

Three other modern forgeries about the Life of Christ I will just name—more to show my consciousness of their existence than because they are at all interesting. One is a life said to have been found in a Buddhist monastery in Tibet, and connected with the name of Notovich as discoverer or translator. The second is a ridiculous and disgusting American book called 'The Archko Volume'. The third is the Letter of Benan (an Egyptian physician), shown by Professor Carl Schmidt (*Der Benanbrief*, 1919) to have been forged by Ernst Edler von der Planitz. This, I believe, had a great vogue recently in Central Europe, but I have never heard of it in an English dress.

PASSION GOSPELS

GOSPEL OF PETER

THE early testimonies about this book have been set forth already. The present fragment was discovered in 1884 in a tomb at Akhmim in Egypt. The manuscript in which it is is a little book containing a portion of the Book of Enoch in Greek, this fragment on the Passion, and another, a description of Heaven and Hell, which is either (as I now think) a second fragment of the Gospel, or a piece of the Apocalypse of Peter. It will be given later under that head.

We have seen that the Gospel of Peter is quoted by writers of the latter end of the second century. It has been contended that Justin Martyr also used it soon after the middle of that century, but the evidence is not demonstrative. I believe it is not safe to date the book much earlier than A.D. 150.

It uses all four canonical Gospels, and is the earliest uncanonical account of the Passion that exists. It is not wholly orthodox: for it throws doubt on the reality of the Lord's sufferings, and by consequence upon the reality of his human body. In other words it is, as Serapion of Antioch indicated, of a Docetic character.

Another characteristic of it is its extremely anti-Jewish attitude. Blame is thrown on the Jews wherever possible, and Pilate is white-washed.

In this case I give, in Roman and Arabic figures respectively, a double division into sections and verses. The first is that of Armitage Robinson, the second that of Harnack.

FRAGMENT I

- I. 1 But of the Jews no man washed his hands, neither *did* Herod nor any one of his judges: and whereas they would not
2 wash, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commanded that the Lord should be taken *into their hands*, saying unto them: All that I commanded you to do unto him, do ye.
- II. 3 Now there stood there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord, and he, knowing that they were about to crucify him, came unto Pilate and begged the body of Jesus for

4 burial. And Pilate sending unto Herod, begged his body.
5 And Herod said: Brother Pilate, even if none had begged for him, we should have buried him, since also the sabbath dawneth; for it is written in the law that the sun should not set upon one that hath been slain (murdered).

III. 6 And he delivered him unto the people before the first day of (*or on the day before the*) unleavened bread, *even* their feast. And they having taken the Lord pushed him as they ran, and said: Let us hale the Son of God, now that 7 we have gotten authority over him. And they put on him a purple robe, and made him sit upon the seat of judgement, 8 saying: Give righteous judgement, thou King of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and set it upon the 9 Lord's head; and others stood and did spit in his eyes, and others buffeted his cheeks; and others did prick him with a reed, and some of them scourged him, saying: With this honour let us honour (*or at this price let us value*) the son of God.

IV. 10 And they brought two malefactors, and crucified the 11 Lord betwixt them. But he kept silence, as one feeling no pain. And when they set the cross upright, they wrote 12 thereon: This is the King of Israel. And they laid his garments before him, and divided them *among themselves* and 13 cast the lot upon them. But one of those malefactors reproached them, saying: We have thus suffered for the evils which we have done; but this man which hath become the 14 saviour of men, wherein hath he injured you? And they were wroth with him, and commanded that his legs should not be broken, that so he might die in torment.

V. 15 Now it was noonday, and darkness prevailed over all Judaea: and they were troubled and in an agony lest the sun should have set, for that he yet lived: *for* it is written for them that the sun should not set upon him that hath been 16 slain (murdered). And one of them said: Give ye him to drink gall with vinegar: and they mingled it and gave him 17 to drink: and they fulfilled all things and accomplished 18 their sins upon their own heads. And many went about with 19 lamps, supposing that it was night: and *some* fell. And the Lord cried out aloud saying: My power, *my* power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had *so* said, he was taken up.

20 And in the same hour was the veil of the temple of Jerusalem rent in two.

VI. 21 And then they plucked the nails from the hands of the Lord and laid him upon the earth: and the whole earth was shaken, and there came a great fear *on all*.

22 Then the sun shone forth, and it was found to be the ninth 23 hour. And the Jews rejoiced, and gave his body unto Joseph to bury it, because he had beheld all the good things which

24 he did. And he took the Lord and washed him and wrapped him in linen and brought him unto his own sepulchre, *which is called the Garden of Joseph.*

VII. 25 Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, when they perceived how great evil they had done themselves, began to lament and to say: Woe unto our sins: the judgement and the end of Jerusalem is drawn nigh.

26 But I with my fellows was in grief, and we were wounded in our minds and would have hid ourselves; for we were sought after by them as malefactors, and as thinking to set 27 the temple on fire. And beside all these things we were fasting, and we sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.

VIII. 28 But the scribes and Pharisees and elders gathered one with another, for they had heard that all the people were murmuring and beating their breasts, saying: If these very great signs have come to pass at his death, behold how 29 righteous he was. *And* the elders were afraid and came unto 30 Pilate, entreating him and saying: Give us soldiers that we (*or* they) may watch his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away and the people suppose 31 that he is risen from the dead, and do us hurt. And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to watch the sepulchre; and *the* elders and scribes came with them unto 32 the tomb, and when they had rolled a great stone to keep out (*al. together with*) the centurion and the soldiers, *then* all 33 that were there together set it upon the door of the tomb; and plastered thereon seven seals; and they pitched a tent there and kept watch.

IX. 34 And early in the morning as the sabbath dawned, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about to see the sepulchre that had been sealed.

35 Now in the night whereon the Lord's day dawned, as the soldiers were keeping guard two by two in every watch, 36 there came a great sound in the heaven, and they saw the heavens opened and two men descend thence, shining with (*lit. having*) a great light, and drawing near unto the sepulchre.

37 And that stone which had been set on the door rolled away of itself and went back to the side, and the sepulchre was

X. 38 opened and both of the young men entered in. When therefore those soldiers saw *that*, they waked up the centurion and the elders (for they also were there keeping 39 watch); and while they were *yet* telling them the things which they had seen, they saw again three men come out of the sepulchre, and two of them sustaining the other (*lit. the* 40 one), and a cross following after them. And of the two *they* saw that their heads reached unto heaven, but of him that 41 was led by them that it overpassed the heavens. And they

42 heard a voice out of the heavens saying: Hast thou (*or* Thou hast) preached unto them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the cross, *saying*: Yea.

XI. 43 Those men therefore took counsel one with another to go and report these things unto Pilate. And while they yet thought thereabout, again the heavens were opened and a man descended and entered into the tomb. And they that were with the centurion (*or* the centurion and they that were with him) when they saw that, hastened to go by night unto Pilate and left the sepulchre whereon they were keeping watch, and told all that they had seen, and were in great agony, saying: Of a truth he was the son of God.

46 Pilate answered and said: I am clear from the blood of the son of God, but thus it seemed good unto you. Then all they came and besought him and exhorted him to charge the centurion and the soldiers to tell nothing of that they had seen: For, said they, it is expedient for us to incur the greatest sin before God, rather than to (and not to) fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned. Pilate therefore charged the centurion and the soldiers that they should say nothing.

XII. 50 Now early on the Lord's day Mary Magdalene, a disciple (*fem.*) of the Lord—*which*, being afraid because of the Jews, for they were inflamed with anger, had not performed at the sepulchre of the Lord those things which women are accustomed to do unto them that die and are beloved of them—took with her the *women her* friends and came unto the tomb where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and said: Even if we were not able to weep and lament him on that day whereon he was crucified, yet let us now do so at his tomb. But who will roll away for us the stone also that is set upon the door of the tomb, that we may enter in and sit beside him and perform that which is due? for the stone was great, and we fear lest any man see us. And if we cannot do so, yet let us cast down at the door these things which we bring for a memorial of him, *and* we will weep and lament until we come unto our house.

XIII. 55 And they went and found the sepulchre open: and they drew near and looked in there, and saw there a young man sitting in the midst of the sepulchre, of a fair countenance and clad in very bright raiment, which said unto them: Wherefore are ye come? whom seek ye? not him that was crucified? He is risen and is departed; but if ye believe it not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not *here*: for he is risen and is departed thither whence he was sent. 57 Then the women were affrighted and fled.

XIV. 58 Now it was the last day of unleavened bread, and

many were coming forth *of the city* and returning unto their own homes because the feast was at an end. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, were weeping and were in sorrow, and each one being grieved for that which had befallen departed unto his own house. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went unto the sea: and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord (For Fragment II see Apocalypse of Peter.)

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS, OR ACTS OF PILATE

We have as yet no true critical edition of this book: one is in preparation, by E. von Dobschütz, to be included in the Berlin corpus of Greek Ante-Nicene Christian writers. A short statement of the authorities available at this moment is therefore necessary.

Tischendorf in his *Evangelia Apocrypha* divides the whole writing into two parts: (1) the story of the Passion; (2) the Descent into Hell; and prints the following forms of each: six in all:

1. Part I, Recension A in Greek from eight manuscripts, and a Latin translation of the Coptic version in the notes.
2. Part I, Recension B in Greek from three late manuscripts.
3. Part II (Descent into Hell) in Greek from three manuscripts.
4. Part I in Latin, using twelve manuscripts, and some old editions.
5. Part II in Latin (A) from four manuscripts.
6. Part II in Latin (B) from three manuscripts.

Tischendorf's must be described as an eclectic text not representing, probably, any one single line of transmission: but it presents the book in a readable, and doubtless, on the whole, correct form.

There are, besides the Latin, three ancient versions of Part I of considerable importance, viz.:

Coptic, preserved in an early papyrus at Turin, and in some fragments at Paris. Last edited by Revillout in *Patrologia orientalis*, ix. 2.

Syriac, edited by Rahmani in *Studia Syriaca*, II.

Armenian, edited by F. C. Conybeare in *Studia Biblica*, IV (Oxford, 1896): he gives a Greek rendering of one manuscript and a Latin one of another.

All of these conform to Tischendorf's Recension A of Part I: and this must be regarded as the most original form of the *Acta* which we have. Recension B is a late and diffuse working-over of the same matter: it will not be translated here in full.

The first part of the book, containing the story of the Passion and Resurrection, is not earlier than the fourth century. Its object in the main is to furnish irrefragable testimony to the resurrection. Attempts have been made to show that it is of early date—that it is, for instance, the writing which Justin Martyr meant when in his Apology he referred his heathen readers to the 'Acts' of Christ's trial preserved among the archives of Rome. The truth of that matter is

that he simply assumed that such records must exist. False 'acts' of the trial were written in the Pagan interest under Maximin, and introduced into schools early in the fourth century. It is imagined by some that our book was a counterblast to these.

The account of the Descent into Hell (Part II) is an addition to the *Acta*. It does not appear in any Oriental version, and the Greek copies are rare. It is in Latin that it has chiefly flourished, and has been the parent of versions in every European language.

The central idea, the delivery of the righteous Fathers from Hades, is exceedingly ancient. Second-century writers are full of it. The embellishments, the dialogues of Satan with Hades, which are so dramatic, come in later, perhaps with the development of pulpit oratory among Christians. We find them in fourth-century homilies attributed to Eusebius of Emesa.

This second part used to be called Gnostic, but there is nothing unorthodox about it, save the choice of the names of the two men who are supposed to tell the story, viz. Leucius and Karinus. Leucius Charinus is the name given by church writers to the supposed author of the Apocryphal Acts of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew, and Thomas. In reality Leucius was the *soi-disant* author of the Acts of John only. His name was transferred to the other Acts in process of time, and also (sometimes disguised as Seleucus) to Gospels of the Infancy and narratives of the Assumption of the Virgin. With all these the original Leucius had nothing to do. When his name came to be attached to the Descent into Hell we do not yet know: nor do we know when the *Descent* was first appended to the Acts of Pilate. Not, I should conjecture, before the fifth century.

MEMORIALS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST DONE IN THE TIME OF PONTIUS PILATE

PROLOGUE

(Absent from some manuscripts and versions).

I Ananias (Aeneas *Copt.*, Emaus *Latt.*), the Protector, of praetorian rank, learned in the law, did from the divine scriptures recognize our Lord Jesus Christ and came near to him by faith, and was accounted worthy of holy baptism: and I sought out the memorials that were made at that season in the time of our master Jesus Christ, which the Jews deposited with Pontius Pilate, and found the memorials in Hebrew (letters), and by the good pleasure of God I translated them into Greek (letters) for the informing of all them that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: in the reign of our Lord Flavius Theodosius, in the seventeenth year, and of Flavius Valentinianus the sixth, in the ninth indiction [corrupt: *Lat.* has the eighteenth year of Theodosius, when Valentinian was *proclaimed* Augustus, i. e. A. D. 425].

All ye therefore that read this and translate (or copy) it into other books, remember me and pray for me that God will be gracious unto me and be merciful unto my sins which I have sinned against him.

Peace be to them that read and that hear these things and to their servants. Amen.

In the fifteenth (*al.* nineteenth) year of the governance of Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth of the Kalends of April, which is the 25th of March, in the consulate of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, Joseph who is Caiaphas being high priest of the Jews:

These be the things which after the cross and passion of the Lord Nicodemus recorded¹ and delivered unto the high priest and the rest of the Jews: and the same Nicodemus set them forth in Hebrew (letters).

I

1 For the chief priests and scribes assembled in council, even Annas and Caiaphas and Somne (Senes) and Dothaim (Dothael, Dathaës, Datam) and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Nepthaim, Alexander and Jairus and the rest of the Jews, and came unto Pilate accusing Jesus for many deeds, saying: We know this man, that he is the son of Joseph the carpenter, begotten of Mary, and he saith that he is the Son of God and a king; moreover he doth pollute the sabbaths and he would destroy the law of our fathers.

Pilate saith: And what things are they that he doeth, and would destroy the law?

The Jews say: We have a law that we should not heal any man on the sabbath: but this man of his evil deeds hath healed the lame and the bent, the withered and the blind and the paralytic, the dumb and them that were possessed, on the sabbath day!

Pilate saith unto them: By what evil deeds?

They say unto him: He is a sorcerer, and by Beelzebub the prince of the devils he casteth out devils, and they are all subject unto him.

Pilate saith unto them: This is not to cast out devils by an unclean spirit, but by the god Asclepius.

2 The Jews say unto Pilate: We beseech thy majesty that he appear before thy judgement-seat and be heard. And Pilate called them unto him and said: Tell me, how can I that am a governor examine a king? They say unto him: We say not that he is a king, but he saith it of himself.

And Pilate called the messenger (*cursor*) and said unto him: Let Jesus be brought hither, *but* with gentleness. And the messenger went forth, and when he perceived Jesus he worshipped

¹ For 'recorded', &c., other manuscripts and Coptic and Latin have 'recorded those things that were done by the high priests and the Jews'.

him and took the kerchief that was on his hand and spread it upon the earth and saith unto him: Lord, walk hereon and enter in, for the governor calleth thee. And when the Jews saw what the messenger had done, they cried out against Pilate saying: Wherefore didst thou not summon him by an herald to enter in, but by a messenger? for the messenger when he saw him worshipped him and spread out his kerchief upon the ground and hath made him walk *upon it* like a king!

3 Then Pilate called for the messenger and said unto him: Wherefore hast thou done this, and hast spread thy kerchief upon the ground and made Jesus to walk upon it? The messenger saith unto him: Lord governor, when thou sentest me to Jerusalem unto Alexander, I saw *Jesus* sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews held branches in their hands and cried out, and others spread their garments beneath him, saying: Save now, thou that art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

4 The Jews cried out and said unto the messenger: The children of the Hebrews cried out in Hebrew: how then hast thou it in the Greek? The messenger saith to them: I did ask one of the Jews and said: What is it that they cry out in Hebrew? and he interpreted it unto me.

Pilate saith unto them: And how cried they in Hebrew? The Jews say unto him: Hosanna membrome barouchamma adonai. Pilate saith unto them: And the Hosanna and the rest, how is it interpreted? The Jews say unto him: Save now, thou that art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate saith unto them: If you yourselves bear witness of the words which were said of the children, wherein hath the messenger sinned? and they held their peace.

The governor saith unto the messenger: Go forth and bring him in after what manner thou wilt. And the messenger went forth and did after the former manner and said unto Jesus: Lord, enter in: the governor calleth thee.

5 Now when Jesus entered in, and the ensigns were holding the standards, the images (busts) of the standards bowed and did reverence to Jesus. And when the Jews saw the carriage of the standards, how they bowed themselves and did reverence unto Jesus, they cried out above measure against the ensigns. But Pilate said unto the Jews: Marvel ye not that the images bowed themselves and did reverence unto Jesus? The Jews say unto Pilate: We saw how the ensigns made them to bow and did reverence to him. And the governor called for the ensigns and saith unto them: Wherefore did ye so? They say unto Pilate: We are Greeks and servers of temples, and how could we do him reverence? for indeed, whilst we held the images they bowed of themselves and did reverence unto him.

6 Then saith Pilate unto the rulers of the synagogue and the

elders of the people: Choose you out able and strong men and let them hold the standards, and let us see if they bow of themselves. And the elders of the Jews took twelve men strong and able and made them to hold the standards by sixes, and they were set before the judgement-seat of the governor; and Pilate said to the messenger: Take him out of the judgement hall (*praetorium*) and bring him in again after what manner thou wilt. And Jesus went out of the judgement hall, he and the messenger. And Pilate called unto him them that before held the images, and said unto them: I have sworn by the safety of Caesar that if the standards bow not when Jesus entereth in, I will cut off your heads.

And the governor commanded Jesus to enter in the second time. And the messenger did after the former manner and besought Jesus much that he would walk upon his kerchief; and he walked upon it and entered in. And when he had entered, the standards bowed themselves again and did reverence unto Jesus.

II

1 Now when Pilate saw it he was afraid, and sought to rise up from the judgement-seat. And while he yet thought to rise up, his wife sent unto him, saying: Have thou nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things because of him by night. And Pilate called unto him all the Jews, and said unto them: Ye know that my wife feareth God and favoureth rather the customs of the Jews, with you? They say unto him: Yea, we know it. Pilate saith unto them: Lo, my wife hath sent unto me, saying: Have thou nothing to do with this just man: for I have suffered many things because of him by night. But the Jews answered and said unto Pilate: Said we not unto thee that he is a sorcerer? behold, he hath sent a vision of a dream unto thy wife.

2 And Pilate called Jesus unto him and said to him: What is it that these witness against thee? speakest thou nothing? But Jesus said: If they had not had power they would have spoken nothing; for every man hath power over his own mouth, to speak good or evil: they shall see *to it*.

3 The elders of the Jews answered and said unto Jesus: What shall we see? Firstly, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was *the cause of* the slaying of children; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence before the people.

4 Then said certain of them that stood by, devout men of the Jews: We say not that he came of fornication; but we know that Joseph was betrothed unto Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate saith unto those Jews which said that he came of fornication: This your saying is not true, for there were espousals, as these also say which are of your nation. Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate: The whole multitude of us cry out

that he was born of fornication, and we are not believed: but these are proselytes and disciples of his. And Pilate called Annas and Caiaphas unto him and said to them: What be proselytes? They say unto him: They were born children of Greeks, and now are they become Jews. Then said they which said that he was not born of fornication, even Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, Jacob, Amnes, Zenas, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippa, and Judas: We were not born proselytes (are not Greeks, *Copt.*), but we are children of Jews and we speak the truth; for verily we were present at the espousals of Joseph and Mary.

5 And Pilate called unto him those twelve men which said that he was not born of fornication, and saith unto them: I adjure you by the safety of Caesar, are these things true which ye have said, that he was not born of fornication? They say unto Pilate: We have a law that we swear not, because it is sin: but let them swear by the safety of Caesar that it is not as we have said, and we will be guilty of death. Pilate saith to Annas and Caiaphas: Answer ye nothing to these things? Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate: These twelve men are believed *which say* that he was not born of fornication, *but* the whole multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and is a sorcerer, and saith that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

6 And Pilate commanded the whole multitude to go out, saving the twelve men which said that he was not born of fornication, and he commanded Jesus to be set apart: and Pilate saith unto them: For what cause do they desire to put him to death? They say unto Pilate: They have jealousy, because he healeth on the sabbath day. Pilate saith: For a good work do they desire to put him to death? They say unto him: Yea.

III

1 And Pilate was filled with indignation and went forth without the judgement hall and saith unto them: I call the Sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the governor: If this man were not a malefactor we would not have delivered him unto thee. And Pilate said: Take ye him and judge him according to your law. The Jews said unto Pilate: It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. Pilate said: Hath God forbidden you to slay, and allowed me?

2 And Pilate went in again into the judgement hall and called Jesus apart and said unto him: Art thou the King of the Jews? Jesus answered and said to Pilate: Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus: Am I also a Jew? thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were of this

world, my servants would have striven that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate said unto him: Art thou a king, then? Jesus answered him: Thou sayest that I am a king; for for this cause was I born and am come, that every one that is of the truth should hear my voice. Pilate saith unto him: What is truth? Jesus saith unto him: Truth is of heaven. Pilate saith: Is there not truth upon earth? Jesus saith unto Pilate: Thou seest how that they which speak the truth are judged of them that have authority upon earth.

IV

1 And Pilate left Jesus in the judgement hall and went forth to the Jews and said unto them: I find no fault in him. The Jews say unto him: This man said: I am able to destroy this temple and in three days to build it up. Pilate saith: What temple? The Jews say: That which Solomon built in forty and six years, but which this man saith he will destroy and build it in three days. Pilate saith unto them: I am guiltless of the blood of this just man: see ye to it. The Jews say: His blood be upon us and on our children.

2 And Pilate called the elders and the priests and Levites unto him and said to them secretly: Do not so: for there is nothing worthy of death whereof ye have accused him, for your accusation is concerning healing and profaning of the sabbath. The elders and the priests and Levites say: If a man blaspheme against Caesar, is he worthy of death or no? Pilate saith: He is worthy of death. The Jews say unto Pilate: If a man be worthy of death if he blaspheme against Caesar, this man hath blasphemed against God.

3 Then the governor commanded all the Jews to go out from the judgement hall, and he called Jesus to him and saith unto him: What shall I do with thee? Jesus saith unto Pilate: *Do* as it hath been given thee. Pilate saith: How hath it been given? Jesus saith: Moses and the prophets did foretell concerning my death and rising again. Now the Jews inquired by stealth and heard, and they say unto Pilate: What needest thou to hear further of this blasphemy? Pilate saith unto the Jews: If this word be of blasphemy, take ye him for his blasphemy, and bring him into your synagogue and judge him according to your law. The Jews say unto Pilate: It is contained in our law, that if a man sin against a man, he is worthy to receive forty stripes save one: but he that blasphemeth against God, that he should be stoned with stoning.

4 Pilate saith unto them: Take ye him and avenge yourselves of him in what manner ye will. The Jews say unto Pilate: We will that he be crucified. Pilate saith: He deserveth not to be crucified.

5 Now as the governor looked round about upon the multitude of the Jews which stood by, he beheld many of the Jews weeping, and said : Not all the multitude desire that he should be put to death. The elder of the Jews said : To this end have the whole multitude of us come hither, that he should be put to death. Pilate saith to the Jews : Wherefore should he die ? The Jews said : Because he called himself the Son of God, and a king.

V

1 But a certain man, Nicodemus, a Jew, *came and* stood before the governor and said : I beseech thee, good (pious) *lord*, bid me speak a few words. Pilate saith : Say *on*. Nicodemus saith : I said unto the elders and the priests and Levites and unto all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue : Wherefore contend ye with this man ? This man doeth many and wonderful signs, which no man hath done, neither will do : let him alone and contrive not any evil against him : if the signs which he doeth are of God, they will stand, but if they be of men, they will come to nought. For verily Moses, when he was sent of God into Egypt did many signs, which God commanded him to do before Pharaoh, king of Egypt ; and there were there *certain* men, servants of Pharaoh, Jannes and Jambres, and they also did signs not a few, *of them* which Moses did, and the Egyptians held them as gods, even Jannes and Jambres : and whereas the signs which they did were not of God, they perished and those also that believed on them. And now let this man go, for he is not worthy of death.

2 The Jews say unto Nicodemus : Thou didst become his disciple and thou speakest on his behalf. Nicodemus saith unto them : Is the governor also become his disciple, that he speaketh on his behalf ? did not Caesar appoint him unto this dignity ? And the Jews were raging and gnashing their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate saith unto them : Wherefore gnash ye your teeth against him, whereas ye have heard the truth ? The Jews say unto Nicodemus : Mayest thou receive his truth and his portion. Nicodemus saith : Amen, Amen : may I receive it as ye have said.

VI

1 Now one of the Jews came forward¹ and besought the governor that he might speak a word. The governor saith : If thou wilt say aught, speak on. And the Jew said : Thirty and eight years lay I on a bed in suffering of pains, and at the coming of Jesus many that were possessed and laid with divers diseases

¹ 'Came forward', *lit.* 'leaped'. The word is said to be technically used for the coming forward of a witness.

were healed by him, and certain (faithful) young men took pity on me and carried me with my bed and brought me unto him; and when Jesus saw me he had compassion, and spake a word unto me: Take up thy bed and walk. And I took up my bed and walked. The Jews say unto Pilate: Ask of him what day it was whereon he was healed? <Pilate said unto him that was healed of his sickness: Tell me truly what day it was whereon he healed thee. *Copt. only.*> He that was healed saith: On the sabbath. The Jews say: Did we not inform thee so, that upon the sabbath he healeth and casteth out devils?

2 And another Jew came forward and said: ¹ I was born blind: I heard words but I saw no man's face: and as Jesus passed by I cried with a loud voice: Have mercy on me, O son of David. And he took pity on me and put his hands upon mine eyes and I received sight immediately.²

And another Jew came forward and said: I was bowed and he made me straight with a word. And another said: I was a leper, and he healed me with a word.

VII

And a certain woman named Bernice (*Beronice Copt., Veronica Lat.*) crying out from afar off said: I had an issue of blood and I touched the hem of his garment, and the flowing of my blood was stayed which I had twelve years. The Jews say: We have a law that a woman shall not come to give testimony.

VIII

And certain others, even a multitude both of men and women, cried out, saying: This man is a prophet and the devils are subject unto him. Pilate saith to them which said: The devils are subject unto him: Wherefore were not your teachers also subject unto him? They say unto Pilate: We know not. Others also said: He raised up Lazarus which was dead out of his tomb after four days. And the governor was afraid and said unto all the multitude of the Jews: Wherefore will ye shed innocent blood?

IX

1 And he called unto him Nicodemus and those twelve men which said that he was not born of fornication, and said unto them: What shall I do, for there riseth sedition among the

¹ MS. J has, 'Another said with tears'.

² After the blind man, MS. J has, 'Another, a dumb man, said: I was without speech and he touched my tongue and immediately I was healed.'

people? They say unto him: We know not; let them see to it. Again Pilate called for all the multitude of the Jews and saith: Ye know that ye have a custom that at the feast of unleavened bread I should release unto you a prisoner. Now I have a prisoner under condemnation in the prison, a murderer, Barabbas by name, and this Jesus also which standeth before you, in whom I find no fault: Whom will ye that I release unto you? But they cried out: Barabbas. Pilate saith: What shall I do then with Jesus who is called Christ? The Jews say: Let him be crucified. But certain of the Jews answered: Thou art not a friend of Caesar's if thou let this man go; for he called himself the Son of God and a king: thou wilt therefore have him for king and not Caesar.

2 And Pilate was wroth and said unto the Jews: Your nation is alway seditious and ye rebel against your benefactors. The Jews say: Against what benefactors? Pilate saith: According as I have heard, your God brought you out of Egypt out of hard bondage, and led you safe through the sea as by dry land, and in the wilderness he nourished you with manna and gave you quails, and gave you water to drink out of a rock, and gave unto you a law. And in all these things ye provoked your God to anger, and sought out a molten calf, and angered your God and he sought to slay you: and Moses made supplication for you and ye were not put to death. And now ye do accuse me that I hate the king (emperor). 3 And he rose up from the judgment-seat and sought to go forth. And the Jews cried out, saying: We know our king, even Caesar and not Jesus. For indeed the wise men brought gifts from the east unto him as unto a king, and when Herod heard from the wise men that a king was born, he sought to slay him; and when his father Joseph knew that, he took him and his mother and they fled into Egypt. And when Herod heard it he destroyed the children of the Hebrews that were born in Bethlehem.

4 And when Pilate heard these words he was afraid. And Pilate silenced the multitude, because they cried *still*, and said unto them: So, then, this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews say: Yea, this is he. And Pilate took water and washed his hands before the sun, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man: see ye to it. Again the Jews cried out: His blood be upon us and upon our children.

5 Then Pilate commanded the veil to be drawn before the judgement-seat whereon he sat, and saith unto Jesus: Thy nation hath convicted thee (accused thee) as *being* a king: therefore have I decreed that thou shouldest first be scourged according to the law of the pious emperors, and thereafter hanged upon the cross in the garden wherein thou wast taken: and let Dysmas and Gestas the two malefactors be crucified with thee.

X

1 And Jesus went forth of the judgement hall and the two malefactors with him. And when they were come to the place they stripped him of his garments and girt him with a linen cloth and put a crown of thorns about his head: likewise also they hanged up the two malefactors.¹ But Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers divided his garments among them.

And the people stood looking upon him, and the chief priests and the rulers with them derided him, saying: He saved others, let him save himself: if he be the son of God [let him come down from the cross]. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming and offering him vinegar with gall; and they said: If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself.

And Pilate after the sentence commanded his accusation to be written for a title in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew, according to the saying of the Jews: that he was the King of the Jews.

2 And one of the malefactors that were hanged [by name Gestas] spake unto him, saying: If thou be the Christ, save thyself, and us. But Dysmas answering rebuked him, saying: Dost thou not at all fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? and we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him: Verily, verily, I say unto thee, that to-day thou shalt be (art) with me in paradise.

XI

1 And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the land until the ninth hour, for the sun was darkened: and the veil of the temple was rent asunder in the midst. And Jesus called with a loud voice and said: Father, baddach ephkid rouel,² which is interpreted: Into thy hands I commend my spirit. And having thus said he gave up the ghost. And when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying: This man was righteous. And all the multitudes that had come

¹ Coptic, Latin, and others have, 'Dysmas on the right and Gestas on the left'. MS. J has, 'Gestas on the right and Dysmas on the left', and makes Gestas the penitent thief. There is some evidence supporting this in the original story: Dumachus in the Arabic gospel is the bad thief, Titus the good one. But the view that Dysmas was the good one has prevailed.

² A Coptic fragment has: 'Father, Abi (= my Father), Adach Ephkidrou, Adonai Aroa, Sabel, Louel, Elaei, Elemas, Abakdanei (Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani), Orioth, Mioth, Quaath, Soun, Perineth, Tothat. The prayer of the Saviour upon the cross concerning Adam.'

to the sight, when they beheld what was done smote their breasts and returned.

2 But the centurion reported unto the governor the things that had come to pass: and when the governor and his wife heard, they were sore vexed, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews and said unto them: Did ye see that which came to pass? But they said: There was an eclipse of the sun after the accustomed sort.

3 And his acquaintance had stood afar off, and the women which came with him from Galilee, beholding these things. But a certain man named Joseph, being a counsellor, of the city of Arimathaea, who also himself looked for the kingdom of God, this man went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth and laid it in a hewn sepulchre wherein was never man yet laid.

XII

1 Now when the Jews heard that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, they sought for him and for the twelve men which said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and for Nicodemus and many others which had come forth before Pilate and declared his good works. But all they hid themselves, and Nicodemus only was seen of them, for he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus said unto them: How came ye into the synagogue? The Jews say unto him: How didst thou come into the synagogue? for thou art confederate with him, and his portion shall be with thee in the life to come. Nicodemus saith: Amen, Amen. Likewise Joseph also came forth and said unto them: Why is it that ye are vexed against me, for that I begged the body of Jesus? behold I have laid it in my new tomb, having wrapped it in clean linen, and I rolled a stone over the door of the cave. And ye have not dealt well with the just one, for ye repented not when ye had crucified him, but ye also pierced him with a spear.

But the Jews took hold on Joseph and commanded him to be put in safeguard until the first day of the week: and they said unto him: Know thou that the time alloweth us not to do anything against thee, because the sabbath dawneth: but know that thou shalt not obtain burial, but we will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the heaven. Joseph saith unto them: This is the word of Goliath the boastful which reproached the living God and the holy David. For God said by the prophet: Vengeance is mine, and I will recompense, saith the Lord. And now, lo, one that was uncircumcised, but circumcised in heart, took water and washed his hands before the sun, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. And ye answered Pilate and said: His blood be upon us and upon our

children. And now I fear lest the wrath of the Lord come upon you and upon your children, as ye have said. But when the Jews heard these words they waxed bitter in soul, and caught hold on Joseph and took him and shut him up in an house wherein was no window, and guards were set at the door: and they sealed the door of the place where Joseph was shut up.¹

2 And upon the sabbath day the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites made an ordinance that all men should appear in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And all the multitude rose up early and took council in the synagogue by what death they should kill him. And when the council was set they commanded him to be brought with great dishonour. And when they had opened the door they found him not. And all the people were beside themselves and amazed, because they found the seals closed, and Caiaphas had the key. And they durst not any more lay hands upon them that had spoken in the behalf of Jesus before Pilate.

XIII

1 And while they yet sat in the synagogue and marvelled because of Joseph, there came certain of the guard which the Jews had asked of Pilate to keep the sepulchre of Jesus lest peradventure his disciples should come and steal him away. And they spake and declared unto the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites that which had come to pass: how that there was a great earthquake, and we saw an angel descend from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the cave, and sat upon it. And he did shine like snow and like lightning, and we were sore afraid and lay as dead men. And we heard the voice of the angel speaking with the women which waited at the sepulchre, saying: Fear ye not: for I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified. He is not here: he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay, and go quickly and say unto his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

2 The Jews say: With what women spake he? They of the guard say: We know not who they were. The Jews say: At what hour was it? They of the guard say: At midnight. The Jews say: And wherefore did ye not take the women? They of the guard say: We were become as dead men through fear, and we looked not to see the light of the day; how then could we take them? The Jews say: As the Lord liveth, we believe you not. They of the guard say unto the Jews: So many signs saw ye in that man, and ye believed not, how then should ye believe us? verily ye sware rightly 'as the Lord liveth', for he liveth

¹ MS. J alone adds: 'and sealed the door with the finger-ring of Caiaphas.'

indeed. Again they of the guard say: We have heard that ye shut up him that begged the body of Jesus, and that ye sealed the door; and when ye had opened it ye found him not. Give ye therefore Joseph and we will give you Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph is departed unto his own city. They of the guard say unto the Jews: Jesus also is risen, as we have heard of the angel, and he is in Galilee.

3 And when the Jews heard these words they were sore afraid, saying: *Take heed* lest this report be heard and all men incline unto Jesus. And the Jews took counsel and laid down much money and gave it to the soldiers, saying: Say ye: While we slept his disciples came by night and stole him away. And if this come to the governor's hearing we will persuade him and secure you. And they took *the money* and did as they were instructed. [And this their saying was published abroad among all men. *Lat.*]

XIV

1 Now a certain priest *named* Phineēs and Addas a teacher and Aggaeus (*Ogias Copt.*, *Egias Lat.*) a Levite came down from Galilee unto Jerusalem and told the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites, *saying*: We saw Jesus and his disciples sitting upon the mountain which is called Mamileh (*Mambre or Malech Lat.*, *Mabrech Copt.*), and he said unto his disciples: Go into all the world and preach unto every creature (the whole creation): he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned. [And these signs shall follow upon them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: they shall lay hands upon the sick and they shall recover.] And while Jesus yet spake unto his disciples we saw him taken up into heaven.

2 The elders and the priests and Levites say: Give glory to the God of Israel and make confession unto him: did ye indeed (or that ye did) hear and see those things which ye have told us? They that told them say: As the Lord God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob liveth, we did hear these things and we saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and the priests and the Levites say unto them: Came ye for this end, that ye might tell us, or came ye to pay your vows unto God? And they say: To pay our vows unto God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say unto them: If ye came to pay your vows unto God, to what purpose is this idle tale which ye have babbled before all the people? Phineēs the priest and Addas the teacher and Aggaeus the Levite say unto the rulers of the synagogue

and priests and Levites: If these words which we have spoken and seen be sin, lo, we are before you: do unto us as seemeth good in your eyes. And they took the *book of the law* and adjured them that they should no more tell any man these words: and they gave them to eat and to drink, and put them out of the city: moreover they gave them money, and three men to go with them, and they set them on their way as far as Galilee, and they departed in peace.

3 Now when these men were departed into Galilee, the chief priests and the rulers of the synagogue and the elders gathered together in the synagogue, and shut the gate, and lamented with a great lamentation, saying: What is this sign which is come to pass in Israel? But Annas and Caiaphas said: Wherefore are ye troubled? why weep ye? Know ye not that his disciples gave much gold unto them that kept the sepulchre and taught them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? But the priests and the elders said: Be it so, that his disciples did steal away his body; but how is his soul entered into his body, and how abideth he in Galilee? But they could not answer these things, and hardly in the end said: It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised. [*Lat.* (and *Copt.*, and *Arm.*): Ought we to believe the soldiers, that an angel came down from heaven and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? but in truth his disciples gave . . . sepulchre. Know ye not that it is not lawful for Jews to believe any word of the uncircumcised, knowing that they who received much gold from us have spoken according as we taught them.]

XV

1 And Nicodemus rose up and stood before the council, saying: Ye say well. Know ye not, O people of the Lord, the men that came down out of Galilee, that they fear God and are men of substance, hating covetousness (a lie, *Lat.*), men of peace? And they have told you with an oath, *saying*: We saw Jesus upon the mount Mamilch with his disciples and that he taught them all things that ye heard of them, and, *say they*, we saw him taken up into heaven. And no man asked them in what manner he was taken up. For like as the book of the holy scriptures hath taught us that Elias also was taken up into heaven, and Eliseus cried out with a loud voice, and Elias cast his hairy cloak upon Eliseus, and Eliseus cast the cloak upon Jordan and passed over and went unto Jericho. And the sons of the prophets met him and said: Eliseus, where is thy lord Elias? and he said that he was taken up into heaven. And they said unto Eliseus: Hath not a spirit caught him up and cast him upon one of the mountains? but let us take our servants with us and seek after him. And they persuaded Eliseus and he went with them, and they

sought him three days and found him not: and they knew that he had been taken up. And now hearken unto me, and let us send into all the coasts (*al.* mountains) of Israel and see whether the Christ were not taken up by a spirit and cast upon one of the mountains. And this saying pleased them all: and they sent into all the coasts (mountains, *Lat.*) and sought Jesus and found him not. But they found Joseph in Arimathaea, and no man durst lay hands upon him.

2 And they told the elders and the priests and the Levites, saying: We went about throughout all the coasts of Israel, and we found not Jesus; but Joseph we found in Arimathaea.

And when they heard of Joseph they rejoiced and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites took counsel how they should meet with Joseph, and they took a volume of paper and wrote unto Joseph these words:

Peace be unto thee. We know that we have sinned against God and against thee, and we have prayed unto the God of Israel that thou shouldest vouchsafe to come unto thy fathers and unto thy children (*Lat.* But thou didst pray unto the God of Israel, and he delivered thee out of our hands. Now therefore vouchsafe, &c.) for we are all troubled, because when we opened the door we found thee not: and we know that we devised an evil counsel against thee, but the Lord helped thee. And the Lord himself made of none effect (scattered) our counsel against thee, O father Joseph, thou that art honourable among all the people.

3 And they chose out of all Israel seven men that were friends of Joseph, whom Joseph also himself accounted his friends, and the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites said unto them: See: if he receive our epistle and read it, know that he will come with you unto us: but if he read it not, know that he is vexed with us, and salute ye him in peace and return unto us. And they blessed the men and let them go.

And the men came unto Joseph and did him reverence, and said unto him: Peace be unto thee. And he said: Peace be unto you and unto all the people of Israel. And they gave him the book of the epistle, and Joseph received it and read it and embraced (*or* kissed) the epistle and blessed God and said: Blessed be the Lord God, which hath redeemed Israel from shedding innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord, which sent his angel and sheltered me under his wings. (And he kissed them) and set a table before them, and they did eat and drink and lay there.

4 And they rose up early and prayed: and Joseph saddled his she-ass and went with the men, and they came unto the holy city, *even* Jerusalem. And all the people came to meet Joseph and cried: Peace be to thine entering-in. And he said unto all the people: Peace be unto you, and all the people

kissed him. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him.

And Nicodemus received him into his house and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas and the elders and the priests and the Levites unto his house. And they made merry, eating and drinking with Joseph. And when they had sung an hymn (*or* blessed God) every man went unto his house. But Joseph abode in the house of Nicodemus.

5 And on the morrow, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites rose up early and came to the house of Nicodemus, and Nicodemus met them and said: Peace be unto you. And they said: Peace be unto thee and to Joseph and unto all thy house and to all the house of Joseph. And he brought them into his house. And the whole council was set, and Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas; and no man durst speak unto him a word. And Joseph said: Why is it that ye have called me? And they beckoned unto Nicodemus that he should speak unto Joseph. And Nicodemus opened his mouth and said unto Joseph: Father, thou knowest that the reverend doctors and the priests and the Levites seek to learn a matter of thee. And Joseph said: Inquire ye. And Annas and Caiaphas took the *book of the law* and adjured Joseph, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel and make confession unto him: [for Achar, when he was adjured of the prophet Jesus (Joshua), forswore not himself but declared unto him all things, and hid not a word from him: thou therefore also hide not from us so much as a word. And Joseph: I will not hide one word from you.]¹ And they said unto him: We were greatly vexed because thou didst beg the body of Jesus and wrappedst it in a clean linen cloth and didst lay him in a tomb. And for this cause we put thee in safeguard in an house wherein was no window, and we put keys and seals upon the doors, and guards did keep the place wherein thou wast shut up. And on the first day of the week we opened it and found thee not, and we were sore troubled, and amazement fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. Now, therefore, declare unto us what befell thee.

6 And Joseph said: On the preparation day about the tenth hour ye did shut me up, and I continued there the whole sabbath. And at midnight as I stood and prayed the house wherein ye shut me up was taken up by the four corners, and I saw as it were a flashing of light in mine eyes, and being filled with fear I fell to the earth. And one took me by the hand and removed me from the place whereon I had fallen; and moisture of water was shed *on me* from my head unto my feet, and an odour of ointment came about my nostrils. And he wiped my face and kissed me and said unto me: Fear not, Joseph: open thine eyes

¹ *om. Latt., Arm.*

and see who it is that speaketh with thee. And I looked up and saw Jesus and I trembled, and supposed that it was a spirit: and I said the commandments: and he said them with me. And [as]¹ ye are not ignorant that a spirit, if it meet any man and hear the commandments, straightway fleeth. And when I perceived that he said them with me, I said unto him: Rabbi Elias? And he said unto me: I am not Elias. And I said unto him: Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me: I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg of Pilate, and didst clothe me in clean linen and cover my face with a napkin, and lay me in thy new cave and roll a great stone upon the door of the cave. And I said to him that spake with me: Show me the place where I laid thee. And he brought me and showed me the place where I laid him, and the linen cloth lay therein, and the napkin that was upon his face. And I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand and set me in the midst of mine house, the doors being shut, and laid me upon my bed and said unto me: Peace be unto thee. And he kissed me and said unto me: Until forty days *be ended* go not out of thine house: for behold I go unto my brethren into Galilee.

XVI

1 And when the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites heard these words of Joseph they became as dead men and fell to the ground, and they fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus with Joseph comforted Annas and Caiaphas and the priests and the Levites, saying: Rise up and stand on your feet and taste bread and strengthen your souls, for to-morrow is the sabbath of the Lord. And they rose up and prayed unto God and did eat and drink, and departed every man to his house.

2 And on the sabbath the (*al.* our) teachers and the priests and Levites sat and questioned one another and said: What is this wrath that is come upon us? for we know his father and his mother. Levi the teacher saith: I know that his parents feared God and kept not back their vows and paid tithes three times a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him up unto this place and gave sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. And [when] the great teacher Symeon took him into his arms and said: Now lettest thou thy servant, Lord, depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel. And Symeon blessed them and said unto Mary his mother: I give thee good tidings concerning this child. And Mary said: Good, my lord? And Symeon said to her: Good. Behold, he is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against: and a sword shall

¹ *om. Latt.*

pierce through thine own heart also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

3 They say unto Levi the teacher: How knowest thou these things? Levi saith unto them: Know ye not that from him I did learn the law? The council say unto him: We would see thy father: And they sent after his father, and asked of him, and he said to them: Why believed ye not my son? the blessed and righteous Symeon, he did teach him the law. The council saith: Rabbi Levi, is the word true which thou hast spoken? And he said: It is true.

Then the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites said among themselves: Come, let us send into Galilee unto the three men which came and told us of his teaching and his taking-up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this word pleased them all, and they sent the three men which before had gone with them into Galilee and said to them: Say unto Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Phineës and Rabbi Aggaeus: peace be to you and to all that are with you. Inasmuch as great questioning hath arisen in the council, we have sent unto you to call you unto this holy place of Jerusalem.

4 And the men went into Galilee and found them sitting and meditating upon the law, and saluted them in peace. And the men that were in Galilee said unto them that were come to them: Peace be upon all Israel. And they said: Peace be unto you. Again they said unto them: Wherefore are ye come? And they that were sent said: The council calleth you unto the holy city Jerusalem. And when the men heard that they were bidden by the council, they prayed to God and sat down to meat with the men and did eat and drink, and rose up and came in peace unto Jerusalem.

5 And on the morrow the council was set in the synagogue, and they examined them, saying: Did ye in very deed see Jesus sitting upon the mount Mamilch, as he taught his eleven disciples, and saw ye him taken up? And the men answered them and said: Even as we saw him taken up, even so did we tell it unto you.

6 Annas saith: Set them apart from one another, and let us see if their word agreeth. And they set them apart one from another, and they call Addas first and say unto him: How sawest thou Jesus taken up? Addas saith: While he yet sat upon the Mount Mamilch and taught his disciples, we saw a cloud that overshadowed him and his disciples: and the cloud carried him up into heaven, and his disciples lay (*al.* prayed, lying) on their faces upon the earth. And they called Phineës the priest, and questioned him also, saying: How sawest thou Jesus taken up? And he spake in like manner. And again they asked Aggaeus, and he also spake in like manner. And the council said: It is contained in the law of Moses: At the mouth of two or three shall every word be established.

Abuthem (Bouthem *Gr.*, Abudem *Lat.*, Abuden, Abuthen *Arm.*, om. *Copt.*) the teacher saith: It is written in the law: Enoch walked with God and is not, because God took him. Jacirus the teacher said: Also we have heard of the death of the holy Moses, and have not seen him; for it is written in the law of the Lord: And Moses died at the mouth of the Lord, and no man knew of his sepulchre unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said: Wherefore was it that Rabbi Symeon said when he saw Jesus: Behold, this *child* is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel and for a sign spoken against? And Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law: Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, for my name is named thereon.¹

7 Then said Annas and Caiaphas: Ye have well said those things which are written in the law of Moses, that no man saw the death of Enoch, and no man hath named the death of Moses. But Jesus spake before Pilate, and *we know* that we saw him receive buffets and spittings upon his face, and that the soldiers put on him a crown of thorns, and that he was scourged and received condemnation from Pilate, and that he was crucified at *the place of* a skull and two thieves with him, and that they gave him vinegar to drink with gall, and that Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear, and that Joseph our honourable father begged his body, and that, as he saith, he rose again, and that (*lit.* as) the three teachers say: We saw him taken up into heaven, and that Rabbi Levi spake and testified to the things which were spoken by Rabbi Symeon, and that he said: Behold this *child* is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel and for a sign spoken against.

And all the teachers said unto all the people of the Lord: If this hath come to pass from the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes, ye shall surely know, O house of Jacob, that it is written: Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree. And another scripture teacheth: The gods which made not the heaven and the earth shall perish.

And the priests and the Levites said one to another: If his memorial *endure* until the Sommos (*Copt.* Soum) which is called Jobel (i. e. the Jubilee), know ye that he will prevail for ever and raise up for himself a new people.

Then the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites admonished all Israel, saying: Cursed is that man who shall worship that which man's hand hath made, and cursed is the man who shall worship creatures beside the Creator. And all the people said: Amen, Amen.

And all the people sang an hymn unto the Lord and said: Blessed be the Lord who hath given rest unto the people of

¹ *Copt.* for my name is in thee. *Lat.* for I have brought the (a) new name thereof, (or his new name): *corrupt.*

Israel according to all that he spake. There hath not one word fallen to the ground of all his good saying which he spake unto his servant Moses. The Lord our God be with us as he was with our fathers: let him not forsake us. And let him not destroy us from turning our heart unto him, from walking in all his ways and keeping his statutes and his judgements which he commanded our fathers. And the Lord shall be King over all the earth in that day. And there shall be one Lord and his name one, even the Lord our King: he shall save us.

There is none like unto thee, O Lord. Great art thou, O Lord, and great is thy name.

Heal us, O Lord, by thy power, and we shall be healed: save us, Lord, and we shall be saved: for we are thy portion and thine inheritance.

And the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake, for the Lord hath begun to make us to be his people.

And when they had all sung *this* hymn they departed every man to his house, glorifying God. [For his is the glory, world without end. Amen.]

There is a considerable divergence of the versions in the concluding sections.

The Coptic agrees substantially with the Greek A as translated above.

The Armenian β (rendered into Latin by Conybeare) has only two clauses of the final hymn, thus:

Blessed be the Lord God who hath given rest unto all the people of Israel according as he hath said. And let the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers.

And they went every man to his house praising God.

The Armenian α has (after 'the people said Amen (thrice)').

And all the people sang an hymn unto the Lord and departed every man to his house.

The Syriac ends at: the people said Amen (thrice).

The Latin, after 'a sign spoken against' has:

Then the teacher (Addas) said unto all the congregation: If all the things which these have testified came to pass in Jerusalem (*al.* Jesus), they are of God, and let them not be marvellous in our eyes. The rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites said one to another: It is contained in our law: His name shall be blessed for ever: his place shall endure before the sun and his seat before the moon: and in him shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed, and all nations shall serve him: and kings shall come from afar worshipping and magnifying him.

The Greek recension B, which abridges the latter part of the story (after the Crucifixion) very extensively, has this for its last paragraph:

Then Annas and Caiaphas separated the three by one and

one, and questioned them in private singly. And they agreed, and the three of them told one tale. The chief priests answered and said: Our scripture saith that every word shall be established by two or three witnesses. Joseph therefore confessed that he tended him and buried him, with Nicodemus; and how it is true that he rose again.

This leads on to the opening words of Part II:

Joseph saith: And why marvel ye that Jesus is risen? &c.

The fact is that the two forms (Greek B and Latin) which have the Second Part—the Descent into Hell—attached to them, have been obliged on that account to modify the end of the First Part, so as to manage a plausible transition.

ACTS OF PILATE

PART I. RECENSION B OF THE GREEK

It has been said that this is a later working-over of the original text. No known copy of it is earlier than the fifteenth century, and the language in some of them is very mediaeval. A short review only of the principal additions to the story will be given here.

The title runs thus:

A narrative concerning the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy Resurrection. Written by a Jew named Aeneas, which Nicodemus, a Roman toparch, translated out of the Hebrew tongue into the Roman speech.

In two copies there is this prologue:

After the kingdom of the Hebrews was dissolved, and four hundred years had gone by, and the Hebrews also were subject to the empire of the Romans, the Emperor of the Romans appointing them a king: afterward, when Tiberius Caesar wielded the sceptre of the Romans, in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he had appointed Herod king in Judaea, the son of that Herod who aforetime killed the children in Bethlehem: and when he had Pilate as governor in Jerusalem, and Annas and Caiaphas had the high-priesthood of Jerusalem; Nicodemus, a Roman toparch, called unto him a Jew named Aeneas, and sought to record the things that were done in Jerusalem in the days of Annas and Caiaphas concerning Christ: which also the Jew having done and delivered it to Nicodemus, he translated these things from the Hebrew writing into the Roman speech: and the matter of this history is thus:

(Where it will be noted that Nicodemus is no longer the Biblical personage, but a Roman official. Roman (Romaic) speech means here not Latin but Greek, and the term is an indication of very late date.)

Cap. i begins:

When our Lord Jesus Christ had wrought many and great and unwonted wonders in Judaea, and for that cause was envied by

the Hebrews: Pilate being governor in Jerusalem, and Annas and Caiaphas being high priests: there came certain of the Jews unto the same high priests, even Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Syrus, and many others, speaking against Christ; whom also those high priests sent to tell Pilate also these things.

The story follows the same lines as A, naturally, but with differences great and small; and the individual manuscripts often make large insertions.

Pilate gives his own mantle (*μανδύλιον*) to the messenger, whom one manuscript calls Rachaab.

The Hebrew words except Hosanna are eliminated: one manuscript then interpolates a notice of the call of the apostles and a great many of the miracles of the ministry, and brings the narrative down to the denial of Peter. Malchus, it says, was the one who buffeted Jesus.

Another manuscript, omitting all that has preceded, begins the story with the repentance of Judas. He brings the money back to the priests, and they abuse him at some length for his treachery. Then he casts down the money and leaves them.

And departing to his house to make a halter of rope to hang himself, he found his wife sitting and roasting a cock on a fire of coals or in a pan before eating it: and saith to her: Rise up, wife, and provide me a rope, for I would hang myself, as I deserve. But his wife said to him: Why sayest thou such things? And Judas saith to her: Know of a truth that I have wickedly betrayed my master Jesus to the evil-doers for Pilate to put him to death: but he will rise again on the third day, and woe unto us! And his wife said to him: Say not nor think not so: for as well as this cock that is roasting on the fire of coals can crow, just so well shall Jesus rise again, as thou sayest. And immediately at her word that cock spread his wings and crowed thrice. Then was Judas yet more convinced, and straightway made the halter of rope and hanged himself.

The rest of the story is as we know it.

This story of the cock has made its way into Latin and thence into many mediaeval vernacular legends. The Latin copies say that it is found 'in the books of the Greeks'.

In cap. ix the sending of Jesus to Herod is inserted: one of many harmonistic changes which this text makes, to include all that is told in the canonical Gospels.

In cap. x the Bearing of the Cross is greatly amplified. We have first of all Simon of Cyrene: 'They gave the cross unto him, not because they had compassion on Jesus and would lighten him of his burden, but desiring, as has been said, to kill him more quickly.' John followed with them, and then fled and went to the Mother of God (always called the Theotokos here) and told her. Her lament is given—and she and Martha and Mary Magdalene and Salome and the other women go to the place. John points out Jesus and the Virgin swoons and laments again. These lamentations are greatly expanded in one or other of the manuscripts. Dysmas is crucified on the right hand

and Gestas on the left. At the end of cap. x, where the words of the thieves are narrated, two of the three manuscripts used by Tischendorf insert the story of the meeting with Dysmas in Egypt. First we have the incident of the palm-tree bowing to give its fruit. Then the Holy Family meet Dysmas, who is struck with the beauty of Mary and of the child in her arms, adores them, and says, 'If God had a mother I would have said that thou art she'. He receives them into his house, and when he goes out hunting commends them to his wife's care. He has a leprous child who is always crying, and is healed by the water in which Jesus was washed. Dysmas hearing of this on his return is moved to do all he can to help Mary: and on the return from Egypt he aids them again, and Mary promises him a reward for his goodness. 'Therefore was he accounted worthy through the grace of the merciful God and his Mother . . . to bear witness upon the cross together with Christ.'¹

In cap. xi the episode of Joseph's begging the body is expanded. The Virgin, in one copy, asks him to do this. In another he goes to Nicodemus, who will not accompany him to Pilate but is ready to help in the burial. There is a long address of Joseph to Pilate, every clause beginning with 'Give me this stranger'.

At the burial there is a final lamentation of the Virgin and one of Mary Magdalene, who says: 'Who shall make this known unto all the world? I will go alone to Rome unto Caesar: I will show him what evil Pilate hath done, consenting unto the wicked Jews.' This story of Mary Magdalene's going to Rome is one which appears in Byzantine chronicles and other late documents.

In cap. xii two of the copies mark a conclusion after the sealing of the tomb. In fact one of them actually ends here: the other has a doxology and colophon, but continues with xii. 2, 'When the Lord's day dawned the chief priests took counsel', &c.

The remaining chapters, xiii-xvi, are most drastically abridged, containing 147 lines of print as against 333 of recension A. The concluding paragraph has been translated above, and the text runs on, as is there shown, into Part II, the Descent into Hell. Among the variations from the A narrative, of which the object is not clear, is this, that the three witnesses of the Ascension are here called 'a priest named Phineēs, a Levite named Aggaeus, and a soldier named Adas'.

ACTS OF PILATE

PART II. THE DESCENT INTO HELL

This writing, or the nucleus of it, the story of the Descent into Hell, was not originally part of the Acts of Pilate. It is—apart from its setting—probably an older document. When it was first attached to the Acts of Pilate is uncertain. The object of this prefatory note is to say that we have the text in three forms.

¹ See further on the Arabic Gospel, ch. xxiii, and note that the *Vita Rhythmica* (which draws on late Greek sources) has at l. 2234 a story of the Holy Family being captured by robbers, one of whom treats them kindly. Wounded robbers are healed by the water in which Jesus was washed.

1. Greek, only in late manuscripts of Recension B. Tischendorf used three.

2. Latin A, found in the majority, perhaps, of the Latin manuscripts. Be it noted that all the Latin manuscripts have both parts of the Acts of Pilate.

3. Latin B, rather an abridged text in the account of the Descent, differing in order of contents and in setting from A. But the opening section is far longer than either of the others.

There are no early versions except the Latin. The Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian contain Part I only.

The order of the story in the three recensions demands a note. Latin A and Greek go together. Latin B differs.

- | | |
|--|---|
| i. The two men (nameless in Greek) are found and induced to write their story. | i. The two men are found, write their story, and return to their tombs. |
| ii. The story. A light shines in Hell. Adam, Esaias, Simeon speak (not in B). (In Greek, Abraham and Esaias.) John Baptist comes. | ii. The story. A light shines. A voice: Lift up the gates. Satan has the doors secured. |
| iii. Seth's story of the oil of mercy. | iii. Dialogue of Hell and Satan (A. iv). |
| iv. Satan's dialogue with Hell. | iv. Seth's story. |
| v. First cry: Lift up the gates. David and Isaiah speak. Second cry. David speaks. Christ enters. (Greek, David speaks only once.) | v. Isaiah and John Baptist (A. ii). |
| vi. Address of Hell to Christ (not in B). Satan bound. | vi. David and Jeremiah. Satan not allowed to leave hell. |
| vii. Hell derides Satan. | vii. Cry: Lift up the gates. The good thief appears (A. x). Second cry. |
| viii. Christ greets Adam and takes all saints out of hell. David, Habacuc, Micheas speak (not in B). (Greek omits the prophecies.) | viii. Doors broken. Christ enters. Satan bound. |
| ix. They meet Enoch and Elias (not in B.). | ix. Christ greets Adam and Eve (not in A). |
| x. They meet the thief. | x. Sets up his cross in hell (not in A). Leaves hell. Conclusion. |
| xi. Conclusion. | |
| xii. The two men vanish, &c. | |

In order to place the material fairly before readers it seems necessary to give all three texts. Here the Greek, which, like the rest of Recension B, is of late type, shall be relegated to the second place, and preference given to Latin A. The chapter- and verse-numberings are those of Tischendorf.

Latin A.

[Part I, cap. xvi, ends with words of the rulers of the synagogue, &c. All nations shall serve him, and kings shall come from afar worshipping and magnifying him. Part II, cap. i, runs on from this.]

I (XVII)

1 And Joseph arose and said unto Annas and Caiaphas: Truly and of right do ye marvel because ye have heard that Jesus hath been seen alive after death, and that he hath ascended into heaven. Nevertheless it is more marvellous that he rose not alone from the dead, but did raise up alive many other dead out

Greek.

I (XVII)

[Part I ends in this text with words of the priests: Our scripture saith that every word shall be established at the mouths of two or three. Joseph therefore doth confess that he tended him and buried him, and how that it is true that he rose again.]

(Part II.) 1 Joseph saith: And why marvel ye that Jesus rose again. This is not marvellous: but this is marvellous, that he rose not alone, but raised up many other dead men which appeared

Latin B.

I (XVII)

1 Then Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Fineēs and Rabbi Egias, *even* the three men which had come out of Galilee testifying that they had seen Jesus taken up into heaven, arose in the midst of the multitude of the chief men of the Jews, and said before the priests and Levites which were assembled unto the council of the Lord: As we came from Galilee unto Jordan, there met us a great multitude of men in white garments who had died aforetime. Among whom we beheld Karinus and Leucius to be present with them; and they came near unto us, and we kissed one another, for they were beloved friends of ours, and asked them, *saying*: Tell us, friends and brethren, what is this soul and flesh? and who are these with whom ye go? and how are ye which were dead remaining in the body.

2 And they answered and said: We arose with Christ out of hell, and he raised us up from the dead. And hereby may ye know that the gates of death and darkness are destroyed, and the souls of the saints are taken out thence, and have ascended into heaven with Christ the Lord. But we also have been commanded by the Lord himself that for a set time we should walk the banks of Jordan and the mountains, yet not being seen of all men, neither speaking with all men, but only with those with whom it shall please him. And even now we should not have been able to speak unto you or to be seen of you unless we had been suffered by the Holy Ghost.

3 Now when all the multitude that were present in the council

Latin A.

of their sepulchres, and they have been seen of many in Jerusalem. And now hearken unto me; for we all know the blessed Simeon, the high priest which received the child Jesus in his hands in the temple. And this Simeon had two sons, brothers in blood, and we all were at their falling asleep and at their burial. Go therefore and look upon their sepulchres: for they are open, because they have risen, and behold they are in the city of Arimathaea dwelling together in prayer. And indeed men hear them crying out, yet they speak with no man, but are silent as dead men. But come, let us go unto them and with all honour and gentleness

Greek.

in Jerusalem unto many. And if ye know not the others, yet Simeon at least, which received Jesus, and his two sons, whom he hath raised up, these at least ye do know, for we buried them but a little while ago: and now their sepulchres are seen to be opened and empty, and they themselves are alive and dwelling in Arimathaea. They sent therefore men, and found their sepulchres opened and empty. Joseph saith: Let us go unto Arimathaea and find them.

Latin B.

heard these things they were stricken with fear and trembling, and wondered, *saying*, Did these things truly come to pass which these men of Galilee testify? Then Caiaphas and Annas said unto the council: Now shall it be made plain concerning all the things which these have testified, both first and last: if it shall be found true that Karinus and Leucius do remain alive in the body, and if we are able to behold them with our eyes, then that is true in all points which these testify; and if we find them, they will assure us of all things: but if not, ye shall know that all are lying reports.

4 Then they took counsel quickly, and it pleased them to choose out fit men fearing God, which knew when these men had died and the sepulchre where they were buried, and should inquire diligently and see if it were so as they had heard. There went therefore to the place fifteen men which had been present throughout at their falling asleep, and had stood on their feet in the place where they were buried, and had seen their sepulchres. And these came and found their sepulchres and many others open, and found not any sign of the bones or the dust of them: and they returned with all speed and reported the things which they had seen.

5 Then was all their synagogue troubled with great sadness, and they said one to another: What shall we do? Annas and Caiaphas said: Let us send unto the place wherein we have

Latin A.

bring them unto us, and if we adjure them, perchance they will tell us concerning the mystery of their rising again.

2 When they heard these things, they all rejoiced. And Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus and Joseph and Gamaliel went and found them not in their sepulchre, but they went unto the city of Arimathaea, and found them there, kneeling on their knees and giving themselves unto prayer. And they kissed them, and with all reverence and in the fear of God they brought them to Jerusalem into the synagogue. And they shut the doors and took the law of the Lord and put it into their hands, and adjured them

Greek.

2 Then rose up the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, and Joseph and Nicodemus and Gamaliel and others with them, and went unto Arimathaea and found the men of whom Joseph spake. So they did offer prayer, and saluted one another: then they came with them to Jerusalem; and they brought them into the synagogue and made fast the doors, and set the *Old Testament*

Latin B.

heard that they are, and dispatch unto them men of the nobler sort, beseeching and supplicating them: peradventure they will vouchsafe to come unto us. Then they sent unto them Nicodemus and Joseph and the three men, the Rabbis of Galilee which had seen them, entreating them that they would vouchsafe to come to them. And these went and walked about all the region of Jordan and of the mountains and found them not, and returned back again.

6 And behold on a sudden there appeared coming down from Mount Amalech a very great multitude, about twelve thousand men, which had risen with the Lord. And though the men recognized many in that place, they were not able to speak a word unto them because of their fear, and the vision of angels; and they stood afar off beholding them and hearkening to them, how they went singing and saying: The Lord is risen from the dead as he said: let us all rejoice and be glad, for he reigneth for ever.

Then they that had been sent were amazed and fell down upon the earth for fear: and they were warned by an angel of the Lord which raised them up from the earth, that they should seek out Karinus and Leucius in their own house.

7 They arose then and went to their house and found them giving themselves unto prayer: and entering in unto them they fell on their faces to the earth and greeted them, and arose and said: O ye friends of God, the whole multitude of the Jews hath sent us unto you, for they have heard that ye are risen from the

Latin A.

by the God Adonai and the God of Israel which spake unto our fathers by the prophets, saying: Believe ye that it is Jesus which raised you from the dead? Tell us how ye have arisen from the dead.

3 And when Karinus and Leucius heard this adjuration, they trembled in their body and groaned, being troubled in heart. And looking up together unto heaven they made the seal of the cross with their fingers upon their tongues, and forthwith they spake both of them, saying: Give us each a volume of paper,

Greek.

of the Jews in the midst: and the high priests said unto them: We would have you swear by the God of Israel and by Adonai, and so speak the truth, how ye arose and who raised you from the dead.

3 When the men that had arisen heard that, they made upon

Latin B.

dead, entreating and beseeching you to come unto them, that we may all know the wonderful works of God which have been wrought upon us (or you?) in our days. And they rose immediately by the bidding of God and went with them, and entered into their synagogue. And when the chief of the priests saw them they were greatly troubled and trembling took hold upon them: and finally Annas and Caiaphas took the books of the law of God and put them into their hands, and adjured them by the god Heloi and the god Adonai and by the law and the prophets, saying: Tell us how ye arose from the dead, and what are these wonders which have been wrought in our days, even such as we have never heard to be done at any time: for now all our bones are confounded and dried up for fear, and the earth moveth itself beneath our feet: for *verily* we have joined together all our hearts to shed righteous and holy blood.

8 Then Karinus and Leucius beckoned to them with their hands that they should give them a volume of paper, and ink: and this they did because the Holy Ghost suffered them not to speak with them. And they gave unto each of them paper, and separated them one from the other in several chambers (cells). And they, making with their fingers the sign of the cross of Christ, began to write each his volume; and when they had ended, they cried out as it were with one voice out of their several chambers: Amen. And Karinus rose and gave his paper unto Annas and Leucius unto Caiaphas, and they saluted one another and went forth and returned unto their sepulchres.

9 Then Annas and Caiaphas opened the roll of paper and began each of them to read to himself privily. But all the people took

Latin A.

and let us write that which we have seen and heard. And they gave them unto them, and each of them sat down and wrote, saying:

II (XVIII)

1 O Lord Jesu Christ, the life and resurrection of the dead (*al.* resurrection of the dead and the life of the living), suffer us to speak of the mysteries of thy majesty which thou didst perform after thy death upon the cross, inasmuch as we have been adjured by thy Name. For thou didst command us thy servants to tell no man the secrets of thy divine majesty which thou wroughtest in hell.

Now when we were set together with all our fathers in the deep, in obscurity of darkness, on a sudden there came a golden heat of the sun and a purple and royal light shining upon us. And immediately the father of the whole race of men, together with all the patriarchs and prophets, rejoiced, saying: This light is

Greek.

their faces the sign of the cross, and said unto the chief priests: Give us paper and ink and pen. So they brought these things. And they sat down and wrote thus:

II (XVIII)

1 O Lord Jesu Christ, the resurrection and the life of the world, give us grace that we may tell of thy resurrection and of thy marvellous works which thou didst in Hell (Hades).

We, then, were in hell together with all them that have fallen

Latin B.

it ill, and there was a cry from all of them: Read these writings unto us openly: and when they have been read, we will keep them, that this truth of God be not turned by blinding our eyes, unto deceit, by unclean and deceitful men. And thereupon Annas and Caiaphas, being seized with trembling, delivered the roll of paper unto Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Fincēs and Rabbi Egias, which had come from Galilee and declared that Jesus was taken up into heaven: and unto them all the multitude of the Jews gave credence that they should read this writing. And they read the paper, wherein was contained this *that followeth*.

II (XVIII)

1 I Karinus. O Lord Jesu Christ, son of the living God, suffer me to speak of thy marvellous works which thou didst in hell.

When therefore we were holden in hell in darkness and the shadow of death, suddenly there shone upon us a great light, and hell did tremble, and the gates of death. And there was

Latin A.

the beginning (author) of everlasting light which did promise to send unto us his co-eternal light. And Esaïas cried out and said: This is the light of the Father, even the Son of God, according as I prophesied when I lived upon the earth: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim beyond Jordan, of Galilee of the Gentiles, the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, and they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them did the light shine. And now hath it come and shone upon us that sit in death.

2 And as we all rejoiced in the light which shined upon us, there came unto us our father Simeon, and he rejoicing said unto us: Glorify ye the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; for I received him in my hands in the temple when he was born a child, and being moved of the Holy Ghost I made confession and said unto him: Now have mine eyes seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel. And when they heard these things, the whole multitude of the saints rejoiced yet more.

Greek.

asleep since the beginning: and at the hour of midnight there rose upon those dark places as it were the light of the sun, and shined, and all we were enlightened and beheld one another. And straightway our father Abraham, together with the patriarchs and the prophets, were all at once filled with joy and said one to another: This light cometh of the great lightening. The prophet Esaïas being there present said: This light is of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: concerning which I prophesied when I was yet alive, saying: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, the people that sat in darkness, hath seen a great light.

Latin B.

heard the voice of the Son of the most high Father, as it were the voice of a great thundering, and it proclaimed aloud and began: Draw back, O princes, your gates, remove your everlasting doors: Christ the Lord the king of glory approacheth to enter in.

2 Then came Satan the prince of death, fleeing in fear and saying to his ministers and unto the hells: O my ministers and all the hells, come together, and shut your gates, set in place the bars of iron, and fight boldly and withstand, that we that hold them be not made captive in bonds. Then were all his evil ministers troubled, and began to shut the gates of death with all

Latin A.

3 And after that there came one as it were a dweller in the wilderness, and he was inquired of by all: Who art thou? And he answered them and said: I am John, the voice and the prophet of the most High, which came before the face of his advent to prepare his ways, to give knowledge of salvation unto his people, for the remission of their sins. And when I saw him coming unto me, being moved of the Holy Ghost, I said: Behold the Lamb of God, behold him that taketh away the sins of the world. And I baptized him in the river of Jordan, and saw the Holy Ghost descending upon him in the likeness of a dove, and heard a voice out of heaven saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And now have I come before his face, and come down to declare unto you that he is at hand to visit us, even the dayspring, the Son of God, coming from on high unto us that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

Greek.

2 Then came there unto the midst another out of the wilderness, an anchorite (ascete), and the patriarchs said unto him: Who art thou? and he said: I am John, the end of the prophets, which made straight the ways of the Son of God, and preached repentance unto the people for the remission of sins.

And the Son of God came unto me, and when I saw him afar off I said unto the people: Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. And with mine hands I baptized him in the river Jordan, and saw as it were a dove, and the Holy Ghost coming upon him, and I heard also the voice of God and the Father thus speaking: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And for this cause sent he me unto you also,

Latin B.

diligence, and by little to make fast the locks and the bars of iron, and to take fast in hand all their instruments, and to utter howlings with dreadful and hideous voice.

III (XIX)

1 Then said Satan unto Hell: Make thee ready to receive him whom I shall bring down unto thee. Thereupon did Hell make answer unto Satan thus: This voice was nothing else but the cry of the Son of the most high Father, that the earth and all the places of hell did so quake at it: wherefore I think that I and all my bonds are now wide open. But I adjure thee, O Satan, head of all evil, by thy might and mine own, bring him not unto me lest when we would take him we be taken captive of him.

Latin A.

III (XIX)

1 And when father Adam that was first created heard this, even that Jesus was baptized in Jordan, he cried out to Seth his son, saying: Declare unto thy sons the patriarchs and the prophets all that thou didst hear from Michael the archangel, when I sent thee unto the gates of paradise that thou mightest entreat God to send thee his angel to give thee the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint my body when I was sick. Then Seth drew near unto the holy patriarchs and prophets, and said: When I, Seth, was praying at the gates of paradise, behold Michael the angel of the Lord appeared unto me, saying: I am sent unto thee from the Lord: it is I that am set over the body of man. And I say unto thee, Seth, vex not thyself with tears, praying and entreating

Greek.

to proclaim that the only begotten Son of God cometh hither, that whosoever believeth on him may be saved, and whoso believeth not on him may be condemned. Therefore say I unto you all, that when ye behold him ye shall worship him, for now only is the time of repentance for you, for that ye did worship idols in the vain world that is above, and for the sins which ye have committed: but at another time it is impossible that this should come to pass.

Latin B.

For if by his voice only all my might hath been thus overthrown, what, thinkest thou, will he do when his presence is come unto us?

2 Unto whom Satan the prince of death answered thus: Why keepest thou this crying? Fear not, my friend of old time, thou most evil one, for I stirred up the people of the Jews against him, and commanded him to be smitten with buffets, and did contrive against him betrayal by his disciple: and he is a man that feareth death greatly, for he said in his fear: My soul is sorrowful even unto death: yet unto death have I brought him, for now he hangeth lifted up upon a cross.

3 Then saith Hell unto him: If it be he that by the word of his command alone made Lazarus, which was four days dead, to fly out of my bosom like an eagle, then is he not a man in his manhood, but God in his majesty. I beseech thee, bring him not unto me. Satan saith to him: Notwithstanding, make thyself ready, fear not: for already he hangeth upon a cross, and I can do no other. Then Hell spake thus unto Satan: If, then, thou canst do no other, lo thy destruction draweth near, and I shall at last be cast down and remain without honour; but thou wilt be tormented under my dominion.

Latin A.

for the oil of the tree of mercy, that thou mayest anoint thy father Adam for the pain of his body: for thou wilt not be able to receive it save in the last days and times, save when five thousand and five hundred (*al.* 5,952) years are accomplished: then shall the most beloved Son of God come upon the earth to raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the dead, and he shall come and be baptized in Jordan. And when he is come forth of the water of Jordan, then shall he anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe on him, and that oil of mercy shall be unto all generations of them that shall be born of water and of the Holy Ghost, unto life eternal. Then shall the most beloved Son of

Greek.

III (XIX)

And as John was thus teaching them that were in hell, the first-created Adam, the first father, also heard it, and said unto Seth his son: My son, I would have thee to tell the forefathers of the race of men, and the prophets; when I laid me down to die, whither I did send thee. And Seth said: Ye prophets and patriarchs, hearken: My father Adam, the first-created, laid him down on a time to die, and sent me to make supplication unto God hard by the gate of paradise, that he would lead me by his angel unto the tree of mercy, and I should take the oil and anoint my father, and he should arise from his sickness. Which also I did; and after my prayer an angel of the Lord came and said unto me: What askest thou, Seth? askest thou for the oil that raiseth up the sick, or for the tree that floweth with that oil, for the sickness of thy father? this cannot be found at this time. Depart therefore and say unto thy father, that after there are accomplished from the creation of the world five thousand five hundred years, then shall the only-begotten Son of God become man and come down upon the earth, and he shall anoint him with that oil, and he shall arise: and with water and the Holy Ghost shall he wash him and them that come of him. And then

Latin B.

IV (XX)

1 Now the saints of God heard the contention between Satan and Hell: but as yet they knew not each other among themselves: nevertheless they were at the point to know. But our holy father Adam made answer unto Satan thus: O prince of death, wherefore fearest thou and tremblest? Behold the Lord cometh which shall destroy all thy creatures, and thou shalt be taken captive of him and be bound, world without end.

2 Then all the saints, when they heard the voice of our father Adam, how valiantly he made answer unto Satan, were glad and were comforted: and all of them ran together unto father Adam

Latin A.

God, even Christ Jesus, come down upon the earth and shall bring in our father Adam into paradise unto the tree of mercy.

And when they heard all these things of Seth, all the patriarchs and prophets rejoiced with a great rejoicing.

IV (XX)

1 And while all the saints were rejoicing, behold Satan the prince and chief of death said unto Hell: Make thyself ready to receive Jesus who boasteth himself that he is the Son of God, whereas

Greek.

shall he be healed of every disease: but now it is not possible that this should come to pass.

And when the patriarchs and prophets heard these things, they rejoiced greatly.

IV (XX)

1 And while all of them were thus joyful, Satan the inheritor of darkness cometh and saith unto Hades: O thou that devourest all and art insatiable, hearken to my words. There is one of the

Latin B.

and were gathered about him in that place. Then our father Adam, looking earnestly upon all that multitude, marvelled if they all were begotten of him into the world. And he embraced them that stood near round about him, and shed exceeding bitter tears, and spake unto Seth his son: Declare, my son Seth, unto the holy patriarchs and prophets that which the keeper of paradise said unto thee when I sent thee to bring me of the very oil of mercy that thou mightest anoint my body when I was sick.

3 Then he answered: I, when thou sentest me before the gates of paradise, prayed and besought the Lord with tears, and I called the keeper of paradise to give me thereof. Then Michael the archangel came forth and said unto me: Seth, wherefore mournest thou? know thou before, that thy father Adam shall not receive of this oil of mercy now, but after many generations of the world. For the most beloved Son of God shall come down from heaven into the world and shall be baptized of John in the river Jordan: and then shall thy father Adam receive of this oil of mercy, and all they that believe in him: and the kingdom of them which have believed in him shall endure, world without end.

V (XXI)

1 Then all the saints when they heard these things rejoiced again with great joy, and one of them that stood by, Isaias by name, proclaimed with a loud voice, saying: Father Adam and all ye

Latin A.

he is a man that feareth death, and sayeth: My soul is sorrowful even unto death. And he hath been much mine enemy, doing me great hurt, and many that I had made blind, lame, dumb, leprous, and possessed he hath healed with a word: and some whom I have brought unto thee dead, them hath he taken away from thee.

2 Hell answered and said unto Satan the prince: Who is he that is so mighty, if he be a man that feareth death? for all the mighty ones of the earth are held in subjection by my power, even they whom thou hast brought me subdued by thy power. If, then, thou art mighty, what manner of man is this Jesus who, though he fear death, resisteth thy power? If he be so mighty in his manhood, verily I say unto thee he is almighty in his godhead, and no man can withstand his power. And when he saith that he feareth death, he would ensnare thee, and woe shall be

Greek.

race of the Jews, Jesus, who calleth himself the Son of God; but he is a man, and by our contrivance the Jews have crucified him. And now that he hath died, be thou prepared that we may make him fast here. For I know that he is a man, and I have heard him saying: My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death. And he hath done me much hurt in the world that is above while he walked among men. For wheresoever he found my servants he did persecute them, and as many as I caused to be maimed, or blind, or lame, or leprous, or any such thing, he healed them with a word only: and whereas I made ready many to be buried, them also he quickened again only with a word.

2 Hades saith: And is he indeed so mighty that he can do such things with a word only? or, if he be such, art thou able to withstand him? it seemeth to me, no man will be able to with-

Latin B.

that stand by hearken unto my sayings. While I was upon earth, and the Holy Ghost taught me, I did sing in prophecy concerning this light, saying: The people which sat in darkness have seen a great light: unto them which dwell in the land of the shadow of death hath the light shined. And at his word Father Adam and they all turned unto him and asked him: Who art thou? for that which thou sayest is true. And he answered and said: I am named Isaias.

2 Then appeared there another beside him, as it were a dweller in the wilderness, and they asked him and said: Who art thou that bearest in thy body such signs? and he answered stoutly: I am John the Baptist, the voice and the prophet of the Most High. I went before the face of the same Lord to make the

Latin A.

unto thee for everlasting ages. But Satan the prince of Tartarus said: Why doubtest thou and fearest to receive this Jesus, which is thine adversary and mine? For I tempted him, and I have stirred up mine ancient people of the Jews with envy and wrath against him. I have sharpened a spear to thrust him through, gall and vinegar have I mingled to give him to drink, and I have prepared a cross to crucify him and nails to pierce him: and his death is nigh at hand, that I may bring him unto thee to be subject unto thee and me.

Greek.

stand him: but whereas thou sayest that thou hast heard him fearing death, this he said to mock thee and in sport, willing to seize on thee with a mighty hand: and woe, woe unto thee for everlasting! Satan saith: O thou Hades that devourest all and art insatiable, didst thou fear so much at that thou hast heard concerning our common adversary? I feared him not, but I did set on the Jews, and they crucified him and gave him also gall to drink mingled with vinegar. Prepare thyself, therefore, that when he cometh thou mayest hold him fast.

Latin B.

desert and rough ways into plain paths. I did show with my finger unto them of Jerusalem the lamb of the Lord and the Son of God, and glorified him. I baptized him in the river Jordan. I heard the voice of the Father out of heaven thundering upon him and proclaiming: This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. I have received an answer from him that he would himself descend into hell.

Then Father Adam, when he heard that, cried with a loud voice, and shouted again and again Alleluia, which is, being interpreted: The Lord cometh.

VI (XXII)

1 After this another that stood by and was adorned as it were with the marks of an emperor, by name David, cried out thus and said: When I was upon earth I did reveal unto the people concerning the mercy of God and his visitation, and prophesied joyful things to come throughout all ages, saying: Let them give thanks unto the Lord, even his mercies: and his wonders unto the children of men.¹ For he hath broken the gates of brass and smitten the bars of iron in sunder.

Then did the holy patriarchs and prophets begin to recognize one another, and each one of them to speak words out of their prophecies. Then holy Jeremias, looking upon his prophecies, said to the patriarchs and prophets: When I was upon earth

¹ So the Latin Psalter has it.

Latin A.

3 Hell answered and said: Thou hast told me that it is he that hath taken away dead men from me. For there be many which while they lived on the earth have taken dead men from me, yet not by their own power but by prayer to God, and their almighty God hath taken them from me. Who is this Jesus which by his own word without prayer hath drawn dead men from me? Perchance it is he which by the word of his command did restore to life Lazarus which was four days dead and stank and was corrupt, whom I held here dead. Satan the prince of death answered and said: It is that same Jesus. When Hell heard that he said unto him: I adjure thee by thy strength and mine own that thou bring him not unto me. For at that time I, when I heard the command of his word, did quake and was overwhelmed with fear, and all my ministries with me were troubled. Neither could we keep Lazarus, but he like an eagle shaking himself leaped forth with all agility and swiftness, and departed from us, and the earth also which held the dead body of

Greek.

3 Hades answered: O inheritor of darkness, son of perdition devil, thou saidst but now unto me that many of them whom thou hadst made ready to be buried he did quicken again with a word only: now if he hath set free many from burial, how and by what strength shall he be held by us? I indeed of late swallowed up a certain dead man named Lazarus, and after a little, one of the living by force snatched him up out of mine entrails by a word only: and I think this is he of whom thou speakest. If, then, we receive him here, I fear lest we be imperilled for the rest also; for I have swallowed up all men from the beginning: behold, I perceive that they are unquiet, and my belly paineth me, and this Lazarus that before was caught away from me I take to be no good sign, for he flew away from me, not like to a dead man but to an eagle, so instantly did the earth cast him out. Wherefore also I adjure thee by thy gifts and by mine own, that

Latin B.

I prophesied of the Son of God, saying that he was seen upon earth and conversed among men.

2 Then all the saints rejoicing in the light of the Lord and at the sight of their father Adam, and at the answer of all the patriarchs and prophets, cried out, saying: Alleluia, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. So that at the cry of them Satan feared, and sought a way to flee by, and could not, for Hell and his ministers did hold him bound in hell and fenced in on every side. And they said unto him: Why fearest thou? we will in no wise suffer thee to go out hence; but thou must receive these things

Latin A.

Lazarus straightway gave him up alive. Wherefore now I know that that man which was able to do these things is a God strong in command and mighty in manhood, and that he is the saviour of mankind. And if thou bring him unto me he will set free all that are here shut up in the hard prison and bound in the chains of their sins that cannot be broken, and will bring them unto the life of his godhead for ever.

V (XXI)

1 And as Satan the prince, and Hell, spoke thus together, suddenly there came a voice as of thunder and a spiritual cry: Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. When Hell heard that he said unto Satan the prince: Depart from me and go out of mine abode: if thou be a mighty man of war, fight thou against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with him? And Hell cast Satan forth out of his dwelling. Then said Hell unto

Greek.

thou bring him not to this place, for I believe that he cometh hither to raise up all the dead. And this I say unto thee: by the outer darkness, if thou bring him hither, not one of all the dead will be left in me.

V (XXI)

1 And as Satan and Hades spake thus with one another, there came a great voice as of thunder, saying: Lift up, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. When Hades heard, he said unto Satan: Go forth, if thou art able, and withstand him. So Satan went forth. Then said Hades unto his devils: Make fast the gates of brass well and strongly, and the bars of iron, and keep my locks, and

Latin B.

as thou art worthy, at his hands whom thou didst fight against every day: and if not, know thou that thou shalt be bound by him and committed unto my keeping for ever.

VII (XXIII)

1 And again there came the voice of the Son of the most high Father, as the voice of a great thunder, saying: Lift up, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. Then Satan and Hell cried out, saying: Who is this King of glory? And it was answered them by the Lord's voice: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

2 After that voice there came unto us a man whose appearance was as that of a robber, bearing a cross upon his shoulder, who cried without and said: Open unto me that I may enter in. And Satan opened the gate unto him a little way and brought him

Latin A.

his wicked ministers: Shut ye the hard gates of brass and put on them the bars of iron and withstand stoutly, lest we that hold captivity be taken captive.

2 But when all the multitude of the saints heard it, they spake with a voice of rebuking unto Hell: Open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And David cried out, saying: Did I not when I was alive upon earth, foretell unto you: Let them give thanks unto the Lord, even his mercies and his wonders unto the children of men; who hath broken the gates of brass and smitten the bars of iron in sunder? he hath taken them out of the way of their iniquity. And thereafter in like manner Esaias said: Did not I when I was alive upon earth foretell unto you: The dead shall arise, and they that are in the tombs shall rise again, and they that are in the earth shall rejoice, for the dew which cometh of the Lord is their healing? And again I said: O death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy victory?

Greek.

stand upright, and beware at all points, for if he come in hither, woe will take hold on us.

2 When the forefathers heard that, they began all of them to insult him, saying: Thou that devourest all and art insatiate, open, that the King of glory may come in. David the prophet said: Knowest thou not, blind one, that when I lived in the world I did prophesy that word, Lift up, O princes, your gates. Esaias said: This I foresaw by the Holy Ghost and wrote: The dead shall arise, and they that are in the tombs shall awake, and they that are in the earth shall rejoice: and again: O death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy victory?

Latin B.

within into the house, and shut the gate again after him. And all the saints saw him that he shone brightly, and said unto him straightway: Thine appearance is that of a robber: show us, what is that which thou bearest on thy back? And he answered humbly and said: Of a truth I was a robber altogether, and the Jews hanged me upon a cross with my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most high Father. And at the last I have come hither before him; but himself cometh after me immediately.

3 Then the holy David's anger was kindled against Satan, and he cried aloud: Open, thou most foul one, thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. Likewise also all the saints of God rose up against Satan and would have laid hold on him and parted him among them.

And again there was a cry without: Lift up, ye princes, your

Latin A.

3 When they heard that of Esaias, all the saints said unto Hell: Open thy gates: now shalt thou be overcome and weak and without strength. And there came a great voice as of thunder, saying: Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up ye doors of hell, and the King of glory shall come in. And when Hell saw that they so cried out twice, he said, as if he knew it not: Who is the King of glory? And David answered Hell and said: The words of this cry do I know, for by his spirit I prophesied the same; and now I say unto thee that which I said before: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle, he is the King of glory. And: The Lord looked down from heaven that he might hear the groanings of them that are in fetters and deliver the children of them that have been slain. And now, O thou most foul and stinking Hell, open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And as David spake thus unto Hell, the Lord of majesty appeared in the form of a man and lightened the eternal darkness and brake the bonds that could not be loosed: and the succour of his everlasting might visited us that sat in the deep darkness of our transgressions and in the shadow of death of our sins.

Greek.

3 Then came there again a voice, saying: Lift up the gates. And when Hades heard the voice the second time, he answered as if he knew it not, and said: Who is this King of glory? The angels of the Lord said: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. And straightway at the word the gates of brass were broken in pieces and the bars of iron were ground to powder, and all the dead that were bound were loosed from their chains, and we with them, and the King of glory entered in, *in fashion* as a man, and all the dark places of Hell were enlightened.

Latin B.

gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. And again at that clear voice Hell and Satan inquired, saying: Who is this King of glory? and it was said unto them by that marvellous voice: The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory.

VIII (XXIV)

And lo, suddenly Hell did quake, and the gates of death and the locks were broken small, and the bars of iron broken, and fell to the ground, and all things were laid open. And Satan remained in the midst and stood put to confusion and cast down,

Latin A.

VI (XXII)

1 When Hell and death and their wicked ministers saw that, they were stricken with fear, they and their cruel officers, at the sight of the brightness of so great light in their own realm, seeing Christ of a sudden in their abode, and they cried out, saying: We are overcome by thee. Who art thou that art sent by the Lord for our confusion? Who art thou that without all damage of corruption, and with the signs(?) of thy majesty unblemished, dost in wrath condemn our power? Who art thou that art so great and so small, both humble and exalted, both soldier and commander, a marvellous warrior in the shape of a bondsman, and a King of glory dead and living, whom the cross bare slain upon it? Thou that didst lie dead in the sepulchre hast come down unto us living: and at thy death all creation quaked and all the stars were shaken: and thou hast become free among the dead and dost rout our legions. Who art thou that settest free the prisoners that are held bound by original sin and restorest them into their former liberty? Who art thou that sheddest thy divine and bright light upon them that were blinded with the darkness of their sins? After the same manner all the legions of devils were stricken with like fear and cried out all together in the terror of their confusion, saying: Whence art thou, Jesus, a man so mighty and bright in majesty, so excellent, without spot and clean from sin? For that world of earth which hath been alway subject unto us until now, and did pay tribute to our profit, hath never sent unto us a dead man like thee,

Greek.

VI (XXII)

1 Hades cried out straightway: We are overcome, woe unto us. But who art thou that hast so great authority and power? and what manner of man art thou that art come hither without sin? thou that appearest small and canst do great things, that art humble and exalted, a bondsman and a master, a soldier and a commander, that exercisest authority over the dead and the living? thou wast nailed to the cross, and laid in the sepulchre, and now art thou become free and hast destroyed our whole power.

Art thou then that Jesus of whom the chief ruler Satan said unto us, that by thy cross and death thou shouldest inherit the whole world?

Latin B.

and bound with a fetter about his feet. And behold, the Lord Jesus Christ coming in the glory of the light of the height, in meekness, great and yet humble, bearing a chain in his hands bound therewith the neck of Satan, and also, binding his hands behind his back, cast him backward into Tartarus, and set his holy foot upon his throat and said: Throughout all ages hast thou done much

Latin A.

nor ever dispatched such a gift unto Hell. Who then art thou that so fearlessly enterest our borders, and not only fearest not our torments, but besides essayest to bear away all men out of our bonds? Peradventure thou art that Jesus, of whom Satan our prince said that by thy death of the cross thou shouldst receive the dominion of the whole world.

2 Then did the King of glory in his majesty trample upon death, and laid hold on Satan the prince and delivered him unto the power of Hell, and drew Adam to him unto his own brightness.

VII (XXIII)

Then Hell, receiving Satan the prince, with sore reproach said unto him: O prince of perdition and chief of destruction, Beelzebub, the scorn of the angels and spitting of the righteous, why wouldest thou do this? Thou wouldest crucify the King of glory, and at his decease didst promise us great spoils of his death: like a fool thou knewest not what thou didst. For behold, now, this Jesus putteth to flight by the brightness of his majesty all the darkness of death, and hath broken the strong depths of the prisons, and let out the prisoners, and loosed them that were bound. And all that were sighing in our torments do rejoice against us, and at their prayers our dominions are vanquished

Greek.

2 Then the King of glory took hold upon the head of the chief ruler Satan, and delivered him unto the angels and said: Bind down with irons his hands and his feet and his neck and his mouth. And then he delivered him unto Hades, saying: Take him and keep him safely until my second coming.

VII (XXIII)

Then Hades, when he had taken Satan, said unto him: O Beelzebub, inheritor of fire and torment, adversary of the saints, what need hadst thou to provide that the King of glory should be crucified, so that he should come hither and strip us naked? Turn thee and see that not one dead man is left in me, but all whatsoever thou didst gain by the tree of knowledge thou hast lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy joy is turned into sorrow, and when thou wouldest slay the King of glory thou hast slain thyself: for since I have received thee to keep thee safely, thou

Latin B.

evil and hast never been quiet at any time. To-day do I deliver thee unto eternal fire. And he called Hell quickly and gave him commandment, saying: Take this most evil and wicked one and hold him in thy keeping until that day when I shall command thee. And he took him from beneath the Lord's feet, and he was cast down together with him into the depth of the bottomless pit.

Latin A.

and our realms conquered, and now no nation of men feareth us any more. And beside this, the dead which were never wont to be proud triumph over us, and the captives which never could be joyful do threaten us. O prince Satan, father of all the wicked and ungodly and renegades, wherefore wouldest thou do this? They that from the beginning until now have despaired of life and salvation—now is none of their wonted roarings heard, neither doth any groan from them sound in our ears, nor is there any sign of tears upon the face of any of them. O prince Satan, holder of the keys of hell, those thy riches which thou hadst gained by the tree of transgression and the losing of paradise, thou hast lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy gladness hath perished. When thou didst hang up Christ Jesus the King of glory thou wroughtest against thyself and against me. Henceforth thou shalt know what eternal torments and infinite pains thou art to suffer in my keeping for ever. O prince Satan, author of death and head of all pride, thou oughtest first to have sought out matter of evil in this Jesus: Wherefore didst thou adventure without cause to crucify him unjustly against whom thou foundest no blame, and to bring into our realm the innocent and righteous one, and to lose the guilty and the ungodly and unrighteous of the whole world?

And when Hell had spoken thus unto Satan the prince, then said the King of glory unto Hell: Satan the prince shall be in thy power unto all ages in the stead of Adam and his children, even those that are my righteous ones.

VIII (XXIV)

1 And the Lord stretching forth his hand, said: Come unto me, all ye my saints which bear mine image and my likeness. Ye

Greek.

shalt learn by trial what evils I will practise upon thee. O thou head-devil, the beginning of death, and root of sin, and end of all evil, what ill didst thou find in Jesus that thou wentest about his destruction? how didst thou dare to do so great wickedness? how didst thou desire to bring down such an one into this darkness, whereby thou art bereaved of all them that have died since the beginning.

VIII (XXIV)

1 And as Hades talked thus with Satan, the King of glory spread forth his right hand and took hold on our forefather Adam

Latin B.

IX (XXV)

1 Then the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of all men, pitiful and most gracious, greeted Adam with kindness, saying unto him: Peace

Latin A.

that by the tree and the devil and death were condemned, behold now the devil and death condemned by the tree. And forthwith all the saints were gathered in one under the hand of the Lord. And the Lord holding the right hand of Adam, said unto him: Peace be unto thee with all thy children that are my righteous ones. But Adam, casting himself at the knees of the Lord, entreated him with tears and beseechings, and said with a loud voice: I will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set me up and not made my foes to triumph over me: O Lord my God, I cried unto thee and thou hast healed me; Lord, thou hast brought my soul out of hell, thou hast delivered me from them that go down to the pit. Sing praises unto the Lord all ye saints of his, and give thanks unto *him for the remembrance* of his holiness. For there is wrath in his indignation and life is in his good pleasure. In like manner all the saints of God kneeled and cast themselves at the feet of the Lord, saying with one accord: Thou art come, O redeemer of the world: that which thou didst foretell by the law and by thy prophets, that hast thou accomplished in deed. Thou hast redeemed the living by thy cross, and by the death of the cross thou hast come down unto us, that thou mightest save us out of hell and death through thy majesty. O Lord, like as thou hast set the name of thy

Greek.

and raised him up; and then turned himself unto the rest and said: Come with me all ye, as many as have suffered death through the tree which this man touched. For lo, I do raise you all up again through the tree of the cross. And with that he put them all forth, and our forefather Adam was seen full of gladness of soul and said: I give thanks to thy greatness, O Lord, for thou hast brought me up out of the lowest hell. Likewise also all the prophets and the saints said: We give thanks unto thee, O Christ, Saviour of the world, for that thou hast brought up our life from corruption.

Latin B.

be unto thee, Adam, and unto thy children unto everlasting ages. Amen. Then Father Adam cast himself at the Lord's feet, and rose up and kissed his hands, and shed abundant tears, saying: Behold the hands which formed me: testifying unto all. And he said to the Lord: Thou art come, O King of glory, to set men free and gather them to thine everlasting kingdom. Then our mother Eve also in like manner cast herself at the feet of the Lord, and rose up and kissed his hands, and shed tears abundantly, and said: Behold the hands which fashioned me: testifying unto all.

Latin A.

glory in the heavens and set up thy cross for a token of redemption upon the earth, so, Lord, set thou up the sign of the victory of thy cross in hell, that death may have no more dominion.

2 And the Lord stretched forth his hand and made the sign of the cross over Adam and over all his saints, and he took the right hand of Adam and went up out of hell, and all the saints followed him. Then did holy David cry aloud and say: Sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done marvellous things. His right hand hath wrought salvation for him and his holy arm. The Lord hath made known his saving health, before the face of all nations hath he revealed his righteousness. And the whole multitude of the saints answered, saying: Such honour have all his saints. Amen, Alleluia.

Greek.

2 And when they had thus said, the Saviour blessed Adam upon his forehead with the sign of the cross, and so did he also unto all the patriarchs and prophets and martyrs and forefathers. And he took them and leaped up out of hell. And as he went the holy fathers sang praises, following him and saying: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Unto him be the glory of all the saints.

Latin B.

2 Then all the saints adoring him cried out, saying: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God the Lord hath showed us light. Amen throughout all ages. Alleluia, world without end: laud, honour, might, and glory, because thou hast come from on high to visit us. And they gathered them beneath the hands of the Lord, singing always Alleluia, and rejoicing together at the glory. Then the Saviour searched throughout and did bite hell (*al.* hell was in affliction), forasmuch as he cast down part into Tartarus, and part he brought again with him on high.

X (XXVI)

Then all the saints of God besought the Lord that he would leave the sign of victory—even of the holy cross—in hell, that the wicked ministers thereof might not prevail to keep back any that was accused, whom the Lord absolved. And so it was done, and the Lord set his cross in the midst of hell, which is the sign of victory; and it shall remain there for ever.

Then all we went out thence with the Lord, and left Satan and Hell in Tartarus.

Latin A.

3 And thereafter Habacuc the prophet cried out and said: Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people to set free thy chosen. And all the saints answered, saying: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is the Lord and hath showed us light. Amen, Alleluia.

Likewise after that the prophet Micheas also cried, saying: What God is like thee, O Lord, taking away iniquity and removing sins? and now thou withholdest thy wrath for a testimony that thou art merciful of free will, and thou dost turn away and have mercy on us, thou forgivest all our iniquities and hast sunk all our sins in the depths of the sea, as thou swarest unto our fathers in the days of old. And all the saints answered, saying: This is our God for ever and ever, he shall be our guide, world without end. Amen, Alleluia. And so spake all the prophets, making mention of holy words out of their praises, and all the saints followed the Lord, crying Amen, Alleluia.

IX (XXV)

But the Lord holding the hand of Adam delivered him unto Michael the archangel, and all the saints followed Michael the archangel, and he brought them all into the glory and beauty (grace) of paradise. And there met with them two men, ancients of days, and when they were asked of the saints: Who are ye that have not yet been dead in hell with us and are set in paradise in the body? then one of them answering, said: I am Enoch which was translated hither by the word of the Lord, and this that is with me is Elias the Thesbite which was taken up in a chariot of fire: and up to this day we have not tasted death, but we are received unto the coming of Antichrist to fight against him with signs and wonders of God, and to be slain of him in Jerusalem, and after three days and a half to be taken up again alive on the clouds.

Greek.

IX (XXV)

He went therefore into paradise holding our forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the righteous, unto Michael the archangel. And as they were entering in at the gate of paradise, there met them two aged men, unto whom said the holy fathers: Who are ye, which have not seen death nor come down into hell, but dwell in paradise with your bodies and souls? And one of them answered and said: I am Enoch that pleased God and was translated hither by him: and this is Elias the Thesbite: and we shall live unto the end of the world, but at that time we shall be sent by God to withstand Antichrist and to be slain of him, and after three days to rise and be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord.

Latin A.

X (XXVI)

And as Enoch and Elias spake thus with the saints, behold there came another man of vile habit, bearing upon his shoulders the sign of the cross; whom when they beheld, all the saints said unto him: Who art thou? for thine appearance is as of a robber; and wherefore is it that thou bearest a sign upon thy shoulders? And he answered them and said: Ye have rightly said: for I was a robber, doing all manner of evil upon the earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jesus, and I beheld the wonders in the creation which came to pass through the cross of Jesus when he was crucified, and I believed that he was the maker of all creatures and the almighty king, and I besought him, saying: Remember me, Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom. And forthwith he received my prayer, and said unto me: Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise: and he gave me the sign of the cross, saying: Bear this and go unto paradise, and if the angel that keepeth paradise suffer thee not to enter in, show him the sign of the cross; and thou shalt say unto him: Jesus Christ the Son of God who now is crucified hath sent me. And when I had so done, I spake all these things unto the angel that keepeth paradise; and when he heard this of me, forthwith he opened the door and brought me in and set me at the right hand of paradise, saying: Lo now, tarry a little, and Adam the father of all mankind will enter in with all his children that are holy and righteous, after the triumph and glory of the ascending up of Christ the Lord that is crucified. When they heard all these words of the robber, all the holy patriarchs

Greek.

X (XXVI)

And as they thus spake there came another man, humble of aspect, and bearing also a cross upon his shoulder, unto whom the holy fathers said: Who art thou that hast the appearance of a robber, and what is that cross that thou bearest on thy shoulder? He answered: I as ye say was a robber and a thief in the world, and therefore the Jews took me and delivered me unto the death of the cross together with our Lord Jesus Christ. When, therefore, he hung upon the cross, I beheld the signs which came to pass, and I believed on him and besought him and said: Lord, when thou shalt reign, forget not me. And straightway he said to me: Verily, verily, to-day, I say unto thee, thou shalt be with me in paradise.

I came, therefore, bearing my cross, into paradise, and found Michael the archangel, and said unto him: Our Lord Jesus Christ that was crucified hath sent me hither; bring me therefore unto the gate of Eden. And when the flaming sword saw the sign of the cross, it opened unto me and I entered in. Then said the archangel unto me: Tarry a little, for Adam the forefather

Latin A.

and prophets said with one voice: Blessed be the Lord Almighty, the Father of eternal good things, the Father of mercies, thou that hast given such grace unto thy sinners and hast brought them again into the beauty of paradise and into thy good pastures: for this is the most holy life of the spirit. Amen, Amen.

XI (XXVII)

These are the divine and holy mysteries which we saw and heard, even I, Karinus, and Leucius: but we were not suffered to relate further the rest of the mysteries of God, according as Michael the archangel strictly charged us, saying: Ye shall go with your brethren unto Jerusalem and remain in prayer, crying out and glorifying the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath raised you from the dead together with him: and ye shall not be speaking with any man, but sit as dumb men, until the hour come when the Lord himself suffereth you to declare the mysteries of his godhead. But unto us Michael the archangel gave commandment that we should go over Jordan unto a place rich and fertile, where are many which rose again together with us for a testimony of the resurrection of Christ the Lord. For three days only were allowed unto us who rose from the dead, to keep the passover of the Lord in Jerusalem with our kindred (parents) that are living for a testimony of the resurrection of Christ the Lord: and we were baptized in the holy river of Jordan and received white robes, every one of us. And after the three days, when we had kept the passover of the Lord, all

Greek.

of mankind cometh with the righteous, that they also may enter in. And now, having seen you, I am come to meet you. And when the saints heard these things, they cried aloud with a great voice, saying: Great is our Lord, and great is his power.

XI (XXVII)

All these things did we see and hear, even we the two brethren which also were sent by Michael the archangel and appointed to proclaim the resurrection of the Lord, but first to go unto Jordan and be baptized; whither also we went and were baptized,

Latin B.

But unto us and many others was it commanded that we should rise again with our bodies, and bear witness in the world of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and concerning those things that were done in hell.

These are the things, brethren beloved, which we have seen, and do testify being adjured of you, as he beareth witness who died for us and rose again. For like as it is written, so was it performed in every point.

Latin A.

they were caught up in the clouds which had risen again with us, and were taken over Jordan and were no more seen of any man. But unto us it was said that we should remain in the city of Arimathaea and continue in prayer.

These be all things which the Lord bade us declare unto you: give praise and thanksgiving (confession) unto him, and repent that he may have mercy upon you. Peace be unto you from the same Lord Jesus Christ which is the Saviour of us all. Amen.

And when they had finished writing all things in the several volumes of paper they arose; and Karinus gave that which he

Greek.

together with other dead that had risen again. Thereafter we went unto Jerusalem also and accomplished the passover of the resurrection: but now we depart, for we are not able to abide in this place. And the love of God and the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and <the fellowship> of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.

When they had thus written and had closed up the books, they gave the one half unto the high priests and the one half unto Joseph and Nicodemus: and they themselves vanished suddenly.

To the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Latin B.

XI (XXVII)

But when the paper was wholly read through, all that heard it fell upon their faces weeping bitterly and smote hard upon their breasts, crying out and saying: Woe unto us: wherefore cometh this to pass unto us wretched men? Pilate did flee, Annas and Caiaphas did flee, the priests and Levites did flee, and all the people of the Jews beside, lamenting and saying: Woe unto us miserable men; we have shed innocent blood upon the earth.

Therefore for three days and three nights they tasted not at all either bread or water, neither did any of them return unto the synagogue. But on the third day the council gathered together again, and the other paper, to wit of Leucius, was read, and neither more nor less was found in it, even to one letter, than what was contained in the writing of Karinus.

Then was the synagogue troubled and they mourned all of them forty days and forty nights, looking for death at the hand of God and for the vengeance of God. But the Most High God, which is merciful and pitiful, destroyed them not immediately, but gave them freely a place of repentance: but they were not found worthy to be turned unto the Lord.

These be the testimonies, beloved brethren, of Karinus and Leucius, concerning Christ the Son of God and his holy acts in Hell: unto whom let us all give praise and glory unto ages without end. Amen.

Latin A.

had written into the hands of Annas and Caiaphas and Gamaliel; likewise Leucius gave that which he had written into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph. And suddenly they were transfigured and *became* white exceedingly and were no more seen. But their writings were found to be the same (*lit. equal*), neither more nor less by one letter.

And when all the synagogue of the Jews heard all these marvellous sayings of Karinus and Leucius, they said one to another: Of a truth all these things were wrought by the Lord, and blessed be the Lord, world without end, Amen. And they went out all of them in great trouble of mind, smiting their breasts with fear and trembling, and departed every man unto his own home.

And all these things which were spoken by the Jews in their synagogue, did Joseph and Nicodemus forthwith declare unto the governor. And Pilate himself wrote all the things that were done and said concerning Jesus by the Jews, and laid up all the words in the public books of his judgement hall (*praetorium*).

XII (XXVIII)

This chapter is not found in the majority of copies.

After these things Pilate entered into the temple of the Jews and gathered together all the chief of the priests, and the teachers (*grammaticos*) and scribes and doctors of the law, and went in with them into the holy place of the temple and commanded all the doors to be shut, and said unto them: We have heard that ye have in this temple a certain great Bible; wherefore I ask you that it be presented before us. And when that great Bible adorned with gold and precious jewels was brought by four ministers, Pilate said to them all: I adjure you by the God of your fathers which commanded you to build this temple in the place of his sanctuary, that ye hide not the truth from me. Ye know all the things that are written in this Bible; but tell me now if ye have found in the scriptures that this Jesus whom ye have crucified is the Son of God which should come for the salvation of mankind, and in what year of the times he must come. Declare unto me whether ye crucified him in ignorance or knowingly.

And Annas and Caiaphas when they were thus adjured commanded all the rest that were with them to go out of the temple; and they themselves shut all the doors of the temple and of the sanctuary, and said unto Pilate: Thou hast adjured us, O excellent judge, by the building of this temple to make manifest unto thee the truth and reason (*or a true account*). After that we had crucified Jesus, knowing not that he was the Son of God, but supposing that by some chance he did his wondrous works, we made a great assembly (synagogue) in this temple; and as we conferred one with another concerning the signs of the mighty

Latin A.

works which Jesus had done, we found many witnesses of our own nation who said that they had seen Jesus alive after his passion, and that he was passed into the height of the heaven. Moreover, we saw two witnesses whom Jesus raised from the dead, who declared unto us many marvellous things which Jesus did among the dead, which things we have in writing in our hands. Now our custom is that every year before our assembly we open this holy Bible and inquire the testimony of God. And we have found in the first book of the Seventy how that Michael the angel spake unto the third son of Adam the first man concerning the five thousand and five hundred years, wherein should come the most beloved Son of God, even Christ; and furthermore we have thought that peradventure this same was the God of Israel which said unto Moses: Make thee an ark of the covenant in length two cubits and a half, and in breadth one cubit and a half, and in height one cubit and a half. For by those five cubits and a half we have understood and known the fashion of the ark of the old covenant, for that in five thousand and a half *thousand* years Jesus Christ should come in the ark of his body: and we have found that he is the God of Israel, even the Son of God. For after his passion, we the chief of the priests, because we marvelled at the signs which came to pass on his account, did open the Bible, and searched out all the generations unto the generation of Joseph, and Mary the mother of Christ, taking *her* to be the seed of David: and we found that *from the day* when God made the heaven and the earth and the first man, from that time unto the Flood are 2,212 years: and from the Flood unto the building of the tower 531 years: and from the building of the tower unto Abraham 606 years: and from Abraham unto the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt 470 years: and from the going of the children of Israel out of Egypt unto the building of the temple 511 years: and from the building of the temple unto the destruction of the same temple 464 years: so far found we in the Bible of Esdras: and inquiring from the burning of the temple unto the coming of Christ and his birth we found it to be 636 years, which together were five thousand and five hundred years,¹ like as we found it written in the Bible that Michael the archangel declared before unto Seth the third son of Adam, that after five thousand and a half *thousand* years Christ the Son of God hath (? should) come. Hitherto have we told no man, lest there should be a schism in our synagogues; and now, O excellent judge, thou hast adjured us by this holy Bible of the testimonies of God, and we do declare it unto thee: and we also have adjured thee by thy life and health that thou declare not these words unto any man in Jerusalem.

¹ Really 5430 : no MS. gives a correct calculation.

Latin A.

XIII (XXIX)

And Pilate, when he heard these words of Annas and Caiaphas, laid them all up amongst the acts of the Lord and Saviour in the public books of his judgement hall, and wrote a letter unto Claudius the king of the city of Rome, saying:

[The following Epistle or Report of Pilate is inserted in Greek into the late Acts of Peter and Paul (§ 40) and the Pseudo-Marcellus Passion of Peter and Paul (§ 19). We thus have it in Greek and Latin, and the Greek is used here as the basis of the version.]

Pontius Pilate unto Claudius, greeting.

There befell of late a matter which I myself brought to light (*or* made trial of): for the Jews through envy have punished themselves and their posterity with fearful judgements of their own fault; for whereas their fathers had promises (*al.* had announced unto them) that their God would send them out of heaven his holy one who should of right be called their king, and did promise that he would send him upon earth by a virgin; he, then (*or* this God of the Hebrews, then), came when I was governor of Judaea, and they beheld him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing the palsied, driving devils out of men, raising the dead, rebuking the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea dry-shod, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews calling him the Son of God: the chief priests therefore, moved with envy against him, took him and delivered him unto me and brought against him one false accusation after another, saying that he was a sorcerer and did things contrary to their law.

But I, believing that these things were so, having scourged him, delivered him unto their will: and they crucified him, and when he was buried they set guards upon him. But while my soldiers watched him he rose again on the third day: yet so much was the malice of the Jews kindled that they gave money to the soldiers, saying: Say ye that his disciples stole away his body. But they, though they took the money, were not able to keep silence concerning that which had come to pass, for they also have testified that they saw him arisen and that they received money from the Jews. And these things have I reported *(unto thy mightiness)* for this cause, lest some other should lie *unto thee* (*Lat.* lest any lie otherwise) and thou shouldest deem right to believe the false tales of the Jews.

COPTIC NARRATIVES OF THE MINISTRY AND THE PASSION

There is a large mass of fragments in Coptic (Sahidic), some relating to the Ministry of our Lord and others to his Passion, which demand some notice here.

The largest collections of them (I pass over earlier publications such as those of Zoega and Dulaurier) are in Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, E. Revillout's *Apocryphes Coptes*, I (*Patrologia Orientalis* II. 2), P. Lacau's *Fragmentes d'Apocryphes Coptes* (*Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 1904).

The fragments relating to the Life of Christ before the Passion are none of them attributed definitely to any author. They are mostly in homiletic form: the writer addresses his readers or congregation from time to time, directly, and not seldom he makes definite mention of the Gospels.

In one passage which Forbes Robinson humorously makes to serve as a motto to his volume, we read, 'But some one will say to me, Art thou then adding a supplement to the Gospels? Let that beloved one listen attentively and . . .', the fragment ends. Whatever his defence or explanation may have been, he certainly does add a great many supplements to the Gospels. It seems likely (judging from the analogy of other Coptic documents) that he personated, if not an apostle, a disciple of the apostles. The names of Evodius of Antioch and Gamaliel are found attached to similar writings. It would be quite in order for such a person to postulate the existence of the canonical Gospels, and to profess to offer information which was not contained in them.

It is conceivable that some of the narrative matter in these fragments may be taken from earlier books; but the fragments themselves cannot, I think, be earlier in date than the fifth century.

They will not be translated here in full: but a list, and a brief description of their contents, shall be given.

1. Robinson, p. 162. Birth and childhood of John Baptist. Birth of Christ. His star in the form of a wheel, its figure like a cross, letters on it: This is Jesus the Son of God. The wise men see it and come to Herod.

2. Robinson, p. 163. The Feast at Cana. The wine has failed; the parents of the bridegroom complain to Mary, who is their sister, and ask her to approach Christ. She does so. He orders that the water-pots be filled. *We* (the servants) hastened and filled them.

This, then, belongs to a narrative written by an eyewitness.

3. Revillout no. 1.

Herod accuses Philip to Tiberius.

Tiberius orders him to confiscate all Philip's goods.

Herod does so: Philip knows not the reason.

4. Revillout no. 2. Robinson, p. 168.

This is one of the longest of the fragments. It begins with a passage addressed to the hearers, and quotes John the Evangelist on the feeding of the 5,000: the story is filled out with dialogue, and tells how Judas was the last to receive the bread and 'had no inheritance' in it. Thomas then says that he wishes to see the power of Christ displayed in the raising of the dead from their tombs, not only from the bier, as at Nain. Jesus replies in a long and rhetorical address of many clauses, beginning, 'Come with me, Didymus, to the tomb of Lazarus'. Then the raising of Lazarus is told, and the risen man says that when the voice, 'Lazarus, come forth!' sounded in Amente (Hades), Adam knew it and bore witness to it.

We then hear of one Carius, a Roman officer appointed to look after the confiscated lands of Philip (see fragment 3). He came to see Jesus and reported his mighty works to Herod, saying that he ought to be made king. Herod threatened any one who consented thereto with death. Annas and Caiaphas went to Carius and accused Jesus—he is a magician, was born of fornication, breaks the sabbath, has abolished the synagogue of the Jews. Joseph and Nicodemus opposed them.

(Robinson's text ends here: Revillout's (p. 145) continues without break.)

Herod cast Joseph and Nicodemus into prison. Carius threatened the Jews with destruction if any ill befell them. Then Herod got a pound of gold from every one of the chiefs of the Jews and bribed Carius with it not to tell Tiberius. And Carius kept silence.

Joseph escaped to Arimathaea.

Carius sent the apostle John to Tiberius to tell him about Jesus, and the emperor honoured him, and wrote that Jesus should be made king: and as the Gospel (John vi. 15) says, Jesus departed into a mountain alone.

After that he summoned the apostles; and now we have a lengthy blessing of Peter on the mountain, at the end of which Peter sees the seven heavens open, and the Trinity. All the armies of heaven and the very stones of the mountain cry out the trisagios to Peter.

5. Revillout no. 4, p. 151. Robinson, p. 176.

Jesus is comforting the apostles on the mountain. The messengers of Theophilus come to fetch him to make him king. 'My kingdom is not of this world.'

The 'authorities' of Tiberius prevailed the second time concerning Jesus, with Pilate also, to commend Jesus to make him king. Pilate advocated the plan strongly. Herod who was there abused him: 'Thou art a Galilaean foreign Egyptian Pontus!' There was enmity between Pilate and Herod, and Herod bribed the Roman authorities and slandered Jesus.

Jesus' address to the apostles, ending 'let us go hence, for Herod seeketh me to kill me'.

They came down from the mountain, and met the devil in the form of a fisherman with attendant demons carrying nets and hooks, &c.: and they cast their nets and hooks on the mount.¹ The apostles questioned Jesus about this: John, Philip, and Andrew, in particular. John was sent to speak to the devil and ask him what he was catching. The devil said: 'It is not a wonder to catch fish in the waters: the wonder is in this desert, to catch fish there.' He cast his nets and caught all manner of fish (really men), some by their eyes, others by their lips, &c.

(Here follows a fragment given only by Lacau, p. 108.) Jesus told John to tell the devil to cast his nets again. He did so, and a great smoke rose up, and the devil's power disappeared. John threw a stone at him and he fled, cursing. Bartholomew then asked to be permitted to see 'him whom thou didst create to laugh at him' (Leviathan), and Jesus said that the sight was almost too terrible for human eyes; but the request was granted. A cloud—that of the Transfiguration—appeared in the heaven.

(Here the piece ends.)

And here Revillout would place a few lines which he calls no. 4 *bis* (p. 189), which paraphrase John vii. 8-11, about Jesus refusing at first to go to the feast, and subsequently going in secret. The only detail worth noting is that (at Jerusalem) Jesus sojourns in the house of Irmeël.

We next have a group of pieces relating to the Passion.

First we place two fragments relating to Judas and his wife.

6. Revillout no. 5, p. 156.

Some speaker tells how Judas used to take his ill-gotten gains home to his wife: sometimes he cheated her of them, and then she mocked him.

She counselled him to betray his Master.

He listened to her as Adam did to Eve, and went and covenanted with the Jews. The prophecy (Zech.) was fulfilled.

He took the money to his wife: he said to her . . .

7. Lacau, p. 34. Revillout, Suppl. 1, p. 195.

Judas received the thirty pieces.

His wife was foster-mother to the child of Joseph of Arimathea, which was seven months old. When the money was brought into the house, the child (fell ill or would not stop crying). Joseph was summoned: the child cried out, begging him to take it away 'from this evil beast, for yesterday at the ninth hour they received the price (of blood)'. Joseph took the child away.

Judas went to the priests. They arrested Jesus and took him to Pilate. . . . He was crowned with thorns and crucified, and said: Father forgive them.

¹ Compare with this the Gospel of Bartholomew, iv. 44.

8. Revillout no. 6, p. 157. Lacau, p. 33.

Jesus and the apostles at table. The table turned of itself after Jesus had partaken of a dish, to present it to each apostle.

Matthias set a dish on the table in which was a cock, and told Jesus how, when he was killing it, the Jews said: 'The blood of your master shall be shed like that of this cock.' Jesus smiled and answered that it was true; and after some more words, bade the cock come to life and fly away and 'announce the day whereon they will deliver me up'. And it did so.

Here a reference will not be out of place to the Ethiopic 'Book of the Cock' which is read in the Abyssinian Church on Maundy Thursday. It has been translated by Marius Chaîne, in the *Revue Sémitique*, 1905, p. 276.

The contents are as follows:

After these things Akrosina, the wife of Simon the Pharisee, brought a cock cut up with a knife, put it in a magnificent dish, and set it on the table before our Lord. Jesus said, 'My time is at hand'. He blessed the bread and gave it to Judas. Satan entered into him and he went out—without receiving the blessing of Jesus.

Jesus touched the slain cock and it stood up whole. He bade it follow Judas and see what he did, and return and report it: he endowed it with human speech. It followed Judas home: his wife urged him to betray Jesus. He went to the temple. The dialogue with the Jews is reported, and Paul of Tarsus, 'son of Josue Almason, son of Cadafanâ', a rough man, says, 'Now, thou, deliver him into my hands without error'.

The cock returned to Bethany, and sat before Jesus and wept bitterly, and told all the story. The disciples wept. Jesus dismissed the cock to mount up into the sky for a thousand years.¹

The fragments 7 and 8 most probably belong to the beginning of the Book of Bartholomew, which has to be noticed hereafter. Certainly this is the case with Revillout no. 12, p. 165 (Lacau 3, p. 34), which narrates the death of Ananias.

9. Revillout no. 10, p. 161. A dialogue between Christ and Pilate expanded from that in St. John.

¹ By way of a curiosity another Ethiopic narrative of the Passion may find mention here. It is noticed in Dillmann's catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum (no. 40, Add. 16, 254) under the name of Liber Vivificans (Dirsan Mahyawi), and contains the story of the Passion written by the Evangelists and by three Virgins, Berzeda, Mathilda, and Elisabeth, to whom the Lord revealed his Passion. Another copy, apparently, is in the D'Abbadie MS. 29. The 'three Virgins' are evidently SS. Birgitta of Sweden (fourteenth century), Mechtildis (twelfth or thirteenth century), and Elisabeth of Schönaue (twelfth century), all of whom had revelations about the Passion. How their writings made their way to Abyssinia it would be curious and interesting to ascertain.

10. Revillout no. 11, p. 163. A further piece of a like dialogue, including long speeches of our Lord, and ending with *Ecce homo*.

The place and order of the two next is uncertain.

11. Revillout no. 13, p. 168. An address of our Lord (to Thomas) reminding him of the signs at the crucifixion, and exhorting him to touch him.

12. Revillout no. 14, p. 169. Mary (the Virgin) at the sepulchre. Jesus appears to her and addresses her, forbidding her to touch him. The scene is assimilated to that of the appearance to Mary Magdalene (as elsewhere in Coptic writings): see above on the 'XXth Discourse of Cyril', pp. 87, 88.

13. Revillout no. 15, p. 170. Lacau, p. 19. Two leaves with a gap of two between them.

This fragment has a definite attribution, to Gamaliel.

It is a narrative connected with the resurrection.

We find Pilate examining four soldiers as to their statement that the body of Jesus was stolen. One (the second: the testimony of the first is gone) says the eleven apostles took the body; the third says, Joseph and Nicodemus; the fourth, 'we were asleep'. They are imprisoned, and Pilate goes with the centurion and the priests to the tomb and finds the grave-clothes. He says, 'If the body had been stolen, these would have been taken too'. They say, 'These grave-clothes belong to some one else'. Pilate remembers the words of Jesus, 'Great wonders must happen in my tomb', and goes in, and weeps over the shroud. Then he turns to the centurion, who had but one eye, having lost the other in battle.

Here is a gap, in which no doubt the centurion's eye is healed by touching the grave clothes, and he is converted. Also it is clear that Joseph and Nicodemus are sent for, and that the Jews point out to Pilate that in a well in the garden there is the body of a crucified man.

The other leaf begins with a dialogue between Pilate and the centurion. Then all go to the well. 'I, Gamaliel, followed them also among the band.' They see the body, and the Jews cry, 'Behold the sorcerer'. . . . Pilate asks Joseph and Nicodemus whether this is the body of Jesus. They answer, the grave-clothes are his, but the body is that of the thief who was crucified with him. The Jews are angry and wish to throw Joseph and Nicodemus into the well. . . . Pilate remembers the words of Jesus, 'The dead shall rise again in my tomb', and says to the Jews, 'You believe that this is truly the Nazarene'. They say, 'Yes'. 'Then', says Pilate, 'it is but right to lay his body in his own tomb.' . . .

Here the leaf ends; but we can see that when the body is laid in Jesus' tomb it will revive and declare the truth.

A detached sheet of an Ethiopic MS. which was in private

hands in 1892 (see *Newbery House Magazine*, 1892, p. 641), contains a like story in another form.

Here we have the Jews explaining to Pilate that the sweet odour of the sepulchre is due to the spices put on the body by Joseph, and to the flowers in the garden. Pilate rebukes them, and they retort that he has no business to come to the sepulchre. He addresses the centurion. After a gap is a prayer of Pilate's, in which he asks pardon for having put 'another body in the place where they put thy body'. At the end of the prayer a voice comes from the mouth of the dead bidding Pilate remove the stone that he (the dead) may come out.

An Arabic Life of Pilate, noticed by De Sacy, extant in manuscript at Paris (Arab. 160), seems likely to contain the whole story, of which we here have fragments. It purports to have been written by Gamaliel and Annas (or Ananias). Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* I. 1101.

This, I believe, completes the list of the fragments of this character which have been published up to date. Nearly all of them are put together by Revillout under the title of the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles. But we have seen that at least one (13) is from a narrative under Gamaliel's name; and it is also pretty clear that not all the rest can belong to a single writing.

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 must go together: they are from the 'homiletic' book. 1 is the least certainly pertinent.

These pieces have an element which links them together in the motif of the intrigues to make Jesus a king. Their late date is apparent in the long rhetorical speeches, and in the tremendous exaltation of St. Peter.

No. 2 is by an eyewitness, assigned by Baumstark to Gamaliel.

No. 6 may belong to Gamaliel.

Nos. 7, 8 to Bartholomew.

Nos. 9, 10, with their interest in Pilate, are probably from Gamaliel.

Nos. 11, 12 uncertain. Baumstark refers them to Gamaliel.

No. 13, Gamaliel.

Baumstark's article referred to here is in the *Revue Biblique Internationale* for 1906, p. 245. He would refer nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 to Gamaliel, as well as the later ones.

Other Coptic documents will come up for notice when we deal with the Gospel of Bartholomew, the Death of the Virgin, and the Acts of the Apostles: and also with the Apocalypses. It may be as well, however, to register here the statement or warning that the Copts were tireless in producing embroideries upon the Biblical stories, and perhaps in rewriting older documents to suit their own taste. Only fresh discoveries of older texts can enable us to decide how much, if any, of the details which these later fragments supply, is really archaic.

OTHER APPENDIXES TO THE ACTS OF PILATE

Under this heading may be noticed the various forms of Reports of Pilate to the Emperor, and other Letters attributed to him: of his death, of the Vengeance of the Saviour, and also the Greek writing called the Story of Joseph of Arimathaea.

It is probable that some sort of Report of Pilate to Tiberius was concocted very early. Tertullian states it as a fact that Pilate reported all the events of the Passion to Tiberius, and that the Emperor tried, without success, to induce the Senate to declare Jesus a God.¹ What the source of this story was is unknown, but it is a very obvious one to invent. The texts of the apocryphal Reports which we have are all late, but in some of the Greek ones there are faint similarities to the Gospel of Peter.

Tischendorf prints a short

LETTER OF PILATE TO TIBERIUS,

which cannot be traced further back than the fifteenth century. It is written in rather elegant Latin, evidently, I think, by an Italian of the early Renaissance. The tenor of it is this:

'Jesus Christ of whom I recently wrote to you has been executed against my will. So pious and austere a man has never been seen, nor will be again. But there was a wonderful unanimity in the request of the Jews and their leader that he should be crucified, though their own prophets, and the Sibyls, testified against them, and signs appeared at his death which the philosophers said threatened the collapse of the whole world. His disciples who still live do not belie their master's teaching, but are active in good works. Had I not feared a general rising, the man might have been yet alive.' He ends, feebly excusing his conduct. Date, the 5th of the Kalends of April.

REPORT OF PILATE (ANAPHORA).

There are two Greek texts of this which do not differ in essentials. In some manuscripts one form is appended to the Acts of Pilate. It is a late document, and not of much interest in its present form: but, as has been said, it contains faint reminders of the Gospel of Peter, and may be based on a briefer document of early date. After the address it begins:

'I have received a communication, O most mighty, which oppresses me with fear and trembling.'

He goes on to say that in Jerusalem, a city of his province, the Jews delivered him a man named Jesus, charging him with much that they could not substantiate, and in particular with violating the sabbath. The miracles are then described with some rhetorical ornament, particularly in the case of Lazarus.

¹ A letter of Tiberius to Abgar of Edessa, quoted by Moses of Chorene (*History of Armenia*, II, ch. 33) gives exactly the same account of the proceedings in the Senate, and mentions the report of Pilate.

Jesus was delivered to him by Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas, Caiaphas, and all the people.

At his crucifixion the sun was darkened; the stars appeared, and in all the world people lighted lamps from the sixth hour till evening; the moon appeared like blood, and the stars and Orion lamented at the sin of the Jews. (The other recension says that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, and Moses and Job, who were seen by the Jews, and many others 'whom I, too, saw', appeared in the body and thus lamented.)

On the first day of the week, at the third hour of night, there was a great light: the sun shone with unwonted brightness, men in shining garments appeared in the air and cried out to the souls in Hades to come up, and proclaimed the resurrection of Jesus.

The light continued all night. Many Jews disappeared in the chasms which the earthquake had caused: and all the synagogues except one fell down.

Under the stress of the consternation caused by all these portents Pilate writes to Caesar.

To this is appended in one recension the 'Delivering up, Paradosis, of Pilate'.

On receipt of the letter there was great astonishment at Rome, and Caesar in wrath ordered Pilate to be brought to him as a prisoner.

On hearing of his arrival Caesar took his seat 'in the temple of the gods before all the senate, and with all his army and all the multitude of his power', and said to Pilate: How didst thou dare, thou, most impious, to do such a thing, when thou hadst seen such signs concerning that man? by thy wicked daring thou hast destroyed the whole world.

Pilate threw the blame on the Jews, on Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas, and Caiaphas (see the Anaphora). *Caesar*. Why didst thou yield to them? *Pilate*. The nation is rebellious and disobedient. *Caesar*. Thou oughtest to have kept him safe and sent him to me, and not have yielded and crucified one who had done all those mighty works of which thou spakest in thy report. It is plain that he was the Christ, the king of the Jews.

When Caesar named Christ, all the images of the gods fell down and became as dust. There was great consternation: Caesar remanded Pilate to prison.

Next day he sat in the Capitol with all the senate, and a dialogue similar to the last took place. After it Caesar wrote to Licianus, the chief governor of the East, bidding him enslave all the nation of the Jews, and make them few in number for their wickedness. This Licianus did.

Caesar then commanded a ruler named Albius to behead Pilate. He was led forth to death, and prayed: Number me not among the wicked Hebrews. Remember not evil against me or against

thy servant Procla which standeth here, whom thou didst make to prophesy that thou must be nailed to the cross. But pardon us and number us among thy righteous ones.

A voice from heaven came, saying: All the generations and the families of the Gentiles shall call thee blessed, because in thy days were fulfilled all these things which were spoken by the prophets concerning me; and thou also shalt appear as my witness (*or martyr*) at my second coming, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel and them that have not confessed my name.

The prefect cut off Pilate's head, and an angel of the Lord received it: whom when Procla his wife saw, she was filled with joy, and straightway gave up the ghost and was buried with her husband.

This extraordinarily favourable view of Pilate is characteristic of the East. From the same workshop as the Report and the Paradosis come two letters—of Pilate to Herod, and Herod to Pilate—which exist in Greek and in Syriac (the latter in a manuscript of the sixth or seventh century). There is some divergence between the two versions.

THE LETTER OF PILATE TO HEROD

It was no good thing which I did at your persuasion when I crucified Jesus. I ascertained from the centurion and the soldiers that he rose again, and I sent to Galilee and learned that he was preaching there to above five hundred believers.

My wife Procla took Longinus, the believing centurion, and ten (*or twelve*) soldiers (who had kept the sepulchre), and went forth and found him 'sitting in a tilled field' teaching a multitude. He saw them, addressed them, and spoke of his victory over death and hell. Procla and the rest returned and told me. I was in great distress, and put on a mourning garment and went with her and fifty soldiers to Galilee. We found Jesus: and as we approached him there was a sound in heaven and thunder, and the earth trembled and gave forth a sweet odour. We fell on our faces and the Lord came and raised us up, and I saw on him the scars of the passion, and he laid his hands on my shoulders, saying: All generations and families shall call thee blessed (*see above*), because in thy days the Son of Man died and rose again.

THE LETTER OF HEROD TO PILATE

It is in no small sorrow—according to the divine Scriptures—(i. e. as I might have anticipated from the teaching of Scripture) that I write to you.

My dear daughter Herodias was playing upon the water (i. e. the ice) and fell in up to her neck. And her mother caught at her head to save her, and it was cut off, and the water

swept her body away. My wife is sitting with the head on her knees, weeping, and all the house is full of sorrow.

I am in great distress of mind at the death of Jesus, and reflecting on my sins in killing John Baptist and massacring the Innocents. 'Since, then, you are able to see the man Jesus again, strive for me and intercede for me: for to you Gentiles the kingdom is given, according to the prophets and Christ.'

Lesbonax my son is in the last stages of a decline. I am afflicted with dropsy, and worms are coming out of my mouth. My wife's left eye is blinded through weeping. Righteous are the judgements of God, because we mocked at the eye of the righteous. Vengeance will come on the Jews and the priests, and the Gentiles will inherit the kingdom, and the children of light be cast out.

And, Pilate, since we are of one age, bury my family honourably: it is better for us to be buried by you than by the priests, who are doomed to speedy destruction. Farewell. I have sent you my wife's earrings and my own signet ring. I am already beginning to receive judgement in this world, but I fear the judgement hereafter much more. This is temporary, that is everlasting.

If the Eastern Christians—or at least those of Egypt and Syria—regarded Pilate as a saint and martyr, those of the West thought of him only as a criminal. The biography of him which is given in the *Golden Legend* (cap. 53, on the Passion) is of too late a date to be reproduced here; but the legends of his death are older. In summarizing them we will begin with one of the few Greek writings which takes the Western, the unfavourable, view of Pilate. It is assuredly not early in date: it has points of connexion with the B recension (Greek) of the Acts of Pilate. It is the

LETTER OF TIBERIUS TO PILATE

This was delivered to Pilate by means of the messenger Raab (cf. Raab in Recension B, p. 116), who was sent with 2,000 soldiers to bring him to Rome.

Since you have given a violent and iniquitous sentence of death against Jesus of Nazareth, showing no pity, and having received gifts to condemn him, and with your tongue have expressed sympathy (a reference to the Anaphora), but in your heart have delivered him up, you shall be brought home a prisoner to answer for yourself.

I have been exceedingly distressed at the reports that have reached me: a woman, a disciple of Jesus, has been here, called Mary Magdalene,¹ out of whom he is said to have cast seven devils, and has told of all his wonderful cures. How could you permit him to be crucified? If you did not receive him as a God, you

¹ Cf. Recension B of the Acts of Pilate.

might at least have honoured him as a physician. Your own deceitful writing to me has condemned you.

As you unjustly sentenced him, I shall justly sentence you, and your accomplices as well.

Pilate, Archelaus, Philip, Annas, and Caiaphas were arrested. Rachaab and the soldiers slew all the Jewish males, defiled the women, and brought the leaders to Rome. On the way Caiaphas died in Crete: the earth would not receive his body, and he was covered with a cairn of stones.

It was the old law that if a condemned criminal saw the face of the emperor he was spared: so Tiberius would not see Pilate, but shut him up in a cave.

Annas was sewed into a fresh bull's-hide, which, contracting as it dried, squeezed him to death. The other chiefs of the Jews were beheaded: Archelaus and Philip were crucified.

One day the emperor went out to hunt, and chased a hind to the door of Pilate's prison. Pilate looked out, trying to see the emperor's face, but at that moment the emperor shot an arrow at the hind, which went in at the window and killed Pilate.

The same tale is told in a Greek life of Mary Magdalene, which I have transcribed from a manuscript at Holkham, and which is evidently under strong Western influence, since it tells the story of her mission to Marseilles and of a miracle wrought on a prince there, which is a very favourite subject with French mediaeval artists.

THE DEATH OF PILATE

The Latin legend of Pilate's death hardly ranks as an apocryphal book. It is printed by Tischendorf from a Milan manuscript of the fourteenth century—the illustrated manuscript mentioned above (p. 66) under the heading of Infancy Gospels, facsimiled under the title of *Canonical Histories and Apocryphal Legends*. It is also found in the *Golden Legend*, cap. 53, as the conclusion of the fabulous life of Pilate, and is there said to be taken from 'a certain history, though an apocryphal one'. This life is found separate—usually in company with a similar life of Judas Iscariot—in manuscripts of an earlier date than the *Golden Legend*; but the whole composition is thoroughly mediaeval and has nothing antique about it.

The story is this:

The Emperor Tiberius, being sorely diseased, heard that there was a wonderful physician in Jerusalem, named Jesus, who healed all sicknesses. He sent an officer of his named Volusianus to Pilate to bid him send the physician to him. Pilate was terrified, knowing that Jesus had been crucified (and begged for fourteen days delay, *Golden Legend*). On the way back to his inn, Volusianus met a matron called Veronica and asked her about Jesus. She told him the truth, to his great grief, and, to console him added that when our Lord was away teaching she had

desired to have a picture of him always by her, and went to carry a linen cloth to a painter for that purpose. Jesus met her, and on hearing what she wished, took the cloth from her and imprinted the features of his face upon it. This cloth, she said, will cure your lord: I cannot sell it, but I will go with you to him.

Volusianus and Veronica returned to Rome, and Tiberius, when the likeness was to be brought to him, spread the path with silken cloths. He was instantly healed by looking at the likeness.

Pilate was arrested and brought before the emperor at Rome. Now he was wearing the seamless tunic of Jesus. When he came before the emperor, he, who had been raging against him before, became quite mild. He sent Pilate away and immediately his rage returned. This happened again. Then, either by divine inspiration or on the suggestion of some Christian, he had him stripped of the tunic, sent him back to prison, and shortly after sentenced him to die by the basest of deaths. On hearing this, Pilate killed himself with his own knife. Caesar had a millstone tied to his neck and threw him into the Tiber. The demons gathered in crowds, and storms disturbed the place so that all were in great fear. The corpse was taken out of the river and carried off to Vienne (via Gehennae) on the Rhone, with the same result. Thence it was taken to be buried in the territory of Lausanne; but disturbances continued there till the inhabitants dug it up and threw it into a well surrounded by mountains, where diabolical manifestations are still said to occur.

The last class of these legends is somewhat older. We have it in several forms in Latin and also in an old Anglo-Saxon version. It has something in common with the Death of Pilate, and it merges into the romances of the Destruction of Jerusalem which were very popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The oldest form is that called the Healing of Tiberius (*Cura sanitatis Tiberii*), which goes back in manuscripts to the eighth century.

This runs as follows: Tiberius was sorely diseased. He heard from a Jew named Thomas of the miracles of Jesus, and sent a great officer, Volusianus, to bring him from Jerusalem. The voyage took a year and three months. Pilate and the Jews were much frightened. Pilate had to be persuaded by one of his soldiers that it was the crucified Jesus who was meant: the evidence for the resurrection was confirmed by Joseph of Arimathea and others. Pilate, imprisoned meanwhile, was made to avow his guilt publicly.

A young man named Marcius now informed Volusian that a woman of Tyre, Veronica (who is also called Basilla, say some early copies), possessed the likeness of Jesus, who had cured her issue of blood three years before. Denying it at first, she at last

produced it under compulsion. Volusian adored it, and threatened with punishment all who had taken part in Jesus' death. He then set off for Rome with Veronica and Pilate, and reached it in a short time. Tiberius inquired why Pilate had not been executed. Volusian said he did not wish to anticipate the emperor's judgement. Tiberius banished Pilate, without seeing him, to Ameria in Tuscany. Volusian then brought Veronica and the likeness to Tiberius, who adored it and was healed. He gave money to Veronica, and made a precious shrine for the likeness, was baptized, and died after some years in peace.¹

The next development of the legend is thought to originate in Aquitaine. The manuscripts go back to the tenth century, and the Anglo-Saxon version is not later than the eleventh. The name of this is

THE VENGEANCE OR AVENGING OF THE SAVIOUR,

and a brief summary of it shall be given.

There was a king Titus (*or* Tyrus) under Tiberius, in Aquitaine, in a city of Libia called Burgidalla (Bordeaux). He had a cancer in his right nostril and his face was eaten away up to his eye.

There was also a Jew named Nathan, son of Naum, whom the Jews had sent to Tiberius to bear a treaty to him. Tiberius, too, was ill of fever and ulcers and had nine kinds of leprosy. Nathan's ship was driven ashore at Titus's city. Nathan was sent for and told his story. Titus asked if he knew any one who could cure him. Nathan said: If you had been in Jerusalem lately there was a prophet called Emanuel (the miracles are enumerated, and the Passion, descent into hell, and resurrection described). Titus said: Woe to you, Tiberius, in whose realm such things are done. I would have slain these Jews with my own hand for destroying my Lord. At this word the wound fell from his face and he was healed, and so were all the sick who were there. Titus cried out, confessing his belief in Christ, and made Nathan baptize him (and instead of Tyrus he was called Titus, which in our tongue means Pious, *Anglo-Saxon*).

Then he sent for Vespasian to come with all his forces, and he came with 5,000 men, and said: What do you want me for? 'To destroy the enemies of Jesus.' So they sailed off to Jerusalem. Archelaus in terror gave his kingdom to his son, and stabbed himself. The son allied himself with other kings and fortified Jerusalem, which was besieged seven years, till the inhabitants had to eat earth. At last they took counsel to surrender, and gave the keys to Titus and Vespasian. Some were slain, some crucified head downwards, or pierced

¹ An appendix or continuation tells how, in Nero's days, Simon Magus came to Rome and claimed to be the risen Son of God. How Pilate was sent for, and his letter to Claudius read; how Pilate returned into exile at Ameria, and soon died; and of Nero's evil end.

with lances, sold, cast lots upon, and divided into four parts, and the rest sold at thirty for a penny.

Then they made search for the likeness of Jesus and found Veronica, who had it. Pilate they delivered to four quaternions of soldiers. (Veronica was the woman healed of the issue of blood. She abode with Titus and Vespasian till the emperor's kinsman Velosian came.)

A message was sent by Titus to Tiberius to send Velosian. He told him to go to Jerusalem and bring some one to heal him, to whom he might promise half the kingdom.

Velosian arrived after a year and seven days, and first found Joseph and Nicodemus. Joseph told of the burial, of his imprisonment, and his deliverance by Jesus.

Then Veronica came and told of her healing. Velosian arraigned and imprisoned Pilate (put him in an iron cage, *Anglo-Saxon*). He then examined Veronica, who denied that she had the likeness. He threatened her with torture; at last she confessed that she had it in (or on) a linen cloth and adored it every day. She produced it. Velosian adored it, took it, put it in a gold cloth and locked it in a box, and embarked for Rome. Veronica left all she had and insisted on coming with him. They sailed up the Tiber to Rome, after a year's journey.

Tiberius heard of their arrival and summoned Velosian, who told him all the story at length, including the destruction of the Jews. Then Tiberius asked for the likeness. It was brought, and he adored it, and his flesh was cleansed and he prayed. Then he asked if there were any there who had seen Christ and knew how to baptize. And Nathan was brought, and baptized him, and he blessed God, and was instructed in all the articles of the Christian faith.

Another form of the legend is given in the *Golden Legend*,¹ and incorporated, with pictures, in the Milan manuscript referred to before.

This begins by telling how Pilate sent a messenger, Albanus, to Caesar to excuse himself for the condemnation of Jesus. Albanus was driven ashore in Galicia and brought to Vespasian, who derived his name from the fact that from his childhood he had been troubled with a wasps' nest in his nose. Vespasian said to Albanus: You come from the land of the wise; you must cure me. Albanus said: I am not skilled in medicine. Vespasian: You must cure me or die. Albanus: There was a man who could have cured you with a word; he cast out devils, and raised the dead. He was Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Jews killed for envy. If you believed in him you would recover. Vespasian: I do firmly believe that he is the Son of God and that he can cure me. And immediately the wasps fell from his nose

¹ Cap. 67, of St. James the Less.

and he was healed. Vespasian then vowed to go to Tiberius and get forces wherewith to destroy the city and nation of the Jews. And after some years spent in gathering an army he besieged Jerusalem. The Christians, warned by the Holy Ghost, had fled to Pella.

Then there is a meeting between the historian Josephus and Vespasian; the latter's elevation to the empire is prophesied and takes place. Then we have the story of Titus falling ill from joy at his father's triumph, and being cured by having a slave whom he hated set next him at table. This was contrived by Josephus. Thereafter the famine in Jerusalem, and the incident of the woman Mary eating her child. Then the city is taken and the Jews are sold thirty for a penny.

Then the discovery of an old man built up in a very massive wall, who is Joseph of Arimathaea. Delivered by Jesus, as the Gospel of Nicodemus tells, he had been imprisoned again by the Jews because he continued to preach the gospel, and had been miraculously sustained ever since with light and food from heaven.

The very last of these late fictions which shall be noticed here is the

STORY OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA

which we have in Greek only. The earliest manuscript used by Tischendorf is said to be of the twelfth century.

I. 1 I, Joseph of Arimathaea, who begged the body of the Lord Jesus from Pilate, was imprisoned by the Jews on that account. These are the people who provoked their lawgiver Moses, and failing to recognize their God crucified his Son.

Seven days before the passion of Christ, two condemned robbers were sent from Jericho to Pilate, whose crimes were these.

2 The first, Gestas, used to strip and murder wayfarers, hang up women by the feet and cut off their breasts, drink the blood of babes: he knew not God nor obeyed any law, but was violent from the beginning.

The other, Demas, was a Galilaean who kept an inn; he despoiled the rich but did good to the poor, even burying them, like Tobit. He had committed robberies on the Jews, for he stole (plundered) the law itself at Jerusalem, and stripped the daughter of Caiaphas, who was a priestess of the sanctuary, and he took away even the mystic deposit of Solomon which had been deposited in the (holy) place.

3 Jesus also was taken at even on the third day before the passover. But Caiaphas and the multitude of the Jews had no passover but were in great grief because of the robbery of the sanctuary by the thief. And they sent for Judas Iscariot who was brother's son to Caiaphas, and had been persuaded by

the Jews to become a disciple of Jesus, not to follow his teachings, but to betray him. They paid him a didrachm of gold daily; and as one of Jesus' disciples, called John, says, he had been two years with Jesus.

4 On the third day before Jesus was taken, Judas said to the Jews: Let us assemble a council and say that it was not the robber who took away the law, but Jesus. Nicodemus, who had the keys of the sanctuary, said No: for he was a truthful man. But Sarra, Caiaphas' daughter, cried out that Jesus said in public, 'I can destroy the temple' (&c.). All the Jews said: We believe you. For they held her as a prophetess. So Jesus was taken.

II. 1 On the morrow, being Wednesday, at the ninth hour, they brought him into Caiaphas' hall, and Annas and Caiaphas asked him: Why didst thou take away the law? He was silent. Why wouldst thou destroy the temple of Solomon? He was silent.

2 In the evening the multitude sought the daughter of Caiaphas, to burn her with fire, because the law was stolen and they could not keep the passover. But she said: Wait a little, my children, and let us destroy Jesus, and the law will be found and the feast kept. Then Annas and Caiaphas privily gave gold to Judas and said: Say as you said before, that it was Jesus who stole the law. Judas agreed, but said: The people must not know that you have told me this: and you must let Jesus go, and I will persuade them. So they fraudulently let Jesus go.

3 At dawn of the Thursday Judas went into the sanctuary and said to all the people: What will ye give me if I deliver to you the destroyer of the law and robber of the prophets? They said: Thirty silver pieces of gold (!). But they did not know that it was Jesus of whom he spoke, for many thought him to be the Son of God. And Judas received the thirty pieces.

4 At the fourth and fifth hours he went out and found Jesus walking in the street. Towards evening he obtained a guard of soldiers. As they went, Judas said: Whomsoever I shall kiss, take him: he it is that stole the law and the prophets. He came to Jesus and kissed him, saying: Hail, Rabbi. They took Jesus to Caiaphas and examined him. 'Why didst thou do this?' but he answered nothing. Nicodemus and I left the seat of the pestilent, and would not consent to perish in the council of sinners.

III. 1 They did many evil things to Jesus that night, and on the dawn of Friday delivered him to Pilate. He was condemned and crucified with the two robbers, Gestas on the left, Demas on the right.

2 He on the left cried out to Jesus: See what evils I have wrought on the earth; and had I known thou wert the king,

I would have killed thee too. Why callest thou thyself Son of God and canst not help thyself in the hour of need? or how canst thou succour any other that prayeth? if thou be the Christ, come down from the cross that I may believe thee. But now I behold thee, not as a man but as a wild beast caught and perishing along with me. And much else he spake against Jesus, blaspheming and gnashing his teeth upon him: for he was caught in the snare of the devil.

3 But Demas, on the right, seeing the divine grace of Jesus, began to cry out thus: I know thee, Jesus Christ, that thou art the Son of God. I see thee, Christ, worshipped by ten thousand times ten thousand angels; forgive my sins that I have committed: make not the stars to enter into judgement with me, or the moon, when thou judgest all the world: for in the night did I work my evil plans: stir not up the sun that now is darkened for thy sake to tell the evil of my heart: for I can give thee no gift for remission of sins. Already death cometh on me for my sins, but pardon belongeth unto thee: save me, Lord of all things, from thy terrible judgement: give not power unto the enemy to swallow me up and be inheritor of my soul, as of his that hangeth on the left; for I see how the devil taketh his soul rejoicing, and his flesh vanisheth away. Neither command me to depart into the lot of the Jews, for I see Moses and the patriarchs weeping sore, and the devil exulting over them. Therefore before my spirit departeth, command O Lord that my sins be blotted out, and remember me the sinner in thy kingdom when thou sittest on the great throne of the Most High and shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel: for thou hast prepared great punishment for thy world for thy sake.

4 And when the thief had so said, Jesus saith unto him: Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Demas, that to-day thou shalt be with me in paradise: but the sons of the kingdom, the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses shall be cast out into the outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. But thou only shalt dwell in paradise until my second coming, when I shall judge them that have not confessed my name. And he said to the thief: Go and say unto the cherubim and the powers that turn about the flaming sword, that keep the garden since Adam the first-created was in paradise and transgressed and kept not my commandments and I cast him out thence—but none of the former men shall see paradise until I come the second time to judge the quick and dead—And he wrote thus: Jesus Christ the Son of God that came down from the heights of heaven, that proceeded out of the bosom of the invisible Father without separation, and came down into the world to be incarnate and to be nailed to the cross, that I might save Adam whom I formed: unto my powers the archangels, that keep the doors of paradise, the servants of

my Father: I will and command that he that is crucified with me [enter in,] receive remission of his sins for my sake, and being clothed with an incorruptible body enter in to paradise, and that he dwell there where no man *else* is ever able to dwell.

And when this was said, Jesus gave up the ghost on Friday at the ninth hour. And there was darkness over all the land and a great earthquake, so that the sanctuary fell, and the pinnacle of the temple.

IV. 1 And I, Joseph, begged the body and laid it in my new tomb. The body of Demas was not found: that of Gestas was in appearance like that of a dragon.

The Jews imprisoned me on the evening of the sabbath.

2 When it was evening on the first day of the week, at the fifth hour of the night, Jesus came to me with the thief on the right hand. There was great light; the house was raised up by the four corners and I went forth: and I perceived Jesus first, and then the thief bringing a letter to him, and as we journeyed to Galilee there was a very great light, and a sweet fragrance came from the thief.

3 Jesus sat down in a certain place and read as follows: The cherubim and the six-winged that are commanded by thy Godhead to keep the garden of paradise make known to thee this by the hand of the robber that by thy dispensation was crucified with thee. When we saw the mark of the nails on the robber that was crucified with thee and the light of the letters of thy Godhead, the fire was quenched, being unable to bear the light of the mark, and we were in great fear and crouched down. For we heard that the maker of heaven and earth and all creation had come to dwell in the lower parts of the earth for the sake of Adam the first-created. For we beheld the spotless cross, with the robber flashing with light and shining with seven times the light of the sun, and trembling came on us, when we heard the crashing of them beneath the earth, and with a great voice the ministers of Hades said with us: Holy, Holy, Holy, is he that was in the highest in the beginning: and the powers sent up a cry, *saying*, Lord, thou hast been manifested in heaven and upon earth, giving joy unto the worlds (ages) and saving thine own creation from death.

V. 1 And as I went with Jesus and the robber to Galilee, the form of Jesus was changed and he became wholly light, and angels ministered to him and he conversed with them. I stayed with him three days, and none of the disciples were there.

2 In the midst of the days of unleavened bread his disciple John came, and the robber disappeared. John asked who it was, but Jesus did not answer. John said: Lord, I know that thou hast loved me from the beginning: why dost thou not reveal this man to me? Jesus said: Seekest thou to know hidden things? art thou wholly without understanding? per-

ceivest thou not the fragrance of paradise filling the place? knowest thou not who it was? The thief that was on the cross is become heir of paradise: verily, verily, I say unto you, that it is his alone until the great day come. John said: Make me worthy to see him.

3 Then suddenly the thief appeared and John fell to the earth: for he was now like a king in great might, clad with the cross. And a voice of a multitude was heard: Thou art come into the place of paradise prepared for thee: we are appointed to serve thee by him that sent thee until the great day. After that both the thief and I, Joseph, vanished, and I was found in my own house, and I saw Jesus no more.

All this I saw and have written, that all might believe on Jesus and no longer serve Moses' law, but believe in the signs and wonders of Christ, and believing obtain eternal life and be found in the kingdom of heaven.

For His is glory, might, praise, and majesty, world without end. Amen.

There is a certain amount of inventiveness in this: none of the picturesque detail, however, can be called antique, and several phrases betray the influence of the same workshop that produced the Letters of Herod to Pilate. The ignorance of Jewish customs which it betrays is colossal.

GOSPEL OF BARTHOLOMEW

JEROME, in the prologue to his Commentary on Matthew, mentions a number of apocryphal Gospels—those according to the Egyptians, Thomas, Matthias, *Bartholomew*, the Twelve, Basilides, and Apelles: probably he depends upon Origen, for he himself disliked and avoided apocryphal books, with few exceptions; the Gospel according to the Hebrews, for instance, he hardly reckoned as apocryphal. Of this Gospel of Bartholomew we have no sort of description: we find it condemned in the Gelasian Decree, which may mean either that the compiler of the Decree knew a book of that name, or that he took it on trust from Jerome. In the pseudo-Dionysian writings two sentences are quoted from 'the divine Bartholomew', and a third has just been brought to light from the kindred 'book of Hierotheus'.¹ But one cannot be sure that these writers are quoting real books.

We have, however, a writing attributed to Bartholomew which attained some popularity; the manuscripts do not call it a Gospel, but the Questions of Bartholomew. It contains ancient elements, and I think that MM. Wilmart and Tisserant have made out their claim that it at least represents the old Gospel. I therefore give a translation of it here.

It exists in three languages, and not, apparently, in a very original form in any of them: Greek is the original language, of which we have two manuscripts, at Vienna and Jerusalem; Latin 1, consisting of two leaves of extracts, of the ninth century; Latin 2, complete: see below; Slavonic (i-iv, 15). The Greek text may be as old as the fifth century; the Latin 2 of the sixth or seventh.

In the *Revue Biblique* for 1913 the Latin fragments and a fresh Greek text were published by MM. Wilmart and Tisserant, with the variants of the other authorities, and in 1921-2 yet another text, a complete Latin one, appeared in the same periodical, edited by Professor Moricca from a manuscript in the Casanatensian library at Rome, in which the text is, in parts, tremendously expanded. This copy is of the eleventh century and came from the monastery of Monte Amiata. The Latin is exceedingly incorrect, and there are many corruptions, and interpolations which extend to whole pages of closely printed text. I cite it as Lat. 2.

I take the Greek and Slavonic, where they exist, as the basis of my version, and add some passages from the Latin. The main topics, common to two or more of the texts, are:

- i. The descent into Hell: the number of souls saved and lost.
- ii. The Virgin's account of the Annunciation.
- iii. The apostles see the bottomless pit.
- iv. The devil is summoned and gives an account of his doings.
- v. Questions about the deadly sins. Commission of the apostles to preach. Departure of Christ. (This reads like a late addition.)

¹ By the Rev. F. Marsh, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1922.

GOSPEL (QUESTIONS) OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

I¹

Greek. 1 After the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ, Bartholomew came unto the Lord and questioned him, saying: Lord, reveal unto me the mysteries of the heavens.

2 Jesus answered and said unto him: If I put <not> off the body of the flesh, I shall not be able to tell them unto thee.

3 *Om.*

Slavonic. 1 Before the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the apostles said: Let us question the Lord: Lord, reveal unto us the wonders.

2 And Jesus said unto them: If I put <not> off the body of the flesh, I cannot tell them unto you.

3 But when he was buried and risen again, they all durst not question him, because it was not <possible> to look upon him, but the fullness of his Godhead was seen.

4 But Bartholomew, &c.

Latin 2. 1 At that time, before the Lord Jesus Christ suffered, all the disciples were gathered together, questioning him and saying: Lord, show us the mystery in the heavens.

2 But Jesus answered and said unto them: If I put not off the body of flesh I cannot tell you.

3 But after that he had suffered and risen again, all the apostles, looking upon him, durst not question him, because his countenance was not as it had been aforetime, but showed forth the fullness of power.

Greek. 4 Bartholomew therefore drew near unto the Lord and said: I have a word to *speak* unto thee, Lord.

5 And Jesus said to him: I know what thou art about to say; say then what thou wilt, and I will answer thee.

6 And Bartholomew said: Lord, when thou wentest to be hanged upon the cross, I followed thee afar off and saw thee hung upon the cross, and the angels coming down from heaven and worshipping thee. And when there came darkness, 7 I beheld, and I saw thee that thou wast vanished away from the cross, and I heard only a voice in the parts under the earth, and great wailing and gnashing of *teeth* on a sudden. Tell me, Lord, whither wentest thou from the cross?

8 And Jesus answered and said: Blessed art thou, Bartholomew, my beloved, because thou sawest this mystery; and now will I tell thee all things whatsoever thou askest me. 9 For when I vanished away from the cross, then went I down into Hades that I might bring up Adam and all them that were with him, according to the supplication of Michael the archangel.

10 Then said Bartholomew: Lord, what was the voice which was heard?

¹ I give the opening verses in all three texts.

11 Jesus saith unto him: Hades said unto Beliar: As I perceive, a God cometh hither.

[*Slavonic and Latin 2 continue:* And the angels cried unto the powers, saying: Remove your gates, ye princes, remove the everlasting doors, for behold the King of glory cometh down.

12 Hades said: Who is the King of glory, that cometh down from heaven unto us?

13 And when I had descended five hundred steps, Hades was troubled, saying: I hear the breathing of the Most High, and I cannot endure it. (*Latin 2.* He cometh with great fragrance and I cannot bear it.) 14 But the devil answered and said: Submit not thyself, O Hades, but be strong: for God himself hath not descended upon the earth. 15 But when I had descended yet five hundred steps, the angels and the powers cried out: Take hold, remove the doors, for behold the King of glory cometh down. And Hades said: O, woe unto me, for I hear the breath of God.]

Greek. 16-17 And Beliar said unto Hades: Look carefully who it is that (cometh), for it is Elias, or Enoch, or one of the prophets that this man seemeth to me to be. But Hades answered Death and said: Not yet are six thousand years accomplished. And whence are these, O Beliar; for the sum of the number is in mine hands.

[*Slavonic.* 16 And the devil said unto Hades: Why affrichest thou me, Hades? it is a prophet, and he hath made himself like unto God: this prophet will we take and bring him hither unto those that think to ascend into heaven. 17 And Hades said: Which of the prophets is it? Show me: Is it Enoch the scribe of righteousness? But God hath not suffered him to come down upon the earth before the end of the six thousand years. Sayest thou that it is Elias, the avenger? But before (the end) he cometh not down. What shall I do, whereas the destruction is of God: for surely our end is at hand? For I have the number (of the years) in mine hands.]

Greek. 18 (And Beliar said unto Hades): Be not troubled, make safe thy gates and strengthen thy bars: consider, God cometh not down upon the earth.

19 Hades saith unto him: These be no good words that I hear from thee: my belly is rent, and mine inward parts are pained: it cannot be but that God cometh hither. Alas, whither shall I flee before the face of the power of the great king? Suffer me to enter into myself (thyself, *Latin*): for before (of, *Latin*) thee was I formed.

20 Then did I enter in and scourged him and bound him with chains that cannot be loosed, and brought forth thence all the patriarchs and came again unto the cross.

21 Bartholomew saith unto him: [*Latin 2,* I saw thee again, hanging upon the cross, and all the dead arising and worshipping thee, and going up again into their sepulchres.] Tell me, Lord,

who was he whom the angels bare up in their hands, even that man that was very great of stature? [*Slav.*, *Lat.* 2, And what spakest thou unto him that he sighed so sore?]

22 Jesus answered and said unto him: It was Adam the first-formed, for whose sake I came down from heaven upon earth. And I said unto him: I was hung upon the cross for thee and for thy children's sake. And he, when he heard it, groaned and said: So was thy good pleasure, O Lord.

23 Again Bartholomew said: Lord, I saw the angels ascending before Adam and singing praises. 24 But one of the angels which was very great, above the rest, would not ascend up with them: and there was in his hand a sword of fire, and he was looking steadfastly upon thee only.

[*Slav.* 25 And all the angels besought him that he would go up with them, but he would not. But when thou didst command him to go up, I beheld a flame of fire issuing out of his hands and going even unto the city of Jerusalem. 26 And Jesus said unto him: Blessed art thou, Bartholomew my beloved, because thou sawest these mysteries. This was one of the angels of vengeance which stand before my Father's throne: and this angel sent he unto me. 27 And for this cause he would not ascend up, because he desired to destroy all the powers of the world. But when I commanded him to ascend up, there went a flame out of his hand and rent asunder the veil of the temple, and parted it in two pieces for a witness unto the children of Israel for my passion because they crucified me. (*Lat.* 1. But the flame which thou sawest issuing out of his hands smote the house of the synagogue of the Jews, for a testimony of me, wherein they crucified me.)].

Greek. 28 And when he had thus spoken, he said unto the apostles: Tarry for me in this place, for to-day a sacrifice is offered in paradise. 29 And Bartholomew answered and said unto Jesus: Lord, what is the sacrifice which is offered in paradise? And Jesus said: *There be* souls of the righteous which to-day have departed out of the body and go unto paradise, and unless I be present they cannot enter into paradise.

30 And Bartholomew said: Lord, how many souls depart out of the world daily? Jesus saith unto him: Thirty thousand.

31 Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, when thou wast with us teaching the word, didst thou receive the sacrifices in paradise? ¹ Jesus answered and said unto him: Verily I say unto thee, my beloved, that I both taught the word with you and continually sat with my Father, and received the sacrifices in paradise every day. 32 Bartholomew answered and said unto him: Lord, if thirty thousand souls depart out of the world every day, how many souls out of them are found righteous? Jesus saith unto him: Hardly fifty [three] my beloved. 33 Again Bartholomew

¹ In *Lat.* 2, 31 follows 29.

saith: And how do three only enter into paradise? Jesus saith unto him: The [fifty] three enter into paradise or are laid up in Abraham's bosom: but the others go into the place of the resurrection, for the three are not like unto the fifty.

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

35 And when he had said this he gave them the peace, and vanished away from them.

II

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

5 But Mary said unto them: Ask me not (*or* Do ye indeed ask me) concerning this mystery. If I should begin to tell you, fire will issue forth out of my mouth and consume all the world. 6 But they continued yet the more to ask her. And she, for she could not refuse to hear the apostles, said: Let us stand up in prayer. 7 And the apostles stood behind Mary: but she said unto Peter: Peter, thou chief, thou great pillar, standest thou behind us? Said not our Lord: the head of the man is Christ (<but the head of the woman is the man, *Slav.*, *Lat.* 2)? now therefore stand ye before me and pray. 8 But they said unto her: In thee did the Lord set his tabernacle, and it was his good pleasure that thou shouldest contain him, and thou oughtest to be

¹ Lat. 2, 30-4 has: 6,074 souls depart out of the body every day. Three go into paradise. 33 How three only? Fifty-three go into paradise, but only three into Abraham's bosom. The rest are in the place of repose, for they are not like the three. 34 One more soul departs every day than is born.

the leader in the prayer (*al.* to go with us to). 9 But she said unto them: Ye are shining stars, *and* as the prophet said, 'I did lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence shall come mine help'; ye, therefore, are the hills, and it behoveth you to pray. 10 The apostles say unto her: Thou oughtest to pray, thou art the mother of the heavenly king. 11 Mary saith unto them: In your likeness did God form the sparrows,¹ and sent them forth into the four corners of the world. 12 But they say unto her: He that is scarce contained by the seven heavens was pleased to be contained in thee.

13 Then Mary stood up before them and spread out her hands toward the heaven and began to speak thus: Elphuë Zarethra Charboum Nemioth Melitho Thraboutha Mephnounos Chemiath Aroua Maridôn Elisôn Marmiadôn Seption Hesaboutha Ennouna Saktinos Athoôr Belelam Opheôth Abô Chrasar (this is the reading of one Greek copy: the others and the Slavonic have many differences,² as in all such cases: but as the original words—assuming them to have once had a meaning—are hopelessly corrupted, the matter is not of importance), which is in the Greek tongue (Hebrew, *Slav.*): O God the exceeding great and all-wise and king of the worlds (ages), that art not to be described, the ineffable, that didst establish the greatness of the heavens and all things by a word, that out of darkness (*or* the unknown) didst constitute and fasten together the poles of heaven in harmony, didst bring into shape the matter that was in confusion, didst bring into order the things that were without order, didst part the misty darkness from the light, didst establish in one place the foundations of the waters, thou that makest the beings of the air to tremble, and art the fear of them that are on (*or* under) the earth, that didst settle the earth and not suffer it to perish, and filledst it, which is the nourisher of all things, with showers of blessing: (Son of) the Father, thou whom the seven heavens hardly contained, but who wast well-pleased to be contained without pain in me, thou that art thyself the full word of the Father in whom all things came to be: give glory to thine exceeding great name, and bid me to speak before thy holy apostles.

14 And when she had ended the prayer she began to say unto them: Let us sit down upon the ground; and come thou, Peter the chief, and sit on my right hand and put thy left hand beneath mine armpit; and thou, Andrew, do so on my left hand; and thou, John, the virgin, hold together my bosom; and thou, Bartholomew, set thy knees against my back and hold my

¹ See the Infancy Gospels.

² Lat. 2. Helfoith . Alaritha . arbar . Nenioutho . Melitho . Tarasunt . Chanebonos . Umia . Theirura . Marado . Seliso . Heliphomar . Mabon . Saruth . Gefutha . Enunnas . Sacinos . Thatis . Etelelam . Tettheo . abocia . Rusar.

shoulders, lest when I begin to speak my bones be loosed *one from another*.

15 And when they had so done she began to say: When I abode in the temple of God and received my food from an angel, on a certain day there appeared unto me one in the likeness of an angel, but his face was incomprehensible, and he had not in his hand bread or a cup, as did the angel which came to me aforetime. 16 And straightway the robe (veil) of the temple was rent and there was a very great earthquake, and I fell upon the earth, for I was not able to endure the sight of him. 17 But he put his hand beneath me and raised me up, and I looked up into heaven and there came a cloud of dew and sprinkled me from the head to the feet, and *he* wiped me with his robe. 18 And said unto me: Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the chosen vessel, grace inexhaustible. And he smote his garment upon the right hand and there came a very great loaf, and he set it upon the altar of the temple and did eat of it first himself, and gave unto me also. 19 And again he smote his garment upon the left hand and there came a very great cup full of wine: and he set it upon the altar of the temple and did drink of it first himself, and gave also unto me. And I beheld and saw the bread and the cup whole *as they were*.¹

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

22 And as she was saying this, fire issued out of her mouth; and the world was at the point to come to an end: but Jesus appeared quickly (*Lat. 2*, and laid his hand upon her mouth) and said unto Mary: Utter not this mystery, or this day my whole creation will come to an end (*Lat. 2*, and the flame from her mouth ceased). And the apostles were taken with fear lest haply the Lord should be wroth with them.

III

1 And he departed with them unto the mount Mauria (*Lat. 2*, Mambre), and sat in the midst of them. 2 But they doubted to question him, being afraid. 3 And Jesus answered and said unto them: Ask me what ye will that I should teach you, and I will show it you. For yet seven days, and I ascend unto my Father, and I shall no more be seen of you in this likeness. 4 But they, yet doubting, said unto him: Lord, show us the deep (abyss) according unto thy promise. 5 And Jesus said unto them: It is

¹ Compare the appearance of the angel to Aseneth in the *History of Aseneth*.

not good (*Lat. 2, is good*) for you to see the deep: notwithstanding, if ye desire it, according to my promise, come, follow me and behold. 6 And he led them away into a place that is called Cherubim (*Cherukt Slav., Chairoudec Gr., Lat. 2 omits*), that is the place of truth. 7 And he beckoned unto the angels of the West, and the earth was rolled up like a *volume of a book* and the deep was revealed unto them. 8 And when the apostles saw it, they fell on their faces upon the earth. 9 But Jesus raised them up, saying: Said I not unto you, 'It is not good for you to see the deep'. And again he beckoned unto the angels, and the deep was covered up.

IV

1 And he took them and brought them again unto the Mount of Olives.

2 And Peter said unto Mary: Thou that art highly favoured, entreat the Lord that he would reveal unto us the things that are in the heavens.

3 And Mary said unto Peter: O stone hewn out of the rock, did not the Lord build his church upon thee? Go thou therefore first and ask him.

4 Peter saith again: O tabernacle that art spread abroad <it behoveth thee to ask>. 5 Mary saith: Thou art the image of Adam: was not he first formed and then Eve? Look upon the sun, that according to the likeness of Adam it is bright, and upon the moon, that because of the transgression of Eve it is full of clay. For God did place Adam in the east and Eve in the west, and appointed the lights that the sun should shine on the earth unto Adam in the east in *his* fiery chariots, and the moon in the west should give light unto Eve with a countenance like milk. And she defiled the commandment of the Lord. Therefore was the moon stained with clay (*Lat. 2, is cloudy*) and her light is not bright. Thou therefore, since thou art the likeness of Adam, oughtest to ask *him*: but in me was he contained that I might recover the strength of the female.

6 Now when they came up to the top of the mount, and the Master was withdrawn from them a little space, Peter saith unto Mary: Thou art she that hast brought to nought the transgression of Eve, changing it from shame into joy; it is lawful, therefore, for thee to ask.

7 When Jesus appeared again, Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, show us the adversary of men that we may behold him, of what fashion he is, and what is his work, and whence he cometh forth, and what power he hath that he spared not even thee, but caused thee to be hanged upon the tree. 8 But Jesus looked upon him and said: Thou bold heart! thou askest for that which thou art not able to look upon. 9 But Bartholomew was troubled and fell at Jesus' feet and began to speak thus: O lamp that

cannot be quenched, Lord Jesu Christ, maker of the eternal light, that hast given unto them that love thee the grace that beautifieth all, and hast given us the eternal light by thy coming into the world, that hast . . . † the heavenly essence by a word † . . . † hast accomplished the work of the Father, hast turned the shamefacedness of Adam into mirth, hast done away the sorrow of Eve with a cheerful countenance by thy birth from a virgin: remember not evil against me but grant me the word of mine asking. (*Lat.* 2, who didst come down into the world, who hast confirmed the eternal word of the Father, who hast called the sadness of <Adam> joy, who hast made the shame of Eve glad, and restored her by vouchsafing to be contained in the womb.)

10 And as he thus spake, Jesus raised him up and said unto him: Bartholomew, wilt thou see the adversary of men? I tell thee that when thou beholdest him, not thou only but the rest of the apostles and Mary will fall on your faces and become as dead corpses.

11 But they all said unto him: Lord, let us behold him.

12 And he led them down from the Mount of Olives and looked wrathfully upon the angels that keep hell (Tartarus), and beckoned unto Michael to sound the trumpet in the height of the heavens. And Michael sounded, and the earth shook, and Beliar came up, being held by 660 (560 *Gk.*, 6,064 *Lat.* 1, 6,060 *Lat.* 2) angels and bound with fiery chains. 12 And the length of him was 1,600 cubits and his breadth 40 (*Lat.* 1, 300; *Slav.* 17) cubits (*Lat.* 2, his length 1,900 cubits, his breadth 700, one wing of him 80), and his face was like a lightning of fire and his eyes full of darkness (like sparks, *Slav.*). And out of his nostrils came a stinking smoke; and his mouth was as the gulf of a precipice, and the one of his wings was four-score cubits. 14 And straightway when the apostles saw him, they fell to the earth on their faces and became as dead. 15 But Jesus came near and raised the apostles and gave them a spirit of power, and he saith unto Bartholomew: Come near, Bartholomew, and trample *with* thy feet on his neck, and he will tell thee his work, what it is, and how he deceiveth men. 16 And Jesus stood afar off with the rest of the apostles. 17 And Bartholomew feared, and raised his voice and said: Blessed be the name of thine immortal kingdom from henceforth even for ever. And when he had spoken, Jesus permitted him, *saying*: Go and tread upon the neck of Beliar: and Bartholomew ran quickly upon him and trode upon his neck: and Beliar trembled. (For this verse the Vienna MS. has: And Bartholomew raised his voice and said thus: O womb more spacious than a city, wider than the spreading of the heavens, that contained him whom the seven heavens contain not, but thou without pain didst contain sanctified in thy bosom, &c.: evidently out of place.

Latin 1 has only: Then did Antichrist tremble and was filled with fury.)

18 And Bartholomew was afraid, and fled, and said unto Jesus: Lord, give me an hem of thy garments (*Lat. 2*, the kerchief (?) from thy shoulders) that I may have courage to draw near unto him. 19 But Jesus said unto him: Thou canst not take an hem of my garments, for these are not my garments which I wore before I was crucified. 20 And Bartholomew said: Lord, I fear lest, like as he spared not thine angels, he swallow me up also. 21 Jesus saith unto him: Were not all things made by my word, and by the will of my Father the spirits were made subject unto Solomon? thou, therefore, being commanded by my word, go in my name and ask him what thou wilt. (*Lat. 2* omits 20.) 22¹ [And Bartholomew made the sign of the cross and prayed unto Jesus and went behind him. And Jesus said to him: Draw near. And as Bartholomew drew near, fire was kindled on every side, so that his garments appeared fiery. Jesus saith to Bartholomew: As I said unto thee, tread upon his neck and ask him what is his power.] And Bartholomew went and trode upon his neck, and pressed down his face into the earth as far as his ears. 23 And Bartholomew saith unto him: Tell me who thou art and what is thy name. And he said to him: Lighten me a little, and I will tell thee who I am and how I came hither, and what my work is and what my power is. 24 And he lightened him and saith to him: Say all that thou hast done and all that thou doest. 25 And Beliar answered and said: If thou wilt know my name, at the first I was called Satanael, which is interpreted a messenger of God, but when I rejected the image of God my name was called Satanas, that is, an angel that keepeth hell (*Tartarus*).² 26 And again Bartholomew saith unto him: Reveal unto me all things and hide nothing from me. 27 And he said unto him: I swear unto thee by the power of the glory of God that even if I would hide aught I cannot, for he is near that would convict me. For if I were able I would have destroyed you like one of them that were before you. 28 For, indeed, I was formed (*al. called*) the first angel: for when God made the heavens, he took a handful of fire and formed me first, Michael second [*Vienna MS.* here has these sentences: for he had his Son before the heavens and the earth and we were formed (for when he took thought to create all things, his Son spake a word), so that we also were created by the will of the Son and the consent of the Father. He formed, *I say*, first me, next Michael the chief captain of the hosts that are above], Gabriel third, Uriel fourth, Raphael fifth, Nathanael sixth, and other angels of whom I cannot tell the names. [*Jerusalem MS.*, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Xathanael, and

¹ 22 [] is from Gk. (*Jerusalem MS.*) and *Latin 1*.

² 25. *Lat. 2* adds about seven lines descriptive of Satan's character: not interesting.

other 6,000 angels. *Lat. 1*, Michael the honour of power, third Raphael, fourth Gabriel, and other seven. *Lat. 2*, Raphael third, Gabriel fourth, Uriel fifth, Zathael sixth, and other six.] For they are the rod-bearers (lictors) of God, and they smite me with their rods and pursue me seven times in the night and seven times in the day, and leave me not at all and break in pieces all my power. These are the (twelve, *Lat. 2*) angels of vengeance which stand before the throne of God: these are the angels that were first formed. 30 And after them were formed all the angels. In the first heaven are an hundred myriads, and in the second an hundred myriads, and in the third an hundred myriads, and in the fourth an hundred myriads, and in the fifth an hundred myriads, and in the sixth an hundred myriads, and in the seventh (an hundred myriads, and outside the seven heavens, *Jerusalem MS.*) is the first firmament (flat surface) wherein are the powers which work upon men. 31 For there are four other angels set over the winds. The first angel is over the north, and he is called Chairoum (. . . broil, *Jerusalem MS.*; *Lat. 2*, angel of the north,¹ Mauch), and hath in his hand a rod of fire, and restraineth the superfluity of moisture that the earth be not overmuch wet. 32 And the angel that is over the north² is called Oertha (*Lat. 2*, Alfatha): he hath a torch of fire and putteth it to his sides, and they warm the great coldness of him that he freeze not the world. 33 And the angel that is over the south is called Kerkoutha (*Lat. 2*, Cedar), and they break his fierceness that he shake not the earth. 34 And the angel that is over the south-west is called Naoutha, and he hath a rod of snow in his hand and putteth it into his mouth, and quencheth the fire that cometh out of his mouth. And if the angel quenched it not at his mouth it would set all the world on fire. 35 And there is another angel over the sea which maketh it rough with the waves thereof. 36 But the rest I will not tell thee, for he that standeth by suffereth me not.

37 Bartholomew saith unto him: How chastisest thou the souls of men? 38 Beliar saith unto him: Wilt thou that I declare unto thee the punishment of the hypocrites, of the backbiters, of the jesters, of the idolaters, and the covetous, and the adulterers, and the wizards, and the diviners, and of them that believe in us, and of all whom I look upon† (deceive?)? (38 *Lat. 2*: When I will show any illusion by them. But they that do these things, and they that consent unto them or follow them, do perish with me. 39 Bartholomew said unto him: Declare quickly how thou persuadest men not to follow God, and thine evil arts, that are slippery and dark, that they should leave the straight and shining paths of the Lord.) 39 Bartholomew saith unto him: †I will that thou declare† it in few words. 40 And he smote his teeth together, gnashing them, and there came up out of the bottomless pit a wheel having a sword flash-

¹ Boreas.² Aparktiōs.

ing with fire, and in the sword were pipes. 41 And I (he) asked him, saying: What is this sword? 42 And he said: This sword is *the sword* of the gluttonous: for into this pipe are sent they that through their gluttony devise all manner of sin; into the second pipe are sent the backbiters which backbite their neighbour secretly; into the third pipe are sent the hypocrites and the rest whom I overthrow by my contrivance. (*Lat. 2: 40*) And Antichrist said: I will tell thee. And a wheel came up out of the abyss, having seven fiery knives. The first knife hath twelve pipes (*canales*). . . . 42 Antichrist answered: The pipe of fire in the first knife, in it are put the casters of lots and diviners and enchanter, and they that believe in them or have sought them, because in the iniquity of their heart they have invented false divinations. In the second pipe of fire are first the blasphemers . . . suicides . . . idolaters. . . . In the rest are first perjurers . . . (long enumeration.) 43 And Bartholomew said: Dost thou then do these things by thyself alone? 44 And Satan said: If I were able to go forth by myself, I would have destroyed the whole world in three days: but neither I nor any of the six hundred go forth. For we have other swift ministers whom we command, and we furnish them with an hook of many points¹ and send them forth to hunt, and they catch for us souls of men, enticing them with sweetness of divers baits, that is by drunkenness and laughter, by backbiting, hypocrisy, pleasures, fornication, and the rest of the trifles[†] that come out of their treasures. (*Lat. 2 amplifies enormously.*)

45 And I will tell thee also the rest of the names of the angels. The angel of the hail is called Mermeōth, and he holdeth the hail upon his head, and my ministers do adjure him and send him whither they will. And other angels are there over the snow, and other over the thunder, and other over the lightning, and when any spirit of us would go forth either by land or by sea, these angels send forth fiery stones and set our limbs on fire. (*Lat. 2 enumerates all the transgressions of Israel and all possible sins in two whole pages.*)

46 Bartholomew saith: Be still (be muzzled) thou dragon of the pit. 47 And Beliar said: Many things will I tell thee of the angels. They that run together throughout the heavenly places and the earthly are these: Mermeōth, Onomatath, Douth, Melioth, Charouth, Graphathas, Oethra, Nephonos, Chalkatoura. With them †do fly† (are administered?) the things that are in heaven and on earth and under the earth.

48 Bartholomew saith unto him: Be still (be muzzled) and be faint, that I may entreat my Lord. 49 And Bartholomew fell upon his face and cast earth upon his head and began to say: O Lord Jesu Christ, the great and glorious name. All

¹ hook of many points, &c. This passage recalls the Coptic fragment No. 5, above, p. 149.

the choirs of the angels praise thee, O Master, and I that am unworthy with my lips † . . . † do praise thee, O Master. Hearken unto me thy servant, and as thou didst choose me from the receipt of custom and didst not suffer me to have my conversation unto the end in my former deeds, O Lord Jesu Christ, hearken unto me and have mercy upon the sinners. 50 And when he had so said, the Lord saith unto him: Rise up, suffer him that groaneth to arise: I will declare the rest unto thee. 51 And Bartholomew raised up Satan and said unto him: Go unto thy place, with thine angels; but the Lord hath mercy upon all his world. (50, 51, again enormously amplified in *Lat. 2*. Satan complains that he has been tricked into telling his secrets before the time. The interpolation is to some extent dated by this sentence: 'Simon Magus and Zoroës and Arfaxir and Jannes and Mambres are my brothers.' Zoroës and Arfaxir are wizards who figure in the Latin Acts of Matthew and of Simon and Jude (see below). 49 follows 51 in this text.)

52 But the devil said: Suffer me, and I will tell thee how I was cast down into this place and how the Lord did make man. 53 I was going to and fro in the world, and God said unto Michael: Bring me a clod from the four corners of the earth, and water out of the four rivers of paradise. And when Michael brought them God formed Adam in the regions of the east, and shaped the clod which was shapeless, and stretched sinews and veins upon it and established it with joints; and he worshipped him, himself for his own sake first, because he was the image of God, therefore he worshipped him. 54 And when I came from the ends of the earth Michael said: Worship thou the image of God, which he hath made according to his likeness. But I said: I am fire of fire, I was the first angel formed, and shall I worship clay and matter? 55 And Michael saith to me: Worship, lest God be wroth with thee. But I said to him: God will not be wroth with me; but I will set my throne over against his throne, and I will be as he is. Then was God wroth with me and cast me down, having commanded the windows of heaven to be opened. 56 And when I was cast down, he asked also the six hundred that were under me, if they would worship; but they said: Like as we have seen the first angel do, neither will we worship him that is less than ourselves. Then were the six hundred also cast down by him with me. 57 And when we were cast down upon the earth we were senseless for forty years; and when the sun shone forth seven times brighter than fire, suddenly I awaked; and I looked about and saw the six hundred that were under me senseless. 58 And I awaked my son Salpsan and took him to counsel how I might deceive the man on whose account I was cast out of the heavens. 59 And thus did I contrive it. I took a vial in mine hand and scraped the sweat from off my breast and the hair of mine armpits, and

washed myself (*Lat. 2*, I took fig-leaves in my hands and wiped the sweat from my bosom and below mine arms and cast it down beside the streams of waters. 59 is greatly prolonged in this text) in the springs of the waters whence the four rivers flow out, and Eve drank of it and desire came upon her: for if she had not drunk of that water I should not have been able to deceive her. 60 Then Bartholomew commanded him to go into hell.

61 And Bartholomew came and fell at Jesus' feet and began with tears to say thus: Abba, Father, that art past finding out by us, Word of the Father, whom the seven heavens hardly contained, but who wast pleased to be contained easily and without pain within the body of the Virgin: whom the Virgin knew not that she bare: thou by thy thought hast ordained all things to be: thou givest us [that which we need] before thou art entreated. 62 Thou that didst wear a crown of thorns that thou mightest prepare for us that repent the precious crown from heaven; that didst hang upon the tree, that (*a clause gone*): (*Lat. 2*, that thou mightest turn from us the tree of lust and concupiscence (etc., etc.)). The verse is prolonged for over 40 lines (*that didst drink wine mingled with gall*) that thou mightest give us to drink of the wine of compunction, and wast pierced in the side with a spear that thou mightest fill us with thy body and thy blood: 63 Thou that gavest names unto the four rivers: to the first Phison, because of the faith (*pistis*) which thou didst appear in the world to preach; to the second Geon, for that man was made of earth (*gē*); to the third Tigris, because by thee was revealed unto us the consubstantial Trinity in the heavens (*to make anything of this we must read Trigris*); to the fourth Euphrates, because by thy presence in the world thou madest every soul to rejoice (*euphrānai*) through the word of immortality. 64¹ My God, and Father, the greatest, my King: save, Lord, the sinners. 65 When he had thus prayed Jesus said unto him: Bartholomew, my Father did name me Christ, that I might come down upon earth and anoint every man that cometh unto me with the oil of life: and he did call me Jesus that I might heal every sin of them that know not . . . and give unto men (*several corrupt words: the Latin has*) the truth of God.

66 And again Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, is it lawful for me to reveal these mysteries unto every man? 67 Jesus saith unto him: Bartholomew, my beloved, as many as are faithful and are able to keep them unto themselves, to them mayest thou entrust these things. For some there are

¹ In *Lat. 2*, vv. 64-71 occupy 83 lines: verse 65 fills nearly 50 of these; Jesus dwells on the words, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life', and speaks at some length of his benefits to the Jewish nation and their blindness and ingratitude (recalling the *Impropria* and 2 *Esdras* 1): there are also many clauses from *John* xiii-xv.

that be worthy of them, but there are also other some unto whom it is not fit to entrust them: for they are vain (swaggerers), drunkards, proud, unmerciful, partakers in idolatry, authors of fornication, slanderers, teachers of foolishness, and doing all works that are of the devil, and therefore are they not worthy that these should be entrusted to them. 68 And also they are secret, because of those that cannot contain them; for as many as can contain them shall have a part in them. Herein (Hitherto?), therefore, my beloved, have I spoken unto thee, for blessed art thou and all thy kindred which of their choice have this word entrusted unto them; for all they that can contain it shall receive whatsoever they will in the <day?> of my judgement.

69 Then I, Bartholomew, which wrote these things in mine heart, took hold on the hand of the *Lord* the lover of men and began to rejoice and to speak thus:

Glory be to thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that givest unto all thy grace which all we have perceived. Alleluia.

Glory be to thee, O Lord, the life of sinners.

Glory be to thee, O Lord, death is put to shame.

Glory be to thee, O Lord, the treasure of righteousness.

For unto God do we sing.

70 And as Bartholomew thus spake again, Jesus put off his mantle and took a kerchief from the neck of Bartholomew and began to rejoice and say (70 *Lat.* 2, Then Jesus took a kerchief(?)¹ and said: I am good: mild and gracious and merciful, strong and righteous, wonderful and holy): I am good. Alleluia. I am meek and gentle. Alleluia. Glory be to thee, O Lord: for I give gifts unto all them that desire me. Alleluia.

Glory be to thee, O Lord, world without end. Amen. Alleluia.

71 And when he had ceased, the apostles kissed him, and he gave them the peace of love.

V

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

¹ *toracem*.

² In *Lat.* 2, vv. 1-8 occupy 58 lines.

worshipfully is worthy of the Holy Ghost, and he that speaketh anything evil against him shall not be forgiven.¹

5 Woe unto him that sweareth by the head of God, yea woe (?) to him that sweareth falsely by him †truly†. For there are twelve heads of God the most high: for he is the truth, and in him is no lie, neither forswearing. 6 Ye, therefore, go ye and preach unto all the world the word of truth, and thou, Bartholomew, preach this word unto every one that desireth it; and as many as believe thereon shall have eternal life.

7 Bartholomew saith: ² O Lord, and if any sin with sin of the body, what is their reward? 8 And Jesus said: It is good if he that is baptized present his baptism blameless: but the pleasure of the flesh will †become a lover†. For a single marriage belongeth to sobriety: for verily I say unto thee, he that sinneth after the third marriage (wife) is unworthy of God. (8 *Lat. 2* is to this effect: . . . But if the lust of the flesh come upon him, he ought to be the husband of one wife. The married, if they are good and pay tithes, will receive a hundredfold. A second marriage is lawful, on condition of the diligent performance of good works, and due payment of tithes: but a third marriage is reprobated: and virginity is best.) 9 But ye, preach ye unto every man that they keep themselves from such things: for I depart not from you and I do supply you with the Holy Ghost. (*Lat. 2*, At the end of 9, Jesus ascends in the clouds, and two angels appear and say: 'Ye men of Galilee', and the rest.) 10 And Bartholomew worshipped him with the apostles, and glorified God earnestly, saying: Glory be to thee, Holy Father, Sun unquenchable, incomprehensible, full of light. Unto thee be glory, unto thee honour and adoration, world without end. Amen. (*Lat. 2*, End of the questioning of the most blessed Bartholomew and (or) the other apostles with the Lord Jesus Christ.)

THE BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST BY BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE

This exists in Coptic only. There are several recensions of it: the most complete is in a manuscript recently acquired by the British Museum (Or. 6804), and translated first by W. E. Crum (*Rustafjaell's Light of Egypt*, 1910) and then edited and translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (*Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1913). Other fragments are in the publications of Lacau and Revillout. No full translation, but only an analysis, will be offered here.

¹ *Lat. 2* enumerates seventeen other sins—chiefly forms of idolatry and wrong belief.

² In *Lat. 2*, vv. 7-10 fill 69 lines.

Five leaves are wanting at the beginning of the British Museum MS. The contents of these can be partly filled up from Lacau and Revillout. But in the first place a passage (p. 193, Budge) may be quoted which shows something of the setting of the book: 'Do not let this book come into the hand of any man who is an unbeliever and a heretic. Behold, this is the seventh time that I have commanded thee, O my son Thaddaeus, concerning these mysteries. Reveal not thou them to any impure man, but keep them safely.' We see that the book was addressed by Bartholomew to his son Thaddaeus, and this would no doubt have been the subject of some of the opening lines of the text.

Next we may place the two fragments, one about the child of Joseph of Arimathaea, the other about the cock raised to life, which have been already described as nos. 7 and 8 of the Coptic narratives of the Passion (pp. 149, 150). The order is uncertain.

Then we have a piece which in Revillout is no. 12 (p. 165), in Lacau no. 3 (p. 34). Lacau gives it partly in two recensions.

Christ is on the cross, but his side has been pierced, and he is dead.

A man in the crowd named Ananias, of Bethlehem, rushes to the cross and embraces and salutes the body breast to breast, hand to hand, and denounces the Jews. A voice comes from the body of Jesus and blesses Ananias, promising him incorruption, and the name of 'the firstfruits of the immortal fruit'. The priests decide to stone Ananias: he utters words of exultation. The stoning produces no effect. They cast him into a furnace, where he remains till Jesus has risen. At last they pierce him with a spear.

The Saviour takes his soul to heaven, and blesses him.

There can be but little matter lost between this and the opening of the British Museum MS., in the first lines of which the taking of Ananias' soul to heaven is mentioned.

We now take up the British Museum MS. as our basis. Certain passages of it are preserved in Paris fragments which partly overlap each other, and so three different texts exist for some parts: but it will not be important for our purpose to note many of the variations.

Joseph of Arimathaea buried the body of Jesus. Death came into Amente (the underworld), asking who the new arrival was, for he detected a disturbance.

He came to the tomb of Jesus with his six sons in the form of serpents. Jesus lay there (it was the second day, i. e. the Saturday) with his face and head covered with napkins.

Death addressed his son the Pestilence, and described the commotion which had taken place in his domain. Then he spoke to the body of Jesus and asked, 'Who art thou?' Jesus removed the napkin that was on his face and looked in the face of Death and laughed at him. Death and his sons fled. Then they approached again, and the same thing happened. He addressed Jesus again at some length, suspecting, but not certain, who he was.

Then Jesus rose and mounted into the chariot of the Cherubim. He wrought havoc in Hell, breaking the doors, binding the demons Beliar and Melkir (cf. Melkira in the Ascension of Isaiah), and delivered Adam and the holy souls.

Then he turned to Judas Iscariot and uttered a long rebuke, and described the sufferings which he must endure. Thirty names of sins are given, which are the snakes which were sent to devour him.

Jesus rose from the dead, and Abbaton (Death) and Pestilence came back to Amente to protect it, but they found it wholly desolate, only three souls were left in it (those of Herod, Cain, and Judas, says the Paris MS.).

Meanwhile the angels were singing the hymn which the Seraphim sing at dawn on the Lord's day over his body and his blood.

Early in the morning of the Lord's day the women went to the tomb. They were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James whom Jesus delivered out of the hand of Satan, Salome who tempted him, Mary who ministered to him and Martha her sister, Joanna (*al.* Susanna) the wife of Chuza who had renounced the marriage bed, Berenice who was healed of an issue of blood in Capernaum, Lia (Leah) the widow whose son he raised at Nain, and the woman to whom he said, 'Thy sins which are many are forgiven thee'.

These were all in the garden of Philogenes, whose son Simeon Jesus healed when he came down from the Mount of Olives with the apostles (probably the lunatic boy at the Mount of Transfiguration).

Mary said to Philogenes: If thou art indeed he, I know thee. Philogenes said: Thou art Mary the mother of Thalkamarimath, which means joy, blessing, and gladness. Mary said: If thou have borne him away, tell me where thou hast laid him and I will take him away: fear not. Philogenes told how the Jews sought a safe tomb for Jesus that the body might not be stolen, and he offered to place it in a tomb in his own garden and watch over it: and they sealed it and departed. At midnight he rose and went out and found all the orders of angels: Cherubim, Seraphim, Powers, and Virgins. Heaven opened, and the Father raised Jesus. Peter, too, was there and supported Philogenes, or he would have died.

The Saviour then appeared to them on the chariot of the Father and said to Mary: Mari Khar Mariath (Mary the mother of the Son of God). Mary answered: Rabbouni Kathiathari Miöth (The Son of God the Almighty, my Lord, and my Son). A long address to Mary from Jesus follows, in the course of which he bids her tell his brethren, 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father', &c. Mary says: If indeed I am not permitted to touch thee, at least bless my body in which thou didst deign to dwell.

Believe me, my brethren the holy apostles, I, Bartholomew, beheld the Son of God on the chariot of the Cherubim. All the heavenly hosts were about him. He blessed the body of Mary.

She went and gave the message to the apostles, and Peter blessed her, and they rejoiced.

Jesus and the redeemed souls ascended into Heaven, and the Father crowned him. The glory of this scene Bartholomew could not describe. It is here that he enjoins his son Thaddaeus not to let this book fall into the hands of the impure (quoted above).

Then follows a series of hymns sung in heaven, eight in all, which accompany the reception of Adam and the other holy souls into glory. Adam was eighty cubits high and Eve fifty. They were brought to the Father by Michael. Bartholomew had never seen anything to compare with the beauty and glory of Adam, save that of Jesus. Adam was forgiven, and all the angels and saints rejoiced and saluted him, and departed each to their place.

Adam was set at the gate of life to greet all the righteous as they enter, and Eve was set over all the women who had done the will of God, to greet them as they come into the city of Christ.

As for me, Bartholomew, I remained many days without food or drink, nourished by the glory of the vision.

The apostles thanked and blessed Bartholomew for what he had told them: he should be called the apostle of the mysteries of God. But he protested: I am the least of you all, a humble workman. Will not the people of the city say when they see me, 'Is not this Bartholomew the man of Italy, the gardener, the dealer in vegetables? Is not this the man that dwelleth in the garden of Hierocrates the governor of our city? How has he attained this greatness?'

The next words introduce a new section.

At the time when Jesus took us up into the Mount of Olives he spoke to us in an unknown tongue, which he revealed to us, saying: Anetharath (*or* Atharath Thaurath). The heavens were opened and we all went up into the seventh heaven (so the London MS.: in the Paris copy only Jesus went up, and the apostles gazed after him). He prayed the Father to bless us. The Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, laid His hand on the head of Peter (and made him archbishop of the whole world: Paris B). All that is bound or loosed by him on earth shall be so in heaven; none who is not ordained by him shall be accepted. Each of the apostles was separately blessed (there are omissions of single names in one or other of the three texts). Andrew, James, John, Philip (the cross will precede him wherever he goes), Thomas, Bartholomew (he will be the depositary of

the mysteries of the Son), Matthew (his shadow will heal the sick), James son of Alphaeus, Simon Zelotes, Judas of James, Thaddeus, Matthias (who was rich and left all to follow Jesus).

And now, my brethren the apostles, forgive me: I, Bartholomew, am not a man to be honoured.

The apostles kissed and blessed him. And then, with Mary, they offered the Eucharist.

The Father sent the Son down into Galilee to console the apostles and Mary: and he came and blessed them and showed them his wounds, and committed them to the care of Peter, and gave them their commission to preach. They kissed his side and sealed themselves with the blood that flowed thence. He went up to heaven.

Thomas was not with them, for he had departed to his city, hearing that his son Siophanes (Theophanes?) was dead: it was the seventh day since the death when he arrived. He went to the tomb and raised him in the name of Jesus.

Siophanes told him of the taking of his soul by Michael: how it sprang from his body and lighted on the hand of Michael, who wrapped it in a fine linen cloth: how he crossed the river of fire and it seemed to him as water, and was washed thrice in the Acherusian lake: how in heaven he saw the twelve splendid thrones of the apostles, and was not permitted to sit on his father's throne.¹

Thomas and he went into the city to the consternation of all who saw them. He, Siophanes, addressed the people and told his story: and Thomas baptized 12,000 of them, founded a church, and made Siophanes its bishop.

Then Thomas mounted on a cloud and it took him to the Mount of Olives and to the apostles, who told him of the visit of Jesus: and he would not believe. Bartholomew admonished him. Then Jesus appeared, and made Thomas touch his wounds: and departed into heaven.

This is the second time that he showed himself to his disciples after that he had risen from the dead.

This is the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ, our Lord, in joy and gladness. In peace. Amen.

Peter said to the apostles: Let us offer the offering before we separate. They prepared the bread, the cup, and incense.

Peter stood by the sacrifice and the others round the Table. They waited (break in the text: Budge and others suppose an appearance of Christ, but I do not think this is correct: 4½ lines are gone: then there are broken words):

table . . . their hearts rejoiced . . . worshipped the Son of God. He took his seat . . . his Father (*probably*, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father). His Body was on the Table about which

¹ This vision resembles one inserted in the end of the Coptic version of the Apocalypse of Paul.

they were assembled; and they divided it. They saw the blood of Jesus pouring out as living blood down into the cup. Peter said: God hath loved us more than all, in letting us see these great honours: and our Lord Jesus Christ hath allowed us to behold and hath revealed to us the glory of his body and his divine blood. They partook of the body and blood—and then they separated and preached the word. (What is clearly indicated is a change in the elements: there is not room for a description of an appearance of Jesus: he says no word, and his departure is not mentioned.)

This writing may be better described as a rhapsody than a narrative. It bristles with contradictions of itself: Joseph and Philogenes both bury Jesus; Thomas raises the dead and will not believe in Christ's resurrection; and so forth. That Mary the mother of Jesus is identified with Mary Magdalene is typical of the disregard of history, and we have seen it in other Coptic documents. The interest of the author is centred in the hymns, blessings, salutations, and prayers, which in this analysis have been wholly omitted, but which occupy a large part of the original text. The glorification of St. Bartholomew is another purpose of the writer: the special blessings given to him recall the attitude which he takes in the *Gospel* (i. 1, 8) as inquiring into the mysteries of heaven, and seeing things which are hidden from others. Both *Gospel* and *Book* are specially interested in the Descent into Hell, the Resurrection, and the redemption of Adam.

Bartholomew (Nathanael) was told (in St. John's Gospel) that he would see the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of Man. This promise is fulfilled in the *Gospel* (i. 6, 23) and very often in the *Book*: in St. John we also read of his being 'under the fig-tree', and this was probably enough to suggest to the Coptic author of the *Book* that he was a gardener.

A date is hard to suggest. The British Museum MS. is assigned to the twelfth century; the Paris fragments are older. That of the Coptic literature of this class is usually supposed to belong to the fifth and sixth centuries; and I think this, or at latest the seventh century, may be the period when the book was produced.

THERE is a fairly large class of books, early and late, which consists, like the Gospel of Bartholomew, of questions addressed to our Lord and his answers to them. Earliest of all are perhaps the Gnostic books preserved in Coptic in a Berlin MS. and not yet edited. One of these was used by Irenaeus. We hear of lost books of a similar kind: Questions of Mary, and a Gospel of Philip. We also possess, in Greek, late specimens of this class: e.g. Questions of John to Christ about the Last Things, which go by the name of the Apocryphal Apocalypse of John and have been printed by Tischendorf. Another like book is the *Liber S. Joannis* which was found in use in a Latin version among the Albigensian heretics in Southern France: it is printed by Thilo. Yet another is the Dispute of the Devil with Christ, printed in two texts, in Greek, by Vassiliev, and on the same general lines are Questions of St. James the brother of the Lord to St. John, also printed by Vassiliev. Various late Testaments or Dialogues of Jesus with the apostles remain unprinted.

BOOK OF JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Reprinted by Thilo from I. Benoist's *Histoire des Albigeois*, &c., Paris, 1691, T. 1, 283-96. Döllinger in his *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Sektengeschichte*, vol. ii, printed another text from a fourteenth-century manuscript at Vienna. I have not given the variants. Thilo's reprint is followed. The Vienna MS. is rather imperfect at the end. Benoist derived his text from the Archives of the Inquisition at Carcassonne. The manuscript of it had this annotation in Latin:

'This is the secret book of the heretics of Congoréze, brought from Bulgaria by their bishop Nazarius; full of errors.'

This Nazarius was examined by Rainer (*Contra Waldenses*, vi: printed in *Bibl. Patr. max.* xxv. 271). He said that the Blessed Virgin was an angel, and that Christ did not take upon him a human nature but an angelic or heavenly one: and that he had this erroneous teaching from a bishop and elder son of the church of Bulgaria almost sixty years since.

The book is a Bogomile production, denying that the world was made by God, and attributing creation to the devil. Catholic Christians are disciples of John Baptist: baptism has no value, nor, probably, the Eucharist: but the statement about this has dropped out of the text. The law of sacrifices (promulgated by Enoch) and the Mosaic law are works of the devil.

The account of the Last Judgement, I agree with Thilo, seems too orthodox and conventional to square with the rest of the book: one suspects dilution from another source. In its Latin dress the book can hardly be older than the twelfth century. The original might be of the sixth or seventh.

I, John, your brother and partaker in tribulation, and that shall be also a partaker in the kingdom of heaven, when I lay upon the breast of our Lord Jesus Christ and said unto him: Lord, who is he that shall betray thee? [and] he answered and said: He that

dippeth his hand with me in the dish: then Satan entered unto him and he sought how he might betray me.

And I said: Lord, before Satan fell, in what glory abode he with thy Father? And he said unto me: In such glory was he that he commanded the powers of the heavens: but I sat with my Father; and he did order all the followers of the Father, and went down from heaven unto the deep and ascended up out of the deep unto the throne of the invisible Father. And he saw the glory of him that moveth the heavens, and he thought to set his seat above the clouds of heaven and desired to be like unto the Most High.

And when he had descended into the air, he said unto the angel of the air: Open unto me the gates of the air. And he opened them unto him. And he sought to go further downward and found the angel which held the waters, and said unto him: Open unto me the gates of the waters. And he opened to him. And he passed through and found all the face of the earth covered with waters. And he passed through beneath the earth and found two fishes lying upon the waters, and they were as oxen yoked for ploughing, holding the whole earth by the commandment of the invisible Father, from the west even unto the sun-rising. And when he had gone down he found clouds hanging which held the waters of the sea. And he went down yet further and found hell, that is the gehenna of fire,¹ and thereafter he could go down no further because of the flame of the burning fire. And Satan returned back and filled up (passed over again) the paths and entered in unto the angel of the air and to him that was over the waters, and said unto them: All these things are mine: if ye will hearken unto me, I will set my seat in the clouds and be like the Most High, and I will take the waters from this upper firmament and gather together the other parts (places) of the sea, and thereafter there shall be no water upon the face of all the earth, and I will reign with you world without end.

And when he had said thus unto the angels, he went up unto the other angels, even unto the fifth heaven, and thus spake he unto each of them: How much owest thou unto thy lord? He said: An hundred measures (cors) of wheat. And he said unto him: Take pen and ink and write sixty. And unto others he said: And thou, how much owest thou unto thy lord? and he answered: An hundred jars of oil. And he said: Sit down and write fifty. And as he went up through all the heavens he said thus, even unto the fifth heaven, seducing the angels of the invisible Father. And there came forth a voice out of the throne of the Father, saying: What doest thou, O denier of the Father,

¹ Here (in Thilo's text only) occurs the word *ossop* which means nothing. A marginal note in Döllinger's Vienna MS. speaks of *oseph* and says that it is a place, apparently the *Vallis Josaphat*.

seducing the angels? doer of iniquity, that thou hast devised do quickly.

Then the Father commanded his angels, saying: Take away their garments. And the angels took away their garments and their thrones and their crowns from all the angels that hearkened unto him.

And I asked of the Lord: When Satan fell, in what place dwelt he? And he answered me: My Father changed his appearance because of his pride, and the light was taken from him, and his face became like unto heated iron, and his face became wholly like that of a man: and he drew with his tail the third part of the angels of God, and was cast out from the seat of God and from the stewardship of the heavens. And Satan came down into this firmament, and he could find (make) no rest for himself nor for them that were with him. And he asked the Father, saying: Have patience with me and I will pay thee all. And the Father had mercy on him and gave him rest and them that were with him, as much as they would even unto seven days.

And so sat he in the firmament and commanded the angel that was over the air and him that was over the waters, and they raised the earth up and it appeared dry: and he took the crown of the angel that was over the waters, and of the half thereof he made the light of the moon and of the half the light of the stars: and of the *precious* stones he made all the hosts of the stars.

And thereafter he made the angels his ministers according to the order of the form of the Most High, and by the commandment of the invisible Father *he made* thunder, rain, hail, and snow.

And he sent forth angels to be ministers over them. And he commanded the earth to bring forth every beast for food (fatling), and every creeping thing, and trees and herbs: and he commanded the sea to bring forth fishes, and the fowls of the heaven.

And he devised furthermore and made man in his likeness, and commanded the (or an) angel of the third heaven to enter into the body of clay. And he took thereof and made another body in the form of a woman, and commanded the (or an) angel of the second heaven to enter into the body of the woman. But the angels lamented when they beheld a mortal shape upon them and that they were unlike in shape. And he commanded them to do the deed of the flesh in the bodies of clay, and they knew not how to commit sin.

Then did the contriver of evil devise in his mind to make paradise, and he brought the man and woman into it. And he commanded to bring a reed, and the devil planted it in the midst of paradise, and so did the wicked devil hide his device that they knew not his deceit. And he came in and spake unto them, saying: Of every fruit which is in paradise eat ye, but of the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil eat not. Notwithstanding, the devil entered into a wicked serpent and seduced the angel that was in

the form of the woman, and † . . . † and he wrought his lust with Eve in the †song† of the serpent. And therefore are they called sons of the devil and sons of the serpent that do the lust of the devil their father, even unto the end of this world. And again the devil poured out upon the angel that was in Adam the poison of his lust, and it begetteth the sons of the serpent and the sons of the devil even unto the end of this world.

And after that I, John, asked of the Lord, saying: How say men that Adam and Eve were created by God and set in paradise to keep the commandments of the Father, and were delivered unto death? And the Lord said to me: Hearken, John, beloved of my Father; foolish men say thus in their deceitfulness that my Father made bodies of clay: but by the Holy Ghost made he all the powers of the heavens, and holy ones were found having bodies of clay because of their transgression, and therefore were delivered unto death.

And again I, John, asked the Lord: How beginneth a man to be in the Spirit (to have a spirit) in a body of flesh? And the Lord said unto me: *Certain* of the angels which fell do enter unto the bodies of women, and receive flesh from the lust of the flesh, and so is a spirit born of spirit, and flesh of flesh, and so is the kingdom of Satan accomplished in this world and among all nations.

<And again I asked the Lord: How long shall be the reign of Satan?> And he said to me: My Father hath suffered him to reign seven days, which are seven ages.

And I asked the Lord and said: What shall be in that time? And he said to me: From the time when the devil fell from the glory of the Father and (lost) his own glory, he sat upon the clouds, and sent his ministers, even angels flaming with fire, unto men from Adam even unto Enoch his servant. And he raised up Enoch upon the firmament and showed him his godhead, and commanded pen and ink to be given him: and he sat down and wrote threescore and seven books. And he commanded that he should take them to the earth and deliver them unto his sons. And Enoch let his books down upon the earth and delivered them unto his sons, and began to teach them to perform the custom of sacrifice, and unrighteous mysteries, and so did he hide the kingdom of heaven from men. And he said unto them: Behold that I am your god and beside me is none other god. And therefore did my Father send me into the world that I might make it known unto men, that they might know the evil device of the devil.

And then when he perceived that I had come down out of heaven into the world, he sent an angel and took of three sorts of wood and gave them unto Moses that I might be crucified, and now are they reserved for me. But then (now) did *the devil* proclaim unto him (Moses) his godhead, *and* unto his people, and commanded a law to be given unto the children of Israel, and

brought them out through the midst of the sea which was dried up.

When my Father thought to send me into the world, he sent his angel before me, by name Mary, to receive me. And I when I came down entered in by the ear and came forth by the ear. And Satan the prince of this world perceived that I was come to seek and save them that were lost, and sent his angel, even Helias the prophet, baptizing with water: who is called John the Baptist. And Helias asked the prince of this world: How can I know him? Then his lord said: On whomsoever thou shalt see the spirit descending like a dove and resting upon him, he it is that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost unto forgiveness of sins: thou wilt be able to destroy him and †to save‡.

And again I, John, asked the Lord: Can a man be saved by the baptism of John without thy baptism? And the Lord answered: Unless I have baptized *him* unto forgiveness of sins, by the baptism of water can no man see the kingdom of heaven: for I am the bread of life that came down from the seventh heaven, and they that eat my flesh and drink my blood, they shall be called the sons of God.

And I asked the Lord and said: What meaneth it, to eat my flesh and drink my blood? (An answer and question seem to have fallen out.) And the Lord said unto me: Before the falling of the devil with all his host from the glory of the Father [in prayer], they did glorify the Father in their prayers thus, saying: Our Father, which art in heaven; and so did all their songs come up before the throne of the Father. But when they had fallen, after that they are not able to glorify God with that prayer.

And I asked the Lord: How do all men receive the baptism of John, but thine not at all? And the Lord answered: Because their deeds are evil and they come not unto the light.

The disciples of John marry and are given in marriage; but my disciples neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven. But I said: If, then, it be sin to have to do with a woman, it is not good to marry. And the Lord said unto me: Not every one can receive this saying (&c., Matt. xix. 11, 12).

I asked the Lord concerning the day of judgement: What shall be the sign of thy coming? And he answered and said unto me: When the numbers of the righteous shall be accomplished, that is, the number of the righteous that are crowned, †that have fallen, ‡then shall Satan be loosed out of his prison, having great wrath, and shall make war with the righteous, and they shall cry unto the Lord with a loud voice. And immediately the Lord shall command an angel to blow with the trumpet, and the voice of the archangel shall be heard in the trumpet from heaven even unto hell.

And then shall the sun be darkened and the moon shall not

give her light, and the stars shall fall, and the four winds shall be loosed from their foundations, and shall cause the earth and the sea and the mountains to quake together. And the heaven shall immediately shake and the sun shall be darkened, and it shall shine even to the fourth hour. Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man, and all the holy angels with him, and he shall set his seat upon the clouds, and sit on the throne of his majesty with the twelve apostles on the twelve seats of their glory. And the books shall be opened and he shall judge the whole world and the faith which he proclaimed. And then shall the Son of man send his angels, and they shall gather his elect from the four winds, from the heights of the heavens unto the boundaries of them, and shall bring them *†*to seek*†*.

Then shall the Son of God send the evil spirits, to bring all nations before him, and shall say unto them: Come, ye that did say: We have eaten and drunk and received the gain of this world. And after that they shall again be brought, and shall all stand before the judgement-seat, even all nations, in fear. And the books of life shall be opened and all nations shall show forth their ungodliness. And he shall glorify the righteous for their patience: and glory and honour and incorruption *shall be the reward of their good works*: but as for them that kept the commandments of the angels and obeyed unrighteously, indignation and trouble and anguish shall take hold on them.

And the Son of God shall bring forth the elect out of the midst of the sinners and say unto them: Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Then shall he say unto the sinners: Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels. And the rest, beholding the last cutting off, shall cast the sinners into hell by the commandment of the invisible Father. Then shall the spirits of them that believe not go forth out of the prisons, and then shall my voice be heard, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd: and the darkness and obscurity shall come forth out of the lower parts of the earth—that is to say, the darkness of the gehenna of fire—and shall burn all things from below even to the air of the firmament. *†*And the Lord shall be in the firmament and *†*even to the lower parts of the earth. (*read* And the distance from the firmament unto the lower parts of the earth shall be) as if a man of thirty years old should take up a stone and cast it down, hardly in three years would it reach the bottom: so great is the depth of the pit and of the fire wherein the sinners shall dwell. And then shall Satan and all his host be bound and cast into the lake of fire. And the Son of God shall walk with his elect above the firmament and shall shut up the devil, binding him with strong chains that cannot be loosed. At that time the sinners, weeping and mourning, shall say: O earth, swallow us up and cover us in death. And then

shall the righteous shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. And he shall bring them before the throne of the invisible Father, saying: Behold, I and my children whom God hath given me: O righteous one, the world hath not known thee, but I have known thee in truth, because thou hast sent me. And then shall the Father answer his Son and say: My beloved Son, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet, which have denied me and said: We are gods, and beside us there is none other god: which have slain thy prophets and persecuted thy righteous ones, and thou hast persecuted them even unto the outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

And then shall the Son of God sit on the right hand of his Father, and the Father shall command his angels, and they shall minister unto them (i. e. the righteous) and set them among the choirs of the angels, to clothe them with incorruptible garments, and shall give them crowns that fade not and seats that cannot be moved. And God shall be in the midst of them; and they shall not hunger nor thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them nor any heat. And God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes. And he shall reign with his holy Father, and of his kingdom there shall be no end for ever and ever.

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

As was the case with the Acts of Pilate, we must admit that we have as yet no critical edition of the very numerous forms of this legend.

We have texts in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, not to mention derivatives in many vernacular mediaeval versions, all of which would have to be dealt with in a comprehensive survey. Clearly the present collection cannot attempt to do that. What it can do is to present a statement of the contents of the principal ancient versions.

My own belief is that the legend was first elaborated, if it did not originate, in Egypt: and therefore the Sahidic and Bohairic texts will receive special attention.

The standard *Greek* writing on the subject is one attributed to St. John, which is edited from five manuscripts (of eleventh-fourteenth centuries) by Tischendorf. This was exploited and inflated in sermon-form by John, archbishop of Thessalonica, in the seventh century. It will be translated here.

The standard *Latin* form is that attributed to Melito, bishop of Sardis: often printed, last by Tischendorf (*Transitus Mariae B.*).

What Tischendorf calls the Latin A form is attributed to Joseph of Arimathea. The text, which is very divergent in various copies, is printed by Tischendorf from three late manuscripts, all Italian.

Of the Syriac, of which there are many forms, we have editions by Wright, Budge, and Mrs. Lewis.

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

THE ASSUMPTION. COPTIC TEXTS

Of these we have two complete texts in Bohairic and one in Sahidic, with fragments of others.

The first Bohairic account is in a Homily attributed to Evodius (usually described as first bishop of Antioch, but here), archbishop of Rome, the successor and spiritual son of Peter; he insists that he was an eyewitness of all that he tells. (Ed. by Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels.*)

The first four sections of the homily are panegyric. The narrative begins with V.

Evodius first tells of his calling by Jesus. He was with Peter and Andrew and Alexander and Rufus his kinsmen, and followed Jesus when Peter and Andrew did, and was of the seventy-two disciples.

They lived with Mary after the Passion, as did Salome and Joanna and the rest of the virgins who were with her, and Peter sanctified an altar in the house.

VI. On the twentieth of the month Tobi, they were all gathered

at the altar, and Jesus appeared and greeted them. He bade Peter prepare the altar because 'I must needs take a great offering from your midst on the morrow, before that each one of you goes to the lot that hath fallen to him to preach therein'. He then ordained Peter archbishop, and others, including Evodius, presbyters, and also deacons, readers, psalmists, and doorkeepers; and departed to heaven. They remained, wondering what the offering was to be.

VII. On the twenty-first of Tobi Jesus returned, on the chariot of the cherubim, with thousands of angels, and David the sweet singer. 'We' besought him to tell what the great offering was to be, and he told them that it was his Mother whom he was to take to himself. (Here, as elsewhere, I do not pretend to give the long discourses which occur, but only the bare skeleton of the story.)¹

VIII. We all wept, and Peter asked if it was not possible that Mary should never die, and then if she might not be left to them for a few days. But the Lord said that her time was accomplished.

IX. The women, and also Mary, wept, but Jesus consoled her. She said: I have heard that Death has many terrible faces. How shall I bear to see them? He said: How dost thou fear his divine shape when the Life of all the world is with thee? And he kissed her, and blessed them all, and bade Peter look upon the altar for heavenly garments which the Father had sent to shroud Mary in.

X.² Mary arose and was arrayed in the garments, and turned to the east and uttered a prayer in the language of heaven, and then lay down, still facing eastward.

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

XI. The virgins stood about Mary singing, and Jesus sat by her. She besought him to save her from the many terrors of the next world—the accusers of Amenti, the dragon of the abyss, the river of fire that proves the righteous and the wicked. (All this *Sah.* omits.)

¹ Parts of VII and VIII exist in Sahidic fragment I (Robinson, p. 66).

² At this point begins Sahidic fragment II (Robinson, p. 70) and continues into XVII: it has important differences.

XII. He comforted her and said to the apostles: Let us withdraw outside for a little while, for Death cannot approach while I am here. And they went out and he sat on a stone, and looked up to heaven and groaned and said: I have overcome thee, O Death, that dwellest in the storehouses of the south. Come, appear to my virgin mother: but not in a fearful shape. He appeared, and when she saw him, her soul leaped into the bosom of her son—white as snow, and he wrapped it in garments of fine linen and gave it to Michael.

All the women wept; Salome ran to Jesus and said: Behold, she whom thou lovest is dead. David the singer rejoiced and said: Right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. (The Sahidic does not describe the moment of death, but says it took place at the ninth hour of the 21st of Tobi: and omits David.)

XIII. They re-entered the house and found her lying dead, and Jesus blessed her.

XIV. Jesus shrouded the body in the heavenly garments, and they were fastened thereto. He bade the apostles take up the body, Peter bearing the head and John the feet, and carry it to a new tomb in the field of Jehoshaphat, and watch it for three and a half days.

David rejoiced, saying: She shall be brought unto the King, &c. (Ps. xlv. 14), and: Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place (Ps. cxxxii. 8).

(*Sah.* omits details: the order is merely to carry the body to the tomb: David again omitted.)

XV. Jesus ascended with Mary's soul in the chariot of the Cherubim. (*Sah.* merely: he hid himself from us.) We took up the body, and when we came to the field of Jehoshaphat, the Jews heard the singing and came out intending to burn the body. But a wall of fire encompassed us, and they were blinded: and the body was laid in the tomb and watched for three and a half days.

(*Sah.* omits all after the blindness.)

XVI. The Jews were in terror and confessed their sin and asked pardon. Their eyes were opened and they sought and found not the body: and they were amazed and confessed themselves guilty.

(Here *Sah.* has a very confusing insertion. When the eyes of the Jews have been opened: 'there came a great choir of angels and caught away the body of the Virgin, and Peter and John and we looked on while she was carried to heaven, until we lost sight of it. And the Jews saw it also, and confessed themselves guilty.

XVII. At mid-day on the fourth day all were gathered at the tomb. A great voice came, saying: Go every one to his place till the seventh month: for I have hardened the heart of the Jews, and they will not be able to find the tomb or the body till I take

it up to heaven. Return on the 16th of Mesore. We returned to the house.

In the seventh month after the death, i. e. on 15th of Mesore, we reassembled at the tomb and spent the night in watching and singing.

(*Sah.* has only: We returned to the house.)

XVIII. At dawn on the 16th of Mesore, Jesus appeared. Peter said: We are grieved that we have not seen thy Mother since her death. Jesus said: She shall now come. The chariot of the Cherubim appeared with the Virgin seated in it. There were greetings. Jesus bade the apostles go and preach in all the world. He spent all that day with us and with his Mother, and gave us the salutation of peace and went up to heaven in glory.

XIX. Such was the death of the Virgin on the 21st of Tobi, and her assumption on 16th Mesore. I, Evodius, saw it all. The sermon ends with a blessing.

(*Sah.* has: XVIII. At dawn on the eighth day after her death Jesus appeared (as in *Boh.*), and the fragment ends at his promise that the apostles shall now see the Virgin.)

The other Sahidic account is in the 'Twentieth Discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem', edited by Budge (*Misc. Copt. texts*). We have seen what he says of the early part of the life of the Virgin. At p. 642 (Eng. trans.) he takes up the subject of her death. A considerable portion of this had been already edited by Robinson as Sahidic Fragment IV of the *Life of the Virgin*, pp. 24-40.

For ten (*Rob.* fifteen) years after the resurrection, according to Josephus and Irenaeus(!), John and Mary lived together at Jerusalem. One day the Virgin bade John summon Peter and James: and they sat down before her and she addressed them, reminding them of the life of Jesus (up to the Ascension and Pentecost). She went on to say that Jesus had come to her and warned her that her time was accomplished. 'I will hide thy body in the earth, no man shall find it until the day when I raise it incorruptible. A great church shall be built over it.' Now therefore summon the virgins.

It was done. Mary took the hand of one of them, Mary Magdalene, now very old, and committed the others to her charge.

She bade Peter fetch from the house of his disciple Birrus the linen clothes she had committed to him: James was to buy for a stater (*shekel, Rob.*) spices and perfumes.

John lighted the lamps. Mary spread the linen on the ground and poured the spices upon it and stood and prayed, facing east: she asked to be delivered from the terrors of the next world—the dragon and the river of fire. Then she lay down facing east.

Jesus appeared on the Cherubim and bade her not fear death. And said to Death: Come, O thou who art in the chambers of the south. When Mary saw him her soul leaped into the bosom of her Son, and he wrapped it in a garment of light.

She fell asleep on the night of the 20th day of Tobi (early on the 21st, *Rob.*).

The Lord bade the apostles take the body to the valley of Jehoshaphat and set down the bier, because of the Jews, and he would hide it.

In the morning they took it forth. The Jews heard the singing, and took counsel and set out with fire to burn it. The apostles saw them coming, and dropped the bier and fled. The Jews found nothing but the bier, and that they burnt. A sweet odour came from the place where the body was laid, and a voice said: Let no man give himself the trouble of seeking it till the great day of the appearing of Christ. The Jews were ashamed and fled, and told their neighbours, but bade them tell no one.

This is Cyril's account, which entirely shuts out a corporal assumption, but has frequent coincidences of language and matter with the Bohairic account of Evodius, and the Sahidic fragments of the same.

THE DISCOURSE OF THEODOSIUS

Archbishop of Alexandria (probably the Jacobite Patriarch of 536-68). It is in Bohairic, edited by Robinson (p. 90), who calls it the Second Bohairic account: he omits fifteen pages of homiletic matter at the beginning.

I. At the moment of the Ascension Jesus charged Peter, 'his bishop', and John to remain with Mary till her death.

II. She was living in Jerusalem with a number of virgins. 'We also, the apostles Peter and John', were with her.

On the 20th of Tobi we came to her and found her amazed. She explained that that night, after she had finished the 'little office (synaxis)', she slumbered and saw a beautiful youth about thirty years of age, 'and you also standing at his right hand, with garments in your hands'. She perceived that it was Jesus, and he told her that the garments were her shroud; and he vanished.

Then Mary makes a long discourse on the horrors of death—the river of fire, the two powers of light and darkness, the avengers with diverse faces, the worm, the unquenchable fire which three tears will put out, the ruler of darkness.

On hearing this we wept.

III. There was a knocking at the door. It was the virgins who had come from the Mount of Olives, with censers and lamps. They had been warned by a voice in the night to come to Mary, who was to die next day.

Mary bade us withdraw a little, and uttered a (long) thanksgiving to her Son, and a prayer to be delivered from the terrors of the next world.

IV. There were thunderings and lightnings. Jesus came on a chariot of light with Moses, David, the prophets, and the

righteous kings, and addressed Mary. (There is a refrain to the speech, 'O my beloved Mother, arise, let us go hence'.)

Mary spoke comfort to the apostles. Jesus spoke of the necessity of death. If she were translated, 'wicked men will think concerning thee that thou art a power which came down from heaven, and that the dispensation (the Incarnation) took place in appearance'.

V. He turned to the apostles—to me Peter and to John—and said that Mary should appear to them again. 'There are 206 days from her death unto her holy assumption. I will bring her unto you arrayed in this body.'

He bade them bring garments and perfumes from the altar, which were sent from heaven.

They spread them on the bed.

The Virgin arose and prayed him to receive her.

VI. She lay down on the garments, turned her face to him, and straightway commended her spirit into his hands.

He bade us prepare her for burial, and gave us three palms from paradise and three branches of the olive-tree which Noah's dove brought to Noah, and we laid them on her body. Peter was to bear the head, John the feet. The Jews would plot against her, but they should be blinded. The body was to be placed in the stone coffin and watched, and in 206 days he would bring the soul to it.

He went up to heaven and presented the soul to the Father and the Holy Ghost. And the voice of the Holy Trinity was heard welcoming the soul.

VII. We carried the body out to the field of Jehoshaphat. The Jews saw it and took counsel to come and burn it. The apostles set down the bier and fled.

Darkness came on the Jews, and they were blinded and smitten by their own fire. They cried out for mercy and were healed, and many were converted.

We returned to Jerusalem, and often came back to the tomb.

VIII. When the 206 days were over, on the evening of the 15th, that is the morning of the 16th of Mesore, we gathered at the tomb and watched all night.

At the tenth hour there were thunderings, and a choir of angels was heard, and David's harp. Jesus came on the chariots of the Cherubim with the soul of the Virgin seated in his bosom, and greeted us.

He called over the coffin and bade the body arise (a long address).

IX. The coffin, which had been shut like Noah's ark, opened. The body arose and 'embraced its own soul, even as two brothers who are come from a strange country, and they were united one with another'. David said, 'Mercy and truth are met together' (&c.).

Jesus went up to heaven, blessing us, and we heard the voice of the powers singing: Bring to the Lord the honour due unto his name. The virgins that be her fellows (her holy deeds) shall be her company (&c.).

Here we have the corporal assumption after 206 days.

Yet another Sahidic fragment is to be found in Revillout (*Patrol. Orient. Apocryphes Coptes*, I, fr. 16, p. 174). He attributes it quite without reason to the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles. It is told by an eyewitness, but he cannot be identified.

We here encounter the high priest whose hand is smitten off when he touches the bier: he appears in the other versions.

The high priest begs to be healed. Peter says, if he believes in Jesus Christ he can be healed.

The high priest acknowledges that he and his people crucified Jesus (knowing him to be the Son of God) because he drove the traders out of the temple.

Peter bids him, if he believes, to embrace the body of the Virgin and profess his belief.

He does so and takes his own cut-off hand and puts it to the stump, and it adheres.

Peter bids him take 'this palm branch' and go to the city and lay it on the eyes of those who are blind. He found many of them lamenting, and all who believed were healed.

Meanwhile the apostles laid the body in the tomb and remained there, to wait till the Lord should come and raise it up as he had said.

They bade the virgins go home in peace: but they wanted to stay there too. Peter and John reassured them. They asked to be blessed, and Peter blessed them.

At the third hour of the day the converted high priest came and told Peter that the Jews were still plotting to burn the body and the tomb.

Peter warned the disciples: but God sent forgetfulness upon the Jews. And the apostles took courage. And a voice from heaven came also, promising safety.

It came to pass after that we reached the 16th of Mesore, and were gathered with the apostles at the tomb. We saw lightnings and were afraid. There was a sweet odour and a sound of trumpets. The door of the tomb opened: there was a great light within. A chariot descended in fire: Jesus was in it; he greeted us.

He called into the tomb: Mary, my mother, arise! And we saw her in the body, as if she had never died. Jesus took her into the chariot. The angels went before them. A voice called, 'Peace be to you, my brethren'.

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

We, then, the apostles, are witnesses of these things, and have added or diminished nothing.

We went to the tomb and found the garments where the body had lain: we buried them.

Here the fragment ends. It forms a link between the Egyptian and the other forms of the story.

To sum up. All the narratives except the Discourse of Cyril tell of a corporal assumption, and all but one place it on the 16th of Mesore, the exception being the Sahidic fragment II, which puts it on the eighth day after the death.

The same fragment seems to indicate that the body was taken up at the burial: whether it was brought back and taken up a second time we cannot tell.

The other versions will mostly agree in assembling all the apostles at the death-bed. In the Coptic group the death takes place before the dispersion of the apostles, and we do not hear of any of them individually except Peter and John.

GREEK NARRATIVE

THE DISCOURSE OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE CONCERNING THE FALLING ASLEEP OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

1 Whenas the all-holy glorious mother of God and ever-virgin Mary according to her custom went unto the holy sepulchre of our Lord to burn incense, and bowed her holy knees, she besought Christ our God that was born of her to come and abide with her (*rather, that she might depart unto him*).

2 And when the Jews saw her resorting unto the holy sepulchre they came to the chief priests, saying: Mary goeth every day unto the sepulchre. And the chief priests called the watchmen which were charged by them not to suffer any to pray at the holy sepulchre, and inquired of them if it were so in truth. But the watch answered and said that they saw no such thing; for God did not suffer them to see her venerable presence.

3 Now on one day, which was Friday, the holy Mary came as she was wont to the sepulchre, and as she prayed it came to pass that the heavens were opened and the archangel Gabriel came down unto her and said: Hail, thou that didst bear Christ our God: thy prayer hath passed through the heavens unto him that was born of thee and hath been accepted, and henceforth according to thy petition thou shalt leave the world and come unto the heavenly places unto thy Son, unto the true life that hath no successor.

4 And when she heard that from the holy archangel she returned unto Bethlehem the holy, having with her three virgins that ministered unto her. And when she had rested a little space she sat up and said to the virgins: Bring me a censer that I may pray. And they brought it as it was commanded them.

5 And she prayed, saying: My Lord Jesu Christ, who didst vouchsafe of thine excellent goodness to be born of me, hear my voice and send unto me thine apostle John, that seeing him I may have the firstfruits of joy: and send unto me also the rest of thine apostles, both them that have already come to dwell with thee and them that are in this present world, in whatever land they may be, by thy holy commandment, that I may behold them and bless thy name that is greatly extolled, for I have confidence that thou hearest thine handmaid in every thing.

6 And as she prayed I, John, came unto her, for the Holy Ghost caught me up by a cloud from Ephesus and set me in the place where the mother of my Lord lay. And I entered in unto her and gave glory to him that was born of her and said: Hail, thou mother of my Lord, that didst bear Christ our God: rejoice for that thou departest out of this life with great glory.

7 And the holy mother of God glorified God that I, John, was come to her, remembering the word of the Lord which he spake: Behold thy mother, and behold thy son. And the three virgins came and worshipped.

8 And the holy mother of God said unto me: Pray thou and put on incense. And I prayed thus: O Lord Jesu Christ that doest marvellous things, do now marvellous things before her that bare thee, and let thy mother depart out of this life, and let them that crucified thee and believed not in thee be troubled.

9 And after I had finished the prayer the holy Mary said unto me: Bring me the censer. And she cast in incense and said: Glory be to thee, my God and my Lord, because in me are fulfilled all things that thou didst promise me before thou didst ascend into the heavens, that whenever I should depart out of this world thou wouldest come unto me in glory, thou and the multitude of thine angels.

10 And I, John, said unto her: Our Lord and our God Jesus Christ cometh, and thou beholdest him according as he promised thee. And the holy mother of God answered and said to me: The Jews have sworn that when mine end cometh they will burn my body. And I answered and said unto her: Thy holy and precious body shall not see corruption. And she answered and said unto me: Bring a censer and put incense therein and pray. And there came a voice from heaven and said the Amen.

11 And I, John, listened unto that voice, and the Holy Ghost said unto me: John, heardest thou this voice which was uttered in heaven after the ending of the prayer? And I answered and said: Yea, I heard it. And the Holy Ghost said unto me: This voice which thou heardest signifieth the coming of thy brethren the apostles and of the holy powers which is to be: for to-day they are coming hither.

12 And thereupon I, John, fell to prayer. And the Holy Ghost said unto the apostles: All of you together mount up upon

clouds from the ends of the world and gather yourselves together at Bethlehem the holy because of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a moment of time: Peter from Rome, Paul from Tiberia, Thomas out of the inmost Indies, James from Jerusalem: 13 Andrew the brother of Peter, and Philip, Luke and Simon the Canaanite, and Thaddaeus, which were fallen asleep, were raised up by the Holy Ghost out of their sepulchres; unto whom said the Holy Ghost: Think not that the resurrection is now; but for this cause are ye risen up out of your graves, that ye may go to salute for an honour and a wonderful sign for the mother of your Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: for the day is come near of her departure and going to abide in heaven. 14 And Mark, who was yet alive, came also from Alexandria with the rest, as hath been said, from their several countries.

15 But Peter when he was lifted up by the cloud stood between the heaven and the earth, for the Holy Ghost sustained him, and beheld¹ while the rest of the apostles also were caught up in the clouds to be present with Peter. And so all came together by the means of the Holy Ghost, as hath been said.

15*² And we entered in unto the mother of our Lord and God and did her worship and said: Fear not, neither be grieved: the Lord God that was born of thee shall bring thee out of this world with glory. And she rejoicing in God her Saviour sat up in the bed and said to the apostles: Now believe I that our teacher and our God cometh from heaven, and I *shall* behold him, and so depart out of this life, even as I have seen you come unto me. And I would that you would tell me whence ye knew that I was departing and came unto me, and from what lands and how far ye are come hither, that ye have been so quick to visit me: for neither hath he that was born of me, even our Lord Jesus Christ, hidden *it* from me. For I have believed now also that he is the Son of the Most High.

16 And Peter answered and said unto the apostles: Let each one certify the mother of our Lord, in what *manner* the Holy Ghost announced it unto us and charged us.

17 And I, John, answered and said: I, whenas I was entering in unto the holy altar in Ephesus to minister, the Holy Ghost said unto me: The time of the departure of the mother of thy Lord is come near: go unto Bethlehem to salute her. And a cloud of light caught me up and set me at the door of the house where thou liest. 18 And Peter also answered: I also was in Rome, and about the dawn I heard a voice by the Holy Ghost saying unto me: The mother of thy Lord must depart, for the time is come nigh: go thou unto Bethlehem to salute her: and lo, a cloud of light caught me up, and I beheld the rest of the

¹ Greek, corruptly, *συνόδα*: probably *συνορᾶ*, for the Syriac has 'beheld the apostles', or the like.

² The number 15 is, by an error, repeated in Tischendorf.

apostles also coming unto me upon clouds, and a voice saying to me: Go all of you unto Bethlehem. 19 Paul also answered and said: I also was abiding in a city not very far off from Rome; and the place is called Tiberia. And I heard the Holy Ghost saying unto me: The mother of thy Lord leaveth this world to go unto the heavenly places, and endeth (maketh) her course by departure: but go thou also unto Bethlehem to salute her. And lo, a cloud of light caught me up and set me where it did set you also. 20 Thomas also answered and said: I also had passed through the land of the Indians, and my preaching was increased in strength by the grace of Christ, and the son of the king's sister, by name Labdanus, was about to be sealed (baptized) by me in the palace, and suddenly the Holy Ghost saith unto me: Thou also, Thomas, go unto Bethlehem to salute the mother of thy Lord, for she maketh her removal unto heaven. And a cloud of light caught me up and set me with you. 21 And Mark also answered and said: As I also was finishing the service (canon) of the third hour in the city of Alexandria, while I prayed, the Holy Ghost caught me up and brought me unto you.

22 And James also answered and said: While I was in Jerusalem the Holy Ghost admonished (permitted) me, saying: Be thou present at Bethlehem, for the mother of thy Lord maketh her departure. And lo, a cloud of light caught me up and brought me unto you.

23 And Matthew also answered and said: I glorified and do glorify God, for that as I was in a ship and it was tossed, for the sea was boisterous with waves, suddenly a cloud of light overshadowed us, and overcame (shook off) the billows of the tempest and made them calm, and me it caught up and brought me unto you. 24 Likewise they that had departed *this life* before told how they were come. And Bartholomew said: I was preaching the word in the country of Thebes, and lo, the Holy Ghost said to me: The mother of thy Lord maketh her departure: go therefore to salute her at Bethlehem. And lo, a cloud of light caught me up and brought me unto you.

25 All these things spake the apostles unto the holy mother of God, how and in what fashion they came. And she spread forth her hands unto heaven and prayed, saying: I worship and praise and glorify thy name, which is greatly extolled, O Lord, because thou hast regarded the lowliness of thine handmaiden, and thou that art mighty hast magnified me, and behold all generations shall call me blessed. 26 And after the prayer she said unto the apostles: Cast on incense and pray. And when they had prayed there came a thunder from heaven and a terrible sound as of chariots, and lo, a multitude of the host of angels and powers, and a voice as of the Son of man was heard, and the Seraphim came round about the house wherein the holy and spotless mother of God, the virgin, lay: so that all that were in

Bethlehem beheld all the marvellous sights, and went to Jerusalem and declared all the wonderful things that were come to pass.

27 And it came to pass after that sound that the sun and the moon appeared about the house, and an assembly of the first-begotten saints came unto the house where the mother of the Lord lay, for her honour and glory. And I saw also many signs come to pass, blind receiving sight, deaf hearing, lame walking, lepers cleansed, and them that were possessed of unclean spirits healed. And every one that was under any sickness or disease *came and* touched the wall where she lay, and cried: Holy Mary, thou that didst bear Christ our God, have mercy on us. And forthwith they were cured.

28 And many multitudes that were dwelling in Jerusalem out of every country because of a vow, when they heard the signs that were being done in Bethlehem by means of the Lord's mother, came unto the place seeking to be healed of divers diseases; and they obtained *health*. And there was joy unspeakable on that day of the multitude of them that were healed, with them also that beheld, glorifying Christ our God and his mother. And all Jerusalem *returned* from Bethlehem, keeping holiday with singing of psalms and spiritual songs.

29 But the priests of the Jews, together with their people, were amazed at that which was done, and were taken with bitter (heavy) envy, and again with vain thoughts they gathered a council and advised themselves to send *men* against the holy mother of God and the holy apostles which were there at Bethlehem. And when the multitude of the Jews were now set forward toward Bethlehem, as it were about a mile therefrom, it came to pass that they saw a terrible vision, and their feet were bound: and they departed thence to them of their nation, and declared all the fearful vision unto the chief priests. 30 But they being yet more inflamed in spirit went unto the governor, crying out and saying: The nation of the Jews is destroyed because of this woman: drive thou her away from Bethlehem and from the province of Jerusalem. But the governor was astonished at the wonders and said unto them: I will not drive her out from Bethlehem nor from any other place. But the Jews continued crying out and adjuring him by the safety of Tiberius Caesar that he should lead the apostles out of Bethlehem: and if thou doest it not we will report it unto Caesar. And being now compelled he sent a captain of a thousand against the apostles unto Bethlehem.

31 But the Holy Ghost said unto the apostles and the mother of the Lord: Behold, the governor hath sent a captain of a thousand against you, because the Jews have made a tumult. Go out therefore from Bethlehem, and fear not; for behold, I will bring you by a cloud unto Jerusalem; for the power of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is with you.

32 The apostles therefore rose up straightway and went out of the house, bearing the bed of their lady the mother of God, and set forward toward Jerusalem: and immediately, according as the Holy Ghost said, they were lifted up by a cloud and were found at Jerusalem in the house of their lady. And we stood up and for five days we sung praise without ceasing.

33 But when the captain came unto Bethlehem and found not there the mother of the Lord, neither the apostles, he laid hold upon the Bethlehemites, saying unto them: Did ye not come and tell the governor and the priests all the signs and wonders which were come to pass, and how the apostles came out of every land? where then are they? come ye hither to Jerusalem unto the governor. For the captain knew not of the departure of the apostles and the mother of the Lord unto Jerusalem. So the captain took the Bethlehemites and went unto the governor, saying that he had found no man.

34 Now after five days it was made known to the governor and to the priests and to all the city that the mother of the Lord was in her own house in Jerusalem with the apostles, by means of the signs and wondrous things that came to pass there; and a multitude of men and women were assembled, crying out: O holy virgin that didst bear Christ our God, forget not the race of men. 35 And because of this the people of the Jews, moved yet more with envy, together with the priests, took wood and fire and came on, desiring to burn the house where the mother of the Lord lay, together with the apostles. But the governor stood beholding the sight afar off. And when the people of the Jews were come unto the door of the house, behold, suddenly a force of fire came from within it by means of an angel and burnt a great multitude of the Jews, and there was great fear throughout all the city and they glorified God which was born of her. 36 But when the governor saw what was done, he cried aloud before all the people, saying: Of a truth he is the Son of God, which was born of the virgin whom ye thought to drive out: for these signs are of a true God. And there was a division betwixt the Jews, and many believed on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ because of the signs which came to pass.

37 Now after all these wonders were come to pass because of Mary the mother of God and ever virgin, the mother of the Lord, as we the apostles were with her in Jerusalem, the Holy Ghost said unto us: Ye know that on the Lord's day the good tidings were told unto the Virgin Mary by the archangel Gabriel, and on the Lord's day the Saviour was born in Bethlehem, and on the Lord's day the children of Jerusalem went forth with palm-branches to meet him, saying: Hosanna in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. And on the Lord's day he rose from the dead, and on the Lord's day he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and on the Lord's day he

shall come from heaven for the glory and honour of the departure of the holy and glorious virgin which bare him. 38 And upon the same Lord's day the mother of the Lord said unto the apostles: Cast on incense, for Christ cometh with an host of angels: and behold Christ cometh sitting upon the throne of the Cherubim. And as we all prayed there appeared innumerable multitudes of angels, and the Lord riding upon the Cherubim in great power. And lo, an appearance of light going before him and lighting upon the holy virgin because of the coming of her only-begotten Son: and all the powers of the heavens fell down and worshipped him. 39 And the Lord called unto his mother and said: Mary. And she answered and said: Behold, here am I, Lord. And the Lord said unto her: Be not grieved, but let thine heart rejoice and be glad; for thou hast found grace to behold the glory that was given me of my Father. And the holy mother of God looked up and saw in him glory which the mouth of man cannot utter nor comprehend. And the Lord abode by her, saying: Behold, henceforth shall thy precious body be translated unto paradise, and thine holy soul shall be in the heavens in the treasures of my Father in surpassing brightness, where is peace and rejoicing of the holy angels, and continuance *thereof*. 40 And the mother of the Lord answered and said unto him: Lay thy right hand upon me, Lord, and bless me. And the Lord spread out his unstained right hand and blessed her: and she, holding his unstained right hand, kissed it, saying: I worship this right hand which made the heaven and the earth; and I beseech thy name which is greatly extolled, O Christ, God, King of the ages, only-begotten of the Father, receive thine handmaid, thou that didst vouchsafe to be born of me the lowly one to save mankind by thine unutterable dispensation. Every man that calleth upon or entreateth or nameth the name of thine handmaid, grant him thine help. 41 And as she thus spake, the apostles came near unto her feet and worshipped the Lord and said: O mother of the Lord, leave unto the world a blessing, for thou departest out of it: for thou didst bless it and raise it up from destruction when thou barest the light of the world. And the mother of the Lord prayed, and thus spake she in her prayer: O God, who of thy great goodness didst send thine only-begotten Son to dwell in my lowly body, who didst vouchsafe to be born of me the lowly one, have mercy upon the world and upon every soul that calleth upon thy name.

42 And again she prayed and said: O Lord, King of the heavens, Son of the living God, accept every man that calleth upon thy name, that thy birth may be glorified. And again she prayed and said: O Lord Jesu Christ, that hast all power in heaven and on earth, I entreat thine holy name with this supplication: At every time and in every place where there is a memorial of my name, sanctify thou that place, and glorify them

that glorify thee through my name, accepting every offering of such, and every supplication and every prayer. 43 And when she had thus prayed, the Lord said unto his own mother: Let thine heart be glad and rejoice; for every grace and every gift hath been given thee of my Father which is in heaven and of me and of the Holy Ghost. Every soul that calleth upon thy name shall not be put to shame, but shall find mercy and consolation and succour and confidence, both in this world and in that which is to come, before my Father which is in heaven. 44 And the Lord turned and said unto Peter: The time is come to begin the song of praise. And when Peter began the song of praise, all the powers of the heavens answered Alleluia. And then the countenance of the mother of the Lord did shine above the light. And she rose up and with her own hand blessed every one of the apostles, and all of them gave glory to God; and the Lord spread forth his unstained hands and received her holy and spotless soul. 45 And at the going forth of her spotless soul the place was filled with sweet odour and light unspeakable, and lo, a voice from heaven was heard, saying: Blessed art thou among women. And Peter ran, and I, John, and Paul and Thomas, and embraced her precious feet to receive sanctification: and the twelve apostles laid her honourable and holy body upon a bed and bare it forth.

46 And behold as they bare her, a certain Hebrew named Jephonias, mighty of body, ran forth and set upon the bed, as the apostles bare it, and lo, an angel of the Lord with invisible power smote his two hands from off his shoulders with a sword of fire and left them hanging in the air about the bed. 47 And when this miracle came to pass, all the people of the Jews that beheld it cried out: Verily he is the true God that was born of thee, Mary, mother of God, ever virgin. And Jephonias himself, being commanded by Peter, that the wonderful works of God might be showed, stood up behind the bed and cried: Holy Mary that didst bear Christ which is God, have mercy on me. And Peter turned and said unto him: In the name of him that was born of her thine hands which were taken from thee shall cleave to *their place*. And immediately at the word of Peter the hands that did hang beside the bed of *our lady* went back and clave unto Jephonias: and he also believed and glorified Christ, even God, that was born of her.

48 And after this miracle the apostles bare the bed and laid her precious and holy body in Gethsemane in a new tomb. And lo, an odour of sweet savour came out of the holy sepulchre of our lady the mother of God: and until three days were past the voices of invisible angels were heard glorifying Christ our God which was born of her. And when the third day was fulfilled the voices were no more heard, and thereafter we all perceived that her spotless and precious body was translated into paradise.

[Other MSS.: When the apostles went forth from the city of

Jerusalem bearing the bed, suddenly twelve clouds of light caught them up, together with the body of our lady, and translated them into paradise.]

49 Now after it was translated, lo, we beheld Elisabeth the mother of the holy John the Baptist, and Anna the mother of our lady, and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and David singing Alleluia, and all the choirs of the saints worshipping the precious body of the mother of the Lord, and *we saw* a place of light, than which light nothing is brighter, and a great fragrance *came* from that place whereto her precious and holy body was translated in paradise, and a melody of them that praised him that was born of her: and unto virgins only is it given to hear that sweet melody wherewith no man can be sated.

50 We, therefore, the apostles, when we beheld thus suddenly the translation of her holy body, glorified God who had shown unto us his wonders at the departure of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ: by the prayer and intercession of whom may we all be accounted worthy to come into her protection and succour and guardianship, both in this world and in that which is to come: at all times and in all places glorifying her only-begotten Son, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

[For 49 and 50 one manuscript has only: And we all glorified God: unto whom be glory and power, world without end. Amen.]

The other Greek narrative of the Assumption is not yet fully known. It is that which is embodied in a sermon of John, archbishop of Thessalonica.

Tischendorf gives only extracts, from several manuscripts, which show that the story begins with the bringing of a palm to the Virgin by the angel as a token of her approaching departure.

We have the same gathering of the apostles, who do not know why they have been summoned. They tell of the manner in which they were brought.

The Jews are blinded and burnt, and healed by the palm-branch.

The apostles lay the body in the tomb and remain there watching until it is translated. In one text Christ appears and takes the body.

THE ASSUMPTION: LATIN NARRATIVE OF PSEUDO-MELITO

This is Tischendorf's B text, but though he places it second, it is the leading Latin authority, the other being a late Italian fiction.

I. Prologue.

Melito, servant of God, bishop of the church of Sardis, unto the brethren which are established in peace at Laodicea, reverend in the Lord, greeting.

I remember that I have oft-times written concerning a certain Leucius, who, after that with us he had been a companion of the apostles, with alienated sense and rash mind departed from the way of righteousness and put into his books many things concerning the acts of the apostles, and spake many and diverse things of their mighty deeds, but concerning their teaching lied much, affirming that they taught otherwise, and establishing his own wicked position as if by their words. Nor did he account this sufficient, but also corrupted with so evil a pen the departure of the blessed Mary ever virgin, the mother of God, that it is unlawful not only to read but even to hear it in the church of God. We therefore at your petition have written simply those things which we heard from the apostle John, and have sent them unto your brotherhood: believing no alien doctrines which sprout out from heretics, but that the Father is in the Son, the Son in the Father, the triune person of godhead and undivided essence abiding: and that not two natures of man were created, a good and a bad, but that one good nature was created by a good God, which by the fraud of the serpent was corrupted through sin, and restored by the grace of Christ.

II. When therefore the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for the life of the whole world hung on the tree of the cross pierced with nails, he saw standing beside the cross his mother and John the evangelist, whom he more especially loved beyond the other apostles because he alone of them was a virgin in body. Unto him therefore he committed the charge of the holy Mary, saying to him: Behold thy mother; and to her: Behold thy son. From that hour the holy mother of God continued in the especial care of John so long as she endured the sojourn of this life. And when the apostles had taken the world by their lots for preaching, she abode in the house of his parents beside the Mount of Olivet.

III. In the second year after Christ having overcome death had ascended into heaven, upon a certain day, Mary fervent with desire of Christ betook herself alone into the refuge of her dwelling to weep. And lo, an angel shining in a garment of great brightness stood before her and came forth with words of greeting, saying: Hail thou blessed of the Lord, receive the greeting of him that granted salvation to Jacob by his prophets. Behold, said he, this palm-branch. I have brought it to thee from the paradise of the Lord, and thou shalt cause it to be carried before thy bier on the third day when thou shalt be taken up out of the body. For behold thy Son with the thrones and the angels and all the powers of heaven awaiteth thee. 2 Then Mary said to the angel: I ask that all the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ be gathered together to me. And the angel said: Lo, this day by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ all the apostles shall come to thee. And Mary said to him: I ask that thou wouldest put thy blessing upon me, that no power of hell may meet me in that hour wherein my soul

goeth out of the body, and that I may not see the prince of darkness. And the angel said: The power of hell shall not hurt thee; but an eternal blessing hath the Lord thy God given thee, of whom I am the servant and messenger: but think not that the power not to see the prince of darkness can be given by me, but by him whom thou didst bear in thy womb: for his is all power, world without end. And thus saying, the angel departed with great light. 3 Now the palm-branch shone with exceeding brightness. Then Mary put off her garments and clothed herself in her best raiment, and taking the palm which she had received of the angel's hand she went out into the Mount of Olivet and began to pray and to say: I was not worthy to receive thee, Lord, if thou hadst not had mercy on me; nevertheless I kept the treasure which thou didst commit to me. Therefore I pray thee, O king of glory, that no power of hell may hurt me. For if the heavens and the angels quake before thee every day, how much more a man created of the earth, in whom is no good save what he hath received of thy bounty. Thou, Lord, art God, blessed for ever, world without end. And having thus said, she returned to her dwelling.

IV. And behold, suddenly, while Saint John was preaching at Ephesus, on the Lord's day, at the third hour, there was a great earthquake, and a cloud raised him up and took him out of the sight of all and brought him before the door of the house where Mary was. And he knocked at the door and straightway went in. But when Mary saw him she rejoiced greatly and said: I pray thee, my son John, remember the words of my Lord Jesus Christ wherewith he commended me to thee. For behold on the third day, [when] I am to depart out of the body—and I have heard the counsels of the Jews who say: Let us wait until the day when she shall die who bore that deceiver, and let us burn her body with fire. 2 So she called Saint John and took him into the secret part of the house and showed him her grave-clothes and that palm of light which she had received from the angel, and charged him to cause it to be borne before her bed when she should go to the tomb.

V. And Saint John said to her: How shall I alone prepare thy burial unless my brethren and fellow apostles of my Lord Jesus Christ come to pay honour to thy body?

And lo, suddenly by the commandment of God all the apostles were lifted up on a cloud and caught away from the places where they were preaching and set down before the door of the house wherein Mary dwelt. And they greeted each other and marvelled, saying: What is the cause wherefore the Lord hath gathered us together here?

[In another text is this addition. And Paul came with them who was turned from the circumcision and taken with Barnabas to minister to the Gentiles. And when there arose among them

a godly contention, which of them should first pray the Lord to show them the cause of *their coming*, and Peter exhorted Paul to pray first, Paul answered, saying: That is thine office, to begin first, since thou wast chosen of God to be a pillar of the church, and thou art before all in the apostleship: but me it befits not at all, for I am the least of all you, and Christ was seen of me as of one born out of due time, neither presume I to even myself with you; yet by the grace of God I am what I am.]

VI. Then all the apostles rejoicing with one mind finished their prayer: and when they had said Amen, lo, suddenly the blessed John came and showed them all these things. And the apostles entered the house and found Mary and saluted her, saying: Blessed be thou of the Lord which made heaven and earth. And she said to them: Peace be unto you my most beloved brethren. How came ye hither? And they told her how they had come, each one of them being lifted up on a cloud by the Spirit and set down in that place. And she said to them: God hath not deprived me of the sight of you. Behold I go the way of all the earth, and I doubt not that the Lord hath now brought you hither to give me comfort in the anguish that is to come upon me. Now therefore I beseech you that we all keep watch together without ceasing, until the hour when the Lord shall come and I shall depart out of the body.

VII. And as they sat about her comforting her, and for three days gave themselves to the praises of God, lo, on the third day, about the third hour of the day, sleep fell upon all that were in that house, and no man at all could keep waking save only the apostles and three virgins that were there. And behold, suddenly the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels, and a great light came down upon that place, and the angels were singing hymns and praising the Lord. Then the Saviour spake, saying: Come, thou most precious pearl, enter into the treasury (receptacle) of eternal life.

VIII. Then Mary fell on her face on the pavement, worshipping God, and said: Blessed be the name of thy glory, O Lord my God, who hast vouchsafed to choose me thy handmaid and to commit to me thy secret mystery. Remember me, therefore, O king of glory; for thou knowest that with all my heart I have loved thee and have kept the treasure committed unto me. Receive me therefore thy servant and deliver me from the power of darkness, and let not any assault of Satan meet me, neither let me see ugly spirits coming to meet me. 2 And the Saviour answered her: When I was sent by the Father and for the salvation of the world was hung on the cross, the prince of darkness came to me: but whereas he prevailed not to find in me any sign of his work, he departed vanquished and trodden down. Thou when thou seest him shalt see him indeed according to the law of mankind whereby the end, even death, is allotted

thee: but he cannot hurt thee, for I am with thee to help thee. Come thou without fear, for the heavenly host awaiteth thee to bring thee into the joy of paradise. 3 And as the Lord thus spake, Mary arose from the pavement and laid herself on her bed, and giving thanks to God she gave up the ghost. But the apostles saw her soul, that it was of such whiteness that no tongue of mortal men can worthily express it; for it excelled all whiteness of snow and of all metal and silver that glistereth with great brightness of light.

IX. Then the Saviour spake, saying: Arise, Peter, and take the body of Mary and bear it unto the right-hand side of the city toward the east, and thou wilt find there a new sepulchre wherein ye shall place it, and wait till I come unto you.

2 And when the Lord had so said, he delivered the soul of the holy Mary to Michael which was set over paradise and is the prince of the people of the Jews: and Gabriel went with them. And immediately the Saviour was received up into heaven with the angels.

X. Now the three virgins that were there and watched took the body of the blessed Mary to wash it after the custom of burials. And when they had stripped it of its apparel, that holy body shone with such brightness that it could indeed be touched to do the service thereof, but the appearance could not be looked upon for the exceeding flashing of light: and a great splendour appeared in it, and nothing was perceived by the sense when the body was washed, but it was most pure and not stained with any manner of defilement. And the body of the blessed Mary was like the flowers of the lily, and a great sweetness of fragrance issued from it, so that nothing like that sweetness could elsewhere be found.

XI. Then therefore the apostles laid the holy body upon a bier and said one to another: Who shall bear the palm before her bier? Then John said to Peter: Thou who art before us in the apostleship oughtest to bear this palm before her bed. And Peter answered him: Thou only of us art a virgin chosen of the Lord, and hast found such favour that thou didst lie on his breast: and he when he hung for our salvation on the tree of the cross committed her unto thee with his own mouth. Thou therefore oughtest to carry this palm; and let us take up the body to bear it unto the place of the sepulchre. 2 Thereafter Peter lifted up the head of the body and began to sing, saying: Israel is come out of Egypt. Alleluia. And with him the other apostles bore the body of the blessed Mary, and John carried the palm of light before the bier. And the rest of the apostles sang with exceeding sweet voices.

XII. And behold a new miracle. There appeared a very great cloud over the bier like the great circle that useth to be seen about the splendour of the moon: and an host of angels

was in the cloud sending forth a song of sweetness, and the earth resounded with the noise of that great melody. Then the people came out of the city, about fifteen thousand, and marvelled and said: What is this sound of such sweetness? 2 Then there stood one and told them: Mary is gone out of the body, and the disciples of Jesus are singing praises about her. And they looked and saw the bier crowned with great glory and the apostles singing with a loud voice. And behold, one of them who was a prince of the priests of the Jews in his degree was filled with fury and wrath and said to the rest: Behold the tabernacle of him that hath troubled us and all our nation, what glory it hath received. And he came near and would have overthrown the bier and cast the body on the earth. And forthwith his hands dried up from his elbows and clave to the bier. And when the apostles lifted the bier, part of him was hanging and part clave to the bier, and he was wrung with extreme torment as the apostles went on and sang. But the angels that were in the clouds smote the people with blindness.

XIII. Then that prince cried out, saying: I beseech thee, holy Peter, despise me not in this so great necessity, for I am sore tormented with great pains. Remember that when the damsel that kept the door knew thee in the judgement hall and told the rest, that they might challenge thee, then I spake good on thy behalf. Then Peter answered and said: It is not mine to give thee ought: but if thou believest with thy whole heart on the Lord Jesus Christ, whom this woman bare in her womb and continued a virgin after the birth, the mercy of the Lord, which by his great pity saveth the unworthy, shall give thee healing.

2 Whereunto he answered: Do we not believe? but what shall we do? The enemy of mankind hath blinded our hearts, and shame hath covered our faces that we should not confess the mighty works of God; especially when we did curse ourselves, crying out against Christ: His blood be on us and on our children. Then said Peter: See, that curse will hurt him that continueth unbelieving in him, but unto them that turn to God mercy is not denied. And he said: I believe all that thou sayest to me: only I beseech thee, have mercy on me lest I die.

XIV. Then Peter made the bier stand still and said to him: If thou believest with thy whole heart in Jesus Christ, thine hands shall be loosed from the bier. And when he had so said, straightway his hands were loosed from the bier and he began to stand on his feet: but his arms were yet withered, neither did the pain depart from him. 2 Then Peter said to him: Go near to the body and kiss the bed and say: I believe in God and in the Son of God whom this woman bare, even Jesus Christ, and I believe all things whatsoever Peter the apostle of God hath

told me. And he came near and kissed the bed, and forthwith all pain left him and his hands were made whole. 3 Then began he to bless God greatly and to speak out of the books of Moses testimonies unto the praise of Christ, so that even the apostles themselves marvelled and wept for gladness, praising the name of the Lord.

XV. But Peter said to him: Take this palm at the hand of our brother John, and go into the city and thou wilt find much people blinded; and declare unto them the mighty works of God, and whosoever believeth on the Lord Jesus Christ, lay this palm upon their eyes and they shall see; but whoso believe not shall continue blind. 2 And when he had so done, he found much people blinded and lamenting thus: Woe unto us, for we are become like the men of Sodom that were stricken with blindness. Nothing remaineth for us now save to perish. But when they had heard the words that the prince spake which was healed, they believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and when he laid the palm upon their eyes, they recovered sight; but whoso of them continued in hardness of heart died. And the prince of the priests went forth to the apostles and gave back the palm and declared all that had come to pass.

XVI. But the apostles carrying Mary came into the place of the valley of Josaphat which the Lord had showed them, and laid her in a new tomb and shut the sepulchre. But they sat down at the door of the tomb as the Lord had charged them: and lo, suddenly the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels, and light flashing with great brightness, and said to the apostles: Peace be with you. And they answered and said: Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, like as we have hoped in thee.

2 Then the Saviour spake unto them, saying: Before I ascended up unto my Father I promised you, saying, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his majesty, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Now this woman did I choose out of the tribes of Israel by the commandment of my Father, to dwell in her. What then will ye that I do with her? 3 Then said Peter and the other apostles: Lord, thou didst before choose this thine handmaid to become thine immaculate chamber, and us thy servants for thy ministry. All things didst thou foreknow before the worlds with thy Father, with whom to thee and the Holy Ghost there belongeth equal Godhead and infinite power. If therefore it might come to pass before the power of thy grace, it hath appeared right to us thy servants that, as thou having overcome death dost reign in glory, so thou shouldest raise up the body of thy mother and take her with thee rejoicing into heaven.

XVII. Then said the Saviour: Be it done according to your

will. And he commanded Michael the archangel to bring the soul of the holy Mary. And behold, Michael the archangel rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and the Lord said: Rise up, my love and my kinswoman: thou that didst not suffer corruption by union of the flesh, shalt not suffer dissolution of the body in the sepulchre. 2 And immediately Mary rose up from the grave and blessed the Lord, and fell at the Lord's feet and worshipped him, saying: I am not able to render thee worthy thanks, O Lord, for thine innumerable benefits which thou hast vouchsafed to grant unto me thy handmaid. Let thy name be blessed for ever, redeemer of the world, thou God of Israel.

XVIII. And the Lord kissed her and departed, and delivered her to the angels to bear her into paradise. And he said to the apostles: Come near unto me; and when they had come near, he kissed them and said: Peace be unto you; as I have been always with you, so will I be even unto the end of the world.

2 And immediately when the Lord had so said he was lifted up in a cloud and received into heaven, and the angels with him, bearing the blessed Mary into the paradise of God.

But the apostles were taken up upon clouds and returned every one unto the lot of his preaching, declaring the mighty works of God and praising the Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost in a perfect unity and in one substance of the Godhead, world without end. Amen.

THE ASSUMPTION: NARRATIVE BY JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA

This is Tischendorf's A text. It is of late complexion, and one of the three manuscripts used by Tischendorf (C) presents a very divergent text throughout. An analysis will suffice.

1 Before the Passion the Virgin asked Jesus to certify her of her death on the third day before it, and to receive her with his angels. 2, 3 He promised that this should be so (the speech is fairly long).

4 In the second year after the ascension she was constantly praying. On the third day before her death an angel (Gabriel, C) came and gave her a palm and told her of her departure.

5 She sent for Joseph of Arimathaea and other disciples, and told them, and then washed and arrayed herself as a queen. Three virgins were with her—Sepphora, Abigea, and Zael. The apostles were already dispersed about the world.

6 At the third hour, thunder, rain, earthquake. John was suddenly brought from Ephesus and entered the chamber and

greeted her. She said: Dearest son, why have you left me for so long?

7 All the disciples except Thomas now arrived on clouds, and greeted her.

8 They were John, James his brother, Peter, Paul, Andrew, Philip, Luke, Barnabas, Bartholomew, Matthew, Matthias surnamed Justus, Simon the Canaanite, Jude and his brother, Nicodemus, Maximianus (this must be the legendary Maximin of Aix en Provence who figures in the late legend of Mary Magdalene's mission to Marseilles).

9 Mary asked: why have you all come? Peter said: It is for us to ask thee. None of us know. I was at Antioch, and now I am here. And all told where they had been. 10 Mary told them the reason, that she was to depart on the morrow, and asked them to watch and pray with her. So they did, all night, with lights and psalmody.

11 On the Sunday at the third hour Christ came down with a host of angels and took the soul of his mother. Such was the light and fragrance that all fell on their faces (as at Mount Tabor) and none could rise for an hour and a half. 12 As the light receded, the soul of Mary was taken up with it, with singing: and as the cloud went up, the earth shook, and all in Jerusalem saw the death of Mary in one instant.

13 Then Satan entered into them and they took arms to burn the body and kill the apostles; but they were struck blind, and smote their heads against walls, and hit one another.

14 The apostles took up the body to bear it from Mount Sion to the valley of Josaphat. As they went, a Jew named Ruben tried to upset the bier, but his hands withered to the elbow and willy-nilly he had to go on into the valley weeping and crying, for his hands clave to the bier. 15 He began to ask the apostles to pray for him that he might be saved and become a Christian. They knelt and prayed, and his hands were loosed and he was healed. He was baptized at once, and began to proclaim Christ.

16 'Then the apostles laid the body in the tomb with great honour, weeping and singing for pure love and sweetness. And suddenly a light from heaven shone round about them, and as they fell to the earth, the holy body was taken up by angels into heaven' (the apostles not knowing it).

17 Thomas was suddenly brought to the Mount of Olives and saw the holy body being taken up, and cried out to Mary: 'make thy servant glad by thy mercy, for now thou goest to heaven'. And the girdle with which the apostles had girt the body was thrown down to him; he took it and went to the valley of Josaphat. 18 When he had greeted the apostles, Peter said: 'Thou wast always unbelieving, and so the Lord hath not suffered thee to be at his mother's burial.' He smote his breast and said: 'I know

it and I ask pardon of you all,' and they all prayed for him. 19 Then he said: 'Where have ye laid her body?' and they pointed to the sepulchre. But he said: 'The holy body is not there.' Peter said: 'Formerly you would not believe in the resurrection of the Lord before you touched him: how should you believe us?' Thomas went on saying: 'It is not here.' Then in anger they went and took away the stone, and the body was not there; and they knew not what to say, being vanquished by Thomas's words. 20 Then Thomas told them how he had been saying mass in India (and he still had on his priestly vestments), how he had been brought to the Mount of Olives and seen the ascension of Mary and she had given him her girdle: and he showed it. 21 They all rejoiced and asked his pardon, and he blessed them and said: Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity.

22 The same clouds which had brought them, now carried them back, as we read in the Acts about Philip who baptized the eunuch, and as Abacuc was brought to Daniel and taken back.

23 Nor is it wonderful that Christ should do such things (miracles are enumerated).

24 I am that Joseph who laid the body of the Lord in my tomb and saw him rise again, and always watched over his most holy temple, even the blessed Mary, ever virgin, before the ascension of the Lord and after it: and upon this page and in my heart have I written the things that came out of the mouth of God, and how the aforesaid matters came to pass, and I have made known to all the Jews and Gentiles what I saw with my eyes and heard with my ears, and as long as I live I shall not cease to proclaim them.

'Whose assumption is this day revered and honoured throughout all the world: let us constantly pray her that she remember us before her most merciful son in heaven: to whom is praise and glory for infinite ages. Amen.'

(C has a statement that any Christian who has this writing in his house will be safe from various afflictions—lunacy, deafness, blindness, sudden death—and he will have the protection of the Virgin at his end.)

The episode of Thomas and the girdle is peculiar to this writing. The girdle is the great relic of Prato; and the prominence given to this incident is another indication that we have here a mediaeval Italian composition, not earlier, I imagine, than the thirteenth century.

THE SYRIAC NARRATIVES

The Syriac narratives of the Assumption of the Virgin form a very large mass of writing.

The principal texts are:

1. That edited by W. Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for 1865, and again by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica*, XI. *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 1902. In the latter the translation fills pp. 12-69 in quarto.

2, 2a. Edited by Wright in *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the N.T.*, 1865. pp. 18-24 (2), and 24-41 (2a). These are pieces of two distinct works, which he has put together under one heading. Both are fragmentary: the first is the simplest of the Syriac versions. The second (2a) is akin to 1.

3. That in Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's *History of the B. V. M.*, Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, vol. v, 1899, pp. 97-153.

4. The fragments in Wright's *Contributions* called *Obsequies of the Holy Virgin* (pp. 42-51 and Preface, 10-15).

Of these nos. 1, 2, 2a, 3 have much in common; 4 is very peculiar. Some account of each shall be given.

No. 1 (Wright and Lewis) is a congeries of documents divided into six books (really five, but six are promised).

Book I, after a panegyric introduction, tells how the narrative was found. It was attested in autograph by James, bishop of Jerusalem. Two apostles wrote each of the six books, and they were entrusted to John.

His copy was found at Ephesus, attested by the Twelve and the Seventy-two, and written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Book II. In the year 344 (of the era of the Greeks), on the third day of the latter Teshrin (September), being the third day of the week at the third hour, Mary went to the tomb.

The Jews immediately after the Passion had closed it with great stones, and forbidden resort to it on pain of death. They also hid the cross, spear, sponge, robe, crown of thorns, and nails.

The priests told the guardians of the tomb to stone Mary if she came there again. They said, 'Do it yourselves'. On the Friday Mary burnt incense there: Gabriel came down and told her of her approaching death. (There is no mention of a palm.)

The guards informed the priests that Mary had come again. The priests asked the governor to forbid her.

At this time Abgar of Edessa (converted by Addai) wished to destroy Jerusalem because of Christ's death, and came as far as Euphrates, but hesitated to cross it. He wrote to the procurator Sabinus, who sent the letter to Tiberius,¹ who was greatly moved

¹ A letter of Abgar to Tiberius on the subject, and the answer of Tiberius, are given by Moses of Chorene in his *History of Armenia* (ii. 33).

against the Jews. The Jews were alarmed. They said to the governor: Forbid Mary to go to the tomb. He said: Forbid her yourselves. A long abusive speech of the Jews to Mary follows.

She left Jerusalem and went to Bethlehem with her three virgins, Callētha, daughter of Nicodemus, Neshra, daughter of Gamaliel, Tabitha, daughter of Archelaus. (There is a description of the service which these did to Mary: Gabriel tells her to go to Bethlehem.)

On Friday Mary burnt incense and prayed that John might be sent to her. John was brought from Ephesus. His arrival and conversation with Mary.

The other apostles were brought. Here we are following the Greek text pretty closely.

John received the apostles. They each told Mary how they had come. The correspondence with the Greek is curiously exact. Mark was performing the service of the third hour. Matthew says: 'I have given and am giving glory to God,' and so on. The Greek, however, does not give the speeches of those who had been raised from the grave to come, but the Syriac does, for Philip, Simon, Luke, and Andrew. And after Andrew, Bartholomew (not already dead) follows, as in the Greek.

There was a great concourse of angels, and the Bethlehemites in fear went and told the governor and the priests.

Book III. All the great signs attracted people from many quarters. Before this many used to come to the Virgin to be healed. (Five instances are given of cures.)

There was now a festival at Jerusalem, and many sick went out to Bethlehem to be healed. 2,800 were cured. = Gk. 28, but more diffuse.

On the 21st of Teshrin II in the night, men rose up to attack the house. Angels of fire descended from heaven. = Gk. 29, but there the attackers are confounded and turned back. Syr. has nothing of this.

The priests insisted on Mary's banishment by the governor. He sent a chiliarch to Bethlehem with thirty men. The Spirit told the apostles to take Mary to Jerusalem. They did so and held a five days' service.

Meanwhile the chiliarch found nothing at Bethlehem, and the priests said this was due to magic. This last is not in Gk. 31-3, which is, otherwise, represented well.

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

Caleb the Sadducee, who was a secret believer, whispered to

the governor that he should adjure the Jews by the God of Israel to tell him their real opinion about Jesus.

So all Jerusalem was assembled: and there follows a long altercation between the believers and unbelievers before the governor. Eventually some of the latter are forced by scourging to tell how they had hidden the cross, &c. The governor (rather inconsequently) has the place obstructed with great stones.

He then goes to see Mary. He greets the apostles (and they tell him how they came there. This is only in 2). Mary at his request tells him the story of the Annunciation. The governor left Jerusalem and went to Rome and told the emperor, and the account of all this was written down by disciples at Rome, who also wrote to the apostles telling them of various miracles (seven are told) which Mary had wrought.

The text then leaps to § 45 of the Greek, omitting (in this place) all notice of the death of the Virgin.

The Spirit told the apostles to bear her to a place where were three caves, and to lay her on a bench there and await his bidding.

Jephonias, 'strong and tall, and handsome of figure', attacked them—was smitten and healed (but Mary is not dead yet, for she speaks to him). Peter gave a dry rod to Jephonias and sent him to the Jews. The rod blossomed. He healed a man born blind, and many others. = Gk. 45-7, and Lat. xii-xv. The Greek has not the healing of the Jews, and the Syriac has distorted it.

The apostles laid Mary in the eastern cave and held a service of three days and nights. Some Jews came to the cave: three ventured in, and were burnt and swallowed up. Many believed, but the priests threatened and bribed them.

This, which concludes Book III, is badly confused in the Syriac, which has made the great mistake of saying that the apostles bore the Virgin to the cave before she was dead.

Book IV. While the apostles were ministering about Mary in the cave the Spirit spoke to them, and told the story of the Annunciation. He spoke also of the date of her death, and then told how Sunday is the day of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Entry, Resurrection, Ascension, and Judgement. = Gk. 36.

Eve, Anna, Elisabeth, Adam, and other patriarchs now came and greeted Mary, and then the procession of heavenly chariots, and then Christ. His words to her, and her answer. Her kissing of his hand, and prayers and blessing and death, are as in Gk. 38-44, but the blessing is far longer.

Then the body was prepared for burial. Twelve chariots took up the apostles and bore them all to Paradise (cf. the alternative text of Gk. 48): and they returned thence and ordained a commemoration of her three times a year. Cf. Gk. 49.

After this is a very long disquisition on the rules which the apostles made about the commemoration: it need not even be summarized here (pp. 59-62).

When they had come back to the cave they agreed to write a book in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and commit it to John: and, with more unimportant matter following on this, the book ends.

Book V, pp. 64-9. This is a diffuse account of the Virgin's visit to Paradise. One paragraph tells of her seeing Gehenna.

John and Peter were with her, and she revealed everything to John and told him to write it: it would be made public at the end of the world.

Christ then says he will tell her what is to happen at his second coming: but nothing is told. Mary answers with thanksgiving and prayer—and Book V ends. Book VI does not appear.

2. (Wright: *Contributions*, p. 18.)

A prefatory section declares the apostles to be the witnesses and authors of what follows.

The story then begins, and gives a shorter form of what we have had, in this order:

Mary goes to the tomb.

The Jews threaten to stone her.

She asks Jesus to take her out of the world.

The angel comes to tell her her prayer is heard.

The guards of the tomb report this.

The Jews ask Sabinus the governor to banish her.

He refers them to her. They come and abuse her.

She goes to Bethlehem with the three virgins (named as in 1).

She prays that John may be sent. He comes.

The other apostles arrive.

They begin to tell how they came. The first fragment ends in John's narrative. It was left unfinished by the scribe.

2a. p. 24. This begins in the midst of the dispute between believers and unbelievers before the governor, and the story follows the course of 1 down to the point where the apostles lay Mary in the cave. Here the first fragment of 2a ends.

p. 39. The second fragment of 2a does not seem to have an exact textual equivalent in 1.

Chariots of light and saints arrive, and Mary is borne to paradise.

The apostles return to the Mount of Olives, and pray to be allowed to ordain a commemoration of Mary.

And so with rather a long doxology the book ends.

It is, so far as we have it, far more compact and coherent than 1 or 3.

3. (Budge.)

This is mainly identical in content with 1, but has points of its own.

Mary goes to the tomb.

The Jews plot to kill her, close the cave, set guards on it.

Gabriel comes.

The guards report it.

Mary goes to Bethlehem with the three virgins (as above).

The Jews hid the cross, &c., and asserted that 'here are buried the Book of Moses and the box of manna and the rod of Aaron and the mantle of Elijah', so that if miracles did happen there, they could be attributed to those relics.

Abgar's letter. Sabinus is angry with the Jews. Mary prayed that the apostles might be sent.

John came.

Then the others. The statement that they came and the circumstances of their doing so are put into one narrative, not repeated as in 1.

After the apostles had greeted Mary, Anne, Elisabeth, Adam, &c., came, and all the various orders of saints and angels: and Christ. This dialogue and her prayers are rather shortened, but essentially as in 1.

Mary died and her soul was taken up.

Then we have a bad dislocation.

The believers in the city went to the governor and told him the truth about Jesus and the Jews. He was angry with the chiefs, and smote them and told them not to harm the Christians. This is a condensation into a few lines of the dispute before the governor. Yet this dispute occurs later on. Here, however, we have the sequel.

The governor visited Mary with his sick son (who was healed). The apostles told him of their miraculous coming. The governor went to Rome and told the emperor, and the believers there wrote down the wonderful record. This is a shorter form of 1.

A paragraph on the age of Mary (52) follows.

The apostles said, 'Let us make a distinction between the burial of believers and non-believers, and make a beginning with Mary'. They prepared her body for burial, and set out in procession.

The Jews saw it and bribed the governor not to interfere with them. They also bribed a gigantic soldier of his, Yophana, to go with them and attack the bier.

Then we have the affliction and cure of Yophana, who goes back to the governor, and he laughs at the Jews.

The apostles laid the body in the cave.

Peter asked the multitude to set guards over it. He also spoke to the believers of the glory of Mary.

The Jews plotted and put a number of dead bodies in the cave, but in vain: and then tried to burn the body but were burnt themselves.

Then the apostles brought out the body and laid it on a bier.

Then came all the chariots of light, and the body was put in a chariot of light, and it and all the apostles went up to Paradise.

And the cloud took them back to Jerusalem. And they wrote down all the triumphs of the Virgin and sent the books every-

where, and ordained three yearly commemorations; and were taken back to the places whence they had come.

Then a homiletical paragraph. It introduces the revelation of John about the Virgin in Paradise. = No. 1, Book V.

The Jews thought the body was still in the cave, and they went in and found it not. Many believed.

The unbelievers (again?) put dead bodies in the cave.

The believers told the governor, and he sent Yophana, who confiscated all the goods of the offenders.

'Here I will write of the miracles which the Bethlehemites saw wrought in the upper chamber where Mary lay.'

Visions of angels, multitudes of sick healed: six miracles narrated, as in 1. The healing of 2,800 people.

Plot to attack the house. Descent of angels of fire. All this is in 1.

The priests insisted on the banishment of Mary. The chiliarch sent. The apostles bore Mary to Bethlehem (*read* Jerusalem). The five days' service. The house in Jerusalem attacked, the besiegers burnt, the governor's declaration of belief.

The dispute between believers and unbelievers before the governor. The hiding-place of the cross obstructed.

Then afterwards the disciples of the apostles wrote (to various places), and wrote an account of the departure of Mary, and took it with them to Byzantium.

And then a series of miracles is narrated, which are nearly all identical with those in 1.

4. Wright. (Obsequies of the Holy Virgin, *Contributions*, p. 42.)

The fragments printed and summarized by Wright in the Preface contain these incidents:

The appearance of the Lord to his mother: her last words and death. Her soul is delivered to Michael. Peter begins to speak to Christ.

The funeral procession. Jews are blinded, and he who tries to overset the bier has his arms fixed to it. They are restored. Peter gives him a staff with which he heals 5,000 blinded people.

p. 42. First long fragment. Paul is speaking, and telling a long story about Solomon, who had been told by a demon that a certain young man would die. A form of this story occurs in the Testament of Solomon.

The apostles ask Paul to go on speaking, 'for our Lord hath sent thee to gladden us during these three days'. Paul asks them what they will preach when they go forth: and is answered by Peter, John, and Andrew. He criticizes them as too severe, and recommends a gentler policy. They are angry.

And as they were all sitting disputing before the entrance to Mary's tomb, Jesus appeared and justified Paul's view, as against the others.

He summoned Michael and bade him bring forth the body of Mary into the clouds. They were all carried to Paradise.

The apostles then asked the Lord to show them the place of torment, reminding him of his promise that on the day of the departure of Mary they should see it.

They were all taken on a cloud to the west. The Lord spoke to the angels of the pit, and the earth sprang upwards and they saw the pit.¹

The lost saw Michael and begged for respite. Mary and the apostles fell down and interceded for them. Michael spoke to them, telling them that at all the twelve hours of the day and of the night the angels intercede for creation. The angel of the waters intercedes for the waters. Here the fragment ends.

p. 48. The next fragment is a story told by Michael to Mary, of the concealing of the bones of Joseph in the Nile by Pharaoh and their discovery by Moses. It seems as if this must have been told in answer to some inquiry of Mary's about her own body, and therefore it should be placed earlier in order.

p. 50. The last fragment is a curious story about Jesus testing the apostles, evidently during his life on earth. It is so puzzling and uncommon as to be worth quoting in full:

'them according to their wish. And he sent by the hand of the apostles to them² (to ask) were these things not so?

And he said: These are the shepherds of the house of Israel, who are praying for the sheep, that they may be sanctified and made glorious before the sons of men: and themselves they are not able to sanctify, because they exalt themselves like the strong. Did I not give them many signs?

And the apostles said: Lord, lo they beseech and pray, and repent, and kneel upon their knees. Why dost thou not hear them? Our Lord says unto them: I too was willing to hear them, but there is deception in them (as) ye too know.

And when Jesus wished to show the apostles for what reason he did not hear them, he took them up into a mountain and let them become hungry. And when the apostles had gone, they asked of him, and say unto him: Lord we are hungry; what have we then to eat in this desert? And Jesus told them to go to the trees which were before them. And he said to them: Go to those trees which are over against us, whose branches are many and fair and beautiful at a distance, and from them ye shall get food. And when the apostles went, they did not find fruit on the trees.

And they returned to Jesus, and said: Good Teacher, thou

¹ I have pointed out, and the Rev. St. J. Seymour has elaborated the thesis, that this visit of the apostles to Hell was known in *Ireland* at an early date, and that the Irish form must be derived somehow from this Syriac text.

² Evidently the leaders of the Jews.

didst send us to those trees which are over against us, and we went and found on them no fruit, but only branches which were fair and beautiful, but there was no fruit on them.

And Jesus said to them: Ye have not seen them, because the trees grow straight upwards. Go therefore at once, because the trees are bending themselves, and ye shall find on them fruit, and get yourselves food. And when they went, they found the trees bending down, but they did not find fruit upon them.

And they returned again to Jesus in great distress, and say to him: What is this, Teacher, that we are mocked? For at first thou didst say to us, 'Ye shall find trees which are straight, and there is fruit on them,' and we found none. Why are we mocked? But it is fitting that thou shouldst teach us what this is that has happened; for we think that what thou didst wish to teach us is false; for by a visible power the trees were laid hold of and bent down. If this be a temptation, make known to us what it is.

And Jesus said to them: Go and sit under them, and ye shall see what it is that abides on them, but ye shall not be able to bend them again. And when the apostles went and sat under the trees, straightway the trees threw down stinking worms. And the apostles came again to Jesus and say to him: Teacher, dost thou wish to lead us astray or to turn us away from thee? . . .

The trees of course represent the leaders or priests of the Jews whose prayers are ineffectual because of their moral defects. The story has no parallel that I know of, and to my mind has a rather ancient complexion.

This whole book of the Obsequies stands quite apart from the rest of the narratives; it had, we see, the framework, with the Jew attacking the bier and so forth; but this framework was evidently used for the insertion of a number of quite extraneous discourses and stories, and what we have of these is so unusual that we must greatly regret the loss of the rest. The undoubted fact that this form of the story somehow penetrated to Ireland gives additional interest to the book.

Wright assigned the manuscript to the latter part of the fifth century.

Besides the forms we have reviewed there are versions in Arabic (ed. Enger, 1854), Aethiopic (Chaine, *Corpus script. christ. Orient.*, 1909), Armenian (Vetter, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1902). These agree in their main features with the Syriac books and do not demand a detailed analysis. The Armenian, as usual, has its own peculiar and 'unauthorized' additions.

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

Also in all Mary is warned of her death by her Son, not by an angel.

In the Greek, Latin, and Syriac (1, 2, 3) the death is announced by an angel; in Greek and Latin he brings a palm-branch (and so, too, in Copt. 4), but not in Syriac.

The apostles are summoned from all parts of the world and from their graves, and tell how they came.

The 'governor' figures largely in Syriac and appears in Greek. The controversy before him, which is only in the oriental versions, seems to have been borrowed from another writing: the real point of it is the hiding of the cross at the end.

The Jew who attacks the bier (usually Jephonias, but Ruben in the latest text, Lat. A) is a constant feature: he also figures in the Coptic fragment 4.

In Greek, Latin, and Copt. 4 he heals the blinded people with the palm-branch: in Syriac with Peter's staff.

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