

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 108

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 108

Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles

c. AD 150 – 700

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings
Volume 108: Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and eighth 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 apocryphal Acts of the apostles. This volume holds the Acts of Paul, Peter, Andrew, Thomas and Philip, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the later acts and martyrdoms of Matthew, Bartholomew, Barnabas, Thaddaeus and John, with William Wright's Syriac apocryphal acts.

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 translations of M. R. James were read by machine from scans of the printed books and have not been proofread against the pages, so a misreading may remain. The Ante-Nicene translations were transcribed by the volunteers of English Wikisource, and William Wright's and Andrew Eastbourne's were transcribed for Roger Pearse's collection. 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 apocryphal Acts tell what the apostles did after Pentecost, in Asia, in Greece, in India and in Rome. They are romances rather than histories, but many of them hold a good deal of early Christian teaching, and a few, such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla, were being read in the churches by the end of the second century. Their stories of virgins who refused to marry and of apostles who stood against kings gave the martyr and the saint their shape.

The volume prints M. R. James's translations of the Acts of Paul, Peter and Andrew, the Syriac Acts that William Wright translated, and the shorter Greek acts of Thaddaeus, Philip, Barnabas, Matthew and Bartholomew in the translation of Alexander Walker. Where the same work survives in several forms, the forms are printed one after another and not combined.

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 acts of the apostles are romances of the second century and later, and they are not history.

PART ONE

The Five Great Acts

The second- and third-century romances of Paul, Peter, Andrew, Thomas and Philip.

The Acts of Paul

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

c. AD 160–190

The Acts of Paul in James's English, built from the Coptic papyrus of Heidelberg, the Greek Hamburg papyrus and the Latin versions: the raising of the boy at Corinth, the lion at Ephesus, Paul's farewell and the martyrdom at Rome. The Acts of Paul and Thecla is printed in the Ante-Nicene translation in this series.

vengeance be ashamed, let his assault be in pain, let his children be smitten and all his roots plucked up. And grant me to accomplish the journey unto thee without suffering insolence or provocation, and to receive that which thou hast promised unto them that live purely and have loved thee only. 115 And having sealed himself in every part, he stood and said: Thou art with me, O Lord Jesu Christ: and laid himself down in the trench where he had strown his garments: and having said unto us: Peace be with you, brethren, he gave up his spirit rejoicing. The less good Greek manuscripts and some versions are not content with this simple ending. The Latin says that after the prayer a great light appeared over the apostle for the space of an hour, so bright that no one could look at it. (Then he laid himself down and gave up the ghost.) We who were there rejoiced, some of us, and some mourned.... And forthwith manna issuing from the tomb was seen of all, which manna that place produceth even unto this day, &c. But perhaps the best conclusion is that of one Greek manuscript:

We brought a linen cloth and spread it upon him, and went into the city. And on the day following we went forth and found not his body, for it was translated by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom be glory, &c. Another says: On the morrow we dug in the place, and him we found not, but only his sandals, and the earth moving (lit. springing up like a well), and after that we remembered that which was spoken by the Lord unto Peter,

&c. Augustine (on John xxi) reports the belief that in his time the earth over the grave was seen to move as if stirred by John's breathing.

Acts of Paul

This book, Tertullian tells us, was composed shortly before his time in honour of Paul by a presbyter of Asia, who was convicted of the imposture and degraded from his office. The date of it may therefore be about A. D. 160. The author was an orthodox Christian. Our authorities for it are: 1. The sadly mutilated Coptic MS. at Heidelberg, of the sixth century at latest. 2. The Acts of Paul and Thecla, a single episode which has been preserved complete in Greek and many versions: parts of it exist in the Coptic. 3. The correspondence with the Corinthians, partly preserved in the Coptic, and current separately in Armenian and Latin. 4. The Martyrdom, the concluding episode of the Acts, preserved separately (as in the case of John and others) in Greek and other versions. 5. Detached fragments or quotations. The length of the whole book is given as 3,600 lines (Stichometry of Nicephorus), or 3,560 (Stichometry of the Codex Claromontanus): the Canonical Acts are given by the same two authorities respectively as 2,800 and 2,600. We have, perhaps, 1,800 lines of the Acts of Paul.

The text of the Coptic MS. is miserably defective, and the restoration of it, in the episodes which are preserved in it alone, is a most difficult process: Professor Carl Schmidt has done practically all that can be expected, with infinite labour and great acuteness. In treating the defective episodes I shall follow him closely, but shall not attempt to represent all the broken lines. The first extant page of the Coptic MS. seems to be p. 9. p. 9. Paul went into (the house) at the place where the (dead) was. But Phila the wife of Panchares (Anchares, MS., see below) was very wroth and said to her husband in (great anger): Husband, thou hast gone.... the wild beasts, thou hast not begotten.... thy son.... where is mine? p. 10...(he hath not) desired food.... to bury him. But (Panchares) stood in the sight of all and made his prayer at the ninth hour, until the people of the city came to bear the boy out. When he had prayed, Paul (came) and saw.... and of Jesus Christ.... the boy.... the prayer.

p. 11 (a small piece only)...multitude.... eight days.... they thought that he raised up the (boy). But when Paul had remained p. 12. They asked? him?... the men listened to him.... they sent for Panchares.... and cried out, saying: We believe, Panchares,.... but save the city from.... many things, which they said. Panchares said unto them: Judge ye whether your good deeds (?) p. 13...is

not possible.... but to (testify).... God who hath.... his Son according to.... salvation, and I also believe that, my brethren, there is no other God, save Jesus Christ the son of the Blessed, unto whom is glory for ever, Amen. But when they saw that he would not turn to them, they pursued Paul, and caught him, and brought him back into the city, ill-using (?) him, and cast stones at him and thrust him out of their city and out of their country. But Panchares would not return evil for evil: he shut the door of his house and went in with his wife.... fasting...But when it was evening Paul came to him and said:

p. 14. God hath.... Jesus Christ. These are the last words of the episode. The situation is a little cleared by a sentence in the Greek Acts of Titus ascribed to Zenas (not earlier than the fifth century?): 'They arrived at Antioch and found Barnabas the son of Panchares, whom Paul raised up.' Barnabas may be a mistake, but Panchares is, I doubt not, right: for the Coptic definite article is *p* prefixed to the word, and the Coptic translator finding Panchares in his text has confused the initial of it with his own definite article, and cut it out. We have, then, a husband Panchares and wife Phila at Antioch (in Pisidia perhaps: this is disputed), and their son (possibly named Barnabas) is dead. Phila reproaches Panchares with want of parental affection. I take it that he is a believer, and has not mourned over his son, perhaps knowing that Paul was at hand and hoping for his help. Panchares prays till his fellow-townsmen come to carry out the body for burial. Paul arrives: at some point he raises the dead: but the people are irritated and some catastrophe threatens them at Paul's hands.

Panchares makes a profession of faith, the result of which is Paul's ill-treatment and banishment. But Paul returns secretly and reassures Panchares.

II

The next episode is that of Paul and Thecla, in which the Greek text exists, and will be followed. In the Coptic it has a title: After the flight from Antioch, when he would go to Iconium. It is possible that in this episode the author of the Acts may have used a local legend, current in his time, of a real Christian martyr Thecla. It is otherwise difficult to account for the very great popularity of the cult of St. Thecla, which spread over East and West, and made her the most famous of virgin martyrs. Moreover, one historical personage is introduced into the story, namely, *Queen* Tryphaena, who was the widow, it seems, of Cotys, King of Thrace, and the mother of Polemo II, King of Pontus. She was a great-niece of the Emperor Claudius. Professor W.

M. Ramsay has contended that there was a written story of Thecla which was adapted by the author of the Acts: but his view is not generally accepted.

1 When Paul went up unto Iconium after he fled from Antioch, there journeyed with him Demas and Hermogenes the coppersmith, which were full of hypocrisy, and flattered Paul as though they loved him. But Paul, looking only unto the goodness of Christ, did them no evil, but loved them well, so that he assayed to make sweet unto them all the oracles of the Lord, and of the teaching and the interpretation (of the Gospel) and of the birth and resurrection of the Beloved, and related unto them word by word all the great works of Christ, how they were revealed unto him (Copt. adds: how that Christ was born of Mary the virgin, and of the seed of David). 2 And a certain man named Onesiphorus, when he heard that Paul was come to Iconium, went out with his children Simmias and Zeno and his wife Lectra to meet him, that he might receive him into his house: for Titus had told him what manner of man Paul was in appearance; for he had not seen him in the flesh, but only in the spirit.

3 And he went by the king's highway that leadeth unto Lystra and stood expecting him, and looked upon them that came, according to the description of Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man little of stature, thin-haired upon the head, crooked in the legs, of good state of body, with eyebrows joining, and nose somewhat hooked, full of grace: for sometimes he appeared like a man, and sometimes he had the face of an angel. 4 And when Paul saw Onesiphorus he smiled, and Onesiphorus said: Hail, thou servant of the blessed God. And he said: Grace be with thee and with thine house. But Demas and Hermogenes were envious, and stirred up their hypocrisy yet more, so that Demas said: Are we not servants of the Blessed, that thou didst not salute us so? And Onesiphorus said: I see not in you any fruit of righteousness, but if ye be such, come ye also into my house and refresh yourselves.

5 And when Paul entered into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bowing of knees and breaking of bread, and the word of God concerning abstinence (or continence) and the resurrection; for Paul said: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they that keep the flesh chaste, for they shall become the temple of God. Blessed are they that abstain (or the continent), for unto them shall God speak. Blessed are they that have renounced this world, for they shall be well-pleasing unto God. Blessed are they that possess their wives as though they had them not,

for they shall inherit God. Blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God. 6 Blessed are they that tremble at the oracles of God, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are they that receive the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called sons of the Most High.

Blessed are they that have kept their baptism pure, for they shall rest with the Father and with the Son. Blessed are they that have compassed the understanding of Jesus Christ, for they shall be in light. Blessed are they that for love of God have departed from the fashion of this world, for they shall judge angels, and shall be blessed at the right hand of the Father. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy and shall not see the bitter day of judgement. Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well-pleasing unto God and shall not lose the reward of their continence (chastity), for the word of the Father shall be unto them a work of salvation in the day of his Son, and they shall have rest world without end. 7 And as Paul was saying these things in the midst of the assembly (church) in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin, Thecla, whose mother was Theocleia, which was betrothed to an husband, Thamyris, sat at the window hard by, and hearkened night and day unto the word concerning chastity which was spoken by Paul: and she stirred not from the window, but was led onward (or pressed onward) by faith, rejoicing exceedingly: and further, when she saw many women and virgins entering in to Paul, she also desired earnestly to be accounted worthy to stand before Paul's face and to hear the word of Christ; for she had not yet seen the appearance of Paul, but only heard his speech.

8 Now as she removed not from the window, her mother sent unto Thamyris, and he came with great joy as if he were already to take her to wife. Thamyris therefore said to Theocleia: Where is my Thecla? And Theocleia said: I have a new tale to tell thee, Thamyris: for for three days and three nights Thecla ariseth not from the window, neither to eat nor to drink, but looking earnestly as it were upon a joyful spectacle, she so attendeth to a stranger who teacheth deceitful and various words, that I marvel how the great modesty of the maiden is so hardly beset. 9 O Thamyris, this man upsetteth the whole city of the Iconians, and thy Thecla also, for all the women and the young men go in to him and are taught by him. Ye must, saith he, fear one only God and live chastely. And my daughter, too, like a spider at the window, bound by his words, is held by a new desire and a fearful pas-

sion: for she hangeth upon the things that he speaketh, and the maiden is captured. But go thou to her and speak to her; for she is betrothed unto thee.

10 And Thamyris went to her, alike loving her and fearing because of her disturbance (ecstasy), and said: Thecla, my betrothed, why sittest thou thus? and what passion is it that holdeth thee in amaze; turn unto thy Thamyris and be ashamed. And her mother also said the same: Thecla, why sittest thou thus, looking downward, and answering nothing, but as one stricken? And they wept sore, Thamyris because he failed of a wife, and Theocleia of a child, and the maidservants of a mistress; there was, therefore, great confusion of mourning in the house. And while all this was so, Thecla turned not away, but paid heed to the speech of Paul. 11 But Thamyris leapt up and went forth into the street and watched them that went in to Paul and came out. And he saw two men striving bitterly with one another, and said to them: Ye men, tell me who ye are, and who is he that is within with you, that maketh the souls of young men and maidens to err, deceiving them that there may be no marriages but they should live as they are. I promise therefore to give you much money if ye will tell me of him: for I am a chief man of the city.

12 And Demas and Hermogenes said unto him: Who this man is, we know not; but he defraudeth the young men of wives and the maidens of husbands, saying: Ye have no resurrection otherwise, except ye continue chaste, and defile not the flesh but keep it pure. 13 And Thamyris said to them: Come, ye men, into mine house and refresh yourselves with me. And they went to a costly banquet and much wine and great wealth and a brilliant table. And Thamyris made them drink, for he loved Thecla and desired to take her to wife: and at the dinner Thamyris said: Tell me, ye men, what is his teaching, that I also may know it: for I am not a little afflicted concerning Thecla because she so loveth the stranger, and I am defrauded of my marriage. 14 And Demas and Hermogenes said: Bring him before Castelius the governor as one that persuadeth the multitudes with the new doctrine of the Christians; and so will he destroy him and thou shalt have thy wife Thecla. And we will teach thee of that resurrection which he asserteth, that it is already come to pass in the children which we have, and we rise again when we have come to the knowledge of the true God.

15 But when Thamyris heard this of them, he was filled with envy and wrath, and rose up early and went to the house of Onesiphorus with the rulers and officers and a great crowd with staves, saying unto Paul: Thou hast

destroyed the city of the Iconians and her that was espoused unto me, so that she will not have me: let us go unto Castelius the governor. And all the multitude said: Away with the wizard, for he hath corrupted all our wives. And the multitude rose up together against him. 16 And Thamyris, standing before the judgement seat, cried aloud and said: O proconsul, this is the man—we know not whence he is—who alloweth not maidens to marry: let him declare before thee wherefore he teacheth such things. And Demas and Hermogenes said to Thamyris: Say thou that he is a Christian, and so wilt thou destroy him. But the governor kept his mind steadfast and called Paul, saying unto him: Who art thou, and what teachest thou? for it is no light accusation that these bring against thee.

17 And Paul lifted up his voice and said: If I am this day examined what I teach, hearken, O proconsul. The living God, the God of vengeance, the jealous God, the God that hath need of nothing, but desireth the salvation of men, hath sent me, that I may sever them from corruption and uncleanness and all pleasure and death, that they may sin no more. Wherefore God hath sent his own Child, whom I preach and teach that men should have hope in him who alone hath had compassion upon the world that was in error; that men may no more be under judgement but have faith and the fear of God and the knowledge of sobriety and the love of truth. If then I teach the things that have been revealed unto me of God, what wrong do I, O proconsul? And the governor having heard that, commanded Paul to be bound and taken away to prison until he should have leisure to hear him more carefully.

18 But Thecla at night took off her bracelets and gave them to the doorkeeper, and when the door was opened for her she went into the prison, and gave the jailer a mirror of silver and so went in to Paul and sat by his feet and heard the wonderful works of God. And Paul feared not at all, but walked in the confidence of God: and her faith also was increased as she kissed his chains. 19 Now when Thecla was sought by her own people and by Thamyris, she was looked for through the streets as one lost; and one of the fellow-servants of the doorkeeper told that she went out by night. And they examined the doorkeeper and he told them that she was gone to the stranger unto the prison; and they went as he told them and found her as it were bound with him, in affection. And they went forth thence and gathered the multitude to them and showed it to the governor.

20 And he commanded Paul to be brought to the judgement seat; but Thecla rolled herself upon the place where Paul taught when he sat in the prison. And the governor commanded her also to be brought to the judgement seat, and she went exulting with joy. And when Paul was brought the second time the people cried out more vehemently: He is a sorcerer, away with him! But the governor heard Paul gladly concerning the holy works of Christ: and he took counsel, and called Thecla and said: Why wilt thou not marry Thamyris, according to the law of the Iconians? but she stood looking earnestly upon Paul, and when she answered not, her mother Theocleia cried out, saying: Burn the lawless one, burn her that is no bride in the midst of the theatre, that all the women which have been taught by this man may be affrighted.

21 And the governor was greatly moved: and he scourged Paul and sent him out of the city, but Thecla he condemned to be burned. And straight-way the governor arose and went to the theatre: and all the multitude went forth unto the dreadful spectacle. But Thecla, as the lamb in the wilderness looketh about for the shepherd, so sought for Paul: and she looked upon the multitude and saw the Lord sitting, like unto Paul, and said: As if I were not able to endure, Paul is come to look upon me. And she earnestly paid heed to him: but he departed into the heavens. 22 Now the boys and the maidens brought wood and hay to burn Thecla: and when she was brought in naked, the governor wept and marvelled at the power that was in her. And they laid the wood, and the executioner bade her mount upon the pyre: and she, making the sign of the cross, went up upon the wood. And they lighted it, and though a great fire blazed forth, the fire took no hold on her; for God had compassion on her, and caused a sound under the earth, and a cloud overshadowed her above, full of rain and hail, and all the vessel of it was poured out so that many were in peril of death, and the fire was quenched, and Thecla was preserved.

23 Now Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife and their children in an open sepulchre on the way whereby they go from Iconium to Daphne. And when many days were past, as they fasted, the boys said unto Paul: We are anhungered. And they had not wherewith to buy bread, for Onesiphorus had left the goods of this world, and followed Paul with all his house. But Paul took off his upper garment and said: Go, child, buy several loaves and bring them. And as the boy was buying, he saw his neighbour

Thecla, and was astonished, and said: Thecla, whither goest thou? And she said: I seek Paul, for I was preserved from the fire. And the boy said: Come, I will bring thee unto him, for he mourneth for thee and prayeth and fasteth now these six days. 24 And when she came to the sepulchre unto Paul, who had bowed his knees and was praying and saying: O Father of Christ, let not the fire take hold on Thecla, but spare her, for she is thine: she standing behind him cried out: O Father that madest heaven and earth, the Father of thy beloved child Jesus Christ, I bless thee for that thou hast preserved me from the fire, that I might see Paul. And Paul arose and saw her and said: O God the knower of hearts, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bless thee that thou hast speedily accomplished that which I asked of thee, and hast hearkened unto me.

25 And there was much love within the sepulchre, for Paul rejoiced, and Onesiphorus, and all of them. And they had five loaves, and herbs, and water (and salt), and they rejoiced for the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said unto Paul: I will cut my hair round about and follow thee whithersoever thou goest. But he said: The time is ill-favoured and thou art comely: beware lest another temptation take thee, worse than the first, and thou endure it not but play the coward. And Thecla said: Only give me the seal in Christ, and temptation shall not touch me. And Paul said: Have patience, Thecla, and thou shalt receive the water. 26 And Paul sent away Onesiphorus with all his house unto Iconium, and so took Thecla and entered into Antioch: and as they entered in, a certain Syriarch, Alexander by name, saw Thecla and was enamoured of her, and would have bribed (flattered) Paul with money and gifts. But Paul said: I know not the woman of whom thou speakest, neither is she mine. But as he was of great power, he himself embraced her in the highway; and she endured it not, but sought after Paul and cried out bitterly, saying: Force not the stranger, force not the handmaid of God. I am of the first of the Iconians, and because I would not marry Thamyris, I am cast out of the city. And she caught at Alexander and rent his cloak and took the wreath from his head and made him a mocking-stock.

27 But he alike loving her and being ashamed of what had befallen him, brought her before the governor; and when she confessed that she had done this, he condemned her to the beasts. But the women were greatly amazed, and cried out at the judgement seat: An evil judgement, an impious judgement! And Thecla asked of the governor that she might remain a virgin un-

til she should fight the beasts; and a certain rich queen, Tryphaena by name, whose daughter had died, took her into her keeping, and had her for a consolation. 28 Now when the beasts were led in procession, they bound her to a fierce lioness, and the queen Tryphaena followed after her: but the lioness, when Thecla was set upon her, licked her feet, and all the people marvelled. Now the writing (title) of her accusation was: Guilty of sacrilege. And the women with their children cried out from above: O God, an impious judgement cometh to pass in this city. And after the procession Tryphaena took her again. For her daughter Falconilla, which was dead, had said to her in a dream: Mother, thou shalt take in my stead Thecla the stranger that is desolate, that she may pray for me and I be translated into the place of the righteous.

29 When therefore Tryphaena received her after the procession, she alike bewailed her because she was to fight the beasts on the morrow, and also, loving her closely as her own daughter Falconilla; and said: Thecla, my second child, come, pray thou for my child that she may live for ever; for this have I seen in a dream. And she without delay lifted up her voice and said: O my God, Son of the Most High that art in heaven, grant unto her according to her desire, that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever. And after she had said this, Tryphaena bewailed her, considering that so great beauty was to be cast unto the beasts. 30 And when it was dawn, Alexander came to take her—for it was he that was giving the games—saying: The governor is set and the people troubleth us: give me her that is to fight the beasts, that I may take her away. But Tryphaena cried aloud so that he fled away, saying: A second mourning for my Falconilla cometh about in mine house, and there is none to help, neither child, for she is dead, nor kinsman, for I am a widow. O God of Thecla my child, help thou Thecla.

31 And the governor sent soldiers to fetch Thecla: and Tryphaena left her not, but herself took her hand and led her up, saying: I did bring my daughter Falconilla unto the sepulchre; but thee, Thecla, do I bring to fight the beasts. And Thecla wept bitterly and groaned unto the Lord, saying: Lord God in whom I believe, with whom I have taken refuge, that savedst me from the fire, reward thou Tryphaena who hath had pity on thine handmaid, and hath kept me pure. 32 There was therefore a tumult, and a voice of the beasts, and shouting of the people, and of the women which sat together, some saying: Bring in the sacrilegious one! and the women saying: Away with

the city for this unlawful deed! away with all us, thou proconsul! it is a bitter sight, an evil judgement! 33 But Thecla, being taken out of the hand of Tryphaena, was stripped and a girdle put upon her, and was cast into the stadium: and lions and bears were set against her. And a fierce lioness running to her lay down at her feet, and the press of women cried aloud. And a bear ran upon her; but the lioness ran and met him, and tore the bear in sunder. And again a lion, trained against men, which was Alexander's, ran upon her, and the lioness wrestled with him and was slain along with him. And the women bewailed yet more, seeing that the lioness also that succoured her was dead.

34 Then did they put in many beasts, while she stood and stretched out her hands and prayed. And when she had ended her prayer, she turned and saw a great tank full of water, and said: Now is it time that I should wash myself. And she cast herself in, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ do I baptize myself on the last day. And all the women seeing it and all the people wept, saying: Cast not thyself into the water: so that even the governor wept that so great beauty should be devoured by seals. So, then, she cast herself into the water in the name of Jesus Christ; and the seals, seeing the light of a flash of fire, floated dead on the top of the water. And there was about her a cloud of fire, so that neither did the beasts touch her, nor was she seen to be naked.

35 Now the women, when other more fearful beasts were put in, shrieked aloud, and some cast leaves, and others nard, others cassia, and some balsam, so that there was a multitude of odours; and all the beasts that were struck thereby were held as it were in sleep and touched her not; so that Alexander said to the governor: I have some bulls exceeding fearful, let us bind the criminal to them. And the governor frowning, allowed it, saying: Do that thou wilt. And they bound her by the feet between the bulls, and put hot irons under their bellies that they might be the more enraged and kill her. They then leaped forward; but the flame that burned about her, burned through the ropes, and she was as one not bound. 36 But Tryphaena, standing by the arena, fainted at the entry, so that her handmaids said: The queen Tryphaena is dead! And the governor stopped the games and all the city was frightened, and Alexander falling at the governor's feet said: Have mercy on me and on the city, and let the condemned go, lest the city perish with her; for if Caesar hear this, perchance he will destroy us and the city, because his kinswoman the queen Tryphaena hath died at the entry.

37 And the governor called Thecla from among the beasts, and said to her: Who art thou? and what hast thou about thee that not one of the beasts hath touched thee? But she said: I am the handmaid of the living God; and what I have about me—it is that I have believed on that his Son in whom God is well pleased; for whose sake not one of the beasts hath touched me. For he alone is the goal (or way) of salvation and the substance of life immortal; for unto them that are tossed about he is a refuge, unto the oppressed relief, unto the despairing shelter, and in a word, whosoever believeth not on him, shall not live, but die everlastingly. 38 And when the governor heard this, he commanded garments to be brought and said: Put on these garments. And she said: He that clad me when I was naked among the beasts, the same in the day of judgement will clothe me with salvation. And she took the garments and put them on. And the governor forthwith issued out an act, saying: I release unto you Thecla the godly, the servant of God. And all the women cried out with a loud voice and as with one mouth gave praise to God, saying: One is the God who hath preserved Thecla: so that with their voice all the city shook.

39 And Tryphaena, when she was told the good tidings, met her with much people and embraced Thecla and said: Now do I believe that the dead are raised up: now do I believe that my child liveth: come within, and I will make thee heir of all my substance. Thecla therefore went in with her and rested in her house eight days, teaching her the word of God, so that the more part of the maid-servants also believed, and there was great joy in the house. 40 But Thecla yearned after Paul and sought him, sending about in all places; and it was told her that he was at Myra. And she took young men and maids, and girded herself, and sewed her mantle into a cloak after the fashion of a man, and departed into Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God, and went to him. But he when he saw her and the people that were with her was amazed, thinking in himself: Hath some other temptation come upon her? But she perceived it, and said to him: I have received the washing, O Paul; for he that hath worked together with thee in the Gospel hath worked with me also unto my baptizing.

41 And Paul took her by the hand and brought her into the house of Hermias, and heard all things from her; so that Paul marvelled much, and they that heard were confirmed, and prayed for Tryphaena. And Thecla arose and said to Paul: I go unto Iconium. And Paul said: Go, and teach the word

of God. Now Tryphaena had sent her much apparel and gold, so that she left of it with Paul for the ministry of the poor. 42 But she herself departed unto Iconium. And she entered into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell down upon the floor where Paul had sat and taught the oracles of God, and wept, saying: O God of me and of this house, where the light shone upon me, Jesu Christ the Son of God, my helper in prison, my helper before the governors, my helper in the fire, my helper among the beasts, thou art God, and unto thee be the glory for ever. Amen.

43 And she found Thamyris dead, but her mother living. And she saw her mother and said unto her: Theocleia my mother, canst thou believe that the Lord liveth in the heavens? for whether thou desirest money, the Lord will give it thee through me: or thy child, lo, I am here before thee. And when she had so testified, she departed unto Seleucia, and after she had enlightened many with the word of God, she slept a good sleep. A good many manuscripts add that Theocleia was not converted, but the Coptic does not support them: it ends the episode as above. A long appendix is given by other Greek copies, telling how in Thecla's old age (she was ninety) she was living on Mount Calamon or Calameon, and some evil-disposed young men went up to ill-treat her: and she prayed, and the rock opened and she entered it, and it closed after her. Some add that she went underground to Rome: this, to account for the presence of her body there.

Copt., p. 38 of the MS.

III

When he was departed from Antioch and taught in Myra (Myrrha). When Paul was teaching the word of God in Myra, there was there a man, Hermocrates by name, who had the dropsy, and he put himself forward in the sight of all, and said to Paul: Nothing is impossible with God, but especially with him whom thou preachest; for when he came he healed many, even that God whose servant thou art. Lo, I and my wife and my children, we cast ourselves at thy feet: have pity on me that I also may believe as thou hast believed on the living God. Paul said unto him: I will restore thee (thine health) not for reward, but through the name of Jesus Christ thou shalt become whole in the presence of all these. (And he touched his body) drawing his hand downwards: and his belly opened and much water ran from him and... he fell down like a dead man, so that some said: It is better for him to die than to continue in pain. But when Paul had quieted the people, he took

his hand and raised him up and asked him, saying: Hermocrates, ask for what thou desirest. And he said: I would eat. And he took a loaf and gave him to eat. And in that hour he was whole, and received the grace of the seal in the Lord, he and his wife.

But Hermippus his son was angry with Paul, and sought for a set time wherein to rise up with them of his own age and destroy him. For he wished that his father should not be healed but should die, that he might soon be master of his goods. But Dion, his younger son, heard Paul gladly. Now all they that were with Hermippus took counsel to fight against Paul so that Hermippus.... and sought to kill him.... Dion fell down and died: but Hermippus watered Dion with his tears. But Hermocrates mourned sore, for he loved Dion more than his other son. (Yet) he sat at Paul's feet, and forgot that Dion was dead. But when Dion was dead, his mother Nympha rent her clothes and went unto Paul and set herself before the face of Hermocrates her husband and of Paul. And when Paul saw her, he was affrighted and said: Wherefore art thou thus, Nympha? But she said to him: Dion is dead; and the whole multitude wept when they beheld her. And Paul looked upon the people that mourned and sent young men, saying to them: Go and bring me him hither. And they went: but Hermippus caught hold of the body (of Dion) in the street and cried out

A leaf lost...the word in him (them?). But an angel of the Lord had said unto him in the night: Paul, thou hast to-day a great conflict against thy body, but God, the Father of his Son Jesus Christ, will protect thee. When Paul had arisen, he went unto his brethren, and remained (sorrowful?) saying: What meaneth this vision? And while Paul thought upon this, he saw Hermippus coming, having a sword drawn in his hand, and with him many other young men with staves. And Paul said unto them: I am not a robber, neither a murderer. The God of all things, the Father of Christ, will turn your hands backward, and your sword into its sheath, and your strength into weakness: for I am a servant of God, though I be alone and a stranger, and small and of no reputation (?) among the Gentiles. But do thou, O God, look down upon their counsel and suffer me not to be brought to nought by them.

And when Hermippus ran upon Paul with his sword drawn, straightway he ceased to see, so that he cried out aloud, saying: My dear comrades, forget not your friend Hermippus. For I have sinned, O Paul, I have pursued after

innocent blood. Learn, ye foolish and ye of understanding, that this world is nought, gold is nought, all money is nought: I that glutted myself with all manner of goods am now a beggar and entreat of you all: Hearken to me all ye my companions, and every one that dwelleth in Myra. I have mocked at a man who hath saved my father: I have mocked at a man who hath raised up my brother Dion.... I have mocked at a man who.... without doing me any evil. But entreat ye of him: behold, he hath saved my father and raised up my brother; he is able therefore to save me also. But Paul stood there weeping alike before God, for that he heard him quickly, and before man, for that the proud was brought low. And he turned himself and went up.... But the young men took the feet and bore Hermippus and brought him to the place where Paul was teaching and laid him down before the door and went unto their house. And when they were gone a great multitude came to the house of Hermocrates, and another great multitude entered in, to see whether Hermippus were shut up there.

And Hermippus besought every one that went in, that they would entreat Paul, with him. But they that went in saw Hermocrates and Nympha, how they rejoiced greatly at the raising up of Dion, and distributed victuals and money unto the widows for his recovery. And they beheld Hermippus their son in the state of this second affliction, and how he took hold on the feet of every one, and on the feet of his parents also, and prayed them, as one of the strangers, that he might be healed. And his parents were troubled, and lamented to every one that came in, so that some said: Wherefore do these weep? for Dion is arisen. But Hermocrates possessed goods.... and brought the value of the goods and took it and distributed it. And Hermocrates, troubled in mind and desiring that they might be satisfied, said: Brethren, let us leave the food.... and occupy ourselves.... Hermocrates. And immediately Nympha cried out in great affliction unto Paul....

.... they said: Nympha, Hermocrates calleth upon God.... that your son Hermippus may see and cease to grieve, for he hath resisted Christ and his minister. But they and Paul prayed to God. And when Hermippus recovered his sight, he turned himself to his mother Nympha, and said to her: Paul came unto me and laid his hand upon me while I wept, and in that hour I saw all things clearly. And she took his hand and led him unto the widows and Paul. But while Paul wept bitterly, Hermippus gave thanks, saying unto them: Every one that believeth, shall.... A leaf gone...concord and peace...

Amen. And when Paul had confirmed the brethren that were in Myra, he departed unto Sidon. When he was departed from Myra (and would go unto Sidon). Now when Paul was departed from Myra and would go unto Sidon there was great sadness of the brethren that were in Pisidia and Pamphylia, because they yearned after his word and his holy appearance in Christ; so that some from Perga followed Paul, namely Thrasymachus and Cleon with their wives Aline (?) and Chrysa, Cleon's wife. And on the way they nourished Paul: and they were eating their bread under a tree (?). And as he was about to say Amen, there came (five lines broken: the words 'the brethren' and 'idol' occur).... table of devils.... he dieth therefor, but every one that believeth on Jesus Christ who hath saved us from all defilement and all uncleanness and all evil thoughts, he shall be manifest. And they drew near unto the table (three lines broken. 'Idol' occurs).... stood.... a mighty idol. And an old man.... stood up among them, saying unto them: Ye men, (wait a little and see) what befalleth the priests which would draw near unto our gods: for verily when our fellow-citizen Charinus hearkened and would.... against the gods, there died he and his (father). And thereupon died Xanthus also, Chrysa (?), and (Hermocrates?) died, sick of the dropsy, and his wife Nympha.

Two leaves at least gone. (Paul is speaking) after the manner of strange men. Wherefore presume ye to do that which is not seemly (?)? Or have ye not heard of that which came to pass, which God brought upon Sodom and Gomorrha, because they robbed.... after the manner of strangers and of women? God did not.... them but cast them down into hell. Now therefore we are not men of this fashion that ye say, nor such as ye think, but we are preachers of the living God and his Beloved. But that ye may not marvel, understand.... the miracles (?) which bear witness for us. But they hearkened not unto him, but took the men and put them into the temple of Apollo, to keep them until the morrow, whereon they assembled the whole city. And many and costly were the victuals which they gave them. But Paul, who was fasting now the third day, testified all the night long, being troubled, and smote his face and said: O God, look down upon their threatenings and suffer us not to slide, and let not our adversaries cast us down, but save us and bring down quickly thy righteousness upon us. And as Paul cast himself down, with the brethren, Thrasymachus and Cleon, then the temple fell.... so that they that belonged to the temple and the magistrates that were set

over it.... others of them in the.... for (the one part) fell down.... fell down.... round about, in the midst of the two parts. And they went in and beheld what had happened, and marvelled that.... in their.... and that the.... rejoiced over the falling of the temple (?). And they cried out, saying: Verily these are the works of the men of a mighty God! And they departed and proclaimed in the city: Apollo the god of the Sidonians is fallen, and the half of his temple. And all the dwellers in the city ran to the temple and saw Paul and them that were with him, how they wept at this temptation, that they were made a spectacle for all men. But the multitude cried out: Bring them into the theatre. And the magistrates came to fetch them; and they groaned bitterly with one soul.

About two leaves gone. (Paul speaking) through me. Consider.... (nine lines much broken, 'the way of life (conversation) of Christ', 'not in the faith', occur).... Egyptians.... and they.... But the multitude.... and followed after Paul, crying: Praised be the God.... who hath sent Paul.... that we should not.... of death. But Theudes.... and prayed at Paul's feet and embraced his feet, that he should give him the seal in the Lord. But he commanded them to go to Tyre.... in health (or farewell), and they put Paul (in a ship?) and went with him. The purpose of confining Paul and his companions in the temple appears to have been connected with the sins of the cities of the plain of which Paul speaks. The Acts of Titus, quoted before, have a sentence referring to this and the next episode: 'And Paul healed Aphphia the wife of Chrysippus who was possessed with a devil: and fasting for seven days he overthrew the idol of Apollo.' The Acts place this immediately after the conversion and preaching at Damascus, and put the Panchares episode later. They are not to be trusted, therefore, as a guide to the order of our book.

V

When he was departed out of Sidon and would go unto Tyre. Now when Paul was entered unto Tyre there came a multitude of Jews.... in to him. These.... and they heard the mighty works...They marvelled.... Amphion (= Aphphia of the Acts of Titus).... saying.... in.... Chrysippus.... devil with him.... many.... When Paul came.... he said: He.... God and will not be an evil spirit (?)... in (?) Amphion.... through the evil spirit.... without any one's having.... she said to him: Save me that I die not. And while the multitude.... then arose the other (?) evil spirit.... And forthwith the devils fled away. And when the multitude saw this, by the power of God, they praised him who had (given such power)

unto Paul. And there was there one by name... rimus, who had a son born to him which was dumb. On the next page is a proper name, Lix (or perhaps Kilix, a Cilician), and later the words, 'I preach the good tidings of the Saviour.... Son of God'. On the next page. Lix perhaps occurs again, and 'Moses'. The next begins: for that which we say cometh to pass forthwith. Behold we will bring him hither unto thee that he may.... thee, to hear the truth of thy.... Next page. On God whose desire is come to pass in him, this is the wise man ...the Father and he hath sent Jesus Christ. Next page, turned toward the East. Moses.... in Syria.... in Cyrene

.... Again I say unto you.... I, that do the works ...that a man is not justified by the Law, but that he is justified by the works of righteousness, and he.... Next page has the words 'liberty', 'and the yoke', 'all flesh'; and, 'and every one confess that Jesus Christ is the glory of the Father'. Next page, lower part: is not water in him, but.... being water, I am not hungry but I am thirsty; I am not.... but not to.... to suffer them, to be (devoured) by wild beasts, not to be able.... from the earth, but not to suffer them to be burnt by the fire, are these things of the present age testified, he which was a persecutor.... Next page, lower part, (Cle)anthes...the law of God which is called.... who walketh here before them, hath he not followed us throughout all the cities.... And when.... he turned himself toward the East after this (after two lines) such words, neither preacheth he as thou preachest them, O Paul, that thou mayest not.... Next page begins: Thou art in the presence (sight, face) of Jerusalem, but I trust in the Lord that thou wilt.... The name 'Saul' is almost certain some lines later. Next page begins: whom they crucified. And at the end: raised up our flesh. Next page, 7th line, For since the day when.... persecuted the apostles which were (with me? sc. Peter) out of Jerusalem, I hid myself that I might have comfort, and we nourish them which stand, through the word according to the promise (?) of his grace. I have fallen into many troubles and have subjected myself to the law, as for your sakes. But I thought by night and by day in my trouble on Jesus Christ, waiting for him as a lamb.... when they crucified him he did not.... did not resist.... was not troubled.

The above may be a speech of Peter. We have seen some indication that Paul is now at Jerusalem, and the conjecture is that a dialogue between him and Peter occurred in this place. The next page undoubtedly mentions Peter. Line 1 has 'Paul', line 3, 'twelve (?) shepherds'. Line 5, through Paul. But....

was troubled because of the questioning (examination) that (was come) upon Peter.... and he cried out, saying: Verily, God is one, and there is no God beside him: one also is Jesus Christ his Son, whom we.... this, whom thou preachest, did we crucify, whom.... expect in great glory, but ye say that he is God and Judge of the living and the dead, the King of the ages, for the.... in the form of man.

VI

Paul is condemned to the mines in an unknown place. Longinus and Firmilla have a daughter, Frontina, who is to be thrown down from a rock, and Paul with her. It is my distinct opinion that Frontina is already dead: her body is to be thus contumeliously treated because she has become a Christian. The upper part of the page has Longinus twice in lines 1, 2; 'Paul' in l. 7. Then: For since.... the mine, there hath not.... nothing good hath befallen mine house. And he advised that the men which were to throw Frontina down, should throw down Paul also with her, alive. Now Paul knew these things, but he worked fasting, in great cheerfulness, for two days with the prisoners. They commanded that on the third day the men.... should bring forth Frontina: and the whole city followed after her. And Firmilla and Longinus lamented and the soldiers.... But the prisoners carried the bed (bier). And when Paul saw the great mourning with the daughter and eight....

Next page, line 8. Paul alive with the daughter. But when Paul had taken the daughter in his arms, he groaned unto the Lord Jesus Christ because of the sorrow of Firmilla, and cast himself on his knees in the mire.... praying for Frontina with her in one (a) prayer. In that hour Frontina rose up. And the whole multitude was afraid, and fled. Paul took the hand of the daughter and led her through the city unto the house of Longinus, and the whole multitude said with one voice: God is one, who hath made heaven and earth, who hath granted the life of the daughter in the presence of Paul...a loaf, and he gave thanks to him. Some lines later. to Philippi (?).

VII

When he was departed from.... and would go (to Philippi). Now when Paul was come to Philippi.... he entered into the house of.... and there was great joy (among the brethren) and to every one. On the following page begins the episode of the correspondence with the Corinthians, which was circulated

separately in Syriac, Latin, and Armenian, and found a place in the Syriac collection of Pauline epistles (and is commented on with the rest by Ephraem the Syrian), and in the Armenian Bible. We have it in (a) many Armenian MSS., (b) in Ephraem's commentary—only extant in Armenian, (c) in three Latin MSS., at Milan, Laon, and Paris: as well as in the Coptic MS., which is here less fragmentary than in the preceding pages. We begin with a short narrative, introducing the letter of the Corinthians to Paul; then follows another short piece of narrative, extant in Armenian only; then Paul's reply, commonly called the 'Third Epistle to the Corinthians'.

There are various phrases and whole sentences, especially in the Armenian and the Milan MS. of the Latin, which are absent from the Coptic and the Laon MS. and are regarded, rightly, as interpolations. These will be distinguished by small capitals. The page of the Coptic MS. on which the correspondence begins is fragmentary at the beginning. 1. 1. the lawless one 1. 2. the reward. They.... in 1. 3. a prayer...every 1. 4. one, and every one (?) 1. 6. Paul ...again (or together). 1. 7. prayed that a messenger be sent to Philippi. For the Corinthians were in great trouble concerning Paul, that he would depart out of the world, before it was time. For there were certain men come to Corinth, Simon and Cleobius, saying: There is no resurrection of the flesh, but that of the spirit only: and that the body of man is not the creation of God; and also concerning the world, that God did not create it, and that God knoweth not the world, and that Jesus Christ was not crucified, but it was an appearance (i. e. but only in appearance), and that he was not born of Mary, nor of the seed of David. And in a word, there were many things which they had taught in Corinth, deceiving many other men, (and deceiving also) themselves. When therefore the Corinthians heard that Paul was at Philippi, they sent a letter unto Paul to Macedonia by Threptus and Eutychus the deacons. And the letter was after this manner.

I. 1 Stephanus and the elders (presbyters) that are with him, even Daphnus and Eubulus and Theophilus and Zenon, unto Paul THEIR BROTHER ETERNAL greeting in the Lord. 2 There have come unto Corinth two men, Simon and Cleobius, which are overthrowing the faith of many with evil (CORRUPT) words, 3 which do thou prove AND EXAMINE: 4 for we have never heard such words from thee nor from the other apostles: 5 but all that we have received from thee or from them, that do we hold fast. 6 Since therefore the Lord hath had mercy on us, that while thou art still in the

flesh we may hear these things again from thee, 7 if it be possible, either come unto us or write unto us. 8 For we believe, according as it hath been revealed unto Theonoë, that the Lord hath delivered thee out of the hand of the lawless one (enemy, Laon).

9 Now the things which these men say and teach are these: 10 They say that we must not use the prophets, 11 and that God is not Almighty, 12 and that there shall be no resurrection of the flesh, 13 and that man was not made by God, 14 and that Christ came not down (is not come, Copt.) in the flesh, neither was born of Mary, 15 and that the world is not of God, but of the angels. 16 Wherefore, brother, WE PRAY THEE use all diligence to come unto us, that the church of the Corinthians may remain without offence, and the madness of these men may be made plain. Farewell ALWAYS in the Lord. 11. 1 The deacons Threptus and Eutyches brought the letter unto Philippi, 2 so that Paul received it, being in bonds because of Stratonice the wife of Apollophanes, AND HE FORGAT HIS BONDS, and was sore afflicted, 3 and cried out, saying: It were better for me to die and to be with the Lord, than to continue in the flesh and to hear such things AND THE CALAMITIES OF FALSE DOCTRINE, so that trouble cometh upon trouble. 4 And over and above this so great affliction I am in bonds and behold these evils whereby the devices of Satan are accomplished. (4 Harnack: may not the priests (intrigues) of Satan anticipate me while (or after) I suffer (have suffered) fetters for the sake (?) of men.) 5 Paul therefore, in great affliction, wrote a letter, answering thus:

11.1. 1 Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, unto the brethren which are in Corinth, greeting. 2 Being in the midst of many tribulations, I marvel not if the teachings of the evil one run abroad apace. 3 For my Lord Jesus Christ will hasten his coming, and will set at nought (no longer endure the insolence of) them that falsify his words. 4 For I delivered unto you in the beginning the things which I received of the HOLY apostles which were before me, who were at all times with Jesus Christ: 5 namely, that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of Mary WHICH IS of the seed of David ACCORDING TO THE FLESH, the Holy Ghost being sent forth from heaven from the Father unto her BY THE ANGEL GABRIEL, 6 that he (JESUS) might come down into this world and redeem all flesh by his flesh, and raise us up from the dead in the flesh, like as he hath shown to us in himself for an ensample. 7 And because man was formed by his Father, 8 therefore was he sought when he was

lost, that he might be quickened by adoption. 9 For to this end did God Almighty who made heaven and earth first send the prophets unto the Jews, that they might be drawn away from their sins. 10 For he designed to save the house of Israel: therefore he conferred a portion of the spirit of Christ upon the prophets and sent them unto the Jews first (or unto the first Jews), and they proclaimed the true worship of God for a long space of time. 11 But the prince of iniquity, desiring to be God, laid hands on them and slew them (banished them from God, Laon MS.), and bound all flesh by evil lusts (AND THE END OF THE WORLD BY JUDGEMENT DREW NEAR).

12 But God Almighty, who is righteous, would not cast away his own creation, BUT HAD COMPASSION ON THEM FROM HEAVEN, 13 and sent his spirit into Mary in GALILEE, [14 Milan MS. and Arm.: WHO BELIEVED WITH ALL HER HEART AND RECEIVED THE HOLY GHOST IN HER WOMB, THAT JESUS MIGHT COME INTO THE WORLD.] 15 that by that flesh whereby that wicked one had brought in death (had triumphed), by the same he should be shown to be overcome. 16 For by his own body Jesus Christ saved all flesh [AND RESTORED IT UNTO LIFE], 17 that he might show forth the temple of righteousness in his body. 18 In whom (or whereby) we are saved (Milan, Paris: in whom if we believe we are set free). 19 They therefore (Paris MS.; Arm. has: Know therefore that. Laon has: They therefore who agree with them) are not children of righteousness but children of wrath who reject the wisdom (providence?) of God, saying that the heaven and the earth and all that are in them are not the work of God. 20 THEY THEREFORE ARE CHILDREN OF WRATH, for cursed are they, following the teaching of the serpent, 21 whom do ye drive out from you and flee from their doctrine. [Arm., Milan, Paris: 22 FOR YE ARE NOT CHILDREN OF DISOBEDIENCE, BUT OF THE WELL-BELOVED CHURCH. 23 THEREFORE IS THE TIME OF THE RESURRECTION PROCLAIMED UNTO ALL.]

24 And as for that which they say, that there is no resurrection of the flesh, they indeed shall have no resurrection UNTO LIFE, BUT UNTO JUDGEMENT, 25 because they believe not in him that is risen from the dead, NOT BELIEVING NOR UNDERSTANDING, 26 for they know not, O Corinthians, the seeds of wheat or of other seeds (grain), how they are cast bare into the earth and are corrupted and rise again by the will of God with bodies, and clothed. 27 And not only that [body] which is cast in riseth

again, but manifold more blessing itself [i. e. fertile and prospering]. 28 And if we must not take an example from seeds ONLY, BUT FROM MORE NOBLE BODIES, 29 ye know how Jonas the son of Amathi, when he would not preach to them of Nineve, BUT FLED, was swallowed by the sea-monster; 30 and after three days and three nights God heard the prayer of Jonas out of the lowest hell, and no part of him was consumed, not even an hair nor an eyelash. 31 How much more, O YE OF LITTLE FAITH, shall he raise up you that have believed in Christ Jesus, like as he himself arose. 32 Likewise also a dead man was cast upon the bones of the prophet Helisaeus by the children of Israel, and he arose, both body and soul and bones and spirit (Laon: arose in his body);

how much more shall ye which have been cast upon the body and bones and spirit of the Lord [Milan, Paris: how much more, O ye of little faith, shall ye which have been cast on him] arise again in that day having your flesh whole, EVEN AS HE AROSE? [33 Arm., Milan, Paris: LIKEWISE ALSO CONCERNING THE PROPHET HELIAS: HE RAISED UP THE WIDOW'S SON FROM DEATH: HOW MUCH MORE SHALL THE LORD JESUS RAISE YOU UP FROM DEATH AT THE SOUND OF THE TRUMPET, IN THE TWINKLING OF AN EYE? FOR HE HATH SHOWED US AN EXAMPLE IN HIS OWN BODY.] 34 If, then, ye receive any other doctrine, GOD SHALL BE WITNESS AGAINST YOU; AND let no man trouble me, 35 for I bear these bonds that I may win Christ, and I therefore bear his marks in my body that I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead. 36 And whoso receiveth (abideth in) the rule which he hath received by the blessed prophets and the holy gospel, shall receive a recompense from the Lord, AND WHEN HE RISETH FROM THE DEAD SHALL OBTAIN ETERNAL LIFE. 37 But whoso transgresseth these things, with him is the fire, and with them that walk in like manner (Milan, Paris: with them that go before in the same way, WHO ARE MEN WITHOUT GOD), 38 which are a generation of vipers, 39 whom do ye reject in the power of the Lord, 40 and peace, GRACE, AND LOVE shall be with you.

[Laon adds: This I found in an old book, entitled the third to the Corinthians, though it is not in the Canon.]

Viii at Ephesus

This episode is not traceable in the Coptic MS. but it undoubtedly formed part of the Acts, though its place is uncertain. It is preserved in an allusion by

Hippolytus (early third century) and in an abstract by Nicephorus Callisti (fourteenth century) in his Ecclesiastical History (ii. 25). There is also a sentence in the Acts of Titus: 'They departed from Crete and came to Asia: and at Ephesus twelve thousand believed at the teaching of the holy Paul: there also he fought with beasts, being thrown to a lion.' HIPPOLYTUS in his Commentary on Daniel, iii. 29, says: For if we believe that when Paul was condemned to the beasts the lion that was set upon him lay down at his feet and licked him, how shall we not believe that which happened in the case of Daniel?

Nicephorus:

Now they who drew up the travels of Paul have related that he did many other things, and among them this, which befell when he was at Ephesus. Hieronymus being governor, Paul used liberty of speech, and he (Hieronymus) said that he (Paul) was able to speak well, but that this was not the time for such words. But the people of the city, fiercely enraged, put Paul's feet into irons, and shut him up in the prison, till he should be exposed as a prey to the lions. But Eubula and Artemilla, wives of eminent men among the Ephesians, being his attached disciples, and visiting him by night, desired the grace of the divine washing. And by God's power, with angels to escort them and enlighten the gloom of night with the excess of the brightness that was in them, Paul, loosed from his iron fetters, went to the sea-shore and initiated them into holy baptism, and returning to his bonds without any of those in care of the prison perceiving it, was reserved as a prey for the lions.

A lion, then, of huge size and unmatched strength was let loose upon him, and it ran to him in the stadium and lay down at his feet. And when many other savage beasts, too, were let loose, it was permitted to none of them to touch the holy body, standing like a statue in prayer. At this juncture a violent and vast hailstorm poured down all at once with a great rush, and shattered the heads of many men and beasts as well, and shore off the ear of Hieronymus himself. And thereafter, with his followers, he came to the God of Paul and received the baptism of salvation. But the lion escaped to the mountains. And thence Paul sailed to Macedonia and Greece, and thereafter through Macedonia came to Troas and to Miletus, and from there set out for Jerusalem. Now it is not surprising that Luke has not narrated this fight with the beasts along with the other Acts: for it is not permitted to en-

ertain doubt because (or seeing that) John alone of the evangelists has told of the raising of Lazarus: for we know that not every one writes, believes, or knows everything, but according as the Lord has imparted to each, as the spirit divides to each, so does he perceive and believe and write spiritually the things of the spirit.

Hippolytus is a voucher for the early date of the story, and Nicephorus for its source. It will be recognized, moreover, at once as being quite in the manner of our author. The anger of the Ephesians, it cannot be doubted, was roused by Paul's preaching of continence, to which Eubula and Artemilla had become converts. The episode is really little more than a repetition of Thecla, with Paul for the principal figure.

Fragments: Scenes of Farewell

(Paul speaking).... thanksgiving (?) The grace of the Lord will walk with me until I have fulfilled all the dispensations which shall come upon me with patience. But they were sorrowful, and fasted. And Cleobius was in the Spirit and said unto them: Brethren, (the Lord) will suffer Paul to fulfil every dispensation and thereafter will suffer him to go up (to Jerusalem). But thereafter shall be.... in much instruction and knowledge and sowing of the word, so that men shall envy him, and so he shall depart out of this world. But when Paul and the brethren heard this, they lifted up their voices, saying: Next page, first extant line, 'beheld'. Second, 'shall say'. Third, But the Spirit came upon Myrte so that she said unto them: Brethren.... and look upon this sign, that ye.... For Paul the servant of the Lord shall save many in Rome, so that of them shall be no number, and he will manifest himself more than all the faithful. Thereafter shall.... of the Lord Jesus Christ come.... a great grace is.... at Rome. And this is the manner wherein the Spirit spake unto Myrte. And every one took the bread, and they were in joy, according to the custom of the fast, through.... and the psalms of David and.... he rejoiced.

On the next page the only significant words are 'to Rome'; 'the brethren'; 'grieved'; 'took the bread'; 'praised the Lord'; 'were very sorrowful'. The next has ends of lines: 'the Lord'; 'risen'; 'Jesus'; 'Paul said to him'. The last is 'he (or they) greeted'. Two more pages have nothing of moment. The next is concerned with the Martyrdom.

X — The Martyrdom

This, preserved separately to be read on the day of Commemoration, exists in two Greek copies, an incomplete Latin version, and versions in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavonic, besides fragments in our Coptic MS. I. Now there were awaiting Paul at Rome Luke from Galatia (Gaul, Gk.) and Titus from Dalmatia: whom when Paul saw he was glad: and hired a grange outside Rome, wherein with the brethren he taught the word of truth, and he became noised abroad and many souls were added unto the Lord, so that there was a rumour throughout all Rome, and much people came unto him from the household of Caesar, believing, and there was great joy. And a certain Patroclus, a cup-bearer of Caesar, came at even unto the grange, and not being able because of the press to enter in to Paul, he sat in a high window and listened to him teaching the word of God. But whereas the evil devil envied the love of the brethren, Patroclus fell down from the window and died, and forthwith it was told unto Nero.

But Paul perceiving it by the spirit said: Men and brethren, the evil one hath gained occasion to tempt you: go out of the house and ye shall find a lad fallen from the height and now ready to give up the ghost; take him up and bring him hither to me. And they went and brought him; and when the people saw it they were troubled. But Paul said: Now, brethren, let your faith appear; come all of you and let us weep unto our Lord Jesus Christ, that this lad may live and we continue in quietness. And when all had lamented, the lad received his spirit again, and they set him on a beast and sent him back alive, together with the rest that were of Caesar's household. 11. But Nero, when he heard of the death of Patroclus, was sore grieved, and when he came in from the bath he commanded another to be set over the wine. But his servants told him, saying: Caesar, Patroclus liveth and standeth at the table. And Caesar, hearing that Patroclus lived, was affrighted and would not go in. But when he went in, he saw Patroclus, and was beside himself, and said: Patroclus, livest thou? And he said: I live, Caesar. And he said: Who is he that made thee to live? And the lad, full of the mind of faith, said: Christ Jesus, the king of the ages. And Caesar was troubled and said: Shall he, then, be king of the ages and overthrow all kingdoms? Patroclus saith unto him: Yea, he overthroweth all kingdoms and he alone shall be for ever, and there shall be no kingdom that shall escape him. And he smote him on the face and said: Patroclus, art thou also a soldier of that king? And he said: Yea, Lord

Caesar, for he raised me when I was dead. And Barsabas Justus of the broad feet, and Urion the Cappadocian, and Festus the Galatian, Caesar's chief men, said: We also are soldiers of the king of the ages. And he shut them up in prison, having grievously tormented them, whom he loved much, and commanded the soldiers of the great king to be sought out, and set forth a decree to this effect, that all that were found to be Christians and soldiers of Christ should be slain.

111. And among many others Paul also was brought, bound: unto whom all his fellow-prisoners gave heed; so that Caesar perceived that he was over the camp. And he said to him: Thou that art the great king's man, but my prisoner, how thoughtest thou well to come by stealth into the government of the Romans and levy soldiers out of my province? But Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, said before them all: O Caesar, not only out of thy province do we levy soldiers, but out of the whole world. For so hath it been ordained unto us, that no man should be refused who wisheth to serve my king. And if it like thee also to serve him (Lat. thou wilt not repent thereof: but think not that the wealth, &c., which seems better), it is not wealth nor the splendour that is now in this life that shall save thee; but if thou submit and entreat him, thou shalt be saved; for in one day (or one day) he shall fight against the world with fire. And when Caesar heard that, he commanded all the prisoners to be burned with fire, but Paul to be beheaded after the law of the Romans.

But Paul kept not silence concerning the word, but communicated with Longus the prefect and Cestus the centurion. Nero therefore went on (was) (perhaps add 'raging') in Rome, slaying many Christians without a hearing, by the working of the evil one; so that the Romans stood before the palace and cried: It sufficeth, Caesar! for the men are our own! thou destroyest the strength of the Romans! Then at that he was persuaded and ceased, and commanded that no man should touch any Christian, until he should learn thoroughly concerning them. IV. Then was Paul brought unto him after the decree; and he abode by his word that he should be beheaded. And Paul said: Caesar, it is not for a little space that I live unto my king; and if thou behead me, this will I do: I will arise and show myself unto thee that I am not dead but live unto my Lord Jesus Christ, who cometh to judge the world.

But Longus and Cestus said unto Paul: Whence have ye this king, that ye believe in him and will not change your mind, even unto death? And Paul

communicated unto them the word and said: Ye men that are in this ignorance and error, change your mind and be saved from the fire that cometh upon all the world: for we serve not, as ye suppose, a king that cometh from the earth, but from heaven, even the living God, who because of the iniquities that are done in this world, cometh as a judge; and blessed is that man who shall believe in him and shall live for ever when he cometh to burn the world and purge it thoroughly. Then they beseeching him said: We entreat thee, help us, and we will let thee go. But he answered and said: I am not a deserter of Christ, but a lawful soldier of the living God: if I had known that I should die, O Longus and Cestus, I would have done it, but seeing that I live unto God and love myself, I go unto the Lord, to come with him in the glory of his Father. They say unto him: How then shall we live when thou art beheaded?

V. And while they yet spake thus, Nero sent one Parthenius and Pheres to see if Paul were already beheaded; and they found him yet alive. And he called them to him and said: Believe on the living God, which raiseth me and all them that ^Abelieve on him from the dead. And they said: We go now unto Nero; but when thou diest and risest again, then will we believe on thy God. And as Longus and Cestus entreated him yet more concerning salvation, he saith to them: Come quickly unto my grave in the morning and ye shall find two men praying, Titus and Luke. They shall give you the seal in the Lord. Then Paul stood with his face to the east and lifted up his hands unto heaven and prayed a long time, and in his prayer he conversed in the Hebrew tongue with the fathers, and then stretched forth his neck without speaking. And when the executioner (speculator) struck off his head, milk spurted upon the cloak of the soldier. And the soldier and all that were there present when they saw it marvelled and glorified God which had given such glory unto Paul: and they went and told Caesar what was done.

VI. And when he heard it, while he marvelled long and was in perplexity, Paul came about the ninth hour, when many philosophers and the centurion were standing with Caesar, and stood before them all and said: Caesar, behold, I, Paul, the soldier of God, am not dead, but live in my God. But unto thee shall many evils befall and great punishment, thou wretched man, because thou hast shed unjustly the blood of the righteous, not many days hence. And having so said Paul departed from him. But Nero hearing it and being greatly troubled commanded the prisoners to be loosed, and Patroclus

also and Barsabas and them that were with him. VII. And as Paul charged them, Longus and Cestus the centurion went early in the morning and approached with fear unto the grave of Paul. And when they were come thither they saw two men praying, and Paul betwixt them, so that they beholding the wondrous marvel were amazed, but Titus and Luke being stricken with the fear of man when they saw Longus and Cestus coming toward them, turned to flight. But they pursued after them, saying: We pursue you not for death but for life, that ye may give it unto us, as Paul promised us, whom we saw just now standing betwixt you and praying. And when they heard that, Titus and Luke rejoiced and gave them the seal in the Lord, glorifying the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Copt. and glorified the Lord Jesus Christ and all the saints).

Unto whom be glory world without end. Amen. The Coptic MS. has a colophon: The Acts of Paul according to the Apostle.

Unplaced and Uncertain Fragments

Among the very few ancient quotations of the Acts of Paul are two short phrases cited by Origen. (a) On First Principles, i. 2, 3: wherefore also that word seems to me to be truly said, which is written in the Acts of Paul: 'He is the word, a living creature.' But John in the beginning of his Gospel says more exaltedly and more excellently, &c. (b) On John, xx. 12. But if any one likes to accept that which is recorded in the Acts of Paul as spoken by the Saviour: 'Again am I about to be crucified.' Both phrases, but the second especially, have been thought by some to come from a context relating to the death of Peter. (a) is compared with Peter's speech at the cross; (b) appears in slightly different forms in all the Passions of Peter as Christ's answer to Peter when he is escaping from Rome. Whither goest thou Lord? (or, What doest thou here?) 'I come to be crucified again.' The inference is that an account of the martyrdom of Peter formed part of the Acts of Paul. But this I find very difficult to accept, though I acknowledge it to be possible, seeing that the author of these Acts evidently placed the martyrdom of Paul after that of Peter, and, to judge from the Acts of Peter, some little time (perhaps a whole year) after.

A probable fragment is a quotation made by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. vi. 5: ed. Stähelin, ii. 452). He has been quoting the Preaching of Peter, and continues: But the proposition that, just as God willed the Jews to be saved by giving them the prophets, so he raised up the most approved of

the Greeks to be prophets suited to their language, according as they were capable of receiving the benefit from God, and distinguished them from the ruck of men—this, in addition to the Preaching of Peter, the apostle Paul will show when he says: 'Take also the Greek books, take knowledge of the Sibyl, how she declares one God, and things to come, take and read Hys-taspes, and ye will find the Son of God described far more openly and plainly, and how many kings will make war against the Christ, hating him and those that bear his name, and his faithful ones: and his patience and his coming again.' And then in one word he asks of us: 'And the whole world and all that is in it, whose are they? are they not God's?' Therefore is it that Peter says (another quotation from the Preaching follows).

It has been usual to assume that these sentences are from a Preaching of Paul: but of such a book the very existence is doubtful. The passages supposed to establish it shall be given. One is in Pseudo-Cyprian de rebaptismate (third century): Now of this spurious, nay fatal, baptism an especial supporter is a book forged by these same heretics to favour this error, which is entitled 'the Preaching of Paul'. In which book, contrary to every scripture, you will find Christ, who alone never sinned at all, both confessing his own sin and being compelled almost against his will by his mother Mary to receive the baptism of John; and further, that when he was baptized, fire appeared upon the water, which is recorded in no gospel. And that after so long a time Peter and Paul (after their conference (comparison) on the gospel at Jerusalem, after their common counsels, their dispute, their settling of a course of action (?)) at last met in Rome as if then first known to each other: and some other things of the kind absurdly and disgracefully concocted, all of which you will find heaped together in that book.

The author, it may be noted, is wrong in his statement that the baptism story was not recorded in any Gospel: it was found, wholly or partly, in the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Ebionite Gospel. The other is in Lactantius' Institutes, iv. 21. 2: (Jesus) also revealed all things to come (to his disciples) which Peter and Paul preached at Rome, and that preaching continues in writing, for a memorial. Wherein, with many other wondrous things, they said that this too would come to pass, that after a little time God would send a king who would attack the Jews and lay their cities even with the ground and besiege them till they were exhausted with hunger and thirst: then would they feed on the bodies of their own kin, and devour one

another: finally, that they would be taken and fall into the enemies' hands and see their wives maltreated before their faces, their maidens outraged and prostituted, their boys carried off, their infants dashed to the earth, all, in a word, wasted by fire and sword, and themselves captive and banished for ever from their land, because they rejoiced against the beloved and approved Son of God.

No other trace of a book called a *Preaching of Paul* remains, and, as I say, its existence is doubtful. Commodian, the strange Christian poet, who according to some critics, was an African of the third century, and according to others lived in Gaul in the fifth, has in his *Carmen Apologeticum* (624 sqq.) allusions to the Acts of Peter and of Paul. Speaking of God's power, he says: And whatever he willeth he can do: making dumb things to speak; he made Balaam's ass speak to him when he beat it; and a dog to say to Simon: 'Thou art called for by Peter!' For Paul when he preached, he caused dumb persons (or perhaps mules) to speak of him: he made a lion speak to the people with God-given voice. Lastly, a thing which our nature does not permit—he made an infant five months old speak in public.

The incidents of the dog and of the child are from the Acts of Peter (only there the child is seven months old): but the lion and the dumb people (or mules) are not; and it seems that the lion is certainly from the Acts of Paul. Perhaps it was the Ephesian lion. In the Ethiopic life of Paul we do find a talking lion. Lastly, in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (finished in 1156) is this passage which, whatever its source, preserves a record of an apocryphal speech of Paul. iv. 9. He has told the stories of the self-sacrifice of Codrus and Lycurgus, which he gets from the historian Justin. Then he continues: I make use of these examples the more readily because I find that the apostle Paul when preaching to the Athenians made use of them also. That excellent preacher strove so to impress on their minds Jesus Christ and him crucified, that he might show by the example of heathens how the release of many came about through the shame of the cross. And this, he argued, could not happen save by the blood of the just, and of those who bore rule over the people. Further, no one could be found capable of freeing all, both Jews and Gentiles, save he unto whom the heathen are given for an inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth assigned for his possession. And such a one he said could be no other than the Son of God Almighty, since no one but God has subjected to himself all nations and lands. As, then, he proclaimed the

shame of the cross in such a way as gradually to purge away the foolishness of the heathen, little by little he raised the word of faith and the language of his preaching, up to the Word of God, the wisdom of God, and the very throne of the divine majesty: and, lest the power of the gospel should seem mean in the weakness of the flesh by dint of the slanders of Jews and the folly of heathens, he set forth the works of the crucified, which were confirmed by the witness of common report;

since it was plain to all that none but God could do such things. But as report often falsifies, in both directions, report was assisted by the fact that Christ's disciples did even greater works, seeing that by the shadow of a disciple (Peter) the sick were healed of every kind of disease. What more? The ingenuities of an Aristotle, the subtleties of a Chrysippus, the gins of all the philosophers were defeated by the rising of one who had been dead. (This last sentence is borrowed from Jerome (Ep. (to Pammachius) 57 or 34. preached, in order that many might speak (or learn) of him, God made a lion', &c. The miracle was done in order to attract the attention of 'many' hearers.

The Acts of Peter

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

c. AD 180–200

Peter's contest with Simon Magus at Rome and his crucifixion head downward, in James's English from the Latin Vercelli Acts, the Greek martyrdom and the Coptic fragment about Peter's daughter. The Acts of Peter is the source of the *Quo vadis?* story and of much later legend about Peter at Rome.

¹ Written, probably by a resident in Asia Minor (he does not know much about Rome), not later than A. D. 200, in Greek. The author has read the Acts of John very carefully, and modelled his language upon them. However, he was not so unorthodox as Leucius, though his language about the Person of our Lord (ch. xx) has rather suspicious resemblances to that of the Acts of John. The length of the book as given by the Stichometry of Nicephorus was 2,750 lines—fifty lines less than the canonical Acts. The portions we have may be about the length of St. Mark's Gospel; and about 1,000 lines may be wanting. Such is Zahn's estimate. We have: 1. A short episode in Coptic. 2. A large portion in Latin preserved in a single manuscript of the seventh century at Vercelli: often called the Vercelli Acts. It includes the martyrdom. 3. The martyrdom, preserved separately, in two good Greek copies, in Latin, and in many versions—Coptic, Slavonic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic.

² Also: One or two important quotations from lost portions; a small fragment of the original in a papyrus; certain passages—speeches of Peter—transferred by an unscrupulous writer to the Life of St. Abercius of Hierapolis. A Latin paraphrase of the martyrdom, attributed to Linus, Peter's successor in the bishopric of Rome, was made from the Greek, and is occasionally useful.

I — The Coptic Fragment

³ This is preserved separately, in an early papyrus manuscript (fourth-fifth century) now at Berlin; the other contents of it are Gnostic writings which have not yet been published. I follow C. Schmidt's rendering of it. It has a title at the end:

The Act of Peter

⁴ On the first day of the week, that is, on the Lord's day, a multitude gathered together, and they brought unto Peter many sick that he might heal them. And one of the multitude adventured to say unto Peter: Lo, Peter, in our presence thou hast made many blind to see and the deaf to hear and the lame to walk, and hast succoured the weak and given them strength: but wherefore hast thou not succoured thy daughter, the virgin, which grew up beautiful and hath believed in the name of God? For behold, her one side is wholly palsied, and she lieth there stretched out in the corner helpless. We see them that have been healed by thee: thine own daughter thou hast neglected. But Peter smiled and said unto him: My son, it is manifest unto God alone wherefore her body is not whole. Know then that God is not weak nor powerless to grant his gift unto my daughter: but that thy soul may be convinced, and they that are here present may the more believe—then he looked unto his daughter and said to her: Raise thyself up from thy place, without any helping thee save Jesus only, and walk whole before all these, and come unto me. And she arose and came to him; and the multitude rejoiced at that which was come to pass. Then said Peter unto them: Behold, your heart is convinced that God is not without strength concerning all things that we ask of him. Then they rejoiced yet more and praised God. And Peter said to his daughter: Go unto thy place, and lay thee down and be again in thine infirmity, for this is expedient for me and for thee. And the maiden went back and lay down in her place and was as beforetime: and the whole multitude wept, and entreated Peter to make her whole.

⁵ But Peter said unto them: As the Lord liveth, this is expedient for her and for me. For on the day when she was born unto me I saw a vision, and the Lord said unto me: Peter, this day is a great temptation born unto thee, for this daughter will bring hurt unto many souls if her body continue whole. But I thought that the vision did mock me. Now when the maiden was ten years old, a stumbling-block was prepared for many by reason of her.

And an exceeding rich man, by name Ptolemaeus, when he had seen the maiden with her mother bathing, sent unto her to take her to wife; but her mother consented not. And he sent oft-times to her, and could not wait. [Here a leaf is lost: the sense, however, is not hard to supply. Augustine speaks (quoting Apocryphal Acts) of a daughter of Peter struck with palsy at the prayer of her father.

6 Ptolemaeus, unable to win the maiden by fair means, comes and carries her off. Peter hears of it and prays God to protect her. His prayer is heard. She is struck with palsy on one side of her body. Then the text resumes.] The servants of Ptolemaeus brought the maiden and laid her down before the door of the house and departed. But when I perceived it, I and her mother, we went down and found the maiden, that one whole side of her body from her toes even to her head was palsied and withered: and we bore her away, praising the Lord which had preserved his handmaid from defilement and shame and (corruption?). This is the cause of the matter, why the maiden continueth so unto this day. Now, then, it is fitting for you to know the end of Ptolemaeus. He went home and sorrowed night and day over that which had befallen him, and by reason of the many tears which he shed, he became blind. And when he had resolved to rise up and hang himself, lo, about the ninth hour of the day, he saw a great light which enlightened the whole house, and heard a voice saying unto him: Ptolemaeus, God hath not given thee the vessels for corruption and shame, and yet more doth it not become thee which hast believed in me to defile my virgin, whom thou shalt know as thy sister, even as if I were unto you both one spirit (*sic*). But rise up and go quickly unto the house of the apostle Peter, and thou shalt see my glory; he shall make known unto thee what thou must do.

7 But Ptolemaeus was not negligent, and bade his servants show him the way and bring him unto me. And when they were come to me, he told me all that had befallen him by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then did he see with the eyes of his flesh, and with the eyes of his soul, and much people believed (hoped) in Christ: and he did them good and gave them the gift of God. Thereafter Ptolemaeus died, departing out of this life, and went unto his Lord: and when he made his will he bequeathed a piece of land in the name of my daughter, because through her he had believed in God and was made whole. But I unto whom the disposition thereof fell, exercised it with great carefulness: I sold the land, and God alone knoweth neither I nor my

daughter (received the price). I sold the land and kept nought back of the price, but gave all the money unto the poor.

⁸ Know therefore, thou servant of Jesus Christ, that God directeth (?) them that are his, and prepareth good for every one of them, although we think that God hath forgotten us. Therefore now, brethren, let us be sorrowful and watch and pray, and so shall the goodness of God look upon us, whereon we wait. And yet further discourse did Peter hold before them all, and glorified the name of Christ the Lord and gave them all of the bread: and when he had distributed it, he rose up and went unto his house. The scene of this episode is probably Jerusalem. The subject of it was often used by later writers, most notably, perhaps, by the author of the late Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilleus (fifth or sixth century), who gives the daughter a name, Petronilla, which has passed into Kalendars, and as Perronelle, Pernel, or Parnell has become familiar.

⁹ A few critics have questioned whether this piece really belongs to the Acts of Peter: but the weight of probability and of opinion is against them. Nothing can be plainer than that it is an extract from a larger book, and that it is ancient (the manuscript may be of the fourth century). Moreover, Augustine, in dealing with apocryphal Acts, alludes to the story contained in it. What other large book of ancient date dealing with Peter's doings can we imagine save the Acts?

The Gardener's Daughter

¹⁰ Augustine (Against Adimantus, xvii. 5), says to his Manichaeon opponent: the story of Peter killing Ananias and Sapphira by a word is very stupidly blamed by those who in the apocryphal Acts read and admire both the incident I mentioned about the apostle Thomas (the death of the cup-bearer at the feast in his Acts) 'and that the daughter of Peter himself was stricken with palsy at the prayer of her father, and that the daughter of a gardener died at the prayer of Peter. Their answer is that it was expedient for them, that the one should be disabled by palsy and the other should die: but they do not deny that it happened at the prayer of the apostle'. This allusion to the gardener's daughter remained a puzzle until lately. But a passage in the Epistle of Titus (already quoted) tells us the substance of the story. A certain gardener had a daughter, a virgin, her father's only child: he begged Peter to pray for her. Upon his request, the apostle answered him that the Lord would give her that which was useful for her soul. Immediately the girl fell dead.

11 O worthy gain and suitable to God, to escape the insolence of the flesh and mortify the boastfulness of the blood! But that old man, faithless, and not knowing the greatness of the heavenly favour, ignorant of the divine benefit, entreated Peter that his only daughter might be raised again. And when she was raised, not many days after, as it might be to-day, the slave of a believer who lodged in the house ran upon her and ruined the girl, and both of them disappeared. This was evidently a contrast to the story of Peter's daughter, and probably followed immediately upon it in the Acts. There is another sentence appropriate to the situation, which Dom de Bruyne found in a Cambrai MS. of the thirteenth century—a collection of apophthegms—and printed with the extracts from the Epistle of Titus. That the dead are not to be mourned overmuch, Peter, speaking to one who lamented without patience the loss of his daughter, said: So many assaults of the devil, so many warrings of the body, so many disasters of the world hath she escaped, and thou sheddest tears as if thou knewest not what thou sufferest in thyself (what good hath befallen thee).

12 This might very well be part of Peter's address to the bereaved gardener.

The Vercelli Acts

13 I. At the time when Paul was sojourning in Rome and confirming many in the faith, it came also to pass that one by name Candida, the wife of Quartus that was over the prisons, heard Paul and paid heed to his words and believed. And when she had instructed her husband also and he believed, Quartus suffered Paul to go whither he would away from the city: to whom Paul said: If it be the will of God, he will reveal it unto me. And after Paul had fasted three days and asked of the Lord that which should be profitable for him, he saw a vision, even the Lord saying unto him: Arise, Paul, and become a physician in thy body (i. e. by going thither in person) to them that are in Spain. 14 He therefore, having related to the brethren what God had commanded, nothing doubting, prepared himself to set forth from the city. But when Paul was about to depart, there was great weeping throughout all the brotherhood, because they thought that they should see Paul no more, so that they even rent their clothes. For they had in mind also how that Paul had oftentimes contended with the doctors of the Jews and confuted them, saying: Christ, upon whom your fathers laid hands, abolished their sabbaths and fasts and holy-days and circumcision, and the doctrines of men and the rest of the traditions he did abolish. But the brethren lamented (and adjured)

Paul by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he should not be absent above a year, saying: We know thy love for thy brethren; forget not us when thou art come thither, neither begin to forsake us, as little children without a mother. And when they besought him long with tears, there came a sound from heaven, and a great voice saying: Paul the servant of God is chosen to minister all the days of his life: by the hands of Nero the ungodly and wicked man shall he be perfected before your eyes. And a very great fear fell upon the brethren because of the voice which came from heaven: and they were confirmed yet more in the faith.

15 11. Now they brought unto Paul bread and water for the sacrifice, that he might make prayer and distribute it to every one. Among whom it befell that a woman named Rufina desired, she also, to receive the Eucharist at the hands of Paul: to whom Paul, filled with the spirit of God, said as she drew near: Rufina, thou comest not worthily unto the altar of God, arising from beside one that is not thine husband but an adulterer, and assayest to receive the Eucharist of God. For behold Satan shall trouble thine heart and cast thee down in the sight of all them that believe in the Lord, that they which see and believe may know that they have believed in the living God, the searcher of hearts. But if thou repent of thine act, he is faithful that is able to blot out thy sin and set thee free from this sin: but if thou repent not, while thou art yet in the body, devouring fire and outer darkness shall receive thee for ever. And immediately Rufina fell down, being stricken with palsy (? from her head unto the nails of her feet, and she had no power to speak (given her) for her tongue was bound. And when both they that believed (in the faith) and the neophytes saw it, they beat their breasts, remembering their old sins, and mourned and said: We know not if God will forgive the former sins which we have committed. Then Paul called for silence and said:

16 Men and brethren which now have begun to believe on Christ, if ye continue not in your former works of the tradition of your fathers, and keep yourselves from all guile and wrath and fierceness and adultery and defilement, and from pride and envy and contempt and enmity, Jesus the living God will forgive you that ye did in ignorance. Wherefore, ye servants of God, arm yourselves every one in your inner man with peace, patience, gentleness, faith, charity, knowledge, wisdom, love of the brethren, hospitality, mercy, abstinence, chastity, kindness, justice: then shall ye have for your guide everlastingly the first-begotten of all creation, and shall have strength

in peace with our Lord. And when they had heard these things of Paul, they besought him to pray for them. And Paul lifted up his voice and said: O eternal God, God of the heavens, God of unspeakable majesty (divinity), who hast stablished all things by thy word, who hast bound upon all the world the chain of thy grace, Father of thine holy Son Jesus Christ, we together pray thee through thy Son Jesus Christ, strengthen the souls which were before unbelieving but now are faithful. Once I was a blasphemer, now I am blasphemed; once I was a persecutor, now do I suffer persecution of others; once I was the enemy of Christ, now I pray that I may be his friend: for I trust in his promise and in his mercy; I account myself faithful and that I have received forgiveness of my former sins.

¹⁷ Wherefore I exhort you also, brethren, to believe in the Lord the Father Almighty, and to put all your trust in our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, believing in him, and no man shall be able to uproot you from his promise. Bow your knees therefore together and commend me unto the Lord, who am about to set forth unto another nation, that his grace may go before me and dispose my journey aright, that he may receive his vessels holy and believing, that they, giving thanks for my preaching of the word of the Lord, may be well grounded in the faith. But the brethren wept long and prayed unto the Lord with Paul, saying: Be thou, Lord Jesus Christ, with Paul and restore him unto us whole: for we know our weakness which is in us even to this day. ¹⁸ 111. And a great multitude of women were kneeling and praying and beseeching Paul; and they kissed his feet and accompanied him unto the harbour. But Dionysius and Balbus, of Asia, knights of Rome, and illustrious men, and a senator by name Demetrius abode by Paul on his right hand and said: Paul, I would desire to leave the city if I were not a magistrate, that I might not depart from thee. Also from Caesar's house Cleobius and Iphitus and Lysimachus and Aristaeus and two matrons Berenice and Philostrate, with Narcissus the presbyter [after they had] accompanied him to the harbour: but whereas a storm of the sea came on, he (Narcissus?) sent the brethren back to Rome, that if any would, he might come down and hear Paul until he set sail: and hearing that, the brethren went up unto the city. And when they told the brethren that had remained in the city, and the report was spread abroad, some on beasts, and some on foot, and others by way of the Tiber came down to the harbour, and were confirmed in the faith for three days, and on the fourth day until the fifth hour, praying together with

Paul, and making the offering: and they put all that was needful on the ship and delivered him two young men, believers, to sail with him, and bade him farewell in the Lord and returned to Rome.

¹⁹ There has been great dispute about these three chapters, whether they are not an excerpt from the Acts of Paul, or whether they are an addition made by the writer of the Greek original of the Vercelli Acts. If they are from the Acts of Paul, it means that in those Acts Paul was represented as visiting Rome twice, and going to Spain between the visits. Evidently, if this was so, he did not return straight from Spain to Rome: at least the Coptic gives no indication that the prophecies of Cleobius and Myrte were uttered in Spain. The question is a difficult one. All allow that the writer of the Acts of Peter knew and used the Acts of Paul: but there is strong opposition to the idea that Paul related two visits to Rome. The writer of Paul obviously knew the canonical Acts very well and obviously took great liberties with them. Did he go so far, one wonders, as to suppress and ignore the whole story of the trial before Felix and the shipwreck? If he told of but one visit to Rome—the final one—it appears that he did: for the conditions described in the Martyrdom—Paul quite free and martyred very shortly after his arrival—are totally irreconcilable with Luke (Paul arriving in custody and living two years at least in the city).

²⁰ IV. Now after a few days there was a great commotion in the midst of the church, for some said that they had seen wonderful works done by a certain man whose name was Simon, and that he was at Aricia, and they added further that he said he was a great power of God and without God he did nothing. Is not this the Christ? but we believe in him whom Paul preached unto us; for by him have we seen the dead raised, and men delivered from divers infirmities: but this man seeketh contention, we know it (or, but what this contention is, we know not) for there is no small stir made among us. Perchance also he will now enter into Rome; for yesterday they besought him with great acclamations, saying unto him: Thou art God in Italy, thou art the saviour of the Romans: haste quickly unto Rome. But he spake to the people with a shrill voice, saying: To-morrow about the seventh hour ye shall see me fly over the gate of the city in the form (habit) wherein ye now see me speaking unto you. Therefore, brethren, if it seem good unto you, let us go and await carefully the issue of the matter.

21 They all therefore ran together and came unto the gate. And when it was the seventh hour, behold suddenly a dust was seen in the sky afar off, like a smoke shining with rays stretching far from it. And when he drew near to the gate, suddenly he was not seen: and thereafter he appeared, standing in the midst of the people; whom they all worshipped, and took knowledge that he was the same that was seen of them the day before. And the brethren were not a little offended among themselves, seeing, moreover, that Paul was not at Rome, neither Timotheus nor Barnabas, for they had been sent into Macedonia by Paul, and that there was no man to comfort us, to speak nothing of them that had but just become catechumens. And as Simon exalted himself yet more by the works which he did, and many of them daily called Paul a sorcerer, and others a deceiver, of so great a multitude that had been stablished in the faith all fell away save Narcissus the presbyter and two women in the lodging of the Bithynians, and four that could no longer go out of their house, but were shut up (day and night): these gave themselves unto prayer (by day and night), beseeching the Lord that Paul might return quickly, or some other that should visit his servants, because the devil had made them fall by his wickedness.

22 V. And as they prayed and fasted, God was already teaching Peter at Jerusalem of that which should come to pass. For whereas the twelve years which the Lord Christ had enjoined upon him were fulfilled, he showed him a vision after this manner, saying unto him: Peter, that Simon the sorcerer whom thou didst cast out of Judaea, convicting him, hath again come before thee (prevented thee) at Rome. And that shalt thou know shortly (or, and that thou mayest know in few words): for all that did believe in me hath Satan made to fall by his craft and working: whose Power Simon approveth himself to be. But delay thee not: set forth on the morrow, and there shalt thou find a ship ready, setting sail for Italy, and within few days I will show thee my grace which hath in it no grudging. Peter then, admonished by the vision, related it unto the brethren without delay, saying: It is necessary for me to go up unto Rome to fight with the enemy and adversary of the Lord and of our brethren.

23 And he went down to Caesarea and embarked quickly in the ship, whereof the ladder was already drawn up, not taking any provision with him. But the governor of the ship whose name was Theon looked on Peter and said: Whatsoever we have, all is thine. For what thank have we, if we take in

a man like unto ourselves who is in uncertain case (difficulty) and share not all that we have with thee? but only let us have a prosperous voyage. But Peter, giving him thanks for that which he offered, himself fasted while he was in the ship, sorrowful in mind and again consoling himself because God accounted him worthy to be a minister in his service. ²⁴ And after a few days the governor of the ship rose up at the hour of his dinner and asked Peter to eat with him, and said to him: O thou, whoever thou art, I know thee not, but as I reckon, I take thee for a servant of God. For as I was steering my ship at midnight I perceived the voice of a man from heaven saying to me: Theon, Theon! And twice it called me by my name and said to me: Among them that sail with thee let Peter be greatly honoured by thee, for by him shalt thou and the rest be preserved safe without any hurt after such a course as thou hopest not for. And Peter believed that God would vouchsafe to show his providence upon the sea unto them that were in the ship, and thenceforth began Peter to declare unto Theon the mighty works of God, and how the Lord had chosen him from among the apostles, and for what business he sailed unto Italy: and daily he communicated unto him the word of God. And considering him he perceived by his walk that he was of one mind in the faith and a worthy minister (deacon).

²⁵ Now when there was a calm upon the ship in Hadria (the Adriatic), Theon showed it to Peter, saying unto him: If thou wilt account me worthy, whom thou mayest baptize with the seal of the Lord, thou hast an opportunity. For all that were in the ship had fallen asleep, being drunken. And Peter went down by a rope and baptized Theon in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost: and he came up out of the water rejoicing with great joy, and Peter also was glad because God had accounted Theon worthy of his name. And it came to pass when Theon was baptized, there appeared in the same place a youth shining and beautiful, saying unto them: Peace be unto you. And immediately Peter and Theon went up and entered into the cabin; and Peter took bread and gave thanks unto the Lord which had accounted him worthy of his holy ministry, and for that the youth had appeared unto them, saying: Peace be unto you. And he said: Thou best and alone holy one, it is thou that hast appeared unto us, O God Jesu Christ, and in thy name hath this man now been washed and sealed with thy holy seal. Therefore in thy name do I impart unto him thine eucharist, that he may be thy perfect servant without blame for ever.

26 And as they feasted and rejoiced in the Lord, suddenly there came a wind, not vehement but moderate, at the ship's prow, and ceased not for six days and as many nights, until they came unto Puteoli. 27 VI. And when they had touched at Puteoli, Theon leapt out of the ship and went unto the inn where he was wont to lodge, to prepare to receive Peter. Now he with whom he lodged was one by name Ariston, which alway feared the Lord, and because of the Name Theon entrusted himself with him (had dealings with him). And when he was come to the inn and saw Ariston, Theon said unto him: God who hath accounted thee worthy to serve him hath communicated his grace unto me also by his holy servant Peter, who hath now sailed with me from Judaea, being commanded by our Lord to come unto Italy. And when he heard that, Ariston fell upon Theon's neck and embraced him and besought him to bring him to the ship and show him Peter. For Ariston said that since Paul set forth unto Spain there was no man of the brethren with whom he could refresh himself, and, moreover, a certain Jew had broken into the city, named Simon, and with his charms of sorcery and his wickedness hath he made all the brotherhood fall away this way and that, so that I also fled from Rome, expecting the coming of Peter: for Paul had told us of him, and I also have seen many things in a vision. Now, therefore, I believe in my Lord that he will build up again his ministry, for all this deceit shall be rooted out from among his servants. For our Lord Jesus Christ is faithful, who is able to restore our minds. And when Theon heard these things from Ariston, who wept, his spirit was raised (increased) yet more and he was the more strengthened, because he perceived that he had believed on the living God.

28 But when they came together unto the ship, Peter looked upon them and smiled, being filled with the Spirit; so that Ariston falling on his face at Peter's feet, said thus: Brother and lord, that hast part in the holy mysteries and showest the right way which is in the Lord Jesus Christ our God, who by thee hath shown unto us his coming: we have lost all them whom Paul had delivered unto us, by the working of Satan; but now I trust in the Lord who hath commanded thee to come unto us, sending thee as his messenger, that he hath accounted us worthy to see his great and wonderful works by thy means. I pray thee therefore, make haste unto the city: for I left the brethren which have stumbled, whom I saw fall into the temptation of the devil, and fled hither, saying unto them: Brethren, stand fast in the faith, for it is of

necessity that within these two months the mercy of our Lord bring his servant unto you. For I had seen a vision, even Paul, saying unto me: Ariston, flee thou out of the city. And when I heard it, I believed without delay and went forth in the Lord, although I had an infirmity in my flesh, and came hither; and day by day I stood upon the sea-shore asking the sailors: Hath Peter sailed with you?

²⁹ But now through the abundance of the grace of God I entreat thee, let us go up unto Rome without delay, lest the teaching of this wicked man prevail yet further. And as Ariston said this with tears, Peter gave him his hand and raised him up from the earth, and Peter also groaning, said with tears: He hath prevented us which tempteth all the world by his angels; but he that hath power to save his servants from all temptations shall quench his deceits and put him beneath the feet of them that have believed in Christ whom we preach. ³⁰ And, as they entered in at the gate, Theon entreated Peter, saying: Thou didst not refresh thyself on any day in so great a voyage (sea): and now after (before) so hard a journey wilt thou set out forthwith from the ship? tarry and refresh thyself, and so shalt thou set forth: for from hence to Rome upon a pavement of flint I fear lest thou be hurt by the shaking. But Peter answered and said to them: What if it come to pass that a millstone were hung upon me, and likewise upon the enemy of our Lord, even as my Lord said unto us of any that offended one of the brethren, and I were drowned in the sea? but it might be not only a millstone, but that which is far worse, even that I which am the enemy of this persecutor of his servants should die afar off from them that have believed on the Lord Jesus Christ (so Ficker: the sentence is corrupt; the sense is that Peter must at all costs be with his fellow-Christians, or he will incur even worse punishment than that threatened by our Lord's words). And by no exhortation could Theon prevail to persuade him to tarry there even one day.

³¹ But Theon himself delivered all that was in the ship to be sold for the price which he thought good, and followed Peter unto Rome; whom Ariston brought unto the abode of Narcissus the presbyter. VII. Now the report was noised through the city unto the brethren that were dispersed, (saying that Peter was come to Rome) because of Simon, that he might show him to be a deceiver and a persecutor of good men. All the multitude therefore ran together to see the apostle of the Lord stay (himself, or the brethren) on Christ. And on the first day of the week when the multitude was assembled

to see Peter, Peter began to say with a loud voice: Ye men here present that trust in Christ, ye that for a little space have suffered temptation, learn for what cause God sent his Son into the world, and wherefore he made him to be born of the Virgin Mary; for would he so have done if not to procure us some grace or dispensation? even because he would take away all offence and all ignorance and all the contrivance of the devil, his attempts (beginnings) and his strength wherewith he prevailed aforetime, before our God shined forth in the world. And whereas men through ignorance fell into death by many and divers infirmities, Almighty God, moved with compassion, sent his Son into the world. With whom I was; and he (or I) walked upon the water, whereof I myself remain a witness, and do testify that he then worked in the world by signs and wonders, all of which he did.

³² I do confess, dearly-beloved brethren, that I was with him: yet I denied him, even our Lord Jesus Christ, and that not once only, but thrice; for there were evil dogs that were come about me as they did unto the Lord's prophets. And the Lord imputed it not unto me, but turned unto me and had compassion on the infirmity of my flesh, when (or so that) afterward I bitterly bewailed myself, and lamented the weakness of my faith, because I was befooled by the devil and kept not in mind the word of my Lord. And now I say unto you, O men and brethren, which are gathered together in the name of Jesus Christ: against you also hath the deceiver Satan aimed his arrows, that ye might depart out of the way. But faint not, brethren, neither let your spirit fall, but be strong and persevere and doubt not: for if Satan caused me to stumble, whom the Lord had in great honour, so that I denied the light of mine hope, and if he overthrew me and persuaded me to flee as if I had put my trust in a man, what think ye will he do unto you which are but young in the faith? Did ye suppose that he would not turn you away to make you enemies of the kingdom of God, and cast you down into perdition by a new (or the last) deceit?

³³ For whomsoever he casteth out from the hope of our Lord Jesus Christ, he is a son of perdition for ever. Turn yourselves, therefore, brethren, chosen of the Lord, and be strong in God Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom no man hath seen at any time, neither can see, save he who hath believed in him. And be ye aware whence this temptation hath come upon you. For it is not only by words that I would convince you that this is Christ whom I preach, but also by deeds and exceeding great works of power

do I exhort you by the faith that is in Christ Jesus, that none of you look for any other save him that was despised and mocked of the Jews, even this Nazarene which was crucified and died and the third day rose again. ³⁴ VIII. And the brethren repented and entreated Peter to fight against Simon: (who said that he was the power of God, and lodged in the house of Marcellus a senator, whom he had convinced by his charms) saying: Believe us, brother Peter: there was no man among men so wise as this Marcellus. All the widows that trusted in Christ had recourse unto him; all the fatherless were fed by him; and what more, brother? all the poor called Marcellus their patron, and his house was called the house of the strangers and of the poor, and the emperor said unto him: I will keep thee out of every office, lest thou despoil the provinces to give gifts unto the Christians. And Marcellus answered: All my goods are also thine. And Caesar said to him: Mine they would be if thou keptest them for me; but now they are not mine, for thou givest them to whom thou wilt, and I know not to what vile persons. Having this, then, before our eyes, brother Peter, we report it to thee, how the great mercy of this man is turned unto blasphemy; for if he had not turned, neither should we have departed from the holy faith of God our Lord. And now doth this Marcellus in anger repent him of his good deeds, saying: All this substance have I spent in all this time, vainly believing that I gave it for the knowledge of God! So that if any stranger cometh to the door of his house, he smiteth him with a staff and biddeth him be beaten, saying: Would God I had not spent so much money upon these impostors: and yet more doth he say, blaspheming. But if there abide in thee any mercy of our Lord and aught of the goodness of his commandments, do thou succour the error of this man who hath done so many alms-deeds unto the servants of God.

³⁵ And Peter, when he perceived this, was smitten with sharp affliction and said: O the divers arts and temptations of the devil! O the contrivances and devices of the wicked! he that nourisheth up for himself a mighty fire in the day of wrath, the destruction of simple men, the ravening wolf, the devourer and scatterer of eternal life! Thou didst enmesh the first man in concupiscence and bind him with thine old iniquity and with the chain of the flesh; thou art wholly the exceeding bitter fruit of the tree of bitterness, who sendest divers lusts upon men. Thou didst compel Judas my fellow-disciple and fellow-apostle to do wickedly and deliver up our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall punish thee therefor. Thou didst harden the heart of Herod and didst

inflame Pharaoh and compel him to fight against Moses the holy servant of God; thou didst give boldness unto Caiaphas, that he should deliver our Lord Jesus Christ unto the unrighteous multitude; and even until now thou shootest at innocent souls with thy poisonous arrows. Thou wicked one, enemy of all men, be thou accursed from the Church of him the Son of the holy God omnipotent, and as a brand cast out of the fire shalt thou be quenched by the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. Upon thee let thy blackness be turned and upon thy children, an evil seed; upon thee be turned thy wickedness and thy threatenings; upon thee and thine angels be thy temptations, thou beginning of malice and bottomless pit of darkness!

³⁶ Let thy darkness that thou hast be with thee and with thy vessels which thou ownest! Depart from them that shall believe in God, depart from the servants of Christ and from them that desire to be his soldiers. Keep thou to thyself thy garments of darkness! Without cause knockest thou at other men's doors, which are not thine but of Christ Jesus that keepeth them. For thou, ravening wolf, wouldest carry off the sheep that are not thine but of Christ Jesus, who keepeth them with all care and diligence. ³⁷ IX. As Peter spake thus with great sorrow of mind, many were added unto them that believed on the Lord. But the brethren besought Peter to join battle with Simon and not suffer him any longer to vex the people. And without delay Peter went quickly out of the synagogue (assembly) and went unto the house of Marcellus, where Simon lodged: and much people followed him. And when he came to the door, he called the porter and said to him: Go, say unto Simon: Peter because of whom thou fleddest out of Judaea waiteth for thee at the door. The porter answered and said to Peter: Sir, whether thou be Peter, I know not: but I have a command; for he had knowledge that yesterday thou didst enter into the city, and said unto me: Whether it be by day or by night, at whatsoever hour he cometh, say that I am not within. And Peter said to the young man: Thou hast well said in reporting that which he compelled thee to say. And Peter turned unto the people that followed him and said: Ye shall now see a great and marvellous wonder. And Peter seeing a great dog bound with a strong chain, went to him and loosed him, and when he was loosed the dog received a man's voice and said unto Peter: What dost thou bid me to do, thou servant of the unspeakable and living God? Peter said unto him: Go in and say unto Simon in the midst of his company:

³⁸ Peter saith unto thee, Come forth abroad, for for thy sake am I come to Rome, thou wicked one and deceiver of simple souls. And immediately the dog ran and entered in, and rushed into the midst of them that were with Simon, and lifted up his forefeet and in a loud voice said: Thou Simon, Peter the servant of Christ who standeth at the door saith unto thee: Come forth abroad, for for thy sake am I come to Rome, thou most wicked one and deceiver of simple souls. And when Simon heard it, and beheld the incredible sight, he lost the words wherewith he was deceiving them that stood by, and all of them were amazed. ³⁹ X. But when Marcellus saw it he went out to the door and cast himself at Peter's feet and said: Peter, I embrace thy feet, thou holy servant of the holy God; I have sinned greatly: but exact thou not my sins, if there be in thee the true faith of Christ, whom thou preachest, if thou remember his commandments, to hate no man, to be unkind to no man, as I learned from thy fellow apostle Paul; keep not in mind my faults, but pray for me unto the Lord, the holy Son of God whom I have provoked to wrath—for I have persecuted his servants—that I be not delivered with the sins of Simon unto eternal fire; who so persuaded me, that I set up a statue to him with this inscription:

⁴⁰ 'To Simon the new (young) God.' If I knew, O Peter, that thou couldst be won with money, I would give thee all my substance, yea I would give it and despise it, that I might gain my soul. If I had sons, I would account them as nothing, if only I might believe in the living God. But I confess that he would not have deceived me save that he said that he was the power of God; yet will I tell thee, O most gentle (sweet) Peter: I was not worthy to hear thee, thou servant of God, neither was I stablished in the faith of God which is in Christ; therefore was I made to stumble. I beseech thee, therefore, take not ill that which I am about to say, that Christ our Lord whom thou preachest in truth said unto thy fellow-apostles in thy presence: If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain: Remove thyself: and straightway it shall remove itself. But this Simon said that thou, Peter, wast without faith when thou didst doubt, in the waters. And I have heard that Christ said this also: They that are with me have not understood me. If, then, ye upon whom he laid his hands, whom also he chose, did doubt, I, therefore, having this witness, repent me, and take refuge in thy prayers. Receive my soul, who have fallen away from our Lord and from his promise.

But I believe that he will have mercy upon me that repent. For the Almighty is faithful to forgive me my sins.

⁴¹ But Peter said with a loud voice: Unto thee, our Lord, be glory and splendour, O God Almighty, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Unto thee be praise and glory and honour, world without end. Amen. Because thou hast now fully strengthened and stablished us in thee in the sight of all, holy Lord, confirm thou Marcellus, and send thy peace upon him and upon his house this day: and whatsoever is lost or out of the way, thou alone canst turn them all again; we beseech thee, Lord, shepherd of the sheep that once were scattered, but now shall be gathered in one by thee. So also receive thou Marcellus as one of thy lambs and suffer him no longer to go astray (revel) in error or ignorance. Yea, Lord, receive him that with anguish and tears entreateth thee. XI. And as Peter spake thus and embraced Marcellus, Peter turned himself unto the multitude that stood by him and saw there one that laughed (smiled), in whom was a very evil spirit. And Peter said unto him: Whosoever thou art that didst laugh, show thyself openly unto all that are present. And hearing this the young man ran into the court of the house and cried out with a loud voice and dashed himself against the wall and said: Peter, there is a great contention between Simon and the dog whom thou senest; for Simon saith to the dog: Say that I am not here. Unto whom the dog saith more than thou didst charge him; and when he hath accomplished the mystery which thou didst command him, he shall die at thy feet. But Peter said:

⁴² And thou also, devil, whosoever thou art, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, go out of that young man and hurt him not at all: show thyself unto all that stand here. When the young man heard it, he ran forth and caught hold on a great statue of marble which was set in the court of the house, and brake it in pieces with his feet. Now it was a statue of Caesar. Which Marcellus beholding smote his forehead and said unto Peter: A great crime hath been committed; for if this be made known unto Caesar by some busybody, he will afflict us with sore punishments. And Peter said to him: I see thee not the same that thou wast a little while ago, for thou saidst that thou wast ready to spend all thy substance to save thy soul. But if thou indeed repentest, believing in Christ with thy whole heart, take in thine hands of the water that runneth down, and pray to the Lord, and in his name sprinkle it upon the broken pieces of the statue and it shall be whole as it was before.

And Marcellus, nothing doubting, but believing with his whole heart, before he took the water lifted up his hands and said: I believe in thee, O Lord Jesu Christ: for I am now proved by thine apostle Peter, whether I believe aright in thine holy name.

⁴³ Therefore I take water in mine hands, and in thy name do I sprinkle these stones that the statue may become whole as it was before. If, therefore, Lord, it be thy will that I continue in the body and suffer nothing at Caesar's hand, let this stone be whole as it was before. And he sprinkled the water upon the stones, and the statue became whole, whereat Peter exulted that Marcellus had not doubted in asking of the Lord, and Marcellus was exalted in spirit for that such a sign was first wrought by his hands; and he therefore believed with his whole heart in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God, by whom all things impossible are made possible. ⁴⁴ XII. But Simon within the house said thus to the dog: Tell Peter that I am not within. Whom the dog answered in the presence of Marcellus: Thou exceeding wicked and shameless one, enemy of all that live and believe on Christ Jesus, here is a dumb animal sent unto thee which hath received a human voice to confound thee and show thee to be a deceiver and a liar. Hast thou taken thought so long, to say at last: 'Tell him that I am not within'? Art thou not ashamed to utter thy feeble and useless words against Peter the minister and apostle of Christ, as if thou couldst hide thee from him that hath commanded me to speak against thee to thy face: and that not for thy sake but for theirs whom thou wast deceiving and sending unto destruction? Cursed therefore shalt thou be, thou enemy and corrupter of the way of the truth of Christ, who shall prove by fire that dieth not and in outer darkness, thine iniquities that thou hast committed. And having thus said, the dog went forth and the people followed him, leaving Simon alone. And the dog came unto Peter as he sat with the multitude that was come to see Peter's face, and the dog related what he had done unto Simon. And thus spake the dog unto the angel and apostle of the true God:

⁴⁵ Peter, thou wilt have a great contest with the enemy of Christ and his servants, and many that have been deceived by him shalt thou turn unto the faith; wherefore thou shalt receive from God the reward of thy work. And when the dog had said this he fell down at the apostle Peter's feet and gave up the ghost. And when the great multitude saw with amazement the dog speaking, they began then, some to throw themselves down at Peter's feet,

and some said: Show us another sign, that we may believe in thee as the minister of the living God, for Simon also did many signs in our presence and therefore did we follow him. ⁴⁶ XIII. And Peter turned and saw a herring (sardine) hung in a window, and took it and said to the people: If ye now see this swimming in the water like a fish, will ye be able to believe in him whom I preach? And they said with one voice: Verily we will believe thee. Then he said—now there was a bath for swimming at hand: In thy name, O Jesu Christ, forasmuch as hitherto it is not believed in, in the sight of all these live and swim like a fish. And he cast the herring into the bath, and it lived and began to swim. And all the people saw the fish swimming, and it did not so at that hour only, lest it should be said that it was a delusion (phantasm), but he made it to swim for a long time, so that they brought much people from all quarters and showed them the herring that was made a living fish, so that certain of the people even cast bread to it; and they saw that it was whole. And seeing this, many followed Peter and believed in the Lord.

⁴⁷ And they assembled themselves day and night unto the house of Narcissus the presbyter. And Peter discoursed unto them of the scriptures of the prophets and of those things which our Lord Jesus Christ had wrought both in word and in deeds. XIV. But Marcellus was confirmed daily by the signs which he saw wrought by Peter through the grace of Jesus Christ which he granted unto him. And Marcellus ran upon Simon as he sat in his house in the dining chamber, and cursed him and said unto him: Thou most adverse and pestilent of men, corrupter of my soul and my house, who wouldest have made me fall away from my Lord and Saviour Christ! and laying hands on him he commanded him to be thrust out of his house. And the servants having received such licence, covered him with reproaches; some buffeted his face, others beat him with sticks, others cast stones, others emptied out vessels full of filth upon his head, even those who on his account had fled from their master and been a long time fettered; and other their fellow-servants of whom he had spoken evil to their master reproached him, saying to him: Now by the will of God who hath had mercy on us and on our master, do we recompense thee with a fit reward. And Simon, shrewdly beaten and cast out of the house, ran unto the house where Peter lodged, even the house of Narcissus, and standing at the gate cried out: Lo, here am I, Simon: come thou

down, Peter, and I will convict thee that thou hast believed on a man which is a Jew and a carpenter's son.

⁴⁸ XV. And when it was told Peter that Simon had said this, Peter sent unto him a woman which had a sucking child, saying to her: Go down quickly, and thou wilt find one that seeketh me. For thee there is no need that thou answer him at all, but keep silence and hear what the child whom thou holdest shall say unto him. The woman therefore went down. Now the child whom she suckled was seven months old; and it received a man's voice and said unto Simon: O thou abhorred of God and men, and destruction of truth, and evil seed of all corruption, O fruit by nature unprofitable! but only for a short and little season shalt thou be seen, and thereafter eternal punishment is laid up for thee. Thou son of a shameless father, that never puttest forth thy roots for good but for poison, faithless generation void of all hope! thou wast not confounded when a dog reproved thee; I a child am compelled of God to speak, and not even now art thou ashamed. But even against thy will, on the sabbath day that cometh, another shall bring thee into the forum of Julius that it may be shown what manner of man thou art. Depart therefore from the gate wherein walk the feet of the holy; for thou shalt no more corrupt the innocent souls whom thou didst turn out of the way and make sad; in Christ, therefore, shall be shown thine evil nature, and thy devices shall be cut in pieces.

⁴⁹ And now speak I this last word unto thee: Jesus Christ saith to thee: Be thou stricken dumb in my name, and depart out of Rome until the sabbath that cometh. And forthwith he became dumb and his speech was bound; and he went out of Rome until the sabbath and abode in a stable. But the woman returned with the child unto Peter and told him and the rest of the brethren what the child had said unto Simon: and they magnified the Lord which had shown these things unto men. ⁵⁰ XVI. Now when the night fell, Peter, while yet waking, beheld Jesus clad in a vesture of brightness, smiling and saying unto him: Already is much people of the brotherhood returned through me and through the signs which thou hast wrought in my name. But thou shalt have a contest of the faith upon the sabbath that cometh, and many more of the Gentiles and of the Jews shall be converted in my name unto me who was reproached and mocked and spat upon. For I will be present with thee when thou askest for signs and wonders, and thou shalt convert many: but thou shalt have Simon opposing thee by the works of his father; yet all his works

shall be shown to be charms and contrivances of sorcery. But now slack thou not, and whomsoever I shall send unto thee thou shalt establish in my name. And when it was light, he told the brethren how the Lord had appeared unto him and what he had commanded him!

⁵¹ XVII. [This episode, inserted most abruptly, is believed by Vouaux to have been inserted here by the compiler of the Greek original of the Vercelli Acts: but it was not composed by him, but transferred with very slight additions from the earlier part of the Acts—now lost—of which the scene was laid in Judaea. I incline to favour this view.] But believe ye me, men and brethren, I drove this Simon out of Judaea where he did many evils with his magical charms, lodging in Judaea with a certain woman Eubula, who was of honourable estate in this world, having store of gold and pearls of no small price. Here did Simon enter in by stealth with two others like unto himself, and none of the household saw them two, but Simon only, and by means of a spell they took away all the woman's gold, and disappeared. But Eubula, when she found what was done, began to torture her household, saying: Ye have taken occasion by this man of God and spoiled me, when ye saw him entering in to me to honour a mere woman; but his name is as the name of the Lord.

⁵² As I fasted for three days and prayed that this matter should be made plain, I saw in a vision Italicus and Antulus (Antyllus?) whom I had instructed in the name of the Lord, and a boy naked and chained giving me a wheaten loaf and saying unto me: Peter, endure yet two days and thou shalt see the mighty works of God. As for all that is lost out of the house of Eubula, Simon hath used art magic and hath caused a delusion, and with two others hath stolen it away: whom thou shalt see on the third day at the ninth hour, at the gate which leadeth unto Neapolis, selling unto a goldsmith by name Agrippinus a young satyr of gold of two pound weight, having in it a precious stone. But for thee there is no need that thou touch it, lest thou be defiled; but let there be with thee some of the matron's servants, and thou shalt show them the shop of the goldsmith and depart from them. For by reason of this matter shall many believe on the name of the Lord, and all that which these men by their devices and wickedness have oft-times stolen shall be openly showed. When I heard that, I went unto Eubula and found her sitting with her clothes rent and her hair disordered, mourning; unto whom I said: Eubula, rise up from thy mourning and compose thy face and

order thy hair and put on raiment befitting thee, and pray unto the Lord Jesus Christ that judgeth every soul: for he is the invisible Son of God, by whom thou must be saved, if only thou repent with thine whole heart of thy former sins:

⁵³and receive thou power from him; for behold, by me the Lord saith to thee: Thou shalt find all whatsoever thou hast lost. And after thou hast received them, take thou care that he find thee, that thou mayest renounce this present world and seek for everlasting refreshment. Harken therefore unto this: Let certain of thy people keep watch at the gate that leadeth to Neapolis on the day after to-morrow at about the ninth hour, and they shall see two young men having a young satyr of gold, of two pound weight, set with gems, as a vision hath shown me: which thing they will offer for sale to one Agrippinus of the household of godliness and of the faith which is in the Lord Jesus Christ: by whom it shall be showed thee that thou shouldst believe in the living God and not on Simon the magician, the unstable devil, who hath desired that thou shouldst remain in sorrow, and thine innocent household be tormented; who by fair words and speech only hath deceived thee, and with his mouth only spake of godliness, whereas he is wholly possessed of ungodliness. For when thou didst think to keep holy-day, and settest up thine idol and didst veil it and set out all thine ornaments upon a table (round three-legged table), he brought in two young men whom no man of yours saw, by a magic charm, and they stole away thine ornaments and were no more seen. But his device hath had no success (place);

⁵⁴for my God hath manifested it unto me, to the end thou shouldst not be deceived, neither perish in hell, for those sins which thou hast committed ungodly and contrary to God, who is full of all truth, and the righteous judge of quick and dead; and there is none other hope of life unto men save through him, by whom those things which thou hast lost are recovered unto thee: and now do thou gain thine own soul. ⁵⁵But she cast herself down before my feet, saying: O man, who thou art I know not; but him I received as a servant of God, and whatsoever he asked of me to give it unto the poor, I gave much by his hands, and beside that I did give much unto him. What hurt did I do him, that he should contrive all this against mine house? Unto whom Peter said: There is no faith to be put in words, but in acts and deeds: but we must go on with that we have begun. So I left her and went with two stewards of Eubula and came to Agrippinus and said to him: See that thou

take note of these men; for to-morrow two young men will come to thee, desiring to sell thee a young satyr of gold set with jewels, which belongeth to the mistress of these: and thou shalt take it as it were to look upon it, and praise the work of the craftsman, and then when these come in, God will bring the rest to the proof. And on the next day the stewards of the matron came about the ninth hour, and also those young men, willing to sell unto Agrippinus the young satyr of gold. And they being forthwith taken, it was reported unto the matron, and she in distress of mind came to the deputy, and with a loud voice declared all that had befallen her.

56 And when Pompeius the deputy beheld her in distress of mind, who never had come forth abroad, he forthwith rose up from the judgement seat and went unto the praetorium, and bade those men to be brought and tortured; and while they were being tormented they confessed that they did it in the service of Simon, which, said they, persuaded us thereto with money. And being tortured a long time, they confessed that all that Eubula had lost was laid up under the earth in a cave on the other side of the gate, and many other things besides. And when Pompeius heard this, he rose up to go unto the gate, with those two men, each of them bound with two chains. And lo, Simon came in at the gate, seeking them because they tarried long. And he seeth a great multitude coming, and those two bound with chains; and he understood and betook him to flight, and appeared no more in Judaea unto this day. But Eubula, when she had recovered all her goods, gave them for the service of the poor, and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ and was comforted; and despised and renounced this world, and gave unto the widows and fatherless, and clothed the poor. And after a long time she received her rest (sleep). Now these things, dearly beloved brethren, were done in Judaea, whereby he that is called the angel of Satan was driven out thence.

57 XVIII. Brethren, dearest and most beloved, let us fast together and pray unto the Lord. For he that drove him out thence is able also to root him out of this place: and let him grant unto us power to withstand him and his magical charms, and to prove that he is the angel of Satan. For on the sabbath our Lord shall bring him, though he would not, unto the forum of Julius. Let us therefore bow our knees unto Christ, which heareth us, though we cry not; it is he that seeth us, though he be not seen with these eyes, yet is he in us: if we will, he will not forsake us. Let us therefore purify our souls of every evil temptation, and God will not depart from us. Yea, if we but wink with

our eyes, he is present with us. ⁵⁸ XIX. Now after these things were spoken by Peter, Marcellus also came in, and said: Peter, I have for thee cleansed mine whole house from the footsteps (traces) of Simon, and wholly done away even his wicked dust. For I took water and called upon the holy name of Jesus Christ, together with mine other servants which belong unto him, and sprinkled all my house and all the dining chambers and all the porticoes, even unto the outer gate, and said: I know that thou, Lord Jesu Christ, art pure and untouched of any uncleanness: so let mine enemy and adversary be driven out from before thy face. And now, thou blessed one, have I bidden the widows and old women to assemble unto thee in my house which is purified (MS. common), that they may pray with us. And they shall receive every one a piece of gold in the name of the ministry (service), that they may be called indeed servants of Christ. And all else is now prepared for the service. I entreat thee, therefore, O blessed Peter, consent unto their request, so that thou also pay honour unto (ornament) their prayers in my stead; let us then go and take Narcissus also, and whosoever of the brethren are here. So then Peter consented unto his simplicity, to fulfil his desire, and went forth with him and the rest of the brethren.

⁵⁹ XX. But Peter entered in, and beheld one of the aged women, a widow, that was blind, and her daughter giving her her hand and leading her into Marcellus' house; and Peter said unto her: Come hither, mother: from this day forward Jesus giveth thee his right hand, by whom we have light unapproachable which no darkness hideth; who saith unto thee by me: Open thine eyes and see, and walk by thyself. And forthwith the widow saw Peter laying his hand upon her. ⁶⁰ And Peter entered into the dining-hall and saw that the Gospel was being read, and he rolled up the book and said: Ye men that believe and hope in Christ, learn in what manner the holy Scripture of our Lord ought to be declared: whereof we by his grace wrote that which we could receive, though yet it appear unto you feeble, yet according to our power, even that which can be endured to be borne by (or instilled into) human flesh. We ought therefore first to know the will and the goodness of God, how that when error was everywhere spread abroad, and many thousands of men were being cast down into perdition, God was moved by his mercy to show himself in another form and in the likeness of man, concerning which neither the Jews nor we were able worthily to be enlightened. For every one of us according as he could contain the sight, saw, as he was able.

Now will I expound unto you that which was newly read unto you. Our Lord, willing that I should behold his majesty in the holy mount—I, when I with the sons of Zebedee saw the brightness of his light, fell as one dead and shut mine eyes, and heard such a voice from him as I am not able to describe, and thought myself to be blinded by his brightness. And when I recovered (breathed again) a little I said within myself: Peradventure my Lord hath brought me hither that he might blind me. And I said: If this also be thy will, Lord, I resist not. And he gave me his hand and raised me up; and when I arose I saw him again in such a form as I was able to take in. As, therefore, the merciful God, dearly beloved brethren, carried our infirmities and bare our sins (as the prophet saith: He beareth our sins and suffereth for us;

⁶¹ but we did esteem him to be in affliction and smitten with plagues), for he is in the Father and the Father in him—he also is himself the fulness of all majesty, who hath shown unto us all his good things: he did eat and drink for our sakes, himself being neither an-hungered nor athirst; he carried and bare reproaches for our sakes, he died and rose again because of us; who both defended me when I sinned and comforted me by his greatness, and will comfort you also that ye may love him: this God who is great and small, fair and foul, young and old, seen in time and unto eternity invisible; whom the hand of man hath not held, yet is he held by his servants; whom no flesh hath seen, yet now seeth; who is the word proclaimed by the prophets and now appearing (so Gk.: Lat. not heard of but now known); not subject to suffering, but having now made trial of suffering for our sake (or like unto us); never chastised, yet now chastised; who was before the world and hath been comprehended in time; the great beginning of all principality, yet delivered over unto princes; beautiful, but among us lowly; seen of all yet foreseeing all (MS. foul of view, yet foreseeing). This Jesus ye have, brethren, the door, the light, the way, the bread, the water, the life, the resurrection, the refreshment, the feast, the treasure, the seed, the abundance (harvest), the mustard seed, the vine, the plough, the grace, the faith, the word: he is all things and there is none other greater than he. Unto him be praise, world without end. Amen.

⁶² XXI. And when the ninth hour was fully come, they rose up to make prayer. And behold certain widows, of the aged, unknown to Peter, which sat there, being blind and not believing, cried out, saying unto Peter: We sit together here, O Peter, hoping and believing in Christ Jesus: as therefore

thou hast made one of us to see, we entreat thee, lord Peter, grant unto us also his mercy and pity. But Peter said to them: If there be in you the faith that is in Christ, if it be firm in you, then perceive in your mind that which ye see not with your eyes, and though your ears are closed, yet let them be open in your mind within you. These eyes shall again be shut, seeing nought but men and oxen and dumb beasts and stones and sticks; but not every eye seeth Jesus Christ. Yet now, Lord, let thy sweet and holy name succour these persons; do thou touch their eyes; for thou art able—that these may see with their eyes.

⁶³ And when all had prayed, the hall wherein they were shone as when it lighteneth, even with such a light as cometh in the clouds, yet not such a light as that of the daytime, but unspeakable, invisible, such as no man can describe, even such that we were beside ourselves with bewilderment, calling on the Lord and saying: Have mercy, Lord, upon us thy servants: what we are able to hear, that, Lord, give thou us; for this we can neither see nor endure. And as we lay there, only those widows stood up which were blind; and the bright light which appeared unto us entered into their eyes and made them to see. Unto whom Peter said: Tell us what ye saw. And they said: We saw an old man of such comeliness as we are not able to declare to thee; but others said: We saw a young man; and others: We saw a boy touching our eyes delicately, and so were our eyes opened. Peter therefore magnified the Lord, saying: Thou only art the Lord God, and of what lips have we need to give thee due praise? and how can we give thee thanks according to thy mercy? Therefore, brethren, as I told you but a little while since, God that is constant is greater than our thoughts, even as we have learned of these aged widows, how that they beheld the Lord in divers forms.

⁶⁴ XXII. And having exhorted them all to think upon (understand) the Lord with their whole heart, he began together with Marcellus and the rest of the brethren to minister unto the virgins of the Lord, and to rest until the morning. Unto whom Marcellus said: Ye holy and inviolate virgins of the Lord, hearken: Ye have a place to abide in, for these things that are called mine, whose are they save yours? depart not hence, but refresh yourselves: for upon the sabbath which cometh, even to-morrow, Simon hath a controversy with Peter the holy one of God: for as the Lord hath ever been with him, so will Christ the Lord now stand for him as his apostle. For Peter hath continued tasting nothing, but fasting yet a day, that he may overcome the wicked

adversary and persecutor of the Lord's truth. For lo, my young men are come announcing that they have seen scaffolds being set up in the forum, and much people saying: To-morrow at daybreak two Jews are to contend here concerning the teaching (?) of God. Now therefore let us watch until the morning, praying and beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to hear our prayers on behalf of Peter.

⁶⁵ And Marcellus turned to sleep for a short space, and awoke and said unto Peter: O Peter, thou apostle of Christ, let us go boldly unto that which lieth before us. For just now when I turned myself to sleep for a little, I beheld thee sitting in a high place and before thee a great multitude, and a woman exceeding foul, in sight like an Ethiopian, not an Egyptian, but altogether black and filthy, clothed in rags, and with an iron collar about her neck and chains upon her hands and feet, dancing. And when thou sawest me thou saidst to me with a loud voice: Marcellus, the whole power of Simon and of his God is this woman that danceth; do thou behead her. And I said to thee: Brother Peter, I am a senator of a high race, and I have never defiled my hands, neither killed so much as a sparrow at any time. And thou hearing it didst begin to cry out yet more: Come thou, our true sword, Jesu Christ, and cut not off only the head of this devil, but hew all her limbs in pieces in the sight of all these whom I have approved in thy service. And immediately one like unto thee, O Peter, having a sword, hewed her in pieces: so that I looked earnestly upon you both, both on thee and on him that cut in pieces that devil, and marvelled greatly to see how alike ye were. And I awaked, and have told unto thee these signs of Christ. And when Peter heard it he was the more filled with courage, for that Marcellus had seen these things, knowing that the Lord always careth for his own. And being joyful and refreshed by these words, he rose up to go unto the forum.

⁶⁶ XXIII. Now the brethren were gathered together, and all that were in Rome, and took places every one for a piece of gold: there came together also the senators and the prefects and those in authority. And Peter came and stood in the midst, and all cried out: Show us, O Peter, who is thy God and what is his greatness which hath given thee confidence. Begrudge not the Romans; they are lovers of the gods. We have had proof of Simon, let us have it of thee; convince us, both of you, whom we ought truly to believe. And as they said these things, Simon also came in, and standing in trouble of mind at Peter's side, at first he looked at him. ⁶⁷ And after long silence Peter said:

Ye men of Rome, be ye true judges unto us, for I say that I have believed on the living and true God; and I promise to give you proofs of him, which are known unto me, as many among you also can bear witness. For ye see that this man is now rebuked and silent, knowing that I drove him out of Judaea because of the deceits which he practised upon Eubula, an honourable and simple woman, by his art magic; and being driven out from thence, he is come hither, thinking to escape notice among you; and lo, he standeth face to face with me. Say now, Simon, didst thou not at Jerusalem fall at my feet and Paul's, when thou sawest the healings that were wrought by our hands, and say: I pray you take of me a payment as much as ye will, that I may be able to lay hands on men and do such mighty works? And we when we heard it cursed thee, saying: Dost thou think to tempt us as if we desired to possess money? And now, fearest thou not at all? My name is Peter, because the Lord Christ vouchsafed to call me 'prepared for all things': for I trust in the living God by whom I shall put down thy sorceries. Now let him do in your presence the wonders which he did aforetime: and what I have now said of him, will ye not believe it?

⁶⁸ But Simon said: Thou presumest to speak of Jesus of Nazareth, the son of a carpenter, and a carpenter himself, whose birth is recorded (or whose race dwelleth) in Judaea. Hear thou, Peter: the Romans have understanding: they are no fools. And he turned to the people and said: Ye men of Rome, is God born? is he crucified? he that hath a master is no God. And when he so spake, many said: Thou sayest well, Simon. ⁶⁹ XXIV. But Peter said: Anathema upon thy words against (or in) Christ! Presumest thou to speak thus, whereas the prophet saith of him: Who shall declare his generation? And another prophet saith: And we saw him and he had no beauty nor comeliness. And: In the last times shall a child be born of the Holy Ghost: his mother knoweth not a man, neither doth any man say that he is his father. And again he saith: She hath brought forth and not brought forth. And again: Is it a small thing for you to weary men (lit. Is it a small thing that ye make a contest for men)? Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb. And another prophet saith, honouring the Father: Neither did we hear her voice, neither did a midwife come in. Another prophet saith: Born not of the womb of a woman, but from a heavenly place came he down. And: A stone was cut out without hands, and smote all the kingdoms. And: The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner; and he calleth

him a stone elect, precious. And again a prophet saith concerning him: And behold, I saw one like the Son of man coming upon a cloud. And what more? O ye men of Rome, if ye knew the Scriptures of the prophets, I would expound all unto you: by which Scriptures it was necessary that this should be spoken in a mystery, and that the kingdom of God should be perfected. But these things shall be opened unto you hereafter. Now turn I unto thee, Simon: do thou some one thing of those wherewith thou didst before deceive them, and I will bring it to nought through my Lord Jesus Christ. And Simon plucked up his boldness and said: If the prefect allow it (prepare yourselves and delay not for my sake).

70 XXV. But the prefect desired to show patience unto both, that he might not appear to do aught unjustly. And the prefect put forward one of his servants and said thus unto Simon: Take this man and deliver him to death. And to Peter he said: And do thou revive him. And unto the people the prefect said: It is now for you to judge whether of these two is acceptable unto God, he that killeth or he that maketh alive. And straightway Simon spake in the ear of the lad and made him speechless, and he died. 71 And as there began to be a murmuring among the people, one of the widows who were nourished (refreshed) in Marcellus' house, standing behind the multitude, cried out: O Peter, servant of God, my son is dead, the only one that I had. And the people made place for her and led her unto Peter: and she cast herself down at his feet, saying: I had one only son, which with his hands (shoulders) furnished me with nourishment: he raised me up, he carried me: now that he is dead, who shall reach me a hand? Unto whom Peter said: Go, with these for witness, and bring hither thy son, that they may see and be able to believe that by the power of God he is raised, and that this man (Simon) may behold it and fall (or, and she when she saw him, fell down). And Peter said to the young men: We have need of some young men, and, moreover, of such as will believe. And forthwith thirty young men arose, which were prepared to carry her or to bring thither her son that was dead. And whereas the widow was hardly returned to herself, the young men took her up; and she was crying out and saying: Lo, my son, the servant of Christ hath sent unto thee: tearing her hair and her face. Now the young men which were come examined (Gk. apparently, held) the lad's nostrils to see whether he were indeed dead; and seeing that he was dead of a truth, they had compassion on the old woman and said: If thou so will, mother, and

hast confidence in the God of Peter, we will take him up and carry him thither that he may raise him up and restore him unto thee.

72 XXVI. And as they said these things, the prefect (in the forum, Lat.), looking earnestly upon Peter (said: What sayest thou Peter?) Behold my lad is dead, who also is dear unto the emperor, and I spared him not, though I had with me other young men; but I desired rather to make trial (tempt) of thee and of the God whom thou (preachest), whether ye be true, and therefore I would have this lad die. And Peter said: God is not tempted nor proved, O Agrippa, but if he be loved and entreated he heareth them that are worthy. But since now my God and Lord Jesus Christ is tempted among you, who hath done so great signs and wonders by my hands to turn you from your sins—now also in the sight of all do thou, Lord, at my word, by thy power raise up him whom Simon hath slain by touching him. And Peter said unto the master of the lad: Go, take hold on his right hand, and thou shalt have him alive and walking with thee. And Agrippa the prefect ran and went to the lad and took his hand and raised him up. And all the multitude seeing it cried: One is the God, one is the God of Peter.

73 XXVII. In the meanwhile the widow's son also was brought upon a bed by the young men, and the people made way for them and brought them unto Peter. And Peter lifted up his eyes unto heaven and stretched forth his hands and said: O holy Father of thy Son Jesus Christ, who hast granted us thy power, that we may through thee ask and obtain, and despise all that is in the world, and follow thee only, who art seen of few and wouldst be known of many: shine thou about us, Lord, enlighten us, appear thou, raise up the son of this aged widow, which cannot help herself without her son. And I, repeating the word of Christ my Lord, say unto thee: Young man, arise and walk with thy mother so long as thou canst do her good; and thereafter shalt thou serve me after a higher sort, ministering in the lot of a deacon of the bishop (or, and of a bishop). And immediately the dead man rose up, and the multitudes saw it and marvelled, and the people cried out: Thou art God the Saviour, thou, the God of Peter, the invisible God, the Saviour. And they spake among themselves, marvelling indeed at the power of a man that called upon his Lord with a word; and they received it unto sanctification.

74 XXVIII. The fame of it therefore being spread throughout the city, there came the mother of a certain senator, and cast herself into the midst of

the people, and fell at Peter's feet, saying: I have learned from my people that thou art a servant of the merciful God, and dost impart his grace unto all them that desire this light. Impart therefore the light unto my son, for I know that thou begrudgest none; turn not away from a matron that entreateth thee. Unto whom Peter said: Wilt thou believe on my God, by whom thy son shall be raised? And the mother said with a loud voice, weeping: I believe, O Peter, I believe! and all the people cried out: Grant the mother her son. But Peter said: Let him be brought hither before all these. And Peter turned himself to the people and said: Ye men of Rome, I also am one of yourselves, and bear a man's body and am a sinner, but have obtained mercy: look not therefore upon me as though I did by mine own power that which I do, but by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is the judge of quick and dead. In him do I believe and by him am I sent, and have confidence when I call upon him to raise the dead. Go thou therefore also, O woman, and cause thy son to be brought hither and to rise again.

75 And the woman passed through the midst of the people and went into the street, running, with great joy, and believing in her mind she came unto her house, and by means of her young men she took him up and came unto the forum. Now she bade the young men put caps on their heads, and to walk before the bier, and all that she had determined to burn upon the body of her son to be borne before his bier; and when Peter saw it he had compassion upon the dead body and upon her. And she came unto the multitude, while all bewailed her; and a great crowd of senators and matrons followed after, to behold the wonderful works of God: for this Nicostratus which was dead was exceeding noble and beloved of the senate. And they brought him and set him down before Peter. And Peter called for silence, and with a loud voice said: Ye men of Rome, let there now be a just judgement betwixt me and Simon; and judge ye whether of us two believeth in the living God, he or I. Let him raise up the body that lieth here, and believe in him as the angel of God. But if he be not able, and I call upon my God and restore the son alive unto his mother, then believe ye that this man is a sorcerer and a deceiver, which is entertained among you.

76 And when all they heard these things, they thought that it was right which Peter had spoken, and they encouraged Simon, saying: Now, if there be aught in thee, show it openly! either overcome, or thou shalt be overcome! (or, convince us, or thou shalt be convicted). Why standest thou still?

Come, begin! But Simon, when he saw them all instant with him, stood silent; and thereafter, when he saw the people silent and looking upon him, Simon cried out, saying: Ye men of Rome, if ye behold the dead man arise, will ye cast Peter out of the city? And all the people said: We will not only cast him out, but on the very instant will we burn him with fire. ⁷⁷ Then Simon went to the head of the dead man and stooped down and thrice raised himself up (or, and said thrice: Raise thyself), and showed the people that he (the dead) lifted his head and moved it, and opened his eyes and bowed himself a little unto Simon. And straightway they began to ask for wood and torches, wherewith to burn Peter. But Peter receiving strength of Christ, lifted up his voice and said unto them that cried out against him: Now see I, ye people of Rome, that ye are—I must not say fools and vain, so long as your eyes and your ears and your hearts are blinded. How long shall your understanding be darkened? see ye not that ye are bewitched, supposing that a dead man is raised, who hath not lifted himself up? It would have sufficed me, ye men of Rome, to hold my peace and die without speaking, and to leave you among the deceits of this world; but I have the chastisement of fire unquenchable before mine eyes. If therefore it seem good unto you, let the dead man speak, let him arise if he liveth, let him loose his jaw that is bound, with his hands, let him call upon his mother, let him say unto you that cry out: Wherefore cry ye? let him beckon unto us with his hand. If now ye would see that he is dead, and yourselves bewitched, let this man depart from the bier, who hath persuaded you to depart from Christ, and ye shall see that the dead man is such as ye saw him brought hither.

⁷⁸ But Agrippa the prefect had no longer patience, but thrust away Simon with his own hands, and again the dead man lay as he was before. And the people were enraged, and turned away from the sorcery of Simon and began to cry out: Hearken, O Caesar! if now the dead riseth not, let Simon burn instead of Peter, for verily he hath blinded us. But Peter stretched forth his hand and said: O men of Rome, have patience! I say not unto you that if the lad be raised Simon shall burn; for if I say it, ye will do it. The people cried out: Against thy will, Peter, we will do it. Unto whom Peter said: If ye continue in this mind, the lad shall not arise: for we know not to render evil for evil, but we have learned to love our enemies and pray for our persecutors. For if even this man can repent, it were better; for God will not remember evil. Let him come, therefore, into the light of Christ; but if he cannot, let

him possess the part of his father the devil, but let not your hands be defiled. And when he had thus spoken unto the people, he went unto the lad, and before he raised him, he said to his mother: These young men whom thou hast set free in the honour of thy son, can yet serve their God when he liveth, being free;

⁷⁹ for I know that the soul of some is hurt if they shall see thy son arise and know that these shall yet be in bondage: but let them all continue free and receive their sustenance as they did before, for thy son is about to rise again; and let them be with him. And Peter looked long upon her, to see her thoughts. And the mother of the lad said: What other can I do: therefore before the prefect I say: whatsoever I was minded to burn upon the body of my son, let them possess it. And Peter said: Let the residue be distributed unto the widows. Then Peter rejoiced in soul and said in the spirit: O Lord that art merciful, Jesu Christ, show thyself unto thy Peter that calleth upon thee like as thou hast always shown him mercy and loving-kindness: and in the presence of all these which have obtained freedom, that these may become thy servants, let Nicostratus now arise. And Peter touched the lad's side and said: Arise. And the lad arose and put off his grave clothes and sat up and loosed his jaw, and asked for other raiment; and he came down from the bier and said unto Peter: I pray thee, O man of God, let us go unto our Lord Christ whom I saw speaking with me; who also showed me unto thee and said to thee: Bring him hither unto me, for he is mine.

⁸⁰ And when Peter heard this of the lad, he was strengthened yet more in soul by the help of the Lord; and Peter said unto the people: Ye men of Rome, it is thus that the dead are raised up, thus do they converse, thus do they arise and walk, and live so long time as God willeth. Now therefore, ye that have come together unto the sight, if ye turn not from these your evil ways, and from all your gods that are made with hands, and from all uncleanness and concupiscence, (ye shall perish for ever: Turn ye therefore and) receive fellowship with Christ, believing, that ye may obtain everlasting life.

⁸¹ XXIX. And in the same hour they worshipped him as a God, falling down at his feet, and (brought) the sick whom they had at home, that he might heal them. But the prefect seeing that so great a multitude waited upon Peter, signified to Peter that he should withdraw himself: and Peter told the people to come unto Marcellus' house. But the mother of the lad besought Peter to set foot in her house. But Peter had appointed to be with Marcellus

on the Lord's day, to see the widows even as Marcellus had promised, to minister unto them with his own hands. The lad therefore that was risen again said: I depart not from Peter. And his mother, glad and rejoicing, went unto her own house. And on the next day after the sabbath she came to Marcellus' house bringing unto Peter two thousand pieces of gold, and saying unto Peter: Divide these among the virgins of Christ which serve him. But the lad that was risen from the dead, when he saw that he had given nothing to any man, went home and opened the press and himself offered four thousand pieces of gold, saying unto Peter: Lo, I also which was raised, offer a double offering, and myself also from this day forward as a speaking sacrifice unto God.

⁸² Here begins the original Greek text as preserved in one of our two manuscripts (that at Mt. Athos). The second (Patmos) manuscript begins, as do the versions, at ch. xxxiii. The Greek and not the Latin is followed in the translation. ⁸³ XXX. Now on the Lord's day as Peter discoursed unto the brethren and exhorted them unto the faith of Christ, there being present many of the senate and many knights and rich women and matrons, and being confirmed in the faith, one woman that was there, exceeding rich, which was surnamed Chryse because every vessel of hers was of gold—for from her birth she never used a vessel of silver or glass, but golden ones only—said unto Peter: Peter, thou servant of God, he whom thou callest God appeared unto me in a dream and said: Chryse, carry thou unto Peter my minister ten thousand pieces of gold; for thou owest them to him. I have therefore brought them, fearing lest some harm should be done me by him that appeared unto me, which also departed unto heaven. And so saying, she laid down the money and departed. And Peter seeing it glorified the Lord, for that they that were in need should be refreshed. Certain, therefore, of them that were there said unto him: Peter, hast thou not done ill to receive the money of her? for she is ill spoken of throughout all Rome for fornication, and because she keepeth not to one husband, yea, she even hath to do with the young men of her house. Be not therefore a partner with the table of Chryse, but let that which came from her be returned unto her. But Peter hearing it laughed and said to the brethren: What this woman is in the rest of her way of life, I know not, but in that I have received this money, I did it not foolishly; for she did pay it as a debtor unto Christ, and giveth it unto the servants of Christ: for he himself hath provided for them.

⁸⁴ XXXI. And they brought unto him also the sick on the sabbath, beseeching that they might recover of their diseases. And many were healed that were sick of the palsy, and the gout, and fevers tertian and quartan, and of every disease of the body were they healed, believing in the name of Jesus Christ, and very many were added every day unto the grace of the Lord.

⁸⁵ But Simon the magician, after a few days were past, promised the multitude to convict Peter that he believed not in the true God but was deceived. And when he did many lying wonders, they that were firm in the faith derided him. For in dining-chambers he made certain spirits enter in, which were only an appearance, and not existing in truth. And what should I more say? though he had oft-times been convicted of sorcery, he made lame men seem whole for a little space, and blind likewise, and once he appeared to make many dead to live and move, as he did with Nicostratus (Gk. Stratonicus). But Peter followed him throughout and convicted him always unto the beholders: and when he now made a sorry figure and was derided by the people of Rome and disbelieved for that he never succeeded in the things which he promised to perform, being in such a plight at last he said to them: Men of Rome, ye think now that Peter hath prevailed over me, as more powerful, and ye pay more heed to him: ye are deceived. For to-morrow I shall forsake you, godless and impious that ye are, and fly up unto God whose Power I am, though I am become weak. Whereas, then, ye have fallen, I am He that standeth, and I shall go up to my Father and say unto him: Me also, even thy son that standeth, have they desired to pull down; but I consented not unto them, and am returned back unto myself.

⁸⁶ XXXII. And already on the morrow a great multitude assembled at the Sacred Way to see him flying. And Peter came unto the place, having seen a vision (or, to see the sight), that he might convict him in this also; for when Simon entered into Rome, he amazed the multitudes by flying: but Peter that convicted him was then not yet living at Rome: which city he thus deceived by illusion, so that some were carried away by him (amazed at him). So then this man standing on an high place beheld Peter and began to say: Peter, at this time when I am going up before all this people that behold me, I say unto thee: If thy God is able, whom the Jews put to death, and stoned you that were chosen of him, let him show that faith in him is faith in God, and let it appear at this time, if it be worthy of God. For I, ascending up, will show myself unto all this multitude, who I am. And behold when he was lif-

ted up on high, and all beheld him raised up above all Rome and the temples thereof and the mountains, the faithful looked toward Peter. And Peter seeing the strangeness of the sight cried unto the Lord Jesus Christ: If thou suffer this man to accomplish that which he hath set about, now will all they that have believed on thee be offended, and the signs and wonders which thou hast given them through me will not be believed: hasten thy grace, O Lord, and let him fall from the height and be disabled; and let him not die but be brought to nought, and break his leg in three places. And he fell from the height and brake his leg in three places. Then every man cast stones at him and went away home, and thenceforth believed Peter.

⁸⁷ But one of the friends of Simon came quickly out of the way (or arrived from a journey), Gemellus by name, of whom Simon had received much money, having a Greek woman to wife, and saw him that he had broken his leg, and said: O Simon, if the Power of God is broken to pieces, shall not that God whose Power thou art, himself be blinded? Gemellus therefore also ran and followed Peter, saying unto him: I also would be of them that believe on Christ. And Peter said: Is there any that grudgeth it, my brother? come thou and sit with us. But Simon in his affliction found some to carry him by night on a bed from Rome unto Aricia; and he abode there a space, and was brought thence unto Terracina to one Castor that was banished from Rome upon an accusation of sorcery. And there he was sorely cut (Lat. by two physicians), and so Simon the angel of Satan came to his end.

⁸⁸ [Here the Martyrdom proper begins in the Patmos MS. and the versions.] XXXIII. Now Peter was in Rome rejoicing in the Lord with the brethren, and giving thanks night and day for the multitude which was brought daily unto the holy name by the grace of the Lord. And there were gathered also unto Peter the concubines of Agrippa the prefect, being four, Agrippina and Nicaria and Euphemia and Doris; and they, hearing the word concerning chastity and all the oracles of the Lord, were smitten in their souls, and agreeing together to remain pure from the bed of Agrippa they were vexed by him. Now as Agrippa was perplexed and grieved concerning them—and he loved them greatly—he observed and sent men privily to see whither they went, and found that they went unto Peter. He said therefore unto them when they returned: That Christian hath taught you to have no dealings with me: know ye that I will both destroy you, and burn him alive. They, then, endured to suffer all manner of evil at Agrippa's hand, if only

they might not suffer the passion of love, being strengthened by the might of Jesus.

⁸⁹ XXXIV. And a certain woman which was exceeding beautiful, the wife of Albinus, Caesar's friend, by name Xanthippe, came, she also, unto Peter, with the rest of the matrons, and withdrew herself, she also, from Albinus. He therefore being mad, and loving Xanthippe, and marvelling that she would not sleep even upon the same bed with him, raged like a wild beast and would have dispatched Peter; for he knew that he was the cause of her separating from his bed. Many other women also, loving the word of chastity, separated themselves from their husbands, because they desired them to worship God in sobriety and cleanness. And whereas there was great trouble in Rome, Albinus made known his state unto Agrippa, saying to him: Either do thou avenge me of Peter that hath withdrawn my wife, or I will avenge myself. And Agrippa said: I have suffered the same at his hand, for he hath withdrawn my concubines. And Albinus said unto him: Why then tarriest thou, Agrippa? let us find him and put him to death for a dealer in curious arts, that we may have our wives again, and avenge them also which are not able to put him to death, whose wives also he hath parted from them.

⁹⁰ XXXV. And as they considered these things, Xanthippe took knowledge of the counsel of her husband with Agrippa, and sent and showed Peter, that he might depart from Rome. And the rest of the brethren, together with Marcellus, besought him to depart. But Peter said unto them: Shall we be runaways, brethren? and they said to him: Nay, but that thou mayest yet be able to serve the Lord. And he obeyed the brethren's voice and went forth alone, saying: Let none of you come forth with me, but I will go forth alone, having changed the fashion of mine apparel. And as he went forth of the city, he saw the Lord entering into Rome. And when he saw him, he said: Lord, whither goest thou thus (or here)? And the Lord said unto him: I go into Rome to be crucified. And Peter said unto him: Lord, art thou (being) crucified again? He said unto him: Yea, Peter, I am (being) crucified again. And Peter came to himself: and having beheld the Lord ascending up into heaven, he returned to Rome, rejoicing, and glorifying the Lord, for that he said: I am being crucified: the which was about to befall Peter.

⁹¹ XXXVI. He went up therefore again unto the brethren, and told them that which had been seen by him: and they lamented in soul, weeping and

saying: We beseech thee, Peter, take thought for us that are young. And Peter said unto them: If it be the Lord's will, it cometh to pass, even if we will it not; but for you, the Lord is able to stablish you in his faith, and will found you therein and make you spread abroad, whom he himself hath planted, that ye also may plant others through him. But I, so long as the Lord will that I be in the flesh, resist not; and again if he take me to him I rejoyce and am glad. And while Peter thus spake, and all the brethren wept, behold four soldiers took him and led him unto Agrippa. And he in his madness (disease) commanded him to be crucified on an accusation of godlessness.

⁹² The whole multitude of the brethren therefore ran together, both of rich and poor, orphans and widows, weak and strong, desiring to see and to rescue Peter, while the people shouted with one voice, and would not be silenced: What wrong hath Peter done, O Agrippa? Wherein hath he hurt thee? tell the Romans! And others said: We fear lest if this man die, his Lord destroy us all. And Peter when he came unto the place stilled the people and said: Ye men that are soldiers of Christ! ye men that hope in Christ! remember the signs and wonders which ye have seen wrought through me, remember the compassion of God, how many cures he hath wrought for you. Wait for him that cometh and shall reward every man according to his doings. And now be ye not bitter against Agrippa; for he is the minister of his father's working. And this cometh to pass at all events, for the Lord hath manifested unto me that which befalleth. But why delay I and draw not near unto the cross?

⁹³ XXXVII. And having approached and standing by the cross he began to say: O name of the cross, thou hidden mystery! O grace ineffable that is pronounced in the name of the cross! O nature of man, that cannot be separated from God! O love (friendship) unspeakable and inseparable, that cannot be shown forth by unclean lips! I seize thee now, I that am at the end of my delivery hence (or, of my coming hither). I will declare thee, what thou art: I will not keep silence of the mystery of the cross which of old was shut and hidden from my soul. Let not the cross be unto you which hope in Christ, this which appeareth: for it is another thing, different from that which appeareth, even this passion which is according to that of Christ. And now above all, because ye that can hear are able to hear it of me, that am at the last and final hour of my life, hearken: Separate your souls from every thing that is of the senses, from every thing that appeareth, and does not exist in

truth. Blind these eyes of yours, close these ears of yours, put away your doings that are seen; and ye shall perceive that which concerneth Christ, and the whole mystery of your salvation: and let thus much be said unto you that hear, as if it had not been spoken. But now it is time for thee, Peter, to deliver up thy body unto them that take it. Receive it then, ye unto whom it belongeth. I beseech you the executioners, crucify me thus, with the head downward and not otherwise: and the reason wherefore, I will tell unto them that hear.

⁹⁴ XXXVIII. And when they had hanged him up after the manner he desired, he began again to say: Ye men unto whom it belongeth to hear, hearken to that which I shall declare unto you at this especial time as I hang here. Learn ye the mystery of all nature, and the beginning of all things, what it was. For the first man, whose race I bear in mine appearance (or, of the race of whom I bear the likeness), fell (was borne) head downwards, and showed forth a manner of birth such as was not heretofore: for it was dead, having no motion. He, then, being pulled down—who also cast his first state down upon the earth—established this whole disposition of all things, being hanged up an image of the creation (Gk. vocation) wherein he made the things of the right hand into left hand and the left hand into right hand, and changed about all the marks of their nature, so that he thought those things that were not fair to be fair, and those that were in truth evil, to be good. Concerning which the Lord saith in a mystery: Unless ye make the things of the right hand as those of the left, and those of the left as those of the right, and those that are above as those below, and those that are behind as those that are before, ye shall not have knowledge of the kingdom.

⁹⁵ This thought, therefore, have I declared unto you; and the figure wherein ye now see me hanging is the representation of that man that first came unto birth. Ye therefore, my beloved, and ye that hear me and that shall hear, ought to cease from your former error and return back again. For it is right to mount upon the cross of Christ, who is the word stretched out, the one and only, of whom the spirit saith: For what else is Christ, but the word, the sound of God? So that the word is the upright beam whereon I am crucified. And the sound is that which crosseth it, the nature of man. And the nail which holdeth the cross-tree unto the upright in the midst thereof is the conversion and repentance of man. ⁹⁶ XXXIX. Now whereas thou hast made known and revealed these things unto me, O word of life, called now

by me wood (or, word called now by me the tree of life), I give thee thanks, not with these lips that are nailed unto the cross, nor with this tongue by which truth and falsehood issue forth, nor with this word which cometh forth by means of art whose nature is material, but with that voice do I give thee thanks, O King, which is perceived (understood) in silence, which is not heard openly, which proceedeth not forth by organs of the body, which goeth not into ears of flesh, which is not heard of corruptible substance, which existeth not in the world, neither is sent forth upon earth, nor written in books, which is owned by one and not by another: but with this, O Jesu Christ, do I give thee thanks, with the silence of a voice, wherewith the spirit that is in me loveth thee, speaketh unto thee, seeth thee, and beseecheth thee. Thou art perceived of the spirit only, thou art unto me father, thou my mother, thou my brother, thou my friend, thou my bondsman, thou my steward: thou art the All and the All is in thee: and thou Art, and there is nought else that IS save thee only.

97 Unto him therefore do ye also, brethren, flee, and if ye learn that in him alone ye exist, ye shall obtain those things whereof he saith unto you: 'which neither eye hath seen nor ear heard, neither have they entered into the heart of man.' We ask, therefore, for that which thou hast promised to give unto us, O thou undefiled Jesu. We praise thee, we give thee thanks, and confess to thee, glorifying thee, even we men that are yet without strength, for thou art God alone, and none other: to whom be glory now and unto all ages. Amen. XL. And when the multitude that stood by pronounced the Amen with a great sound, together with the Amen Peter gave up his spirit unto the Lord. And Marcellus not asking leave of any, for it was not possible, when he saw that Peter had given up the ghost, took him down from the cross with his own hands and washed him in milk and wine: and cut fine seven minae of mastic, and of myrrh and aloes and Indian leaf other fifty, and perfumed (embalmed) his body and filled a coffin of marble of great price with Attic honey and laid it in his own tomb.

98 But Peter by night appeared unto Marcellus and said: Marcellus, hast thou heard that the Lord saith: Let the dead be buried of their own dead? And when Marcellus said: Yea, Peter said to him: That, then, which thou hast spent on the dead, thou hast lost: for thou being alive hast like a dead man cared for the dead. And Marcellus awoke and told the brethren of the appearing of Peter: and he was with them that had been stablished in the faith

of Christ by Peter, himself also being stablished yet more until the coming of Paul unto Rome. XLI. [This last chapter, and the last sentence of XL, are thought by Vouaux to be an addition by the author of i-iii, in other words by the compiler of the Greek original of the Vercelli Acts.] But Nero, learning thereafter that Peter was departed out of this life, blamed the prefect Agrippa, because he had been put to death without his knowledge; for he desired to punish him more sorely and with greater torment, because Peter had made disciples of certain of them that served him, and had caused them to depart from him: so that he was very wrathful and for a long season spake not unto Agrippa: for he sought to destroy all them that had been made disciples by Peter. And he beheld by night one that scourged him and said unto him: Nero, thou canst not now persecute nor destroy the servants of Christ: refrain therefore thine hands from them. And so Nero, being greatly affrighted by such a vision, abstained from harming the disciples at that time when Peter also departed this life.

99 And thenceforth the brethren were rejoicing with one mind and exulting in the Lord, glorifying the God and Saviour (Father?) of our Lord Jesus Christ with the Holy Ghost, unto whom be glory, world without end. Amen.

The Acts of Andrew

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

c. AD 150–200

Andrew's travels and his martyrdom on the cross at Patras, in James's English drawn from the Greek and Latin martyrdom, the epitome by Gregory of Tours and the Coptic fragments.

We have no ancient record of the length of this book, as we had in the cases of John, Paul, and Peter (but I suspect it was the most prolix of all the five), and we have fewer relics of the original text than for those. We have, however, a kind of abstract of the whole, written in Latin by Gregory of Tours: and there are Greek Encomia of the apostle which also help to the reconstruction of the story. The Martyrdom (as in other cases) exists separately, in many texts. Max Bonnet has established the relations of these to each other: and J. Flamion has made a most careful study of all the fragments. The best specimen of the original text which we have is a fragment preserved in a Vatican MS., tenth–eleventh centuries, containing discourses of Andrew shortly before his passion. There are also a few ancient quotations.

These Acts may be the latest of the five leading apostolic romances. They belong to the third century: *c. A. D. 260*? It was formerly thought that the Acts of Andrew and Matthias (Matthew) were an episode of the original romance: but this view has ceased to be held. That legend is akin to the later Egyptian romances about the apostles of which an immense number were produced in the fifth and later centuries. An abstract of them will be given in due course. The epitome by Gregory of Tours is considered by Flamion to give on the whole the best idea of the contents of the original Acts. The latest edition of it is that by M. Bonnet in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Greg. Turon. II. 821–47). The greater part appears as Lib. III of the *Historia Apostolica* of (Pseudo-)Abdias, in a text much altered, it seems, in the sixteenth century by Wolfgang Lazius: reprinted in Fabrius' *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*

Gregory's prologue is as follows: The famous triumphs of the apostles are, I believe, not unknown to any of the faithful, for some of them are taught us in the pages of the gospel, others are related in the Acts of the Apostles, and about some of them books exist in which the actions of each apostle are recorded; yet of the more part we have nothing but their Passions in writing. Now I have come upon a book on the miracles (virtues, great deeds) of St. Andrew the apostle, which, because of its excessive verbosity, was called by some apocryphal. And of this I thought good to extract and set out the 'virtues' only, omitting all that bred weariness, and so include the wonderful miracles within the compass of one small volume, which might both please the reader and ward off the spite of the adverse critic: for it is not the multitude of words, but the soundness of reason and the purity of mind that produce unblemished faith.

1 After the Ascension the apostles dispersed to preach in various countries. Andrew began in the province of Achaia, but Matthew went to the city of Mermidona. (The rest of 1 and the whole of 2 give a short abstract of the Acts of Andrew and Matthew which Gregory either found prefixed to his copy of the Acts of Andrew, or thought himself obliged to notice, because of the popularity of the story.) 2 Andrew left Mermidona and came back to his own allotted district. Walking with his disciples he met a blind man who said: 'Andrew, apostle of Christ, I know you can restore my sight, but I do not wish for that: only bid those with you to give me enough money to clothe and feed myself decently.' Andrew said: 'This is the devil's voice, who will not allow the man to recover his sight.' He touched his eyes and healed him. Then, as he had but a vile rough garment, Andrew said: 'Take the filthy garment off him and clothe him afresh.' All were ready to strip themselves, and Andrew said: 'Let him have what will suffice him.' He returned home thankful.

3 Demetrius of Amasea had an Egyptian boy of whom he was very fond, who died of a fever. Demetrius hearing of Andrew's miracles, came, fell at his feet, and besought help. Andrew pitied him, came to the house, held a very long discourse, turned to the bier, raised the boy, and restored him to his master. All believed and were baptized. 4 A Christian lad named Sostratus came to Andrew privately and told him: 'My mother cherishes a guilty passion for me: I have repulsed her, and she has gone to the proconsul to throw the guilt on me. I would rather die than expose her.' The officers

came to fetch the boy, and Andrew prayed and went with him. The mother accused him. The proconsul bade him defend himself. He was silent, and so continued, until the proconsul retired to take counsel. The mother began to weep. Andrew said: 'Unhappy woman, that dost not fear to cast thine own guilt on thy son.' She said to the proconsul: 'Ever since my son entertained his wicked wish he has been in constant company with this man.' The proconsul was enraged, ordered the lad to be sewn into the leather bag of paricides and drowned in the river, and Andrew to be imprisoned till his punishment should be devised. Andrew prayed, there was an earthquake, the proconsul fell from his seat, every one was prostrated, and the mother withered up and died. The proconsul fell at Andrew's feet praying for mercy. The earthquake and thunder ceased, and he healed those who had been hurt. The proconsul and his house were baptized.

5 The son of Cratinus (Gratinus) of Sinope bathed in the women's bath and was seized by a demon. Cratinus wrote to Andrew for help: he himself had a fever and his wife dropsy. Andrew went there in a vehicle. The boy tormented by the evil spirit fell at his feet. He bade it depart and so it did, with outcries. He then went to Cratinus' bed and told him he well deserved to suffer because of his loose life, and bade him rise and sin no more. He was healed. The wife was rebuked for her infidelity. 'If she is to return to her former sin, let her not now be healed: if she can keep from it, let her be healed.' The water broke out of her body and she was cured. The apostle brake bread and gave it her. She thanked God, believed with all her house, and relapsed no more into sin. Cratinus afterwards sent Andrew great gifts by his servants, and then, with his wife, asked him in person to accept them, but he refused saying: 'It is rather for you to give them to the needy.'

6 After this he went to Nicaea where were seven devils living among the tombs by the wayside, who at noon stoned passers-by and had killed many. And all the city came out to meet Andrew with olive branches, crying: 'Our salvation is in thee, O man of God.' When they had told him all, he said: 'If you believe in Christ you shall be freed.' They cried: 'We will.' He thanked God and commanded the demons to appear; they came in the form of dogs. Said he: 'These are your enemies: if you profess your belief that I can drive them out in Jesus' name, I will do so.' They cried out: 'We believe that Jesus Christ whom thou preachest is the Son of God.' Then he bade the demons go

into dry and barren places and hurt no man till the last day. They roared and vanished. The apostle baptized the people and made Callistus bishop.

7 At the gate of Nicomedia he met a dead man borne on a bier, and his old father supported by slaves, hardly able to walk, and his old mother with hair torn, bewailing. 'How has it happened?' he asked. 'He was alone in his chamber and seven dogs rushed on him and killed him.' Andrew sighed and said: 'This is an ambush of the demons I banished from Nicaea. What will you do, father, if I restore your son?' 'I have nothing more precious than him, I will give him.' He prayed: 'Let the spirit of this lad return.' The faithful responded, 'Amen'. Andrew bade the lad rise, and he rose, and all cried: 'Great is the God of Andrew.' The parents offered great gifts which he refused, but took the lad to Macedonia, instructing him. 8 Embarking in a ship he sailed into the Hellespont, on the way to Byzantium. There was a great storm. Andrew prayed and there was calm. They reached Byzantium.

9 Thence proceeding through Thrace they met a troop of armed men who made as if to fall on them. Andrew made the sign of the cross against them, and prayed that they might be made powerless. A bright angel touched their swords and they all fell down, and Andrew and his company passed by while they worshipped him. And the angel departed in a great light. 10 At Perinthus he found a ship going to Macedonia, and an angel told him to go on board. As he preached the captain and the rest heard and were converted, and Andrew glorified God for making himself known on the sea. 11 At Philippi were two brothers, one of whom had two sons, the other two daughters. They were rich and noble, and said: 'There is no family as good as ours in the place: let us marry our sons to our daughters.' It was agreed and the earnest paid by the father of the sons. On the wedding-day a word from God came to them: 'Wait till my servant Andrew comes: he will tell you what you should do.' All preparations had been made, and guests bidden, but they waited. On the third day Andrew came: 'they went out to meet him with wreaths and told him how they had been charged to wait for him, and how things stood. His face was shining so that they marvelled at him. He said: Do not, my children, be deceived: rather repent, for you have sinned in thinking to join together those who are near of kin. We do not forbid or shun marriage [this cannot be the author's original sentiment: it is contradicted by all that we know of the Acts]. It is a divine institution: but we condemn incestuous unions.' The parents were troubled and prayed for pardon. The young

people saw Andrew's face like that of an angel, and said: 'We are sure that your teaching is true.' The apostle blessed them and departed.

12 At Thessalonica was a rich noble youth, Exoös, who came without his parents' knowledge and asked to be shown the way of truth. He was taught, and believed, and followed Andrew, taking no care of his worldly estate. The parents heard that he was at Philippi and tried to bribe him with gifts to leave Andrew. He said: 'Would that you had not these riches, then would you know the true God, and escape his wrath.' Andrew, too, came down from the third storey and preached to them, but in vain: he retired and shut the doors of the house. They gathered a band and came to burn the house, saying: 'Death to the son who has forsaken his parents': and brought torches, reeds, and faggots, and set the house on fire. It blazed up. Exoös took a bottle of water and prayed: 'Lord Jesu Christ, in whose hand is the nature of all the elements, who moistenest the dry and driest the moist, coolest the hot and kindest the quenched, put out this fire that thy servants may not grow evil, but be more enkindled unto faith.' He sprinkled the flames and they died. 'He is become a sorcerer,' said the parents, and got ladders, to climb up and kill them, but God blinded them. They remained obstinate, but one Lysimachus, a citizen, said: 'Why persevere? God is fighting for these.

Desist, lest heavenly fire consume you.' They were touched, and said: 'This is the true God.' It was now night, but a light shone out, and they received sight. They went up and fell before Andrew and asked pardon, and their repentance made Lysimachus say: 'Truly Christ whom Andrew preaches is the Son of God.' All were converted except the youth's parents, who cursed him and went home again, leaving all their money to public uses. Fifty days after they suddenly died, and the citizens, who loved the youth, returned the property to him. He did not leave Andrew, but spent his income on the poor.

13 The youth asked Andrew to go with him to Thessalonica. All assembled in the theatre, glad to see their favourite. The youth preached to them, Andrew remaining silent, and all wondered at his wisdom. The people cried out: 'Save the son of Carpianus who is ill, and we will believe.' Carpianus went to his house and said to the boy: 'You shall be cured to-day, Adimantus.' He said: 'Then my dream is come true: I saw this man in a vision healing me.' He rose up, dressed, and ran to the theatre, outstripping his father, and fell at Andrew's feet. The people seeing him walk after twenty-three years, cried: 'There is none like the God of Andrew.' 14 A citizen had a son possessed by

an unclean spirit and asked for his cure. The demon, foreseeing that he would be cast out, took the son aside into a chamber and made him hang himself. The father said: 'Bring him to the theatre: I believe this stranger is able to raise him.' He said the same to Andrew. Andrew said to the people: 'What will it profit you if you see this accomplished and do not believe?' They said: 'Fear not, we will believe.' The lad was raised and they said: 'It is enough, we do believe.' And they escorted Andrew to the house with torches and lamps, for it was night, and he taught them for three days.

15 Medias of Philippi came and prayed for his sick son. Andrew wiped his cheeks and stroked his head, saying: 'Be comforted, only believe,' and went with him to Philippi. As they entered the city an old man met them and entreated for his sons, whom for an unspeakable crime Medias had imprisoned, and they were putrefied with sores. Andrew said: 'How can you ask help for your son when you keep these men bound? Loose their chains first, for your unkindness obstructs my prayers.' Medias, penitent, said: 'I will loose these two and seven others of whom you have not been told.' They were brought, tended for three days, cured, and freed. Then the apostle healed the son, Philomedes, who had been ill twenty-two years. The people cried: 'Heal our sick as well.' Andrew told Philomedes to visit them in their houses and bid them rise in the name of Jesus Christ, by which he had himself been healed. This was done, and all believed and offered gifts, which Andrew did not accept.

16 A citizen, Nicolaus, offered a gilt chariot and four white mules and four white horses as his most precious possession for the cure of his daughter. Andrew smiled. 'I accept your gifts, but not these visible ones: if you offer this for your daughter, what will you for your soul? That is what I desire of you, that the inner man may recognize the true God, reject earthly things and desire eternal...' He persuaded all to forsake their idols, and healed the girl. His fame went through all Macedonia. 17 Next day as he taught, a youth cried out: 'What hast thou to do with us. Art thou come to turn us out of our own place?' Andrew summoned him: 'What is your work?' 'I have dwelt in this boy from his youth and thought never to leave him: but three days since I heard his father say, "I shall go to Andrew": and now I fear the torments thou bringest us and I shall depart.' The spirit left the boy. And many came and asked: 'In whose name dost thou cure our sick?'

Philosophers also came and disputed with him, and no one could resist his teaching. 18 At this time, one who opposed him went to the proconsul Virinus and said: 'A man is arisen in Thessalonica who says the temples should be destroyed and ceremonies done away, and all the ancient law abolished, and one God worshipped, whose servant he says he is.' The proconsul sent soldiers and knights to fetch Andrew. They found his dwelling: when they entered, his face so shone that they fell down in fear. Andrew told those present the proconsul's purpose. The people armed themselves against the soldiers, but Andrew stopped them. The proconsul arrived; not finding Andrew in the appointed place, he raged like a lion and sent twenty more men. They, on arrival, were confounded and said nothing. The proconsul sent a large troop to bring him by force. Andrew said: 'Have you come for me?' 'Yes, if you are the sorcerer who says the gods ought not to be worshipped.' 'I am no sorcerer, but the apostle of Jesus Christ whom I preach.' At this, one of the soldiers drew his sword and cried: 'What have I to do with thee, Virinus, that thou sendest me to one who can not only cast me out of this vessel, but burn me by his power? Would that you would come yourself! you would do him no harm.' And the devil went out of the soldier and he fell dead.

On this came the proconsul and stood before Andrew but could not see him. 'I am he whom thou seekest.' His eyes were opened, and he said in anger: 'What is this madness, that thou despisest us and our officers? Thou art certainly a sorcerer. Now will I throw thee to the beasts for contempt of our gods and us, and we shall see if the crucified whom thou preachest will help thee.' Andrew: 'Thou must believe, proconsul, in the true God and his Son whom he hath sent, specially now that one of thy men is dead.' And after long prayer he touched the soldier: 'Rise up: my God Jesus Christ raiseth thee.' He arose and stood whole. The people cried: 'Glory be to our God.' The proconsul: 'Believe not, O people, believe not the sorcerer.' They said: 'This is no sorcery but sound and true teaching.' The proconsul: 'I shall throw this man to the beasts and write about you to Caesar, that ye may perish for condemning his laws.' They would have stoned him, and said: 'Write to Caesar that the Macedonians have received the word of God, and forsaking their idols, worship the true God.'

Then the proconsul in wrath retired to the praetorium, and in the morning brought beasts to the stadium and had the apostle dragged thither by the hair and beaten with clubs. First they sent in a fierce boar who went about

him thrice and touched him not. The people praised God. A bull led by thirty soldiers and incited by two hunters, did not touch Andrew but tore the hunters to pieces, roared, and fell dead. 'Christ is the true God,' said the people. An angel was seen to descend and strengthen the apostle. The pro-consul in rage sent in a fierce leopard, which left every one alone but seized and strangled the proconsul's son; but Virinus was so angry that he said nothing of it nor cared. Andrew said to the people: 'Recognize now that this is the true God, whose power subdues the beasts, though Virinus knows him not. But that ye may believe the more, I will raise the dead son, and confound the foolish father.' After long prayer, he raised him. The people would have slain Virinus, but Andrew restrained them, and Virinus went to the praetorium, confounded.

19 After this a youth who followed the apostle sent for his mother to meet Andrew. She came, and after being instructed, begged him to come to their house, which was devastated by a great serpent. As Andrew approached, it hissed loudly and with raised head came to meet him; it was fifty cubits long: every one fell down in fear. Andrew said: 'Hide thy head, foul one, which thou didst raise in the beginning for the hurt of mankind, and obey the servants of God, and die.' The serpent roared, and coiled about a great oak near by and vomited poison and blood and died. Andrew went to the woman's farm, where a child killed by the serpent lay dead. He said to the parents: 'Our God who would have you saved hath sent me here that you may believe on him. Go and see the slayer slain.' They said: 'We care not so much for the child's death, if we be avenged.' They went, and Andrew said to the proconsul's wife (her conversion has been omitted by Gregory): 'Go and raise the boy.' She went, nothing doubting, and said: 'In the name of my God Jesus Christ, rise up whole.' The parents returned and found their child alive, and fell at Andrew's feet.

20 On the next night he saw a vision which he related. 'Hearken, beloved, to my vision. I beheld, and lo, a great mountain raised up on high, which had on it nothing earthly, but only shone with such light, that it seemed to enlighten all the world. And lo, there stood by me my beloved brethren the apostles Peter and John; and John reached his hand to Peter and raised him to the top of the mount, and turned to me and asked me to go up after Peter, saying: "Andrew, thou art to drink Peter's cup." And he stretched out his hands and said: "Draw near to me and stretch out thy hands so as to join

them unto mine, and put thy head by my head." When I did so I found myself shorter than John. After that he said to me: "Wouldst thou know the image of that which thou seest, and who it is that speaketh to thee?" and I said: "I desire to know it." And he said to me: "I am the word of the cross whereon thou shalt hang shortly, for his name's sake whom thou preachest." And many other things said he unto me, of which I must now say nothing, but they shall be declared when I come unto the sacrifice. But now let all assemble that have received the word of God, and let me commend them unto the Lord Jesus Christ, that he may vouchsafe to keep them unblemished in his teaching. For I am now being loosed from the body, and go unto that promise which he hath vouchsafed to promise me, who is the Lord of heaven and earth, the Son of God Almighty, very God with the Holy Ghost, continuing for everlasting ages.'

(I feel sure that John in the latter part of this vision has been substituted by Gregory for Jesus. The echoes of the Acts of John and of Peter are very evident here.) All the brethren wept and smote their faces. When all were gathered, Andrew said: 'Know, beloved, that I am about to leave you, but I trust in Jesus whose word I preach, that he will keep you from evil, that this harvest which I have sown among you may not be plucked up by the enemy, that is, the knowledge and teaching of my Lord Jesus Christ. But do ye pray always and stand firm in the faith, that the Lord may root out all tares of offence and vouchsafe to gather you into his heavenly garner as pure wheat.' So for five days he taught and confirmed them: then he spread his hands and prayed: 'Keep, I beseech thee, O Lord, this flock which hath now known thy salvation, that the wicked one may not prevail against it, but that what by thy command and my means it hath received, it may be able to preserve inviolate for ever.' And all responded 'Amen'. He took bread, brake it with thanksgiving, gave it to all, saying: 'Receive the grace which Christ our Lord God giveth you by me his servant.' He kissed every one and commended them to the Lord, and departed to Thessalonica, and after teaching there two days, he left them.

21 Many faithful from Macedonia accompanied him in two ships. And all were desirous of being on Andrew's ship, to hear him. He said: 'I know your wish, but this ship is too small. Let the servants and baggage go in the larger ship, and you with me in this.' He gave them Anthimus to comfort them, and bade them go into another ship which he ordered to keep always near...

that they might see him and hear the word of God. (This is a little confused.) And as he slept a little, one fell overboard. Anthimus roused him, saying: 'Help us, good master; one of thy servants perisheth.' He rebuked the wind, there was a calm, and the man was borne by the waves to the ship. Anthimus helped him on board and all marvelled. On the twelfth day they reached Patrae in Achaia, disembarked, and went to an inn.

22 Many asked him to lodge with them, but he said he could only go where God bade him. That night he had no revelation, and the next night, being distressed at this, he heard a voice saying: 'Andrew, I am alway with thee and forsake thee not,' and was glad. Lesbius the proconsul was told in a vision to take him in, and sent a messenger for him. He came, and entering the proconsul's chamber found him lying as dead with closed eyes; he struck him on the side and said: 'Rise and tell us what hath befallen thee.' Lesbius said: 'I abominated the way which you teach, and sent soldiers in ships to the proconsul of Macedonia to send you bound to me, but they were wrecked and could not reach their destination. As I continued in my purpose of destroying your Way, two black men (Ethiopes) appeared and scourged me, saying: "We can no longer prevail here, for the man is coming whom you mean to persecute. So to-night, while we still have the power, we will avenge ourselves on you." And they beat me sorely and left me. But now do you pray that I may be pardoned and healed.' Andrew preached the word and all believed, and the proconsul was healed and confirmed in the faith.

23 Now Trophima, once the proconsul's mistress, and now married to another, left her husband and clave to Andrew. Her husband came to her lady (Lesbius' wife) and said she was renewing her liaison with the proconsul. The wife, enraged, said: 'This is why my husband has left me these six months.' She called her steward (procurator) and had Trophima sentenced as a prostitute and sent to the brothel. Lesbius knew nothing, and was deceived by his wife, when he asked about her. Trophima in the brothel prayed continually, and had the Gospel on her bosom, and no one could approach her. One day one offered her violence, and the Gospel fell to the ground. She cried to God for help and an angel came, and the youth fell dead. After that, she raised him, and all the city ran to the sight. Lesbius' wife went to the bath with the steward, and as they bathed an ugly demon came and killed them both. Andrew heard and said: 'It is the judgement of God for their usage of Trophima.' The lady's nurse, decrepit from age, was carried to the spot, and supplic-

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Lesbius, growing in faith, came one day to Andrew and confessed all his sins. Andrew said: 'I thank God, my son, that thou fearest the judgement to come. Be strong in the Lord in whom thou believest.' And he took his hand and walked with him on the shore. 24 They sat down, with others, on the sand, and he taught. A corpse was thrown up by the sea near them. 'We must learn', said Andrew, 'what the enemy has done to him.' So he raised him, gave him a garment, and bade him tell his story. He said: 'I am the son of Sostratus, of Macedonia, lately come from Italy. On returning home I heard of a new teaching, and set forth to find out about it. On the way here we were wrecked and all drowned.' And after some thought, he realized that Andrew was the man he sought, and fell at his feet and said: 'I know that thou art the servant of the true God. I beseech thee for my companions, that they also may be raised and know him.' Then Andrew instructed him, and thereafter prayed God to show the bodies of the other drowned men: thirty-nine were washed ashore, and all there prayed for them to be raised. Philopator, the youth, said: 'My father sent me here with a great sum. Now he is blaspheming God and his teaching. Let it not be so.' Andrew ordered the bodies to be collected, and said: 'Whom will you have raised first?' He said: 'Warus my foster-brother.' So he was first raised and then the other thirty-eight. Andrew prayed over each, and then told the brethren each to take the hand of one and say: 'Jesus Christ the son of the living God raiseth thee.'

Lesbius gave much money to Philopator to replace what he had lost, and he abode with Andrew. 25 A woman, Calliopa, married to a murderer, had

an illegitimate child and suffered in travail. She told her sister to call on Diana for help; when she did so the devil appeared to her at night and said: 'Why do you trouble me with vain prayers? Go to Andrew in Achaia.' She came, and he accompanied her to Corinth, Lesbius with him. Andrew said to Calliopa: 'You deserve to suffer for your evil life: but believe in Christ, and you will be relieved, but the child will be born dead.' And so it was. 26 Andrew did many signs in Corinth. Sostratus the father of Philopator, warned in a vision to visit Andrew, came first to Achaia and then to Corinth. He met Andrew walking with Lesbius, recognized him by his vision, and fell at his feet. Philopator said: 'This is my father, who seeks to know what he must do.' Andrew: 'I know that he is come to learn the truth; we thank God who reveals himself to believers.' Leontius the servant of Sostratus, said to him: 'Seest thou, sir, how this man's face shineth?' 'I see, my beloved,' said Sostratus; 'let us never leave him, but live with him and hear the words of eternal life.' Next day they offered Andrew many gifts, but he said: 'It is not for me to take aught of you but your own selves. Had I desired money, Lesbius is richer.'

27 After some days he bade them prepare him a bath; and going there saw an old man with a devil, trembling exceedingly. As he wondered at him, another, a youth, came out of the bath and fell at his feet, saying: 'What have we to do with thee, Andrew? Hast thou come here to turn us out of our abodes?' Andrew said to the people: 'Fear not,' and drove out both the devils. Then, as he bathed, he told them: 'The enemy of mankind lies in wait everywhere, in baths and in rivers; therefore we ought always to invoke the Lord's name, that he may have no power over us.' They brought their sick to him to be healed, and so they did from other cities. 28 An old man, Nicolaus, came with clothes rent and said: 'I am seventy-four years old and have always been a libertine. Three days ago I heard of your miracles and teaching. I thought I would turn over a new leaf, and then again that I would not. In this doubt, I took a Gospel and prayed God to make me forget my old devices. A few days after, I forgot the Gospel I had about me, and went to the brothel. The woman said: "Depart, old man, depart: thou art an angel of God, touch me not nor approach me, for I see in thee a great mystery." Then I remembered the Gospel, and am come to you for help and pardon.' Andrew discoursed long against incontinence, and prayed from the sixth to the ninth hour. He rose and washed his face and said: 'I will not eat till I know if God will have

mercy on this man.' A second day he fasted, but had no revelation until the fifth day, when he wept vehemently and said: 'Lord, we obtain mercy for the dead, and now this man that desireth to know thy greatness, wherefore should he not return and thou heal him?' A voice from heaven said: 'Thou hast prevailed for the old man; but like as thou art worn with fasting, let him also fast, that he may be saved.' And he called him and preached abstinence. On the sixth day he asked the brethren all to pray for Nicolaus, and they did. Andrew then took food and permitted the rest to eat. Nicolaus went home, gave away all his goods, and lived for six months on dry bread and water. Then he died. Andrew was not there, but in the place where he was he heard a voice: 'Andrew, Nicolaus for whom thou didst intercede, is become mine.' And he told the brethren that Nicolaus was dead, and prayed that he might rest in peace.

29 And while he abode in that place (probably Lacedaemon) Antiphanes of Megara came and said: 'If there be in thee any kindness, according to the command of the Saviour whom thou preachest, show it now.' Asked what his story was, he told it. 'Returning from a journey, I heard the porter of my house crying out. They told me that he and his wife and son were tormented of a devil. I went upstairs and found other servants gnashing their teeth, running at me, and laughing madly. I went further up and found they had beaten my wife: she lay with her hair over her face unable to recognize me. Cure her, and I care nothing for the others.' Andrew said: 'There is no respect of persons with God. Let us go there.' They went from Lacedaemon to Megara, and when they entered the house, all the devils cried out: 'What dost thou here, Andrew? Go where thou art permitted: this house is ours.' He healed the wife and all the possessed persons, and Antiphanes and his wife became firm adherents.

30 He returned to Patrae where Egeas was now proconsul, and one Iphidamia, who had been converted by a disciple, Sosias, came and embraced his feet and said: 'My lady Maximilla who is in a fever has sent for you. The proconsul is standing by her bed with his sword drawn, meaning to kill himself when she expires.' He went to her, and said to Egeas: 'Do thyself no harm, but put up thy sword into his place. There will be a time when thou wilt draw it on me.' Egeas did not understand, but made way. Andrew took Maximilla's hand, she broke into a sweat, and was well: he bade them give her food. The proconsul sent him 100 pieces of silver, but he would not look at

them. 31 Going thence he saw a sick man lying in the dirt begging, and healed him. 32 Elsewhere he saw a blind man with wife and son, and said: 'This is indeed the devil's work: he has blinded them in soul and body.' He opened their eyes and they believed.

33 One who saw this said: 'I beg thee come to the harbour; there is a man, the son of a sailor, sick fifty years, cast out of the house, lying on the shore, incurable, full of ulcers and worms.' They went to him. The sick man said: 'Perhaps you are the disciple of that God who alone can save.' Andrew said: 'I am he who in the name of my God can restore thee to health,' and added: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, rise and follow me.' He left his filthy rags and followed, the pus and worms flowing from him. They went into the sea, and the apostle washed him in the name of the Trinity and he was whole, and ran naked through the city proclaiming the true God. 34 At this time the proconsul's brother Stratocles arrived from Italy. One of his slaves, Alcman, whom he loved, was taken by a devil and lay foaming in the court. Stratocles hearing of it said: 'Would the sea had swallowed me before I saw this.' Maximilla and Iphidamia said: 'Be comforted: there is here a man of God, let us send for him.' When he came he took the boy's hand and raised him whole. Stratocles believed and clave to Andrew.

35 Maximilla went daily to the praetorium and sent for Andrew to teach there. Egeas was away in Macedonia, angry because Maximilla had left him since her conversion. As they were all assembled one day, he returned, to their great terror. Andrew prayed that he might not be suffered to enter the place till all had dispersed. And Egeas was at once seized with indisposition, and in the interval the apostle signed them all and sent them away, himself last. But Maximilla on the first opportunity came to Andrew and received the word of God and went home. [At about this point we must place the episodes quoted by Evodius of Uzala: see below.] 36 After this Andrew was taken and imprisoned by Egeas, and all came to the prison to be taught. After a few days he was scourged and crucified; he hung for three days, preaching, and expired, as is fully set forth in his Passion. Maximilla embalmed and buried his body.

37 From the tomb comes manna like flour, and oil: the amount shows the barrenness or fertility of the coming season—as I have told in my first book of Miracles. I have not set out his Passion at length, because I find it well done by some one else. 38 This much have I presumed to write, un-

worthy, unlettered, &c. The author's prayer for himself ends the book. May Andrew, on whose death-day he was born, intercede to save him. (The Passion to which Gregory alludes is that which begins 'Conversante et docente'.) Of the detached fragments and quotations which precede the Passion there are three: (a) One is in the Epistle of Titus (see p. 265). When, finally, Andrew also [John has been cited shortly before] had come to a wedding, he too, to manifest the glory of God, disjoined certain who were intended to marry each other, men and women, and instructed them to continue holy in the single state.

No doubt this refers to the story in Gregory, ch. 11. Gregory, it may be noted, has altered the story (or has used an altered text), for the marriage of cousins was not forbidden till Theodosius' time (so Flamion). He or his source has imagined the relationship between the couples; in the original Acts none need have existed: the mere fact of the marriage was enough. (b) The next are in a tract by Evodius, bishop of Uzala, against the Manichees: Observe, in the Acts of Leucius which he wrote under the name of the apostles, what manner of things you accept about Maximilla the wife of Egetes: who, refusing to pay her due to her husband (though the apostle has said: Let the husband pay the due to the wife and likewise the wife to the husband: 1 Cor. vii. 3), imposed her maid Euclia upon her husband, decking her out, as is there written, with wicked (lit. hostile) enticements and paintings, and substituted her as deputy for herself at night, so that he in ignorance used her as his wife.

There also is it written, that when this same Maximilla and Iphidamia were gone together to hear the apostle Andrew, a beautiful child, who, Leucius would have us understand, was either God or at least an angel, escorted them to the apostle Andrew and went to the praetorium of Egetes, and entering their chamber feigned a woman's voice, as of Maximilla, complaining of the sufferings of womankind, and of Iphidamia replying. When Egetes heard this dialogue, he went away. [These incidents must have intervened between cc. 35 and 36 of Gregory of Tours.] (c) Evodius quotes another sentence, not certainly from the Acts of Andrew, but more in their manner than in that of John or Peter: In the Acts written by Leucius, which the Manichees receive, it is thus written: For the deceitful figments and pretended shows and collection (force, compelling) of visible things do not even

proceed from their own nature, but from that man who of his own will has become worse through seduction.

It is obscure enough, in original and version: but is the kind of thing that would appeal to those who thought of material things and phenomena as evil. We do not wonder that such narratives as that which Evodius quotes have been expunged, either by Gregory or his source, from the text. The next passage is a fragment of some pages in length found by M. Bonnet in a Vatican MS. (Gr. 808) of tenth to eleventh century. There is no doubt that it is a piece of the original Acts. It is highly tedious in parts. Andrew in prison discourses to the brethren. 1... is there in you altogether slackness? are ye not yet convinced of yourselves that ye do not yet bear his goodness? let us be reverent, let us rejoice with ourselves in the bountiful (ungrudging) fellowship which cometh of him. Let us say unto ourselves: Blessed is our race! by whom hath it been loved? blessed is our state! of whom hath it obtained mercy? we are not cast on the ground, we that have been recognized by so great highness: we are not the offspring of time, afterward to be dissolved by time; we are not a contrivance (product) of motion, made to be again destroyed by itself, nor things of earthly birth, ending again therein. We belong, then, to a greatness, unto which we aspire, of which we are the property, and peradventure to a greatness that hath mercy upon us. We belong to the better; therefore we flee from the worse: we belong to the beautiful, for whose sake we reject the foul; to the righteous, by whom we cast away the unrighteous; to the merciful, by whom we reject the unmerciful; to the Saviour, by whom we recognize the destroyer; to the light, by whom we have cast away the darkness; to the One, by whom we have turned away from the many; to the heavenly, by whom we have learned to know the earthly; to the abiding, by whom we have seen the transitory. If we desire to offer unto God that hath had mercy on us a worthy thanksgiving or confidence or hymn or boasting, what better cause (theme) have we than that we have been recognized by him?

2 And having discoursed thus to the brethren, he sent them away every one to his house, saying to them: Neither are ye ever forsaken of me, ye that are servants of Christ, because of the love that is in him: neither again shall I be forsaken of you, because of his intercession (mediation). And every one departed unto his house: and there was among them rejoicing after this sort for many days, while Aegeates took not thought to prosecute the accusation against the Apostle. Every one of them then was confirmed at that time in

hope toward the Lord, and they assembled without fear in the prison, with Maximilla, Iphidamia, and the rest, continually, being sheltered by the protection and grace of the Lord. 3 But one day Aegeates, as he was hearing causes, remembered the matter concerning Andrew: and as one seized with madness, he left the cause which he had in hand, and rose up from the judgement seat and ran quickly to the praetorium, inflamed with love of Maximilla and desiring to persuade her with flatteries. And Maximilla was beforehand with him, coming from the prison, and entering the house. And he went in and said to her:

4 Maximilla, thy parents counted me worthy of being thy consort, and gave me thine hand in marriage, not looking to wealth or descent or renown, but it may be to my good disposition of soul: and, that I may pass over much that I might utter in reproach of thee, both of that which I have enjoyed at thy parents' hands and thou from me during all our life, I am come, leaving the court, to learn of thee this one thing: answer me then reasonably; if thou wert as the wife of former days, living with me in the way we know, sleeping, conversing, bearing offspring with me, I would deal well with thee in all points; nay more, I would set free the stranger whom I hold in prison: but if thou wilt not—to thee I would do nothing harsh, for indeed I cannot; but him, whom thou affectionest more than me, I will afflict yet more. Consider, then, Maximilla, to whether of the two thou inclinest, and answer me to-morrow; for I am wholly armed for this emergency.

5 And with these words he went out; but Maximilla again at the accustomed hour, with Iphidamia, went to Andrew: and putting his hands before her own eyes, and then putting them to her mouth, she began to declare to him the whole matter of the demand of Aegeates. And Andrew answered her: I know, Maximilla my child, that thou thyself art moved to resist the whole attraction (promise) of nuptial union, desiring to be quit of a foul and polluted way of life: and this hath long been firmly held in thine (MS. mine) intention; but now thou wishest for the further testimony of mine opinion. I testify, O Maximilla: do it not; be not vanquished by the threat of Aegeates: be not overcome by his discourse: fear not his shameful counsels: fall not to his artful flatteries: consent not to surrender thyself to his impure spells; but endure all his torments, looking unto us for a little space, and thou shalt see him wholly numbed and withering away from thee and from all that are akin to thee. But (For) that which I most needed to say to thee—for I rest

not till I fulfil the business which is seen, and which cometh to pass in thy person—hath escaped me: and rightly in thee do I behold Eve repenting, and in myself Adam returning; for that which she suffered in ignorance, thou now (for whose soul I strive) settest right by returning: and that which the spirit suffered which was overthrown with her and slipped away from itself, is set right in me, with thee who seest thyself being brought back. For her defect thou hast remedied by not suffering like her; and his imperfection I have perfected by taking refuge with God; that which she disobeyed thou hast obeyed: that whereto he consented I flee from: and that which they both transgressed we have been aware of; for it is ordained that every one should correct (and raise up again) his own fall.

6 I, then, having said this as I have said it, would go on to speak as followeth: Well done, O nature that art being saved, for thou hast been strong and hast not hidden thyself (from God like Adam)! Well done, O soul that criest out of what thou hast suffered, and returnest unto thyself! Well done, O man that understandest what is thine and dost press on to what is thine! Well done, thou that hearest what is spoken, for I see thee to be greater than things that are thought or spoken! I recognize thee as more powerful than the things which seemed to overpower thee; as more beautiful than those which cast thee down into foulness, which brought thee down into captivity. Perceiving then, O man, all this in thyself, that thou art immaterial, holy, light, akin to him that is unborn, that thou art intellectual, heavenly, translucent, pure, above the flesh, above the world, above rulers, above principalities, over whom thou art in truth, then comprehend thyself in thy condition and receive full knowledge and understand wherein thou excellest: and beholding thine own face in thine essence, break asunder all bonds—I say not only those that are of thy birth, but those that are above birth, whereof we have set forth to thee the names which are exceeding great—desire earnestly to see him that is revealed unto thee, him who doth not come into being, whom perchance thou alone shalt recognize with confidence.

7 These things have I spoken of thee, Maximilla, for in their meaning the things I have spoken reach unto thee. Like as Adam died in Eve because he consented unto her confession, so do I now live in thee that keepest the Lord's commandment and stablishest thyself in the rank (dignity) of thy being. But the threats of Aegeates do thou trample down, Maximilla, knowing that we have God that hath mercy on us. And let not his noise move thee,

but continue chaste; and let him punish me not only with such torments as bonds, but let him cast me to the beasts or burn me with fire, and throw me from a precipice. And what need I say? there is but this one body; let him abuse that as he will, for it is akin to himself. 8 And yet again unto thee is my speech, Maximilla: I say unto thee, give not thyself over unto Aegeates: withstand his ambushes; for indeed, Maximilla, I have seen my Lord saying unto me: Andrew, Aegeates' father the devil will loose thee from this prison. Thine, therefore, let it be henceforth to keep thyself chaste and pure, holy, unspotted, sincere, free from adultery, not reconciled to the discourses of our enemy, unbent, unbroken, tearless, unwounded, not storm-tossed, undivided, not stumbling, without fellow-feeling for the works of Cain. For if thou give not up thyself, Maximilla, to what is contrary to these, I also shall rest, though I be thus forced to leave this life for thy sake, that is, for mine own. But if I were thrust out hence, even I, who, it may be, might avail through thee to profit others that are akin to me, and if thou wert persuaded by the discourse of Aegeates and the flatteries of his father the serpent, so that thou didst turn unto thy former works, know thou that on thine account I should be tormented until thou thyself sawest that I had contemned life for the sake of a soul which was not worthy.

9 I entreat, therefore, the wise man that is in thee that thy mind continue clear seeing. I entreat thy mind that is not seen, that it be preserved whole: I beseech thee, love thy Jesus, and yield not unto the worse. Assist me, thou whom I entreat as a man, that I may become perfect: help me also, that thou mayest recognize thine own true nature: feel with me in my suffering, that thou mayest take knowledge of what I suffer, and escape suffering: see that which I see, and thou shalt be blind to what thou seest: see that which thou shouldst, and thou shalt not see that thou shouldst not: hearken to what I say, and cast away that which thou hast heard. 10 These things have I spoken unto thee and unto every one that heareth, if he will hear. But thou, O Stratocles, said he,

A a looking toward him. Why art thou so oppressed, with many tears and groanings to be heard afar off? what is the lowness of spirit that is on thee? why thy much pain and thy great anguish? dost thou take note of what is said, and wherefore I pray thee to be disposed in mind as my child? (or, my child, to be composed in mind): dost thou perceive unto whom my words are spoken? hath each of them taken hold on thine understanding? have they

whetted (MS. touched) thine intellectual part? have I thee as one that hath hearkened to me? do I find myself in thee? is there in thee one that speaketh whom I see to be mine own? doth he love him that speaketh in me and desire to have fellowship with him? doth he wish to be made one with him? doth he hasten to become his friend? doth he yearn to be joined with him? doth he find in him any rest? hath he where to lay his head? doth nought oppose him there? nought that is wroth with him, resisteth him, hateth him, fleeth from him, is savage, avoideth, turneth away, starteth off, is burdened, maketh war, talketh with others, is flattered by others, agreeth with others? Doth nothing else disturb him? Is there one within that is strange to me? an adversary, a breaker of peace, an enemy, a cheat, a sorcerer, a crooked dealer, unsound, guileful, a hater of men, a hater of the word, one like a tyrant, boastful, puffed up, mad, akin to the serpent, a weapon of the devil, a friend of the fire, belonging to darkness? Is there in thee any one, Stratocles, that cannot endure my saying these things? Who is it? Answer: do I talk in vain? have I spoken in vain? Nay, saith the man in thee, Stratocles, who now again weepeth.

11 And Andrew took the hand of Stratocles and said: I have him whom I loved; I shall rest on him whom I look for; for thy yet groaning, and weeping without restraint, is a sign unto me that I have already found rest, that I have not spoken to thee these words which are akin to me, in vain. 12 And Stratocles answered him: Think not, most blessed Andrew, that there is aught else that afflicteth me but thee; for the words that come forth of thee are like arrows of fire shot against me, and every one of them reacheth me and verily burneth me up. That part of my soul which inclineth to what I hear is tormented, divining the affliction that is to follow, for thou thyself departest, and, I know, nobly: but hereafter when I seek thy care and affection, where shall I find it, or in whom? I have received the seeds of the words of salvation, and thou wast the sower: but that they should sprout up and grow needs none other but thee, most blessed Andrew. And what else have I say to thee but this? I need much mercy and help from thee, to become worthy of the seed I have from thee, which will not otherwise increase perpetually or grow up into the light except thou willest it, and prayest for them and for the whole of me.

13 And Andrew answered him: This, my child, was what I beheld in thee myself. And I glorify my Lord that my thought of thee walked not on the

void, but knew what it said. But that ye may know the truth, to-morrow doth Aegeates deliver me up to be crucified: for Maximilla the servant of the Lord will enrage the enemy that is in him, unto whom he belongeth, by not consenting to that which is hateful to her; and by turning against me he will think to console himself. 14 Now while the apostle spake these things, Maximilla was not there, for she having heard throughout the words wherewith he answered her, and being in part composed by them, and of such a mind as the words pointed out, set forth not inadvisedly nor without purpose and went to the praetorium. And she bade farewell to all the life of the flesh, and when Aegeates brought to her the same demand which he had told her to consider, whether she would lie with him, she rejected it; and thenceforth he bent himself to putting Andrew to death, and thought to what death he should expose him. And when of all deaths crucifixion alone prevailed with him, he went away with his like and dined; and Maximilla, the Lord going before her in the likeness of Andrew, with Iphidamia came back to the prison; and there being therein a great gathering of the brethren, she found Andrew discoursing thus:

15 I, brethren, was sent forth by the Lord as an apostle unto these regions whereof my Lord thought me worthy, not to teach any man, but to remind every man that is akin to such words, that they live in evils which are temporal, delighting in their injurious delusions: wherefrom I have always exhorted you also to depart, and encouraged you to press toward things that endure, and to take flight from all that is transitory (flowing); for ye see that none of you standeth, but that all things, even to the customs of men, are easily changeable. And this befalleth because the soul is untrained and erreth toward nature and holdeth pledges toft its error. I therefore account them blessed who have become obedient unto the word preached, and thereby see the mysteries of their own nature; for whose sake all things have been builded up. 16 I enjoin you therefore, beloved children, build yourselves firmly upon the foundation that hath been laid for you, which is unshaken, and against which no evil-willer can conspire. Be, then, rooted upon this foundation: be established, remembering what ye have seen (or heard) and all that hath come to pass while I walked with you all. Ye have seen works wrought through me which ye have no power to disbelieve, and such signs come to pass as perchance even dumb nature will proclaim aloud; I have delivered you words which I pray may so be received by you as the words themselves would

have it. Be established then, beloved, upon all that ye have seen, and heard, and partaken of.

And God on whom ye have believed shall have mercy on you and present you unto himself, giving you rest unto all ages. 17 Now as for that which is to befall me, let it not really trouble you as some strange spectacle, that the servant of God, unto whom God himself hath granted much in deeds and words, should by an evil man be driven out of this temporal life: for not only unto me will this come to pass, but unto all them that have loved and believed on him and confess him. The devil that is wholly shameless will arm his own children against them, that they may consent unto him; and he will not have his desire. And wherefore he essayeth this I will tell you. From the beginning of all things, and if I may so say, since he that hath no beginning came down to be under his rule, the enemy that is a foe to peace driveth away from (God) such a one as doth not belong indeed to him, but is some one of the weaker sort and not fully enlightened (?), nor yet able to recognize himself. And because he knoweth him not, therefore must he be fought against by him (the devil). For he, thinking that he possesseth him and is his master for ever, opposeth him so much, that he maketh their enmity to be a kind of friendship: for suggesting to him his own thoughts, he often portrayeth them as pleasurable and specious (MS. deceitful), by which he thinketh to prevail over him. He was not, then, openly shown to be an enemy, for he feigned a friendship that was worthy of him.

18 And this his work he carried on so long that he (man) forgot to recognize it, but he (the devil) knew it himself: that is, he, because of his gifts (was not seen to be an enemy). But when the mystery of grace was lighted up, and the counsel of rest manifested, and the light of the word shown, and the race of them that were saved was proved, warring against many pleasures, (he, seeing) the enemy himself despised, and himself, through the goodness of him that had mercy on us, derided because of his own gifts, by which he had thought to triumph over man—he began to plot against us with hatred and enmity and assaults; and this hath he determined, not to cease from us till he thinketh to separate us (from God). For before, our enemy was without care, and offered us a feigned friendship which was worthy of him, and was able not to fear that we, deceived by him, should depart from him. But when the light of dispensation was kindled, it made (his enmity), I say not stronger,

(but more plain). For it exposed that part of his nature which was hidden and which thought to escape notice, and made it confess what it is.

Knowing therefore, brethren, that which shall be, let us be vigilant, not discontented, not making a proud figure, not carrying upon our souls marks of him which are not our own: but wholly lifted upward by the whole word, let us all gladly await the end, and take our flight away from him, that he may be henceforth shown as he is, who (perverteth?) our nature unto (or against) our...

The Martyrdom

The original text of this, as Flamion shows, has to be picked out of several Greek and Latin authorities. Bonnet prints the Martyrdom in several forms (Act. Apost. Apocr. ii. 1): on pp. 1-37 we have the Passion in three texts. The uppermost is the Latin letter of the presbyters and deacons of Achaia. This, as Bonnet has proved, is the original of the two Greek versions printed below it. The first editors of this Letter thought it might be a genuine document. But it is really an artificial thing. The greater part of it consists of a dialogue between Andrew and Aegeates: the narrative of the actual Passion is rather brief. Of the two Greek versions, the first, which begins " " is a faithful version of the Latin. The other, which begins " ", has a number of insertions taken from the original Acts, ultimately, perhaps through the medium of a 'Passion', circulated separately, such as we have had in the cases of John, Paul, and Peter. This text is called by Flamion the *Épître grecque*. Ep. gr.

On pp. 38-45 follows the fragment of discourses which has just been translated. Very likely this is a relic of a separate Passion cut off from the end of the original Acts. On pp. 46-57 is the 'Martyrium prius'. This tells (after speaking of the dispersion of the apostles) of the cure and conversion of Lesbios, destruction of temples, dismissal of Lesbios by Caesar, vision of Andrew that Aegeates is to put him to death, arrest of Andrew, and martyrdom. It contains many speeches. This is Mart. I. On pp. 58-64 is the 'Martyrium alterum' in two texts, which begins at once with the arrest of the apostle by Aegeates—after he has spent the night in discoursing to the brethren. Mart. II, A, B are the two texts of this. Besides these Bonnet has published in the *Analecta Bollandiana* and separately (as *Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi*, ii, 1895) the following documents:

1. Acts of Andrew with Encomium: called for short *Laudatio*, which recounts the journeys at considerable length, and some of the miracles which

we have seen in Gregory, and then the Passion (cc. 44-9) and the Translation to Constantinople. 2. A Greek Martyrdom, of which cc. 1-8 recount the journeys, and from 9 onwards the Passion, with a good deal of matter from the original Acts. This is called Narratio. 3. A Latin Passion—that known to Gregory, which begins *Conversante et docente*: it forms the end of Book III of Abdias' *Historia Apostolica*, and is there tacked on to Gregory's book of Miracles. Using all these sources, Flamion has with great pains indicated which portions he assigns to the original Acts; and I shall follow him here. The resultant text is a kind of mosaic, of which the sources shall be indicated in the margin. Narr. 22. And after he had thus discoursed throughout the Mart. II. night to the brethren, and prayed with them and com-A. 1. mitted them unto the Lord, early in the morning Aegeates the proconsul sent for the apostle Andrew out of the prison and said to him: The end of thy judgement is at hand, thou stranger, enemy of this present life and foe of all mine house. Wherefore hast thou thought good to intrude into places that are not thine, and to corrupt my wife who was of old obedient unto me? why hast thou done this against me and against all Achaia? Therefore shalt thou receive from me a gift in recompense of that thou hast wrought against me.

And he commanded him to be scourged by seven men and afterward to be crucified: and charged the executioners that his legs should be left unpierced, and so he should be hanged up: thinking by this means to torment him the more. Now the report was noised throughout all Patrae that the stranger, the righteous man, the servant of Christ, whom Aegeates held prisoner, was being crucified, having done nothing amiss: and they ran together with one accord unto the sight, being wroth with the proconsul because of his impious judgement. Ibid. And as the executioners led him unto the place to fulfil that which was commanded them, Stratocles heard what was come to pass, and ran hastily and overtook them, and beheld the blessed Andrew violently haled by the executioners like a malefactor. And he spared them not, but beating every one of them soundly and tearing their coats from top to bottom, he caught Andrew away from them, saying: Ye may thank the blessed man who hath instructed me and taught me to refrain from extremity of wrath: for else I would have showed you what Stratocles is able to do, and what is the power of the foul Aegeates. For we have learnt to endure that which others inflict upon us. And he took the hand of the apostle and went with him to the place by the sea-shore where he was to be crucified.

Narr. 24 But the soldiers who had received him from the (Mart. II, pro-consul left him with Stratocles, and returned and A. 3). told Aegeates, saying: As we went with Andrew, Stratocles prevented us, and rent our coats and pulled him away from us and took him with him, and lo, here we are as thou seest. And Aegeates answered them: Put on other raiment and go and fulfil that which I commanded you, upon the condemned man: but be not seen of Stratocles, neither answer him again if he ask aught of you; for I know the rashness of his soul, what it is; and if he were provoked he would not even spare me. And they did as Aegeates said unto them. But as Stratocles went with the apostle unto the place appointed, Andrew perceived that he was wroth with Aegeates and was reviling him in a low voice, and said unto him: My child Stratocles, I would have thee henceforth possess thy soul unmoved, and remove from thyself this temper, and neither be inwardly disposed thus toward the things that seem hard to thee, nor be inflamed outwardly: for it becometh the servant of Jesus to be worthy of Jesus. And another thing will I say unto thee and to the brethren that walk with me: that the man that is against us, when he dareth aught against us and findeth not one to consent unto him, is smitten and beaten and wholly deadened because he hath not accomplished that which he undertook; let us therefore, little children, have him alway before our eyes, lest if we fall asleep he slaughter us (you) like an adversary.

And as he spake this and yet more unto Stratocles and them that were with him, they came to the place where he was to be crucified: and (seeing the cross set up at the edge of the sand by the sea-shore) he left them all and went to the cross and spake unto it (as unto a living creature, with a loud voice): Hail, O cross, yea be glad indeed! Well know I that thou shalt henceforth be at rest, thou that hast for a long time been wearied, being set up and awaiting me. I come unto thee whom I know to belong to me. I come unto thee that hast yearned after me. I know thy mystery, for the which thou art set up: for thou art planted in the world to establish the things that are unstable: and the one part of thee stretcheth up toward heaven that thou mayest signify the heavenly word (or, the word that is above) (the head of all things): and another part of thee is spread out to the right hand and the left that it may put to flight the envious and adverse power of the evil one, and gather into one the things that are scattered abroad (or, the world): And another part of thee is planted in the earth, and securely set in the depth, that

thou mayest join the things that are in the earth and that are under the earth unto the heavenly things (Laud. that thou mayest draw up them that be under the earth and them that are held in the places beneath the earth, and join, &c.).

O cross, device (contrivance) of the salvation of the Most High! O cross, trophy of the victory [of Christ] over the enemies! O cross, planted upon the earth and Mart. II, A. Narr. 26 (Mart. II, A). Laudatio 46, Mart I, 14 (Ep. Gr. 10). Mart I. having thy fruit in the heavens! O name of the cross, filled with all things (lit. a thing filled with all). Well done, O cross, that hast bound down the mobility of the world (or, the circumference)! Well done, O shape of understanding that hast shaped the shapeless (earth?)! Well done, O unseen chastisement that sorely chastisest the substance of the knowledge that hath many gods, and drivest out from among mankind him that devised it! Well done, thou that didst clothe thyself with the Lord, and didst bear the thief as a fruit, and didst call the apostle to repentance, and didst not refuse to accept us!

Mart. I. But how long delay I, speaking thus, and embrace not the cross, that by the cross I may be made alive, and by the cross (win) the common death of all and depart out of life? Come hither ye ministers of joy unto me, ye servants of Aegeates: accomplish the desire of us both, and bind the lamb unto the wood of suffering, the man unto the maker, the soul unto the Saviour. Epp. Gr., And the blessed Andrew having thus spoken, standing upon the earth, looked earnestly upon the cross, and bade the brethren that the executioners should come and do that which was commanded them; for they stood afar off. Laud., Mart. I, Epp. Gr., Narr. 28. And they came and bound his hands and his feet and nailed them not; for such a charge had they from Aegeates; for he wished to afflict him by hanging him up, and that in the night he might be devoured alive by dogs (Laud. that he might be wearied out and permit Maximilla to live with him). And they left him hanging and departed from him.

Narr., Epp. Gr., Mart. II. And when the multitudes that stood by of them that had been made disciples in Christ by him saw that they had done unto him none of the things accustomed with them that are crucified, they hoped to hear something again from him. For as he hung, he moved his head and smiled. And Stratocles asked him, saying: Wherefore smilest thou, servant of God? thy laughter maketh us to mourn and weep because we are bereaved of

thee. And the blessed Andrew answered him: Shall I not laugh, my son Stratoles, at the vain assault (ambush) of Aegeates, whereby he thinketh to punish us? we are strangers unto him and his conspiracies. He hath not (ears) to hear; for if he had, he would have heard that the man of Jesus cannot be punished, because he is henceforth known of him. And thereafter he spake unto them all in common, for the heathen also were come together, being wroth at the unjust judgement of Aegeates.

Ye men that are here present, and women and children, old and young, bond and free, and all that will hear, take ye no heed of the vain deceit of this present life, but heed us rather who hang here for the Lord's sake and are about to depart out of this body: and renounce all the lusts of the world and contemn (spit upon) the worship of the abominable idols, and run unto the true worshipping of our God that lieth not, and make yourselves a temple pure and ready to receive the word. (Narr. then becomes obviously late: Ep. Gr., which is far shorter. ends: And hasten to overtake my soul as it hasteneth toward heavenly things, and in a word despise all temporal things, and establish your minds as men believing in Christ.) And the multitudes hearing the things which he spake departed not from the place; and Andrew continued speaking yet more unto them, for a day and a night. And on the day following, beholding his endurance and constancy of soul and wisdom of spirit and strength of mind, they were wroth, and hastened with one accord unto Aegeates, to the judgement-seat where he sat, and cried out against him, saying: What is this judgement of thine, O proconsul? thou hast ill judged! thou hast condemned unjustly: thy court is against law! What evil hath this man done? wherein hath he offended? The city is troubled: thou injurest us all! destroy not Caesar's city! give us the righteous man! restore us the holy man! slay not a man dear to God! destroy not a man gentle and pious! lo, two days is he hanged up and yet liveth, and hath tasted nothing, and yet refresheth all us with his words, and lo, we believe in the God whom he preacheth. Take down the righteous man and we will all turn philosophers; loose the chaste man and all Patrae will be at peace; set free the wise man and all Achaia shall be set free by him! (or, obtain mercy.)

But when at the first Aegeates would not hear them, but beckoned with the hand to the people that they should depart, they were filled with rage and were at the point to do him violence, being in number about two thousand (Narr., Ep. Gr., Mart. II: 20,000). And when the proconsul saw them to be

after a sort mad, he feared lest there should be a rising against him, and rose up from the judgement-seat and went with them, promising to release Andrew. And some went before and signified to the apostle and to the rest of Ep. Gr. Ep. Gr., Narr., Mart. II, Conversante. Narr. the people that were there, wherefore the proconsul was coming. And all the multitude of the disciples rejoiced, together with Maximilla and Iphidamia and Stratocles. But when Andrew heard it, he began to say: O the dullness and disobedience and simplicity of them whom I have taught! how much have I spoken, and even to this day I have not persuaded them to flee from the love of earthly things! but they are yet bound unto them and continue in them, and will not depart from them. What meaneth this affection and love and sympathy with the flesh? how long heed ye worldly and temporal things? how long understand ye not the things that be above us, and press not to overtake them? leave me henceforth to be put to death in the manner which ye behold, and let no man by any means loose me from these bonds; for so is it appointed unto me to depart out of the body and be present with the Lord, with whom also I am crucified. And this shall be accomplished.

Laud., Ep. Gr. And he turned unto Aegeates and said with a loud voice: Wherefore art thou come, Aegeates, that art an alien unto me? what wilt thou dare afresh, what contrive, or what fetch? tell us that thou hast repented and art come to loose us? nay, not if thou repentest, indeed, Aegeates, will I now consent unto thee; not if thou promise me all thy substance will I depart from myself; not if thou say that thou art mine will I trust thee. And dost thou, proconsul, loose him that is (not) bound? him that hath been set free? that hath been recognized by his kinsman? that hath obtained mercy and is beloved of him? dost thou loose him that is alien to thee? the stranger? that only appeareth to thee? I have one with whom I shall be for ever, with whom I shall converse for unnumbered ages. Unto him do I go, unto him do I hasten, who made thee also known unto me, who said to me: Understand thou Aegeates and his gifts: let not that fearful one affright thee, nor think that he holdeth thee who art mine. He is thine enemy: he is pestilent, a deceiver, a corrupter, a madman, a sorcerer, a cheat, a murderer, wrathful, without compassion. Depart therefore from me, thou worker of all iniquity. (Ep. Gr. He is thine enemy. Therefore I know thee, through him that permitted me to know. I depart from thee. For I and they that are akin to me

hasten toward that which is ours, and leave thee to be what thou wast, and what thou knowest not thyself to be.)

Ep. Gr., Narr., Conversante. And the proconsul hearing this stood speechless, and as it were beside himself; but as all the city made an uproar that he should loose Andrew, he drew near to the cross to loose him and take him down. But the blessed Andrew cried out with a loud voice: Suffer not, Lord, thine Andrew that hath been bound upon thy cross, to be loosed again; give not me that am upon thy mystery to the shameless devil; O Jesu Christ, let not thine adversary loose him that is hung upon thy grace; O Father, let not this mean (little) one humble any more him that hath known thy greatness. But do thou, Jesu Christ, whom I have seen, whom I hold, whom I love, in whom I am and shall be, receive me in peace into thine everlasting tabernacles, that by my going out there may be an entering in unto thee of many that are akin to me, and that they may rest in thy majesty. And having so said, and yet more glorified the Lord, he gave up the ghost, while we all wept and lamented at our parting from him.

And after the decease of the blessed Andrew, Maximilla together with Stratocles, caring nought for them that stood by, drew near and herself loosed his body: and when it was evening she paid it the accustomed care and buried it (hard by the sea-shore). And she continued separate from Aegeates because of his brutal soul and his wicked manner of life: and she led a reverend and quiet life, filled with the love of Christ, among the brethren. Whom Aegeates solicited much, and promised that she should have the rule over his affairs; but being unable to persuade her, he arose in the dead of night and unknown to them of his house cast himself down from a great height and perished. But Stratocles, which was his brother after the flesh, would not touch aught of the things that were left of his substance; for the wretched man died without offspring: but said: Let thy goods go with thee, Aegeates.

For of these things we have no need, for they are polluted; but for me, let Christ be my friend and I his servant; and all my substance do I offer unto him in whom I have believed, and I pray that by worthy hearing of the blessed teaching of the apostle I may appear a partaker with him in the ageless and unending kingdom. And so the uproar of the people ceased, and all were glad at the amazing and untimely and sudden fall of the impious and lawless Aegeates. [Not much of this last paragraph from Narr. can be origin-

al. All the texts end with a statement that the apostle suffered on the 30th of November.]

The Acts of Thomas

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

3rd century

Thomas is sold as a slave to an Indian king, builds a palace in heaven, and wins Mygdonia and others to the faith, with further acts of the apostle in India.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLE THOMAS

¹ At that time we the apostles were all in Jerusalem—Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the tax-gatherer; James of Alphæus and Simon the Cananæan; and Judas of James;—and we portioned out the regions of the world, in order that each one of us might go into the region that fell to him, and to the nation to which the Lord sent him. By lot, then, India fell to Judas Thomas, also called Didymus. And he did not wish to go, saying that he was not able to go on account of the weakness of the flesh; and how can I, being an Hebrew man, go among the Indians to proclaim the truth? And while he was thus reasoning and speaking, the Saviour appeared to him through the night, and said to him: Fear not, Thomas; go away to India, and proclaim the word; for my grace shall be with thee. But he did not obey, saying: Wherever Thou wishest to send me, send me elsewhere; for to the Indians I am not going.

² And as he was thus speaking and growing angry, there happened to be there a certain merchant come from India, by name Abbanes, sent from the king Gundaphoros, and having received an order from him to buy a carpenter and bring him to him. And the Lord, having seen him walking about in the market at noon, said to him: Dost thou wish to buy a carpenter? And he said to Him: Yes. And the Lord said to him: I have a slave a carpenter, and I wish to sell him. And having said this, He showed him Thomas at a distance, and agreed with him for three pounds of uncoined silver; and He wrote a bill of sale, saying: I Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, declare

that I have sold my slave, Judas by name, to thee Abbanes, a merchant of Gundaphoros, the king of the Indians. And the purchase being completed, the Saviour taking Judas, who also is Thomas, led him to Abbanes the merchant; and Abbanes seeing him, said to him: Is this thy master? And the apostle answered and said: Yes, He is my Lord. And he says: I have bought thee from him. And the apostle held his peace.

³ And at dawn of the following day, the apostle having prayed and entreated the Lord, said: I go wherever Thou wishest, O Lord Jesus; Thy will be done. And he went to Abbanes the merchant, carrying nothing at all with him, but only his price. For the Lord had given it to him, saying: Let thy worth also be with thee along with my grace, wherever thou mayst go. And the apostle came up with Abbanes, who was carrying his effects into the boat. He began therefore also to carry them along with him. And when they had gone on board and sat down, Abbanes questioned the apostle, saying: What kind of work dost thou know? And he said: In wood, ploughs, and yokes, and balances, and boats, and boats' oars, and masts, and blocks; in stone, slabs, and temples, and royal palaces. And Abbanes the merchant said to him: Of such a workman, to be sure, we have need. They began, therefore, to sail away. And they had a fair wind, and they sailed fast until they came to Andrapolis, a royal city.

⁴ And having gone out of the boat, they went into the city. And, behold, the voices of flute-players, and of water-organs, and trumpets, sounding round them; and the apostle inquired, saying: What festival is this in this city? And those who were there said to him: The gods have brought thee also, that thou mayst be feasted in this city. For the king has an only-begotten daughter, and he is now giving her to a husband in marriage: this festival, then, which thou seest to-day, is the rejoicing and public assembly for the marriage. And the king has sent forth heralds to proclaim everywhere that all are to come to the marriage, rich and poor, bond and free, strangers and citizens. And if any one shall refuse and not come to the marriage, he will be answerable to the king. And Abbanes having heard, said to the apostle: Let us also go, then, that we may not offend the king, and especially as we are strangers. And he said: Let us go. And having turned into the inn, and rested a little, they went to the marriage. And the apostle seeing them all reclining, reclined he also in the midst. And they all looked at him as a stranger, and

coming from a foreign land. And Abbanes the merchant, as being a lord, reclined in another place.

5 And when they had dined and drunk, the apostle tasted nothing. Those, then, about him said to him: Why hast thou come hither, neither eating nor drinking? And he answered and said to them: For something greater than food or even drink have I come hither, even that I might accomplish the will of the King. For the heralds proclaim the wishes of the King, and whoever will not hear the heralds will be liable to the judgment of the King. When, therefore, they had dined and drunk, and crowns and perfumes had been brought, each took perfume, and one anointed his face, another his cheek, and one one part of his body, and another another. And the apostle anointed the crown of his head, and put a little of the ointment in his nostrils, and dropped it also into his ears, and applied it also to his teeth, and carefully anointed the parts round about his heart; and having taken the crown that was brought to him wreathed of myrtle and other flowers, he put it on his head, and took a branch of reed in his hand, and held it.

6 And the flute-girl, holding the flutes in her hand, went round them all; and when she came to the place where the apostle was, she stood over him, playing the flute over his head a long time. And that flute-girl was Hebrew by race. And as the apostle looked away to the ground, a certain one of the wine-pourers stretched forth his hand and struck him. And the apostle, having raised his eyes, and regarded him who had struck him, said: My God will forgive thee this wrong in the world to come, but in this world He will show His wonders, and I shall soon see that hand that struck me dragged along by a dog. And having thus spoken, he began to sing and to repeat this song:—

7 Maiden, daughter of the light, in whom there exists and abides the majestic splendour of kings; and delightful is the sight of her, resplendent with brilliant beauty. Her garments are like spring flowers, and the odour of a sweet smell is given forth from them; and on the crown of her head the king is seated, feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beside him; and truth rests upon her head, and she shows forth joy with her feet; and becomingly does she open her mouth; thirty-and-two are they who sing her praises, and their tongue is like a curtain of the door which is drawn for them who go in; and her neck is made in the likeness of the stairs which the first Creator created; and her two hands signify and represent the choral dance of the blessed ages, proclaiming it; and her fingers represent the gates

of the city. Her chamber lighted up breathes forth scent from balsam and every perfume, and gives forth a sweet odour of myrrh and savoury herbs; and within are strewn myrtles and sweet-smelling flowers of all kinds; and the bridal chambers are adorned with calamus. And her groomsmen, of whom the number is seven, whom she has chosen for herself, surround her like a wall; and her bridesmaids are seven, who dance before her; and twelve are they in number who minister before her and are at her bidding, having their gaze and their sight upon the bridegroom, that through the sight of him they may be enlightened.

8 And they shall be with him to everlasting in that everlasting joy, and they shall sit down in that wedding to which the great ones are gathered together, and they shall abide in the festivities of which the eternal are deemed worthy; and they shall be arrayed in royal raiment, and shall put on shining robes; and in joy and exultation both of them shall be, and they shall glorify the Father of the universe, whose majestic light they have received, and they have been enlightened by the sight of Him their Lord, whose ambrosial food they have received, of which there is no failing at all; and they have drunk also of the wine which brings to them no thirst, neither desire of the flesh; and they have with the living spirit glorified and praised the father of truth and the mother of wisdom. 9 And when he had sung and finished this song, all who were there present looked upon him and kept silence, and they also saw his form changed; and what had been said by him they did not understand, since he was a Hebrew, and what had been said by him had been said in Hebrew. But the flute-girl alone heard all, for she was Hebrew by race, and standing off from him she played the flute to the others; but at him she mostly turned her eyes and looked, for she altogether loved him as a man of the same nation with herself, and he was also beautiful in appearance above all who were there. And when the flute-girl had come to the end of all her flute-playing, she sat down opposite him, and looked and gazed upon him. But he looked at no one at all, neither did he regard any one, but only kept his eyes on the ground, waiting until he should depart thence. And that wine-pourer that struck him came down to the fountain to draw water; and there happened to be a lion there, and it came forth and killed him, and left him lying in the place, after tearing up his limbs; and dogs immediately seized his limbs, among which also one black

dog, laying hold of his right hand in his mouth, brought it to the place of the banquet.

10 And all seeing were terror-struck, inquiring which of them had been taken off. And when it was clear that it was the hand of the wine-pourer who had struck the apostle, the flute-girl broke her flutes in pieces, and threw them away, and went and sat down at the feet of the apostle, saying: This man is either God or God's apostle; for I heard him saying in Hebrew to the wine-pourer, I shall soon see the hand that struck me dragged about by dogs, which also you have now seen; for as he said, so also it has come to pass. And some believed her, and some not. And the king, having heard, came up and said to him: Rise up, and go with me, and pray for my daughter; for she is my only child, and today I give her away. And the apostle would not go with him; for his Lord had not at all been revealed to him there. And the king took him away against his will to the bridal-chamber, that he might pray for them.

11 And the apostle stood, and began to pray and speak thus: My Lord and my God, who accompanies His servants on their way, guiding and directing those who trust in Him, the refuge and the repose of the afflicted, the hope of the mourners, and the deliverer of the captives, the physician of the souls that are lying under disease, and Saviour of every creature, who gives life to the world, and invigorates our souls! Thou knowest what will come to pass, who also for our sakes makest these things perfect: Thou, Lord, who revealest hidden mysteries, and declarest unspeakable words; Thou, Lord, the planter of the good tree, also through the tree makest words to spring up; Thou, Lord, who art in all, and camest through all, and existest in all Thy works, and makest Thyself manifest through the working of them all; Jesus Christ, the Son of compassion, and perfect Saviour; Christ, Son of the living God, the undaunted Power which has overthrown the enemy; and the voice heard by the rulers, which shook all their powers; the ambassador who was sent to them from on high, and who wentest down even to Hades; who also, having opened the doors, didst bring out thence those that had been shut in for many ages by the controller of the world, and didst show them the way up that leads up on high: I beseech Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, I offer Thee supplication for these young persons, that Thou mayst make what happens and befalls them to be for their good. And having laid his hands on them, and said, The Lord will be with you, he left them in the place, and went away.

12 And the king requested the groomsmen to go out of the bridal-chamber; and all having gone forth, and the doors having been shut, the bridegroom raised the curtain of the bridal-chamber, that he might bring the bride to himself. And he saw the Lord Jesus talking with the bride, and having the appearance of Judas Thomas, who shortly before had blessed them, and gone out from them; and he says to him: Didst thou not go out before them all? And how art thou found here? And the Lord said to him: I am not Judas, who also is Thomas; I am his brother. And the Lord sat down on the bed, and ordered them also to sit down on the seats; and He began to say to them:— 13 Keep in mind, my children, what my brother said to you, and to whom he commended you; and this know, that if you refrain from this filthy intercourse, you become temples holy and pure, being released from afflictions and troubles, known and unknown, and you will not be involved in the cares of life, and of children, whose end is destruction; but if you get many children, for their sakes you become grasping and avaricious, plundering orphans, coveting the property of widows, and by doing this you subject yourselves to most grievous punishments. For many children become unprofitable, being harassed by demons, some openly and others secretly: for they become either lunatics, or half-withered, or lame, or deaf, or dumb, or paralytics, or idiots; and even if they be in good health, they will be again good-for-nothing, doing unprofitable and abominable works: for they will be detected either in adultery, or in murder, or in theft, or in fornication, and by all these you will be afflicted. But if you will be persuaded, and preserve your souls pure to God, there will be born to you living children, whom these hurtful things do not touch; and you will be without care, spending an untroubled life, free from grief and care, looking forward to receive that marriage incorruptible and true; and you will be in it companions of the bridegroom, going in along with Him into that bridal-chamber full of immortality and light.

14 And when the young people heard this, they believed the Lord, and gave themselves over into His keeping, and refrained from filthy lust, and remained thus spending the night in the place. And the Lord went out from before them, having spoken thus to them: The grace of the Lord shall be with you. And the dawn having come on, the king arrived, and having supplied the table, brought it in before the bridegroom and the bride; and he found them sitting opposite each other, and he found the face of the bride

uncovered, and the bridegroom was quite cheerful. And the mother having come to the bride, said: Wherefore dost thou sit thus, child, and art not ashamed, but thus as if thou hadst for a long time lived with thine own husband? And her father said: Is it because of thy great love to thy husband that thou art uncovered?

15 And the bride answered and said: Truly, father, I am in great love, and I pray to my Lord to continue to me the love which I have experienced this night, and I shall beg for myself this husband whom I have experienced today. For this reason, then, I am no longer covered, since the mirror of shame has been taken away from me, and I am no longer ashamed nor abashed, since the work of shame and bashfulness has been removed far from me; and because I am not under any violent emotion, since violent emotion does not abide in me; and because I am in cheerfulness and joy, since the day of joy has not been disturbed; and because I hold of no account this husband, and these nuptials that have passed away from before mine eyes, since I have been joined in a different marriage; and because I have had no intercourse with a temporary husband, whose end is with lewdness and bitterness of soul, since I have been united to a true Husband.

16 And when the bride is saying yet more, the bridegroom answers and says: I thank Thee, Lord, who hast been proclaimed by the stranger and found by us; who hast put corruption far from me, and hast sown life in me; who hast delivered me from this disease, hard to heal, and hard to cure, and abiding for ever, and established in me sound health; who hast shown Thyself to me, and hast revealed to me all that concerns me, in which I am; who hast redeemed me from falling, and hast led me to something better, and who hast released me from things temporary, and hast deemed me worthy of things immortal and ever existing; who hast brought Thyself down even to me and to my littleness, in order that, having placed me beside Thy greatness, Thou mightest unite me to Thyself; who hast not withheld Thine own compassion from me lost, but hast shown me how to search myself, and to know what I was and what and how I am now, in order that I may again become as I was; whom I indeed did not know, but Thou Thyself whom I knew not hast sought me out and taken me to Thyself; whom I have experienced, and am not now able to forget, whose love is fervent in me; and speak indeed as I ought I cannot. But what I have time to say about Him is short, and altogether little, and not in proportion to His glory; but He does not find fault

with me for not being ashamed to say to Him even what I do not know; because it is through the love of Him that I say even this.

17 And the king, having heard these things from the bridegroom and the bride, rent his garments, and said to those standing near him: Go out quickly, and go round the whole city, and seize and bring me that man, the sorcerer, who has come for evil into this city: for I led him with my own hands into my house, and I told him to pray for my most unfortunate daughter; and whoever shall find him and bring him to me, whatever service he shall ask of me, I give him. They went away, therefore, and went round seeking him, and found him not; for he had sailed. They went, therefore, also into the inn where he had stayed, and found there the flute-girl weeping and in distress, because he had not taken her with him. And they having recounted what had happened in the case of the young people, she was altogether glad when she heard it, and dismissed her grief, and said: Now have I found, even I, repose here. And she arose and went to them, and was with them a long time, until they had instructed the king also. And many also of the brethren were gathered together there, until they heard word of the apostle, that he had gone down to the cities of India, and was teaching there. And they went away, and joined him.

FURTHER ACTS OF THOMAS

1 Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas,

Contents

2 When He Came into India, and Built the Palace in the Heavens About the Dragon and the Young Man About the Demon that Dwelt in the Woman About the Young Man Who Killed the Maiden When He Came into India, and Built the Palace in the Heavens. And when the apostle came into the cities of India, with Abbanes the merchant, Abbanes went away to salute Gundaphoros the king, and reported to him about the carpenter whom he had brought with him; and the king was glad, and ordered him to come in to himself. And when he had come in, the king said to him: What trade knowest thou? The apostle says to him: The carpenter's and house builder's. The king says to him: What work in wood knowest thou, then, and what in stone? The apostle says: In wood, ploughs, yokes, balances, pulleys, and boats, and oars, and masts; and in stone, monuments, temples, royal palaces. And the king said: Wilt thou build me a palace? And he answered: Yes, I shall

build it, and finish it; for because of this I came, to build houses, and to do carpenter's work.

3 And the king having taken him, went forth out of the gates of the city, and began to talk with him on the way about the building of the palace, and about the foundations, how they should be laid, until they came to that place in which he wished the building to be. And he said: Here I wish the building to be. And the apostle says: Yes; for assuredly this place is convenient for the building. For the place was well wooded, and there was much water there. The king therefore says: Begin to build. And he said: I cannot begin to build at this time. And the king says: When wilt thou be able? And he says: I shall begin in Dios and end in Xanthicus. And the king wondering, said: Every building is built in summer; but canst thou build and make a palace in winter itself? And the apostle said: Thus it must be, and otherwise it is impossible. And the king said: If, therefore, this be thy opinion, mark out for me how the work is to be, since I shall come here after some time. And the apostle, having taken a reed, measured the place, and marked it out; and he set the doors towards the rising of the sun, to look to the light, and the windows towards its setting, to the winds; and he made the bakehouse to be towards the south, and the water-tank, for abundance, towards the north. And the king seeing this, said to the apostle: Thou art a craftsman indeed, and it is fitting that thou shouldst serve kings. And having left many things for him, he went away.

4 And from time to time he also sent the money that was necessary, for the living both of him and the other workmen. And he taking it, dispenses it all, going about the cities and the places round, distributing and doing kindnesses to the poor and the afflicted, and gave them rest, saying: The king knows how to obtain royal recompense, and it is necessary for the poor to have repose for the present. And after this, the king sent a messenger to the apostle, having written to him as follows: Show me what thou hast done, or what I am to send thee, or what thou needest. The apostle sends to him, saying: The palace is built, and only the roof remains to be done. And the king, having heard, sent him again gold and silver uncoined, and wrote to him: Let the palace, if it be done, be roofed. And the apostle said to the Lord: I thank Thee, Lord, as to all things, that Thou didst die for a short time, that I might live in Thee for ever; and hast sold me, so that Thou mayst deliver many through me. And he did not cease to teach and refresh the afflic-

ted, saying: These things the Lord hath dispensed to us, and He gives to each his food; for He is the support of the orphans, and the provider of the widows, and to all that are afflicted He is rest and repose.

5 And when the king came into the city, he inquired of his friends about the palace which Judas, who also is Thomas, had built; and they said to him: He has neither built a palace, nor done anything else of what he promised to do; but he goes round the cities and the districts, and if he has anything he gives all to the poor, and teaches one new God, and heals the diseased, and drives out demons, and does many other extraordinary things; and we think that he is a magician. But his acts of compassion, and the cures done by him as a free gift, and still more, his single-mindedness, and gentleness, and fidelity, show that he is a just man, or an apostle of the new God whom he preaches; for he continually fasts and prays, and eats only bread with salt, and his drink is water, and he carries one coat, whether in warm weather or in cold, and he takes nothing from any one, but gives to others even what he has. The king having heard this, stroked his face with his hands, shaking his head for a long time.

6 And he sent for the merchant that had brought him, and for the apostle, and said to him: Hast thou built me the palace? And he said: Yes, I have built it. And the king said: When, then, are we to go and see it? And he answered and said: Now thou canst not see it; but when thou hast departed this life, thou shalt see it. And the king, quite enraged, ordered both the merchant, and Judas who also is Thomas, to be put in chains, and to be cast into prison, until he should examine, and learn to whom he had given the king's property. And thus I shall destroy him along with the merchant. And the apostle went to prison rejoicing, and said to the merchant: Fear nothing at all, but only believe in the God proclaimed by me, and thou shalt be freed from this world, and thou shalt obtain life in the world to come.

7 And the king considered by what death he should kill them; and when it seemed good to him to flay them, and burn them with fire, on that very night Gad the king's brother fell ill, and through the grief and imposition which the king suffered he was grievously depressed; and having sent for the king, he said to him: My brother the king, I commend to thee my house and my children; for I, on account of the insult that has befallen thee, have been grieved, and am dying; and if thou do not come down with vengeance upon the head of that magician, thou wilt give my soul no rest in Hades. And the

king said to his brother: During the whole night I have considered this, how I shall put him to death; and this has seemed good to me—to flay him and burn him up with fire, both him and with him the merchant that brought him.

8 And as they were talking together, the soul of Gad his brother departed. And the king mourned for Gad exceedingly, for he altogether loved him. And he ordered him to be prepared for burial in a royal and costly robe. And as this was being done, angels received the soul of Gad the king's brother, and took it up into heaven, showing him the places and dwellings there, asking him: In what sort of a place dost thou wish to dwell? And when they came near the edifice of Thomas the apostle, which he had built for the king, Gad, seeing it, said to the angels, I entreat you, my lords, permit me to dwell in one of the underground chambers of this palace. And they said to him: Thou canst not dwell in this building. And he said: Wherefore? They say to him: This palace is the one which that Christian built for thy brother. And he said: I entreat you, my lords, permit me to go to my brother, that I may buy this palace from him; for my brother does not know what it is like, and he will sell it to me.

9 Then the angels let the soul of Gad go. And as they were putting on him the burial robe, his soul came into him. And he said to those standing round him: Call my brother to me, that I may beg of him one request. Straightway, therefore, they sent the good news to their king, saying: Thy brother has come alive again. And the king started up, and along with a great multitude went to his brother, and went in and stood beside his bed as if thunder-struck, not being able to speak to him. And his brother said: I know and am persuaded, brother, that if any one asked of thee the half of thy kingdom, thou wouldst give it for my sake; wherefore I entreat thee to grant me one favour, which I beg of thee to do me. And the king answered and said: And what is it that thou askest me to do for thee? And he said: Assure me by an oath that thou wilt grant it me. And the king swore to him: Of what belongs to me, whatever thou shalt ask, I will give thee. And he says to him: Sell me that palace which thou hast in the heavens. And the king said: Whence does a palace in the heavens belong to me? And he said: That which the Christian who is now in the prison, whom the merchant bought from a certain Jesus, and brought to thee, built for thee. And as he was at a loss, he says to him again: I speak of that Hebrew slave whom thou didst wish to punish, as hav-

ing suffered some imposition from him, on account of whom I also was grieved and died, and now have come alive again.

10 Then the king, having come to know, understood about the eternal benefits that were conferred upon him and destined for him, and said: That palace I cannot sell thee, but I pray thee to go into it, and dwell there, and become worthy to be of its inhabitants; but if thou really wishest to buy such a palace, behold, the man is alive, and will build thee a better than that. And having sent immediately, he brought out of the prison the apostle, and the merchant who had been shut up along with him, saying: I entreat thee, as a man entreating the servant of God, that thou wilt pray for me, and entreat him whose servant thou art, to pardon me, and overlook what I have done to thee, or even what I meant to do, and that I may be worthy to be an inhabitant of that house for which indeed I have laboured nothing, but which thou labouring alone hast built for me, the grace of thy God working with thee; and that I may become a servant, I also, and slave of this God whom thou proclaimest. And his brother, falling down before the apostle, said: I entreat thee, and supplicate before thy God, that I may become worthy of this ministry and service, and may be allotted to become worthy of those things which were shown me by his angels.

11 And the apostle, seized with joy, said: I make full confession to Thee, Lord Jesus, that Thou hast revealed Thy truth in these men: for Thou alone art a God of truth, and not another; and Thou art He who knowest all things that are unknown to many: Thou art He, Lord, who in all things showest compassion and mercy to men; for men, through the error that is in them, have overlooked Thee, but Thou hast not overlooked them. And now, when I am entreating and supplicating Thee, accept the king and his brother, and unite them into Thy fold, having cleansed them by Thy purification, and anointed them with Thy oil, from the error which encompasseth them; and protect them also from the wolves, bringing them into Thy meadows; and give them to drink of Thy ambrosial fountain, that is never muddy and never faileth: for they entreat Thee, and supplicate, and wish to become Thy ministers and servants; and on account of this they are well pleased even to be persecuted by Thine enemies, and for Thy sake to be hated by them, and insulted, and to die; as Thou also for our sakes didst suffer all these things, that Thou mightst gain us to Thyself, as being Lord, and truly a good shepherd. And do Thou grant them that they may have confidence in Thee

alone, and aid from Thee, and hope of their salvation, which they obtain from Thee alone, and that they may be confirmed in Thy mysteries; and they shall receive the perfect benefits of Thy graces and gifts, and flourish in Thy service, and bear fruit to perfection in Thy Father.

¹² King Gundaphoros, therefore, and Gad, having been altogether set apart by the apostle, followed him, not at all going back, they also providing for those that begged of them, giving to all, and relieving all. And they entreated him that they might also then receive the seal of baptism; and they said to him: As our souls are at ease, and as we are earnest about God, give us the seal; for we have heard thee saying that the God whom thou proclaimest recognises through his seal his own sheep. And the apostle said to them: And I am glad, and entreat you to receive this seal, and to communicate with me in this thanksgiving and blessing of God, and to be made perfect in it; for this Jesus Christ whom I proclaim is Lord and God of all, and He is the Father of truth, in whom I have taught you to believe. And he ordered to bring them oil, in order that through the oil they might receive the seal. They brought the oil, therefore, and lighted many lamps, for it was night.

¹³ And the apostle arose, and sealed them; and the Lord was revealed to them, through a voice saying, Peace to you, brethren! And they heard His voice only, but His form they saw not; for they had not yet received the ratification of the seal. And the apostle, having taken oil, and poured it over their head, and salved and anointed them, began to say: Come, holy name of Christ, which is above every name; come, power of the Most High, and perfect compassion; come, grace most high; come, compassionate mother; come, thou that hast charge of the male child; come, thou who revealest secret mysteries; come, mother of the seven houses, that there may be rest for thee in the eighth house; come, thou presbyter of the five members—intelligence, thought, purpose, reflection, reasoning—communicate with these young persons; come, Holy Spirit, and purify their reins and heart, and seal them in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. And when they had been sealed, there appeared to them a young man holding a burning torch, so that their lamps were even darkened by the approach of its light. And he went out, and disappeared from their sight. And the apostle said to the Lord: Thy light, Lord, is too great for us, and we cannot bear it; for it is too much for our sight. And when light came, and it was dawn, having broken bread, he made them partakers of the thanksgiving of Christ. And they rejoiced

and exulted; and many others also believed, and were added, and came to the refuge of the Saviour.

¹⁴ And the apostle ceased not proclaiming, and saying to them: Men and women, boys and girls, young men and maidens, vigorous and aged, both bond and free, withhold yourselves from fornication, and covetousness, and the service of the belly; for under these three heads all wickedness comes. For fornication maims the mind, and darkens the eyes of the soul, and becomes a hindrance of the due regulation of the body, changing the whole man into feebleness, and throwing the whole body into disease. And insatiableness puts the soul into fear and shame, existing by what pertains to the body, and forcibly seizing what belongs to another;...and the service of the belly throws the soul into cares and troubles and griefs....Since, therefore, you have been set free from these, you are without care, and without grief, and without fear; and there remains to you that which was said by the Saviour: Take no care for the morrow, for the morrow will take care of itself. Keep in mind also that saying before mentioned: Look upon the ravens, and behold the fowls of the heaven, that they neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns, and God takes care of them; how much more you, O ye of little faith! But look for His appearing, and have your hopes in Him, and believe in His name: for He is the Judge of living and dead, and He requites to each one according to his deeds;

¹⁵ and at His coming and appearance at last no one will have as a ground of excuse, when he comes to be judged by Him, that he has not heard. For His heralds are proclaiming in the four quarters of the world. Repent, therefore, and believe the message, and accept the yoke of gentleness and the light burden, that you may live and not die. These things lay hold of, these things keep; come forth from the darkness, that the light may receive you; come to Him who is truly good, that from Him you may receive grace, and place His sign upon your souls. ¹⁶ When he had thus said, some of the bystanders said to him: It is time for this debtor to receive his debt. And he said to them: The creditor, indeed, always wishes to receive more; but let us give him what is proper. And having blessed them, he took bread and oil, and herbs and salt, and gave them to eat. But he continued in his fasting, for the Lord's day was about to dawn. And on the night following, while he was asleep, the Lord came and stood by his head, saying: Thomas, rise up early and bless them all; and after the prayer and service go along the eastern road two

miles, and there I shall show in thee my glory. For because thou goest away, many shall flee to me for refuge, and thou shalt reprove the nature and the power of the enemy. And having risen up from sleep, he said to the brethren who were with him: Children and brethren, the Lord wishes to do something or other to-day through me; but let us pray and entreat Him that nothing may be a hindrance to us towards Him, but as at all times let it now also be done unto us according to His purpose and will. And having thus spoken, he laid his hands upon them and blessed them. And having broken the bread of the Eucharist, he gave it to them, saying: This Eucharist shall be to you for compassion, and mercy, and recompense, and not for judgment. And they said: Amen.

17 About the Dragon and the Young Man. And the apostle went forth to go where the Lord had bidden him. And when he came near the second milestone he turned a little out of the way, and saw the body of a beautiful youth lying; and he said: Lord, was it for this that Thou broughtest me out to come here, that I might see this trial? Thy will therefore be done, as Thou purposest. And he began to pray, and to say: Lord, Judge of the living, and of those that are lying dead, and Lord of all, and Father—Father not only of the souls that are in bodies, but also of those that have gone out of them; for of the souls that are in pollutions Thou art Lord and Judge—come at this time, when I call upon Thee, and show Thy glory upon him that is lying down here. And he turned and said to those that followed him: This affair has not happened idly; but the enemy has wrought and effected this, that he might make an assault upon him; and you see that he has availed himself of no other form, and has wrought through no other living being, but through his subject.

18 And when the apostle had thus spoken, behold, a great dragon came forth from his den, knocking his head, and brandishing his tail down to the ground, and, using a loud voice, said to the apostle: I shall say before thee for what cause I have put him to death, since thou art here in order to reprove my works. And the apostle says: Yes, say on. And the dragon: There is a certain woman in this place exceedingly beautiful; and as she was once passing by, I saw her, and fell in love with her, and I followed and watched her; and I found this young man kissing her, and he also had intercourse with her, and did with her other shameful things. And to me indeed it was pleasant to tell thee this, for I know that thou art the twin-brother of Christ, and always

bringest our race to nought. But, not wishing to harass her, I did not at this time put him to death; but I watched him passing by in the evening, and struck him, and killed him, and especially as he had dared to do this on the Lord's day. And the apostle inquired of him, saying: Tell me, of what seed and of what race art thou?

19 And he said to him: I am the offspring of the race of the serpent, and hurtful of the hurtful; I am son of him who hurt and struck the four brothers that stood; I am son of him who sits on the throne of destruction, and takes his own from what he has lent; I am son of that apostate who encircles the globe; I am kinsman to him who is outside of the ocean, whose tail lies in his mouth; I am he who went into paradise through the hedge, and spoke with Eve what my father bade me speak to her; I am he who inflamed and fired Cain to kill his brother, and through me thorns and prickles sprang up in the ground; I am he who cast down the angels from above, and bound them down by the desires of women, that earth-born children might be produced from them, and that I might work my will in them; I am he who hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that he should murder the children of Israel, and keep them down by the hard yoke of slavery; I am he who caused the multitude to err in the desert when they made the calf; I am he who inflamed Herod and incited Caiaphas to the lying tales of falsehood before Pilate, for this became me; I am he who inflamed Judas, and bought him, that he should betray Christ; I am he who inhabits and holds the abyss of Tartarus, and the Son of God has wronged me against my will, and has gathered his own out of me; I am the kinsman of him who is to come from the east, to whom also power has been given to do whatever he will upon the earth.

20 And that dragon having thus spoken in the hearing of all the multitude, the apostle raised his voice on high, and said: Cease henceforth, O thou most unabashed, and be ashamed and altogether put to death; for the end of thy destruction is at hand, and do not dare to say what thou hast done through thy dependants. And I order thee, in the name of that Jesus who even until now makes a struggle against you for the sake of His own human beings, to suck out the poison which thou hast put into this man, and to draw it forth, and take it out of him. And the dragon said: The time of our end is by no means at hand, as thou hast said. Why dost thou force me to take out what I have put into him, and to die before the time? Assuredly, when my father shall draw forth and suck out what he has put into the cre-

ation, then his end will come. And the apostle said to him: Show us, therefore, now the nature of thy father. And the dragon went up, and put his mouth upon the wound of the young man, and sucked the gall out of it. And in a short time the skin of the young man, which was like purple, grew white, and the dragon swelled. And when the dragon had drawn up all the gall into himself, the young man sprang up and stood, and ran and fell at the apostle's feet.

²¹ And the dragon, being swelled up, shrieked out and died, and his poison and gall were poured forth; and in the place where his poison was poured forth there was made a great chasm, and that dragon was swallowed up. And the apostle said to the king and his brother: Take workmen, and fill up the place in which the dragon has been swallowed up, and lay foundations, and build houses-above it, that it may be made a dwelling-place for the strangers.

²² And the young man said to the apostle, with many tears: I have sinned against the God proclaimed by thee, and against thee, but I ask pardon of thee; for thou art a man having two forms, and wherever thou wishest there art thou found, and thou art held in by no one, as I see. For I beheld that man, when I stood beside thee, who also said to thee, I have many wonders to show by means of thee, and I have great works to accomplish by means of thee, for which thou shalt obtain a reward; and thou shalt make many to live, and they shall be in repose and eternal light as the children of God: do thou therefore bring alive—he says, speaking to thee about me—this young man who has been cast down by the enemy, and in all time be the overseer of him. Thou hast, then, well come hither, and again thou shalt well go away to him, he being not at all forsaken by thee. And I am without care and reproach, for the dawn has risen upon me from the care of the night, and I am at rest; and I have also been released from him who exasperated me to do these things: for I have sinned against Him who taught me the contrary, and I have destroyed him who is the kinsman of the night, who forced me to sin by his own practices; and I have found that kinsman of mine who is like the light.

²³ I have destroyed him who darkens and blinds those who are subject to him, lest they should know what they are doing, and, ashamed of their works, withdraw themselves from them, and their deeds have an end: and I have found Him whose works are light, and whose deeds are truth, of which whoever does them shall not repent. I have been set free also from him in

whom falsehood abides, whom darkness as a covering goes before, and shame conducting herself impudently in idleness follows after. And I have found also Him who shows me what is beautiful, that I should lay hold of it, the Son of the truth, who is kinsman of concord, who, driving away the mist, enlightens His own creation, and heals its wounds, and overturns its enemies. But I entreat thee, O man of God, make me again to behold and see Him, now become hidden from me, that I may also hear His voice, the wonders of which I cannot declare: for it is not of the nature of this bodily organ.

24 And the apostle said to him: If, as thou hast also said, thou hast cast off the knowledge of those things which thou hast received, and if thou knowest who has wrought these things in thee, and if thou shalt become a disciple and hearer of Him of whom, through thy living love, thou now desirest the sight, thou shalt both see Him, and shalt be with Him for ever, and shalt rest in His rest, and shalt be in His joy. But if thou art rather carelessly disposed towards Him, and again returnest to thy former deeds, and lettest go that beauty and that beaming countenance which has now been displayed to thee, and if the splendour of the light of Him whom thou now desirest be forgotten by thee, thou shalt be deprived not only of this life, but also of that which is to come; and thou shalt go to him whom thou hast said thou hast destroyed, and shalt no longer behold Him whom thou hast said thou hast found.

25 And when the apostle had thus spoken, he went into the city, holding that young man by the hand, and saying to him: Those things which thou hast beheld, my child, are a few out of the many which God has: for it is not about these things that appear that the good news is brought to us, but greater things than these are promised to us; but inasmuch as we are in the body, we cannot tell and speak out what He will do for our souls. If we say that He affords us light, it is seen by us, and we have it; and if riches, they exist and appear in this world, and we name them, since it has been said, With difficulty will a rich man enter into the kingdom of the heavens. And if we speak of fine clothing, which they who delight in this life put on, it has been said, They that wear soft things are in kings' palaces; and if costly dinners, about these we have received a commandment to keep away from them, not to be burdened by carousing and drunkenness and the cares of life; as also in the Gospel it has been said, Take no heed for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor for your body, what ye shall put on: because the life

is more than food, and the body than clothing. And if we speak of this rest lasting only for a season, its judgment has also been ordained.

²⁶ But we speak about the upper world, about God and angels, about ambrosial food, about garments that last and become not old, about those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath there come into the heart of sinful men what God has prepared for those that love Him. Do thou also therefore believe in Him, that thou mayst live; and have confidence in Him, and thou shalt never die. For He is not persuaded by gifts, that thou shouldst offer them to Him; nor does He want sacrifices, that thou shouldst sacrifice to Him. But look to Him, and thou shalt not look in vain, for His comeliness and desirable beauty will make thee love Him; and neither will He allow thee to turn thyself away from Him. ²⁷ And when the apostle was thus speaking to that young man, a great multitude joined them. And the apostle looked, and saw them lifting themselves up that they might see him; and they went up into elevated places. And the apostle said to them: Ye men who have come to the assembly of Christ, and who wish to believe in Jesus, take an example from this, and see that if you do not get high up, you cannot see me, who am small, and cannot get a look of me, who am like yourselves. If, then, you cannot see me, who am like yourselves, unless you raise yourselves a little from the earth, how can you see Him who lives above, and is now found below, unless you first raise yourselves out of your former behaviour, and unprofitable deeds, and troublesome desires, and the riches that are left behind here, and create things that are of the earth, and that grow old, and the garments that are destroyed, and the beauty that ages and vanishes away, yea, even out of the whole body in which all these have been stored past, and which grows old, and becomes dust, returning into its own nature? for all these things the body itself sets up. But rather believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we proclaim to you, in order that your hope may be upon Him, and that you may have life in Him to ages of ages, that He may be your fellow-traveller in this land, and may release you from error, and may become a haven for you in this troublous sea. And there shall be for you also a fountain welling out in this thirsty land, and a fold full of food in the place of the hungry, and rest for your souls, and also a physician for your bodies.

²⁸ Then the multitude of those assembled that heard, wept, and said to the apostle: O man of God, as for the God whom thou proclaimeest, we dare

not say that we are his, because our works which we have done are alien from him, not pleasing to him; but if he has compassion upon us, and pities us, and delivers us, overlooking our former doings; and if he set us free from the evil things which we did when we were in error, and shall not take into account nor keep the recollection of our former sins, we shall become his servants, and we shall do his will to the end. And the apostle answered and said to them: He does not reckon against you the sins which you did, being in error; but He overlooks your transgressions which you have done in ignorance. About the Demon that Dwelt in the Woman.

²⁹ And the apostle went into the city, all the multitude accompanying him; and he thought of going to the parents of the young man whom, when killed by the dragon, he had brought to life; for they earnestly entreated him to come to them, and to enter into their house. ³⁰ And a certain woman, exceedingly beautiful, suddenly uttered a loud cry, saying: O apostle of the new God, who hast come into India, and servant of that holy and only good God—for through thee he is proclaimed the Saviour of the souls that come unto him, and through thee he heals the bodies of those that are punished by the enemy, and thou hast become the cause of life to all who turn to him—order me to be brought before thee, that I may declare to thee what has happened to me, and that perhaps there may be hope to me from thee and those who stand beside thee may have more and more hope in the God whom thou proclaimest. For I am not a little tormented by the adversary, who has assailed me for now a period of five years. As a woman, I formerly sat down in peace, and peace encompassed me on all sides and I had nothing to trouble me, for of nothing else had I a care. And it happened on one of the days as I was coming forth from the bath, there met me one like a man troubled and disturbed; and his voice and utterance seemed to me to be indistinct and very weak. And he said, standing over against me, Thou and I shall be in one love, and we shall have intercourse with each other, as a man is coupled with his wife.

³¹ And I answered him, saying, To my betrothed I consented not, entreating him not to marry me; and to thee, wishing to have intercourse with me as it were in adultery, how shall I give myself up? And having thus spoken, I went away from him. And to my maid I said, Hast thou seen the young man and his shamelessness, how shamelessly and boldly he talks to me? And she said to me, It was an old man I saw talking with thee. And

when I was in my own house, and had supped, my mind suggested to me some suspicion, and especially because he had appeared to me in two forms. I fell asleep, having this same thing in my thoughts. And he came that night, and made me share in his filthy commerce. And I saw him when it was day, and fled from him; but, according to his wont, he came at night and abused me. And now, as thou seest me, I have been tormented by him five years, and he has not departed from me. But I know and am persuaded that even demons, and spirits, and avenging deities, are subject to thee, and tremble at thy prayer. Pray, then, for me, and drive away from me the demon that torments me, that I also may become free, and may be brought to my former nature, and I shall receive the gift that has been granted to my kindred.

32 And the apostle said: O irrepressible wickedness! O the shamelessness of the enemy! O the sorcerer that is never at rest! O the ill-favoured one, bring to subjection the well-favoured! O the many-formed one! He appears just as he may wish, but his essence cannot be changed. O offspring of the crafty and insatiable one! O bitter tree, which also his fruits are like! O thou who art of the devil, who fights over those who do not belong to him! O thou who art of the deceit that uses shamelessness! O thou who art of the wickedness that creeps like a serpent, and art thyself his kindred! And when the apostle had thus spoken the fiend stood before him, no one seeing him but the woman and the apostle, and with a very loud voice he said in the hearing of all: What have we to do with thee, O apostle of the Most High? What have we to do with thee, O servant of Jesus Christ? What have we to do with thee, O thou that sittest in council with the Holy Spirit. Wherefore dost thou wish to destroy us, when our time has not yet come? On what account dost thou wish to take away our power? for until the present hour we have had hope and time left us. What have we to do with thee? Thou hast power over thine own, and we over our own. Why dost thou wish to use tyranny against us, and especially thou who teachest others not to use tyranny?

33 Why dost thou want those who do not belong to thee, as if thou wert not satisfied with thine own? Why dost thou liken thyself to the Son of God, who has done us hurt? For thou art like him altogether, just as if thou hadst been brought forth by him. For we thought to bring him also under the yoke, like the rest; but he turned, and held us under his hand. For we did not know him; but he deceived us by the form which he had put on, and his poverty and his want; for when we saw him such, we thought him to be a

man clothed with flesh, not knowing that it was he who makes men live. And he gave us power over our own, and, in the time in which we live, not to let our own go, but to employ ourselves about them. But thou wishest to get more than is necessary, or than has been given thee, and to overpower us.

³⁴ And having thus spoken, the demon wept, saying: I let thee go, my most lovely yoke-fellow, whom I found long ago and was at rest; I leave thee, my beloved and trusty sister, in whom I was well pleased. What I shall do I know not, or whom I shall call upon to hear me and protect me. I know what I shall do. I shall go to some place where the fame of this man has not been heard, and perhaps I shall call thee, my beloved, by a new name. And lifting up his voice, he said: Abide in peace, having received an asylum with a greater than I; but I, as I have said, will go away and seek thy like, and if I find her not I shall again return to thee: for I know that when thou art beside this man, thou hast an asylum in him; but when he has gone away, thou shalt be as thou wast before he made his appearance, and him indeed wilt thou forget, and to me there will again be opportunity and boldness; but now I am afraid of the name of him who has delivered thee. And having thus said, the demon disappeared. And just when he had disappeared, fire and smoke were seen there, and all there present were struck with amazement.

³⁵ And the apostle seeing this, said to them: Nothing strange or unusual has that demon shown, but his own nature, in which also he shall be burnt up; for the fire shall consume him, and the smoke of him shall be scattered abroad. And he began to say: O Jesus Christ, the secret mystery which has been revealed to us, Thou art He who discloseth to us all manner of mysteries, who hast set me apart from all my companions, and who hast told me three words with which I am set on fire, and I cannot tell them to others; O Jesus, man slain, dead, buried; Jesus, God of God, and Saviour who bringest the dead to life, and healest those who are diseased; O Jesus, who appearest to be in want, and savest as if in want of nothing, catching the fishes for the morning and the evening meal, and establishing all in abundance with a little bread; Jesus, who didst rest from the toil of the journey as a man, and walk upon the waves as God; Jesus Most High, voice arising from perfect compassion, Saviour of all, the right hand of the light overthrowing him that is wicked in his own kind, and bringing all his kind into one place; Thou who art only begotten, the first-born of many brethren, God of God Most High, man despised until now; Jesus Christ, who overlookest us not

when we call upon Thee; who hast been shown forth to all in Thy human life;

³⁶ who for our sakes hast been judged and kept in prison, and freest all that are in bonds; who hast been called a deceiver, and who deliverest Thine own from deception: I entreat Thee in behalf of those standing and entreating Thee, and those that believe in Thee; for they pray to obtain Thy gifts, being of good hope in Thine aid, occupying Thy place of refuge in Thy majesty; they give audience, so as to hear from us the words that have been spoken to them. Let Thy peace come and dwell in them, that they may be purified from their former deeds, and may put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new now declared to them by me. ³⁷ And having laid his hands on them, he blessed them, saying: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be upon you for ever! And they said, Amen. And the woman begged of him, saying: Apostle of the Most High, give me the seal, that that foe may not come back upon me again. Then he made her come near him; and putting his hand upon her, he sealed her in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And many others also were sealed along with her. And the apostle ordered his servant to set out a table; and they set out a bench which they found there. And having spread a linen cloth upon it, he put on it the bread of the blessing. And the apostle standing by it, said: Jesus Christ, Son of God, who hast deemed us worthy to communicate of the Eucharist of Thy sacred body and honourable blood, behold, we are emboldened by the thanksgiving and invocation of Thy sacred name; come now, and communicate with us. And he began to say: Come, perfect compassion; come, communion with mankind; come, Thou that knowest the mysteries of the chosen one; come, Thou that communicatest in all the combats of the noble combatant; come, peace that revealest the great things of all greatness; come, Thou that disclovest secrets, and makest manifest things not to be spoken; the sacred dove which has brought forth twin young; come, thou secret mother;

³⁸ come, Thou who art manifest in Thy deeds, and givest joy and rest to those who are united to Thee; come and communicate with us in this Eucharist, which we make in Thy name, and in the love in which we are united in calling upon Thee. And having thus said, he made the sign of the cross upon the bread, and broke it, and began to distribute it. And first he gave it to the woman, saying: This shall be to thee for remission of sins, and

the ransom of everlasting transgressions. And after her, he gave also to all the others who had received the seal. ³⁹ About the Young Man Who Killed the Maiden. And there was a certain young man who had done a nefarious deed; and having come to the apostle, he took the bread of the Eucharist into his mouth, and his two hands immediately withered, so that he could no longer bring them to his mouth. And those who were present and saw him told the apostle what had happened. And he, having summoned him, said: Tell me, my child, and be ashamed of nothing, what thou hast done, and why thou hast come hither; for the Eucharist of the Lord has convicted thee. For this gracious gift coming to many is especially healing to those who approach it through faith and love; but thee it has withered away, and what has happened has happened not without some working cause. And the young man who had been convicted by the Eucharist of the Lord came up, and fell at the apostle's feet, and prayed him, saying: An evil deed has been done by me, yet I thought to do something good. I was in love with a certain woman living outside of the city in an inn, and she loved me. And I having heard from thee, and believed that thou proclaimest the living God, came and received the seal from thee along with the others; and thou saidst, Whoever shall indulge in filthy intercourse, and especially in adultery, shall not have life with the God whom I proclaim. Since, then, I altogether loved her, I begged of her, and persuaded her to live with me in chaste and pure intercourse, as thou thyself teachest; but she would not. When therefore she would not, I took a sword and killed her; for I could not see her living in adultery with another.

⁴⁰ The apostle, having heard this, said: O maddening intercourse, into what shamelessness dost thou lead! O unrestrained lust, how hast thou brought him into subjection to do this! O work of the serpent, how dost thou rage in thine own! And the apostle ordered water to be brought him in a dish. And when the water had been brought, he said: Come waters from the living waters, existing from the existing, and sent to us; the fountain sent to us from repose, the power of salvation coming from that power that subdues all things, and subjects them to its own will; come and dwell in these waters, that the gracious gift of the Holy Spirit may be fully perfected in them. And he said to the young man: Go, wash thy hands in these waters. And when he had washed, they were restored. And the apostle said to him: Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, that He can do all things? And he

said: Even though I am least of all, I believe; but this I did, thinking to do a good thing: for I implored her, as also I told thee; but she would not be persuaded by me to keep herself chaste.

⁴¹ And the apostle said to him: Come, let us go to the inn where thou didst this deed, and let us see what has happened. And the young man went before the apostle on the road; and when they came to the inn, they found her lying. And the apostle, seeing her, was disheartened, for she was a beautiful maiden; and he ordered her to be brought into the middle of the inn. And having put her on a couch, they brought it, and set it in the midst of the court-yard of the inn. And the apostle laid his hand on her, and began to say: Jesus, who always appearest to us—for this Thou always wishest, that we should seek Thee—and Thou Thyself hast given us this power of asking and receiving; and not only hast Thou given us this, but hast also taught us how to pray; who art not seen by bodily eyes, but who art not altogether hidden from those of our soul, and who art hidden in Thy form, but manifested to us by Thy works; and by Thy many deeds we have recognised Thee as we go on, and Thou hast given us Thy gifts without measure, saying, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. We pray, therefore, having suspicion of our sins; and we ask of Thee not riches, nor gold, nor silver, nor possessions, nor any of those things that come from the earth and go into the earth again; but this we beg of Thee, and entreat that in Thy holy name Thou raise this woman lying here by Thy power, to the glory and faith of those standing by.

⁴² And when he had thus prayed, he sealed the young man, and said to him: Go, and take her by the hand, and say to her, I through my hands killed thee with the sword; and again I raise thee by my hands, in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the young man went and stood by her, saying: I have believed in Thee, O Christ Jesus. And looking upon Judas Thomas the apostle, he said to him: Pray for me, that my Lord, upon whom also I call, may come to my help. And having laid his hand on her hand, he said: Come, Lord Jesus Christ, giving this woman life, and me the earnest of Thy faith. And immediately, as he drew her hand, she sprang up, and sat, looking at the great multitude standing round. And she also saw the apostle standing opposite to her; and having left the couch, she sprang up, and fell at his feet, and took hold of his garments, saying: I pray thee, my lord, where is that other who is with thee, who has not left me to remain in that fearful and

grievous place, but has given me up to thee, saying, Do thou take her, that she may be made perfect, and thereafter brought into her own place?

43 And the apostle says to her: Tell us where thou hast been. And she answered: Dost thou, who wast with me, to whom also I was entrusted, wish to hear? And she began to say: A certain man received me, hateful in appearance, all black, and his clothing exceedingly filthy; and he led me away to a place where there were many chasms, and a great stench and most hateful odour were given forth thence; and he made me bend down into each chasm, and I saw in the chasm blazing fire; and wheels of fire ran there, and souls were hung upon those wheels, and were dashed against each other. And there was there crying and great lamentation, and there was none released. And that man said to me, These souls are of thine own nation, and for a certain number of days they have been given over to punishment and torture; and then others are brought in instead of them; and likewise also these are again succeeded by others. These are they who have exchanged the intercourse of man and wife. And again I looked down, and saw infants heaped upon each other, and struggling and lying upon each other; and he answered and said to me, These are their children, and for this have they been placed here for a testimony against them.

44 And he brought me to another chasm, and I bent down and saw mud, and worms spouting forth, and souls wallowing there; and a great gnashing of teeth was heard thence from them. And that man said to me, These are the souls of women that left their own husbands, and went and committed adultery with others, and who have been brought to this torment. He showed me another chasm, into which I bent down and saw souls hung up, some by the tongue, some by the hair, some by the hands, some by the feet, head downwards, and smoked with smoke and sulphur; about whom that man who was with me answered me, These souls which are hung up by the tongue are slanderers, and such as have uttered false and disgraceful words; those that are hung up by the hair are those that are shameless, and that have gone about with uncovered heads in the world; these hung up by the hands are those who have taken what belongs to others, and have stolen, and who have never given anything to the poor, nor assisted the afflicted; but they so acted, wishing to get everything, and giving no heed at all to justice and the laws; and these hung up by the feet are those who lightly and eagerly ran in wicked ways, and disorderly wickedness, not looking after the sick, and not

aiding those departing this life, and on account of this each individual soul is required for what has been done by it.

⁴⁵ Again leading me away, he showed me a cavern, exceedingly dark, exhaling a great stench; and many souls were peeping out thence, wishing to get some share of the air, but their keepers would not let them peep out. And he who was with me said, This is the prison of those souls which thou seest; for when they shall complete their punishments for those things which each one has done, afterwards again others succeed them—and there are some also quite used up—and are given up to other punishments. Those, then, who guarded the souls that were in the dark cave said to the man that had charge of me, Give her to us, that we may take her in beside the others, until the time comes for her to be given up to punishment. And he answered them, I will not give her to you, for I am afraid of him who gave her up to me; for I received no orders to leave her here, and I shall take her up with me until I get some injunction about her. And he took me and brought me to another place, in which were men who were bitterly tortured. And he that is like thee took me and gave me up to thee, having thus said to thee, Take her, since she is one of the creatures that have been led astray. And I was taken by thee, and am now before thee. I beg, therefore, and supplicate thee that I may not go into those places of punishment which I saw.

⁴⁶ And the apostle said to the multitudes standing by: You have heard, brethren, what this woman has recounted; and these are not the only punishments, but there are others worse than these; and if you do not turn to this God whom I proclaim, and refrain from your former works and deeds which you have done without knowledge, in these punishments you shall have your end. Believe, therefore, in our Lord Jesus Christ, and He will forgive you the sins done by you heretofore, and will purify you from all the bodily desires that abide in the earth, and will heal you from the faults that follow after you, and go along with you, and are found before you. And let each of you put off the old man, and put on the new, and leave your former course of conduct and behaviour; and let those that steal steal no more, but let them live, labouring and working; and let the adulterers no more commit adultery, lest they give themselves up to everlasting punishment; for adultery is with God an evil altogether grievous above other evils. Put away also from yourselves covetousness, and lying, and drunkenness, and slandering, and requiting evil for evil: for all these are alien and strange to the God

proclaimed by us; but rather live in faith, and meekness, and holiness, and hope, in which God rejoices, that ye may become His servants, having received from Him gracious gifts, which few or none receive.

⁴⁷ All the people therefore believed, and presented their souls obedient to the living God and Christ Jesus, enjoying His blessed works, and His holy service. And they brought much money for the service of the widows; for he had them collected in the cities, and he sent to all of them by his own servants what was necessary, both clothing and food. But he did not cease proclaiming and saying to them, and showing that this is Jesus the Christ, concerning whom the Scriptures proclaimed that He should come, and be crucified, and be raised from the dead after three days. And he showed them a second time, beginning from the prophets, and explaining the things concerning Christ, and that it was necessary for Him to come, and for all things to be fulfilled that had been said to us beforehand concerning Him. And the report of him ran through all the cities and countries; and all who had persons sick or tormented by unclean spirits brought them, and they were healed. Some also they laid on the road by which he was to pass, and he healed them all by the power of the Lord. Then said all with one accord who had been healed by him, with one voice: Glory to Thee, Jesus, who givest Thy healing to all alike by means of Thy servant and apostle Thomas. And being in good health, and rejoicing, we pray Thee that we may be of Thy flock, and be numbered among Thy sheep; receive us, therefore, O Lord, and consider not our transgressions and former offences which we did, being in ignorance.

⁴⁸ And the apostle said: Glory to the only-begotten from the Father; glory to the first-born of many brethren; Glory to Thee, the defender and helper of those who come to Thy place of refuge; Thou that sleepest not, and raisest those that are asleep; that livest and bringest to life those that are lying in death; O God Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, redeemer and helper, refuge and rest of all that labour in Thy work, who affordest health to those who for Thy name's sake bear the burden of the day, and the icy coldness of the night; we give thanks for the gracious gifts that have been given us by Thee, and for the help from Thee bestowed upon us, and Thy providential care that has come upon us from Thee. Perfect these things upon us, therefore, unto the end, that we may have confidence in Thee; look upon us, because for Thy sake we have left our homes, and for Thy sake have become

strangers gladly and willingly; look upon us, O Lord, because for Thy sake we have abandoned our possessions, that we may have Thee for a possession that shall not be taken away; look upon us, O Lord, because we have left those related to us by ties of kindred in order that we may be united in relationship to Thee; look upon us, O Lord, who have left our fathers and mothers, and those that nourished us, that we may behold Thy Father, and be satisfied with His divine nourishment: look upon us, O Lord, because for Thy sake we have left our bodily yoke-fellows, and our earthly fruit, in order that we may share in that intercourse which is lasting and true, and bring forth true fruits, whose nature is from above, the enjoyment of which no one can take away from us, with which we abide, and they abide with us.

The Acts of Philip

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The later acts of Philip the apostle, with his work in Hierapolis in Phrygia and his martyrdom.

CHAPTER 1

¹ The Acts of Philip. Of the Journeyings of Philip the Apostle. From the Fifteenth Acts Until the End, and Among Them the Martyrdom. About the time when the Emperor Trajan received the government of the Romans, after Simon the son of Clopas, who was bishop of Jerusalem, had suffered martyrdom in the eighth year of his reign, being the second bishop of the church there after James who bore the name of brother of the Lord, Philip the apostle, going through the cities and regions of Lydia and Asia, preached to all the Gospel of Christ. And having come to the city of Ophioryma, which is called Hierapolis of Asia, he was entertained by a certain believer, Stachys by name. And there was with him also Bartholomew, one of the seventy disciples of the Lord, and his sister Mariamme, and his disciples that followed him. All the men of the city therefore, having left their work, ran to the house of Stachys, hearing about the works which Philip did. And many men and women having assembled in the house of Stachys, Philip along with Bartholomew taught them the things of Jesus.

² And Philip's sister Mariamme, sitting in the entry of the house of Stachys, addressed herself to those coming, persuading them to listen to the apostles, saying to them: Our brethren, and sons of my Father in heaven, ye are the excellent riches, and the substance of the city above, the delight of the habitation which God has prepared for those that love Him. Trample under foot the snares of the enemy, the writhing serpent. For his path is crooked, since he is the son of the wicked one, and the poison of wickedness is in him; and his father is the devil, the author of death, and his mother corruption; rage in his eyes and destruction in his mouth, and his path is

Hades. Wherefore flee from him that has no substance, the shapeless one that has no shape in all the creation, whether in the heaven or in the earth, whether in the flying creatures or the beasts. For everything is taken away from his shape; for among the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the heaven is the knowledge of him, that the serpent trails his belly and his breast; and Tartarus is his dwelling-place, and he goes in the darkness, since he has confidence in nothing. Flee therefore from him, that his poison may not be poured out into your mouth. But be rather believing, holy, of good works, having no deceit.

³ Take away from yourselves the wicked disposition, that is, the evil desires through which the serpent, the wicked dragon, the prince of evil, has produced the pasture of destruction and death for the soul, since all the desire of the wicked has proceeded from him. And this is the root of iniquity, the maintenance of evils, the death of souls: for the desire of the enemy is armed against the believers, and comes forth from the darkness, and walks in the darkness, taking in hand to war with those who are in the light. For this is the beginning of concupiscence. Wherefore you who wish to come to us, and the rather that God has come through us to you as a father to his own children, wishing to have mercy upon you, and to deliver you from the wicked snare of the enemy, flee from the evil lusts of the enemy, and cast them completely out of your mind, hating openly the father of evils, and loving Jesus, who is light, and life, and truth, and the Saviour of all who desire Him. Having run, therefore, to Him, take hold of Him in love, that He may bring you up out of the pit of the wicked, and having cleansed you, set you blameless, living in truth, in the presence of His Father.

⁴ And all these things Philip said to the multitudes that had come together to worship as in old times the serpents and the viper, of which also they set up images and worshipped them. Wherefore also they called Hierapolis Ophioryma. And these things having been said by Philip, Bartholomew and Mariamme and his disciples, and Stachys being along with him, all the people gave ear, and a great multitude of them fleeing from the enemy were turned to Jesus, and were added to Philip and those about him. And the faithful were the more confirmed in the love of Christ. And Nicanora, the wife of the proconsul, lying in bed under various diseases, especially of the eyes, having heard about the Apostle Philip and his teaching, believed in the Lord. For she had even before this heard about Him; and having called upon

His name, she was released from the troubles that afflicted her. And rising up, she went forth out of her house through the side door, carried by her own slaves in a silver litter, and went into the house of Stachys, where the apostles were.

5 And when she came before the gate of the house, Mariamme, the sister of Philip the apostle, seeing her, spoke to her in the Hebrew tongue before Philip and Bartholomew, and all the multitude of those who had believed, saying: Alemakan, ikasame, marmare, nachaman, mastranan, achaman; which is, Daughter of the father, thou art my mistress, thou hast been given as a pledge to the serpent; but Jesus our Redeemer has come to deliver thee through us, to break thy bands, and cut them, and to remove them from thee from their root, because thou art my sister, one mother brought us forth twins. Thou hast forsaken thy father, thou hast forsaken the path leading thee to the dwelling-place of thy mother, being in error; thou hast left the temple of that deception, and of the temporary glory, and hast come to us, fleeing from the enemy, because he is the dwelling-place of death. Behold, now thy Redeemer has come to redeem thee; Christ the Sun of righteousness has risen upon thee, to enlighten thee.

6 And when Nicanora, standing before the door, heard these things, she took courage before all, crying out, and saying: I am a Hebrew, and a daughter of the Hebrews; speak with me in the language of my fathers. For, having heard the preaching of my fathers, I was straightway cured of the disease and the troubles that encompassed me. I therefore adore the goodness of God who has caused you to be spoiled even to this city, on account of His true stone held in honour, in order that through you we may receive the knowledge of Him, and may live with you, having believed in Him. Nicanora having thus spoken, the Apostle Philip, along with Bartholomew and Mariamme and those with them, prayed for her to God, saying: Thou who bringest the dead to life, Christ Jesus the Lord, who hast freed us through baptism from the slavery of death, completely deliver also this woman from the error, the enemy; make her alive in Thy life, and perfect her in Thy perfection, in order that she may be found in the country of her fathers in freedom, having a portion in Thy goodness, O Lord Jesus.

7 And all having sent up the amen along with the Apostle Philip, behold, there came the tyrant, the husband of Nicanora, raging like an unbroken horse; and having laid hold of his wife's garments, he cried out, saying: O

Nicanora, did not I leave thee in bed? how hadst thou so much strength as to come to these magicians? And how hast thou been cured of the inflammation of thine eyes? Now, therefore, unless thou tell me who thy physician is, and what is his name, I shall punish thee with various punishments, and shall not have compassion upon thee. And she answering, says to him: O tyrant, cast out from thee this tyranny of thine, forsake this wickedness of thine; abandon this life lasting only for a season; run away from the brutality of thy worthless disposition; flee from the wicked dragon and his lusts; throw from thee the works and the dart of the man-slaying serpent; renounce the abominable and wicked sacrifices of the idols, which are the husbandry of the enemy, the hedge of darkness; make for thyself a life chaste and pure, that being in holiness thou mayst be able to know my Physician, and to get His name. If therefore thou wishest me to be beside thee, prepare thyself to live in chastity and self-restraint, and in fear of the true God, and I shall live with thee all my life; only cleanse thyself from the idols, and from all their filth.

⁸ And when the gloomy tyrant her husband heard these words of hers, he seized her by the hair of her head, and dragged her along, kicking her, and saying: It will be a fine thing for thee to be cut off by the sword, or to see thee from beside me committing fornication with these foreign magicians; for I see that thou hast fallen into the madness of these deceivers. Thee first of them, therefore, I shall cut off by an evil death; and then, not sparing them, I shall cut their sinews, and put them to a most cruel death. And having turned, he said to those about him: Bring out for me those impostors of magicians. And the public executioners having run into the house of Stachys, and laid hold of the Apostle Philip, and Bartholomew and Mariamme, dragged them along, leading them to where the proconsul was. And the most faithful Stachys followed, and all the faithful.

⁹ And the proconsul seeing them, gnashed his teeth, saying: Torture these deceivers that have deceived many women, and young men and girls, saying that they are worshippers of God, while they are an abomination. And he ordered thongs of raw hide to be brought, and Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamme to be beaten; and after they had been scourged with the thongs, he ordered their feet to be tied, and them to be dragged through the streets of the city as far as the gate of their temple. And a great crowd was assembled, so that scarcely any one stayed at home; and they all wondered at

their patience, as they were being violently and inhumanly dragged along. And the proconsul, having tortured the Apostle Philip and the saints who were with him, ordered them to be brought, and secured in the temple of the idol of the viper by its priests, until he should decide by what death he should destroy each of them. And many of the crowd believed in the grace of Christ, and were added to the Apostle Philip, and those with him, having renounced the idol of the viper, and were confirmed in the faith, being magnified by the endurance of the saints; and all together with their voice glorified God, saying the amen.

¹⁰ And when they were shut up in the temple of the viper—both Philip the Apostle, and Bartholomew and Mariamme—the priests of the viper assembled in the same place, and a great crowd, about seven thousand men; and having run to the proconsul, they cried out, saying: Avenge us of the foreigners, and magicians, and corrupters and seducers of men. For ever since they came to us, our city has been filled with every evil deed; and they have also killed the serpents, the sons of our goddess; and they have also shut the temple, and the altar has been desolated; and we have not found the wine which had been brought in order that the viper, having drunk of it, might go to sleep. But if thou wishest to know that they are really magicians, look and see how they wish to bewitch us, saying, Live in chastity and piety, after believing in God; and how also they have come into the city; and how also the dragons have not struck them blind, or even killed them; and how also they have not drunk their blood; but even they who keep our city from every foreigner have been cast down by these men.

¹¹ And the proconsul, having heard these things, was the more inflamed with rage, and filled with wrath and threatening; and he was exceedingly enraged, and said to the priests: Why need you speak, when they have bewitched my own wife? And from that time she has spoken to me with strange words; and praying all the night through, she speaks in a strange tongue with a light shining round her; and groaning aloud, she says, Jesus the true light has come to me. And I, having gone forth from my chamber, wished to look down through the window and see Jesus, the light which she spoke of; and like lightning it came upon me, so that I was within a little of being blinded; and from that time forth I am afraid of my wife, on account of her luminous Jesus. Tell me, ye priests, what I am to do. And they said to him: O proconsul, assuredly we are no longer priests; for ever since thou didst

shut them up, in consequence of them praying, not only has the temple been shaken from the foundations, but it is also assuredly falling down.

12 Then the proconsul ordered to bring Philip and those with him forth out of the temple, and to bring them up to the tribunal, saying to the public executioner: Strip Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamme, and search thoroughly to try to find their enchantments. Having therefore first stripped Philip, then Bartholomew, they came also to Mariamme; and dragging her along, they said: Let us strip her naked, that all may see her, how she follows men; for she especially deceives all the women. And the tyrant says to the priests: Proclaim throughout the whole city round about that all should come, men and women, that they may see her indecency, that she travels about with these magicians, and no doubt commits adultery with them. And he ordered Philip to be hanged, and his ankles to be pierced, and to bring also iron hooks, and his heels also to be driven through, and to be hanged head downwards, opposite the temple on a certain tree; and stretch out Bartholomew opposite Philip, having nailed his hands on the wall of the gate of the temple.

13 And both of them smiled, seeing each other, both Philip and Bartholomew; for they were as if they were not tortured: for their punishments were prizes and crowns. And when also they had stripped Mariamme, behold, straightway the semblance of her body was changed in the presence of all, and straightway there was about her a cloud of fire before all; and they could not longer look at all on the place in which the holy Mariamme was, but they all fled from her. And Philip spoke with Bartholomew in the Hebrew tongue saying: Where is our brother John? for, behold, I am being released from the body; and who is he that has prayed for us? Because they have also laid hands on our sister Mariamme, contrary to what is meet; and, behold, they have set fire to the house of Stachys, saying, Let us burn it, since he entertained them. Dost thou wish then, Bartholomew, fire to come from heaven, and that we should burn them up?

14 And as Philip was thus speaking, behold, also John entered into the city like one of their fellow-citizens; and moving about in the street, he asked: Who are these men, and why are they punished? And they say to him: It cannot be that thou art of our city, and askest about these men, who have wronged many: for they have shut up our gods, and by their magic have cut off both the serpents and the dragons; and they have also raised many of the

dead, who have struck us with amazement, detailing many punishments against us, and they wish also, these strangers who are hanging, to pray for fire out of heaven, and to burn up us and our city. Then says John: Let us go, and do you show me them. They led John, therefore, as their fellow-citizen, to where Philip was; and there was there a great crowd, and the proconsul, and the priests. And Philip, seeing John, said to Bartholomew in Hebrew: Brother, John has come, who was in Barek, where the living water is. And John saw Philip hanging head downwards both by the ankles and the heels; and he also saw Bartholomew stretched out on the wall of the temple; and he said to them: The mystery of him that was hanged between the heaven and the earth shall be with you.

15 And he said also to the men of that city: Ye men who dwell in Ophioryma Hierapolis, great is the ignorance which is among you, for you have erred in the path of error. The dragon breathing has breathed upon you, and blinded you in three ways; that is, he has made you blind in body, and blind in soul, and blind in spirit: and you have been struck by the destroyer. Look upon the whole creation, whether in the earth, or in the heaven, or in the waters, that the serpent has no resemblance to anything above; but he is of the stock of corruption, and has been brought to nothing by God; and on this account he is twisted and crooked, and there is no life in him; and anger, and rage, and darkness, and fire, and smoke are in all his members. And now, therefore, why do you punish these men because they have told you that the serpent is your enemy?

16 And when they heard these words from John, they raised their hands against him, saying: We thought thee to be a fellow-citizen, but now thou hast shown thyself that thou art their companion. Like them, so also thou shalt be put to death; for the priests have intended to squeeze out your blood, and having mixed it with wine, to bring it to the viper to drink it. When, therefore, the priests attempted to lay hold of John, their hands were paralyzed. And John said to Philip: Let us not at all render evil for evil. And Philip said to John: Behold now, where is my Lord Jesus, who told me not to avenge myself? But for my part, I shall not endure it longer; but I will accomplish upon them my threat, and will destroy them all. 17 And John and Bartholomew and Mariamme restrained him, saying: Our Master was beaten, was scourged, was extended on the cross, was made to drink gall and vinegar, and said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And this He

taught, saying: Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. Let us also therefore be patient. Philip says: Go away, and do not mollify me; for I will not bear that they have hanged me head down, and pierced my ankles and my heels with irons. And thou, John, beloved of God, how much hast thou reasoned with them, and thou hast not been listened to! Wherefore go away from me, and I will curse them, and they shall be destroyed utterly to a man. And he began to curse them, invoking, and crying out in Hebrew: Abalo, aremun, iduthael, tharseleon, nachoth, aidunaph, teletoloi: that is, O Father of Christ, the only and Almighty God; O God, whom all ages dread, powerful and impartial Judge, whose name is in Thy dynasty Sabaoth, blessed art Thou for everlasting: before Thee tremble dominions and powers of the celestials, and the fire-breathing threats of the cherubic living ones; the King, holy in majesty, whose name came upon the wild beasts of the desert, and they were tamed, and praised Thee with a rational voice; who lookest upon us, and readily grantest our requests; who knewest us before we were fashioned; the Overseer of all: now, I pray, let the great Hades open its mouth;

¹⁸ let the great abyss swallow up these the ungodly, who have not been willing to receive the word of truth in this city. So let it be, Sabaoth. And, behold, suddenly the abyss was opened, and the whole of the place in which the proconsul was sitting was swallowed up, and the whole of the temple, and the viper which they worshipped, and great crowds, and the priests of the viper, about seven thousand men, besides women and children, except where the apostles were: they remained unshaken. And the proconsul was swallowed up into the abyss; and their voices came up from beneath, saying, with weeping: Have mercy upon us, O God of Thy glorious apostles, because we now see the judgments of those who have not confessed the crucified One: behold, the cross illumines us. O Jesus Christ, manifest Thyself to us, because we are all coming down alive into Hades, and are being scourged because we have unjustly crucified Thine apostles. And a voice was heard of one, saying: I shall be merciful to you in the cross of light.

¹⁹ And there remained both Stachys and all his house, and the wife of the proconsul, and fifty other women who had believed with her upon the Lord, and a multitude besides, both of men and women, and a hundred virgins who had not been swallowed up because of their chastity, having been sealed with the seal of Christ. Then the Lord, having appeared unto Philip, said: O Philip, didst thou not hear: Thou shalt not render evil for evil? and why hast

thou inflicted such destruction? O Philip, whosoever putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh backwards, is his furrow well set? or who gives up his own lamp to another, and himself sits in darkness? or who forsakes his own dwelling-place, and dwells on a dunghill himself? And who, giving away his own garment in winter, goes naked? or what enemy rejoices in the joy of the man that hates him? and what soldier goes to war without a full suit of armour? and what slave who has fulfilled his master's order will not be commended? and who in the race-course, having nobly run, does not receive the prize? and who that has washed his garments willingly defiles them? Behold, my bride chamber is ready; but blessed is he who has been found in it wearing the shining garment: he it is who receives the crown upon his head. Behold, the supper is ready; and blessed is he who is invited, and is ready to go to Him that has invited him. The harvest of the field is much, and blessed is the good labourer. Behold the lilies and all the flowers, and it is the good husbandman who is the first to get a share of them. And how hast thou become, O Philip, unmerciful, having cursed thine enemies in wrath?

²⁰ Philip says: Why art Thou angry with me, Lord, because I have cursed mine enemies? for why dost Thou not tread them under foot, because they are yet alive in the abyss? And knowest Thou, Lord, that because of Thee I came into this city, and in Thy name I have persecuted all the error of the idols, and all the demons? The dragons have withered away, and the serpents. And since these men have not received Thy light, therefore have I cursed them, and they have gone down to Hades alive. ²¹ And the Saviour says to Philip: But since thou hast disobeyed me, and hast requited evil for evil, and hast not kept my commandment, on this account thou shalt finish thy course gloriously indeed, and shalt be led by the hand by my holy angels, and shalt come with them even to the paradise of delight; and they indeed shall come beside me into paradise, but thee will I order to be shut outside of paradise for forty days, in terror under the flaming and turning sword, and thou shalt groan because thou hast done evil to those who have done evil to thee. And after forty days I shall send my archangel Michael; and he, having taken hold of the sword guarding paradise, shall bring thee into it, and thou shalt see all the righteous who have walked in their innocence, and then thou shalt worship the glory of my Father in the heavens. Nevertheless the sign of thy departure shall be glorified in my cross. And Bartholomew having gone away into Lycaonia, shall there also be himself crucified; and Mariamme

shall lay her body in the river Jordan. But I, O Philip, will not endure thee, because thou hast swallowed up the men into the abyss; but, behold, my Spirit is in them, and I shall bring them up from the dead; and thus they, seeing thee, shall believe in the glory of Him that sent thee.

²² And the Saviour having turned, stretched up His hand, and marked a cross in the air coming down from above even to the abyss, and it was full of light, and had its form after the likeness of a ladder. And all the multitude that had gone down from the city into the abyss came up on the ladder of the luminous cross; but there remained below the proconsul, and the viper which they worshipped. And when the multitude had come up, having looked upon Philip hanging head downwards, they lamented with a great lamentation at the lawless action which they had done. And they also saw Bartholomew, and Mariamme having her former appearance. And, behold, the Lord went up into the heavens in the sight of Philip, and Bartholomew and Mariamme, and Stachys, and all the unbelieving people, and silently they glorified God in fear and trembling. And all the multitudes cried out, saying: He alone is God, whom these men proclaim in truth; He alone is God, who sent these men for our salvation. Let us therefore truly repent for our great error, because we are by no means worthy of everlasting life. Now we believe, because we have seen great wonders, because the Saviour has brought us up from the abyss. And they all fell upon their face, and adored Philip, and entreated him, ready to flee: Do not do another miracle, and again send us away into the abyss. And they prayed that they might become worthy of the appearing of Christ.

²³ And Philip, yet hanging, addressed them, and said: Hear and learn how great are the powers of my God, remembering what you have seen below, and how your city has been overturned, with the exception of the house which received me; and now the sweetness of my God has brought you up out of the abyss, and I am obliged to walk round paradise for forty days on your account, because I was enraged against you into requiring you. And this commandment alone I have not kept, in that I did not give you good in return for evil. But I say unto you, From this time forth, in the goodness of God, reject the evil, that you may become worthy of the thanksgiving of the Lord. ²⁴ And some of the faithful ran up to take down Philip, and take off him the iron grapnels, and the hooks out of his ankles. But Philip said: Do not, my children, do not come near me on account of this, for thus shall be

my end. Listen to me, ye who have been enlightened in the Lord, that I came to this city, not to make any merchandise, or do any other thing; but I have been destined to go out of my body in this city in the case in which you see me. Grieve not, then, that I am hanging thus; for I bear the stamp of the first man, who was brought to the earth head downwards, and again, through the wood of the cross brought to life out of the death of the transgression. And now I accomplish that which hath been enjoined upon me; for the Lord said to me, Unless you shall make that of you which is down to be up, and that which is on the left to be on the right, you shall not enter into my kingdom. Be ye not therefore likened to the unchanged type, for all the world has been changed, and every soul dwelling in a body is in forgetfulness of heavenly things; but let not us possessing the glory of the heavenly seek that which is without, which is the body and the house of slavery. Be not unbelieving, but believing, and forgive each other's faults. Behold, I hang six days, and I have blame from the true Judge, because I altogether requited you evil, and put a stumbling-block in the way of my rectitude. And now I am going up on high; be not sorrowful, but rather rejoice, because I am leaving this dwelling-place, my body, having escaped from the corruption of the dragon, who punishes every soul that is in sins.

25 And Philip, having looked round upon the multitudes, said: O ye who have come up out of the dead from Hades, and the swallowing up of the abyss,—and the luminous cross led you up on high, through the goodness of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost,—He being God became man, having been made flesh out of the Virgin Mary, immortal, abiding in flesh; and having died, He raised the dead, having had pity on mankind, having taken away the sting of sin. He was great, and became small for our sake, until He should enlarge the small, and bring them into His greatness. And He it is who has sweetness; and they spat upon Him, giving Him gall to drink, in order that He might make those who were bitter against Him to taste of His sweetness. Cleave then to Him, and do not forsake Him, for He is our life to everlasting.

26 And when Philip had finished this announcement, he says to them, Loose Bartholomew; and having gone up, they loosed him. And after loosing him, Philip says to him: Bartholomew, my brother in the Lord, thou knowest that the Lord has sent thee with me to this city, and thou hast shared with me in all the dangers with our sister Mariamme; but I know that

the going forth from thy body has been appointed in Lycaonia, and it has been decreed to Mariamme to go forth from the body in the river Jordan. Now therefore I command you, that when I have gone forth from my body, you shall build a church in this place; and let the leopard and the kid of the goats come into the church, for a sign to those that believe; and let Nicanora provide for them until they shall go forth from the body; and when they shall have gone forth, bury them by the gate of the church. And lay your peace upon the house of Stachys, as Christ laid His peace on this city. And let all the virgins who believe stand in that house each day, watching over the sick, walking two and two; but let them have no communication with young men, that Satan may not tempt them: for he is a creeping serpent, and he caused Adam by means of Eve to slip into death. Let it not be so again in this time as in the case of Eve. But do thou, O Bartholomew, look to them well:

²⁷ and thou shalt give these injunctions to Stachys, and appoint him bishop. Do not entrust the place of the bishopric to a young man, that the Gospel of Christ may not be brought to shame; and let every one that teacheth have his works equal to his words. But I am going to the Lord, and take my body and prepare it for burial with Syriac sheets of paper; and do not put round me flaxen cloth, because the body of my Lord was wrapped in linen. And having prepared my body for burial in the sheets of paper, bind it tight with papyrus reeds, and bury it in the church; and pray for me forty days, in order that the Lord may forgive me the transgression wherein I transgressed, in requiting those who did evil to me. See, O Bartholomew, where my blood shall drop upon the earth, a plant shall spring up from my blood, and shall become a vine, and shall produce fruit of a bunch of grapes; and having taken the cluster, press it into the cup; and having partaken of it on the third day, send up on high the Amen, in order that the offering may be complete.

²⁸ And Philip, having said these things, prayed thus: O Lord Jesus Christ, Father of the ages, King of the light, who hast made us wise in Thy wisdom, and hast given us Thine understanding, and hast bestowed upon us the counsel of Thy goodness, who hast never at any time left us, Thou art He who taketh away the disease of those who flee to Thee for refuge; Thou art the Son of the living God, who hast given us Thy presence of wisdom, who hast given us signs and wonders, and hast turned those who have gone astray; who crownest those who overcome the adversary, Thou excellent Judge. Come

now, Jesus, and give me the everlasting crown of victory against every adverse dominion and power, and do not let their dark air hide me when I shall cross the waters of fire and all the abyss. O my Lord Jesus Christ, let not the enemy have ground to accuse me at Thy tribunal: but put on me Thy glorious robe, Thy seal of light that ever shines, until I shall pass by all the powers of the world, and the wicked dragon that lieth in wait for us. Now therefore, my Lord Jesus Christ, make me to meet Thee in the air, having forgiven me the recompense which I recompensed to my enemies; and transform the form of my body into angelic glory, and give me rest in Thy blessedness; and let me receive the promise from Thee which Thou hast promised to Thy saints to everlasting.

29 And having thus spoken, Philip gave up the ghost, while all the multitudes were looking upon him, and weeping, and saying: The life of this spirit has been accomplished in peace. And they said the Amen. And Bartholomew and Mariamme took down his body, and did as Philip had commanded them, and buried it in that place. And there was straightway a voice out of the heavens: Philip the apostle has been crowned with an incorruptible crown by Jesus Christ, the Judge of the contest. And all shouted out the Amen. And after the three days the plant of the vine sprouted up where the blood of the holy Philip had dropped. And they did all that had been commanded them by him, offering an offering for forty days, praying without ceasing. And they built the church in that place, having appointed Stachys bishop in the church. And Nicanora and all the faithful assembled, and did not cease, all of them, glorifying God on account of the wonders that had happened among them. And all the city believed in the name of Jesus. And Bartholomew commanded Stachys to baptize those who believed into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

30 And after the forty days, the Saviour, having appeared in the form of Philip, said to Bartholomew and Mariamme: My beloved brethren, do you wish to rest in the rest of God? Paradise has been opened to me, and I have entered into the glory of Jesus. Go away to the place appointed for you; for the plant that has been set apart and planted in this city shall bear excellent fruit. Having therefore saluted the brethren, and prayed for each of them, they departed from the city of Ophioryma, the Hierapolis of Asia; and Bartholomew departed into Lycaonia, and Mariamme proceeded to the Jordan; and Stachys and those with him remained, maintaining the church

in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 2

¹ Acts of Saint Philip the Apostle When He Went to Upper Hellas. And it came to pass in those days, when Philip entered into the city of Athens called Hellas, there assembled to him three hundred philosophers, saying: Let us go and see what his wisdom is; for they say about the wise men of Asia, that their wisdom is great. For they thought that Philip was a philosopher, since he was travelling in the dress of a recluse; and they did not know that he was an apostle of Christ. For the dress which Jesus gave to His disciples was a mantle only, and a linen cloth. Thus, then, Philip was going about. On this account, therefore, when the philosophers of Hellas saw him, they were afraid. They assembled therefore into one place, and said to each other: Come, let us look into our books, lest somehow this stranger overcome us, and put us to shame.

² And having done so, they came together to the same place, and say to Philip: We have doctrines of our fathers in which we are pleased, seeking after knowledge; but if thou hast anything new, O stranger, show it to us without envy boldly: for we have need of nothing else, but only to hear something new. And Philip answering, said to them: O philosophers of Hellas, if you wish to hear some new thing, and are desirous of something new, you ought to throw away from you the disposition of the old man; as my Lord said, It is impossible to put new wine into old bottles, since the bottle is burst, and the wine spilled, and the bottle destroyed. But they put new wine into fresh bottles, so that both may be preserved. And these things the Lord said in parables, teaching us in His holy wisdom, that many will love the new wine, not having a bottle fresh and new. And I love you, O men of Hellas, and I congratulate you for having said, We love something new. For instruction really new and fresh my Lord has brought into the world, in order that He might sweep away all worldly instruction.

³ The philosophers say: Who is it that thou callest thy Lord? Philip says: My Lord is Jesus in heaven. And they said to him: Show him to our comprehension without envy, that we also may believe in him. And Philip said: He with whom I am about to make you acquainted as Lord, is above every name; there is no other. And this only I say: As you have said, Do not refuse us through envy, let it not be that I should refuse you; but rather in great ex-

ultation and in great joy I have to reveal to you that name, for I have no other work in this world than this proclamation. For when my Lord came into this world, He chose us, being twelve in number, having filled us with the Holy Spirit; from His light He made us know who He was, and commanded us to preach all salvation through Him, because there is no other name named out of heaven than this. On this account I have come to you, to make you fully assured, not in word only, but also in the showing forth of wonderful works in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4 And when the philosophers heard this, they say to Philip: This name that has been heard of by us from thee we have never found in the books of our fathers; now, therefore, how can we know about thy words? And moreover, in addition, they say to him: Allow us three days, that we may consult with each other about this name; for we lay no little stress upon this—to apostatize from our fathers' religion. Philip therefore says to them: Consult as you wish; for there is no deceit in the matter. And the three hundred philosophers having assembled, spoke with each other, saying: You know that this man has brought a strange philosophy, and the words spoken by him bring us to distraction. What, then, shall we do about him, or about the name of him who is called Jesus, the king of the ages, whom he speaks of? And moreover they say to each other: Assuredly we cannot reason with him, but the high priest of the Jews can. If therefore it seem good, let us send to him, in order that he may stand up to this stranger, and that we may learn accurately the name that is preached.

5 They wrote therefore to Jerusalem after this manner:—The philosophers of Hellas to Ananias, the great high priest of the Jews in Jerusalem. There being between thee and us at all times great...as thou knowest that we Athenians are searchers after truth. A certain foreigner has come to Hellas, Philip by name; and, in a word, he has disturbed us exceedingly, both by words and by extraordinary miracles, and he introduces a glorious name, Jesus, professing himself to be his disciple. And he does also wonders of which we write to you, in that he has cast out demons that have been long in men, and makes the deaf hear, the blind see; and what is more wonderful—which also we should have first mentioned—he has raised up men after they were dead, that have fairly completed the number of their days. And the fame of him has gone abroad into all Hellas and Macedonia; and there are many coming to him from the cities round about, bringing those who are ill with

various diseases, and he heals them all through the name of Jesus. On this account, therefore, come to us without any reluctance, that thou thyself mayst announce to us what Jesus, this name which he teaches, means. For on this account also we have sent this letter to thee, O high priest.

6 And when he had read, he was filled with great wrath, and rent his clothes, and said: Has that deceiver gone even to Athens, among the philosophers, to lead them astray? And the Mansemat—that is, Satan—entered into Ananias unawares, and filled him with anger and rage; and he said: If I allow that Philip himself, and those with him, to live, the law will be entirely destroyed, and their teaching will likely fill the whole earth. And the high priest went into his own house, and the teachers of the law, and the Pharisees; and they consulted with each other, saying: What shall we do about these things? And they say to the high priest Ananias: Stand up and arm thyself, and five hundred able men out of the people, and go away to Athens, and by all means kill Philip, and thus thou shalt overturn his teaching. And having put on the high priest's robe, he came to Hellas in great pomp, with the five hundred men. And Philip was in the house of a certain chief man of the city, with the brethren who had believed. And the high priest and those with him, and the three hundred philosophers, went up to the gateway of the house where Philip was; and it was told Philip that they were outside. And he rose up and went out. And when the high priest saw him, he says to him: O Philip, sorcerer and magician, for I know thee, that in Jerusalem thy master the deceiver called thee Son of Thunder. Was not the whole of Judæa sufficient for you, but you have come here also to deceive men who are searchers after wisdom? And Philip said: Would that, O Ananias, thy covering of unbelief were taken away from thy heart, that thou mightst know my words, and from them learn whether I am a deceiver, or thou!

7 Ananias having heard this, said to Philip: I shall give answer to all. And Philip said: Speak. The high priest says: O men of Hellas, this Philip believes in a man called Jesus, who was born among us, who also taught this heresy, and destroyed the law and the temple, and brought to nought the purification through Moses, and the new moons, because he says, These have not been commanded by God. And when we saw that he thus destroyed the law, we stood up against him, and crucified him, that his teaching might not be fulfilled. For many changes were brought in by him; and he gave an evil

testimony, for he ate all things in common, and mixed with blood, after the manner of the Gentiles. And having given him up, we put him to death, and buried him in a tomb; and these disciples of his having stolen him, have proclaimed everywhere that he has risen from the dead, and have led astray a great multitude by professing that he is at the right hand of God in heaven. But now these men, themselves having the circumcision as we also have, have not followed it, since they began to do many deeds of power in Jerusalem through the name of Jesus; and having been cast out of Jerusalem, they go about the world, and deceive all men by the magic of that Jesus, as also now this Philip has come to you to deceive you by the same means. But I shall carry him away with myself to Jerusalem, because Archelaus the king is also searching for him to kill him.

⁸ And when the multitude standing round heard this, those indeed who had been confirmed in the faith were not shaken nor made to waver; for they knew that Philip would conquer in the glory of Jesus. Philip therefore stated his case in the power of Christ with great boldness, exulting and saying: I, O men of Athens, and those of you who are philosophers, have come to you, not to teach you with words, but by the showing forth of miracles; and in part you have quickly seen the things that have come to pass through me, in that name by which the high priest himself is cast off. For, behold, I shall cry to my God, and teach you, and you will prove the words of both. The high priest having heard this, ran to Philip, wishing to scourge him, and that same hour his whole hand was dried up, and his eyes were blinded; and in like manner also the five hundred who were with him were also themselves blinded. And they reviled and cursed the high priest, saying: Coming out of Jerusalem we said to thee, Refrain; for, being men, we cannot fight against God. But we entreat thee, O Philip, apostle of the God Jesus, give us the light that is through him, that we also may truly be his slaves.

⁹ And Philip, having seen what had come to pass, said: O weak nature! which has thrown itself upon us, but straightway has been brought down low into itself; O bitter sea! which rouses its waves against us, and thinks to cast us out, but which by itself lulls its waves to rest. Now therefore, O our good steward Jesus, the holy light, Thou hast not overlooked us who are all together crying up to Thee in all good works, but hast come to finish them through us. Now therefore come, Lord Jesus; reprove the folly of these men. The high priest says to Philip: Dost thou then think to turn us away from the

traditions of our fathers, and the God of the desert, and Moses; and dost thou imagine that thou wilt make us followers of Jesus the Nazarene? Then Philip says to him: Behold, I shall pray to my God to come and manifest Himself before thee and the five hundred, and before all here; for perhaps thou wilt change thy mind, and believe. But if even to the end thou remain in unbelief, there is coming upon thee an extraordinary thing, which shall be spoken of to generations of generations—that also thou shalt go down alive, down into Hades, before the face of all seeing thee, because thou yet abidest in unbelief, because also thou seekest to turn away this multitude from the true life. And Philip prayed, saying: O holy Father of the holy Son Jesus Christ, who hast granted to me to believe in Him, send Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ to reprove the unbelieving high priest, that Thy name may be glorified in Christ the Beloved.

¹⁰ And while Philip was yet crying out this, suddenly the heavens were opened, and Jesus appeared coming down in most excellent glory, and in lightning; and His face was shining sevenfold more than the sun, and His garments were whiter than snow, so that also all the idols of Athens fell suddenly to the ground. And the people fled in anguish; and the demons dwelling among them cried out: Behold, we also flee because of Him who has appeared to the city, Jesus the Son of God. Then Philip says to the high priest: Hearest thou the demons crying out because of Him who has been seen, and believest thou not in Him who is present that He is Lord of all? The high priest says: I have no other God than the one in the desert. And as Jesus was going up into heaven there happened a very great earthquake, so that the place on which they stood was cleft; and the crowds ran and fell at the feet of the apostle, crying out: Have mercy upon us, O man of God! In like manner also the five hundred men cried out themselves also again: Have mercy upon us, O Philip, that we may know thee, and through thee Jesus the light of life: for we said to this unbelieving high priest, Being sinful men, we cannot fight against God.

¹¹ Then Philip says: There is no hatred in us, but the grace of Christ will make you receive your sight; but I will make the high priest receive his sight before you, that at this you may the more believe. And a voice out of heaven was brought to Philip: O Philip, son once of thunder, but now of meekness, whatever thou mayst ask of my Father, He shall do for thee. And all the crowd was terror-struck at the voice, for the sound of it was greater than that

of thunder. Then Philip says to the high priest: In the name of the power of the voice of my Lord, receive thy sight, Ananias. And immediately he received his sight, and looked round, and said: What is there in the magic of Jesus, that this Philip within a short time has made me blind, and again within a short time has made me receive my sight? Dost thou then, said Philip, believe in Jesus? The high priest says: You do not think, do you, that you can bewitch me, and persuade me? And the five hundred who were with him, having heard that their high priest, having received his sight, was yet unbelieving, said to the bystanders to pray Philip that he should make them receive their sight, that, said they, we may cut off this unbelieving high priest.

¹² And Philip said: Do not avenge yourselves upon the wicked. And he says to the high priest: There will be a certain great sign upon thee. He says to Philip: I know that thou art a sorcerer and a disciple of Jesus: thou dost not bewitch me. And the apostle said to Jesus: Sabarthan, sabathabt, bramanuch, come quickly. And immediately the earth was cleft in the place where Ananias was, and swallowed him up as far as the knees. And Ananias cried out: O great is the power of the true witchcraft, because it has cleft the earth, when Philip threatened it in Hebrew, and adjured it; and it holds me even to the knees, and by the heels some hooks as it were drag me downwards, that I may believe in Philip; but he cannot persuade me, for from Jerusalem I know his magic tricks. ¹³ And Philip, enraged, said: O earth, lay fast hold of him, even to the navel. And immediately it dragged him down. And he said: The one of my feet underneath is turned into ice, and the other is frightfully hot; but by thy magic, Philip, I will not be overcome. Except, therefore, that I am sore tortured underneath, I do not believe at all. And the crowds wished to stone him. And Philip says: Not so; for this has in the meantime happened, that he has been swallowed up as far as the navel, that the salvation of your souls may be effected, because he would almost have drawn you by his wicked words into unbelief. But if even he repented, I should bring him up out of the earth to the salvation of his soul; but assuredly he is not worthy of salvation. If, then, he remain in unbelief, you shall see him sunk down into the abyss, unless the Lord intends to raise those who are in Hades, that they may confess that Jesus is Lord. For in that day every tongue shall confess that Jesus is Lord, and that there is one glory of the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit for evermore.

14 And Philip, having said this, extended his right hand, stretching it through the air over the five hundred men in the name of Jesus. And their eyes were opened, and they all praised God with one mouth, saying: We bless Thee, O Christ Jesus, the God of Philip, that thou hast driven the blindness away from us, and hast given us Thy light, the Gospel. And Philip rejoiced exceedingly at their words, because they were thus confirmed in the faith. And after this, Philip, having turned to the high priest, said: Confess thou also in a pure heart that Jesus is Lord, that thou mayst be saved, like those with thee. But the high priest laughed at Philip, and remained in unbelief. Philip then, seeing that he remained in unbelief, having looked at him, says to the earth: Open thy mouth, and swallow him up as far as his neck in the presence of those who have believed in Christ Jesus. And in the same hour the earth, having opened its mouth, received him as far as the neck. And the multitude communed with each other on account of the wonders that had happened.

15 A certain chief man of the city came crying out, and saying: O blessed apostle, a certain demon has assailed my son, and cried out, saying to me, Since thou hast allowed a foreigner to come into your city, thou who hast been the first to do away with our worship and our sacrifices, what shall I do for thee, except to kill this thine only begotten son? And after he said this, he strangled my son. Now therefore, I beseech thee, O apostle of Christ, do not allow my joy to be turned into sorrow, because I also have believed thy words. 16 And the apostle, having heard this, said: I wonder at the activity of the demons, that it is active in every place, and dares to assail those to whose help I have not been able to come, as now they have tried you, wishing to cause you to offend. And he says to the man: Bring me thy son, and I will give him to thee alive, through my Christ. And rejoicing, he ran to bring his son. And when he came near his house, he cried out, saying: My son, I have come to thee to carry thee to the apostle, so that he may present thee to me living. And he ordered his slaves to carry the bed; and his son was twenty-three years old. And when Philip saw him, he was moved; and he turned to the high priest, and said: This has happened as a chance for thee: if, therefore, I shall raise him up, wilt thou henceforth believe? And he says: I know your magic arts, that thou wilt raise him up; but I will not believe thee. And Philip, enraged, said: A curse upon thee! then go down altogether into the abyss before the face of all these. And at the same hour he went down into

Hades alive, except that the high priest's robe flew off from him; and because of this, from that day, no one knew what became of the priest's robe. And the apostle turned round and prayed for the boy; and having driven the demon away from him, he raised him up, and set him beside his father alive.

17 And the multitude having beheld this, cried out: The God of Philip is the only God, who has punished the unbelief of the high priest, and driven away the demon from the young man, and raised him up from the dead. And the five hundred having seen the high priest swallowed up into the abyss, and the other miracles, besought Philip, and he gave them the seal in Christ. And Philip abode in Athens two years; and having founded a church, appointed a bishop and a presbyter, and so went away to Parthia, preaching Christ. To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 3

1 Addition to Acts of Philip. (From a Paris ms.) And he taught them thus: My brethren, sons of my Father—for you are of my family as to Christ, substance of my city, the Jerusalem above, the delight of my dwelling-place—why have you been taken captive by your enemy the serpent, twisted, crooked, and perverse, to whom God has given neither hands nor feet? And crooked is his going, since he is the son of the wicked one; for his father is death, and his mother corruption, and ruin is in his body. Do not go then into his destruction; for you are in bondage by the unbelief and deception of his son, who is without order, and has no substance; formless, and has no form in the whole creation, either in the heaven or in the earth, or among the fishes that are in the waters. But if you see him, flee from him, since he has no resemblance to men: his dwelling is the abyss, and he walks in darkness. Flee, then, from him, that his venom may not be poured out upon you: if his venom be poured out upon your body, you walk in his wickedness. But remain rather in the true worship, being faithful, reverent, and good, without guile. Flee from Satan the dragon, and remove from you his wicked seed, namely desire, by which he begets disease in the soul, which is the venom of the serpent. For desire is of the serpent from the beginning, and she it is who arms herself against the faithful; for she came forth out of the darkness, and returns to the darkness. You ought therefore, after coming to us, or rather through us to God, to throw out the venom of the devil from your bodies.

² And as the apostle was saying this, behold, Nicanora came forth from her house, and went with her slaves into the house of Stachys. And when she came near the door of the house, behold, Mariamme spoke to her in the Syriac language: Helikomaiei, kosma, etaa, mariacha. And she explained her words, saying: O daughter of the Spirit, thou art my lady, who hast been given in pledge to the serpent; but I have come to deliver thee: I shall break thy bonds, and cut them from their root. Behold, the Deliverer that frees thee has come: behold, the Sun of righteousness has risen to enlighten thee. And when she was thus speaking, the gloomy tyrant came running and panting. And Nicanora, who was before the door, heard this, and took courage before them all, crying out and saying: I am a Hebrew, a daughter of the Hebrews; speak with me in the language of my fathers, because I have heard your preaching, and have been cured of this my disease. I reverence and glorify the goodness of God, in that He hath made you to be utterly spoiled in this earth.

³ And when she said this, the tyrant came, and took hold of her garments, and said: O Nicanora, did I not leave thee lying on the bed from thy disease? Whence, then, hast thou found this power and strength, so as to be able to come to these magicians? Unless, then, thou tell who is the healer, I shall punish thee most severely. And Nicanora answered, and said: O rearer of tyrants, cast away from thyself this tyranny, and forget thy wicked works, and abandon this temporary life, and put away vainglory, because it passes like a shadow: seek rather what is everlasting, and take away from thyself the beastly and impious work of base desire, and reject vain intercourse, which is the husbandry of death, the dark prison; and overturn the middle wall of corruption, and prepare for thyself a life chaste and spotless, that we may altogether live in sanctity. If, then, thou wishest me to remain with thee, I will live with thee in continence.

⁴ And when the tyrant heard these words, he seized her by the hair of the head, and dragged her along, kicking her, and saying: It would be better for thee to be put to death by my sword, than to be seen with these foreign magicians and deceivers. I will punish thee, therefore, and put to death those who have deceived thee. And he turned in a rage to the executioners who followed him, and said: Bring me these impostors. And the executioners ran to the house of Stachys, and laid hold of Philip, and Bartholomew, and Mariamme, with the leopard and the kid of the goats, and dragged them along,

and brought them. When the tyrant saw them, he gnashed his teeth against them, and said: Drag along these magicians and deceivers that have deceived many souls of women by saying, We are worshippers of God. And he caused thongs to be brought, and bound their feet. And he ordered them to be dragged along from the gate as far as the temple. And great multitudes came together to that place. And they wondered exceedingly at the leopard and the kid; for they were speaking like men, and some of the multitude believed the words of the apostles.

5 And the priests said to the tyrant: These men are magicians. And when he heard that, he burned with rage, and was filled with anger; and he ordered Philip, and Bartholomew, and Mariamne to be stripped, saying: Search them. Perhaps you will find their sorcery. And the executioners stripped them, and laid hold of Mariamne, and dragged her along, saying: Uncover her, that they may learn that it is a woman who follows them. And he ordered to bring clubs and strong cords; and after piercing Philip's ankles they brought hooks, and put the cords through his ankles, and hung him head downwards on a tree that was before the door of the temple; and they fixed pegs into the temple wall, and left him. And after binding Bartholomew hand and foot, they extended him naked on the wall; and when they had stripped Mariamne, the appearance of her body was changed, and became a glass chest filled with light, and they could not come near her.

6 And Philip spoke with Bartholomew in Hebrew: Where is John to-day, in the day of our need? for behold, we are being delivered from our bodies. And they have laid hands on Mariamne beyond what is seemly, and they have scourged the leopard and the kid of the goats, and have set fire to the house of Stachys, because he took us in. Let us therefore speak, that fire may come down from heaven and burn them up. 7 And as Philip was thus speaking, behold, John came into the city, and walked about the street, and asked those in the city: What is the commotion, and who are these men, and why are they punished? And they say to him: Art thou not of this city? And dost thou not know about these men, how they disturbed our houses, and the whole city? Moreover, they have even persuaded our wives to go away from us on the pretence of religion, proclaiming a foreign name, viz. Christ's; and they have also shut our temples by the sorcery they have, and they have put to death the serpents that are in the city by foreign names that we have never known. And they have fixed their abode in the house of Stachys the blind

man, whom they made to recover his sight through the spittle of a woman who accompanies them; and it is perhaps she who has all the sorcery: and there accompany them a leopard and a kid, speaking like men. But if ever you have seen such doings, you will not be put about by them. And John answered, and said to them: Show me them. And they brought him to the temple where Philip was hanging. And when Philip saw John, he said to Bartholomew: O my brother, behold the son of Barega—that is the living water—has come. And John saw Philip hanging head down, tied by his ankles; and saw Bartholomew also bound to the temple wall.

8 And he said to the men of the city: O children of the serpent, how great is your folly! for the way of deceit has deceived you, the wicked dragon breathing has breathed upon you: why do you punish these men for saying the serpent is your enemy? And when they heard these words from John, they laid their hands upon him, saying: We called thee our fellow-citizen, but now thy speech has made thee manifest that thou also art in communion with them. Thou also, therefore, shalt be put to the same death as they, for the priests have decided thus: Let us drain out their blood as they hang head downward, and mix it with wine, and offer it to the viper. And when they were thus speaking, behold, Mariamne rose up from the place in which she was, and came back to her former appearance. 9 And the priests reached forth their hands towards John, wishing to lay hold of him, and they could not. Then Philip with Bartholomew said to John: Where is Jesus, who enjoins upon us not to take into our own hands vengeance on those that torture us? for after this I will not endure them. And Philip spoke in Hebrew, and said: My Father Uthael, i.e., O Christ, Father of majesty, whose name all the ages fear, who art powerful, and the power of the universe, whose name goes forth in lordship, Eloa: Blessed art Thou to the ages; Thou whom dominions and powers fear, trembling before Thy face; King of honour! Father of majesty! whose name has gone forth to the wild beasts of the desert, and they have become quiet because of Thee, and through Thee the serpents have departed from us: Hear us before we ask. Thou who seest us before we call, who knowest our thoughts, the All-surveyor of all, who sends forth from Himself unnumbered compassions; let the abyss open its mouth, and swallow up these godless persons who will not accept the word of Thy truth.

10 And in that very hour the abyss opened its mouth, and all that place was violently shaken, from the proconsul to all the multitude along with the priests; and they were all sunk down. And the places where the apostles and all who were with them were remained unshaken, and the house of Stachys, and Nicanora the tyrant's wife, and the twenty-four wives who fled from their husbands, and the forty virgins who had not known men. These alone did not go down into the abyss, because they had become servants, and had received the word of God, and His seal; but all the rest of the city were swallowed down into the abyss. And the Saviour having appeared at that hour, said to Philip: Who is it that has put his hand to the plough, and has turned back from making the furrow straight? or who gives his light to others, and himself remains sitting in darkness? or who dwells in the dirt, and leaves his dwelling-place to strangers? or who lays down his garment, and goes out in the days of winter naked? or what slave that has done his master's service, shall not be called by him to supper? or who runs with zeal in the racecourse, and does not get the prize? Philip, behold my bridal chamber is ready, and blessed is he who has his own shining garment; for he it is who gets the crown of joy upon his head. Behold, the supper is ready, and blessed is he who is called by the bridegroom. Great is the harvest of the field; blessed is the able workman.

11 And when Philip heard these words from the Saviour, he answered and said to him: Thou didst give us leave, O Jesus of Nazareth, and dost Thou not enjoin us to smite those who do not wish Thee to reign over them? But this we know, that Thy name has not been proclaimed in all the world, and Thou hast sent us to this city. And I did not intend to come into this city, and Thou didst send me, after giving me Thy true commandment, that I should drive away all deceit, and bring to nothing every idol and demon, and all the power of the unclean one. And when I came here, the demons fled from our faces through Thy name, and the dragons and the serpents withered away, but these men did not take to themselves Thy true light; and for this reason I resolved to bring them low, according to their folly.

12 And the Saviour said: O Philip, since thou hast forsaken this commandment of mine, not to render evil for evil, for this reason thou shalt be debarred in the next world for forty years from being in the place of my promise: besides, this is the end of thy departure from the body in this place; and Bartholomew has his lot in Lycaonia, and shall be crucified there; and

Mariamne shall lay down her body in the river Jordan. And the Saviour turned and stretched out His hand, and made the sign of the cross in the air; and it was full of light, and had its form after the likeness of a ladder. And all the multitude of the men of the city who had gone down into the abyss came up upon the ladder of the cross of light and none of them remained in the abyss, but only the tyrant and the priests, and the viper which they worshipped. And when the multitudes came up from the abyss, they looked and saw Philip hanging head down, and Bartholomew upon the wall of the temple, and they also found Mariamne in her first shape. And the Saviour went up into heaven in the sight of Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamne, and the leopard and the kid of the goats, and Nicanora and Stachys; and they all with a loud voice glorified God with fear and trembling, crying out: There is one God who has sent us His salvation, whose name these men proclaim: we repent therefore of the error in which we were before yesterday, not being worthy of eternal life; and we believe, having seen the wonderful things that have come to pass through us. And some of them threw themselves on their faces, and worshipped the apostles; and others made ready to flee, saying: There may be another earthquake like the one that has just happened.

¹³ And stretching out his hands, the Apostle Philip, hanging head down, said: Men of the city, hear these words which I am going to say to you, hanging head down. Ye have learned how great are the powers of God, and the wonders which you saw when your city was destroyed by the earthquake which came upon it. And this was manifest to you, that the house of Stachys was not destroyed and that he did not go down into the abyss, because he believed on the true God, and received us His servants. And I, having fulfilled all the will of my God, am His debtor for what I requited to him that did evil to me. ¹⁴ And some of those who had been baptized ran to loose Philip hanging head down. And he answered and said to them: My brethren,... those who are virgins in the members of their flesh and commit fornication in their hearts, and the fornication of their eyes, shall abound like the deluge. And they grow immoderate from listening to persuasive pleasures, forgetting the God of the knowledge of the Gospel; and their hearts are full of arrogance, eating and drinking in their worship, forgetting the holy commandment, and despising it. That generation is turned aside; but blessed is he that retires into his retreat, for he shall obtain rest in his departure.

Knowest thou not, Bartholomew, that the word of our Lord is true life and knowledge? for the Lord said to us in His teaching, Every one who shall look upon a woman, and lust after her in his heart, has completed adultery. And on this account our brother Peter fled from every place in which a woman was, and yet there was scandal on account of his own daughter; and he prayed to the Lord, and she had paralysis of her side, that she might not be deceived. Thou seest, brother, that the sight of the eyes brings gainsaying, and the beginning of sin, as it is written, She looked, and saw the tree, that it was pleasing to her eyes, and good for food, and she was deceived. Let the hearing, then, of the virgins be holy; and in their going out let them walk two and two, for many are the wives of the enemy. Let their walk and conversation be well ordered, that they may be saved; but if not, let their fruit be common.

15 My brother Bartholomew, give these promises to Stachys, and appoint him ruler and bishop in the Church, that he may be like thee, teaching well. Do not entrust the office to a man too young: appoint not such a one to the chair of the teachers, lest thou profane the witness of Christ. For he that teaches should have his works corresponding to his words, that the word may be ready on every occasion in its own glory. But I am being released from my body, hanging head down. Take, then, my body, and prepare it for burial in Syrian paper, and do not put about it linen cloth, since they put it upon the body of our Lord, and wrap it close in paper and papyrus, and put it in the vestibule of the holy church. And pray over me for forty days, that God may forgive the transgression which I did, in that I requited evil to him that did evil to me, and there may not be for me in the world to come the forty years.

16 And after thus speaking, Philip prayed, saying: My Lord Jesus Christ, Father of the ages, King of all light, who makest us wise in Thy wisdom, who hast given us the exalted knowledge, who hast graciously conferred upon us the counsel of Thy goodness, who hast never departed from us; Thou who takest away disease from those who take refuge in Thee; Thou who hast given us the Word, to turn unto Thee those who have been led astray; Thou who hast given us signs and wonders on behalf of those of little faith; Thou who presentest the crown to those who have conquered; Thou who art the judge of the games, who hast given us the crown of joy, who speakest with us, that we may be able to withstand those that hurt us; Thou art He who sows and reaps, and completes, and increases, and vivifies all Thine own servants: reproaches and threats are to us help and power through those who turn to

Thee through us, who are Thy servants. Come, Lord, and give me the crown of victory in the presence of men. Let not their dark air envelope me, nor their smoke burn the shape of my soul, that I may cross the waters of the abyss, and not sink in them. My Lord Jesus Christ, let not the enemy find anything that he can bring against me in the presence of Thee, the true Judge, but clothe me in Thy shining robe, and...(The rest is wanting.)

P A R T T W O

Paul, Peter and the Women

*Thecla, the contest of Peter and Paul with Simon, the martyr-
dom of Peter and the women of Spain.*

Acts of Paul and Thecla

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

late 2nd century

The story of Thecla of Iconium, who hears Paul preach on virginity, is condemned to the fire and to the beasts, and is saved. It is part of the second-century Acts of Paul.

¹ Acts of Paul and Thecla. As Paul was going up to Iconium after the flight from Antioch, his fellow-travellers were Demas and Ermogenes, full of hypocrisy; and they were importunate with Paul, as if they loved him. But Paul, looking only to the goodness of Christ, did them no harm, but loved them exceedingly, so that he made the oracles of the Lord sweet to them in the teaching both of the birth and the resurrection of the Beloved; and he gave them an account, word for word, of the great things of Christ, how He had been revealed to him. And a certain man, by name Onesiphorus, hearing that Paul had come to Iconium, went out to meet him with his children Silas and Zeno, and his wife Lectra, in order that he might entertain him: for Titus had informed him what Paul was like in appearance: for he had not seen him in the flesh, but only in the spirit. And he went along the road to Lystra, and stood waiting for him, and kept looking at the passers by according to the description of Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well-built, with eyebrows meeting, rather long-nosed, full of grace. For sometimes he seemed like a man, and sometimes he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul, seeing Onesiphorus, smiled; and Onesiphorus said: Hail, O servant of the blessed God! And he said: Grace be with thee and thy house. And Demas and Ermogenes were jealous, and showed greater hypocrisy; so that Demas said: Are not we of the blessed God, that thou hast not thus saluted us? And Onesiphorus said: I do not see in you the fruit of righteousness; but if such you be, come you also into my house and rest yourselves.

2 And Paul having gone into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bending of knees, and breaking of bread, and the word of God about self-control and the resurrection; Paul saying: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God: blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God: blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them: blessed are they that have kept aloof from this world, for they shall be called upright: blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God for their portion: blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God: blessed are they that have kept the baptism, for they shall rest beside the Father and the Son: blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, and shall not see the bitter day of judgment: blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity; for the word of the Father shall become to them a work of salvation against the day of His Son, and they shall have rest for ever and ever.

3 And while Paul was thus speaking in the midst of the church in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin Thecla, the daughter of Theocleia, betrothed to a man named Thamyris, sitting at the window close by, listened night and day to the discourse of virginity and prayer, and did not look away from the window, but paid earnest heed to the faith, rejoicing exceedingly. And when she still saw many women going in beside Paul, she also had an eager desire to be deemed worthy to stand in the presence of Paul, and to hear the word of Christ; for never had she seen his figure, but heard his word only. And as she did not stand away from the window, her mother sends to Thamyris; and he comes gladly, as if already receiving her in marriage. And Theocleia said: I have a strange story to tell thee, Thamyris; for assuredly for three days and three nights Thecla does not rise from the window, neither to eat nor to drink; but looking earnestly as if upon some pleasant sight, she is so devoted to a foreigner teaching deceitful and artful discourses, that I wonder how a virgin of such modesty is so painfully put about. Thamyris, this man will overturn the city of the Iconians, and thy Thecla too besides; for all the women and the young men go in beside him, being taught to fear God and to live in chastity. Moreover also my daughter, tied to the window like a spider, lays hold of what is said by Paul with a strange eagerness and awful emotion; for the virgin looks eagerly at what is said by him, and has been

captivated. But do thou go near and speak to her, for she has been betrothed to thee.

⁴ And Thamyris going near, and kissing her, but at the same time also being afraid of her overpowering emotion, said: Thecla, my betrothed, why dost thou sit thus? and what sort of feeling holds thee overpowered? Turn round to thy Thamyris, and be ashamed. Moreover also her mother said the same things: Why dost thou sit thus looking down, my child, and answering nothing, but like a mad woman? And they wept fearfully, Thamyris indeed for the loss of a wife, and Theocleia of a child, and the maidservants of a mistress: there was accordingly much confusion in the house of mourning. And while these things were thus going on, Thecla did not turn round, but kept attending earnestly to the word of Paul. ⁵ And Thamyris starting up, went forth into the street, and kept watching those going in to him and coming out. And he saw two men bitterly contending with each other; and he said: Men, tell me who this is among you, leading astray the souls of young men, and deceiving virgins, so that they do not marry, but remain as they are. I promise, therefore, to give you money enough if you tell me about him; for I am the first man of the city. And Demas and Ermogenes said to him: Who this is, indeed, we do not know; but he deprives young men of wives, and maidens of husbands, saying, There is for you a resurrection in no other way, unless you remain chaste, and pollute not the flesh, but keep it chaste. And Thamyris said to them: Come into my house, and rest yourselves. And they went to a sumptuous dinner, and much wine, and great wealth, and a splendid table; and Thamyris made them drink, from his love to Thecla, and his wish to get her as his wife. And Thamyris said during the dinner: Ye men, what is his teaching, tell me, that I also may know; for I am no little distressed about Thecla, because she thus loves the stranger, and I am prevented from marrying.

⁶ Demas and Ermogenes said: Bring him before the governor Castellos on the charge of persuading the multitudes to embrace the new teaching of the Christians, and he will speedily destroy him, and thou shalt have Thecla as thy wife. And we shall teach thee that the resurrection of which this man speaks has taken place, because it has already taken place in the children which we have; and we rose again when we came to the knowledge of the true God. And Thamyris, hearing these things, being filled with anger and rage, rising up early, went to the house of Onesiphorus with archons and

public officers, and a great crowd with batons, saying: Thou hast corrupted the city of the Iconians, and her that was betrothed to me, so that she will not have me: let us go to the governor Castelios. And all the multitude said: Away with the magician; for he has corrupted all our wives, and the multitudes have been persuaded to change their opinions.

⁷ And Thamyris, standing before the tribunal, said with a great shout: O proconsul, this man, who he is we know not, who makes virgins averse to marriage; let him say before thee on what account he teaches these things. And Demas and Ermogenes said to Thamyris: Say that he is a Christian, and thus thou wilt do away with him. But the proconsul stayed his intention, and called Paul, saying: Who art thou, and what dost thou teach? for they bring no small charges against thee. And Paul lifted up his voice, saying: Since I am this day examined as to what I teach, listen, O proconsul: A living God, a God of retributions, a jealous God, a God in need of nothing, consulting for the salvation of men, has sent me that I may reclaim them from corruption and uncleanness, and from all pleasure, and from death, that they may not sin. Wherefore God sent His own Son, whom I preach, and in whom I teach men to rest their hope, who alone has had compassion upon a world led astray, that they may be no longer under judgment, O proconsul, but may have faith, and the fear of God, and the knowledge of holiness, and the love of truth. If, therefore, I teach what has been revealed to me by God, wherein do I do wrong? And the proconsul having heard, ordered Paul to be bound, and sent to prison, until, said he, I, being at leisure, shall hear him more attentively.

⁸ And Thecla by night having taken off her bracelets, gave them to the gatekeeper; and the door having been opened to her, she went into the prison; and having given the jailor a silver mirror, she went in beside Paul, and, sitting at his feet, she heard the great things of God. And Paul was afraid of nothing, but ordered his life in the confidence of God. And her faith also was increased, and she kissed his bonds. And when Thecla was sought for by her friends, and Thamyris, as if she had been lost, was running up and down the streets, one of the gatekeeper's fellow-slaves informed him that she had gone out by night. And having gone out, they examined the gatekeeper; and he said to them: She has gone to the foreigner into the prison. And having gone, they found her, as it were, enchained by affection. And having gone forth thence, they drew the multitudes together, and informed the governor

of the circumstance. And he ordered Paul to be brought to the tribunal; but Thecla was wallowing on the ground in the place where he sat and taught her in the prison; and he ordered her too to be brought to the tribunal. And she came, exulting with joy. And the crowd, when Paul had been brought, vehemently cried out: He is a magician! away with him! But the proconsul gladly heard Paul upon the holy works of Christ. And having called a council, he summoned Thecla, and said to her: Why dost thou not obey Thamyras, according to the law of the Iconians? But she stood looking earnestly at Paul. And when she gave no answer, her mother cried out, saying: Burn the wicked wretch; burn in the midst of the theatre her that will not marry, in order that all the women that have been taught by this man may be afraid.

9 And the governor was greatly moved; and having scourged Paul, he cast him out of the city, and condemned Thecla to be burned. And immediately the governor went away to the theatre, and all the crowd went forth to the spectacle of Thecla. But as a lamb in the wilderness looks round for the shepherd, so she kept searching for Paul. And having looked upon the crowd, she saw the Lord sitting in the likeness of Paul, and said: As I am unable to endure my lot, Paul has come to see me. And she gazed upon him with great earnestness, and he went up into heaven. But the maid-servants and virgins brought the faggots, in order that Thecla might be burned. And when she came in naked, the governor wept, and wondered at the power that was in her. And the public executioners arranged the faggots for her to go up on the pile. And she, having made the sign of the cross, went up on the faggots; and they lighted them. And though a great fire was blazing, it did not touch her; for God, having compassion upon her, made an underground rumbling, and a cloud overshadowed them from above, full of water and hail; and all that was in the cavity of it was poured out, so that many were in danger of death. And the fire was put out, and Thecla saved.

10 And Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife, and his children, in a new tomb, as they were going from Iconium to Daphne. And when many days were past, the fasting children said to Paul: We are hungry, and we cannot buy loaves; for Onesiphorus had left the things of the world, and followed Paul, with all his house. And Paul, having taken off his cloak, said: Go, my child, buy more loaves, and bring them. And when the child was buying, he saw Thecla their neighbour, and was astonished, and said: Thecla, whither art thou going? And she said: I have been saved from the fire, and

am following Paul. And the boy said: Come, I shall take thee to him; for he is distressed about thee, and is praying six days. And she stood beside the tomb where Paul was with bended knees, and praying, and saying: O Saviour Christ, let not the fire touch Thecla, but stand by her, for she is Thine. And she, standing behind him, cried out: O Father, who hast made the heaven and the earth, the Father of Thy holy Son, I bless Thee that Thou hast saved me that I may see Paul. And Paul, rising up, saw her, and said: O God, that knowest the heart, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bless Thee that Thou, having heard me, hast done quickly what I wished.

11 And they had five loaves, and herbs, and water; and they rejoiced in the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said to Paul: I shall cut my hair, and follow thee whithersoever thou mayst go. And he said: It is a shameless age, and thou art beautiful. I am afraid lest another temptation come upon thee worse than the first, and that thou withstand it not, but be cowardly. And Thecla said: Only give me the seal in Christ, and temptation shall not touch me. And Paul said: Thecla, wait with patience, and thou shalt receive the water.

12 And Paul sent away Onesiphorus and all his house to Iconium; and thus, having taken Thecla, he went into Antioch. And as they were going in, a certain Syriarch, Alexander by name, seeing Thecla, became enamoured of her, and tried to gain over Paul by gifts and presents. But Paul said: I know not the woman whom thou speakest of, nor is she mine. But he, being of great power, himself embraced her in the street. But she would not endure it, but looked about for Paul. And she cried out bitterly, saying: Do not force the stranger; do not force the servant of God. I am one of the chief persons of the Iconians; and because I would not have Thamyris, I have been cast out of the city. And taking hold of Alexander, she tore his cloak, and pulled off his crown, and made him a laughing-stock. And he, at the same time loving her, and at the same time ashamed of what had happened, led her before the governor; and when she had confessed that she had done these things, he condemned her to the wild beasts. And the women were struck with astonishment, and cried out beside the tribunal: Evil judgment! impious judgment! And she asked the governor, that, said she, I may remain pure until I shall fight with the wild beasts. And a certain Tryphæna, whose daughter was dead, took her into keeping, and had her for a consolation.

13 And when the beasts were exhibited, they bound her to a fierce lioness; and Tryphæna accompanied her. But the lioness, with Thecla sitting upon

her, licked her feet; and all the multitude was astonished. And the charge on her inscription was: Sacrilegious. And the women cried out from above: An impious sentence has been passed in this city! And after the exhibition, Tryphæna again receives her. For her daughter Falconilla had died, and said to her in a dream: Mother, thou shalt have this stranger Thecla in my place, in order that she may pray concerning me, and that I may be transferred to the place of the just. And when, after the exhibition, Tryphæna received her, at the same time indeed she grieved that she had to fight with the wild beasts on the day following; and at the same time, loving her as much as her daughter Falconilla, she said: My second child Thecla, come and pray for my child, that she may live for ever; for this I saw in my sleep. And she, nothing hesitating, lifted up her voice, and said: God most high, grant to this woman according to her wish, that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever. And when Thecla had thus spoken, Tryphæna lamented, considering so much beauty thrown to the wild beasts.

¹⁴ And when it was dawn, Alexander came to take her, for it was he that gave the hunt, saying: The governor is sitting, and the crowd is in uproar against us. Allow me to take away her that is to fight with the wild beasts. And Tryphæna cried aloud, so that he even fled, saying: A second mourning for my Falconilla has come upon my house and there is no one to help; neither child, for she is dead, nor kinsman, for I am a widow. God of Thecla, help her! And immediately the governor sends an order that Thecla should be brought. And Tryphæna, taking her by the hand, said: My daughter Falconilla, indeed, I took away to the tomb; and thee, Thecla, I am taking to the wild-beast fight. And Thecla wept bitterly, saying: O Lord, the God in whom I believe, to whom I have fled for refuge, who deliveredst me from the fire, do Thou grant a recompense to Tryphæna, who has had compassion on Thy servant, and because she has kept me pure. Then a tumult arose, and a cry of the people, and the women sitting together, the one saying: Away with the sacrilegious person! the others saying: Let the city be raised against this wickedness. Take off all of us, O proconsul! Cruel sight! evil sentence!

¹⁵ And Thecla, having been taken out of the hand of Tryphæna, was stripped, and received a girdle, and was thrown into the arena, and lions and bears and a fierce lioness were let loose upon her; and the lioness having run up to her feet, lay down; and the multitude of the women cried aloud. And a bear ran upon her; but the lioness, meeting the bear, tore her to pieces. And

again a lion that had been trained against men, which belonged to Alexander, ran upon her; and she, the lioness, encountering the lion, was killed along with him. And the women made great lamentation, since also the lioness, her protector, was dead. Then they send in many wild beasts, she standing and stretching forth her hands, and praying. And when she had finished her prayer, she turned and saw a ditch full of water, and said: Now it is time to wash myself. And she threw herself in, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ I am baptized on my last day. And the women seeing, and the multitude, wept, saying: Do not throw thyself into the water; so that also the governor shed tears, because the seals were going to devour such beauty. She then threw herself in in the name of Jesus Christ; but the seals having seen the glare of the fire of lightning, floated about dead. And there was round her, as she was naked, a cloud of fire; so that neither could the wild beasts touch her, nor could she be seen naked.

16 And the women, when other wild beasts were being thrown in, wailed. And some threw sweet-smelling herbs, others nard, others cassia, others amomum, so that there was abundance of perfumes. And all the wild beasts that had been thrown in, as if they had been withheld by sleep, did not touch her; so that Alexander said to the governor: I have bulls exceedingly terrible; let us bind to them her that is to fight with the beasts. And the governor, looking gloomy, turned, and said: Do what thou wilt. And they bound her by the feet between them, and put red-hot irons under the privy parts of the bulls, so that they, being rendered more furious, might kill her. They rushed about, therefore; but the burning flame consumed the ropes, and she was as if she had not been bound. But Tryphæna fainted standing beside the arena, so that the crowd said: Queen Tryphæna is dead. And the governor put a stop to the games, and the city was in dismay. And Alexander entreated the governor, saying: Have mercy both on me and the city, and release this woman. For if Cæsar hear of these things, he will speedily destroy the city also along with us, because his kinswoman Queen Tryphæna has died beside the Abaci.

17 And the governor summoned Thecla out of the midst of the wild beasts, and said to her: Who art thou? and what is there about thee, that not one of the wild beasts touches thee? And she said: I indeed am a servant of the living God; and as to what there is about me, I have believed in the Son of God, in whom He is well pleased; wherefore not one of the beasts has touched me. For He alone is the end of salvation, and the basis of immortal

life; for He is a refuge to the tempest-tossed, a solace to the afflicted, a shelter to the despairing; and, once for all, whoever shall not believe on Him, shall not live for ever. And the governor having heard this, ordered her garments to be brought, and to be put on. And Thecla said: He that clothed me naked among the wild beasts, will in the day of judgment clothe thee with salvation. And taking the garments, she put them on. The governor therefore immediately issued an edict, saying: I release to you the God-fearing Thecla, the servant of God. And the women shouted aloud, and with one mouth returned thanks to God, saying: There is one God, the God of Thecla; so that the foundations of the theatre were shaken by their voice. And Tryphæna having received the good news, went to meet the holy Thecla, and said: Now I believe that the dead are raised: now I believe that my child lives. Come within, and I shall assign to thee all that is mine. She therefore went in along with her, and rested eight days, having instructed her in the word of God, so that most even of the maid-servants believed. And there was great joy in the house.

18 And Thecla kept seeking Paul; and it was told her that he was in Myra of Lycia. And taking young men and maidens, she girded herself; and having sewed the tunic so as to make a man's cloak, she came to Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God. And Paul was astonished at seeing her, and the crowd with her, thinking that some new trial was coming upon her. And when she saw him, she said: I have received the baptism, Paul; for He that wrought along with thee for the Gospel has wrought in me also for baptism. And Paul, taking her, led her to the house of Hermæus, and hears everything from her, so that those that heard greatly wondered, and were comforted, and prayed over Tryphæna. And she rose up, and said: I am going to Iconium. And Paul said: Go, and teach the word of God. And Tryphæna sent her much clothing and gold, so that she left to Paul many things for the service of the poor.

19 And she went to Iconium. And she goes into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell upon the pavement where Paul used to sit and teach her, and wept, saying: God of myself and of this house, where Thou didst make the light to shine upon me, O Christ Jesus, the Son of the living God, my help in the fire, my help among the wild beasts, Thou art glorified for ever. Amen. And she found Thamyras dead, but her mother alive. And having sent for her mother, she said: Theocleia, my mother, canst thou believe that the Lord liveth in

the heavens? For whether thou desirest wealth, God gives it to thee through me; or thy child, I am standing beside thee. And having thus testified, she departed to Seleucia, and dwelt in a cave seventy-two years, living upon herbs and water. And she enlightened many by the word of God.

²⁰ And certain men of the city, being Greeks by religion, and physicians by profession, sent to her insolent young men to destroy her. For they said: She is a virgin, and serves Artemis, and from this she has virtue in healing. And by the providence of God she entered into the rock alive, and went under ground. And she departed to Rome to see Paul, and found that he had fallen asleep. And after staying there no long time, she rested in a glorious sleep; and she is buried about two or three stadia from the tomb of her master Paul. She was cast, then, into the fire when seventeen years old, and among the wild beasts when eighteen. And she was an ascetic in the cave, as has been said, seventy-two years, so that all the years of her life were ninety. And having accomplished many cures, she rests in the place of the saints, having fallen asleep on the twenty-fourth of the month of September in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

²¹ Instead of the last two sections, the ms. which Dr. Grabe used has the following:— ²² And a cloud of light guided her. And having come into Seleucia, she went forth outside of the city one stadium. And she was afraid of them also, for they worshipped idols. And it guided her to the mountain called Calamon or Rhodeon; and having there found a cave, she went into it. And she was there many years, and underwent many and grievous trials by the devil, and bore them nobly, being assisted by Christ. And some of the well-born women, having learned about the virgin Thecla, went to her, and learned the oracles of God. And many of them bade adieu to the world, and lived an ascetic life with her. And a good report was spread everywhere concerning her, and cures were done by her. All the city, therefore, and country round, having known this, brought their sick to the mountain; and before they came near the door they were speedily released from whatever disease they were afflicted by; and the unclean spirits went out shrieking, and all received their own in health, glorifying God, who had given such grace to the virgin Thecla. The physicians, therefore, of the city of the Seleucians were thought nothing of, having lost their trade, and no one any longer had regard to them; and being filled with envy and hatred, they plotted against the

servant of Christ, what they should do to her. The devil then suggests to them a wicked device; and one day, being assembled, and having taken counsel, they consult with each other, saying:

²³ This virgin is a priestess of the great goddess Artemis; and if she ask anything of her, she hears her as being a virgin, and all the gods love her. Come, then, let us take men of disorderly lives, and make them drunk with much wine, and let us give them much gold, and say to them, If you can corrupt and defile her, we shall give you even more money. The physicians therefore said to themselves, that if they should be able to defile her, neither the gods nor Artemis would listen to her in the case of the sick. They therefore did so. And the wicked men, having gone to the mountain, and rushed upon the cave like lions, knocked at the door. And the holy martyr Thecla opened, emboldened by the God in whom she believed; for she knew of their plot beforehand. And she says to them: What do you want, my children? And they said: Is there one here called Thecla? And she said: What do you want with her? They say to her: We want to sleep with her. The blessed Thecla says to them: I am a humble old woman, but the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ; and even though you want to do something to me out of place, you cannot. They say to her: It is impossible for us not to do to thee what we want. And having said this, they laid fast hold of her, and wished to insult her. And she says to them with mildness:

²⁴ Wait, my children, that you may see the glory of the Lord. And being laid hold of by them, she looked up into heaven, and said: God, terrible and incomparable, and glorious to Thine adversaries, who didst deliver me out of the fire, who didst not give me up to Thamyris, who didst not give me up to Alexander, who didst deliver me from the wild beasts, who didst save me in the abyss, who hast everywhere worked with me, and glorified Thy name in me, now also deliver me from these lawless men, and let me not insult my virginity, which through Thy name I have preserved till now, because I love Thee, and desire Thee, and adore Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen. And there came a voice out of the heaven, saying: Fear not, Thecla, my true servant, for I am with thee. Look and see where an opening has been made before thee, for there shall be for thee an everlasting house, and there thou shalt obtain shelter. And the blessed Thecla regarding it, saw the rock opened as far as to allow a man to enter, and did according to what had been said to her: and nobly fleeing from the

lawless ones entered into the rock; and the rock was straightway shut together, so that not even a joining appeared. And they, beholding the extraordinary wonder, became as it were distracted;

²⁵and they were not able to detain the servant of God, but only caught hold of her veil, and were able to tear off a certain part; and that by the permission of God for the faith of those seeing the venerable place, and for a blessing in the generations afterwards to those that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ out of a pure heart. ²⁶Thus, then, suffered the first martyr of God, and apostle, and virgin, Thecla, who came from Iconium at eighteen years old; and with the journeying, and the going round, and the retirement in the mountain, she lived other seventy-two years. And when the Lord took her, she was ninety years old. And thus is her consummation. And her holy commemoration is on the twenty-fourth of the month of September, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

Paul's arrival at Rome, the contest of the two apostles with Simon Magus before Nero, and their martyrdom.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL

¹ Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. It came to pass, after Paul went out of the island Gaudomeleta, that he came to Italy; and it was heard of by the Jews who were in Rome, the elder of the cities, that Paul demanded to come to Cæsar. Having fallen, therefore, into great grief and much despondency, they said among themselves: It does not please him that he alone has afflicted all our brethren and parents in Judæa and Samaria, and in all Palestine; and he has not been pleased with these, but, behold, he comes here also, having through imposition asked Cæsar to destroy us. Having therefore made an assembly against Paul, and having considered many proposals, it seemed good to them to go to Nero the emperor, to ask him not to allow Paul to come to Rome. Having therefore got in readiness not a few presents, and having carried them with them, with supplication they came before him, saying: We beseech thee, O good emperor, send orders into all the governments of your worship, to the effect that Paul is not to come near these parts; because this Paul, having afflicted all the nation of our fathers, has been seeking to come hither to destroy us also. And the affliction, O most worshipful emperor, which we have from Peter is enough for us.

² And the Emperor Nero, having heard these things, answered them: It is according to your wish. And we write to all our governments that he shall not on any account come to anchor in the parts of Italy. And they also informed Simon the magian, having sent for him, that, as has been said, he should not come into the parts of Italy. And while they were thus doing, some of those that had repented out of the nations, and that had been baptized at the preaching of Peter, sent elders to Paul with a letter to the follow-

ing effect: Paul, dear servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, and brother of Peter, the first of the apostles, we have heard from the rabbis of the Jews that are in this Rome, the greatest of the cities, that they have asked Cæsar to send into all his governments, in order that, wherever thou mayst be found, thou mayst be put to death. But we have believed, and do believe, that as God does not separate the two great lights which He has made, so He is not to part you from each other, that is, neither Peter from Paul, nor Paul from Peter; but we positively believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, into whom we have been baptized, that we have become worthy also of your teaching.

³ And Paul, having received the two men sent with the letter on the twentieth of the month of May, became eager to go, and gave thanks to the Lord and Master Jesus Christ. And having sailed from Gaudomeleta, he did not now come through Africa to the parts of Italy, but ran to Sicily, until he came to the city of Syracuse with the two men who had been sent from Rome to him. And having sailed thence, he came to Rhegium of Calabria, and from Rhegium he crossed to Mesina, and there ordained a bishop, Bacchylus by name. And when he came out of Mesina he sailed to Didymus, and remained there one night. And having sailed thence, he came to Pontiole on the second day. And Dioscorus the shipmaster, who brought him to Syracuse, sympathizing with Paul because he had delivered his son from death, having left his own ship in Syracuse, accompanied him to Pontiole. And some of Peter's disciples having been found there, and having received Paul, exhorted him to stay with them. And he stayed a week, in hiding, because of the command of Cæsar. And all the toparchs were watching to seize and kill him. But Dioscorus the shipmaster, being himself also bald, wearing his shipmaster's dress, and speaking boldly, on the first day went out into the city of Pontiole. Thinking therefore that he was Paul, they seized him, and beheaded him, and sent his head to Cæsar.

⁴ Cæsar therefore, having summoned the first men of the Jews, announced to them, saying: Rejoice with great joy, for Paul your enemy is dead. And he showed them the head. Having therefore made great rejoicing on that day, which was the fourteenth of the month of June, each of the Jews fully believed it. And Paul, being in Pontiole, and having heard that Dioscorus had been beheaded, being grieved with great grief, gazing into the height of the heaven, said: O Lord Almighty in heaven, who hast appeared to me in every place whither I have gone on account of Thine only-begotten

Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, punish this city, and bring out all who have believed in God and followed His word. He said to them therefore: Follow me: And going forth from Pontiole with those who had believed in the word of God, they came to a place called Baias; and looking up with their eyes, they all see that city called Pontiole sunk into the sea-shore about one fathom; and there it is until this day, for a remembrance, under the sea.

5 And having gone forth from Baias, they went to Gaitas, and there he taught the word of God. And he stayed there three days in the house of Erasmus, whom Peter sent from Rome to teach the Gospel of God. And having come forth from Gaitas, he came to the castle called Taracinas, and stayed there seven days in the house of Cæsarius the deacon, whom Peter had ordained by the laying on of hands. And sailing thence, he came by the river to a place called Tribus Tabernes. And those who had been saved out of the city of Pontiole that had been swallowed up, reported to Cæsar in Rome that Pontiole had been swallowed up, with all its multitude. And the emperor, being in great grief on account of the city, having summoned the chief of the Jews, said to them: Behold, on account of what I heard from you, I have caused Paul to be beheaded, and on account of this the city has been swallowed up. And the chief of the Jews said to Cæsar: Most worshipful emperor, did we not say to thee that he troubled all the country of the East, and perverted our fathers? It is better therefore, most worshipful emperor, that one city be destroyed, and not the seat of thine empire; for this had Rome to suffer. And the emperor, having heard their words, was appeased.

6 And Paul stayed in Tribus Tabernes four days. And departing thence, he came to Appii Forum, which is called Vicusarape; and having slept there that night, he saw one sitting on a golden chair, and a multitude of blacks standing beside him, saying: I have to-day made a son murder his father. Another said: And I have made a house fall, and kill parents with children. And they reported to him many evil deeds—some of one kind, some of another. And another coming, reported to him: I have managed that the bishop Juvenalius, whom Peter ordained, should sleep with the abbess Juliana. And having heard all these things when sleeping in that Appii Forum, near Vicusarape, straightway and immediately he sent to Rome one of those who had followed him from Pontiole to the bishop Juvenalius, telling him this same thing which had just been done. And on the following day, Juvenalius, running, threw himself at the feet of Peter, weeping and lamenting, and saying

what had just befallen; and he recounted to him the matter, and said: I believe that this is the light which thou wast awaiting. And Peter said to him: How is it possible that it is he when he is dead? And Juvenalius the bishop took to Peter him that had been sent by Paul, and he reported to him that he was alive, and on his way, and that he was at Appii Forum. And Peter thanked and glorified the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

7 Then having summoned his disciples that believed, he sent them to Paul as far as Tribus Tabernes. And the distance from Rome to Tribus Tabernes is thirty-eight miles. And Paul seeing them, having given thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, took courage; and departing thence, they slept in the city called Aricia. And a report went about in the city of Rome that Paul the brother of Peter was coming. And those that believed in God rejoiced with great joy. And there was great consternation among the Jews; and having gone to Simon the magian, they entreated him, saying: Report to the emperor that Paul is not dead, but that he is alive, and has come. And Simon said to the Jews: What head is it, then, which came to Cæsar from Pontiole? Was it not bald also? 8 And Paul having come to Rome, great fear fell upon the Jews. They came together therefore to him, and exhorted him, saying: Vindicate the faith in which thou wast born; for it is not right that thou, being a Hebrew, and of the Hebrews, shouldst call thyself teacher of Gentiles, and vindicator of the uncircumcised; and, being thyself circumcised, that thou shouldst bring to nought the faith of the circumcision. And when thou seest Peter, contend against his teaching, because he has destroyed all the bulwarks of our law; for he has prevented the keeping of Sabbaths and new moons, and the holidays appointed by the law. And Paul, answering, said to them: That I am a true Jew, by this you can prove; because also you have been able to keep the Sabbath, and to observe the true circumcision; for assuredly on the day of the Sabbath God rested from all His works. We have fathers, and patriarchs, and the law. What, then, does Peter preach in the kingdom of the Gentiles? But if he shall wish to bring in any new teaching, without any tumult, and envy, and trouble, send him word, that we may see, and in your presence I shall convict him. But if his teaching be true, supported by the book and testimony of the Hebrews, it becomes all of us to submit to him.

9 Paul saying these and such like things, the Jews went and said to Peter: Paul of the Hebrews has come, and entreats thee to come to him, since those

who have brought him say that he cannot meet whomsoever he may wish until he appear before Cæsar. And Peter having heard, rejoiced with great joy; and rising up, immediately went to him. And seeing each other, they wept for joy; and long embracing each other, they bedewed each other with tears. And when Paul had related to Peter the substance of all his doings, and how, through the disasters of the ship, he had come, Peter also told him what he had suffered from Simon the magician, and all his plots. And having told these things, he went away towards evening. And in the morning of the following day, at dawn, behold, Peter coming, finds a multitude of the Jews before Paul's door. And there was a great uproar between the Christian Jews and the Gentiles. For, on the one hand, the Jews said: We are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, the friends of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, with whom God spake, to whom He showed His own mysteries and His great wonders. But you of the Gentiles are no great thing in your lineage; if otherwise, you have become polluted and abominable by idols and graven images.

¹⁰ While the Jews were saying such things, and such-like, those of the Gentiles answered, saying: We, when we heard the truth, straightway followed it, having abandoned our errors. But you, both knowing the mighty deeds of your fathers, and seeing the signs of the prophets, and having received the law, and gone through the sea with dry feet, and seen your enemies sunk in its depths, and the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day shining upon you, and manna having been given to you out of heaven, and water flowing to you out of a rock,—after all these things you fashioned to yourselves the idol of a calf, and worshipped the graven image. But we, having seen none of the signs, believe to be a Saviour the God whom you have forsaken in unbelief. While they were contending in these and such-like words, the Apostle Paul said that they ought not to make such attacks upon each other, but that they should rather give heed to this, that God had fulfilled His promises which He swore to Abraham our father, that in his seed he should inherit all the nations. For there is no respect of persons with God. As many as have sinned in law shall be judged according to law, and as many as have sinned without law shall perish without law. But we, brethren, ought to thank God that, according to His mercy, He has chosen us to be a holy people to Himself: so that in this we ought to boast, whether Jews or Greeks; for you are all one in the belief of His name.

¹¹ And Paul having thus spoken, both the Jews and they of the Gentiles were appeased. But the rulers of the Jews assailed Peter. And Peter, when they accused him of having renounced their synagogues, said: Hear, brethren, the holy Spirit about the patriarch David, promising, Of the fruit of thy womb shall He set upon thy throne. Him therefore to whom the Father said, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee, the chief priests through envy crucified; but that He might accomplish the salvation of the world, it was allowed that He should suffer all these things. Just as, therefore, from the side of Adam Eve was created, so also from the side of Christ was created the Church, which has no spot nor blemish. In Him, therefore, God has opened an entrance to all the sons of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in order that they may be in the faith of profession towards Him, and have life and salvation in His name. Turn, therefore, and enter into the joy of your father Abraham, because God hath fulfilled what He promised to him. Whence also the prophet says, The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedec. For a priest He became upon the cross, when He offered the whole burnt-offering of His own body and blood as a sacrifice for all the world.

¹² And Peter saying this and such-like, the most part of the people believed. And it happened also that Nero's wife Libia, and the yoke-fellow of Agrippa the prefect, Agrippina by name, thus believed, so that also they went away from beside their own husbands. And on account of the teaching of Paul, many, despising military life, clung to God; so that even from the emperor's bed-chamber some came to him, and having become Christians, were no longer willing to return to the army or the palace. When, consequently, the people were making a seditious murmuring, Simon, moved with zeal, rouses himself, and began to say many evil things about Peter, saying that he was a wizard and a cheat. And they believed him, wondering at his miracles; for he made a brazen serpent move itself, and stone statues to laugh and move themselves, and himself to run and suddenly to be raised into the air. But as a set-off to these, Peter healed the sick by a word, by praying made the blind to see, put demons to flight by a command; sometimes he even raised the dead. And he said to the people that they should not only flee from Simon's deceit, but also that they should expose him, that they might not seem to be slaves to the devil.

13 And thus it happened that all pious men abhorred Simon the magian, and proclaimed him impious. But those who adhered to Simon strongly affirmed Peter to be a magian, bearing false witness as many of them as were with Simon the magian; so that the matter came even to the ears of Nero the Cæsar, and he gave order to bring Simon the magian before him. And he, coming in, stood before him, and began suddenly to assume different forms, so that on a sudden he became a child, and after a little an old man, and at other times a young man; for he changed himself both in face and stature into different forms, and was in a frenzy, having the devil as his servant. And Nero beholding this, supposed him to be truly the son of God; but the Apostle Peter showed him to be both a liar and a wizard, base and impious and apostate, and in all things opposed to the truth of God, and that nothing yet remained except that his wickedness, being made apparent by the command of God, might be made manifest to them all.

14 Then Simon, having gone in to Nero, said: Hear, O good emperor: I am the son of God come down from heaven. Until now I have endured Peter only calling himself an apostle; but now he has doubled the evil: for Paul also himself teaches the same things, and having his mind turned against me, is said to preach along with him; in reference to whom, if thou shalt not contrive their destruction, it is very plain that thy kingdom cannot stand.

15 Then Nero, filled with concern, ordered to bring them speedily before him. And on the following day Simon the magian, and Peter and Paul the apostles of Christ, having come in to Nero, Simon said: These are the disciples of the Nazarene, and it is not at all well that they should be of the people of the Jews, Nero said: What is a Nazarene? Simon said: There is a city of Judah which has always been opposed to us, called Nazareth, and to it the teacher of these men belonged. Nero said: God commands us to love every man; why, then, dost thou persecute them? Simon said: This is a race of men who have turned aside all Judæa from believing in me. Nero said to Peter: Why are you thus unbelieving, according to your race? Then Peter said to Simon: Thou hast been able to impose upon all, but upon me never; and those who have been deceived, God has through me recalled from their error. And since thou hast learned by experience that thou canst not get the better of me, I wonder with what face thou boastest thyself before the emperor, and supposest that through thy magic art thou shalt overcome the disciples of Christ. Nero said: Who is Christ? Peter said: He is what this Simon the magi-

an affirms himself to be; but this is a most wicked man, and his works are of the devil. But if thou wishest to know, O good emperor, the things that have been done in Judæa about Christ, take the writings of Pontius Pilate sent to Claudius, and thus thou wilt know all. And Nero ordered them to be brought, and to be read in their presence; and they were to the following effect:—

16 Pontius Pilate to Claudius, greeting. There has lately happened an event which I myself was concerned in. For the Jews through envy have inflicted on themselves, and those coming after them, dreadful judgments. Their fathers had promises that their God would send them his holy one from heaven, who according to reason should be called their king, and he had promised to send him to the earth by means of a virgin. He, then, when I was procurator, came into Judæa. And they saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing paralytics, expelling demons from men, raising the dead, subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews calling him Son of God. Then the chief priests, moved with envy against him, seized him, and delivered him to me; and telling one lie after another, they said that he was a wizard, and did contrary to their law. And I, having believed that these things were so, gave him up, after scourging him, to their will; and they crucified him, and after he was buried set guards over him. But he, while my soldiers were guarding him, rose on the third day. And to such a degree was the wickedness of the Jews inflamed against him, that they gave money to the soldiers, saying, Say his disciples have stolen his body. But they, having taken the money, were not able to keep silence as to what had happened; for they have testified that they have seen him (after he was) risen, and that they have received money from the Jews. These things, therefore, have I reported, that no one should falsely speak otherwise, and that thou shouldest not suppose that the falsehoods of the Jews are to be believed.

17 And the letter having been read, Nero said: Tell me, Peter, were all these things thus done by him? Peter said: They were, with your permission, O good emperor. For this Simon is full of lies and deceit, even if it should seem that he is what he is not—a god. And in Christ there is all excellent victory through God and through man, which that incomprehensible glory assumed which through man deigned to come to the assistance of men. But in this Simon there are two essences, of man and of devil, who through man

endeavours to ensnare men. Simon said: I wonder, O good emperor, that you reckon this man of any consequence—a man uneducated, a fisherman of the poorest, and endowed with power neither in word nor by rank. But, that I may not long endure him as an enemy, I shall forthwith order my angels to come and avenge me upon him. Peter said: I am not afraid of thy angels; but they shall be much more afraid of me in the power and trust of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom thou falsely declarest thyself to be.

¹⁸ Nero said: Art thou not afraid, Peter, of Simon, who confirms his god-head by deeds? Peter said: Godhead is in Him who searcheth the hidden things of the heart. Now then, tell me what I am thinking about, or what I am doing. I disclose to thy servants who are here what my thought is, before he tells lies about it, in order that he may not dare to lie as to what I am thinking about. Nero said: Come hither, and tell me what thou art thinking about. Peter said: Order a barley loaf to be brought, and to be given to me secretly. And when he ordered it to be brought, and secretly given to Peter, Peter said: Now tell us, Simon, what has been thought about, or what said, or what done. ¹⁹ Nero said: Do you mean me to believe that Simon does not know these things, who both raised a dead man, and presented himself on the third day after he had been beheaded, and who has done whatever he said he would do? Peter said: But he did not do it before me. Nero said: But he did all these before me. For assuredly he ordered angels to come to him, and they came. Peter said: If he has done what is very great, why does he not do what is very small? Let him tell what I had in my mind, and what I have done. Nero said: Between you, I do not know myself. Simon said: Let Peter say what I am thinking of, or what I am doing. Peter said: What Simon has in his mind I shall show that I know, by my doing what he is thinking about. Simon said: Know this, O emperor, that no one knows the thoughts of men, but God alone. Is not, therefore, Peter lying? Peter said: Do thou, then, who sayest that thou art the Son of God, tell what I have in my mind; disclose, if thou canst, what I have just done in secret. For Peter, having blessed the barley loaf which he had received, and hawing broken it with his right hand and his left, had heaped it up in his sleeves. Then Simon, enraged that he was not able to tell the secret of the apostle, cried out, saying:

²⁰ Let great dogs come forth, and eat him up before Cæsar. And suddenly there appeared great dogs, and rushed at Peter. But Peter, stretching forth his hands to pray, showed to the dogs the loaf which he had blessed; which the

dogs seeing, no longer appeared. Then Peter said to Nero: Behold, I have shown thee that I knew what Simon was thinking of, not by words, but by deeds; for he, having promised that he would bring angels against me, has brought dogs, in order that he might show that he had not god-like but dog-like angels. ²¹ Then Nero said to Simon: What is it, Simon? I think we have got the worst of it. Simon said: This man, both in Judæa and in all Palestine and Cæsarea, has done the same to me; and from very often striving with me, he has learned that this is adverse to them. This, then, he has learned how to escape from me; for the thoughts of men no one knows but God alone. And Peter said to Simon: Certainly thou feignest thyself to be a god; why, then, dost thou not reveal the thoughts of every man? Then Nero, turning to Paul, said: Why dost thou say nothing, Paul? Paul answered and said: Know this, O emperor, that if thou permittest this magician to do such things, it will bring an access of the greatest mischief to thy country, and will bring down thine empire from its position. Nero said to Simon: What sayest thou? Simon said: If I do not manifestly hold myself out to be a god, no one will bestow upon me due reverence. Nero said: And now, why dost thou delay, and not show thyself to be a god, in order that these men may be punished? Simon said: Give orders to build for me a lofty tower of wood, and I, going up upon it, will call my angels, and order them to take me, in the sight of all, to my father in heaven; and these men, not being able to do this, are put to shame as uneducated men. And Nero said to Peter: Hast thou heard, Peter, what has been said by Simon? From this will appear how much power either he or thy god has. Peter said: O most mighty emperor, if thou wert willing, thou mightst perceive that he is full of demons. Nero said: Why do you make to me roundabouts of circumlocutions? To-morrow will prove you.

²² Simon said: Dost thou believe, O good emperor, that I who was dead, and rose again, am a magician? For it had been brought about by his own cleverness that the unbelieving Simon had said to Nero: Order me to be beheaded in a dark place, and there to be left slain; and if I do not rise on the third day, know that I am a magician; but if I rise again, know that I am the Son of God. And Nero having ordered this, in the dark, by his magic art he managed that a ram should be beheaded. And for so long did the ram appear to be Simon until he was beheaded. And when he had been beheaded in the dark, he that had beheaded him, taking the head, found it to be that of a

ram; but he would not say anything to the emperor, lest he should scourge him, having ordered this to be done in secret. Thereafter, accordingly. Simon said that he had risen on the third day, because he took away the head of the ram and the limbs—but the blood had been there congealed—and on the third day he showed himself to Nero, and said: Cause to be wiped away my blood that has been poured out; for, behold, having been beheaded, as I promised, I have risen again on the third day.

²³ And when Nero said, To-morrow will prove you, turning to Paul, he says: Thou Paul, why dost thou say nothing? Either who taught thee, or whom thou hast for a master, or how thou hast taught in the cities, or what things have happened through thy teaching? For I think that thou hast not any wisdom, and art not able to accomplish any work of power. Paul answered: Dost thou suppose that I ought to speak against a desperate man, a magician, who has given his soul up to death, whose destruction and perdition will come speedily? For he ought to speak who pretends to be what he is not, and deceives men by magic art. If thou consentest to hear his words, and to shield him, thou shalt destroy thy soul and thy kingdom, for he is a most base man. And as the Egyptians Jannes and Jambres led Pharaoh and his army astray until they were swallowed up in the sea, so also he, through the instruction of his father the devil, persuades men to do many evils to themselves, and thus deceives many of the innocent, to the peril of thy kingdom. But as for the word of the devil, which I see has been poured out through this man, with groanings of my heart I am dealing with the Holy Spirit, that it may be clearly shown what it is;

²⁴ for as far as he seems to raise himself towards heaven, so far will he be sunk down into the depth of Hades, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. But about the teaching of my Master, of which thou didst ask me, none attain it except the pure, who allow faith to come into their heart. For as many things as belong to peace and love, these have I taught. Round about from Jerusalem, and as far as Illyricum, I have fulfilled the word of peace. For I have taught that in honour they should prefer one another; I have taught those that are eminent and rich not to be lifted up, and hope in uncertainty of riches, but to place their hope in God; I have taught those in a middle station to be content with food and covering; I have taught the poor to rejoice in their own poverty; I have taught fathers to teach their children instruction in the fear of the Lord, children to obey their parents in wholesome ad-

monition; I have taught wives to love their own husbands, and to fear them as masters, and husbands to observe fidelity to their wives; I have taught masters to treat their slaves with clemency, and slaves to serve their own masters faithfully; I have taught the churches of the believers to reverence one almighty, invisible, and incomprehensible God.

²⁵ And this teaching has been given me, not from men, nor through men, but through Jesus Christ, who spoke to me out of heaven, who also has sent me to preach, saying to me, Go forth, for I will be with thee; and all things, as many as thou shalt say or do, I shall make just. ²⁶ Nero said: What sayest thou, Peter? He answered and said: All that Paul has said is true. For when he was a persecutor of the faith of Christ, a voice called him out of heaven, and taught him the truth; for he was not an adversary of our faith from hatred, but from ignorance. For there were before us false Christs, like Simon, false apostles, and false prophets, who, contrary to the sacred writings, set themselves to make void the truth; and against these it was necessary to have in readiness this man, who from his youth up set himself to no other thing than to search out the mysteries of the divine law, by which he might become a vindicator of truth and a persecutor of falsehood. Since, then, his persecution was not on account of hatred, but on account of the vindication of the law, the very truth out of heaven held intercourse with him, saying, I am the truth which you persecutest; cease persecuting me. When, therefore, he knew that this was so, leaving off that which he was vindicating, he began to vindicate this way of Christ which he was persecuting.

²⁷ Simon said: O good emperor, take notice that these two have conspired against me; for I am the truth, and they purpose evil against me. Peter said: There is no truth in thee; but all thou sayest is false. Nero said: Paul, what sayest thou? Paul said: Those things which thou hast heard from Peter, believe to have been spoken by me also; for we purpose the same thing, for we have the same Lord Jesus the Christ. Simon said: Dost thou expect me, O good emperor, to hold an argument with these men, who have come to an agreement against me? And having turned to the apostles of Christ, he said: Listen, Peter and Paul: if I can do nothing for you here, we are going to the place where I must judge you. Paul said: O good emperor, see what threats he holds out against us. Peter said: Why was it necessary to keep from laughing outright at a foolish man, made the sport of demons, so as to suppose that he cannot be made manifest?

28 Simon said: I spare you until I shall receive my power. Paul said: See if you will go out hence safe. Peter said: If thou do not see, Simon, the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou wilt not believe thyself not to be Christ. Simon said: Most sacred emperor, do not believe them, for they are circumcised knaves. Paul said: Before we knew the truth, we had the circumcision of the flesh; but when the truth appeared, in the circumcision of the heart we both are circumcised, and circumcise. Peter said: If circumcision be a disgrace, why hast thou been circumcised, Simon? Nero said: Has, then, Simon also been circumcised? Peter said: For not otherwise could he have deceived souls, unless he feigned himself to be a Jew, and made a show of teaching the law of God. Nero said: Simon, thou, as I see, being carried away with envy, persecutest these men. For, as it seems, there is great hatred between thee and their Christ; and I am afraid that thou wilt be worsted by them, and involved in great evils. Simon said: Thou art led astray, O emperor. Nero said: How am I led astray? What I see in thee, I say. I see that thou art manifestly an enemy of Peter and Paul and their master.

29 Simon said: Christ was not Paul's master. Paul said: Yes; through revelation He taught me also. But tell me what I asked thee—Why wast thou circumcised? Simon said: Why have you asked me this? Paul said: We have a reason for asking you this. Nero said: Why art thou afraid to answer them? Simon said: Listen, O emperor. At that time circumcision was enjoined by God when I received it. For this reason was I circumcised. Paul said: Hearest thou, O good emperor, what has been said by Simon? If, therefore, circumcision be a good thing, why hast thou, Simon, given up those who have been circumcised, and forced them, after being condemned, to be put to death? Nero said: Neither about you do I perceive anything good. Peter and Paul said: Whether this thought about us be good or evil has no reference to the matter; but to us it was necessary that what our Master promised should come to pass. Nero said: If I should not be willing? Peter said: Not as thou wilt, but as He promised to us.

30 Simon said: O good emperor, these men have reckoned upon thy clemency, and have bound thee. Nero said: But neither hast thou yet made me sure about thyself. Simon said: Since so many excellent deeds and signs have been shown to thee by me, I wonder how thou shouldst be in doubt. Nero said: I neither doubt nor favour any of you; but answer me rather what I ask. Simon said: Henceforward I answer thee nothing. Nero said: Seeing that

thou liest, therefore thou sayest this. But if even I can do nothing to thee, God, who can, will do it. Simon said: I no longer answer thee. Nero said: Nor do I consider thee to be anything: for, as I perceive, thou art a liar in everything. But why do I say so much? The three of you show that your reasoning is uncertain; and thus in all things you have made me doubt, so that I find that I can give credit to none of you.

³¹ Peter said: We preach one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that has made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that therein is, who is the true King; and of His kingdom there shall be no end. Nero said: What king is lord? Paul said: The Saviour of all the nations. Simon said: I am he whom you speak of. Peter and Paul said: May it never be well with thee, Simon, magician, and full of bitterness. Simon said: Listen, O Cæsar Nero, that thou mayst know that these men are liars, and that I have been sent from the heavens: to-morrow I go up into the heavens, that I may make those who believe in me blessed, and show my wrath upon those who have denied me. Peter and Paul said: Us long ago God called to His own glory; but thou, called by the devil, hastenest to punishment. Simon said: Cæsar Nero, listen to me. Separate these madmen from thee, in order that when I go into heaven to my father, I may be very merciful to thee. Nero said: And whence shall we prove this, that thou goest away into heaven? Simon said: Order a lofty tower to be made of wood, and of great beams, that I may go up upon it, and that my angels may find me in the air; for they cannot come to me upon earth among the sinners. Nero said: I will see whether thou wilt fulfil what thou sayest.

³² Then Nero ordered a lofty tower to be made in the Campus Martius, and all the people and the dignities to be present at the spectacle. And on the following day, all the multitude having come together, Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be present, to whom also he said: Now the truth has to be made manifest. Peter and Paul said: We do not expose him, but our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom he has falsely declared himself to be. And Paul, having turned to Peter, said: It is my part to bend the knee, and to pray to God; and thine to produce the effect, if thou shouldst see him attempting anything, because thou wast first taken in hand by the Lord. And Paul, bending his knees, prayed. And Peter, looking stedfastly upon Simon, said: Accomplish what thou hast begun; for both thy exposure and our call is at hand: for I see my Christ calling both me and Paul. Nero said: And where

will you go to against my will? Peter said: Whithersoever our Lord has called us. Nero said: And who is your lord? Peter said: Jesus the Christ, whom I see calling us to Himself. Nero said: Do you also then intend to go away to heaven? Peter said: If it shall seem good to Him that calls us. Simon said: In order that thou mayst know, O emperor, that these are deceivers, as soon as ever I ascend into heaven, I will send my angels to thee, and will make thee come to me. Nero said: Do at once what thou sayest.

³³ Then Simon went up upon the tower in the face of all, and, crowned with laurels, he stretched forth his hands, and began to fly. And when Nero saw him flying, he said to Peter: This Simon is true; but thou and Paul are deceivers. To whom Peter said: Immediately shalt thou know that we are true disciples of Christ; but that he is not Christ, but a magician, and a malefactor. Nero said: Do you still persist? Behold, you see him going up into heaven. Then Peter, looking stedfastly upon Paul, said: Paul, look up and see. And Paul, having looked up, full of tears, and seeing Simon flying, said: Peter, why art thou idle? finish what thou hast begun; for already our Lord Jesus Christ is calling us. And Nero hearing them, smiled a little, and said: These men see themselves worsted already, and are gone mad. Peter said: Now thou shalt know that we are not mad. Paul said to Peter: Do at once what thou doest.

³⁴ And Peter, looking stedfastly against Simon, said: I adjure you, ye angels of Satan, who are carrying him into the air, to deceive the hearts of the unbelievers, by the God that created all things, and by Jesus Christ, whom on the third day He raised from the dead, no longer from this hour to keep him up, but to let him go. And immediately, being let go, he fell into a place called *Sacra Via*, that is, Holy Way, and was divided into four parts, having perished by an evil fate. Then Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be put in irons, and the body of Simon to be carefully kept three days, thinking that he would rise on the third day. To whom Peter said: He will no longer rise, since he is truly dead, being condemned to everlasting punishment. And Nero said to him: Who commanded thee to do such a dreadful deed? Peter said: His reflections and blasphemy against my Lord Jesus Christ have brought him into this gulf of destruction. Nero said: I will destroy you by an evil taking off. Peter said: This is not in thy power, even if it should seem good to thee to destroy us; but it is necessary that what our Master promised to us should be fulfilled.

35 Then Nero, having summoned Agrippa the proprætor, said to him: It is necessary that men introducing mischievous religious observances should die. Wherefore I order them to take iron clubs, and to be killed in the sea-fight. Agrippa the proprætor said: Most sacred emperor, what thou hast ordered is not fitting for these men, since Paul seems innocent beside Peter. Nero said: By what fate, then, shall they die? Agrippa answered and said: As seems to me, it is just that Paul's head should be cut off, and that Peter should be raised on a cross as the cause of the murder. Nero said: Thou hast most excellently judged. Then both Peter and Paul were led away from the presence of Nero. And Paul was beheaded on the Ostesian road. And Peter, having come to the cross, said: Since my Lord Jesus Christ, who came down from the heaven upon the earth, was raised upon the cross upright, and He has deigned to call to heaven me, who am of the earth, my cross ought to be fixed head down most, so as to direct my feet towards heaven; for I am not worthy to be crucified like my Lord. Then, having reversed the cross, they nailed his feet up.

36 And the multitude was assembled reviling Cæsar, and wishing to kill him. But Peter restrained them, saying: A few days ago, being exhorted by the brethren, I was going away; and my Lord Jesus Christ met me, and having adored Him, I said, Lord, whither art Thou going? And He said to me, I am going to Rome to be crucified. And I said to Him, Lord, wast Thou not crucified once for all? And the Lord answering, said, I saw thee fleeing from death, and I wish to be crucified instead of thee. And I said, Lord, I go; I fulfil Thy command. And He said to me, Fear not, for I am with thee. On this account, then, children, do not hinder my going; for already my feet are going on the road to heaven. Do not grieve, therefore, but rather rejoice with me, for to-day I receive the fruit of my labours. And thus speaking, he said: I thank Thee, good Shepherd, that the sheep which Thou hast entrusted to me, sympathize with me; I ask, then, that with me they may have a part in Thy kingdom. And having thus spoken, he gave up the ghost.

37 And immediately there appeared men glorious and strange in appearance; and they said: We are here, on account of the holy and chief apostles, from Jerusalem. And they, along with Marcellus, an illustrious man, who, having left Simon, had believed in Peter, took up his body secretly, and put it under the terebinth near the place for the exhibition of sea-fights in the place called the Vatican. And the men who had said that they came from Jer-

usalem said to the people: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, because you have been deemed worthy to have great champions. And know that Nero himself, after these not many days, will be utterly destroyed, and his kingdom shall be given to another. And after these things the people revolted against him; and when he knew of it, he fled into desert places, and through hunger and cold he gave up the ghost, and his body became food for the wild beasts.

³⁸ And some devout men of the regions of the East wished to carry off the relics of the saints, and immediately there was a great earthquake in the city; and those that dwelt in the city having become aware of it, ran and seized the men, but they fled. But the Romans having taken them, put them in a place three miles from the city, and there they were guarded a year and seven months, until they had built the place in which they intended to put them. And after these things, all having assembled with glory and singing of praise, they put them in the place built for them. And the consummation of the holy glorious Apostles Peter and Paul was on the 29th of the month of June—in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength.

THE STORY OF PERPETUA

¹ The Story of Perpetua. And as Paul was being led away to be beheaded at a place about three miles from the city, he was in irons. And there were three soldiers guarding him who were of a great family. And when they had gone out of the gate about the length of a bow-shot, there met them a God-fearing woman; and she, seeing Paul dragged along in irons, had compassion on him, and wept bitterly. And the name of the woman was called Perpetua; and she was one-eyed. And Paul, seeing her weeping, says to her: Give me thy handkerchief, and when I turn back I shall give it to thee. And she, having taken the handkerchief, gave it to him willingly. And the soldiers laughed, and said to the woman: Why dost thou wish, woman, to lose thy handkerchief? Knowest thou not that he is going away to be beheaded? And Perpetua said to them: I adjure you by the health of Cæsar to bind his eyes with this handkerchief when you cut off his head. Which also was done. And they beheaded him at the place called Aquæ Salviæ, near the pine tree. And as God had willed, before the soldiers came back, the handkerchief, having on it drops of blood, was restored to the woman. And as she was carrying it, straightway and immediately her eye was opened.

² And the three soldiers who had cut off the head of Saint Paul, when after three hours they came on the same day with the Bulla bringing it to

Nero, having met Perpetua, they said to her: What is it, woman? Behold, by thy confidence thou hast lost thy handkerchief. But she said to them: I have both got my handkerchief, and my eye has recovered its sight. And as the Lord, the God of Paul, liveth, I also have entreated him that I may be deemed worthy to become the slave of his Lord. Then the soldiers who had the Bulla, recognising the handkerchief, and seeing that her eye had been opened, cried out with a loud voice, as if from one mouth, and said: We too are the slaves of Paul's master. Perpetua therefore having gone away, reported in the palace of the Emperor Nero that the soldiers who had beheaded Paul said: We shall no longer go into the city, for we believe in Christ whom Paul preached, and we are Christians. Then Nero, filled with rage, ordered Perpetua, who had informed him of the soldiers, to be kept fast in irons; and as to the soldiers, he ordered one to be beheaded outside of the gate about one mile from the city, another to be cut in two, and the third to be stoned. And Perpetua was in the prison; and in this prison there was kept Potentiana, a noble maiden, because she had said:

3 I forsake my parents and all the substance of my father, and I wish to become a Christian. She therefore joined herself to Perpetua, and ascertained from her everything about Paul, and was in much anxiety about the faith in Christ. And the wife of Nero was Potentiana's sister; and she secretly informed her about Christ, that those who believe in Him see everlasting joy, and that everything here is temporary, but there eternal: so that also she fled out of the palace, and some of the senators' wives with her. Then Nero, having inflicted many tortures upon Perpetua, at last tied a great stone to her neck, and ordered her to be thrown over a precipice. And her remains lie at the Momentan gate. And Potentiana also underwent many torments; and at last, having made a furnace one day, they burned her.

The Acts of Linus (the Martyrdom of Peter)

PSEUDO-LINUS, TRANSLATED BY ANDREW EASTBOURNE

5th–6th century

The Latin story of the martyrdom of Peter at Rome, put under the name of Linus, who was said to have followed Peter as bishop. It reworks the older Acts of Peter and comes from the fifth or sixth century. This is Andrew Eastbourne's modern translation.

PASSIO PETRI

5 But as the time was now approaching when the faith of the blessed Apostle, and his labors, were to be rewarded, the one coming before the "head of destruction," that is, the Antichrist Nero, the perfection of iniquity, ordered him to be confined and bound with chains in the filthiest prison. There, he began to be visited by the four concubines of the prefect Agrippa, whose names were Agrippina, Eucharía, Euphemia and Dionis. Hearing from him the preaching of chastity and all the commands of our Lord Jesus Christ, they languished and were troubled in Agrippa's bed. Hence, devoting themselves to chastity, they entered a deliberate agreement with each other; having been strengthened by the Lord Jesus Christ, they determined not to agree to sleep with him obediently any longer. As these same women withdrew not only from embracing Agrippa but even from any kind of intimacy with him, he began to be offended and dejected about this; and sending diligent and skillful spies, he learned that they were very zealously bursting forth to [visit] the blessed Peter. When this was reported to him, he spoke, seized by the most violent madness of love: "I know where you have come from. That Christian has taught you not to have relations with me and to withdraw from the bed to which you are bound. But I am certain that he will not be able to weaken your love for me by means of his magic arts.

⁶ Although he tried to cajole them by many flatteries, they did not acquiesce to his amatory speech or regard the heat of his passion with an attentive eye, because they had been firmly established by the Apostle's words. The prefect Agrippa, however, seeing that because they were following Peter's teaching they unanimously scorned his lust and refused to go along with his flatteries, began to direct horrifying threats at them, swearing that he would consume them alive with fire and, after torturing Peter with the harshest punishments, would cause him to perish from the memory of all men under heaven. But he was never able to make them bend to the defilement of intercourse; they said that it was more pleasing to them to submit to any torments for the sake of purity than to reject Christ, to whom they had vowed their chastity. And so Agrippa the prefect was very enraged against the Apostle, and gnashed his teeth over him, as he tried to find an opportunity when he would be able to kill him as though for a good reason.

⁷ Meanwhile, [a woman] named Xandips, the wife of Albinus, a very close friend of the emperor, came to Peter with very many of the noblest matrons. Hearing talk from him about the life of chastity, she rejected not only her marriage relation with her husband, but also all the delights of this life. And so Albinus, in the grip of great sadness, was threatening to afflict Peter with many torments, while he attempted, by means of injurious words and then by means of allurements, to turn his wife Xandips away from the struggle she had undertaken. Sending word to Agrippa the prefect, who was joined to him in friendship, he related to him all that he was enduring from his wife at the instigation of Peter, begging that if he was his true and faithful friend, he would take vengeance on Peter for him—otherwise he would avenge himself. Agrippa likewise sent him a message to the effect that he himself was suffering the same things—indeed still harsher things—from him [i.e., Peter]. Hence, it happened that when Albinus went to bed and had caused Xandips to be brought to him, and had not been able to convince her by flattery or fear to have intercourse with him for his enjoyment, he began to consider how he could, with Agrippa's cooperation, catch Peter in a snare like a bird, and put him to death as a sorcerer. But when Xandips, Albinus' wife, heard this, she sent a most faithful messenger to Peter, telling him to leave Rome and get away from this near-inescapable plot. In the same fashion, she revealed the conspiracy of her husband and the prefect Agrippa to Marcellus, the prefect Marcus' son, who after turning away from the noxious

teachings of Simon Magus had attached himself to the Apostle faithfully and beneficially in all things, and [she revealed it] to the brethren also.

⁸ The next day also, some of the senators got up in the meeting of the Senate and said: "Noble men, we report to your distinguished persons that Peter, for the subversion of the eternal city, is dissolving marriages by divorce, is separating our wives from us, and is introducing for us some sort of strange and unheard-of law." And by saying this, they also spurred on others to disorder and name-calling. Then Agrippa was gratified, because he had found what he wanted regarding Peter with the Senate as his pretext. But this too was not hidden from Peter and the brethren—indeed, those of the senators who had been illuminated by the Lord through Peter had made this known to them by a swift message. ⁹ For this reason, Marcellus and the brethren begged Peter to depart. But Peter said: "It is not right, brethren and children, to flee from sufferings on account of Christ the Lord, since he himself willingly submitted to death on behalf of our salvation. Marcellus, however, and the brethren said with great lamentation: "Have pity, merciful father, on the youths and on those who are untrained in the faith. Do not leave us and them deserted in the midst of the tempests of the unbelievers. Then Peter said to those who were asking [him this]: "You are arguing that flight is necessary—you are persuading me to strike fear of suffering into the hearts of the youths and the weak by my example, whereas we ought to be proclaiming the word of God with constancy and preserving the holy foundations of chastity which we have laid. You think flight is necessary in order to avoid death—but we long for death with copious sighs and groans, as the entryway of life, and furthermore, by means of death we ought to glorify the Lord, in keeping with the revelation [we have received] about that [eternal life]." The brethren, however, hearing this, raised a lamentation, saying: "Most truthful father, where are those words whereby you only recently used to say that you were ready to submit to death for the sake of our life? And now we are not able to convince you to endure living a little bit longer for the sake of our salvation, until we are made strong!"

¹⁰ The youths too, whom he himself had been guarding carefully and rearing up diligently in faith and chastity, stretched forth their hands to heaven and fell to the ground, stretched out before him as though they had suddenly died; they cried aloud, shouting with loud lamentation: "Good Peter, father and shepherd, matchless in mercy after your Lord, why did you

lately bring us to birth for the Lord with a mother's affection, through the sacred font, only to expose us now to the bites of the most monstrous wolves, with solace so premature and in a cruel spirit which you had never had before? Moreover, the matrons also cried out, their hair besprinkled with dust: "Is this the mercy which you used to extol in reference to your Savior, who had shown kindness to your tears, moved to tenderness for eternity, after you had denied him temporarily? And do you not yield yourself, even for a brief time, to such floods of tears, especially when you are able to serve the Lord in the flesh and win the eternal crown reserved for you?"

¹¹ Even the guards of the prison, Processus and Martinianus, along with the other functionaries and those attached to them by virtue of their office, were making their request, saying: "Master, depart and go where you wish, because we believe that the emperor has already forgotten you. But that most wicked Agrippa, inflamed by love of his concubines and by the extravagance of his own lust, is making haste to destroy you. For if he were attacking you by order of the emperor, we would [already] have the sentence regarding your death from Paulinus, a most illustrious man, from whose keeping you were put into our custody. For after you baptized us believers in the name of the holy Trinity in the nearby Mamertine prison, when a spring and the marvelous sign of the cross had been produced from the rock through prayer, you proceeded freely wherever you wished, and no one caused you any trouble—nor would they now, if the demonic conflagration which is rousing the city had not invaded Agrippa so keenly. For this reason, we beg you, the intermediary of our salvation, to be willing to make us this return: that since you have freed us from the chains of sins and demons, you should go free from the bonds of prison and shackles, whose savagery has been entrusted to us—not so much with our permission as because of our entreaty—for the sake of so many people's salvation.

¹² The widows too, and the orphans and those afflicted with old age, said, while pulling their hair and scratching their cheeks and baring their chests: "You healed others, by whose help we have been tended, from various infirmities; and you even raised some from death—and do you now take yourself away from us, most gracious father? Or else send us all before you, so that our souls may not perish in the absence of your teaching and instruction, and our bodies pass away deprived of the solace of your assistance—only in that circumstance may you hurry to where you desire to go, lest, seeing our lives

dying after [the death of] our master, we die miserable by remaining in life."

¹³ Then Peter, who was merciful beyond human measure and could never pass by the tears of the afflicted without tears, hearing this from all quarters, was won over by so much weeping and said: "Let none of you come with me; I will go on alone, with changed clothes." Indeed, he did set out alone in the ensuing night, pronouncing a prayer, then bidding farewell to the brethren and commending them to God with a blessing. While he was on his way, the fastenings were removed from the fetters and fell away from his leg. When he wished to go out the city gate, however, he saw Christ coming to meet him. Worshipping him, he said: "Lord, where are you going?" Christ answered him: "I am coming to Rome to be crucified again." And Peter said to him: "Lord, will you be crucified again?" And the Lord said to him: "Certainly, I will be crucified again." But Peter said: "Lord, I will return and follow you." And after these things were spoken, the Lord ascended into the heavens. Peter, however, followed him with a protracted gaze and the sweetest tears, and afterwards, when he returned to himself, he understood that this was said regarding his own passion—that the Lord, who suffers in the chosen ones with the compassion of mercy and the celebration of glorification, was going to suffer in him.

¹⁴ Turning back, he returned into the city with joy, glorifying God and telling the brethren that the Lord had met him on the road, and had made clear to him that he was to be crucified again in him. When he had revealed to them his own passion, they all broke forth in lamentation and wailing. Each one of them mourned and poured forth tears, saying: "Look upon your sheep, good shepherd; support those whose weaker faith seeks to be strengthened by your preaching. Look upon the faltering hearts which we know you ought to make firm." Peter said to them: "It is easy for the Lord to strengthen the hearts of his servants even without my humble admonishment. For those whom he planted for this purpose, he will cause to grow, so that they may be able to plant others as well. But I, as a servant, must follow my Lord's will. Therefore if he determines that I should still continue in the flesh for your sake, I do not argue with him. And if he decrees that I should suffer for his name, and sees fit to take me up through my suffering, I rejoice and exult in his grace."

¹⁵ While he was comforting the brethren's minds with these and many other words, Hieros arrived with four apparitores and ten other men, who

seized him and took him away from the midst of the brethren and brought him bound before the eyes of Agrippa, the prefect of the city. Agrippa said to him: "You have great confidence, wicked man, in the people you are deceiving, and in the women who have withdrawn from the marital bed because of your persuasion. You have even dared to introduce some 'Christ' or other, as an affront to the gods, and to present some silly and vain teachings or other, against the holy Roman rites and against the eternal city's piety." Then the Apostle's face began to shine like the sun, and opening his mouth he said to him: "I see where you are going, you leader of lusts, you lover of defilement, you inventor of savagery, you persecutor of the innocent, you abettor of deceivers, you founder of trickery, you dwelling-place of Satan! Indeed, you are ignorant of the glory I take pride in, and therefore you say that I have confidence in men and women." And Agrippa said to him: "Since you know that I am ignorant of what you take pride in, inform me of it, quickly!" And Peter said to him: "I have no glory except the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ, whose servant I am." And Agrippa said: "Well then, do you wish to be crucified, just as your god was crucified?" Peter too responded: "I am not worthy to make the world a witness of my suffering with an upright cross, but through some sort of punishments I do wish and desire to follow in the footsteps of his suffering." Then the prefect, using the accusation of superstition as a cover for his own disease—a lack of self-control—ordered the Apostle to be crucified.

16 And behold! A huge crowd suddenly gathered together, of different ages and sexes, of rich and poor, of widows and orphans, of the weak and the powerful, who shouted at the top of their lungs: "Why is Peter being killed? What crime did he commit? How has he harmed the city? It is not lawful to condemn an innocent! Should we not be afraid that God will avenge the death of such a great man and decree the destruction of us all?" And the people began to rage against Agrippa, as they endeavored to seize Peter and preserve him unharmed—and Rome was thrown into confusion by the disordered voices of the vast crowds. Then Peter stood back a little, then, climbing to a higher position and calling the people to silence with a nod, said: "You men and faithful ones of God, who serve in Christ's army! All you who hope in Christ! If your love toward me is true and you demonstrate sincere compassion and kindness toward me, do not call back one who is going to the Lord—do not hinder one who is making haste toward Christ! Stand

therefore in quietness, rejoicing and glad, so that I may offer my sacrifice to the Lord with cheerfulness. For God loves a cheerful giver." And, with these words having been spoken, the uproar and the prefect's dispute were scarcely calmed. For many people were able and were eagerly wishing to drive out the prefect—but they were afraid to sadden the Apostle, who was following the example of his teacher, who said: "I am able now, if I wish, to summon more than twelve legions of angels for myself."

¹⁷ Finally, together with the Apostle and the apparitores, a vast number of people arrived at the place which is called Naumachiae, near the obelisk of Nero on the hill. For there a cross had been put into place. And looking back at the people who were weeping and again wanting to stir up disorder, he said in a clear voice: "I pray you, brethren, do not hinder my offering! Do not rage against Agrippa and be bitter-minded toward him. For he is only an abettor of someone else's action: the devil is the instigator of my condemnation in the flesh—he is taking advantage of the Lord's permission, since it pains him that vessels of dishonor have been taken away from him by me and made into lodging-places of self-control, temples of Christ, homes of honor and grace. And so, my brothers and sons, be obedient, because what was going to happen was made known to me by the Lord Jesus Christ in a revelation. Therefore, the disciple is not above his teacher, nor the slave above his master. So I am hurrying to be freed from the flesh and be entrusted to the Lord. For it is now the time at which I will also offer my sacrifice. Remember the signs and prodigies and healings, which you saw and perceived—as Christ was acting and I was helping. For the sicknesses of very many were healed so that the souls of all might be saved. Dead bodies were raised so that dead souls might live again. But why do I now endure delay, and do not draw near to the cross? Farewell, brethren—be patient and preserve what you have heard. I commend you to the Lord Jesus Christ."

¹⁸ Also, he approached and stood by the cross, and said: "O name of the cross, O secret mystery! O unspeakable grace! For peace [comes] in the name of the cross. O cross, which joined man to God, and separated [people] from the dominion of diabolical captivity! O cross, which with its companion, true faith, always makes manifest to the human race the passion of the Savior of the world, and shows the redemption of human captivity to be safe and secure! O cross, which daily distributes the flesh of the spotless lamb to the faithful, and expels the serpent's horrible venom with the cup of salvation,

and extinguishes the flaming sword of Paradise for believers without ceasing! O cross, which daily works to make peace between earthly and celestial [beings], and diligently reproduces the death of the Mediator, who rose from the dead and now dies no more, for the eternal Father, with the Church acting on behalf of its children—reproduces it, renews it, re-establishes it by its most auspicious embassy. I suffer violence for your sake, and now, being very near to release, I will not rest from making known the secret mystery of God regarding the cross, which my soul once shouted aloud. You who believe in Christ, let that which is visible not be the cross for you; there is a certain other thing, a mystical [meaning], in that which is apparent to you. And now especially, all you who are able to hear, as I am now in the last hour of this life, separate all your senses and your souls from everything that is visible, [directing them] to that which is invisible! And you will know that the mystery of salvation has been accomplished in Christ through the cross. Your obligation, Peter, is to return the body you received to the earth, by means of those whose proper task is to kill the body.

¹⁹ Moreover, he said to the master-executioners: "Why are you dallying? Why, apparitores, are you allowing delays to be contrived for me? Fulfill the command that was given to you. Divest me of my mortal clothing, so that I may cleave to the Lord in spirit. He did indeed ask, and won the master-executioners over by addressing them as follows: "I beg you, good servants of my salvation, when you crucify me, to place my head below and my feet above. For it is not fitting that the meanest servant be crucified in the same way as the Lord of the universe deigned to suffer, for the salvation of the whole world—he who, it is clear, is to be glorified by my suffering. It is even possible that I should be able to gaze upon the mystery of the cross with an attentive countenance forever, so that what I say from there can be more easily understood by those who are standing round about it. When this was done, Peter began to comfort and speak to the people who were weeping regarding the cross, speaking in a marvellous manner: "Great and profound is the mystery of the cross, the ineffable and unbreakable bond of love. Through the cross, God draws all things to himself. This is the tree of life by which the power of death has been destroyed. This you have opened up for me, Lord; open up also the eyes of all those people, so that they may see the comfort of eternal life.

²⁰ When he had said this, God opened the eyes of those who were lamenting and shedding tears over his suffering, and they saw angels standing with garlands of flowers—roses and lilies—and at the top of the cross that had been set up, Peter, standing and receiving a book from Christ and reading from it the words which he was saying. Seeing this, they began to rejoice and be glad in the Lord, to such a degree that those unbelievers themselves, as well as the executioners, seeing that the ones they had seen sad and lamenting before were now exulting and rejoicing, hid themselves and vanished like smoke. ²¹ Peter, moreover, seeing that his glory had been made manifest to many who were weeping before, gave thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ, saying: "You alone, Lord, were rightly crucified [on a cross] with the top extended on high, you who redeemed the whole world from sin. I desired to imitate you even in suffering; but I did not appropriate to myself an upright crucifixion, since we human beings—both the pure and the sinners—have been born from Adam, but you [were born as] God from God, and true light from true light, before all ages; at the end of the ages you deigned to become a man on behalf of mankind, without human pollution; you stand forth as the glorious redeemer of mankind. You are always upright, you are always exalted, you are always lofty. We are children of the first man according to the flesh—the one who buried his own ruling faculty in the earth. His fall is symbolized by the appearance of human reproduction: for we are born in such a way that we appear to be ejected head downward toward the ground, and what is on the right is on [our] left, and what is on the left ends up on [our] right—for the very reason that the conditions of this life were transformed by our ancestors. That wicked world, indeed, considers what is left to be right—the world in which you, Lord, found us like the Ninevites, and by your holy proclamation you freed those who were about to perish.

²² "But you, brethren, whose proper task is to listen, direct the ears of your hearts, and learn the things which are to be announced to you: namely, the mystery of the whole of nature, and the Beginning of the entire created order. For the first man, whose kind I belong to in form, showed by his downcast head that the generation had been destroyed long ago. For his generation was dead, and did not even have the movement of life. But the Beginning, drawn by his own mercy, came into the world through corporeal substance, to the one whom he had, by a just sentence, cast down to the earth; and, being hung on the cross as an image of this honorable calling—namely,

that of the cross—he restored and established what had been transformed before by the mankind's wicked mistake: present things, that is, as left, and the eternal things, which were considered as left, glorifying as right. He changed all signs to their proper nature, understanding as good things which were not thought good, and as truly favorable things which were considered unfavorable. Hence, the Lord said in a mystery: 'Unless you make the right as the left and the left as the right, and things above as things below, and things before as things behind, you shall not come to know the kingdom of God.' I have brought forward this view in my own person, brethren;

²³ and this is the figure in which corporeal eyes see me hanging, for it is the shape of the first man. But you, my beloved, as you hear these things and, by converting and turning [them] about, bring them to perfection, [and] just as you have returned from your primal error to the most secure anchorage of faith, even so persevere in running, and strive toward the repose of your calling on high by living well. For the Way by which you must make your journey there is Christ. So then, you ought to ascend above the cross, with Jesus Christ the true God, who was established for us as the one and only Word. For this reason the Spirit says: 'Christ is the word and voice of God'—since the word signifies that upright tree on which I am crucified. And since voice is properly something belonging to the body, because it receives features which are not attributed to divinity, the side-pieces of the cross are understood as presenting human nature, which suffered the error of transformation in the first man, but recovered true understanding through God and man. For indeed, the very key of the teaching is circumscribed in the middle—that is, by human conversion and turning about and repentance, along with faith."

²⁴ And as he said these things with an eager visage and a calm face, he cried out, breaking into prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, Word of life, you have made these things known to me, and I give thanks to you, who are revealing what I had said about the tree proclaimed by me. I thank you, not with the heart into which something unbecoming often creeps, not with these lips that are fastened shut, not with the tongue through which both truth and falsehood come forth, nor indeed with the utterance that is produced by an articulated and material substance—but rather, good king, with the sort of voice which is understood in silence, which is not heard in the open, which does not come forth through the instrument of a corruptible mouth, which

does not strike the ears of flesh, which is not perceived by a corruptible nature, which neither is earthly nor is uttered on earth, which is not written down in material books; it neither allows anyone to be moved materially, nor does it exist materially. With that spirit, I mean, Jesus Christ, my Lord and master, I give thanks to you—the spirit by which I believe in you, by which I understand you, by which I love you, by which I hold you fast—the voice with which I address you, with which I appeal to you—for you can only be understood with a spirit that is whole and calm. To me, Lord, you are father and friend, author and perfecter of salvation;

25 you are my desire, you are my consolation, you are my sufficiency. For me, you are everything, and everything, for me, is in you; to me, you are the all, and all that is, to me, you are: indeed, you are everything to me. In you we live, we move, we exist. And therefore we ought to hold you, like everything, so that you may give us those things you promised, which neither eye has seen, nor ear has heard, nor have they come into a human heart, which you have prepared for those who love you. Keep watch over these things for your servants; distribute and bestow these things, because you are the eternal and in the highest degree good shepherd, the true Son of God. To you I entrust the sheep which you put in my care. Gather them together in your sheepfold, and preserve them, because you are the gate of the sheepfold and the gatekeeper, you are the pasture, you are the refreshment of eternal life. Glory be to you, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and ever.

26 And then, when all the people answered "Amen" in a loud voice, Peter surrendered his spirit. And immediately Marcellus, without waiting for anyone's opinion, but seeing that the blessed Apostle had breathed his last, took down the sacred body from the cross with his own hands, washed it with milk and the best wine, and grinding 1500 minae of mastic and aloe, with myrrh and silphium (?), and oil of myrrh along with the various other spices—another 1500 minae—he embalmed him most lovingly. He also filled a new sarcophagus with Attic honey and placed the body, anointed with the perfumes, in it. That very night, however, while Marcellus was keeping vigil at the tomb and weeping out of his passionate longing for him—for he had decided never to be separated from the grave of his most loving teacher as long as he lived—the blessed Peter came to him. When Marcellus saw him, and trembled, he quickly rose for him and stood before him. The blessed

Apostle said to him: "Brother Marcellus, haven't you heard the words of the Lord, who said: 'Leave the dead to bury their own dead?'" And Marcellus said, "Dear master, I have heard them." Then Peter said to him: "Then do not let yourself seem like a dead man who has buried a dead man and weeps, but like a living man rejoicing better with a living, jubilant man; leave the dead to bury their own dead. But as for you, just you have learned through me, go and proclaim the kingdom of God." Marcellus made this known to all the brethren with great good-will, and through the favor of holy Peter the faith of the believers was strengthened by God the father in every way, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the sanctification of the Holy Spirit.

²⁷ But when Nero found out that the blessed Peter had died, whom he had given orders to torment, not to kill, he sent [instructions] that Agrippa be arrested, since without [receiving] his [i.e. Nero's] sentence [to that effect] he had killed Peter —whom he [i.e., Nero] was planning to punish using various torments. He complained that he had been robbed of Simon, the protector of his salvation, by that man's tricks, and he grieved for the misfortune of such a great friend, who was supplying him and the state with countless good things. Agrippa, however, by the intervention of his friends, secured the privilege of living at his own home as a private citizen, despised and deprived of his prefect's office. Thus he avoided Caesar's fury, but he did not escape the vengeance of divine judgment, which he soon experienced, and perished terribly. Finally, Nero turned his attention to the persecution of those who, he learned, had associated on rather friendly terms with the blessed Peter, so that at least by their punishment he might be satiated regarding Peter. But the blessed Apostle made this known to the brethren by a revelation, and suggested how they might avoid the beast's savagery. For Nero in a vision saw the holy Peter standing before him, and, after being scourged by someone on that man's orders, he heard: "Restrain your hands, most impious one, from the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ; you will not be able to hold them now." Then, being alarmed, he was quiet for a little. In addition, the brethren were both rejoicing and exulting in the Lord, strengthened often by a vision of the blessed Apostle Peter, glorifying the Lord God, the Almighty Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, to whom belong glory, power, and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

²⁸ Lat. *seu adversa immo diversa...certamina*. On the grounds of general usage, *adversa certamina* would mean "unsuccessful contests" and *diversa cer-*

tamina, most likely, "inconclusive contests"—but the struggle against Simon has not been unsuccessful or inconclusive. "Adverse contests" could conceivably be "face-to-face encounters"—but there is then no particular point for the addition of *diversa*. It seems that Ps.-Linus is simply piling on synonyms (as frequently in this text), and both expressions mean simply "hostile encounters." Salonijs, p. 41, notes that *seu...immo...* here is basically equivalent to *et...et...* In the Greek text, this is more clearly expressed: "giving thanks for the crowd..." Cf. similar phraseology in the Greek text and the *Actus Vercellenses* after the brief narration about Xant(h)ippe and Albinus (§5/34 [= Ps.-Linus, §3]). The phrase, *praeveniens perditionis caput*, is difficult; it could alternatively be translated, "the foregoing 'head of destruction.'" Thomas, *Acts of Peter*, p. 53, more interpretively renders it "the font of destruction" (but without addressing the status of *praeveniens*). *Perditionis caput* echoes *filius perditionis* (Jn. 17.12; 2 Thess. 2.3). For discussion of the difficulties, see also Nordmeyer, "Der Tod Neros in der Legende," pp. 29-30.

²⁹ In the Greek version of the passion, the second concubine is Nikaria, the fourth Doris. Following Salonijs' text (*molestabantur sub thoro Agrippae*); with Lipsius' text (adding *esse*), the sense would be "...were troubled at being in Agrippa's bed"—but this is linguistically more difficult in Latin. In the Greek and in the *Actus Vercellenses*, this woman is named Xant(h)ippe. Here a variant reading [*atque etiam*] would give the meaning "and also..." more obviously; while a possible correction [*sicut*] would be comprehensible ("just as [she made known]..."). On *seu et*, however, see Salonijs, p. 44. Lat. *appellatio*; perhaps "judicial appeal"? Lat. *sub occasione senatus*. Lit., "under the pretext of the Senate"; i.e., he found the Senate's action a good pretext for himself. Lat., *etiam secundum illius revelationem*. Lit., "also / furthermore according to the revelation of that"—where "that" could be masculine, feminine, or neuter. Lit., "king." ³⁰ Lat. *clarissimus*; i.e., a senator. Cf. Phil. 1.24. *Apparitores* were a magistrate's attendants, used to aid with arrest and punishment. "Men" is a traditional address in Greek speeches (*oandres*, as here in the Gk. text), frequently with further details identifying the audience, as "Men of Athens..." Cf. 2 Cor. 9.7. Mt. 26.53. Cf. 2 Tim. 2.20. Cf. Mt. 10.24. This convoluted sentence means that the cross, through the Church's liturgy, repeatedly renews the efficacy of the Savior's death; the word "embassy" continues the metaphor of peace-making from the beginning of the sentence. Cf. the similarly elaborate allusion to the Eucharist in the "flesh"

and "cup" of the previous sentence. For the thought and expression, cf. also Gregory the Great, Hom. ev. 37.7 (cited by Blaise, Dictionnaire, s.v. 'reparo'): quoties...offerimus, toties nobis...passionem illius reparamus ("As often as we offer..., so often do we renew for ourselves / make present to ourselves his passion.")

³¹ Lat. in finitima absolutione; lit., "at / in (the) very near release / dissolution." The Greek here makes it slightly clearer: "at the end of the release / dissolution." The "release" is presumably the separation of soul from body at death, although the "dissolution" of the world could also be in view. Cf. Mt. 10.28. I.e., when he had been crucified in the manner he requested. Lat. principale, often the equivalent of the Greek eghemonikon, but the Gk. here has arche ("rule / beginning")—it may be that Ps.-Linus here intends a reference not to the internal "ruling faculty" but to Adam's status as ruler over the natural world. By "Beginning" Ps.-Linus is subtly introducing a reference to the Son / Logos, who can be referred to as the "Beginning" especially through allusion to Gen. 1.1: "In the beginning God created..." In the next mention of the "Beginning" Ps.-Linus uses this reference even more explicitly.

³² Lit., "whose kind / race / class I have in form / appearance." This does not mean that he is a human being only in appearance; rather, species (like genus) is used to identify classifications or types of beings. Alternatively, Vouaux, p. 443 (n. 4) argues that the word "form / appearance" is a reference to the manner in which Peter is being crucified. So with Lipsius, reading honorandae; Salonius prefers the variant horrendae ("horrible / to be shuddered at"). Here I follow Salonius' emended text: praesentia videlicet pro sinistra, et quae pro sinistra ducebantur aeterna, siquidem ut dextra glorificans et omnia signa... Lipsius' text seems too difficult; but a variant reading (f) gives a potentially more acceptable text: praesentia videlicet ut aeterna et aeterna ducebantur ut praesentia et dextra sinistra ("present things, namely, were thought of as eternal, eternal things as present, and right [as] left")—this, however, seems quite likely to be the result of a scribal attempt at emendation. For the use of pro with the acc. rather than the abl., see Salonius, pp. 52-53.

³³ Lipsius (ad loc.) identifies this as a quotation from the Gospel of the Egyptians, but the precise identification of the source is difficult. Similar but not identical sayings appear in 2 Clement 12.2; Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis 3.13.92 (attributed to the "Gospel of the Egyptians"); Gospel of

Thomas 22; finally, Acts of Philip 140 appears to be dependent on the present quotation. Cf. Vouaux, p. 447; Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (rev. ed.), 1: 209-10, 212-14. Lat. *conversantes* (echoing the words translated above as "convert" and "turn about"). For this otherwise unknown quotation, Vouaux, pp. 449-51 (n. 5), sees a possible reminiscence of Jn. 1, discounting Harnack's suggestion that it is related to a citation from the Acts of Paul in Origen, *De princ.* 1.2.3 (*Hic est verbum animal vivens*)—and indeed, they have little in common with each other. Lat. *clavis*; the Gk. text and the *Actus Vercellenses* have "nail" (Lat. *clavus*)—scribal confusion or perhaps authorial wordplay (in Latin) seems likely.

³⁴ Cf. Acts 17.28. Cf. 1 Cor. 2.9. Lat. *folium*, which normally means simply a "leaf"—but the Gk. (*phyllon*) likely in the original is used additionally for some specific plant-parts, including the "leaf-like fruit of silphium" (LSJ s.v.). Mt. 8.22; Lk. 9.60.

PASSIO PAULI

³ When Luke had come to Rome from Galatia, and Titus from Dalmatia, they waited for Paul in the city; and when Paul arrived and saw them, he rejoiced greatly and rented a public storehouse for himself outside the city, where he would talk about the word of life with these and the other brethren. Meanwhile he began to gather together a very great multitude, and many souls were added to the faith by him, with the operation of God's grace, in such a way that the sound of his preaching and his holiness was heard, and the talk about him went around throughout the whole neighboring region. For he had already become known to the Roman world by means of signs and portents, by his plentiful teaching and by his amazing holiness. Many also from the household of Caesar came together, believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the great joy and exultation of the faithful was increasing every day. Indeed, even the instructor of the emperor [i.e., Seneca], perceiving that divine knowledge was in him, was joined in friendship with him to such a degree that he could scarcely restrain himself from conversation with him—and so, if he was not able to talk with him face to face, he enjoyed that man's sweetness and friendly conversation and counsel by frequent exchanges of letters. Thus, with the operation of the Holy Spirit, his teaching was increased and was loved, such that he was now teaching legally and being heard by many most freely. Indeed, he was holding discussions with pagan philosophers and was defeating them, and for this reason very

many people were yielding to his instruction. In fact, Caesar's instructor read aloud some of that man's writings before him [i.e., Caesar], and made him out to be amazing in all respects. Even the senate expressed an unrestrictedly high opinion of him.

⁴ Finally, one day, when Paul, in service to his teaching, was addressing the crowds in the evening in an upper room, a certain Patroclus, a favorite and cup-bearer of the Emperor, stole away from his sight and went off to the storehouse where Paul was lodging, in order to hear the teachings about eternal life. For he had been attracted and mentally drawn to this by his own companions and Caesar's close friends who, belonging to his court, were following Paul's counsels. But since he could not enter and approach him because of the great number of people there, he climbed to a higher window and sat down next to it so as to be able to hear the word of God more conveniently. Indeed, he was longing with a passionate spirit to be comforted by Paul's talk. When Paul, however, had drawn out his sermon at length and the young man was almost overcome by sleep, the wicked and envious devil, pained at the love which the youth quite zealously maintained for God's word and for the Apostle himself, caused the young man to doze off a little—and then falling from the window (which was fairly high up) he breathed his last. Soon after, when this had been reported to Nero, who was returning from the baths—Nero very frequently asked after the young man, who was dear to him—the emperor was saddened to his very soul over the death of Patroclus, and he put someone else in place of him for the service of the wine, to present his cup to him.

⁵ But Paul, immediately realizing (through the spirit) what had happened, said to the people: "Brethren, the wicked one has found an opportunity for testing you. But the Lord Jesus Christ, in his customary manner, will turn the villainy to his own glory. Go outside, therefore, and you will find that a young man, a favorite of Caesar, has fallen from a height and is now lying lifeless. Lift him up and hasten to bring him to me." They, for their part, went out immediately and speedily brought the dead young man to him. Moreover, the crowds were amazed at how Paul had come to know in detail about what had happened with no one to inform him of it. So Paul said to the crowds: "Now your faith in the Lord Jesus Christ will be apparent. For it is time for the seed of eternal life, arriving in good soil, to bear fruit in a hundred-fold harvest. Therefore draw near to the Lord our God with full

faith, and let us pray to him that the soul of the man may be restored into this youthful corpse, and that he may live better than he had lived. And after they all groaned while devoting themselves to prayer, Paul said: "Young Patroclus, arise and tell what great things God has done for you." Thereupon, at these words, Patroclus arose as though from sleep, and began to glorify God, who granted such power to human beings. And Paul sent him away with the rest of those who belonged to the household of Caesar, and they went off, all rejoicing and exulting in the Lord, who carries out the wishes of those who fear him and hearkens to their prayers.

6 While Nero was lamenting for Patroclus and was engrossed in the immensity of his sadness, those who were standing around him said to Caesar: "Lord, may Your Magnanimity not be distressed with vexation over the death of the youth. For he is alive and is here at the gates." But when Caesar heard that Patroclus was alive, of whose death he had heard a little earlier, he was struck with fear and refused to let him enter and stand before his gaze. When, however, he had been persuaded by very numerous friends, he commanded him to enter. Seeing him vigorous and without any signs of death, he was amazed and said to him: "Patroclus, are you alive?" He answered: "Caesar, I am alive." Nero said: "Who caused you to live?" Patroclus, gladdened in heart and kindled with the heat of faith, said to him: "The Lord Jesus Christ, the king of all ages." And Nero, thrown into confusion at the name of the Power of God, said to the young man: "So then, that man ought to reign forever and dissolve all the kingdoms of the world?" And Patroclus said: "Indeed, Caesar, he will destroy all the kingdoms which are under heaven, and all that are under heaven will serve him; and he himself alone is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords." But Nero struck him and said: "So then, are you serving as a soldier for that king?" And Patroclus, exulting, said: "Yes indeed—for he raised me from the dead!"

7 Then Barnabas, Justus, a certain [other] Paul, Arion the Cappadocian and Festus the Galatian, who were Caesar's attendants and always stood by him, said to Nero: "Why, Caesar, do you strike a young man who is authentically wise and answers you most sensibly and most truthfully? For we too are serving as soldiers for that unconquered king, Jesus Christ our Lord." Nero, however, when he heard them speaking of the unconquered King Jesus with the same meaning and words, he threw them into prison, so as to torture excessively those whom he had loved excessively before. And he ordered

that the servants of that great king be searched out, and laid down an edict that all the soldiers of Christ, wherever they were found, without questioning, should be punished with various tortures. Hence, through a major investigation by the officials of the government and the supporters of the storehouse of wickedness, the servants of God were sought and found—and very many were brought into Caesar's presence.

8 Among them, Paul too, bearing for the sake of Christ's name the chains he was accustomed to, was brought there, bound. All those who were bound were directing their attention to him together, so much so that Nero was able to determine, without being informed by anyone, that he was in charge of the soldiers of the great king. And, understanding that he was the leader and the teacher of Christ's servants, he said to him: "You, a servant of the great king—but a prisoner of mine—why did you decide to enter secretly into the kingdom of the Romans and take it away from me, and to assemble soldiers for him from the forces under my command?" Paul, however, filled with the Holy Spirit, spoke steadily to Caesar in the hearing of all those who could be present: "Nero, I am assembling soldiers not only from your back-yard, but also from the entire world. For I have orders not to turn away anyone from any nation who wishes to serve as a soldier for my eternal king. For the Lord of all is able to distribute the richest gifts with a generous hand to everyone, in accordance with the merits of each one. Indeed, if you too see fit to believe in him and obey him faithfully, you will not regret it. Do not think, however, that the riches of this world, magnificence or glory should save you; but if you become subject to him, you will be saved forever. For when he comes to judge the living and the dead, he will ravage the form of this world with fire, and will bestow on his soldiers the largesse that was prepared before the foundation of the world and hidden from the ages, which will never fall short and which will remove every deficiency.

9 Nero, hearing this and becoming inflamed with anger, because Paul had said that the form of the world was to be dissolved with fire, ordered that all the soldiers of Christ be burned with fire, but that Paul be mutilated by decree of the Senate as one guilty of treason, in accordance with Roman laws. He handed him over to the prefects Longinus and Megistus and to Acestus the centurion, so that they would lead him outside the city and would give instructions for his decapitation, making his killing a spectacle for the people. To these men, Paul was preaching about salvation without

ceasing. Nero, driven by the activity of the devil, speedily also directed the officials and apparitores in the whole city and the surrounding region, so that they would search out with the greatest care the Christians who were in hiding and those who were known, and kill them. Hence, so numerous a crowd of Christians was killed that the Roman people burst into the palace in strength and, struggling to provoke a rebellion against Caesar, shouted: "Put an end to this most unjust order, Caesar! Moderate your unreasonable fury! Let what has already crossed the bounds of cruelty be enough for your cruelty. They are our fellow citizens whom you are destroying; they guard the Roman empire. Caesar, you are taking away Roman power, which used to be terrifying to all nations by virtue of the great throng of such great soldiers." Then Nero, terrified at the shouts of the people, laid down another decree, that no one should dare to touch the Christians, nor bring any trouble upon them, until the report of a complete legal proceeding, on the basis of a denunciation in each case, should be conveyed to the emperor.

¹⁰ For this reason, Paul was again brought before his presence. When Nero saw him, however, he shouted out most violently, saying: "Take him away! Take away the malefactor, behead the deceiver, do not allow the enchanter to live, destroy the remover of our senses, remove from the face of the earth the modifier of our minds!" Paul said to him: "Nero, I shall suffer for a short time; but I shall live forever for my God and the eternal king, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is going to come to judge the world in a conflagration of fire." Nero said to Longinus, Megistus and Acestus: "Quickly, remove his head from him, and so may he flatter himself about eternal life—and perceive that I am the unconquered king, I who have bound him and defeated him by killing him." But Paul said: "Nero, so that you may know that I live for my unconquered king eternally even after decapitation, but that you are defeated even though you believe you are winning—after my head has been cut off, I will appear to you alive, and you will be able to understand that death and life serve my Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belongs every kingdom and who will give it to whom he wills. Every victory belongs to him, and whom he wishes to prevail he causes to triumph magnificently. He himself is alone the unconquered king forever." And with these words having been spoken, Paul was led off for punishment.

¹¹ Now while he was being led away, Longinus and Megistus and Acestus said to him: "Tell us, Paul, where is that king, and where has he appeared to

us, and in what manner did you come to know him, and what good has he done, or will he do, for you?—that you Christians should love him so passionately that you refuse to give your assent to our religion in any fashion, in order to live and enjoy the good things of this life. Instead, you consider it more pleasant than any amusement to die for him in manifold torments. For it seems to us a great error to hate pleasantness and life, and to embrace punishments and death with unmitigated longing." ¹² Paul, however, said: "You wise men, blooming with good sense! Abandon the darkness of ignorance and error, the fog of which is overclouding your understanding, noble gentlemen, so that you are not able to see the truth which lies hidden in you. Turn the eyes of your mind to the eternal and true light, so that you may have the power first to know yourselves, and so to arrive at the knowledge of that king with gladness, and to remain safe and unharmed by the fire that will come upon the whole world. For we are not serving as soldiers for any earthly king, as you believe, but for the living God, the king of the heavens and of all ages, who, on account of the sins which are being committed in this world, will come as judge and will judge it with fire. But happy will the man be who believes in him: He will have eternal life and will live forever. And most unfortunate will that man be (no one is more unfortunate) who spurns the riches of his goodness and long-suffering and does not turn to him: He will perish forever. Indeed, it was for this reason that the one who made heaven and earth descended from heaven to earth; for this purpose that the one who made man was made a man:

¹³ So that a man could turn from his iniquity, leaving behind the vain things and mute images which he most wickedly worships in place of God, and serve the one who made him and revere the one the angels fear and all the powers of heaven revere. When this happens, he will make that true worshipper and venerator his own partner and an associate of his angels—that is, of the holy and blessed spirits. And rightly so, because God is a spirit, and he will make the one who worships and venerates him in spirit and truth an associate of the holy spirits. But the one who refuses to believe in him he will make an associate and partner of the wicked demons in torment and in the burning of eternal fire; he will send that fugitive to this perpetual fire—that is, the fire that is to come, by which God is going to judge the world.

¹⁴ "Therefore, you wise men, let your sagacity take counsel and discern who made the world—because it did not come forth without a maker. Con-

sider who made man—because, as the divine oracles testify, he did not make himself. Pay heed to the fact that vain images are not gods, but rather human products and the demons that lie hidden in the same products—and they, although they seem to be in accord in that they unanimously desire the destruction of the human race, yet they do disagree with each other in very many ways. 'For the impious do not have peace,' says the Lord. Indeed, before us is this question: Why do people rush to cause destruction and to hold those associated with them in punishments, since they know that human beings are going to ascend, by the grace of God, into the heavenly habitation from which the very spirits fell through pride. Men of the city, recognize with your understanding that the title of deity is in no way distributed among the many, because there is one God by whom all things [were made], and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom all things [were made], and one Holy Spirit in whom everything exists—and to this [Trinity] all faithful things faithfully submit; and there is no division in the divinity, because it lacks plurality. Consider well, Roman citizens, whence discord arose, and by what method it has grown and become advanced so far and wide, wretchedly, and why so many—not divinities, but wretched monstrosities of gods—have emerged:

15 obviously because many began to wish to become leaders and tyrants and rulers—not of vices, but of the people who share in their own nature; and hence, plunged into the tempest of ignorance and cast down into the pit of their own pride, each one either borrowed or established the god of his own power. Thus it is said, 'Fear first in the world created gods.' Wretched men arrived at such a pitch of insanity that in this state they set up the most wretched of men as gods for themselves, so as to become like them in order to avoid destructive death. But some of them too, because they did not think it right to keep the knowledge of God in their minds, were handed over to their own wishes, so as to practice those deeds which the Roman laws punish with curses, and there was fulfilled in them what was said by the most holy words: 'Let those who make them become similar to them.' For they made wretched gods for themselves, and were made wretched themselves—and were tumbled down to such irrationality that they say to the trunk of a tree, 'You are our god'; and to a stone, 'Help us'; and they worship a manufactured block of wood, they who have been warned by its shavings."

¹⁶ At this, great crowds of listeners raised their voices in lamentation and said: "We have gone astray; we have sinned; we have acted wickedly; O teacher of salvation and truth, who shows us eternal life, have mercy on us, so that we may be rescued from the snares of sins and may be able to escape from the fire by which the world will be burned and all unbelievers and wicked ones will be tormented. Then Paul said: "Brethren, whose heart God has touched by his Spirit, stand firm like men in the faith. For servants of eternal salvation will come to you, by whom you will be baptized; and if you persevere in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, you shall be saved for eternity. Longinus too, and Megistus and Acestus, speaking to the Apostle more privately, said: "We ask you, Lord: Cause us to be enrolled in the soldiery of the eternal king, so that we may be able to escape the fire that is to come and share in the everlasting kingdom; and we will let you go—or, wherever you prefer to go, we will be your companions on the road, obedient even unto death. Paul said to them: "My brethren, I am not a fugitive but a lawful soldier of my king. For if I knew that I was remaining and was not rather coming to that life and glory by means of this death, I would not only do what you are asking, but I would be begging you for this.

¹⁷ As it is, however, I have not run in vain through much suffering, nor am I suffering now for no reason. For a crown of righteousness awaits me, which he in whom I have believed will give me—he about whom I am certain that I am going to him and that with him I will come in his splendor, and that of his Father and the holy angels, to judge the world. For this reason, I disdain this death, and I shall not obey or carry out your request that I run away. They, for their part, wept and said to him: "What then shall we do? How shall we live, once you have been punished, and shall we have the power hereafter to come to that one in whom you are persuading us to believe?"

¹⁸ And when they were saying these things amongst themselves, and many people were raising their voices on high, Nero sent certain soldiers—Parthenius and Pheretas—to see whether Paul had been killed yet. When they arrived, they found him still living and addressing the crowds at great length. Paul called them to him and said: "Gentlemen, believe in the living God, who will raise from the dead both me and all who believe in him." But they said to him in answer: "First we will go and make our report to Caesar, and then, when what we have been sent for has been accomplished, and once you are dead and have been resurrected, then we will believe in your king. As

for you, explain the delays by which you are putting off the order, and go to the designated place where you are to suffer the sentence that has been duly passed." Paul also said to them: "You need me to stay in the flesh, if you wish to believe, more than I do—I am going to life through death. But now, let us proceed with joy in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

¹⁹ And as they continued on to the place of his suffering, accompanied by countless crowds of people, he came to the gate of the city of Rome, where there came to meet him a most noble matron, named Plautilla, who loved the Apostles zealously and followed the divine religion. In tears, she began to commend herself to his prayers. Paul said to her: "Farewell, Plautilla, daughter of eternal salvation! Lend me the cloth with which you cover your head, and go off a little to the side because of the crowd, waiting for me here until I return to you and pay back the favor. For I will bind it around my eyes like a handkerchief, and I will leave it to you, loving woman, as a token of my love, for the sake of Christ's name, when I go on toward him." She quickly stretched out the cloth to him and did just as the Apostle had commanded. Parthenius and Pheretas scoffed at her, however, saying: "Why do you believe this trickster and magician? Why are you losing a fine cloth, when you will not get such a fine one through him in this world?" But Paul said to her: "Even so, daughter, stand ready here for my arrival, and I will bring you signs of my death in the cloth as I am about to conquer with Christ."

²⁰ Meanwhile, Longinus, Megistus and Acestus, as they pressed forward resolutely for their salvation, asking about the way in which they would be able to arrive at the true life, heard the blessed Apostle say: "My brothers and sons, soon, when I have been decapitated and you, along with the others who have assisted at my execution, have departed from the place in which the Lord will think it right to summon me, believers will take and bury my body. As for you, take note of the place of my tomb, and come there tomorrow at the break of dawn, and there you will find two men praying—Titus and Luke. You will tell them for what reason I sent you; and they will give you the sign of salvation in the Lord. Do not hesitate, therefore, to carry out your orders, because as soon as you have been dipped in the sacred spring as believers and made holy by the life-giving power of the divine mysteries, immediately you will be purified and cleansed whiter than snow from all pollution of sins, even from this crime which has been perpetrated against me, of

which you now stand in awe; you will be enrolled in the ranks of Christ's soldiers, and will be co-heirs of the heavenly kingdom.

²¹ This having been said, he arrived at the place of his suffering. There, turned toward the East, with his hands stretched out toward heaven, he prayed at great length with tears in Hebrew, and gave thanks to God. And when he had finished his prayer in his ancestral language, bidding farewell to the brethren he blessed them, and binding his eyes with Plautilla's veil he planted both knees on the ground and extended his neck. The executioner, lifting up his arm on high, struck with force and cut off his head. After it had been cut off from his body, it cried aloud the name of Jesus Christ in Hebrew with a clear voice; and immediately a stream of milk spurted out from his body onto the clothing of the soldier, and afterwards blood flowed out. When some people were wanting to seize the garment with which he had bound his eyes, it was not to be seen. Furthermore, such an immense light and such a pleasant aroma flashed forth from heaven there at the moment of his decapitation, that the eyes of mortals could not endure that splendor; the human tongue could not tell of the aroma. All those who were present, however, seeing the grace of God in the blessed Apostle, marvelled greatly, praising and extolling until very late the Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal and unconquered king, whom the magnificent teacher and instructor of the nations had proclaimed.

²² Those who had been sent to hurry up his execution returned and arrived at the gate of the city, where they found Plautilla praising and glorifying the Lord for all that she had heard and seen through his holy Apostle. They asked her with scorn why she was not covering her head with the veil she had given to her Paul. She, kindled with the heat of faith, answered proudly: "You vain and miserable men, who do not know how to believe what you see with your eyes and handle with your hands! Truly I do have same cloth which I offered to that man—now precious because of the shedding of his glorious blood. For a company of countless figures in white, attending him, came from heaven and returned it to me in all truth; and rewarding me with thanks for the kindness I did him, he said: "You, Plautilla, gave me obedience on earth; I will be indulgent to you when you move on with all speed to the heavenly realms. For very soon I will return for you and I will show you the glory of the unconquered king." And Plautilla, drawing out the cloth, infused with rose-colored blood, from the folds of her gar-

ment, showed it to them. They, seized with great fear, went along quickly to Caesar and reported to him what they had seen and heard.

²³ But when he heard this, he was struck with frightful wonder; stupefied with immense amazement, he began to discuss and hold conversations about what had been reported with philosophers and friends and state officials, and also with as many of the senate as he could have there, in fear and mental confusion. And while they were marvelling at these things in turn, and questioning amongst themselves, Paul came around the ninth hour, although the doors were shut, and stood before Caesar and said: "Caesar, look: Here I am—Paul, soldier of the eternal and unconquered king; now indeed, you should believe that I am not dead, but that I live for my God. But for you, you wretch, unspeakable evils and very great punishment are impending, after not much time, and eternal destruction, because among your other horrible, disgraceful acts you have unjustly shed much blood of the just." And saying this, he suddenly disappeared. Indeed, Nero, on hearing this, was stricken with indescribable fear and went more or less out of his senses; he did not know what he could have done. But persuaded by his friends, he ordered Patroclus and Barnabas and those who had been shackled with them to be freed and to go wherever they wished.

²⁴ Finally, Longinus, Megistus and Acestus, just as Paul had instructed, came at first light to his tomb, and saw two men praying—and standing in their midst, Paul. Terrified by this marvellous sight, they trembled and were afraid to approach any nearer. Titus and Luke, however, returning to themselves from the ecstasy of prayer, saw the prefects and the centurion who had been attendants at the slaughter of Paul hurrying toward them; seized with human fear, they turned to run away—and Paul vanished from their sight. But the others shouted after them, saying: "Blessed men of God, we have not come, as you imagine, to pursue you and kill you, but so that you may transport us as believers to eternal life through the water of baptism, just as the true teacher Paul promised us—he whom just now we perceived standing and praying in your midst." And indeed, Titus and Luke, when they heard this, stood still with great gladness and spiritual joy; then they laid their hands on them and gave them the mark of everlasting sanctification, and thus, after a fast lasting until evening, they were baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit belong honor and glory, power and authority forever and ever. Amen.

²⁵ Cf. the apocryphal correspondence of Paul and Seneca, translated in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (rev.), 2: 46-53. Alternatively, "needed." Lat. *ex ordine*. Cf. 1 Cor. 1:24. Or, "every city." Lat. *maleficus*, which frequently has the sense of "practitioner of magic." Lat. *carminator*. Cf. Rom. 14.8. Is. 48.22. Cf. Statius, *Thebaid* 3.661; Petronius fr. 27 (= Anth. Lat. 466). Cf. Rom. 1.28. Ps. 115.8; 135.18. Cf. Jer. 2.27. So he is named in the Gk. text; Lat. *Feritas*. Lat. *propter plebis impedimentum*. Or "confessing"; Lat. *confitentes*.

Acts of Peter and Andrew

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A short tale of the apostles Peter and Andrew, in which a camel is made to pass through the eye of a needle for a rich man who doubts.

¹ Acts of Peter and Andrew. From a Bodleian ms. Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Andrew. It came to pass when Andrew the apostle of Christ went forth from the city of the man-eaters, behold a luminous cloud snatched him up, and carried him away to the mountain where Peter and Matthew and Alexander were sitting. And when he saw them, they saluted him with great joy. Then Peter says to him: What has happened to thee, brother Andrew? Hast thou sown the word of truth in the country of the man-eaters or not? Andrew says to him: Yes, father Peter, through thy prayers; but the men of that city have done me many mischiefs, for they dragged me through their street three days, so that my blood stained the whole street. Peter says to him: Be a man in the Lord, brother Andrew, and come hither, and rest from thy labour. For if the good husbandman laboriously till the ground, it will also bear fruit, and straightway all his toil will be turned into joy; but if he toil, and his land bring forth no fruit, he has double toil.

² And while he was thus speaking, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them in the form of a child, and said to them: Hail, Peter, bishop of the whole of my Church! hail, Andrew! My co-heirs, be courageous, and struggle for mankind; for verily I say unto you, you shall endure toils in this world for mankind. But be bold; I will give you rest in one hour of repose in the kingdom of my Father. Arise, then, and go into the city of the barbarians, and preach in it; and I will be with you in the wonders that shall happen in it by your hands. And the Lord Jesus, after saluting them, went up into the heavens in glory. ³ And Peter, and Andrew, and Alexander, and Rufus, and Matthias, went into the city of the barbarians. And after they had come near the

city, Andrew answered and said to Peter: Father Peter, have we again to undergo toils in this city, as in the country of the man-eaters? Peter says to him: I do not know. But, behold, there is an old man before us sowing in his field: if we go up to him, let us say to him, Give us bread; and if he give us bread, we may know that we are not to suffer in this city; but if he say to us, We have no bread, on the other hand, we shall know that suffering again awaits us. And when they came up to the old man, Peter says to him: Hail, farmer! And the farmer says to them: Hail you too, merchants! Peter says to him: Have you bread to give to these children, for we have been in want? The old man says to them: Wait a little, and look after the oxen, and the plough, and the land, that I may go into the city, and get you loaves. Peter says to him: If you provide hospitality for us, we shall look after the cattle and the field. The old man says: So be it. Peter says to him: Are the oxen your own? The old man says: No; I have them on hire. Peter says to him: Go into the city. And the old man went into the city.

⁴ And Peter arose, and girded up his cloak and his under-garment, and says to Andrew: It is not right for us to rest and be idle; above all, when the old man is working for us, having left his own work. Then Peter took hold of the plough, and sowed the wheat. And Andrew was behind the oxen, and says to Peter: Father Peter, why dost thou bring toil upon us, especially when we have work enough already! Then Andrew took the plough out of Peter's hand, and sowed the wheat, saying: O seed cast into the ground in the field of the righteous, come up, and come to the light. Let the young men of the city therefore come forth, whom I found in the pit of destruction until to-day; for, behold, the apostles of Christ are coming into the city, pardoning the sins of those who believe in them, and healing every disease, and every sickness. Pray ye for me, that He may have mercy upon me, and that I may be delivered from this strait.

⁵ And many of the multitude believed in Christ, because of the saying of the woman; and they fell at the feet of the apostles, and adored them. And they laid their hands upon them. And they healed those in the city that were sick, and gave sight to the blind and, hearing to the deaf, and drove out the demons. All the multitude glorified the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. ⁶ And there was a certain rich man in the city, by name Onesiphorus. He, having seen the miracles done by the apostles, says to them: If I believe in your God, can I also do a miracle like you? Andrew says to him: If thou

wilt forsake all that belongs to thee, and thy wife and thy children, as we also have done, then thou also shalt do miracles. When Onesiphorus heard this, he was filled with rage, and took his scarf and threw it over Andrew's neck, and struck him, and said to him: Thou art a sorcerer. How dost thou force me to abandon my wife, and my children, and my goods? Then Peter, having turned and seen him striking Andrew, says to him: Man, stop now striking Andrew. Onesiphorus says to him: I see that thou art more sensible than he. Do thou then tell me to leave my wife, and my children, and my goods. What dost thou say? Peter says to him: One thing I say unto thee: it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to go into the kingdom of heaven. When Onesiphorus heard this, he was even more filled with rage and anger, and took his scarf off the neck of Andrew, and threw it upon the neck of Peter; and so he dragged him along, saying: Verily thou art a great sorcerer, more than the other; for a camel cannot go through the eye of a needle.

⁷ But if thou wilt show me this miracle, I will believe in thy God; and not only I, but also the whole city. But if not, thou shalt be grievously punished in the midst of the city. And when Peter heard this, he was exceedingly grieved, and stood and stretched forth his hands towards heaven, and prayed, saying: O Lord our God, listen to me at this time; for they will ensnare us from Thine own words: for no prophet has spoken to set forth this his explanation, and no patriarch that we might learn the interpretation of it; and now we seek for ourselves the explanation with boldness. Do Thou then, Lord, not overlook us: for thou art He who is praised by the cherubim. ⁸ And after he had said this, the Saviour appeared in the form of a child of twelve years old, wearing a linen garment; and He says to them: Be courageous, and tremble not, my chosen disciples; for I am with you always. Let the needle and the camel be brought. And after saying this, He went up into the heavens. And there was a certain merchant in the city who had believed in the Lord through the Apostle Philip; and when he heard of this, he ran and searched for a needle with a big eye, to do a favour to the apostles. When Peter learned this, he said: My son, do not search for a big needle; for nothing is impossible with God: rather bring us a small needle. And after the needle had been brought, and all the multitude of the city were standing by to see, Peter looked up and saw a camel coming. And he ordered her to be brought. Then he fixed the needle in the ground, and cried out with a loud

voice, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, I order thee, O camel, to go through the eye of the needle. Then the eye of the needle was opened like a gate, and the camel went through it, and all the multitude saw it. Again Peter says to the camel: Go again through the needle. And the camel went a second time. When Onesiphorus saw this, he said to Peter; Truly thou art a great sorcerer;

⁹but I do not believe unless I send and bring a camel and a needle. And he called one of his servants, and said to him privately: Go and bring me here a camel and a needle; find also a polluted woman, and force her to come here: for these men are sorcerers. And Peter having learned the mystery through the Spirit, says to Onesiphorus: Send and bring the camel, and the woman, and the needle. And when they brought them, Peter took the needle, and fixed it in the ground. And the woman was sitting on the camel. Then Peter says: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the crucified, I order thee, O camel, to go through this needle. And immediately the eye of the needle was opened, and became like a gate, and the camel went through it. Peter again says to the camel: Go through it again, that all may see the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that some may believe on Him. Then the camel again went through the needle. And Onesiphorus seeing it, cried out, and said: Truly great is the God of Peter and Andrew, and I from this time forth believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now then, hear my words, O Peter. I have corn lands, vineyards, and fields; I have also twenty-seven pounds of gold, and fifty pounds of silver; and I have very many slaves. I give my possessions to the poor, that I also may do one miracle like you.

¹⁰And Peter was grieved lest the powers should not work in him, seeing that he had not received the seal in Christ. And while he was considering this, behold, a voice out of the heaven saying to him: Do to him what he wishes, because I will accomplish for him what he desires. Peter says to him: My son, come hither; do as we do. And Onesiphorus came up, and stood before the camel and the needle, and said: In the n... (Here the ms. ends.)

The Acts of Xanthippe, Polyxena and Rebecca

ACTS OF XANTHIPPE AND POLYXENA

3rd–5th century

A romance about Xanthippe, Polyxena and Rebecca, who are converted by the preaching of the apostle Paul in Spain, and about the trials that follow.

¹ Life and Conduct of the Holy Women, Xanthippe, Polyxena, and Rebecca. I. When the blessed Paul was at Rome through the word of the Lord, it happened that a certain servant of a ruler of Spain came to Rome with letters of his master's, and heard the word of God from Paul, the truly golden and beautiful nightingale. This servant being greatly touched, and being unable to remain and be filled with the divine word because he was hastened by the letters, returned into Spain in great grief, and being unable to show his desire to any one, because his master was an idolater, he was always pained at heart and sighing greatly. Now this servant was honoured and faithful to his masters, and as time went past, the servant fell sick and grew lean of flesh, which his master perceiving said to him, What has happened to thee that thou art thus fallen together in countenance? The servant said, here is a great pain in my heart, and I can in no way find rest. His master said to him, And what is the pain that cannot receive healing from my chief physician? The servant said, While I was still in Rome, this pain and its recurring mishap made itself known to me. His master said, And knowest thou not of any who have fallen into this disease and been healed? The servant said, Yes, but where that physician is I know not, for I left him in Rome. So many as have been attended by that physician and have gone through the water in his hands, have received healing immediately. His master said, I ought not to grudge to send thee yet again to Rome, if perchance thou mightest obtain healing.

² II. And while they spoke thus, behold his mistress, by name Xanthippe, overhearing these words, and learning of the teaching of Paul, said, What is

the name of that physician, and what is the healing to ward off such a disease? The servant said to her, The calling upon a new name, and anointing with oil and washing with water. By this treatment I have seen many that had incurable pains receive healings. As he said this, the images of the idols that stood in the house began to be shaken and fall down. And his mistress beckoned to him, saying, Seest thou, brother, the images of the idols being shaken, how they cannot endure the power of the word? And his master, by name Probus, arose from his mid-day sleep with a very gloomy countenance, for the Devil had greatly disturbed him, because the knowledge of God had come into his house. And he questioned the servant of everything in order, and the servant having been seized by sickness by the foreknowledge of God, disclosed to him the life of man, and Xanthippe was incurable in her soul concerning this teaching. So Probus too was grieved for Xanthippe, because from that time she was wasting herself away with waking and abstinence and other austerities.

3 III. And Xanthippe going away to her couch and groaning, said, Woe is me, wretched one, lying in darkness, that I have not learned the name of the new teacher, that I might summon his prayer to help me, and what to say I know not. Shall I call upon him by the name of his God? but I cannot say, The God that is preached by such a one. Nevertheless I shall say thus by conjecture, O God, giving light in Hades, and guiding those in darkness, Lord of free men and kings, and preached by worthy servants in all the world, called upon as a brother by sinful men and quick to hear, to whom not even archangels can send up worthy songs of praise, who hast shown to me, humble and unworthy, the ever-living and abiding seed (though my ignorance permits me not to receive it), hasten also the things that concern me, Lord, since by thy will thou hast made thyself heard by me, and in thy compassion show me the proclamation of thy herald, that I may learn of him what is pleasing to thee. Yea, I beseech thee look upon my ignorance, O God, and enlighten me with the light of thy countenance, thou that never overlookest any of those that call upon thee in truth. Probus, her husband said to her, Why troublest thou thyself so much, lady, and dost not at all turn to sleep? Xanthippe said, I cannot sleep, for there is in me an incurable pain.

4 Probus said to her, And what is thy pain or grief, O lady, that I am not sufficient to comfort thee? All that thou hast wished unto this day I have served thee in, and now what is it that thou hast, and dost not tell me?

Xanthippe says to him, I beseech thee this thing only, my lord, permit me for a little and for this day only to sleep apart from thee. And Probus said to her, Be it as thou wilt, lady; only leave off thy groaning. 5 IV. Then entering into her bed-chamber alone, she spoke thus with tears, In what way, my God, I shall act, or what counsel I shall take, I know not. Shall I declare the thought that has come upon me? I fear the madness and disorder of the city. Shall I fly from this impious city? I fear the contrivance of the devil for seizing the sheep. Shall I await the mercy and swiftness of the Lord? Again I fear the untimely snatching away of life, for the death of sinners has no warning. Shall I depart and flee away to Rome? I fear the length of the journey, being unable to go on foot. But while I say these things by conjecture, constrained by my desire (for I cannot speak with surety), may I find pardon with thee, my God, and do thou fulfil my desire with excess of right words, and think me but worthy to hear thy preacher, for if I say, to see his face, I ask a great thing. Blessed is he that is found in the company of thy preachers, and is satisfied with their precious countenances. Blessed are they that are yoked under the preaching of thy commandments. Blessed are they that keep thy commandments; but where now, Lord, are thy mercies to our fathers, that we also may be their successors in love toward thee and heirs of faith. But behold now, Lord, I cannot find any one that has love for thee, that communing with him I might even a little refresh my soul. Speed therefore, Lord, to yoke me in desire for thee, and keep me under the shadow of thy wings, for thou alone art God, glorified to all eternity. Amen.

6 V. Therefore Xanthippe saying these words and others like them, groaned continually all the night, and Probus heard her and was greatly distressed, and arising from his couch when the morning came he went in to her, and seeing her eyes inflamed with tears, he said, Wherefore, lady, dost thou thus vex me, and wilt not tell me thy pain? Tell it me, that I may do whatever is pleasing to thee, and distress me not with thy trouble. Xanthippe says to him, Be of good cheer rather, my lord, and be not vexed, for my trouble shall not harm thee, but if I have found favour before thee, go forth now to the salutation, and allow me to indulge myself in it as I will, for it is not possible for man to take from me the insatiable pain. And listening to her he went out immediately to receive the salutations of the men of the city, for he was the great man among them, and was also known to Nero, the Emperor. And sitting down, great grief appeared in his countenance, and be-

ing asked the reason of his grief by the chief men of the city, he said to them that he had fallen into many and unfounded charges.

7 VI. And Xanthippe went out into the garden, that she might await there looking closely for certainty of her husband, and she saw the delight of the trees, and the various warbling of the birds, and said, groaning, O beauty of the world! for that which we hitherto thought to come of itself, we know now that all things are beautifully fashioned by the beautiful One. O power and invention of wisdom! for not only has he placed in men a thousand tongues, but also in birds he has distinguished various voices, as if from anthems and responses to receive sweet-voiced and heart-stirring hymns from his own works. O delightfulness of the air, declaring the inimitable creator! Who shall turn my sorrow into rejoicing? And again she said, God to whom praise is sung by all, give me peace and comfort. As she said these things, Probus also came up from the street to break his fast, and when he saw her countenance altered by tears, he began to pull out the hairs of his head, but he dared not speak to her then so as not to mingle other trouble with her trouble. So he went and fell upon his couch, and said, groaning, Alas, that I had not even the consolation of a child from her, but only acquire grief upon grief. Two years are not yet full since I was wedded to her, and already she meditates divorce.

8 VII. But Xanthippe was always keeping watch through the doors into the streets of the city, and the blessed Paul, the preacher and teacher and illuminator of the world, left Rome and came even into Spain by the foreknowledge of God. And coming up to the gates of the city he stood and prayed, and crossing himself entered the city. When Xanthippe saw the blessed Paul walking quietly and equally, and adorned with all virtue and understanding, she was greatly delighted in him and her heart leaped continually, and as possessed with an unexpected joy she said with herself, Why does my heart beat vehemently at the sight of this man? Why is his walk quiet and equable, as of one who expects to take in his arms one that is pursued? Why is his countenance kindly, as of one that tends the sick? Why does he look so lovingly hither and thither, as one who desires to assist those who are seeking to flee from the mouths of dragons? Who shall tell me that this is one from the flock of preachers? If it were possible for me, I should wish to touch the hem of his garments, that I may behold his kindness and readiness

to receive and sweet odour; for the servant had told her this also, that the hems of his garments had the odour of precious perfumes.

9 VIII. Now Probus heard her words, and straightway ran out by himself into the street, and laying hold of Paul's hand said to him, Man, who thou art I know not, but deign to enter into my house; perchance thou mayest be to me a cause of salvation. Paul said to him, It will be well with thee, son, after thy request! And they went in together to Xanthippe. When Xanthippe therefore saw the great Paul, the intellectual eyes of her heart were uncovered, and she read upon his forehead, having as it were golden seals, these words, Paul the Preacher of God. Then exulting and rejoicing she threw herself at his feet, and twisting her hair together she wiped his feet, saying, Welcome, O man of God, to us humble ones, that live as shadows among shadows. For thou hast looked upon those who were running into Hades as into something beautiful, who addressed the crooked serpent and destroyer as provider and protector, who were running into the dark Hades as to their father, those that were fashioned with a rational nature but have become like irrational creatures. Thou hast sought me, lowly one, having the sun of righteousness in my heart. Now the poison is stayed, when I have seen thy precious face. Now he that troubled me is flown away, when thy most beautiful counsel has appeared to me. Now I shall be considered worthy of repentance, when I have received the seal of the preacher of the Lord.

10 Before now I have deemed many happy who met with you, but I say boldly that from this time forth I myself shall be called happy by others, because I have touched thy hem, because I have received thy prayers, because I have enjoyed thy sweet and honeyed teaching. Thou hast not hesitated to come to us, thou that fittest the dry land in thy course, and gatherest the fish that fall in thy way into the net of the kingdom of heaven. 11 IX. The great Paul said to her, Arise, daughter, and look not upon me as having been sought out of thy ignorance by my foresight. For Christ, the provider of the world, the searcher out of sinners and the lost, who has not only called to mind those upon earth, but also by his own presence has redeemed those in Hades, he himself has pitied thee, and sent me hither that he might visit and pity many others together with thee. For this mercy and visitation are not of us, but are his injunction and command, even as we also have received mercy and been saved by him. Probus hearing this was astonished at their words, for he was altogether ignorant of these things. But Paul by force raised up

Xanthippe from his feet, and she running set a new gilded chair for Paul to sit down upon. The great Paul said to her, My daughter Xanthippe, do not thus, for ye have not yet accorded to the faith of Christ, but wait a little, till the Lord shall set in order what is necessary! Xanthippe said to Paul, Sayest thou this to try me, O preacher of God, or hast thou any foreknowledge? Paul said, No, daughter, but the devil, who hates the servants of God, sows wickedness in the hearts of his own servants, to oppose those that labour for Christ in preaching, for his wickedness has extended to the apostles and even to the Lord himself. Therefore it is fitting to approach the unbelievers gently and kindly!

¹² Xanthippe said to Paul, I beseech thee, if thou lovest thy servants, make prayer for Probus, and let me see if he that is hated by thee can work in him; let me see if he can even stand against thy prayer. And Paul rejoiced exceedingly at the words of her faith, and said to her, Believe me, daughter, that by his suggestion and working I have not passed a single hour without chains and blows. Xanthippe said to him, But thou sufferest these things by thy own free will, since thou hast not neglected thy preaching even to scourging, but this again I tell thee, that thy bonds shall be the defeat of the prompter, and thy humiliation their overthrow. ¹³ X. Now the report of his presence ran through the whole city and the country round about, for some of that city having been at Rome had seen the signs and wonders that were done by the blessed Paul, and came to see if this was he. Many therefore came into the house of Probus, and he began to be annoyed and to say, I will not suffer my house to be made an inn. Xanthippe knowing that the face of Probus had begun to be estranged, and that he spoke thus, was greatly distressed, saying, Alas, wretched me, that we are not thought fully worthy to keep this man in our house; for if Paul goes hence, the church also will be held elsewhere. Then Xanthippe, considering these matters, put her hand on the foot of Paul, and taking dust she called Probus to her, and placing her hand on his breast said, O Lord, my God, who hast sought out me, lowly one and ignorant of thee, send what is fitting into this heart. And Paul perceived her prayer, and made the sign of the cross, and for several days the people entered unhindered, and as many as had sick and vexed by unclean spirits brought them, and all were healed.

¹⁴ XI. And Xanthippe said to Paul, Teacher, my heart is greatly consumed because I have not as yet received baptism. And after this Probus being again

moved by the devil, cast Paul out of the house and shut up Xanthippe in her chamber. Then one of the chief men, Philotheus by name, besought the great Paul to come into his house, but the great Paul was unwilling to do so, saying, Lest Probus trouble thy house on my account. Philotheus said to him, Nay, father, I am not at all subject to him, for in no other thing is he greater than me, except in rank, and that because the parents of Xanthippe are above me. But if Probus come to me, I am above him in riches and in war. Then Paul, the great apostle of the Lord, was persuaded, and went into the house of Philotheus the ex-prefect. All this was done by the Evil one that Xanthippe might receive holy baptism with tribulation, and be faint-hearted concerning the commandments of Christ.

¹⁵ XII. Xanthippe therefore, with tears, said to her servants, Have ye learned where Paul is gone to? They said, Yea, in the house of Philotheus the ex-prefect, and Xanthippe rejoiced greatly that Philotheus also believed, being able, as she said, to persuade Probus also. Then Probus called Xanthippe to supper, and when she consented not, Probus said, Think not that in bed also thou wilt keep away from me. But when he lay down to supper, Xanthippe bending her knees, prayed to the Lord, saying, Eternal and immortal God, that didst take dust from the ground, and didst not value it according to the nature of its creation, but didst call it the son of immortality, thou who didst come from the heart of the father to the heart of the earth for our sake, on whom the cherubim dare not fix their gaze, and for us wast hidden in the womb that by taking up thy abode in a mother thou mightest make good the offence of Eve. Thou that didst drink gall and vinegar, and wast pierced in the side by a spear, that thou mightest heal the wound given by the rib to Adam. For Eve being his rib wrought a blow for Adam, and through him for all the world. Thou that gavest a sleep without perception to the serpent, so that he might not know thy Incarnation, remember also my groaning and tears, and grant fulfilment to my sleep, and bring sleep upon Probus until I shall be deemed worthy of the gift of holy baptism, for I vehemently desire to obtain this, to the glory and praise of thy holy name.

¹⁶ XIII. But Probus, while still at supper, commanded the doors of their house to be secured by cruel and wicked soldiers, and having given these orders, he straightway fell asleep upon the couch. Then the servants came and announced this to Xanthippe that he might be awakened, but she said, Put out the lights, my children, and leave him thus. And in the first sleep, taking

three hundred pieces of gold, she went to the doors, saying with herself, Perchance the porter will be persuaded by the amount of money. But he, being evil and froward, would not be persuaded to do this, and she, loosing also her girdle, which was set with precious stones and worth two hundred pieces of gold, gave it to him and went out saying, Lord, I win over my own slaves with money, that thy preacher Paul may not be oppressed by Probus. And Xanthippe went on to the house of Philotheus the ex-prefect, as to a great and incredible work, running and praising God. As she therefore passed through a certain place, the demons pursued her with fiery torches and lightnings, and she, turning, saw behind her this terrible sight, and being possessed with great fear said, What has happened to thee now, wretched soul? Thou hast been deprived of thy desire. Thou wast running to salvation, thou wast running to baptism, and thou hast fallen into the serpent and his ministers, and these things thy sins have prepared for thee.

¹⁷ Speaking thus she was even fainting at heart from great despair, but the great Paul being forewarned by God of the assault of the demons, immediately stood beside her, being also preceded by a beautiful youth. And straightway the vision of the demons disappeared, and Paul said to her, Arise, daughter Xanthippe, and behold the Lord desired by thee, by whose flame the heavens are shaken and the deep is dried up, coming to thee and pitying and saving thee. Behold him that accepts thy prayers and straightway gives ear. See him coming in the shape of a man, and take courage against the demons. Then she rising from the ground said to him, Master, why hast thou left me solitary? Even now make haste to seal me, so that if death come upon me I may depart to him who is full of compassion and has no arrogance. ¹⁸ XIV. Therefore the great Paul straightway taking her hand, went into the house of Philotheus, and baptised her in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Ghost. Then taking bread also he gave her the eucharist saying, Let this be to thee for a remission of sins and for a renewing of thy soul. Then the blessed Xanthippe, receiving the divine grace of holy baptism, returned to her own house, rejoicing and praising the Lord. The porter seeing her complained loudly in violent words, that her going out might be deemed to have been without his will if Probus should notice it; but he that gave her light along with Paul kept the whole house, together with Probus, in a deep sleep, and they did not hear his words at all. Then she went running into her bed-chamber, saying, What shall I say of thee,

searcher out of sinners, who art most present with us in tribulations. Thy goodness does these things, since for the sake of man whom thou didst make thou didst go down even to death, for, however much man stir thee to anger many times, yet thou, Lord, pourest out thy mercies upon him. O depth of compassion and wealth of mercy; O immeasurable goodness and incomparable kindness; O treasure of good things, and giver of mercy, and enricher of all that believe in thee! If, therefore, one who loves thee say, Be near me, Lord, thou hast already anticipated him. If he say, I give thee thanks;

¹⁹ hear my words, before they are spoken, thou understandest. And as for those that ask of thee, thou givest to each after his asking. Thy goodness seeks out those that know thee not, and thou runnest to sinners. O cheerful look, filling the ways of sinners with mercy; O excellent watching and exhortation of the ignorant! Who shall tell my lord Paul of the salvation that has now befallen me, that he might come and give words of thanksgiving for me to this protector of sinners? Come many and behold and know the Lord, who hates sin, but has mercy on sinners. Come, now, O Paul, preacher of God, for with thee even now I sit under instruction, and give words of thanksgiving for me, for I desire to keep silence, since human reason makes me afraid, lest I have not the grace of eloquence. I desire to keep silence, and am compelled to speak, for some one inflames and sweetens me within. If I say, I will shut my mouth, there is some one that murmurs in me. Shall I say a great thing? Is it not that teacher that is in Paul, without arrogance, filling the heavens, speaking within and waiting without, sitting on the throne with the father and stretched upon the cross by man. What, therefore, I shall do I know not. My worthless mind delights me, and is not unfolded to the end.

²⁰ Thou that hadst thy hands fixed with nails and thy side pierced with the spear, thou star out of Jacob and lion's whelp out of Judah, thou rod out of Jesse, and man and God out of Mary, thou invisible God in the bosom of the Father, and that canst not be looked upon by cherubim, and art mocked in Israel, glory be to thee, who didst appear on the earth and wast taken by the people, hung upon the tree and by the report of the wicked falsely said to be stolen, and that hast bought us all together. ²¹ XV. While she was still speaking thus, there appeared a cross on the eastern wall, and straightway there entered through it a beautiful youth, having round about him trembling rays, and under him an extended light, on which also he walked. And

as he entered within, all the foundations of that house shook and sounded with a great trembling. Xanthippe seeing him cried out and fell to the ground as if dead; but he being pitiful and kind, changing immediately into the shape of Paul, raised her up, saying, Arise, Xanthippe, and fear not, for the servants of God are thus glorified. Then Xanthippe arising, gazed upon him, and thinking it to be Paul said, How art thou come in hither, preacher of God, seeing that I have given five hundred pieces of gold to the porter, and that although he is my slave, while thou hast no money? The Lord said to her, My servant Paul is richer than all wealth, for whatsoever treasure he acquires here he sends it before him into the kingdom of heaven, that departing thither he may rest in the unending and eternal rest. This is the treasure of Paul, thou and thy like. Then Xanthippe gazing upon him, desirous to say something, saw his face shining as the light; and being greatly amazed, and putting both her hands over her face she threw herself to the ground, and said, Hide thyself, Lord, from my bodily eyes and enlighten my understanding, for I know now who thou art. Thou art he whose precursor was the cross, the only begotten son of the Father alone above, and only son of the Virgin alone below. Thou art he who was pierced in the hands and who rent the rocks. Thou art he whom none other can carry except the bosom of the Father.

22 XVI. And as she spoke thus the Lord was again hidden from her, and Xanthippe, coming to herself, said, Woe is me wretched one, that no one has told me what is the gratitude of slaves towards their master. If Paul the preacher of the Lord were here, how could he give praise? But perchance in the face of such favors and gifts they are silent, possessed only with tears, for it is not possible worthily to praise any one according to his favour. Saying this she was seized with great faintness from lack of food, for having been strongly possessed with desire for Christ she had forgotten to take nourishment. Therefore, being greatly exhausted by abstinence and the vision and want of sleep and other austerities, she was unable to rise from the ground.

23 XVII. And Probus arose from his couch with a very gloomy countenance, for in his sleep he had seen a dream, and was greatly troubled concerning it. But the porter seeing him about to issue to the market-place, having his countenance thus troubled, was greatly afraid, Lest, said he, he know what has happened, and will miserably destroy me. Probus, however, having gone forth and signified to those in the market what was fitting for the day and

season, speedily returned into the house, and said to his servants, Call me quickly the wise men Barandus and Gnosteas. When they were summoned he said to them, I have seen a very terrible vision, and what appeared in it is difficult for our power to interpret. This, however, do ye disclose to me, as being the most excellent of all the world. Expound it to me when I tell it you. Barandus says to him, If the vision can be interpreted by our wisdom, we shall explain it to thee, but if it be of the faith that is now spoken of we cannot expound it to thee, for it is of another wisdom and understanding. However, let our lord and master tell the dream, and let us see if there is any explanation for it. Probus says to Gnosteas, Wherefore answerest thou nothing? Gnosteas said, I have not heard the dream, and what can I say but whatever it may be, if it is by reason of Paul? Tell me now, and thou wilt find it so.

²⁴ Probus said, I thought I was standing in a certain unknown and strange country, and that there sat there an Ethiop king, who ruled over all the earth and seemed never to have any successor. There stood beside him multitudes of servants, and all hastened to destruction and had mastery far and wide. And when that Ethiop seemed to have gained his purpose, there arose a raven and standing above him croaked with a pitiful voice. And straightway there arose from the eastern parts an eagle, and seized his kingdom, and his power was made vain, and those standing by him fled to the eagle. Then that king strove against those that fled to the eagle, but the eagle carried it up into heaven, and, behold, there came a helper to those that fled to the eagle and left his staff to them. Then they laying hold of it were not overcome by the violence of that king. So many as ran to those who had the staff, he washed them in pure water, and they that were washed had power over his kingdom. And by that staff the enemies of the king were put to flight, therefore capable men laying hold of the staff turned to themselves great multitudes. And that king strove against them, and had no might at all, but he hindered many from believing in him that sent out the men into the world to bear witness, and for that reason many were grieved.

²⁵ Nevertheless, this one did not constrain any like the other, for he himself was ruler of all light. This then was the end. ²⁶ XVIII. Then the wise Barandus said, By the grace of God I shall tell the things sent into the world by the Lord. The king whom thou sawest is the Devil, and the multitudes of his servants are the demons, and the throngs about him are they that worship the gods. Whereas he thought to have no successor, he looked not for

the coming of Christ. The raven betokened the weakness of his kingdom, for the raven kept not obedience to the righteous Noah, but loved pitiful things. The eagle that arose and took away his kingdom and carried it up into heaven, and that there came a protector of those that fled to the eagle, having a staff, that is the Lord Jesus Christ, who left to them his staff, that is, his precious cross; and that he washed those that fled to him signifies the invulnerable breast-plate of baptism, and therefore they were not overcome. The capable men sent into the world with the cross are the preachers of God like Paul who is now with us, against whom that king has no power. This was made known to thee because even on those who are hard of belief God has compassion in some way. See therefore whether even thou wilt be able to injure Paul though thou desirest, for the mighty power that shields him has been shown thee by the Lord.

²⁷ Therefore, understand what has been said to thee by me, and serve not that king of darkness, for as thou sawest his kingdom vanish away, so shall all his servants perish with him. Come now, therefore, my Lord, let us go to Paul and receive baptism from him, lest Satan have mastery over us also. Probus said, Let us first go to Xanthippe and see whether she still lives, for behold there are twenty-nine days since she has tasted anything; for I saw her face in the evening, and it was as of one prepared to depart. ²⁸ XIX. And as they went into the chamber, they heard her singing. Praise the Lord ye sinners also, because he accepts your prayers also. Alleluia. Praise the Lord ye that have despaired like me, for many are his mercies. Alleluia. Praise him ye ungodly, because for you he was crucified. Alleluia. Praise him ye that strive for the salvation of sinners, because God loves you. Alleluia. Praise him, ye that rejoice at the calling of sinners, because ye are fellow-citizens with the saints. Alleluia. As she said these words and more than these with tears, the wise men Barandus and Gnosteas opening the door entered and fell at her feet, saying, Pray for us lowly ones, O servant of Christ, that he may bring us also into thy number. But she said to them, Brethren, I am not Paul who remits sins, but neither is he far from you. Therefore fall not before my knees, but go to him, who is also more able to benefit you. Then they came running to the house of Philotheus to Paul, and found him teaching a great multitude. And Probus also came to hear Paul, and Xanthippe entered along with him to salute him, and coming near to Paul and bending her knees she did him reverence. Probus seeing this marvelled that her so proud spirit had

changed to so great humility, for she sat beside the feet of Paul on the ground humbly and as one of the worthless. And Probus was greatly grieved, not yet attending to the hearing of the word, but was ever gazing and fixing his attention on Xanthippe.

29 XX. The great Paul was teaching thus, Let those that burn in the flesh observe lawful marriage, avoiding fornication, especially that with another's wife, and let those that are united keep to one another. Probus heard this teaching with delight, and said, O Paul, how excellently and wisely thou employest this teaching. Why then has Xanthippe withdrawn from me? And Paul said, My son Probus, they that foresee that the works of men shall be tried with fire, and that have always in their mind the inexorableness of death, cast out all desire that cleaves to the flesh. But woe when the desire shall judge him that desired, then he shall gnash his teeth to no effect and in vain, for the amendment of repentance is past. Hearing this Probus went up into his house marvelling, and tasted nothing that day, but went and lay down upon his bed. And about the third hour of the night he arose and said, Alas, how wretched was the day in which I was wedded to Xanthippe. Would that I had died and not seen her. Saying this he arose and said, I shall pray to the God of Paul. Perchance he will do to me also what is fitting, that I may not become a reproach in the world, being rejected by her. And straightway falling upon the ground he said, O God of Paul, if, as I have heard from Xanthippe, thou dost seek after the ignorant and turn back those that are astray, do to me also what is fitting; for thou art the king of life and death, as I have heard, and hast dominion over things in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and over all the thoughts and desires of men, and to thee alone belongs glory to all eternity. Amen.

30 XXI. Then Probus arising from the ground fell again upon the couch, and arising early he came to Paul, and finding him baptising many in the name of the life-giving Trinity, he said, My lord Paul, if only I were worthy to receive baptism, behold the hour. Paul said to him, Son, behold the water is ready for the cleansing of those that come to Christ. Therefore immediately taking off his garments, and Paul laying hold of him, he leapt into the water, saying, Jesus Christ, son of God, and everlasting God, let all my sins be taken away by this water. And Paul said, We baptise thee in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. After this he made him to receive the eucharist of Christ. Then Xanthippe, being greatly rejoiced, began in the

house toward evening together with her husband to give good cheer to all those in the house, and to prepare a feast, and when they came, after giving orders for the supper to be magnificent she herself went up to the chamber. And behold on the stairs a demon coming in the likeness of one of the actors, and standing in a dark corner, was desirous to frighten and terrify Xanthippe. But she thinking it to be the actor that she ordinarily had, said in anger, Many a time have I said to him that I no longer care for toys, and he despises me as being a woman; and straightway seizing an iron lamp-stand, she hurled it at his face, and crushed all his features. Then the demon cried out, saying, O violence, from this destroyer even women have received power to strike us. But Xanthippe was greatly afraid.

³¹ XXII. After supper then Probus went forth to hear the word, but Xanthippe sitting in her bed-chamber was reading the prophets, her sister Polyxena lying upon the couch. Xanthippe loved Polyxena exceedingly, because she was younger than herself, and beautiful in appearance, and Probus also loved her greatly. And as Polyxena lay upon the couch she saw this dream, that a dragon, hideous in appearance, came and signified to her to come to him, and when she did not obey him to go to him, he came running and swallowed her. From fear of this the girl leapt up trembling, and Xanthippe running to her said, What has happened to thee, dearest, that thou hast leapt up thus suddenly? She for a long time was unable to speak; then coming to herself she said, Alas, my sister Xanthippe, what danger or tribulation awaits me, I know not; for I saw in my dream that a hideous dragon came and signed to me to go to him, and, when I would not go, he came running and swallowed me, beginning at my feet. While I was terrified at this, there suddenly spoke out of the air, in the light of the sun, a beautiful youth, whom I thought to be the brother of Paul, saying, Verily, thou hast no power. Who also took me by the hand and straightway drew me out of him, and straightway the dragon disappeared. And behold his hand was full of sweet odour as of balsam or aught else for fragrance. Xanthippe said to her, Truly thou must be greatly troubled, my sister Polyxena, but God has thee dear, seeing that he has shown thee strange and marvellous things. Therefore arise quickly in the morning and receive the holy baptism, and ask in the baptism to be delivered from the snares of the dragon.

³² XXIII. Xanthippe, having said this to Polyxena, and having made a cross of wood, went to Paul, but Polyxena remained alone in the bed-cham-

ber, her nurse having gone together with Xanthippe. And about the middle of the night, a certain man, powerful in wealth and assistance, finding the doors open and using magical arts, entered within, desiring to carry away Polyxena. She discovering this fled into the mill, but the magicians led by the demons found her. And she, not finding any door to escape by, said, Alas that I am given over to this destroyer; for she had heard that he was at enmity with her suitor, and he did this to assail and vex him, being a man who was a robber and exceeding cruel. Therefore seizing her they went out of the city, dragging her to the sea. She looked round this way and that, but there was none to deliver her, and groaning she said, Alas, my sister Xanthippe, thou didst send seven hundred pieces of gold to Rome and buy books, that through them thou mightest prophesy by me; for this evening thou didst read, I looked to my right hand and beheld, but there was no one that knew me; flight perished from me and there is no one that seeketh out my soul.

³³ XXIV. While she said these words, those that were dragging her away walked in haste, and coming to the shore they hired a ship and sailed for Babylonia, for he that carried her off had a brother there, a ruler of a district. But the wind blew against them, so that they could not proceed by reason of it, and as they were rowing on the sea, behold the great apostle of the Lord, Peter, was sailing past in a ship, being urged by a dream to go to Rome, because when Paul departed for Spain there had entered into Rome a certain deceiver and magician, Simon by name, and had broken up the church which Paul had established. And, behold, as he journeyed he heard a voice from heaven saying to him, Peter, to-morrow there will meet thee a ship coming from Spain; arise, therefore, and pray for the soul that is troubled in it. As soon therefore as Peter saw the ship, remembering the dream, he said, O Jesus, that hast care for the troubled, whom the tribulation of those in a strange land moves to compassion, whom the weeping of those in captivity made to come upon the earth, who givest us at all time whatsoever we desire, and never turnest away from our request, show now also pity and assistance to the soul that is tossed about in that ship, because thou, O Lord, pitiest at all time those in pain. The demons then, perceiving his prayer, said to the magicians, Avoid ye the course of that ship, for if we meet with it, we cannot move.

³⁴ XXV. But the loving God taking care for Polyxena, the vessel arrived in Greece, the blessed Philip being there, and having come down to the shore by a vision, and there accompanied him also great multitudes of those who were being taught by him. And behold the vessel wherein was Polyxena appeared, terribly tossed about. And the blessed Philip said, Behold the vessel on account of which we came down here, in which there is a soul in trouble. When the vessel arrived and all had disembarked upon the dry land, they lay as half dead, because they had been greatly tossed about in the sea. But the apostle Philip ordered Polyxena to be lifted and taken to the place where he was lodging, and the rest to be looked to. But he that had carried off Polyxena, recovering from the disorder of the sea, was desirous to take her again, for Philip, having entrusted Polyxena to one of those that were taught by him, went on his way rejoicing. But he that had her said, She was committed to me by a holy man, and I cannot give her up to thee. He, however, giving no heed to him and finding there a kinsman of his, a nobleman, prepared for war, gathering eight thousand men. Polyxena, knowing this, went forth by night and departed, but he that had charge of Polyxena said, Taking the tunic of Philip, I shall go forth alone to meet them;

³⁵ but as he said this it was announced to him that the maid was not there. Then he, leaving all thought of the war, ran into the bed-chamber, and not finding the maid threw himself on the ground, saying, Woe is me, wretched one, that have become an enemy of Philip. What shall I answer him, when he asks the maiden from me? His servants came and said to him, Arise, our lord, from the ground, for the forces have surrounded thy house, and the maid cannot be found. He said, Leave me thus to die on her account. Perhaps, even by this, Philip the servant of Christ may be fully satisfied, since I shall be found despising his command. Then the servants, seeing that he heeded them not, took counsel to flee from the enemies, but again after a little, being moved by the foreknowledge of God, they said, It is not right for our master to die. Come, let us go forth to meet them, raising the sign of the cross. Then raising the precious cross they went forth, about thirty men, upon the enemy, and slew five thousand, and the rest fled. And they returned with victory to their master, praising God and saying, What God is so great as our God, who has not suffered his servant to be slain by the wicked? And coming upon their lord, still weeping, they said to him, Arise, lord, and weep not, for it befits it to be not as we will, but as the Lord wills.

³⁶ XXVI. Polyxena, however, going out of the city, and not knowing by what way she should walk, found herself in desert places of the hills, and sitting down said thus with tears, Woe is me, outcast and captive, that I cannot find even a wild beast's den to rest in. Woe is me, left desolate, that not even Hades, that no one escapes, has devoured me. Woe is me, who at one time showed myself not even to my servants, and now display myself to demons. Woe is me, that I am now made manifest to all those by whom I disdained to be seen. Alas for me that was formerly devoted to idols; for this now even the mercy of God has passed me in silence. Whom, then, shall I call upon to help me? The God of Paul whom I have constantly offended? But who shall help me now? No one sees or heeds or hears my groaning. Verily I shall beseech Him that sees the hidden things, for who is more pitiful and compassionate than He who always keeps watch over the oppressed? But because my mouth is unclean and defiled, I dare not ask help from Him. Would that I were as one of the wild beasts that I might not know what captivity is. Would that I had been drowned in the sea; perhaps having received the divine baptism I should have gone where no one is made captive.

³⁷ What then shall I do, for death delays, and night has come on, and there is no help anywhere. Having said thus, she arose and began to walk onwards, and passing through a small defile she fell into a wood very thick and large, and finding there a hollow in a tree, which was the den of a lioness, she sat down there, for the lioness had gone forth for her food. And sitting down she said, O wretched begetting, O grievous hour in which I, unhappy one, came into this world; O mother that bore me, why, foreseeing my troubles and wanderings, didst thou name me Polyxena? Has any other ever fallen into such tribulations and misfortunes? Truly, my sister Xanthippe, didst thou read concerning me, unhappy one, saying, I have suffered affliction and been utterly bowed down (—Psalm xxxviii. 6). These words thou didst utter with grief, while I lay upon the couch, thinking not at all of my sorrows. On this account I have now come into the depths of evils, and pass the night in deserts like a wild beast. But the beasts live with others of their kind, while I am left solitary, as not being of one race with mankind.

³⁸ XXVII. And as she was saying these words, and more than these, the morning dawned, and the lioness came from her hunting. Polyxena, seeing the wild beast, trembled and said, By the God of Paul, O wild beast, have compassion on me and tear me not until I receive baptism. And the wild

beast, fearing the adjuration, immediately went away, and standing afar off gazed at her. And she said, Behold, the beast has obeyed me; I will also retire from its dwelling. And immediately she began to journey towards the east, and the beast went before her until she was come out of the wood. Then Polyxena said, What shall I give to thee in return, O beast? The God of Paul will repay thee this kindness; and the wild beast, hearing her prayer, immediately returned to its place. Then she, descending, found a public road, and standing on it wept, not knowing whither she should go, and though many went past, she turned to none of them, but said, Perchance the God of Paul will remember me, and whoever shall have pity upon me, to him will I go.

³⁹ XXVIII. As she said this, Andrew, the apostle of the Lord, also came journeying to that place, and as he drew near to Polyxena he felt in his heart some commotion arising in himself. Standing, therefore, to pray, and folding his arms in the shape of the cross, he said, Lord Jesus Christ, partaker of light and knower of things hidden, from whom nothing on earth is hid, do unto me kindness and mercy, and make clear to me this commotion of heart, and calm my reason, thou that makest peace always with those that love peace. Then Polyxena ran to him, and Andrew, the apostle of the Lord, said to her, Approach me not, daughter, but tell me who and whence thou art. Polyxena said, My lord, I am a stranger here, but I see thy face is gracious, and thy words as the words of Paul, and I suppose thee to be of the same God. Andrew understood that she spoke of the apostle Paul, and said to her, And whence dost thou know of Paul? She said, From my own country, for I left him in Spain. Andrew said to her, And how happenest thou to be here, the country being far distant? She said, Because it was thus appointed for me, and came to pass; but I beseech thee and fall at thy feet, seal me, as Paul seals, by the baptism of regeneration, so that even I, lowly one, may be known by our God, for the kind God, seeing my tribulation and distress, sent thee to pity me. Andrew, the great apostle of the Lord, said to her, Let us go, daughter, where there is water.

⁴⁰ XXIX. And when they had gone no long way, they came to a well most transparent and pure. And as the blessed Andrew stood to pray beside the well, behold a certain maiden named Rebecca, of the tribe of Israel, brought as a captive to that country, came to draw water at the well, and seeing the blessed Andrew, knew him by his appearance. For Rebecca said, This is the appearance of a Prophet, and this is one of the apostles. And bowing down to

him she said, Have mercy on me, servant of the true God, who am captive and sold for the third time, who was once honored by prophets, and am now insulted by idolaters, and recall me, lowly one, thou that wast sent to call back many sinners. Andrew, the apostle of Christ, said, God will care for thee also, daughter, as well as for this stranger. Therefore, receive ye now baptism, and be ye as of one people, glorifying God always.

⁴¹ XXX. Therefore the apostle standing prayed, and, behold, the lioness came running, and stood gazing upon him. And Andrew the apostle of the Lord said, What then does this beast wish? The lioness opening her mouth spoke with a human voice, Andrew, apostle of Christ, the prayer of her, that stands on thy right hand, has overtaken me. Therefore confirm thou and instruct and admonish them in the right and true faith of Christ, for they greatly desire the name of the Lord. And, behold, the wonderful condescension of God, that even on irrational and untamable beasts he has poured out his mercy. The blessed Andrew weeping said, What shall I say or what shall I speak concerning thy mercy, O God, that thus thou at all times cleavest to the lowly, and takest care for those in ignorance, being without arrogance and full of mercy? And having completed the prayer he baptised the maidens in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Then the lioness immediately set off to the mountain, and the Apostle Andrew said to the maidens, Be zealous, daughters, to be of good repute before God by living well in a strange land, and separate not from each other, and God, that is always present to those that call upon him, keep you in holiness, driving away from you the Evil One. And pray ye also for me. Polyxena said, We will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. The Apostle Andrew said, This was not made known to me by the Lord, daughters; therefore remain with peace, hoping in the Lord, and he will preserve you to the end.

⁴² XXXI. And Andrew went his way rejoicing and glorifying God. Then said Polyxena, Whither shall we go, sister? Rebecca said, Let us depart whither thou wilt, lest my mistress send and separate us. Polyxena said, Come, let us depart into the mountain to the lioness. Rebecca said, It is indeed better for us to live with wild beasts and perish of hunger than to be compelled by Greeks and idolaters to fall into the filth of marriage. So they began to journey, and, behold, by the providence of God, they met a man driving asses, who seeing them said, Ye are not of this country, and, as I see, ye wear not its dress. Command therefore of your servant to eat bread and receive one piece

of silver that ye may remember your servant when ye buy bread. And he made haste and took the sacks off his asses and spread them on the ground, and made the maidens to sit upon them and said to them, Seeing that the wine which your servant carries is gathered by Greeks, tell me of what faith ye are, that thus we may taste of it. Polyxena said, We, brother, taste no wine, and are of the God of Paul. The ass-driver said. Is this God upon earth? Polyxena said to him, God is everywhere, both in heaven and on earth. The ass-driver, being desirous to learn clearly, said, Does this Paul then have the same God that is preached by Philip? Polyxena, learning that he was a Christian, said, Yea, brother, this is the God of all, whom Paul and Philip preach.

⁴³ XXXII. The ass-driver hearing this wept unceasingly, and Polyxena said, Has then the providence of God overtaken thee, that thou weepest thus? The ass-driver said, If thou art desirous to learn wherefore I weep, hear the truth, for one ought not to grudge to tell the things of Christ. I was a disciple of Philip, the apostle of Christ, and seeing how all his thought was towards the poor, I took all that I had and sold it. And taking the price, I bought bread and wine, and divided them throughout the cities to those that had need, when therefore I had done this for some time in the neighbouring city, a certain maimed person cried out, saying (though it was not himself that spoke, but Satan through his mouth), I desire nothing, I take nothing from thee, because thou art a Christian. Then the whole city arose against me and sought to take me, but some ran one way and some another, while I go through their midst and no one sees me. And issuing from the city I gave praise and glory to God that thus I had been rewarded, and I prayed to my God that I should meet some one who knew his all-holy name, so that relating these things I might obtain relief. For the men of this country will not hear at all concerning Christ, being full of impiety and filled with wickedness. I exhort you therefore, take ye also one coin from me, and if it seem good, take ye rest also upon the asses. Polyxena said, Mayest thou obtain mercy from God, brother. But if thou wilt receive a full reward, save us as far as the sea, so that, if God wills, we may sail for Spain.

⁴⁴ XXXIII. The ass-driver, as if commanded by the voice of God, eagerly receiving the maidens, went on his way rejoicing in the Lord. And he said to Polyxena, Alter thy appearance to that of a man, lest for thy beauty's sake some one snatch thee away from me. And coming to an inn, they stayed there, and on the morrow they went forward taking heed to the way. And

behold there came past a certain prefect journeying to Greece, who seeing the maidens ordered Polyxena to be carried off on his chariot. Then the ass-driver followed, crying and saying, A prefect does violence to none. Why do ye this? Then they beat him and drove him away. ⁴⁵ XXXIV. And he going on his way lamented, saying, Woe is me, wretched and abominable one. Woe is me that thought to do good, but now I have wrought mischief. Woe is me that my trouble and my running were unacceptable. Would that I had died before yesterday, that I might not have met with these maidens at all. But why troublest thou me, O wretched soul? Let us go to Philip the apostle of God. If there is not forgiveness for me, it is better for me to choose death in whatsoever fashion than to live with such evil and bitter conscience. So he went and found Philip the apostle of Christ, and said to him, O disciple and preacher of Christ, thus and thus it has happened to me and befallen me. Has my soul salvation? Philip the apostle of Christ said, Be not distressed concerning this, my son, it is impossible for them to be dishonoured, seeing that no one ever overcomes God; for this same Polyxena, when she first came from the sea, I entrusted to a certain brother, who also was greatly distressed because of her running away secretly from his house. Him also I persuaded not to grieve, for through her tribulation and wanderings many shall know God.

⁴⁶ XXXV. The prefect therefore carried Polyxena to the city where he stayed, and ordered her to be shut up in a chamber. And one of the soldiers seized Rebecca, but the maid secretly escaping fled into the house of an old woman, who received the maiden kindly and entreated her well. And sitting down she wept, saying, Alas, my sister Polyxena, I wretched one did not think that anyone was oppressed like myself, but now I am persuaded and know that all my misfortunes and tribulations do not compare with one day of thine. And most grievous of all, behold I have been separated from thee and am again a captive, but do thou search for me even into the next world, my sister Polyxena. The old woman said to her, What ails thee, daughter, that thou weepest thus bitterly? Rebecca said, Suffer me, mother, to be distressed and to lament the great and incurable pain of my heart. The old woman greatly compassionating her wept exceedingly, for the maid had told her all that had happened to her, and how through Polyxena she had believed in Christ. So too Polyxena, shut up in the chamber, said, Woe is me, wretched one; alas for me miserable one; now I know clearly how the devil

hates virginity, but O Lord Jesus Christ, God of all, since I dare not beseech thee of myself, I bring to thee the prayers of thy holy preacher Paul, that thou mayst not suffer my virginity to be destroyed by any one.

⁴⁷ XXXVI. And as she was yet praying, the attendants came to lead her to the couch of the prefect. But Polyxena said to them, Brethren, make not haste to any one's destruction, for this time shall quickly pass away, and they that work together with the destroyers shall perish with them. Rather assist strangers, that ye be not found strangers to the angels of God. The men, being shamed by these words, went to the prefect and said, The maid from fear is seized with a violent fever. And the prefect said, Let her alone. And, behold, the son of the prefect came to Polyxena by night, and she seeing him was afraid, but the youth said to her, Fear not, girl. I seek not to be wedded with thee as the bridegroom of destruction, for I know from thy prayer that thou art the bride of the God of heaven. I know this God who is never overcome by any one, for a certain man of glorious countenance lately in Antioch preached this God, and a certain maid, whose name was Thecla, believing him followed him, and encountered dangers on account of her beauty, of whom I have heard that she was condemned to the wild beasts. I therefore continually gazed upon the man, and he having observed me said to me, God give heed to thee, my son.

⁴⁸ From that time therefore by the grace of Christ I have not gone into the sacrifices of idols, but sometimes feigning illness and sometimes involving myself in some business, my father said to me, Because thou hast no zeal for the sacrifices of the gods, therefore neither art thou in health, not being worthy of the gods. But I rejoiced, hearing that I was not worthy of the sacrifices to idols; and, by the grace of God, art thou come hither as a providence to me. Polyxena said, And what is the name of that man? The youth said, Paul is his name. Polyxena said, He is in my city. The youth said, Come then, girl, put on my appearance, and go down to the shore and wait me there; I having taken money will come quickly. ⁴⁹ XXXVII. And one of the servants overhearing them told all this to the prefect, who being filled with great anger condemned them to be cast to the wild beasts. And when they were cast into the arena, a fierce lioness was let loose upon them, which ran and embraced the feet of Polyxena, and licked the soles of her feet. Then the prefect and all the city, seeing this fearful and wonderful sight, gave praise and glory to the merciful God, saying, Of a truth thou art, and he, that is

named by Polyxena, alone is God, for the gods of the heathen are the works of men's hands, unable to save or assist any one. Let them perish now, both themselves and their makers. And the prefect straightway taking his son and Polyxena into the palace, heard from them in order the faith and religion in Christ without omission, and he and all in the city believed, and there was great joy and giving of glory to God. And Polyxena said to the prefect, Be of good cheer, my lord, for the man of God will quickly come, who will perfectly teach, exhort, instruct, and enlighten you in the knowledge of Christ. She however prepared in all haste to depart into Spain.

50 XXXVIII. And as I, Onesimus, was sailing into Spain to Paul, I received from the Lord a revelation saying to me, Onesimus, the vessel in which thou now art will land in the parts of Greece, and thou wilt find on the shore of the harbour two maids and one youth. Assist them and take them to Paul. When we reached this place according to the command of the Lord, we found the maids together with the youth seeking a vessel. When the maids saw us therefore, they knew that we were of the hope of Christ, and Polyxena running to us said, Verily the man of God cannot be concealed, for the grace and kindness of his countenance makes him manifest. And when we sought to sail away, the sea was troubled by the providence of God. And there was with us a disciple of Paul, by name Lucius, capable in word to teach the city. Therefore we remained seven days, and God opened to that place a great door of faith, and twenty thousand believed, and there was great joy and rejoicing in all the city. And when the season was favourable for us to sail the prefect again constrained us, and we stayed another seven days, until all believed and rejoiced in the Lord.

51 XXXIX. Thus now by the foreknowledge of Christ, the prefect sent us away with supplies for the voyage, sending also his son with us. And when we had sailed twenty days, Polyxena was greatly exhausted, and we touched at a certain island for the sake of rest. And behold, certain fierce and hardened men, coming down to us and seeing Polyxena, prepared for battle; but by the grace of Christ our men defended Polyxena and vanquished them, although the strangers were more numerous and more powerful. Polyxena therefore fearing again to become a captive threw herself into the sea; but the pilot dragged her out, having suffered no harm. Then we embarked in the vessel and fled, for the places were rough and wooded, and we were afraid to remain, and in twelve days we arrived in Spain, by the grace of God. XL. And

Paul seeing us rejoiced greatly, and said, Welcome ye that have been troubled. And Polyxena, laying hold of his feet, said, It may be that this trouble came upon me because I would have blasphemed thee, but now I beseech and entreat that I may not again be delivered into such troubles and misfortunes. And Paul said, weeping, Thus must we be troubled, my daughter, that we may know our defender, Jesus Christ.

52 XLI. And while we were giving the letters of the brethren to Paul, one ran and told Xanthippe of the arrival of Polyxena. And she made haste and came to us, and seeing Polyxena, was overcome by an unspeakable joy and fell to the ground; but Polyxena embracing her and caressing her for a long time brought her back to life. Then Xanthippe said to her, I, my true sister Polyxena, went not forth at all for forty days, praying much for thee to the loving God, that thy virginity might not be taken away. And Paul, the preacher of God, said to me, Her virginity will not be taken away, and she will come quickly. And Probus said to me, It was assigned to her by God to be thus afflicted. Seest thou how by many devices God saves many? But now, my beloved sister, having unexpectedly seen thy face, now I shall willingly die.

53 XLII. Then he who had carried her away came up again and sought for Polyxena, but the great Paul persuaded him to refrain from her, and he also believed and was baptised by Paul, as also the suitor of Polyxena believed, and there was great joy in all that city of Spain for the recovery of Polyxena. From that time forward she left not at all the blessed Paul in her fear of temptations. These things then being thus, all rejoiced in the Lord, glorifying Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God, to whom is glory and power, now and ever and to all eternity. Amen.

PART THREE

Andrew, Matthew, Bartholomew,
Barnabas, Thaddaeus, John and
Thomas

Shorter acts and martyrdoms of the other apostles.

Acts and Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Andrew

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A letter in which the presbyters and deacons of Achaia tell how the apostle Andrew preached among them, how he answered the proconsul, and how he died on the cross at Patras.

¹ Acts and Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Andrew. What we have all, both presbyters and deacons of the churches of Achaia, beheld with our eyes, we have written to all the churches established in the name of Christ Jesus, both in the east and west, north and south. Peace to you, and to all who believe in one God, perfect Trinity, true Father unbegotten, true Son only-begotten, true Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, and abiding in the Son, in order that there may be shown one Holy Spirit subsisting in the Father and Son in precious Godhead. This faith we have learned from the blessed Andrew, the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose passion also we, having seen it set forth before our eyes, have not hesitated to give an account of, according to the degree of ability we have. Accordingly the proconsul Ægeates, having come into the city of Patras, began to compel those believing in Christ to worship the idols; to whom the blessed Andrew, running up, said: It behoved thee, being a judge of men, to acknowledge thy Judge who is in the heaven, and having acknowledged Him, to worship Him; and worshipping Him who is the true God, to turn away thy thoughts from those which are not true gods.

² To whom Ægeates said: Art thou Andrew, who destroyest the temples of the gods, and persuadest men about the religion which, having lately made its appearance, the emperors of the Romans have given orders to suppress? The blessed Andrew said: The emperors of the Romans have never recognised the truth. And this the Son of God, who came on account of the salva-

tion of men, manifestly teaches—that these idols are not only not gods, but also most shameful demons, and hostile to the human race, teaching men to offend God, so that, by being offended, He turns away and will not hearken; that therefore, by His turning away and not hearkening, they may be held captive by the devil; and that they might work them to such a degree, that when they go out of the body they may be found deserted and naked, carrying nothing with them but sins.

³ Ægeates said: These are superfluous and vain words: as for your Jesus, for proclaiming these things to the Jews they nailed him to the tree of the cross. The blessed Andrew answering, said: Oh, if thou wouldst recognise the mystery of the cross, with what reasonable love the Author of the life of the human race for our restoration endured this tree of the cross, not unwillingly, but willingly! Ægeates said: Seeing that, betrayed by his own disciple, and seized by the Jews, he was brought before the procurator, and according to their request was nailed up by the procurator's soldiers, in what way dost thou say that he willingly endured the tree of the cross? ⁴ The holy Andrew said: For this reason I say willingly, since I was with Him when he was betrayed by His disciple. For before He was betrayed, He spoke to us to the effect that He should be betrayed and crucified for the salvation of men, and foretold that He should rise again on the third day. To whom my brother Peter said, Far be it from thee, Lord; let this by no means be. And so, being angry, He said to Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou art not disposed to the things of God. And in order that He might most fully explain that He willingly underwent the passion, He said to us, I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again. And, last of all, while He was supping with us, He said, One of you will betray me. At these words, therefore, all becoming exceedingly grieved, in order that the surmise might be free from doubt, He made it clear, saying, To whomsoever I shall give the piece of bread out of my hand, he it is who betrays me. When, therefore, He gave it to one of our fellow-disciples, and gave an account of things to come as if they were already present, He showed that He was to be willingly betrayed. For neither did He run away, and leave His betrayer at fault; but remaining in the place in which He knew that he was, He awaited him.

⁵ Ægeates said: I wonder that thou, being a sensible man, shouldst wish to uphold him on any terms whatever; for, whether willingly or unwillingly, all the same, thou admittest that he was fastened to the cross. The blessed An-

drew said: This is what I said, if now thou apprehendest, that great is the mystery of the cross, which, if thou wishest, as is likely, to hear, attend to me. Ægeates said: A mystery it cannot be called, but a punishment. The blessed Andrew said: This punishment is the mystery of man's restoration. If thou wilt listen with any attention, thou wilt prove it. Ægeates said: I indeed will hear patiently; but thou, unless thou submissively obey me, shalt receive the mystery of the cross in thyself. The blessed Andrew answered: If I had been afraid of the tree of the cross, I should not have proclaimed the glory of the cross.

6 Ægeates said: Thy speech is foolish, because thou proclaimest that the cross is not a punishment, and through thy foolhardiness thou art not afraid of the punishment of death. The holy Andrew said: It is not through foolhardiness, but through faith, that I am not afraid of the punishment of death; for the death of sins is hard. And on this account I wish thee to hear the mystery of the cross, in order that thou perhaps, acknowledging it, mayst believe, and believing, mayst come somehow or other to the renewing of thy soul. Ægeates said: That which is shown to have perished is for renewing. Do you mean that my soul has perished, that thou makest me come to the renewing of it through the faith, I know not what, of which thou hast spoken?

7 The blessed Andrew answered: This it is which I desired time to learn, which also I shall teach and make manifest, that though the souls of men are destroyed, they shall be renewed through the mystery of the cross. For the first man through the tree of transgression brought in death; and it was necessary for the human race, that through the suffering of the tree, death, which had come into the world, should be driven out. And since the first man, who brought death into the world through the transgression of the tree, had been produced from the spotless earth, it was necessary that the Son of God should be begotten a perfect man from the spotless virgin, that He should restore eternal life, which men had lost through Adam, and should cut off the tree of carnal appetite through the tree of the cross. Hanging upon the cross, He stretched out His blameless hands for the hands which had been incontinently stretched out; for the most sweet food of the forbidden tree He received gall for food; and taking our mortality upon Himself, He made a gift of His immortality to us.

8 Ægeates said: With these words thou shalt be able to lead away those who shall believe in thee; but unless thou hast come to grant me this, that

thou offer sacrifices to the almighty gods, I shall order thee, after having been scourged, to be fastened to that very cross which thou commendest. The blessed Andrew said: To God Almighty, who alone is true, I bring sacrifice day by day; not the smoke of incense, nor the flesh of bellowing bulls, nor the blood of goats, but sacrificing a spotless lamb day by day on the altar of the cross; and though all the people of the faithful partake of His body and drink His blood, the Lamb that has been sacrificed remains after this entire and alive. Truly, therefore, is He sacrificed, and truly is His body eaten by the people, and His blood is likewise drunk; nevertheless, as I have said, He remains entire, and spotless, and alive.

9 Ægeates said: How can this be? The blessed Andrew said: If thou wouldst know, take the form of a disciple, that thou mayst learn what thou art inquiring after. Ægeates said: I will exact of thee through tortures the gift of this knowledge. The blessed Andrew declared: I wonder that thou, being an intelligent man, shouldst fall into the folly of thinking that thou mayst be able to persuade me, through thy tortures, to disclose to thee the sacred things of God. Thou hast heard the mystery of the cross, thou hast heard the mystery of the sacrifice. If thou believest in Christ the Son of God, who was crucified, I shall altogether disclose to thee in what manner the Lamb that has been slain may live, after having been sacrificed and eaten, remaining in His kingdom entire and spotless. Ægeates said: And by what means does the lamb remain in his kingdom after he has been slain and eaten by all the people, as thou hast said?

10 The blessed Andrew said: If thou believest with all thy heart, thou shalt be able to learn: but if thou believest not, thou shalt not by any means attain to the idea of such truth. Then Ægeates, enraged, ordered him to be shut up in prison, where, when he was shut up, a multitude of the people came together to him from almost all the province, so that they wished to kill Ægeates, and by breaking down the doors of the prison to set free the blessed Andrew the apostle. 11 Then the blessed Andrew admonished in these words, saying: Do not stir up the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ into seditious and devilish uproar. For my Lord, when He was betrayed, endured it with all patience; He did not strive, He did not cry out, nor in the streets did any one hear Him crying out. Therefore do ye also keep silence, quietness, and peace; and hinder not my martyrdom, but rather get yourselves also ready beforehand as athletes to the Lord, in order that you may overcome threatenings

by a soul that has no fear of man, and that you may get the better of injuries through the endurance of the body. For this temporary fall is not to be feared; but that should be feared which has no end. The fear of men, then, is like smoke which, while it is raised and gathered together, disappears. And those torments ought to be feared which never have an end. For these torments, which happen to be somewhat light, any one can bear; but if they are heavy, they soon destroy life. But those torments are everlasting, where there are daily weepings, and mournings, and lamentations, and never-ending torture, to which the proconsul Ægeates is not afraid to go. Be ye therefore rather prepared for this, that through temporary afflictions ye may attain to everlasting rest, and may flourish for ever, and reign with Christ.

¹² The holy Apostle Andrew having admonished the people with these and such like words through the whole night, when the light of day dawned, Ægeates having sent for him, ordered the blessed Andrew to be brought to him; and having sat down upon the tribunal, he said: I have thought that thou, by thy reflection during the night, hast turned away thy thoughts from folly, and given up thy commendation of Christ that thou mightst be able to be with us, and not throw away the pleasures of life; for it is folly to come for any purpose to the suffering of the cross, and to give oneself up to most shameful punishments and burnings. The holy Andrew answered: I shall be able to have joy with thee, if thou wilt believe in Christ, and throw away the worship of idols; for Christ has sent me to this province, in which I have acquired for Christ a people not the smallest.

¹³ Ægeates said: For this reason I compel thee to make a libation, that these people who have been deceived by thee may forsake the vanity of thy teaching, and may themselves offer grateful libations to the gods; for not even one city has remained in Achaia in which their temples have not been forsaken and deserted. And now, through thee, let them be again restored to the worship of the images, in order that the gods also, who have been enraged against thee, being pleased by this, may bring it about that thou mayst return to their friendship and ours. But if not, thou awaitest varied tortures, on account of the vengeance of the gods; and after these, fastened to the tree of the cross which thou commendest, thou shalt die. The holy Andrew said: Listen, O son of death and chaff made ready for eternal burnings, to me, the servant of God and apostle of Jesus Christ. Until now I have conversed with thee kindly about the perfection of the faith, in order that thou, receiving

the exposition of the truth, being made perfect as its vindicator, mightst despise vain idols, and worship God, who is in the heavens; but since thou remainest in the same shamelessness at last, and thinkest me to be afraid because of thy threats, bring against me whatever may seem to thee greater in the way of tortures. For the more shall I be well pleasing to my King, the more I shall endure in tortures for the confession of His name.

14 Then the proconsul Ægeates, being enraged, ordered the apostle of Christ to be afflicted by tortures. Being stretched out, therefore, by seven times three soldiers, and beaten with violence, he was lifted up and brought before the impious Ægeates. And he spoke to him thus: Listen to me, Andrew, and withdraw thy thoughts from the outpouring of thy blood; but if thou wilt not hearken to me, I shall cause thee to perish on the tree of the cross. The holy Andrew said: I am a slave of the cross of Christ, and I ought rather to pray to attain to the trophy of the cross than to be afraid; but for thee is laid up eternal torment, which, however, thou mayst escape after thou hast tested my endurance, if thou wilt believe in my Christ. For I am afflicted about thy destruction, and I am not disturbed about my own suffering. For my suffering takes up a space of one day, or two at most; but thy torment for endless ages shall never come to a close. Wherefore henceforward cease from adding to thy miseries, and lighting up everlasting fire for thyself.

15 Ægeates then being enraged, ordered the blessed Andrew to be fastened to the cross. And he having left them all, goes up to the cross, and says to it with a clear voice: Rejoice, O cross, which has been consecrated by the body of Christ, and adorned by His limbs as if with pearls. Assuredly before my Lord went up on thee, thou hadst much earthly fear; but now invested with heavenly longing, thou art fitted up according to my prayer. For I know, from those who believe, how many graces thou hast in Him, how many gifts prepared beforehand. Free from care, then, and with joy, I come to thee, that thou also exulting mayst receive me, the disciple of Him that was hanged upon thee; because thou hast been always faithful to me, and I have desired to embrace thee. O good cross, which hast received comeliness and beauty from the limbs of the Lord; O much longed for, and earnestly desired, and fervently sought after, and already prepared beforehand for my soul longing for thee, take me away from men, and restore me to my Master, in order that through thee He may accept me who through thee has redeemed me.

16 And having thus spoken, the blessed Andrew, standing on the ground, and looking earnestly upon the cross, stripped himself and gave his clothes to the executioners, having urged the brethren that the executioners should come and do what had been commanded them; for they were standing at some distance. And they having come up, lifted him on the cross; and having stretched his body across with ropes, they only bound his feet, but did not sever his joints, having received this order from the proconsul: for he wished him to be in distress while hanging, and in the night-time, as he was suspended, to be eaten up alive by dogs. And a great multitude of the brethren stood by, nearly twenty thousand; and having beheld the executioners standing off, and that they had done to the blessed one nothing of what those who were hanged up suffer, they thought that they would again hear something from him; for assuredly, as he was hanging, he moved his head smiling. And Stratocles inquired of him: Why art thou smiling, Andrew, servant of God? Thy laughter makes us mourn and weep, because we are deprived of thee. And the blessed Andrew answered him: Shall I not laugh at all, my son Stratocles, at the empty stratagem of Ægeates, through which he thinks to take vengeance upon us? We have nothing to do with him and his plans. He cannot hear; for if he could, he would be aware, having learned it by experience, that a man of Jesus is unpunished.

17 And having thus spoken, he discoursed to them all in common, for the people ran together enraged at the unjust judgment of Ægeates: Ye men standing by me, and women, and children, and elders, bond and free, and as many as will hear; I beseech you, forsake all this life, ye who have for my sake assembled here; and hasten to take upon you my life, which leads to heavenly things, and once for all despise all temporary things, confirming the purposes of those who believe in Christ. And he exhorted them all, teaching that the sufferings of this transitory life are not worthy to be compared with the future recompense of the eternal life. 18 And the multitude hearing what was said by him, did not stand off from the place, and the blessed Andrew continued the rather to say to them more than he had spoken. And so much was said by him, that a space of three days and nights was taken up, and no one was tired and went away from him. And when also on the fourth day they beheld his nobleness, and the unweariedness of his intellect, and the multitude of his words, and the serviceableness of his exhortations, and the stedfastness of his soul, and the sobriety of his spirit, and the fixedness of his

mind, and the perfection of his reason, they were enraged against Ægeates; and all with one accord hastened to the tribunal, and cried out against Ægeates, who was sitting, saying: What is thy judgment, O proconsul? Thou hast judged wickedly; thy awards are impious. In what has the man done wrong; what evil has he done? The city has been put in an uproar; thou grievest us all; do not betray Cæsar's city. Grant willingly to the Achaians a just man; grant willingly to us a God-fearing man; do not put to death a godly man. Four days he has been hanging, and is alive; having eaten nothing, he has filled us all. Take down the man from the cross, and we shall all seek after wisdom; release the man, and to all Achaia will mercy be shown. It is not necessary that he should suffer this, because, though hanging, he does not cease proclaiming the truth.

¹⁹ And when the proconsul refused to listen to them, at first indeed signing with his hand to the crowd to take themselves off, they began to be emboldened against him, being in number about twenty thousand. And the proconsul having beheld that they had somehow become maddened, afraid that something frightful would befall him, rose up from the tribunal and went away with them, having promised to set free the blessed Andrew. And some went on before to tell the apostle the cause for which they came to the place. ²⁰ While all the crowd, therefore, was exulting that the blessed Andrew was going to be set free, the proconsul having come up, and all the brethren rejoicing along with Maximilla, the blessed Andrew, having heard this, said to the brethren standing by: What is it necessary for me to say to him, when I am departing to the Lord, that will I also say. For what reason hast thou again come to us, Ægeates? On what account dost thou, being a stranger to us, come to us? What wilt thou again dare to do, what to contrive? Tell us. Hast thou come to release us, as having changed thy mind? I would not agree with thee that thou hadst really changed thy mind. Nor would I believe thee, saying that thou art my friend. Dost thou, O proconsul, release him that has been bound? By no means. For I have One with whom I shall be for ever; I have One with whom I shall live to countless ages. To Him I go; to Him I hasten, who also having made thee known to me, has said to me, Let not that fearful man terrify thee; do not think that he will lay hold of thee, who art mine: for he is thine enemy. Therefore, having known thee through him who has turned towards me, I am delivered from thee. But if

thou wishest to believe in Christ, there will be opened up for time, as I promised thee, a way of access;

21 but if thou hast come only to release me, I shall not be able after this to be brought down from this cross alive in the body. For I and my kinsmen depart to our own, allowing thee to be what thou art, and what thou dost not know about thyself. For already I see my King, already I worship Him, already I stand before Him, where the fellowship of the angels is, where He reigns the only emperor, where there is light without night, where the flowers never fade, where trouble is never known, nor the name of grief heard, where there are cheerfulness and exultation that have no end. O blessed cross! without the longing for thee, no one enters into that place. But I am distressed, Ægeates, about thine own miseries, because eternal perdition is ready to receive thee. Run then, for thine own sake, O pitiable one, while yet thou canst, lest perchance thou shouldst wish then when thou canst not.

22 When, therefore, he attempted to come near the tree of the cross, so as to release the blessed Andrew, with all the city applauding him, the holy Andrew said with a loud voice: Do not suffer Andrew, bound upon Thy tree, to be released, O Lord; do not give me who am in Thy mystery to the shameless devil. O Jesus Christ, let not Thine adversary release me, who have been hanged by Thy favour; O Father, let this insignificant man no longer humble him who has known Thy greatness. The executioners, therefore, putting out their hands, were not able at all to touch him. Others, then, and others endeavoured to release him, and no one at all was able to come near him; for their arms were benumbed. Then the blessed Andrew, having adjured the people, said: I entreat you earnestly, brethren, that I may first make one prayer to my Lord. So then set about releasing me. All the people therefore kept quiet because of the adjuration. Then the blessed Andrew, with a loud cry, said: Do not permit, O Lord, Thy servant at this time to be removed from Thee; for it is time that my body be committed to the earth, and Thou shalt order me to come to Thee. Thou who givest eternal life, my Teacher whom I have loved, whom on this cross I confess, whom I know, whom I possess, receive me, O Lord; and as I have confessed Thee and obeyed Thee, so now in this word hearken to me; and, before my body come down from the cross, receive me to Thyself, that through my departure there may be access to Thee of many of my kindred, finding rest for themselves in Thy majesty.

23 When, therefore, he had said this, he became in the sight of all glad and exulting; for an exceeding splendour like lightning coming forth out of heaven shone down upon him, and so encircled him, that in consequence of such brightness mortal eyes could not look upon him at all. And the dazzling light remained about the space of half an hour. And when he had thus spoken and glorified the Lord still more, the light withdrew itself, and he gave up the ghost, and along with the brightness itself he departed to the Lord in giving Him thanks. And after the decease of the most blessed Andrew the apostle, Maximilla being the most powerful of the notable women, and continuing among those who had come, as soon as she learned that the apostle had departed to the Lord, came up and turned her attention to the cross, along with Stratocles, taking no heed at all of those standing by, and with reverence took down the body of the most blessed apostle from the cross. And when it was evening, bestowing upon him the necessary care, she prepared the body for burial with costly spices, and laid it in her own tomb. For she had been parted from Ægeates on account of his brutal disposition and lawless conduct, having chosen for herself a holy and quiet life; and having been united to the love of Christ, she spent her life blessedly along with the brethren.

24 Ægeates had been very importunate with her, and promised that he would make her mistress of his wealth; but not having been able to persuade her, he was greatly enraged, and was determined to make a public charge against all the people, and to send to Cæsar an accusation against both Maximilla and all the people. And while he was arranging these things in the presence of his officers, at the dead of night he rose up, and unseen by all his people, having been tormented by the devil, he fell down from a great height, and rolling into the midst of the market-place of the city, breathed his last. And this was reported to his brother Stratocles; and he sent his servants, having told them that they should bury him among those who had died a violent death. But he sought nothing of his substance, saying: Let not my Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, suffer me to touch anything whatever of the goods of my brother, that the condemnation of him who dared to cut off the apostle of the Lord may not disgrace me.

25 These things were done in the province of Achaia, in the city of Patras on the day before the kalends of December, where his good deeds are kept in

mind even to this day, to the glory and praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Acts of Andrew and Matthias

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

Matthias is sent to the land of the man-eaters, is blinded and put in prison, and is freed by Andrew, whom the Lord sends to help him. A fantastic tale of the fourth century or later.

¹ Acts of Andrew and Matthias In the City of the Man-eaters. About that time all the apostles had come together to the same place, and shared among themselves the countries, casting lots, in order that each might go away into the part that had fallen to him. By lot, then, it fell to Matthias to set out to the country of the man-eaters. And the men of that city used neither to eat bread nor drink wine; but they ate the flesh of men, and drank their blood. Every man, therefore, who came into their city they laid hold of, and digging they thrust out his eyes, and gave him a drug to drink, prepared by sorcery and magic; and from drinking the drug his heart was altered and his mind deranged. ² Matthias then having come into the gate of their city, the men of that city laid hold of him, and thrust out his eyes; and after putting them out they made him drink the drug of their magical deception, and led him away to the prison, and put beside him grass to eat, and he ate it not. For when he had partaken of their drug, his heart was not altered, nor his mind deranged; but he kept praying to God, weeping, and saying: Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake we have forsaken all things and have followed Thee, knowing that Thou art the helper of all who hope in Thee, attend then and behold what they have done to Matthias Thy servant, how they have made me nigh to the brutes; for Thou art He who knowest all things. If, therefore, Thou hast ordained that the wicked men in this city should eat me up, I will not by any means flee from Thy dispensation. Afford to me then, O Lord, the light of mine eyes, that at least I may behold what the wicked men in this city have in hand for me; do not forsake me, O my Lord Jesus Christ, and do not give me up to this bitter death.

³ While Matthias was thus praying in the prison, a light shone, and there came forth out of the light a voice saying: Beloved Matthias, receive thy sight. And immediately he received his sight. And again there came forth a voice saying: Be of good courage, our Matthias, and be not dismayed; for I shall not by any means forsake thee, for I shall deliver thee from all danger; and not only thee, but also all thy brethren who are with thee: for I am with thee everywhere and at all times. But remain here twenty-seven days for the edification of many souls; and after that I shall send forth Andrew to thee, and he shall lead thee forth out of this prison; and not thee only, but also all who hear. Having said this, the Saviour said again to Matthias, Peace be to thee, our Matthias, and went into heaven. Then Matthias having beheld Him, said to the Lord: Let thy grace abide with me, O my Lord Jesus.

⁴ Then Matthias therefore sat down in the prison, and sang. And it came to pass that, when the executioners came into the prison to bring forth the men to eat them, Matthias also shut his eyes, that they might not behold that he saw. And the executioners having come to him, read the ticket in his hand, and said among themselves: Yet three days, and we shall bring out this one also from the prison, and slay him. Because in the case of every man whom they laid hold of, they noted that day on which they laid hold of him, and tied a ticket to his right hand, that they might know the completion of the thirty days. ⁵ And it came to pass when the twenty-seven days were fulfilled since Matthias was seized, the Lord appeared in the country where Andrew was teaching, and said to him: Rise up, and set out with thy disciples to the country of the man-eaters, and bring forth Matthias out of that place; for yet three days, and the men of the city will bring him forth and slay him for their food. And Andrew answered and said: My Lord, I shall not be able to accomplish the journey thither before the limited period of the three days; but send Thine angel quickly, that he may bring him out thence: for thou knowest, Lord, that I also am flesh, and shall not be able to go there quickly. And He says to Andrew: Obey Him who made thee, and Him who is able to say in a word, and that city shall be removed thence, and all that dwell in it. For I command the horns of the winds, and they drive it thence. But rise up early, and go down to the sea with thy disciples, and thou shalt find a boat upon the shore, and thou shalt go aboard with thy disciples. And having said this, the Saviour again said: Peace to thee, Andrew, along with those with thee! And He went into the heavens.

6 And Andrew having risen up early, proceeded to the sea along with his disciples; and having come down to the shore, he saw a little boat, and in the boat three men sitting. For the Lord by His own power had prepared a boat, and He it was in human shape a pilot in the boat; and He brought two angels whom He made to appear like men, and they were in the boat sitting. Andrew, therefore, having beheld the boat, and the three who were in it, rejoiced with exceeding great joy; and having gone to them, he said: Where are you going, brethren, with this little boat? And the Lord answered and said to him: We are going to the country of the man-eaters. And Andrew having beheld Jesus, did not recognise Him; for Jesus was hiding His Godhead, and He appeared to Andrew like a pilot. And Jesus having heard Andrew saying, I too am going to the country of the man-eaters, says to him: Every man avoids that city, and how are you going there? And Andrew answered and said: We have some small business to do there, and we must get through with it; but if thou canst, do us this kindness to convey us to the country of the man-eaters, to which also you intend to go. Jesus answered and said to them: Come on board.

7 And Andrew said: I wish to make some explanation to thee, young man, before we come on board thy boat. And Jesus said: Say what thou wilt. And Andrew said to Him: We have no passage-money to give thee; we have not even bread for our nourishment. And Jesus answered and said to him: How, then, are you going away without giving us the passage-money, and without having bread for your nourishment? And Andrew said to Jesus, Listen, brother; do not think that it is through masterfulness that we do not give thee our passage-money, but we are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, the good God. For He chose for Himself us twelve, and gave us such a commandment, saying, When you go to preach, do not carry money in the journey, nor bread, nor bag, nor shoes, nor staff, nor two coats. If, therefore, thou wilt do us the kindness, brother, tell us at once; if not, let us know, and we shall go and seek another boat for ourselves. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If this is the commandment which you received, and you keep it, come on board my boat with all joy. For I really wish you, the disciples of Him who is called Jesus, to come on board my boat, rather than those who give me of their silver and gold; for I am altogether worthy that the apostle of the Lord should come on board my boat. And Andrew answered and said:

Permit me, brother, may the Lord grant thee glory and honour. And Andrew went on board the boat with his disciples.

8 And having gone on board, he sat down by the boat's sail. And Jesus answered and said to one of the angels: Rise and go down to the hold of the boat, and bring up three loaves, that the men may eat, lest perchance they be hungry, from having come to us off a long journey. And he rose and went down to the hold of the boat, and brought up three loaves, as the Lord commanded him; and he gave them the loaves. Then Jesus said to Andrew: Rise up, brother, with thy friends; partake of food, that you may be strong to bear the tossing of the sea. And Andrew answered and said to his disciples: My children, we have found great kindness from this man. Stand up, then, and partake of the nourishment of bread, that you may be strong to bear the tossing of the sea. And his disciples were not able to answer him a word, for they were in distress because of the sea. Then Jesus forced Andrew to partake himself also of the nourishment of bread along with his disciples. And Andrew answered and said to Jesus, not knowing that it was Jesus: Brother, may the Lord give thee heavenly bread out of His kingdom. Allow me then brother; for thou seest the children, that they are distressed because of the sea. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: Assuredly the brethren are without experience of the sea;

9 but inquire of them whether they want to go to land, and thyself to remain, until thou shalt finish thy business, and again come back to them. Then Andrew said to his disciples: My children, do you wish to go to the land, and me to remain here until I shall finish my business for which I have been sent? And they answered and said to Andrew: If we go away from thee, may we become strangers to the good things which the Lord hath provided for us. Now, therefore, we are with thee, wherever thou mayst go. 10 Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If thou art truly a disciple of Him who is called Jesus, tell thy disciples the miracles which thy Teacher did, that their soul may rejoice, and that they may forget the fear of the sea; for, behold, we are going to take the boat off from the land. And immediately Jesus said to one of the angels: Let go the boat; and he let go the boat from the land. And Jesus came and sat down beside the rudder, and steered the boat. Then Andrew exhorted and comforted his disciples, saying: My children, who have given up your life to the Lord, fear not; for the Lord will not at all forsake you for ever. For at that time when I was alone with our Lord, we went on board the

boat with Him, and He lay down to sleep in the boat, trying us; for He was not fast asleep. And a great wind having arisen, and the sea being stormy, so that the waves were uplifted, and came under the sail of the boat, and when we were in great fear, the Lord stood up and rebuked the winds, and there was a calm in the sea; for all things feared Him, as being made by Him. Now, therefore, my children, fear not. For the Lord Jesus will not at all forsake us. And having said this, the holy Andrew prayed in his heart that his disciples might be led to sleep. And as Andrew was praying, his disciples fell asleep.

11 And Andrew, turning round to the Lord, not knowing that it was the Lord, said to Him: Tell me, O man, and show me the skill of thy steering; for I have never seen any man so steering in the sea as I now see thee. For sixteen years have I sailed the sea, and behold this is the seventeenth, and I have not seen such skill; for truly the boat is just as if on land. Show me then, young man, thy skill. Then Jesus answered and said to Andrew: We also have often sailed the sea, and been in danger; but since thou art a disciple of Him called Jesus, the sea has recognised thee that thou art righteous, and has become calm, and has not lifted its waves against the boat. Then Andrew cried out with a loud voice, saying: I thank Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, that I have met a man who glorifies Thy name.

12 And Jesus answered and said: O Andrew, tell me, thou disciple of Him called Jesus, wherefore the unbelieving Jews did not believe in Him, saying that He was not God, but man. Show me, O disciple of Him called Jesus; for I have heard that He showed His Godhead to His disciples. And Andrew answered and said: Truly, brother, He showed us that He was God. Do not think, then, that He is man. For He made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all that is in them. And Jesus answered and said: How then did the Jews not believe Him? Perhaps He did not do miracles before them? Andrew said: Hast thou not heard of the miracles which He did before them? He made the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear; He cleansed lepers, He changed water into wine; and having taken five loaves and two fishes, He made a crowd recline on the grass, and having blessed, He gave them to eat; and those that ate were five thousand men, and they were filled: and they took up what was over to them twelve baskets of fragments. And after all these things they did not believe Him.

13 And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: Perhaps He did these miracles before the people, and not before the chief priests, and because of this they

did not believe Him. And Andrew answered and said: Nay, brother, He did them also before the chief priests, not only openly, but also in secret, and they did not believe Him. Jesus answered and said: What are the miracles which He did in secret? Disclose them to me. And Andrew answered and said: O man, who hast the spirit of inquisitiveness, why dost thou put me to the test? And Jesus answered and said: I do not put thee to the test by saying this, O disciple of Him called Jesus; but my soul rejoices and exults, and not only mine, but also every soul that hears the wonders of Jesus. And Andrew answered and said: O child, the Lord shall fill thy soul with all joy and all good, as thou hast persuaded me now to relate to thee the miracles which our Lord did in secret.

¹⁴ It came to pass as we, the twelve disciples, were going with our Lord into a temple of the Gentiles, that He might make known to us the ignorance of the devil, that the chief priests, having beheld us following Jesus, said to us, O wretches, why do you walk with him who says, I am the Son of God? Do you mean to say that God has a son? Which of you has ever at any time seen God associating with a woman? Is not this the son of Joseph the carpenter, and his mother is Mary, and his brothers James and Simon? And when we heard these words, our hearts were turned into weakness. And Jesus, having known that our hearts were giving way, took us into a desert place, and did great miracles before us, and displayed to us all His Godhead. And we spoke to the chief priests, saying, Come ye also, and see; for, behold, He has persuaded us.

¹⁵ And the chief priests having come, went with us; and when we had gone into the temple of the Gentiles, Jesus showed us the heaven, that we might know whether the things were true or not. And there went in along with us thirty men of the people, and four chief priests. And Jesus, having looked on the right hand and on the left of the temple, saw two sculptured sphinxes, one on the right and one on the left. And Jesus having turned to us, said, Behold the sign of the cross; for these are like the cherubim and the seraphim which are in heaven. Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, I say unto thee, thou image of that which is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured, be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man.

16 And immediately at that very time the sphinx removed from its place, and having assumed a human voice, said, O foolish sons of Israel, not only has the blinding of their own hearts not been enough for them, but they also wish others to be blind like themselves, saying that God is man, who in the beginning fashioned man, and put His breath into all, who gave motion to those things which moved not; He it is who called Abraham, who loved his son Isaac, who brought back his beloved Jacob into his land; He is the Judge of living and dead; He it is who prepareth great benefits for those who obey Him, and prepareth punishment for those who believe Him not. Heed not that I am an idol that can be handled; for I say unto you, that the sacred places of your synagogue are more excellent. For though we are stones, the priests have given us only the name of a god; and those priests who serve the temple purify themselves, being afraid of the demons: for if they have had intercourse with women, they purify themselves seven days, because of their fear; so that they do not come into the temple because of us, because of the name which they have given us, that we are a god. But you, if you have committed fornication, take up the law of God, and go into the synagogue of God, and purify, and read, and do not reverence the glorious words of God. Because of this, I say unto you, that the holy things purify your synagogues, so that they also become churches of His only begotten Son. The sphinx having said this, ceased speaking.

17 And we said to the chief priests, Now it is fitting that you should believe, because even the stones have convicted you. And the Jews answered and said, By magic these stones speak, and do not you think that it is a god? For if you have tested what has been said by the stone, you have ascertained its deception. For where did he find Abraham, or how did he see him? For Abraham died many years before he was born, and how does he know him?

18 And Jesus, having again turned to the image, said to it, Because these believe not that I have spoken with Abraham, go away into the land of the Canaanites, and go away to the double cave in the field of Mamre, where the body of Abraham is, and cry outside of the tomb, saying, Abraham, Abraham, whose body is in the tomb, and whose soul is in paradise, thus speaks He who fashioned man, who made thee from the beginning his friend, Rise up, thou and thy son Isaac, and the son of thy son Jacob, and come to the temples of the Jebusites, that we may convict the chief priests, in order that they may know that I am acquainted with thee, and thou with me. And

when the sphinx heard these words, immediately she walked about in the presence of us all, and set out for the land of the Canaanites to the field of Mamre, and cried outside of the tomb, as God had commanded her. And straightway the twelve patriarchs came forth alive out of the tomb, and answered and said to her, To which of us hast thou been sent? And the sphinx answered and said, I have been sent to the three patriarchs for testimony; but do ye go in, and rest until the time of the resurrection. And having heard, they went into the tomb and fell asleep. And the three patriarchs set out along with the sphinx to Jesus, and convicted the chief priests.

19 And Jesus said to them, Go away to your places; and they went away. And He said also to the image, Go up to thy place; and straightway she went up and stood in her place. And He did also many other miracles, and they did not believe Him; which miracles, if I shall recount, thou wilt not be able to bear. And Jesus answered and said to him: I can bear it; for I prudently listen to profitable words. 20 And when the boat was about to come near the land, Jesus bent down His head upon one of His angels, and was quiet. And Andrew ceased speaking; and he also, reclining his head upon one of his disciples, fell asleep. And Jesus said to His angels: Spread your hands under him, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go and put them outside of the city of the man-eaters; and having laid them on the ground, return to me. And the angels did as Jesus commanded them, and the angels returned to Jesus: and He went up into the heavens with His angels.

21 And when it was morning, Andrew, having awakened and looked up, found himself sitting on the ground; and having looked, he saw his disciples sleeping on the ground: and he wakened them, and said to them: Rise up, my children, and know the great dispensation that has happened to us, and learn that the Lord was with us in the boat, and we knew Him not; for He transformed Himself as if He were a pilot in the boat, and humbled Himself, and appeared to us as a man, putting us to the test. And Andrew, recovering himself, said: Lord, I recognised Thy excellent words, but Thou didst not manifest Thyself to me, and because of this I did not know Thee. And his disciples answered and said to him: Father Andrew, do not think that we knew when thou wast speaking with Him in the boat, for we were weighed down by a most heavy sleep; and eagles came down out of the heavens, and lifted up our souls, and took them away into the paradise in heaven, and we saw great wonders. For we beheld our Lord Jesus sitting on a throne of glory, and all

the angels round about Him. We beheld also Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the saints; and David praised Him with a song upon his harp. And we beheld there you the twelve apostles standing by in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and outside of you twelve angels round about you, and each angel standing behind each of you, and they were like you in appearance. And we heard the Lord saying to the angels, Listen to the apostles in all things whatsoever they shall ask you. These are the things which we have seen, father Andrew, until thou didst awake us; and angels, who appeared like eagles, brought our souls into our bodies.

²² Then Andrew, having heard, rejoiced with great joy that his disciples had been deemed worthy to behold these wonderful things. And Andrew looked up into heaven, and said: Appear to me, Lord Jesus Christ; for I know that Thou art not far from Thy servants. Pardon me, Lord, for what I have done; for I have beheld Thee as a man in the boat, and I have conversed with Thee as with a man. Now therefore, Lord, manifest Thyself to me in this place. ²³ And when Andrew had said this, Jesus appeared to him in the likeness of a most beautiful little child. And Jesus answered and said: Hail, our Andrew! And Andrew, having beheld Him, worshipped Him, saying: Pardon me, Lord Jesus Christ, for I saw Thee like a man on the sea, and conversed with Thee. What is there, then, wherein I have sinned, my Lord Jesus, that Thou didst not manifest Thyself to me on the sea? And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: Thou hast not sinned, but I did this to thee because thou saidst, I shall not be able to go to the city of the man-eaters in three days; and I have showed thee that I am able to do all things, and to appear to every one as I wish. Now therefore rise up, go into the city to Matthias, and bring him forth out of the prison, and all the strangers that are with him. For, behold, I show thee, Andrew, what thou must suffer before going into this city. They will heap upon thee tortures and insults, and scatter thy flesh in the ways and the streets, and thy blood shall flow to the ground, but they are not able to put thee to death; but endure, just as thou sawest me beaten, insulted, and crucified: for there are those who are destined to believe in this city. And having said this, the Saviour went into the heavens.

²⁴ And Andrew went into the city along with his disciples, and no one beheld him. And when he came to the prison, he saw seven warders standing at the gate guarding, and he prayed within himself, and they fell down and expired; and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of

its own accord. And having gone in with his disciples, he found Matthias sitting and singing; and seeing him, he stood up, and they saluted each other with a holy kiss; and he said to Matthias: Brother, how hast thou been found here? For yet three days, and they will bring thee out to be food for them. Where are the great mysteries which thou hast been taught, and the wonderful things which we have believed? And Matthias said to him: Didst thou not hear the Lord saying, I shall send you like sheep into the midst of wolves? They straightway brought me into the prison, and I prayed to the Lord; and He said to me, Remain here twenty-seven days, and I shall send thee Andrew, and he will bring thee forth out of the prison. And now, behold, it has come to pass as the Lord said.

25 Then Andrew, having looked, saw three men shut up eating grass naked; and he beat his breast, and said: Consider, O Lord, what the men suffer; how have they made them like the irrational brutes? And he says to Satan: Woe to thee, the devil, the enemy of God, and to thine angels, because the strangers here have done nothing to thee; and how hast thou brought upon them the punishment? how long dost thou war against the human race? Thou didst bring forth Adam out of paradise, and didst cause men to be mixed up with transgression; and the Lord was enraged, and brought on the deluge so as to sweep man away. And again hast thou made thy appearance in this city too, in order that thou mayst make those who are here eat men, that the end of them also may be in execration and destruction, thinking in thyself that God will sweep away the work of His hands. Hast thou not heard that God said, I will not bring a deluge upon the earth? but if there is any punishment prepared, it is for the sake of taking vengeance upon thee.

26 Then he stood up, and Andrew and Matthias prayed; and after the prayer Andrew laid his hands upon the faces of the blind men who were in the prison, and straightway they all received their sight. And again he laid his hand upon their hearts, and their minds were changed into human reason. Then Andrew answered them: Rise up, and go into the lower parts of the city, and you shall find in the way a great fig-tree, and sit under the fig-tree, and eat of its fruit, until I come to you; but if I delay coming there, you will find abundance of food for yourselves: for the fruit shall not fail from the fig-tree, but according as you eat it shall produce more fruit, and nourish you, as the Lord has said. And they answered and said to Andrew: Go along with us, O our master, lest perchance the wicked men of this city again see

us, and shut us up, and inflict upon us greater and more dreadful tortures than they have inflicted upon us. And Andrew answered and said to them: Go; for in truth I say to you, that as you go, not a dog shall bark with his tongue against you. And there were in all two hundred and seventy men and forty-nine women whom Andrew released from the prison. And the men went as the blessed Andrew said to them; and he made Matthias go along with his disciples out of the eastern gate of the city. And Andrew commanded a cloud, and the cloud took up Matthias and the disciples of Andrew; and the cloud set them down on the mountain where Peter was teaching, and they remained beside him.

27 And Andrew, having gone forth from the prison, walked about in the city; and having seen a brazen pillar, and a statue standing upon it, he came and sat down behind that pillar until he should see what should happen. And it happened that the executioners went to the prison to bring out the men for their food, according to the custom; and they found the doors of the prison opened, and the guards that guarded it lying dead upon the ground. And straightway they went, and reported to the rulers of the city, saying: We found the prison opened, and having gone inside we found nobody; but we found the guards lying dead upon the ground. And the rulers having heard this, said among themselves: What, then, has happened? You do not mean to say that some persons have gone into the prison of the city, and have killed the warders, and taken away those that were shut up? And they spoke to the executioners, saying: Go to the prison, and bring the men that are dead, that we may eat them up to-day. And let us go to-morrow, and bring together all the old men of the city, that they may cast lots upon themselves, until the seven lots come, and we slay seven each day. And they shall be to us for food until we may choose young men, and put them in boats as sailors, that they may go away to the countries round about, and attack them, and bring some men here, that they may be for food to us.

28 And the executioners went to the prison, and brought the seven men that were dead; and there was an oven built in the midst of the city, and there lay in the oven a large trough in which they killed the men, and their blood ran down into the trough, and they drew out of the blood and drank it. And they brought the men, and put them into the trough. And when the executioners were lifting their hands against them, Andrew heard a voice, saying: Behold, Andrew, what is happening in this city. And Andrew having

beheld, prayed to the Lord, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, who didst order me to come into this city, do not suffer those in this city to do any evil, but let the knives go out of the hands of the wicked ones. And straightway the knives of the wicked men fell, and their hands were turned into stone. And the rulers, having seen what had happened, wept, saying: Woe unto us, for here are the magicians who have gone into the prison, and brought out the men; for, behold, they have bewitched these also. What, then, shall we do? Let us go now, and gather together the old men of the city, seeing that we are hungry.

²⁹ And they went and gathered them together, and found two hundred and seventeen; and they brought them to the rulers, and they made them cast lots, and the lot came upon seven old men. And one of those taken by lot answered and said to the officers: I pray you, I have for myself one son; take him, and slay him instead of me, and let me go. And the officers answered and said to him: We cannot take thy son, unless we bring him first to our superiors. And the officers went and told the rulers. And the rulers answered and said to the officers: If he give us his son instead of himself, let him go. And the officers went and told the old man. And the old man answered and said to them: I have also a daughter along with my son; take them, and kill them, only let me go. And he gave his children to the officers, that they might kill them. And the children wept to each other, and prayed the officers, saying: We pray you do not kill us, as we are of so small a size; but let us complete our size, and so kill us. For it was a custom in that city, and they did not bury their dead, but ate them up. And the officers did not hearken to the children, nor take pity upon them, but carried them to the trough weeping and praying.

³⁰ And it happened, as they were leading them away to kill them, that Andrew, having beheld what happened, shed tears; and weeping, he looked up to heaven and said: Lord Jesus Christ, as Thou didst hear me in the case of the dead men, and didst not suffer them to be eaten up, so also now hear me, that the executioners may not inflict death upon these children, but that the knives may be loosened out of the hands of the executioners. And straightway the knives were loosened, and fell out of the hands of the executioners. And when this came to pass, the executioners, having beheld what had happened, were exceedingly afraid. And Andrew, seeing what had happened, glorified the Lord because He had listened to him in every work. And the rulers, having beheld what had happened, wept with a great weeping, saying:

Woe unto us! what are we to do? And, behold, the devil appeared in the likeness of an old man, and began to say in the midst of all: Woe unto you! because you are now dying, having no food; what can sheep and oxen do for you? They will not at all be enough for you. But rise up, and make a search here for one who has come to the city, a stranger named Andrew, and kill him; for if you do not, he will not permit you to carry on this practice longer: for it was he who let loose the men out of the prison. Assuredly the man is in this city, and you have not seen him. Now, therefore, rise and make search for him, in order that henceforward you may be able to collect your food.

³¹ And Andrew saw the devil, how he was talking to the multitudes; but the devil did not see the blessed Andrew. Then Andrew answered the devil, and said: O Belial most fiendish, who art the foe of every creature; but my Lord Jesus Christ will bring thee down to the abyss. And the devil, having heard this, said: I hear thy voice indeed, and I know thy voice, but where thou art standing I know not. And Andrew answered and said to the devil: Why, then, hast thou been called Amael? is it not because thou art blind, not seeing all the saints? And the devil, having heard this, said to the citizens: Look round now for him speaking to me, for he is the man. And the citizens, having run in different directions, shut the gates of the city, and searched for the blessed one, and did not see him. Then the Lord showed Himself to Andrew, and said to him; Andrew, rise up and show thyself to them, that they may learn my power, and the powerlessness of the devil working in them.

³² Then Andrew rose up, and said in presence of all: Behold, I am Andrew whom you seek. And the multitudes ran upon him, and laid hold of him, saying: What thou hast done to us, we also will do to thee. And they reasoned among themselves, saying: By what death shall we kill him? And they said to each other: If we take off his head, his death is not torture; and if we burn him, he will not be for food to us. Then one of them, the devil having entered into him, answered and said to the multitudes: As he has done to us, so let us also do to him. Let us rise up, then, and fasten a rope to his neck, and drag him through all the streets and lanes of the city; and when he is dead, we shall share his body. And they did as he said to them; and having fastened a rope round his neck, they dragged him through the streets and lanes of the city, and the flesh of the blessed Andrew stuck to the ground,

and his blood flowed to the ground like water. And when it was evening they cast him into the prison, having bound his hands behind him; and he was in sore distress.

33 And in the morning again they brought him out, and having fastened a rope round his neck, they dragged him about; and again his flesh stuck to the ground, and his blood flowed. And the blessed one wept and prayed, saying: Do not forsake me, my Lord Jesus Christ; for I know that Thou art not far from Thy servants. And as he was praying, the devil walked behind, and said to the multitudes: Strike him on the mouth, that he may not speak. And when it was evening they took him again to the prison, having bound his hands behind him, and left him till the morrow again. And the devil having taken with himself seven demons whom the blessed one had cast out of the countries round about, and having gone into the prison, they stood before him, wishing to kill him. And the demons answered and said to Andrew: Now hast thou fallen into our hands; where is thy glory and thy exultation, thou that raisest thyself up against us, and dishonourest us, and tellest our doings to the people in every place and country, and hast made our workshops and our temples to become desolate, in order that sacrifices may not be brought to them? Because of this, then, we shall also kill thee, like thy teacher called Jesus, and John whom Herod beheaded.

34 And they stood before Andrew, wishing to kill him; and having beheld the seal upon his forehead which the Lord gave him, they were afraid, and did not come near him, but fled. And the devil said to them: Why have you fled from him, my children, and not killed him? And the demons answered and said to the devil: We cannot kill him, but kill him if thou art able; for we knew him before he came into the distress of his humiliation. Then one of the demons answered and said: We cannot kill him, but come let us mock him in the distress of his humiliation. And the demons came and stood before him, and scoffed at him. And the blessed one hearing, wept; and there came to him a voice saying: Andrew, why weepest thou? And it was the voice of the devil changed. And Andrew answered and said: I am weeping because God commanded me, saying, Be patient toward them. And the devil said: If thou canst do anything, do it. And Andrew answered and said: Is it for this, then, that you do these things to me? But forbid it that I should disobey the commandment of my Lord; for if the Lord shall make

for me a charge in this city, I shall chastise you as you deserve. And having heard this, they fled.

³⁵ And when it was morning they brought him out again, and having fastened a rope about his neck, they dragged him; and again his flesh stuck to the ground, and his blood flowed to the ground like water. And the blessed one, as he was being dragged along, wept, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, be not displeased with me; for Thou knowest, Lord, what the fiend has inflicted upon me, along with his demons. These tortures are enough, my Lord; for, behold, I am dragged about for three days. But do Thou, Lord, remember that Thou wast three hours upon the cross, and didst cry out to the Father, My Father, why hast Thou forsaken me? Where are Thy words, Lord, which Thou spakest to us, confirming us, when we walked about with Thee, saying to us, Ye shall not lose one hair? Consider, then, Lord, what has become of my flesh, and the hairs of my head. Then Jesus said to Andrew: O our Andrew, the heaven and the earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. Turn thyself then, Andrew, and behold thy flesh that has fallen, and thy hair, what has become of them. And Andrew turned, and saw great trees springing up, bearing fruit; and he glorified God.

³⁶ And when it was evening they took him up again, and cast him into the prison, having bound his hands behind him; and he was exceedingly exhausted. And the men of the city said among themselves: Perhaps he dies in the night, and we do not find him alive on the following day; for he was languid, and his flesh was spent. And the Lord appeared in the prison, and having stretched out His hand, said to Andrew: Give me thy hand, and rise up whole. And Andrew, having beheld the Lord Jesus, gave Him his hand, and rose up whole. And falling down, he worshipped Him, and said: I thank Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, that Thou hast speedily brought help to me. And Andrew, having looked into the middle of the prison, saw a pillar standing, and upon the pillar there stood an alabaster statue. And Andrew, having gone up to the statue, unfolded his hands seven times, and said to the pillar, and the statue upon it: Fear the sign of the cross, which the heaven and the earth dread; and let the statue set upon the pillar bring up much water through its mouth, until all who are in this city be punished. And say not, I am stone, and am not worthy to praise the Lord, for the Lord fashioned us from the earth; but you are pure, because that out of you He gave the tables of the law. When the blessed Andrew had said this, straightway the

stone statue cast out of its mouth water in abundance, as if out of a canal. And the water stood high upon the earth; and it was exceedingly acrid, eating into the flesh of men.

³⁷ And when it was morning, the men of the city saw it, and began to flee, saying in themselves: Woe to us! because we are now dying. And the water killed their cattle and their children; and they began to flee out of the city. Then Andrew prayed, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have hoped that this miracle should come upon this city, forsake me not, but send Michael Thy archangel in a cloud of fire, and be a wall round the city, that no one may be able to escape out of the fire. And straightway a cloud of fire came down and encircled the city like a wall; and the water was as high as the neck of those men, and it was eating them up exceedingly. And they wept, saying: Woe to us! for all these things have come upon us because of the stranger who is in the prison. Let us go and release him, lest perchance we die.

³⁸ And they went out, crying with a loud voice: God of the stranger, take away from us this water. And the apostle knew that they were in great affliction, and said to the alabaster statue: Stop the water, for they have repented. And I say to thee, that if the citizens of this city shall believe, I will build a church, and place thee in it, because thou hast done me this service. And the statue ceased flowing, and no longer brought forth water. And the men of the city, having come out to the doors of the prison, cried out, saying: Have pity upon us, God of the stranger, and do not according to our unbelief, and according to what we have done to this man, but take away from us this water. And Andrew came forth out of the prison; and the water ran this way and that from the feet of the blessed Andrew. Then all the multitude seeing him, all cried out: Have pity upon us.

³⁹ And the old man having come who gave up his children that they should slay them instead of him, prayed at the feet of the blessed Andrew, saying: Have pity upon me. And the holy Andrew answered and said to the old man: I wonder how thou sayest, Have pity upon me; for thou hadst no pity upon thy children, but gavest them up to be slain instead of thee. Therefore I say unto thee, At what hour this water goes away, into the abyss shalt thou go, with the fourteen executioners who slay the men every day. And he came to the place of the trough, where they used to slay the men. And the blessed one, having looked up to heaven, prayed before all the multitude;

and the earth was opened, and swallowed up the water, along with the old man. He was carried down into the abyss, with the executioners. And the men, having seen what had happened, were exceedingly afraid, and began to say: Woe unto us because this man is from God; and now he will kill us because of the afflictions which we have caused him. For, behold, what he said to the executioners and the old man has befallen them. Now, therefore, he will command the fire, and it will burn us. And Andrew, having heard, said to them: Fear not, children; for I shall not send these also to Hades; but those have gone, that you may believe in our Lord Jesus Christ.

⁴⁰ Then the holy Andrew ordered to be brought up all who had died in the water. And they were not able to bring them; for there had died a great multitude both of men, and women, and children, and cattle. Then Andrew prayed, and they all came to life. And after these things he drew a plan of a church, and he caused the church to be built. And he baptized them, and gave them the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, saying to them: Stand by these, in order that you may know the mysteries of our Lord Jesus Christ. And they all prayed him: We pray thee, stay with us a few days, that we may be filled with thy fountain, because we are newly planted. And he did not comply with their request, but said to them: I shall go first to my disciples. And the children followed after, weeping and praying, with the men; and they cast ashes upon their heads. And he did not comply with them, but said: I shall go to my disciples, and after that I shall come again to you. And he went his way.

⁴¹ And the Lord Jesus Christ came down, being like a comely little child, and met Andrew, and said: Andrew, why hast thou come out and left them without fruit, and hast not had compassion upon the children that followed after thee, and the men entreating thee, Stay with us a few days? For the cry of them and the weeping has come up to heaven. Now therefore return, and go into the city, and remain there seven days, until I shall confirm their souls in the faith; and then thou shalt go away into the country of the barbarians, thou and thy disciples. And after going into this city, thou shalt proclaim my Gospel, and bring up the men who are in the abyss. And thou shalt do what I command thee. Then Andrew turned and went into the city, saying: I thank Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, who wishest to save every soul, that Thou hast not allowed me to go forth out of this city in mine anger. And when he had come into the city, they, seeing him, rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And

he stayed there seven days, teaching and confirming them in the Lord Jesus Christ. And the seven days having been fulfilled, it came to pass, while the blessed Andrew was going out, all came together to him, from the child even to the elder, and sent him on his way, saying: There is one God, the God of Andrew, and one Lord Jesus Christ, who alone doeth wonders; to whom be glory and strength for ever. Amen.

Acts and Martyrdom of St. Matthew the Apostle

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A late legend of the apostle Matthew, whom the Lord sends out to preach, with the wonders he worked and the story of his martyrdom.

¹ Acts and Martyrdom of St. Matthew the Apostle. About that time Matthew, the holy apostle and evangelist of Christ, was abiding in the mountain resting, and praying in his tunic and apostolic robes without sandals; and, behold, Jesus came to Matthew in the likeness of the infants who sing in paradise, and said to him: Peace to thee, Matthew! And Matthew having gazed upon Him, and not known who He was, said: Grace to thee, and peace, O child highly favoured! And why hast thou come hither to me, having left those who sing in paradise, and the delights there? Because here the place is desert; and what sort of a table I shall lay for thee, O child, I know not, because I have no bread nor oil in a jar. Moreover, even the winds are at rest, so as not to cast down from the trees to the ground anything for food; because, for the accomplishing of my fast of forty days, I, partaking only of the fruits falling by the movement of the winds, am glorifying my Jesus. Now, therefore, what shall I bring thee, beautiful boy? There is not even water near, that I may wash thy feet.

² And the child said: Why sayest thou, O Matthew? Understand and know that good discourse is better than a calf, and words of meekness better than every herb of the field, and a sweet saying as the perfume of love, and cheerfulness of countenance better than feeding, and a pleasant look is as the appearance of sweetness. Understand, Matthew, and know that I am paradise, that I am the comforter, I am the power of the powers above, I the strength of those that restrain themselves, I the crown of the virgins, I the self-control of the once married, I the boast of the widowed, I the defence of the in-

fants, I the foundation of the Church, I the kingdom of the bishops, I the glory of the presbyters, I the praise of the deacons. Be a man, and be strong, Matthew, in, these words. ³ And Matthew said: The sight of thee hast altogether delighted me, O child; moreover also, thy words are full of life. For assuredly thy face shines more than the lightning, and thy words are altogether most sweet. And that indeed I saw thee in paradise when thou didst sing with the other infants who were killed in Bethlehem, I know right well; but how thou hast suddenly come hither, this altogether astonishes me. But I shall ask thee one thing, O child: that impious Herod, where is he? The child says to him: Since thou hast asked, hear his dwelling-place. He dwells, indeed, in Hades; and there has been prepared for him fire unquenchable, Gehenna without end, bubbling mire, worm that sleeps not, because he cut off three thousand infants, wishing to slay the child Jesus, the ancient of the ages; but of all these ages I am father. Now therefore, O Matthew, take this rod of mine, and go down from the mountain, and go into Myrna, the city of the man-eaters, and plant it by the gate of the church which thou and Andrew founded; and as soon as thou hast planted it, it shall be a tree, great and lofty and with many branches, and its branches shall extend to thirty cubits, and of each single branch the fruit shall be different both to the sight and the eating, and from the top of the tree shall flow down much honey;

⁴ and from its root there shall come forth a great fountain, giving drink to this country round about, and in it creatures that swim and creep; and in it the man-eaters shall wash themselves, and eat of the fruit of the trees of the vine and of the honey; and their bodies shall be changed, and their forms shall be altered so as to be like those of other men; and they shall be ashamed of the nakedness of their body, and they shall put on clothing of the rams of the sheep, and they shall no longer eat unclean things; and there shall be to them fire in superabundance, preparing the sacrifices for offerings, and they shall bake their bread with fire; and they shall see each other in the likeness of the rest of men, and they shall acknowledge me, and glorify my Father who is in the heavens. Now therefore make haste, Matthew, and go down hence, because the departure from thy body through fire is at hand, and the crown of thy endurance.

⁵ And the child having said this, and given him the rod, was taken up into the heavens. And Matthew went down from the mountain, hastening to the city. And as he was about to enter into the city, there met him Fulvana

the wife of the king, and his son Fulvanus and his wife Erva, who were possessed by an unclean spirit, and cried out shouting: Who has brought thee here again, Matthew? or who has given thee the rod for our destruction? for we see also the child Jesus, the Son of God, who is with thee. Do not go then, O Matthew, to plant the rod for the food, and for the transformation of the man-eaters: for I have found what I shall do to thee. For since thou didst drive me out of this city, and prevent me from fulfilling my wishes among the man-eaters, behold, I will raise up against thee the king of this city, and he will burn thee alive. And Matthew, having laid his hands on each one of the demoniacs, put the demons to flight, and made the people whole; and they followed him.

6 And thus the affair being made manifest, Plato the bishop, having heard of the presence of the holy Apostle Matthew, met him with all the clergy; and having fallen to the ground, they kissed his feet. And Matthew raised them, and went with them into the church, and the child Jesus was also with him. And Matthew, having come to the gate of the church, stood upon a certain lofty and immoveable stone; and when the whole city ran together, especially the brethren who had believed, began to say: Men and women who appear in our sight, heretofore believing in the universe, but now knowing Him who has upheld and made the universe; until now worshipping the Satyr, and mocked by ten thousand false gods, but now through Jesus Christ acknowledging the one and only God, Lord, Judge; who have laid aside the immeasurable greatness of evil, and put on love, which is of like nature with affectionateness, towards men; once strangers to Christ, but now confessing Him Lord and God; formerly without form, but now transformed through Christ;—behold, the staff which you see in my hand, which Jesus, in whom you have believed and will believe, gave me; perceive now what comes to pass through me, and acknowledge the riches of the greatness which He will this day make for you.

7 For, behold, I shall plant this rod in this place, and it shall be a sign to your generations, and it shall become a tree, great and lofty and flourishing, and its fruit beautiful to the view and good to the sight; and the fragrance of perfumes shall come forth from it, and there shall be a vine twining round it, full of clusters; and from the top of it honey coming down, and every flying creature shall find covert in its branches; and a fountain of water shall come forth from the root of it, having swimming and creeping things, giv-

ing drink to all the country round about. ⁸ And having said this, and called upon the name of the Lord Jesus, he fixed his rod in the ground, and straightway it sprung up to one cubit; and the sight was strange and wonderful. For the rod having straightway shot up, increased in size, and grew into a great tree, as Matthew had said. And the apostle said: Go into the fountain and wash your bodies in it, and then thus partake both of the fruits of the tree, and of the vine and the honey, and drink of the fountain, and you shall be transformed in your likeness to that of men; and after that, having gone into the church, you will clearly recognise that you have believed in the living and true God. And having done all these things, they saw themselves changed into the likeness of Matthew; then, having thus gone into the church, they worshipped and glorified God. And when they had been changed, they knew that they were naked; and they ran in haste each to his own house to cover their nakedness, because they were ashamed.

⁹ And Matthew and Plato remained in the church spending the night, and glorifying God. And there remained also the king's wife, and his son and his wife, and they prayed the apostle to give them the seal in Christ. And Matthew gave orders to Plato; and he, having gone forth, baptized them in the water of the fountain of the tree, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And so thereafter, having gone into the church, they communicated in the holy mysteries of Christ; and they exulted and passed the night, they also along with the apostle, many others having also come with them; and all in the church sang the whole night, glorifying God. And when the dawn had fully come, the blessed Matthew, having gone along with the bishop Plato, stood in the place in which the rod had been planted, and he sees the rod grown into a great tree, and near it a vine twined round it, and honey coming down from above even to its root; and that tree was at once beautiful and flourishing, like the plants in paradise, and a river proceeded from its root watering all the land of the city of Myrna. And all ran together, and ate of the fruit of the tree and the vine, just as any one wished.

¹⁰ And when what had come to pass was reported in the palace, the king Fulvanus, having learned what had been done by Matthew about his wife, and his son, and his daughter-in-law, rejoiced for a time at their purification; but seeing that they were inseparable from Matthew, he was seized with rage and anger, and endeavoured to put him to death by fire. And on that night in which the king intended to lay hands on Matthew, Matthew saw Je-

sus saying to him: I am with thee always to save thee, Matthew; be strong, and be a man. And the blessed Matthew, having awoke, and sealed himself over all the body, rose up at dawn, and proceeded into the church; and having bent his knees, prayed earnestly. Then the bishop having come, and the clergy, they stood in common in prayer, glorifying God. And after they had ended the prayer, the bishop Plato said: Peace to thee, Matthew, apostle of Christ! And the blessed Matthew said to him: Peace to you! And when they had sat down, the apostle said to the bishop Plato, and to all the clergy: I wish you, children, to know, Jesus having declared it to me, that the king of this city is going to send soldiers against me, the devil having entered into him, and manifestly armed him against us. But let us give ourselves up to Jesus, and He will deliver us from every trial, and all who have believed in Him.

¹¹ And the king, plotting against the blessed Matthew how he should lay hands on him, and seeing also that the believers were very many, was very much at fault, and was in great difficulty. Therefore the wicked and unclean devil who had come forth from the king's wife, and his son, and his daughter-in-law, put to flight by Matthew, having transformed himself into the likeness of a soldier, stood before the king, and said to him: O king, why art thou thus put to the worse by this stranger and sorcerer? Knowest thou not that he was a publican, but now he has been called an apostle by Jesus, who was crucified by the Jews? For, behold, thy wife, and thy son, and thy daughter-in-law, instructed by him, have believed in him, and along with him sing in the church. And now, behold, Matthew is going forth, and Plato with him, and they are going to the gate called Heavy; but make haste, and thou wilt find them, and thou shalt do to him all that may be pleasing in thine eyes.

¹² The king having heard this, and being the more exasperated by the pretended soldier, sent against the blessed Matthew four soldiers, having threatened them, and said: Unless you bring Matthew to me, I shall burn you alive with fire; and the punishment which he is to undergo, you shall endure. And the soldiers, having been thus threatened by the king, go in arms to where the Apostle Matthew and the bishop Plato are. And when they came near them, they heard their speaking indeed, but saw no one. And having come, they said to the king: We pray thee, O king, we went and found no one, but only heard the voices of persons talking. And the king, being enraged, and having blazed up like fire, gave orders to send other ten soldiers—

man-eaters—saying to them: Go stealthily to the place, and tear them in pieces alive, and eat up Matthew, and Plato, who is with him. And when they were about to come near the blessed Matthew, the Lord Jesus Christ, having come in the likeness of a most beautiful boy, holding a torch of fire, ran to meet them, burning out their eyes. And they, having cried out and thrown their arms from them, fled, and came to the king, being speechless.

¹³ And the demon who had before appeared to the king in the form of a soldier, being again transformed into the form of a soldier, stood before the king, and said to him: Thou seest, O king, this stranger has bewitched them all. Learn, then, how thou shalt take him. The king says to him: Tell me first wherein his strength is, that I may know, and then I will draw up against him with a great force. And the demon, compelled by an angel, says to the king: Since thou wishest to hear accurately about him, O king, I will tell thee all the truth. Really, unless he shall be willing to be taken by thee of his own accord, thou labourest in vain, and thou wilt not be able to hurt him; but if thou wishest to lay hands on him, thou wilt be struck by him with blindness, and thou wilt be paralyzed. And if thou send a multitude of soldiers against him, they also will be struck with blindness, and will be paralyzed. And we shall go, even seven unclean demons, and immediately make away with thee and thy whole camp, and destroy all the city with lightning, except those naming that awful and holy name of Christ; for wherever a footstep of theirs has come, thence, pursued, we flee. And even if thou shalt apply fire to him, to him the fire will be dew; and if thou shalt shut him up in a furnace, to him the furnace will be a church;

¹⁴ and if thou shalt put him in chains in prison, and seal up the floors, the doors will open to him of their own accord, and all who believe in that name will go in, even they, and say, This prison is a church of the living God, and a holy habitation of those that live alone. Behold, O king, I have told thee all the truth. The king therefore says to the pretended soldier: Since I do not know Matthew, come with me, and point him out to me from a distance, and take from me gold, as much as thou mayst wish, or go thyself, and with thy sword kill him, and Plato his associate. The demon says to him: I cannot kill him. I dare not even look into his face, seeing that he has destroyed all our generation through the name of Christ, proclaimed through him.

¹⁵ The king says to him: And who art thou? And he says: I am the demon who dwelt in thy wife, and in thy son, and in thy daughter-in-law; and my

name is Asmodæus; and this Matthew drove me out of them. And now, behold, thy wife, and thy son, and thy daughter-in-law sing along with him in the church. And I know, O king, that thou also after this wilt believe in him. The king says to him: Whoever thou art, spirit of many shapes, I adjure thee by the God whom he whom thou callest Matthew proclaims, depart hence without doing hurt to any one. And straightway the demon, no longer like a soldier, but like smoke, became invisible; and as he fled he cried out: O secret name, armed against us, I pray thee, Matthew, servant of the holy God, pardon me, and I will no longer remain in this city. Keep thou thine own; but I go away into the fire everlasting.

16 Then the king, affected with great fear at the answer of the demon, remained quiet that day. And the night having come, and he not being able to sleep because he was hungry, leaped up at dawn, and went into the church, with only two soldiers without arms, to take Matthew by craft, that he might kill him. And having summoned two friends of Matthew, he said to them: Show to Matthew, says he, that I wish to be his disciple. And Matthew hearing, and knowing the craft of the tyrant, and having been warned also by the vision of the Lord to him, went forth out of the church, led by the hand by Plato, and stood in the gate of the church. 17 And they say to the king: Behold Matthew in the gate! And he says: Who he is, or where he is, I see not. And they said to him: Behold, he is in sight of thee. And he says: All the while I see nobody. For he had been blinded by the power of God. And he began to cry out: Woe to me, miserable! what evil has come upon me, for my eyes have been blinded, and all my limbs paralyzed? O Asmodæus Beelzebub Satan! all that thou hast said to me has come upon me. But I pray thee, Matthew, servant of God, forgive me as the herald of the good God; for assuredly the Jesus proclaimed by thee three days ago through the night appeared to me altogether resplendent as with lightning, like a beautiful young man, and said to me, Since thou art entertaining evil counsels in the wickedness of thine heart in regard to my servant Matthew, know I have disclosed to him that through thee will be the release of his body. And straightway I saw him going up into heaven. If therefore he is thy God, and if he wishes thy body to be buried in our city for a testimony of the salvation of the generations after this, and for the banishing of the demons, I shall know the truth for myself by this, by thee laying on hands upon me, and I shall receive

my sight. And the apostle having laid his hands upon his eyes, and saying Ephphatha, Jesus, he made him receive his sight instantly.

¹⁸ And straightway the king, laying hold of the apostle, and leading him by the right hand, brought him by craft into the palace; and Plato was on Matthew's left hand, going along with him, and keeping hold of him. Then Matthew says: O crafty tyrant, how long dost thou not fulfil the works of thy father the devil? And he was enraged at what had been said; for he perceived that he would inflict upon him a more bitter death. For he resolved to put him to death by fire. And he commanded several executioners to come, and to lead him away to the place by the seashore, where the execution of malefactors was wont to take place, saying to the executioners: I hear, says he, that the God whom he proclaims delivers from fire those who believe in him. Having laid him, therefore, on the ground on his back, and stretched him out, pierce his hands and feet with iron nails, and cover him over with paper, having smeared it with dolphins' oil, and cover him up with brimstone and asphalt and pitch, and put tow and brushwood above. Thus apply the fire to him; and if any of the same tribe with him rise up against you, he shall get the same punishment.

¹⁹ And the apostle exhorted the brethren to remain undismayed, and that they should rejoice, and accompany him with great meekness, singing and praising God, because they were deemed worthy to have the relics of the apostle. Having therefore come to the place, the executioners, like most evil wild beasts, pinned down to the ground Matthew's hands and feet with long nails; and having done everything as they had been bid, applied the fire. And they indeed laboured closely, kindling it all round; but all the fire was changed into dew, so that the brethren, rejoicing, cried out: The only God is the Christians', who assists Matthew, in whom also we have believed: the only God is the Christians', who preserves His own apostle in the fire. And by the voice the city was shaken. And some of the executioners, having gone forth, said to the king: We indeed, O king, by every contrivance of vengeance, have kindled the fire; but the sorcerer by a certain name puts it out, calling upon Christ, and invoking his cross; and the Christians surrounding him play with the fire, and walking in it with naked feet, laugh at us, and we have fled ashamed.

²⁰ Then he ordered a multitude to carry coals of fire from the furnace of the bath in the palace, and the twelve gods of gold and silver; and place

them, says he, in a circle round the sorcerer, lest he may even somehow bewitch the fire from the furnace of the palace. And there being many executioners and soldiers, some carried the coals; and others, bearing the gods, brought them. And the king accompanied them, watching lest any of the Christians should steal one of his gods, or bewitch the fire. And when they came near the place where the apostle was nailed down, his face was looking towards heaven, and all his body was covered over with the paper, and much brushwood over his body to the height of ten cubits. And having ordered the soldiers to set the gods in a circle round Matthew, five cubits off, securely fastened that they might not fall, again he ordered the coal to be thrown on, and to kindle the fire at all points.

21 And Matthew, having looked up to heaven, cried out, Adonai eloi sabaoth marmari marmunth; that is, O God the Father, O Lord Jesus Christ, deliver me, and burn down their gods which they worship; and let the fire also pursue the king even to his palace, but not to his destruction: for perhaps he will repent and be converted. And when he saw the fire to be monstrous in height, the king, thinking that Matthew was burnt up, laughed aloud, and said: Has thy magic been of any avail to thee, Matthew? Can thy Jesus now give thee any help? And as he said this a dreadful wonder appeared; for all the fire along with the wood went away from Matthew, and was poured round about their gods, so that nothing of the gold or the silver was any more seen; and the king fled, and said: Woe's me, that my gods are destroyed by the rebuke of Matthew, of which the weight was a thousand talents of gold and a thousand talents of silver. Better are the gods of stone and of earthenware, in that they are neither melted nor stolen.

22 And when the fire had thus utterly destroyed their gods, and burnt up many soldiers, there came to pass again another stranger wonder. For the fire, in the likeness of a great and dreadful dragon, chased the tyrant as far as the palace, and ran hither and thither round the king, not letting him go into the palace. And the king, chased by the fire, and not allowed to go into his palace, turned back to where Matthew was, and cried out, saying: I beseech thee, whoever thou art, O man, whether magician or sorcerer or god, or angel of God, whom so great a pyre has not touched, remove from me this dreadful and fiery dragon; forget the evil I have done, as also when thou madest me receive my sight. And Matthew, having rebuked the fire, and the flames having been extinguished, and the dragon having become invisible,

stretching his eyes to heaven, and praying in Hebrew, and commending his spirit to the Lord, said: Peace to you! And having glorified the Lord, he went to his rest about the sixth hour.

23 Then the king, having ordered more soldiers to come, and the bed to be brought from the palace, which had a great show of gold, he ordered the apostle to be laid on it, and carried to the palace. And the body of the apostle was lying as if in sleep, and his robe and his tunic unstained by the fire; and sometimes they saw him on the bed, and sometimes following, and sometimes going before the bed, and with his right hand put upon Plato's head, and singing along with the multitude, so that both the king and the soldiers, with the crowd, were struck with astonishment. And many diseased persons and demoniacs, having only touched the bed, were made sound; and as many as were savage in appearance, in that same hour were changed into the likeness of other men. And as the bed was going into the palace, we all saw Matthew rising up, as it were, from the bed, and going into heaven, led by the hand by a beautiful boy; and twelve men in shining garments came to meet him, having never-fading and golden crowns on their head; and we saw how that child crowned Matthew, so as to be like them, and in a flash of lightning they went away to heaven.

24 And the king stood at the gate of the palace, and ordered that no one should come in but the soldiers carrying the bed. And having shut the doors, he ordered an iron coffin to be made, put the body of Matthew into it, and sealed it up with lead; through the eastern gate of the palace at midnight put it into a boat, no one knowing of it, and threw it into the deep part of the sea. And through the whole night the brethren remained before the gate of the palace, spending the night, and singing; and when the dawn rose there was a voice: O bishop Plato, carry the Gospel and the Psalter of David; go along with the multitude of the brethren to the east of the palace, and sing the Alleluia, and read the Gospel, and bring as an offering the holy bread; and having pressed three clusters from the vine into a cup, communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us how to offer up when He rose from the dead on the third day.

25 And the bishop having run into the church, and taken the Gospel and the Psalter of David, and having assembled the presbyters and the multitude of the brethren, came to the east of the palace at the hour of sunrise; and having ordered the one who was singing to go upon a certain lofty stone, he

began to praise in singing of a song to God: Precious in the sight of God is the death of His saints. And again: I laid me down and slept; I arose: because the Lord will sustain me. And they listened to the singing of a song of David: Shall he that is dead not rise again? Now I shall raise him up for myself, saith the Lord. And all shouted out the Alleluia. And the bishop read the Gospel, and all cried out: Glory to Thee, Thou who hast been glorified in heaven and on earth. And so then they offered the gift of the holy offering for Matthew; and having partaken for thanksgiving of the undefiled and life-giving mysteries of Christ, they all glorified God.

26 And it was about the sixth hour, and Plato sees the sea opposite about seven furlongs off; and, behold, Matthew was standing on the sea, and two men, one on each side, in shining garments, and the beautiful boy in front of them. And all the brethren saw these things, and they heard them saying Amen, Alleluia. And one could see the sea fixed like a stone of crystal, and the beautiful boy in front of them, when out of the depth of the sea a cross came up, and at the end of the cross the coffin going up in which was the body of Matthew; and in the hour of the piercing on the cross, the boy placed the coffin on the ground, behind the palace towards the east, where the bishop had offered the offering for Matthew. 27 And the king having seen these things from the upper part of the house, and being terror-struck, went forth from the palace, and ran and worshipped towards the east at the coffin, and fell down before the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, in repentance and confession, saying: Truly I believe in the true God, Christ Jesus. I entreat, give me the seal in Christ, and I will give you my palace, in testimony of Matthew, and you shall put the coffin upon my golden bed, in the great dining-room; only, having baptized me in it, communicate to me the Eucharist of Christ. And the bishop having prayed, and ordered him to take off his clothes, and having examined him for a long time, and he having confessed and wept over what he had done, having sealed him, and anointed him with oil, put him down into the sea, in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And when he came up from the water he ordered him to put on himself splendid garments, and so then having given praise and thanks, communicating the holy bread and mixed cup, the bishop first gave them to the king, saying: Let this body of Christ, and this cup, His blood shed for us, be to thee for the remission of sins unto life. And a voice was heard from on high: Amen, amen, amen. And when he had thus com-

municated in fear and joy, the apostle appeared and said: King Fulvanus, thy name shall no longer be Fulvanus;

28 but thou shalt be called Matthew. And thou, the son of the king, shall no longer be called Fulvanus, but Matthew also; and thou Ziphagia, the wife of the king, shall be called Sophia; and Erva, the wife of your son, shall be called Synesis. And these names of yours shall be written in the heavens, and there shall not fail of your loins from generation to generation. And in that same hour Matthew appointed the king a presbyter, and he was thirty-seven years old; and the king's son he appointed deacon, being seventeen years old; and the king's wife he appointed a presbyteress; and his son's wife he appointed a deaconess, and she also was seventeen years old. And then he thus blessed them, saying: The blessing and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be with you to time everlasting. 29 Then the king, having awakened out of sleep, and rejoiced with all his house at the vision of the holy Apostle Matthew, praised God. And the king, having gone into his palace, broke all the idols to pieces, and gave a decree to those in his kingdom, writing thus: King Matthew, to all those under my kingdom, greeting. Christ having appeared upon earth, and having saved the human race, the so-called gods have been found to be deceivers, and soul-destroyers, and plotters against the human race. Whence, divine grace having shone abroad, and come even to us, and we having come to the knowledge of the deception of the idols, that it is vain and false, it has seemed good to our divinity that there should not be many gods, but one, and one only, the God in the heavens. And you, having received this our decree, keep to the purport of it, and break to pieces and destroy every idol; and if any one shall be detected from this time forth serving idols, or concealing them, let such an one be subjected to punishment by the sword. Farewell all, because we also are well.

30 And when this order was given out, all, rejoicing and exulting, broke their idols to pieces, crying out and saying: There is one only God, He who is in the heavens, who does good to men. And after all these things had come to pass, Matthew the apostle of Christ appeared to the bishop Plato, and said to him: Plato, servant of God, and our brother, be it known unto thee, that after three years shall be thy rest in the Lord, and exultation to ages of ages. And the king himself, whom after my own name I have called Matthew, shall receive the throne of thy bishopric, and after him his son. And he, having said Peace to thee and all the saints, went to heaven. And after three

years the bishop Plato rested in the Lord. And King Matthew succeeded him, having given up his kingdom willingly to another, whence there was given him grace against unclean demons, and he cured every affliction. And he advanced his son to be a presbyter, and made him second to himself.

³¹ And Saint Matthew finished his course in the country of the man-eaters, in the city of Myrna, on the sixteenth of the month of November, our Lord Jesus Christ reigning, to whom be glory and strength, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Martyrdom of the Holy and Glorious Apostle Bartholomew

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The mission of the apostle Bartholomew to India and his martyrdom.

¹ Martyrdom of the Holy and Glorious Apostle Bartholomew. Historians declare that India is divided into three parts; and the first is said to end at Ethiopia, and the second at Media, and the third completes the country; and the one portion of it ends in the dark, and the other in the ocean. To this India, then, the holy Bartholomew the apostle of Christ went, and took up his quarters in the temple of Astaruth, and lived there as one of the pilgrims and the poor. In this temple, then, there was an idol called Astaruth, which was supposed to heal the infirm, but rather the more injured all. And the people were in entire ignorance of the true God; and from want of knowledge, but rather from the difficulty of going to any other, they all fled for refuge to the false god. And he brought upon them troubles, infirmities, damage, violence, and much affliction; and when any one sacrificed to him, the demon, retiring, appeared to give a cure to the person in trouble; and the foolish people, seeing this, believed in him. But the demons retired, not because they wished to cure men, but that they might the more assail them, and rather have them altogether in their power; and thinking that they were cured bodily, those that sacrificed to them were the more diseased in soul.

² And it came to pass, that while the holy apostle of Christ, Bartholomew, stayed there, Astaruth gave no response, and was not able for curing. And when the temple was full of sick persons, who sacrificed to him daily, Astaruth could give no response; and sick persons who had come from far countries were lying there. When, therefore, in that temple not even one of the idols was able to give a response, and was of benefit neither to those that sacrificed to them nor to those who were in the agonies of death on their ac-

count, they were compelled to go to another city, where there was a temple of idols, where their great and most eminent god was called Becher. And having there sacrificed, they demanded, asking why their god Astaruth had not responded to them. And the demon Becher answered and said to them: From the day and hour that the true God, who dwelleth in the heavens, sent his apostle Bartholomew into the regions here, your god Astaruth is held fast by chains of fire, and can no longer either speak or breathe. They said to him: And who is this Bartholomew? He answered: He is the friend of the Almighty God, and has just come into these parts, that he may take away all the worship of the idols in the name of his God. And the servants of the Greeks said to him: Tell us what he is like, that we may be able to find him.

3 And the demon answered and said: He has black hair, a shaggy head, a fair skin, large eyes, beautiful nostrils, his ears hidden by the hair of his head, with a yellow beard, a few grey hairs, of middle height, and neither tall nor stunted, but middling, clothed with a white undercloak bordered with purple, and upon his shoulders a very white cloak; and his clothes have been worn twenty-six years, but neither are they dirty, nor have they waxed old. Seven times a day he bends the knee to the Lord, and seven times a night does he pray to God. His voice is like the sound of a strong trumpet; there go along with him angels of God, who allow him neither to be weary, nor to hunger, nor to thirst; his face, and his soul, and his heart are always glad and rejoicing; he foresees everything, he knows and speaks every tongue of every nation. And behold now, as soon as you ask me, and I answer you about him, behold, he knows; for the angels of the Lord tell him; and if you wish to seek him, if he is willing he will appear to you; but if he shall not be willing, you will not be able to find him. I entreat you, therefore, if you shall find him, entreat him not to come here, lest his angels do to me as they have done to my brother Astaruth.

4 And when the demon had said this, he held his peace. And they returned, and set to work to look into every face of the pilgrims and poor men, and for two days they could find him nowhere. And it came to pass, that one who was a demoniac set to work to cry out: Apostle of the Lord, Bartholomew, thy prayers are burning me up. Then said the apostle to him: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And that very hour, the man who had suffered from the demon for many years was set free. 5 And Polymius, the king of that country, happened to be standing opposite the apostle; and he

had a daughter a demoniac, that is to say, a lunatic. And he heard about the demoniac that had been healed, and sent messengers to the apostle, saying: My daughter is grievously torn; I implore thee, therefore, as thou hast delivered him who suffered for many years, so also to order my daughter to be set free. And the apostle rose up, and went with them. And he sees the king's daughter bound with chains, for she used to tear in pieces all her limbs; and if any one came near her, she used to bite, and no one dared to come near her. The servants say to him: And who is it that dares to touch her? The apostle answered them: Loose her, and let her go. They say to him again: We have her in our power when she is bound with all our force, and dost thou bid us loose her? The apostle says to them: Behold, I keep her enemy bound, and are you even now afraid of her? Go and loose her; and when she has partaken of food, let her rest, and early to-morrow bring her to me. And they went and did as the apostle had commanded them; and thereafter the demon was not able to come near her.

6 Then the king loaded camels with gold and silver, precious stones, pearls, and clothing, and sought to see the apostle; and having made many efforts, and not found him, he brought everything back to his palace. 7 And it happened, when the night had passed, and the following day was dawning, the sun having risen, the apostle appeared alone with the king in his bed-chamber, and said to him: Why didst thou seek me yesterday the whole day with gold and silver, and precious stones, pearls, and raiment? For these gifts those persons long for who seek earthly things; but I seek nothing earthly, nothing carnal. Wherefore I wish to teach thee that the Son of God deigned to be born as a man out of a virgin's womb. He was conceived in the womb of the virgin; He took to Himself her who was always a virgin, having within herself Him who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that therein is. He, born of a virgin, like mankind, took to Himself a beginning in time, He who has a beginning neither of times nor days; but He Himself made every beginning, and everything created, whether in things visible or invisible. And as this virgin did not know man, so she, preserving her virginity, vowed a vow to the Lord God. And she was the first who did so. For, from the time that man existed from the beginning of the world, no woman made a vow of this mode of life; but she, as she was the first among women who loved this in her heart, said, I offer to Thee, O Lord, my virginity. And, as I have said to thee, none of mankind dared to speak this word;

8 but she being called for the salvation of many, observed this—that she might remain a virgin through the love of God, pure and undefiled. And suddenly, when she was shut up in her chamber, the archangel Gabriel appeared, gleaming like the sun; and when she was terrified at the sight, the angel said to her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour in the sight of the Lord, and thou shalt conceive. And she cast off fear, and stood up, and said, How shall this be to me, since I know not man? The angel answered her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that holy thing which is born of thee shall be called Son of God. Thus, therefore, when the angel had departed from her, she escaped the temptation of the devil, who deceived the first man when at rest. For, having tasted of the tree of disobedience, when the woman said to him, Eat, he ate; and thus the first man was cast out of paradise, and banished to this life. From him have been born the whole human race. Then the Son of God having been born of the virgin, and having become perfect man, and having been baptized, and after His baptism having fasted forty days, the tempter came and said to Him: If thou art the Son of God, tell these stones to become loaves. And He answered: Not on bread alone shall man live, but by every word of God.

9 Thus therefore the devil, who through eating had conquered the first man, was conquered through the fasting of the second man; and as he through want of self-restraint had conquered the first man, the son of the virgin earth, so we shall conquer through the fasting of the second Adam, the Son of the Virgin Mary. 10 The king says to him: And how is it that thou saidst just now that she was the first virgin of whom was born God and man? And the apostle answered: I give thanks to the Lord that thou hearest me gladly. The first man, then, was called Adam; he was formed out of the earth. And the earth, his mother out of which he was, was virgin, because it had neither been polluted by the blood of man nor opened for the burial of any one. The earth, then, was like the virgin, in order that he who conquered the son of the virgin earth might be conquered by the Son of the Virgin Mary. And, behold, he did conquer; for his wicked craft, through the eating of the tree by which man, being deceived, came forth from paradise, kept paradise shut. Thereafter this Son of the virgin conquered all the craft of the devil. And his craft was such, that when he saw the Son of the virgin fasting forty days, he knew in truth that He was the true God. The true God and man,

therefore, hath not given Himself out to be known, except to those who are pure in heart, and who serve Him by good works. The devil himself, therefore, when he saw that after the forty days He was again hungry, was deceived into thinking that He was not God, and said to Him, Why hast thou been hungry? tell these stones to become loaves, and eat.

11 And the Lord answered him, Listen, devil; although thou mayst lord it over man, because he has not kept the commandment of God. I have fulfilled the righteousness of God in having fasted, and shall destroy thy power, so that thou shalt no longer lord it over man. And when he saw himself conquered, he again takes Jesus to an exceeding high mountain, and shows Him all the kingdoms of the world, and says, All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. The Lord says to him, Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve. And there was a third temptation for the Lord; for he takes Him up to the pinnacle of the temple, and says, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down. The Lord says to him, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And the devil disappeared. And he indeed that once conquered Adam, the son of the virgin earth, was thrice conquered by Christ, the Son of the Virgin Mary.

12 And when the Lord had conquered the tyrant, He sent His apostles into all the world, that He might redeem His people from the deception of the devil; and one of these I am, an apostle of Christ. On this account we seek not after gold and silver, but rather despise them, because we labour to be rich in that place where the kingdom of Him alone endureth for ever, where neither trouble, nor grief, nor groaning, nor death, has place; where there is eternal blessedness, and ineffable joy, and everlasting exultation, and perpetual repose. Wherefore also the demon sitting in your temple, who makes responses to you, is kept in chains through the angel of the Lord who has sent me. Because if thou shalt be baptized, and wishest thyself to be enlightened, I will make thee behold Him, and learn from how great evils thou hast been redeemed. At the same time hear also by what means he injures all those who are lying sick in the temple. The devil himself by his own art causes the men to be sick, and again to be healed, in order that they may the more believe in the idols, and in order that he may have place the more in their souls, in order that they may say to the stock and the stone, Thou art our God. But that demon who dwells in the idol is held in subjection,

conquered by me, and is able to give no response to those who sacrifice and pray there. And if thou wishest to prove that it is so, I order him to return into the idol, and I will make him confess with his own mouth that he is bound, and able to give no response.

¹³ The king says to him: To-morrow, at the first hour of the day, the priests are ready to sacrifice in the temple, and I shall come there, and shall be able to see this wonderful work. And it came to pass on the following day, as they were sacrificing, the devil began to cry out: Refrain, ye wretched ones, from sacrificing to me, lest ye suffer worse for my sake; because I am bound in fiery chains, and kept in subjection by an angel of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom the Jews crucified: for, being afraid of him, they condemned him to death. And he put to death Death himself, our king, and he bound our prince in chains of fire; and on the third day, having conquered death and the devil, rose in glory, and gave the sign of the cross to his apostles, and sent them out into the four quarters of the world; and one of them is here just now, who has bound me, and keeps me in subjection. I implore you, therefore, supplicate him on my account, that he may set me free to go into other habitations.

¹⁴ Then the apostle answered: Confess, unclean demon, who is it that has injured all those that are lying here from heavy diseases? The demon answered: The devil, our ruler, he who is bound, he sends us against men, that, having first injured their bodies, we may thus also make an assault upon their souls when they sacrifice to us. For then we have complete power over them, when they believe in us and sacrifice to us. And when, on account of the mischief done to them, we retire, we appear curing them, and are worshipped by them as gods; but in truth we are demons, and the servants of him who was crucified, the Son of the virgin, have bound us. For from that day on which the Apostle Bartholomew came I am punished, kept bound in chains of fire. And for this reason I speak, because he has commanded me. At the same time, I dare not utter more when the apostle is present, neither I nor our rulers.

¹⁵ The apostle says to him: Why dost thou not save all that have come to thee? The demon says to him: When we injure their bodies, unless we first injure their souls, we do not let their bodies go. The apostle says to him: And how do you injure their souls? The demon answered him: When they believe that we are gods, and sacrifice to us, God withdraws from those who sacrifice,

and we do not take away the sufferings of their bodies, but retire into their souls. Then the apostle says to the people: Behold, the god whom you thought to cure you, does the more mischief to your souls and bodies. Hear even now your Maker who dwells in the heavens, and do not believe in lifeless stones and stocks. And if you wish that I should pray for you, and that all these may receive health, take down this idol, and break it to pieces; and when you have done this, I will sanctify this temple in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and having baptized all of you who are in it in the baptism of the Lord, and sanctified you, I will save all.

¹⁶ Then the king gave orders, and all the people brought ropes and crow-bars, and were not at all able to take down the idol. Then the apostle says to them: Unfasten the ropes. And when they had unfastened them, he said to the demon dwelling in it: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, come out of this idol, and go into a desert place, where neither winged creature utters a cry, nor voice of man has ever been heard. And straightway he arose at the word of the apostle, and lifted it up from its foundations; and in that same hour all the idols that were in that place were broken to pieces. ¹⁷ Then all cried out with one voice, saying: He alone is God Almighty whom Bartholomew the apostle proclaims. Then the holy Bartholomew, having spread forth his hands to heaven, said: God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, who for the salvation of men hast sent forth Thine only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that He might redeem by His own blood all of us enslaved by sin, and declare us to be Thy sons, that we may know Thee, the true God, that Thou existest always to eternity God without end: one God, the Father, acknowledged in Son and Holy Spirit; one God, the Son, glorified in Father and Holy Spirit; one God, the Holy Spirit, worshipped in Father and Son; and acknowledged to be truly one, the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeding; and in Thee the Father, and in the Holy Spirit, Thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ is, in whose name Thou hast given us power to heal the sick, to cure paralytics, to expel demons, and raise the dead: for He said to us, Verily I say unto you, that whatever ye shall ask in my name ye shall receive. I entreat, then, that in His name all this multitude may be saved, that all may know that Thou alone art God in heaven, and in the earth, and in the sea, who seekest the salvation of men through that same Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom Thou livest and reignest in unity of the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.

18 And when all responded to the Amen, suddenly there appeared an angel of the Lord, shining brighter than the sun, winged, and other four angels holding up the four corners of the temple; and with his finger the one sealed the temple and the people, and said: Thus saith the Lord who hath sent me, As you have all been purified from all your infirmity, so also this temple shall be purified from all uncleanness, and from the demons dwelling in it, whom the apostle of God has ordered to go into a desert place; for so hath God commanded me, that I may manifest Him to you. And when ye behold Him, fear nothing; but when I make the sign of the cross, so also do ye with your finger seal your faces, and these evil things will flee from you. Then he showed them the demon who dwelt in the temple, like an Ethiopian, black as soot; his face sharp like a dog's, thin-cheeked, with hair down to his feet, eyes like fire, sparks coming out of his mouth; and out of his nostrils came forth smoke like sulphur, with wings spined like a porcupine; and his hands were bound with fiery chains, and he was firmly kept in. And the angel of the Lord said to him: As also the apostle hath commanded, I let thee go; go where voice of man is not heard, and be there until the great day of judgment. And when he let him go, he flew away, groaning and weeping, and disappeared. And the angel of the Lord went up into heaven in the sight of all.

19 Then the king, and also the queen, with their two sons, and with all his people, and with all the multitude of the city, and every city round about, and country, and whatever land his kingdom ruled over, were saved, and believed, and were baptized in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And the king laid aside his diadem, and followed Bartholomew the apostle of Christ. 20 And after these things the unbelievers of the Greeks, having come together to Astreges the king, who was the elder brother of the king who had been baptized, say to him: O king, thy brother Polymius has become disciple to a certain magician, who has taken down our temples, and broken our gods to pieces. And while they were thus speaking and weeping, behold, again there came also some others from the cities round about, both priests and people; and they set about weeping and making accusations before the king. Then King Astreges in a rage sent a thousand armed men along with those priests, in order that, wherever they should find the apostle, they might bring him to him bound. And when they had done so, and found him, and brought him, he says to him: Art thou he who has perverted

my brother from the gods? To whom the apostle answered: I have not perverted him, but have converted him to God. The king says to him: Art thou he who caused our gods to be broken in pieces? The apostle says to him: I gave power to the demons who were in them, and they broke in pieces the dumb and senseless idols, that all men might believe in God Almighty, who dwelleth in the heavens. The king says to him: As thou hast made my brother deny his gods, and believe in thy God, so I also will make you reject thy God and believe in my gods. The apostle says to him: If I have bound and kept in subjection the god which thy brother worshipped, and at my order the idols were broken in pieces, if thou also art able to do the same to my God, thou canst persuade me also to sacrifice to thy gods; but if thou canst do nothing to my God, I will break all thy gods in pieces; but do thou believe in my God.

²¹ And when he had thus spoken, the king was informed that this god Baldad and all the other idols had fallen down, and were broken in pieces. Then the king rent the purple in which he was clothed, and ordered the holy apostle Bartholomew to be beaten with rods; and after having been thus scourged, to be beheaded. And innumerable multitudes came from all the cities, to the number of twelve thousand, who had believed in him along with the king; and they took up the remains of the apostle with singing of praise and with all glory, and they laid them in the royal tomb, and glorified God. And the king Astreges having heard of this, ordered him to be thrown into the sea; and his remains were carried into the island of Liparis. And it came to pass on the thirtieth day after the apostle was carried away, that the king Astreges was overpowered by a demon and miserably strangled; and all the priests were strangled by demons, and perished on account of their rising against the apostle, and thus died by an evil fate.

²² And there was great fear and trembling, and all came to the Lord, and were baptized by the presbyters who had been ordained by the holy apostle Bartholomew. And according to the commandment of the apostle, all the clergy of the people made King Polymius bishop; and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ he received the grace of healing, and began to do signs. And he remained in the bishopric twenty years; and having prospered in all things, and governed the church well, and guided it in right opinions, he fell asleep in peace, and went to the Lord: to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

The Acts of Barnabas

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The journeys and martyrdom of Barnabas in Cyprus, told in the name of John Mark.

¹ The Acts of Barnabus. The Journeyings and Martyrdom of St. Barnabas the Apostle. Since from the descent of the presence of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the unwearied and benevolent and mighty Shepherd and Teacher and Physician, I beheld and saw the ineffable and holy and unspotted mystery of the Christians, who hold the hope in holiness, and who have been sealed; and since I have zealously served Him, I have deemed it necessary to give account of the mysteries which I have heard and seen. I John, accompanying the holy apostles Barnabas and Paul, being formerly a servant of Cyrillus the high priest of Jupiter, but now having received the gift of the Holy Spirit through Paul and Barnabas and Silas, who were worthy of the calling, and who baptized me in Iconium. After I was baptized, then, I saw a certain man standing clothed in white raiment; and he said to me: Be of good courage, John, for assuredly thy name shall be changed to Mark, and thy glory shall be proclaimed in all the world. And the darkness in thee has passed away from thee, and there has been given to thee understanding to know the mysteries of God.

² And when I saw the vision, becoming greatly terrified, I went to the feet of Barnabas, and related to him the mysteries which I had seen and heard from that man. And the Apostle Paul was not by when I disclosed the mysteries. And Barnabas said to me: Tell no one the miracle which thou hast seen. For by me also this night the Lord stood, saying, Be of good courage: for as thou hast given thy life for my name to death and banishment from thy nation, thus also shalt thou be made perfect. Moreover, as for the servant who is with you, take him also with thyself; for he has certain mysteries. Now

then, my child, keep to thyself the things which thou hast seen and heard; for a time will come for thee to reveal them. And I, having been instructed in these things by him, remained in Iconium many days; for there was there a holy man and a pious, who also entertained us, whose house also Paul had sanctified. Thence, therefore, we came to Seleucia, and after staying three days sailed away to Cyprus; and I was ministering to them until we had gone round all Cyprus. And setting sail from Cyprus, we landed in Perga of Pamphylia. And there I then stayed about two months, wishing to sail to the regions of the West; and the Holy Spirit did not allow me. Turning, therefore, I again sought the apostles; and having learned that they were in Antioch, I went to them.

³ And I found Paul in bed in Antioch from the toil of the journey, who also seeing me, was exceedingly grieved on account of my delaying in Pamphylia. And Barnabas coming, encouraged him, and tasted bread, and he took a little of it. And they preached the word of the Lord, and enlightened many of the Jews and Greeks. And I only attended to them, and was afraid of Paul to come near him, both because he held me as having spent much time in Pamphylia, and because he was quite enraged against me. And I gave repentance on my knees upon the earth to Paul, and he would not endure it. And when I remained for three Sabbaths in entreaty and prayer on my knees, I was unable to prevail upon him about myself; for his great grievance against me was on account of my keeping several parchments in Pamphylia.

⁴ And when it came to pass that they finished teaching in Antioch, on the first of the week they took counsel together to set out for the places of the East, and after that to go into Cyprus, and oversee all the churches in which they had spoken the word of God. And Barnabas entreated Paul to go first to Cyprus, and oversee his own in his village; and Lucius entreated him to take the oversight of his city Cyrene. And a vision was seen by Paul in sleep, that he should hasten to Jerusalem, because the brethren expected him there. But Barnabas urged that they should go to Cyprus, and pass the winter, and then that they should go to Jerusalem at the feast. Great contention, therefore, arose between them. And Barnabas urged me also to accompany them, on account of my being their servant from the beginning, and on account of my having served them in all Cyprus until they came to Perga of Pamphylia; and I there had remained many days. But Paul cried out against Barnabas, saying: It is impossible for him to go with us. And those who were

with us there urged me also to accompany them, because there was a vow upon me to follow them to the end. So that Paul said to Barnabas: If thou wilt take John who also is surnamed Mark with thee, go another road; for he shall not come with us. And Barnabas coming to himself, said: The grace of God does not desert him who has once served the Gospel and journeyed with us. If, therefore, this be agreeable to thee, Father Paul, I take him and go. And he said: Go thou in the grace of Christ, and we in the power of the Spirit.

5 Therefore, bending their knees, they prayed to God. And Paul, groaning aloud, wept, and in like manner also Barnabas, saying to one another: It would have been good for us, as at first, so also at last, to work in common among men; but since it has thus seemed good to thee, Father Paul, pray for me that my labour may be made perfect to commendation: for thou knowest how I have served thee also to the grace of Christ that has been given to thee. For I go to Cyprus, and hasten to be made perfect; for I know that I shall no more see thy face, O Father Paul. And falling on the ground at his feet, he wept long. And Paul said to him: The Lord stood by me also this night, saying, Do not force Barnabas not to go to Cyprus, for there it has been prepared for him to enlighten many; and do thou also, in the grace that has been given to thee, go to Jerusalem to worship in the holy place, and there it shall be shown thee where thy martyrdom has been prepared. And we saluted one another, and Barnabas took me to himself.

6 And having come down to Laodiceia, we sought to cross to Cyprus; and having found a ship going to Cyprus, we embarked. And when we had set sail, the wind was found to be contrary. And we came to Corasium; and having gone down to the shore where there was a fountain, we rested there, showing ourselves to no one, that no one might know that Barnabas had separated from Paul. And having set sail from Corasium, we came to the regions of Isauria, and thence came to a certain island called Pityusa; and a storm having come on, we remained there three days; and a certain pious man entertained us, by name Euphemus, whom also Barnabas instructed in many things in the faith, with all his house. 7 And thence we sailed past the Aconesiæ, and came to the city of Anemurium; and having gone into it, we found two Greeks. And coming to us, they asked whence and who we were. And Barnabas said to them: If you wish to know whence and who we are, throw away the clothing which you have, and I shall put on you clothing

which never becomes soiled; for neither is there in it anything filthy, but it is altogether splendid. And being astonished at the saying, they asked us: What is that garment which you are going to give us? And Barnabas said to them: If you shall confess your sins, and submit yourselves to our Lord Jesus Christ, you shall receive that garment which is incorruptible for ever. And being pricked at heart by the Holy Spirit, they fell at his feet, entreating and saying: We beseech thee, father, give us that garment; for we believe in the living and true God whom thou proclaimest. And leading them down to the fountain, he baptized them into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And they knew that they were clothed with power, and a holy robe. And having taken from me one robe, he put it on the one; and his own robe he put on the other. And they brought money to him, and straightway Barnabas distributed it to the poor. And from them also the sailors were able to gain many things.

⁸ And they having come down to the shore, he spoke to them the word of God; and he having blessed them, we saluted them, and went on board the ship. And the one of them who was named Stephanus wished to accompany us, and Barnabas did not permit him. And we, having gone across, sailed down to Cyprus by night; and having come to the place called Crommyacita, we found Timon and Ariston the temple servants, at whose house also we were entertained. And Timon was afflicted by much fever. And having laid our hands upon him, we straightway removed his fever, having called upon the name of the Lord Jesus. And Barnabas had received documents from Matthew, a book of the word of God, and a narrative of miracles and doctrines. This Barnabas laid upon the sick in each place that we came to, and it immediately made a cure of their sufferings.

⁹ And when we had come to Lapithus, and an idol festival being celebrated in the theatre, they did not allow us to go into the city, but we rested a little at the gate. And Timon, after he rose up from his disease, came with us. And having gone forth from Lapithus, we travelled through the mountains, and came to the city of Lampadistus, of which also Timon was a native; in addition to whom, having found also that Heracleius was there, we were entertained by him. He was of the city of Tamasus, and had come to visit his relations; and Barnabas, looking stedfastly at him, recognised him, having met with him formerly at Citium with Paul; to whom also the Holy Spirit was given at baptism, and he changed his name to Heracleides. And having

ordained him bishop over Cyprus, and having confirmed the church in Tamasus, we left him in the house of his brethren that dwelt there.

10 And having crossed the mountain called Chionodes, we came to Old Paphos, and there found Rhodon, a temple servant, who also, having himself believed, accompanied us. And we met a certain Jew, by name Barjesus, coming from Paphos, who also recognised Barnabas, as having been formerly with Paul. He did not wish us to go into Paphos; but having turned away, we came to Curium. And we found that a certain abominable race was being performed in the road near the city, where a multitude of women and men naked were performing the race. And there was great deception and error in that place. And Barnabas turning, rebuked it; and the western part fell, so that many were wounded, and many of them also died and the rest fled to the temple of Apollo, which was close at hand in the city, which was called sacred. And when we came near the temple, a great multitude of Jews who were there, having been put up to it by Barjesus, stood outside of the city, and did not allow us to go into the city; but we spent the evening under a tree near the city, and rested there.

11 And on the following day, we came to a certain village where Aristoclianus dwelt. He being a leper, had been cleansed in Antioch, whom also Paul and Barnabas sealed to be a bishop, and sent to his village in Cyprus, because there were many Greeks there. And we were entertained in the cave by him in the mountain, and there we remained one day. And thence we came to Amathus and there was a great multitude of Greeks in the temple in the mountain, low women and men pouring libations. There also Barjesus, getting the start of us, gained over the nation of the Jews, and did not allow us to enter into the city; but a certain widow woman, eighty years old, being outside of the city, and she also not worshipping the idols, coming forward to us, took us into her house one hour. And when we came out we shook the dust off our feet over against that temple where the libation of the abominable took place.

12 And having gone out thence, we came through desert places, and Timon also accompanied us. And having come to Citium, and there being a great uproar there also in their hippodrome, having learned this, we came forth out of the city, having all shaken the dust off our feet; for no one received us, except that we rested one hour in the gate near the aqueduct. And having set sail in a ship from Citium, we came to Salamis, and landed in the

so-called islands, where there was a place full of idols; and there there took place high festivals and libations. And having found Heracleides there again, we instructed him to proclaim the Gospel of God, and to set up churches, and ministers in them. And having gone into Salamis, we came to the synagogue near the place called Biblia; and when we had gone into it, Barnabas, having unrolled the Gospel which he had received from Matthew his fellow-labourer, began to teach the Jews.

¹³ And Barjesus, having arrived after two days, after not a few Jews had been instructed, was enraged, and brought together all the multitude of the Jews; and they having laid hold of Barnabas, wished to hand him over to Hypatius, the governor of Salamis. And having bound him to take him away to the governor, and a pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero, having come to Cyprus, the Jews, learning this, took Barnabas by night, and bound him with a rope by the neck; and having dragged him to the hippodrome from the synagogue, and having gone out of the city, standing round him, they burned him with fire, so that even his bones became dust. And straightway that night, having taken his dust, they cast it into a cloth; and having secured it with lead, they intended to throw it into the sea. But I, finding an opportunity in the night, and being able along with Timon and Rhodon to carry it. we came to a certain place, and having found a cave, put it down there, where the nation of the Jebusites formerly dwelt. And having found a secret place in it, we put it away, with the documents which he had received from Matthew. And it was the fourth hour of the night of the second of the week.

¹⁴ And when we were hid in the place, the Jews made no little search after us; and having almost found us, they pursued us as far as the village of the Ledrians; and we, having found there also a cave near the village, took refuge in it, and thus escaped them. And we were hid in the cave three days; and the Jews having gone away, we came forth and left the place by night. And taking with us Ariston and Rhodon, we came to the village of Limnes. And having come to the shore, we found an Egyptian ship; and having embarked in it, we landed at Alexandria. And there I remained, teaching the brethren that came the word of the Lord, enlightening them, and preaching what I had been taught by the apostles of Christ, who also baptized me into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; who also changed my name to Mark in the water of baptism, by which also I hope to bring many to the

glory of God through His grace; because to Him is due honour and everlasting glory. Amen.

¹⁵The journeyings and martyrdom of the holy apostle Barnabas have been fulfilled through God.

Acts of the Holy Apostle Thaddaeus

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The legend of the apostle Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus), who came from Edessa, and of his mission after the ascension.

¹ Acts of the Holy Apostle Thaddæus, One of the Twelve. Lebbaeus, who also is Thaddæus, was of the city of Edessa—and it is the metropolis of Osroene, in the interior of the Armenosyrians—an Hebrew by race, accomplished and most learned in the divine writings. He came to Jerusalem to worship in the days of John the Baptist; and having heard his preaching and seen his angelic life, he was baptized, and his name was called Thaddæus. And having seen the appearing of Christ, and His teaching, and His wonderful works, he followed Him, and became His disciple; and He chose him as one of the twelve, the tenth apostle according to the Evangelists Matthew and Mark. In those times there was a governor of the city of Edessa, Abgarus by name. And there having gone abroad the fame of Christ, of the wonders which He did, and of His teaching, Abgarus having heard of it, was astonished, and desired to see Christ, and could not leave his city and government. And about the days of the Passion and the plots of the Jews, Abgarus, being seized by an incurable disease, sent a letter to Christ by Ananias the courier, to the following effect:—To Jesus called Christ, Abgarus the governor of the country of the Edessenes, an unworthy slave. The multitude of the wonders done by thee has been heard of by me, that thou healest the blind, the lame, and the paralytic, and curest all the demoniacs; and on this account I entreat thy goodness to come even to us, and escape from the plottings of the wicked Jews, which through envy they set in motion against thee. My city is small, but large enough for both. Abgarus enjoined Ananias to take accurate account of Christ, of what appearance He was, and His stature, and His hair, and in a word everything.

² And Ananias, having gone and given the letter, was carefully looking at Christ, but was unable to fix Him in his mind. And He knew as knowing the heart, and asked to wash Himself; and a towel was given Him; and when He had washed Himself, He wiped His face with it. And His image having been imprinted upon the linen, He gave it to Ananias, saying: Give this, and take back this message, to him that sent thee: Peace to thee and thy city! For because of this I am come, to suffer for the world, and to rise again, and to raise up the forefathers. And after I have been taken up into the heavens I shall send thee my disciple Thaddæus, who shall enlighten thee, and guide thee into all the truth, both thee and thy city. And having received Ananias, and fallen down and adored the likeness, Abgarus was cured of his disease before Thaddæus came.

³ And after the passion, and the resurrection, and the ascension, Thaddæus went to Abgarus; and having found him in health, he gave him an account of the incarnation of Christ, and baptized him, with all his house. And having instructed great multitudes, both of Hebrews and Greeks, Syrians and Armenians, he baptized them in the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, having anointed them with the holy perfume; and he communicated to them of the undefiled mysteries of the sacred body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and delivered to them to keep and observe the law of Moses, and to give close heed to the things that had been said by the apostles in Jerusalem. For year by year they came together to the passover, and again he imparted to them the Holy Spirit. And Thaddæus along with Abgarus destroyed idol-temples and built churches; ordained as bishop one of his disciples, and presbyters, and deacons, and gave them the rule of the psalmody and the holy liturgy. And having left them, he went to the city of Amis, great metropolis of the Mesechaldeans and Syrians, that is, of Mesopotamia-Syria, beside the river Tigris. And he having gone into the synagogue of the Jews along with his disciples on the Sabbath-day, after the reading of the law the high priest said to Thaddæus and his disciples: Men, whence are you? and why are you here?

⁴ And Thaddæus said: No doubt you have heard of what has taken place in Jerusalem about Jesus Christ, and we are His disciples, and witnesses of the wonderful things which He did and taught, and how through hatred the chief priests delivered Him to Pilate the procurator of Judæa. And Pilate, having examined Him and found no case, wished to let Him go; but they

cried out, If thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend, because he proclaims himself king. And he being afraid, washed his hands in the sight of the multitude, and said, I am innocent of the blood of this man; see ye to it. And the chief priests answered and said, His blood be upon us and our children. And Pilate gave him up to them. And they took Him, and spit upon Him, with the soldiers, and made a great mock of Him, and crucified Him, and laid Him in the tomb, and secured it well, having also set guards upon Him. And on the third day before dawn He rose, leaving His burial-clothes in the tomb. And He was seen first by His mother and other women, and by Peter and John first of my fellow disciples, and thereafter to us the twelve, who ate and drank with Him after His resurrection for many days. And He sent us in His name to proclaim repentance and remission of sins to all the nations, that those who were baptized, having had the kingdom of the heavens preached to them, would rise up incorruptible at the end of this age; and He gave us power to expel demons, and heal every disease and every malady, and raise the dead.

5 And the multitudes having heard this, brought together their sick and demoniacs. And Thaddæus, having gone forth along with his disciples, laid his hand upon each one of them, and healed them all by calling upon the name of Christ. And the demoniacs were healed before Thaddæus came near them, the spirits going out of them. And for many days the people ran together from different places, and beheld what was done by Thaddæus. And hearing his teaching, many believed, and were baptized, confessing their sins. Having therefore remained with them for five years, he built a church; and having appointed as bishop one of his disciples, and presbyters, and deacons, and prayed for them, he went away, going round the cities of Syria, and teaching, and healing all the sick; whence he brought many cities and countries to Christ through His teaching. Teaching, therefore, and evangelizing along with the disciples, and healing the sick, he went to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia by the sea; and there, having taught and enlightened many, he fell asleep on the twenty-first of the month of August. And the disciples having come together, buried him with great honour; and many sick were healed, and they gave glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

Acts of John the Theologian: his Exile and Departure

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A Greek legend of the exile and the departure of John the apostle and evangelist.

¹ Acts of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian. About His Exile and Departure. When Agrippa, whom, on account of his plotting against Peace, they stoned and put to death, was king of the Jews, Vespasian Cæsar, coming with a great army, invested Jerusalem; and some prisoners of war he took and slew, others he destroyed by famine in the siege, and most he banished, and at length scattered up and down. And having destroyed the temple, and put the holy vessels on board a ship, he sent them to Rome, to make for himself a temple of peace, and adorned it with the spoils of war. And when Vespasian was dead, his son Domitian, having got possession of the kingdom, along with his other wrongful acts, set himself also to make a persecution against the righteous men. For, having learned that the city was filled with Jews, remembering the orders given by his father about them, he purposed casting them all out of the city of the Romans. And some of the Jews took courage, and gave Domitian a book, in which was written as follows:—

² O Domitian, Cæsar and king of all the world, as many of us as are Jews entreat thee, as suppliants we beseech of thy power not to banish us from thy divine and benignant countenance; for we are obedient to thee, and the customs, and laws, and practices, and policy, doing wrong in nothing, but being of the same mind with the Romans. But there is a new and strange nation, neither agreeing with other nations nor consenting to the religious observances of the Jews, uncircumcised, inhuman, lawless, subverting whole houses, proclaiming a man as God, all assembling together under a strange

name, that of Christian. These men reject God, paying no heed to the law given by Him, and proclaim to be the Son of God a man born of ourselves, Jesus by name, whose parents and brothers and all his family have been connected with the Hebrews; whom on account of his great blasphemy and his wicked fooleries we gave up to the cross. And they add another blasphemous lie to their first one: him that was nailed up and buried, they glorify as having risen from the dead; and, more than this, they falsely assert that he has been taken up by clouds into the heavens.

3 At all this the king, being affected with rage, ordered the senate to publish a decree that they should put to death all who confessed themselves to be Christians. Those, then, who were found in the time of his rage, and who reaped the fruit of patience, and were crowned in the triumphant contest against the works of the devil, received the repose of incorruption. And the fame of the teaching of John was spread abroad in Rome; and it came to the ears of Domitian that there was a certain Hebrew in Ephesus, John by name, who spread a report about the seat of empire of the Romans, saying that it would quickly be rooted out, and that the kingdom of the Romans would be given over to another. And Domitian, troubled by what was said, sent a centurion with soldiers to seize John, and bring him. And having gone to Ephesus, they asked where John lived. And having come up to his gate, they found him standing before the door; and, thinking that he was the porter, they inquired of him where John lived. And he answered and said: I am he. And they, despising his common, and low, and poor appearance, were filled with threats, and said: Tell us the truth. And when he declared again that he was the man they sought, the neighbours moreover bearing witness to it, they said that he was to go with them at once to the king in Rome. And, urging them to take provisions for the journey, he turned and took a few dates, and straightway went forth.

4 And the soldiers, having taken the public conveyances, travelled fast, having seated him in the midst of them. And when they came to the first change, it being the hour of breakfast, they entreated him to be of good courage, and to take bread, and eat with them. And John said: I rejoice in soul indeed, but in the meantime I do not wish to take any food. And they started, and were carried along quickly. And when it was evening they stopped at a certain inn; and as, besides, it was the hour of supper, the centurion and the soldiers being most kindly disposed, entreated John to make use

of what was set before them. But he said that he was very tired, and in want of sleep more than any food. And as he did this each day, all the soldiers were struck with amazement, and were afraid lest John should die, and involve them in danger. But the Holy Spirit showed him to them as more cheerful. And on the seventh day, it being the Lord's day, he said to them: Now it is time for me also to partake of food. And having washed his hands and face, he prayed, and brought out the linen cloth, and took one of the dates, and ate it in the sight of all.

5 And when they had ridden a long time they came to the end of their journey, John thus fasting. And they brought him before the king, and said: Worshipful king, we bring to thee John, a god, not a man; for, from the hour in which we apprehended him, to the present, he has not tasted bread. At this Domitian being amazed, stretched out his mouth on account of the wonder, wishing to salute him with a kiss; but John bent down his head, and kissed his breast. And Domitian said: Why hast thou done this? Didst thou not think me worthy to kiss thee? And John said to him: It is right to adore the hand of God first of all, and in this way to kiss the mouth of the king; for it is written in the holy books, The heart of a king is in the hand of God.

6 And the king said to him: Art thou John, who said that my kingdom would speedily be uprooted, and that another king, Jesus, was going to reign instead of me? And John answered and said to him: Thou also shalt reign for many years given thee by God, and after thee very many others; and when the times of the things upon earth have been fulfilled, out of heaven shall come a King, eternal, true, Judge of living and dead, to whom every nation and tribe shall confess, through whom every earthly power and dominion shall be brought to nothing, and every mouth speaking great things shall be shut. This is the mighty Lord and King of everything that hath breath and flesh, the Word and Son of the living One, who is Jesus Christ. 7 At this Domitian said to him: What is the proof of these things? I am not persuaded by words only; words are a sight of the unseen. What canst thou show in earth or heaven by the power of him who is destined to reign, as thou sayest? For he will do it, if he is the Son of God. And immediately John asked for a deadly poison. And the king having ordered poison to be given to him, they brought it on the instant. John therefore, having taken it, put it into a large cup, and filled it with water, and mixed it, and cried out with a loud voice, and said: In Thy name, Jesus Christ, Son of God, I drink the cup which Thou

wilt sweeten; and the poison in it do Thou mingle with Thy Holy Spirit, and make it become a draught of life and salvation, for the healing of soul and body, for digestion and harmless assimilation, for faith not to be repented of, for an undeniable testimony of death as the cup of thanksgiving. And when he had drunk the cup, those standing beside Domitian expected that he was going to fall to the ground in convulsions. And when John stood, cheerful, and talked with them safe, Domitian was enraged against those who had given the poison, as having spared John. But they swore by the fortune and health of the king, and said that there could not be a stronger poison than this.

⁸ And John, understanding what they were whispering to one another, said to the king: Do not take it ill, O king, but let a trial be made, and thou shalt learn the power of the poison. Make some condemned criminal be brought from the prison. And when he had come, John put water into the cup, and swirled it round, and gave it with all the dregs to the condemned criminal. And he, having taken it and drunk, immediately fell down and died. ⁹ And when all wondered at the signs that had been done, and when Domitian had retired and gone to his palace, John said to him: O Domitian, king of the Romans, didst thou contrive this, that, thou being present and bearing witness, I might to-day become a murderer? What is to be done about the dead body which is lying? And he ordered it to be taken and thrown away. But John, going up to the dead body, said: O God, Maker of the heavens, Lord and Master of angels, of glories, of powers, in the name of Jesus Christ, Thine only begotten Son, give to this man who has died for this occasion a renewal of life, and restore him his soul, that Domitian may learn that the Word is much more powerful than poison, and is the ruler of life. And having taken him by the hand, he raised him up alive.

¹⁰ And when all were glorifying God, and wondering at the faith of John, Domitian said to him: I have put forth a decree of the senate, that all such persons should be summarily dealt with, without trial; but since I find from thee that they are innocent, and that their religion is rather beneficial, I banish thee to an island, that I may not seem myself to do away with my own decrees. He asked then that the condemned criminal should be let go; and when he was let go, John said: Depart, give thanks to God, who has this day delivered thee from prison and from death. And while they were standing, a certain home-born slave of Domitian's, of those in the bed-chamber,

was suddenly seized by the unclean demon, and lay dead; and word was brought to the king. And the king was moved, and entreated John to help her. And John said: It is not in man to do this; but since thou knowest how to reign, but dost not know from whom thou hast received it, learn who has the power over both thee and thy kingdom. And he prayed thus: O Lord, the God of every kingdom, and master of every creature, give to this maiden the breath of life. And having prayed, he raised her up. And Domitian, astonished at all the wonders, sent him away to an island, appointing for him a set time.

11 And straightway John sailed to Patmos, where also he was deemed worthy to see the revelation of the end. And when Domitian was dead, Nerva succeeded to the kingdom, and recalled all who had been banished; and having kept the kingdom for a year, he made Trajan his successor in the kingdom. And when he was king over the Romans, John went to Ephesus, and regulated all the teaching of the church, holding many conferences, and reminding them of what the Lord had said to them, and what duty he had assigned to each. And when he was old and changed, he ordered Polycarp to be bishop over the church. 12 And what like his end was, or his departure from men, who cannot give an account of? For on the following day, which was the Lord's day, and in the presence of the brethren, he began to say to them: Brethren, and fellow-servants, and co-heirs, and copartners of the kingdom of the Lord, know the Lord what miracles He hath shown you through me, what wonders, what cures, what signs, what gracious gifts, teachings, rulings, rests, services, glories, graces, gifts, faiths, communions; how many things you have seen with your eyes, that ear hath not heard. Be strong, therefore, in Him, remembering Him in all your doings, knowing the mystery of the dispensation that has come to men, for the sake of which the Lord has worked. He then, through me, exhorts you: Brethren, I wish to remain without grief, without insult, without treachery, without punishment. For He also knows insult from you, He knows also dishonour, He knows also treachery, He knows also punishment from those that disobey His commandments. Let not therefore our God be grieved, the good, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the pure, the undefiled, the only, the one, the immutable, the sincere, the guileless, the slow to anger, He that is higher and more exalted than every name that we speak or think of—our God, Jesus Christ. Let Him rejoice along with us because we conduct ourselves well;

let Him be glad because we live in purity; let Him rest because we behave reverently; let Him be pleased because we live in fellowship;

¹³ let Him smile because we are sober-minded; let Him be delighted because we love. These things, brethren, I communicate to you, pressing on to the work set before me, already perfected for me by the Lord. For what else have I to say to you? Keep the sureties of your God; keep His presence, that shall not be taken away from you. And if then ye sin no more, He will forgive you what ye have done in ignorance; but if, after ye have known Him, and He has had compassion upon you, you return to the like courses, even your former offences will be laid to your charge, and ye shall have no portion or compassion before His face. ¹⁴ And when he had said this to them, he thus prayed: Jesus, who didst wreath this crown by Thy twining, who hast inserted these many flowers into the everlasting flower of Thy countenance, who hast sown these words among them, be Thou Thyself the protector and healer of Thy people. Thou alone art benignant and not haughty, alone merciful and kind, alone a Saviour, and just; Thou who always seest what belongs to all, and art in all, and everywhere present, God Lord Jesus Christ; who with Thy gifts and Thy compassion coverest those that hope in Thee; who knowest intimately those that everywhere speak against us, and blaspheme Thy holy name, do Thou alone, O Lord, help Thy servants with Thy watchful care. So be it, Lord. And having asked bread, he gave thanks thus, saying: What praise, or what sort of offering, or what thanksgiving, shall we, breaking the bread, invoke, but Thee only? We glorify the name by which Thou hast been called by the Father; we glorify the name by which Thou hast been called through the Son; we glorify the resurrection which has been manifested to us through Thee; of Thee we glorify the seed, the word, the grace, the true pearl, the treasure, the plough, the net, the majesty, the diadem, Him called Son of man for our sakes, the truth, the rest, the knowledge, the freedom, the place of refuge in Thee. For Thou alone art Lord, the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the seat of the ages; Thou who hast been called all these for our sakes, that now we, calling upon Thee through these, may recognise Thine illimitable majesty, presented to us by Thy presence, that can be seen only by the pure, seen in Thine only Son.

¹⁵ And having broken the bread, he gave it to us, praying for each of the brethren, that he might be worthy of the Eucharist of the Lord. He also therefore, having likewise tasted it, said: To me also let there be a portion

with you, and peace, O beloved. And having thus spoken, and confirmed the brethren, he said to Eutyches, also named Verus: Behold, I appoint thee a minister of the Church of Christ, and I entrust to thee the flock of Christ. Be mindful, therefore, of the commandments of the Lord; and if thou shouldst fall into trials or dangers, be not afraid: for thou shalt fall under many troubles, and thou shalt be shown to be an eminent witness of the Lord. Thus, then, Verus, attend to the flock as a servant of God, until the time appointed for thy testimony. And when John had spoken this, and more than this, having entrusted to him the flock of Christ, he says to him: Take some brethren, with baskets and vessels, and follow me. And Eutyches, without considering, did what he was bid. And the blessed John having gone forth from the house, went outside of the gates, having told the multitude to stand off from him. And having come to the tomb of one of our brethren, he told them to dig. And they dug. And he says: Let the trench be deeper. And as they dug, he conversed with those who had come out of the house with him, building them up, and furnishing them thoroughly into the majesty of the Lord. And when the young men had finished the trench, as he had wished, while we knew nothing, he takes off the clothes he had on, and throws them, as if they were some bedding, into the depth of the trench; and, standing in only his drawers, stretched forth his hands, and prayed.

16 O God, who hast chosen us for the mission of the Gentiles, who hast sent us out into the world, who hast declared Thyself through the apostles; who hast never rested, but always savest from the foundation of the world; who hast made Thyself known through all nature; who hast made our wild and savage nature quiet and peaceable; who hast given Thyself to it when thirsting after knowledge; who hast put to death its adversary, when it took refuge in Thee; who hast given it Thy hand, and raised it from the things done in Hades; who hast shown it its own enemy; who hast in purity turned its thoughts upon Thee, O Christ Jesus, Lord of things in heaven, and law of things on earth, the course of things aerial, and guardian of things etherial, the fear of those under the earth, and grace of Thine own people, receive also the soul of Thy John, which has been certainly deemed worthy by Thee, Thou who hast preserved me also till the present hour pure to Thyself, and free from intercourse with woman; who, when I wished in my youth to marry, didst appear to me, and say, I am in need of thee, John; who didst strengthen for me beforehand my bodily weakness; who, when a third time I

wished to marry, didst say to me at the third hour, in the sea, John, if thou wert not mine, I would let thee marry;

17 who hast opened up the sight of my mind, and hast favoured my bodily eyes; who, when I was looking about me, didst call even the gazing upon a woman hateful; who didst deliver me from temporary show, and preserve me for that which endureth for ever; who didst separate me from the filthy madness of the flesh; who didst stop up the secret disease of the soul, and cut out its open actions; who didst afflict and banish him who rebelled in me; who didst establish my love to Thee spotless and unimpaired; who didst give me undoubting faith in Thee; who hast drawn out for me pure thoughts towards Thee; who hast given me the due reward of my works; who hast set it in my soul to have no other possession than Thee alone: for what is more precious than Thou? Now, O Lord, when I have accomplished Thy stewardship with which I was entrusted, make me worthy of Thy repose, having wrought that which is perfect in Thee, which is ineffable salvation.

18 And as I go to Thee, let the fire withdraw, let darkness be overcome, let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished, let the angels follow, let the demons be afraid, let the princes be broken in pieces, let the powers of darkness fall, let the places on the right hand stand firm, let those on the left abide not, let the devil be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn, let his madness be tamed, let his wrath be broken, let his children be trodden under foot, and let all his root be uprooted; and grant to me to accomplish the journey to Thee, not insulted, not despitefully treated, and to receive what Thou hast promised to those that live in purity, and that have loved a holy life. 19 And gazing towards heaven, he glorified God; and having sealed himself altogether, he stood and said to us, Peace and grace be with you, brethren! and sent the brethren away. And when they went on the morrow they did not find him, but his sandals, and a fountain welling up. And after that they remembered what had been said to Peter by the Lord about him: For what does it concern thee if I should wish him to remain until I come? And they glorified God for the miracle that had happened. And having thus believed, they retired praising and blessing the benignant God; because to Him is due glory now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Consummation of Thomas the Apostle

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

The end of Thomas's mission in India: he is thrown into prison by King Misdeus and put to death.

¹ Consummation of Thomas the Apostle. At the command of King Misdeus the blessed Apostle Thomas was cast into prison; and he said: I glorify God, and I shall preach the word to the prisoners, so that all rejoiced at his presence. When, therefore, Juzanes the king's son, and Tertia his mother, and Mygdonia, and Markia, had become believers, but were not yet thought worthy of baptism, they took it exceedingly ill that the blessed one had been shut up. And having come to the prison, and given much money to the jailor, they went in to him. And he, seeing them, was glad, and glorified the Lord, and blessed them. And they entreated and begged the seal in the Lord, a beautiful young man having appeared to them in a dream, and ordered the apostle into the house of Juzanes. And again the beautiful young man coming to them and Thomas, bade them do this on the coming night. And he ran before them, and gave them light on the way, and without noise opened the doors that had been secured, until all the mystery was completed. And having made them communicate in the Eucharist, and having talked much with them, and confirmed them in the faith, and commended them to the Lord, he went forth thence, leaving the women, and again went to be shut up. And they grieved and wept because Misdeus the king was to kill him.

² And Thomas went and found the jailors fighting, and saying: What wrong have we done to that sorcerer, that, availing himself of his magic art, he has opened the doors of the prison, and wishes to set all the prisoners free? But let us go and let the king know about his wife and his son. And when he came they stripped him, and girded him with a girdle; and thus they stood before the king. And Misdeus said to him: Art thou a slave, or a freeman?

And Thomas answered and said to him: I am not a slave, and thou hast no power against me at all. And how, said Mideus, hast thou run away and come to this country? And Thomas said: I came here that I might save many, and that I might by thy hands depart from this body. Mideus says to him: Who is thy master? and what is his name? and of what country, and of whom is he? My Lord, says Thomas, is my Master and thine, being the Lord of heaven and earth. And Mideus said: What is he called? And Thomas said: Thou canst not know His true name at this time; but I tell thee the name that has been given Him for a season—Jesus the Christ. And Mideus said: I have not been in a hurry to destroy thee, but have restrained myself; but thou hast made a display of works, so that thy sorceries have been heard of in all the country. But now this will I do, that thy sorceries may also perish with thee, that our nation may be purified from them. And Thomas said: Dost thou call these things which will follow me sorceries? They shall never be removed from the people here.

³ And while these things were saying, Mideus was considering in what manner he should put him to death; for he was afraid of the multitude standing round, many, even some of the chief men, having believed in him. And he arose, and took Thomas outside of the city; and a few soldiers accompanied him with their arms. And the rest of the multitude thought that the king was wishing to learn something from him; and they stood and observed him closely. And when they had gone forth three stadia, he delivered him to four soldiers, and to one of the chief officers, and ordered them to take him up into the mountain and spear him; but he himself returned to the city. And those present ran to Thomas, eager to rescue him; but he was led away by the soldiers who were with him. For there were two on each side having hold of him, because of sorcery. And the chief officer held him by the hand, and led him with honour. And at the same time the blessed apostle said: O the hidden mysteries of Thee, O Lord! for even to the close of life is fulfilled in us the riches of Thy grace, which does not allow us to be without feeling as to the body. For, behold, four have laid hold of me, and one leads me, since I belong to One, to whom I am going always invisibly. But now I learn that my Lord also, since He was a stranger, to whom I am going, who also is always present with me invisibly, was struck by one; but I am struck by four.

4 And when they came to that place where they were to spear him, Thomas spoke thus to those spearing him: Hear me now, at least, when I am departing from my body; and let not your eyes be darkened in understanding, nor your ears shut up so as not to hear those things in which you have believed the God whom I preach, after being delivered in your souls from rashness; and behave in a manner becoming those who are free, being void of human glory, and live the life towards God. And he said to Juzanes: Son of an earthly king, but servant of Jesus Christ, give what is due to those who are to fulfil the command of Misdus, in order that I may go apart from them and pray. And Juzanes having paid the soldiers, the apostle betook himself to prayer; and it was as follows:— My Lord, and my God, and hope, and leader, and guide in all countries, I follow Thee along with all that serve Thee, and do Thou guide me this day on my way to Thee. Let no one take my soul, which Thou hast given to me. Let not publicans and beggars look upon me, nor let serpents slander me, and let not the children of the dragon hiss at me. Behold, I have fulfilled Thy work, and accomplished what Thou gavest me to do. I have become a slave, that I might receive freedom from Thee; do then give it to me, and make me perfect. And this I say not wavering, but that they may hear who need to hear. I glorify Thee in all, Lord and Master; for to Thee is due glory for ever. Amen.

5 And when he had prayed, he said to the soldiers: Come and finish the work of him that sent you. And the four struck him at once, and killed him. And all the brethren wept, and wrapped him up in beautiful shawls, and many linen cloths, and laid him in the tomb in which of old the kings used to be buried. And Syphor and Juzanes did not go to the city, but spent the whole day there, and waited during the night. And Thomas appeared to them, and said: I am not there; why do you sit watching? for I have gone up, and received the things I hoped for; but rise up and walk, and after no long time you shall be brought beside me. And Misdus and Charisius greatly afflicted Tertia and Mygdonia, but did not persuade them to abandon their opinions. And Thomas appeared, and said to them: Forget not the former things, for the holy and sanctifying Jesus Himself will aid you. And Misdus and Charisius, when they could not persuade them not to be of this opinion, granted them their own will. And all the brethren assembled together, for the blessed one had made Syphorus a presbyter in the mountain, and Juzani-

us a deacon, when he was led away to die. And the Lord helped them, and increased the faith by means of them.

6 And after a long time, it happened that one of the sons of Misdeus was a demoniac; and the demon being stubborn, no one was able to heal him. And Misdeus considered, and said: I shall go and open the tomb, and take a bone of the apostle's body, and touch my son with it, and I know that he will be healed. And he went to do what he had thought of. And the blessed apostle appeared to him, and said: Thou didst not believe in me when alive; how wilt thou believe in me when I am dead? Fear not. Jesus Christ is kindly disposed to thee, through His great clemency. And Misdeus, when he did not find the bones (for one of the brethren had taken them, and carried them into the regions of the West), took some dust from where the bones had lain, and touched his son with it, and said: I believe in Thee, Jesus, now when he has left me who always afflicts men, that they may not look to Thy light which giveth understanding, O Lord, kind to men. And his son being healed in this manner, he met with the rest of the brethren who were under the rule of Syphorus, and entreated the brethren to pray for him, that he might obtain mercy from our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

PART FOUR

Syriac Acts and Latin Summaries

*William Wright's Syriac histories of John, Philip, Matthew,
Thecla and Thomas, and the Latin Apostolic History of Abdi-
as.*

Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (Syriac)

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM WRIGHT

5th–6th century

The histories of John, Philip, Matthew and Andrew, Thecla and Thomas, as the Syriac churches told them, edited and translated by William Wright in 1871. They are late legends and are not part of the New Testament.

THE HISTORY OF JOHN, THE SON OF ZEBEDEE, THE APOSTLE AND
EVANGELIST

¹ The history of John, the son of Zebedee, who lay upon the breast of our Lord Jesus at the supper, and said, "Lord, who betrayeth Thee?" This history was composed by Eusebius of Cæsarea concerning S. John, who found it in a Greek book, and it was translated into Syriac, when he had learned concerning his way of life and his birth and his dwelling in the city of Ephesus, after the ascension of our Lord to Heaven. ² After the ascension of our Lord to Heaven, when the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, and the Paraclete had come to the upper chamber, and all the Apostles were filled with the Spirit of holiness, and were speaking each one of them with a separate tongue — then after (some) days there was the wish to each one of them being full of the Spirit of holiness, that they should go forth to proclaim and preach the truth of the Only-(begotten), the Word God, for the great hearing of the faith, to all nations that are under the heavens. After, then, that Simon Peter had finished his words, they said all of them one to another: " Now that our Lord Jesus has fulfilled all things that are necessary for our feeble race, it is necessary for us too that we should do with diligence all that He commanded us. For He said to us, when He was going up unto Heaven from beside us, as He was blessing us: 'Go forth, teach, and baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; every one that believes and is baptized shall live.' For us too, then, my brethren, it is necessary to toil and labour throughout the whole world, and to go about in the countries, and to preach, and to teach all those who, in the worshipping of idols and with

libations to devils, have kneeled before images, and fallen down (and) worshipped the accursed demons, the children of the left hand; and let us bestow our labour, and let light shine in the ear which the evil one has blinded, and let the father of lying be crushed beneath the feet of us all."

³ When these words had been spoken among the blessed assembly of the Apostleship, they parted from one another in the body, each of them being full of the Spirit of holiness, who proceeded from the Father and came unto them, as the beloved Son had promised them. ⁴ Each of them then went to such country and region as he was charged by the grace (of God). And it happened that when this holy virgin, namely John, the son of Zebedee, went forth, the grace (of God) accompanied him, through the Spirit of holiness, that it might lead him to the country of the Ephesians, where the head and power of idolatry was dominant. And when he had parted and gone forth from Jerusalem, he set his face to go to Ephesus. And on the third day after he had set out to proceed upon the journey, he took a cross of wood, and put it up towards the east, and kneeled, and was praying and saying: " Lord Jesus, now that Thy promise is fulfilled, and we have all received of Thy fullness, grant to the garland of Thy disciples, that wherever, Lord, they make mention of Thy birth from the Virgin, and Thy abiding among men, and Thy passion on the Cross, and Thy death and Thy entering within the grave, and Thy resurrection on the third day, and Thy ascension unto Thy Father to Heaven, the feeble race of mankind may be strengthened, which in its infancy the evil one deceived, and took captive, and led them astray to worship idols, and sacrifice to devils, and bow down to senseless stones. Yea, Lord! hear and answer me. Let the devils and the legions of Satan wail, wherever one of us proclaims Thy Gospel;

⁵ and let the whole assembly of the Apostleship be enriched with the sound of Thy praise thundering in every place. Let the demons tremble at the voices that thunder in the midst of Thy Church; and remember Thy Church, which Thou hast bought with Thy precious blood, which Thy Father hath given that through Her all creation might be atoned for. Thou, Lord, art Light of Light; and because it seemed good unto Thee, in the love of Thy Father, Thou didst walk on earth, and didst humble Thy majesty, that Thou mightest raise us up from the degradation into which the slayer of man had cast us down through his envy. And Thou hast said, and we have heard with our ears of flesh, 'I and My Father are one,' and 'he that hath seen

Me, hath seen the Father;' and in this confidence, Lord, my youth beseeches Thee to hear my prayer. For I too trust that I have received the Spirit of holiness with my companions, and of it, lo, have obtained and am full. And whatsoever I ask of Thy Father in Thy name, He will give to me; and nothing shall be too difficult for one of those who believe in Thee, but whatsoever they ask, they shall receive. Yea, Lord! grant me that I may abide in Thy Gospel, and may prosper in all the truth; because I speak the truth, that Thou art from the beginning, the Word that proceeded from the Father;

6 and Thou didst appear to the world in the body (derived) from Adam, from the Virgin Mary, who was preserved in her virginity; and there was not (a time) when the, Father was without Thee, or Thou without Him; and Thou before us hast laid the foundations of the earth; and Thy mercy made Thee bow, and Thou didst enter by the ear of the Virgin, and didst dwell in her nine months, and didst come forth from her, and wast in the world, in contempt and littleness; and Thou didst choose us from the world, that the world might live through our preaching. Now then, Lord, I will go to that place to which Thy heavenly grace hath made me look; and may they be turned, and become (my) disciples, and be baptized in Thy name and in the name of the Father who sent Thee, and receive Thy Spirit of holiness, which has proceeded from Thy Father, and, lo, dwells in us; and may the graven images of error be destroyed; and do Thou build for Thyself in the city of priests churches for Thy glorification, and, in place of the house of altars for the libations of demons, altars for Thy dwelling-places; and may these, who through our means are to take the road and paths to turn unto Thee, make praise ascend unto Thee at all times. Amen."

7 And when S. John had finished his prayer, our Lord Jesus spake with him. from heaven, and said unto him: " My peace I have given unto thee and have not left thee bereaved. Lo, I am with you unto the end of the world. Be not afraid, son of Zebedee! Go and preach, and take no heed what thou shalt say or what thou shalt speak. But when thou hast converted this city and this country from error, another band too of the disciples, which is labouring in the Gospel, is destined to come and see all that I shall do by thy hands. Go, and tarry not." And when He had done speaking with him, John arose, and was going on the way confidently, rejoicing in the joy of the Spirit of holiness. He was clothed then after the fashion of the raiment of Palestine, and was walking barefooted, and was going along and preaching in the cities and

in the villages concerning our Lord Jesus the Messiah, forty-eight days. Some were saying, "He is a madman;" and others were saying, "No; let him alone; for this (man) has come from a far country, and knows not our mighty gods. But when he has entered in and learned, then he will love them and sacrifice unto them." But many people of Asia heard him gladly, and believed, and thought his preaching true; and he baptized of them in three days about two hundred souls, and made them lay hold on the path of truth.

8 Then S. John went forth and journeyed to come to the city of the priesthood. And his sustenance was, from the ninth to the ninth hour once, when he had finished his prayer, bread and herbs with a mess of boiled lentils, which he bought for himself (as he went) from town to town, eating, and drinking water only. And he kept himself aloof, that he might not associate with the heathens. 9 This great and chosen (man), then—as we have found in the books, which are written on paper, in the archives of Nero, the wicked emperor—S. John, then, came and arrived at the city of Ephesus; and he lifted up his eyes and saw, and, lo, a smoke was going up from the midst of the city of Ephesus, for it was a festival of the heathens, and they were sacrificing to the devils. And he stood still and was astonished, saying: "What is this conflagration, which, lo, veils the sun so that it does not shine upon the buildings of the city?" And with terror taking hold on him, he came and reached the southern gate, and lifted up his eyes and saw; and lo, the image of the idol Artemis was standing over the gate, painted by them with paints, with gold laid upon her lips, and a veil of fine linen hanging over her face, and a lamp burning before her. And when S. John looked and saw her, he contemplated her; and sighed, and wept over the city; and he left (the spot), and departed thence to another gate, and saw there the same thing; and he went round and saw thus at all the gates. And at last he came near to the eastern (gate), and said to an old woman, who was standing and worshipping her — he spoke and said to her in the language of the country: "Woman, I see thee, that thou art a woman advanced in years; what is this image that thou art worshipping?"

10 She then said to him: "Dost thou not know, my son, what thou seest? This is our lady, and her image descended from heaven, and she nourishes all flesh. He then, a youth in his body, but exalted above the whole garland of his brethren, the holy virgin John, broke out into anger with her and said: "Hold thy peace, old woman! for thy mind has become enfeebled by sacrifices

of unclean things. Talk not to me of the daughter of Satan. But she stooped down, and filled her fists with dust and gravel, and scattered it in his eyes; and he left (her) and departed thence. And he went a little (way) off, and knelt down, and was praying and supplicating. And he placed his face between his knees from the sixth hour to the ninth, and was weeping, groaning and saying: "Lord God, strong and mighty, longsuffering and abounding in grace, Thou art He who from the first didst show Thy longsuffering, for a hundred years, on those (who were) called to repentance of the generation of Noah; but they did not repent, until the flood came and swept away that whole generation. And Thou art He who didst send Thy only-(begotten and) dear Son, that the world might have life through Him; and He came and did good deeds like Thee, because He proceeded from Thee.

¹¹ And Thou art He who, when the people of Israel worshipped the calf, didst find out a reason and didst say to Moses, 'Suffer me to destroy this people,' since it did not honour Thee; for Thou didst wish that it should pray to Thee, because Thou takest great pleasure in the life of men. So also Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus the Messiah, when the Jews took Him to slay Him, prayed and said, 'Forgive them, for they know not what they do.' This mercy, then, which is eternally in Thee, is also found in Thy Son, for Ye are one. Turn, Lord! the heart of these erring ones, who, lo, are shouting and crying out before devils. Thou didst come and slay the evil one; let not his head be lifted up in the assembly of this city; let not be heard the sound of the roaring of the falsehood of the devils. Thou didst die once, and didst raise us to life with Thyself. Dash down Satan, for, lo, he has cast down and brought low the image, that was created in Thy likeness, before the legions of his demons. Let the doomed images be brought into contempt, not of this place only, but of every region through which our preaching runs. Yea, Lord! Thou hast taught us that we should walk in the world humbly and lowly. Hear the prayer of Thy servant John, and let me enter this city, bearing the sign of Thy Cross; and direct my path to the right hand;

¹² and where Thou pleasest, there let be found for me a place in which I can earn my living as a hireling, until, Lord, this city follows (Thee) and confesses Thy name." ¹³ And when he had entered by the gate of Ephesus, he looked to the right hand, and saw there a bath, which was built for the washing of the body. And he turned aside thither, and lo, (there was) the man who kept the bath, whose name was Secundus. And S. John spake with

him, and said to him in the language of the country: "To thee I say, O man! art thou perchance willing that a stranger should work with thee?" And Secundus, the keeper of the bath, said to him: "How much dost thou require of me by the day?" But S. John said to him: "Whatever thou art willing to give, give." And he fixed for him a hundred shamūnē by the day, and accepted him (as a servant); and he let him come in to work at his trade with him, and he fetched faggots for those who kindled the bath; and he was with him forty days, receiving his wages day by day.

¹⁴ And Secundus the bath-keeper answered and said to the holy man: "I wish to know what thou dost with thy wages; for, lo, all these days thou hast not bought for thyself either shoe or coat. Tell me, if it be enough; and if not, deposit thy wages in my hands, and I will buy for thee whatsoever thou requirest; for thou art a stranger, and hast no kindred here. But S. John said to Secundus the bath-keeper: "I have a Master, and He has ordered me and the disciples my fellows, that none (of us) should possess gold or silver or brass in a purse, or two coats; and I cannot despise his command, otherwise He would be wroth with me. Secundus says to him: "Who is this master of thine? and what is his name? It is fitting that thou shouldst let me know, lest he come and assail me, and, it he be a hard man, give me up (to the magistrates) and put me to great losses; for it is an odious thing, and abominable in the eye of the law, for a man to accept (one as) a servant without his master's consent. And S. John answered and said to Secundus the bath-keeper: "Fear not, Secundus, thou son of free parents! for my Master will not be angry with thee, because He sent me and directed me to thee. Secundus says: "But why didst thou not tell me until to-day that thou wast a slave and hadst a master? And S.

¹⁵ John said to him: "My Master is in Heaven, and all that He wills, He does, on earth and in the seas and in all the deeps; and at His beck everything was made, which is visible and which is invisible; and He established all created things, and made the lights in the firmament of heaven; and then He made man in His image. And when Satan came with his envy, and counselled Eve, and she hearkened to his words and made Adam sin and he transgressed His command, they went forth from Paradise, and became fugitives, and tilled the ground, and multiplied and increased and filled the earth. And Satan went about and plotted, and filled all mankind with the love of idols and (made them) sacrifice to devils, and bow down to the work of their

hands, and caused them to forget the Creator, and to reverence those who are not gods. But the good Lord had patience with them until (the time of) his lover Noah; and He made him a preacher for Him for a hundred years, whilst he was making for himself the ark, that they might see and repent and be turned away from the wickedness of their deeds. And when they despised our Creator, His wrath went up, and He sent the waters of the flood and swept them all away.

16 And after the waters of the flood were restrained, the world was established through Noah, and the generations came in succession, and the world was populated at the beck of the Creator; and the minds of men were inclined to do evil and wickedness, and to turn from the living God; but the mercy of the Creator of men was made manifest, and He had compassion upon all the degradation of this feeble race of ours, and He sent the prophets to proclaim His truth, but they did not choose to hear them, and some they beat and some they stoned. But in this time, which is the last, the one beloved Son, His only-(begotten), who was to Him from the time that He was, —Him He sent, and He entered by the ear of the woman, and dwelt in her nine months, without quitting Him who sent Him; and the heights and depths were full of Him, and were ruled by Him by the will of His Father. And when the nine months were fulfilled, He came forth from the woman, the Word that became flesh, and her virginity remained immaculate for ever. And He grew up in the body among men, and walked among men as a man, He the Word God, apart from sin. And He grew up to the full age of thirty years, and chose for Himself disciples, and they clave unto Him whilst he sojourned in the desert. And He made wine out of water at Cana at the feast;

17 and bread was wanting, and he satisfied four thousand men, besides women and children, with five loaves of barleymeal, and they ate and left (some) over, and carried and conveyed to their homes as much as they were able. And again, another time, He satisfied thousands in the desert, after He had healed their lame and sick, and opened (the eyes of) the blind, and some of them are abiding until now; and He made the deaf hear, and cleansed the lepers, and raised the daughter of Jairus, the chief of the synagogue, after she was dead, and, lo, she abideth, with her father, in Decapolis, and if thou choosest to go, thou mayest learn (it) from her. And (He delivered from death) the son of the widow of Nain, as they were going to bury him, and

Lazarus, after they had laid him in the grave four days. Many such things mayest thou hear, if thou wilt give me thine ear, and believe, and become His servant, Secundus. And after thirty-two years, after the thirty-third had commenced, the people of the Jews hated Him and detested His good works, as they had rejected His Father and made for themselves a calf at Horeb.

18 And they delivered Him unto Pilate the hēgemon, and scourged Him, and stripped Him of His garments, and mocked Him, and spat in His face, and wove a crown of thorns, and placed it on His head, and crucified Him upon the tree, and gave Him vinegar and gall to drink, and smote Him with a spear in His side and He cried out with a loud voice on the Cross, ('My Father, forgive them'). And when the preaching of the prophets was accomplished, the sun was darkened from the sixth to the ninth hour, and there was darkness over the whole earth on the Friday; and the veil of the temple was rent; and the boulders and rocks, which blocked up the entrances of the tombs around Jerusalem, were split, and the dead came forth and entered into the city, crying out aloud; and they came and worshipped Him as He hung on the tree, and many of them are (still) alive. And they took Him down from the tree, and a man full of the truth, Joseph the councillor, wrapped Him in a swathe of linen, and laid Him in the tomb; and on the third day He rose from the grave, and we saw Him, and He spake with us, and we ate bread with Him and we felt Him, and believed and declared (it) true, that He is the "Word which became flesh and dwelt among us.

19 And He ascended into Heaven, and is seated at the right hand of His Father, and He has given us power to give life and blessings to every one who believes in His name. And He said to us: 'Go forth, and teach, and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; everyone who believes and is baptized, shall live.' And now I beseech thee, Secundus,— for I have proved thee during these days, that thou art not a blasphemer, but art full of good deeds and love of strangers — receive what I have spoken before thee, and count me not a deceiver, but, if thou wilt, come with me to the country of Galilee, and I will show thee (some) of the dead and the blind and the hunch-backed and the palsied and the lepers, whom He cleansed and healed and raised, for they are alive. But if thou dost not choose to come and (yet) believest, thou art greater than I, who have seen Him and have been with Him, for thou wilt believe in Him that He is God who did these things, and He will convert thee and make thee white

and pure from the stench of unclean sacrifices. Yea, my brother! set my mind at ease, and thy dwelling shall be blessed, and thou shalt be recognised before Him in the new world."

²⁰ And Secundus the bath-keeper was sitting (still), and astonished and wondering at what he was hearing from John; and he began to say to him: "Wonderful is what thou hast spoken unto me and verging on marvel; for even though He be not God and did not descend from Heaven, it is fitting that He should be believed in and should be called God, because He came forth from the womb and did not destroy (His mother's) virginity when He came forth; and it is a very deplorable thing, if one does not hold it true that He is God, who raised the dead, and He is the Creator, who made wine out of water; and He has power over our frame, and because of this He opened and healed and cleansed. This one, then, is fitting to be called God, and not yon one, to whom, lo, for sixty years, more or less, I have been paying vows and libations, and she has not opened the eye of my son which was blind. But now, my son John, let this secret be kept which we have spoken, and let it not be revealed until the time that its Lord wishes to reveal it, especially as thou art a stranger, lest it be heard regarding thee that thou dost not worship Artemis, and they burn thee. Now, then, I have assented to, and believed, and hold to be true, all that thou hast said;

²¹ and do thou be persuaded by me, and take upon thee the management of this bath, and let thine eyes be upon the servants, and do thou have control over the income and over all the outlay. But John said to him: "It becometh me not to eat without working; and Secundus said to him: "Thy labour is harder than that of him who works." Then the holy (man) yielded to him, and took upon him to receive the incomings of the bath and to give a reckoning from morning to morning. ²² Secundus, then, was amazed, he and his household, how much the receipts of the bath increased during these days, which were twenty-two days (in number); and he used to get up very early, and go down and speak to the holy (man) and ask him: "How is it possible to make me thy associate?" But John said: "After He has opened thy son's eye, that he may be baptized." And on the twenty-fifth day, (when) the time of an hour of the day (was past), a procurator's son, whose name was Mene-laous, and his father's Tyrannus, came and constrained the holy (man) that the bath should be closed and got ready. But it was not known to the holy (man) that any one was going into the bath with him. And the holy (man)

gave orders, and the bath was got ready; and this Menelaus came to bathe, and took with him into the bath a harlot, and was with her in the bath. And when he came out from his bath, John arose and said to him: "Hither come not thou again, because thou hast done a great disgrace to this person of thine, which is created in the image of God, in that thou hast gone in with a harlot, and not been ashamed that thou hast seen her shame and she thine." And Menelaus was enraged with the holy (man) and struck him. And S. John said to him: "If thou comest hither, thou shalt not depart hence."

²³ And after two days, he sent two of his servants to get ready the bath. And when the bath was ready, he came to bathe, and brought the former harlot along with him. But S. John, by the agency of God our Lord, had gone out to look after those who kindled (the bath). And when he came, he asked: "Why is the door of the bath closed? They say unto him: "Menelaus, the procurator's son, is within. But when the holy (man) heard that he was within, and that the harlot was with him, he was grieved, and sighed, and was troubled. And he waited till both of them came out; and he did not look at them till they had put on their clothes. And when they were dressed after their bath, he turned and looked at them, and said to the youth: "To thee I say, may Jesus rebuke thee, whom the Jews crucified on the tree, and He died, and rose after three days, and He is God, and He ascended to Heaven, and is at the right hand of His Father; but thou shalt drop down and die on the spot. And straightway the Angel of the Lord smote him, and he died on the spot. And he was lying (there), and S. John was sitting beside him; and straightway the harlot went forth with a great outcry, with her hands placed on her head.

²⁴ And when they heard it around the bath, they came and saw with fear that the young man was dead and lying (there), and the holy (man) sitting beside him. And they looked on his face and perceived that it was Menelaus, the procurator's son; and lamentation and wailing ran through that whole street. And it was dinner-time, and his father was seated (at table), and expecting him to come up and dine with him. And they came in and said to him: "Lo, thy only son is dead and lying in the bath." ²⁵ And Tyrannus arose in haste, and cast ashes on his head, and rent his garments; and he made great haste coming to the bath to his son, and a great multitude with him. And he came, and went in, and saw his son dead and lying (there), and S. John sitting beside him; and they seized hold on John, and laid fetters on his

hands and feet, and thick collars on his neck. But the father of the youth was crying with a great outcry; and he commanded, and they stripped John, that they might see what he had on. And when they had taken off his coat and the worn-out shirt which he had on, they found on him a cross, which was suspended to his neck, and it was of wood. And the procurator, the father of the young man, commanded that they should take it away; and when they stretched out their hands to take it away, it had four tongues of fire, and they burned the hands of those who came near it. And the whole multitude cried out: "This man is a wizard; let this man be kept to-day in custody and be examined, (to see) how many companions he has. And the procurator commanded that S. John should be dragged away till he entered the prison house, whilst the youth his son was being buried. But S. John cried out, "The youth is not dead;

26 and his father gave orders, and they lifted him up and turned him over, and he placed his mouth against his, and he was like a stone without sensation. But the holy (man) said, "He is not dead," solely that they might see that he was already dead. And the holy (man) said unto them: "If he be dead, I will bring him to life. And whilst they were dragging away S. John that he might go to prison, Secundus the bath-keeper was standing by and weeping passionately with sobs among the crowd. And S. John was begging of Tyrannus that they might call Secundus the bath-keeper; and the procurator ordered, and they laid hold of Secundus and brought him in to him. And Secundus was weeping for John's sake, for he imagined that John would be put to death; but the father of the youth thought that he was weeping for the youth. And the holy (man), being bound, answered and said to Secundus: "Fear not, Secundus! and be not grieved; to-day it is the will of the Spirit of holiness to make manifest the truth."

27 And the crowd was great and agitated. And S. John begged the procurator to order the crowd to be silent; and he ordered and the crowd was quiet. And S. John stood up, and cried with a loud voice and said: "To thee I say, (thou) youth Menelaus, in the name of Jesus the Messiah, (who is) God, whom the Jews crucified and killed in Jerusalem, and He died and was buried and rose after three days, and, lo, is above in Heaven at the right hand of His Father,—rise. And straightway he sprang up and arose; and the whole populace of the city marvelled. And the youth fell on his face before S. John, and saw the collars that were laid on his neck and the cord that bound his hands

and feet; and the youth loosened them, and kissed S. John's toes. And the youth drew nigh, and stood on a place that was elevated, and beckoned with his hand, and began to tell from the commencement, how he had come to the bath, and all that had happened; and he told with a loud voice before the people, how he had committed fornication with the harlot, and how the holy (man) had bidden him not to come (again). And they began to cry out, "What did he do to thee that thou didst die? He says to them:

28 "Thus he said to me: 'May the Lord Jesus rebuke thee, whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem, and He died and was buried, and rose after three days, and ascended to Heaven, and sat down at the right hand of His Father;' and straightway the angel smote me and I fell down. And he took out and carried away my soul, and brought me nigh, and I saw the glory (of God) and a dreadful sight, which one of mankind is not able to narrate, such as I have seen; yet a little out of much, if this (man) who is standing before you bids me, will I tell." 29 And straightway the father of the youth fell upon his face before John, and said to him: "I beg of thee, sir, permit the youth to speak, and be not angry with him." And the holy (man) made a sign to the youth to speak; and the youth answered and said:

30 "I saw the chariot of the cherubim, (and) seraphim without number, who had wings, and they were covering their faces that they might not look upon the Creator, and were crying, 'Holy, holy, holy (is) the Lord Almighty, of whose praises Heaven and earth are full.' And I saw twelve men in one band, and in another seventy-two, and I counted them; and they were standing with their heads uplifted to heaven. And a right hand was stretched out from between the cherubim, like fire, and it commanded them in a low and gentle voice: 'Go forth, teach, and baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; every one who believes and is baptized, shall live.' And I trembled; and being afraid, I drew near to the great troop of seventy-two, and was also entreating them to tell me, who this is; and they answered and said to me: 'This is the Son of God, whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem; all this, my son, whatever thou seest, is dependent upon and subsists by His nod, and He upholds all the arrangements of the upper world, and by His power subsist all the creatures of the lower worlds; because He is the Power and the Wisdom of the Father, and He sent Him to deliver all those who cleave unto and take refuge with Him; and He draws and brings unto His Father all who believe in Him;

³¹and He it is who acknowledged, whilst walking on the earth, 'I am the living bread, who am come down from Heaven, and every one who eats of my body, shall live.' And when I had observed His true aspect, I looked upon the band of twelve, and saw this man there, who, lo, is standing before you, clad in glorious white robes, and standing at the head of the band of twelve, beside an old man; and the eyes of those eleven were looking upon him lovingly, as if he were offering some petition on their behalf, but his eyes were raised aloft, and he was weeping. And the old man drew near and asked him, 'My son, why weepest thou and prayest thus?' And I had learned, when I asked the band of seventy, that Simon was the name of the old man. And S. John complied with the wish of Simon and said to him: 'Because of the error of the city of Ephesus I am weeping, for lo, it is bound down, and its children, and worships the devils who dwell in the doomed images.' And I saw a gentle voice, which made a sign to him with the finger, (saying:) 'Go; all that thou hast prayed before me, shall happen.' And whilst trembling, I noticed him, that it was this man against whom I rose up to kill him in the bath, because he hindered me from fornication.

³²And whilst I was marvelling at these many evidences, my soul heard his voice and came and lived; and lo, I stand before you. And now therefore, lo, I beseech him to let me draw nigh to the living sign, and to make me his disciple. And ye who have seen this wonder, do ye turn from error, and despise the images, and let us become disciples of His, and let us save our souls alive, and not destroy them with our own hands; and when He has consecrated us, then let us confess and worship Him, believing in the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, now, and at all times, and for ever and ever, Amen."

³³And a great multitude had come and was assembled there; and they went forth unto them outside of the bath, the father of the youth holding (the hand of) the holy (man). And the youth was coming, with his hands lifted up to Heaven. And they came and arrived at the great square in the midst of the city, and the whole city was assembled; and it was the ninth hour. And the whole city was agitated, men and women and children. And the priests, when they saw the sign that had taken place, and the youth standing up and become a preacher of the Gospel, said: "This is one of the race of our lady Artemis." But S. John was crying out: "I am a man subject to passions, and the Lord Jesus hath chosen me, the Son of God, who came down from Heaven, and entered by the ear of the Virgin, and dwelt in her womb nine months,

and came forth from her without destroying her virginity, and lived in the world as a man, apart from sin, whilst He was God like His Father; and the Jews took Him, and crucified Him upon the tree in Jerusalem; and He died, and was buried, and rose after three days, and ascended to Heaven, and is seated at the right hand of His Father."

³⁴ And when the procurator, the father of the youth, heard these things, he fell down on his face before the feet of the holy (man), and all the chief men of the city, from the ninth to the eleventh hour. And they were astonished, men and women, at these things; and the half of the crowd were crying out: "Verily, great is this mystery, and Jesus ought to be worshipped, for He is God. Others were saying, "Artemis ought to be worshipped. These, then, who were held worthy to believe, with their daughters and sons, were about 36,706 souls, on that afternoon, who were numbered in the evening and their number was given to the procurator. And when there was a great crush and tumult, and the day was on the wane, John encouraged the procurator to stand up, saying to him: "Arise, thou pleasant tree, that yields early fruit, whose smell is sweet and its odour diffused by the Gospel. Arise, my brother! and bid thy nobles arise with thee. Arise, and thy head shall be lifted up, and not sink again. Do not worship me, who am a slave, made and created; but worship and praise Him, who formed us and created us. And all the nobles lifted up their heads, kneeling upon their knees, and looked on the holy (man), and saw his face like light; and they bowed down their faces to the ground, being afraid, for they thought that at that time their lives would perish from among the sons of men.

³⁵ And being afraid, they lifted up their voices, crying out: "Verily, great is this God, who is newly preached in this our city; and these are (things) made and are not gods; and we are the servants of This (One), and will not again be perverted so as to bow down our head before idols which have not profited us and will not profit us We beg of thee, thou who art His servant, bring us near before Him, and let us know His ways, and make us look on His paths, for the good servant, who loves his master, knows to work his pleasure, and his master too hears him." ³⁶ And the holy (man), when he heard these things, was rejoicing in the Spirit of holiness. And he stretched out his hands to them, and made them rise, and said to them: "Peace be unto you, little flock, for your Father has willed to give unto you the kingdom which is reserved for His friends. Arise, new congregation, which has assembled to-day to hear

the Gospel of Jesus, the Son of God. I beg of you, my brethren, salute one another with a holy kiss, because the time is short, and the sun has finished his course, which he was commanded by This (One), whom I preach unto you, to run; and especially too, because there are here persons, who have not yet tasted bread or water." But they were crying with a loud voice: "Sweeter far are Thy words to the roof of my palate than honey to the mouth; forverily we are hungry and thirsty, and we receive nourishment from thy pleasant word." But S. John besought the procurator that the crowd should be dismissed, praying in his heart with sighs and saying: "Lord Jesus, grant concord to our congregation; and let Satan be driven out, that he may not cast discord or sedition into this city, and people die (thereby)."

³⁷ And the procurator arose and beckoned with his hand that they should be quiet. And when they were still, he began to speak with them, and answered and said: "My brethren and children and friends, if it be pleasing unto you, let us depart at this time from one another; and to-morrow morning I wish that you should assemble at the theatre; and whatever is the will of the Spirit, which we have heard from the mouth of this man, we will do. For this is fitting for us, that all night each man in his house should offer up prayer and entreaty before our Lord, who is in Heaven and brings us nigh unto His Father, on account of our sins, because we have let our feet go astray from His way. If He willeth to mingle us with the bands of those that praise Him, (it is well); and if not, he will (yet) deliver us from the fire that is laid up for the worshippers of idols."

³⁸ And when the clerk had finished this proclamation, the whole multitude cried out with a loud voice: "Peace be unto thee, thou wise ruler! peace be unto thee, thou wise chief! Peace be unto thee, thou goat, that hast entered (into the fold) and become a lamb! Thou hast shown to-day thy love to us; to-day thou hast become a true chief unto us, and hast given us counsel that we might live and not die." And when they had finished their outcry, after the nobles had quieted them, the multitude dispersed, and began to go away rejoicing. And the priests of Artemis assembled, and blew horns and lighted lamps; and the gates of the temple were opened; and all the people of Ephesus ran to the temple, as was their custom. And the procurator was enraged, and wished, he and the nobles, to send and massacre the priests, because they had made an assembly without their order. But S. John threw himself upon his face and besought them, (saying): "Whosoever keeps my

word and loves our Lord Jesus, let him not go and injure them there, because they too, through your prayers, shall draw nigh unto the mystery of life, and become brethren of ours." And then they obeyed the holy (man).

³⁹ And some of the nobles, whose names were Antoninus, Marcellus, Epiphanius, and Fortunatus, gave orders, and their slaves ran and brought a hundred and fifty lamps of papyrus to give light, and said by way of petition to the procurator: "It beseems us not to go away this whole night, lest the city be set on fire by the hands of the worshippers of idols, and they be saying, 'Because they forsook the fear of Artemis, fire has fallen in their houses,' and they blame Artemis, whilst she (really) can do nothing; and especially, that there may be no murders." ⁴⁰ And when the multitude heard these things, they took S. John upon their shoulders, and ran; and from their joy they did not know what they were crying out. And the foremost ran (and) opened the doors of the theatre; and the procurator and his nobles went in with great pomp. And they ran to spread (carpets) and arrange (a seat) for him, according to custom. And the procurator said: "It is not fitting for me any longer to sit upon the throne; take (it) away from here. And the whole multitude came into the theatre and there was a great tumult. And the sun was set about two hours. And some of the councillors of the procurator besought of him that a thousand men might go out, and perambulate the city, and keep watch till dawn, that no harm might happen, since S. John had begged that no one should be killed;" and if they catch any man, let them say to him: "There are two watches in the city, one made by Satan in the temple of Artemis, and one made by our Lord Jesus in the theatre; to whichever thou choosest to go, go." And when the multitude heard these things, they were glad, and stretched out their hands to Heaven, saying: "Glory to Thee, Creator of Heaven and earth, and of night and day. And the procurator commanded, beckoning to them with his hand, that they should be quiet, and said to them:

⁴¹ "Let not our assembly become uproarious and tumultuous, but let us be still, and hear the word of life, and see by what we live. And he commanded, and they brought S. John to the highest row (of seats), and the nobles sat beneath his feet. And the procurator was standing, and did not wish to sit down, saying: "I beg of you that I may stand, that, if there be a man who is weak in his body, I may go over and awaken him that he slumber not. And he could hardly be persuaded to sit down. And when he had sat down, there

was a great silence. ⁴² And when they were quiet, S. John sprang up, and stood, and beckoned to them with his hand to keep silence; and brought out the cross that was on neck, and looked upon it, and laid it on his eyes, and kissed it. And after he had wept, he stretched out hi right hand, and signed with it the whole assembly, and placed it on the highest row (of seats), which was the most eastern of all, and had lamps placed before it And they cried with a loud voice and said: "Thou servant of Jesus, declare unto us, what this is that thou hast done unto us." And the holy (man) beckoned unto them, and they were silent; and he began to speak and; said: "Beloved children, whom the Gospel hath won, this is the Cross of the Son of God, who was eternally with His Father, and He made these heavens and these stars that are arrayed in them, and on Him depend all His creatures. And I have made this Cross a bulwark for you, that Satan may not come, and assemble his demons, and make sleep enter into you or heedlessness of mind." And they cried out: "To us this night is day, for now life is come nigh unto us." And they quieted one another. And when they were quiet, all the people ran; and when they had run, they turned their backs to the west, and fell down on their faces before the cross to the east, and were weeping and saying: " We worship Thee, Son of God, who wast suspended on the tree." And the procurator was lying prostrate before the cross and he went (and) stood in front, and said: " We worship Thee, Father and Son and Spirit of Holiness, for ever, Amen." And they all answered, "Amen."

⁴³ And they were saying to John: "By our Lord Jesus (we conjure thee), inform us how the Son of God came, and let us know, if we are drawing nigh unto Him, and if He will forgive us all the sacrifices and libations with which we have polluted ourselves. And the holy (man) stood up on the highest row (of seats), and began to speak with them, being full of the Spirit of holiness, and he made known unto them all the ordering of creation, and that the Son of God was with the Father from the beginning, and was not parted nor far away from Him, and that without Him nothing came into being (of) all that is in heaven and in earth, (of) all things visible and invisible. And being full of the Spirit of holiness, he was narrating before them from the Torah and the Prophets, and how God had compassion upon the body of the human race, which was taken in sin, and sent His only Son and He came, and entered by the ear of the Virgin Mary, and dwelt in her womb nine months, and from her was clothed with the body, whilst the height and depth were

full of Him, and there was no place in which He was not; and whilst forming children in the wombs (of their mothers), He was with His Father;

⁴⁴and when the nine months were fulfilled, He came forth from the womb of the woman, whilst she remained a Virgin, and her virginity was not destroyed but remains for ever; and He grew tip as a man, He the Great One, who became small because He willed (it so); and when thirty years were fulfilled, He came to the Jordan for baptism, and was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, who was His servant; and when this "Jesus was baptized and multitudes surrounded Him, the Heavens were rent, and His Father cried out over Him, and pointed Him out with the finger, (saying:) ' This is my beloved Son, in whom I take pleasure; hear ye Him.' And straightway He came up out of the water, and multitudes (were) around Him; and He, the Hidden One, who came into the world, began to perform those miracles, which He used to do secretly, so as to do them openly; for He was invited to a wedding-feast, and the wine ran short, and the bridegroom had none; and he commanded the groomsmen and the attendants to draw water and pour it into large jars, which were there. And when the attendants had filled out the water, He made a sign and looked upon the water, and it was blessed and transformed and became pleasant and sweet wine. And they all drank and were pleased; and I drank of it.

⁴⁵And when He was teaching in the desert, and the day inclined to its close, after the sick had been healed, and the lepers cleansed, and the lamed walked, and (the eyes of) the blind were opened, those who had been healed were hungry; and the time was short, and there was no bread but three cakes of barleymeal. And He commanded the multitude to sit down; and He gave orders, and they brought to Him these cakes; and He looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake, and gave to them, and they ate, and left (some) over, and were satisfied. And those who ate and were satisfied, and carried (some) away, and went to their homes, were four thousand (men), besides women and children. And He sent us away, that we might go into a ship and sail on the sea, and He stayed behind on the dry land. And when the sun had set and it was dark, the sea arose against us, and we were tossed about all night. And in the fourth watch of the night, this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, came unto us walking on the sea, and we were afraid; and when one of the disciples, my companions, saw (this), he said to Him: 'Lord, if it be Thou, command me to come unto Thee upon the water.' And Jesus said unto him,

'Come.' And he walked and came unto Him. And our Lord Jesus came and entered into the ship, and there was a great calm.

⁴⁶ And these multitudes were astonished and said: 'Who is this, pray, that He commands the winds and the sea and they obey Him?' And when Jesus came to the land of the Gadarenes, they brought unto Him all those who were grievously afflicted with various diseases, and madmen, and paralytics, and lunatics, and the lame; and He healed them all. And now, my brethren, there cannot be numbered or counted the cures and the miracles which this Jesus did, who is the Son of God. For just as He was seen bodily in this world He was doing these works also when He was concealed in His Father eternally. He appeared in the flesh from the Virgin, and wrought these signs openly that by them He might convict Satan, the father of falsehood and condemn him, and show the whole race of mankind, that every one who is drawn and comes unto Him He brings him near unto the Father who sent Him, and He does works like these. For He and His Father are one; and because the Father loved the world, He gave Him to the Cross, and He died for us and gave us life, and we live with Him, and every one who believes in Him, abides in Him.

⁴⁷ And as to what ye have asked of me and said unto me, 'If our iniquity will be forgiven us, and our sacrifices and our libations, and our impurity and our uncleanness, if we draw nigh unto Him,'— lo, I say unto you, if ye believe in Jesus, and resolve in your minds that ye will not again be mixed up with libations and the impurity of idols, and no man of you change (his mind), and ye do not worship the work of men's hands, but believe in the Father and the Son and in the Spirit of holiness, I will do what He said unto us and commanded us, when He was ascending to Heaven to His Father; and I will cry unto Him, He will blot out your sins, and forgive your faults, and make white your stains; and I will anoint and soften with oil your knees, which you have bent, and the evil one, our enemy, has lacerated them, making them bend before his idols, which have been made by him a dwelling place for his devils; and I will sign for you with His Cross, which is the sign of life, the head which He has bowed down to the ground, and (which) is glad that it is bowed down, because it is created in the likeness of Him who created it;

⁴⁸ and I will place a seal upon your foreheads, that when he sees that ye are the asylum of this Lord, he may flee and say: 'These were my kids, and

were joined unto me that they might become big he-goats, and might butt with their horns all armies; but now the Son of the Father, who bowed Himself down and became flesh from the Virgin, has taken them and made white their colour, which was (the colour of) the darkness in which I am shut up; and He has made them new lambs, and lo, they dwell with Him.' And this mouth of yours, which was fed fat at the table of bitter herbs,— and lo, the deceiver is proud, because he thinks that he has made you food for the serpent, I will open it, and place in it the living bread, which is the body of God, and gives life to every one who believes in Him; and I will make you swallow the blood of the Son of God, which was rent on Golgotha with the spear, of this Jesus, whom, lo, I preach unto you, who, even when ye are dead, is buried with you, and His body and His blood remain in your flesh, and He will raise you up and ye shall arise.

⁴⁹ Through this body ye shall come without corruption, and not to the fire or the torment, and ye shall not see the worm that dies not, because ye have believed in the name of the Only (-begotten), that He is the Son of God, and in truth He is the Life-giver of the world." ⁵⁰ And after these things, the whole assembly in the theatre cried out and said: "We beg of Thee, servant of the living God, do what thou pleasest, and let us participate in the living Mystery, that we may live and not die; and this in haste." And the holy (man) commanded the procurator that he should have a place (made) in one of the corners of the theatre; and the stone-cutters came, and set to work in that very hour, and made (a place) like a cistern, and turned the water-pipe, which went into the theatre, into the cistern, and the water came and the cistern was filled. And it was spacious on every side, twelve cubits in length and twelve cubits in breadth, and it was two and a half cubits deep. And the holy (man) besought the procurator to command and let fine, scented oil come, seventy pints. And he commanded, and it came, and a vat was filled with it. And the holy (man) drew nigh, and kneeled down, and looked up to heaven, and cried out in the midst of the theatre: "Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness for ever, Amen." And the whole assembly answered, "Amen." Then John made the sign of the Cross over the oil, and said with a loud voice: "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness for ever, Amen." And again the third time he said: "Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, Amen." And straightway fire blazed forth over the oil, and the oil did not take fire, for

two angels had their wings spread over the oil and were crying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty."

⁵¹ And the people, when they saw these things, were afraid with a great fear, and fell on their faces, and were worshipping to the east. And when the oil was consecrated, then the holy (man) drew near to the water, and signed it, and said: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen." And the whole people cried, "Amen." And straightway these two angels came and hovered over the water, and were crying, "Holy, holy, holy, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness," after him. And S. John cried after them, "Amen." ⁵² And John answered and said to the whole assembly: "Arise in the power of God! And they all arose with fear, and their hands were stretched out to Heaven, and they were crying out, saying: "Great is this mystery! We believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Spirit of holiness. And it was about the eighth hour of the night. Then the procurator drew near, and fell on his face before John, and said to him: "What is it necessary for us to do? And S. John said to him: "Strip off thy garments from thee. And when he had stripped, the holy (man) drew nigh, and took oil in his hand, and made him a cross on his forehead, and anointed his whole body, and brought him nigh to the cistern, and said to him: "Descend, my brother! who art become a new firstling, which enters in at the head of the flock into the fold of the owner of the sheep. Descend, my brother! for the lambs are looking at thee, and running that they may go down, and become white, and get a new fair fleece, instead of that which is rent by ravening wolves. The procurator says: "What must I say, and then descend? John says to him: "According as thou hast seen, and found true, and believed. And the crowd was silent, as if there was not a man there, that they might see what the procurator and John would say.

⁵³ And the procurator stretched out his hands to Heaven, and cried out, weeping and saying: "I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Spirit of holiness; and he leapt down into the font. Then the holy man drew near, and placed his hand on the head of the procurator, and dipped him once, crying out, "In the name of the Father; and the second time, "In the name of the Son; and the third time, "In the name of the Spirit of holiness. And when he had come up out of the water, then he clothed him in white garments, and gave him the (kiss of) peace, and said to him: "Peace be unto thee, thou new bridegroom, who hadst grown old and effete in sin, and, lo, to-day art

become a youth, and thy name has been written in Heaven." ⁵⁴ Then the whole multitude was agitated, and hastened eagerly (to try) which should run down into the font. And all the chiefs were standing around the font; and they signed to the crowd with their hands to be silent. And the whole crowd were crying out, saying with simplicity: "Brethren and fathers, let us run and anoint ourselves with this holy oil, and bathe in this water, and become white, lest perchance either the water become exhausted, or the oil run short." Then the holy (man) cried out to them and said: "Be quiet, blessed flock, for your Father, who is in Heaven, has willed to give unto you His kingdom, because ye have believed in His beloved Son." They then straightway were quiet. Then the holy (man) drew near and said to the procurator: "Come, sit down on the fair upper row (of seats); for to-day it is fitting that thou shouldst be honoured, for there is joy in Heaven on thy account." And they spread cushions for him and he sat down.

⁵⁵ Then he made a sign unto them with his hand to be silent. And when they were silent, then he began to speak with them, saying: "Verily today life has come nigh unto us. Now then, if this holy (man) gives me leave, I will speak." Then the whole crowd cried out to John and said: "In the name of Jesus, bid him speak." And John said to him: "Speak, my lord, whatever thou pleasest." Then the procurator said: "Hearken, my brethren! When I was (first) dipped, I opened my eyes and saw, not that I was going down, but that I was going up to Heaven. And the second time, I looked and opened my eyes, and saw a right hand holding a reed and writing. And the third time, I heard a voice saying: 'The sinner, the sheep which was lost, is found; let him come in.' "

⁵⁶ And S. John straightway clasped his hands tightly behind him, and threw himself on his face before the cross, and cried out: "Glory be unto Thee, Maker of all creatures, who hast sent Thy beloved Son, and He walked upon earth, and gave us power to go forth (and) preach His gospel in the world, and turn the erring to repentance." Then he spoke to the nobles, and they took off their garments, and he drew nigh (and) anointed them, and baptized them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of holiness. And when they were baptized, then he baptized the whole crowd, from the eighth hour (of the night) until the sun rose. And a great multitude assembled and came; and when it was morning, they ran and brought their children, and the holy (man) was giving them baptism till the fifth hour.

And those who received baptism were, souls. Then the whole multitude departed for that day.

⁵⁷ And the procurator took the holy (man) to his house, and they were rejoicing and glad; and he was in his house three days. But on the third day the holy (man) begged that they would let him go (and) dwell in one of the mountains. And he sent and assembled all his free men, and they were beseeching John to remain in the palace; but he was unwilling to be persuaded, for he said: "I must wander about through all Asia, and also in the country of Phrygia. And when he saw that they were distressed and were weeping, he said to them: "If it were the will of the Spirit of holiness that I should go, ye should not be distressed; but now I will remain and abide with you. Let us go out then, and go about through the whole city, and I will look where it is fitting for me to dwell, for the Apostles my fellows are coming unto me." And these words seemed good unto them; and the procurator took his seat with pomp, and all his nobles were going before him. And whilst they were going round, the holy (man) said: "I beseech you, my brethren, to show me the temple of these erring ones. And the procurator came with his retinue to the temple of Artemis, and they were wishing to slay the priests and to burn her temple with fire. But John was beseeching (them) that no man should be slain, saying:

⁵⁸ "These will come and turn to the knowledge of the truth; let us not destroy them with the sword. And when the holy (man) came and saw them and the temple of folly, there was there a place which was elevated; and he saw that place, and said: "I wish to dwell here. And the procurator and the nobles commanded (them) to make a palace for him there. But he said: "No, by the Lord Jesus; if ye build anything, I will not dwell in it and I wish for nothing but a hut alone. And, straightway they brought (materials) and made for him a hut, which was above the temple, and he was sitting under it. And when he had sat there a long, time, there were assembling unto him all those who believed in Jesus the Messiah our Lord, and were being baptized; and he was communicating unto them the body and blood of Jesus. And there was a hut above, the temple of Artemis; and the holy (man) was sitting, and beholding the uncleanness which took place there.

⁵⁹ And after three months and ten days, the priests were assembled, and went round (and) informed the congregation of the heathens, (saying): "We must celebrate a festival to our goddess; but let every man prepare whatever

he can, both oxen and sheep, and let us sacrifice (them), and see why our goddess is angry with us. Then the heathens were assembled, and prepared and made a feast, and sacrificed unclean sacrifices. And when they were assembled, John was standing above in the hut and looking at everything that took place. And kneeling before her, they said to the priests: "Ask her for what reason, and learn of her why she has neglected and is angry with us men. And there was dissension in the city. Then came Legion,— the sister of her who fell into the sea, she and the swine,— and spoke in the doomed image; and the priests listened and were hearing from the mouth of the image the sound of a humming like that of bees; and they made the heathens keep silence, and drew near, and laid their ear on the mouth of the image, and the devils gave forth a voice and said: "That hut will destroy this temple; fight not with him. For as said that master of ours, he fought with the Master of this (man), and the Master of this (man) overcame him. See then and be ye also afraid of him.

⁶⁰ And we are afraid lest his Master come to the help of this (man), and be enraged, and cast us into the deep, and our master be deprived of two Legions. We then, lo, are fighting that we may not be conquered; and if he conquers us, we shall be reckoned as if his Master had conquered our master. And the priests were trembling (with fear), and answered and said: "We ask of you, my lords, who is this man's Master? The devils say: "He is the Son of God, who came down from Heaven; and our master did not perceive when He came down. And He became man, and died on the Cross; and our master imagined that he was a mere (man). And He rose on the third day from the grave and, lo, He is in Heaven, and is assailing us. And the priests when they heard these things, were amazed and astonished. And the multitudes say unto them: "Why are ye amazed? And the priests answered and say: "Artemis has said that this hut will destroy this temple, and all who are initiated into her mysteries are afraid of this; and accordingly they are beseeching us to be afraid of this man, who dwells in this hut, who, if he will and command, will destroy us in the abyss."

⁶¹ And the multitudes were straightway crying out: "We renounce this Artemis, in whom there is no use; for if of this (man), who is a slave or a disciple, the strength is so great, (that of) his teacher or his master (must be) as much again." And they were beating their faces and saying: "Alas, what has befallen us? for our possessions have been consumed in libations, and we have

gained loss for our souls." And the priests said: "Ye are men of sense; whatever is good in your eyes, do; but we will worship and honour Him who is able to make alive and to destroy." And they ran down from the altar, and with speed went up to the holy (man), and cast themselves upon their faces before the holy (man). And the whole crowd cast cords about the image of Artemis, and pulled it down, and dragged it along, whilst bands were crying out before it and behind it: "Thou destroyer of our lives, arise, deliver thyself! Not from heaven didst thou descend; artisans made thee in a furnace."

⁶² And S. John saw that the priests were lying on their faces, but he spoke not with them, nor they with him; and he kneeled down among them, and made them look to the east, and was praying and entreating. And whilst the crowd were crying out and dragging along the image of Artemis, the multitude, who had before received baptism within the theatre, were applauding them in stoles and robes, and were saying: "Come in peace, our brethren and children; let us all have one spirit. Come in peace, O congregation that was estranged from its Master, and lo, to-day has repented and been united with the number (of the chosen). Come in peace, O flock, that was led captive by Satan, and which its Master has brought back that the ravening wolves might not rend it." ⁶³ And when the procurator heard the tumult and great outcry of the whole city, he was afraid, and arose (and) came from his palace, and went up to S. John, and found him kneeling. And the procurator made a sign with his hand that they should desist from (their) outcry. And he commanded and strong men arose to restrain the crowd from going up to John. Then the procurator said to S. John: "Arise, my lord, and sign this new congregation; for if not, their lives will perish for crying out. For lo, I see aged men whose garments are wet with tears and sweat." Then the holy (man) lifted up his head from prayer, and said to the procurator: "I was interceding for them before our Lord Jesus the Messiah, that He would bring them in and bring them nigh before His Father, and pray on their behalf; for He is the door, and through Him a man goes in, and finds pasturage; and without Him, a man is not able to draw nigh unto the Father; and He gave the law from mount Sinai."

⁶⁴ Then the holy (man) arose and looked on them from above, and signed them with the sign of the Cross; and they all fell upon their faces before him, crying out with grief and sobbing: "We have sinned and done wrong and committed evil, and we knew it not until today. Have mercy on

us, Lord! Lord of Heaven and earth! for henceforth we abjure all idols." Then the holy (man) cried unto them from above: "Arise in the might of our God! Arise in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, His beloved Son!" And straightway they arose, and were lifting up their hands to Heaven and crying out: "Glory unto Thee, God, the Maker of Heaven and of earth! Our Lord hath appeared unto us; and we know that Thou art the true God, and that by Thee this youth was sent to the city of Ephesus." And a cloud was overshadowing the city; and straightway there was a low thundering. And the whole crowd fell upon their faces for fear and say: "We praise Thee, Thou hidden God, who art invisible, and lo, hast been revealed unto us because we sought Thee. We confess Thee, and there is no other God but Thee."

⁶⁵ Then S. John spake with them, and was expounding unto them from the Law and from the prophets, and was teaching them concerning our Lord Jesus, proving and showing unto them concerning our Lord Jesus, that He is the Son of God. And they, after they had received the faith, were beseeching that they might receive the sign of baptism, crying out and glorifying God. And the procurator besought the holy (man), saying: "If thou pleasest, my lord, let criers go forth in the city and proclaim, 'Whosoever believes in the Son of God, let him come (and) bathe, and be cleansed of pollution;' and as for us, let us go to the place where the font is, and every one who comes, give him the sign, and let him live and not perish." S. John said to the procurator: "Well hast thou spoken, my lord; thus will we do, according to thy command." And straightway both of them arose, and the procurator made a sign with his hand that they should be quiet. And when they were quiet, he said to them: "To you we speak, ye new children, whom the Gospel of God hath won. Today, we being all assembled without tumult, go to the theatre, and there ye shall receive the sign of life." They then, being assembled, drew up bands in order, whilst they were crying out and saying to the procurator: "How must we chant and sing?" The procurator says unto them: "Thus say and sing, until ye enter in, 'Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness! Lord have mercy upon us.'" And the sound of their outcry was going outside of the city more than five miles.

⁶⁶ And they came and entered into the theatre. Then came the procurator and John, and entered into the theatre. Then the holy (man) answered and made a sign with his hand that the crowd should be quiet. And when they were quiet, the holy (man) stood up on the steps and said: "Arise in prayer."

And they looked to the east, and fell on their faces, and were saying: "Lord, have pity upon us." Then the priests, when the whole people were lying on their faces, came (and) entered last of all, and were walking barefooted and girded with sackcloth, with dust cast on their heads and their faces covered with soot, and were lamenting and crying out: "Thou God, who dwellest in Heaven, have pity upon us; we have sinned before Thee, and have caused many souls without number to sin; it is not hard for Thee to forgive us, if Thou wilt."

⁶⁷ And when they had said these things, John arose from his prayer and said: "Arise in the might of God." And when they had arisen, he concluded the prayer, and they all answered "Amen." And he turned, and looked upon the seven priests, who were standing in vile attire, with their heads inclined to the east and their hands raised to Heaven, and tears without end were running from their eyes and dripping down upon their blackened cheeks. And when the holy (man) saw (them), he was grieved and wept, and the procurator with him; and the whole crowd was weeping. And the holy (man) kneeled down, and prayed, and said: "Merciful God, the Father and Sender of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Thou, Lord, hast said, 'If the dinner turns from his sin and does righteousness before me, through that righteousness, which he hath done, he shall live.' I ask of thee, Lord, have pity upon the work of thy hands, and be not disgusted with it. Let these be received, who were perishing like sheep which have no shepherd, and let them praise Thy great and terrible name and Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus the Messiah, for to Thee and to Him and to Thy holy Spirit is glory and honour for ever, Amen." And the whole congregation answered "Amen."

⁶⁸ Then he arose and called them, but they were not able to speak for weeping and sobbing. And he drew near unto them, holding the procurator by his hand, and spake with them, and they did not speak. And the holy (man) made the sign of the cross upon the forehead of each one of them. Then there was an outcry from the whole crowd, and the tears of S. John were running over. And he said unto them: "Take courage; there is no cutting off of hope. Hope was given to men by the birth of the Son of God from the Virgin. Open your mouths and speak with us. We are your members, and are formed of the same material of which ye are formed. We are created by one God, and are one soul. Fear not; He will not cast you off; He will not reject you; He will not be disgusted with you. I have learned of Him, that if ye

believe in Him, ye shall rejoice at the table of His kingdom." Then those priests answered and said before the crowd: "How can our deceitful mouth speak? What can we say? for the face of our heart is blackened more than our external face. We cannot open our mouth to speak. But this we know, and believe, and declare true, that there is one God, who created the world by His grace, and His only (and) beloved Son, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who put on the body from the holy Virgin; and whether we die, or whether we live, we know no other man. Woe to us then, if He has not mercy upon us and does not forgive us; because we have much property and gold that passeth away, and with these souls we have acquired it."

⁶⁹ And the procurator had a wish that they should draw near to him, because they were far from the crowd and were standing alone. And when they went to bring them near and make them stand in the midst, the priests say: "We beg of you, do not defile your hands with our stench. "We will not draw nearer than here, until He wills it in whose name we have believed." And it was about the third hour of that day. And the holy (man) answered and said to the procurator: "Command, sir, that water come into the font. We must baptize this assemblage, and speak to them the word of life. And command that tables be (laid out) through the whole city, and whosoever wants food, our Lord Jesus, who satisfied thousands in the desert, will prepare (a feast) before him." Then the procurator called Menelaus his son, who became alive, and said to him: "Take unto thee ten men, and let each of them go and provide for thee a hundred men of those who have received the sign of baptism, and let them lay the tables, and make ready a great banquet." And they went and did according to the command of the procurator.

⁷⁰ And S. John arose from the bench on which he was sitting, and came to the priests, and took hold of the hand of their chief, whose name was Apollo, and of the hand of another, whose name was Dionysius, and drew them near to him, and was speaking to them the word of God, and was interpreting (it), and exhorting them. And Apollo and Dionysius the priests were saying aloud: "Have pity upon us, Son of God, and bring us nigh unto Thy Father, we beg of Thee. If we are to be punished for our wickedness, let not these be punished, for we have led them astray from Thy path. We beg of Thee, merciful Lord, have mercy, Lord, upon our wickedness. If Thy righteousness judge us, let not these be judged, for ours, Lord, is their corruption." And the whole people was weeping. ⁷¹ And when the font was prepared, the

procurator commanded, and oil was brought. Then S. John arose, and prayed, and said: "Glory to Thee, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen." And they answered after him, "Amen" And he said: "Lord God Almighty, let Thy Spirit of holiness come, and rest and dwell upon the oil and upon the water; and let them be bathed and purified from uncleanness; and let them receive the Spirit of holiness through baptism; and henceforth let them call Thee 'Our Father who art in Heaven.' Yea, Lord, sanctify this water with Thy voice, which resounded over the Jordan and pointed out our Lord Jesus (as) with the finger, (saying,) 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him.' Thou art here who wast on the Jordan. Yea, I beseech Thee, Lord, manifest Thyself here before this assemblage who have believed on Thee with simplicity, and let the nations of the earth hear that the city of Ephesus was the first to receive Thy Gospel before all cities, and became a second sister to Urhâi (Edessa) of the Parthians." And in that hour fire blazed forth over the oil, and the wings of the angels were spread over the oil; and the whole assemblage was crying out, men and women and children, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty, of whose praises Heaven and earth are full." And straightway the vision was taken away.

⁷² And the priests fell down on their faces and wept. And S. John drew nigh and raised them up, and they said: "We believe in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, and we will never know aught else." And John drew near, and washed them (clean) of the soot, and anointed them with oil, and baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, for the forgiveness of debts and the pardon of sins. And S. John said to the procurator: "Command that they go and fetch fine white bread and wine, whilst the whole multitude is being baptized." And they went, (and) prepared, and made ready every thing. And when the whole multitude was baptized, the priests say: "Brothers and fathers and sons, today we bear the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah. Why stand over the gates of our city the images of the daughter of Satan? Let us go (and) pull them down and burn them, and place over all the gates the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah." And the whole multitude were crying out, "Where ought we to make a church?" And S. John was glad and rejoicing; and he said to the procurator: "Look, sir, where it pleaseth thee." And they chose a place which was fitting, and bore the cross and came thither, and set up there the cross, and over the gates of the whole city crosses. And the holy (man) prayed, and

offered the (eucharistic) sacrifice, and let them partake of the body and blood of the Messiah; and thither they were assembling every Sunday, and were breaking (bread) together, and were partaking of the body and blood of our Lifegiver.

73 After these things, when the Gospel was increasing by the hands of the Apostles, Nero, the unclean and impure and wicked king, heard all that had happened at Ephesus. And he sent (and) took all that the procurator had, and imprisoned him; and laid hold of S. John and drove him into exile; and passed sentence on the city that it should be laid waste. And after three days, believing men of the city assembled, and counselled one another and said: "Let us assemble at the church, and see what each man is willing to give, and take a bribe, and offer it to this wicked ruler, and he will give up to us this (man), who turned us away from error unto our Lord." And when they had taken counsel thus, they collected three hundred pounds of gold, and took ten men, and they went on board a ship to go to Nero, the wicked king, and give the bribe, and bring back the holy (man).

74 And when they had gone and entered into Rome, at midnight, when the impure Nero was asleep, the Lord sent to him an angel; and he appeared to him in a flame and bearing a sword, and awakened him. And when he had opened his eyes and looked upon him, he cried out and said: "I pray thee, what I have to do with thee?" The angel says to him: "Send back the man whom thou hast taken from Ephesus and cast into exile; and if not, this sword shall enter into thy unclean heart before the sun rises." And the angel smote him and took away his speech, and he was howling like a dog. And his slaves came in when they heard his lamentation, and said to him: "What is the matter with thee, my lord the king?" And he made a sign, and they brought him ink and a sheet of paper, and he wrote: "Straightway, — if it be possible, today, — let John, the son of Zebedee, the Galilean, whom I took away from Ephesus, pass the night in it." And he wrote also, and sent (word) to Ephesus quickly, that every one who was in prison, should come out and do as he pleased.

75 And there came sailors and men clad in arms, and took the letters written by the king's hand, and went on board ship, and went (and) found John at midday kneeling and praying. They say to him: "The king has commanded that we should convey thee to the place where thou wast." And they took him, and went on board ship, and sailed on the sea in peace, and

brought him to the gate of Ephesus, and returned to Rome. And those men who had brought the bribe, when they heard that the holy (man) had returned to Ephesus, said: "We worship Thee, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness, who hast done what Thy fearers wished." And they went on board ship, and brought those three hundred pounds (of gold with them), and came. And when they had entered Ephesus, they showed the gold and narrated all that had happened, and there was joy through the whole city; and they took counsel one with another, and deposited the gold in a house, and hired artificers, and built with it two churches for the worship of our Lord Jesus the Messiah.

76 And S. John went up (and) sat in the hut; and all the free men of the province of Asia gathered together unto him, and he was teaching and preaching concerning our Lord Jesus; and the word of Nero was established over his own place, but he did not dare again to give orders regarding the province of Asia. It was this wicked man, who slew Paul and Peter. And after a long interval, when the Apostles heard all that had happened in the whole country of the Ephesians, they were amazed, and said: "This thing is not great for our Lord Jesus, hut to us it is wondrous." And Paul was asking and inquiring of the Apostles, that he might hear the history of S. John; and every day and every hour he was supplicating before God, that he might be deemed worthy to see him. And when the Gospel rose upon the world, the Spirit of holiness willed, and Matthew was moved and composed the Evangel; and after him, Mark; and after him, Luke. And they wrote, and sent (word) to the holy John that he too should write, and informed him concerning Paul, who had entered into the number of the Apostles. But the holy (man) did not wish to write (a Gospel), saying that they should not say "He is a youth," if Satan cast dissension into the world.

77 And when the Apostles had travelled about in the countries, and had planted the Cross, and it had spread abroad over the four quarters of the world, then Simon Cephas (Peter) arose, and took Paul with him, and they came to Ephesus unto John. And they rejoiced with a great joy, and were preaching concerning our Lord Jesus without hindrance. And they went up to the holy (man), and found him praying. And they saluted one another, and rejoiced with a great joy, and narrated to one another all that our Lord Jesus had done, and appointed (as) priests believing men. Peter and Paul entered Ephesus on a Monday, and for five days they were persuading him,

whilst rejoicing, to compose an Evangel, but he was not willing, saying to them, "When the Spirit of holiness wills it, I will write." And on the Sunday, at night, at the time when our Lord arose from the grave, the Apostles slumbered and slept. And at that glorious time of the Resurrection, the Spirit of holiness descended, and the whole place, in which they were dwelling, was in a flame; and those men who were awake, awakened their fellows, and they were amazed. And John took paper, and wrote his Evangel in one hour, and gave it to Paul and to Peter. And when the sun rose, they went down to the house of prayer, and read it before the whole city, and prayed, and partook of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. And they came to the holy (man), and remained with him thirty days; and then they came to Jerusalem, to Jacob (James), the brother of our Lord, and thence they came to Antioch.

⁷⁸ And the holy (man) sat in the hut summer and winter, until he was a hundred and twenty years of age, and there his Master buried him in that place, as Moses was buried on Mount Nebo. Every one who believes, and gives credence to the signs, which our Lord did by the hands of the Apostles, shall find mercy at the day of judgement. And to the Spirit of holiness, who is in the Father and the Son, everything is easy. And let the children of the Church, without division, offer up praise, without investigation, to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen. Here ends the Doctrine of John the son of Zebedee, who leaned on the breast of our Lord Jesus at the supper, and instructed and taught and baptized in the city of Ephesus. [Most footnotes omitted. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought online by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DECEASE OF SAINT JOHN

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DECEASE OF SAINT JOHN — THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST.

¹ AND S. John was with the blessed brethren, rejoicing and being glad in the Lord. ² And on the next day, which was Sunday, when the brethren were assembled, he began to say: "My brethren and fellows, and heirs and sharers of the kingdom of the Messiah, ye know how much God hath given to you through me,—how many signs, how many wonders, how many gifts, rests, services, teachings, rulings, graces, honours,—how many things ye see before your eyes, which are given to you, which are not seen by these eyes and are not heard by these ears. Be strong in Him, therefore, remembering Him in

your every deed, and knowing well the mystery of the dispensation that is (come) unto men, why it was wrought. The Lord beseeches you—the Lord through me beseeches, my brethren, and implores—who beseeches us that we should remain not insulting, not injured, not defiled. For He knows insult which (comes) from you, He knows contempt, He knows degradation, He knows torture, when ye do not obey His holy commandments. Let not, therefore, your good God be grieved, the gracious, the merciful, the holy, the undefiled, the only one, the immutable, the true, the guileless, the slow to anger, who is exalted above every appellation that is spoken or thought by you — the God Jesus. Let Him be glad, therefore, whilst ye conduct yourselves well and live purely; let Him glory, whilst ye conduct yourselves chastely; let Him not be anxious, whilst ye live continently in the world; let it be pleasant to Him that ye are in fellowship; let Him glory in your chastity;

3 let Him rejoice, whilst ye love Him. These things I speak unto you, my brethren, whilst I hasten to the work which is appointed, which is already perfected in the Lord. For what is there to say to you? Ye have the surety of God; ye have the pledge of His grace; ye have His coming, which cannot be deprecated. If, therefore, ye sin not again, those things which ye have done without knowledge He will forgive you; but if, when ye have known Him, and have obtained mercy from Him, ye walk in courses which (are) like (unto those), both those former (sins) will be imputed unto you, and ye shall not have part in Him or mercy." 4 And when he had said these things unto them, he prayed thus: "Jesus, who didst twine this garland with Thy twining; who hast attached these many flowers to Thy flower which falleth not; who hast sown these words of Thine; (who) alone hast compassion on Thy servants; physician that healest for nought; (who) alone art a minister and not haughty; Jesus, who alone art gracious and merciful; do Thou with Thy grace cover all those who hope in Thee, Thou who knowest well the artifices and the plundering of the adversary." And when he had asked for bread, he prayed thus: "What praise, or what offering, or what thanksgiving, when we break the bread, shall we render unto Thee? But Thyself alone, Thee Jesus the Messiah, we praise, the Name of the Father which was spoken. We glorify Thy entrance by the door; we glorify the resurrection, which through Thee has been announced unto us; we glorify Thy word, Thy glory, Thy ineffable pearl, Thy treasury, Thy net, Thy greatness, Him who for our sake was called

the Son of Man, the truth, the knowledge, the rest, the strength, the command, the freedom of speech, the liberty which (is) in Thee as in the truth. For Thou art the Lord, who wast called the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the foundation of the universe. Because of this we acknowledge Thy majesty, which is now invisible."

5 And when he had broken the bread, and stretched out his hand to them, and prayed for every man, that he might be worthy of the grace which (is) in the Lord and of the holy Eucharist, he too did eat, and said: "And to me in the same manner (let there be) a portion with you, and peace, and love." Then he said to Birrus (Byrrhus): "Take with thee two brethren, who have with them baskets and spades, and come after me." And Birrus, without neglect, did what was ordered him by John, the servant of God. The blessed John, therefore, went forth from the house, and was walking before the gate, and said to many that they should depart from him. And when he came to the grave of a brother of ours, he said to the youths, "Dig, my sons." And they were digging; but he was urging them exceedingly, and saying: "Let the trench be deep." And whilst they were digging, he was conversing with them, and was exhorting them, with himself and with those who had come forth from the house, edifying (them) and speaking to them of the majesty of the Messiah, and praying over each of them.

6 And when these young men had finished the trench, as he wished, without our knowing any thing, he stripped off the garments which he wore, and cast them like bedding into the bottom of the trench. And standing in his mantle only, he lifted up his hands, and prayed thus: "God, who hast chosen us for the apostleship of the nations; who hast sent us to the world; who hast shown Thyself through Thy Apostles; who hast never been at rest from the foundations of the world, but who constantly hast saved those who were able (to be saved); who hast made Thyself known through all nature, and hast proclaimed Thyself even among the beasts; who hast made the desolate soul, that had become savage, be peaceable and quiet; who, when it was thirsting for Thy word, hast given Thyself to it; who, when it was dead, hast quickly appeared unto it; who, when it was plunged in sin, hast alone shown Thyself unto it; who, when it was overcome by Satan, hast already manifested Thyself unto it; who hast not left it to be agitated like the body; who hast shown it its enemy; who hast made a clean union; God Jesus, Father of those that are above the heavens, and Lord of the celestials, and God of the celesti-

als, and law of those that are in the ether; course of the aerals, and guardian of those that are on the earth; fear of the terrestrials, and peace of Thine own;

7 receive the soul of Thy John, which perhaps may be worthy before Thee, Jesus, who hast thus preserved me to Thyself pure until this hour, and free from intercourse with woman; who didst appear to me in my youth, when I wished to take to myself a wife, and didst say to me, 'Thou art needful to me, John;' who didst choose for me infertility of body, when three times, being disobedient, I wished to marry; who didst say to me on the sea, 'Thou art needful to me, John, and if not, I would let thee take a wife, to mourn and weep;' who in the third year didst open for me the eyes of my understanding, and didst present me with my visible eyes; who didst make it hard for me to see and gaze upon a woman; who didst deliver me from temporal show (or fancy), and preserve me for that which produceth fruit always; who didst deliver me from the madness of uncleanness that is in the flesh; who didst separate me from bitter death, and didst raise me up who had need of Thee; who didst restrain the hidden disease of the soul, and didst cut off its evil action; who didst afflict and expel from the boundary him who caused disturbance in me; who didst preserve my affection to Thee without spot; who hast established my course towards Thee without slipping; who hast given my faith in Thee (to be) without doubting;

8 who hast traced out for me the pure knowledge which is in Thee; who givest to every work the due reward; who hast placed it in my soul that I should not have any possession save purity; for what can I find that is better than Thou? Now, Lord, I have accomplished the stewardship with which I was entrusted; make me worthy of Thy rest, presenting me with the perfection that is in Thee, which is salvation unutterable and ineffable. And when I am going to Thee, let the fire depart, let the darkness be overcome, let the pit be enfeebled; let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished; let the angels accompany, let the demons be afraid; let the princes be cast down, let the powers of darkness fall; let the places on the right stand, but those on the left not stand; let the Slanderer be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn; let his work be undone, let his glory be put to shame, let his anger be rendered vain; let his children be beaten, let his whole root be crushed. But my path unto Thee do Thou render for me free from insult and

from spoliation, and (grant) that I may receive the things which Thou hast promised to those who have lived purely and have loved Thee alone."

⁹ And he turned to the east and glorified (God), standing full in the light, and said: "Be Thou with me, Jesus the Messiah our Lord." Then he went down into the trench, where he had spread his clothes, and saying to us "Concord and peace be with you, my brethren," he rendered up his spirit, rejoicing. May his prayer be with us. Amen. Here ends the account of John the Evangelist. May his prayer be with us. Amen. [All footnotes and biblical references have reluctantly been omitted apart from these. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought on-line by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)] 1. Compare Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xvi., p. 449.

THE HISTORY OF PHILIP, THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST

THE HISTORY OF PHILIP, THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST.

¹ In the name of the unbegotten nature of the immortal God, I write the wondrous and marvellous history of the glorious acts of Philip the Apostle and Evangelist. Our Lord, help me with grace. Amen. And our Lord Jesus the Messiah spake with Philip the Apostle in a vision of the night at Jerusalem, and said to him: "Rise, go to the city of Carthage, which is in Azotus, and drive out thence the ruler of Satan, for lo, he rejoices there like a destroying wolf, which rejoices in the flock that has no shepherd; and after thou hast driven him out, preach there the kingdom of Heaven." And Philip said to our Lord: "I beseech Thee, the Raiser to life of all souls, — Thou knowest me, that I am a man of Palestine, and I do not know Latin or Greek, and the people of Carthage are not acquainted with Aramaic,—and how shall I go (and) preach to them the Gospel of Thy kingdom?" Our Lord said to Philip: "Who made Adam in His image and His likeness? Who formed for him a mouth, and eyes, and a tongue to speak? Was it not I the Lord?" And Philip said to our Lord: "Thou art the chosen Son, who didst make Heaven by Thy might, and didst establish the world by Thy wisdom." And our Lord said to him: "Now go in my name, and doubt not. I shall be with thy mouth, and thou shalt speak every tongue that thou wilt." And Philip said to our Lord: "I go, Lord; but let not Thy grace be far from me."

² And Philip went down from Jerusalem to Samaria, and from Samaria to Caesarea of Palestine, and went down to the harbour, to look for a ship that was going to the city of Carthage. And he found a ship that was lying ready,

and waiting for a wind to blow for it, that it might sail. And Philip came near to the captain, and spake with him, that he might go with them to the city of Carthage. The captain answered and said to Philip: "Pr'ythee, do not annoy me; for lo, it is twenty days that we have been waiting for a wind to blow for us, that we might sail, and it has not blown. Now go, fetch thy baggage, and come; for perchance, by the help of thy prayers, God may send us a favourable wind, and we may go on our journey in peace; for I see that thou hast the appearance of a servant of God. Philip says to the captain: "Thou seest me and my baggage; I have nothing else in this world save Jesus the Messiah, and Him crucified. But because I see that there are in thee the fruits of faith, order the people who are going with us to come on board (and) sit down in the ship. And the captain ordered them, and they all came on board and sat down in it. And when the Apostle and the captain had come on board, Philip said to the people who were in the ship:

3 "Let us rise (and) pray, and ask of the Messiah to send us a favourable wind, that we may go on our journey in peace and joy. And they all stood up for the prayer; and Philip prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, come to our help, for I cry unto Thee at this time, that these people, who are here in this ship, may believe that Thou hast sent me. And he turned again to the west, and was strengthened by the Spirit of holiness, and said with a loud voice: "To thee I say, angel of peace, who hast charge of all favourable winds that serve this great sea,—in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, send me a favourable wind, which may come and convey me to the city of Carthage, not in fifty days, nor in twenty days, nor even in ten days, but today let us be there, that all these people, who are here, may know that He who sent me, Jesus, is the Son of the living God."

4 There was in the ship a Jew, whose name was Hananyā (Ananias), (who) did not pray, but blasphemed and said: "May Adonai recompense thee and the Messiah on whom thou callest, who, lo, has become dust and lies in Jerusalem, whilst thou livest and leadest astray ignorant men by His name." And when the Apostle had prayed, there came a breeze, and an Angel with it, and entered into (i. e. filled) the sail of the ship, and she began to roll hither and thither from the violence of the wind. Then the sailors arose to loose the cables of the ship from the shore. And the Jew got up to help them to hoist the sail of the ship; and the Angel of the Lord bound him by the great toes and suspended him head downwards aloft on the top of the sail. And the ship

was flying and going over the water like an eagle in the air; and the Jew was suspended head downwards. And he was crying out and saying: "O Apostle of Jesus the Messiah, who knows the secrets of men!" And Philip said to him: "No, by the life of thy friend Haman, thou shalt not come down thence, until thou confessest, how thou hast blasphemed Jesus the Messiah, and thy wicked thoughts against His worshippers. He has bound and suspended thee head downwards."

5 And the Jew cried out and said: "I confess, Sir, whilst I worship, that when ye arose and prayed in the ship, I did not pray, but blasphemed in my heart and said to thee, 'May Adonai recompense thee and the Messiah on whom thou callest, who, lo, has become dust and lies in Jerusalem, whilst thou livest and leadest astray ignorant men.' And straightway a breeze came, and its Angel with it, and filled the sail, and the ship began to roll.hither and thither from the violence of the wind. And when the sailors arose to loose the cables and hoist the sail, I too got up to help them. Then the Angel of thy God bound me by the great toes, and suspended me head downwards, as thy eyes behold me. And lo, his sword is drawn, and he is standing by me and lashing me with scourges of fire. But I beg of thee, Sir, order him to let me loose, for, lo, my soul is going forth from my nostrils."

6 Philip says to the Jew: "Now how dost thou view this matter? Dost thou believe in the Messiah that He is the Son of God? Yes or no?" 7 And the Jew cried out, weeping, and saying with a loud voice: "Yes, Sir, I believe in the Messiah thy God, that He is I am that I am, El Shaddai, Adonai, the Lord (of) Sabaoth, the Strong, the Glorious in His holiness, who made heaven and earth by His word; and He made Adam in His image and His likeness; and He accepted the offering of Abel, and He rejected the offering of Cain the murderer; and He removed Enoch without his tasting death; and He delivered Noah from the flood; and He spake with Abraham His friend; and He saved Lot from the midst of the overturned (city, i. e. Sodom); and He preserved Isaac from the knife; and He revealed Himself to Jacob at Beth-el; and He expounded His secrets to Joseph; and He led Israel out of Egypt; and He spake with Moses in the thorn-bush; and He divided the sea before the people; and He sent down the manna from Heaven and He brought up the quails from the sea; and He dashed to pieces Pharaoh and his host in the sea of Sūph, the Red Sea; and He delivered Joshua the son of Nun in the wars; and He revealed His mystery to Gideon; and He strengthened Barak and De-

borah in Israel; and He spake with Samuel in the interior of the temple; and He destroyed Goliath before David; and He gave wisdom to Solomon; and He took up Elijah to Heaven; and He delivered Elisha from the armies; and He took Jonah out of the fish; and He brought Daniel out of the pit; and He extinguished the blazing fire of Ananias and his companions; and He rescued the wronged Susanna; and this is Emmanuel, the mighty God, in whose name the sea and land, and the winds and Angels, are subject unto thee."

8 And Philip rejoiced at the belief of the Jew, and glorified God, and said: "Praise be to Thee, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who changest rebellious minds and blasphemous tongues, and suddenly makest them harps praising Thy glory. Yea, Lord, pardon Thy servant Hananyā, who has believed in Thee." And in that very hour the Angel of the Lord, who was standing beside him at his right hand, took him and brought him down and placed him in the midst of the ship. Then Hananyā fell at the feet of Philip, and wept, and said: "Have mercy on me, O Apostle of the Messiah, and beg for me of the Preserver of all, that He will pardon my blasphemies, with which I have blasphemed against thee and against thy gods." And the Apostle lifted him up and said to him: "If the Messiah has absolved thee and pardoned thee, who shall condemn thee? Rise, and fear not. Jesus the Messiah will make thee worthy of His true baptism." And fear laid hold on the 495 men who were in the ship, and they were amazed and said: "It never was thus among men."

9 And whilst they were wondering at what had happened to the Jew, they lifted up their eyes and looked, and lo, the lighthouse (Pharos) of Carthage was visible. And then they began whispering one to another and saying: "Either this is a vision, or it is a dream, or a demon has deceived us, or of a truth God is with this man. Who has seen a wonder like this? or who has heard a marvel like this? that we have come seventy-five masyune in one day." But when Hananyā saw them whispering one to another, he began biting (one end of) his cloak, and said: "O blind, who see not! and wicked fools, who believe not! Have ye not seen what befell me, because I blasphemed in my heart against the Messiah? Be silent, and plot nothing against this chosen one, because at this moment ye are not all suspended head downwards. Will ye not believe in the God of this just man? for, if he commands that city in the name of the Messiah, it will take all its inhabitants and go (and) stop in Gibtusan."

10 And while the Jew was speaking thus, (the ship) was found to stop in the harbour of Carthage. And all those men cried out and say: "Glory to Thee, the God of Mār Philip, in whose name the sea and land, and the wind and the Angels, are made subject to Thee." And Philip blessed them in the name of the Lord, and let them go to their homes in peace. But he remained at the harbour that he might confirm the captain in the faith of God. And on the Sunday Philip went up from the ship to enter the city of Carthage, and to drive out thence the ruler of Satan, as the Lord had commanded him. And as he was entering the gates of the city, he signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and sighed before the Messiah. And he saw an Indian man (i. e., a black man), who was sitting on a throne, with two serpents twined round his loins, and a wreath of vipers placed on his head; and his eyes were like coals of fire, and blazing flames issued from his mouth; and from the place where he was sitting a smell of smoke went up, and troops of Indians (blacks) were standing on his right hand and on his left. And when he saw that the Apostle had entered the gate and crossed himself, the ruler was overturned and fell backwards, and all his troops upon him. The Apostle says to the ruler: "Fall and rise not, thou portion of the fire and child of Gehenna, accursed from of old; (thou) bitter (one), who in (all) thy days didst never sweeten; (thou) hater of the just and enemy of all righteousness; deceiver of Adam, bringer of death upon Eve and upon all her children."

11 The ruler said to the Apostle: "Why cursest thou me, (thou) chosen of the Most High? Tell me, what have I done wrong? or wherein have I sinned against thee? Rebuke me, because I do not abide in this city, but my troops wander about on the whole earth, and come to me; till the third hour of the day; but to a single one of the disciples of Jesus they do not come near, because I have warned them, and commanded them, and said to them: 'Wherever the name of Jesus is mentioned, abide not there, lest ye bring judgement upon me before my time is come.' Woe is me, if perchance one of my troops has deceived me, and transgressed my command, and afflicted one of His disciples; for lo, the effacer of our footsteps is angry with me, and has sent this chosen one to drive me away from this city. Woe is me! what has become of me? Woe is me! what has happened to me? Alas, what has come upon me? Alas, what has befallen me? Alas, what has reached me? Alas, what has overtaken me? Whither shall I go and be delivered? Whither shall I flee and escape? Where shall I hide myself and be saved? Where shall I conceal myself

and be delivered? Whither shall I go from this Mighty (One)? Whither shall I fly from this Strong (One)? Whether I say 'Woe is me,' or whether I am silent, I shall burn in the fire.

12 If I cast myself into the sea, I shall be drowned, because the fire is prepared for me, and torment for all my troops. If I ascend unto Heaven, He will cast me down thence; and if I go down to Hell, there He will breathe upon me. In the east His Star has made me ashamed; in the west they preach His Gospel; in the north they praise His right hand; in the south they worship His Cross. This Jesus has slain me by His death; He has humbled me by His exaltation; He has brought me to abjectness by His necessity. He has deceived me by His similitudes (or likenesses); He has shamed me by His resurrection; He has dazzled me with His humiliation; He has befooled me with His quietude; He has maddened me with His visions. My snares He has broken; my gins He has disclosed; my nets He has cut to pieces. My crown He has taken away from my head; my throne He has overturned behind Him; my power He has taken from me, and my glory He has given to others. He has made me a treading under foot for children, and offscourings and filth unto infants and the simple. He has made me a reproach unto the little, and a mockery and a scorn to the poor and sinners. He has taken everything from me, and given to me nothing at all, save the weeping and wailing and groans of the darkness, to me and to my ministers and to all my troops."

13 And the whole city was standing and hearing what the ruler was saying, but no man saw him, save that the Apostle saw him through the Spirit of holiness. Philip says to the ruler: "I bid thee in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Mighty God, who sent me against thee, arise; take thy throne, and lead away all thy troops, and ye shall go forth from this city, for lo, 3795 years ye have enjoyed yourselves in it." And in that hour the ruler arose, and took his throne, and led away all his troops, and they went forth thence, flying in the air, and wailing as they went, and saying: "Woe is to us for thee, our ruler; woe is to us for thee, our king; woe is to us for thee, our monarch." And they ceased not from weeping, all of them, whilst they were going, till they entered the city of Babel, and there established the throne of their ruler.

14 And there was fear in the whole city, and they were praising God and saying: "Glory to Thee, Jesus the Messiah, the God of Philip, who hast not recompensed us according to our wickedness, nor dealt with us according to our sins; for we did not know Thee, Lord, and Thou in Thy mercy hast sent

us a deliverer. Glory to Thy grace, which has been abundant upon us, for ever and ever, Amen. Philip says to the people of the city of Carthage: "Ye have seen, my brethren, what the ruler said, whilst burning and being scorched by the power of the Son of God, that is, Jesus the Messiah, the Power and Wisdom of His Father. And by this Power was (created) the heaven and the earth and all that is in them; and by this Wisdom was established the world and all its inhabitants. Now therefore, my brethren, leave that former opinion of idolatry, and go not after the mind of painters, and (after) images of wood and stone and gold and silver and brass and iron and tin and lead and clay, which men have made, which have eyes and see not, and have ears and hear not, and there is no breath in their mouth, and they feel not with their hands, and walk not with their feet, and smell not with their nostrils, and speak not with their throats; and with nails and spikes they fasten them, that they may not be broken in pieces; and they carry them about, because they cannot walk;

¹⁵ and they are set up like masts, because they cannot speak. Be not afraid of them, because they can do neither harm nor good, and it is said concerning them by God, that their makers shall be like them and all who trust in them. Turn, therefore, to the Son of the living God, in whose hand your souls and spirits are placed. This is the first God, and there is none beside Him. Renounce Satan, my brethren, and believe in the Messiah. Flee from the darkness, and come to the celestial light. Quit the destroying left hand, and the unconquered right hand shall receive you. Be delivered from the fiery Gehenna, and ye shall rejoice and be glad in the Paradise of Eden. Strip off the old man, who is corrupted by the lusts of error, and put on the new man, Jesus the Messiah, who is renewed by knowledge in the likeness of His Creator. Avoid and flee from the desire of women, which burns like fire, and destroys those who are inflamed with it; and trust in God and be glad. Who has believed in Him, and He has forsaken him? Or who has trusted in Him, and He has cast him off? Or who has called upon Him, and He has not answered him? Because the Lord is gracious and merciful, and forgiving sins, and hearkening to the voice of those that do His will.

¹⁶ Believe, my dear (friends), for He will forgive you your sins when ye turn to Him with all your heart, with a pure mind free from doubt." ¹⁷ And when the Apostle had spoken these words to the citizens, they cried out and say: "Glory to God, who has sent us a deliverer." And Philip blessed them,

and went down to the ship, to the harbour, where the ship was lying, in which he came from Cæsarea of Palestine. ¹⁸ And on the Sabbath day (Saturday) all the Jews, who were in Carthage, were assembled unto their synagogues. And they sent and called Hananyā the Jew, who had believed in the Messiah. And the Jews answered and say to him: "Our brother Hananyā, are the things true which the sorcerer Philip did to thee in the ship? And Hananyā signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and answered and said to them: "All that ye have heard concerning me is true; and far be it from me ever to renounce our Lord Jesus the Messiah. The Jews say to him: "Do not renounce Moses and believe in the Messiah, because the Messiah was an impostor, and his disciples go about with sorcery. Hananyā answered, rejoicing in the faith, and said to the Jews: "The deception of the Messiah be upon me and upon my wife and upon my children; and the sorcery that His disciples practise, be upon the bones of my parents in Sheol. But as for you, well did Isaiah the prophet prophesy concerning you, to whom God said: 'Go, say to this people of Israel that they shall see a sight and shall not see, and shall hear a report and shall not believe;

¹⁹ for their eyes they have closed, and their ears they have stopped, that they may not hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and repent, and I forgive them their sins.' Rulers of Sodom and people of Gomorrah, an evil and a provoking seed, a generation that has not set fast its heart and has not believed in the God of its spirit; children of crime, an evil and adulterous race, and generations of sinners; a race doomed to woe, a vine of Sodom and a plant of Gomorrha; foolish children and unwise; wise in evil things, but not knowing good things; a people uprooted and flayed; rejected silver; scattered millet; worn-out water-skins; a rent garment; a cloth that is of no use; a menstruous rag; an accursed fig-tree; an evil vineyard, the husbandmen of which are murderers; a restive heifer; broken cisterns in which they cannot collect water; perforated money of a cursed merchant; a dry fleece, the dew of which is sprinkled among the Gentiles; proclaimed sons, whom they do not reckon equal to slaves; bitter roots, which in their days have never yielded sweetness; exchanging their God for a calf; sacrificing their sons and their daughters to devils; haters of the Son, enemies of God, provokers of the Spirit of holiness; worshippers of the sun, offerers of sacrifice to Tamuz, servants of Baal, priests of idols; sons of Ahab, fosterlings of

Jezebel; dumb dogs, which are unable to bark; stiff of neck and uncircumcised in heart.

20 For in whom of the prophets have ye believed, that ye should believe in the feeble Hananyā? Moses and Aaron led forth your fathers from Egypt, and how often did ye stone them with stones? There arose Joshua the son of Nun, and ye sought to kill him with deadly poison. There arose Samson, and Gideon, and Barak, and Jephthah, and Deborah, and ye provoked them all their lives and all their days. There arose Eli your priest, and through your greed he was rejected from his priestly office. There arose Samuel the prophet, and ye rejected him and his God. There arose David the prophet, and with reproach ye drove him out of Jerusalem. There arose Solomon the king, and he worshipped Ashtarothe, the goddess of the Sidonians. There arose Isaiah the prophet, and ye sawed him with a saw of boxwood. There arose Ezekiel the prophet, and ye dragged him by his feet until his brains were dashed out. There arose Jeremiah the prophet, and ye cast him into a pit of mire. There arose Micah the prophet, and ye smote his cheeks as if (he had been) a child. There arose Amos (the prophet), and ye hindered him from prophesying. There arose Habakkuk the prophet, and through your sins he went astray from his prophetic office. There arose Zechariah the prophet, and him ye slew like a lamb before the altar of the Lord. There arose Malachi the prophet, and ye wearied his God with your words.

21 There arose Elijah the prophet, and ye made him flee to Horeb. There arose Elisha the prophet, and ye wished to kill him. There arose too John the Baptist, a shining light, and ye cut off his head, and sat in darkness; and he began proclaiming the resurrection to the dead. And again, as the consummation of your sins, ye children of crime, ye crucified the Lord of the prophets on the tree. And lo, ye persecute these His disciples, who are about to sit at the day of judgement on twelve thrones of glory and to judge the twelve tribes of Jacob." 22 And all those Jews were looking on Hananyā, and were seeing that his face was like to the Angel of the Lord, and were gnashing their teeth like destroying wolves. And one of the priests arose and kicked Hananyā, and he died. And they dug a place there in their synagogue and buried him. And they swore one to another that none of them would disclose in his house what they had done.

23 And on the next day Philip arose to pray in the ship at the ninth hour, he and the citizens with him, and he made mention of Hananyā in his pray-

er and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, do Thou deliver Thy servant Hananyā from the perfidy of the Jews, and bring him to us that we may see and be gladdened by him. And God heard the prayer of Philip, and commanded the earth, and it gave a passage like a water-pipe, and (this) conveyed Hananyā down to the bottom of the sea. And the Lord prepared a large dolphin, and it carried Hananyā. And while the Apostle was praying in the ship, he lifted up his eyes and looked upon the water; and lo, the dolphin was swimming on the surface of the sea, with the corpse of Hananyā upon him. And when the people who were there, saw (this), they feared with a great fear, and were imagining that a demon had appeared to them. Then the Apostle answered and said to them: "Fear not, my brethren; for by means of this corpse many are about to believe in the Messiah. And Philip cried with a loud voice and said: "Glory to Thee, O Lord, the Restorer to life; for every one who believes in Thee, although he dies, shall live through Thee; and every one who does not believe in Thee, although he is alive and walking on the earth, is dead before Thee. And Philip said to the dolphin:

24 "I bid thee in the name of the Messiah, the Lord of all creatures, go, convey Hananyā the martyr to the place from which thou didst take him, until I go up to the city and put his murderers to open shame. And the dolphin passed through the sea; and carried Hananyā to the place from which he had taken him; and the deeps conveyed Hananyā to the place in which he was killed; and the Lord commanded the earth, and it closed its barriers, that the deeps might not come up and sweep away the city. 25 And on the next day Philip the Apostle went up from the ship, and went into the city to the judge, and said to him: "One favour I ask of thee that thou wouldest do for me." The judge answered and said to him: "Command me, sir, and whatsoever thou wishest, I will do for thee." And Philip said to the judge: "Send (and) collect for me all the Jews that there are in this city, because I have a cause to plead with them before thee." And straightway the judge sent his officers, and collected unto him all the chiefs of the Jews. And Philip said to the hêgemôn: "Sit thou upon the tribunal of the town-hall, and hear the cause between me and them."

26 And when the king (sic) had seated himself on his tribunal, Philip said to the Jews: "Where is Hananyā, who came with me in the ship from the city of Cæsarea of Palestine, and became a Christian of the Messiah? For I know and am sure, through our Lord Jesus the Messiah, that ye have counselled

him to confess Moses and renounce the Messiah. The Jews answered and said to Philip: "Are we the keepers of Hananyā, (who is) alienated from the Law? And Philip said to the Jews: "Well did our Lord call you the children of Cain the murderer; for Cain, (when) he killed his brother Abel, thought that no man saw him; and God said to Cain, 'Where is thy brother Abel?' And Cain denied (it) like you, and said, 'I know not, because I am not his keeper.' And God said to Cain, "What hast thou done? Lo, the blood of thy brother Abel cries unto me from the ground. Cursed is the ground for thy sake. A wanderer and a vagabond shalt thou be on the earth, which has opened its mouth and received the blood of thy brother from thy hands.' And now, murderers, disclose to me where Hananyā the martyr is, and I will ask of the Messiah for you that He would forgive you your iniquities. The Jews answered and said: "Once we have said to thee, that Hananyā has not been seen by us, and we do not know what has become of him. And Philip said to the Jews:

27 "Tell me, where is Hananyā, the confessor of the Messiah, who has given his life for his Master, and do not lie and deny (it) before me, for ye do not lie unto me, but to the Spirit of holiness which dwells in me. The Jews say to him: "If the Spirit were with thee, it would be clear to thee that we know nothing of Hananyā; but because thou art a liar and an impostor, and the truth is not in thee, lo, thou standest up and doest us wrong/' And again the Apostle said to them: "And if it be that Hananyā is found with you, what do ye deserve to have done to you? And the Jews said to Philip: "If it be that he is found with us, we all deserve death from God, and Cæsar. And the Apostle said to them: "And if it be that ye rely upon yourselves, do not your consciences convict you of being conscious of the blood of Hananyā the confessor? Swear to me, for as the Paraclete who is with me commands me, will we do unto you. Then the Jews cried out and said: "No, by the God of Abraham, who spake with Moses from the midst of the thorn-bush, (we swear) that Hananyā has not been seen by us; and we do not know what has befallen him."

28 Then the Apostle was strengthened by the Spirit of holiness, and said to the assemblage who were standing-there: "Give me a little room. And when they had given him room, the Apostle of God lifted up his eyes and saw a man from the country, who was leading an ox which was sick, and had brought it to town that he might sell it to the butchers. And the Apostle called him, and said to the ox: "To thee I speak, ox, beast without speech. I

command thee, in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, at whose word all creatures are afraid, be strong, and go to the synagogue of these murderous Jews, and call out there and say: 'Hananyā, Hananyā, Philip, the disciple of our Lord, calls thee; rise, come, put to shame the murderous Jews.'" And straightway the ox dragged along his owner, and threw him down on the ground, and ran and went to the synagogue of the Jews, and called out and said, like a man: "Hananyā, Hananyā, Philip, the Apostle of the Messiah, calls thee. Rise, come, put to shame the Jews thy murderers. And at the word the dead (man) rose, and laid hold of the ox with his right hand; and they both ran and came to the Apostle of the Messiah, and the owner of the ox was running after them. And the three of them came and prostrated themselves before Philip. And the Apostle cried out and said to Hananyā: "Whence comest thou, my friend? And Hananyā said to Philip:

29 " From the synagogue of these murderous Jews, who are standing before thee; for they killed me and buried me in their synagogue, because I believed in the Lord Jesu the Messiah, who gave me life, and became a Christian. And now I ask of thee, Sir, do me justice upon these murdering Jews. And the Apostle said to Hananyā: "Listen, my son and friend Hananyā. It is written for US: 'If thou do not judgement for thyself, I will do (it), saith God;' and: 'If thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him to drink, and when thou doest these things unto him, thou heapest coals of fire upon his head.' And again He has said: 'Let not evil overcome you, but overcome evil with good. 30 And again it is written: 'Is there a man who envies thee or hates thee, thou shalt not pray for his harm, lest it be displeasing in the eyes of the Lord, and He turn away the calamity from him, and bring it upon thee and upon thy dwelling.' And our Lifegiver has commanded us: 'Pray for your enemies, and bless them that curse you, and do good to him who persecutes you and hates you, that ye may be the children of your Father who is in Heaven, who lets His sun shine upon the good and upon the bad, and lets His rain descend upon the righteous and upon the wicked.' And again our Lord commanded us: 'If ye do not forgive men their offences neither will your Father, who is in Heaven, forgive you your offences.' And again He said: 'Blessed are the merciful, for upon them shall mercy be (shown).' And now draw nigh unto the Jews thy murderers, and as the Spirit of holiness gives unto thee, speak with them. And when the Apostle had said these things to Hananyā, the ox spake again, and said to Philip: "Order me,

Sir, that at this moment I may kill and knock down all these murderers, the enemies of the Messiah, with my horns. And the Apostle said to the ox: "Hurt no man but go with thy master, and serve him, and the Lord will heal thee and him (with such) a healing that thou shalt never have a pain.

³¹ Then the ox and his master bowed down before the Apostle of God, and went to their village in peace. ³² The hêgemôn says to the Apostle: "These Jews, therefore, are deserving of death." The Apostle says: "The Lord has not sent me to slay but to give life, and to raise up those who, whilst alive, were slain by Satan through sin." And the murderers were standing before the Apostle and before the Judge, with their faces ashamed, and what answer they should give them they did not know. Their mouth was closed, when they saw the miracle that was (wrought) through the ox, which, spake like a man, and Hananyā, who had been killed, who stood before them. ³³ And Hananyā, drew nigh to the Jews who slew him, and said to them: "Today is fulfilled regarding you the prophecy of Jeremiah the prophet, who said: 'Like the shame of the thief, when he is found out, so are ashamed the children of Israel, they and their kings and their priests and their nobles, who say to wood, Our father art thou, and to stone, Thou art our mother.' And now ye shall go in peace, ye children of Cain the murderer. Our Jesus the Messiah, in whom I have believed, shall do me justice upon you, and shall demand my innocent blood of your hands." And the Apostle said to the Jews: "Hear, ye who are guilty of death for (shedding) innocent blood, thus has Solomon your king written: 'He who is conscious of (shedding) a man's blood, shall flee to the chosen, and he will not deliver him.' And it is written in your Law: 'Whoso slays a man, he too shall be slain and shall not be atoned for, and it shall not be forgiven him before the Lord, until the blood of him be shed, who shed innocent blood.' But us, followers of the Messiah, Christians, disciples of Jesus the Messiah, He has thus commanded: 'It was said to the ancients, Cheek for cheek, tooth for tooth; but I say unto you, Stand not up against evil, but whoso smites thee on thy right cheek, turn unto him the other too.'" And when the Apostle had spoken vehemently, and they did not repent, and did not ask pardon, the Apostle said to the judge: "Turn them out." And the judge ordered his young men, and they turned the Jews out from before him by tribes.

³⁴ And afterwards fear seized all the Jews who were dwelling in the city of Carthage; and they were crying out and glorifying God and saying: "The

God of Philip the Apostle is One, whom the sea and the winds and the Angels obey, and the dead rise to His glory, and beasts and dolphins praise the majesty of Jesus the Messiah, the God who (is) over all." And there became disciples on that day about three thousand souls of the Gentiles, and of the Jews fifteen hundred; and they received the sign (baptism) of the Messiah, and rejoiced in the love of Jesus the Messiah, who had held them worthy of His grace. But the Jews who did not believe in the word of the Apostle, went away from the city and settled in other cities; and ere the sun had set, the Angel of the Lord smote and slew forty priests of the Jews, because they had shed the innocent blood of a just and righteous man. And all who heard and saw, confessed and worshipped and bowed down and said: "The true God is One, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and with Him His Father and His holy Spirit, to whom be glory and honour and praise and worship in all generations, for ever and ever, Amen and Amen."

³⁵ Here ends the history of Philip, the Apostle and Evangelist, and to God be the glory for ever, Amen. [All footnotes and biblical references have reluctantly been omitted. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought online by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)]

THE HISTORY OF MAR MATTHEW AND MAR ANDREW

THE HISTORY OF MĀR MATTHEW AND MĀR ANDREW, — THE BLESSED APOSTLES.

¹ WHEN THEY CONVERTED THE CITY OF DOGS, THE INHABITANTS OF WHICH WERE CANNIBALS. After the days of the ascension of our Lord Jesus the Messiah to Heaven, when the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, and the Paraclete had come to the upper chamber of Zion, and the holy Apostles were filled with the gift of the Spirit of holiness, each of them had the wish to go forth and preach the Gospel of the Messiah. And they began to cast lots and to distribute the countries among them. And it happened that, when they had cast lots, it fell to Matthew the Apostle to go to the city of which the inhabitants were cannibals. And the inhabitants of that city neither ate bread nor drank water, but their food was the flesh of men, and their drink too the blood of men. And every man who entered into that city, its inhabitants seized, and dug and put out his eyes, and gave him to drink a cup, which was mingled with sorcery; and as soon as he drank that cup, his

heart was changed, and his understanding perished, and he got the heart of a beast.

² And it happened that, when S. Matthew entered within the gate of the city, the inhabitants of the city seized him, and dug and put out his eyes, and gave him to drink the cup which was mingled with sorcery, and conveyed him to the prison where every one was imprisoned who fell into their hands; and they threw down for him grass to eat. And when the blessed Apostle had drunk the cup which they gave him, his heart was not changed; but he was always in urgent prayer and tears, saying: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, for whose sake we have left everything and follow Thee, because we know that Thou art the true God, and the Helper and the Deliverer of all those who trust in Thee,—look, Lord, and see what this hard-hearted people are doing to Thy servant Matthew, how they have made me like unto the beast in which there is no sense; for Thou art the Knower of everything. If thus be Thy will, O Lord; that I should become food for the inhabitants of this city, let Thy will be accomplished; I will not flee from Thy command. Give me the light of my eyes, that I may see what the people of this city do with me. Do not, Lord, forsake me, and do not give me up to this bitter death."

³ And whilst the blessed Matthew was praying thus, a mighty light shone through the whole place where he was imprisoned, and a voice was heard from the light, saying: "Matthew, my Apostle, lift up thine eyes." And straightway he lifted up his eyes and saw. And again the voice came unto him the second time and said: "Matthew, be firm, and be strong, and fear not; for I will not abandon thee, nor forsake thee; for I will deliver thee from all temptations, and not thee alone but all thy companions, for I am with thee at all times. And now endure in this thy prison-house twenty-five days, for the help of the souls of many. And after these things I will send unto thee Andrew, and he shall bring thee out of this prison and all those who are with thee here." And when our Saviour had said these things, He was lifted up to Heaven.

⁴ Then Matthew said: "Thy grace be with us, our Lord Jesus the Messiah." And he was within in the prison and was singing. And it happened that, when the executioners came into the prison to take out men for slaughter, Matthew shut his eyes, that they might not perceive that he saw the light. And it happened one day, when the executioners came and reached him, they read the ticket which was attached to his hand, and said among them—

selves, "In three days more we shall take out this one too and slaughter him;" for they used to write upon a ticket of wood the day on which a man was taken, and to tie it to his hand, that they might know the completion of his days. ⁵ And it happened that, when the twenty-seven days were completed, from (the time) that the blessed Matthew had been seized, our Lord Jesus the Messiah appeared unto Andrew in the country in which he was teaching, and said to him: "Andrew, rise, go with thy disciples to the city of which the inhabitants are cannibals, and take Matthew out of the prison in which he is; for after three days those wretches are going to take him out and kill him for their food." And Andrew answered and said: "My Lord, I am not able within three days to go to that city, because the way is long; but send an Angel to take him out thence, for Thou, my Lord, knowest that I am clothed with flesh, and am not able to arrive there quickly, neither do I know the way." And our Lord answered and said to him: "Andrew, listen, and obey Him who made thee and brought thee into being; for He is able in the twinkling of an eye to command, and that city would be lifted up and brought hither. For I will command the wind, and it shall convey thee thither. But arise in the morning, and go down to the sea-shore with thy disciples, and lo, thou shalt find a ship. Go on board of it, thou and thy disciples." And when our Lord had said these things, He gave him (the salutation of) peace, and was lifted up into Heaven.

⁶ Then Andrew arose in the morning, as he had been ordered, and went to the sea-shore with his disciples, and saw a small vessel, and in the vessel three men were sitting; for our Lord by His command had prepared a vessel, and He appeared in it in the likeness of a sailor, and there were with Him two Angels in the likeness of men. And Andrew, when he saw the vessel and the three men who were in it, rejoiced (with) a great joy, and drew nigh unto the vessel, and said to them: "Whither are ye going, my brethren?" And our Lord said to him: "We are going to the country of the Cannibals." Now Andrew did not perceive that it was Jesus, but our Lord concealed the might and power of His Godhead, and appeared like a steersman. And Andrew answered and said: "We too wish to go to that city." Then our Lord said to him: "Every man flees from that city, and ye wish to go thither!" Andrew answered and said: "We have something to do there, and we must go thither; and now, if ye are going to do a kindness unto us, show (it) to us." And Jesus answered and said to them: "Come on board in peace."

7 And Andrew answered and said: "I wish thee to know, my brother, before we go on board the vessel, that we have no ship-hire to give thee, nor have we bread for food with us." And our Lord said to him: "And how do ye come on board the vessel, when ye have no ship-hire?" Andrew says to Him: "Listen, my brother; do not suppose that from stiff-neckedness we do not give thee the ship-hire; but we are the disciples of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who loved us, and chose us twelve, and gave us commandment and said: 'When ye go forth to preach, do not take with you purses nor bags, nor copper (coin) in your purses, nor bread, nor a staff, nor shoes; neither have ye two coats.' If then thou wilt have compassion upon us, tell us quickly; and if not, we will look for another vessel." Jesus answered and said unto them: "If this be the commandment which ye have received, and ye keep it, come on board; for I say unto you, that it is more pleasing to me that the disciples of the Messiah should come on board my vessel than those who give me gold and silver. But this I say unto you, that perhaps I am worthy that the disciple of the Messiah should come on board my vessel." And Andrew answered and said: "Permit me, my brother; may the Lord give thee a reward and pardon."

8 Then Andrew went on board the vessel, and answered and said to his disciples: "My children, if ye choose, stay on shore, until I finish what was commanded me by our Lord, and return unto you." But his disciples said to him: "Far be it from us to do this! For if we remain behind thee, we shall become strangers to the grace which was given us; and now we will be with thee whithersoever thou goest." Then Jesus answered and said to Andrew: "If thou art in truth the disciple of the Messiah, remind thy disciples of the miracles which thy Lord wrought, that thou mayest strengthen their minds, that they may forget (their) concern about this sea; for lo, we are making ready to loosen the vessel from the land and to sail." Then Jesus made a sign to one of the Angels, and he loosened the vessel from the land; and Jesus came and sat in the midst of the vessel. And Andrew was encouraging his disciples, and saying: "My children, ye have given up your lives for the Messiah; fear not; for He did not forsake us at the time when we were with Him in the vessel, and He had lain down to sleep in the vessel, trying us, for He was not asleep; and when there was a great wind, and the sea reared its waves so that they rose above the mast of the vessel, and great fear took hold of us, our Saviour arose and rebuked the wind, and the waves were assuaged, and there was a great calm on the sea; for everything obeys His command, be-

cause they are His creation. And now, my children, fear not." And when Andrew had said these things, he prayed that his disciples-might remain at rest.

9 And when they had fallen asleep, Andrew turned and said to Jesus, not knowing that it was Jesus: "Tell me, man, and truly show me this art of thy steering; for I have never seen a steersman who managed a vessel as I now see thee. For sixteen times have I sailed on the sea, and this is the seventeenth, and I have never seen skill like this; for verily this vessel is in the midst of the sea just as if it were on land. Show me then thy art, O youth. Then our Lord said to Andrew: "We too have sailed many times on the sea, and a violent storm has risen against us; but because thou art the disciple of the Messiah, the sea has recognised thee and has not uplifted its waves against us. Then Andrew cried with a loud voice and said: "I bless Thy name, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, that Thou hast let me meet with a man who glorifies Thy name. And Jesus answered and said to him: "Tell me, disciple of Jesus, why the wicked Jews did not believe on thy Lord that He is the true God. Show me; for we have heard that He showed His power to His disciples. And Andrew answered and said: "Yes, my brother, He showed us that He is the true God; and now do not suppose that Jesus is not God, for He made man. And Jesus answered and said: "And why did the Jews not believe on Him? Andrew answered and said:

10 "O man, who hast the spirit of knowledge and all understanding, why temptest thou me? Our Lord says to him: "I tempt thee not with these things, but my soul rejoices and exults in them. Andrew says: "My brother, the Lord shall fill thy soul with great joy and grace. Our Lord answered and said: "Narrate to me then. And Andrew answered and said: "Hast thou not heard of the miracles which He did before them? To the blind He gave light, and to the lame to walk, and to the deaf and dumb to hear and speak; and He cast out devils; the lepers He cleansed, the dead He raised to life; He changed water into wine; and He took five loaves and two fishes, and ordered the people to recline upon the grass, and blessed, and satisfied them; and five thousand did eat and were satisfied, and left (something) over. And again He spake a blessing over seven loaves, and satisfied four thousand. And He did many signs and wonders and miracles, which, if I narrate them before thee, thou wilt not be able to bear. Jesus says to him: "I shall be able; but to a enough, though a fool not even many (words) can persuade."

¹¹ And when our Lord knew that the vessel had arrived near the land, He leaned His head against one of the Angels, and ceased to converse with Andrew. And when Andrew saw (this), he leaned himself against his disciples, and sank into a heavy sleep. And our Lord said to the Angels: "Spread out your hands, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go, place them at the gate of that city, the inhabitants of which eat the flesh of men." And the Angels did as they were commanded, and took up Andrew and his disciples, and carried (and) placed them at the gate of that city, the inhabitants of which eat men. ¹² And when Andrew awoke from his sleep and opened his eyes, he saw that he was sitting at the gate of that city, and his disciples beside him, who were asleep. And being astonished at what had happened, he awakened them and said to them: "Rise, my children, and see the grace that has been with us, and know that our Lord was with us in the vessel, proving us, and we did not recognise Him." And his disciples answered and said to him: "Do not suppose, our father, that we knew that we were sailing on the sea, because we were sunk in a deep sleep; and we saw that Angels came and took our souls and carried them to Paradise; and we saw there great wonders, for we saw our Lord Jesus the Messiah sitting on a glorious throne, and all the Angels beholding Him; and we saw there Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the Fathers and the holy Prophets, and you too the twelve Apostles, standing beside our Lord Jesus the Messiah; and we heard our Lord commanding His holy Angels: 'Be obedient to the Apostles in everything which they say unto you.' This is the vision which we saw, our father."

¹³ Then the blessed Andrew, when he had heard these things from his disciples, rejoiced (with) a great joy, that his disciples were worthy to see the great things of God. And he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: "Pardon me, my Lord, and forgive me what I have done; for as a man I saw Thee in the vessel, and as a man I spake with Thee. Wherein have I sinned, my Lord? (for) Thou didst not show to me Thy majesty." And our Lord said unto him: "Thou hast not sinned, Andrew; but I did these things unto thee, because thou saidst, 'I cannot go to the City of Dogs in three days.' Lo, now have I shown thee that I am able to do everything by (my) power. But arise, and go into the city unto Matthew thy brother, and bring him forth from prison, him and all those who are imprisoned with him. And lo, I make known unto thee, before thou enterest into their city, that they will show thee cruel tortures, and thy body shall be torn, and thy blood shall be poured out upon

the earth like water; for death they cannot give unto thee, but great tortures they are about to let pass over thee. But bear up, and harden not thyself against their wickedness. Remember the tortures which I endured, when the Jews smote me with their fists and spat in my face. Was I not able in the twinkling of an eye to move heaven and earth, and to bring chastisement upon those who beat me? But I bore (it), and forgave them, that I might set you an example."

¹⁴ And Andrew straightway arose, and entered into that city with his disciples. And he went to the prison, and saw the seven keepers, who were standing at the gates of the prison and guarding it. And Andrew prayed, and these keepers fell down and died. And when he came nigh to the gate of the prison, he made upon the gate the sign of the Cross; and straightway the gate became open. And when Andrew had entered the prison with his disciples, Matthew saw Andrew, and straightway he arose, and they asked after each other's welfare. And Andrew said to Matthew: "My brother, how hast thou got in here? For lo, after three days, the men of this city are going to take thee out and kill thee for their food. Where are the holy mysteries which thou hast learned? For if thou didst utter them, heaven and earth would tremble." And Matthew answered and said: "My brother Andrew, thou hast heard our Lord say: 'Lo, I send you like lambs among wolves.' For as soon as I entered into this prison, I prayed before the Lord, and He appeared unto me, saying: 'Bear up for twenty-seven days, and afterwards I will send unto thee Andrew, and he will take thee out of this prison and also all those who are with thee.' And as our Lord promised to me, lo, I see thee to-day; and now, what shall we do?"

¹⁵ Then Andrew looked in the midst of the prison, and saw those men who were bound there, stripped (naked) and eating grass like cattle. And Andrew beat his breast and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, look and see what they have given to men, who are made in Thy image and in Thy likeness, to eat." And the blessed (one) began to rebuke Satan and to say: "Out upon thee, Satan, thou enemy of our God and of His Angels! How long wilt thou fight with the human race?" ¹⁶ And Andrew and Matthew kneeled and prayed; and afterwards Andrew laid his hands upon the eyes of those men who had been blinded, and straightway they all saw the light. And again he placed his hand upon their heart, and their understanding was changed and became like that of men. And he said to them: "Depart now to the lower part of the city. Lo,

ye shall find on the road a large fig-tree; sit down under it, and eat of its fruit, till I come to you. And if I delay, ye will find for yourselves on it as much food as sufficeth for you." And those men answered and said to the blessed Andrew: "Come with us, sir, lest perchance the heathen men of this city see us again, and take us, and put us to tortures which are worse than the former ones." And he said to them: "Go in peace; verily I say unto you, that, whilst ye are going, not even a dog shall bark at you." And those men went, as the blessed Andrew had said to them; and they were in number forty-nine. But to Matthew he said that he should go with his disciples to the east side of the city. And Andrew prayed, and a cloud descended, and took away Matthew and his disciples, and set them on a mountain, where Peter the Apostle was sitting and teaching; and they remained with him.

¹⁷ But Andrew, after he had gone out of the prison, was walking about in the city. And he saw a pillar, and upon it was standing a statue of brass; and he sat down by the side of that pillar, that he might see what would take place. And it happened that, when the executioners went to the prison to fetch out men for their food, as was the custom of every day, they found the gates of the prison open and the keepers dead and lying on the ground. And they returned to the chief men, and said to them: "We went to the prison, and found it open and the keepers dead and lying on the ground; and when we went in, we found no man there." And when the chief men heard (this), they said among themselves: "What is this thing that has happened? Have men perchance gone into the prison and killed the keepers, and taken those who were bound there, and departed?" Then the chiefs said to the executioners: "Go to the prison, and bring those seven keepers, that we may eat them to day; and straightway collect for us all the old men of the city, and let them cast lots among themselves, and those on whom the lot falls we shall go on killing every day, seven by seven, for our food, until we choose young men and put them on board ship, and they go to the countries around us, and put men on board their ships and bring (them) hither, that they may be to us for food."

¹⁸ And when the executioners had gone to the prison, they brought those seven keepers dead. And there was there a large furnace, which was built in the midst of the city; and by the side of the furnace there was a large trough of stone, in which they used to kill the men, and their blood ran down and was collected in that trough, and they used to draw up the blood and drink

it. And it happened that, when they had brought those seven, who were dead, they placed them beside the trough, that they might lay their hands upon them and lift them up. And the blessed Andrew heard a voice saying to him: "Andrew, look and see what is being done in this city." And it happened that, when he saw (it), he prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who hast brought me to this city, do not permit that there take place in it anything hateful, but let the knives fall from the hands of these executioners." And straightway their hands were paralysed, and they were not able to lift them up or let them down. And when the nobles saw what had happened, they wept bitterly, saying: "Woe unto us, for there are magicians here, and they have gone into the prison, and slain the keepers, and brought out those who were imprisoned there; and lo, they have bewitched the executioners too. What then shall we do?"

19 Then they said to the executioners: "Go, collect for us the old men of the city, because we are hungry." And they went and collected them, and found two hundred and sixteen in number, and brought them to their nobles; and they commanded them to cast lots, and the lot of seven old men came forth. And one of the old men, upon whom the lot had fallen, answered and said to the executioners: "I beg of you, I have a little son, take him and kill him in my stead, and let me go." And they said to him "We cannot do this, unless the nobles bid us." And the executioners went and told their nobles these things. And the nobles answered and said to them: "If he gives a substitute, let him go"; and the executioners made this known to the old man. And the old man answered and said to them: "I have a daughter too; take her also with her brother for slaughter, and let me go." And he gave them up for slaughter, and the executioners took these children to kill them. And they were weeping and saying: "Do not kill us in this youth (of ours), but allow us to come to full growth, and then ye may kill (us)." And this also was the custom in that city, that they did not bury those who died, but ate them. And the executioners did not heed these children, but took them and went to the trough, in which they used to kill men, to kill them."

20 And when the holy Andrew saw (this), he wept bitterly, and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, as Thou didst hear me sinful concerning these dead, and Thy Divinity did not suffer them to be eaten, so now too do not suffer them to be brought nigh to the death of these children, but let their hands be paralysed, and let the knives fall and melt like wax before the fire." And

the moment that the blessed Andrew had prayed, the knives were loosened, and fell from the hands of the executioners. And when S. Andrew saw what had happened, he glorified God who had answered him in everything. And when the rulers saw what had happened, they wept bitterly and said: "Woe unto us! what is there now for us to do?" And Satan took the likeness of an old man, and stood in their midst, and said: "Woe to you! What can ye do? For ye have no food. And now arise, and seize in this city a stranger, whose name is Andrew, and kill him; for he has let out these men who were shut up in the prison."

²¹ And S. Andrew looked upon Satan, how he was talking among the crowd; but Satan did not see the blessed (one). And the Apostle of the Messiah answered and said to Satan: "O thou enemy of all mankind, who art constantly warring against them, our Lord Jesus the Messiah will humble thee and cast thee into the deep abyss of destruction." And when Satan heard this, he said, "Fie, fie upon thee! Thy voice I hear, but where thou art I know not." And the blessed (one) answered and said to Satan: "Verily thou art blind, and thou canst not see the saints." And when Satan heard this, he said to the multitude: "See now, seize him with whom I am speaking, because he is the disturber of your affairs." And those wicked (ones) ran and shut the gates of the city; and they were going about and seeking for the blessed Andrew through the whole city, and did not see him. Then our Lord Jesus the Messiah appeared to him and said to him: "Andrew, arise, show them thy power, that they may learn that the power of Satan, who dwells in them, is nought."

²² Then the blessed Andrew arose in the sight of the whole multitude, and said: "I am Andrew, whom ye seek." Then the whole people ran and seized him, and said to him: "As thou hast done unto us, we will do unto thee." And they began taking counsel together and saying: "With what death shall we kill him? If indeed we take off his head, it is not a bitter death; and if we burn him with fire, neither is this anything." Then one of them, after Satan had entered into him, answered and said to them: "As he made us suffer, so we too will make him suffer. This let us do unto him. Let us put ropes round his neck, and drag him through the streets and lanes of this city; and when he is dead, then we will divide his body among all of us." And this seemed good before the whole people; and they cast ropes upon his neck, and were dragging him through all the streets and lanes of the city, until his body was torn by the stones over which he was dragged, and his blood was

flowing like water. And when it was evening, they cast him into prison, with his hands bound behind him.

23 And again, when it was morning, they brought him out, and cast cords upon his neck, and dragged him through the whole city, and his whole body was torn by the ground. And the blessed (one) prayed with sighs and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, behold what they do with me, and I bear it because of Thy command, —for if it were not because of Thy mercy, Thou wouldest have sent them into the deep abyss, with their city,—but only, Lord, do not permit the enemy to mock me." And when the blessed (one) had said these things, Satan answered from behind him and said to the people: "Be smiting him upon his mouth, that he may not speak." 24 And when evening came, they cast him into the prison. Then Satan took with him seven demons, and went into the prison. And they stood before S. Andrew, and were mocking him, saying: "Now art thou caught in our hands. Who then shall deliver thee? For lo, thou destroyest our works out of every city, and hast desolated our temples and shrines, which were built for us." And Satan commanded those seven demons which were with him to slay the blessed (one). Then, when these demons drew near, and saw the seal of the Messiah between his eyes, they were afraid and fled from him. And Satan answered and said to them: "Why flee ye from him? What is it?" And they say to him: "We cannot come near to him because of the seal which is upon him; but do thou go, slay him, if thou art able." And Satan said to them: "Come then, let us mock him." Then those demons came with Satan their master, and were mocking the blessed (one) and saying: "Thou O Andrew, lo, art come to great disgrace and to hard judgement." Then, when the blessed Andrew heard these things, he said: "If ye kill me outright, I will not do your pleasure, but the pleasure of my Lord; for if my Lord visits me in this city, I will chastise you as ye deserve." And when the demons heard these things, they vanished from before him like smoke.

25 And when it was morning, they brought the blessed Andrew out of the prison, and tied ropes round his neck, and were dragging him. And again his body (was lacerated) and all the hair of his head was pulled out. And the blessed (one) cried with a loud voice, with sighs and tears, and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, these tortures are enough for me, these three days, by day and by night, of Satan and of the demons and of these heathens. Command, Lord, and receive my spirit, or show me Thy grace that I may be

strengthened." And when he had said these things, a voice came to him in Hebrew, saying: "Andrew, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. And do thou now turn and see thy flesh, which has been plucked from thee, what has become of it." And he looked and saw large trees, which had grown up and bore fruit. And S. Andrew said: "Now, Lord, I know that Thou hast not forsaken me."

26 And when it was evening, they cast him into the prison, saying: "His body is destroyed, and during this night he will die." Then our Lord Jesus the Messiah appeared to him in the prison, and said to him: "Andrew, give me thy hand." And He took him by his hand, and straightway he rose up whole. And the blessed (one) fell down and worshipped Him. And afterwards he looked into the midst of the pit in which he was imprisoned, and saw a pillar (statue) which was called in Greek Alabastros. And Andrew stretched out his hand and said: "Thou dumb stone, fear the sign of the Cross, at which heaven and earth tremble; and straightway let there flow from thy mouth much water, that it may submerge this city." And straightway that pillar (statue) let much water flow out like a mighty stream; and the water prevailed exceedingly, and killed their children and their cattle; and they were wishing' to flee from the city.

27 Then the blessed Andrew prayed, and a fiery cloud descended, and surrounded the city like a wall, and they were unable to flee. And when Andrew knew what had happened, he glorified God and said: "I bless Thee, our Lord Jesus the Messiah!" And all the inhabitants of the city trembled, and were weeping and saying: "Woe to us I for all these things have come upon us because of the stranger who is in the prison; but let us go and release him, that we may not die wretchedly by these waters of the flood and by this fire." And they all came to the prison, crying out with a mournful voice. And when the blessed Andrew saw that their spirit was humbled to him, he said to the pillar (statue): "Enough now; do not emit water any more. Lo, I will go out and preach the word of God; and I say unto thee, that, if the people of this city believe, I will build in it a church, and I will remove thee hence, and convey thee and set thee up in it, in recompense for thy having answered me and done that which was commanded thee." And at that moment the statue ceased from its flowing. And Andrew went forth from the prison, and the water was running before his feet.

28 Then the old man, who had given up his children to slaughter in his stead, came nigh before him, and said to him: "Have mercy upon us, our lord." And Andrew answered and said to him: "I ask of thee, how canst thou say to me that I should have mercy upon thee, when thou didst not have mercy upon thy children. But I say unto thee, that in a little while these waters shall go and be swallowed up in the midst of the abyss, and these executioners, who were killing the men, and thou too shalt be swallowed up with them." And he turned and said to the assembly: "Come after me, all of you." And whilst they were going after him, the waters were divided hither and thither before the feet of the holy (one), until he came to the place of the trough. And the blessed Andrew lifted up his face to heaven, and prayed, and the earth opened, and swallowed up the water and the executioners and the old man. And when the people of the city saw what had happened, they began to say among themselves: "Woe to us! for this man has been sent hither by God, and he will kill us because of the tortures which we made him bear; for lo, as it has been with the executioners and with that old man, (so) it will be with us." And the blessed Andrew, when he heard (this), said to them: "Fear not, my children, for not even these will God leave in Sheol; these have been snatched away to the lower earth, that ye might believe."

29 Then Andrew ordered them to bring all those who had been drowned by the water; and they were not able to bring them, because those who had died by the water were many, men and women, and children and animals. Then the blessed (one) prayed before God, and they were resuscitated and all arose. And after these things he baptised them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness. And he marked out for them the likeness of a church, and it was built quickly. And they brought the pillar (statue) which had made the water flow, and set it up in the church. And he sketched out for them rules and laws by which they might subsist, and delivered to them the mysteries of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and bade them sow and be nourished by the sweat of their faces. And he made haste to depart from them; and they were beseeching him, from the youngest to the oldest, and were saying to him: "We beg of thee, tarry with us a few days, (for) we are yet children in the faith, that we may receive of thy blessed fountain and of thy divine words." But he did not consent to abide with them, but went his way.

30 Then our Lord assumed unto him the likeness of a comely child, and said to him: "Why art thou going, and leaving them without fruit, and not

taking pity upon the children who are coming after thee and crying out? Now therefore return to the city, and abide with them seven days; and when thou enterest into the city, bring up those who were swallowed up in the abyss." Then Andrew glorified God and said: "Blessed art Thou, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, for Thou dost not wish that a man should perish, but that he should live." And he returned, and entered into the city. And when the people of the city saw that he had returned, they rejoiced (with) a great joy. And he spent there seven days, teaching and confirming them in the faith of our Lord. Then the blessed Andrew prayed, and the men, who had been swallowed up in the abyss, were resuscitated. And after seven days all the people of the city went out, and were accompanying him on his way, from the youngest even to the oldest, and were crying out and saying: "One is the God of the blessed Andrew, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Son of the living God;" to whom is befitting glory and worship and thanksgiving, with His blessed Father and His living and holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

³¹ Here ends the history of Matthew and Andrew, when they converted the City of Dogs; which is Írkā. [All footnotes and biblical references have reluctantly been omitted apart from these. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought online by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)] 1. See Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xvi, p.348. 2. Margin, twenty-seven, as in the Greek and below. 3. Here the Syriac text omits a considerable portion of the Greek, from p.138 l.13, in Tischendorf's edition, to p. 139 l.18. See Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, vol xvi., pp.351, 352. 4. Here again the Syriac text is shorter than the Greek, and some sentences are transposed. See Tischendorf's edition, p.142, line 1, to p.146, line 16, and Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xvi., pp.353-6.

THE HISTORY OF THECLA, THE DISCIPLE OF PAUL

THE HISTORY OF THECLA, THE DISCIPLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE.

¹ When Paul had gone up to the city of Iconium after his persecution, there accompanied him Demas and Hermogenes, the coppersmiths, who were full of sedition and spake big words. And they were conversing with Paul as though with their friend; but Paul was looking to the dwelling-place of the grace of the Messiah, and was not doing unto them any harm, but was loving them truly. And he was so loving them, that he was making all the words of the Lord, and of the teaching and preaching and the birth and the resurrection of the Beloved, sink into their souls through the great (doings) of the

Messiah. And he showed them how they were revealed to him, and was narrating (them) unto them by word (of mouth). ² And a man, whose name was Onesiphorus, heard that Paul had come to the city of Iconium, and went out, with the sons of Simon, and with Zeno, and with his wife, to meet Paul, that they might receive him; for Titus had told him what was the aspect of Paul; for Onesiphorus did not know him in the body, but in the spirit. And he went (and) stood where the roads meet, on the highway which goes to Lystra; and was standing and waiting for him, and looking upon those who were passing and returning, according to the marks which Titus had given him. And he saw Paul coming, and in his stature he was a man of middling size, and his hair was scanty, and his legs were a little crooked, and his knees were projecting (or far apart); and he had large eyes, and his eyebrows met, and: his nose was somewhat long; and he was full of grace and mercy; at one time he seemed like a man, and at another time he seemed like an Angel. And when Paul saw Onesiphorus, he was glad; and Onesiphorus said to him: "Peace be to thee, thou apostle of the Blessed (One)." Paul saith to him: "Peace be to thee, Onesiphorus, and to all thy household." And Demas and Hermogenes were filled with envy, and their jealousy was great; and they said to Paul: "Are we not of the Blessed (One), that thou hast never saluted us thus?" He answered and said to them: "Because I do not see in you the works of righteousness." Onesiphorus saith to them: "If ye be aught, come ye too to my house and rest."

³ And when Paul had entered into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy there, and they kneeled down on their knees, and prayed, and brake bread. And Paul came nigh and spake unto him the words of God concerning the controlling of the flesh and concerning the resurrection, and was saying: "Blessed are they who are pure in their heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they who have kept their flesh in purity, for they shall be called temples of God. Blessed are they who control themselves, for God shall speak with them. Blessed are they who have despised this world, for they shall be pleasing unto God. Blessed are they who have wives as though they had them not, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they in whose heart is the fear of God, for they shall be called Angels. Blessed are they who tremble at the words of God which they hear, for them shall God call. Blessed are they who have received the wisdom of Jesus the Messiah, for they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are they who have kept the baptism, for they shall

rest with the Father, who is in Heaven, and with His beloved Son. Blessed are they who have received the exhortation of the Messiah, for they shall be in great light. Blessed are they who for the love of God have gone out of this body, for they shall inherit eternal life, and shall stand at the right hand of the Son of God. Blessed are the merciful, for mercy shall be upon them from God, and on the Day of Judgement they shall receive the kingdom. Blessed are the bodies and souls of virgins, for they shall be pleasing unto God, and the reward of their holiness shall not be lost, for, according to the word of the Father, there shall be found for them works unto life at the day of His Son."

4 And whilst Paul was speaking these great things of God in the midst of the Church, in the house of Onesiphorus, one Thecla, a virgin, the daughter of Theocleia, who was betrothed unto Thamyris, came and sat at a window, which was close to their roof, and was listening to the words of Paul, which he was speaking concerning purity; and she did not depart from that window, and by night and day was hearkening to the prayer of Paul, and was wondering at the faith. Moreover too she was seeing many women, who were going in unto Paul that they might hear his words, for he was teaching the commandments of God; and she was longing to hear the words of Paul, for his figure had not been seen by her, but it was his words only which she was hearing; and she did not stir at all from that window.

5 Then her mother sent for Thamyris her betrothed; and when Thamyris her betrothed heard that his mother-in-law had called him, he ran and came to her, as if, lo, she was already granting to him to take her to wife. And Thamyris answered and said to his mother-in-law: "Where is Thecla my betrothed, that I may see her?" Theocleia answered and said to him: "I have something new to tell thee, Thamyris! Thecla thy betrothed, lo, for three days and three nights has not got up from that window, neither to eat nor to drink; but her eyes are intently fixed and she is looking at a strange man, who speaks vain and foolish words as if for a pastime; and accordingly I am surprised how discreet young women are quickly (and) evilly led away after him. I say unto thee, Thamyris, that he has perverted the whole city of the Iconians, and Thecla thy betrothed too, and many (other) women; and the young men go in to him, and he teaches them to worship one God and to live purely. And moreover Thecla is bound like a spider on its web, and is seized with a new desire and with an evil corruption, and her eyes are in-

tently fixed on whatsoever comes out of that chamber, and she does not quit that window either to eat or to drink, and the virgin is quite absorbed (in thought). But do thou, Thamyris, go near to her and speak with her, for she is betrothed to thee."

6 And Thamyris her betrothed drew nigh unto her, firstly, because he loved her, and secondly, because he had respect for her modesty; and he answered and said to her: "Thecla, thou art my betrothed; why is it that thou doest thus? And what is the evil corruption that has taken hold of thee? Turn to Thamyris thy betrothed, and be ashamed before him." And her mother answered and saith to her: "Why is it that thou thus lookest down, and givest no answer, but art become like a mad woman?" And when the people of their household saw her, they wept; and Thamyris was weeping because his betrothed had parted from him; and the mother because she was parted from her daughter and the women-servants because they were parted from their mistress. And great was the grief and the mourning in their house. And Thecla paid no attention to all these things, but her mind was bent to hear the words of Paul.

7 Then Thamyris her betrothed became angry, and sprang up (and) went out into the street, and was looking at those who were going in and out to Paul. And suddenly he saw two men who were quarrelling bitterly with one another. And Thamyris drew nigh unto them and said to them: "What are ye? Tell me. And who is this man, who (is) within, who is with you, who leads astray the souls of young women and of virgins, and commands that there should be no marriage-feasts, but that they should live thus (as they are)? I am willing to give you much money, if ye will tell me about him, who he is; for I am the chief (man) of this city." And Demas and Hermogenes, when they saw him, came to him, and answered and say to him: "This man of whom thou hast spoken, we do not know him, who he is; but he separates the young men from the virgins, and the virgins from the young men, and says to them, 'Ye cannot rise from the grave, unless ye keep yourselves purely.'" Thamyris answered and said to them: "Come, my friends, with me to my house, and rest yourselves with me." And they went with him to a great repast, and much meat, and immense luxury, and splendid tables. And Thamyris entertained them, because he loved Thecla his betrothed, that he might get her as a wife on the day which his mother-in-law had fixed for him. Thamyris answered and said to them as they were reclining (at table):

"Tell me, my friends, what are the doctrines which he teaches, that I too may know; for they are not few, who complain against him, and I too am grieved for my betrothed, who loves a strange man, and I am parted from her."

⁸ And Demas and Hermogenes answered and said to him with one consent: "Thamyris, bring him before Castelus the hêgemôn, and say, 'This (fellow) teaches the new doctrine, and is a Christian'; and lo, straightway he will destroy him, and thou shalt take Thecla thy betrothed (to wife), and we will teach thee the resurrection of the dead, which he teaches." ⁹ And when Thamyris heard these words, he was filled with envy and jealousy, and rose early in the morning, and went to the house of Onesiphorus with the chief men of the city and many people with staves. And he answered and said: "Paul, thou hast destroyed the city of the Iconians and my betrothed, so that she will not be mine. Come to Castelus the hêgemôn. And the whole city said: "Drag him along, he is a magician; for he has corrupted all our wives. And the whole people let themselves be persuaded. And when Paul had gone, they holding him, and stood before the hêgemôn, Thamyris answered and said with a loud voice to the hêgemôn: "This man—we do not know who he is; but he does not suffer virgins to become (the wives) of men. Let him tell thee, why he teaches this doctrine. And Demas and Hermogenes the smiths, who were full of sedition, drew near to Thamyris and said to him: "Say that he is a Christian, and lo, at that moment he will destroy him. And when the hêgemôn had heard the words of Thamyris and of the whole people, who were holding Paul, they saw that the hêgemôn called Paul and said to him: "Tell me, Paul, who art thou? And what teachest thou? For they are not few who accuse thee. Then Paul lifted up his voice and said: "I will relate to-day what I teach; listen, O hêgemôn. I teach a living God;

¹⁰ a God who does not requite retributions unto men; a God who does not require anything, but to whom the life of men is useful. And he has sent me that I might rescue them from destruction, and from uncleanness, and from all deadly lusts, that they might sin no more. On this account God has sent me, whom I preach, and I proclaim that in Him shall be the hope of all men; who has taken providential care and delivered the nations from error, that they might sin no more, and might not walk in sedition, but that fear might be in them through belief in God, and (that) they might know fear and love in truth. And if I teach whatever God hath revealed unto me, what wrong do I do, O hêgemôn? And when the hêgemôn heard these words, he

commanded that Paul should go to prison, being bound, until he could have an opportunity of hearing him well.

¹¹ And Thecla in that night took off her bracelets and gave (them) to the doorkeeper of their house, and he opened the door for her; and she went out, and went to the jailer, who was guarding Paul, and gave him her mirror of gold that he might bring her in to Paul. And he brought her in, and she came and sat by the feet of Paul, and was listening to the great things of God. And Paul was not distressed, but was teaching the commandments of God openly to every one who was with him (in the prison). And Thecla with great joy was kissing the bonds and chains which were laid on the hands and feet of Paul. ¹² And when her family and her betrothed sought for Thecla, as if she had been lost, they arose, going about and searching for her in the streets. And the companion of the doorkeeper came, and informed against him, and said: "I saw Thecla by night give her bracelets to the doorkeeper, and he opened the door for her, and she went out. And when they had scourged the doorkeeper, he confessed and said to them: 'She went out, and said to me, 'Lo, I am going to the stranger, where he is imprisoned.' " And they went, as the doorkeeper told them, and found her sitting at Paul's feet, she and many persons, and they were listening to the great things of the Most High. And Thamyris went forth thence with many persons, and they went in a great rage, and informed the hêgemôn of what had happened. Then the hêgemôn said: "Fetch Paul. And the young men ran and unbound Paul, and were dragging him from the prison until (they came) before the hêgemôn. And Thecla was prostrating herself and weeping on the spot where Paul had been sitting bound and teaching the commandments of God. And again of a sudden the hêgemôn commanded and said: "Bring Thecla, the betrothed of Thamyris. And Thamyris ran with many men, and they laid hold of Thecla, and were dragging her up to the hêgemôn. And when the hêgemôn saw her, he was very sorry for her; but Thecla was standing before him with great joy, and was not sorry.

¹³ Then of a sudden the whole people cried out and say: "Destroy this magician"; but he (the hêgemôn) did not say anything concerning Paul. Then the hêgemôn sat in council, and he arose, he and his companions, and they called Thecla, and say to her: "Why art thou not to thy betrothed according to the law of the Iconians? And Thecla was standing and looking on Paul, and she answered not a word to the hêgemôn. Then her mother cried out

and saith: "Burn the fool in the midst of the theatre, that all the women who see her, those whose doctrine this is, may be afraid. And when the hêgemôn heard (this), he was very sorry for her. Then he commanded, and they scourged Paul, and cast him out of the city and he condemned Thecla to be burned with fire in the midst of the theatre. And the hêgemôn arose and went to the theatre, he and the whole people, that they might see Thecla being burned with fire. And as a sheep on the mountain seeks its shepherd, so Thecla too was seeking that she might see where Paul was. And whilst she was looking among all that crowd, she saw the Lord Jesus the Messiah, who was sitting beside her in the likeness of Paul. And Thecla answered and saith: "Thus indeed hath Paul come and seated himself opposite me, as if I were not able to bear whatever may come upon me.

¹⁴ And she was looking upon him, and her eyes were gazing intently at him; and the Lord rose up thence and ascended unto Heaven, And the youths and maidens brought faggots and placed (them) in the theatre, that they might burn Thecla; and they brought her into the theatre naked. And when the hêgemôn saw her, he wept, and was astonished at the strength that was in her. And they piled up the faggots, and the youths laid hold of her that she might ascend the pile. And as soon as Thecla ascended (it), she stretched out her hands in the form of the Cross, and ascended the pile. And when the flames of fire rose, not even an atom of her hair was singed, because the Spirit of God had compassion upon her; and the sound of its roaring went up from the earth; and a rain cloud overshadowed (them), and hailstones and water were poured out abundantly, and many of those people, who were sitting and looking on, perished; and the fire was extinguished, and Thecla preserved alive.

¹⁵ And Paul was fasting, he and Onesiphorus, with his wife and children, in a sepulchre which was open by the roadside of the Iconians. And when they had been many days fasting, the youths say to Paul, "We are hungry; and they had not wherewith to buy for themselves bread, for Onesiphorus had left his house and his property, and he and his household had gone forth with Paul. Then Paul stripped off his tunic, and gave (it) to a boy, and said to him: "Go, sell (it), my son, and buy bread in abundance, and come (back). And the boy went to buy bread; and he saw Thecla their neighbour, and was astonished, and said to her: "Thecla, whither art thou going? She saith to him: " After Paul I am going, for I have escaped from the fire. And the boy

said to her: "Come with me, and I will lead thee to him; for he is supplicating and weeping and fasting, lo, these six days, and begging of God concerning thee. And Thecla came with him to the sepulchre, and entered and stood over Paul, and found him kneeling on his knees and praying and saying: "Our Father, who art in Heaven, I beg of Thee, let not the fire touch Thecla, but extinguish it from her, because she is Thine. And Thecla, whilst she was standing beside him, opened her mouth and saith:

16 "Father, who hast made Heaven and earth, Thou Father of the Holy (One), I praise Thee, who hast made me, and hast preserved me alive that I might see Paul. And Paul arose and saw her. And Paul answered and said: "God, the Searcher of hearts, the Father of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, I praise Thee because what I asked of Thee Thou hast rescued from the fire, and hast granted me to see Thecla, me and these persons who are with me; and in Thy hands it is an easy thing to deliver from all distress one who praises Thy name for ever." 17 And Paul was glad and rejoicing with those persons who were with him. And the boy had brought them five loaves of bread, and herbs and water and salt; and they were rejoicing in the pure works of the Messiah. And Thecla saith to Paul: "I will cut off my hair, and go after thee, whither thou goest." He answered and said to her: "It is a hard struggle, and thou art beautiful. (Take care) lest yet another trial come upon thee, which is worse than the first, and thou bear it not." And Thecla said to Paul: "Give me only the sign of God, and temptation shall not come nigh unto me." Paul saith unto Thecla: "Be patient, and thou shalt receive thy water (of baptism)."

18 And Paul sent away Onesiphorus with his family, and he went to his home. And Paul took hold of Thecla's hand, and those persons who were with him, and they entered into Antioch. And as they were entering and going along, one of the chief men of Antioch,— Alexander was his name, and he had great influence in Antioch,—saw Thecla and was enamoured of her, and was trying to seduce Paul, and was counselling him that he should give him much silver and gold and he should give him Thecla. And Paul answered and said to him: "I do not know this woman of whom thou speakest, if she be a woman as thou sayest, nor is she mine. And because Alexander was powerful, he came and embraced Thecla in the middle of the street; and she did not endure (it), but was seeking for Paul, and cried out bitterly and said to him: "Do not force the stranger! Do not force the handmaid of God! I

am a noble's daughter of the city of Iconium; and because I did not wish to belong to Thamyris my betrothed, they drove me out thence. And she laid hold of Alexander, and tore his garments, and pulled off from him the golden crown of figures, which was placed on his head, and dashed it to the ground, and left Alexander standing naked. And because he loved her, and also because he was ashamed of what she had done to him, he went at once and made (it) known before the hêgemôn.

¹⁹ And when the hêgemôn heard that Thecla had done these things, and she confessed what she had done to him, he sentenced her and ordered that they should cast her to the beasts; for Alexander was exhibiting spectacles to the city. And when all the inhabitants of the city heard this, they were astonished, and cried out in complaint before the tribunal and said: "Evil is the doom of Thecla. And Thecla came and stood before the hêgemôn, and made him swear that she should be kept in purity until they threw her to the beasts. And the hêgemôn, when he heard this thing, said to Thecla: " Go whither thou pleasest, and be in safe keeping. And there was there a rich queen, whose name was Tryphaena, whose daughter was dead; and she came and took Thecla, and was keeping her, and it was a consolation to her that she saw Thecla.

²⁰ And when the beasts were brought into the theatre, (men) came for Thecla, to take her away from the house of Tryphaena; and they led her to the theatre. And they brought (her; and) stripped her, and put a cloth round her loins, and made her stand naked, and brought in against her a huge lioness. And queen Tryphaena was standing beside the door of the theatre, and was weeping for her. And the lioness came (and) drew near to her, and was licking her, whilst Thecla was standing (there). And the whole people were astonished at her and at the power which God had given her. And they wrote on tablets and showed (them) unto all the people who were sitting (there); "Thecla they have called a violator of the temples, because she cast down the crown of Caesar from the head of Alexander, who wished to do uncleanness with her." And all the people were crying out there with their children, and saying: "Thy help, O God, (we implore) against the wickedness which has been (done) in this city." And again they let loose upon her other beasts, and again they did not come near her. Then she went forth from the theatre, she and these beasts; and straightway came queen Tryphaena and took Thecla; because her daughter, who was dead, had appeared in a vision of the night

and showed herself to her mother, saying: "My mother, take in my stead this Thecla, the stranger and the persecuted, that she may pray for me, that I may pass into the place of the righteous."

²¹ And when Tryphaena had taken her,—firstly, because she was grieved that tomorrow they were again going to throw her to the beasts; and next, because her soul was moved with compassion for her daughter who was dead,—the queen saith: "A second time, Thecla, there is mourning in my house. Pray, and beg of God; that he may have mercy on thee and may deliver thee from these beasts; and pray and beg of God also for my, daughter, that she may live; for thus I saw in my dream." And at that moment Thecla arose, and lifted up her voice, and said: "God, who art in Heaven, the Father of the Most High, grant to queen Tryphaena, according to her wish, that her daughter may live for ever." And when the queen heard these things, she sat in mourning, and was weeping and saying: "This beauty of thine, Thecla, tomorrow again the beasts will devour it."

²² And when it was dawn, Alexander ran (and) came to lead Thecla away, because he was giving the (exhibition of) beasts to the city at the theatre. And he answered and said: "Lo, the hêgemôn is sitting, and the whole people are hurrying us; give us Thecla who is (sentenced to be) devoured by the beasts, (and) we will carry her off." And Tryphaena cried out at him bitterly; and at the sound of the cry which she uttered at him, he fled. And the queen answered and saith: "Thy help, O God, (I implore); for lo, twice is there mourning in my house, and I have no one to help me; for my daughter lives not, who is dead, and there is none of my kinsmen to stand at my side, and I am a widow. Go, Thecla! Thy God will help thee." ²³ And again the O hêgemôn sent young men for her to fetch her down. And queen Tryphaena did not let go her hold of Thecla, but was taking her by the hand; and going (with her), and saying to her: "My own daughter I accompanied and conveyed to the tomb; and thee, Thecla, lo, I am accompanying and leading, that the beasts may devour thee." And Thecla wept bitterly and groaned before God, and said: "My Lord and my God, I believe in Thee, for I took refuge with Thee and Thou didst deliver me from the fire; and now grant Thou a recompense to Tryphaena, because her soul has had compassion upon Thy handmaiden and she has kept me in purity." And at that moment there was a great confusion, and the sounds of the cracking of many whips, which they were cracking at the beasts, and the sound of the outcry of men and wo-

men, who were saying, "Bring out the violator of the temple of the gods." And some of them were saying: "This city will be destroyed for the wickedness which it has done; the hêgemôn has ruined us all; for bitter is the sight which we behold here, and evil is the doom of Thecla."

24 And the young men came and took Thecla away from the hands of queen Tryphaena, and led her into the theatre to throw her to the beasts. And they brought (her), and made her stand in the midst of the theatre, and stripped (her), and took away her clothes, and put a cloth round her loins; and she was standing naked, and said: "My Lord and my God, the Father of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Thou art the Helper of the persecuted, and Thou art the Companion of the poor; behold Thy handmaiden, for lo, the shame of women is uncovered in me, and I stand in the midst of all this people. My Lord and my God, remember Thy handmaiden in this hour." Then they brought in against her a leopard, which was very savage; and again they brought in against her a lioness. And Thecla was standing with her arms spread out in the form of the Cross. And the lioness ran towards her, and when it reached her, it came (and) lay down at her feet. And the leopard came to her, to attack her, and fell down before her and burst. And again they brought in against her a bear, which was very strong; and it ran at Thecla. And the lioness, which was crouching at her feet, arose, and sprang upon the bear and rent it. And again (they let loose) a lion which was trained to run at men, which belonged to Alexander; and it ran at Thecla. And the lioness, which was crouching beside her, arose, and met the lion; and the two sprang upon one another, and after a little (while) the two killed each other. And the women specially sat in sorrow, who were sitting there and looking on, and saying: "The lioness too, which was helping Thecla, is dead."

25 And again, lo, they let in upon her many beasts. And when Thecla, standing (there), saw that they were letting in upon her many beasts, she spread out her hands and stood praying. And when she had finished her prayer, she turned backwards, and saw a reservoir which was full of water. And Thecla answered and saith: "Lo then, it is time to wash myself." And she lifted up her hands and saith: "In the name of Jesus the Messiah, lo, to-day, the last day, I am baptised." And when the women, who were sitting (there), saw (this), and the whole people, they wept and say to her: "Do not cast thyself into that water, for evil are the beasts that are in it." And the hêgemôn too, when he saw her, wept, that the beasts, who were in that water, should

devour this beauty. And Thecla leaped, and fell into the water. And the beasts, which were there, when they saw the flash of light, died, and floated upon the surface of the water. And there was around her, and overshadowing her, a cloud of lightning, so that Thecla could not be seen (to descry) whether she was naked.

26 And when the women, who were sitting in the theatre, saw that other beasts were being let in at Thecla, which were worse than the former, they broke out into wailing and say: "Thy help (we implore), O God! What do we see in this city? And then these women came and cast perfumes upon Thecla; there were some who cast spikenard, and some sweet-marjoram (amaracus), and some tarphūsē; and they were throwing perfumes into the midst of the theatre upon Thecla. And the beasts, which they had let loose at her, came up to her, and sat down around her, behind her and in front of her, and lay down and slept; and not one of them harmed Thecla. And again Alexander ran (and) came and said to the hêgemôn: "I have two bulls, which are very strong and savage; let us bring them and bind between them this (woman who is) doomed to be devoured by beasts, so that perchance they may become furious and destroy her. And the hêgemôn said to Alexander: "Go and do whatever seems good unto thee. And he sent and had the bulls fetched; and they brought Thecla from among the beasts, and took hold of her, and threw Thecla upon her face, and took hold of her feet and bound her between the two bulls.

27 And they brought spits and put them in the fire, and made the spits hot with fire, and laid them upon the thighs of the bulls, that they might become furious and in their anger destroy the captive. And the bulls, because of the pain they suffered, sprang up suddenly; but a flash of fire ran and consumed the ropes which were fastened to the feet of Thecla, and Thecla sprang up and stood beside the bulls, as if she had no pain and as if she had not been bound. And when the hêgemôn and the whole city saw the great marvels which God had wrought with Thecla, they praised God for what they had seen. And queen Tryphaena, who was standing by the door of the theatre, fainted away and fell down on the ground,, because she thought that Thecla was dead. And when her slaves saw that she had fainted and fallen down, they broke out into wailing, and rent their garments and say: "The queen is dead. And when the hêgemôn heard them say "The queen is dead," (he stopped the games,) and the whole city trembled. And Alexander was afraid,

and he ran (and) came and said to the hêgemôn: "Have pity on me, sir, and also on this city, and release this (woman, who was) doomed to be devoured by beasts, that she may go away from us, so that the city too may not perish, lest perchance, when Caesar hears of these things which we have done, he may destroy the city;

²⁸ for queen Tryphaena is of the family of Caesar, and lo, she was standing beside the door of the theatre, and she is dead. Then the hêgemôn said: "Bring Thecla before me. And the young men ran and brought Thecla from the midst of the beasts, and made her stand before the hêgemôn on the tribunal. And the hêgemôn answered and said to Thecla: "Who art thou? And who was there beside thee, that not one of these beasts came nigh unto thee? And Thecla said: "I am the handmaiden of the living God, and He who was beside me is the Son of the living God, in whom I have believed, by reason of whom not one of those beasts came nigh unto me; and He is the limit of life; for He is a companion to all the persecuted, and to those who have no hope, He is hope and life. I tell thee then, hêgemôn, and these men who, lo, are standing before thee, that he who does not believe in God—for, lo, ye have seen the great things of God, what He hath done to His handmaiden, — he who does not believe in Him shall die for ever."

²⁹ And when the hêgemôn heard these words from the mouth of Thecla, he ordered them to bring clothes for her; and the hêgemôn said to her: "Thecla, take off the cloth that is wrapped round thy loins, and take these garments which I have had brought for thee." And Thecla answered and saith to the hêgemôn: "He who has clothed me with power amid these beasts, He will clothe me at the Day of Judgement with life." And Thecla took off the cloth that was wrapped round her loins, and took the clothes and put them on. And the hêgemôn made criers proclaim to the whole people: "Thecla, who is God's, and Thecla, who is righteous, I have released and given unto you." And the women, who were sitting there in the theatre, shouted out with one voice, and offered praise (unto God), and said: "God is One, and the God of Thecla is One, who has preserved her alive, and brought her forth from the midst of all these beasts." And with the voice of the women who shouted the whole city trembled. And straightway they ran (and) announced it to queen Tryphaena; and she ran (and) came and met Thecla, and embraced her and kissed her and said to her: "My daughter Thecla, now I believe that the dead live, and now I believe that my daughter lives. Come then with

me to my house, my daughter Thecla, and everything whatsoever I have, I will assign to thee by deed." And Thecla went with her and entered into her house, and rested there eight days, and taught queen Tryphaena all the commandments of God. And the queen believed in God, and a great many of her handmaidens; and there was great joy there.

³⁰ And because Paul was dear unto her, Thecla sent and was seeking him everywhere. And when they had found him, they came and said to her: "Lo, he is in the city of Myra. And she arose and departed from the house of queen Tryphaena, and dressed herself like a man, and the queen's handmaidens. And she went and entered into the city of Myra, and found Paul sitting and teaching the commandments of God, And Thecla stood beside him. And when Paul saw her and the people who were with her, he was astonished; for Paul thought that a new trial was come upon him. And Thecla answered and saith to him: "I have received baptism; for He who commanded thee to preach, commanded me too to wash myself. And straightway Paul arose, and took her and all the people who were with her, and led her to the house of Hermseus. And Paul and Thecla, and the people who were with them, sat down; and she narrated to them everything that they had done with her; and Paul marvelled greatly at the power which was given to Thecla; and all who were standing there and hearing what God had done with her, were greatly confirmed and established. And straightway they all arose, and praised God, who works great things in every one who believes in Him and does His commandments. And they prayed and besought of God for queen Tryphaena, and said:

³¹ "Our Lord and our God, the Father of the Most High, reward queen Tryphaena, who has had compassion upon Thy handmaiden, and kept her in purity. And Thecla said to them: "I am going to the city of Iconium. Paul saith to her: "Go and teach there the commandments of God. And when queen Tryphaena heard that Thecla was going to the city of Iconium, she took much clothing and gold, and sent (them) to Thecla. And Thecla took the clothing and some of the gold, and sent (them) to Paul for the service of the widows and for those who were in want of them. ³² And Thecla went (and) entered into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell upon her face on the place where Paul used to sit and teach the commandments of God; and she was weeping and saying: "O Lord, our God and the God of this house, in which light shone upon me from Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, who

aided me in prison, and delivered me from the fire, and preserved me from among the furious beasts, and helped me before the hêgemôn, and gave me my baptism, and gave me purity that I might live for ever, and might go into the glories which are kept for me and for those who keep the commandments of God in righteousness—He is one God the Most High, who sitteth upon the throne of the cherubim, to whom be praises for ever, Amen and Amen. And after these great things which God had done with her, she learned there in the city of Iconium that Thamyris her betrothed was dead, but her mother Theocleia alive; and she sent and called her and saith to her: "My mother Theocleia, if thou canst believe, believe that there is one God, the Lord in Heaven; and if thou lovest wealth and gold and silver that perish, lo, they are given unto thee from this hour; but if thou wilt believe that there is one God in heaven, and that there is no other god but He, thou shalt be able to live and to observe whatever I say unto thee;

³³ for lo, I stand before thee, who have escaped from the fire, and have escaped from the furious beasts, and have escaped from before the hêgemôn, for my God and my Lord helped me, and gave me power to endure all these things. And all these things did she testify unto her mother; and she departed from the city of Iconium, and went to Seleucia, and there too she enlightened many persons by the word of God, and lay down to sleep in a quiet resting-place. ³⁴ Peace be with you, servants of Jesus the Messiah, who keep His commandments in purity, that the Father may recompense you with all that He hath promised unto you through His Son, who is our King. Here ends (the history of) Thecla, the disciple of the Apostle Paul. [All footnotes and biblical references have reluctantly been omitted apart from these. The footnotes in the printed edition show very many text variants with words and clauses omitted in one manuscript or another, or additional text added. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought online by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)] 1. See... Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xvi., p.279.

THE ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS, THE TWIN

THE ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS (OR THE TWIN) — THE APOSTLE.

¹ The (first) act of Judas Thomas the Apostle, when He sold him to the merchant Habbân, that he might go down (and) convert India. ² AND when all the Apostles had been for a time in Jerusalem, — Simon Cephas and Andrew, and Jacob (James) and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and

Thomas and Matthew the publican, and Jacob (James) the son of Alphæus, and Simon the Kananite, and Judas the son of Jacob (James),—they divided the countries among them, in order that each one of them might preach in the region which fell to him and in the place to which his Lord sent him. And India fell by lot and division to Judas Thomas (or the Twin) the Apostle. And he was not willing to go, saying: "I have not strength enough for this, because I am weak. And I am a Hebrew: how can I teach the Indians? And whilst Judas was reasoning thus, our Lord appeared to him in a vision of the night, and said to him: " Fear not, Thomas, because my grace is with thee. But he would not be persuaded at all, saying: "Whithersoever Thou wilt, our Lord, send me; only to India I will not go. And as Judas was reasoning thus, a certain merchant, an Indian, happened (to come) into the south country from——,whose name was Habbān; and he was sent by the king Gūd-naphar, that he might bring to him a skilful carpenter. And our Lord saw him walking in the street, and said to him: " Thou wishest to buy a carpenter? He saith to him, "Yes. Our Lord saith to him:

3 "I have a slave, a carpenter, whom I will sell to thee. And he showed him Thomas at a distance, and bargained with him for twenty (pieces) of silver (as) his price, and wrote a bill of sale thus: "I, Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, from the village of Bethlehem, which is in Judæa, acknowledge, that I have sold my slave Judas Thomas to Habbān, the merchant of king Gud-naphar. And when they had completed his bill of sale, Jesus took Judas, and went to Habbān the merchant. And Habbān saw him, and said to him: "Is this thy master? Judas saith to him: "Yes, he is my master. Habbān the merchant saith to, him: "He has sold thee to me outright. And Judas was silent.

4 And in the morning he arose and prayed, and entreated of his Lord, and said to Him: "Lo, our Lord, as Thou wilt, let Thy will be (done)." And he went to Habbān the merchant, without carrying anything with him except that price of his, for our Lord had given it to him. And Judas went and found Habbān the merchant carrying his goods on board the ship, and he began to carry (them) on board with him. And when they had gone on board and sat down, Habbān the merchant saith to Judas: "What is thy art which thou art skilled in practising?" Judas saith to him: "Carpentering and architecture—the business of the carpenter." Habbān the merchant saith to him: "What dost thou know to make in wood, and what in hewn stone?" Judas saith to him: "In wood I have learned to make ploughs and yokes and ox-goads, and

oars for ferry-boats, and masts for ships; and in stone, tombstones and monuments, and temples, and palaces for kings." Habbān the merchant saith to him: "And I was seeking just such an artificer." And they began to sail, because the breeze was steady; and they were sailing along gently, until they put in at the town of Sandaruk.

5 And when they had disembarked on the land, and were entering and going into the city, they heard the sound of pipes and organs and much singing. And Judas was asking and saying: "What is the rejoicing that is in this city?" They say to him: "Thee too have the gods brought that thou mayest be glad in this city; for the king has an only daughter, and he is giving her to a man; and this sound of rejoicing is that of the wedding-feast. And heralds have been permitted by the king to proclaim, that every one should come to the feast, both poor and rich, and slaves and freemen, and strangers and citizens. And every one who does not come to the feast, is in danger of the anger of the king." The merchant Habbān saith to Judas: "Let us too go, that we may not be spoken ill of, especially as we are strangers." And when they had stopped at an inn and rested a little, they went to attend the feast. And Judas reclined in the middle, and they were all looking upon him as upon a stranger, who came from another place. And the merchant Habbān, his master, was reclining in another place.

6 And when they ate and drank, Judas was tasting nothing at all. Those who were beside him say to him: "Why art thou come hither, since thou art not able to eat or to drink?" Judas saith to them: "For something that is better than eating or drinking, am I come hither; and for the king's rest, and that I might accomplish his will; and because the heralds were proclaiming, that he who hears and does not come, shall receive chastisement." And when they had eaten and drunk, both oil and dried fruits were brought in to them, and they took (thereof). Some were anointing their faces, others their beards, and others other places; but Judas was praising, God, and signing the middle of his head (with the Cross); and he moistened his nostrils with a little (of the oil), and put (some) in his ears, and made the sign (of the Cross) over his heart; and a garland of myrtle was placed on his head, and he took a reed-branch in his hand.

7 Then the flute-girl, who was in the midst of the party, was going round to them all; and when she came to Judas, she was standing and playing over him. And the flute player was a Hebrew (woman). And when she had stood

over him a long time, Judas did not lift up his face, but was looking all the while on the ground. And one of the cup-bearers came, (and) raised his hand and smote him on his cheek. And Judas looked at him and said to him: "My God will forgive thee this in the world to come, but in this world He will show His wonders on the hand which smote me, and I shall see it dragged along by a dog." And Judas began to sing this song. ⁸ "My Church is the daughter of light; the splendour of kings is hers. Charming and winsome is her aspect, fair and adorned with every good work. Her garments are like unto flowers, the smell whereof is fragrant and pleasant. On her head dwelleth the King, and He feedeth those who dwell with Him beneath. Truth is placed on her head, joy moves in her feet. Her mouth is open, and it becometh her, wherewith she uttereth all songs of praise. The twelve Apostles of the Son, and the seventy-two (disciples) thunder forth (His praises) in her. Her tongue is the curtain, which the priest raiseth and entereth in. Her neck is the lofty flight of steps, which the first architect did build. Her hands, both of them, proclaim (and point out) the place of life; and her ten fingers have opened the gate of Heaven. Her bridal chamber is lighted up, and full of the sweet odour of salvation. A censer is ready in its midst, love and belief and hope, gladdening all; within, truth (dwells) in humility. Her gates are adorned with truth; her groomsmen surround her, all whom she hath invited; and her pure bridesmaids (go) before her, uttering praise. The living are in attendance upon her, and they look to their Bridegroom who shall come, and they shall shine with His glory, and shall be with Him in the kingdom which never passeth away. And they shall be in the glory to which all the just are gathered;

⁹ and they shall be in the joy into which some enter; and they shall put on shining garments, and shall be clothed with the glory of their Lord. And they shall praise the living Father, whose majestic light they have received, and have been enlightened by the splendour of their Lord, of whose food they have received, which never hath any excrement, and have drunk of the life which makes those who drink of it long and thirst (for more); and have glorified the Father, the Lord of all, and the only-(begotten) Son, who is of Him; and have praised the Spirit, His Wisdom." ¹⁰ And when he had sang this song, all who were beside him were looking at him, and were seeing that his aspect was changed; but they could not at all understand what he was saying, because he was speaking in Hebrew, and they did not know (it). But the

flute-player had heard everything, because she was a Hebrew (woman), and she was looking at him. And when she left him and played to the others, she still kept looking at him, and loved him as a countryman of hers; and in his looks he was more beautiful than all those who were there. And when the flute-player had finished, she sat down opposite to him and did not turn away her eyes from him; but he did not lift up his eyes, and did not look at any one, but was ever looking upon the ground, (waiting) till he might arise and depart from the banquet-room. And the cup-bearer had gone down to the fountain to draw water, and a lion happened to be there, and rent him and tore him limb from limb. Then the dogs were carrying off his limbs singly; and a black dog carried off his right hand, which he had raised against Judas, and brought it into the midst of the banquet-room.

¹¹ And when they all saw it, they were amazed. And when they were all asking which of them was lost, the hand was found to be that of the cup-bearer who had smitten Judas. Then the flute-player broke her flutes, and came to the feet of the Apostle, (and) sat down, and was saying: "This man is either God or the Apostle of God; for I heard him (say) in Hebrew what he said to that cup-bearer, and immediately it befell him. For he said to him, 'I shall see a dog dragging about the hand that smote me'; and lo, ye have seen how the dog dragged it about." And some of them believed the flute-player, and some of them did not believe (her). And the king, when he heard this story, came and said to Judas: "Come with me, and pray for my daughter, because she is my only one, and today I am giving her away in marriage." And he did not wish to go with him, because our Lord had not yet manifested Himself to him in that place. But the king carried him off by force to the bridal chamber.

¹² And he began to pray and to say thus: "Our Lord,— companion of His servants, and guide and conductor of those who believe in Him, and refuge and repose of the afflicted, and hope of the poor, and deliverer of the feeble, and healer of sick souls, life-giver of the universe, and saviour of (all) creatures,—Thou knowest what things are going to happen, and through us Thou accomplishest them. Thou art the discloser of hidden secrets, and the revealer of mysterious sayings. Thou art the planter of the good tree, and through Thy hands all acts take place. Thou art hidden in all Thy works, and art manifested in their acts, Jesus, perfect Son of perfect mercy; and Thou didst become the Messiah, and didst put on the first man. Thou art the

power, and the wisdom, and the knowledge, and the will, and the rest of Thy Father, in whom Thou art concealed in glory, and in whom Thou art revealed in Thy creative agency; and Ye are one with two names. And Thou didst manifest Thyself as a feeble (being), and those who saw Thee, thought of Thee, that Thou wast a man who had need of help. And Thou didst show the glory of Thy Godhead in Thy longsuffering towards our manhood, when Thou didst hurl the evil (one) from his power, and didst call with Thy voice to the dead, and they became alive; and to those who were alive and hoping in Thee, Thou didst promise an inheritance in Thy kingdom.

¹³ Thou wast the ambassador, and wast sent from the supernal heights, because Thou art able to do the living and perfect will of Thy sender. Glorious art Thou, Lord, in Thy might; and Thy renovating administration is in all Thy creatures, and in all the works which Thy Godhead hath established; and no other is able to annul the will of Thy majesty, nor to stand up against Thy nature as Thou art. And Thou didst descend to Sheol, and go to its uttermost end; and didst open its gates, and bring out its prisoners, and didst tread for them the path (leading) above by the nature of Thy Godhead. Yea, Lord, I ask of Thee on behalf of these young people, that whatever Thou knowest to be beneficial for them, Thou wilt do for them. And he laid his hand upon them, and said to them: "Our Lord be with you"; and he left them and went away.

¹⁴ And the king requested the groomsmen to go out of the bridal chamber. And when all the people had gone out, and the door of the bridal chamber was closed, the bridegroom raised up the curtain, that he might bring the bride to himself. And he saw our Lord in the likeness of Judas, who was standing and talking with the bride. And the bridegroom said to him: "Lo, thou didst go out first; how art thou still here?" Our Lord saith to him: "I am not Judas, but I am the brother of Judas." And our Lord sat down on the bed, and let the young people sit down on the chairs, and began to say to them:—

¹⁵ "Remember, my children, what my brother spake with you, and know to whom he committed you; and know that as soon as ye preserve yourselves from this filthy intercourse, ye become pure temples, and are saved from afflictions manifest and hidden, and from the heavy care of children, the end of whom is bitter sorrow. And if ye have children, for their sakes ye will become oppressors and robbers and smiters of orphans and wrongers of widows, and ye will be grievously tortured for their injuries. For the greatest part

of children are the cause of many pains; for either the king falls upon them, or a demon lays hold of them, or paralysis befalls them. And if they be healthy, they come to ill either by adultery, or theft, or fornication, or covetousness, or vain-glory; and through these wickednesses ye will be tortured by them. But if ye will be persuaded by me, and keep yourselves purely unto God, ye shall have living children, to whom not one of these blemishes and hurts cometh nigh; and ye shall be without care and without grief and without sorrow; and ye shall be hoping (for the time) when ye shall see the true wedding-feast; and ye shall be in it praisers (of God), and shall be numbered with those who enter into the bridal chamber."

16 And the young people were persuaded by our Lord, and gave up themselves to Him, and were preserved from filthy lust, and passed the night in their places. And our Lord went forth from beside them, and said to them: "May the grace of your Lord be with you." And in the morning, when it was dawn, the king had the table furnished early, and brought in before the bridegroom and bride. And he found them sitting the one opposite the other, and the face of the bride was uncovered and she was sitting, and the bridegroom was very cheerful. The mother of the bride saith to her: "Why are thou sitting thus, and art not ashamed, but (art) as if, lo, thou wert (married) along time and for many a day?" And her father too said: "Because of thy great love for thy husband dost thou not even veil thyself?"

17 And the bride answered and saith to her: "Truly, my mother, I am in great love, and I am praying to my Lord that I may continue in this love which I have experienced this night, and may call for the incorruptible Bridegroom who has revealed Himself to me this night. And that I am not veiled, (is) because the veil of corruption is taken away from me; and that I am not ashamed, (is) because the deed of shame has been removed far from me; and that I am not repentant, (is) because the repentance, which restores to life, abides in me. And that I am cheerful and gay, (is) because, in the day of this transitory joy, I am not agitated by it; and that this deed of corruption is despised by me, and the spoils of this wedding-feast that passes away, (is) because I am invited to the true wedding-feast; and that I have not had intercourse with a husband, the end whereof is bitter repentance, (is) because I am betrothed to the true Husband." And many things which were like unto these was she saying.

18 Then too the bridegroom answered and said: "I praise Thee, (Thou) new God, who by means of a stranger hast come hither. I glorify Thee, (Thou) God, who hast been preached by means of a Hebrew man; who hast removed me from corruption, and hast sown in me life; who hast delivered me from the disease that was abiding in me for ever; who hast revealed to us Thyself, and I have perceived in what (state) I am; who hast saved me from falling and hast led me on to a better state; who hast rescued me from these transitory things, and hast deemed me worthy of those that are not transitory; who hast let Thyself down even to my littleness, that Thou mightest bring me unto Thy greatness; who didst not withhold Thy mercy from me who was lost, but didst show me (how) to seek for myself and to put away from me the things that are not mine; who, when I did not know Thee, hast sought me Thyself; who, when I did not perceive Thee, hast come unto me; whom I have now perceived, and am not able to say anything which I do not know; against whom 'I cannot consent that I should say aught with boldness, for it is because of Thy love that I am bold."

19 And when the king heard these things from the bridegroom and from the bride, he rent his garments, and said to those who were by him: "Go forth in haste through the whole city, and go about, (and) bring me that sorcerer, whom I introduced with my own hands into my house, and bade him pray over my unlucky daughter. To the man who shall find him and bring him to me, I will give whatever he shall ask." And they went (and) were going about looking for him, and did not find him, because he had set out. And they went to the inn where he had stayed, and found the flute-girl sitting and weeping, because he had not taken her with him. And when they told her what had happened, she was glad and saith: "I have found rest here." And she arose (and) went to the young people, and was dwelling with them a long time. And they taught the king too, and collected a number of brethren, until news was heard of the Apostle (being) in the realm of India; and they went to him and were united unto him.

20 Here ends the first act. The second act, when Thomas the Apostle entered into India, and built a palace for the king in Heaven. AND when Judas had entered into the realm of India with the merchant Habbān, Habbān went to salute Gūdnaphar, the king of India, and he told him of the artificer whom he had brought for him. And the king was very glad, and ordered Judas to come into his presence. And the king said to him: "What art dost thou

know to practise?" Judas saith to him: "I am a carpenter, the servant of a carpenter and architect." He saith to him: "What dost thou know to make?" Judas saith to him: "In wood I know (how) to make yokes and ploughs and oxgoads, and oars for barges and ferryboats, and masts for ships; and in hewn stone, tombstones and monuments and palaces for kings." The king saith to Judas: "And I want such an artificer." The king saith to him: "Wilt thou build me a palace?" Judas saith to him: "I will build it and finish it, for I am come to work at building and carpentering."

²¹ And he took him and went outside the gate of the city, and was talking with him about the constructing of the palace, and about its foundations, how they should be laid. And when he had reached the place where the king wished him to build a palace for him, he said to Judas: "Here I wish you to build for me a palace." Judas saith to him: "(Yes,) for this is a place which is suitable for it." Now it was of this sort; it was a meadow, and there was plenty of water near it. The king saith to him: "Begin to build here." Judas saith to him: "Now I cannot build, at this time." The king saith to him: "And at what time wilt thou be able to build?" Judas saith: "I will begin in Teshri (Oct.-Nov.), and I will finish in Nisan (April)." The king saith to him: "All build-ings are built in summer; and thou buildest in winter!" Judas saith to him: "Thus (only) is it possible for the palace to be built." The king saith to him: "Well then, trace it out for me that I may see it, because after a long time I shall come hither." And Judas came and took a cane, and began to measure; and he left doors towards the east for light, and windows towards the west for air; and (he made) the bake-house to the south, and the water-pipes for the service (of the house) to the north. The king saith to him: "Verily thou art a good artificer, and art worthy to serve a king;" and he left with him a large sum of money, and departed from him.

²² And he was sending silver and gold to him from time to time. But Judas was going about in the villages and cities, and was ministering to the poor, and was making the afflicted comfortable, and was saying: "What is the king's shall be given to the king, and many shall have rest." And after a long time, the king despatched messengers to Judas, and sent (a message) to him thus: "Send me (word) what thou hast done, and what I shall send thee." And Judas sent him (word): "The palace is built, but the roof is wanting to it." Then the king sent to Judas silver and gold, and sent him (word): "Let the palace be roofed." And the Apostle was glorifying our Lord and saying: "I

thank Thee, Lord, who didst die that Thou mightest give me life; and who didst sell me that I might be the liberator of many." And he did not cease to teach, and to relieve those who were afflicted, saying: "May your Lord give you rest, to whom alone is the glory; for He is the nourisher of the orphans and the provider of the widows, and He ministers unto all those who are afflicted."

23 And when the king came to the city, he was asking every one of his friends about the palace which Judas had built for him; but they say unto him: "There is no palace built, nor has he done anything else, but he was going about the cities and villages, and giving to the poor, and teaching them the new God, and also healing the sick, and driving out demons, and doing many things; and we think that he is a sorcerer; but his compassion, and his healing, which was done without recompense, and his asceticism, and his piety, make (us) think of him either that he is a magus, or an Apostle of the new God; for he fasts much and prays much, and eats bread and salt and drinks water, and wears one garment, and takes nothing from any man for himself, and whatever he has he gives to others." And when the king heard these things, he smote his face with his hands, and was shaking his head.

24 And he sent (and) called Judas and the merchant who had brought him, and said to him: "Hast thou built me the palace?" Judas saith to him: "I have built thee the palace." The king saith to him: "In what time can we go (and) look at it?" Judas saith to him: "Thou canst not see it now, but when thou hast departed from this world." Then the king became very furious in his anger, and commanded that Thomas and the merchant who had brought him, being bound, should go to prison, till he could question him about what had done — to whom he had given it — and then destroy him. But Judas went rejoicing, and said to the merchant: "Fear not, but only believe, and thou shalt be freed from this world, and shalt receive everlasting life in the world to come." 25 And the king was considering by what death he should kill Judas and the merchant; and he took the resolution that he would burn him, after being flayed, with the merchant his companion. And in that very night, the brother of the king, whose name was Gad, was taken ill through grief and through the imposition which had been practised upon the king. And he sent (and) called the king, and said to him: "My brother, I commend unto thee my house and my children, for I am grieved and am dying because of the imposition that hath been practised upon thee. If thou

dost not punish that sorcerer, thou wilt not let my soul be at peace in Sheol." The king saith to him: "The whole night I have been considering, how I should kill him, and I have resolved to burn him with fire after he hath been flayed." Then the brother of the king said to him: "And if there be anything else that is worse than this, do (it) to him; and I give thee charge of my house and my children."

26 And when he had said these things, his soul left him. And the king was grieved for his brother, because he loved him much; and he wished to bury him in a splendid sepulchre. But when the soul of Gad, the brother of the king, had left him, angels took it and bore it up to heaven; and they were showing it each place in succession, (and asking it) in which of them it wished to be. Then, when they came to the palace which Judas had built for the king, his brother saw it, and said to the angels: "I beg of you, my lords, let me dwell in one of the lower chambers of this palace." The angels say to him: "Thou canst not dwell in this palace." He saith to them: "Wherefore?" They say to him: "This palace is the one which the Christian hath built for thy brother." Then he said to them: "I beg of you, my lords, let me go, that I may go to my brother and buy of him this palace; for my brother hath not seen it, and will sell it to me."

27 Then the angels let go the soul of Gad. And as they were enshrouding him, his soul came into him, and he said to those who were standing before him: "Call my brother to me that I may make of him one request. Then they sent word to the king, "Thy brother is come to life. And the king sprang up from his place, and went into the house of his brother with a number of people. And when he had gone in beside his bed, he was astounded and was unable to speak with him. His brother saith to him: " I know, my brother, that if a man had asked thee for the half of thy kingdom, thou wouldst have given it for me. And now I beg of thee that thou wouldst sell me that at which thou hast laboured. The king saith to him: "Tell me, what shall I sell thee? He saith to him: "Swear unto me. And he swore unto him that he would grant him whatever he asked of all that he had. He saith to him: "Sell me the palace which thou hast in heaven. The king saith to him: "Who hath given me a palace in heaven? His brother saith to him: "(It is) that which the Christian hath built for thee. The king saith to him: "That I cannot sell to thee; but I pray and beg of God that I may enter into it and receive it, and may be worthy to be among its inhabitants.

²⁸ And thou, if thou really wishest to buy thyself a palace, this architect will build (one) for thee which will be better than that of mine. And he sent (and) brought out Judas and the merchant who was imprisoned with him, and said to him: "I beg of thee, as a man who begs of a minister of God, that thou wouldst pray for me, and beg for me from the God whom thou worshipping, that He would forgive me what I have done unto thee; and that He would make me worthy to enter into the palace which thou hast built for me; and that I may become a worshipper of this God whom thou preachest. And his brother came and fell down before the feet of the Apostle, and said to him: "I beg of thee—I too supplicate before thy God, that I may become worthy to Be a worshipper of His, and may also receive what He hath shown me by the hand of the angels."

²⁹ Judas saith: "I praise Thee, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who art alone the God of truth, and there is no other, and Thou knowest whatever man does not know. Thou, whose mercy is upon men, whom Thou hast willed and made,—and they have forgotten Thee, but Thou hast not neglected them—do Thou receive the king and his brother, and unite them to Thy fold, and anoint them, and purify them from their uncleanness, and guard them from wolves, and feed them in Thy meadows, and let them drink of Thy fountain, which is never turbid and the stream whereof never faileth; for, lo, they beg of Thee and supplicate, and wish to become servants of Thine, and to be persecuted by Thy enemy and to be hated for Thy sake. Let them therefore have boldness in Thee, and be confirmed by Thy glorious mysteries, and receive of the gifts of Thy gifts."

³⁰ And they were rejoicing with holy hymns, and were cleaving unto the Apostle and not parting from him; and every one who was needy, was receiving and being relieved. And they begged of him that they might receive the sign (of baptism, saying:) "For we have heard that all the sheep of that God, whom thou preachest, are known to Him by the sign." Judas saith to them: "I too rejoice, and I ask of you to partake of the Eucharist and of the blessing of this Messiah whom I preach." And the king gave orders that the bath should be closed for seven days, and that no man should bathe in it. And when the seven days were done, on the eighth day they three entered into the bath by night that Judas might baptise them. And many lamps were lighted in the bath. ³¹ And when they had entered into the bath-house, Judas went in before them. And our Lord appeared unto them, and said to

them: "Peace be with you, my brethren." And they heard the voice only, but the form they did not see, whose it was, for till now they had not been baptised. And Judas went up and stood upon the edge of the cistern, and poured oil upon their heads, and said: "Come, holy name of the Messiah; come, power of grace, which art from on high; come, perfect mercy; come, exalted gift; come, sharer of the blessing; come, revealer of hidden mysteries; come, mother of seven houses, whose rest was in the eighth house; come, messenger of reconciliation, and communicate with the minds of these youths; come, Spirit of holiness, and purify their reins and their hearts." And he baptised them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of holiness. And when they had come up out of the water, a youth appeared to them, and he was holding a lighted taper; and the light of the lamps became pale through its light. And when they had gone forth, he became invisible to them; and the Apostle said: "We were not even able to bear Thy light, because it is too great for our vision." And when it dawned and was morning, he broke the Eucharist and let them partake of the table of the Messiah; and they were glad and rejoicing.

³² And when many were added and were coming to the refuge of the Messiah, Judas did not cease to preach and to say to them: "Men and women and children, youths and maidens, shun fornication and covetousness and the service of demons; for under these three heads comes all wickedness. For fornication blinds the intellect, and darkens the eyes of the soul; it confuses the steps of the body, and changes its complexion, and makes it sick. And covetousness puts the soul into agitation in the midst of the body, so that it takes what does not belong to it, and is afraid lest, when it returns the thing to its owners, it should be put to shame. And the service of the belly makes the soul dwell in care and sorrow, fearing lest it should come to want, and grasp at things that are far from it. For since ye have been delivered from thence, ye are become without care and without grief; and there remains with you (the saying): 'Take no care for the morrow, because the morrow will take care of itself.' And bear in mind the other (saying), which is written for you: 'Look upon the ravens, and consider the fowl of heaven, which sow not nor reap, and God feedeth them;

³³ how much more then will He have care for you, ye lacking in faith?' But expect the coming of Jesus, and hope in Him, and believe in His name, because He is the Judge of the dead and of the quick, and He shall recom-

pense every man according to his works at His last coming. For it will be no excuse for one to say; 'We did not know.' His heralds are proclaiming in the four quarters of the world: 'Repent and believe in the new preaching, and receive the pleasant yoke and the light burden, and live and die not. Gain (these), and perish not. Come forth from the darkness, and the light will receive you. Come to the Good, and receive for yourselves grace, and plant the Cross in your souls.' " ³⁴ And when the Apostle had said these things, some of them said to him: "It is time for the debtor to be paid." He saith to them: "The creditor always seeketh more, but let us give him as much as is proper." And he spake a blessing over the bread and the olives, and gave unto them. And he himself ate, because the Sunday was, dawning. And when the Apostle was asleep in the night, our Lord came and stood over him and said to him: "Thomas, rise, go forth in the morning after the service, and go along the eastern road about two miles, and I will show in thee my glory; for because of this on account of which thou goest out, many shall come to my refuge and shall live, and thou shalt reprove the power and the nature of the enemy." And when he awoke from his sleep, he said to the brethren who were beside him: "My children, our Lord will do today whatsoever He will; but let us pray and beg of Him that there be to us no hindrance towards Him, but, just as at all times when He wisheth to show His power in us, (so) now too let His will be accomplished." And when he had spoken thus, he laid his hand upon them, and broke the Eucharist, and gave unto all of them, and said to them: "Let this Eucharist be unto you for grace and mercy, and not for judgement and vengeance." And they said, "Amen."

³⁵ Here ends the second Act. The third act of Judas, regarding the black snake. ³⁶ AND the Apostle went forth to go whither our Lord had told him. And when he reached (the distance of) two miles, he turned aside from the road a little, and saw lying there a corpse of a handsome youth, and said: "Was it for this trial Thou didst bring me out hither, our Lord? Let it be as Thou wilt. And he began praying and saying: "Our Lord, Lord of the dead and of the quick—of the quick, who, lo; are standing, and of the dead, who, lo, are lying, — O Lord, Lord of the souls which abide in the body, and Father of all the souls which have gone out of the body, — come, Lord, at this moment, for the sake of the dust which Thy holy hands have fashioned, and look down from, heaven, for I call upon Thee, and show Thy glory in this (man) who is lying here. And he said again: "This deed has not taken

place without the instigation of the enemy, who does these things; but the enemy, who does these things, has not dared (to attempt it) through one who is alien to him, but (through one) who is subject to his will. And when he had said these things, a black snake came forth from a fissure, and was shaking his head violently, and beating his tail on the ground. And with a loud voice he said to the Apostle: "I will say before thee on what account I slew this youth.

³⁷ There was a woman fair of face in this village which is over-against thee; and as she passed by me, I saw her and loved her; and I went after her, and saw this youth kissing her, and he also slept with her, and did other things with her which are unseemly, — easy for me (to say), but to thee I do not dare to utter them, because I know that the ocean-flood of the Messiah will destroy our nature. And in order that I might not alarm her, I did not kill him at that time, but I watched him, and in the evening, when he passed by me, I struck him and killed him, and especially because he had dared to do this thing on the Sunday. Judas saith to him: "Of what seed art thou?"

³⁸ The snake saith to him: "I am reptile, the son of reptile) and harmer, the son of harmer; I am the son of him, to whom power was given over all creatures, and he troubled them. I am the son of him, who makes himself like unto God to those who obey him, that they may do his will. I am the son of him, who is ruler over everything that is created under heaven. I am the son of him, who is outside of the ocean, and whose mouth is closed. I am the kinsman of him, who spake with Eve, and through her made Adam transgress the commandment of God. And I am he who incited Cain to slay his brother. And on my account, — because for this I was created, — the earth was cursed and thorns grew up in it. I am he who dared, and cast down the just from their height, and corrupted them through the lust of women; and they begat sons large of body, and I worked in them my will. And I am he who hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that he might slay the children of Israel, and keep them down in hard slavery. I am he who led the people astray in the desert, when I subdued them so that they made for themselves the calf. I am he who stirred up Caiaphas and Herod by slander against the Righteous Judge. I am he who caused Judas to take the bribe, when he was made subject to me, that he might deliver up the Messiah to death. I am he to whom the power of this world was given, and the Son of Mary has seized me by force

and taken what was His from me. I am the kinsman of him, who is to come from the east, to whom the power is given."

³⁹ And when he had finished, the multitude was hearing all these things; and fear with belief settled on all those who were there, when they saw and heard these wonders. And they were crying out alike with one voice: "One is the God of this man, who has informed us concerning his God, and by his word has commanded this fearful beast, and it has disclosed its nature." And they were begging of him that, as he had commanded it by his word to speak like a man, so too by his word he would kill it. Then Judas made a sign to them with his hand, and raised his voice and said: "Thou art audacious, though thy nature is laid bare, and thou shalt be slain. And thy insolence, which has gone so far, ought not to have been (such) that thou shouldst tell those things which were done by those who were subject to thee; and thou hast not feared that thy end was come. But to thee I say, in the name of our Lord Jesus, who struggled against thy nature even to the end for His human beings, that thou suck out the poison which thou hast cast into this youth; because my God has sent me to ill thee and to raise him up alive before this multitude, that they may believe in Him, that He is the true God and that there is no other." And the snake said to him: "Our destruction is not as yet come, as thou hast said. "Why compellest thou me to take (back) what I have put into this youth? For were even my father to suck out and take (back) what he has cast into the creation, it would be his destruction." The Apostle saith to him: "Show, then, the nature of thy father." And the snake came, and put his mouth upon the wound of the youth, and was sucking the poison from it; and by little and little, as the poison was drawn out, the colour of the youth, which had become like purple, became white, and the snake was swelling. And when he had drawn out the whole of the poison from the youth, he sprang upright, and ran to the feet of the Apostle, and fell down and worshipped him. Then the snake burst, according to the word of Judas; and a great pit was made in the place where the poison of the snake fell. And Judas commanded the king and his brother to fill up that place, and lay foundations, and make in it houses (as) places of entertainment for strangers.

⁴¹ And the youth was glorifying God, through whose grace he had come to life by the hand of the Apostle Judas, and had been rescued from all his former deeds. And he begged of the Apostle that he would aid him in prayer to our Lord, being upbraided by his own conscience, and was saying: "To

Thee be glory, merciful and great and glorious God, maker and founder of all created things. Thou hast set a limit and a measure to all Thy creatures whom Thou hast created; and hast appointed for them changes that are beneficial to their natures. Thou art He who didst make man, as Thy Godhead willed, with the fashioning of Thy hands, that he might be ruler above; and didst create for him another creation, that he might strive against it with the free-will which Thou didst give him. But the free nature of man went astray, and he became subject to his fellow; and that (fellow) became an enemy to him, because he found that he had been unmindful of his free-will. And the enemy rejoiced that he had found an entrance into his fellow, and thought that he would be master over all the slaves; but Thou, O Merciful, through Thy great mercy, didst spread over us Thy goodness, and didst send to our human race Thy Word, the Disposer of all created things, through Thy glorious Son.

⁴² And He, through His free-will, which Thou gavest Him,—Thy goodness aiding Him,—came and found us in those works which our human nature did from the first day. And Thou didst not enter into a reckoning with us for our sins, but didst bring me to life through Thy goodness, and didst show me my remissness, and didst sow in me Thy heavenly love; and didst open my mouth, which was shut, that I might speak of my enslaver and of Thy abundant grace, which is not angry with me for what I say concerning it, about whose great love I am speaking." ⁴³ And Judas stretched out his hand to him, and raised him up, and embraced him, and said to him: "The grace of our Lord be with thee and with all those who believe in Him. And the youth said: "Glory to Thee, O God,—who did not withhold His mercy from me, who was lost, but showed me (how) to seek my own soul, and informed me concerning thee, that thou art His Apostle, and said to thee: 'I have many things to show through thee, and thou hast many works to accomplish through Me, for which thou shalt receive their reward; and thou shalt give life to many, and they shall become on high, in the light, sons of God. Do thou, therefore, bring to life this youth, who has been smitten by his enemy, because thou at all times beholdest thy Lord.' Yea, my lord, Apostle of God, thou hast done well to come hither, and thou hast drawn many unto Him, and He will not fail thee. And I am without care and without suffering, because of His grace which has come upon me through thee, and (because) His gift has been poured out abundantly upon my weak-

ness. And I have been freed from evil cares and from deeds of corruption, and have been delivered from him, who was alluring me and inciting me to do those things in which thou didst find me, and have understood Him who was saying to me' the opposite of them.

⁴⁴ And I have destroyed him, who, through darkness, his kinsman, made me stumble by his works; and I have found the Light, the Lord of the day, who had not been seen by me, and I have seen him. And I have destroyed him, who was darkening and obscuring all those who cleave unto him and obey him, so that they cannot see what they are doing and be ashamed of their deeds and desist from them, and his work (thereby) come to an end; and I have found Him, whose doing this is, that those who do His will should never repent. I have been delivered from him, whom fraud supports, and before whom goes a veil (of darkness), and after whom comes shame, and she daring in impudence. And I have found Him, who clears away evils, the Lord of peace and the Confirmer of truth, who makes the enemy pass away from those who turn repenting unto Him, and heals their afflictions, and destroys their disturber. But I beg of thee, Apostle of God, sow in me thy word of life, so that I may again hear perfectly the voice of Him, who delivered me unto thee and said to thee, 'This is (one) of those who shall live through thee, and henceforth let him be with thee.' "

⁴⁵ Judas saith to him: "If thou wilt be delivered from these things which thou hast learned, as thou hast said, from the doer of evils, and wilt listen to Him, whom in the fervour of thy love thou now seekest, thou shalt see Him, and shalt be with Him for ever, and shalt rest with Him by His grace, and shalt be with Him in His joy. But if thou art negligent of Him, and comest to those former deeds of thine, and insultest Him, whom, because of (His) beauty and because of the aspect of His light, thou now eagerly desirest, thou shalt not only be deprived of that life which thou hast seen, but thou shalt also lose this in which thou art abiding." ⁴⁶ And Judas came to the city, and took the hand of the youth, and said to him: "My son, these things which thou hast seen are a few out of the many that belong to our God; for He doth not send us tidings concerning these things that are seen, but promiseth us better things; for as long as we are in the world, we are unable to speak about that which all the believers in God are going to receive. For if we say that He hath given us light, we mention something which we have seen; and if we say that He hath given us wealth, we mention something that is in the

world; and if we speak of (fine) clothing, we mention something that nobles wear; and if we speak of daintymeats, we mention something against which we are warned; and if we speak of (this) temporary rest, a chastisement is appointed for it. But we speak of God and of our Lord Jesus, and of the Angels and the guardian spirits and the saints, and of the new world, and of the incorruptible food of the tree of life, and of the draught (of the water) of life; of what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man (to conceive), — what God hath prepared from of old for those who love Him. Of this we speak, and of this we preach.

⁴⁷ Believe in Him, therefore, my son, that thou mayest live, and trust in Him, that thou mayest not die; for He will not take a bribe, that thou shouldst offer (it) to Him, nor is He pleased with a sacrifice, that thou shouldest sacrifice it (to Him). Look unto Him, and He will not neglect thee, and turn unto Him, and He will not forsake thee; for His beauty will incite thee to love Him, and He will not suffer thee to turn away from Him."

⁴⁸ And when Judas had said these things to the youth, great multitudes joined (them). And the Apostle lifted up his eyes, and saw people raised up upon one another that they might see him, and going up to lofty places. And the Apostle saith to them: "Ye men, who are come to the assembly of the Messiah, men who wish to believe in Jesus, take unto yourselves an example from this, that, if ye do not raise yourselves up, ye cannot see me who am little. Me, who am like yourselves, ye are unable to see; Him, who is on high and is found in the depths, how shall ye be able to see, unless ye raise yourselves above your former works, and above the deeds that profit not, and the pleasures that abide not, and the corruptible wealth that remaineth here; and above riches and possessions that perish on the earth, and above garments that decay, and above beauty that becomes old and is disfigured, and above the body, in which all these are included, and which becomes dust, and which all these support? But believe, and trust in our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Him whom we preach, in order that your hope may be in Him, and that in Him ye may live for ever and ever, and that He may be to I you a guide in the land of error, and may be to you a haven in the sea of trouble, and may be to you a fountain of living water in the region of thirst, and may be to you a full basket in the place of hunger, and maybe a rest to your souls and a healer and giver of life to your bodies."

⁴⁹ Then the multitudes were crying out: "Apostle of the living God, and guide in the path of life, and revealer of the mysteries of the truth, many are the things that have been done for us, who are aliens from the glorious God whom thou preachest, and until now we do not dare to say that we are His, because our works are alien from Him and hateful before Him. But if He will have compassion upon us, and deliver us from our former deeds, and from the evil things that were done by us in error, and will not enter into reckoning with us nor remember against us our former sins, we will become servants of His and accomplish His will." Judas saith to them: "He will not reckon against you your sins which ye did in error, but He will pardon you your iniquities, those former ones which ye did without knowledge."

⁵⁰ Here ends the third Act. The fourth Act, of the Ass that spake. AND whilst the Apostle was standing in his place on the road, and speaking with those multitudes concerning the kingdom of God, and concerning their conversion and repentance unto our Lord,—whilst the Apostle was standing on the road, and speaking with those multitudes, an ass's colt came and stood before him. And Judas said: "It is not without the direction of God that this colt has come hither. But to thee I say, O colt, that, by the grace of our Lord, there shall be given to thee speech before these multitudes who are standing here; and do thou say whatsoever thou wilt, that they may believe in the God of truth, whom we preach." And the mouth of the colt was opened, and it spake like a man by the power of our Lord, and said to him: "Twin of the Messiah, and Apostle of the Most High, and sharer in the hidden word of the Life-giver, and receiver of the secret mysteries of the Son of God; freeborn, who didst become a slave, to bring many to freedom by thy obedience; son of a great family, who became bereaved, that by the power of thy Lord thou mightest deprive the enemy of many, so that thou mightest become the cause of life to the country of the Indians; (thou) who didst come against thy will to men who were straying from God, and, lo, by the sight of thee and by thy godly words they are turned unto life; mount (and) ride upon me, and rest until thou enterest the city."

⁵¹ And Judas lifted up his voice and said: "O Jesus, Son of perfect mercy; O Thou quiet and silent (One), who speakest by animals that have not speech; O hidden (One), that art seen in Thy works; our Nourisher and Guardian; the Giver of life to our bodies and the Giver of life to our souls; sweet spring that never faileth, and clear fountain that is never polluted; Thou who art a

help to Thy servants in the contest, and crushest the enemy before them; Thou who standest up in contests for us, and makest us victorious in them all; our true Athlete, who cannot be hurt, and our holy General, who cannot be conquered; Thou who givest to Thine own joy that passeth not away, and rest in which there is no more affliction; Thou good Shepherd, that giveth his life for his flock, who hath overcome the wolf and rescued his lambs; we glorify Thee, and we exalt through Thee Thy exalted Father, who is not seen, and the holy Spirit that broodeth over all created things."

⁵² And when the Apostle had said these things, all the multitudes that were assembled there were looking to see what answer he was about to give to the colt. And after the Apostle had stood a long time wondering and looking up to heaven, he said to the colt: "Who art thou? And what is thine errand, that by thy mouth wonders are uttered and great things that are more than many?" The colt saith to him: "I am of that stock that served Balaam the prophet, and God thy Lord rode upon my kin; and I am sent unto thee to give thee rest, and that thereby the faith of these might be confirmed, and that that other portion might be added to me, which I have got today in order to serve thee and which will be taken away from me when I have served thee." Thomas saith to him: "God, who has given thee this gift now, is to be relied on to give it hereafter too in full to thee and thy kindred; for I am too little and weak for this mystery." And he would not ride upon it.

⁵³ And the colt was begging of him and supplicating him that it might be blessed by his riding (upon it). And he mounted and rode upon it. And the people were going after and before the Apostle, and were running to see what would happen to him, and how he would let the colt go. And when he reached the gate of the city, he dismounted from it, and said to it: "Go, be preserved as thou hast been." And at that moment the colt fell down and died. And all who were there were sorry for it, and were saying to the Apostle: "Bring it to life again." The Apostle says to them: "It is not because I am Unable to bring this colt to life, that I do not bring it to life, for He who gave it speech was able to make it not die; but this is a benefit to it." And the Apostle commanded those who were with him to dig a place and bury its body; and they did as he commanded them.

⁵⁴ Here ends the fourth Act. The fifth Act, of the Demon that dwelt in the Woman. AND the Apostle went into the city, the multitudes accompanying him; and he was thinking of going to the house of the family of the

youth whom he had brought to life, because he had begged this earnestly of him. ⁵⁵ And a fair woman cried with a loud voice and said to him: "Apostle of the new God, who art come to India; servant of the holy God, who by thee is proclaimed both the Giver of life to the souls of those that come unto Him, and the Healer of the bodies of those who are tortured by the enemy; (thou) who art the cause of life to the whole people of India; permit them to bring me before thee, that I may tell thee what has befallen me, so that perchance I may get hope from thee, and these who are standing by may be greatly strengthened in the God who is proclaimed by thee. And I tell thee, that I am not slightly tormented by the enemy, lo, for the space of five years. For I was sitting in ease, and peace was around me on all sides, and I had no concern about anything, because I knew no care. And it happened one day, as I was coming out of the bath, a man met me, who seemed troubled in his aspect, (and) his voice and speech were very weak. And he said to me: "I and thou shall be in one love, and do thou have intercourse with me as a man and a woman have intercourse. And I said to him: "I did not yield myself to my betrothed, because I cannot bear a man; and to thee, who wishest to have adulterous intercourse with me, how can I give myself to thee?

⁵⁶ And I said to the maiden who was with me: "See the impudence of this young man, (who goes) so far as to talk licentiously to me. And she said to me: "I saw an old man who was talking to thee. And when I had gone home and supped, my heart made me afraid of him, because he had appeared to me in two forms; and I went to sleep thinking of him. And he came in the night and had filthy intercourse with me, and by day too I saw him and fled from him; but by night he used to come in a terrible form, and torture me. And lo, up to the present, as thou seest me, lo, for five years he has not left me alone. But because I know and believe that both devils and spirits and demons are subject to thee and dread thy prayer, I beg of thee, my lord, that thou wouldst pray over me, and ask of God, and drive away from me this affliction, and (that), for the time that is appointed to me, I may be free, and may be united to my former nature, and receive the gift that is given to the penitent.

⁵⁷ Then the Apostle, when he saw the instigation of the enemy, lifted up his voice and said: "O evil that cannot be repressed! O enemy who art never at rest! O envious one who art never quiet! O hideous (one) who strivest with the comely, that thou mayest subdue them under thee! O (thou) who hast

many hideous shapes, and appearest as thou wilt, but thy black colour never changes, because it is thy nature! O crafty (one) and disturber of good works! O bitter tree, the fruits of which are like unto it! O lying slanderer, who strivest with those that are not thine! O deceit which, coiled up upon itself, rears itself with impudence and dares to assail those who are better than itself! O wickedness, that creepeth like a serpent, and crawleth, and entereth in, and aimeth at virtue! But how long do I say these things (Keep me not waiting,) but show thyself quickly, thou enemy of the servants of the Messiah, that these multitudes may see that we call them unto the true God. And when the Apostle had said these things, the enemy came and stood before him, no one seeing him except the Apostle and the woman, and cried with a loud voice, whilst all those who were there heard him: "What have we to do with thee, Apostle of the Most High? What have we to do with thee, servant of Jesus the Messiah? What have we to do with thee, thou sharer in the holy mysteries of God?

⁵⁸ Why dost thou wish to destroy us, when our time is not yet come? Why dost thou wish to take away the power that was given us, when till now we have had reliance upon it? What have we to do with thee, that thou art come to drive us out? Thou hast power over them that obey thee, and we have power over them that are subject unto us. Why dost thou wish to use violence towards us before our time, when thou enjoimest others not to use violence towards any man? Why dost thou covet what is not thine? For thine own suffice thee not. Why art thou like unto God thy Lord, who concealed His majesty and appeared in the flesh, and we thought regarding Him that He was mortal, but He turned and did us violence? For thou; namely, art born of Him. For when we thought that we could bring Him under our power, He turned and hurled us down into the abyss; for we did not know Him, because He deceived us by His humble aspect, and by His need and His poverty; and we thought, when we saw Him, that He was one of the children of men, and we did not know that He was the Giver of life to all mankind. But He gave us power not to slacken our hold of our own, so long as our time lasts, and we occupy ourselves with our own.

⁵⁹ But thou, lo, wishest to acquire more than He has given unto thee and to afflict us." ⁶⁰ And when the demon had said these things, he wept again and said: "I quit thee, O my fair wife, whom I found a long time ago and was at rest on thee. I quit thee, my sister and my beloved, on whom I hoped to

abide. What I shall do, I know not, nor on whom I shall call for help, that he may aid me. I know what I shall do. I shall go to another country, where I shall not hear tell of this man; for thee, my beloved, I shall find a substitute." And he lifted up his voice and said: "Fare thou not well, who hast taken refuge with one who is greater than I. I go to wander and seek for myself one like thee; and if I find not (one) for me, I will again return unto thee; for I know that now, because this man is near unto thee, lo, thou takest refuge with him. I then depart hence, and thou becomest as thou wast; but when night cometh, and thou forgettest him, I shall have an opportunity (of getting) at thee, for now the name of Him whom this (man) proclaims hath frightened me." And when the demon had said these things, at that moment he was looked for and was not found (i. e., disappeared suddenly), but smoke and fire were seen after him; and all those who were standing there were amazed.

⁶¹ And when the Apostle saw (this), he said to them: "The accursed one has shown nothing strange, but the nature by which he has been consumed; for the fire consumes him, and the smoke ascends from him. And the Apostle began to say: "Jesus, hidden mystery that hath been revealed to me, Thou hast revealed Thy mysteries unto me more than to all my fellows, and hast spoken unto me words with which, lo, I am burning, but which I am not able to utter. Jesus, born a man, slain, dead; Jesus, God, Son of God, Life-giver and Restorer of the dead to life; Jesus, poor, and catching fish for dinner and supper; Jesus, satisfying many thousands with a little bread; Jesus, resting from the fatigue of a journey like a man, and walking upon the waves of the sea like a God; Jesus, exalted Voice that arose from perfect mercy, Saviour of all, and Liberator and Administrator of the world, and Strengthen-er of the dead; Jesus, right hand of the Father, who hast hurled down the evil one to the lowest limit, and collected his possessions into one blessed place of meeting; Jesus, King, over all and subduing all; Jesus, who art in the Father and the Father in Thee, and Ye are one in power and in will and in glory and in essence, and for our sake Thou wast named with names, and art the Son, and didst put on the body;

⁶² Jesus, who didst become a Nazīr, and Thy grace provides for all like God; Son of God Most High, who didst become a man despised and humble; Jesus, who dost not neglect us in anything which we ask of Thee, who art the cause of life to all mankind; Jesus, who wast called a deceiver on our account,

Thou who rescuest from deceit Thy human beings; I entreat of Thee on behalf of these who are standing (here) and believing in Thee, and in need of Thy help, and expecting Thy gift, and taking refuge with Thy majesty, and opening their ears to hear Thy words which are spoken by us,—let Thy grace come, and Thy faith abide upon them and make them new from their former deeds, and may they put off their old man with his deeds and put on the new man which is proclaimed unto them by me."

⁶³ And he laid his hand upon them, and blessed them, and said to them: "May the grace of our Lord be upon you for ever and ever, Amen. And the woman begged of him and saith to him: "Apostle of the Most High, give me the seal of my Lord, that the enemy may not again come back upon me. And he went to a river which was close by there, and baptized her in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; and many were baptized with her. And the Apostle ordered his deacon to make ready the Eucharist; and he brought a bench thither, and spread over it a linen cloth; and he brought (and) placed upon it the bread of blessing. And the Apostle came (and) stood beside it, and said: "Jesus, who hast deemed us worthy to draw nigh unto Thy holy Body and to partake of Thy life-giving Blood; and because of our reliance upon Thee we are bold and draw nigh, and invoke Thy holy Name, which has been proclaimed by the Prophets as Thy Godhead willed; and Thou art preached by Thy Apostles through the whole world according to Thy grace, and art revealed by Thy mercy to the just;

⁶⁴ we beg of Thee that Thou wouldest come and communicate with us for help and for life, and for the conversion of Thy servants unto Thee, that they may go under Thy pleasant yoke and under Thy victorious power, and that it may be unto them for the health of their souls and for the life of their bodies in Thy living world. And he began to say: "Come, gift of the Exalted; come, perfect mercy; come, holy Spirit; come, revealer of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets; come, proclaimer by His Apostles of the combats of our victorious Athlete; come, treasure of majesty; come, beloved of the mercy of the Most High; come, (thou) silent (one), revealer of the mysteries of the Exalted; come, utterer of hidden things, and shewer of the works of our God; come, giver of life in secret, and manifest in thy deeds; come, giver of joy and rest to all who cleave unto thee; come, power of the Father and wisdom of the Son, for Ye are one in all; come and communicate with us in this Eucharist which we celebrate, and in this offering which we

offer, and in this commemoration which we make. And he made the sign of the Cross upon the bread, and began to give (it). And he gave first to the woman, and said to her: "Let it be unto thee for the remission of transgressions and sins and for the everlasting resurrection. And after her he gave to the persons who were baptized with her.

⁶⁵ Then he gave to every one, and said to them: "Let this Eucharist be unto you for life and rest, and not for judgement and vengeance; and they said, "Amen." ⁶⁶ Here ends the fifth Act. The sixth Act, of the Young Man who killed the Girl. ⁶⁷ AND there was there a young man, who had committed a very hateful deed; and he came and took the Eucharist, and was going to put it into his mouth, but both his hands dried up and did not come to his mouth. And when those who were with him saw him, they came (and) made known to the Apostle what had befallen him. And the Apostle called him, and said to him: "Tell me, my son, and be not ashamed before me. What hast thou done, and art come hither now? For lo, the gift of our Lord hath convicted thee, this (gift) which healeth the many who draw nigh unto it in love and in truth and in faith, but hath utterly withered thee away. These things have not befallen thee without cause. And when the youth saw that he was convicted by the Eucharist of our Lord, he came (and) fell down before the feet of the Apostle, and was begging of him, and interceding before him, and saying to him: "An evil deed have I done. I loved a woman (who lived) at an inn without the city, and she too loved me; and because I heard from thee the truth which thou speakest, and the faith of the God whom thou preachest, and knew in truth that thou art the Apostle of God, I too received the sign with those who received (it).

⁶⁸ And thou didst say thus: 'Whoever indulgeth in filthy intercourse, especially in that of adultery, hath not life with this God whom I preach.' And because I loved her, I begged of her and tried to persuade her to live with me a life clean and pure and tranquil and chaste and modest, such as thou teachest, but she would not; and when I saw that she would not listen to me, I slept with her and killed her, because I could not bear to see her while she was having intercourse with other men." ⁶⁹ And when the Apostle heard these (things), he said: "O corrupt love, that hath no shame, how it hath incited this man to do these things! O the companion of corruption, how this man has not been able to bear up against it! O lascivious intercourse, how it corrupts the minds of men (and turns them away) from the purity of the

Messiah! O the work of deception, how it rears itself up exceedingly in its own! And the Apostle ordered (them) to bring him water in a basin for washing; and they brought him water that he might pray over it. And he glorified (God), and blessed (it), and said: "Water that was given unto us by the Living Water; Light that was sent to us by the glorious Self-existent; Grace that was sent unto us by Grace; let Thy victorious power come, and Thy healing and Thy mercy descend and abide upon this water, over which I have proclaimed Thy name, Jesus our Life-giver. And he said: "May the gift of the Spirit of holiness be perfected in you. And he said to the youth: "Go, wash thy hands in this water. And he went (and) washed his hands, and they became as they had been before they were dried up. And the Apostle said to him: "Dost thou believe then in our Lord, that it is possible for Him to do everything? The youth saith to him: "I am not lacking in faith;

⁷⁰ yea, because of this, that I believed in God, I did this deed, since I thought that I did well; for I begged of her, as I have said before thee, and she was not willing to listen to me (and) keep herself in purity and chastity; because of that I did thus. Judas saith to him: "Come, let us go to the inn where thou didst this deed. And he was going before the Apostle, and a great multitude were coming after him. And when they arrived at the inn,, they went into it, and found the woman dead. And when the Apostle saw her, he was grieved for her, because she was a girl; and he said that they should take her up and bring her out into the midst of the inn. And when they had brought her and laid her on a couch, Judas Thomas laid his hand upon her, and began to say: "Jesus, our Life-giver, who never neglectest us at any time when we call upon Thee; Jesus, who comest unto us at all times when we seek Thee; Thou whose ear is inclined to this, that we should seek Thee, and Thou givest unto us; Jesus, who hast not only permitted us to ask, but hast also taught us how to pray; Thou who now art not seen by us with these bodily eyes of ours, but by means of these eyes of our understanding dost not depart from us;

⁷¹ Thou who art hidden from us in Thy aspect, and revealed to us in Thy grace and the administration of Thy works and Thy great deeds; Thou whom we know so far as we are able, according to our measure, but who hast given us Thy gift beyond our measure; Thou who hast said, 'Ask and it shall be given to you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you;' we ask therefore of Thee, our Lord, fearing because of our trespasses and

because of our sins, that Thou wouldst spread over us grace by Thy mercy. Not gold, nor silver, nor riches, nor possessions, nor goods, nor clothes, nor anything at all of these earthly things that are of this world, and come from it and return to it, do we seek; but we ask of Thee and beg of Thy benignity, that Thou wouldst raise up by Thy holy name this (woman) who is lying before Thee, to Thy great glory, and to the praise of Thy Godhead, and to the confirmation of Thy faith in these who are standing by."

72 And he said to the youth: "Stretch thy mind towards our Lord;" and he signed him with the Cross, and said to him: "Go, take her by the hand, and say to her, 'I with my hand slew thee with iron, but Jesus with His grace raiseth thee up by my faith.'" And the youth went (and) stood over her, and said: "I have in truth believed in Thee, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, the gift of Thy Father, that in Thee are all aids, and in Thee all dispensations, and in Thee all healings, and in Thee life for the repentant, who in truth repent unto Thee with all their heart. Yea, my Lord, I beg of Thy mercy, come to my help and to my conversion, and give life to this (woman) by my hands, since I dare to do this." And he was looking upon Judas Thomas and saying to him: "Pray for me, Apostle of God, that my Lord may come to my aid, on whom I call." And he laid his hand upon hers, and said: "Come, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, and give to this (woman) life and to me the pledge of Thy faith." And as soon as he took hold of her hand, she sprang up (and) stood upright, and was looking on the great crowd who were standing by. And she saw the Apostle of our Lord, who was standing opposite to her, and ran and fell down at his feet, and took hold of his skirts, and saith to him: "I pray thee, sir, where is the other, who was with thee, who did not let me remain in that place which I saw, but gave me over to thee, and said to thee, 'Take this (woman) away unto thee, that she may be made perfect in her love by faith, and then be gathered unto my place.'"

73 Judas saith to her: "Tell me whither thou wentest and what thou didst see? She saith to him: "Thou, who wast with me, and to whom he gave me over, dost thou ask to hear of me? And she began to tell him, (saying): "A man, whose aspect was hideous, and his body black, and his clothes filthy, took me away and carried me to a place which was full of pits, and a stinking smell too was diffused in its midst. And he made me look down into each of the pits; and I saw the first pit, and as it were fire was blazing in its midst, and wheels of fire were revolving in its midst; and he said to me: 'Into this tor-

ment are destined to come those souls which transgress the law, which change the union of intercourse that has been appointed by God; and other (souls) are destined to come into this torment, which have not preserved their virginity, and have given themselves up to the deed of shame, and they shall come to this affliction, because they have transgressed the law of God, and shall be given over to evil spirits, and shall be for a mockery and a derision, and retribution shall be (exactd) from them, and they shall go into another torment, which is worse than this, and shall be tormented there.' And again he showed me another pit, and I looked down into it and saw dreadful things, to which are destined to come the souls that do evil;

⁷⁴and I saw there many tortures which are prepared for men and women and youths and maidens. Those men who leave their own wives, and have intercourse with the wives of their fellows; and women, who go beyond intercourse with their own husbands; and youths, who do not keep their laws, wantonly indulge themselves with harlots in their lust, and for whom it is not enough to transgress the law among harlots, but they lie in wait for virgins and wantonly indulge in sin; and maidens, who have not kept their state of virginity, (but), because of their wanton lust, have brought shame upon their parents; — (these) shall come to this affliction and shall be recompensed, each according to his works. And he took me away again; and showed me a dark cave, and a stinking smell was coming out of it. And he said to me: 'Look down and see, for this is the prison of those souls about which I said to thee that, when the chastisement of each of them is finished, another cometh in its place;

⁷⁵and there are some of them which are utterly consumed, and there are some of them which are handed over to other tortures.' The guardians of those tortures say to the man who led me: 'Give us this (woman), that we may bind her in her place, until she goes to her torture.' The man who led me saith to them: 'I will not give her to you, because I am afraid of Him who delivered her to me, and I was not ordered to leave her here; but I will take her up with me, until I receive an order regarding her.' And he took me and brought me out to the place where men were; and he who was like to thee took me and delivered me unto thee, and said to thee: 'Take this (woman), because she is one of the sheep that have gone astray.' And thou didst take me from him, and lo, I stand before thee, and beg of thee that I too may believe

through thee, and may find grace because of thy prayer, and that I too may not go to those tortures which I have seen."

⁷⁶Judas Thomas saith to them: "Ye have heard, my children, what this woman hath said; and there are not these tortures only, but also others, which are much worse than these. Ye too, therefore, unless ye are converted to this truth which I preach, and restrain yourselves from your evil deeds, and from your actions which profit you not, and from your thoughts without knowledge, your end will come to these torments. But do ye, therefore, believe in Jesus the Messiah, and He will blot out your former actions, and will cleanse you from all your earthly thoughts that abide on the earth, and will purify you from your sins, which, unless ye repent of them unto God, will accompany you and go with you and be found before you. Put off, therefore, each of you, his old man, and put on the new man, that is to say, (put off) your old courses and your fleshly works. Let those, then, who stole, steal no more, but toil and work and live; and let those of you who committed adultery, not commit adultery and abandon themselves to the ease of the moment, that they may not go to everlasting torment, for adultery is hateful before God more than all evil works; and put away from you lying and oppression and drunkenness and slander, and requite not any man evil for evil; for all these things are odious to this God whom I preach, and unclean to him; but walk in all humility and temperance and purity, and in hope in God, and ye shall become servants of Him, and shall receive from Him the gifts which are given to some (only.)"

⁷⁷And these multitudes believed, and surrendered themselves to the living God and to Jesus the Messiah, and were enjoying the blessed works of the Most High and His holy service; and were each of them bringing much money for the relief of the widows, who were collected by the Apostle in each city, and to all of whom he was sending by the hand of his deacons what was fitting for them for food and clothing. And he never ceased to preach and to speak unto them, and to show them that it was Jesus the Messiah of whom the Scriptures spake, and whose types and mysteries and likenesses the Law and the Prophets showed forth; who was given as a covenant to the people (of Israel), that they might be restrained for His sake from the worship of idols, and as a light to the peoples (the Gentiles), by means of which the grace of God hath dawned upon them, and all those who keep His commandments shall find rest in His kingdom, and be honoured in glory;

and He came, and was crucified, and rose in three days. And he was narrating unto them, and expounding, from Moses even unto the end of the prophets, because they all preached concerning Him, and He came (and) fulfilled (all) in fact.

78 And the report of him was heard among men in the cities and villages; and every man who had a sick (person), or one possessed by a spirit, or a lunatic, or paralytics,—some they brought on beds and placed them by the road-side, whithersoever they learned that he was going; and he was healing them all by the power of Jesus his Lord. And the sick, who were ill of grievous diseases and in hideous torments, were healed, and the paralytics, who were standing up quite sound; and they were all glorifying (God) with one mouth, and saying: "To Thee be glory, Jesus the Messiah, who hast given us healing by Thy servant and Thy Apostle Judas. For lo, being quite well and seeing, we pray of Thee that we too may become children of Thy fold, and may be numbered among the number of Thy sheep. Receive us, our Lord, and reckon not against us our former sins, which we committed in ignorance."

79 Then, when Judas Thomas saw them, he lifted up his voice and said: "To thee be glory, Living (One) who (art) from the Living (One); to Thee be glory, Life-giver of many; to Thee be glory, Help and Aider of those who come to Thy place of refuge; to Thee be glory, (Thou that art) wakeful from all eternity, and the Awaker of men, living and making alive. Thou art God, the Son of God, the Saviour and Helper, and Refuge, and Best of all those who are weary in Thy work; the Giver of rest to those who, for Thy name's sake, have borne the burden of the whole day at mid-day. We praise Thee for Thy gift unto us, and for Thy aids to our feebleness, and for Thy provision for our poverty. Make perfect with us Thy grace and Thy mercy unto the end, and give us the boldness that is in Thee. Behold, Lord, that Thee alone we love; and behold, Lord, that we have left our homes and the homes of these our kindred, and for Thy sake are become strangers without compulsion. Behold, Lord, that we have left our possessions for Thy sake, that we might gain Thee, the possession of life, that cannot be taken away. Behold, our Lord, that we have left all our kindred for Thy sake, that we might be united in kinship to Thee. Behold, our Lord, that we have left our fathers and our mothers and our fosterers, that we might see Thy exalted Father and be filled with His divine nourishment. Behold, our Lord, that we have left our fleshly

wives and earthly fruits, that we might be united in true union with Thee and produce the heavenly fruits which (are) from above, which men cannot take away from us, but which shall be with us and we shall be with them."

⁸⁰ Here ends the sixth Act. The seventh Act, how Judas Thomas was called by the General of king Mazdai to heal his Wife and Daughter. ⁸¹ AND whilst Judas was preaching throughout all India, the general of a king came to him and said to him: "I pray thee, servant of God, and the more so that thou seest that I myself am come to thee as unto the Apostle of God, because thou art sent for the healing of men who have need of the aid which is given them by thy hands; and I have heard concerning thee that thou takest no fee from any man, but providest for the poor, for if thou tookest a fee, I would have sent thee a large sum of money, and I would not have come hither, because the king doth naught without me; for I have abundance and am rich, and am a great man throughout all India, and I have done no wrong to any man, but this thing hath happened to me contrary (to my deserts). I have a wife, and by her I had a daughter; and I love her much, as nature too teacheth, and I know no other wife along with her. Now there chanced to be a banquet in our city, and the givers of the entertainment were great friends of mine; and they came (and) asked of me, and prepared the feast for her and her daughter. And because they were friends of mine, I could not make any excuse, but I sent her, though against her will, and I sent with her also many of my servants, and I made a great display for her and her daughter.

⁸² And when it was time to depart, I sent after her lanterns and lamps; and I too was standing in the street and was looking when she should come, that I might see her and receive her and her daughter with her. And whilst I was standing there, I heard a sound of lamentation and a sound of weeping; 'Alas for her, alas for her,' was coming to my ears from all mouths. Then my servants came to me, rending their clothes, and made known to me what had happened, and say to me: 'We saw a man, and another, a boy, was with him, who was like to him. And the man laid his hand upon thy wife, and the boy upon thy daughter; and they shrank with loathing from them, and we smote them with swords, but our swords sank to the ground; and at that moment the women fell down, and were gnashing their teeth, and dashing their heads on the ground; and we are come to inform thee of what hath happened.' And when I had heard these things from my servants, I rent my clothes, and was beating my face with my hands; and running about in the

street like a madman. And I came and found them lying in the street; and I took them and brought them to my house, and after a long time they came to themselves;

⁸³ and I restored (them and) made them sit up, and began to ask my wife: 'What hath happened to thee?' And she saith to me: 'Thou dost not know what thou hast done with me; for I asked of thee that I might not go to the feast, because I was not well in body; and as I was going along the street, and had come to the pipe that throweth up water, I saw a black man standing opposite to me and shaking his head, and another, a boy, who was like to him, standing beside him; and I said to my daughter: 'Look at these men, how hideous (they are);' and my daughter said to me, 'I saw a boy whose teeth were like milk and his lips like coals.' And we left them beside the water-pipe and went on. And when it was evening, and we quitted the house where the entertainment was, and came away with the servants, and arrived at the water-pipe, my daughter saw them first, and came to me for refuge; and after her I too saw them coming towards us; and the servants who were with me fled; and they struck me and my daughter, and threw us down.' And whilst she was narrating (this) to me, they came upon them, and cast them down again;

⁸⁴ and from that hour they are unable to go out any more into the street, either to go to the bath, or to the house of feasting, or the house of weeping, but they lie there night and day, the mother with her daughter, and are shut up by me in a room within another, because of the laughing-stock that I am become through them, and because, when they come upon them, they throw them down and disgrace them wherever they find them. I beg therefore of thee and entreat thee, help me and have mercy upon me, for, lo, for three years no table hath been laid in my house, and my wife and daughter have not sat at it; but specially for my poor daughter's sake, who hath had no pleasure (of her life). And when the Apostle had heard these things from the general, he was very sorry for him, and said to him: "If thou believest in my Lord Jesus the Messiah that He can heal them, thou shalt see their recovery. The general, when he had heard these things, saith to him, because he imagined that he was Jesus: "I believe that thou canst heal them. The Apostle saith to him: "I am not Jesus, but His servant and His Apostle. Commit then thyself to Him, and He will heal them and help them. The general saith to

him: "Show me how I can ask Him and believe in Him. The Apostle saith to him:

⁸⁵ "As far as thou art able, stretch thy mind upward, because He is not visible now to these bodily eyes, but by faith is recognised in His works and glorified in His healings. And the general lifted up his voice and said: "I believe in Thee, Jesus the Messiah, God, that Thou art the Living, the Son of the Living, and didst become man, and didst appear (as) a Healer and Life-giver and Saviour for all those who in truth repent unto Thee. Yea, Lord, I beg of Thee and intercede before Thee; help my little faith and my fear, for with Thee I take refuge." ⁸⁶ And the Apostle commanded his deacon Xanthippus to assemble all the brethren who were there. And when he had assembled them, the Apostle came and stood in their midst, and said to them: "My sons and brethren and sisters in our Lord Jesus, abide in this faith, and trust in our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Him whom I preach unto you; and let your hope be in Him, and He will keep you; and fall not away from Him, because He will not forsake you. And if it be that ye sleep that sleep, which when a man sleeps, he is not, He will not sleep, but will be wakeful and preserve you. And if ye sit in a ship and on the sea, where no man of you is able to help his fellow, He will walk upon the waves of the sea and support your ship. Because I then am going away from you, and I do not know if I shall see you again in the body, be not ye, therefore, like to the children of Israel, who stumbled, because Moses, their shepherd for a time, departed from them. But lo, I leave you in my stead the deacon Xanthippus, and he too will preach Jesus the Messiah like me. For I too am a man like one of you, and I have no wealth, which is found with some, the end of which is that it destroyeth him who possesseth it, because there is no utility in it, since it leaveth him in the earth, from which he came, and the transgressions and sins which he committed for its sake are with him; for there are (only) some who are rich and charitable. Neither have I any human comeliness, on which all those who place their reliance are quickly brought to shame; for if he who had beauty becometh deprived (of it), his beauty availeth him nought, but those who loved him because of his beauty, they especially shun him with loathing; for all things which are of the world are loved in their season and hated in their season. But let your hope be in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, and be ye holding fast by us and looking to us, as the servants of God,

since we too, if we bear not the burden that beseemeth this name, shall receive punishment, and it shall be to us for judgement and vengeance."

⁸⁸ And he prayed with them a long prayer, and committed them to our Lord, and said: "Lord of all orders of creation," which await Thee, and God of all spirits, which hope in Thee, (Thou) that deliverest from error Thy human beings, (and) freest from corruption and from slavery those who obey Thee and come to Thy place of refuge; be Thou with the flock of Xanthippus, and anoint his flock with Thy oil of life, and cleanse it of its disease, and guard it from wolves and from robbers, that they may not snatch it out of his hands." And he laid his hand upon them, and said to them: "The peace of Jesus be with you, and go with us also." And the Apostle set out to go on the way; and all of them were accompanying him with weeping, and were conjuring him by his Lord to be mindful of them in his prayers and not to forget them. And when the Apostle had mounted, he sat in the chariot of the general, and all the brethren remained behind. The general came and said to the driver: "I am praying that I may be worthy to sit beneath the feet of the Son of God, Jesus the Messiah, and to be His driver on this road, which many know, that He may be my guide on that road on which some (only) shall go."

⁸⁹ And when he had gone about a mile, Judas Thomas begged of the general, and made him get up to sit beside him, and ordered the driver to sit in his place. And as they were going along the road, and Judas was conversing with the general, the cattle became tired from their having driven them so far, and stood still and would not stir. And the general was sorely vexed, and knew not what to do; and he thought of running on foot, and bringing other cattle, wherever he could get them, or horses, because his time was becoming short. And when the Apostle saw this, he said to him: "Be not afraid and be not agitated, but only believe in Jesus, as I told thee, and thou shalt see great wonders." The general saith to him: "I believe in Him, (and) that everything is possible for him to do who asketh of Him."

⁹⁰ Now Judas saw a herd of wild asses feeding some distance off the highway, and he said to the general: "If thou believest in Jesus, go to the herd and say to them: 'Judas, the Apostle of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, saith, Let four of you come, for I require them.'" And the general went, fearing greatly, because they were many; and the more he went on, (the more) they came towards him. And when they were close to him, he said to them: "Judas

Thomas, the Apostle of Jesus the Messiah, saith: 'Let four of you come to me, because I require them.'" And when they heard this speech, all, the asses came to him with a great rush; and when they came to him, they bowed down unto him by the direction of our Lord. ⁹¹ And Judas Thomas, the Apostle of our Lord, lifted up his voice in praise, and said: "Glorious art Thou, God of truth and Lord of all natures, for Thou didst will with Thy Will, and make all Thy works, and finish all Thy creatures, and bring them to the rule of their nature, and lay upon them all Thy fear, that they might be subject to Thy command. And Thy Will trod the path from Thy secrecy to manifestation, and was caring for every soul that Thou didst make, and was spoken of by the mouth of all the prophets, in all visions and sounds and voices; but Israel did not obey because of their evil inclination. And Thou, because Thou art Lord of all, hast a care for the creatures, so that Thou spreadest over us Thy mercy in Him who came by Thy will and put on the body, Thy creature, which Thou didst will and form according to Thy glorious wisdom. He whom Thou didst appoint in Thy secrecy and establish in Thy manifestation, to Him Thou hast given the name of Son He who was Thy Will, the Power of Thy thought; so that Ye are by various names, the Father and the Son and the Spirit, for the sake of the government of Thy creatures, for the nourishing of all natures, and Ye are one in glory and power and will; and Ye are divided without being separated, and are one though divided; and all subsists in Thee and is subject to Thee, because all is Thine. And I rely upon Thee, Lord, and by Thy command have subjected these dumb beasts, that Thou mightest show Thy ministering power upon us and upon them, because it is needful, and that Thy name might be glorified in us and in the beasts that cannot speak."

⁹² And when he had said these things, he said to the wild asses: "Peace be with you, because ye have obeyed the Word, the sovereign of all. Let four of you come and be yoked in place of these cattle, which have stood still and are not able to go on." And every one of the wild asses crowded round, (striving) which of them should be yoked. And there were some there, that were stronger than their fellows, and these were yoked; and the rest of them went along after and before the Apostle. And when they had proceeded a little way, he said to them: "To you I speak, ye inhabitants of the desert; remain behind and go to your pasture; for if I had had occasion for you all, ye would

all have come. Now then go to the place in which ye were." And the wild asses were going along gently, until they were out of his sight.

⁹³ And the Apostle was seated (in the chariot), and the general, and the driver; and the wild asses were going along gently and quietly and by little and little, that the Apostle of God might not be shaken. And when they reached the gate of the city, they (viz. the asses) distinguished (the house), and went (and) stood before the gate of the court-yard of the general. Then the general was amazed and said: "I am not able to speak and tell what is happening; but let there be another wonder, and then I will tell." And the whole city was coming, because they saw the wild asses which had been yoked in the chariot, and because they heard the report of the Apostle's having gone thither. The Apostle saith to the general: "Where is thy house? And whither wilt thou conduct us?" The general saith to him: "Thou knowest that thou art standing at the door of thy servant, and these (beasts), which by thy command are come with thee, know better than I." And when the general had spoken thus, he sprang down from the chariot.

⁹⁴ And the Apostle began to say: "Jesus, the knowledge of whom is denied in this country; Jesus, the report of whom is strange in this city; Jesus, a stranger among these men; Jesus, who sendest Thy Apostle on before to every country and every city, and art glorified in him and made known by him to all those who are worthy of it; Jesus, who didst put on the body, and become man, and appear to us all, that we might not part from Thy love; our Lord, who didst give Thyself for us, and buy us with Thy blood, and acquire us unto Thyself, a possession that was dearly bought;—for what have we that we can give to Him for His life? For He gave His life for us. It is not anything that belongs to each one (of us), nor does He ask of us anything, save that we should ask of Him and live."

⁹⁵ And when he had said these things, many were coming from every place to see the Apostle of the new God, who was come thither. And Judas said: "Why stand we here and are idle? Jesus, what wilt Thou? Command the time, and let the deed be (done)." Then the demons were sore upon that woman and her daughter, and the servants of the general did not think that they would last, for they did not suffer them to eat anything, but kept them constantly lying in bed, without being recognised by anyone, until the day when the Apostle came thither. ⁹⁶ And the Apostle said to one of the wild asses which were yoked on the right hand: "Go into the court-yard, and,

standing there, call those demons, and say to them: 'Judas the Apostle, the disciple of Jesus the Messiah, saith, Come out hither, because on your account I have been sent and against your kindred, that I might drive you to your own place, ere the time of the consummation cometh and ye go to your pit.'" And the wild ass went in, a crowd of people being with him, and said: "To you I speak, ye enemies of mankind; to you I speak, who close your eyes to the light that ye may not see, for the nature of evil cannot be with good; to you I speak, offspring of Gehenna and Abaddon, children of him who hath never been forced to keep quiet until today, of him who produceth afresh evil servants that suit his nature; to you I speak, audacious wretches, who are to perish by your own hands. And what I should say concerning your end, I know not; and what I should tell, I am unable (to utter); for these things are too great for hearing and have no limit, for however great your bodies may be, they are too small for your retributions. To thee I speak, demon, and to thy son, who accompanieth thee, for now I am sent hither against you. "Why do I go on speaking at great length of your nature? For ye know (it) better than I, and are audacious. But now Judas Thomas, the disciple of Jesus the Messiah, this (man) who hath been sent hither with mercy and grace, saith: 'Come forth unto this crowd, which, lo, is standing here, and tell me of what race ye are.' "

⁹⁷ And at that moment the woman and her daughter came out, like to the dead in appearance, and exposed, and disgraced. And when the Apostle saw them, he was grieved for them, and said: "No pity hath been shown unto you; on this account ye are scarcely conscious. But in the name of Jesus the Messiah depart ye from them, and stand beside them." And when the Apostle had uttered this speech, the women fell down and (to all appearance) died, for there was no breath in them, nor did they utter any sound. And the demon cried with a loud voice and said: "Thou art come again, rebuker of our nature! Thou art come hither again, destroyer of our race! Thou art come hither again, effacer of our footsteps! And, as I see, thou dost not wish to let us remain on earth; but thou art not able at this time to do this to us."

⁹⁸ And Judas perceived that it was the demon whom he had driven out of that (other) woman. And he said to him: "I beg of thee, then, give me leave, (and) I will go whither thou pleasest (and) dwell (there); and I will take orders from thee, and not be afraid of him who hath authority over me; for as thou art come to visit (and do good), so am I come to destroy; and as thou, if

thou dost not accomplish the will of Him who sent thee, art reproved, so I too, unless I do the will of him who sent me, go before the time unto our nature; and as thy Lord helpeth thee in the things which thou dost, (so) too my father supporteth me in the things which I do; and as He prepareth for thee vessels which are worthy for Him to dwell in, so too he maketh me aware of the vessels which obey him, that I may do in them his will; and as He nourisheth and provideth for thee and for those who obey thee, so also doth He torture me, and torment me and those in whom I dwell; and as to thee He giveth the reward of thy work, that is to say life everlasting, (so) also to me He giveth the recompense of my deeds, everlasting perdition; and as thou takest pleasure in thy prayers, and in thy good works, and in the Eucharist, and in His chants of praise and psalms and hymns, so I too take pleasure in murder and adultery, and in sacrifices and libations of wine on the altars; and as thou turnest men unto everlasting life, so I too turn men unto me, unto everlasting perdition and torment; and thou receivest thy reward, and I mine."

99 And when the demon had said these things, the Apostle said: "To thee and to thy son Jesus saith by me, that ye shall not again enter the habitation of men, but go (and) dwell without the entire habitation of men." And the demons say unto him: "Lo, we go, as thou hast commanded us; but what wilt thou do unto those who are hidden from thee, and their vessels rejoice, in them more than in thee,—those whom many worship and do their will, sacrificing unto them and pouring out unto them wine as a libation, and offering unto them offerings?" The Apostle saith: "They too shall perish in the end with their worshippers." And the demons were sought and were not found; but the women were lying (there) as if dead, without a word; and the wild asses were standing one beside the other, and were not moving away from one another; but the one to whom speech was given by the power of our Lord, was standing in front of his fellows.

100 And when all the people were silent and looking on him, that they might see what the Apostle would do, the wild ass looked on them all, and said to Judas: "Why standest thou (there) and art idle, Apostle of the Most High? For lo, the Paraclete is standing beside thee and looking that thou shouldst ask him and he would give unto thee. Why delayest thou, good Disciple? For lo, thy Master wisheth to show great things through thee. Why standest thou (there), preacher of the Hidden? For lo, thy Master wisheth to

disclose His hidden nature through thee unto those who are worthy of Him that they may hear these things. Why art thou still, worker of miracles in the name of thy Lord? For lo, thy Lord is standing by and encouraging thee. Fear not; for He will not abandon thee, and His Godhead will not suffer thy manhood to be grieved. Begin, therefore, to call upon Him, and He will answer thee, as He is wont at all times. Why doth amazement seize thee at His manifold doings? For these are small things which He hath shown through thee; and if thou wert to tell of the number of His gifts, thou wouldest not be able to make an end of them. Why art thou astonished concerning these His bodily healings, (which are) ended by dissolution, when thou rememberest His healing of His possessions, which is not ended by dissolution?

¹⁰¹ Why ponderest thou upon this temporal life, when, lo, thou canst reflect every day upon the life everlasting? But unto you, I say, ye multitudes, who, lo, are standing by and waiting to see these arise who, lo, are lying here; believe on the Teacher of verity, and believe on the Shewer of truths; believe on the Revealer of secrets; believe on the Demonstrator of life; believe on the Apostle of the tried Son, Jesus the Messiah, who was born, that the born might live by His birth; and was reared, that the perfect rearing might be seen in Him; and went to school, that through Him perfect wisdom might be known; He taught His teacher, because He was the Teacher of verity and the Master of the wise; he went to the temple and offered an offering, that they might see that all offerings are sanctified in Him. This is the Apostle of Him; this is the Apostle of truth; this is the doer of the will of Him that sent him. But there shall be a time when false apostles shall come, and lying prophets, whose end shall be like their works; who will say unto you, 'Beware of sins,' whilst they at all times utter sins; who will put on the clothing of lambs, whilst within they are ravening wolves; who will not take one wife legally, but by their words and their deeds will corrupt many women; who will not beget children, but will corrupt many children, and pay the penalty for them;

¹⁰² who will be distressed at the happiness of others, and will take pleasure in their distress; to whom what they possess will not suffice, but who will desire that all things should serve them, and will boast of them, and be esteemed as disciples of the Messiah; in whose mouth is one thing, and in their heart another; who teach that ye should shun hateful things, but themselves do not even a single good thing; before whom adultery is hateful, and theft,

and oppression, and greed, but in themselves secretly these are all done, whilst they teach that a man should not do them." ¹⁰³ And when he spake these things, all the wild asses were looking at him. And when he was silent, Judas said: "What am I to think of Thy servant, Jesus? And how I am to call Thee, I know not. O (Thou) gentle and silent and still and speaking! (Thou) Seer, that art in the heart, and Searcher, that art in the mind! Glory to Thee, (Thou) gracious (One)! Glory to Thee, living Word! Glory to Thee, (Thou) hidden (One), who hast many forms! Glory to Thy mercy, which hath abounded unto us. Glory to Thy grace, which hath been upon us! Glory to Thy greatness, which became small for us! Glory to Thy exaltation, which was humbled for us! Glory to Thy strength, which became feeble for us! Glory to Thy Godhead, which for us put on manhood! Glory to Thy manhood, which was made new for us, and died for us to give us life! Glory to Thy Resurrection from the grave, that we might have a resurrection and a raising up! Glory to Thy Ascension unto Heaven, by which Thou didst tread for us the road (leading) up on high! And Thou didst promise and swear unto us, that we should sit on the right hand and on the left, and should be judges with Thee. Thou art the Word of Heaven. Thou art the hidden Light of the understanding, and the Study of the path of truth, the Dispeller of darkness and the Destroyer of error."

¹⁰⁴ And when the Apostle had said these things, he came and stood over those women, who were lying (there), and said: "My Lord and my God, Jesus the Messiah, I doubt not regarding Thee, but I call upon Thee, as at all times Thou dost aid us and support us and encourage us. Thou Giver of freedom of speech and of joy unto Thy servant and Apostle, let these (women) be healed b and arise, and let them be as they were before they were smitten by the demons." And when he had said these things, the women turned over, and sat up healed. And Judas commanded the general that his servants should take them and lead them in and give them food, for they had not eaten for many days. And when they had taken them and led them in, he said to the wild asses, "Follow me." And they went after him until he had brought them without the gate. And when they had gone out, he said to them: "Go in peace to your pasture." And the wild asses were going along gently, and the Apostle was standing and looking at them, lest perchance any man should hurt them, until they had got out of his sight and were no longer visible to him.

105 Here ends the seventh Act. The eighth Act, of Mygdonia and Karīsh.

106 AND Judas returned from (accompanying) them, and went to the house of the general, and a great multitude with him. And it happened that a woman, (the wife) of a kinsman of the king, whose name was Mygdonia, had come to see the new sight of the new God who was preached, and the new Apostle who was come to their country; and she was sitting in a palanquin, and her servants were carrying her. And because of the great press that there was, they were unable to bring her near to him; and she sent to her husband, and he sent his officers, and they were going before her, and pressing back the people. And the Apostle saw (this) and said to them: "Why do ye ill-treat these (people), who are coming to hear the word? And (why are) ye anxious that they should pass on, and ye yourselves wish to come unto me, being very far off? For our Lord said to those multitudes who were coming unto him: 'Ears ye have, and ye hear not, and eyes ye have, and ye see not'; and (He also said): 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary and bearing burdens, and I will give you rest.' " And he looked upon those men and said: "Now the blessing that was given unto these falleth to the share of you who are carrying; for ye are bearing a heavy burden, and she directeth you by her command.

107 Though God hath made you men, men make you carry a heavy load like beasts; and those who are borne upon you, think in their minds that ye are not men like to them, and do not know that all men are equal before God, whether they be slaves or free; and righteous is the judgement of God, which shall come upon all souls that are on the earth, and no man shall escape from it, neither slaves nor free, nor rich nor poor. Those who have, shall not be profited aught thereby; and those who have not, shall not be delivered by their poverty from this judgement. For we are not commanded to do anything which we are unable to do, nor to take up heavy burdens, nor to build buildings, which carpenters build for themselves with wisdom, nor (to practise) the art of hewing stones, which stonecutters know as their craft; but (we are commanded to do) something which we can do,—to refrain from fornication, the head of all evils; and from murder, by reason of which the curse came upon Cain; and from theft, which brought Judas Iscariot unto hanging; and from gluttony, which removed Esau from his birthright; and from covetousness, unto which when one is subject, he doth not consider what he doeth; and from vain-glory, and from destroying slander; and from

evil actions; and from deeds of shame, and from hateful intercourse and unclean connection, in which there is eternal condemnation;

108 and this it is that seizeth the uplifted by force, and casteth them down to the lowest depth, and bringeth them under its power, so that they cannot discern what they do, and their works become hidden from them. But harken ye to me, and conduct yourselves with purity, which is chosen before God more than all good things; and with temperance, for it showeth us intercourse with God, and giveth eternal life. And also conduct yourselves with humility, for this is weighed with every (virtue), and is heavy, and outweigheth (them), and gaineth the crown; and with gentleness, and stretching out of the hand to the poor, and supplying the wants of the needy; but especially it behoveth you to conduct yourselves with purity, for this is chosen before God, and maketh (us) enter into everlasting life, for it is the head of all virtues, and by it are done all good works; for he who is not purified, is unable to do anything good, because all the virtues are after this of purity. For purity is seen of God, and destroyeth evil. Purity is pleasing to God; therefore it proceedeth from him. Purity is the athlete who is not overcome. Purity is the truth that blencheth not. Purity is the tower that falleth not. Purity is worthy before God of being to Him a familiar handmaiden. Purity is comeliness when it is found with many. Purity destroyeth corruption. Purity is the messenger of concord, which bringeth the tidings of peace.

109 Temperance setteth him who acquireth it free from daily cares. Temperance careth for naught but how it may be found pleasing to its Lord. Temperance holdeth on by hope, awaiting deliverance. Temperance sitteth at all times in tranquillity, because it doth nothing that is odious. Temperance seeketh a life of rest, and is a joy to all who acquire it, and exalteth those who are nigh to it. Humility hath subdued Death, and brought him under its power. Humility hath conquered enmity. Humility is the pleasant yoke, and fatigueth not those who bear it. Humility feareth naught, for it is rude to none. Humility is concord and peace and joy and rest. Acquire purity, and take unto you temperance, and strive after humility; for by these three cardinal virtues is typified this Messiah, whom I preach. For purity is the temple of God, and every one who guardeth it, guardeth His temple, and the Messiah dwelleth in him. And temperance is the rest of God; for our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights, and tasted nothing; and the Messiah dwelleth in

him who observeth it. And humility is a mighty power; for our Lord said unto Simon the Apostle: 'Return thy sword back (to its sheath); if I am willing to ask strength of my Father, He will give me more than twelve legions of angels.' "

110 And when Judas had said these things, all the multitudes were listening together, and trampling on one another. And the wife of Karish, the kinsman of king Mazdai, sprang up and came out of the palanquin, and fell down on the ground before the feet of the Apostle, and was begging of him and saying to him: "I beg of thee, thou Apostle of the new God, who hast come to a desert place from the habitation of men — for we dwell in a desert, because we live like the beasts that have not speech, and now, lo, we are being tamed by thy hands, — that thou wouldst turn unto me too, and pray for me, that I also may obtain grace from this God whom thou preachest, and that I may become a handmaiden of Him, and that I too may be united with you in prayer and in hope and in thanksgiving, and that I too may become a holy temple and He may dwell in me."

111 The Apostle saith: "I pray and beg of you, my brethren in our Lord and my sisters in the Messiah, that the word of the Messiah may dwell in you all and abide in you, because ye are given power over your own souls." And he began to say to the woman: "Mygdonia, arise from the ground, and be mindful of thyself, and be not concerned about thy ornaments, which pass away, nor about the beauty of thy person, which perisheth, nor about thy dress, nor about this name and dignity in the world that passeth away; and degrade not thyself to this filthy intercourse, and be deprived of the true fellowship. For ornaments perish, and beauty becometh old and marred, and clothes decay, and power passeth away, (accompanied) with punishment, according as each person hath conducted himself in it, and marriage passeth away with much contempt. Jesus alone abideth, and those who hope in Him and take refuge (with Him), and deliver up themselves unto Him." And when he had said these things, he said to the woman: "Go in peace, and may our Lord make thee worthy of His divine mysteries." She saith to him: "I am afraid to go, lest thou leave me and depart to another place." The Apostle saith to her: "Jesus will not abandon thee for His mercy's sake." And she bowed down and prostrated herself before him, because she thought that he was Jesus; and she went home rejoicing.

112 Now Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, had taken his bath and gone to supper; and he was asking for his wife, where she was, that she had not come to meet him from her chamber. And her maidens said to him: "She is not inclined (to come)." And he went into the chamber, and saw her lying on the bed with her face covered. And he kissed her, and said to her: "Why art thou sad today and sorrowful?" She saith to him: "I am very tired." He saith to her: "Why didst thou not pay proper respect to thy position as a free woman, and stay at home, and not go and hear vain words and (see) deeds of witchcraft? But get up, and come out, and sup with me, for I cannot sup without thee." Mygdonia saith to him: "Today I must be excused from supping with thee and from sleeping with thee, for I am much agitated." And when Karīsh heard from Mygdonia that she spake to him thus, he was unwilling to quit (the room) to sleep or to sup; but ordered his servants to bring (food) to him that he might sup in her presence.

113 And when they had brought in (food, and) set it before him, he asked her to sup, but she would not; and since she would not sup, he supped alone. And Karīsh said to her: "On thy account I excused myself to my lord, king Mazdai, from (staying to) supper, and thou dost not choose to sup with me!" Mygdonia saith to him: "Because I am not inclined." And he stood up to go to bed and sleep as was his wont, and she said to him: "Did I not tell thee that I must be excused today, that I may sleep alone?" 114 And when he heard this speech, he went and slept in another bed. And when he awoke suddenly from his sleep, he said to her: "My lady and sister Mygdonia, harken unto a dream which I saw this night. I saw myself reclining in the presence of my lord king Mazdai, and a table was laid before us. And I saw an eagle swoop down from heaven, and carry off from before me and from before king Mazdai a brace of partridges; and he bore them up to his nest and placed them there, and came again and hovered over us. And king Mazdai bade them bring him a bow. And the eagle came again, and carried off again from before us a pigeon and a turtle-dove. And king Mazdai shot an arrow at him, and it passed through him from side to side, and did not harm him; but he soared away to his nest. And I started (out of my sleep), being agitated, and being vexed on account of the partridge which I had tasted, and of which he did not let me put any more into my mouth, and lo, its taste was in my mouth." Mygdonia saith to him: "Thy dream is good; for thou eatest partridges every day, but perchance a partridge had never been tasted by that eagle until now."

115 And when it was morning, Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, arose early (and) dressed, and put his left shoe on his right foot, and said to Mygdonia: "What is this action? Lo, the dream and the action!" Mygdonia saith to him: "This too is not unlucky, but good; from an unlucky thing something else good results." And he washed his hands, and went to salute king Mazdai. But Mygdonia, the wife of Karīsh, arose early too (and) went to salute Judas the Apostle. And she found him sitting and conversing with the general and with a great multitude; and he said to them: "My children, the woman who yesterday received our Lord into her heart and soul, whose wife is she?" The general saith to him: "She is the wife of Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, and her husband is a hard man, and all that he biddeth the king (do), he humoureth him in; and he will not let her continue as she hath promised, because he telleth many fine stories about her to the king, and hath said that there is none like to her; and she too loveth him much, and these things which thou sayest unto them are alien from them." Judas saith: "If our Lord hath really risen in her soul, and she hath received the seed which was sown in her, she will neither make account of this life, nor be afraid of death j nor will Karīsh be able any more to do anything to her, nor to make her suffer, because He whom she hath received into her soul is greater than he, if she hath received (Him) once for all with perfect love."

116 And when Mygdonia heard these things, she saith to Judas: "Of a truth, my lord, through thy prayer I have received the living seed of the Word, and fruits which are like unto the seed I shall yield in my Lord Jesus." Judas saith: "These our souls, which are Thine, praise Thee, our Lord. These our spirits, which are Thy true possessions, praise Thee, my Lord. These our bodies, which Thou hast made worthy to be the dwelling-place of Thy Spirit, that is always to be glorified, praise Thee, my Lord." And the Apostle said to all those who were there: "Blessed are the pure, whose souls never upbraid them, because they have gained them and they are not in doubt regarding themselves. Blessed are the spirits of the pure, who have won the crown and gone up from the contest to what is given up unto them. Blessed are the bodies of the pure, which are worthy to become clean temples in which the Messiah shall dwell. Blessed are ye, pure, for unto you it is allowed to ask and to receive. Blessed are ye, pure, for ye are called judges. Blessed are ye, pure, for to you is granted power to forgive sins. Blessed are ye, pure, for ye have not destroyed what was delivered unto you, but ye take it up on high with you, re-

joicing. Blessed are ye, meek, for God hath deemed you worthy to inherit the kingdom. Blessed are ye, meek, for it is ye who have conquered the evil (one). Blessed are ye, meek, for ye are the children of light. Blessed are ye, meek, for ye shall see the face of your Lord. Blessed are ye, temperate, for ye shall be contented and rejoice in those spiritual things which pass not away and are not dissolved, and the eaters of which hunger not. Blessed are ye, temperate, for ye are delivered from sin."

¹¹⁷ And when the Apostle had said these things, whilst the whole multitudes were listening to him, Mygdonia, the wife of Karish, the friend of king Mazdai, was greatly strengthened in purity and temperance and all meekness. And whilst they were solacing themselves the whole day with the praises and the majesty of the Lord, Karish, the friend of king Mazdai, came to dinner, and did not find his wife at home; and he began to ask all his servants about her, (saying,) "Whither is your mistress gone?" And one of them said to him: "She is gone to the strange man, and there she is." And when he heard these things from his servant, he was angry with his other servants that they had not informed him of what had happened. And he went (and) bathed and came back whilst it was still light, and was sitting and waiting for Mygdonia till she should come.

¹¹⁸ And when it was evening, she came, and he met her and said to her: "Where hast thou been till now?" And she said to him: "I went to the physician's house." He saith: "That strange conjuror is the physician." She saith to him: "Yea, he is the physician, and he is different from all (other) physicians, for all (other) physicians heal these bodies which shall be dissolved, but this physician healeth the bodies with the souls, which shall never more be dissolved." And when Karish, the kinsman of king Mazdai, heard these things, he was angry in his mind with Mygdonia and with the stranger, but he said nothing to her,—because he was afraid of her, for she was far superior to him in wealth, and also in her understanding,—but he went, (and) entered into the dining-room, and sat down to supper; and she went again into her ante-chamber. And he told his servants to call her to come out (and) sup with him; but she did not wish (it). And when he heard that she did not wish to come out, he went in to her and said to her: "Why wilt thou not come out to sup with me? And perhaps too thou dost not wish to sleep with me according to thy wont? Of this I am sorely afraid, especially as I have heard that that sorcerer and deceiver is most anxious about this, that a man should not

be with his wife; a thing that nature enjoineeth, and with which the gods too are pleased, he taketh away (from us)."

119 And when Karish had said these things to her, Mygdonia was silent, and he said again to her: "My sister and lady and beloved and wife, Mygdonia, be not led astray by idle and foolish words nor by deeds of witchcraft, which, I have heard, he does in the name of his god; for from the day that the world came into being, it hath never been heard that a man brought the dead to life; but this man, as I hear, maketh as if he brought the dead to life. And as to his not eating or drinking, do not suppose that it is for righteousness' sake that he neither eateth nor drinketh, but because he hath not got anything. For what shall he eat, who hath not even bread for the day? And that he weareth, (only) one (garment) is because he hath not another; and that he doth not take pay from any man is because he knows that he doth not in reality heal any man."

120 And when Karish had said these things to Mygdonia, she was as silent as a stone, and was praying, and asking when it would be morning, and when she could see the Apostle of God. And he left her and went (and) supped in sorrowful mood. And when he was thinking that, lo, he would sleep with her according to his wont,— but she, at the moment when he went out from her, kneeled down, and was praying and saying: "My Lord, and my God, and my Life-giver, the Messiah, do Thou give me strength to overcome the daring of Karish, and do Thou grant me that I may preserve the purity in which Thou takest delight, and by which I shall find eternal life; and when she had prayed, she covered her face and lay down—Karish, as soon as he had supped, came and stood over her, and took off his clothes. And she perceived him, and saith to him: "There is no place for thee beside me, because my Lord Jesus, with whom I am united, is better than thou, and He is always beside me. And Karish laughed and said to her: "Thou mockest well that sorcerer, and laughest well at him for saying, 'Ye cannot live before God unless ye be pure.' " And when he had spoken thus, he dared to lie down beside her, but she did not endure (it), but cried out at him bitterly and said: " Help, Thou new God, who through a strange man art come to India!

121 Help, Lord Jesus! Forsake me not, because I take refuge with Thee; for as I have heard that Thou seekest those who know Thee not, lo, now that I am seeking. Thee and have heard tell of Thee and have believed in Thee, come to my help, and deliver me from the insolence of Karish, and let not

his impurity prevail over me, and let him not have a place beside me. And she arose, and tied his hands, and fled from beside him, and laid hold of the curtain which covered the door of the chamber and wrapped herself (therein), and went out (and) went to her nurse, and slept beside her for that night. ¹²² But Karish was in sorrow all that night, and was beating his hands against one another, and was wishing to go during the night (and) informing king Mazdai of the violence that had been done him. And he was thinking and saying: "If I go in the great distress which I feel, who will give me admittance to king Mazdai? For I know that, if fate had not ruined me, and hurled me down from my pride and haughtiness and greatness into contempt and abasement, and separated my beloved Mygdonia from me, (even) to king Mazdai, had he been standing at this hour at my door, I would not have gone out and given an answer. But I will wait till morning; and I know that, whatever I say to king Mazdai, he will humour me therein. And I will tell him of the sorcery of the stranger, how he useth violence and casteth down the exalted into an abyss; for I am not grieved at being cut off from intercourse with Mygdonia, but I am sorry for Mygdonia herself, that her greatness hath been degraded, and her freedom brought low, and her high spirit humbled, and that a woman, whom none of her own servants ever saw in any evil tempers, runneth naked out of her chamber, and perchance she is gone out into the street through the influence of the sorcery of the stranger; but I know not whither she is gone, for there was nothing to be seen with her.

¹²³ And when he had said these things, he began to weep and to say: "Woe is to me for thy sake, my true wife, of whom I am now deprived! Woe is to me for thy sake, my beloved and my lover, who wast more to me than my whole kindred! And neither son nor daughter have I from thee, with whom I might rest contented. A whole year thou hast not completed with me, and an (evil) eye hath taken thee from me. Would that the might of death had taken thee by force from me, and I should (still) have counted myself with kings and princes and nobles,—and not this strange man, who is perhaps a slave and a fugitive from his owners, and hath come hither because of my ill luck! I shall never have rest, and never be stopped, until I destroy him and chastise him and avenge myself upon him. To-night I will not appear before king Mazdai; but if he doth not humour me, and doth not chastise that stranger, I will tell him about the general Sîfûra too, that he hath been the

cause of destruction to this (woman); for, lo, he sitteth in his house, and many go in and out unto him, and he teacheth them the new doctrine of purity, and teacheth and saith that a man cannot live, unless he separateth himself from all that belongeth to him, and becometh an ascetic and a wandering mendicant like unto himself, and lo, he wisheth to make companions for himself."

124 And whilst Karish was meditating these things, it became morning. And he rose early (and) dressed and put on his shoes; but he put on sorry garments, and his countenance was gloomy, and he was very sad; and he went in to salute king Mazdai. And when king Mazdai saw him, he said to him: "What is the matter, that thou art come to me in this wretched plight? And why is thy aspect sad, and thy countenance changed?" Karish saith to him: "King Mazdai, I have a new fact to tell thee, and a new calamity, which Sîfür hath brought to India. A Hebrew, a conjuror, is sitting in his house, and never goeth out from beside him; and many go in to him, and he teacheth them the new God and giveth them new laws, which have never been heard of by us; and he saith: 'Ye cannot be children of this everlasting life, which I teach, unless ye sever yourselves, a man from his wife, and a woman from her husband.' Now it chanced that my wretched and miserable wife went to see him, and heard his words and believed them; and she arose by night and fled from beside me, she who could not bear to be away from me for a single hour and could not exist without me. But send (and) fetch Sîfür and the conjuror who lays snares for him, and chastise them; and if not, all our countrymen will be destroyed by his words."

125 And when Mazdai heard these things from his kinsman Karish, he said to him: "Be not grieved and vexed. I will send and fetch him, and chastise him, and thou shalt get back thy wife; for if I avenge others who cannot avenge themselves, thee, lo, especially (must I avenge)." And he commanded that they should summon Sîfür the general (to come) to him; and they went to his house and found him sitting on the right hand of Judas, the Apostle of God, and Mygdonia was sitting at his feet, with a great multitude, and they were listening to him. Those who went after Sîfür the general answered and say to him: "Dost thou sit and listen to vain words, whilst king Mazdai in his wrath is seeking to destroy thee, because of this sorcerer and seducer, whom thou hast brought into thy house?" And when Sîfür the general heard these things, he was grieved, not because the king was angered with him, but be-

cause the king had heard regarding him that he was acquainted with Judas the Apostle. And Sîfûr said to Judas: "I am grieved on thy account, for I told thee a day ago that that woman was the wife of Karîsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, and that he would not let her do what she promised; and whatever he saith to the king, he humoureth him therein." Judas saith to Sîfûr: "Be not afraid, but believe in Jesus, who pleadeth for both me and thee, and for all those who take refuge with Him and come to His place of assembly." And when Sîfûr the general heard these things, he put on his dress and went to king Mazdai.

126 And Judas was asking Mygdonia, what was the reason that her husband was angry with her, and meditated these things against them. She saith to him: "Because I did not give myself to corruption with him; for in the evening he wished to make me yield, and to subject me to that which he is wont to do; but He to whom I have committed myself delivered me from his hands, and I fled naked from beside him, and slept with my nurse, and I know not what has come to him that he plots these things against you." The Apostle saith to her: "These things, my daughter, harm us not; but believe in Jesus, and He will restrain from thee the lust of Karîsh, and He will deliver thee from corruption and wantonness, and He will be to thee a guide in the path of danger, and a conductor to His and His Father's kingdom, and He will bring thee into everlasting life, and will give thee a sovereignty that passeth not away and changeth not."

127 And when Sîfûr stood before king Mazdai, Mazdai asked him and said to him: "What is his story, and whence is he, and what doth he teach, the sorcerer who plotteth against thee?" Sîfûr saith to him: "Dost thou perchance not know, my lord, that I and all my friends were in great sorrow about my wife,—whom, as thou knowest, many held in honour,—and about my daughter, in comparison with whom I counted as nought all that I possess? And what calamity and what trial came upon them? And how they became a laughing-stock and an imprecation through the whole country? And I heard tell of this man, and went to him, and asked of him, and fetched him, and we came hither; and I saw wonderful miracles whilst I was coming with him on the road, and here too many saw and heard what the wild ass said, and what the demon declared concerning him. And he healed my wife and my daughter, and lo, they are well, and he asked for no reward except belief and purity, that they might be participators in what he is doing; and he saith,

'Fear one God, the Lord of all, and Jesus the Messiah, His Son, and ye shall live for ever and ever'; and he eateth nothing at all but bread and salt from evening to evening, and drinketh water; and he prayeth much, and whatever he asketh of God, He giveth him; and he enjoineth (us) too, (saying) that this his God is holy and good and benign and gentle and a giver of life, and (that) therefore those who believe in Him draw nigh unto Him in cleanness and purity and love."

¹²⁸ And when king Mazdai heard these things from Sifūr, he sent a number of soldiers from his presence to the house of Sifūr the general} to fetch Judas Thomas and those whom they found with him. And when they went in, they found him sitting and teaching a great many people, and Mygdonia too was sitting at his feet. And they were afraid, when they saw the great number of people that surrounded him; and they went to tell king Mazdai, (saying): "We did not dare to say aught to him, because a great many people were with him, and Mygdonia too was sitting at his feet and hearing his words. And when Mazdai and Karīsh heard these things, Karīsh sprang up from before king Mazdai, and took with him a number of soldiers, and said: " I will go and fetch him and also Mygdonia, whose senses he hath taken away. And he came to the house of Sifūr the general in haste, and came and found Judas sitting and teaching. And when he went in, he saw Judas, but he did not find Mygdonia there, for she had gone home, because she knew that they would tell her husband about her that she was there. And Karīsh said to Judas: "Get up, wretch and corrupter and enemy! But what can thy witchcraft do to me? For I will make thy sorceries recoil upon thy own head. And when he had spoken thus to him, Judas looked upon him and said to him:

¹²⁹ "Thy threats shall recoil upon thee, for me thou canst not hurt at all, because my Lord Jesus the Messiah, with whom I take refuge, is greater than thou and thy king and all thy forces. And Karīsh took the turban of one of his servants, and threw it round the Apostle's neck, and said: "Drag him off; let me see if Jesus will deliver him from my hands. And they were dragging him away until (they came) to king Mazdai. ¹³⁰ And when Judas stood before king Mazdai, he said to him: "Tell me what is thy story, by whose power thou doest these works?" And Judas was silent and gave him no reply. And king Mazdai commanded the soldiers, and they struck him a hundred and fifty lashes; and he gave orders that they should convey him bound to prison; and they bound him and carried him off. And when he was gone and had

entered into the prison, Mazdai and Karīsh were planning how they might kill him, because the whole people were worshipping him as God, and they took pains to say (everywhere), "He hath reviled the king, and he is a conjuror" But Judas, when he went to prison, was glad and rejoicing, saying: "I thank thee, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, that Thou hast deemed me worthy not only to believe in Thee, but also to bear many things for Thy sake." And he said: "I thank Thee, my Lord, that Thou hast deemed me worthy of these things. I thank Thee, my Lord, that Thy providence hath been over me, and that Thou hast deemed me worthy to bear many evils for Thy sake. I thank thee, my Lord, that for Thy sake, I have been a recluse and an ascetic and a pauper and a wandering mendicant. Let me then receive of the blessing of the poor, and of the rest of the weary, and of the blessing of those whom men hate and persecute and revile and say of them odious words. Lo, for Thy sake I am hated and shunned by many; for Thy sake they say of me I know not what."

¹³¹ And whilst he was praying, all those who were in the prison saw that he was praying and begged of him to pray for them too. And when he had prayed and sat down, Judas began to chant this hymn. The Hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostle in the country of the Indians. ¹³² "WHEN I was a little child, and dwelling in my kingdom, in my father's house, and was content with the wealth and the luxuries of my nourishers, from the East our home my parents equipped me (and) sent me forth; and of the wealth of our treasury they took abundantly, (and) tied up for me a load large and (yet) light, which I myself could carry—gold of Beth-‘Ellāyē, and silver of Gazak the great, and rubies of India, and agates from Beth-Kāshān; and they furnished me with the adamant, which can crush iron. And they took off from me the glittering robe, which in their affection they had made for me, and the purple toga, which was measured (and) woven to my stature. And they made a compact with me, and wrote it in my heart, that it might not be forgotten: 'If thou goest down into Egypt, and bringest the one pearl, which is in the midst of the sea around the loud-breathing serpent, thou shalt put on thy glittering robe and thy toga, with which (thou art) contented, and with thy brother, who is next to us in authority, thou shalt be heir in our kingdom.' I quitted the East (and) went down, there being with me two guardians, for the way was dangerous and difficult, and I was very young to travel it. I passed

through the borders of Maishan, the meeting-place of the merchants of the East, and I reached the land of Babel, and I entered the walls of Sarbug.

¹³³ I went down into Egypt, and my companions parted from me. I went straight to the serpent, I dwelt around his abode, (waiting) till he should slumber and sleep, and I could take my pearl from him. And when I was single and was alone (and) become strange to my family, one of my race, a free-born man, an Oriental, I saw there, a youth fair and loveable, the son of oil-sellers; and he came and attached himself to me, and I made him my intimate friend, an associate with whom I shared my merchandise. I warned him against the Egyptians, and against consorting with the unclean; and I dressed in their dress, that they might not hold me in abhorrence, because I was come from abroad in order to take the pearl, and arouse the serpent against me. But in some way or other they found out that I was not their countryman, and they dealt with me treacherously, and gave me their food to eat. I forgot that I was a son of kings, and I served their king; and I forgot the pearl, for which my parents had sent me, and because of the burden of their oppressions I lay in a deep sleep. But all these things that befell me my parents perceived, and were grieved for me; and a proclamation was made in our kingdom, that every one should come to our gate (i.e., palace or residence), kings and princes of Parthia, and all the nobles of the East.

¹³⁴ And they wove a plan on my behalf, that I might not be left in Egypt; and they wrote to me a letter, and every noble signed his name to it: 'From thy father, the king of kings, and thy mother, the mistress of the East, and from thy brother, our second (in authority), to thee our son, who art in Egypt, greeting! Up and arise from thy sleep, and listen to the words of our letter! Call to mind that thou art a son of kings! See the slavery,—whom thou servest! Remember the pearl, for which thou wast sent to Egypt! Think of thy robe, and remember thy splendid toga, which thou shalt wear and (with which) thou shalt be adorned, when thy name hath been read out in the list of the valiant, and with thy brother, our viceroy, thou shalt be in our kingdom.' My letter is a letter, which the king sealed with his own right hand, (to keep it) from the wicked ones, the children of Babel, and from the savage-demons of Sarbug. It flew in the likeness of an eagle, the king of all birds; it flew and alighted beside me, and became all speech. At its voice and the sound of its rustling, I started and arose from my sleep. I took it up and kissed it, and I began (and), read it;

¹³⁵and according to what was traced on my heart were the words of my letter written, I remembered that I was a son of royal parents, and my noble birth asserted its nature. I remembered the pearl, for which I had been sent to Egypt, and I began to charm him, the terrible loud-breathing serpent. I hushed him to sleep and lulled him into slumber, for my father's name I named over him, and the name of our second (in power), and of my mother, the queen of the East; and I snatched away the pearl, and turned to go back to my father's house. And their filthy and unclean dress I stripped off, and left it in their country; and I took my way straight to come to the light of our home the East. And my letter, my awakener, I found before me on the road; and as with its voice it had awakened me, (so) too with its light it was leading me. It, that dwelt in the palace, gave light before me with its form, and with its voice and its guidance it also encouraged me to speed, and with its love it drew me on. I went forth (and) passed by Sarbug; I left Babel on my left hand; and I came to the great Maishān, to the haven of merchants, which sitteth on the shore of the sea. And my bright robe, which I had stripped off, and the toga that was wrapped with it, from Rāmthā and Reken (?)

¹³⁶my parents had sent thither by the hand of their treasurers, who in their truth could be trusted therewith. And because I remembered not its fashion,—for in my childhood I had left it, in my father's house,—on a sudden, when I (received) it. the garment seemed to me to become like a mirror of myself. I saw it all in all, and I too received all in it, for we were two in distinction and yet again one in one likeness. And the treasurers too, who brought it to me, I saw in like manner to be two (and yet) one likeness, for one sign of the king was written on them (both), of the hands of him who restored to me through them my trust and my wealth, my decorated robe, which was adorned with glorious colours, with gold and beryls and rubies and agates and sardonyxes, varied in colour. And it was skilfully worked in its home on high, and with diamond clasps were all its seams fastened; and the image of the king of kings was embroidered and depicted in full all over it; and like the stone of the sapphire too its hues were varied. And I saw also that all over it the instincts of knowledge were working, and I saw too that it was preparing to speak. I heard the sound of its tones, which it uttered with its ..., (saying): 'I am the active in deeds, whom they reared for him before my father;

¹³⁷ and I perceived myself, that my stature grew according to his labours.' And in its kingly movements it poured itself entirely over me, and on the hand of its givers it hastened that I might take it. And love urged me too to run to meet it and receive it; and I stretched forth and took it. With the beauty of its colours I adorned myself, and I wrapped myself wholly in my toga of brilliant hues. I clothed myself with it, and went up to the gate of salutation and prostration; I bowed my head and worshipped the majesty of my father who sent me,—for I had done his commandments, and he too had done what he promised,—and at the gate of his retainers I mingled with his princes, for he rejoiced in me and received me, and I was with him in his kingdom, and with the voice of ...all his servants praise him. And he promised that to the gate too of the king of kings with him I should go, and with my offering and my pearl with him should present myself to our king."

¹³⁸ The hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostle, which he spake in the prison, is ended. The Song of praise of Thomas the Apostle. "TO be glorified are Thou, Lord of all, self-existent, unutterable, who art hidden in the brightness of Thy glory from all created beings. "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the first-born of life, who art from the exalted Father and the Word of life. "To be glorified art Thou, the one Father, who portray est Thyself with wisdom in all creatures and in all worlds. "To be praised art Thou, the Son of light, the Wisdom and the Power and the Knowledge, who art in all worlds. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted, who didst rise (like the sun) from Thy secrecy into manifestation by means of all Thy Prophets. "To be praised art Thou, Son of mercy, by whom all things were fulfilled in wisdom and in silence.

¹³⁹ "To be glorified art Thou, the Father supreme, born of Thy First-born in the silence and tranquillity of meditation. "To be praised art Thou, the Son adored, who didst rise (as the sun) from the Father, with His aspect, in peace and in glory. "To be glorified art Thou, the good Father, who didst reveal the mystery of Thy First-born to the Prophets by the Spirit of holiness. "To be praised art Thou, the proved Son, who didst reveal the glory of the Father to Thy Apostles in all nations. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father serene, who didst hallow Thy majesty for ever in Thy First-born; the Giver of life to Thy creation. "To be praised art Thou, the comely Son, who didst rise (like the sun) from the splendour of the Father, and didst deliver our souls by Thy innocent blood. "To be glorified art Thou, Father omnipotent, who

dweldest in Thy glorious light, and art shrouded in Thy glory, and manifested to all in Thy grace.

¹⁴⁰ "To be praised art Thou, the perfect Son, who art sown in the living earth, and wast before the world with Thy holy Father. "To be glorified art Thou, the Feeder of all, who art in all worlds, on high and in the deep, and there is no place that is void of Thee. "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the adored Fruit, who didst rise (like the sun) upon all in mercy, and didst put on our humanity, and whom our adversary slew; "To be glorified art Thou, the infinite Father, who didst make Thy angels of the overflowings of Thy Spirit and Thy ministers Thy flaming fire. "To be praised, art Thou, the Son of light, who art borne on the Spirit, and shrouded in the light of the Father, on holy clouds. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father giving life to all, who didst assemble the worlds for Thy glory by the hand of Thy dear (Son), that they might make praise to ascend unto Thee.

¹⁴¹ "To be praised art Thou Son of life, of whose gift the Father giveth in abundance to the holy, and through it they set out and arrive in the path of peace. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father giving life to all, who hast revealed the mysteries of Thy Son by the Spirit to His saints, in tranquillity and rest. "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Fruit of the Father, who hidest Thy chosen ones under Thy wings, and hast fulfilled the will of Thy Father, and redeemed Thy dear ones. "To be glorified art Thou, the good Father, giving life to all creatures by the hand of Thy dear (Son), in mercy and in grace, through His death by crucifixion. "To be praised art Thou, the first-born Son, feeding created beings with Thy body, and blotting out our sins with the sign of Thy wounds and with the sprinkling of Thy blood upon us.

¹⁴² "To be glorified art Thou, the good Father, who dwellest in the pure heart, in the mind of Thy worshippers, and art hidden from all in Thy aspect, and revealed to us in Thy Messiah. "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Word, proclaiming Thy coming in stillness, who didst put on our humanity and deliver us by Thy living and innocent blood. "To be glorified art Thou, the living Father, who didst give (new) life to our deadness, for we had erred from Thy way and were dead and perished, but Thy mercy was upon us. "To be praised art Thou, the beloved Son, who didst give (new) life to our deadness, and didst turn back our I going astray, and wast to us a medicine of life by Thy life-giving body and by the sprinkling of Thy living blood. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted by all mouths and by all tongues, who

has been reconciled to us by Thy Messiah, and whom we have tasted through Thy Fruit and have become children of Thy peace.

¹⁴³ "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Peace-maker, who hast healed our wounds, and persuaded our hardness (of heart), and collected our wandering, and trained us in Thy truth, and we have known through Thee Thy Father. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father omnipotent, who hast sent to us Thy living and life-giving Fruit; and He reconciled by the blood of His Cross Thy mercy with Thy creatures. "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Word of light, who didst rise (like the sun) from on high and satisfy us with the knowledge of Thee, and didst cleanse our impurity, and give (new) life to our deadness by Thy sign, the Cross of light. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father of all praises, and to be exalted is Thy great Name in all worlds, for Thou hast not reckoned against us our sins, but hast given us life through Thy Messiah, who is the Life of Thy will.

¹⁴⁴ "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Voice conceived of knowledge, our holy Priest, who hast made atonement for us by Thy pure and holy offering, and hast poured out Thy living blood on behalf of sinners. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted, who art hidden from all worlds, and art revealed according to Thy will to all Thy worshippers. "To be praised art Thou, the Son of life, accomplishing the will of Thy Father; who hast reconciled Thy creatures, so that they worship in Thee Him who sent Thee and are become partakers of Thy mysteries. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted, by every knee, which shall bow to Thee, both in Heaven and on earth, through Thy dear (Son). "To be praised art Thou, the adored Son of perfect mercy, through whom there has come peace and hope for the creatures, that they may know the Creator.

¹⁴⁵ "To be glorified art Thou, the Father giving life to all, the riches of whose mercy are never exhausted by the abundance of Thy gifts, but at all times Thou hast a need of giving unto us. "To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Fruit; for Thou art the Gate of light and the Way of truth, and Thou hast made us run in thy footsteps, that we may arrive at the house of Thy exalted Father. "To be glorified art Thou, the Father benign, who hast given us peace by the hand of our Life-giver, and hast revealed unto us Thy glorious, and holy mysteries by the hearing of Thy doctrine. "To be praised art Thou, the only (-begotten) Son of the Father, whose mercy hath been upon us, and Thou hast signed us with Thy living and life-giving Cross. "All mouths and

all tongues glorify the Father and worship the Son and praise Thy holy Spirit, the worlds and the creatures which are hidden and which are manifest.

¹⁴⁶ "Thy Angels glorify Thee on high through Thy Messiah, who became in Sheol peace and hope to the dead, who came to life and were raised. "We beg of Thee, our Lord and our Life-giver, (the accomplishment) of all that Thou hast said and promised. Fulfil with us Thy grace, and raise us up to the place of Thy peace; for Thou art our Life-giver, Thou art our Paraclete, Thou art the medicine of our life, Thou art our sign of victory. "Blessed are we, Lord, who have known Thee. Blessed are we, who have believed in Thee. Blessed are we through Thy wounds and Thy blood, (suffered and shed) on our behalf. Blessed are we, for Thou art our great hope. Blessed are we, for Thou art our God, and for ever and ever, Amen." ¹⁴⁷ And Karīsh, the husband of Mygdonia, went to his house, rejoicing greatly, because he thought in his mind that henceforth his wife would be with him as formerly, before she heard the word of Judas and believed in our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God. And when Karīsh went, he found his wife sitting, and her looks were downcast," and her clothes rent, and she was like a mad woman, because of Judas. He saith to her: "My lady and sister Mygdonia, what is this wicked folly that hath taken possession of thee? And why hast thou done these things? I am Karīsh, the husband of thy youth, and I am he who from the gods and by the law hath power over thee. Why hast thou now acted like a mad woman? And why art thou become a laughing-stock through this whole country? But from, this moment dismiss the thought of that wizard from thy mind, for I am about to take away the sight of him from before thine eyes, that thou mayest see him no more. And when she had heard these things from Karīsh her husband, she was again sorely grieved and afflicted. And he said again to her: "What crime, pr'ythee, hast thou committed against the gods, that they have let thee come to this great misery? And what sin hast thou wrought before them that they have brought thee to this degradation and ridicule?

¹⁴⁸ I beg of thee, Mygdonia, torture not my soul by the sight of thee, and pain not my heart by thy care. I am Karīsh, the husband of thy youth, and I am thy true husband, whom the whole country honoureth and whom they fear. What I shall do henceforth, I know not, nor how I shall conduct myself, nor what plan I shall devise. Shall I remember in my heart thy beauty, and be silent? Or shall I think of thy chaste conduct, and say nothing? Who

is there, from whom they (try to) take away a goodly and fair treasure, and he letteth go his hold of it? Am I able to bear (the loss of) thy winsome beauties, which are with me at all times? Thy sweet fragrance, lo, is in my nostrils; and thy fair colour, lo, is before my eyes; my soul, which they (are trying to) take away from me; my bright eye, with which I saw, and which they are plucking out and taking away from me; my fair body, of which I was proud, and which they are ill-using and taking away from me; my right arm, which they are cutting off from me; my beauty, which is destroyed; my comfort, through which they are distressing me; my joy, which is turned into sorrow; my rest, which is become an affliction to me; my life, which is changed into death; my light, which is dyed with darkness.

¹⁴⁹ The members of my great house shall not see me (again), for in this affliction I have had no help (from them). My noble friends shall not see me (again), who have not saved me from this affliction. I will no longer worship the gods of the East, who have brought me to these miseries, nor will I pray before them, nor sacrifice to them again, nor offer to them an offering, because I am deprived of this my true union. For what (prayer) should I again pray to them? Or what should I beg of them, or ask of them to give me, who have deprived me of that which was dearer to me than everything which I possessed in the world, and with which I was contented? For I have more wealth than I can use, and possessions, the amount of which I cannot reckon. A prince too I have been made, and I have been named the king's f deputy; and many fear me, and many are under myhand. Would that some one would take away from me all these glories and my great wealth, and give me one hour of thy past years, Mygdonia! Would that some one would blind one of my eyes, and that thy eyes would look upon me as they were wont! Would that some one would cut off my right arm, and that I might embrace thee with my left arm!"

¹⁵⁰ Whilst Karīsh was saying these things and weeping, Mygdonia was sitting like one stone-deaf, and looked not at him, but upon the ground, and was silent. And he came near to her again, and said to her: "My daughter and my beloved, Mygdonia, remember that thou didst please me above all the women of India, and that I chose thee when I might have taken many who were of higher rank than thou. But indeed I lie not, Mygdonia; no by God, there is not for me another (woman) in all India like to thee. "What beauty, and what ornament, and what elegance, and what noble qualities am I los-

ing! "Woe to me and to the world, for I shall never hear thee speak again! Although he hath reviled (me), I beg of thee, lift up thine eyes and look upon me, for I am far better than that wizard, and am handsomer than he, and I have wealth and honour, and every one knoweth that no one hath a lineage like to mine. And thou art more to me than my kindred and than all that I have; and lo, they are taking thee away from me!"

¹⁵¹ And when Karīsh had said these things, Mygdonia saith to him: "Karīsh, He whom I love is more than all that thou possessest and all that thou hast; for all that thou hast is of the earth and remaineth on the earth; but He whom I love is in Heaven, and He will take me up to Heaven unto Himself. For thy wealth passeth away, and thy beauty becomes marred, and thy robes become old and decay and perish, and thou (art left) alone with thy trespasses and thy sins. If thou art not delivered from them, they will cleave unto thee. Remind me not of thy former doings with me, which I pray and beg of my Lord to blot out for me. Remind me not of thy filthy and unclean pleasures and thy fleshly deeds, from which I pray that I may be rescued by the love of my Lord. I have forgotten all thy practices, and thy familiarities and thy doings are at an end with thyself; but my Lord and my Saviour, Jesus, abideth alone for ever, with those souls which have taken refuge with Him. He with whom I have taken refuge, and in whom I have believed, will save me and deliver me from all thy deeds of shame, which I used to do with thee, when I did not believe."

¹⁵² And when Karīsh heard these things, he went and lay down to sleep, being grieved. And he said to her: "Reflect and consider (this) in thy mind to-day, the whole night. If thou wilt be with me as thou wast, before thou sawest this wizard, I will humour thee in all that thou wishest. And if thou wishest, because of the love that thou hast had for him, I will lead him forth (and) convey him away, and he shall go to another country, and I will not cause thee any distress, for I know that thou cleavest unto him. And this did not begin with thee, but the like of this thing hath befallen many women; but at last they have bethought themselves, and discerned what hath befallen them, and come to themselves, and have been saved from insult and mockery. Let not, then, these things, which I have said unto thee, seem to thee as nothing, and let them not pass away as external (or foreign) to thee; and make me not a mockery and a laughing-stock and a proverb in India."

153 And when he had said these things to her, he went (and) slept. But Mygdonia took twenty zūzē, and went, without any one perceiving her, to the prison, to give it to the keepers of the prisoners, that they might let her in to Judas. And as she was going, Judas met her coming to her; and she saw him and was afraid, for she thought that it was one of the nobles, because of the great light which was coming before him; and she said: "Woe to thee, feeble soul that art perishing! I shall never again see Judas, the Apostle of Jesus, the living God, because I have not yet received the sign (of baptism from him." And she fled, and went into another street, and saith: "It is better for me that others, (who are) poor, should take me, for I can persuade them (to let me go), and that this great man should not take me, who will not accept a bribe from me."

154 And whilst Mygdonia was meditating these things, Judas came and entered in behind her. And she was afraid, and fell down from terror; and he stood over her, and said to her: "Be not afraid, Mygdonia; Jesus the Messiah will not forsake thee, and thy Lord will not forsake thee, to whom thou hast committed thy soul; the Gracious will not forsake thee, whose mercy is great; the Benignant will not forsake thee for His kindness' sake; the Good will not forsake thee for His goodness' sake; the Great will not forsake thee for His greatness' sake. Rise from the ground, above which thou once wast (raised). Look upon the light of thy Lord, for He will not let those that love Him walk in darkness. Behold the Companion of His servants, to whom He is a light in darkness. Behold the Help of His servants, to whom He is a helper in afflictions."

155 And Mygdonia arose, and was looking at him and saying to him: "Whither wast thou going, my lord? And who let thee out of prison to see the sun? Judas saith to her: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah is stronger than all powers and kings and rulers; He opened the doors and lulled the keepers to sleep. Mygdonia saith to him: "Give me the sign of Jesus the Messiah, and let me receive His gift from thy hands, before thou departest from the world. And she took him, and went and entered into her house, and awakened her nurse, and saith to her: "My mother and nurse Narkia, all thy deeds of help unto me, and thy kindnesses from my childhood until now, thou hast done unto me in vain, and my fleeting favour I bestow upon thee for them; but do me this favour which (lasts) for ever, and thou shalt be rewarded by Him who gives everything unto His, and fortune cannot deprive them (thereof).

Narkia says to her: "What wantest thou, my daughter Mygdonia? And what comfort canst thou have? For all the former honours, (which) thou didst promise to do unto me, the strange man doth not let thee (do), and thou hast made me a reproach in this country. Now, pr'ythee, what dost thou want to do anew unto me? She saith to her: "Be with me a sharer in the everlasting life, and let me receive from thee the perfect education.

¹⁵⁶ Fetch secretly for me a loaf of bread, and bring out for me a mingled draught of wine, and have pity upon me a freeborn woman. Narkia saith to her: "I will fetch thee bread in plenty and many flagons of wine, and I will do thy pleasure (for thee). Mygdonia saith to her nurse Narkia: "Many flagons are of no use to me, but a mingled draught in a cup, and one whole loaf, and a little oil, even if (it be) in a lamp, bring unto me." ¹⁵⁷ And when Narkia had brought (them), Mygdonia uncovered her head, and was standing before the holy Apostle. And he took the oil, and cast (it) on her head, and said: "Holy oil, which wast given to us for unction, and hidden mystery of the Cross, which is seen through it—Thou, the straightener of crooked limbs, Thou, our Lord Jesus, life and health and remission of sins,—let Thy power come and abide upon this oil, and let Thy holiness dwell in it." And he cast (it) upon the head of Mygdonia, and said: "Heal her of her old wounds, and wash away from her her sores, and strengthen her weakness." And when he had cast the oil on her head, he told her nurse to anoint her, and to put a cloth round her loins; and he fetched the basin of their conduit. And Judas went up (and) stood over it, and baptized Mygdonia in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness. And when she had come out and put on her clothes, he fetched and brake the Eucharist and (filled) the cup, and let Mygdonia partake of the table of the Messiah and of the cup of the Son of God. And he said to her: "Now then thou hast received the sign, and gained to thyself thy life for ever and ever." And a voice was heard from Heaven, which said, a Yea, Amen and Amen." And when Narkia heard this voice, she was amazed, and she too begged of the Apostle that she also might receive the sign; and he gave (it) to her and said: "May the grace of Jesus be with thee as with the rest of thy companions." And he went to be shut up in prison, and found the doors open and the watchmen asleep.

¹⁵⁸ And Judas said: "Who is like unto Thee, O God, who dost not withhold Thy love and mercy from man? Who is like unto Thee in mercy and grace, save Thy Father, who hath delivered His universe from misery and er-

ror? Love that hath conquered desire; truth that hath destroyed falsehood; Thou fair (One) in whom nothing odious is seen; Thou humble (One), who hast cast down pride; Thou living (One), who hast destroyed death; Thou tranquil (One), who hast put an end to toil;—glory to the Only (-begotten), who (is) of the Father! Glory to the mercy which was sent by mercy! Glory to Thy mercy which is upon us!" And when he had said these things, the watchmen awoke, and found all the doors open, but the prisoners asleep; and they said: "We forgot these doors and did not close them; had this been (done) by an adversary, not a man would have remained here."

159 And Karīsh went early in the morning to Mygdonia and to her nurse, and found her and her nurse praying and saying: "NewGod, who hast come hither through a strange man; holy God, who art hidden from the whole race of the Indians; God, who hast shown us Thy glory through Thy Apostle Thomas; God, of whom we have heard tell and have believed in Thee; God, to whom, because we perceived that there was life in Thee, we have run that Thou mightest give us life; God, who, because of Thy mercy and Thy grace, didst reach down to our littleness; God; who sought us when we did not know Thee; God, who sittest on high, and nothing that is in the depth is concealed from Thee;—do Thou, Lord, keep off from us the hot anger of Karīsh; do Thou stop his lying mouth; and do Thou cast him beneath the feet of Thy believers."

160 And when Karīsh heard these things, he saith to Mygdonia: "Well hast thou called me evil and hot and odious and bitter, for had I not humoured thee; this wretchedness and bitterness would not have come about me, and thou wouldst not be invoking against me the witchcraft of that (man). But what thought hast thou then conceived, Mygdonia? And what dost thou wish me to do for thee? Believe me, Mygdonia, there is no good in that wizard, and he cannot do anything that he promiseth to any one. But I will show thee before thy eyes all that I say unto thee, if thou wilt be persuaded by me and listen to my words, and be with me as thou wast with me. And he drew near again to her, and was begging of her and saying to her: "I shall feel no distress, if thou wilt be persuaded by me. Remember, my sister, thy wedding-day, and the first day on which thou didst accept me (as thy husband), and tell me now in truth, who is dearer to thee, I at that time or Jesus at this time. Mygdonia saith to him: "Karīsh, that time required its due, and is gone, and this time requireth its due. That was the time of the beginning;

this is the time of the end. That was the time of the temporal life, which passeth away; this is the time of the life everlasting. That was the time of transitory joy;

¹⁶¹ this is the time of the eternal joy, which passeth not away. That was the time of day and night; this is the time of day without night. That marriage-feast thou seest, how it has passed away and is gone; but this marriage-feast shall never pass away. That was a marriage-feast of corruption; this is a marriage-feast of life everlasting. Those were groomsmen and bridesmaids who pass away; these are groomsmen and bridesmaids who abide for ever. That (union) was founded upon the earth, where there is an unceasing press; this is founded upon the bridge of fire, upon which is sprinkled grace. That was a bridal-chamber which was taken down; this is a bridal-chamber which remaineth for ever. That was a bed which was covered with goodly clothes that decay; this is a bed which is covered with love and faith and truth. Thou art a bridegroom who passeth away and is changed; Jesus is the true bridegroom who endureth for ever, and never dieth, and is never subject to corruption. That marriage-gift was money and clothes, which decay and pass away; this marriage-gift is living words, which never pass away."

¹⁶² And when Karīsh had heard these things, he went (and) told them to king Mazdai. And king Mazdai said: "Let us fetch (and) destroy him." Karīsh his friend saith to him: "Have patience with him a little, and bring him out (of prison), and speak to him, and frighten him; perhaps he will go and persuade Mygdonia to be with me as she was." ¹⁶³ And king Mazdai sent and fetched Judas Thomas, the Apostle of the Most High. And all the prisoners were grieved because Judas the Apostle had departed from them, and were looking for him and saying: "The pleasure which we had they have taken away from us. And king Mazdai said to Judas: "Why teachest thou a doctrine which gods and men abhor, and in which there is nothing pleasing? Judas saith to him: "What do I teach that is bad? Mazdai saith to him: "What thou sayest, that men cannot live unto God, unless they keep themselves purely to the God whom thou preachest. Judas saith to him: "Verily thus I say, and I lie not in what I say. Pr'ythee, can thy servants stand before thee in mean garb, or when soiled or dirty? Thou, therefore, who art an earthly king, and perishest with the earth, requirest of thy servants things fair and clean; as to my King, how sayest thou that I speak ill (in saying) that His servants should serve Him with holiness and purity and temperance, and should be without

care and without concern, and should be free from the heavy burden of sons and daughters, and from the great care of wealth, and from the trouble and empty pride of riches? For thou hast willed that those who serve thee and obey thee should conduct themselves as thou dost; and if one of them transgresseth one of thy commandments, he receiveth chastisement from thee.

¹⁶⁴ How much more does it behove us, who believe in the name of this God of mine, to serve Him in purity and in holiness and in temperance and in chastity and in modesty, and that all these fleshly (lusts) should be strange to us, adultery and theft and drunkenness and lavishness and the service of the belly and deeds of shame and odious actions? And when king Mazdai had heard these things, he said to Judas: "Lo, I let thee loose; go (and) persuade Mygdonia, the wife of Karīsh, not to part from him. Judas saith to him: "If thou wishest to do aught unto me, delay not; for, if she hath really received what she hath heard, neither iron nor fire, nor anything else that is worse than these, will do aught unto her or sever Him who hath taken possession of her soul. King Mazdai saith to Judas: "I have heard that wizards can dissolve charms, and that the sting of a viper can be healed by an antidote, which is got from another creature that is worse than the viper. Now therefore, if thou choosest, thou art able to dissolve these former charms of thine, and to make peace and concord between the husband and his wife; and (in so doing) thou wilt have pity upon thyself, for thou art not yet sated of thy life. And know that, if thou dost not persuade her, I will destroy thee out of this life, which is dear to all men. Judas saith to him:

¹⁶⁵ "This life is but a loan, and this time passeth away and is changed; but the life which I teach never passeth away and is never changed. This beauty and youth, which is now apparent (in me), will not be mine after a little. King Mazdai saith to him: "I advised thee what was for thy advantage, but thou knowest better than I." ¹⁶⁶ And when Judas Thomas had gone out from before king Mazdai, Karīsh came to him and said to him: "I ask of thee—I have never done any wrong to thee, nor to any (other) man, nor to the gods—why hast thou brought this calamity upon me? And why hast thou brought this desolation into my house? And what profit accrueth to thee from this? Bid me, and I will supply it to thee without labour. And why dost thou do mischief to me, when thou canst not escape from my hands? For know that, if thou dost not persuade her (to return to me), I will destroy thee, and her too I will destroy out of this life, and finally I will destroy my-

self out of the world. And if, as thou sayest, there be life and death, and condemnation and acquittal, and judgement and recompense, there I will stand with thee in judgement; and if thy God, who teacheth thee, be just, and taketh vengeance justly, I shall be recompensed, as I have done thee no wrong, but thou hast afflicted me, and I have not sinned against thee, but thou hast sinned against me. But even here I can take revenge upon thee, and do unto thee all that thou hast done unto me. Harken to me therefore, and come with me to my house, and speak to Mygdonia, and persuade her to be with me as she was before she saw thy face."

167 And Judas went with him laughing, and said to him: "If men loved God as they love their fellows, all that they asked of Him He would give them, and there would be nothing which would not obey them." And when he had said these things, Judas entered into the house of Karish, and found Mygdonia sitting, and Narkia standing before her; and her hands were placed on her cheeks, and she was saying to her nurse: "Would that the days passed swiftly over me, my mother, and that all the hours were one, that I might go forth from this world, and go (and) see that Beautiful (One), of whom I have heard tell, that Living (One) and Giver of life to those who believe in Him, where there is neither night nor day, and no darkness but light, and neither good nor bad, nor rich nor poor, nor male nor female, nor slaves nor freemen, nor any who are proud and uplifted over those who are humble."

168 And whilst she was saying these things, Judas came in; and she sprang upright (and) prostrated herself to him. Karish saith to him: "See, she feareth thee and loveth thee, and whatever thou sayest to her, she will gratify thee (therein)." Judas saith to her: "My daughter Mygdonia, consent unto what thy brother saith unto thee." Mygdonia saith to him: "Thou art unable to name the deed, and how canst thou persuade me to do it? For I have heard thee say: 'This temporal life is (but) a loan, and this rest is (but) temporary, and these possessions abide not.' And again thou didst say: 'Whosoever hateth this life, shall go (and) receive life everlasting; and whosoever hateth this light of day and night, shall go (and) receive the light in which there is no night.' And again thou didst say: 'Whosoever forsaketh these earthly possessions, shall go (and) find possessions that abide for ever;' and other things (similar to these). Because thou art afraid, thou sayest these things to me (now). Who is there that doth a thing and exulteth in it, and turneth round (and) renounceth it?

And who is there that buildeth a tower, and overturneth (and) rooteth it up from its foundations? And who is there that diggeth a well in a parched place, and throweth in stones and filleth it up? And who is there that findeth a goodly treasure, and doth not make use of it?" And when Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, heard these things, he said: "I am not like to you, and I will not be in haste to destroy you; but thee I will bind, because I have power over thee, and I will not let thee go to this wizard and converse with him. And if thou yieldest, (good and well); and if not, I know what I will do."

¹⁶⁹ And Judas went out from the house of Karīsh, and went to the house of Sifūr the general, and was dwelling there. And Sifūr said to Judas, "Prepare for thyself an apartment, and be teaching in it;" and he did as he said to him. And Sifūr the general said to him: "I and my daughter and my wife will henceforth live purely, in one mind and in one love; and we beg that we may receive the sign (of baptism) from thy hands, and may become true servants unto our Lord, and may be reckoned among the number of His flock and His sheep." Judas saith: "I am meditating what to say, and am afraid; and I know what I know, (but) I am not able to utter it." And he began to speak of baptism, and said: "This is the baptism of the remission of sins; this is the bringer forth of new men; this is the restorer of understandings, and the mingler of soul and body, and the establisher of the new man in the Trinity, and which becometh a participation in the remission of sins. Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power of baptism! Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power, that dost communicate with us in baptism! Glory to thee, (thou) power that art visible in baptism! Glory to you, (ye) new creatures, who are renewed through baptism, who draw nigh to it in love!" And when he had said these things, he cast oil upon their heads and said: "Glory to thee, (thou) beloved Fruit! Glory to thee, (thou) name of the Messiah! Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power that dwellest in the Messiah!" And he spake, and they brought a large vat, and he baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness.

¹⁷⁰ And when they were baptized and had put on their clothes, he brought bread and wine, and placed it on the table, and began to bless it, and said: "Living bread, the eaters of which die not! Bread, that fillest hungry souls with thy blessing! Thou that art worthy to receive the gift and to be for the remission of sins, that those who eat thee may not die! We name the name of the Father over thee; we name the name of the Son over thee; we

name the name of the Spirit over thee, the exalted name that is hidden from all." And he said: "In Thy name, Jesus, may the power of the blessing and the thanksgiving come and abide upon this bread, that all the souls, which take of it, may be renewed, and their sins may be forgiven them." And he brake and gave to Sîfûr and to his wife and to his daughter.

171 And king Mazdai, when he had dismissed Judas Thomas, went to his house to sup. And he was telling his wife what had happened to his kinsman Karîsh, and said to her: "See, my sister, what hath befallen that afflicted (man). Thou knowest, my sister Tertia, that a man hath no one like his wife, on whom he relieth. Nowit happened that Mygdonia went to see the sorcerer of whom she had heard tell and of what he was doing, and he bewitched her, and hath parted her from her husband, I know not (how); and he knoweth not what to do. And I wished to destroy him, but he would not let me. But do thou go, and advise her to hearken to her husband, and do not thou listen to the vain words of that (man)." And in the morning Tertia arose and went to the house of Karîsh, her husband's kinsman, and found Mygdonia sitting on the ground, with sackcloth on and ashes cast upon her, and begging of her Lord that He would forgive her her former sins, and that she might be delivered from the world speedily. And when Tertia came in to her, she saith to Mygdonia: "My sister, and my beloved and close friend, what is this folly that hath taken possession of thee? And why art thou become like to a mad woman? Be mindful of thyself, be mindful of thy family; and bestow a thought on thy numerous kindred, and have pity on thy true husband Karîsh, and do not anything which doth not befit thy free birth."

172 Mygdonia saith to Tertia: "Thou hast not heard the tidings of the new life, and hast not tasted the words of the preacher of life, and art not freed from the troubles of corruption. Thou hast not seen the everlasting life, and lo, thou standest in the temporal life. Thou hast not become sensible of the true wedlock, and thou art afflicted by the wedlock of corruption. Thou art clothed with garments that decay, and thou dost not long for the garments of eternity. Thou art proud of this beauty of thine which is corruptible, and thou carest not about the loathsomeness of thy soul. Lo, thou are proud of a number of slaves, and thine own soul from slavery thou hast not set free. Thou art proud of the pomp of many (attendants), and thou art not delivered from the judgement of death." And when Tertia had heard these things from Mygdonia, she went in haste to the house of Sîfûr the general, that she

might see the new Apostle who had come thither. And when she came in to him, he began to say to her: "What art thou come to see? A wanderer, despised and wretched above all men, without possessions or wealth? But he hath a possession which kings and princes cannot take away from him, and which is incorruptible and cannot be plundered, — Jesus the Messiah, the Life-giver of all mankind, the Son of the Living God, who giveth life unto all those who believe and come to His refuge, and become of the number of His sheep."

173 And when Tertia heard these things from him, she saith to him: "I too would become a sharer and a handmaiden in this life which thou teachest, and I too would become a servant to this God whom thou preachest, and I would receive from Him this life which thou promisest, which He giveth to those who come to His place of assembly." Judas saith to her: "The treasury of the heavenly King is open, and every one who is worthy taketh and findeth rest; and when he hath found rest, he becometh a king. But at first a man cannot come near Him, when he is unclean and when his works are evil; for He knoweth what is in the heart and in the imagination, and no man can deceive Him. Thee too, therefore, if thou really believest in Him, He will make worthy of His holy mysteries; and He will exalt thee, and enrich thee, and renew thy mind, and make thee an heiress in His kingdom."

174 And when Tertia had heard these things, she went home rejoicing, and found Mazdai her husband expecting her; and he had not dined. And he said to her: "Why doth thy coming in from the street seem more pleasing to me today than on any other day? And why dost thou come on foot,—a thing that is not proper for women like thee to do?" Tertia saith to Mazdai: "I owe thee a debt of thanks that thou didst send me to Mygdonia. I went, and have heard of the new life, and have seen the Apostle of the new God; and I believe that he is the Apostle of God, who giveth life to every one who believeth in Him and doth His will. It is my duty that I too should recompense thee for the kindness which thou hast done me; and I will give thee a good counsel, so that thou too shalt become a king and a prince in Heaven, if thou wilt be persuaded by me and do what I say unto thee. I beseech thee to fear the God who hath come hither by means of this stranger, and to keep thyself purely unto God; because this royalty of thine will pass away, and this rest of thine will be changed into trouble. But come, go to that man, and believe in him, and thou shalt live for ever."

175 And when he heard these things from his wife Tertia, he smote his face with his hands, and rent his clothes, and said: "May the soul of Karīsh have no rest, who hath brought this sorrow upon my soul! May he have no hope, who hath cut off my hope!" And he went out sore troubled, and found his kinsman Karīsh in the street, and said to him: "Why hast thou taken me as thy companion unto Sheol? Why hast thou defrauded me, profiting thyself naught? Why hast thou injured me, doing thyself no good? Why hast thou killed me, not coming thyself to life? Why hast thou done a wickedness unto me, when thou wast not in equity? Why didst thou not let me destroy that wizard before he could corrupt my wife by his sorceries?" And he was upbraiding Karīsh. Karīsh saith to Mazdai: "What is this that hath happened?" Mazdai saith to Karīsh: "He hath bewitched Tertia also."

176 And they two went to the house of Sifūr the general, and found Judas sitting and teaching. And all the people sprang up and stood, but Judas did not stand up before them. And king Mazdai knew that it was he who was sitting; and he seized a seat, and turned it over, and took it by the two legs, and beat him on the head and smote him. And he seized him and delivered him to his attendants, and said to them: "Drag (him) off, that I may sit and hear him publicly." And they were dragging Judas and going to the place where Mazdai used to give judgement. And when he came to the place, he was standing, whilst the attendants of Mazdai held him. And Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, came and said to the attendants: "Give him to me, that I may talk with him until the king cometh;" and they gave him to him. And he took Judas, and went within to (the place) where the king used to sit and judge. Vizān saith to him: "Thou knowest that I am the son of king Mazdai, and that I have liberty to say to the king all that I wish; and that, if I tell the king, he will let thee live, and if I tell him, he will kill thee. Now tell me, who is thy God? And by whose power dost thou hold fast and glory (in it)? And if it be witchcraft, teach it to me, and I will speak to the king, and he will let thee go."

177 Judas saith to Vizān: "Thou art the son of Mazdai, this king who passeth away; and I am the servant of Jesus, the king who abideth for ever. Thou hast power to speak to thy father, and to preserve alive those whom thou pleasest in this short life, in which men abide not, even when thou hast given it to them; and both thou and thy father are mortal. And I beg of my Lord and beseech of Him on behalf of men, and he giveth them the new

life, which lasteth for ever. Thou gloriest in men and in slaves, and in riches and garments and attendants, and in concubines, and in meats which pass away, and in the bed of uncleanness; and I glory in poverty and asceticism and contempt, and in fasting and prayer and great thanksgiving, and in the communion of the brethren and of the Spirit of holiness, and in the intercourse of the brethren, who are worthy before God to live in everlasting life. Thou takest refuge with a man like unto thee, who cannot even deliver his own soul from judgement and from death; and I take refuge with Him, who is the Condemner and the Absolver and the Great, and who is the Judge of all men. Thou and he with whom thou takest refuge are today and tomorrow, and after a time ye are not; and I take refuge with Him who is for ever, and who knoweth all times and seasons. Thou too, therefore, my son;

¹⁷⁸ if thou wishest to become the servant of this God whom I serve, canst become His quickly. And thou art seen to be His servant by these things which I mention unto thee,—by purity, the chief of all good qualities, and the great beginning, and the returning to a better state, and the communion of this God whom I preach; and by cleanness and by temperance, and by love and by faith and by hope in Him, and by simplicity of pure life. And the youth Vizān was persuaded through our Lord, and was seeking some way by which he might rescue Judas. ¹⁷⁹ And whilst he was considering, the king came. And the attendants came and took Thomas, and led him out; and Vizān too went out with him, and was standing beside him. And the king took his seat, and sent (and) had Judas brought in, with his hands bound behind him. And when he stood before him, the king said to him: "Tell me, who art thou, and by whose power dost thou these things?" Judas saith to him: "I am a man like to thee, and I do these things by the power of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God." Mazdai saith to him: "Speak truly, ere I destroy thee." Judas saith to him: "Thou hast not power over me, as thou thinkest, and thou canst not make me suffer." And when Judas had said these things, king Mazdai was enraged, and gave orders to heat two plates of iron and to make him stand upon them barefooted. And when they had made him sit down, they drew off and took away his shoes, and he was laughing and saying: "Far better is thy wisdom, Jesus, than all the wisdoms of all men. Do Thou take counsel against them; and let Thy loving-kindness make preparation against the anger of these (men)." And they brought the plates (glowing) like fire, and laid hold of Judas to make him step upon them; and sud-

denly much water rose out of the earth, and the plates were immersed in it, and the men let him go and fled.

¹⁸⁰ And when the king saw the abundance of water, he said to Judas: "Ask of thy God, and He will deliver us from this death by the flood, and we shall not die thus." And Judas prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus, I ask of thee, bind this nature (or element) and confine it to one place. Thou hast distributed it to various places, and hast given many wondrous signs through Thy servant and Thy Apostle Judas. Thou that makest my soul long that I too may receive Thy splendour; Giver of the reward of all my labours; Thou that lettest my soul be at rest with its own nature, without any intercourse of the harmful (one); Thou that art the cause of my life at all times; do Thou make this flood cease, that it may not rear itself proudly and destroy; for there are (some) of these who are standing by, who shall believe in Thee and live." And when Judas had prayed, there was quiet; and by little and little those waters were swallowed up and disappeared, but the place became as if it had been dried up (by drought).

¹⁸¹ And when king Mazdai saw (this), he said: "Drag (him) off to prison, till we can consider what we shall do with him." And Judas went to be imprisoned, and the whole people were coming after him; and Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, was coming at the right hand of Judas, and Sîfūr the general at his left hand. And when Judas had entered the prison, he permitted Sîfūr and Vizān, and the wife of Sîfūr and his daughter, to sit down, because they too had gone in with him, that they might hear the word of life, for they knew that king Mazdai would destroy him because of his great anger. ¹⁸² And Thomas began to say: "Thou deliverer of my soul from the slavery of many, because I gave myself to be sold unto one, now, lo, I am glad and rejoice, because I know that the times and the seasons, and the years and the months and the days, are at an end, and I shall come and receive Thee, my giver of rest. Lo; I shall be delivered from (the things) of to-day and of to-morrow, and it is for to-day that I care. Lo, I shall give up hope, and receive truth. Lo, I shall escape from the sorrow and the gladness of every day, and put on joy alone. Lo, I shall be without care and without sorrow and without distress, and shall dwell in rest for ever. Lo, I shall be set free from slavery, and shall go to the liberty unto which I am called. Lo, I have waited upon times and seasons, and (now) I am raised above times and seasons. Lo, I shall receive my pay from a Paymaster, who doth not enter into a reckoning but giveth

(freely), because His wealth sufficeth for all His gifts. Lo, I shall take off, and I shall put on and not take off any more. Lo, I shall lie down to sleep, and I shall arise and not lie down to sleep any more. Lo, I shall die, and I shall live and not die any more. Lo, they shall rejoice and look on me, because I shall go and be united with their joy, and they shall place flowers in their garlands. Lo, I shall be made a king in Thy kingdom, Jesus, for from hence have I hoped for it. (Lo,) the wicked shall be put to shame, who thought to subdue me by their powers. Lo, the rebellious shall be destroyed before me, for I have risen above them. Lo, I shall have the peace, unto which the great shall be assembled."

¹⁸³ And whilst Judas was saying these things, all those who were there were listening, and were thinking that his departure from the world would be at that moment. ¹⁸⁴ And again Judas said: "Believe in the Healer of all pains, hidden and manifest, and the Giver of life to those souls which ask help of Him; this, the freeborn and King's son, who became a slave and poor; this, the healer of His creation, and the sick because of His servants; this, the purifier of those who believe in Him, and the despised and insulted by those who did not hear Him; this, (who) setteth free His possessions from slavery and from corruption and from subjection and from loss, and is made subject to and insulted by His slaves; this, the Father of (Heaven) above, and the Lord of all creatures, and the Judge of the world; this, who came from on high, and became visible through the Virgin Mary, and was called the son of Joseph the carpenter; this, the littleness of whose body we have seen with our eyes, and whose majesty we have received through faith; this, whose holy body we have felt with our hands, and whose sad aspect we have seen with our eyes, and whose Divine form on the mount we were not able to see by ourselves alone; this, who was called an impostor, and who is the True, that deceiveth not, and the payer of the tax and the head-money for us and for Himself; this, of whom the enemy, when he saw Him, was afraid, and trembled; and asked Him who He was and what was said of Him, and He did not make known to him the truth, because there is no truth in him; this, (who;) though He was the Lord of the world and of its pleasures and of its wealth and of all its delights, put them away from Him, and admonished those who hear Him and believe in Him not to make use of these (things)."

¹⁸⁵ And when he had finished saying these things, he stood up to pray, and spake thus: "Our Father, who (art) in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name;

Thy kingdom come; and Thy will be (done) on earth as in Heaven; and give us the constant bread of the day; and forgive us our debts and our sins, that we too may forgive our debtors; and bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil (one). My Lord and my God, and my hope and my confidence, and my teacher and my comforter, Thou didst teach us to pray thus. Lo, Thy prayer I am praying, and Thy will I am accomplishing. Be Thou with me until the end; Thou, who from my youth hast sown life in me, and hast guarded me from corruption; Thou, who hast brought me to the poverty of the world, and hast prepared me for Thy true wealth; Thou, who hast made me know that I am Thine, and I have not come near to woman, that what is desired by Thee might not be found with stain. My mouth sufficeth not to praise Thee, nor my understanding to glorify Thy goodness which (is) upon me;

186 Thou who, when I was wishing to acquire and become rich, didst show me by Thy vision that harm cometh to many from wealth and from possessions, and I believed Thy vision, and abode in lasting poverty, until Thou, the true wealth, didst manifest Thyself unto me, and didst fill with Thy true wealth those who are worthy of Thee, and didst deliver them from need and from care and from avarice. Lo, then, I have fulfilled Thy will and accomplished Thy work. I have been poor and needy, and a stranger and a slave, and despised and a prisoner, and hungry and thirsty, and naked and barefooted and weary for Thy sake. Let not my trust fail, nor my hope which (is) in Thee be put to shame. Let not my labours be in vain and let not my toils be found fruitless. Let not my fastings and my urgent prayers perish, and let not my works which (are) in Thee be changed. Let not the enemy snatch away Thy wheat-seed from Thy land, and let not his tares be found in it; for Thy land cannot receive his tares, and they cannot fall into the garner of Thy husbandman."

187 And again he was saying: "I have planted Thy vine in the land; may it cast out roots downwards, and may its tendrils twine upwards, and may its fruits be seen in the land, and may those, who are worthy of Thee and whom Thou hast acquired, delight in them. Thy silver, which Thou gavest me, I have cast down upon Thy table try it, and give it to me with its usury, as Thou hast promised. With Thy talent I have gained ten; let them be added to what was mine, as Thou hast promised. To my debtors I have remitted the talent; let not that which I have remitted, be demanded at my hand. To the

supper I have been invited and have come quickly, and have excused myself from the field and the plough and the wife; let me not "be cast out from it, and let me not eat of it by reason of adjurations. To the wedding-feast I have been invited, and I have put on white garments; may I be worthy of it, and may my hands and feet not be bound, nor I be put out into outer darkness. My lamp is bright with His light; let its Lord keep it until He leaves the banquet-room and I receive it; (and) may I not see it sputter by reason of its oil. Let my eyes receive Thee, and let my heart rejoice that I have fulfilled Thy will and accomplished Thy commandments.

188 Let me be like to the wise and God-fearing servant, who with prudent diligence neglecteth nothing. I have wearied myself with watching the whole night to protect my house from robbers, that it might not be broken into. My loins are girded with truth, and my sandals are bound on my feet; their thongs may I not see loosened. I have put my hand to my ploughshare, and have not looked behind me, that my furrows might not be crooked. My fields are white and are already fit for reaping; may I receive my reward. The garment that weareth out I have worn out, and the work that bringeth unto rest I have accomplished. I have kept my first watch, and second and third; may I receive Thy Face, and worship before Thy holy beauty. I have pulled down my barns and destroyed them on earth; may I take of Thy treasure that faileth not. I have dried up the running spring that was in me; may I lie down by Thy living spring and rest beside it. The bound, whom Thou didst deliver to me, I have slain; the unbound, who is in me, do Thou set free, and let not my soul be kept back from its trust. The internal I have made external, and the external internal; let Thy will be fulfilled in all my members. I have not turned back, and I have not stretched forward; let me not be a wonder and a sign.

189 The dead I have not brought to life, and the living I have not put to death, and the deficient I have (not) filled up; let us receive the Crown of victory, the Ruler of both worlds. Scorn have I received on earth; a recompense do Thou make me in Heaven. The powers shall not perceive me, nor the rulers take counsel against me; the tax-gatherers shall not see me, nor the collectors of tribute oppress me. The low shall not mock at me, and the wicked at the brave and the humble; nor shall the slave and the mean and the great, who exalteth himself, dare to stand before me, because of Thy victorious strength, O Jesus, which surroundeth me; for they flee and hide

themselves from it, because they are not able to behold it; for with treachery and in silence do they fall upon those who obey them. The portion of my children, lo, crieth out and shineth, and no man is hidden from them, because it is the fragrance of their nature. "Wicked men are separated (from them); their fruit-tree is bitterness; I will make it pass away to their place in silence, and I will come unto thee. Let joy and peace support me, and I shall stand before Thy glory; and let not the slanderer look upon me, but let his eyes be blinded by Thy light, in which I dwell, and let his lying mouth be closed, for he hath naught against me."

¹⁹⁰ And again he began to say to those who were with him in prison: "Believe, my children, in this God whom I proclaim. Believe in Jesus the Messiah, whom I preach. Believe in the Life-giver and Helper of His servants. Believe in the Giver of life to those who toil at His work; in Him, in whom, lo, my soul now rejoiceth, for the time is come that I may go and receive Him. Believe in this fair (One), whose beauty inciteth me to say concerning Him what He is, though I am unable to say it fully. For Thou, my Lord, art the Feeder of t my poverty, and the Supplier of my want, and the Dispenser of my need. Be Thou with me to the end, that I may come and receive Thee."

¹⁹¹ And the youth Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, was asking of him and saying to him: "I beg of thee, holy man, Apostle of God, permit me to go, and I will entreat the keepers of the prisoners, and they will grant me that thou mayest go with me to my house, and thou shalt give me the sign of life, and I too shall become a servant of this new God whom thou preachest; because in all these things which thou sayest I was walking in my youth, until my father Mazdai constrained me and gave me Manashar (as) a wife. For I am twenty-one years old today, and lo, it is seven years since I was united in marriage to a woman; for before I took a wife, I knew no other woman, and by my father I was counted as good for naught. And I have not yet had son or daughter by the woman whom he gave to me, and my wife hath lived with me in chastity during these years. And today, if she were well, and had seen thee or heard thy word, I should be at rest and she would live and would receive everlasting life; for she is in great affliction, lo, a long time, through disease. I will therefore entreat the keepers of the prisoners, if thou wilt promise me to go with me to my house, for I live alone in a house by myself, and wilt heal the feeble who is sick." And when Judas, the Apostle of the Most High, heard these things, the Apostle saith to Vizān: "My son, if thou believest, thou shalt

see the wonders of our God, how He bringeth to life and hath compassion upon His servants."

¹⁹² And whilst they were speaking, Tertia and Mygdonia and Narkia her nurse were standing at the door of the prison; and they gave 360 silver zūzē to the keepers of the prisoners, and they let them in to Judas. And they entered and saw Judas and Sifūr and Vizān, and the wife and daughter of Sifūr, and all the prisoners, sitting and listening to Judas. And they three stood before him, and he said to them: "Who let you come to us? And who opened to you the gate that was closed in your faces? Tertia saith to him: "Didst thou not open the door for us and say to us, 'Come to the prison, that we may go and take our brethren who are there, and then our Lord will show His glory (in dealing) with us?' And when we came to the door (of the prison), thou didst disappear from us, and we heard the sound of the door which was shut in our faces. And we gave (money) to their keepers, and they let us in; and lo, we stand (here) and beg of thee that thou wouldst do what we wish, that we might let thee escape, until the wrath of king Mazdai cool towards thee. Judas saith to Tertia: "Tell us first how ye were shut up. Tertia saith to him: "Thou thyself hast never quitted us, save for a moment, and dost thou not know how we were shut up? But if thou wishest to hear, hear.

¹⁹³ King Mazdai sent and had me Tertia brought to him, and said to me: 'That conjuror hath not yet got power over thee, because I have heard that he bewitcheth with oil and water and bread and wine, and he hath not yet bewitched thee. But harken unto me, then, (and hear) what I say unto thee, that I will not torture thee until I destroy thee; for I know, that as long as he hath not given to thee water and oil and bread and wine, he hath not yet got full power over thee.' And I said to him: 'Whatever thou wilt, do unto me. Over my body thou hast power to do all that thou wilt; but my soul I will not destroy with thee.' And when he had heard these things from me, he shut me up in a dark room beneath his dining-room. And his kinsman Karīsh too brought both Mygdonia and Narkia, and shut them up with me. And light did not depart from us, and thou thyself didst bring us out, and lo, we stand before thee. But give us the sign, and let the hope of Mazdai be cut off from me, who is plotting these things against me."

¹⁹⁴ And when Judas, the Apostle of our Lord, had heard these things which she said, he saith: "To Thee be glory, Jesus, manifold in form I To Thee be glory, who showest Thyself like to our poor humanity! To Thee be

glory, our Strengtheners and Encouragers and Reprover and Gladdener, who standest by us in all our afflictions, and strengthenest our weakness, and encouragest our fear!" And when he had said these things, the prisoners were encouraged, and the keepers said: "Blow out the lamps, that they may not slanderously accuse us before king Mazdai." And they blew out all the lamps, and went (and) slept. But Judas said to our Lord: "Thine now is the speed (to help us), Jesus our Illuminator, for lo, the children of darkness have made us sit in their darkness; but do Thou, our Lord, enlighten us with the light of Thy nature." And instantly the whole prison was bright as by day; and all those who were shut up there were asleep, and only those who I believed in our Lord were awake.

¹⁹⁵ And Judas said to Vizān: "Go before us, and prepare for us what is needful for our service." Vizān saith to him: "Who will open for us the doors of the prison? For lo, they have closed them all, and the keepers are asleep." Judas saith to him: "Believe in Jesus, and doubt not, and thou shalt go and find the doors open and turned on their hinges." And when he had gone out, he went before them, and all (the rest) of them were coming after Judas. And when they had gone half-way, Manashar, the wife of Vizān, met them, coming to the prison. And she knew him and saith to him: "My brother Vizān?" And he saith to her: "Yea, and thou my sister Manashar?" She saith to him: "Yea." He saith to her: "Whither goest thou at this time alone? And how wast thou able to arise from the bed?" She saith to him: "This youth laid his hand upon me, and I was healed. And I saw in my dream, that I should go to the stranger, where he is imprisoned, that I might be quite healed." Vizān saith to her: "Where is the youth, who was with thee?" And she saith to him: "Dost thou not see him? For lo, he is holding my right hand and supporting me."

¹⁹⁶ And whilst they were talking, Judas came, with Sîfūr and his wife and daughter, and with Mygdonia and Tertia and Narkia, and they came and entered into the house of Vizān. And when Manashar, the wife of Vizān, saw him, she bowed down and worshipped him, and saith to him: "Art thou come, my healer from sore disease? Thou art he whom I saw in my dream, who didst give me this youth, that he might bring me unto thee to the prison; and thy kindness did not suffer thee (to permit) that I should become weary, but thou thyself art come to me." And when she had said these things, she turned round (to look) behind her, and the youth was not (there). And

she saith to Thomas: "I am not able to walk alone, and the youth, whom thou didst give me, is not (here)." Judas saith to her:

¹⁹⁷ "Jesus then will be a Supporter unto thee." And she was running and coming before them. And when they entered into the house of Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, the time was night, and our Lord was giving them light in abundance. ¹⁹⁸ And Judas began to pray and to speak thus: "Companion and Help of the feeble; Hope and Confidence of the poor; Refuge and Rest of the weary; Voice that came from on high, comforting the hearts of Thy believers; Resort and Haven of those that go forth into the region of darkness; Physician without fee, (who) wast crucified among men for many, and for whom no man was crucified; Thou didst descend into Sheol with mighty power, and the dead saw Thee and became alive, and the lord of death was not able to bear (it); and Thou didst ascend with great glory, and didst take up with Thee all who sought refuge with Thee, and didst tread for them the path (leading) up on high, and in Thy footsteps all Thy redeemed followed; and Thou didst bring them into Thy fold, and mingle them with Thy sheep. Son of perfect mercy, who wast sent to us with power by the Father, whom His servants praise; Son, who wast sent by the supreme and perfect Fatherhood; Lord of possessions that cannot be defiled; wealthy (One), who hast filled Thy creation with the treasure of Thy wealth; needy (One), who bore poverty and fasted forty days; Satisfier of our thirsty souls with Thy blessing; be Thou, Lord, with Vizān and with Tertia and with Manashar, and gather them into Thy fold, and mingle them with Thy number, and be to them a guide (when they are) in the path of error. Be to them a healer in the place of sickness; be to them a strengthener in the weary place; make them pure in the unclean place; and make them clean of corruption in the place of the enemy. Be a physician for their bodies, and give life to their souls, and make them holy shrines and temples, and may the holy Spirit dwell in them."

¹⁹⁹ And when he had prayed thus, he said to Mygdonia: "My daughter, strip thy sisters. And she stripped them, and put girdles on them, and brought them near to him. And Vizān came near first. And Judas took oil, and glorified (God) over it, and said: "Fair Fruit, that art worthy to be glowing with the word of holiness, that men may put Thee on and conquer through Thee their enemies, when they have been cleansed from their former works,—yea, Lord, come, abide upon this oil, as Thou didst abide upon the tree, and they who crucified Thee were not able to bear Thy word.

Let Thy gift come, which Thou didst breathe upon Thine enemies and they went backward and fell upon their faces, and let it abide upon this oil, over which we name Thy name. And he cast it upon the head of Vizān, and then upon the heads of these (others), and said: "In Thy name, Jesus the Messiah, let it be to these persons for the remission of offences and sins, and for the destruction of the enemy, and for the healing of their souls and bodies," And he commanded Mygdonia to anoint them, and he himself anointed Vizān. And after he had anointed them, he made them go down into the water in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, And after they had been baptized and were come up, he brought bread and the mingled cup, and spake a blessing over it and said:

²⁰⁰ "Thy holy Body, which was crucified for our sake, we eat, and Thy life-giving Blood, which was shed for our sake, we drink. Let Thy Body be to us for life, and Thy Blood for the remission of sins. For the gall which Thou drankest for us, let the bitterness of our enemy be taken away from us. And for Thy drinking vinegar for our sake, let our weakness be strengthened. And (for) the spit which thou didst receive for us, let us receive Thy perfect life. And because Thou didst receive the crown of thorns for us, let us receive from Thee the crown that withereth not. And because Thou wast wrapped in a linen cloth for us, let us be girt with Thy mighty strength, which cannot be overcome. And because Thou wast buried in a new sepulchre for our mortality, let us too receive intercourse with Thee in Heaven. And as Thou didst arise, let us be raised, and let us stand before Thee at the Judgement of truth. And he brake the Eucharist, and gave to Vizān and Tertia, and to Manashar and Sîfūr and Mygdonia, and to the wife and daughter of Sîfūr, and said: "Let this Eucharist be to you for life and rest and joy and health, and for the healing of your souls and of your bodies. And they said, "Amen"; and a voice was heard saying to them, "Yea and Amen. And when they heard this voice, they fell on their faces. And again the voice was heard saying:

²⁰¹ "Be not afraid, but only believe." ²⁰² And Judas went (back) to be imprisoned, and likewise Tertia and Mygdonia and Narkia, these too went (back) to be imprisoned. And Judas said to them: "My daughters and sisters in our Lord, and my companions, and handmaidens of Jesus the Messiah, listen unto me on this the last day that I shall deliver my word unto you, for I shall never speak with you again in this world. For I shall be lifted up to our Lord Jesus the Messiah; to Him who sold me; to Him who humbled His lofty soul

to my littleness, and hath brought me to His greatness which passeth not away, and hath deemed me worthy of being a servant of Him in verity and in truth. And lo, I rejoice that the time is fulfilled and the day come that I may go and receive my reward from my Lord. For my Pay-master is just, and He knoweth how, I ought to be recompensed. For He is not wicked nor envious, but His gifts abound; and He doth not count and give, for He is confident that His wealth will not fail. Listen, my daughters. I am not Jesus, but I am the servant of Jesus. I am not the Messiah, but I am one who ministereth before Him. I am not the Son of God, but I pray and beg that I may be deemed worthy of God. But do ye, my daughters, abide in the faith of Jesus the Messiah, and look for the hope of the Son of God.

203 And be not weary, my daughters, in persecution, and be not in doubt because ye see me treated ignominiously, and imprisoned too, and dying, because I am fulfilling the will of my Lord. For if I were to pray that I should not die, ye know that I am able (to do so); but this which is seen (by us) is not death, but a release from the world. For this reason I receive it gladly; and for this reason I am delivered, that I may go and receive Him who is comely, Him whom I love, Him who is beloved. For much have I toiled in His service, and I have completed (my task) because of His grace, which hath supported me and hath not forsaken me. Let not therefore the enemy enter into you by treachery, and let him not agitate your minds with doubt. Let not that perfidious disturber find an opportunity (of assailing you), because He, whom ye have received, and in whom ye have believed, is stronger than he. Look for His coming, for He will come and receive you, that is (to say), ye shall go and see Him."

204 And when Judas had finished speaking to them, they entered into the dark house. And Judas said: "Our Life-giver and Bearer of many things for our sake, let these doors be as they were, and let them be sealed with their seals." And he left them and went himself too to be imprisoned; and they were grieved and were weeping, because they knew that king Mazdai would kill him. The Consummation of Judas Thomas. AND when he had gone in to be imprisoned, he found the keepers quarrelling and saying: "What wrong have we done to this sorcerer, that he hath opened the doors by the art of his charms, and hath wished to let all these prisoners escape? But let us go and make (it) known to king Mazdai, and let us tell him also about his wife and his son, who come to him." And whilst the chief (keeper) of the prisoners was

saying a these things, Judas was silent and listening. And they rose early in the morning, and went to king Mazdai, and say to him: "Our lord the king, either let this sorcerer go, or imprison him in another place, for we are unable to guard him; because twice thy good fortune hath guarded the prisoners, otherwise they would all have escaped; for we shut the doors and we find them open. And both thy wife and thy son, with the rest of the people, never leave him." And when king Mazdai heard these things, he went to look at the seals which he had placed upon the doors; and he found the seals as they were. And he said to the keepers: "Why do ye tell lies, for lo, the seals of the houses are as they were sealed? And how say ye (that) Tertia and Mygdonia come to him to the prison?" The keepers say: "We have told thee the truth."

²⁰⁵ And king Mazdai went (and) sat in (the hall of) judgement, and sent and fetched Judas, and stripped him and put a girdle round his loins; and they made him stand before Mazdai. And Mazdai said to him: "Art thou a slave or a free man?" Judas saith to him: "I am a slave, but thou hast no power whatever over me." Mazdai saith to him: "And how didst thou run away (and) come to this country?" Judas saith to him: "I came hither that I might give life to many by the word, and by thy hands I shall quit the world." Mazdai saith to him: "Who is thy master? And what is his name? And of what country art thou?" Judas saith to him: "My Master is thy Master and (the Master) of the whole world, and the Lord of Heaven and of earth." Mazdai saith to him: "What is his name?" Judas saith to him: "Thou art not able to hear His true name now at this time, but the name that is given to Him is Jesus the Messiah." Mazdai saith to him: "I have not been in haste to destroy thee, but have had patience with thee; and thou hast added to thy deeds, and thy sorceries are spoken of through the whole country. But I will do unto thee (so) that they shall accompany thee and go along with thee, and that our country shall be relieved of them." Judas saith to him: "These sorceries, which thou sayest shall accompany me, shall never fail from this place."

²⁰⁶ And when he had said these things, Mazdai was considering, how he should give orders concerning him, that he might die, because he was afraid of the great multitude which was there; for many believed in our Lord, even (some) of the king's nobles. And Mazdai took Judas and went without the city, and there came with him a few soldiers with weapons; and people were thinking that Mazdai was wishing to learn (something) from him, and they were standing and looking at him. And when they had gone about half a

mile, he delivered him to (some) of the soldiers who were with him and to one of the princes, and said to them: "Go up on this mountain (and) stab him." And he turned to come (back) to the city. And people were running after Judas to rescue him; but the soldiers were going on his right hand and on his left and were holding spears, and that one of the princes was holding him by his hand and supporting him. And Judas said: "O the hidden mysteries, which even to the (hour of) departure (from this world) are fulfilled in me! O the riches of the grace of Him, who doth not let us feel the sufferings of the body! How they surround me with weapons, and fight with me even unto death! But to One I am given up, for lo, one chief leadeth me and holdeth me by my hand, in order that he may deliver me to One, whom I look for that I may receive Him; and our Lord, because He is of One, suffered (blows) at the hand of one."

207 And when he had ascended the mountain, the place where they were about to stab Judas, he said to those who were holding him: "Harken unto me now at least, when I am on the point of departing from the world, and let not the eyes of your hearts be blinded, nor your ears be deafened, that ye too should not hear. Believe in this God whom I preach, and walk not in your hardness of heart, but walk in all the virtues that beseem the freedom and the glory of men and the life that is with God." Judas saith to Vizān: "Son of the earthly king Mazdai, and servant of Jesus the Messiah, permit the attendants to do the will of their king Mazdai; I will go (and) pray." And Vizān spake to the soldiers, and they let Judas go. And Judas went and was praying and saying thus:—

208 "My Lord and my God, and my Hope and my Saviour; and my Guide and Conductor in all the lands which I have traversed in Thy name, be Thou with all Thy servants, and do Thou guide me too that I may come unto Thee; for unto Thee I have committed my soul, and no man shall take it from Thy hands. Let not my sins hinder me. Lo, Lord, I fulfilled Thy will and became a slave, for the sake of this freedom which I am receiving! today. Do Thou, Lord Jesus, give (it) to me and fulfil it with me; for I am in no doubt whatever regarding Thy truth and Thy love, but for the sake of these who are standing (by) that they may hear, I speak before Thee." And when Judas had prayed thus, he said to the soldiers: "Come, fulfil the will of him who sent you." And the soldiers came (and) struck him all together, and he fell down and died. And the brethren were weeping all together. And they brought

goodly garments and many linen cloths, and buried Judas in the sepulchre! in which the ancient kings were buried.

209 And Sîfür and Vizân would not go down to the city, but were sitting there the whole day, and they passed the night there also. And Judas appeared unto them and said to them: "I am not here. Why are ye sitting and watching me?" I have ascended unto my Lord, and have received what I was looking for and hoping for. But rise and go down hence, for yet a little while and ye too shall be gathered unto me." And Mazdai and his kinsman Karîsh brought Mygdonia and Tertia, and afflicted them much, but they would not yield to their wish. And Judas appeared to them and said to them: "Forget not, my daughters, Jesus our Light, the Holy and the Living (One), and He will soon prepare for you your rest and your help." And when king Mazdai and his kinsman Karish saw that they would not be persuaded by them, they left them alone to walk according to their own will. And all the brethren who were there were assembling together, and praying and offering the (Eucharistic) offering and breaking (bread), because Judas had made Sîfür a priest and Vizân a deacon, on the mountain, when he was going to die. And our Lord was helping them with His love and was increasing His faith by their means.

210 And it happened after a long time that one of the sons of king Mazdai had a devil, and no man was able to bind him, because he was very violent. And king Mazdai thought in his mind and said: "I will go (and) open the grave of Judas, and take one of the bones of the Apostle of God, and will hang it upon my son, and he will be healed." And Judas appeared to him in a vision, and said to him: "Thou didst not believe in one living; wilt thou believe in one who, lo, is dead? But fear not. My Lord the Messiah will have mercy upon thee because of His clemency." And he did not find his bones, for one of the brethren had taken them away secretly and conveyed them to the West. And king Mazdai took (some) of the dust of that spot where the bones of the Apostle had lain, and hung it upon his son, and said: I believe in Thee, my Lord Jesus; now that he hath left me, who always troubleth men that they may not see the light." And when he had hung (it) upon his son and had believed, he was healed; and he was united with the brethren. And king Mazdai was bowing his head beneath the hand of the priest Sîfür, and was entreating and begging of all the brethren that they would pray for him,

that he might find mercy with them before our Lord Jesus the Messiah in His kingdom, which is for ever and ever. Amen.

²¹¹ Here end the Acts of Judas Thomas, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who suffered martyrdom in the land of India by the hands of king Mazdai. Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness, now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen. [All footnotes and biblical references have reluctantly been omitted apart from these. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought online by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)] 1. See.. Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xvi., p.389. 2. Perhaps a reference to the Gospel of Thomas the Israelite, ch. vi-viii of Tischendorf's Greek text; see my Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, p.8. 3. In pseudo-Abdias (Fabricius, p. 705), Mygdonia and Charisius; Tischendorf, p.235, Mugdoni/a and Xari/sioj.

The Apostolic History of Abdias and Notices of Minor Acts

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

6th–7th century AD

James's summaries of the Latin Apostolic History of Abdias, with his notices of the minor acts of the apostles, as a guide to the late medieval Acts of the apostles.

1 us the offering that is above, on the third day after he rose. So it was done, and the chanter went up on a great stone and sang: Precious in the sight of the Lord.... I slept and rose up again.... And they answered: Shall not the sleeper awake?... Now will I arise, saith the Lord. Alleluia. They read the gospel and made the offering. 26 It was about the sixth hour, and Plato looked out to sea seven stadia away, and lo. Matthew standing on the sea between two men in bright apparel, and the beautiful child before them. And they said Amen, Alleluia. And the sea was to look upon like a crystal stone, and before the Child a cross came up out of the deep, and at the lower end of it the coffin of Matthew: and in a moment it was set on the land where they were.

2 27 The king beheld all from a window, and came down and fell at their feet and confessed his sin and his belief. He would give them the palace for a sanctuary, and the coffin should be laid on his golden couch in the great hall. Plato baptized and communicated him. 28 The apostle appeared and said: Thy name shall no more be Bulphamnus but Matthew; thy son not Bulphandrus but also Matthew; thy wife Ziphagia, Sophia; and his wife Orba, Synesis. He ordained the king a priest, being 37, his son a deacon, being 17: his wife a priestess (presbytis) and his son's wife a deaconess, being 17. [29 (in one recension only): The king destroyed his idols, and issued a decree establishing the new faith.] 30 Matthew bade them offer the offering daily for forty-nine days and repeat it yearly, and told Plato he should join him in

three years, and be succeeded by the king, and he by his son. Then with two angels he departed to heaven. 31 And a voice came, promising peace and safety to the city.

3 His day is the 14th of Gorgiaeus (al. 16 November; Lat. 11 October). The most effective part of these Acts is the vision after Matthew's death: the interest in liturgy is quite prominent here. We will now take a review of the Latin Acts as contained in the of which something has already been said. It is in ten books. Book I treats of St. Peter. Chapters i-v are drawn from the Gospels and Acts; vi-xiv extracted from the Clementine literature; xv, the ordination of Clement; xvi, Paul arrives, and from this to the end (xx) is the contest with Simon and the Martyrdom from the Pseudo-Hegesippus *de excidio Hierosolymae*, lib. iii. Book II, of Paul: i-vi from the canonical Acts; vii, viii from the Martyrdom. Book III, of Andrew, is Gregory's book of miracles, and the Passion. Book IV, of James the Great, gives us new matter, only found here, though doubtless there was a Greek original. i. Describes James's preaching. ii. In the course of it he was opposed by Hermogenes and Philetus. Philetus was converted by James, and told Hermogenes he should leave him. Hermogenes in anger bound him by magical incantations and said: We will see if James can free you. Philetus found means to send a servant to James, who sent back his kerchief, and by it Philetus was freed and came to James.

5 iii. Hermogenes in anger sent devils to fetch both James and Philetus to him: but when they got there they began to howl in the air and complain that an angel had bound them with fiery chains. James sent them to bring Hermogenes bound. They tied his arms with ropes and brought him, mocking him. You are a foolish man, said James, but they shall not hurt you. The devils clamoured for leave to avenge themselves on him. Why do you not seize Philetus? said James. We dare not touch so much as an ant in your chamber, they said. James bade Philetus loose Hermogenes, and he stood confounded. Go free, said James, for we do not render evil for evil. I fear the demons, he said. And James gave him his staff to protect him. iv. Armed with this, he went home and filled baskets with magical books and began to burn them. Not so, said James, lest the smoke vex the unwary; cast them into the sea. He did so, and returned and begged for pardon. James sent him to undo his former work on those he had deceived, and spend in charity what he had gained by his art. He obeyed, and so grew in faith that he even performed miracles.

6 v. The Jews bribed two centurions, Lysias and Theocritus, to seize James. And while he was being taken away, there was a dispute between him and the Pharisees. He spoke to them first of Abraham, (vi.) and went on to cite prophecies. Isaiah: Behold a virgin... Jeremiah: Behold, thy redeemer shall come, O Jerusalem, and this shall be the sign of him: he shall open the eyes of the blind, restore hearing to the deaf, and raise the dead with his voice. Ezekiel: Thy king shall come, O Zion, he shall come humbly, and restore thee. Daniel: As the son of man, so shall he come and receive principedoms and powers. David: The Lord said unto my Lord... Again: He shall call me, thou art my Father... I will make him my first-born. Of the fruit of thy body... Isaiah again: Like a sheep to the slaughter. David: They pierced my hands... They gave me gall... My flesh shall rest... I will arise and be with thee... For the comfortless trouble's sake... He is gone up on high... God is gone up. He rode on the cherubim... The Lord shall come, and shall not keep silence,... vii. Isaiah: The dead shall rise. David: God spake once... They rewarded me evil for good... He that did eat my bread... The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan. viii. The people cried out: We have sinned. Abiathar the high priest stirred up a tumult, and a scribe cast a rope about James's neck and dragged him before Herod, who sentenced him to be beheaded. On the way he healed a paralytic.

7 ix. The scribe, named Josias, was convinced, and prayed for pardon. And Abiathar procured that he should be beheaded with James. Water was brought, James baptized him, they exchanged the kiss of peace, and were beheaded. (The tale of James forgiving his accuser is as old as Clement of Alexandria, who quotes it.) Book V, of St. John. i. From the Gospels and Acts. ii. The caldron of oil at Ephesus, exile to Patmos, and recall. iii. The story of the robber (Clement of Alexandria the ultimate source). iv—xiii. Drusiana. xiv—xviii. Atticus and Eugenius (see above). xix. Destruction of temple of Artemis. xx, xxi. The poison (see above). Assumption of John. Book VI, of St. James the Less. i—vi. from the Gospels and Acts and from Hegesippus as quoted by Eusebius (Rufinus). vii sqq. SS. Simon and Jude, going to Persia, found there two magicians, Zaroës and Arfaxat, whom Matthew had driven out of Ethiopia (see the next book). Their doctrines were that the God of the Old Testament was the god of darkness, Moses and the Prophets deceivers, the soul the work of the good God, the body the work of the god of darkness, so that soul and body are contrary to each other: that the sun and moon

are gods, and also water: that the incarnation of Christ was in appearance only (in fact, Manichaean doctrine).

⁸viii. On entering the country they met Varardach, the general of King Xerxes, with an army preparing to repel an invasion of India. He had many priests and diviners with him: their gods explained that they could give no answers because of the presence of Simon and Jude. Varardach sent for them and they offered to expound their teaching: he said he would hear them after the campaign. Jude urged him to hear now. He asked them to foretell his success or failure. ⁹ix. Simon said: We will allow your gods to answer your diviners. So they prayed, and the prophets said: There will be a great battle, and many will fall on either side. The apostles laughed, though Varardach was impressed; and they said: The truth is that to-morrow the Indians will send and offer you peace and become tributaries to Persia. After some dispute with the priests it was agreed (x. that both parties should be kept in custody till the morrow; (xi. when the apostles' prediction was fulfilled. But they interceded for the priests, whom Varardach would have killed. At least, said he, you will receive their goods. Their pay was reckoned up: 120 talents in all, besides the chief priest's, who had 4 pounds of gold a month: and much raiment, &c. (The apostles' refusal to take this has dropped out, it seems. xii. On his return, Varardach reported all this to the king; but Zaroës and Arfaxat made light of it, and proposed a test before the apostles came. The lawyers of the land were to be summoned to dispute with them. And first they made them unable to speak, then restored their speech but took away their power of motion, and then made them unable to see. The lawyers retired in confusion. xiv. Varardach told the apostles, and they asked him to send for the lawyers, and proposed a second trial. If the lawyers would believe on their God, they would sign them with the cross and enable them to overcome the wizards.

¹⁰The lawyers were at first inclined to despise them for their mean appearance; but, convinced by Simon's words, believed. xv. The apostles prayed over them: O God of Israel, who didst do away with the magic illusions of Jannes and Mambres and give them over to confusion and sores and cause them to perish: let thine hand be also on these magicians Zaroës and Arfaxat, &c. The contest took place and the magicians were powerless. One of the lawyers, Zebeus, explained to the king how they were the instruments of the evil angel; and defied them to do as they had done the day before. xvi. They were enraged and called in a host of snakes. The apostles were hastily

summoned, and made the snakes all turn on the magicians and bite them: they howled like wolves. Kill them outright, said the king; but the apostles refused, and instead made the serpents suck out all their venom, which hurt still more. xvii. And for three days, in the hospital, the wizards continued screaming. When they were on the point of death, the apostles healed them, saying: Our God does not ask for forced service; if you will not believe, you may go free. They wandered about Persia, slandering the apostles and telling the people to kill them when they came.

¹¹ xviii. The apostles stayed in Babylon, healing the sick, and ordaining clergy. A deacon was accused of incontinence by the daughter of a satrap who had been seduced by another. The parents clamoured against the deacon Euphrosinus. The apostles sent for the infant who had been born that day, and on their bidding it spoke and cleared Euphrosinus: but the apostles refused to question it about the guilty man. xix. Two fierce tigers had escaped from their cages and were devouring everybody they met. The apostles, appealed to, made the beasts follow them home, where they stayed three days. Then the apostles called the people together, and announced that they were going to leave them to visit the rest of Persia. On the urgent prayer of the people they stayed fifteen months longer, baptized 60,000 people, (xx) ordained Abdias bishop, and set out, accompanied by many disciples. For thirteen years they travelled, and Craton their disciple recorded their acts in ten books, which Africanus the historian translated into Latin, and from which we have here made extracts.

¹² Zaroës and Arfaxat always went before the apostles and warned people against them, but were as regularly confuted. At Suanir there were seventy priests who received a pound of gold II h apiece from the king at each of the feasts of the sun (at the beginning of each of the four seasons). The magicians warned these men that two Hebrews were coming, who would deprive them of all their gains: they should be compelled to sacrifice immediately on their arrival. ¹³ xxi. After travelling through all the twelve provinces, the apostles came to Suanir and lodged with a chief citizen, Sennes. The priests and mob flocked thither, crying out: Bring out the enemies of our gods. So they were taken to the temple of the sun; and as they entered the devils began to cry out that they were being burned. In the east, in the temple, was a four-horse chariot of the sun in silver, and on the other side a four-oxed chariot of the moon, also silver. xxii. The priests would now compel the

apostles to sacrifice. Jude said to Simon: I see the Lord calling us. Simon: I see him also among the angels; moreover, an angel has said to me: Go out hence and the temple shall fall, but I said: No, for some here may be converted. As they spoke (in Hebrew) an angel came and said: Choose either the death of all here or the palm of martyrdom. They chose the palm. As the priests pressed on them, they demanded silence. After a few words Simon commanded the devil to leave the chariot of the sun and break it, and Jude spoke likewise of the moon. Two hideous black men appeared and fled howling. The priests and people attacked the apostles and slew them. xxiii. This was on the first of July. Sennes suffered with them. Lightning struck the temple and split it into three pieces and burnt Zaroës and Arfaxat to coal. After three months Xerxes sent and confiscated the priests' goods and translated the bodies to his city, and built a marble basilica, octagonal, and 8 times 80 feet in circumference and 120 feet high, plated with gold inside, and the sarcophagus of silver in the middle. It took three years to build.

¹⁴ Book VII, of St. Matthew. i. He came to Naddaver in Ethiopia, where King Aegippus reigned. There were two magicians, Zaroës and Arfaxat, who could make men immovable, blind, or deaf as they pleased, and also charmed serpents, like the Marsi. ii. Matthew counteracted all these acts, sent the snakes to sleep, and cured their bites with the cross. A eunuch named Candacis, whom Philip had baptized, took the apostle in, and he did many cures. iii. Candacis asked him how he, a Hebrew, could speak other tongues. Matthew told him the story of Babel and of Pentecost. iv. One came and announced that the magicians were coming with two crested dragons breathing fire and brimstone. Matthew crossed himself and rose to meet them. 'Speak from the window,' said Candacis. 'You can be at the window; I will go out.' When the dragons approached, both fell asleep at Matthew's feet, and he challenged the magicians to rouse them. They could not. Then he adjured them to go quietly and hurt no man, and so they did. v. The apostle then spoke, describing Paradise at length, and (vi) the Fall (the description of Paradise is rather interesting). vii. It was now announced that Euphranor the king's son was dead. The magicians, who could not raise him, said he had been taken up among the gods, and an image and temple ought to be built. Candacis said: Keep these men till Matthew comes. He came: the queen Euphenissa fell at his feet. He consoled her and raised Euphranor. viii.

15 The people came to sacrifice to him as a god. He persuaded them to build a church: 11,000 men did it in thirty days: it was called the Resurrection. Matthew presided there twenty-three years, ordained clergy and founded churches; baptized the king, queen, prince, and princess Ephigenia, who vowed chastity. Zaroës and Arfaxat fled the country. It would be long to tell of all Matthew's cures and miracles: I will proceed to his martyrdom. ix. Aeglippus was succeeded by his brother Hyrtacus, who wished to marry Ephigenia, now presiding over more than 200 sacred virgins. He offered Matthew half his kingdom to persuade her. Matthew said: Assemble all the virgins tomorrow, and you shall hear what good things I will speak of marriage. x. His address on the divine institution and merits of matrimony. xi. Loudly applauded by Hyrtacus and his followers; he then pointed out that it would be sacrilege to marry Ephigenia. Hyrtacus went away in a rage. xii. But Matthew exhorted them not to fear man. xiii. Ephigenia prayed him to consecrate her and the other virgins. And he veiled them (with a long prayer). xiv. And as he stood at the altar praying, a soldier sent by Hyrtacus pierced him in the back and he died. The people threatened to burn the palace, but the clergy restrained them. xv. Ephigenia gave all her wealth to the church. Hyrtacus sent the nobles' wives to her, then tried to send demons to carry her off, then surrounded her house with fire.

16 But an angel, and Matthew, appeared and encouraged her. And a great wind rose and drove all the fire on the palace, and only Hyrtacus and his son escaped. The son was seized by a devil, and rushed to Matthew's tomb and confessed his father's crimes. Hyrtacus was attacked with elephantiasis, and stabbed himself. Beor, the brother of Ephigenia, a Christian, succeeded and reigned twenty-five years, dying at 88, and appointing successors in his lifetime, and he had peace with the Romans and Persians, and all Ethiopia was filled with churches, unto this day. 17 This and the last book are linked together by the figures of Zaroës and Arfaxat, and strictly Matthew should, we see, precede Simon and Jude. The discourses in Matthew are much longer than in the other; and a certain consciousness of the existence of the Abyssinian church is shown. Book VIII, of St. Bartholomew. This, as Bonnet has shown, is the original of the Greek Passion, edited by Tischendorf, of which there is but one manuscript, dated 1279. The Latin MSS. go back to the eighth or ninth century.

18 India is divided into three parts: Bartholomew came thither to a temple of Astaroth, who ceased to answer his worshippers. So they went to another city; and inquired of Beireth (Berith), who said Bartholomew was the cause. What is he like? they asked. 'He has black curly hair, white skin, large eyes, straight nose, his hair covers his ears, his beard long and grizzled, middle height: he wears a white colobium with a purple stripe, and a white cloak with four purple gems' at the corners: for twenty-six years he has worn these and they never grow old: his shoes have lasted twenty-six years: he prays 100 times a day and 100 times a night: his voice is like a trumpet: angels wait on him: he is always cheerful and knows all languages.' For two days they could not find him, but then he cast a devil out of a man. King Polymius heard of it and sent for him to heal his lunatic daughter who bit every one. She was loosed—the apostle having reassured her keepers—and cured. The king sent camels laden with riches, but the apostle could not be found. Next day, however, he came to the king and expounded the Christian faith, and offered to show him the devil who inhabited his idol. There was a dialogue, in which the demon explained his doings. Bartholomew made the people try to pull the statue down, but they could not. The ropes were removed and he bade the demon leave the statue, which was instantly broken.

19 After a prayer of the apostle, an angel appeared and signed the four corners of the temple with the cross; and then showed them the devil: black, sharp-faced, with long beard, hair to the feet, fiery eyes, breathing flame, spiky wings like a hedgehog, bound with fiery chains; and then the angel sent him away howling. The king and the rest were baptized. But the heathen priests went and complained to his brother Astriges (Astyages), who had Bartholomew brought bound, and questioned him. It was told him that his idol Vualdath had fallen and was broken to pieces, and in anger he had Bartholomew beaten with clubs and beheaded (the Greek puts in 'flayed', in accordance with the late tradition). And the people buried him honourably, and built a basilica over him. After twenty days Astriges was seized by a devil, and he and all the priests died. And there was great fear, and all believed: the king (Polymius) became bishop and presided twenty years.

20 Book IX, of Thomas. i.... I remember to have read a book in which his journey to India and acts there are set forth; but as it is by many not received because of its wordiness, I will omit what is superfluous and record what is plainly true, agreeable to the reader, and can edify the church. ii-iv. The sale

to Abbanes and the marriage feast. v, vi. The palace. vii. Cure of possessed woman. The youth who killed the woman. viii, ix. Siphor's wife and daughter. ix–xi. Mygdonia and Charisius. xii. Tertia (Treptia) and Zuzanes (who goes with his mother to Mygdonia and is converted with her). xiii. Thomas before Misdaeus. xiv. The iron plates. Thomas is put into the bath-furnace for a night: it cannot be heated: he is brought to the temple of the sun, with its gold four-horsed chariot. xv. Virgins enter, singing and playing. Thomas speaks with the demon in the image. The image is melted. Thomas and the rest are imprisoned. (These chapters are an interpolation.) xvi–xxv, epitomize the old Acts. The great prayer of Thomas immediately precedes his death.

²¹ Book X of St. Philip, is quite short. i. He goes to Scythia twenty years after the Ascension. ii. Before a statue of Mars: a great dragon comes out from beneath the statue and kills the priest's son and two tribunes, and makes many ill with its venomous breath. Philip banishes the dragon and raises and heals the dead and sick. iii. He teaches them for a year: they break the image, and many thousands are baptized. After ordaining bishop and clergy he returns to Asia, to Hierapolis, where he extinguishes the malignant heresy of the Ebionites, who said that the Son of God was not born as a man, but took his humanity from the Virgin. iv. And he had two daughters who converted many. Seven days before his death he calls the clergy together, exhorts them, and dies, aged 87, and is buried at Hierapolis, and his two daughters after a few years are laid at his right and left. Where many miracles are done by his intercession.

²² This is wholly divergent from the Greek accounts. Yet some Western texts, notably those current in Ireland, are aware of the story of his crucifixion at Hierapolis, and blend it awkwardly with the Latin legend.

Notices of Minor Acts

²³ Besides the Acts we have dealt with, there are others which demand a brief notice. The Acts of John by Prochorus the deacon is a Greek romance of considerable length: it has been edited in full by Zahn (*Acta Joannis*). By far the greater part of it is taken up with miracles wrought by John on Patmos. It is not supposed to be earlier than the fifth century at most. Some of the manuscripts have been found to contain large excerpts from the Leucian Acts: the great episodes of Lycomedes, the temple of Artemis, and Drusiana—in fact almost all that we have of the Acts, except the discourse on our Lord's life and passion, and the death of John—have been thus preserved.

Prochorus's own stories are not very interesting. Wright has edited a Syriac history of John, attributed to Eusebius, 'who found it in a Greek book'. The scene is mainly at Ephesus. John takes service at a bath (as he does also in Prochorus), and there is a tale of the death and raising of a young man, Menelaus, which has attracted the attention of a recent anonymous writer on the resurrection—I do not quite know why. There is also a general baptism and a destruction of idols, in consequence of which Nero banishes John, and under stress of a rising recalls him. Finally, at the request of Peter and Paul, John writes his Gospel in one hour. He died at the age of 120. This text exists also in Arabic.

²⁴ There are also Greek Acts of Barnabas, edited last by Bonnet, of which the interest is strictly local; they describe his travels and death in Cyprus—where they were doubtless written (not earlier than the fifth century). With them must be classed the lives of other Cypriote saints of the apostolic age, Heraclides of Tannasus and Auxibius of Soli. Acts of James the Great in Greek (ed. Ebersolt, Paris, 1902) are without interest. Acts of Thomas in Greek, edited by me from a British Museum MS. (in *Apocr. Anecd.* ii), are a version (probably) of the Acts in the Egyptian cycle, which we have in Ethiopic. More important, because more widely diffused, are the various late Acts and Passions of Peter and Paul. These occupy a large space in Lipsius's edition, where the following texts are printed: 1. The Passion of Peter, attributed to Linus, Peter's successor in the see of Rome, addressed to the churches of East and West: in Latin. It follows the course of the original Martyrdom, adding some details, e. g. the names of Processus and Martinian, Peter's gaolers, and a vision, when Peter is crucified, of 'angels standing with crowns of the flowers of roses and lilies, and upon the top of the upright cross Peter standing and receiving a book from Christ, and reading from it the words which he was speaking'.

²⁵ 2. The Passion of Paul, by Linus, in Latin. This, again, is the original Martyrdom with a few additions. On the way to execution Paul meets Plautilla, a noble matron, and borrows the kerchief from her head to bind his eyes: she is to wait for him and he will give it back. Returning, the soldiers met Plautilla rejoicing; and when they taunted her, she told them that Paul, with a celestial company, had come to her, and returned the blood-stained kerchief, which she showed them. There is a passage about Seneca, too: see below, p. 480. In both, the speeches are variously altered and ampli-

fied. The remaining texts all represent Peter and Paul as joining in the contest with Simon, and being martyred at the same time: the older legends making a year intervene between their deaths. We have first: 3. The Passion of Peter and Paul under the name of Marcellus. The Latin text is the better known: there is one manuscript of a Greek form of it. The opening words are *Cum venisset Paulus Romam*.

²⁶ As in all these texts, there is a good deal about Simon's magic arts. When confronted with the apostles before Nero, he makes large dogs appear and attack the apostles: but Peter has foreseen this, and has some barley bread, which he has blessed, concealed in his sleeve, and, producing it, makes the dogs vanish. Pilate's letter to Claudius (see p. 146) is produced and read before Nero. When Simon flies in the air, Peter adjures the demons who are carrying him to let him fall; and his body is broken into four pieces. The death of Nero is mentioned, and an attempt of some devout men from the East to carry off the bodies of the apostles. 4. The Greek Acts of Peter and Paul. This text begins with Paul's journey from the island of Gaudomelete to Rome. Dioscorus the shipmaster, who was bald like Paul, was arrested in mistake for him at Puteoli and beheaded, and his head sent to Caesar (for the Jews had induced the emperor to forbid Paul's landing in Italy). There are other local legends in this portion of the book. But after the arrival at Rome the story takes the same course as Pseudo-Marcellus.

²⁷ 5. A Latin Passion of Peter and Paul, largely borrowed from Pseudo-Hegesippus, has this peculiarity, that the apostles lodge in Rome with a believer who is a relation of Pontius Pilate. This person is called in by Nero to testify whether Simon is, as he asserts, Christ: and denies it, and further suggests that Peter and Paul should be called in to give their witness also. The dispute follows. The apostles are sentenced to death by Clement, not Agrippa, prefect of the city. Hardly anything is said of the Martyrdom. The Greek Acts of Thaddaeus centre round the Edessene legend of the mission of King Abgarus to Christ, the miraculous portrait of him procured by Ananias, Abgarus's messenger, and the preaching of Thaddaeus at Edessa. The Syriac doctrine of Addai tells the same story. These are strictly local legends. Acts and Passions of disciples of the apostles are sometimes interesting: such are those of Nereus and Achilleus which tell the story of Petronilla, Peter's daughter; and of Xanthippe and Polyxena which borrow matter and language from the Acts of Paul, Peter, Andrew, and Thomas. Those of Zenas

and Philonilla—disciples of St. Paul—may prove to be interesting, and those of Hermione. The Acts of Titus by Zenas have already been shown to throw light on the Acts of Paul. The Acts of Mark, Luke, Timothy, Longinus, Cornelius, Aquila, Ananias are not of much interest, either as history or legend.

²⁸ The Oriental Acts—mainly Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic—form a large mass of matter which it is not practicable to analyse. They may be read conveniently in the English versions of S. C. Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*; Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*; A. S. Lewis, *Mythological Acts of the Apostles*. The two first are from Ethiopic, the third from Arabic. They usually consist, in the case of each apostle, of his Preaching and his Martyrdom, related in separate chapters. Of the Martyrdoms, some (Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, James the Less) are the familiar stories: James ultimately from Hegesippus, the rest versions of the old Acts. The Ethiopic has a version of the first six episodes of the Acts of Thomas, and (in Budge) a long life of St. Paul which does not seem to have many points of contact with the old Acts: besides some stories which are loose and fabulous versions of the Clementine romance. The Acts of John are partly from Prochorus. The tales of the Preachings of the apostles vary greatly in interest. Those which make some impression are Andrew and Philemon in Scythia, where a dove is sent as a messenger by Philemon to Andrew; Andrew and Bartholomew, where a whale transports the party in their sleep, a ship with our Lord as captain (cf. Andrew and Matthias) conveys them, and a dog-headed man of hideous aspect is made to become their ally; Bartholomew in the Oasis practising vine-dressing; Matthew telling of his visit to the Land of Promise where the Lost Tribes dwell; Thaddaeus, identical with Peter and Andrew, but shorter. Andrew and Matthias figure here also.

²⁹ One Arabic text is a wild story of Peter and Paul and an emperor of Rome called Bar'amus, which does not attach itself to any other legend of those apostles. It is as grotesque as the Slavonic Acts of Peter, of which a word has yet to be said. There is also a Preaching of Peter in which he heals a leprous girl. Both Ethiopic and Arabic collections may be regarded as versions made from Coptic; but the Coptic texts themselves are for the most part very fragmentary. We have some of the older martyrdoms fairly complete, and some representative pieces of the other stories. But we have also pieces of stories which are not, so far, known to exist save in Coptic: for example, part of a

Martyrdom of Simon Zelotes, and two tales about Andrew which are so curious as to deserve description.

The Acts of Andrew and Paul

³⁰ is the name commonly given to the first. The beginning is gone. We find the captain of a ship which has brought Andrew and Paul to some city. Andrew has gone towards the city; Paul has plunged into the sea to visit the underworld, and leaves a message for Andrew to bring him up again. The shipman's mother—dim of sight—comes to meet her son, and he, having Paul's cloak to bring to Andrew, accidentally touches her eyes with it, and she sees clearly. Andrew takes the cloak and goes to the city with the multitude: a man meets him and begs him to visit and cure his only son, twelve years old, who is dying. But the Jews oppose his entrance; he tells the father to return home: his boy will die, but he must not bury him till the morrow. The father goes home and finds him dead. Andrew returns to the ship and makes the shipman point out the place where Paul dived into the sea. He takes a cup of fresh water, prays, and pours it into the sea, bidding the salt water retreat and the dry land appear. The abyss cleaves, and Paul leaps up, bearing a fragment of wood in his hand.

³¹ He has visited Amente and seen Judas and heard his story. Judas had repented and given back the money, and seen Jesus and pleaded for forgiveness. Jesus sent him to the desert to repent, bidding him fear no one but God. The prince of destruction came to him and threatened to swallow him up, and Judas was afraid and worshipped him. Then in despair he thought to go and ask Jesus again for pardon: but he had been taken away to the praetorium. So he resolved to hang himself and meet Jesus in Amente. Jesus came and took all the souls but his. The powers of Amente came and wept before Satan, who said: After all, we are stronger than Jesus; he has had to leave a soul with us. Jesus ordered Michael to take away Judas's soul also, that Satan's boast might be proved vain, and told Judas how he had destroyed his own hopes by worshipping Satan and killing himself. Judas was sent back till the day of judgement. Paul tells also how he saw the streets of Amente desolate, and brought away a fragment of the broken gates in his hand. There were still some souls in punishment—the murderers, sorcerers, and those who cast little children into the water.

³² The apostles land, and with Apollonius the shipman go up to the city. The Jews refuse to let them in. They see 'a bird which is called True' digging

in a wall. This is really a scarabaeus, in Greek, which word has been mistaken for. Andrew says, 'Thou bird, go into the city to where the dead boy is, and tell them that we are at the gate and cannot enter; let them open to us.' The scarab gives the message and the people threaten to stone the Jews. At this point the governor comes out; the matter is explained to him by the people and by the Jews, who add, 'if they are the disciples of the living God, why does he not open the gate for them?' The governor is impressed by this and calls on the apostles to open for themselves. They consult, and Paul, suddenly inspired, strikes the gates with the fragment of wood from Amente, and they are swallowed up in the earth.

³³ Here two leaves are lost. We gather that the Jews had practised some fraud about a dead, or supposedly dead, man, and had tied up his face with grave clothes, 'so that he could not breathe'. One guesses that the apostles bade the dead rise, but he was so tightly bound that nothing happened. We find a dispute going on: the apostles say that the only thing is to order the dead to be loosed. The Jews seek to flee, but they are held by the soldiers till the grave clothes are loosed. The apostles pray: the dead rises and falls at the apostles' feet, saying, 'Forgive me for my folly,' and tells 'everything that had happened'. Andrew says to the Jews, 'Who is now the deceiver of the people? We or you?' It appears from this that the dead man in question has been an accomplice of the Jews in their trick, and is not the dead child whom the apostles were to raise, and doubtless did raise when they first entered the city. This is confirmed by the next words of the Jews (fragmentary): they fall at the apostles' feet and say... '(we) killed him in folly, thinking that he would not rise'. They ask for baptism. And the act concludes with a general conversion—apparently of 27,000 Jews.

³⁴ The other story, yet more fragmentary, tells of a woman who bore a child in the desert, killed it, cut it in pieces, and gave it to a dog to eat, to conceal her crime. At this moment Andrew and his companions came up. The woman fled, and the dog came to Andrew and spoke, and called him to come and see what had been done. Andrew consulted with Philemon (who figures as his companion in the Ethiopic Acts) and prayed. In his prayer he alludes to a miracle wrought by Christ on Mount Gebal, 'when, a great multitude being gathered, thou didst command that all the scattered stones and grains of sand should be gathered together, and we marvelled'. Evidently upon this the *disiecta membra* of the child are joined together, and, from

words of Andrew which follow, it seems that it was made to weep and laugh. But we have no more of the story.

³⁵ So much for the Oriental Acts of the fabulous cycle. With them I class a text which has only survived in Slavonic—certain Acts of Peter translated by Franko (*Zeitschr. f. Ntl. Wiss.*, 1902). It is imperfect at the beginning. A Child (Jesus) comes to Peter and bids him go to the sea where a ship waits to take him to Rome. The captain of the ship (Michael) feigns reluctance to take Peter on board, because he is a disciple of the crucified. There is a storm which Peter stills; he then baptizes Michael, and Michael sells him the Child. When they arrived at Rome, Peter told the Child to catch some fish. 'Make me some hooks,' he said. And in an hour he caught 12,000 fish, which followed him about on dry land. A Roman noble, Aravistus, bought the Child from Peter for 50 pieces of gold; and took him to a teacher, whom he speedily put to silence (a motif from the Infancy Gospels). In the night the house was wakened by angels singing the thrice-holy hymn over the Child. All in the house were baptized by him.

³⁶ Nero arrested Peter, and the Child went and rebuked him; his counselor Cato smote the Child behind the ear, and was withered up (Infancy Gospel again). The city shook, and the dead rose, but the Child bade them go back till Michael should raise them. Peter was crucified, head downwards. The Child was with him, and at the last revealed himself: the nails fell from Peter's head, breast, hands, and knees, and after praying for forgiveness for his murderers, he gave up the ghost. Such are the main points of a rhapsody which serves to show how little the late story-teller cared about not merely history but older legend. Not even now have all the texts been enumerated which could be classed as Apocryphal Acts: but the reader has before him a general view of the extent and character of the literature which I hope may be reckoned adequate. Put very broadly, the development is from rather dim historical reminiscences used as a framework for doctrinal teaching, to thaumaturgy plus doctrine, to pure thaumaturgy without any doctrine of significance.

³⁷ John embodies some traditional memories of the residence of John at Ephesus. Paul, perhaps, in the Thecla-story uses an existing tale, true or fabulous. Peter has the crucifixion at Rome, the memory of Simon Magus, and little else. Andrew is a succession of miracles, and so is Thomas: but in all these the discourses of the apostles are the real *raison d'être* of the books. Not

so with Philip, Andrew and Matthias, and the oriental cycle. In these the teaching is of a conventional kind, and becomes more and more perfunctory as we go on, while the miracles grow more and more sensational, until we perhaps reach the climax in the conversion and baptizing of an archangel. The extent to which these Acts have been influenced by the sophistic romances of the pagan world has been much discussed, and probably exaggerated. The Canonical Acts at first served as the model of the genre: of that there can be no doubt. It is with Andrew that I begin to perceive the possibility that the author writes with an eye on his pagan colleagues in the art of fiction, just as Flamion has shown that he has also an eye on the philosophy that was popular in his day. Xanthippe and Polyxena seem to me more nearly related to the novels than any of the apostolic romances proper; the Clementine romance is another example of the borrowing of motifs from secular fiction. But on the whole it seems safer to say that these fables were intended rather to rival than to imitate the pagan novels—to supply Christians with a substitute and an antidote.

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