Him, and I will go and take Him away. And the Saviour said to her: O Mary." And she answered and said "Rabboni"—which is to say My Master. "You rose, O my Son and my God, and your resurrection is magnificent, because you rose and granted salvation to the human kind, but O my Son and my God, I am amazed at your having allowed these wicked people to inflict on you all these sufferings." And the Saviour said to her, "I have already told you all this before it happened." And when His mother heard what He said to her and ascertained that it was He, she rejoiced and wished ardently to go near Him and worship Him. She was indeed so overjoyed that she thought she was dreaming. But He said to her: "Do not come near Me, because I have not gone yet to My Father. This is the reason why no corporeal being is able to approach Me and touch Me. Go you rather to My brethren and announce to them this joy which you have witnessed, and tell them to go to Galilee where they shall see Me. Lo, I have told you." Then the Virgin Mary began to ask the Saviour, her Son, concerning the events that took place at the hands of the wicked Jews on the day of the Crucifixion, when He was hanging on the wood of the Cross and she was standing near Him and weeping, and He explained to her all the events that she had witnessed, one by one.

9 She said to Him: "O my beloved Son, O Life of my spirit and Master of my soul and body, why did you cry and say on the wood of the Cross, 'Eloi, Eloi, why hast thou forsaken me?' And also, 'Scripture is fulfilled,' and also 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.'" And He answered and said to her: "O my beloved mother, I cried to the Father with a sigh, like an only Son to His Father, and asked Him to allow Me to die, in order to redeem

with My death the death of Adam whom sin had killed and whom the sentence of death had cast into Hades. Yes, O mother, I cried to the Father and implored Him to look upon My humiliation and have pity on Adam and grant him another grace. And when I remembered his hunger and thirst I said, 'I thirst,' and asked the Father on his behalf to quench his thirst from the water of the eternal life. When my side was pierced with a spear, and I drank the cup which all men are bound to drink, I asked the Father that on the day of my rising from the dead I might raise Adam from the death of sin, since I was pierced in my side because of him.

10 "O my mother, the hierarchies of Heaven scoffed at Adam and complained about him to the Father saying, 'All this happened to your only Son because of an earthly man on whom you breathed the breath of life.' The Father, however, rebuked them and said 'This is the creation of my hand and I love Him more than you.' Hades complained about him to Me and said, 'Let me cast him into the bottom of the pit,' but I rebuked it and said 'Shut up your mouth, you will no more rise and seize Adam and cast him into the depths. He does not deserve now to be with you for one single hour. I came now to break up and smash your doors and throw you to the lowest depths, and to raise Adam to the heights.' "The tormenting angels of Hell whose habit is to turn towards the west began then to vociferate, and they kindled fires which they inflamed with pitch and sulphur and shouted concerning the sin of Adam and said: 'Let us destroy him and throw him to the great sufferings of the fire of Hell.' Further, when they heard my conversation with him at the time I was lifted on the wood of the Cross and my saying to him: 'O Adam, it is for your sake that all this has happened to me' they cried and said, 'Deliver him into our hands, sir, and we will do to him what he rightly deserves, and we will destroy him as if he had never existed.' I rebuked them, however, and sternly reprovved them, and I disclosed to them the fact that I have shed My precious blood for him so that I might save him and give him a share in My Kingdom.

11 "O my mother, I remembered the sadness and sorrowfulness that fell to the lot of Paradise. I recalled, O my mother, the mournfulness of Paradise and the fact that it was empty from the time in which Adam was driven out of it. Through My Passion and My Crucifixion I meant to restore Adam to Paradise. Did you not know, then, O my mother, why I remained nine months in your womb, and do you not understand the cause of my coming

into this world? Did you not know that the events about which the ancient prophets have prophesied had to take place? Did you not realise that all this had to happen and that I had to deliver the rest of the captives from the hands of the enemy, and bring them out of the prison of Hades? ¹² "I suffered all what I did suffer in order to elevate the elect to the heights of Heaven. I interceded with the Father on their behalf, not only by words but by the shedding of My blood on the Cross before you, in order to deliver them and Adam their father from the evil consequences of his transgression. I do not hold him, therefore, responsible for the blasphemies uttered against Me for his sins, nor answerable for My thirst, for the crown of thorns which was placed on my head, for the hanging of my body on the wood of the Cross, and for the death which I accepted for him. On the contrary I asked the Father to forgive him all his sins. Have patience, O my mother, and I will ask the Father to tear up the written document of the slavery of Adam. O my mother, what would be the utility of this shedding of My blood on the earth if I did not raise this body to Heaven? In this day the heavenly beings will be reconciled with the terrestrial ones. Go now, in joy, O my mother, because I rose from the dead. I have demolished the wall of partitions of Hades, and I have opened the door of Paradise for the thief at My right. I have also opened the door of Heaven before the angels and they flapped their wings, the archangels girded their loins with their shining and majestic girdles, the heavenly powers danced with hymns and canticles, the Cherubim and Seraphim began their glorifications, the Dominions desired to contemplate intensely the glory of My divinity, and the Thrones stood before the Throne."

¹³ This is what the Saviour told His mother near the door of the tomb by way of consolation. He further said to her: "No corporeal man can touch Me because I am clad in an imperishable garment and immortal robe, till the time in which I shall ascend to My Father." When He uttered these words He disappeared from her sight and recommended her to tell His disciples to go to Galilee where they would see Him. When the women returned and narrated to the disciples the words which they had heard from the Saviour, they did not believe them, but fear did not allow them to show themselves to anyone until they repaired to Galilee. When Pilate noticed all the miracles and prodigies that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour, he went to his house and prepared a great banquet for the poor and the needy on account of the joy that he experienced at the resurrection of the Saviour; this was even

more so in the case of Procula, his wife, because she loved the Saviour intensely on account of what she had seen in her dream concerning Him. She had already made preparations to go and see the tomb in which the Saviour was placed in order to worship Him and know the precise spot in which His body was laid. A company of Jews, however, became cognisant of her plan and went and apprised their chiefs and told them that the wife of Pilate was in that very night proceeding to the tomb. These wicked people circulated the news among themselves, and after a conference, decided to lie in wait for her in order to seize her and kill Pilate.

¹⁴ They, therefore, summoned Barnābān, the robber, and said to him: "We do not need to remind you of all the benefactions which we have showered on you. We set you free and delivered you from prison against the wish of the Governor, and we crucified Jesus of Nazareth in your place. We want you now to accompany us to-night to the tomb of Jesus and to do your best for us. It has come to our knowledge that that wicked foreigner, called Pilate, wishes to go with his wife and his children to the tomb of Jesus in order to worship Him. We will lie in wait for them and you will help us to kill them, destroy Pilate and plunder their possessions." The affair appealed to Barnābān and pleased him exceedingly. He desired to possess something as he had come out of prison a pauper and a mendicant. When he heard, therefore, of possessions to plunder he was glad because he loved gold and silver. He was the brother of the wife of Judas who is from the wicked and perverse stock. The wife of Barnābān, the sister of Judas, used to urge her husband to ask his Master to intervene and deliver her brother from prison. Judas asked this several times of the Saviour, who, however, did not pay any heed to his saying and neglected it, because He was aware of what the man was going to be. When the sister noticed that He did not speak on behalf of her brother, she forsook Him completely. This was also on account of what her husband used to steal from the bag. She began then to pay visits to the wives of the priests and incite them to crucify the Saviour.

¹⁵ After this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate with his wife and his children and to plunder his possessions. When I Gamaliel learned the conspiracy of these wicked people I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathæa, who had shrouded the body of the Saviour, and I disclosed to him the conspiracy of the Jews and their evil plot. When he heard it he hastened to the court and informed Pilate, the Gov-

ernor, of what the Jews had plotted and were about to do to him. Whereupon Pilate summoned a company of his troops and revealed to them what had taken place; and he informed also the sentinels of the town and told them to be on their guard. Then the God-loving Procula, wife of Pilate, arose in the night, took with her her maid-servants, her ladies-in-waiting and a number of private attendants and proceeded to the tomb of the Saviour. She worshipped in the tomb and spread on it and also on the wood of the holy Cross perfumes of high value and sweet spices of exquisite scent. She then lit up many lamps in the tomb and burned much incense therein. While they were standing near the tomb the servants of the Jewish priests and a band of men and officers with attendants, and a great company from the party of the elders arose and proceeded with the robber Barnābān to the tomb of the Saviour and to the spot where the womenfolk of Pilate were praying. Then the soldiers of Pilate sprang on them with swords, spears and stones, put them to the sword, seized the robber Barnābān, bound him with fetters and brought him to Pilate.

16 When Pilate saw him he asked him: "Are you the robber Barnābān whom I released from prison, and instead of whose blood we shed innocent blood? That innocent blood which we have unjustly shed will not fail to wreak vengeance on the one who acted towards him in an iniquitous way. To-day will redound on you all the evil, theft, robbery by violence, and homicide which you have perpetrated in this town, the inhabitants of which chose to release you and ransom you with the blood of Jesus. Now, O wretched and miserable one, God will show His justice towards you to-day. O robber, the shedding of the blood of Jesus with which they ransomed your own blood will not be slow in avenging itself on you." Then Pilate ordered that they should take Barnābān to the place where the Saviour was crucified, that they should crucify him there head downwards, that they should pierce him with a spear before he expired, that they should break the bones of his legs in order that he might die quickly, on account of all the untruthfulness told by his people. The soldiers of Pilate took him, did with him what Pilate had ordered, and killed him, five days after the resurrection of the Saviour.

17 When this took place the Jewish people became incensed against Pilate and began to say to one another: "Comrades, Barnābān has gone from us and Pilate is left. Come, let us write a report about Pilate from King Herod to the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, and ask him to kill him for us; we will give three

talents of gold to Herod in order that he may help us to murder him." Many Jews, then, men and women, tore up their clothings, threw ashes on their heads, and repaired to King Herod in Galilee. They began to vociferate, and their clamour reached such a pitch that the town was in a state of commotion. They shouted and said: "How is it that we have no king to-day except Pilate the foreigner, who is from the land of Egypt? And they clamoured and said: 'He has thwarted and despised the injunctions of the King, changed our habits and customs, and destroyed the laws of our fathers in conjunction with Joseph and Nicodemus. How is it that all power has gone from Herod? We ask your Majesty as our King, to deliver us from him. He has killed Barnābān whom you had ordered to be released from prison on account of his courage and valour in his fight for the King and in his endeavour to defeat the King's enemies. He did all this without consulting the King and on the advice of Joseph and Nicodemus. Now you are competent to judge between us and him and to write and inform the Emperor Cæsar of his affair and of all that he did to us for the sake of Jesus of Nazareth.'"

¹⁸ Herod became then incensed against Pilate and wrote about him many lying things which he sent to Tiberius Cæsar, and despatched with his report men of high standing among the Jews in order to render his report more effective. It happened that the letters of Herod preceded those of Pilate by one day. The Jews read them to the Emperor with all the slanders and iniquitous testimonies which they contained, and asked him to kill Pilate and his confederates. In the morning the letters of Pilate reached the Emperor, and in them was an account of all the deeds of Jesus, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection from the dead, the quaking of the earth, the eclipse of the sun, and the destruction of the idols and their falling from their thrones on the day of His crucifixion. When the Emperor Tiberius read and heard what the Jews had done to the Saviour at His crucifixion, he wept on account of the deep sorrow that he felt; and when he reached the place in which were the names of the heads of the Jews who were the cause of the crucifixion of Jesus, he found that some of them were among those who had come to him in order to vent their grievances about Pilate. He,

¹⁹ Pilatos Mašarī (B.M. 690, fol. 99a), "Pilate the Magician," which would simply be a mistranscription of the Arabic masrī "the Egyptian." The Melchite Eutychius (in C.S.C.O., i., 91) contends that Pilate was of Italian origin, from an island named Pontah and situated near Rome. therefore,

summoned them before him and said to them: "O chiefs of iniquity, here is the letter of Pilate, and he is testifying against you that it was you who crucified Jesus of Nazareth. I will order now that none of you be left alive in the world on account of your cruel deeds to Jesus. He ordered, therefore, that they should be killed and their bodies be hung on the heights that surmounted the gates of the city. Then he sent a messenger after Pilate and summoned him before him in order that he might tell him the truth concerning the miracles that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour.

²⁰ When the messenger of the Emperor reached Jerusalem, the chiefs of the Jews assembled and went to Herod, and apprised him of the arrival of the messenger of the Emperor for the purpose of summoning Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus. They spoke to him out of their spite and jealousy and told him that they would bribe the messenger if he would kill Pilate, but he said to them that he was unable to do so without the sanction of the Emperor. In the morning Herod came to Jerusalem to have a word with Pilate on the affair. When Pilate heard this he went to his wife and said to her: "O my sister Procula, arise and hide in a place on account of what Herod is going to do to me. The mob, the heads of the Jewish people and the messenger of the Emperor have come. I do not know if they have come to take off my head or to torment me for the sake of the Saviour. Arise you, take your children and go out of this town. Watch, however, over my body if they are bent on taking off my head. Give silver to the soldiers and redeem my body from them, shroud it, and place it near the tomb of my Lord Jesus in order that His grace may overtake me. Do this even if you have to give all my possessions for the purpose."

²¹ When his wife heard these words she tore up her garments, and began to pluck the hair of her head, saying, "What are these words you are uttering to me, my lord Pilate. Have I not sufficient pain in my heart on account of what you did with Jesus in crucifying Him? To tell you the truth, O brother, you have comforted my heart to-day in apprising me of your possible death. If God did not spare His only Son but delivered Him up for us, neither I nor you will flee from death for Him. What utility shall we have from our nation? O brother, if you love me more than you love Him, it is blameworthy. God knows that we are both of us one body, and as we did not separate from each other in this world, neither we nor our children should be separated the one from the other in the Kingdom of Heaven."

22 While Procula, the wife of Pilate, was saying this, the troops came and surrounded him and took him to the court of Herod, in the presence of the messenger of the Emperor, who said: "Are you Pilate who said 'There is no hand over my hand?' How did you kill this Jesus without consulting the Emperor?" Pilate did not give him any answer to this question but only said: "My lord, if these have had so little fear of God as to crucify His beloved Son, I am prepared to die for His holy name, I have faith that if I die for His name I shall possess the eternal life, and you will not impede me from His glory." The Jewish people said then to the messenger of the Emperor: "What is the utility of speaking to him while he insults you in the Coptic language?" Immediately after (the envoy of the Emperor) gave orders that he should be stripped of his clothes, that a napkin should be tied round his loins, and that he should be flagellated with a rough whip. Herod incited them to flog him well, and the Jewish people said: "O Pilate all the sufferings you inflicted on Barnābān have now come back on your own head. You prided yourself and said that you were the Governor, and the Emperor. Now no power of any kind remains to you in the city of Jerusalem." Pilate bore with patience this taunt while he was being flogged with the whip, and his innocent blood flowed profusely on the ground before them like flowing water.

23 Then his wife Procula hastened and came to him and began to urge and encourage him, saying, "O martyr, O my brother Pilate, how I wish to die with the death with which you will die!" The Jews seized her immediately with her hair and threw her before her husband in order to intensify his affront and indignity. The holy Procula, however, was jubilant in her heart and began to say: "O my brother Pilate, the beginning of this first honour that came to me I offer to Christ and to His holy name." The Jews then said to Pilate: "Know that this punishment which is inflicted on you is not for what you have done to Jesus of Nazareth, but for your murdering of Barnābān." And he replied to them: "Would that I could be found worthy to be crucified with my wife and children for the name of Jesus, and that He could be left alive to me; but I believe, rather I am sure of the fact, that He is alive and that He has eternal life, which He imparts to all believers in Him." The Jews answered Him and said: "O Pilate, your life is like His life and your lot is similar to His lot." And he said: "Amen. My life is with Him, and His judgment will be on you and your children." The Jews then sprang upon him, and some of them slapped him, some others struck him on the face,

and some others insulted him and reviled him saying: "We will not release you until you die on the wood like your God Jesus."

²⁴ When the messenger of the Emperor noticed the intensity of their hatred against him he took him from their hands and said to them: "The Emperor has not permitted me to do this, nor has he ordered me to torture him and to kill him, until I have brought him before him." The Jews, however, satisfied him with much money and said to him: "Kill him and his affair will not reach the ears of the Emperor." And they asked him to give them permission to drag him in the streets of the town bound with fetters and accompanied by his bare-headed wife; and this was granted to them. How bitter was the weeping in Jerusalem, when people saw Pilate and his wife with their hands bound with fetters behind their back and dragged in the streets, while the Jews were applauding and saying: "This is like the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth!" When the hirelings were tired of the work of dragging they threw them in prison while still bound with iron fetters, but beaming with joy.

²⁵ Then the false witnesses and teachers of error sat and wrote many lies about Pilate, saying: "This is Pilate who said, 'There is no hand over my hand and no other king beside me.' This is Pilate who abrogated our prescriptions. This is the one who demolished our synagogues, in which people read the law and the commandments. This is the one who killed the indomitable Barnābān." When they wrote this they began to bring accusations against Joseph and Nicodemus, and they brought them bound with fetters before Herod, as they had done with Pilate. He ordered them to be flogged and their possessions plundered, like Pilate's, and they were so much weakened by scourging and so impoverished that they resembled Job at the time of his poverty. Then the iniquitous Jews sat and conspired together to burn the tomb of the Saviour on account of the prodigies and miracles that they saw emanating from it, and they asked for the wood of the cross to be burnt likewise. Joseph, however, had taken it and placed it in a hidden place in the sepulchre. The Jews, therefore, brought fire which they kindled round the sepulchre, but it did no harm of any kind to it, nor did it reach it; and to hide their shame, they hid the entrance of the sepulchre and placed a stone over it in order that no one might penetrate into it. The Jews did all this.

²⁶ When Pilate and his wife, and Joseph and Nicodemus, were in prison, Herod asked the messenger of the Emperor to empower him to send Joseph

and Nicodemus to their own town and to kill them therein, but the messenger of the Emperor did not allow him to do so. Then the Jews asked Herod to secure for them from the messenger of the Emperor a permit which would allow them to crucify Pilate like his Master, and when they bribed him with much money he delivered Pilate to them in order that they might crucify him and kill him. While they had conspired thus to kill Pilate with his wife and his children, lo, the keepers of the prison came to Pilate shaking and trembling. They began to implore the messenger of the Emperor, saying: "O our lord the Vizier, either do with Pilate what you have intended to do with him, or take him away from us. From the time you have ordered him to be imprisoned with his wife, they have not been left alone, but a spiritual man is constantly with them, whose light is more dazzling even than that of the sun. We saw him coming down from Heaven and embracing them, after which the fetters and shackles with which they were bound were torn up, and their iron melted like water from their feet; further, the column to which they were tied bent down and worshipped that spiritual being, and it is even now in that bent state, inclining to the ground."

²⁷ Then they asked them and said: "What is the description of that man?" And they answered: "He is a Galilean by appearance, and his hair is beautiful and flowing in curls round him. He spoke at a great length with Pilate and his wife, and said to him, 'O Pilate, you shall be crucified on the wood of the Cross like me, and they shall place a crown of thorns on your head like me, but they will not be able to kill you here: they will take you to the Emperor Tiberius, before whom you will stand and who will order you to be crucified a second time.' They were also having much intimate conversation with each other." When the Jews heard these words from the gaolers an intense fear seized them and their hearts palpitated. They began to say to one another: "Even if they kill us and kill our children we will kill and crucify Pilate." Then Herod enjoined the gaolers not to repeat these words before anybody else until Pilate was killed. When Pilate heard these words he was greatly pleased.

²⁸ Meanwhile the Jews advanced much silver to the messenger of the Emperor—and it amounted to such a quantity that it carried conviction, and he allowed them to crucify him. Then they rushed like mad dogs to the gaol in order to take him out and crucify him. When they entered the gaol they found him smiling and joyful, while the fetters were loosed from him and

from his wife, and the column was leaning towards the ground like a tree bent by the force of the wind. The Jews took then Pilate and his wife and brought them to the open court. They stripped him of his garments, tied a napkin round his waist to cover his nudity, and began to march them through all the city until they reached the spot where they had crucified the two malefactors, and they crucified him there. God, however, who is full of mercy, inculcated forgetfulness into the mind of the Jews so that none of them stretched an evil hand towards the wife of Pilate. Indeed, she was standing near him urging and encouraging him, saying: "O my brother Pilate, remember the One who comforted you and came to you in this very night. Endure and bear your tribulations for His name." And when they were intending to lift him on the cross, they remembered the Cross of the Saviour, and for this they immediately opened the sepulchre and took the wood of the cross and crucified Pilate on it. They fastened him tightly on it with nails, placed on his head a crown of thorns, arrayed him in a purple garment, and began to pierce his side with a spear while shouting and saying: "O Pilate, disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, if your Master has risen from the dead come down from the cross, and we will believe in Him."

²⁹ The blessed Pilate began to pray while hanging on the cross, and said: "O my Lord, I have polluted your holy cross by the hanging of my body on it, because it is a pure wood and my body is an impure body; your blood is an innocent blood, and my blood is carnal. I do not weep now, O my Lord, because I have been crucified for your name, but I weep because I have defiled and polluted your holy cross. I do not sigh, O my Lord, for help, but I shed tears because you have borne all these sufferings for us sinners. I do not weep, O my Lord, because they have crucified me. Have pity on me, your sinning servant, who has been lifted up on your holy cross, as I am not worthy of all these benefits. I do not sigh because of my nudity, but I weep for your deep humility and self-effacement. Now I ask you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, not in my own name, but for the glory of your Majesty and the honour of your Cross, to grant rest and a happy lot to my poor soul. Grant rest to me, your servant Pilate, to your maidservant Procula, and to my children, in the day in which you will come to judge the world."

³⁰ This is what Pilate said, and his God-loving wife Procula approached him, kissed his legs while he was hanging on the wood of the cross, and said: "Why are you weeping on the wood of the Cross? You are ahead of us in sit-

ting before the throne of the Judge. You are ahead of us in lighting your lamp at the wedding of your Lord Jesus Christ. You are ahead of us, O my brother Pilate, in lying in the banquet of a thousand years. You are ahead of us in wearing the diadem of the king in the dignified law court of Judgment. Blessed are you, O Pilate, for having been lifted up on the wood of the cross, and this lifting will make you worthy of sitting in the Kingdom of Heaven." This is what the blessed Procula said under the cross, while all eyes were gazing at her. She further said: " You have preceded us and sat before the throne of judgment. Now you have lit your lamps in the wedding of your Master." And the Jews began to rail and scoff at her and at Pilate. Then two crowns came down from Heaven, equal to each other in glory and majesty, and a voice from Heaven was heard saying: " Know, O Pilate and Procula, that you will be crowned with these two crowns that came down to you from Heaven, because of the sufferings you have borne for your God and your great faith in Him." Then the two crowns disappeared and went up to Heaven.

³¹ When the multitudes noticed this miracle, they hastened and brought down Pilate from the cross alive, then they heated water for him and washed his body with it, after which they put on him his garments, and brought him and his wife Procula to the messenger of the Emperor and said: " If the Emperor has sent you to destroy this city, listen to the cruel Herod. You do not know his great cunning and machinations. He became jealous of his brother, took his wife Herodia from him and killed him with hunger and thirst, through the hatred and cruelty that are in him. Do you not see what he did in the city in these days? He killed a just man because of his own sympathy with the Jews and God wishes to destroy us all because of him. What advantage will ever come to Jerusalem if you allowed Pilate, its Governor, to be murdered in it. Truth to tell it is Herod that deserves death instead of Pilate. If the Emperor was aware of the deeds of Herod he would not have empowered him to rule over this city and torment Pilate and his wife. After all the affairs of the city are in the hands of the Emperor, and Herod has neither a word to say in the matter, nor power and jurisdiction of any kind over us."

³² When the Vizier heard these words from the multitude he was pleased with them, and he released Pilate until he had brought his case before the Emperor. Now the Emperor had an only son whom he loved tenderly more than all his kingdom. It happened that the boy went into a bath to wash, and an evil spirit entered there into him, strangled him and threw him to

the ground dead. His father and mother came then to him with intense grief, in order to take him and bury him, and they buried him near them and wailed and wept over him night and day for three complete months. One day when the Emperor was sitting wailing and weeping over the loss of his son, his wife came down to him, bowed before him and said to him: "O my lord, we have had much sorrow and our bereavement has affected our brain." And the Emperor said to her: "And how has our brain been affected?" And she replied to him and said: "O my lord, I recalled that some time ago the inhabitants of Jerusalem sent to you a letter concerning a certain Jesus of Nazareth whom the Jews had crucified, and they reported that He had raised dead men while He was alive. And Pilate also, the Governor of the town, wrote to you a letter in which he registered the miracles and prodigies which

³³ Herod with Herod Agrippa i. In the "New Life of John the Baptist" which I edited and translated in vol. i. of the Woodbrooke Studies (p. 251), Herod Antipas is said to have died of a sudden stroke. He had wrought. He told us that He had raised up the dead, healed the cripples and the sick, opened the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf. He further added that many miracles and prodigies were taking place even now at His tomb. This is the reason why I said that we have been stupid, that we have been struck with forgetfulness and our brain has been affected. Indeed, if we had sent our son, when he died, to His tomb, he would have been alive now." When the Emperor heard these words he rose from his forgetfulness and remained for a long time in a state of confusion, meditating over the words of his wife. Then he immediately summoned his faithful servants and enjoined them to fill vessels with gifts to be sent to Jerusalem. He also despatched brave and courageous men to the tomb of his son, which they opened and from which they took the coffin that contained the body and brought it to the father. When he saw that all the flesh of his limbs had suffered putrefaction and disappeared and that nothing was left from his body but the bones, he and his wife wept bitterly for a long time. Then he took ink, pen and papyrus, and wrote as follows:—

³⁴ "Tiberius the Emperor of the earth and the servant of the King of Heaven asks you and implores your love, O my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I do not know at all, whom I did not perceive, and to whom I have never had the honour and the worth to speak. A man named Pilate bore witness to the miracles which you wrought, and reported that you rose from the dead, and I

believed his words; he told me that you gave sight to the blind, and I believed this about you; he mentioned to me that you made wine out of water, and I did not doubt it from you; he wrote also to me that you raised from the dead a man called Lazarus four days after he had died, and I became convinced in my mind that you had done it. He also testified and said that the miracles which you wrought, the tomb in which your body is laid was also working them. I believed in you and was convinced that you are the Son of God. As you are in heaven so also you are on the earth and in the tomb. Now, O my Lord, have pity on the weakness of your servant Tiberius; remember him with your grace, and have mercy on the wretchedness of Cæsar, my son and your servant, whom I have sent to your tomb. Grant him life, O my Lord and my God. I heard that you were the resurrection and the life to all the dead from Adam till now. I believed that you have suffered pains in order to deliver the sons of men from the hands of the enemy. If you will, let your grace overtake me. Amen."

³⁵ After the Emperor had written this letter he sealed and sent it to his messenger in Jerusalem. He also said to his faithful servants: "Inform yourselves about the tomb of Jesus whom the Jews have crucified, in which they placed His body and from which He rose the third day, and lay the body of my son in it. I have faith that my son whom I am sending dead in a coffin to Jerusalem will come back to me alive." And they departed and reached Jerusalem with the letter of the Emperor and the dead body of his son, accompanied by thousands of attendants, female servants and male servants; and they went to Herod and to the messenger of the Emperor. ³⁶ At that time Pilate and his wife were in prison. In the night the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them a second time and said to Pilate: "Peace be with you, O Pilate! Peace be with you, you whose name was the first to be pronounced by the Father's mouth of life. It is inevitable that you should be judged in the court of the Emperor Tiberius. Now is the word of the Father fulfilled, because I stood before you and you sat and judged me. Be not grieved, O Pilate, because they have crucified you for me, since this has saved you from your sin and from the act of your scoffing at me. You have been flagellated, O Pilate, in order that you might be redeemed of the sin of my flagellation, which you ordered. Your blood has been shed, O Pilate, in order that you might be purified from the sin of the shedding of my blood. You have been lifted up on the wood of the cross, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the

sin of your saying to (the Jews) 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.' They have stripped you of your garments, O Pilate, in order that you might be absolved from the sin of the stripping of my garments. They have placed a crown of thorns on your head, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the punishment of the crown of thorns that your soldiers placed on my head. You have been dragged in the streets of the town, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of my carrying of the cross which you ordered while in the seat of judgment. Everything that has happened to you is for the sole reason that you may be saved from the sin of my death.

³⁷ "As to your God-loving wife Procula, tell her not to grieve at the fact that they took her bare-headed, as my own mother Mary was rendered bare-headed in the town of Jerusalem on the day of my death. All the inhabitants of the earth with their offerings and sacrifices are not worth to me a single hair of my mother's head. O Pilate, tell your wife Procula not to grieve at the fact that they took her out of her palace and the inhabitants of the town saw her bare-headed, as Mary, my mother, took me also from country to country and from town to town and experienced the pains of expatriation." "O Pilate, as your wife Procula comforted you with her words at the time of your crucifixion, so my beloved mother comforted me with her words while I was hanging on the wood of the cross and said to me: 'I convey you peace, O my beloved Son, and light of my eyes.' Now, O Pilate, do not be afraid because it is inevitable that you should enter into another fight for me near Tiberius Cæsar, and here is a sign for you to this effect: Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, has arrived here. His father sent him here dead, out of his great faith. They will soon summon you and deliver you from prison, take him to the tomb in which my body was laid, and as I gave life to Lazarus and to the son of the widow in the town of Nain, so I will give life to this boy because of his father's faith. Grow cheerful, O Pilate, and fight for my resurrection."

³⁸ The Saviour spoke these words to Pilate and disappeared from his sight. When they brought the son of the Emperor, and the vizier saw that he was dead and that he was accompanied by a considerable army of soldiers, he and all the town of Jerusalem were frightened, because they believed that he had died on the way. They were terrified lest the Emperor should order the town to be burnt and its inhabitants destroyed, but when they perused the letter of the Emperor they were struck by the depth of his humility and the greatness of his faith and were much astonished. When Herod and the Jewish com-

munity heard this news they feared that the son of the Emperor should rise and live again, and they conspired with the guards who were keeping watch over the body of the son of the Emperor, and gave them much gold and silver in order that they might allow them to take his body stealthily and hide it; and the wicked community accomplished what they had conceived.

³⁹ When Pilate was freed from prison for the sake of placing the body of the son of the Emperor in the tomb of the Saviour, in company with Joseph and Nicodemus, a Jew came by stealth in the darkness of the night and stole the body of the son of the Emperor from the coffin, at the command of Herod and of the priests. In the morning when they sought the body of the son of the Emperor and did not find it, all the city was thrown into confusion, and the heads of the Jews assembled and went to the messenger of the Emperor and told him that no one could have done this but Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus. ⁴⁰ When the vizier heard these words he took Joseph and Nicodemus and scourged them, but no one laid harmful hands on Pilate, because, the people who had witnessed his crucifixion had noticed the crowns that had come down from heaven for him and his wife. While Joseph and Nicodemus were bound with fetters and in the power of Herod, Gabriel the head of the angels, came down from heaven and extended his wings over them, and all the place shone with light, and he began to speak to them saying: "I am the angel Gabriel who took the head of John away from the wicked Herod, the father of the present iniquitous king, and proclaimed his sin in all the world; I will now destroy this wicked Herod, and he will die of the pains and hunger which he will experience, and vermin will breed in his body like his father. As to you, O Joseph and Nicodemus, here is what the Lord says: 'Your sufferings resemble my sufferings; you became martyrs, and I, too, was a martyr.' It is I who delivered you from destruction at the hands of the wicked ones, and it is I who enjoined the cloud to remove you, and delivered you from their hands. It is, however, imperative, that you should stand before the Emperor. As to the body of the son of the Emperor which the heads of the Jews have concealed in order that the glory of the Christ might not be made manifest, I shall disclose its hiding-place and bring it before the people."

⁴¹ This is what the angel Gabriel told the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus. And these two blessed ones sent for me, in secret, me Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them, because, I the weak

Gamaliel, was the disciple of these blessed ones. When I left them I noticed a great commotion in the town where people were saying to one another that the coffin containing the body of the son of the Emperor had been discovered in a Jewish house, and that the reason for stealing the body was to inculcate Pilate and discredit the resurrection of our Lord. The news spread in all the town that Herod and the High Priests of the Jews had connived and stolen the body of the son of the Emperor. In the meantime the archangel Gabriel removed the body of the son of the Emperor from the place in which it was hidden, and brought it and placed it before the vizier, and disappeared. At that very moment the vizier was incensed against Herod, and he threw an arrow at him, which caused him much pain. His body bred worms, and he died from the intensity of his pain. As to the Jews who had hidden the body of the son of the Emperor, their houses were burnt together with their sons and daughters, and in this way they died an ignominious death, more ignominious than that of all men.

⁴² The vizier took then Joseph and Nicodemus from prison and handed to them the body of the son of the Emperor and his coffin; he handed also to them the letter of the Emperor, and they read it and were amazed at his wisdom, his deep humility and great faith. Then they lifted their eyes to heaven and said: "O Lord our God, O resurrection of the living and the dead, make manifest your power in the son of the Emperor Tiberius and accept the supplications of his father and have pity on him as you had pity on the son of the widow in the town of Nain. With your great power raise his son alive in order that he may glorify your holy name. Accept, O Lord, the strong faith of his father as you accepted the strong faith of Mary and Martha and raised for them their brother Lazarus. Have pity on him, O Lord Jesus Christ, and comfort the heart of the father by the resurrection of the son; give him life, and let your holy sepulchre make him live again, in order that his faith in you may be strengthened like the rest, and in order that he may ascertain your resurrection from the dead."

⁴³ The blessed ones spoke these words over the coffin of the son of the Emperor while dead; then they took him and placed him in the tomb of the Saviour, and adjusted the stone to the door of the tomb. And the son of the Emperor remained four days in the tomb with a closed door, and they experienced deep sorrow at his long stay in the tomb and at his not having risen quickly. On the fourth day, however, he rose from the dead, the stone that

was at the door of the tomb rolled away backwards, and the guards, terrified at the sight, went in haste to Pilate and began shouting and saying: "Come, our lord Pilate, and see how the son of the Emperor, who was in the tomb of Jesus, has risen, and how the stone rolled away without the help of a human hand." Pilate then bowed himself to the ground, together with Joseph and Nicodemus, and worshipped in great joy; then they all of them with the vizier of the Emperor and all the army repaired to the tomb of the Saviour, and they observed that Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, had risen and was sitting over the coffin in which his body lay. He appeared bewildered with eyes fixed on the royal garment which he was wearing. They cried to him, saying: "O Cæsar, come out with the power of the One who raised you. Let our joy be perfect in this day as in the day in which our Saviour rose from the dead." At that very moment he jumped and came out of the tomb and sat on the stone. Then the vizier of his father approached him, bowed down and worshipped before him and said to him: "O my lord, what happened to you and why are you in a state of stupefaction?" And he answered saying:—

⁴⁴ "I am bewildered at the greatness of the glory, kingdom and power of my Lord Jesus who raised me from the dead, and I do not see the like of Him in any one of the men that are standing here, nor do I see in them anything like His Majesty. His glory and His Majesty are indeed great. What is the honour of my father in comparison with this King? This is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. What is the diadem of my father in comparison with His glory and the light of His Cross? What are the sweet scents of my father in comparison with the sublime perfume that exhales from this Jesus? All the rulers of the earth cannot live after their death, but this powerful ruler, Jesus, has the power to do it. No one fears any king after he dies, but this Jesus, King of Kings, all angels, human beings and demons fear His name, and the doors of hell tremble from their dread of Him. All the tormenting spirits who take the souls of the wicked ones, and who are more wicked than the beasts of prey, dragons and vipers, I saw that they were terrified when a voice came to them, saying: 'Jesus orders you to take up this soul from amongst you, because He wants it.' They did not see Him, but only heard the one who pronounced His name.

⁴⁵ "I was then taken forthwith out of the torments in which I was lying, and He called me by my name saying: O Cæsar, rise up; I have given you to your parents on account of their faith in Me, and in order that they might

fight for My resurrection." Then He placed His cross on the coffin in which I was lying, and my bones adhered to one another, and my soul recognised its body. When my soul was united to my body I experienced a great joy, but fear overtook me after that lest He should deliver me again to them." This is what the son of the Emperor said while sitting on the stone that was placed on the tomb of the Saviour. Then he asked those who were standing near him, saying: "What is the name of this town?" And they answered him: "Jerusalem." Then he inquired about his father and mother, and they informed him that they were alive and that they were in the Capital of the Empire. After this Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus cried and said: Honour and glory be to you, O our Lord Jesus Christ, You who have revived dead bones and given life to those who love You!"

⁴⁶ When the vizier noticed what had taken place, he went to a dung-heap and began to throw earth and ashes on his head in sign of the deep sorrow that he felt at his treatment of Pilate and his wife. Then he kissed the head of Pilate and asked forgiveness from him and his companions, and wept bitterly on the tomb of the Saviour on account of the magnitude of the miracle that had taken place in the person of the dead man who was now standing alive. Immediately after the vizier began to write a report to the Emperor, and informed him that his son who was dead was now speaking to him, and announced to him the great joy of the resuscitation of his son Cæsar, and his resurrection from the dead. Then the vizier handed also papyrus to his master, the son of the Emperor, and asked him to write himself to his father, in his own handwriting. And he wrote as follows:

⁴⁷ "I Cæsar, son of the Emperor Tiberius, was dead like the rest of mankind, and my body was decomposed and became earth in the grave, in which it lay for three months. The greatness of your faith sent me to Jerusalem hoping that I will rise from the dead by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. I have now risen from the dead. My eyes saw the Lord Jesus in the flesh which He took from the Virgin Mary, and He is in an ineffable and indescribable glory. He called me by my name, saying, 'O Cæsar, arise now and stand up alive, and become the beginning of the resurrection of the dead.' He then took me out of the hand of death, and His voice gave life to my body. He bestowed on you this great gift of my life, O my father, because of your great confidence and faith in Him, and He has raised me in order that you might increase in the glorification of His Majesty. I greet you, O Emperor, my fath-

er. My hand which had suffered putrefaction in the grave and the fingers of which had dissolved into earth, is writing to you this greeting.'

⁴⁸ The letter was handed to a courier who preceded Cæsar to his father, and announced the great joy to him. When the missive reached the Emperor he read it, and when he reached in it the passage in which it was said, "your son who was dead is writing this to you with his own hand, and the Omnipotent Lord raised me from the dead in Jerusalem," he was immediately bewildered and confused, like Jacob when he received the intelligence that his son was alive; and he began to say to himself, "Is it possible that my son is alive? Is this news true?" Then he went to his wife and read to her the letter of her son Cæsar in which it was written that Jesus raised him from the dead. The Queen threw then from her the dignity of the wives of the kings, when she heard that her son was alive, and became like a lioness. They called the courier who carried the letter and they said to him: "Be careful to speak the truth, and to tell us the story of our son exactly as it happened. Life or death are placed before you as the result of your words. If we see the face of our son another time, we will crown you with the crown of the kingdom and give you much money, but if we do not see the face of our son, your only reward with us will be sword and death. Go now to prison until we see the outcome of your words."

⁴⁹ The Emperor did not neglect the affair of his son, but despatched immediately other couriers to ascertain whether what had been said concerning his son was true or not. The couriers of the Emperor took the way to Jerusalem and found out that the son of the Emperor and his army were coming to the Emperor. The couriers of the Emperor delivered then to Cæsar the letter of his father Tiberius. Astonished at what they saw they proceeded to the Capital which they reached one day before the entry of the son of the Emperor, and early next morning the son of the Emperor arrived. Who would describe the great joy and the sublime spectacle of that day! When the Emperor heard of the presence of his son he went out to meet him with so much haste that all the town was in a state of commotion, especially when its inhabitants noticed the Emperor walking on his feet to go to his son, and exultant with joy because he was going to meet him. When he saw his face he began to cry, and weep from joy, saying: "Glory be to you, O Jesus of Nazareth, O God of earth and heaven, who vivified the bones that had suffered dissolution. Your grace overtook me to-day, because you raised my son from

the dead. I am to-day as if I had seen the Lord Jesus, and although I shall confess and believe every day in you and in your great power, to-day the belief of my heart is more intense.

⁵⁰ "The resurrection of Lazarus from the dead in Bethany, four days after his death, was not so wonderful, O my Lord, because you were with him on the earth; the great wonder is that you raised my son, Cæsar, three months after his death. This miracle is also greater than that you wrought for the son of the widow in the town of Nain, because you were before the bier and you raised him before his descent into the grave. The grace that you have granted me, O my Lord, is greater than that which you granted to Jacob when he was told that his son Joseph was alive, and he went to him and saw him. My son remained three months in the grave and by your power you raised him from the dead." This is what the Emperor said with a heart brimming with joy, while embracing his risen son. Then he said to his son: "O Cæsar, my son, I am as joyful to-day as if I had seen the Saviour rising from the dead and raising my son for me. The miracles which I heard He was working, I see them to-day with my own eyes." Then the father ordered that his son should ride in a litter, and he cried saying: "O our Lord Jesus Christ Who was crucified, Who rose from the dead and raised my son for me!" How great was the joy of the town when they saw that the one who was dead had risen from the dead after a death of three months! There was also much singing and jubilation before and after him while he was riding.

⁵¹ Then Cæsar began to narrate to his father and mother all what he had seen and all that Jesus—to Whom be glory—had done to him. He told them about Hell and the torments he saw in it. Then his father asked him and said: "Tell me about the physical characteristics, features and image of this man." And he said to him: "Father, what is your glory in comparison with that of this great King. There is no likeness of His glory in all the world, and nothing like the resplendence of the diadem of His Kingdom. His speech is life and His rancour is wrath. The light of the sun cannot reach the brightness of His splendour, and the dignity of His garment is not to be found with any other king of the earth. His throne is a burning fire, and His cross is the light and the brightness of His majesty, which transcends the majesty of all the terrestrial beings. I, O father, did not see Him before His crucifixion to know His portraiture and His features, but summon Pilate, the Governor of

Jerusalem, and he will inform you of His physical characteristics, features and image."

⁵² And the Emperor immediately summoned Pilate who was presented to him, and he asked him: "Are you the Governor Pilate who crucified Jesus?" And he replied: "Yes, it is I your servant who stands before you. As to the crucifixion of Jesus, our living God, the Jews did not listen to my words on the matter, and it is Annas and Caiaphas who decided judicially on His crucifixion." And the Emperor Tiberius said: "You saw all the miracles and prodigies which He wrought, and I have been informed that at the time of His crucifixion you were sitting and judging His case. Now describe to me His image, His portraiture, His picture, His majesty, and His beauty." And Pilate said to him: "I bear witness before you, O Emperor, my lord, that He has been three times, in my court, and I did not ascertain His portraiture and His characteristics: once I saw that He was of the colour of fire, and once I saw Him like a bird flying to the heights of Heaven and the angels speaking to Him; but your maidservant, my wife, and my children saw Him in their dream, and warned me against stretching a harmful hand towards Him. O my lord, by your life, I gave my two children to the Jews on His behalf in order that they might not crucify Him, and in order that they might release Him until I had brought His case before my lord the Emperor, but they did not listen to my words; they released a robber from prison and murder, and they took and crucified Jesus. Let it be known, however, to you, O my lord, that He did this out of His own freewill."

⁵³ And the Emperor Tiberius said to him: "Tell me from where He is and from what place He comes, and how and when He came down from Heaven so that the Jews found Him, seized Him, crucified Him, and murdered Him." And Pilate said to him: "They testified to me that His mother is a virgin, chaste and pure, that He was born of her without breaking her virginal seals, and that her name is Mary. The angel of the Lord came down from heaven and announced to her that she will conceive from the Holy Spirit and bring forth a Son whose name shall be called Emmanuel." And the Emperor said to him: "And how long did He remain on the earth?" And Pilate answered: "Thirty years." And the Emperor said to him: "And in all this length of time you saw this man, noticed the miracles and the prodigies that He was performing, and you did not inform me of His affair." And Pilate replied to him: "By your life, O my lord the Emperor, in all this length of time I did

not see Him nor did I perceive His face except on the day of the crucifixion, when the Jews brought Him to me and crucified Him." And Tiberius said to him: "You have acted high-handedly, and have not informed me of His affair. They

⁵⁴ M. 127 "three days." M. 127 omits this sentence. delivered Him to you, and you did not remember His miracles and prodigies, and you did not feel awestruck in His presence, and the glory of His divinity did not frighten you. I will now kill you and do to you what you did to Him." The Emperor Tiberius spoke thus and immediately after the soldiers seized Pilate and took him out in order to cut off his head, but the Emperor ordered that he should be crucified another time before he was beheaded. And they crucified him outside the city, struck him on the head with a reed-stick, and nailed him to the wood, pierced his side with a spear, tormented him with grievous torments and after that proceeded to cut off his head. And the blessed Pilate asked the soldiers to give him a little respite so that he might pray. And he immediately knelt down and began to pray, saying:

⁵⁵ "O my Lord Jesus Christ who took away all the sins of the world, have pity on your servant Pilate and forgive all my stumblings, omissions and sins. Guard my poor soul and deliver it from torments. I beseech you, O my Lord and my God, do not separate my soul from that of your maidservant Procula, but make her worthy to be with me in the place of rest. Do not forget your servants, my children, because while I was in the world, O Lord, I delivered them to death for your sake as a ransom for your crucifixion, but the Jews refused them. Do not let the tribulations of Pilate be in vain. I have indeed dared to judge you, O just Judge, but do not rebuke me for this sin which I have committed, because you are a merciful and compassionate God, and I am a created being, and I dared to say to you 'Who are You?' I implore you, O my Lord, not to put me to shame and not to rebuke me because I caused you to bear your cross and said to the Jews: 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.' And they did all this while I was in the seat of judgment. O my Lord, my God, and my Saviour, I beseech you not to remove me from your glory but to grant me your mercy. To you be glory and honour for ever. Amen."

⁵⁶ Pilate uttered these words while kneeling on the ground. And I, Gamaliel was not able to restrain my tears when I saw the weeping of the blessed Pilate when he began to implore the soldiers to deliver his body to his servants after they had cut off his head. Then he turned and noticed one

of his servants, Basilius with a number of friends, all weeping, and he said to them: "Do not weep over my death, because my Lord has tasted death for us. When you see that they have cut off my head, I want you to shroud my body well, to bring it to Jerusalem and there dig a grave for me near the tomb of Jesus, my Lord and my Saviour, in order that He may have pity on me." After Pilate had said this they cut off his head on the fifteenth of the month of June. Then we got hold of his body, shrouded it and took it to Jerusalem, as he had wished. When we reached the town we found that his wife Procula and her two children had died on the very day of our arrival, and we placed them all in one grave near the sepulchre of the Redeemer.

⁵⁷ As to the Jews, the Emperor Tiberius sent orders to Jerusalem and had them all killed. He also sought Herod to slay him, but he was informed that he had died before Pilate. After this the wife of the Emperor Tiberius spoke to her husband and said to him: "O my lord Emperor, you knew and saw what the Saviour Jesus did in resuscitating to us our son from the dead, and we, O my lord Emperor, feel much sorrow because we did not see Him, and because we were unworthy of perceiving Him. The Jews killed Him unjustly and you killed the Governor who empowered them to kill Him. If it pleases you, O my lord Emperor, we will send for His mother in order that we may see her, because it has come to our knowledge that she is living at this moment in Jerusalem, the city of the Jews. We will take her before us and crown her with the crown of the kingdom and send her back to her country in order that all may honour her, and in order that no wicked Jew may stretch a harmful hand towards her, as they did with her son." When the Emperor heard these words from his wife they pleased him, and he despatched many soldiers, female attendants, and palace officials to Jerusalem in order to bring the Virgin Mary to them so that they might crown her with the crown of the kingdom.

⁵⁸ Before this, our Saviour, King of Kings, appeared to His mother and to the Apostles, His elect, and He disclosed to them many secrets, and informed them that the Emperor Tiberius had sent for the Virgin Mary. Then after having laid upon John to repair to the Emperor Tiberius, He turned to Mary, His mother, and said to her: "O my beloved mother, I shall take you to My kingdom and show you a great glory, greater than all the perishable glory and kingdom of this world. I am aware, O mother, of the fact that you were for many days in pains for Me, and that you endured tribulations for My

sake, in travelling from country to country and from town to town; now I have come to take you in order that you might travel with Me to the city of the living God. You have toiled enough, O mother, come to the abode of joy and eternal rest. You have toiled with Me, O mother, in the sorrow that overtook you on the day of the Crucifixion, come now and I will take you to the comfort of My kingdom.

⁵⁹ "You have toiled, O mother, and your heart has suffered for Me, make haste and accompany Me to the eternal hymn of joy and to a repose that has no end. You have toiled, O mother, in your weeping at the door of the sepulchre, come now and see My glory and the majesty of My throne, sitting as I am in the middle of thousands and myriads of angels. You have wept for Me, O mother, on the Kranion and Golgotha, make haste and come to the eternal heithgs. O mother, your feet were tired in the streets of the earthly Jerusalem, come now and see the beauty of the heavenly Jerusalem. O mother, you were hungry and thirsty for My sake, come now and have your satisfaction in the pleasures of heaven in My kingdom. O mother, you wept in the house of John for My sake, come now and hear the melodies of the exultations of the Cherubim and Seraphim who glorify Me, My Father and the Holy Spirit."

⁶⁰ This is what the Saviour said to His mother to comfort her. Then she passed away and He sent her before Him on the wings of the Cherubim. As to the Apostles, they sorrowed greatly, bowed down, worshipped Him and asked Him saying: "O Lord, what is this sorrow that you have prepared for us, in taking away your mother, and in separating her from us? She used to comfort us, your disciples, since the day you left us and ascended to heaven. To-day great sorrow has filled our heart, and we became bereft of your sight and the sight of your virgin mother, and deprived of her salutary teaching." And the Saviour replied saying: "O my beloved and O my members, do not be sad on account of the passing away of My mother from you. She has not died, but she has gone to the dwellings of rest, joy and eternal life. She toiled much with Me in this world, and now I have taken her up to heaven, and you will soon see her and she will see you, because you are bound to face the death imposed on mankind. I shall take her and travel with her in the dwellings of the pious, and she shall see the Kingdom of Heaven and know My great love for her.

⁶¹ "Did I not send you another time to the third heaven and you saw the heavenly Jerusalem in which your names are inscribed? Did not the Father call you children because you became My beloved disciples? How could I not give heaven to My virgin mother in whose womb I remained nine months, from whose breasts I sucked milk like other children, and on whose lap I sat like other babes? How could I not comfort her heart and remove from it the sadness and sorrow which she experienced in this world for My sake? Lo the kings of the earth wish to summon her in order to bestow their honours upon her, but which earthly king is able to bestow upon her honours on earth as she deserves? Lo, the seven doors are open before her and the twelve doors of the heavenly Jerusalem are also thrown open before her. The greeting of the Father has reached her, saying, 'Be welcome, O Mary; the habitations of Heaven will submit to you, and the seven trumpets will sing before you. The sea of fire will serve before you, and the sun and the moon will be at your feet. All the choirs of heaven will sing before you, and heaven and earth will dance with canticles on the day of your Assumption.'"

⁶² This is what the Lord said to His disciples concerning His holy mother. Then He turned to John, His beloved, and said to him: "You shall have to stand before Tiberius Caesar, and bear witness to him about what you saw the Jews doing to Me on the wood of the cross." The Saviour said these words to His holy disciples and disappeared from their sight. Some days later the troops which the Emperor Tiberius had sent to Jerusalem arrived, accompanied by Palace officials and female attendants from the Queen. They carried also with them the crown of the kingdom, royal garments, glorious dresses, and precious and princely robes. They scoured all the land of Judæa in search of the Virgin, but they did not find her because she had left this world and ascended to heaven. They took, however, the blessed John and brought him to the Emperor Tiberius. When the Emperor saw him he said to him: "Are you John, the beloved of the Lord and the friend of Jesus?" And John answered and said: "By the will of God and His grace, I am, O my lord Emperor, the one who is called by this name. And now, O my lord, who is worthy to unloose his shoe's latchet? Who is able to grasp the rays of the sun or to embrace lightning? The judgments of God are light and truth, O Emperor, and the light of truth condescended to come to us from the essence of God, and humbling Himself, He called us His brothers, friends, and

Apostles. By your life, O my lord Emperor, He never called us slaves, but always brothers and friends."

63 Then the Emperor said to him: "Having performed all these miracles and prodigies, how could the Jews pierce His heart with a spear?" And the blessed John replied: "The life of all of us consists of water and blood, and both of them sprang from His holy side. Before His crucifixion His virgin mother nudged Him at His side in Cana of Galilee, because people were in need of wine, and said to Him: 'O my beloved Son, they have no wine to drink at the wedding.' And our Lord turned and said to her: 'O woman, you have placed in advance your finger on the spot at which they will pierce My side. You have asked Me, O mother, to make wine mixed with water in order that the guests of the wedding might drink of it; in this you have placed in advance your hand in the spring of water and blood which will jet forth from my side, and from which I shall give the faithful to drink.' It is not good, O Emperor, that you should study too deeply the greatness of His divinity, that is to say of God and His works which the intelligence of men is unable to comprehend."

64 And the Emperor said to him: "Are you the disciple who was standing near Him at the time of His Crucifixion?" And John replied: "Yes, I was present there and saw all that the Jews did to our Lord Jesus Christ on the wood of the cross." And the Emperor said to him: "You will then know how to paint His image for me in the figure which He had on the cross, exactly as He was crucified for us." And John replied: "Yes, I will paint Him." And the Emperor ordered a slab of good stone, and the blessed John painted the figure of the Saviour on it according to the order of the Emperor. When it was finished the blessed John bent his head over it in order to kiss it with his mouth, and immediately after the lips of the Saviour turned to the lips of the blessed John, and they kissed each other.

65 The Emperor Tiberius witnessed all this, and he was greatly amazed and bewildered. Then the icon which represented the image of our Lord cried and said: "It is enough, O John, that you painted my image and the figure of my crucifixion, as you witnessed it on the day of the crucifixion. It was not fair on your part, you my beloved, to crucify me after my resurrection from the dead; it would have been better if you had painted my figure according to the image you saw of me after my resurrection. The Jews crucified me once at the hand of Herod, why do you crucify me again at the hand of

Tiberius? The soldiers divided my garments among themselves in Jerusalem once, do not allow the inhabitants of Rome also to see my nudity. My side was pierced with a spear on Friday, do not pierce me, O John, my beloved, another time after my resurrection. I called Judas my friend, and he delivered me to death; but I love you, O John, more than all the world, do not leave me, therefore, in the sufferings of the crucifixion, because I rose from the dead. You know, O John, the joy that you experienced, you and my virgin mother, on the day of my resurrection, since, therefore, I rose from the dead, do not leave me in the passion of the cross. Know, O John, that my resurrection was joy and gladness to all the earth."

⁶⁶ After the image said this to John, the voice was heard no more. When the Emperor heard these wonderful words, his mind came back to him and he rose on his feet, kissed the head of John and said: "You are truly the disciple of Jesus Christ whom He loved, and you are His friend." And the Emperor took the image and embraced it, then he placed it on a high pedestal at that place, like the image of the Son of God in the country of the Byzantines. Then the Emperor gave much money to John and bestowed many benefits on him, but he refused to take anything. Then he went out of the city, and a column of light carried him away and brought him to the Mount of Olives. He greeted the Apostles, his brethren, and narrated to them what he did in Rome, and all what happened to him with the Emperor Tiberius.

⁶⁷ After this the Apostles desired to see the Virgin Mary and said: "We have seen our brother John, perchance we shall not be unworthy to see our lady, the Virgin Mary, before our death." While the Apostles were saying this, lo the pure Virgin appeared to them in great glory. They fell on their faces before the majesty of the precious robe which she was wearing. She came to James and John and raised them first, then she raised the rest of the Apostles, and began to tell them about a part only of the heavenly glory found in the abode of rest, and informed them that she saw Pilate, his wife and his children in a great glory while the cross of Her Son was shining on them. After having told them this she disappeared from their sight. And I Gamaliel had learnt the art of writing, the science of Judaism and that of the Apostles our Fathers, and had also stepped in the science of the philosophers until I had acquired the knowledge of the right answer, and learnt the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord Christ, and the miracles which He performed, and what happened to the vizier of the Emperor, and to Galilus and

the Emperor Tiberius, and I put all to writing and composed it as a memorial of the holy resurrection.

⁶⁸(The final words of the story in M. 127 which should have stood above on p. 274 are): I beseech you, O brethren, I the weak Cyriacus, to pray for me in order that God may forgive my mistakes (through) His Son Jesus Christ who suffered for us by His will, and release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin. We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past life, which we have committed with knowledge or without knowledge. As He has rendered us here worthy of His knowledge, may He assemble us all in His heavenly Kingdom, through the grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. (The final words of the story in M. 355 are): ⁶⁹And I beseech you to pray for me and to forgive me, me the weak Hyriacus. Pray for me so that the Lord may forgive me my mistakes, He who is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who suffered for us by His will. May He release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin, He who is the Christ of the worlds and the Saviour of all! We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past lives, which we committed with knowledge or which we committed without knowledge. May He forgive them all in the greatness of His mercy! And as He has assembled us here may He render us worthy to assemble in His kingdom, in the heavenly Jerusalem! May the Grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ be with us. To Him be glory in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds. It has ended by the help of God.

⁷⁰(The final words and the colophon of P. are):—... Because He, the men-loving God, who saved us by His cross, will also save us and forgive us in His divinity. As He has rendered us worthy of the joy of His resurrection may He render us also worthy to assemble in His eternal kingdom, in order that we may bless and glorify His holy name. To Him are due glory, honour, and worship in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Here ends by the help of God the Martyrdom of Pilate, of his wife and children. May their intercession be with all the children of baptism. Amen. And the weak copyist, who is a sinner, implores all those who come across this life, and all those who read it and hear it to ask for the forgiveness of his sins. He who says a bad word shall be met with

its equal, but he who finds a mistake and corrects it, the Lord will improve for him this world and the world to come with His peace. Amen.

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Fragments of Early Gospels, the Preaching of Peter and the Agrapha

English translation by M. R. James, from *The Apocryphal New Testament*, being the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses, with other narratives and fragments, newly translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1924 edition at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. James's notes at the foot of the pages and the page numbers are also left out; the short introductions that he prints before each work are kept. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1924 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

The Gospel According to Peter

English translation from the Ante-Nicene Fathers (edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe; New York, 1885–1896; public domain), translated by J. Armitage Robinson, as transcribed by volunteers of English Wikisource. SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it, and no modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation is in the public domain (published before 1929). The Wikisource transcription is offered under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike licence; we credit it here. *Licence: Public domain.*

The Epistle of the Apostles

English translation by M. R. James, from *The Apocryphal New Testament* , being the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses, with other narratives and fragments, newly translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1924 edition at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. James's notes at the foot of the pages and the page numbers are also left out; the short introductions that he prints before each work are kept. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1924 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

The Questions of Bartholomew

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The Protevangelium of James

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The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew

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The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary

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Gospel of Thomas: First Greek Form

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Gospel of Thomas: Second Greek Form

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Gospel of Thomas: Latin Form

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The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour

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The History of Joseph the Carpenter

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A New Life of John the Baptist

English translation by Alphonse Mingana, from Woodbrooke Studies: Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshūni , edited and translated by A. Mingana, with introductions by Rendel Harris, volume 1 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1927); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1927 volume at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. Rendel Harris's introduction and the Garshūni text and facsimiles are also left out. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1927 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

The Passing of Mary: First Latin Form

English translation from the Ante-Nicene Fathers (edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe; New York, 1885–1896; public domain), translated by Benjamin Plummer Pratten, as transcribed by volunteers of English Wikisource . SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it, and no modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation is in the public domain (published before 1929). The Wikisource transcription is offered under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike licence; we credit it here. *Licence: Public domain.*

The Passing of Mary: Second Latin Form

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The Book of John Concerning the Falling Asleep of Mary

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The Assumption of the Virgin: Coptic and Syriac Texts

English translation by M. R. James, from The Apocryphal New Testament , being the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses, with other narratives and fragments, newly translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1924 edition at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. James's notes at the foot of the pages and the page numbers are also left out; the short introductions that he prints before each work are kept. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1924 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

The Lament of the Virgin

English translation by Alphonse Mingana, from Woodbrooke Studies: Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshūni , edited and translated by A. Mingana, with introductions by Rendel Harris, volume 2 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1928); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1928 volume at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. Rendel Harris's introduction and the Garshūni text are also left out. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1928 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

Acts of Pilate: First Greek Form

English translation from the Ante-Nicene Fathers (edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe; New York, 1885–1896; public domain), translated by Alexander Walker, as transcribed by volunteers of English Wikisource . SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it, and no modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation is in the public domain (published before 1929). The Wikisource transcription is offered under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike licence; we credit it here. *Licence: Public domain.*

Acts of Pilate: Second Greek Form

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Acts of Pilate: Latin Form

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Descent of Christ into Hell: Greek Form

English translation from the Ante-Nicene Fathers (edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe; New York, 1885–1896; public domain), translated by Alexander Walker, as transcribed by volunteers of English Wikisource . SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it, and no modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation is in the public domain (published before 1929). The Wikisource transcription is offered under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike licence; we credit it here. *Licence: Public domain.*

Christ's Descent into Hell: Latin, First Version

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Christ's Descent into Hell: Latin, Second Version

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The Narrative of Joseph

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Letter of Pontius Pilate

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Report of Pilate: First Greek Form

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Report of Pilate: Second Greek Form

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The Death of Pilate, Who Condemned Jesus

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The Giving Up of Pontius Pilate

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The Martyrdom of Pilate

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