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The apocryphal and legendary
life of Christ

THE APOCRYPHAL AND LEGENDARY
LIFE OF CHRIST

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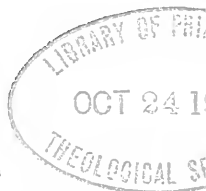
THE APOCRYPHAL AND LEGENDARY LIFE OF CHRIST

BEING THE WHOLE BODY OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS AND OTHER EXTRA
CANONICAL LITERATURE WHICH PRETENDS TO TELL OF THE LIFE AND
WORDS OF JESUS CHRIST, INCLUDING MUCH MATTER WHICH HAS
NOT BEFORE APPEARED IN ENGLISH. IN CONTINUOUS
NARRATIVE FORM, WITH NOTES, SCRIPTURAL
REFERENCES, PROLEGOMENA, AND INDICES

BY

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PREFACE

The object of this work is to make accessible to the reader of English, in a form easily grasped, the whole body of that comparatively ancient extra-canonical literature which pretends to tell at first hand something of the Life and Words of Jesus Christ. That literature, it must be admitted, discloses to the investigator but few golden grains amidst an intolerable deal of chaff. Yet weighted down, as it is, with the dreary verbosity of Gnostic madness, and the preposterous, if lighter inventions of mediaeval legend-mongers, it certainly bears across nearly nineteen centuries a few words from the divine Author of Christianity, and a few particulars as to His history upon which the four Gospels are silent.

It is not possible to resolve this extra-canonical literature into its constituent elements. No final book can be written upon the *Agrapha*, the Heretical Gospels, the Apocryphal Gospels, or Legends about Christ, and seriously pretend completely to separate any one of these elements from the rest; they are inextricably intertwined. The *Agrapha*, for instance, almost certainly contain some reliable tradition; yet, in the form in which we now have them, they are as certainly largely heretical and apocryphal. The Heretical Gospels, again, of which fragments are extant, were mainly but corrupted copies of canonical ones; yet it is certainly demonstrated that most Apocryphal Gospels had their origin in heresy. The best established legends, moreover, rest mainly upon apocryphal sources.

The plan here followed has, in consequence, been to combine all these elements, allowing them to tell their own stories in the unaltered words of their authors, and explaining, as far as possible, by the use of foot notes, the resulting narra-

tive. The accomplishment of this is the sole claim to usefulness and comparative originality, which the present work makes. Editions of the better-known Apocryphal Gospels are plentiful enough, and books upon the Agrapha, the Hostile Gospels, and the Legends of the New Testament are multitudinous. But there is no work in English that logically and thoroughly pursues this plan, which seems to the writer the only satisfactory method of gaining a comprehensive view of this extra-canonical literature. And even were Hofmann's admirable work, "Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen" (see Introduction, II, 5), accessible to the average reader, discoveries in all departments of this literature have been so rich during the half century since its appearance, that the present book is able to present nearly fifty per cent. more matter in its text, much of which has never before appeared in English. This work's favourable reception will result in the preparation of "The Apocryphal and Legendary Acts of the Apostles," as its sequel.

The writer makes no pretence of having done much original work in the critical editing of texts, or otherwise. He has availed himself in the most absolute manner of all previous work in these departments, which he was able to secure and judged valuable for his purpose, and here makes general acknowledgment of that fact. In Section II, will be found more specific acknowledgment of indebtedness; and the reader's attention is asked to this, as well as to the other parts of the Introduction, which it is hoped will fully explain the scope, sources, and arrangement of this work.

A final remark before commending the book to the reader's indulgence must be the expression of regret, that due regard for conciseness in the foot notes, and for the avoidance of ambiguity and monotonous repetition in the text, has prevented the use, throughout the work, of certain forms of reverence and respect towards our Lord and the Gospel characters, which the author would have preferred. Jesus Christ has been referred to with the capitalized pronoun, only when He was distinctly addressed as God, and the usual titles of reverence for saintly personages have been omitted. The

writer has tried, however, not to forget that however grotesque the *mise en scène* which men's vain imaginations have supplied, he had always to do with sacred things throughout these pages, and walked on holy ground. And he adds here his general expression of regret, which is more than once recorded in the notes regarding specific matters, that much which is repugnant to reverent Christian feeling had necessarily to be included in these pages.

GRACE CHURCH RECTORY, MONROE, LA.,
EASTERTIDE, 1903

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SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE EXTRA-CANONICAL LITERATURE REGARDING CHRIST'S LIFE AND WORDS.

1. *The Limits of this Literature, and Plan of the Following Text.* I make these limits include all extra-canonical documents professing to tell anything regarding the Life and Words of Christ, save palpably modern fabrications; such as, the pretended revelations of Roman Catholic and other seers and mystics, and works like the recent "Unknown Life of Christ." Even these, however, are in many cases referred to in the notes. My sources, then, will be found to include: The Apocryphal Gospels, commonly so called; many fragments related to same; such portions of the Apocryphal Acts and Apocalypses as refer directly to Christ's Life or Words; the Agrapha, or Traditional Words of Christ preserved by the Church fathers and other writers; the Heretical, Forged, Hostile, and especially Gnostic Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses; the Traditions reported by the Church writers, who are listed in Section V, ranging in date from the first century to the seventeenth; finally, various illustrative matter found mainly in the notes, drawn from the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, from the Lives of the Saints, from Rabbinical, Mohammedan, and other Oriental sources, from folk-lore, various mythologies, and other quarters that it would be tedious to specify.

Having first determined my principal sources, I have woven the narrative of the text from the exact words of these documents, making no more verbal changes than were absolutely necessary. Throughout most of the book, I have had to combine the narratives of two or more documents to form

this text; it thus became necessary in many places to prune away resulting redundancy of words, but this has been done with a sparing hand; and I am confident that rarely has one material sentence, or even significant word, coming from any of these sources, been omitted from the resulting version. I believe that it thus presents the valuable advantage of offering practically all the substance of this literature in a form much more condensed and convenient than has before been given it. The liberties that I have taken with texts have been confined to changes in unimportant connective words or clauses, in the form of discourse whether direct or indirect, and in the substitution of a harmonious set of legendary proper names for the various ones used by the several documents. I have endeavoured to make the entire story told by my text reasonably consistent throughout, and where conflicting traditions rendered this impossible have, in some cases consigned alternative versions to the notes, in others told them in the text with the introductory formula, "others say." It must be well understood, that so far from my endeavour being to sift and present the most primitive forms of legends, I have, on the contrary, in every case preferred the most elaborate, which have usually been the latest versions of them. I would add, that constantly I have been surprised at the unexpected degree of harmony that prevails amongst a collection of traditions drawn from ages and sources so diverse.

In addition to the "Main Sources," listed in Section III of this Introduction, I have in many places included in the text words, sentences, and longer portions drawn from still other quarters. In such cases, with the following exception, these lesser sources are accompanied by foot notes which treat briefly of their origin, so that they do not demand special notice in the Introduction. The exception to this is formed by the fragments of lost Apocryphal or Heretical Gospels, which are not extended enough to be ranked amongst the "Main Sources." All Gospel names of this kind, whether or not fragments of them are extant, will be found catalogued and briefly described in Section IV of the Introduction. I am conscious of the fact that the distinction drawn between

the "Main Sources" and the lesser ones, is not always logical. I have founded it mainly on the comparative length of the different documents used. My "Main Sources" are in general those documents of greater length and more widely recognized apocryphal standing, although they embrace some of the latest and most worthless of figments. On the other hand, my lesser miscellaneous sources, along with matter of the very least importance, include the Agrapha and most of the tradition that has greatest intrinsic value.

At the head of each chapter of the text will be found a list of the "Main Sources" from which it was woven; also, references to definite parts of these sources, in cases where there is a recognized division of them into chapters or sections. The name of each of the "Main Sources" is always preceded by an Arabic number in parentheses; and this number is, throughout the book, used for reference to that document. Reference to the corresponding number in Section III of the Introduction will give the reader such facts in regard to any document as I am able to present. There will also be found here, at the beginning of the account of each "Main Source," a list of the chapters of the text in which it is used. Accompanying each paragraph of the text—in the case of chap. XIX, at the top of each page—there will be found side references to these same numbers in parentheses, showing the "Main Source," or "Sources," from which the paragraph has been formed. When the side reference "(n)" is thus used, it indicates that none of the "Main Sources" have been drawn upon in the composition of the paragraph, but that its source will be shown by a foot note, or notes, referring to its contents. The "Main Sources" are also referred to in the foot notes by the use of these Arabic numbers in parentheses. I think that the advantages of such a system of references, enabling the reader definitely to locate the source of any legend or statement in the book, will be generally recognized.

The first fourteen chapters of my text contain what are commonly called the "Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy," and comparatively little else; there is here the smallest infusion of newly-discovered matter. Chapters XV-XXI, I con-

sider the most interesting in the book from every point of view. Very little purely apocryphal literature relating to Christ's public ministry has ever been discovered, Gospels treating of this period being necessarily rather heretical than apocryphal. These chapters are formed, therefore, mainly of fragments preserved by the Church writers, and contain the larger part of the most interesting and reasonable extra-canonical literature, as well as a great deal of matter that has not been accessible until recently. The Gospel of Nicodemus forms the framework for the rest of the book. Chapter XXV, however, is composed mainly of later legends, chapters XXXI and XXXII are really Apocryphal Apocalypses, and the last four chapters of the book are formed from documents regarding the "Avenging of the Saviour," which are much later developments of the Nicodemus Gospel.

2. *The Heretical, and Particularly the Gnostic, Gospels.* That there were in existence very early, certain so-called "Gospels," distinct from the four that have come down to us with the Church's imprimatur, is not alone evident from fragments which remain, but is clearly stated in the New Testament. The plainest indications of this are to be found in the first verse of St. Luke's Gospel, and perhaps, in a general way, in the last verse of St. John's. But earlier still, St. Paul, who unquestionably penned the first books that are found in our present canon, has frequent references to "his Gospel," and vigorously combats "other Gospels," which he finds in existence. Even if the Apostle's expressions be understood to refer to nothing more than certain oral schemes of doctrine, they furnish a strong presumption that the "other" oral Gospels would later harden into hostile records, even as the teaching of the Church is that St. Paul's Gospel was soon after written, and fixed in the form of the canonical four, or some of them. And whilst limitations of space do not permit me to discuss the question as to whether or not Gnostic references are found in the New Testament, I at least record my conviction, that the "profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of Gnosis falsely so called" (I Tim. vi.20), the "fables and endless genealogies" (I Tim. i.4), with many

other references, indicate that Gnostic literature, or its inspiration at least, was already in existence.

References to such notices of early Hostile Gospels as have been preserved, and to such fragments of them as remain, will be found in Section III, and especially Section IV, of this Introduction. I here call special attention to only a few of these, that have particular significance for the bearing of the questions that they raise upon the problems as to the date and authorship of the four Gospels. They are: The Gospel of the Hebrews in its various forms; the Gospel of the Egyptians; the Didascalia Gospel; and the Gospel of Peter. It is abundantly plain from the indications furnished by these, that the nascent Catholic church had, with its four Gospels, first to meet the attacks of rationalizing Jewish Gospels, and next, or perhaps simultaneously, of Gnostic productions which went to the other extreme of legend-mongering, and overlaying the simple fabric of Christ's teachings with a luxuriant embroidery drawn from the mythology of almost all known religions.

There is little excuse for asking the question so often propounded in this connection, as to whether we have the right four Gospels, and as to how the Church came to canonize only Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John from amidst the multitude of so-called "Gospels" that certainly swarmed, at least in the second and third centuries. The answer is, that the four Gospels alone originated in the Catholic church, or in those quarters that afterwards hardened into the Catholic organization; on the other hand, the Ebionitic Gospels arose amongst the Hebrew Christians, and the Gnostic writings of various types, amidst the Gnostic communities. It would be as irrational to suppose that the Catholic church of the second or third centuries might receive Ebionitic and Gnostic documents for canonical, as it would be to imagine that the orthodox Christianity of the present might accept the Book of Mormon as inspired. The Heretical Gospels doubtless perished in great numbers with the passing of the sects that gave them birth; but many of them survived. And when the very memory of their hostile origin had been lost, they

might readily be taken up and received in certain quarters by Catholics, especially after some of the more glaring evidences of their heretical origin had been edited away; it was too late, however, for any possibility to exist that they might be received as canonical. This evolution is, in my opinion, the explanation of the origin of the greater part of what are called Apocryphal Gospels, and even, derivatively, of most Christian legends. And as practically all the false Gospels which survived in this form were Gnostic, I have no hesitation about characterizing the text of the book which follows, as mainly a Gnostic Life of Christ. Confirmations of this conclusion will be supplied by the matter contained in Sections III and IV of this Introduction, and by the notes found throughout the work.

3. *The Gnostics and their Books.* Gnosticism is certainly the most extensive and protean collection of religious beliefs and speculations, which has ever been commonly designated by a single name. An exact definition of it is, therefore, impossible; but it may be described as the sum total of numerous attempts made, during the first three Christian centuries particularly, to combine two or more existing religions into one system. Such composite religions, which were characteristic of those centuries, usually had a tendency towards allegorizing and mysticism, pretended to possess important secrets known only to the initiated, and were predominantly dualistic; but they did not necessarily have an evident Christian element. For I take the cults of Serapis and Mithras to be properly called Gnostic in the wider sense, although they were exclusively heathen in origin. Gnosticism, however, generally contained a Christian element; and the idea of redemption was the one which above all it took from this source.

The numerous Christian Gnostic systems which arose have been classified in a number of different ways; but it would go altogether beyond the possible limits of this Introduction, even to attempt to sketch these divisions. The whole subject of Gnosticism yet remains one of the most obscure in the domain of Church history, although its im-

portance cannot be overrated. There is no exhaustive treatment of the subject in English. The bibliographical index in the appendix to King's book is the best of which I know, and will afford ample references for those who wish to carry the study of this subject further. Suffice it to say here, that the various Gnostic systems represent greater or lesser admixtures of Christian and Jewish elements with the religions of Persia, Syria, and old Egypt, with Buddhism, with the classical religions, and with, perhaps, other sources to this day unidentified. The number and complexity of the elements thus introduced under the name of Christianity, and cropping out unexpectedly in apocryphal literature, is quite startling. And the fact that this admixture has taken place is the key to the numerous coincidences between certain forms of Christianity and alien religions, which often surprise the student. Gnosticism, in its earlier course and in its later Manichæan forms, has made of Christ's religion atheism, pantheism, dualism, monotheism, idolatry, and practically every form of doctrine which the history of comparative religion discloses. Illustrations of this will be found plentifully in the notes on the succeeding text.

But the characteristic of Christian Gnosticism which has the principal interest in this connection, is its marvellous fecundity in the production of pseudepigraphic books. The many titles and fragments of these that remain, together with the numerous references in the writings of the fathers of the Church to the multitude of Gnostic books, justify us in forming the conclusion that the literary activity of these sectaries was an unique phenomenon. However repellent it may be to modern ideas of honesty, that books should be composed in the names of dead celebrities, with the intent to impose upon the public as to their authorship, most of the ancient world apparently did not share in this feeling. Not alone do the Jewish pseudepigrapha illustrate this fact, but Greek and Roman instances of it are many. The Gnostics, however, seem to have carried this bad fashion to the greatest conceivable height. We know that they forged a perfect swarm of writings professing to be the works of

Christ, of His Apostles, and of all the other principal characters of the New Testament, as well as of the Old. In accordance with traces found in the writings of the Church fathers, we are enabled to infer, for instance, that the Gnostics had their so-called Gospels or other books attributed to Adam, Seth, Cain, and Melchizedek amongst others. Every Gnostic vagary seems to have felt at liberty to support itself by any figment which imagination could contrive. The modern student stands amazed at such titles as, the "Gospel of Judas Iscariot," and the "Gospel of Eve" (see Section IV of Introduction), and wonders whether any religious enthusiasts could have taken such documents seriously, or, more wonderful still, could have expected the outside world to receive them. The existence of these books is certainly a crowning illustration of the lengths to which credulity may extend.

4. *Other Sources of the Apocryphal Gospels and Related Literature.* It is evident that Gnostic literature was produced in great enough abundance and variety of forms to account directly or derivatively for all the vagaries of Christian apocrypha and legend in later ages. But there are other sources whence at least some of this latter came; and there were forces that had powerful influence in the way of adapting Gnostic figments to Catholic use. It may, indeed, in the first place be conceded, that a small amount of authentic tradition regarding the Founder of Christianity and His words is probably to be found in the following pages. The sources that are most likely to contain this are the more widely-quoted *Agrapha*, the Gospels specially referred to in division 2 of this Section, and perhaps a few legends; such as, that regarding the Cave of the Nativity.

But I think that outside of Gnosticism proper, the most powerful influence in producing Christian apocrypha or legend was what Cowper calls the "haggadistic" one. The Jews were accustomed to write "haggadoth" or stories, confessedly fictitious, but containing a didactic as well as amusing element, concerning scriptural characters, incidents, or texts. These are extant in great numbers, and many of

them are referred to in the notes on the following text. Now it is plain that some of the apocryphal stories are only Christian *haggadoth*. Even though they be of Gnostic origin, it is conceivable that their first inspiration was the same motive as that which impelled the composition of a modern "Ben Hur," or "Prince of the House of David," only the desire to furnish amusement conjoined with religious instruction. Since there are certain gaps in the life of Christ about which the canonical scriptures give little information; the Infancy, the period spent in Egypt, the Childhood at Nazareth, the early Manhood, and the Forty Days after the Resurrection, Christian imagination would dwell on these, and fill them in with fictitious events. Some of these compositions may have been Gnostic with strong theological bias, others Catholic, without thought of adding to received tradition; but elements from both one and the other class may finally have been taken literally by certain Christians.

The attempt to explain mysterious texts of scripture, and to show how Old Testament prophecies had been fulfilled, was especially an inspiration of these *haggadoth*, both Gnostic and Catholic. In the text will be found many illustrations of this, as well as of the unwitting production, as I think, of legend by preachers amidst the heat of eloquence in public discourse. A figurative reference might in a sermon be made, for instance, to David's presence at some New Testament scene; this, if reported, might in time come to be taken literally, and the truth of the tradition be vouched for by the high authority of the preacher. For further remarks regarding legends in general, the Agrapha, and Moham-medan Legends, I refer in this connection to (50), (30), and (29), in Section III of this Introduction.

5. *The Intrinsic Value and Past Influence of this Literature.* The total impression produced by an examination of the voluminous literature embraced in the text which follows cannot but be one of disappointment. Not that it does not contain much that is novel and interesting, but so much more naturally might have been expected from it. Dealing, in at least one manner, with the series of historical events

that has, in Christianity, produced the civilization and culture of the Western world, and incidentally treating of the most momentous problems that have ever engaged the attention of humanity; this literature, as a whole, is characterized by no elevation of thought, no power of imagination, no depth of that poetical feeling which might have been expected in the treatment of a theme so exalted. It is crude, commonplace, as destitute of graces of form as it is of originality in thought; and it descends at every turn to the level of the puerile, or extends into the domain of the irrational. It must ever remain a wonder of literary inefficiency, and a testimony to the unique and inimitable character of the canonical Gospels; that the Gnostic and the legend-monger, with the magnificent theme of the Saviour's life before them, and no limitations imposed by conscientious adherence to historical verity, have produced no worthier work than this.

In saying this, however, I am not unmindful of the fact that a few of these documents do not deserve strictures quite so extreme. The Second Part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Descent of Christ into Hell, for instance, I recognize as possessing some poetical beauties, and as being measurably worthy of the theme it sets forth. The composition is essentially apocalyptic; and the same comparatively favorable comments may likewise be made with regard to some of the other Apocryphal Apocalypses that I have included in my text. Apocalyptic literature, indeed, seems to have displayed the inventive faculties of the Gnostic at their best, just as narratives of real life evinced his weakness. Further, it may be admitted that some late legends are not wanting in picturesqueness, whilst the Agrapha, and Heretical Gospel fragments contain matter worthy of serious attention; but as for the Apocryphal Gospels ordinarily so called, I can think of but few passages in them, principally in the Protevangelium, which rise to the dignity of literature. Over against these must be set hundreds of expressions and passages that are not alone weak, vapid, puerile; but also, coarse, vulgar, and painful.

Yet this literature has undoubtedly had great influence on

Christian theology, has played a large part in supplying the popular conception of religion during some ages, and has shared in almost equal degree with the canonical New Testament in furnishing the inspiration for Christian art. Its practical importance in the past, therefore, has been very great. And whilst the idea is without foundation, that the Apocryphal Gospels ever enjoyed a position approaching canonicity in the Catholic Church, it must be admitted that some of their principal contents have reached an almost equal dignity in a roundabout manner. The names of Joachim and Anna, with their legend; the story of Mary's early life, and her final assumption; the particulars of the Descent into Hell; all these and many other things have found their way into breviaries, have been seriously discussed by the doctors of the Church, and have duly taken their places in the popular religious systems of most of the Christian world. If to these matters be added the influence of Gnostic and apocryphal ideas in forming the Catholic tradition regarding the sacraments, eternal punishment, purgatory, the state of the blessed dead, the honour due to Mary, and other matters which will be found mentioned in the notes; it will have to be conceded that these have formed an element in the development of Christianity that can by no means be disregarded.

6. *The Present Interest and Value of this Literature.* This comes, I think, in greatest measure, from the recent revived and altogether extraordinary interest in all that pertains to the Life of Christ. That Life has, in the last few years, been written and re-written from almost every conceivable point of view; its exploitation in fictional forms has been quite one of the features of the period. Yet the material from which it is to be reconstructed is slender indeed,—the four Gospels, some suggestions from the rest of the New Testament, and a few touches from Jewish and classical sources. Now whilst, as my notes and introductory matter everywhere show, I hold but a low estimate of the amount of reliable tradition about Christ's life contained in the extracanonical literature, I do believe that the great body of the Christian world would be deeply interested in it in this con-

nection. It is at least a monument of what many men of many centuries have thought, and dreamed, and romanced about that life of all-absorbing interest and unparalleled influence. Yet, in but few attempted Lives of Christ is extended mention made of the traditions of the Church fathers, or are the most important apocryphal and legendary stories even noted. It is a matter of surprise to me that never before in English, and only once in any language, has such a work as the following one been attempted. I might add, that the reception which has been accorded to the rough drafts of a number of the following chapters, as they have appeared in the columns of the Sunday newspapers, proves conclusively the *popular* interest which these stories arouse at present.

Estimating them by the value of their lowest elements, they represent the romances which Gnostics wrote in the early centuries, and the legends which Catholics evolved in times as recent as the Middle Ages. I should say that even these poor fictions are, from many points of view, far more interesting than the most cunningly conceived modern novels dealing with the same themes. If it be objected that a patchwork consisting of elements originating in every century from the first to the seventeenth must necessarily be in many respects discordant, that fact may readily be conceded; but the text that follows will appear truly ridiculous only to one who has no appreciation of the development which has taken place through the centuries in the polity and doctrine of the Church. In my judgment, such a narrative, woven from such sources, furnishes a most useful series of illustrations of the influence of the principal heresies and strong tendencies that have given form to our Christian inheritance of the present.

As for other present uses of this literature, it is important also, as I have before intimated, on account of its connection with some of the problems concerning the date and authorship of the four Gospels. Space, however, does not allow me to enter into any discussion of this matter. Again, it is of interest as furnishing interpretations from many diverse

sources of a number of the most mysterious texts of scripture. Some of its Christian *haggadoth* may even yet, I think, with profit be used as illustrations, and will be found interesting by Christian teachers and ministers. But its most important *lesson*, and one which it cannot fail to impress upon the most casual reader, dowered with the minimum of literary and critical taste, is that of the utter unlikeness of this literature to the canonical books of the New Testament. Under a superficial likeness it everywhere demonstrates an essential unlikeness; and shows that not alone did the four Gospels have no serious rivals in the early church, but that the combined heretical effort of all succeeding ages was incapable of imitating them successfully. I can conceive of no more convincing testimony than this to the entirely exceptional, and to use an unpopular term, *supernatural* inspiration of the canonical Gospels.

SECTION II.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES CHIEFLY USED IN PREPARING THIS WORK.

This list is given, and remarks are made on the contents of these books, chiefly for the benefit of those who may be further interested in such studies. The most copious bibliography of the subject will be found in volume IX of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 95, seq. The index to Migne's *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* contains the most extensive list of apocryphal documents of which I know. I have not thought it necessary to add here a list of the Lives of Christ, versions of the scriptures, works of reference, etc., which I have used, or of the large number of books from which I have been compelled to draw at second hand. Many such works are mentioned in the notes. In general, the works below mentioned are referred to throughout my book by the use of the author's last name.

1. *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Fabricius, 3 vols., Hamburg, 1719.

A work of immense erudition containing Greek and Latin texts of the Apocryphal Gospels and fragments. The source of almost all knowledge in this department down to the time of Tischendorf, and still invaluable for reference to fragments and citations.

2. *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, J. C. Thilo, Leipsic, 1832.

Draws largely from Fabricius, improves the texts, adds a few new ones, but does not edit all of them.

3. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, C. de Tischendorf, Leipsic, 1876.

Now the standard critical edition of the Greek and Latin texts of the best known Apocryphal Gospels.

4. *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, C. deTischendorf, Leipsic, 1866.
A standard critical edition of a number of the Apocryphal Apocalypses.

5. *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, Rudolph Hofmann, Leipsic, 1851.

Practically the only book in existence approximating in plan the present work. I did not know of its existence, however, until I had my own book planned and in great part written. It has probably been of more direct use to me than any other work, although not deserving as much credit as the volumes of Fabricius, whence its notes are largely drawn. I have incorporated all of these that suited my purpose. Hofmann uses no documents of importance that were unknown to Fabricius.

6. *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, Migne, 2 vols., Paris, 1856.

Contains French translations of practically all the matter given by Fabricius in both his Old and New Testament codices, besides a number of other important documents, and much legendary lore. The work is uncritical, badly arranged, and devoid of satisfactory indices, but contains matter that I have not found elsewhere. The notes have not generally much value, but I have used a few of them.

7. *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*, Jeremiah Jones, 3 vols., Oxford, 1827.

Contains the first English translations of most of the Fabrician texts. I have not found the work of much value.

8. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, W. Hone, London, 1820.

This is a bad rehash of some of the translations made by Jones, along with a number of patristic documents that have no place in such a collection. It has no value, either as regards original work or judicious arrangement. Yet it remains to this day the basis of most of the popular collections of Apocryphal Gospels circulated in England and America.

9. *The Apocryphal Gospels*, B. Harris Cowper, London, 1870.

By far the best English work on the Apocryphal Gospels. It contains translations of all of Tischendorf's texts, as well as of some others. I have used Cowper's translations in many cases, and have incorporated practically all his notes.

10. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, American Edition, Bishop Coxe, Editor, 10 vols., New York, 1890.

The eighth volume contains translations of all of Tischendorf's texts, made by Alexander Walker. I have, in general, followed these translations in my text, and have incorporated nearly all the notes. Volume X of this series also contains other texts which I have used.

11. *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*, A. Vassiliev, Moscow, 1893.

A very valuable collection of Greek apocryphal texts, some of which had never before been published. At least three of these appear for the first time in English, in the following text. I have found much useful matter in the introductions.

12. *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, W. Wright, London, 1865.

Syriac texts with English translations, containing some matter not found elsewhere.

13. *Euangelium Infantiae*, Henricus Sike, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1697.

The text is Arabic, but there is a Latin translation with notes. These latter are valuable for their citations from Mohammedan writers, particularly Kessaëus.

14. *The Newly-Recovered Gospel of St. Peter*, J. Rendel Harris, London, 1893.

Has valuable introductory matter.

15. *Enseignements de Jésus-Christ a ses Disciples et Prières Magiques; Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens, Traduits en Français par René Basset*; Paris, 1896.

I have used a part of this in my text.

16. *Mas'h'afa T'omar; Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens, Traduits en Français par René Basset*; Paris, 1893.

References to this work will be found in my notes, although I have not used any part of it in the text.

17. *Les Prières de la Vierge a Bartos et au Golgotha; Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens, Traduits en Français par René Basset*; Paris, 1893.

A part of this is used in my text.

18. *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels; Cambridge Texts and Studies*, Forbes Robinson; Cambridge, 1896.

One of the most important contributions to apocryphal New Testament literature of recent times. I have used much from it in my text by the kind permission of the author.

19. *Apocrypha Anecdota, First Series; Cambridge Texts and Studies*, M. R. James; Cambridge, 1896.

Contains several documents of importance from which I have drawn.

20. *Apocrypha Anecdota, Second Series; Cambridge Texts and Studies*, M. R. James; Cambridge, 1897.

Contains much new matter from which I have drawn largely.

21. *Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus*, Grenfell and Hunt, London, 1897.

The now well-known "Logia of Christ."

22. *Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden*, A. Berendts, Leipsic, 1895.

An elaborately executed monograph, which practically restores an old apocryphal text.

23. *Agrapha, Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente*, Alfred Resch, Leipsic, 1889.

An admirable and exhaustive work on this subject, the substance of which I have incorporated almost entire.

24. *Ein Neues Evangelienfragment*, Adolf Jacoby, Strassburg, 1900.

A recently discovered fragment which I have used in my text.

25. *Dictionnaire des Légendes*, M. le Comte de Douhet, Migne, Paris, 1855.

A curious compilation of legends, of considerable value. I have used matter drawn from it in both text and notes.

26. *Le Livre des Légendes*, Le Roux de Lincy, Paris, 1836.

Not of special value.

27. *The Unknown Life of Christ*, Nicolas Notovitch, London, 1895.

A modern romance to which I refer in my notes.

28. *The Antichrist Legend*, from the German of W. Bousset, with Prologue by A. H. Keane, London, 1896.

An exhaustive rationalistic study of the subject.

29. *Pseudepigrapha*, W. J. Deane, Edinburgh, 1891.

Of some value for discussion of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and especially the Sibylline Books.

30. *De Evangeliorum Apocryphorum Origine et Usu*, C. de Tischendorf, Hagae Comitum, 1851.

An essay of importance as embodying the learned author's conclusions about the texts he edited.

31. *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, R. A. Lipsius, 3 vols. and supplement, Brunswick, 1883.

A monumental work, and one to which I am indebted for much in my notes.

32. *Entdecktes Judenthum*, J. A. Eisenmenger, 2 vols., Königsberg, 1711.

A remarkable digest of Jewish works, furnishing me with much material for notes.

33. *The Gnostics and their Remains*, C. W. King, London, 1889.

The work is rather scrappy, but contains some matter which I have used in the notes.

34. *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Philip Schaff, Editor, 14 vols., New York, 1892.

35. *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Editors, 14 vols., New York, 1890.

The two series above mentioned contain the English translations of the writings of the Church fathers which I have mainly used.

36. *Bibliothèque Orientale*, D'Herbelot, Maestricht, 1776, Supplement by Visdelou and Galand, Ibid. 1780.

Contains much curious Oriental legend of which I have made some use.

37. *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, S. Baring-Gould, London, 1901.

A valuable compilation regarding some of the chief mediæval legends.

38. *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Dr. G. Weil, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1845.

Mainly devoted to Old Testament legends, but I have used the book extensively in my notes.

39. *The Lives of the Saints*, 16 vols., S. Baring-Gould, London, 1872.

The best collection of the lives of the saints in English. My notes are indebted to it for many helps.

40. *Vies des Saints*, par Une Société d'Ecclésiastiques, 4 vols., Lyons, 1876.

Of value as giving the Roman tradition regarding many legendary points.

41. *The Golden Legend*, Englished by William Caxton, 7 vols., London, 1900.

This was the most popular work of the Middle Ages, more than a hundred editions of it being known. It is the sole extant authority for a number of legends.

42. *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, J. A. Fabricius, Hamburg and Leipsic, 1713. Do. *Volumen Alterum*, Hamburg, 1741.

A valuable work, to which I am indebted for many notes.

43. *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, S. Baring-Gould, London, 1871.

A wonderfully full account of Rabbinical and other Oriental legends, although by no means exhaustive as regards apocryphal literature.

44. *Breviarium Romanum*, 4 vols., Malines, 1869.

The Breviary contains much that comes from apocryphal literature.

45. *Ancient Mysteries Described*, W. Hone, London, 1823.

Not of much value; it reprints a few old English miracle plays that are connected with apocryphal literature.

SECTION III.

LIST OF THE MAIN SOURCES OF THE FOLLOWING TEXT, WITH INTRODUCTORY MATTER REGARDING EACH.

The order in which these Sources are catalogued is in general that in which each document is first introduced into the text; but this rule has not been strictly followed in all cases. The numbers in parentheses are used for reference to the several Sources, throughout this work; the chapters in which each Source is used will be found enumerated at the head of the introductory matter on each of them.

(1) Protevangelium of James; chaps. I-VII, IX, XI.

This is generally supposed to be the oldest of the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy, its only possible rival in this respect being the Thomas Gospel. See (10), (12), (13), and (14). It was certainly used by the compilers of all other Gospels of the Infancy, and its influence on all legends concerning this subject has been marked. The probability is that it was originally written in Greek, possibly by a Jewish convert to Christianity, and without special theological bias, although some have ascribed to it a Gnostic origin. It may be as old, in its original form, as the middle of the second century, but the present version does not date earlier than the fourth. Origen, at the end of the second century, mentions a Gospel of Peter or Book of James, which was probably, but not certainly, this work. The James of the title is usually referred to St. James the Less, the Lord's brother; the name Protevangelium is modern, and was first applied to the book by Postel, in 1552. Tischendorf's is the best Greek text; he used seventeen Mss. in its preparation, the oldest

of them belonging to the ninth century. English translations by Jones, Cowper, and Walker.

(2) Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew; chaps. I-X, XII-XIV.

This Gospel is partly dependent on (1), its first seventeen chapters being drawn chiefly from that source; chaps. XVIII-XXV are more fantastic and original, their source being unknown; chaps. XXVI-XLII have drawn largely from the Thomas Gospels. The compilation probably dates from the fifth century and has a Greek original, although only the Latin text is now known. Most Mss. attribute the work to St. Matthew, and have letters prefixed pretending to be by Jerome and others, which are spurious. The best text is Tischendorf's. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(3) Gospel of the Nativity of Mary; chaps. I-V.

This is essentially but a later and considerably altered version of the foregoing. It is comparatively modest and temperate in style, and secured a wonderful vogue in the Middle Ages. Most of it is found in the Golden Legend. It is of Catholic composition, written in Latin, somewhere from the end of the fifth to that of the sixth century. Best text, Tischendorf's. English translations by Jones, Cowper, and Walker.

(4) Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin; chaps. I-V.

A series of Coptic fragments published by Robinson with English translations; I have used the first three of them. They are parts of sermons, and follow in general the tradition of (1) and (2), but there are numerous and important divergences from this. The Mss. reach back to the eleventh or twelfth century. The translator does not attempt to date these fragments, but the fact, for instance, that in fragment I the preacher expresses himself as bitterly opposed to the doctrine of the bodily assumption of Mary, indicates a very early origin.

(5) History of Joseph the Carpenter; chaps. II-V, VII-IX, XIII, XIV, XX.

Treats of the life of St. Joseph, and was apparently written to glorify him, but the problem of the reason for the universal reign of death on earth seems to be the main inspiration of the book. It was certainly written in Egypt, and although it is possible that Greek was the original language, it was more probably Coptic. It was first known to the Western world in the Arabic version, from which Wallin made a Latin translation in 1722. See, further, (15), (17), (18), and (22). It is generally assigned, in its original form, to the fourth century, and was probably Catholic in origin, although a connection with Nestorianism has been maintained by some. Tischendorf's Latin translation compares in foot notes the Sahidic text so far as it was known to him. English versions by Cowper and Walker.

(6) Various Sahidic Fragments; chaps. IV, V, XVI-XVIII, XXI, XXII.

Five fragments on various apocryphal subjects, all of which I have used, are given by Robinson. English translations are supplied for all, and the Coptic texts of I, II, and V are given. At least I and V, and probably all of these fragments, are parts of sermons; all are of great interest, introducing particulars that are not to be found elsewhere.

(7) Protevangelium of James, Syriac Version; chaps. V-VII, IX.

A Syriac fragment embracing that part of (1) from chap. XVII to the end. Much briefer, and apparently more primitive than the Greek version, but introducing few variations of importance. Syriac text and translation by Wright. He dates the Nitrian Ms. which he used, in the latter half of the sixth century.

(8) Arabic Gospel of the Infancy; chaps. V-XIII.

The longest and most absurd of the Gospels of the Infancy. It is a late compilation made up from other Apocryphal Gospels, and distinguished by its highly Oriental coloring. Chaps. I-IX are largely similar to chaps. XVII-XXV of (1); chaps. X-XXV are either original or from some unknown source, and agree notably with the Mohammedan traditions about Christ, having points of literary similarity with the

Arabian Nights ; chaps. XXVI to the end are compiled from the Thomas Gospel, but the malevolent element by which the latter is distinguished has been largely eliminated. The work is known only in Arabic, and was first given European circulation in Sike's edition published in 1697. Words found in it point to the original composition of the work in Syriac, and almost everything indicates that it first saw the light in Egypt. This being so, I should strongly suspect that its original language was Coptic, but nothing to confirm this conjecture has been discovered. It has been attributed to a Nestorian compiler, but was more probably Catholic. Some have dated it as early as the fifth or sixth century, but it certainly cannot be older than the tenth in its present form. English versions by Jones, Cowper, and Walker.

(9) Narrative of Events happening in Persia ; chap. VI.

This is part of an apocryphal document, which is attributed in some Mss. to Anastasius Sinaita ; Migne, again, refers to its ascription by others to Julius Africanus ; it is certainly not by either of them. The entire work is concerned with a disputation before the King of Persia by Christians, Greeks, and Jews as to the evidences for their several religions. The Christians offer the extract which I use, as a proof of the truth of their religion. Vassiliev shows the connection of this narrative with the Ladder of Jacob, which has been ascribed to the Ebionites, and is partly incorporated in the Slavic Palaea Interpretata. It can plainly be seen that the narrative in its present form is late in date, but it contains Gnostic ideas of a much greater antiquity. Vassiliev gives two Greek texts of the work. An English translation of the extract I have used is found in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, VI, 127, seq. I have corrected this by Vassiliev's texts, which differ from it in many instances.

(10) Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form ; chaps. VII-XIII.

This Latin version of (12), which see for general account of the Thomas Gospel, is assigned by Cowper to the seventh century, or later. Its first three chapters are not found in the other versions, and may be either an original composition, or a fragment of some older book. The text was first pub-

lished by Tischendorf. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(11) Narrative regarding the Beheading of John the Baptist; chaps. VII, IX, XV, XVI, XXXVII.

This is a Greek text printed by Vassiliev from a Monte Cassino Ms. of the eleventh century. It claims to be the life of John the Baptist written by Eurippus, the second of his disciples. The ecclesiastical festival of the Decollation of St. John Baptist was instituted as early as the fifth century, and this is a Catholic compilation made in the East in honour of that festival. The document borrows several chapters from (1), and tells the story of the death of Herod's daughter which appears later in the Golden Legend. English translation by Mr. J. J. Kirkpatrick, of Marshall, Mo.

(12) Gospel of Thomas, First Greek Form; chaps. IX-XIII.

This Gospel is probably as old as (1), or older, dating as early as the middle of the second century, and was certainly the product of some school of Gnosticism. Origen mentions a Gospel of Thomas (see Section IV of Introduction, 44), but he probably did not refer to this book. Hippolytus, writing of the Naasenes, quotes from a Gospel of Thomas used by them, but his citation is not in the book as it now stands. Cyril of Jerusalem says that the author of this work was one Thomas, a disciple of Manes. Cowper is inclined to think that the book may be the lost Gospel of Basilides, or a part of it. The Gospel, as it stands at present, contains Gnostic, Docetic, and Manichaean traces, which have been more or less completely weeded out by Catholic editors, in different recensions of the work, to make it conform to orthodoxy. It was in later times held in high esteem in the Church, although it was condemned by the second council of Nice, in 787. Its most prominent characteristic is the malevolent and revengeful character which it ascribes to the infant Saviour. The First Greek Form was the text first known to the West, and was published by Mingarelli in 1764. The best Greek text is by Tischendorf. English translations by Jones, Cowper, and Walker.

- (13) Gospel of Thomas, Second Greek Form; chaps. IX-XII.

This version was first published by Tischendorf, who got the Ms. on paper, and dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, from the monks of Mount Sinai. It is more orthodox in form than (12), and differs from it considerably, both in the way of additions and omissions.

- (14) Gospel of Thomas, Syriac Form; chaps. IX-XIII.

This ancient form of the Thomas Gospel, called in the Ms. the "Boyhood of Our Lord Jesus," is from a Syriac text of the sixth century first printed by Wright. Cowper calls it the most ancient form of this document extant. It is very much shorter than the other versions, but contains some additional sentences.

- (15) History of Joseph the Carpenter, Bohairic Version; chaps. XIII, XIV, XX.

This Coptic form of (5), Robinson translates into English from the text published by Lagarde. He seems inclined to the opinion that it originated in a translation of the Sahidic versions. It is verbally widely different from (5), but contains no important variations.

- (16) Fragments of Lost Documents; chaps. XV, XIX.

I refer especially to these chapters on account of the unusually large number of such fragments contained in them; but many others are to be found scattered throughout the work. A list of titles of lost and fragmentary Gospels, with brief accounts of what is known of them, will be found in the following section of this Introduction; and Section V contains a list of all the authors who quote these fragments, with the dates of each.

- (17) History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, II; chap. XIII.

Robinson prints the Coptic text and English translation of this version, which contains only chaps. XIII-XV of (5). He considers the Sahidic texts to contain the oldest form of this document.

- (18) History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, III; chaps. XIII, XIV.

Robinson prints only the English translation of this from the Coptic text given by Lagarde. The fragment contains chaps. XIV-XXIV of (5).

(19) How Jesus Christ was made a Priest; chap. XV.

This is an apocryphal fragment found in the Lexicon of Suidas, who lived at Constantinople near the end of the tenth century. The fragment appears in this lexicon under the title, "Jesus." It is evidently a Gnostic or Manichaean production, and its author was certainly acquainted with (1). Greek texts of it have been many times printed; Vassiliev gives three of them, and my English translation is made from a comparison of these.

(20) Acts of John; chaps. XV, XVII, XXI, XXIII.

The Greek text and English translation of this book, which is fragmentary as at present known, are published by James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, II; I have used only the parts of these fragments that were suitable for my purpose. The work is generally attributed to Leucius Charinus, which would make it date as early as the second half of the second century; Zahn would go further and make this man a contemporary of the apostles. The book is Gnostic and specifically Docetic. It may be regarded as a pure romance, yet is of great interest on account of its connection with the problems concerning St. John's Gospel and other questions connected with the early history of the Church. M. Max Bonnet has in preparation a more complete edition of all the fragments of this work.

(21) Letter of Lentulus; chap. XV.

Although this is one of the most widely known of apocryphal documents, and has appeared in nearly all collections of such, it scarcely deserves inclusion in this category. It is in reality a mediaeval Latin composition of date not earlier than the fifteenth century, and no Ms. of it is known. Suggestions as to whence it was compiled will be found in the notes near the end of chap. XV. English translations by Jones and Cowper.

(22) History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, I; chaps. III-V.

Robinson prints the Coptic text and English translation of this version, which contains only chaps. IV-VIII of (5), (23) Acts of Andrew and Matthias; chap. XVI.

These are Apocryphal Acts generally assigned to a Gnostic origin, and often attributed to Leucius Charinus; if his, they are very early in date. The oldest Ms. used by Tischendorf in the preparation of his critical Greek text, dates from the eighth century; English translation by Walker, from which I have departed in a few particulars. The passage regarding Christ and the Sphinx, which alone I have used in my text, has nothing to do with the main theme of this document, but has every appearance of being a fragment from some Gnostic Gospel, inserted here.

(24) Story of Veronica; chaps. XV, XVI.

An apocryphal fragment given by John Malela in his Chronicle. He says that he took it from a book owned by a Christian Jew named Bassus. I believe it to be of Gnostic origin. Other relations of the Veronica story are discussed in the notes on chap. XVI. I have used the English version of Cowper, which is, I suppose, his translation of Malela's Greek.

(25) History of Armenia by Moses of Chorene; chaps. XVII, XXXV, XXXVI.

This entire work chronicles the history of Armenia from the earliest times to 440 A. D., and was probably written not long after that date. It contains some historical matter of importance, but many legends; and the parts which I have used in my text are palpably apocryphal. Moses certainly used the Church History of Eusebius, and the Acts of Thad-daeus, which relate the same legends. The Armenian text and a French translation have been published by P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival. I have used English translations of parts of the work found in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII, 702, seq.

(26) Story concerning the King of Edessa, by Eusebius; chap. XVII.

This story is found in Book I, chap. XIII, of the Church History of Eusebius of Caesarea. The historian claims that

he had himself seen the letters of Christ and Abgar in the archives of Edessa. If this is true, which it probably is, he saw apocryphal documents that according to the best opinion now prevalent were likely forged about a century before that time. The Greek text of Eusebius has been many times printed, and there are numerous English translations.

(27) Acts of the Holy Apostle Thaddaeus; chap. XVII.

Tischendorf first printed this Greek text from a Paris Ms. of the eleventh century and a Venetian one of later date. Allusions in the document to the synagogue, Sabbath, hours of prayer, etc., lend probability to the view that it was written by a Jewish Christian. It gives a later version of the Abgar letters, and may date from the sixth or seventh century. English translation by Walker.

(28) Account of the Birth of John and Death of Zacharias; chaps. VII-IX.

Berendts prints a German translation of this Slavic document, which probably represents an ancient apocryphal text of Gnostic origin. Its author was certainly acquainted with the matter contained in (11), but presents several ideas which I have never seen elsewhere. See Berendts, p. 70, seq. His references to parallel literature are very minute and exhaustive. I have made use of his German for my English version, which is incorporated partly with my text, and is partly given in the notes.

(29) Mohammedan Legends; chaps. XVII, XVIII, XX.

Mohammedanism is, in my opinion, more properly to be regarded as a Christian heresy than as a Jewish one; and is rather to be ranked as one or other of these, than as a distinct religion. It presents its own peculiar view of every Christian doctrine or usage, and nowhere departs as radically from Catholic standards as did many of the early Gnostic sects, or as does, for instance, the Mormonism of the present time. Yet these religions that I have named are universally regarded as having their proper places in a survey of historical Christianity. Consideration of Mohammedan legends holds, therefore, an indispensable place in an attempt to draw from all the alleged sources regarding Christ's Life and

Words. I only regret that I have had time and opportunity to make no more thorough search through the Mohammedan legends, and believe that one who did so would be richly rewarded. Under the above heading, references are made to three of my chapters in which such material especially abounds. Isolated brief passages and references in notes to legends and views from Mohammedan sources, will be found throughout the work. I only add here a brief mention of the Koran; other sources are generally accompanied by explanatory matter in the notes:

The Koran dates from about 622 A. D. Mohammed certainly knew nothing of the canonical New Testament, but drew largely from material identical with that we have in some of the Apocryphal Gospels. The agreement of his borrowings is closest with (8), as we now have it; but he probably used, in some manner, documents that are now lost. The story that he had the assistance of one Sergius, a Nestorian monk, does not have much external evidence in its favour, but agrees well with the contents of the Koran and the indications of extant apocryphal literature.

(30) The Church Fathers and Other Writers; chaps. XV, XIX.

I refer especially only to these two chapters, which contain an unusual number of citations from these sources; but a greater or less number of such passages will be found throughout the book. Limitations of space absolutely forbid the attempt to give any account of these authors and their works, but I append in Section V of this Introduction a list of the principal ones, with their dates, which may aid the reader in estimating the value of their traditions and opinions.

(31) Teachings of Jesus Christ to His Disciples; chap. XX.

A very late Ethiopic composition, of which M. René Basset has made a French translation, whence my English is drawn. The document is mainly made up of magical prayers, but the portion of it at the beginning, which I have used, has the true apocryphal character, and plain marks of Gnostic origin. The earliest Mss. of which M. Basset knows, date only from

the beginning of the seventeenth century, and he does not venture to place any of the prayers more than two hundred years earlier than that. But the substance of much of the matter in the book is ancient, connecting itself with Gnosticism and the old religion of Egypt.

(32) Passing of Mary, First Latin Form; chap. XX.

This is one version of the story of Mary's Assumption, which exists in almost numberless forms in Syriac, Arabic, Bohairic, Sahidic, Greek, Latin, and probably many other languages. I use only a brief extract from its beginning. The work, in general, of which Greek is probably the original language, is assigned by Tischendorf to a date not later than the fourth century. It has, but probably without due reason, been ascribed to the fertile pen of Leucius Charinus. The First Latin Form is much later than the date above mentioned. Tischendorf, who first printed this version, used for the preparation of his text three Italian Mss., the oldest of them dating from the thirteenth century. English version by Walker. See also (42), (43), and (44).

(33) Questions of Bartholomew; chaps. XXI, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII.

This is an Apocryphal Apocalypse pretending to tell the events of the Great Forty Days after the Resurrection, the Greek text of which was first printed by Vassiliev from a Vienna Ms. of the thirteenth century. It is imperfect at the beginning, but the editor supplies this part in his preface by a Latin translation of a Slavonic version of the document. My English translation was made by Mr. J. J. Kirkpatrick, of Marshall, Mo.; the text is very corrupt. Tischendorf, in his prolegomena to *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, gives a fragment of an Apocalypse of Bartholomew, which differs entirely from this book, but certainly has the same general character; I think that there must be some connection between the two. The present work draws from several of the known apocryphal documents, but has some points of complete originality. See notes on chaps. XXXI, XXXII. It seems to me to have most marks of Manichaean origin. James speaks of it as an interesting book, and says that

though the language is late, the matter is undoubtedly ancient. Vassiliev seems to suggest a date later than the sixth century.

(34) Controversy of the Devil with Jesus Christ, A; chap. XXI.

Vassiliev prints the Greek text of this apocalyptic document from a Venetian Ms. of the twelfth century. Besides (35), which see, other Mss. of the work are known. My English translation is by Mr. J. J. Kirkpatrick, of Marshall, Mo. The book is of Manichæan origin, and contains a great deal of matter in common with the late apocryphal Apocalypse of John. See Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, 70, seq.; and Thilo, 884, seq., for account of still another book under St. John's name and having relations with this. The date is, of course, late.

(35) Controversy of the Devil with Jesus Christ, B; chap. XXI.

This is another text of the foregoing, printed by Vassiliev from a Vienna Ms. of the thirteenth century, which is imperfect at the beginning. The arrangement of the matter is somewhat different from that in (34), the texts of both being very corrupt. English translation by Mr. J. J. Kirkpatrick, of Marshall, Mo.

(36) Narrative of Joseph of Arimathæa; chaps. XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXVII, XXX.

An early Western mediæval legend or romance founded mainly on the Gospel of Nicodemus, and greatly elaborating certain parts of that. The Greek text was first published by Birch. Tischendorf, for his text, made use of three Mss., the oldest of them dating from the twelfth century. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(37) Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Acts of Pilate, First Greek Form; chaps. XXII-XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV.

The Acts of Pilate, or Part I of the Gospel of Nicodemus, a name which does not appear before the thirteenth century, is the one great Apocryphal Gospel of the Passion. Some consider Part II to be an integral part of the work written by

the same author, but the best opinion is that the two are entirely different in origin; the most ancient copies of the work, which are in Latin and Coptic, do not contain the second part. Justin Martyr, and later, Tertullian, mention a book called the Acts of Pilate, which certainly was not the present one, although the latter may have been fabricated to supply the loss of the earlier work. But Tischendorf thinks that the present book is in reality Justin's Acts greatly changed and interpolated. Some copies of the book claim that it was originally written in Hebrew by Nicodemus, and translated into Greek by a certain Ananias, in the time of Theodosius and Valentinian (*i. e.*, about 440 A. D.). If it really had contained the genuine Acts of Pilate, the original of this book would have been in Latin; but the best indications are to the effect that it was first written in Greek. Tischendorf assigns it to the latter part of the second century, and concludes that its author was a Christian imbued with Judaic and Gnostic beliefs. Cowper, however, and most authorities agree with him, assigns the present Greek text to the fifth century, and doubts whether any form of the book originated earlier. His conclusion is that it was written in Greek by a converted Jew who was acquainted with Hebrew. The substance of this document is mainly drawn from the four canonical Gospels. The Greek text was first published by Birch. Tischendorf used thirty-nine ancient documents for his edition. English translations of the First Greek Form by Cowper and Walker.

(38) Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Acts of Pilate, Second Greek Form; chaps. XXII-XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV.

This version is only a loose copy of the foregoing, but many minor details have been altered, names have been changed, and the Greek has been improved. Tischendorf used three Mss. in the preparation of his text. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(39) Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Acts of Pilate, Latin Form; Chaps. XXII-XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV.

This Latin text was the first edition of Nicodemus pub-

lished in modern times by Fabricius and others. Tischendorf used twelve Mss. for his edition. English translations by Jones, Cowper, and Walker.

(40) Gospel of Peter; chap. XXV-XXVII, XXX.

This document, as known at present, consists of a considerable fragment from the close of the ancient Gospel of Peter. Such a work is mentioned by Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-203 A. D.), by Origen, Eusebius, and Theodoret; and there can be little doubt that the recovered fragment is part of the book of which they spoke, its teachings being Docetic and corresponding perfectly to their descriptions. The same parchment Ms. of which this formed a part also contained fragments of the Revelation of Peter, and of the Book of Enoch; it was found by the French archæological mission in an ancient cemetery at Akhmim in Upper Egypt, in 1886. The parchment is assigned to a date between the eighth and twelfth centuries. Harnack assigns this Gospel to the first quarter of the second century, and whilst others place it later, few date it after the end of that century. English translations of the Greek by Robinson and Harrison.

(41) Council concerning Jesus; chap. XXII.

Fabricius prints this fragment in German, in vol. III, 487, from which my English translation is made. The document is, of course, a late mediæval composition, and is not properly to be ranked with apocryphal writings. Nevertheless, I regard it as of enough interest to be reprinted. The Sentence of Pilate, (51), is included in the same document, and the whole narrative is introduced with the explanation that it was accidentally found in a marble coffer under a stone, whilst alterations were being made to a building in the Neapolitan city of Aquila. This story is a later adaptation of what is told at the beginning of the Revelation of Paul, and perhaps, in other similar documents.

(42) Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, I; chaps. XV, XXII.

See (32). The Coptic text of this is given by Lagarde, and English translation by Robinson. The document is in the form of a sermon claiming to be by Evodius, who is

represented as St. Peter's successor in the see of Rome instead of Antioch. The apocryphal stories which I have used from this document have no connection with the Assumption legend, which forms the main part of the book.

(43) Sahidic Fragments of the Falling Asleep of Mary; chap. XXVI.

See (32). I have used only a small part of fragment II in this collection, and it has no necessary connection with the Assumption legend. Both Coptic text and English translation are given by Robinson.

(44) Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, II; chap. XXXIII.

Robinson gives both the Coptic text and English translation. The work represents itself to be a discourse of Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria. He is probably the Jacobite Patriarch of that see who died about 567 A. D. The part I have used has no close connection with the Assumption legend.

(45) Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Descent of Christ into Hell, Greek Form; chaps. XXVII-XXIX, XXXIV.

The Descent of Christ into Hell, or Part II of the Gospel of Nicodemus, is in my opinion the work of a different author, and evinces much more originality and literary art than Part I. The signs of Gnostic origin are evident in many ways. The Marcionites placed great stress upon the fact of the Saviour's Descent into Hell. I incline to the opinion, broached long ago by Jones, that the curious use of the names Leucius and Charinus, designating the two sons of Simeon, points to the famous Leucius Charinus as the author of this book. If this is the case, it is earlier than Part I, and dates before the middle of the second century. Cowper, however, puts it later than Part I. Tischendorf maintains the early date of both Parts. Tischendorf used three Mss. for his version of the Greek Form. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(46) Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Descent of Christ into Hell, First Latin Form; chaps. XXVII-XXIX, XXXIV, XXXV.

This version is notable for the addition of a large amount of matter near the end, and it concludes with a copy of the letter from Pilate to the Emperor. Tischendorf used a large number of Mss. for his text. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(47) Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Descent of Christ into Hell, Second Latin Form; chaps. XXVII-XXIX, XXXIV.

Cowper calls this a more modern recension of the foregoing, and thinks from the reference to abbats (*i. e.* fathers) raised from the dead with Christ, that its editor was a monk. Much at the end of the book has been cut out, and slight changes have been everywhere introduced. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(48) Report of Pilate concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, First Greek Form; chaps. XXVII, XXXV.

This is a pretended official report of Pilate to the Emperor, and was first printed by Fabricius. It is closely connected with the Nicodemus Gospel. Tischendorf has made use of four Mss. for his text of this version, the earliest being from the twelfth century. Cowper suggests a ninth century date for the work. English translations by Cowper and Holloway.

(49) Report of Pilate concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, Second Greek Form; chaps. XXVII, XXXV.

A slightly different Greek text of the foregoing made by Tischendorf from Mss. of about the same date. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(50) Legends; chaps. XXV, XXVII.

As I have already said in my Preface, no complete distinction between apocryphal, legendary, and heretical sources of the extra-canonical literature is possible. My view is, that in the main, the material in this book had its origin in heretical versions of, glosses on, and fabrications concerning the canonical scriptures. The next step was the reception of much of this matter by the Catholic Church after certain of its heretical elements had been purged. The last step was the later legendary adornment of stories which the Church

sanctioned, or at least did not brand as heretical. Some legends, however, are purely literary or local in their origin. But in accordance with the general law which I have laid down above, it follows that many of the stories that are known to us only in the form of late mediaeval legends, are most probably derived from earlier apocryphal sources that have long since perished. I have embodied a good deal of legendary matter in this book, although I only specially refer to two chapters very largely composed of this material. In most other places I have consigned it to the notes. I have, however, entirely excluded from the text legendary matter that is palpably of later than early mediaeval date, and of distinctly Roman Catholic origin. The notes explain the sources of all legends given. It is necessary here to refer to only one great work :

The Golden Legend, *Legenda Aurea*, or by its proper title, the *Historia Lombardica*, was compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, about 1275. Dealing with the Lives of the Saints and the festivals kept in the course of the Church year, it drew largely from the Apocryphal Gospels, as well as other sources, and contains refractions from some works of this class, no doubt, that are not now extant. The original is in Latin, and the best text is by Dr. Th. Grässe, Dresden, 1846. I have used a recent reprint of the venerable English edition of William Caxton, made about 1483.

(51) Sentence of Pilate; chap. XXV.

See (41) for account of the origin of this document. Other alleged sentences of Pilate are referred to in the notes on chap. XXV.

(52) Apocalypse of Peter; chap. XXXII.

For account of the discovery of this fragment along with (40), see introduction to that document. Such an apocalypse is mentioned by the Muratorian Fragment, Clement of Alexandria, the *Catalogus Cleromontanus*, Methodius, Eusebius, and many later writers, but was unknown in modern times until this recent discovery. The work was certainly produced as early as the first half of the second century.

the Ms. of another much later Apocalypse of Peter in Arabic is known to exist in Rome, but it has no connection with the present work. My English translation is by Rutherford from the Greek text edited by Harnack. For observations on the character of this work, see notes on chap. XXXII.

(53) *Pistis Sophia*, or Faith-Wisdom; chap. XXXII.

This is notable as being the only reasonably complete example of the innumerable Gnostic works produced in the early centuries which has come down to us unaltered. I have used from it only a comparatively brief passage which occurs near its end. The entire book professes to contain revelations delivered by Christ to His disciples, during the Saviour's eleven years' abode upon earth after His Ascension. The most of its contents would not only be inappropriate in my work, but would be absolutely unintelligible to the average reader, appearing, indeed, rather like the fancies of a disordered intellect. The Coptic text with Latin translation was published by Petermann in 1851. An English translation, made from the Latin, is published by the Theosophical Publishing Society, of New York; but I have not seen this, and have used the French translation found in Migne, I, col. 1191, seq. At first attributed to Valentinus by modern scholars, this work is now believed to be a later production of the Ophite school of Gnosticism, and is assigned to about the middle of the third century.

(54) Conflict of St. Thomas; chap. XXXII.

This is Malan's translation of an Ethiopic text, reprinted by James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, II. I have used but a small fragment from the beginning of the work. The Thomas Acts of the same general type now exist in manifold forms and many languages, being assigned in substance to a very early date, the second, or even first century. Photius attributes the authorship of this book to Leucius Charinus. The original is supposed to have been Greek, and its inspiration Gnostic.

(55) Teaching of the Apostles, Syriac; chap. XXXIII.

This is translated by Pratten from a Syriac Ms. of the fifth century. The matter, however, is very much older than that, being connected with the Apostolic Constitutions dating from about the end of the third century, and even older literature in this department. I have used but a small portion from the beginning of this work.

(56) Letter of Pontius Pilate; chap. XXXV.

Tischendorf formed his Latin text of this from four sources, all of them quite late. See (57), for account of an older version. English translation by Walker.

(57) Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul; chap. XXXV.

I refer to this work because it also contains a copy of (56). The work as a whole contains some matter of early date, but in its present form is supposed to be late. For his Greek text, Tischendorf used six Mss., the oldest dating from the end of the ninth century. English translation by Walker.

(58) Teaching of Addaeus the Apostle; chaps. XXV, XXXVI.

I have used from this some of the matter found also in (25), which compare. English translation by Pratten from a Syriac Ms. dating not later than the beginning of the fifth century. It contains a full account of the conversion of Abgar and his people.

(59) Epistles of Herod and Pilate, Syriac Form; chaps. XXXV, XXXVII.

The Syriac text is published by Wright from a Ms. of the sixth or seventh century. The original language was Greek; see (65). English translations by Cowper and Wright. The letters are followed in the Ms. by an alleged extract from a writer, whom Cowper thinks is meant for Justus of Tiberias. I have not used this, or another brief extract from Josephus, which is appended. Cowper thinks the letters may date from about 400 A. D.

(60) Epistle of Tiberius to Pilate; chaps. XXXVI, XXXVIII.

James publishes the Greek of this, which he has reconstructed from a comparison of texts earlier printed by Birch and Fleck. My English translation is by Mr. J. J. Kirkpatrick, of Marshall, Mo. James speaks of this as a late Western document, and calls it a Greek Vengeance of the Saviour. It is largely a compilation of legends.

(61) Departure of Marath Mary from the World; chap. XXXV.

This is an apocryphal Syriac work on the Virgin, dating from the fifth or sixth century. English translation by Pratten. I have used its version of a letter from Abgar to Tiberius.

(62) Giving Up of Pontius Pilate; chaps. XXXVI, XXXVIII.

The Greek text of this was first published by Birch. Tischendorf makes use of five Mss., the earliest of the twelfth century, in the preparation of his text. English translations by Cowper and Walker. This document offers the most extreme form of those legends which present Pilate's conduct in a favourable light. It is manifestly of late origin, although the favourable view of Pilate was the earlier one.

(63) Death of Pilate who condemned Jesus; chaps. XXXVI, XXXVIII.

Published for the first time by Tischendorf from a Latin Ms. of the fourteenth century. English translations by Cowper and Walker. This is manifestly a mediaeval production; it appears almost entire in the Golden Legend, and Cowper thinks that it was probably composed in France.

(64) Avenging of the Saviour; chaps. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

Cowper calls this an old anti-Jewish fiction of Latin origin. It is remarkable for the absurdities it contains. Tischendorf's Latin text is made from two Mss. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the original is assigned to the seventh or eighth century. An Anglo-Saxon recension of the eleventh century exists. English translations by Cowper and Walker.

(65) Epistles of Pilate and Herod, Greek Form; chap. XXXVII.

This contains the letters described in (59), in reverse order. James published the Greek text from a Ms. of the fifteenth century. My English translation is by Mr. J. J. Kirkpatrick, of Marshall, Mo. The story of Longinus, which is appended to this document, James attributes to another author.

SECTION IV.

LIST OF LOST AND FRAGMENTARY GOSPELS, WITH NOTES.

1. Gospel of Andrew. Was condemned by the Decree of Gelasius, but was probably only another name for one of the numerous editions of the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew.

2. Gospel of Apelles. Mentioned by Jerome in the preface to his commentary on Matthew. It was a Gnostic work, and, like Marcion's Gospel, was probably only a corrupted copy of one of the canonical four.

3. Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles. Is mentioned by Origen, Ambrose, and Jerome. It was a Gnostic Gospel, and existed in the second century; no fragments of value are known. I have used in this work a few fragments from another work of the same name, recently published in English translation by J. Rendel Harris. See *Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVI, p. 805. The Ms. of this is of the eighth century, and the work may possibly have connection with the foregoing, although certainly not the ancient Gospel in unchanged form.

4. Gospel of Barnabas. Mentioned in the Gelasian Decree. Another and probably different work under this name is of Mohammedan origin, or at least adaptation. Most of it may be found in Fabricius, II, 365, seq., in Italian. I have used portions of this in my notes. It seems to have relations with Docetic literature and with the Assumption legends.

5. Gospel of Bartholomew. Mentioned by Jerome and by the Decree of Gelasius. It may well have been some of the Acts of Bartholomew, or an Apocalypse similar to (33).

6. Gospel of Basilides. Mentioned by Origen, Ambrose, and Jerome. It may be partly extant in the Gospel of

Thomas, or again may only have been an altered version of one of the canonical Gospels.

7. Gospel of Cerinthus. Mentioned by Epiphanius. It was probably a mutilated copy of Matthew.

8. Didascalia Gospel. Resch gives this name to the anonymous Gospel which he thinks lies at the foundation of accounts of the Lord's life given in the Didascalia, the Apostolic Constitutions, etc. I have used some fragments of this where it differs from or adds to the canonical tradition.

9. Gospel of the Ebionites. The name is used by Epiphanius, and seems to indicate only another recension of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which see. This recension is marked by a leaning toward vegetarianism.

10. Gospel of the Egyptians. Known by a number of fragments, which I have incorporated with my text. The Logia of Christ, and Jacoby's Gospel Fragment, which I have used, may also belong to it. It was probably compiled in Egypt, and followed St. Matthew in general, but drew from other sources in addition. It is plainly Gnostic and Encratite in tendency.

11. Book of the Elkesaites. This document, which the sect of the Elkesaites of the third century, a species of Ebionites, believed to have fallen from heaven, is briefly described by Eusebius. It was a heretical Gospel having connections with the Clementine literature, but its exact contents are unknown.

12. Gospel of the Encratites. This is mentioned by Epiphanius, who seems to have meant by it the Gospel of Tatian, which see. The name would, however, have applied excellently to the Gospel of the Egyptians.

13. The Eternal Gospel. An uninteresting composition made by heretics in the thirteenth century and condemned at Rome, in 1250. Another book appeared under this name in London, in 1696, and still another in Germany, in 1699. See Fabricius, II, 526.

14. Gospel of Eve. I have used the one small fragment of this preserved by Epiphanius. It seems to have been a characteristic Gnostic work, similar rather to the Pistis

Sophia, *e. g.*, than to our ordinary conception of a Gospel. It was a production of the Ophite school.

15. Gospels of the Gnostics. Epiphanius speaks of the false Gospels of the Gnostics, and particularly mentions in that connection books under the names of Seth and Adam. He probably, however, had no specific works in mind in using the above title; there were certainly hundreds of books that might have been called Gnostic Gospels.

16. Gospel of the Hebrews. This name, which is used by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius, refers to a book of which the names, Gospel of the Nazarenes, and Gospel of the Ebionites, seem to indicate only varying recensions. It was closely related to Matthew, and Jerome in one place speaks of it as being only a Hebrew version of that Gospel. But, as the fragments which remain, and which I have used, show, it departs widely from the present Greek Matthew. It is, throughout, Hebrew in tone, exalts the position of James, and is low in its Christology.

17. Gospels of Hesychius. These are mentioned by Jerome, and condemned by the Gelasian Decree; but nothing of them has come down to us, nor is their character known. They were probably garbled copies of the canonical books. The names Ysichius, Eusicius, Esitius, Hyrcius, etc., are used by certain writers in referring to this author.

18. Gospel of James the Less. Origen speaks of such a work, but probably means the Protevangelium. See sec. I. (1). A number of books forged in Spain under the name of James are described by Fabricius, I, 351, etc. One of them claimed to be a Gospel of James the Greater, but is worthy of little attention.

19. Book of St. John according to the Cathari or Albigenses. This is printed by Thilo, p. 884. It is more properly an Apocalypse than a Gospel, and I have used extracts from it in my notes. It is of late origin, and certainly owes its inspiration to later Western Manichaeism.

20. Gospel of John preserved by the Templars. This work is described at some length by Thilo, p. 819, seq. It is but an altered and more rationalistic copy of the canonical

John, and I have found but little in it suitable for my use. It has been held to be of Gnostic origin, but this view does not seem to be justified.

21. *The Descent from the Cross* by John. Fabricius mentions this title. I judge that it refers to some version of the same legend upon this subject, which I print in chap. XXVII.

22. *Gospel of John upon the Passing of Mary*. This title has been given to what is no more than a version of the Assumption legend.

23. *Gospel of Judas Iscariot*. This strange work of the Cainite Gnostics is mentioned by Irenaeus and Epiphanius, but no fragment has come down to us. It took the view that Judas was the only one of the apostles who knew the true mysteries of Christ.

24. *Gospel used by Justin Martyr, or the Memoirs of the Apostles*. This Church father, in the course of his writings, covers much of the life of Christ, and relates circumstances that are not to be found in the canonical Gospels; I have included such fragments in this work. He refers as authority to a work called the *Memoirs of the Apostles*. It is generally believed that this was identical with, or at least related to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, which was itself substantially the same as *St. Matthew's Gospel*.

25. *Gospels or Acts of Leucius*. Various Gospels, Acts, or other books forged by Leucius are mentioned by Jerome, Augustine, the Gelasian Decree, and other later authorities. We have already had references to many other works that are attributed to the famous Leucius Charinus. He is also referred to under the names of Lucianus, Leutius, Leuncius, Leuontius, Leuthon, Lenticius, Seleucius and many other variants. So far as a *Gospel of Leucius* is specially indicated, it is impossible to tell just what book is meant.

26. *The Living Gospel*. A name given by the Manichaeans to their principal Gospel. Nothing is known as to its contents, save that it probably was a compilation from the canonical ones. Some have supposed that it was identical with the *Diatessaron of Tatian*. See *Gospel of Tatian*.

27. Gospels of the Manichaeans. Besides the Living Gospel already mentioned, a number of works which might come under this head are known by title. See Fabricius, I, 354, seq. They may include some books extant under other names.

28. Gospel of Marcion. This is mentioned by Tertullian and Epiphanius. It was only a mutilated copy of Luke, beginning with iii.1, and using such portions as suited the heresiarch's fancy. Thilo, p. 403, seq., prints the text as restored by Hahn from descriptions found in the Church writers.

29. Book of Mary and the Midwife. This is condemned in the Gelasian Decree, but would seem to be only another name for the Protevangelium, or a part of it.

30. Questions of Mary. A Gnostic book of which no fragments have come down. Epiphanius says it was full of such obscene and blasphemous things that he could not describe them.

31. Hebrew Gospel of Matthew used by the Nazarenes. Eusebius speaks of such a work, which seems to be but a name for one of the recensions of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which see.

32. Gospel of Matthias. Such a Gospel is mentioned by Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose, and Jerome, although nothing is known of its contents.

33. Traditions of Matthias. This work is known by a few citations of no great value preserved by Clement of Alexandria. They will be found in chap. XIX. It was held in honour by several of the Gnostic sects, and may possibly be the same as the foregoing.

34. Gospel of Merinthus. Epiphanius ascribes a Gospel to such an individual, placing him in the same category with Cerinthus. There seems to be no doubt that the same person is intended in each case, and that the duplication of names arose through a transcriber's error.

35. Gospel of the Nazarenes. This is also called the Gospel of St. Matthew according to the Nazarenes. It is essentially but a recension of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which

see. As contrasted with the Ebionitic recension, it is characterized by less stress on Hebrew ideas, a tendency towards Gnosticism, and the development of legend.

36. Gospel of Paul. This name is used by certain of the Church fathers, but cannot be supposed to refer to any definite book different from the canonical ones. St. Paul himself, in Romans and Galatians, speaks of "my Gospel." Some of the fathers apply this term to his epistles; others, including heretics like Marcion, called Luke St. Paul's Gospel. Also, of the many apocryphal Acts and Apocalypses under the name of Paul, some have doubtless had the name Gospel of Paul loosely given them.

37. Gospel of Perfection. This Gnostic work is mentioned by Epiphanius, and nothing is known of its contents. Some think that it may be the same as the Gospel of Philip. Clement of Alexandria mentions a book on "Perfection according to the Saviour," written by Tatian.

38. Gospel of Philip. This is quoted by Epiphanius, whose brief fragments I have used in my text. It represents some pantheistic school of Gnosticism.

39. Gospel of Scythianus. This is mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius. They say that Scythianus was a Saracen of Egypt who borrowed his principles from Pythagoras and Aristotle; and that he was the first founder of the Manichaeans. This last statement is certainly erroneous. No fragment of the work survives, but Cyril says that it contained no account of the actions of Christ.

40. Books of Seth. Such books of Gnostic origin, also books attributed to Seth by the Arabs, Ethiopians, and Samaritans, are mentioned by various authors. I judge, from several indications, that there must have been in existence at one time a Gnostic work of the nature of a Gospel of Seth.

41. Gospel of the Simonites. This is mentioned in the Arabic Preface to the Council of Nice, and is attributed to the followers of Simon Magus. It was divided into four parts and called the "Book of the Four Corners or Regions of the World." Nothing more is known as to its contents. The Apostolic Constitutions also speak of the fact that Simon

and his followers forged books under the names of Christ and His disciples.

42. Gospel according to the Syrians. Fabricius says that this is mentioned only by Eusebius and Jerome, and that it seems to be the same with the Gospel of the Hebrews. I should regard it as much more probable, however, that the reference is to the following Gospel, or Diatessaron of Tatian.

43. Gospel of Tatian. This work is mentioned by Eusebius, and by Epiphanius, who calls it the Gospel of the Four, and says that some call it the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Certainly, the famous Diatessaron of Tatian is intended. This was a harmony of the four Gospels, and, as extant in an Arabic text, contains nearly all of the canonical Gospels, and little else. There is much evidence to indicate, however, that it once contained other elements. See Ante-Nicene Fathers, X, 35, seq.

44. Gospel of Thaddaeus or Jude Thaddaeus. A book of this name is condemned by the Gelasian Decree. It probably means the Acts of Thaddaeus, which are extant in several forms.

45. Gospel of Thomas. A book of this name, probably entirely different from the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas described in the foregoing section, is mentioned by a number of writers. It is universally ascribed to the Manichaeans, and sometimes, in particular, to one of the three disciples of Manes, called Thomas.

46. Gospel of Truth. Mentioned by Irenaeus and attributed to the Valentinians. Its contents are unknown, save as to the fact that they did not in any way agree with the canonical Gospels. The book may be identical with the following title, but probably was a different work.

47. Gospel of Valentinus. This is mentioned only by Tertullian, and may be identical with the Gospel of Truth, the Pistis Sophia described in the foregoing section, or some entirely different work.

SECTION V.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL CHURCH WRITERS AND ANONYMOUS DOCUMENTS, WITH AP- PROXIMATE DATES.

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| <p>Clement of Rome, 93-95.
Barnabas, 96-125.
Papias, ca. 125.
Didache, 120-150.
Hermas, 130-160.
Second Epistle of Clement,
140-160.
Ignatius, ca. 150.
Apollonius, ca. 150.
Muratorian Fragment, ca.
150.
Apelles, ca. 150.
Theodotion, ante 160.
Clementine Homilies, 160-
170.
Justin Martyr, ca. 165.
Polycarp, †166.
Melito, ca. 170.
Athenagoras, 177.
Epistles from Lyons and
Vienna, 177.
Irenaeus, post 178.
Epistle to Diognetus, ca. 180.
Hegesippus, ca. 180.
Theophilus, post 180.
Theodotus, ca. 190.
Symmachus, ca. 190.</p> | <p>Pseudo-Cyprian de Aleatori-
bus, de Duobus Montibus,
ca. 199.
Clement of Alexandria, †ca.
220.
Hippolytus, ca. 220-230.
Tertullian, post 220.
Origen, 185-254.
Didascalia, 250-300.
Dionysius of Alexandria,
†265.
Dial. de Recte Fide, ca. 300.
Apostolic Constitutions, ca.
300.
Arnobius, ca. 300.
Pamphilus, †309.
Methodius, †310.
Marcellus, ca. 325.
Lactantius, ca. 330.
Juvencus, ca. 330.
Eusebius of Caesarea, †340.
Aphraates, 336-345.
Redactor of the Constitu-
tions, ca. 350.
Agathangelus, ca. 350.
Hilary, †366.
Caesarius, †368.</p> |
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- Amphilochius, 369-375.
 Athanasius, †373.
 Ephraem Syrus, †378.
 Basil, †379.
 Priscillian, †385.
 Cyril of Jerusalem, †386.
 Gregory Nazianzen, †390.
 Macarius, †391.
 Gregory of Nyssa, 371-394.
 Didymus, †395.
 Ambrose, †397.
 Epiphanius, †403.
 Chrysostom, †407.
 Jerome, †420.
 Augustine, 354-430.
 Palladius, †431.
 Paulinus Nolanus, †431.
 Cassian, †432.
 Socrates, ante 439.
 Cyril of Alexandria, †440.
 Nilus, †ca. 450.
 Salvianus, 451-455.
 Theodoret, †ca. 457.
 Severus, 512-519.
 Dionysius the Areopagite,
 ca. 532.
 Procopius, ca. 550.
 Gregory the Great, 540-604.
 Gregory Turonensis, 595.
 Johannes Climacus, †606.
 Maximus, 662.
 Anastasius Sinaita, ca. 680.
 Sedulius Scotus, post 700.
 John of Damascus, ca. 760.
 Elias of Crete, ca. 787.
 Theodorus Studita, †826.
 Petrus Siculus, ca. 870.
 Oecumenius, ca. 990.
 Theodore Balsamo, ca. 1180.
 Philippus, 1289.
 Jacobus de Voragine, †1298.
 Marinus Sanutus, 1310.
 Odoricus de Foro Julii, 1320.
 Nicephorus Callistus, ca.
 1320-50.
 Nicephorus Gregoras, post
 1350.
 Ordo Peregrinationum in Je-
 rusalem, ca. 1400.
 Hans Porner, 1419
 Johannes Gerson, †1429.
 Lochner in Gersheim, 1436.
 Gennadius, ca. 1460.
 Cologne Missal, 1548.
 Cotelerius, †1686.

"And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book. And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."—Gospel of St. John xx.30; xxi.25

CHAPTER I.

CHRIST'S GRANDPARENTS ACCORDING TO THE FLESH.

JOACHIM — HIS LIBERALITY — ANNA — CHILDLESSNESS — VISIT THE TEMPLE—ARE REPROACHED—JOACHIM RETIRES TO MOUNTAINS—HIS FAST—ANNA RETURNS HOME —BOTH SEE VISIONS—ANNA'S LAMENTATION—OTHER REPROACHES — DAUGHTER PROMISED HER — ALSO TO JOACHIM—HIS VISION—HIS OFFERING—MEETING AT JERUSALEM—JOACHIM'S SACRIFICE—OTHER VISIONS— JOACHIM AND ANNA RETURN HOME.

MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 1-5.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 1-3.
(3)—Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, 1-5.
(4)—Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, 1.

In the city of Nazareth, in Galilee, there dwelt a shepherd (1) of the tribe of Judah, named Joachim.¹ He was a priest, (2) and a descendant of David, the king, a man who feared the (3) Lord in integrity and singleness of heart. He was, besides (4)

¹The name is purely traditional; Barpanther, who was the son of Panther, who was the son of Levi, who was of the race of Nathan, the son of David." He is commemorated in the Greek church on Sept. 9. Some have understood Luke iii.23 to mean that the name of Mary's father was Heli. Jerome thought he was called Cleophas. (4) calls him Joakim, but says that "his name was formerly Cleopas."

A lection given in the Breviary states that he "was the son of

exceeding rich in gold and silver and cattle, having no other care save for his flocks and herds, from the produce of which he gave to all that feared God, and bestowed double gifts upon the Lord's ministers. Nay more, he divided all his increase into three portions; one he gave to the orphans, the widows, the strangers, and the poor; another, to those who ministered to God; the remaining third only did he keep for himself and his house. This, Joachim had done since he was fifteen years old, saying that his superabundance should be given to all the people, and that these offerings should be for his forgiveness and for a propitiation before the Lord. Wherefore God highly prospered him, and there was no man like him amongst all the people of Israel.¹

- (2) Now when Joachim was twenty years old his parents took
 (3) for him a wife, Anna,² the daughter of Mathan,³ who dwelt at Bethlehem,⁴ and was of the tribe of Levi and house of Aaron. Mathan's wife, also, was Mary of the tribe of Judah; and his two elder daughters were Mary and Sobe.⁵
- (2) But Joachim and his wife, dear to God, and good to men,
 (3) passed about twenty years in chaste matrimony at home with-

¹Cf. Job i.8.

²Also traditional; probably suggested by the name of Hannah, I Sam. i.2, seq. The story of Anna has borrowed largely from this O. T. narrative. Her name is given by Solomon of Bassora as Dina. St. Anna is commemorated by the Roman church on Jul. 26, and in the Greek church on Jul. 25. Tradition is that she was eighteen years old at the date of her marriage. There are some strange mediaeval legends concerning the infancy of Anna; see Migne, *Légendes*, col. 1220; Leroux de Lincy, *Livre des Légendes*, p. 27. For instance, she was born in a strange manner of the Emperor Fanuel, ordered by him to be exposed, but received

nourishment from a doe. At her birth, the name Anna was found written on her breast in letters of gold!

³Called so in the Roman breviary, but Achar by (2) and by Hippolytus; Gazir, by another breviary, and Nahor by the Mohammedans. A mediaeval work quoted by Migne, II, col. 105, says that Anna's parents were Stolano and Emerantiane.

⁴Another tradition places her birth at Eleutheropolis, and an old church occupying the site of her birthplace is still shown there.

⁵This paragraph also draws from the tradition of the Roman church as found in the Breviary.

out having either sons or daughters. And they vowed, that if God perchance should give them offspring they would yield it to the service of the Lord; for which cause they were wont to frequent the temple of the Lord at every festival in the year.

Behold, now, the time came for them to go to Bethlehem (1) to give their tithes to the Lord according to the law of Moses, (2) and the great Festival of the Dedication¹ was also at hand. (3) So Joachim and Anna went up to Jerusalem with those of (4) their own tribe, and entered the temple, the women by themselves, and the men likewise by themselves.

But when Anna drew nigh to a woman, she would thrust (4) her far away, saying, "Touch me not, for thou art barren, lest thine infirmity pass over to us, and our husbands hate us, because we have become childless as thou." In the same manner also, the men were saying the like words against Joachim.

And when the high priest Rubim² saw him with his offer- (1) ing amongst his fellows, he despised him and spurned his (2) gifts. For he said that they could not by any means be ac- (3) ceptable to God who had deemed him unworthy of offspring, since the scriptures said, "Cursed is everyone who hath not begotten a male or a female in Israel."³

When Joachim heard such taunts as these, he would cover (4) his face with his raiment, and weep and cry out, saying, "God, Thine eyes see and Thine ears hear such taunts as these, which they bring against me and my unhappy wife. Forget not our supplication and our reproach. Woe to us! Our mourning is greater than that of all this people, but altogether our sins, as we are in these griefs, are worse than

¹Thus (3), but (1) calls it "the great day of the Lord," and (4), "the passover of the Jews, even the Feast of Tabernacles."

²(1) calls him merely Rubim, (2), Reuben the priest, and (3), Issachar the high priest. There is no historical authority for any of these names.

³There is no such verse in scripture, but the sentiment is implied. See I Sam. i.6, 7; Hos. ix.14; Ex. xxiii.26; Deut. vii.14. Several of the Church fathers seem to think that there is such a verse in scripture.

those of all that belong to us." These and the like things these blessed ones were saying, until they completed the feast in sorrow and groanings.¹

(1) Being, therefore, put to shame in the sight of the people
(2) with this reproach, Joachim retired from the temple, weeping.

(3) And he went away to the registers of the twelve tribes of the people to find out whether he alone had not made seed in Israel; but he found that all the righteous had been blessed with offspring, although he called to mind that only in his last days had God given the patriarch Abraham his son Isaac.

(1) Nor would he return home lest he should be branded with
(2) this reproach by those of his own tribe who had heard the

(3) words of the high priest, but taking with him his shepherds he retired to his flocks that were in the mountains of a far country. And there he pitched his tent and fasted forty days and forty nights,² saying within himself, "I will not go down until the Lord my God shall look upon me, and prayer shall be my food and drink."

(4) And Anna went to her house in great sorrow and distress of heart, the Lord being her protector. Now when she fell asleep on a certain night she was shown a vision. It was as though a tree were seen planted by the banks of a spring of water, a white dove being in the midst of the tree. It flew from the tree and sat on the hands of Anna; and it sat on her bosom, and kept kissing the mouth of Anna a great while.

(4) At the same time, Joachim also saw a vision in the night. It was as though he were by a spring of water, and, behold, a white dove sitting by the spring of water, drinking water from it. It flew straightway, and sat on his head, and kept going round about him.³

¹It appears from (4) that the feast lasted forty days.

²Imitation of fast of Moses, Ex. xxiv.18; xxxiv.28; Deut. ix.9; that of Elijah, I Kings xix.8; and that of Christ, Mat. iv.2. Chrysostom says that Daniel also fasted forty days.

³These two visions, found only in (4), suggest the story of the white dove flying out of Joseph's rod, found in chap. III of this work. The symbol of the dove was widely used by the Jews. See Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, p. 566, n. 5.

But for five months Anna heard no tidings of her husband. (1)
 So she mourned in two mournings and lamented in two (2)
 lamentations, saying, "I bewail my widowhood; I bewail
 my childlessness." And she prayed with tears, saying, "O
 Lord, most mighty God of Israel, why hast Thou, seeing
 that already Thou hast not given me children, taken from
 me my husband also? Behold now five months that I have
 not seen him; and I know not where he is tarrying; nor, if
 I knew him to be dead, could I bury him."

Now Judith,¹ Anna's maid-servant, said to her, "How long (1)
 dost thou humiliate thy soul? Behold the great day of the (2)
 Lord² is at hand, and it is unlawful for thee to mourn. But
 take this head-band which the woman that made it gave me;
 for it is not fit that I should wear it, because I am but a
 maid-servant, and it is of royal appearance." And Anna
 said, "Depart from me; for I have not done such things,
 and the Lord hath brought me very low. I fear that some
 wicked person hath given it to thee, and that thou hast come
 to make me a sharer in thy sin." And Judith said, "Why
 should I seek to curse thee, seeing that the Lord hath denied
 thee fruit in Israel?" And Anna was grieved exceedingly,
 and putting off her garments of mourning, she anointed her
 head, and put on wedding garments.³

And about the ninth hour⁴ she went down to the garden to (1)
 walk, where seeing a laurel tree she sat under it and prayed (2)
 to the Lord, saying, "O God of our fathers, bless me and
 hear my prayer, as thou didst bless Sarah, and didst give her
 a son Isaac." And lifting up her eyes to God she saw a
 sparrow's nest in the laurel tree,⁵ and made a lamentation,
 saying, "Alas! who begot me, and what womb produced me?
 because I have become a curse in the presence of the sons of
 Israel, and I have been reproached, and they have driven me
 in derision out of the temple of the Lord. Alas! to what

¹Other forms of this name are
 Juth and Juthin.

²Possibly the Feast of Taber-
 nacles.

³Judith is represented as play-

ing the part of temptress, thus
 bringing the sinlessness of Anna
 into relief.

⁴See Acts x.3.

⁵See Tobit ii.10.

have I been likened? I am not like the fowls of the heaven, because even they are productive before Thee, O Lord. I am not like the beasts of the earth, because even they are productive before thee, O Lord. I am not like the waters, because even they are productive before Thee, O Lord. I am not like the earth, because even the earth bringeth forth its fruits in due season, and blesseth Thee, O Lord. For Thou hast given offspring to every creature, to beasts wild and tame, to serpents, and birds, and fishes, and they all rejoice in their young; but me alone hast Thou shut out from the gift of Thy benignity. And Thou, O God, knowest my heart, that from the beginning of my married life I have vowed that if Thou, O God, shouldst give me son or daughter, I would offer them to Thee in Thy holy temple.”¹

(1) And while she was thus speaking, suddenly an angel of
 (2) the Lord appeared before her, saying, “Be not afraid, Anna,
 (3) for I am that angel who hath presented thy prayers and alms before God.² Behold, I have been sent to pronounce to thee that the Lord hath heard thy prayers and that there is seed for thee in His decree; and that all generations, even to the end, shall wonder at that which shall be born of thee. For thou shalt bring forth a daughter, who shall be called Mary, and who shall be blessed above all women.³ She, full of the favour of the Lord even from her birth, shall remain three years in her father’s house until she be weaned. Thereafter, being delivered to the service of the Lord, she shall not depart from the temple until she reach the years of discretion. But serving God day and night in fasting and prayers, she shall abstain from every unclean thing; and she alone without example, an immaculate, uncorrupted virgin, shall

¹This paragraph is not devoid of literary merit.

²See Acts x.4. For instances of angels offering prayers to God, see Tobit xii.12, 15; Rev. viii.3, 4, besides many apocryphal writings.

³That Anna conceived by the Holy Ghost is hinted at here, and

plainly stated in some Mss. of (1) and (3). This doctrine was broached in the twelfth century, and is held by some in the Roman church to the present day. It had a large part in leading up to the reception of the dogma of the immaculate conception of the B. V. M.

bring forth the Lord—both in grace, and in name, and in work, the Saviour of the world. Wherefore, arise, and go up to Jerusalem; and when thou shalt come to the gate which, because it is plated with gold, is called Golden,¹ there for a sign, thou shalt meet thy husband, for whose safety thou hast been anxious. And when these things shall have so happened, know that what I announce shall without doubt be fulfilled.” Having thus spoken, the angel vanished out of her sight.²

But Anna, in fear and dread because she had seen such a sight, and heard such words, went into her chamber, and threw herself on the bed as if dead. And after remaining a whole day and night in great trembling and prayer, she called her servant and said to her, “Dost thou see me deceived in my widowhood and in great perplexity; yet hast thou been unwilling to come in to me?” With a slight murmur the maid replied, “If God hath denied thee offspring, and hath taken away thy husband from thee, what can I do for thee?” And when Anna heard this, she lifted up her voice, and wept aloud.³

Now about the same time there appeared an angel of the Lord in great light⁴ to Joachim, who was feeding his flocks alone in the mountains, and said to him, “Why dost thou not return to thy wife?” Then great fear overwhelmed Joachim, but he told the angel how his wife was barren, how he had been driven with shame from the temple of the Lord, and

¹This was probably a gate of the temple, the Beautiful Gate of Acts iii.2, and not a gate of the city of Jerusalem, as seems to be intended here.

²The angel's message to Anna is plainly formed on the general model of the annunciation to Mary. Suggestions are also drawn from the annunciation regarding Samson, Judges xiii; regarding Isaac, Gen. xvii.16; regarding Samuel, I Sam. i.1; and regarding John Baptist, Luke i.13.

³This paragraph is in reality only the form given in (2) of the tradition about Judith which is given in (1).

⁴The idea of angels being accompanied by great light occurs many times in apocryphal literature. See also Ex. iii.2; Mat. xxviii.3; Luke ii.9; xxiv.4; Acts xii.7. In the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Suriel are called the “*quatuor lucidi*.”

how he was determined to remain with his flocks the rest of his days bestowing his goods in charity by the hands of his servants, as he had been wont to do. But the angel replied, and said, "Fear not, Joachim, nor be disturbed by my appearance; for I am the angel of the Lord, sent to tell thee that thy prayers have been heard, and that thy charitable deeds have ascended into God's presence. He hath seen thy shame, and hath heard how unfruitfulness hath unjustly been made a reproach against thee. For He is the avenger of sin, not of nature; therefore when He denieth offspring to any, He doeth it that He may miraculously bestow it again, so that that which is born may be acknowledged to be not of lust, but of the gift of God.¹ For was not the first mother of your nation, Sarah, barren up to her ninetieth year?² Yet in extreme old age she brought forth Isaac to whom was renewed the promise of blessing to all nations. Rachel also, so favoured of the Lord and beloved of holy Jacob, was long barren. Yet she brought forth Joseph, who was not only the lord of Egypt, but the deliverer of many nations that were ready to perish with hunger. Who among the judges was either stronger than Samson, or more holy than Samuel? Yet the mothers of both were barren. If, therefore, the reasonableness of my words doth not persuade thee, believe in truth that conceptions very late in life, and births in the case of women that have been barren, are usually attended with something wonderful. To-day, have I appeared to thy wife when she was weeping and praying, and have consoled her. And know that she hath conceived a daughter from thy seed, although thou in ignorance of this hast left her. This seed shall be blessed, and shall be the mother of eternal blessing. She shall be, as ye vowed, consecrated to the Lord from her infancy; and shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from her mother's womb.³ Nor shall she spend her life among the crowds of the people without, but in the Lord's temple, that it may not be possible either to say, or so much as to suspect, any evil concerning

¹Cf. John iii.6, etc.

²See Gen. xvii.17.

³Closely follows Luke i.11, 15.

her. And when she hath grown up, even as she herself shall be miraculously born of a barren woman, so shall she, a virgin, in an incomparable manner, bring forth the Son of the Most High, who shall be called Jesus, and according to the meaning of His name be the Saviour of all nations. Therefore, go down from the mountains and return to thy wife, giving God thanks for this. And this shall be the sign to thee of these things which I announce: When thou shalt come to the Golden gate in Jerusalem thou shalt there meet Anna, thy wife, who lately anxious on account of the delay in thy return, will rejoice at the sight of thee."

Then Joachim adored the angel, saying, "If I have found (2) favour in thy sight, sit for a little in my tent,¹ and bless thy servant." But the angel said, "Do not say servant, but fellow-servant;² for we are all the servants of one Master. My food is invisible, and my drink cannot be seen by a mortal.³ Thou oughtest not, therefore, to ask me to enter thy tent, but if thou desirest to give me anything, offer it as a burnt-offering to the Lord." Then Joachim took a lamb without spot, and said to the angel, "I should not have dared to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord, unless thy command had given me the priest's right of offering."⁴ And the angel replied, "I should not have invited thee to offer unless I had known the will of the Lord." And when Joachim was offering the sacrifice of God, the angel and the odour of the sacrifice went together straight up to heaven with the smoke.⁵

And Joachim, throwing himself on his face, lay in prayer (2) from the sixth hour of the day even until evening. But when his lads and hired servants saw him, not knowing why he was lying down, they thought that he was dead. And coming to him, they with difficulty raised him from the ground, whereupon he recounted to them the vision of the angel. And they, struck with great fear and wonder, ad-

¹See Gen. xviii.3.

²See Rev. xix.10.

³See Judges xiii.16.

⁴Joachim, as being of the tribe of Judah, had no right to offer.

Yet he is called a priest in the traditions of the Manichaeans, and said to be of the tribe of Levi.

⁵Judges xiii.20.

vised him to accomplish the vision without delay, returning in haste to his wife.

- (2) But when Joachim was turning over in his mind whether he should go back or not, it happened that he was overpowered with a deep sleep; and, behold, the angel who had already appeared to him, came to him in his sleep, and repeated the message which he had once before given. Then Joachim awoke and calling his herdsmen to him, told them his dream. And they worshipped the Lord, and said, "See that thou no further despise the words of the angel. But rise and let us go hence, returning at a quiet pace, feeding our flocks."

- (1) Therefore, as the angel had commanded, both Joachim and
 (2) Anna, setting out from the places where they were, went up
 (3) to Jerusalem. And when, after thirty days occupied in trav-
 (4) elling, they were now near at hand, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Anna, who was standing and praying, saying unto her, "Go to the gate which is called Golden, and meet thy husband in the way; for to-day he will come to thee." So with her maidens she went in haste, and praying to the Lord, she stood a long time in the gate waiting for Joachim. And when she was wearied with long waiting, she lifted up her eyes and saw him afar off, coming with his flocks. Then she ran to him and hung on his neck, giving thanks to God, and saying, "I was a widow, and behold I am not so; I was barren, and behold I have now conceived." And both of them, rejoicing at seeing each other, gave the thanks due to God who exalteth the humble, secure in the certainty of the promised offspring. And the old women saw that she had conceived and rejoiced with her.

- (1) Then Joachim went down and called his shepherds, saying, "Bring me hither ten she-lambs without spot or blemish, which shall be for the Lord my God; and bring me twelve tender calves, which shall be for the priests and elders; and a hundred goats, which shall be for all the people." And on the following day he brought his offerings, saying to himself, that if the Lord God had been rendered gracious to him,

the plate¹ on the priest's forehead would make it manifest. So when he went up to the altar of the Lord with the offering, he observed the priest's plate attentively, and saw no sin in himself. Then did Joachim know that the Lord had been gracious unto him, and had remitted all his sins. And he went down from the temple of the Lord justified.²

And Anna saw again a vision in the night; as though she (4) had brought her tithes into the temple of the priests of God, so that the priests were calling her. And, behold, an angel took the likeness of a man and spake with Anna, saying, "Take courage and be strong. Behold thou shalt bring forth a daughter. Call her name Mary. Depart from the bed of Joachim and eat not anything unclean³ until thou wean the child in purity." And the angel blessed Anna, the priests answering him, "Amen." And when Ann had arisen from the vision, she spake to Joachim her husband, and they glorified the God of Israel.

And Anna said, "Lord, I vow unto Thee the fruit that is (n) in my womb free and exempt from all affairs, to serve Thee in my womb free and exempt from all affairs, to serve Thee with affection; Thou understandest and knowest all things."⁴

Now when the days of the ministration were fulfilled, (2) Joachim and Anna, having worshipped, departed to their (3) own house, being in great joy for the grace which was shown (4) them, and awaiting in certainty and gladness the divine promise. And when this was heard of, there was great joy among all their neighbors and acquaintances, so that the whole land of Israel congratulated them.⁵

¹The Petalon, or golden plate upon the high priest's mitre, mentioned in Ex. xxviii.36, 38. See also Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, iii.7! Eusebius, Church History, ii.23, iii.31, v.24; Epi-

phanus against Heresies, 78

²Cf. Luke xviii.4.

³See Judges xiii.4, 7.

⁴From the Koran, Sura iii.

⁵Cf. Luke i.58.

CHAPTER II.

THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF MARY.

BIRTH—DAVID'S SONG—REJOICINGS—VISION OF ZACHARIAS—VISITS AND BLESSES MARY—ANNA'S SONG—MARY'S FIRST BIRTHDAY—TAKEN TO TEMPLE—ANNA'S SONG—MARY RECEIVED—HER GUARDIAN CHOSEN—ANNA A WIDOW—MARY'S LIFE IN TEMPLE—SURROUNDED BY ANGELS—HER MANNERS—RAIMENT—FED BY ANGELS—PRAISES GOD CONTINUALLY—PERSONAL APPEARANCE—SOUGHT IN MARRIAGE—VOWS VIRGINITY.

MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 5-8.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 4-7.
(3)—Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, 5-7.
(4)—Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, I, II A, II B.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 3.

- (1) Now Anna's time was fulfilled at Nazareth, and she bare a child.¹ And she said to the midwife, "What have I brought forth?" She replied, "A girl." Then did Anna say, "My soul hath been magnified this day." And she laid the child down.
- (n) And again she said, "Lord, I am delivered of a daughter. Thou knowest that Thou hast given her to me. I have named her Mary. I will preserve, through Thine assistance,

¹The Roman church celebrates the Nativity of Mary on Sep. 8. (4) says it was the 15th of the month Hathor. Different traditions name Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Sephoris, and Nazareth as

the place. The last accords best with apocryphal authorities. According to St. Idlefonso, God gave the angel Gabriel to Mary as her guardian from her birth.

her and her posterity from the malice of the devil. Accept her, Lord, with a pleasing acceptation, and cause her to produce good fruits."¹

Afterwards, David came into the midst with his harp, and sang the praises of Anna and Joachim, saying:²

"We exulted and were glad, instead of the days that Thou didst afflict us."³

When my heart was sad, Thou didst set me up upon a rock.⁴

Thou didst guide me, Thou didst bring me into the broad way.⁵

Thou didst cause men to ride over our heads, Thou broughtest us through fire and water."⁶

And the neighbors, hearing of the birth, brought Anna their gifts; the men, also, brought their gifts to Joachim. Seven days they spent eating and drinking, rejoicing over what God had wrought concerning this couple.

Now, when the days were fulfilled, and Anna was purified, being washed with water, she gave the breast to the child. And when they asked her, she said, "Call the name of the child Mary, even as it was commanded me by the angel." This, then, did her parents name her; and there was great joy to them and to all their house.

And there was at that time a priest in the temple ministering unto the Lord, whose name was Zacharias;⁷ he was, moreover, old, even the father of all the people. Now this man saw a vision in the night. An angel of the Lord ap-

¹Koran, Sura iii.

²The document, (4), from which this is taken, begins as a homily and ends as a definite Apocryphal Gospel. This expression about David probably meant no more, as first used by the preacher, than to say that David had used the following words which might be applied to Anna and Joachim. So, again, further on in this chapter. The expression is interest-

ing, as showing one of the methods by which legend is formed.

³Ps. xc.14. 15.

⁴Ps. xxvii.5.

⁵See Job xxxvi.16.

⁶Ps. lxvi.12.

⁷Luke i.5. The connection of Zacharias with the bringing up of Mary, is not mentioned in scripture, but is widely recognized in Oriental legend.

peared to him, and said to him, "Thou son of the old man Barachias,¹ these things shalt thou say to Anna and Joachim, 'Keep your daughter a holy virgin for one Husband, Christ.'² And after three years she will be brought unto thee. Say unto Anna, 'Let nothing unclean enter thy mouth, until thou wean the child from thy milk.' Take heed that after three years she be given to thee as a deposit until the day that God shall see fit; for she is a votive offering of heaven."

- (4) Then Zacharias, when he had heard these things in the vision, awoke and wondered at what he had heard, and glorified God. And when morning was come, he was not at all careless, but he told all these words to Elisabeth his wife, and she rejoiced greatly; and they arose and went unto Joachim. For since Anna and Elisabeth were the daughters of two sisters,³ and also Zacharias and Joachim were brothers,⁴ they were not strangers to each other.
- (4) Now when they had gone into the house of Joachim, they announced all the things that the angel spake to Zacharias. And Anna said, "All things that thou wouldst say to me, my lord and father, have been revealed to me before she was conceived. And, also, I promised, saying, 'Whether it be

¹The text of (4), whence this is taken, reads "Malachias," but this is plainly only an error of transcription for Barachias, who is generally identified with the father of the Zacharias mentioned in Mat. xxiii.35. Some documents, however, call Zacharias the son of Jojada, or Jehoiada, and this shows that II Chron. xxiv.20-22, is probably the origin of the whole Zacharias legend. It is an extensive one and is fully discussed in *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden*, Berendts, Leipzig, 1895.

²II Cor. xi.2.

³This would make Anna and

Elisabeth full cousins. It accords better with the indication of their relative ages, given by Luke, than the more widely accepted Church tradition given by Nicephorus, which says that Elisabeth was the daughter of Sobe the sister of Anna, and so the full cousin of Mary.

⁴I know of no other tradition of such a relationship. It is inconsistent with the tradition that Joachim was of the tribe of Judah, so that it may come from a Manichaean source. Both Zacharias and Elisabeth are commemorated by the Roman church on Nov. 5.

male or female, I will give it to the Lord for His temple.'” Moreover, Zacharias blessed the child in the impulse of his spirit, and departed and went to Torine¹ his city, because that Joachim was dwelling at Nazareth in those days.

And Anna took the child into her arms that she might wash her, and looking down into her face, she saw it full of the grace of God. And she spake this song to the Lord, whilst David the holy singer answered her, saying:⁽⁴⁾

“Thou art the Lord, Thou wilt exalt my people that is humble and wilt humble the eyes of the haughty ones.²

The Lord hath looked from heaven on the houses of the poor, He hath made them rich. Amen.⁴

Ye archangels of the Lord, come and rejoice with me, for I have known birth. Amen.

Ye cherubim, that are thrones for the Father, rejoice with me also, for my knees have carried the fruit of child. Amen.

Ye cherubim of the Father with the six wings, with the four faces, with the thousand eyes full of light,⁵ come and rejoice with me, for I have learned to make melody to my wise child. Amen.

Ye four and twenty elders without body,⁶ come and rejoice with me, for a deserted womb hath sown a seed. Amen.

Ye rulers of light, come and rejoice with me, for I have brought forth fruit of man. Amen.

Ye stewards of joy, ye harpers and praisers of the Father, ye thrones and dominions and powers of the Father,⁷ come and rejoice with me by reason of my joy to-day.⁸ Amen.”

¹This name is given only in (4). It is probably an error of transcription for the Greek term for “hill country,” by which most of the apocryphal writers designate the residence of Zacharias. According to Luke’s Gospel, Hebron would seem to be the place indicated. Jutta is the later traditional name of John’s birthplace.

²This song resembles one said to have been sung by Isaac of

Tiphre, just before his execution. Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. ix, 106.

³Luke i.52; I Sam. ii.8.

⁴Luke i.53; I Sam. ii.7.

⁵Is. vi.2; Rev. iv.8.

⁶Rev. iv.4. See note concerning them in chap. XX.

⁷Col. i.16.

⁸Gnostic traces are everywhere to be discerned in this hymn; it is incomplete at the end.

(1) Now the child increased in strength from day to day; and when she was six months¹ old her mother set her on the ground, to try if she could stand. And having walked seven steps, the child came into her mother's bosom, who snatched her up, saying, "As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk upon this earth, until I bring thee into the temple of the Lord."² And Anna made a sanctuary in her bedchamber, and suffered nothing common or unclean to pass through it. She also called the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and they waited on the child.

(1) And when Mary's first birthday came, they weaned her;
 (2) and Joachim made a great feast,³ inviting the priests, the
 (3) scribes, the elders, and all the people of Israel. And the priests blessed the child when Joachim brought her to them, saying, "O God of our fathers, bless this child, and give her an everlasting name to be named in all generations!" And all the people said, "So be it, so be it. Amen." And Joachim brought her to the high priests; and they blessed her, saying, "O God most high, look upon this child, and bless her with the utmost blessing, which shall be forever!" And her mother snatched her up, and took her into the sanctuary of her bedchamber, and gave her the breast.⁴ And Anna made a song to the Lord God, saying:⁵

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

¹One of the Mss. of (1) has "nine months."

²The Roman tradition says that Mary was presented in the temple at the end of eighty days after her birth.

³In (1), this took place at end of first year; in (2), (3), and (5), at end of third year. At the time of weaning, such a feast was customary. See Gen. xxi.8.

⁴Anna for the moment relents in her purpose of weaning the child.

⁵Anna's song of triumph, taken from (1), is certainly suggested by that of Hannah under similar circumstances. See I Sam. ii.1-10. More of the substance of the latter is contained in the preceding song.

Who shall tell the sons of Rubim that Anna giveth the breast?

Hear, hear, ye twelve tribes of Israel, that Anna giveth the breast!"

And Anna laid the child to rest in the sanctuary of her (1) bedchamber, and going out, served the guests. And when the supper was ended, they went away rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

Now months were added to the child, and she was two (1) years old. Then said Joachim, "Let us take her up to the temple of the Lord, that we may pay the vow that we have vowed, lest perchance the Lord send to us, and our offering be not received."¹ And Anna said, "Let us wait for the third year, in order that the child may not seek for father or mother." And Joachim said, "Let us wait."

And when the child became three years old,² Joachim said, (1) "Call the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and let them take each a lamp; and let them stand with the lamps burning, that the child may not turn back, and her heart be captivated from the temple of the Lord."³

Now there were around the temple and before its doors, (2) fifteen steps going up, according to the fifteen Psalms of (3) Degrees;⁴ for, on account of the temple having been built on a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which stood outside, could not be reached except by steps.⁵ On one of these,

¹Probably means, "Send someone to admonish us that we have been too long in paying our vow." One Ms. reads, "lest the Lord depart from us"; another, "lest the Lord move away from us."

²The Roman church keeps the feast of the Presentation of B. V. M. in the Temple, on Nov. 21, commemorating on this day both the earlier presentation when she was eighty days old, and this later one, which it states took place when Mary was two years,

two months, and thirteen days old. References to this presentation are found in many of the Church fathers, whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

³The idea seems to be that turning back would be a bad omen; the lights would hold the child's attention whilst entering the temple, and so prevent her from doing this.

⁴Ps. cxx-cxxxiv.

⁵There is no certainty about this. Some say that the fifteen steps led up from the court of

then, the parents placed the little girl Mary. And when they were putting off the clothes which they had worn on the journey, and were putting on, as was usual, others that were neater and cleaner, the virgin of the Lord, without the help of any one leading her or lifting her, and not looking back at all, went swiftly up all the steps one after the other, in such a manner that, in this respect at least, one would think that she had already attained full age.

(2) And she walked by herself and went unto the holy altar,
 (3) and stood there. Nor did she, as children are wont to do,
 (4) seek for her parents. But they, each of them, anxiously seeking for the child, were alike astonished when they found her in the temple; and the priests themselves wondered. And Mary's face became bright, straightway, and she was dazzling as the luminaries of heaven. And all the people of Israel looked, and they saw the grace shine upon her, so that everyone marvelled. For already the Lord, in the infancy of the virgin, wrought a great thing, and by this miracle foreshadowed how great she was to be.

(2) Then Anna, filled with the Holy Ghost, said before them all:¹

“The Lord Almighty, the God of Hosts, being mindful of His word, hath visited His people with a good and holy visitation, to bring down the hearts of the Gentiles who were rising against us, and turn them to Himself.

He hath opened His ears to our prayers; He hath kept away from us the exulting of our enemies.

The barren hath become a mother, and hath brought forth exultation and gladness to Israel.

Behold the gifts which I have brought to offer to my Lord, and mine enemies have not been able to hinder me.

For God hath turned their hearts to me, and Himself hath given me everlasting joy.”

the women to that of the priests. One tradition says that these steps were each half an ell in height, which adds to the surprise implied in the account, over

the fact that Mary was able to ascend them unaided.

¹Evidently largely suggested by Ps. cxiii.

And the priest received Mary, and kissed her, and blessed (1) her, saying, "The Lord hath magnified thy name in all gen- (2) erations. In thee, on the last of days, the Lord will manifest (3) His redemption to the sons of Israel." And he set her down (5) upon the third step of the altar. And she danced with her feet, and all the house of Israel loved her. And she went no more with her parents to their house.¹ But they, a sacrifice having been offered according to the law, and their vow being perfected, left the virgin within the enclosure of the temple, there to be educated with the other virgins.² And they themselves went down to their house, marvelling and praising the Lord because the child had not turned back.

Now the same year Anna, who was very beautiful, became (n) a widow, and by the command of the Lord she married Cleophas to whom within a year she bare a daughter, who also was called Mary. And afterwards this Mary became the wife of Alphaeus; of her were born James the son of Alphaeus, and Philip his brother. But Cleophas himself died before the birth of the child. And yet again Anna, by the command of an angel, married a third husband named Salome, to whom also she bare a daughter, who was likewise called Mary. She afterwards was given to Zebedee to wife; and of her were born James the son of Zebedee, and John the evangelist.³

But the priests in the temple disputed as to which of them (n)

¹(4) here adds, that "her parents used to come to her every two or three days to visit her." (5) adds, that "Mary remained in the temple nine years," but this does not accord with the chronology which I have adopted, making her remain there until the age of fourteen, or eleven years.

²The tradition that virgins, and even widows, regularly served in the temple, is frequently mentioned in apocryphal literature.

It rests on no substantial historical foundation, although defended by many writers. See, as regards widows, Luke ii.37.

³This paragraph is formed from traditions embodied in a legend of St. Anna, of the sixteenth century, quoted in Migne, II, col. 105. It is probably founded upon older apocrypha, and has intrinsic interest. It is embodied also in certain Mss. of (2). See Tischendorf's notes on chap. 42 of same.

should have the care of Mary during her childhood; and they finally agreed to settle the matter by lot. All of them, then, and they were twenty-five in number, threw into the waters of the Jordan reeds covered with inscriptions taken from the law. And the reed which belonged to Zacharias having alone floated, to him was given the care over Mary.¹

- (2) And the virgin of the Lord was held in admiration by all
 (3) the people of Israel. Even when she was three years old, she walked with a step so mature, she spake so perfectly, and spent her time so assiduously in the praises of God, that all were astonished at her, and wondered; she was not reckoned as a young infant, but as it were a grown-up person of thirty years old. She advanced in age and in virtues; and though in the words of the Psalmist, her father and mother had forsaken her, the Lord took her up.²

- (2) For daily did she enjoy a divine vision, which preserved
 (3) her from all evil, and made her to abound in all good. Daily
 (4) was she visited by the angels of God, who were often seen speaking to her, who ministered to her, diligently obeying her, and who surrounded her day and night.

- (4) And when she grew a little, she put away from her all vain intercourse, and her heart she turned from all the beauty of this life. There came to her no thought of her parents nor of this world. She never adorned herself, nor did she seek after outward show as women do. She never painted her eyes,³ nor put saffron on her cheeks, nor plaited her hair. She did not put choice perfume upon her, nor did she anoint her body with ointment. She did not bathe nor wash with water,⁴ nor did she put her face outside the door, lest she should see a strange man.

¹This legend is given by Migne, I, col. 1064 n. No reference is given, but it is said to be of Oriental origin. The Koran states that Zacharias was entrusted with the special care over Mary.

²Ps. xxvii.10

³This, from (4), alludes to an

Egyptian custom. The same may be said of the other practices referred to.

⁴One of the great virtues assumed by ascetics, particularly those of the Egyptian and Syrian schools. Many disgusting illustrations of this might be given from the Lives of the Saints.

Her raiment, which was always of the natural colours,¹ (4) never became foul nor wore out nor tore; but that which her mother put upon her on the day that she gave her to the temple, remained upon her until the day of her death. As regards that which Mary increased daily, the raiment became greater with her.² Nor did she ever see the nakedness of her body; but when she was about to wear a garment she would shut her eyes.

And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as if she were a (1) dove that dwelt there, for she received her food from heaven (2) by the hands of the angels.³ And oftentimes also, they would (4) bring her the fruits from the tree of life, that she might eat of them with cheerfulness. Nor did she eat as though nourishing a body, but only because of the necessities of her nature, lest she should die before her time.⁴ And she refreshed herself only with the food which she received from the hands of the angels, but that which she obtained from the priests she divided amongst the poor. And as often as Zacharias came to her chamber and found the angelic food by her, he asked her, "Whence came this to thee?" And she said, "From God, for God feedeth whom He will."⁵

Anna the prophetess and the virgins that were in the temple (2) having taught Mary to do handiwork, she occupied herself (4) constantly with wool-work and weaving, so that she in her tender years could do all that mature women were not able to do.

And this was the order that she had set for herself: From (2) the morning to the third hour, she remained in prayer; from the third to the ninth, she was occupied with her weaving;

¹Nicephorus, Book II, chap. 23.

²We will find the same story told later of the garments worn by John Baptist and Christ.

³Statement found also in Koran. Possibly this idea has reference to the eucharist. See John vi.31; Ex. xvi.15. See also, I Kings xix.5, and chap. XXXI of this work.

⁴From Turin Papyrus, pub-

lished by Prof. Rossi, Pap. Cop. vol. I, fasc. II, p. 40. A strange compilation, basing the duty of an ascetic life for virgins upon the life of Mary. (4) shares this character throughout, and much of what it says about the life of Mary in the temple is only the reflection of later monastic rules.

⁵Koran, Suras iii, xxxvii.

and from the ninth, she again applied herself to prayer.¹ She did not retire from praying until there appeared to her the angel from whose hand she used to receive food; and thus she became more and more perfect in the work of God. When the older virgins rested from the praises of God, she did not rest at all; so that in His vigils and praises none were found before her. And lest, perchance, even in her salutation she might cease from praising and blessing God, when any one saluted her, she used to answer by way of salutation, "Thanks be to God." And from her the custom first began of men's saying this, when they saluted each other.²

- (2) None were more learned than Mary in the wisdom of the law of God, more lowly in humility, more elegant in singing, more perfect in all virtue. She was indeed steadfast, unmoveable,³ unchangeable, and daily advancing in perfection. She spake very little, and indeed only what was necessary, but then with a becoming modesty, without laughter, embarrassment, or pride. Yet she was very affable, and showed to all due reverence and respect.⁴ No one saw her angry, nor heard her speaking evil. All her speech was so full of grace that her God was acknowledged to be in her tongue, and she was anxious lest by any word of hers she should sin with regard to her companions. She was afraid lest in her laughter, or the sound of her beautiful voice, she should commit any fault, or lest, being elated, she should display any wrong-doing or haughtiness to one of her equals. And she was always sitting, her face looking eastward,⁵ because she was praying without ceasing,⁶ offering her petitions to her spouse and bridegroom, Christ.

¹For the early hours of prayer, closely followed here, see Apostolic Constitutions, Book VIII, chap. 34, and the Letters of Jerome.

²Another monastic custom, the origin of which is here attributed to Mary. The use of this expression is prescribed in the rule of St. Benedict.

³I Cor. xv.58.

⁴This, with one or two other particulars in this paragraph, is taken from Nicephorus, Book II, chap. 23.

⁵Orientation, older than the Christian church, very early came into Catholic use. See note on chap. XIII.

⁶I Thes. v.17.

Mary was of medium stature, and her body was in all respects graceful and well proportioned. She was somewhat delicate in appearance, and her colour was like that of ripe wheat. Her face was oval rather than pointed; her hair was golden, and she wore it bound up; her eyes were large and piercing, inclining to blue in colour;¹ her eyebrows were arched and somewhat dark; her nose was rather long; and her lips were fresh, and full of loveliness in speech. Her hands and fingers were long. Her appearance was so beautiful and glorious that scarcely any one could look into her face, and if any one who was unwell touched her, the same hour he went home cured.²

Then Abiathar³ the priest offered gifts without end to the high priest, in order that he might obtain her for a wife to his son. But Mary forbade them, saying, "It cannot be that I should have a husband." But all the priests and all her kindred kept saying to her, "God is worshipped in children and adored in posterity, as hath always happened among the sons of Israel." But Mary answered, and said unto them, "God is worshipped in chastity, as is proved by the first of all. For before Abel⁴ there was none righteous among men, and he by his offerings pleased God, and was without mercy slain by him who displeased Him. Two crowns, therefore, he received—of oblation and of virginity, because in his flesh there was no pollution. Elijah⁵ also, when he was in the

¹Thus in *Historia Christi*, Xaverius; I think this is the prevalent tradition. According to Nicephorus, her eyes were olive-coloured.

²I have combined in this paragraph the traditions reported by Nicephorus in Book II, chap. 23, and by Xaverius in his *Historia Christi*, p. 30. There are many such in Church writers, and a number of late works on the subject. That St. Luke painted a portrait of Mary in colours, is reported by Nicephorus.

³He is later on called the high priest in (2). Some Mss. call him Abyacar. A high priest of the former name is mentioned in I Sam. xxii.23, which passage has doubtless suggested the application here.

⁴The virginity of Abel was maintained by many Church writers, amongst them, Beda, Bonaventura, Bernard, and Albertus Magnus.

⁵The same may be said as to Elijah, *e. g.* Cassian, Epiphanius, John of Damascus, and Jerome.

flesh, was taken up in the flesh, because he kept his flesh unspotted. Now I, from my infancy in the temple of God, have learned that virginity can be sufficiently dear to God. And so, because I can offer what is dear to God, I have resolved in my heart that I shall remain a virgin."

CHAPTER III.

THE BETROTHAL AND ANNUNCIATION.

MARY REFUSES TO LEAVE THE TEMPLE—COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE—JOSEPH—COUNCIL OF PRIESTS—ORACLE CONSULTED—RODS PUT INTO HOLY OF HOLIES—JOSEPH'S ROD—DOVE COMES FORTH—JOSEPH IS UNWILLING—THE BETROTHAL—VIRGINS CHOSEN TO MAKE VEIL—ANGEL SPEAKS TO ZACHARIAS—VIRGINS RETIRE TO JOSEPH'S HOUSE—ANNUNCIATION AT THE FOUNTAIN—IN MARY'S BEDCHAMBER—MARY'S REPLY.

- MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 8-II.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 8-9
(3)—Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, 7-9.
(4)—Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, II B.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 2-5, 14.
(15)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Bohairic Version, 2-5, 14.
(22)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, I, 2-5.

Now Mary had reached her fourteenth¹ year; and not only (2) were the wicked unable to charge her with anything worthy (3) of reproach, but all good men who knew her life and conversation, judged her to be worthy of admiration. But on

¹This is the age given in (2) and (3). It accords better with other chronology and is accepted by most later writers; but (1) and (5) say "twelve years," and this age is favoured by most of the older writers, *c. g.* Evodius, Hippolytus, Michael Glycas. Different Mss. of the four documents mentioned also give each of these ages.

account of her age there was occasion for the Pharisees to say, that it was not the custom for a woman of her maturity to abide in the temple of God. Then the high priest publicly announced that the virgins who were settled in the temple, and had reached this time of life, should return home and seek to be married, according to the custom of the nation, and the ripeness of their years.

- (3) The others readily obeyed this command, but Mary alone, the virgin of the Lord, answered that she could not do so, saying, both that her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord and that, moreover, she herself had made to the Lord a vow of virginity, which she would never violate.

(1) The high priest,¹ then, being placed in great perplexity of
 (2) mind, seeing that neither did he think that the vow should be
 (3) broken contrary to the scripture, which saith, "Vow and
 (5) pay,"² nor did he dare to introduce a custom unknown to the
 (15) nation, gave order that at the festival, which was at hand,
 (22) all the chief persons from Jerusalem and the neighbourhood should be present, in order that from their advice he might know what was to be done in so doubtful a case. So they fell upon the plan of sending heralds through all the tribes of Israel, that all might come together unto the temple of the Lord. Then the heralds went out, the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all the people ran together. And Joseph the carpenter, of the house and family of David, also cast down his axe, and went out to meet the heralds.³

¹One document names Abiathar and another, Zacharias as being high priest at this time. I adopt the latter tradition, although, of course, there is no authority for the idea that the father of John the Baptist ever held this office; but Ambrose, Augustine, and many others have held that he did.

²Num. xxx.2; Deut. xxiii.21; Eccles. v. 4, 5.

³Various traditions also allege that Joseph was a smith, a gold-

smith, or a stonemason. He is commemorated by the Roman church, on Mar. 19. So high is the reverence shown him in that communion, that he has by books of authority been called a confessor, a patriarch, a colleague of the Holy Spirit, even "the third Person of the Holy Trinity reigning upon earth." (1) says that, "an angel commanded Zacharias to send out heralds summoning the *widowers* of Israel."

Now this man, a native of Bethlehem, was well furnished (3) with wisdom and learning, and had been made a priest¹ in the (5) temple of God. When he was forty years old, after the man- (15) ner of all men, he married a wife.² And she bare him four (22) sons whose names were Judas, Joses, James, and Simon;³ and two daughters named Assia and Lydia.⁴ And after forty-nine years under his care, Joseph's wife, a woman intent on the divine glory in all her works, departed this life, even as it is appointed unto all men, leaving James still little. But Joseph, who was a righteous man, glorifying God in all things, went away with two of his sons, working at his trade of carpentry, at which he was skilful, and living by the work of his hands, according to the law of Moses. And he had now for a year been a widower.

When, now, all the people had come together, the high (2) priest rose, and mounted on a higher step that he might be seen and heard by all; and when great silence had been attained, he said, "Hear me, O sons of Israel, and receive my words into your ears. Ever since this temple was built by Solomon, there have been in it virgins, the daughters of kings and the daughters of prophets and of high priests and priests; and they were great, and worthy of admiration.

¹Inconsistent with his descent from the tribe of Judah.

²Nicephorus says that Joseph's first wife was named Salome, and was the daughter of Aggaeus, the brother of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. Jerome says she was called Escha. A majority of the Church writers accept the tradition that Joseph was a widower, although some deny it.

³According to (5), chap. 11, Justus and Simon were the eldest of these four brothers. In (2), chap. 42, Joses is named instead of Justus, which name I substitute here and elsewhere. See

note on chap. XIII. In (1), chap. 17, still another brother named Samuel is mentioned.

⁴(15) calls them Lysia and Lydia; other Church writers, Mary and Salome, Anna and Salome, and Esther and Thamar. Theophylactus names three, Esther, Thamar, and Salome. For Lydia, see Acts xvi.14. Some versions identify the seller of purple with Joseph's daughter. Assia is the name given in Mohammedan legend to the wife of Pharaoh, who protected Joseph. I can readily see how the name might have gotten into the above Egyptian document.

But when they came to the proper age they were given in marriage, and followed the course of their mothers before them, and were pleasing to God. But a new order of life hath been found out by Mary alone, who promiseth that she will remain a virgin to God. Wherefore it seemeth to me, that through our inquiry and the answer of God, we should try to ascertain to whose keeping she ought to be entrusted." Then these words found favour with all the assemblage.

- (1) And there was also held a council of the priests, saying,
 (3) "Behold, Mary hath reached the age of fourteen years in the temple of the Lord. What, then, shall we do with her, lest perchance she defile the sanctuary of the Lord?"¹ And when this took place, they resolved unanimously that the Lord should be consulted upon this matter. And they said to the high priest, "Thou standest by the altar of the Lord; go in, and pray concerning her; and whatever the Lord shall manifest unto thee, that also will we do." And when they all bowed themselves in prayer, the high priest went in to consult God in the usual way, taking the robe with the twelve bells into the holy of holies;² and he prayed concerning her.³
- (1) Nor had they long to wait. In the hearing of all, a voice
 (3) issued from the oracle and from the mercy-seat,⁴ that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, a man should be sought out to whom the virgin ought to be entrusted and espoused. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by the high priest, saying unto him, "Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and assemble the people, and let them bring each his rod. And to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be." For it is clear that Isaiah saith, "A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall ascend from his root; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength,

¹The reference is to the ceremonial uncleanness of the menstrual period.

²See Ex. xxviii.33-35; xxxix.25, 26. The Rabbins said the number of these bells was seventy-

two. See also Num. xxvii.21.

³This paragraph from (1) and (3), and the foregoing one from (2), really are but different accounts of the same council.

⁴See Num. vii.89.

the spirit of wisdom and piety, and he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord."¹ According to this prophecy, therefore, he predicted that all of the house of David that were unmarried and fit for marriage should bring their rods to the altar; and that he whose rod after it was brought should produce a flower, and upon the end of whose rod the Spirit of the Lord should settle in the form of a dove, was the man to whom the virgin ought to be entrusted and espoused.

Then lots were cast by the priests upon the twelve tribes, (1) and the lot fell upon the tribe of Judah. And the priest said, (2) "To-morrow let every one who hath no wife come, and bring (3) a rod in his hand." And the rods, to the number of three thousand, having been handed over to the high priest on the morrow, he offered a sacrifice to the Lord God, and inquired of Him. And the Lord said unto him, "Put all their rods into the holy of holies of God, and let them remain there, and order them to come to thee on the morrow, to get back their rods." Now when all brought their rods, according to the order, Joseph also, seeing that he had not a wife, and not wishing to slight the order of the high priest, brought his along with the younger men.

Now Joseph's rod was a short one, but it had had a wonderful history. God made it on the sixth day of creation, and upon it was engraven His incommunicable name.² Adam received it from his son Seth, who brought it out of paradise; and from him it descended to Enoch, to Noah, to Shem, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Jacob took it down into Egypt, where before his death he gave it to his son Joseph. When, after Joseph's death, the lords of Egypt spoiled his goods, they carried away the rod to Pharaoh's palace, where it came into the hands of Raguel, a magician, who carried it into the land of Midian, and planted it there in his garden. No one was able to come near it until Moses came, who read the let-

¹Is. xi.1, 2.

²For some account of the incommunicable name and the wonders wrought by it according

to the Rabbins, see Baring-Gould's *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, and Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*.

ters that were upon it, and immediately pulled it up. When Jethro saw this, he said, "This is the man who shall deliver Israel from Egypt;" and on this account he gave Moses his daughter Zipporah to wife. With this staff, Moses kept Jethro's flock forty years, and not a single animal was injured by wild beasts; with it, later, Moses also performed his wonders, and finally gave it to Aaron. David received it for a sceptre, and the prophets sing of the root of Jesse, until it finally came to Joseph and the Messiah.¹

- (1) On the following day, then, all having assembled early,
 (2) and an incense offering having been made, the high priest
 (3) went into the holy of holies, and brought forth the rods. And when he had distributed the rods, but the dove came forth out of none of them, the high priest thought it necessary to consult God a second time; so he put on the twelve bells and the sacerdotal robe, and entering into the holy of holies, he there made a burnt offering, and poured forth a prayer. And an angel of God appeared, saying, "There is here a very short rod which thou hast counted for nothing, and hast placed it with the rest, but hast not taken it out with the rest; when thou hast taken that out and given it to him to whom it belongeth, there shall appear in it the sign which I have spoken to thee of." It was the rod of Joseph, and because he was old,² he was as it were discarded, as though he could not receive it; but neither would he himself ask for his rod. And when he stood humble and the last, the chief priest with a loud voice cried to him, saying, "Come, Joseph, and receive thy rod, because thou art waited for." And Joseph came fearing, because the high priest called him with so very loud a voice. But as soon as he stretched forth his hand to receive his rod, immediately from the top of it

¹This paragraph is taken from Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I, p. 377, seq.; vol. II, p. 764, seq. See also legends of the cross given in chap. XXV of the present work. The staff or rod legends and those of the cross are closely intertwined.

²According to (5), Joseph was ninety years old at this time. This tradition of great age is nearly universal with the Church writers; but Gerson says that he was fifty, and Viguerius, that he was but a youth.

came forth a dove, whiter than snow and most beautiful, which after resting upon the head of Joseph, and fluttering a long time among the pinnacles of the temple, at length flew toward the heavens.¹

And the priest said to Joseph, "Thou hast been allotted to (1) receive the virgin of the Lord to keep with thyself." And (2) all the people congratulated the old man, saying, "Thou hast been made blessed in thine old age, father Joseph, seeing that God hath shown thee to be fit to receive Mary." And the priest having said to him, "Take her, because of all the tribe of Judah thou alone hast been chosen by God," Joseph began bashfully to address him, saying, "I am an old man, and have children; why hand ye over to me this infant, who is younger than my grandsons? I am afraid lest I become a laughing stock to the sons of Israel." And the priest said to Joseph, "Fear the Lord thy God, and remember what the Lord did to Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah,² how the earth opened, and they were swallowed up because they despised the will of God. So will it happen to thee, if thou despise this which is commanded thee by God."

Then Joseph answered the priest, "I indeed despise not the (2) will of God; but I shall be her guardian until I can ascertain (3) concerning the will of God, as to which of my sons can have her to wife. Let some virgins of her companions, with whom she may meanwhile spend her time, be given for a consolation to her." The high priest answered, and said, "Five virgins, indeed, shall be given her for consolation, until the appointed day come in which thou mayest receive her; for to no other can she be joined in marriage." Therefore, usual ceremonies of betrothal having been gone

¹(3) says that a flower should also appear upon the rod as a sign, but none of our documents record that this took place. Nevertheless, the tradition that Joseph's rod bloomed is nearly universal; and he is almost always represented in art with the flowering staff in his hand. A

similar miracle, suggested of course by the budding of Aaron's rod (see Num. xvii.8), is told of many of the saints, *e. g.* St. Christopher, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Bernard, St. Polycarp, and St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.

²Num. xvi.31-33.

through, Joseph went back to put his house in order, and to procure things necessary for the marriage.¹

- (1) Now there was also, not long after, a council of the priests,
 (2) saying, "Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord."
 (3) And the priests said, "Call the undefiled virgins of the family of David." And the officers went away, and sought, and found seven virgins. And the priests remembered the child Mary, that she was of the family of David, and undefiled before God. And the officers went away and brought her. And they brought them into the temple of the Lord. And the priests said, "Choose by lot who shall spin the gold, and the green,² and the fine linen, and the silk, and the hyacinth, and the scarlet, and the true purple."³ And they cast lots among themselves what each virgin should do. And the true purple and the scarlet fell to the lot of Mary.

- (1) And when Mary had got it, those virgins said to her,
 (2) "Since thou art the last, and humble, and younger than all,
 (3) thou hast deserved to receive and obtain the purple and scarlet." And thus saying, as it were in words of annoyance, they began to call her queen of virgins. While, however, they were so doing, the angel of the Lord appeared in the midst of them, saying, "These words shall not have been uttered by way of annoyance, but they prophesied a prophecy most true." The virgins trembled, therefore, at the sight of the angel, and at his words, asking Mary to pardon and pray for them. So Mary took the true purple and the scarlet, and with the other virgins of like age, who had been given her by the priests, went away to her own house.

- (1) Now at this time Zacharias was dumb, and Samuel was in his place until he spake. For Zacharias remembered the

¹It is impossible to harmonize here the different accounts of Joseph's position. They differ as to whether he married Mary without consummation of marriage rites, was betrothed to her, or merely became her guardian. Hofmann, *Leben Jesu*, pp. 64, 65, tells the many curious reasons

given by the Church writers, why it was necessary that Christ should be born of a virgin, yet one who was married. The Roman church commemorates the Betrothal of Mary, on Jan. 23.

²Possibly white.

³See Ex. xxv.4.

grace of the Lord, when he prayed to Him in secret, and said, "Lord, my bones are become feeble, and my head is white with old age. Lord, never was I rejected in my prayers; hear, then, my petition. Give me a son to succeed me, to be mine heir of the house and lineage of Jacob, a son that may observe Thy commandments, and be pleasing to Thee." Then an angel called to Zacharias, and said, "I declare to thee from God that thou shalt have a son called John; no man yet hath been known by that name. He shall affirm the Messiah to be the Word of God; he shall be a great person, chaste, a prophet, and one of the just." And Zacharias answered, "Lord, how shall I have a son? I am old, and my wife is barren." The angel said unto him, "It is easy for the Lord that created thee, for God doth even as it pleaseth Him." And Zacharias said, "Lord, give me some sign of the conception of my wife." Then the angel said, "The sign that I will give thee shall be that thou shalt not speak in three days, but by signs." Then went he out of his oratory, and made signs to the people to make their prayers, morning and evening.¹ And the child John was conceived of the chaste kisses that Zacharias imprinted upon the lips of Elisabeth his wife."²

Now Joseph received Mary, with the other five virgins, (1) who were to be with her, into his own house in Nazareth.³ (2) And these virgins were Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, (4) (5) and Cael.⁴ Then Joseph said to Mary, "Behold, I have (15) (22)

¹The most of this paragraph is from the Koran, Sura iii.

²This is a legend of the Gnostic sect of the Nazarenes. See Migne, *Légendes*, col. 677 n.

³(3) says the virgins were seven in number; there is apparent confusion between these and the seven chosen to weave the veil. (3) says that Joseph received the virgins at his house in Bethlehem.

⁴There is confusion in the Mss. as to the exact forms of

these names. Rossetti, in the "Blessed Damozel," speaks of Mary—

"With her five handmaidens,
whose names

Are five sweet symphonies,
Cecily, Gertrude, Magdalen,
Margaret and Rosalys."

I do not imagine that these latter names are more than the products of a poet's fancy, although quite different lists from the above are given by other apocryphal documents.

received thee from the temple of the Lord, and now I leave thee in my house, going away to build my buildings, but I shall come to thee. The Lord will protect thee." And when Mary found James the Less in his father's house, broken-hearted and sad on account of the loss of his mother, she brought him up. Hence she was called the mother of James. Now the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world.¹ But the time was come for God to have compassion on that which He had formed, for the king to go forth, and the barbarians to be defeated before Him.

- (1) And the angel Gabriel was sent to Mary by God, to
 (2) announce the conception of the Lord, and to explain to her
 (4) its manner and order. For in those days, when she first came into Galilee, Mary took the water-pot, and went out to draw water.² Now whilst she stood near the fountain of Nazareth to fill her pitcher, behold, a voice, saying, "Hail, thou favoured one, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women."³ Then she looked about right and left, to see whence this voice came. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto her, saying, "Blessed art thou, Mary, for in thy womb thou hast prepared a habitation for the Lord. Behold, light from heaven shall come and dwell in thee, and through thee shall shine in all the world." Then Mary, becoming afraid, went away to her own home,⁴ and set

¹From Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, chap. XIX. For account of a preliminary annunciation, three years before this time, see chap. XXXI, and for still another brief account, see chap. VI, near end.

²The account of the Annunciation at the fountain is given by (1) and (2) only. Phocas is the only one of the earlier Church writers who mentions this tradition. Possibly the idea was suggested by the account of Rebekah at the well, Gen. xxiv.15,

to which this narrative bears some resemblance. The Annunciation at the fountain is often represented in art.

³Luke i.28. I make a general reference for this and the following sections to Luke i.26-38. All of the canonical account is interwoven in these narratives.

⁴This traditional house was highly revered as early as the age of Constantine. About it has arisen the most marvellous legend that Christendom ever received. It is said that, on May 10, 1291,

down the water-pot; and taking the purple, she sat on her seat and spun it.

And while Mary thus wrought the purple with her fingers, the doors of her bedchamber being shut, there entered a young man of ineffable beauty, the angel of the Lord. And with great light he filled the chamber where she was, so that when Mary saw him she exceeding feared and trembled. Yet most courteously saluting her, he cried out, saying, "Hail Mary, O virgin highly favoured by the Lord, virgin full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou above all women, blessed above all men that have been hitherto born, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb!" And the virgin, who was already well acquainted with angelic faces, and was not unused to the light from heaven, was by this time neither terrified by the vision of the angel, nor astonished by the greatness of the light, but only perplexed by his words. And she began to consider of what nature a salutation so unusual could be, or what it could portend, or what end it could have. And she said to herself, "Shall I conceive by the Lord, the living God? And shall I bring forth, as every woman bringeth forth?"

And the angel, divinely inspired, taking up this thought, said, "Fear not, Mary, as if anything contrary to thy chastity were hid under this salutation. For in choosing chastity, thou hast found favour with the Lord, and therefore thou, a virgin, shalt conceive without sin from His word, and shalt bring forth a son. He shall be great, because He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the earth.¹ The Lord God shall give Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign in the house of Jacob, forever; and of His kingdom there shall be no end, forasmuch as He is King of kings, and Lord of Lords,²

whilst the infidels were ravaging the holy land, this house was carried by angels to Tersatto in Dalmatia. Thence, because two brothers upon whose land it was set quarrelled about its possession, it was transported by the

same means, on Dec. 10, 1294, to Loretto in Italy, where it is still annually visited by thousands of pilgrims.

¹Ps. lxxii.8.

²Rev. xix.6.

and His throne is from everlasting to everlasting. He who shall be born on earth in humiliation, reigneth in heaven in exaltation. And they who do not confess Him shall perish, for His authority is in the lofty heights, and His kingdom doth not pass away."¹

- (1) The virgin did not doubt these words of the angel, but
 (3) wishing to know the manner of this, she answered, "How
 (4) can that come to pass? For I am a virgin pure in soul and body, even as I was born. And while, according to my vow, I never know man, how can I bring forth without human seed?" To this the angel said, "Think not, Mary, that thou shalt conceive in the manner of mankind. For without any intercourse with man, thou, a virgin, wilt conceive, thou, a virgin, wilt bring forth, thou, a virgin, wilt nurse.² For the Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, contrary to all fire of concupiscence. Therefore that which shall be born of thee shall alone be holy, because it alone, being conceived and born without sin, shall be called the Son of God the Most High. And thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. And, behold, thy kinswoman Elisabeth hath conceived a son in her old age. And this is the sixth month with her who was called barren; for no word shall be impossible with God. He doth, as pleaseth Him; and when He createth anything, He saith, 'Be thou,' and it is."³

- (1) Then Mary stretched forth her hands, and raised her eyes
 (3) to heaven, and said, "Behold the handmaiden of the Lord
 (4) before His face; for I am not worthy of the name of lady.
 (5) Let it be to me according to thy word."⁴ Moreover, Mary
 (15)
 (22)

¹Gospel of the Twelve Holy Apostles, J. Rendel Harris, in *Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVI, p. 805.

²Plainly an attempt to bolster up the later view of the perpetual virginity of Mary.

³This sentence is from Koran, Sura iii. This book has an ac-

count of the Annunciation that differs but little from that of the Apocryphal Gospels, and certainly must have been derived from them.

⁴Many Church writers hold that the conception actually took place at the words, "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee."

conceived by the hearing of her ears.¹ And the Lord chose her of His own will, with the concurrence of His Father, and the counsel of the Holy Spirit. And He was made flesh of her, by a mystery which transcendeth the grasp of created reason. And Gabriel declared to her all the things that would be done by Jesus, on which account she rejoiced.² Then the angel departed from her.³

But a majority agree that it was after the utterance of the above words by Mary.

¹This view is generally accepted by the Church fathers, *e. g.* two of the greatest doctors, Augustine and Bernard, with many others. It is contained in the Maronite breviary and other works fully sanctioned by the Roman church.

²From Kessaeus. See *Evangelium Infantiae*, Sike, p. (7).

³The Annunciation is commemorated in all parts of the Church on Mar. 25. An unusual accretion of legend surrounds this particular day. It is the traditional one upon which Christ's Crucifixion is said to have oc-

curred. Various mediaeval calendars also placed upon this date the creation of Adam, his ejection from paradise, the death of Abel, the sacrifice of Melchizedek, the offering of Isaac, the victory of St. Michael over the dragon, the crossing of the Red Sea by Israel, the beheading of John the Baptist, the commemoration of St. Veronica who wiped the face of Christ, and of the Penitent Thief, the rising of the bodies of many saints with Christ, the passion of St. James, and the liberation of St. Peter from prison. See also extended note on chap. XXV, regarding the date of the Crucifixion.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VIRGINITY OF MARY VINDICATED.

MARY VISITS ELISABETH—BIRTH OF JOHN—JOSEPH'S RETURN—DISCOVERS MARY'S PREGNANCY—REPROACHES HER—TESTIMONY OF THE VIRGINS—JOSEPH'S DETERMINATION—HIS DREAM—CHRIST SPEAKS FROM THE WOMB—ANNAS REPORTS THE CASE TO THE PRIESTS—MARY AND JOSEPH SUMMONED—ARE REPROACHED—JOSEPH'S TRIAL—MARY'S—HER ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE—DEPARTS IN TRIUMPH—INFANCY OF JOHN.

- MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 12-16.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 10-12.
(3)—Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, 10.
(4)—Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, II B, IV.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 5, 6.
(6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, I.
(22)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, I, 5, 6.

(1) Now Mary made the purple and the scarlet, and took them to the priest. And he blessed her, and said, "Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed in all the generations of the earth." And Mary with great joy went away to Elisabeth her kinswoman, and knocked at the door.¹ And when Elisabeth heard her, she threw away the scarlet wool that she had in her hand, and ran to the door, and opened it. And seeing Mary, she blessed her, and said, "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for, behold, that which

¹Luke i.39, 40.

is within me leaped and blessed thee."¹ But Mary had forgotten the mysteries of which the archangel Gabriel² had spoken, and gazed up into heaven, and said, "Who am I, O Lord, that all the generations of the earth should bless me?"³

Now Mary remained three months with Elisabeth, and they twain were comforting one another many days from the scriptures inspired of God.⁴ For Elisabeth used to visit Mary many times each year, ministering to her in all those things of which she had need; until the day that Gabriel the archangel said to Mary, "Go to Elisabeth thy kinswoman." Now Mary's condition day by day became more manifest; and she, being afraid, went away to her own home, and hid herself from the sons of Israel. And she was sixteen years old⁵ when these mysteries happened.

Now Elisabeth's full time came, that she should be delivered, and she brought forth a son. And it came to pass, that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. And his mother answered, and said, "Not so, but he shall be called John." And they said unto her, "There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name." And they made signs to his father, how he would have him called. And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, "His name is

¹Luke ii.41-44.

²He is called simply an angel in Luke i.26.

³Mary's visit to Elisabeth is commemorated by the Roman church in the feast of the Visitation B. V. M., on Jul. 2.

⁴See II Tim. iii.16.

⁵According to most Mss. of (1); others, however, say fourteen, fifteen, seventeen, and eighteen. (5) says that Mary remained two years in the house of Joseph. This would make her sixteen at this time, if the age of fourteen at the betrothal be as-

sumed, as in the foregoing chapter. But the other documents seem to hold that her stay in Joseph's house was much shorter than two years. Yet I think that sixteen is, on the whole, the apocryphal tradition as to Mary's age at the time of Christ's birth. Albertus Magnus, however, says that she was twenty-five, and Cardinal Cajetan, that she was twenty-four. In each case, they found their assertions on the ground that these were the ages of physical perfection.

John." And they marvelled all. And his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed, and he spake, and praised God. And fear came on all that dwelt round about them; and all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judaea. And all they that heard them laid them up in their hearts, saying, "What manner of child shall this be!" And the hand of the Lord was with him.¹ And his father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying, "Blessed is the God of Israel; for He hath visited us, and hath wrought redemption for His people, and hath raised up for us a horn of salvation from the house of His servant David." Now the soul of Elijah the prophet was bound in the body of John.²

(1) Now while these things were doing, Mary spent three
 (2) other months in the house of Joseph, being pregnant with
 (3) the Son of the living God; but Joseph was occupied with his
 (4) work of house-building at Capernaum, in the districts by
 (5) the sea-shore. And he came, therefore, into Galilee, in-
 (22) tending to marry the virgin who had been betrothed to him.³ Now Mary, being in her sixth month, her pregnancy began to show itself, and could not be hidden from Joseph. For he, entering freely into the house, and talking familiarly with the virgin in the manner of a spouse, discovered that she was big with child. And he began to be disturbed, and troubled in mind. And he smote his face,⁴ and threw himself on the ground, on the sackcloth; and from fear and sorrow and the anguish of his heart, he could endure neither to eat nor drink that day.

¹I have incorporated above, Luke i.57, 59-66, in order to show the connection.

²This sentence is taken from Pistis Sophia; the belief was widely held in the Church, as well as by heretics. Dr. Dowie, of Chicago, announced but recently to his followers, that in him was incarnate the same soul that had dwelt in Elijah and John the

Baptist; and his statement was generally received by them.

³(3) says that Joseph had been absent "three months"; (1), "six months"; and (2), "nine months." No harmony can be brought about, but our account assumes that he returned at the end of Mary's sixth month.

⁴See Ezek. xxi.12; Jer. xxi.19.

And being in the utmost distress, Joseph trembled, and wept bitterly, crying out and saying, "O Lord God, receive my spirit; for it is better for me to die than to live any longer. With what face shall I look upon the Lord my God? and what prayer shall I make about this maiden? because I received her a virgin out of the temple of the Lord, and I have not watched over her. Who is it that hath hunted her down? Who hath done this evil thing in my house, and defiled the virgin? Hath not the history of Adam been repeated in me? For just as Adam was in the hour of his singing praise,¹ and the serpent came, and found Eve alone, and completely deceived her, so hath it happened to me also. But I wonder that I never saw her speaking to a man; whence, then, she hath conceived, I know not."

Then Joseph stood up from the sackcloth, and calling Mary, he said unto her, "O thou who hast been cared for by God, why hast thou done this, and forgotten the Lord thy God? Why hast thou brought low thy soul, thou that wast brought up in the holy of holies, and didst receive food from the hands of an angel?" And Mary wept bitterly, saying, "I am innocent, and have known no man." But Joseph said unto her, "O Mary, whence then is that which is in thy womb? Hath there ever been a crop upon earth without sowing of seed?" And she said, "As the Lord my God liveth, I know not whence this is to me. Art thou ignorant that God at the time of the creation produced fruits without the intervention of seed?" "I believe that," said Joseph, "but whence is this offspring to thee, and who is his parent?" Mary replied, "This I have, a present and gift from God. The case is the same as it was with Adam,

¹Some Mss. of (1) here read, "As Adam was in paradise, and in the hour of singing praise to God was with the angels, the serpent came," etc. There is reference here to some unknown apocryphal book or legend. For account of how the angels sing

praises to God each day at fixed hours, see Vision of Paul, 7, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Am. Ed., vol. X, p. 152, and fragments of the Testament of Adam, in Migne, vol. I, col. 291. It is very probably this latter book in which the passage occurred.

whom God created. He said, 'Let him be,' and he was."¹

(2) And the virgins who were with Mary said unto Joseph, "What art thou saying? We know that no man hath touched her; we can testify that she is still a virgin, and untouched. We have watched over her; always hath she continued with us in prayer; daily do the angels of God speak with her; daily doth she receive food from the hands of the Lord. We know not how it is possible that there can be any sin in her.² But if thou wishest us to tell what we suspect, nobody but the angel of the Lord hath made her pregnant." Then Joseph said, "Why do ye mislead me to believe that an angel of the Lord hath made her pregnant? But it is possible that some one hath pretended to be an angel of the Lord, and hath beguiled her."³

(1) And thus answering, Joseph wept, and said, "With what
(2) face shall I look at the temple of the Lord, or with what face
(3) shall I see the priests of God? Truly, my children and my
(4) kinsmen will mock my old age, and say, 'He took a wife in his old age, and found her pregnant.' But most of all, the priests of the temple will blame me, because I have allowed such a thing to happen to the virgin in my house; especially,

¹The last half of this paragraph is from Kessaeus; see *Evangelium Infantiae*, Sike, notes, pp. (7), (8). It gives the Mohammedan legend of Christ's virgin birth.

²Celsus, according to Origen, taught that Mary was made pregnant by a soldier named Panthera, and held that the story of her virgin conception was suggested by the classical fables about Danae, Melanippe, Ange, Antiope, and the like. The same stories are found in the Talmud; and in various Jewish books different names are given to her, her husband, and the seducer. See further notes on this subject at beginning of chap. XXIV.

The Jews also said that Joseph was the father of Mary's child, Eisenmenger, vol. I, p. 291. This was also held by more than one early heretical sect of Ebionitic type.

³See the instance given by Josephus, *Antiquities*, bk. XVIII, ch. iv. 4, of how a woman was deceived by one who pretended to be a god. Some such case might have been present to the mind of the apocryphal writer. The Ethiopic Prayer of the Virgin at Bartos says that three angels, whose names were Yâab, Fâamâ, and Fâyâm, protected Mary with their shadow whilst she was pregnant.

as they charged me concerning her. What am I to do?" And thus saying, he thought that he would flee, and send her away. For he was in great doubt and perplexity, because he did not know what was best for him to do. For, being a just man, he was not willing to expose her; nor, being a pious man, to injure her fair fame by a suspicion of fornication. And Joseph said, "If I conceal her sin, I find myself fighting against the law of the Lord; and if I expose her to the sons of Israel, I am afraid lest that which is in her be from an angel, and I shall be found giving up innocent blood to the doom of death." He came to the conclusion, therefore, privately to dissolve their contract, and to send her away secretly.¹ And, being greatly afraid, he separated from her.

Now while Joseph meditated on these things, and was thinking of rising up and hiding himself, so as to dwell in secret, behold, night came upon him. And, behold, the prince of the angels, holy Gabriel, appeared to him in a dream, saying, "Joseph, thou son of David, fear not; that is, have no suspicion of fornication in this maiden, and think no evil of her. And fear not to take her as thy wife; for that which is begotten in her, and which now vexeth thy soul, is the work, not of man, but of the Holy Spirit. For she alone of all virgins shall bring forth the Son of God; and thou shalt call his name Jesus, that is, Saviour; for he shall save his people from their sins."² He it is who shall rule all nations with a rod of iron."³ And Joseph arose from sleep, and glorified the God of Israel, who had given him this grace. And he spake to Mary and the virgins who were with her, telling them his vision. So he was comforted about Mary, saying, "I have sinned, in that I suspected thee at all." Therefore, according to the command of the angel, he took the virgin to wife. Nevertheless, he knew her not; but took care of her, and kept her in chastity.⁴

And Jesus spake from the womb of his mother, and said, (n)

¹Mat. i.19.

²Mat. i.20, 21.

³Ps. ii.19, Rev. xii.5; xix.15.

⁴Mat. i.24, 25.

"O Joseph, what mean these comparisons that thou hast instituted? But rather arise, and go about thy work; and seek forgiveness for thy sin, because such thoughts have entered thy mind." Then Joseph, rising up, went to Zacharias, and told these things to him. And Zacharias was sad, and said to his wife, "Mary is pregnant, nor hath she a husband; moreover, I fear the wickedness of the children of Israel, lest they should suspect her with regard to Joseph." But she replied, "Seek help of God, and trust in Him; for He will repel these calumnies from her."¹

- (1) After these things, there arose a great report that Mary was with child. For Annas the scribe came to Joseph, and said, "Why hast thou not appeared in our assembly?" And Joseph said to him, "Because I was weary from my journey, and rested the first day." And he turned, and saw that Mary was with child. And he ran away to the high priest, and said to him, "Joseph, whom thou didst vouch for, hath committed a grievous crime." And the priest said, "How so?" And he said, "He hath defiled the virgin whom he received out of the temple of the Lord, and hath married her by stealth, and hath not revealed it to the sons of Israel." And the high priest, answering, said, "Hath Joseph done this?" Then said Annas the scribe, "Send officers, and thou wilt find the virgin with child." And the officers of the temple went away, and found it as he had said.²
- (1) Then the officers brought Mary, along with Joseph, to the tribunal of the high priest. And he said, "Mary, why hast thou done this? and why hast thou brought thy soul low, and forgotten the Lord thy God? Thou that wast reared in

¹Paragraph is from Kessaues, *Evangelium Infantiae*, Sike, notes, p. (8). According to Jewish tradition, the yet unborn infants in their mothers' wombs responded by an amen to the hymns of praise at the Red Sea. Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, vol. I, p. 153, n. 3.

²The evident purpose of the in-

vention of this story of the trial of Mary's virginity is that public recognition of the proof might be appealed to. It was felt by the writer, that the account in Matthew's Gospel did not furnish proof enough. The account at the beginning of chap. XV is another effort in this same direction.

the holy of holies, that didst receive food from the hand of an angel, and didst hear the hymns, and dance before the Lord, why hast thou done this?" And Mary wept bitterly, saying, "As the Lord my God liveth, I am pure before Him, and know not a man."

And the high priest with the priests began to reproach (1) Joseph, and to say, "Why hast thou done this? Why hast (2) thou beguiled so great and so glorious a virgin, who was fed like a dove in the temple by the angels of God, who never wished either to see or to have a man, who had the most excellent knowledge of the law of God? If thou hadst not done violence to her, she would still have remained in her virginity." And Joseph vowed and swore that he had never touched her at all, and was pure concerning her. And the high priest said, "Bear not false witness, but speak the truth. Thou hast married her by stealth, and hast not revealed it to the sons of Israel; and hast not bowed thy head under the strong hand,¹ that thy seed might be blessed." And Joseph was silent. And the high priest said, "Give up the virgin whom thou didst receive out of the temple of the Lord." Then Joseph burst into tears. And the high priest said, "As the Lord liveth, I will give you to drink of the water of the ordeal of the Lord, and He shall make manifest your sins in your eyes."²

Then was assembled a multitude of the people, which (2) could not be numbered, and Mary was brought to the temple. And the priests, and her relatives, and her parents wept, and said to her, "Confess to the priests thy sin, thou that wast like a dove in the temple of God, and didst receive food from the hands of an angel."

Then Joseph was summoned to the altar, and the water (1)

¹That is, of God. Cf. I Pet. v.6.

²See, for account of the waters of jealousy, Num. v.11-31. There is nothing said there of the ordeal ever being undergone by a man. But the Talmudists say that it was applied to men. They also speak of the ceremonial to

be employed with women. They (2) should approach in black garments without ornaments, with a cord around the breast, and walk around the altar seven times. Similar ordeals have also been used by many other nations.

of the ordeal of the Lord was given him to drink. Now, when anyone that had lied drank this water, and walked seven times around the altar, God used to show some sign in his face.¹ When, therefore, Joseph had drunk in safety, and had walked round the altar seven times, no sign of sin appeared in him.² Then all the priests, and the officers, and the people justified him, saying, "Blessed art thou, seeing that no charge hath been found good against thee."

- (2) And they summoned Mary, and said, "And what excuse canst thou have? or what greater sign can appear in thee than the conception of thy womb, which betrayeth thee? This only we require of thee, that since Joseph is pure concerning thee, thou confess who it is that hath beguiled thee. For it is better that thy confession should betray thee, than that the wrath of God should set a mark on thy face, and expose thee in the midst of the people." Then Mary said, stedfastly and without trembling, "O Lord God, King over all, who knowest all secrets, if there be any pollution in me, or any sin, or any evil desires, or unchastity, expose me in the sight of all the people, and make me an example of punishment to all." Thus saying, she went up to the altar of the Lord boldly, and drank the water of ordeal, and walked round the altar seven times, and no spot was found in her.³
- (2) And when all the people were in the utmost astonishment, seeing that she was with child, and that no sign had appeared in her face, they began to be disturbed among themselves by conflicting statements. Some said that she was holy and unspotted, others that she was wicked and defiled. Then Mary, seeing that she was still suspected by the people, and that on that account she did not seem to them to be wholly cleared, said in the hearing of all, with a loud voice, "As the Lord Adonai liveth, the Lord of Hosts before whom I stand, I have not known man; but I am known by Him to whom

¹The only signs given in Num. v. are that the belly should swell and the thighs rot.

²(1) here states, that "when they had given Joseph the water

to drink, they sent him away to the hill country, and he returned unhurt."

³Cf. Job xi.15.

from my earliest years I have devoted myself. And this vow I made to my God from my infancy, that I should remain unspotted in Him who created me; and I trust that I shall so live to Him alone, and serve Him alone. And in Him, as long as I shall live, will I remain unspotted." Then they all began to kiss her feet, and to embrace her knees, asking her to pardon them for their wicked suspicions.

And Mary was led away with exultation and joy by the (1) people, and the priests, and all the virgins. And they cried (2) out, and said, "Blessed be the name of the Lord forever, because He hath manifested thy holiness to all His people Israel!" And the high priest said unto Mary and Joseph, "If the Lord God hath not made manifest sin in you, neither do I judge you." And he sent them away to the hill country. And Joseph took Mary, and went away to his own house, rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel.

Now during this time the holy child John was cherished (6) much in the house of his parents for six months,¹ receiving suck from the barren old woman.² And his parents took him daily in their hands to the temple of the Lord; his father blessing him, and setting him before the altar, at the place where the angel appeared to him, saying, "Lord God of Israel, strengthen this child, whom Thou hast prepared for Thyself." And the child was pleasing daily.

¹See Luke, i.80.

²That is, Elisabeth.

CHAPTER V.

THE NATIVITY OF CHRIST.

THE ENROLMENT — JOURNEY TO BETHLEHEM — MARY ENTERS THE CAVE—NATIVITY—UNIVERSE STANDS STILL —SIGNS AT ROME—OTHER SIGNS—WONDERFUL STAR—JOSEPH BRINGS MIDWIVES—ZELOMI IS CURED—SALOME DOUBTS — IS PUNISHED — CURED — THE SHEPHERDS — SIGNS IN THE HEAVENS—ADORATION BY THE ANIMALS — CIRCUMCISION — PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE — SIMEON AND ANNA—SALOME TELLS THESE WONDERS.

- MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 17-20.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 13-15.
(3)—Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, 10.
(4)—Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, II B.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 7.
(6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, I.
(7)—Protevangelium of James, Syriac Version, 17-20.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 1-6.
(22)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, I, 7.

(1) Now six months from the time that John was born, it
(2) came to pass in the three hundred and ninth year of the era
(4) of Alexander,¹ whilst Cyrenius was governor of Syria,² that
(5)
(8)

- (22) ¹This began twelve years after the death of Alexander, in 311 B. c., at the time when Seleucius, one of the generals of Alexander, concluded peace with his rival Antigone, and obtained possession of Syria; the date given would place Christ's birth in the third year of the Christian era.
²See Luke ii.1-5. Justin Martyr. Apology, II, and Tertullian,

Caesar Augustus made an edict that every man should go to be enrolled in his native place. It was necessary, therefore, that Joseph should enrol with Mary at Bethlehem, because they were both of the tribe of Judah, and of the house and family of David. And Joseph said, "I shall enrol my sons, but what shall I do with this maiden? How shall I enrol her?¹ As my wife? I am ashamed to do it. As my daughter, then? But all the sons of Israel know that she is not my daughter. The day shall bring it to pass as the Lord will."

And the righteous old man Joseph rose up and saddled ⁽¹⁾ the ass, and set Mary upon it. His son Simon² led it, and ⁽⁴⁾ Joseph and his son James followed. And upon one stormy ⁽⁵⁾ night during the journey, they with great difficulty found shelter in a peasant's hut,³ and upon another under a walnut tree. On which account, also, the leaf of that tree is still interwoven in the garlands of the holy body. ⁽²²⁾

Now as they passed along the road that leadeth to Beth- ⁽¹⁾ lehem, and were come within three miles of that city, Joseph ⁽²⁾ turned and saw that Mary was sorrowful; and he said ⁽⁴⁾ within himself, "Likely she is in distress." And Joseph the ⁽⁷⁾ righteous said to the virgin, "O Mary, fear not; that which cometh forth from thee shall succour thee." But again

Against Marcion, I, iv. c. 7, say that these registers of enrolment were still preserved in their time. It seems certain, however, that Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was not governor of Syria until after the commonly received date of Christ's birth. If Christ was born 5 B. C., Q. Sentius Saturninus was probably then governor; or, if He was born a little after this time, Quintilius Varus; Cyrenius was probably governor in 5 A. D. The exact date of Christ's birth is far from settled, after all the study that has been bestowed upon the subject. May it not be

that, in accordance with the above apocryphal tradition, it was later than the year A. D. 1, instead of earlier?

¹The representation here evidently is that what was taken at Bethlehem was not a list for taxation, but a census of all the Jewish people.

²There are many variations in the Mss. of (1), as to the names of Joseph's sons, and the parts taken by each.

³This legend, as well as the one that follows, I find in Sepp's *Symbolik zum Leben Jesu*, V, p. 9.

Joseph turned, and saw her laughing, and her face shining as the sun. And he said to her, "Why is it that I see in thy face at one time laughter and another, sorrow?" And Mary said to him, "Because I see two peoples with my eyes; the one weeping and lamenting, and the other rejoicing and exulting." And Joseph answered, "Sit still on thy beast, and speak no more superfluous words."

(2) And there appeared before them a beautiful boy, clothed in white raiment, who said to Joseph, "Why dost thou say that Mary's words about the two peoples are superfluous? She saw the people of the Jews weeping, because they have departed from their God; and the people of the Gentiles rejoicing, because they have now been added unto the Lord, according to that which He hath promised to our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for the time is at hand when in the seed of Abraham all nations shall be blessed."¹

(1) And they came into the middle of the road, and Mary said
(7) to Joseph, "Take me down from off the ass, for that which is in me presseth to come forth." And Joseph² said to her, "Whither shall I lead thee, and cover thy disgrace? for the place is desert."

(1) And when he had thus said, the angel ordered the beast
(2) to stand; for the time when Mary should bring forth was at
(4) hand; and it was now sunset. And he commanded Mary to
(7) come down off the animal, and go into a recess under a
(8) cavern,³ in which there never was light, but always darkness,

¹This story of the two peoples seen by Mary under these circumstances, may possibly have been suggested by the history of Rebekah having two peoples in her womb. See Gen. xxv.23.

²(1) says here that "Joseph took her down from the ass," in contradiction to (2), which I have followed in the next paragraph, stating that "it was the angel who caused her to come down."

³The story that Christ was born

in a cave is perhaps the most important and most widely received of all the traditions differing from those of the four Gospels, that are given us by the apocryphal writings. It adds to, but does not contradict the Gospels; and the tradition of the whole Catholic church is, that Christ was born in the well-known cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which was at that time used as a stable, that being no unusual circumstance. Justin Martyr, the earliest writer

because the light of day could not reach it. It was near the tomb of Rachel,¹ the wife of the patriarch Jacob, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin. Then Mary said to Joseph, "Do me the kindness to go into this city, and seek a midwife to come and sit by me, till God relieve me, and I bring forth that which is in my womb." And Joseph, leaving his two sons beside Mary, went out to seek midwives in the district of Bethlehem.

And when Mary had gone into the cave, it began to shine (1) with as much brightness as if it were the sixth hour of the (2) day; and as long as she remained there, the light from God (4) so shone in the cave, that neither by day nor night was it (7) wanting. And there Mary brought forth a son² in vir- (8) ginity, and the angels surrounded him when he was being born. And as soon as he was born, he stood upon his feet, and the angels adored him, saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good pleasure."³ And Mary took swaddling clothes and wrapped him in them, and laid him in a manger of cattle, out of which cattle eat, for

who refers to this, says, Dialogue with Trypho, c. 78, "Since Joseph could not find a lodging in that village, he took up his quarters in a certain cave near the village; and while they were there, Mary brought forth the Christ." He adds, further on, "I have repeated to you what Isaiah foretold about the sign which foreshadowed the cave." He refers to Isaiah xxxiii.16, which in the Septuagint, reads, "He shall dwell in the lofty cave of the strong rock." An attempt by early Christians to show that this prophecy was fulfilled in Christ may be the origin of this legend. Other early writers who refer to the cave are: Origen, against Celsus, book I, chap. 51; Eusebius, *Evang. Demonstr.*

vii.2; Jerome, *Epistle* 24; Sozomen, *Church History*, I, 17; Sozomen, *Church History*, II, 2.

¹Still to be seen near Bethlehem.

²All tradition gives midnight as the time of Christ's birth, although these writings would seem to imply an earlier hour; tradition also says that it was on a Sunday. Roman tradition makes the birth occur whilst Mary was kneeling with her face to the East; "not only did she experience no pain, but the seal of virginity miraculously remained unbroken."

³Luke ii.4 thus stands in the Vulgate; the reading has been adopted in the English revised version.

there was no room for them in the inn.¹ And three angels, whose names were Sardour, Matouadai, and Aradyal, watched over the child whilst he lay in the manger.² And his body shone as the sun when it ariseth.³

- (1) Now the nativity of the Lord had already come, but as
 (7) Joseph sought midwives he was walking, and was not walking. And he looked up into the sky, and saw that everything was astonished. And he looked up to the pole of the heavens, and saw it standing, and the birds of the air keeping still. And he looked down upon the earth, and saw a trough lying, and work-people reclining, and their hands were in the trough. But those that were eating did not eat, and those that were handling it did not handle, and those that were conveying anything to their mouths did not convey it; but the faces of all were looking upwards. And he saw the sheep walking, and the sheep stood still; and the shepherd raised his hand to strike them, and his hand remained up. And Joseph looked upon the current of the river, and saw the mouths of the kids resting upon the water and not drinking, and all things in a moment were driven from their course. But suddenly everything was loosened and ran on in its order.⁴
- (n) And in other parts of the world were there signs upon that night of Christ's birth.⁵ At that time, peace reigned over the whole Roman Empire, and the temple of Janus was shut, in fulfilment of the song of the angels which declared peace on earth.⁶

¹This sentence is found in an unpublished Coptic fragment in the possession of Lord Crawford, quoted in *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 196.

²This sentence is from the *Ethiopic Prayer of the Virgin* at Bartos, p. 22, *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, No. V, Rene Basset, Paris, 1895.

³From Vincentius, *Sermon on the Nativity*.

⁴In this passage, as it stands in the Mss., Joseph is represented as speaking in the first person, one of several indications that it is an interpolation from another source.

⁵I do not aim to gather all of these, which are numberless; but to mention a few of the older ones that are most widely disseminated.

⁶Orosius, bk. VI, chap. 21.

And on that night there fell down the temple at Rome, (n) built by Romulus and dedicated to Apollo, where the devil rendered oracles. For he, having been asked how long the temple should endure, had answered, "Until a virgin shall bring forth without ceasing to be a virgin," which event the Romans considered to be impossible.¹ Also, a fountain beyond the Tiber, where now the church of St. Mary standeth, suddenly flowed oil instead of water.²

Upon that night the vineyards of En-gedi bloomed.³ A (n) fountain gushed forth in the cave of the nativity itself;⁴ all magic was destroyed,⁵ the idols in Egypt and other places were thrown down;⁶ and all those guilty of unnatural crimes were suddenly cut off from the earth.⁷

That night was suddenly illuminated by an unearthly (n) light, and, because it could not otherwise be seen by the fathers in the underworld (Hades), the earth itself was cleft open in several places, and through the clefts the light reached them, whereby were fulfilled the words of the

¹Innocent, Sermon on the Lord's Nativity, 2.

²Tostatus in Prologue of Jerome to Gen. chap. vii.

³Tostatus; Petrus de Natalibus. Or, as the Golden Legend reports, "The Rod of Engadi which is by Jerusalem, which beareth balm, flowered this night and bare fruit, and gave liquor of balm."

⁴Beda, De Locis Sacris. See II Sam. xxiii.15.

⁵Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, chap. XIX. As expression of the widespread superstition that this was true of every Christmas night, witness the well known lines of Shakespeare, Hamlet, act I, scene I:

"Some say, that ever 'gainst that season comes,

Wherein our Saviour's birth, is

celebrated,

This bird of dawning singeth all night long;

And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad;

The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike,

No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,

So hallow'd and so gracious is the time."

⁶Petrus de Natalibus. Reference to Is. xix.1; but the apocryphal writers gave a more complete fulfilment of this prophecy in the destruction of idols when Christ came into Egypt. See chap. VII of this work, and chap. VI, for account of destruction of idols in Persia.

⁷Bonaventure and Petrus de Natalibus.

prophet, "The people who sit in darkness saw a great light."¹

(1) Moreover, a great star called Keryoun,² larger and
(2) brighter than all that were before it, shone over the cave
(6) with inexpressible light, from the evening until the morning. For it was not a star like other stars, but was in the form of a wheel, its figure being like a cross sending forth flashes of light, letters being written on the cross, "This is Jesus the Son of God."³ All the rest of the stars, with the sun and moon, formed a chorus to this star.⁴ Its novelty struck men with astonishment, and prophets who were in Jerusalem said that it pointed out the birth of Christ, who should restore the promises, not only to Israel, but to all nations.

(1) Then Joseph saw an old Hebrew woman coming down
(2) from the hill country, and she said to him, "O man, whither
(7) art thou going?" And he said, "I am seeking an Hebrew midwife. Ho, blessed one, come hither, and enter a cave wherein is a woman nigh to childbirth." And she said to him, "Art thou of Israel?" And he said to her, "Yes." And she said, "And who is it that is bringing forth in the cave?" And he said, "A woman betrothed to me." And she said, "Is she not thy wife?" And he said to her, "It is Mary that was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her by lot as my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but hath conceived of the Holy Spirit." And the midwife said to him, "Is this true?" And Joseph said to her, "Come, and thou shalt see. And the midwife Zelomi⁵ went away with Joseph.

¹Is. ix.2. Petrus de Natalibus.

²This name is given in the Prayer of the Virgin at Bartos, Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens, V, p. 23.

³According to the Syriac Cavern of Treasures, there appeared in the star the figure of a virgin carrying an infant and having a crown upon her head. Similar conceits are also found in other

apocrypha. See account of the star, in the next chapter.

⁴This sentence is from Ignatius, Epistle to Ephesians, chap. XIX.

⁵In (1), which certainly contains the oldest form of this legend, the midwife is not named; and the Salome who meets her and doubts Mary's virginity is not a midwife. The name Salome is found attached to more

And the twain, going, stood in the place of the cave, and, behold, a luminous cloud overshadowed it. Then Zelomi said, "My soul hath been magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen strange things, and salvation hath been brought forth to Israel." And immediately the cloud disappeared from the cave, and a great light shone therein, more beautiful than the gleaming of lamps and candles, and more splendid than the light of the sun, so that the eyes could not bear it. But in a little while the light gradually decreased, until the infant which Mary had brought forth appeared unto Joseph, enwrapped in swaddling clothes, and sucking the breast of his mother, who was placed in a stall.

And Joseph, who had also met another midwife called Salome, wondering, said to Mary, "I have brought thee two midwives, Zelomi and Salome." Now they were standing outside before the entrance to the cave, not daring to come in thither, because of the exceeding brightness. And when Mary heard this, she smiled. And Joseph said to her, "Do not smile; but prudently allow them to visit thee, in case thou shouldest require them for thy cure."¹ Then Mary ordered them to enter. And when Zelomi had come in, Salome having stayed without, she said to Mary, "Art thou the mother of this child?" And when she had assented, the midwife said, "Allow me to touch thee." And when Mary had permitted her to make an examination, the midwife cried out with a loud voice, and said, "Lord, Lord Almighty,

people than is any other in apocryphal literature. But (2) introduces two midwives, the doubtful one still being called Salome; and the name Zelomi, or Zelemi, as it is given in some Mss., I take to be a mere echo of that name in slightly changed form. The Golden Legend calls this other midwife Zebel. In various mediaeval legends, of which that of the Knight of the Swan is one of the best known, she is called

Onestasse, or Onestasia, which must be derived from some other source than the known apocryphal documents.

¹Although our accounts have already represented Mary as sending Joseph for a midwife, she now would fain refuse the midwife's aid. The latter circumstance is in agreement with Church tradition. Jerome says she had no midwife, and refers to Ps. xxii.9.

mercy on us! It hath never been heard or thought of that any one should have her breasts full of milk,¹ and that the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin.² But there hath been no spilling of blood in his birth, no pain in bringing him forth.³ A virgin hath conceived, a virgin hath brought forth, and a virgin she remaineth."⁴

(1) And the midwife said to Mary, "Thou art not like the
(7) daughters of Eve." And Mary said, "As none among chil-
(8) dren is equal to my son, so his mother hath no equal among women." The old woman replied, "My lady, I am come to gain a reward; I have been a long time afflicted with paralysis." And Mary said to her, "Place thy hands on the infant." This she did, and was straightway healed.⁵ And she cried out, and said, "This is a great day to me, because I have seen this great sight. Henceforth will I be the handmaid and servant of this infant, all the days of my life."

(1) Then Zelomi went forth out of the cave, and Salome,
(2) the other midwife, who also had heard these words which
(7) Zelomi had spoken, met her. And Zelomi said, "Salome, Salome, I have a strange sight to relate to thee. A virgin hath brought forth, a thing of which nature admitteth not." But Salome said, "As the Lord my God liveth, unless I thrust in my finger, and search the parts, I will not believe that a virgin hath brought forth."⁶

(1) And Salome went in, and said to Mary, "Allow me to han-

(2)
(7) ¹This question as to how it was possible for Mary to remain a virgin, yet have her breasts full of milk, was discussed by the Church fathers. See Athanasius, vol. II, p. 404, Paris ed.

²The perpetual virginity of Mary, even in bringing forth, was generally held, at least in the time of Clement of Alexandria (see Stromata, book VII), and by practically all later writers.

³That the birth was painless is testified to by many fathers, also that Mary suffered none of the

ailments that accompany pregnancy. Edersheim says this is derived from the Jewish legend which asserted the same of the mother of Moses.

⁴Almost these exact words are used by Augustine in his Sermon, 14, On the Birth of the Lord.

⁵The similar miracle in the third paragraph which follows is but another form of the same narrative. The first is given by (8), and the latter by (1) and (2).

⁶This exclamation and the trial that follows, are an evident and

dle thee, and prove whether Zelomi hath spoken the truth, for no small controversy hath arisen about thee.¹ And Mary allowed her to handle her. And when she had withdrawn her hand from handling her, it dried up.² And through excess of pain, Salome began to weep bitterly, and to be in great distress, crying out, and saying, "Woe is me for my iniquity and unbelief, because I have tempted the living God; and, behold, my hand is dropping off as it burned with fire." And she bent her knees before the Lord, saying, "O God of my fathers, remember that I am the seed of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. Make not a show of me to the sons of Israel, but restore me to the poor; for Thou knowest, O Lord God, that I have always feared Thee, and that without recompence I have performed my services for all the poor, in Thy name. I have taken nothing from the widow and the orphan, and the needy have I not sent empty away,² and I have received my reward at Thy hand. And, behold, I am made wretched because of mine unbelief, since without cause I wished to try Thy virgin."

And while she was thus speaking, an angel of the Lord, (1) in shining garments, stood by her,³ saying, "Salome. (2) Salome, the Lord hath heard thee. Go to the child, adore (7) him, touch him with thy hand and carry him; so wilt thou have safety and joy, for he will heal thee, because he is the Saviour of the world, and of all that hope in him." This she did with haste, and adoring him she touched the fringe of the cloth in which he was wrapped,⁴ when instantly her hand was cured. And she went and carried him, saying, "I will worship him, because a great king hath been born to

very indelicate parody of the words and conduct of Thomas. See John xx.24-28.

¹But the apocryphal writer must needs improve upon the narrative of Thomas, and have the doubter punished! So, in the Assumption legends, the hand of the unbeliever who touches Mary's bier is dried up; Cf. per-

haps, II Sam. vi.6-7. Uzzah is struck dead for touching the "ark of the Lord." The appellation was often given to Mary.

²Cf. Deut. xv.II, etc.

³It is (2) which everywhere in these narratives introduces the ministry of angels.

⁴Cf. Mat. ix.20 seq.

Israel." And she went forth out of the cave justified. And, behold, there came a voice, saying, "Salome, Salome, tell not the strange things that thou hast seen, until the child hath come into Jerusalem."

- (2) And some shepherds, whose names were Misael, Acheel, (8) Cyriacus, and Stephanus,¹ wondered at the star which had appeared, and affirmed that they had seen angels singing a hymn at midnight, praising and blessing the God of heaven, and saying, "There hath been born the Saviour of all, who is Christ the Lord, in whom salvation shall be brought to Israel." And when they had lighted a fire, they rejoiced greatly; and there appeared to them the hosts of heaven, praising and celebrating God Most High. And while the shepherds were doing the same, the cave was at that time made like a temple of the upper world, since both heavenly and earthly voices glorified and magnified God on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. And when the old Hebrew woman saw the manifestation of these miracles, she thanked God, saying, "I give Thee thanks, O God, the God of Israel, because mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world."
- (n) Now at this time the people of Rome, seeing that Augustus the Emperor was so beautiful that no one was able to sustain his glance, and so fortunate that all the world paid tribute to him, wished to place him amongst the gods. But he was not willing to permit it, and calling the Sibyl,² he placed before her the proposition, asking her whether a greater than he should ever come. Then there appeared at midday a circle around the sun, and in it a virgin of unequalled beauty upon an altar, with a child in her arms. The Sibyl explained this to the Emperor as meaning, that that child should be greater than he, and that he ought to worship it. And at the same time a voice was heard, saying, "This is the altar of heaven," or, according to others, these

¹These names are found, according to Hofmann, in Cod. Graec. Bibl. Palatinae. Beda says, in chap. 8 of his work, De Locis

Sanctis, that there were three shepherds.

²For note on the Sibylline Books, see chap. XXXV.

words appeared in golden letters in heaven. Whence it came about that in after times a church was built in the place of the imperial palace, which was called St. Mary Altar of Heaven.¹

And in Spain, about this time, three suns appeared in the (n) heavens, which came together as a symbol of the Trinity.²

Now on the third day after the birth of Christ, Mary went (2) forth out of the cave, and entering a stable, placed the child in a stall, and the ox and the ass adored him. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib."³ The very animals, therefore, the ox and the ass, having him in their midst, incessantly adored him. Then was also fulfilled that which was said by Habakkuk the prophet, saying, "Between two animals thou art made manifest."⁴ And in the same place Joseph remained with Mary three days.

And Jesus indeed spake, when he was lying in his cradle, (8) and said to Mary his mother, "I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom thou hast brought forth as the angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father hath sent me for the salvation of the world."⁵

¹From Antoninus, *Summa Historica*, I, tit. 4, chap. 6, sec. 10; Bonaventure; Petrus de Natalibus; Migne, *Dictionnaire des Légendes*, col. 901. Nicephorus says the inscription ran, "This is the altar of the first-begotten of God."

²Mentioned by Thomas Aquinas, *Summa III*, quaest. 36, art. 3; Petrus de Natalibus. The Golden Legend says that the three suns denoted the three things that are in the Godhead, divinity, soul, and body.

³Is. i.3. This is one of the most striking illustrations of how apocryphal tales were founded

upon Old Testament texts, and their alleged fulfilment shown. This legend has come to be universally received, and painters almost invariably represent the ox and ass in pictures of the Nativity. A wide-spread European folk tradition says, that on Christmas eve, the domestic animals yet kneel at midnight in adoration of the Saviour. Notice, that in the above account, the tradition as to the cave of the Nativity having been a stable, seems to waver.

⁴Hab. iii.2 runs thus in the Septuagint.

⁵The Mohammedans give, in various forms, this miracle of

(2) Now on the sixth day they entered Bethlehem, where
 (22) they spent the seventh day. And Joseph inscribed his name in the list with the scribes of Bethlehem: "Joseph, the son of Jacob, and Mary his wife, and Jesus their son, who are of the house of David, who is of the tribe of Judah."¹

(2) And the time of the circumcision, that is, the eighth day,
 (8) being at hand, they circumcised the child according to the law,² and called his name Jesus; for so was he called by the angel before he was conceived.³ And the old Hebrew woman took the piece of skin, but some say she took the navel-string,⁴ and she gave it to her son who was a dealer in unguents, saying, "See that thou sell not this jar of unguent of nard, even though three hundred denarii should be offered thee for it." And this is that jar which Mary the sinner brought, and poured upon the head and feet of the Lord, which, thereafter, she wiped with the hair of her head.⁵

(2) Ten days after, they took the child to Jerusalem. And on
 (8) the fortieth day, after the purification of Mary was fulfilled according to the law of Moses,⁶ then Joseph took the infant to the temple, and set him before the Lord; and offered sac-

Christ's speaking whilst an infant. Kessaues, *Evangelium Infantiae*, Sike, n. p. (2), says that Mary went forth secretly by night, and sat down under a palm tree, where she brought Christ forth. Zacharias sent Joseph to find her, but when he spoke to her she was silent. Then the infant Christ spoke to him in these words, "Rejoice, O Joseph, be glad and of good courage, for God hath brought me forth from the darkness of the womb into the light of this world! and I shall go unto the children of Israel, and exhort them to return unto obedience to God."

¹Orosius, lib. 6, last chap., says

that Christ's name was also entered in the list.

²Lev. xii.5. See, also, Gen. xxi.4. The Church commemorates the Circumcision of Christ, on Jan. 1.

³Luke ii.21.

⁴It is said that the foreskin is kept in the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, also in a church at Antwerp; the navel-string is shown in the Church of St. Mary Populi, and the stone with which Christ was circumcised, in the church of St. James Scossa.

⁵See Luke vii.37, 38; John xii.5; Mark xiv.5. A denarius was worth about fifteen cents.

⁶Lev. xii.4.

rifices for him, a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, according to the commandment of the law of Moses, which is: "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called the holy of God."¹

Now there was in the temple a man of God, perfect and (2) just, whose name was Simeon, a hundred and twelve years old.² He had received the answer from the Lord that he should not taste of death, till he had seen Christ, the Son of God, living in the flesh. For once he was reading the scripture, and when he came to the seventh chapter of Isaiah, where it is said that a virgin should bring forth, he was offended at it, and did not believe it. And at that time he received the promise.³

Then at this time, old Simeon saw the child shining like (2) a pillar of light, when Mary, his virgin mother, rejoicing (8) over him, was carrying him in her arms. And the angels, praising him, stood round about him in a circle, like life guards standing by a king; and Simeon cried out with a loud voice, saying, "God hath visited His people, and the Lord hath fulfilled His promise." Then he went up in haste to Mary; with hands stretched out before her, he adored the child, and taking him up into his cloak, he kissed his feet, and said to the Lord Christ, "Now, O Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy compassion, which Thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples, a light to all nations, and glory to Thy people Israel."⁴

¹Lev. xii.8; Ex. xiii.2; Luke ii.23. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, or Purification B. V. M., is celebrated by the Church on Feb. 2.

²The great age of Simeon is in no way implied in the canonical account, Luke ii.25-38. Josephus mentions a Simeon called the "Righteous," who was high priest, but who would have been 300 years old, if living at this time. Euty chius identifies the

Simeon of the Gospel with this high priest, and actually holds that he was 350 years old. It was some idea of a like identification that made the apocryphal author assign the above great age. The Greek church commemorates him on Feb. 3.

³Nicephorus gives this legend, book I, chap. xii. He says also, that immediately after this sight of Christ, Simeon died.

⁴Luke ii.29-32.

- (2) There was also in the temple of the Lord, Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, who had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity. And she had now been a widow eighty-four years. She never left the temple, but spent her time in fastings and prayer. She also, likewise coming up, adored the child, saying, "In him is the redemption of the world." And she gave thanks to God, and called Mary blessed.¹
- (8) And Salome began to cry aloud, and to tell the wonderful things which she had seen, and which she had suffered, and how she had been cured; so that many through her statements believed.

¹Luke ii.36-38. The apocryphal writer follows Luke closely, but in order to make Anna's age greater, probably in order to have it correspond better with Simeon's, takes the indefensible view that eighty-four years was

the period of her widowhood, and not the whole term of her life. In the Greek church, the Feast of the Circumcision is called Hypapante, which denotes the meeting of Christ by Simeon and Anna in the temple.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISIT OF THE MAGI.

ZOROASTER'S PREDICTION—THE MAGI WATCH—THE PERSIAN TEMPLE—JUNO EMBRACED—THE STATUES MOVED—A STAR DESCENDS—STATUES FALL—ASTROLOGERS INTERPRET—IDOLATRY DECLARED ENDED—KING SENDS MAGI—THEIR NAMES AND GIFTS—JOURNEY—QUESTIONED AT JERUSALEM—SUMMONED BY HEROD—WORSHIP CHILD AT BETHLEHEM—PRESENT GIFTS—RECEIVE THE CLOTH—WARNED ABOUT RETURN—PERSIANS REVERE THE CLOTH.

MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 21.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 16.
(7)—Protevangelium of James, Syriac Version, 21.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 7-9.
(9)—Narrative of Events Happening in Persia.

Now it came to pass when the Lord Jesus was born in (8) the days of Herod the king, behold, Magi came from the East, as Zoroaster had predicted.¹ For this prophet, who was the disciple of Elijah, arose in the time of Cambyses, in the region of Assyria, and taught the Persians concerning the manifestation of the Lord Christ, commanding them to offer him gifts when he appeared. And he revealed to them the future; that in the last times a virgin should conceive;

¹This statement is found in (8), as well as in many ancient Church writers; and the tradition was generally received by Oriental Christians. It is, of course, entirely without foundation, these prophecies having been contained in books that were falsely ascribed to Zoroaster. See *Evangelium Infantiae*, Sike, n. p. (25).

and that when the child was born, a star should appear, which should shine in the day time, and in its midst should be the figure of a virgin.¹

- (n) And the people called Magi had also a book, which bare the name of Seth the son of Adam,² wherein were written all things concerning the appearance of this star and the presentation of these gifts. For when Adam died there were offered before his body gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, which were also borne with his body in the ark through the flood, and buried with it on the site of Jerusalem, at the center of the earth.³ But afterwards they passed into the possession of the Magi, to be offered to Christ when the time of his appearing was come. Now there were

¹The passage is from Gregorius Abulfaragius, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 83. Another story identified Zoroaster with Abraham, and one possibly as prevalent as the one given in the text, says that he was the same as Balaam, and his prophecy was that contained in Num. xxiv.17. Modern rationalistic writers largely refer to this text, along with the common belief of many nations that celestial phenomena accompanied the births of great men, as the origin of the account in Mat. ii.1-12. For a full account of Oriental legends about Zoroaster, see *Bibliothèque Orientale*, D'Herbelot, article "Zerdascht." A good popular account is found in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, article "Magi."

²The legend that Seth was the inventor of writing was widespread. See Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, vol. I, p. 147. For accounts of books said to have been handed down by him, see *ibidem*, 152-157. Seth was a great favourite with the Gnos-

tics, and most of the books bearing his name originated with them. See Introduction to this work, iv, 40.

³This passage is abbreviated from legends given in the *Book of the Combat of Adam*, Migne, vol. I, col. 360 seq., etc., at great length. It is a curious book. The same passage, substantially, is also found in the fragments of the *Testament of Adam*, quoted by Migne, vol. I, col. 289. It is quoted from this latter work in the *Syriac Transitus Beatae Virginis*, Wright, *Syriac Apocrypha*, p. 24. The rest of the above paragraph is found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, vol. I, p. 153 seq. I have somewhat abbreviated this account, which is ascribed to the author of *Operis Imperfecti in Matthaeum*, *Homilia II*. It begins by saying that the twelve Magi lived on the ocean at the farthest limit of the Orient. For identification of Jerusalem with the center of the earth, see chap. XXVII.

twelve of these Magi who watched for the appearance of the star. And when one of their number died, a new one was chosen in his place. And each year after wheat harvest they ascended a mountain called Victoralis, which had a cave in it, and was rendered pleasant by reason of its trees and fountains. There also they watched, and finally the star appeared to them in the form of a little child over whom was the sign of the cross.

Now there was also in the land of Persia¹ a magnificent (9) temple dedicated to Juno.² And some little time before this, the king, having entered the temple with the view of getting the interpretation of certain dreams, Prupippius, the priest, said to him, "I congratulate thee, O master; Juno hath con-

¹That the wise men came from Arabia, was undoubtedly the oldest and most widely-accepted view in the Church. It was supposed to be supported by Ps. lxxii.10, 15, and Is. lx.1-6, Vulgate version of former, or Prayer-book version in English. This is favoured by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyrian, and Epiphanius. The Persian tradition, however, prevails in apocryphal literature. It alone accords with the use of the name Magi. It is favoured by Chrysostom, Nicephorus, Basil, and many others. Theodoret says they came from Chaldaea, Hilary from Ethiopia, and later views are that they came from India, or from the three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Similar to this is the legend that they were really Shem, Ham, and Japheth, who fell asleep in a cave, and woke up at the Nativity of Christ. See Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, vol. I, p. 140. Legend further says

they were kings, probably with reference to the scripture above quoted. Cyrian, Tertullian, and Innocent III favour this view. Their kingdoms are given as Tarshish, Nubia, and Saba. The shrine of the three kings at Cologne is widely known, and the supposed relics greatly venerated.

²I take the introduction of Juno, wife of Jupiter, to be the author's conception of the fittest classical comparison to the case of Mary, who had conceived by the power of the true God. All through this strange composition, (9), there seems to be the idea of making classical heathenism testify prophetically to the truths of the Christian religion; and much of this is attempted through the medium of puns. Juno might also be taken as a type of Mary because she was called queen of heaven, was patroness of chastity, marriage, and child-birth, and was said once to have conceived without intercourse.

ceived." And the king, smiling, said to him, "Hath she who is dead conceived?" And he said, "Yes, she who was dead hath come to life again, and doth beget life." And the king said, "What is this? explain it to me." And he replied, "In truth, master, the time for these things is at hand. For during the whole night the images, both of gods and goddesses, continued beating the ground, saying to each other, 'Come, let us congratulate Juno.' And they say to me, 'Prophet, come forward; congratulate Juno, for she hath been embraced.' And I said, 'How can she be embraced who no longer existeth?' To which they reply, 'She hath come to life again, and is no longer called Juno, but Urania, the Heavenly,¹ for the mighty Sun² hath embraced her.' Then the goddesses say to the gods, making the matter plainer, 'The Fountain³ is she who is embraced; for did not Juno espouse an artificer?'⁴ And the gods say, 'That she is rightly called the Fountain, we admit. Her name, moreover, is Mary,⁵ for she beareth in her womb, as in the deep, a vessel of a myriad talents' burden. And as to this title, the Fountain, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sendeth forth the perennial stream of spirit—a stream containing but a single fish,⁶ taken with a hook of Divinity, and

¹A play of words is evidently here intended upon the fact that Juno (*Ἥρα*) is connected with *Ἔρα* (earth); but now in the true Juno, of whom she is the type, she is no longer "earthly," but "heavenly."

²See Mal. iv.2, and Rev. xii.1.

³I am unable to see any special force in this title of the Fountain as applied either to Juno or Mary. If (9) was in reality originally a Gnostic book, there may here be some unaltered reference to a term peculiar to one of the Gnostic systems.

⁴As the Greek word here used also simply means "carpenter,"

the allusion to Joseph is evident. I scarcely see how Jupiter can be called an artificer, as he is not generally regarded as a creator.

⁵Some Mss. here give Maria and some, Myria. A play is intended upon the former word and the word myriad, which occurs in the same sentence.

⁶It is well known that the initials of the Greek *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ*, which mean, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour," make the word *ἰχθύς* *i. e.* "fish." The fish was on this account early used as a symbol of Christ. Mystical references, like that above, are

sustaining the whole world with its flesh¹ as though it were in the sea. Ye have well said, 'She hath espoused an artificer.' But by that espousal she doth not bear an artificer on an equality with herself. For this artificer who is born, the son of the chief Artificer, framed by His excellent skill the roof of the third heavens,² and established by His word this lower world, with its threefold sphere of habitation.'"³

Thus, then, the statues disputed with each other concern- (9)
ing Juno and the Fountain, and at length, with one voice, they said, "When the day is finished, we all, gods and goddesses, shall know the matter clearly. For that which emergeth is no common affair."

And when the king abode there and watched the statues, (9)
the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the muses to sing; and whatsoever creatures were within, whether quadruped or fowl, in silver and gold, uttered their several voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled with great fear, he was about to retire. For he could not endure the spontaneous tumult. The priest therefore said to him, "Remain, O king, for the full revelation is at hand, which the God of gods hath chosen to declare to us."

And when these things were said, the roof was opened, (9)
and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of the Fountain; and a voice was heard to this effect, "Sovereign Fountain, the mighty Sun hath sent me to make the announcement to thee, and at the same time to do service to thee in parturition, designing blameless nuptials with thee, O mother of the chief of all ranks of being, bride of the triune Deity! And the child begotten by extraordinary

frequently found in the Church fathers. Observe the number of legends about fishes throughout this book.

¹See the Mohammedan legend embodied in chap XVII, near end, and others. Does this not have its root in some mystical idea such as the above, and prob-

ably derived from heretical Christian sources?

²See II Cor. xii.2. For the Jewish view of the seven heavens and description of each, see Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I, p. 460 seq.

³I suppose that this means, "The heavens above, the earth

generation is called the Beginning and the End,¹—the beginning of salvation and the end of perdition.” And when this word was spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces,² that of the Fountain alone standing, on which also a royal diadem was found placed, having on its upper side a star set in a carbuncle and an emerald. And on its lower side the star rested.

- (9) And the king forthwith gave orders to bring in all the interpreters of prodigies, and the sages who were in his dominion.³ And when all the heralds sped with their proclamations, all these assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star above the Fountain, and the diadem with the star and the stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said, “O king, a root⁴ divine and kingly hath arisen, bearing the image of the King of heaven and earth. For the Fountain is the daughter of the Bethlehemite Mary. And the diadem is the mark of a king, and the star is a celestial announcement of portents to fall on the earth. Out of Judah hath arisen a kingdom that shall subvert all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor prefigureth the end of their honour. For he who cometh, being of more ancient dignity, shall displace all the recent. Now, therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For thou wilt find the Christ of the Omnipotent God borne in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman.” And the star remained above the statue of the Fountain, called the Heavenly, until the wise men came forth, and then it went with them.

- (9) And then, in the depth of the evening, Bacchus⁵ appeared in the temple, accompanied by the Satyrs, and said to the images, “The Fountain is not one of us, but standeth far above us, in that she giveth birth to a man whose concep-
beneath, and the waters under
the earth.”

¹See Rev. i.8; xxi.6; xxii.13.

²See chaps. V, VII, XXXVIII, for other instances of the fall of the gods.

³See Dan. ii.2, etc.

⁴See Is. xi.10; liii.2; Rev. v.5; xxii.16.

⁵I presume that this god is introduced as announcing the passing of the old religion, because he represented its most bestial tendencies.

tion is in divine fashion. O priest Prupippius! what dost thou tarrying here? An event foretold by olden writings hath come upon us, and we shall be convicted as liars by one who is mighty. Wherein we have been deceivers, we have been deceivers; and wherein we have ruled, we have ruled. No longer give we oracular responses. Gone from us is our honour. Without glory and reward are we become.¹ There is One, and One only, who receiveth again at the hands of all, His proper honour. No longer shall the Persians exact tribute of earth and sky. For He who established these things is at hand, to bring true tribute to Him who sent Him, to renew the ancient image, and to put image with image, and bring the dissimilar to similarity.² Heaven rejoiceth with earth, and earth itself exulteth at receiving matter of exultation from heaven. Things which have not happened above, have happened on earth beneath.³ He whom the order of the blessed hath not seen, is seen by the order of the miserable. Flame threateneth those; dew attendeth these. To Mary is given the blessed lot of bearing the Fountain of Bethlehem, and of conceiving grace of grace. Judaea hath seen its bloom, and fadeth. To Gentiles and aliens, salvation is come; to the wretched, relief is ministered abundantly. With right do women dance, and say, 'O mistress, the Fountain, spring-bearer, mother of the heavenly constellation, cloud that bringest us dew after heat, remember thy dependents, O Heavenly One.'"

The king then, without delay, sent three of the Magi,⁴ (9)

¹The thought here suggests the legend preserved by Plutarch, *De Oraculorum Defectu*, of how at the hour of the Saviour's agony, a cry of "Great Pan is dead!" swept across the sea in the hearing of certain mariners, and the oracles ceased. Cf. E. B. Browning's "The Dead Pan," and Swinburne's "The Last Oracle."

²A Gnostic idea. See a num-

ber of the logia from Gnostic sources, in chap. XIX.

³Cf. I. Pet. i.10-12.

⁴Matthew does not state that there were three Magi, but the tradition is almost universal, making this inference on account of the three gifts, yet many Church writers have held that each of the Magi presented all three gifts, *e. g.* Anselm, Tostatus, Bonaventure. Solomon

who were under his dominion, with the gifts, the star which had already appeared to them, showing them the way. And the first of these was Melchior, an old man of sixty years, with long white hair and beard.¹ He bare the gold, which signified a gift to Christ as a king.² And this gold, which consisted of thirty pieces, had not only been carried through the flood in the ark, and been buried with Adam at Jerusalem, but it had afterwards been coined by Terah, the father of Abraham. It was these pieces, also, for which the sons of Jacob sold Joseph to the Egyptian merchants. Next, they were paid to Pharaoh for tribute. Joseph gave them to the treasurer of the kingdom of Sheba, as the price of the perfumes that he employed to embalm the body of Jacob. The queen of Sheba in after times presented them to Solomon, and so they remained in the royal treasury at

of Bassora, however, says there were twelve Magi, and gives their names, as follows: Zarvandas son of Artabanus, Hormisdas son of Sitruchus, Gusnasaphus son of Gunapharus, Arsaces son of Miruchus, these four brought the gold; Zarvandas son of Varzudus, Osrhoes son of Chosroa, Artaxester son of Hulaitus, Estunabudanes son of Sistro, these four brought the myrrh; Maruchus son of Chuamus, Asnerus son of Asbanus, Sardaluchus son of Baladanus, Merodachus son of Baldad, these four brought the incense. Besides the three names which I have adopted above, and which represent the prevalent tradition, the following are given: Apellius, Amerus, and Damascus; Magalath, Galgalath, and Sarcin; Ator, Sator, and Petatoras, these are derived from a curious palindrome which is mentioned again in this work; Enoch, Elias,

and Melchizedek; or Shem, Ham, and Japheth, see note earlier in this chapter. "Some say," says Barhebraeus, "that they were three princes who came with a thousand men." James of Edessa says they were twelve princes who left 7,000 soldiers at the Euphrates, and came to Jerusalem with a thousand men.

¹Beda, vol. III, p. 649, gives the traditions about the three Magi which I here embody, with the exceptions noted. Petrus de Natalibus is responsible for the ages assigned them. Melchior is commemorated in the Roman church on Jan. 6.

²Maximus, Homily 3, says that, "the gold showed how costly was our redemption, the incense, the future course of our religion, and the myrrh, the redemption of our flesh and the resurrection from the dead."

Jerusalem, until they were taken away to the East in the Babylonish captivity. There, they came into the hands of the Magi.¹ And the second of the Magi was Gaspar,² a beardless youth of twenty, ruddy and of a fair countenance. He bare the incense, which signified a gift to Christ as God.³ And the third was Balthasar,⁴ a swarthy man of forty years old, fully bearded. He bare the myrrh, which signified a gift to the son of man about to die.⁵

Now the Magi in the course of their journey required (n) neither rest nor refreshment, nor did meat or drink ever fail them; the journey, indeed, which lasted twelve days,⁶ seemed to them as but one day. The nearer they approached to Bethlehem, the brighter the star shone. And it seemed to them to be as an eagle flying, and beating the air with his wings; and within it was the form and likeness of a young child, and above him the sign of a cross.⁷

And when they came to Jerusalem, this sign, together (1) with their arrival, roused all the people. "How is this," (2) said they, "that wise men of the Persians are here, and that (7) (9)

¹This legend is quoted by Migne, I, col. 1024, n. 2216-18, from Sandy's Christmas Carols. It is similar to the legend of the thirty pieces of silver for which Christ was betrayed. See chap. XXIII. There is everywhere uncertainty in all these mingled traditions about money, whether gold or silver is referred to.

²Commemorated by the Roman church on Jan. 1; also called Caspar and Jasper.

³Cyprian said it referred to Christ's office as a high priest.

⁴Commemorated by Roman church on Jan. 11. In more modern tradition, he is represented as black, a typical African. Roman tradition says that all three of the Magi were after-

wards baptized by St. Thomas, were consecrated bishops, and died as martyrs in Persia.

⁵Ambrose and Cyprian say that the myrrh pointed to the incorruptibility of Christ's body.

⁶Other legends make it last two years, making the star appear to the Magi at the time of the Nativity, but they not reaching Jerusalem until two years after; thus Herod's command is accounted for, that the children two years old and under should be slain. I do not attempt to discuss the vexed question as to the time when, according to Matthew, this took place.

⁷This paragraph is from Sandy's Christmas Carols, reported in Migne, II, col. 469.

along with them there is this strange stellar phenomenon?"¹ And the chief of the Jews interrogated them in this way, "What is this that attendeth you, and with what purpose are ye here?" And the Magi made strict inquiry of the Jews, saying, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him. He whom ye call the Messiah is born." And the Jews were confounded, and dared not withstand the wise men. But they said to them, "By the justice of heaven, tell us what ye know of this matter." And the Magi answered them, "Ye labour under unbelief; and neither without an oath, nor with an oath, do ye believe us, but ye follow your own heedless counsel. For the Christ, the Son of the Most High, is born, and he is the subverter of your law and synagogues. And therefore it is that struck with this most excellent response as with a dart, ye hear in bitterness this name which hath come upon you suddenly."²

- (1) The Jews, then, taking counsel together, urged the Magi
 (2) to accept their gifts, and tell to none that such an event had
 (7) taken place in this land of theirs, lest, as they said, a revolt
 (9) should arise against them. But the Magi replied, "We have brought gifts in his honour with the view of proclaiming these mighty things which we know to have happened in our country on occasion of his birth; and do ye bid us take your bribes, and conceal what hath been told us by God, and neglect the orders of our king?" And after urging many considerations on them, the Jews gave the matter up.
- (9) Now word of this came to King Herod, and so alarmed him that he called together the scribes and the Pharisees, with the teachers of the people, asking them where the prophets had foretold that Christ should be born. And they

¹The best treatment of the theory that the star of Bethlehem was a natural phenomenon caused by the conjunction of several planets two years before Christ's birth, which conjunction is said to have been demonstrated astronomically, is to

be found in Münter, *Stern der Weisen*, Copenhagen, 1827. I give in the preceding chapter and this one, three several legendary descriptions of the appearance of the star.

²Cf. Mal. iii.1.

said, "In Bethlehem of Judaea, for it is written, 'And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art by no means the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a leader, who shall rule my people Israel.'"¹ And he sent them away.

Then King Herod summoned the Magi to come to him, (1) and he examined them, saying, "What sign have ye seen in (2) reference to the king that hath been born?" And the Magi (7) (9) said, "There was one of great reputation amongst us, who, in a certain book that he composed, admonished us, saying, 'In Palestine there shall be born a child who shall arise from heaven, and the largest part of the world shall serve him. The sign, moreover, of his appearance shall be, that ye shall see a strange star, which shall direct you to a place where it shall remain. When, therefore, ye shall see it, taking the gold, myrrh, and incense, go and offer them to the child, and adore him; and then return, lest great calamities come upon you.' Moreover, there hath appeared to us a star of great size shining amongst the other stars, and obscuring their light, so that the stars did not appear; and we thus know that a king hath been born to Israel, and we have come to worship him as was commanded us."² And he strictly inquired of them when the star appeared to them. And sending them to Bethlehem, Herod said, "Go and seek him, and make strict inquiry about the child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also."³

And the Magi went out. And while they were going on (1) their way, there appeared to them the star which they had (2) seen in the East. And when they saw it, they rejoiced with (7) (9) great joy. And it went before them, as it were a guide to them, until it came to the place⁴ where the child was; and it stood over the top of the place. And afterwards the star fell into the well at Bethlehem, whence Mary had drawn

¹Micah v.2.

n. p. (25).

²This reply of the Magi is from Gregorius Abulfaragius; see Evangelium Infantiae, Sike,

³Mat. ii.8.

⁴According to (1) and (8), this place was still the cave.

water. And there, sometimes, it is yet seen by the pure in heart who look into that well.¹

(1) Now Joseph was ready to go into Judaea. And, behold,
 (2) there was a great commotion in Bethlehem; and the Magi,
 (7) going into the house, saw the child sitting in his mother's
 (9) lap, the star indicating to them the royal babe. And she had long hands, and a body somewhat delicate; her colour was like that of ripe wheat; and she was of a round face, and had her hair bound up.² And the child was in his second year,³ and had in part the likeness of his mother. And the Magi said unto her, "What art thou named, O renowned mother?" And she said, "Mary, masters." Then said they to her, "Whence art thou sprung?" And she replied, "From this district of the Bethlehemites." Then said they, "Hast thou not had a husband?" And she answered, "I was only betrothed with a view to the marriage covenant, my thoughts being far removed from this. For I had no mind to come to this. And while I was giving very little concern to it, when a certain Sabbath dawned, straightway at the rising of the sun, an angel appeared to me, bringing me suddenly the glad tidings of a son. And in trouble, I cried out, 'Be it not so to me, Lord, for I have not a husband.' And he persuaded me to believe, that by the will of God I should have this son." Then said the Magi unto her, "Mother of mothers, all the gods of the Persians have called thee blessed. Thy glory is great; for thou art exalted above all women of renown, and thou art shown to be more queenly than all queens."

(1) And the Magi, taking the child up, each of them in his
 (2) turn bearing him in his arms, saluted and adored him. And
 (7) they presented to him gifts, each of them offering him a
 (9) piece of gold. Likewise Gaspar presented unto him the incense, Melchior the gold, and Balthasar the myrrh.⁴ And

¹This legend of the well is given by Gervais of Tilbury and by Gregory of Tours, Migne, II, col. 470.

²See description of Mary near the end of chap. II.

³As I have before noted, I do not attempt to discuss the historical setting of the Epiphany.

⁴The Western church celebrates the Epiphany on Jan. 6, commemorating first and prin-

they addressed him thus, "We gift thee with thine own, O Jesus, ruler of heaven. Ill would things unordered be ordered, wert thou not at hand. In no other way could heavenly things be brought into conjunction with things earthly, but by thy descent.¹ Such service cannot be discharged, if only the servant is sent us, as when the master himself is present; neither can so much be achieved when the king sendeth only his satraps to war, as when the king is there himself. It becometh the wisdom of thy system, that thou shouldst deal in this manner with men." And the child leaped and laughed at the caresses and words of the Magi.

Likewise, also, the Magi presented great gifts to Mary (2) and Joseph. Then Mary took one of the child's swaddling- (8) bands, and on account of the smallness of her means, gave (9) it to them. And they received it from her with the greatest marks of honour. And when they had bidden the mother farewell, and when she had shown them honour, and when they had testified to her the reverence which became them, they came again to the place in which they lodged. And as they had along with them a servant skilled in painting from life, they brought with them to their country a likeness of both the mother and child.²

And at eventide, when they were going to return to King (1) Herod, there appeared to them in their sleep an angel of a (2) terrible and fearful countenance, saying, "Get out quickly, (7) lest ye be taken in a snare." And they in terror said, "And (8) who is he, O divine leader, that plotteth against so august

cipally the visit of the Magi, but also the Baptism of Christ and His first miracle at Cana. It thereby gives its approval to the tradition that this first event happened twelve days after the Birth of Christ. The Greek church commemorates the visit of the Magi on Dec. 25, along with the Nativity, and commemorates principally the Baptism

of Christ, on Jan. 6. The Feast of the Epiphany seems to be older than Christmas, and to have been the original Christian festival of the Nativity.

¹Gnostic teaching again.

²The first version of this legend which appears in so many forms; see the stories of Abgar and Veronica.

an embassy?" And he replied, "Herod. But get you up straightway, and depart in safety and peace, another way." And they made speed to depart thence in all earnestness. And in the same hour there appeared to them an angel in the form of that star which before had guided them on their journey. And they went away, following the guidance of the light, and entered a ship that was going unto Tarshish,¹ until they arrived in their own country by another road.

- (8) And their kings and their chief men came together to
 (9) them, asking what they had seen or done, how they had gone and come back, and what they had brought with them. Then they showed them that swathing-cloth which Mary had given them; wherefore they celebrated a feast, and according to their custom, lighted a fire and worshipped it,² and threw the swathing-cloth into it. And the fire laid hold of it, and enveloped it. And when the fire had gone out, they took out the swathing-cloth exactly as it had been before, just as if the fire had not touched it. Wherefore, they began to kiss it, and to put it on their hands and eyes, saying, "This verily is the truth without doubt. Assuredly it is a great thing that the fire was not able to burn or destroy it." Then they took it, and with the greatest honour laid it up among their treasures. And they placed in the sacred temple the likeness which they had brought, with this inscription on it, "To Jove, the Sun, the mighty God, the King of Jesus, the power of Persia dedicated this." These facts, also, were inscribed on golden plates, and laid up in the temple.

¹This legend is given by Petrus de Natalibus and others. Some give the name as Tarsus, or even Tyre.

²I must admit that this repre-

sentation of the Persians as fire-worshippers, which is the most natural one, ill consorts with the legend of the temple of Juno which I have interwoven.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.

HEROD'S RAGE — MASSACRES INNOCENTS — MOUNTAIN RECEIVES ELISABETH AND JOHN — HEROD MURDERS ZACHARIAS — JOSEPH WARNED — SETS OUT FOR EGYPT — MIRACLE OF THE WHEAT — THE DRAGONS — WILD BEASTS ADORE CHRIST — MIRACLE OF THE PALM — CHRIST SHORTENS THE JOURNEY — TREE WORSHIPS CHRIST — THE GREAT IDOL OF EGYPT PROCLAIMS CHRIST'S DIVINITY — ALL THE IDOLS FALL — DEMONIAIC CURED — THE BURIAL OF ZACHARIAS.

- MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 22-24.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 17-24.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 8.
(7)—Protevangelium of James, Syriac Version, 22-24.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 9-12.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 1.
(11)—Narrative regarding the Beheading of John the Baptist.
(28)—Account of the Birth of John and Death of Zacharias.

Now when Herod saw that he had been made sport of by (1) the Magi, his heart swelled with rage, and he sent through (2) all the roads, wishing to seize them and put them to death. (5) But when he could not find them at all, he learned that they (7) had embarked on a ship of Tarshish. Then in his great (11) anger he commanded that all these ships be set on fire, according to the prediction of David, "He shall burn the ships (28)

of Tarshish in his anger."¹ And Herod searched for Christ diligently, as he thought that his kingdom was to be of this world.² And not having found the Lord, in a rage he sent murderers to Bethlehem and all its borders, commanding them to slay all the male children whom they found, of two years old and under, according to the time which he had ascertained of the Magi.³ Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."⁴

¹This is the way that a mediaeval legend of the Innocents, Migne, *Dictionnaire des Légendes*, col. 654, quotes the words of Ps. *xlvi.7*, but it is not supported by any reading of that passage of which I know. Nevertheless, the burning of the ships is an old and widely circulated legend; it is often represented in art; and this passage is always quoted in connection by the Church writers, *e. g.* Arnobius, *Petrus de Natalibus*.

²John *xviii.36*.

³The Church commemorates the Massacre of the Innocents on Dec. 28, indicating a general tradition that this took place one or two years and three days after the Nativity. The latter is the general traditional view, with which our apocrypha seem to agree; (10) says Christ was two years old. In the case of those legendary writers who hold that the Magi appeared soon after the Nativity, Herod's long delay in pursuing them is accounted for by the tradition that he had in the meanwhile been occupied with a visit to

Rome. Some Mss. of (2) include a reference to this. Some say he had to secure permission from the Emperor to slay the Innocents. The number of these victims is given at 14,000 by old Ethiopic traditions, and at 144,000 by the Coptic Acts of St. Matthew in Kahanat, see Lipsius. Farrar has shown that from the circumstances of the case, the real number of the victims could scarcely have been more than twenty. Antoninus says, that under various pretexts Herod gathered all the mothers and their children together in one place, and Christian Druthmar adds that it was upon the occasion of a feast. There is an Arabic tradition of a similar massacre perpetrated by a Persian king who was seeking for the infant Daniel.

⁴Jer. *xxxi.15*. In a Sahidic fragment in the possession of Lord Crawford, Coptic Ms. 36, see Robinson, p. xxii, the following legend explaining this verse is given: "Rachel was the wife of a man of the tribe of Levi named Eleazar, who lived

But Elisabeth, having heard that they were searching for (1) John, took him and went up into the hill country, and kept (7) looking where to conceal him. Now there was no place of (11) concealment, and she was weary. And groaning, with a (28) loud voice, she said, "O mountain of God, receive a mother and child unjustly pursued." And God sent the archangel Uriel; and he commanded the mountain to open. And immediately the mountain was cleft, and received them within.¹ And the murderers of Herod came to the chasm, but nowhere found how to enter. And there within the chasm, Elisabeth and her son spent the time, and the hand of the Lord was with them. A light shone round about them, and the angels of the Lord were with them, watching over them and ministering to them. And there was in that place a fountain of water on the left of the chasm, and on the right, a supply of bread.² And Elisabeth was nourished with the bread and water, but John with milk.

at the time when the children of Israel were in Egypt. He was diseased in his feet, and unable to work at making bricks. The taskmasters struck his wife, and compelled her to work. She was in a state of pregnancy, and the work was beyond her strength. Her child was prematurely born. The next night, God smote the firstborn, and the Egyptians, in fear, sent the Israelites forth. The Israelites were joyful; but Rachel was weeping for her child, in the midst of the children of Israel, and no one could comfort her. As God smote Pharaoh and his multitude, so He smote Herod and all his servants."

¹The story told by the Rabbins, that Isaiah, being pursued by the king, took refuge in a cedar tree which opened at his command, is certainly the rep-

resentative of a class of legends from which the above was derived. The legend told farther on, about a tree opening to hide the Holy Family, is a still closer approximation to the Isaiah story. For a later apocryphal development of the latter, see the Ascension of Isaiah. The story of Ali Baba, in the Arabian Nights, with its "Open, sesame!" as well as many folk-lore stories of mountains that opened at command, might also be quoted. A similar tale is said to be told in Hindoo mythology.

²This account may enshrine a truth, and be only a too highly poetical narrative of how the mother and child, pursued by Herod, found safety in a mountain cave. Another legend tells that John was found by the Essenes, and remained with them until he was thirty-one years old.

(1) And Herod, having searched for John and not finding
 (7) him, sent officers to Zacharias, saying, "Where hast thou
 (11) hidden thy son? Bring him to me." And Zacharias, answering,
 (28) said to them, "I am the servant of God in holy things, and I sit constantly in the temple of the Lord beside the altar; I know not where my son is." And the officers went away, and reported all these things to Herod. And Herod was enraged, saying, "His son is destined to be king over Israel." And he sent to Zacharias again, saying, "Tell the truth; where is thy son? for thou knowest that thy life is in my hand." And Zacharias said, "I am God's martyr, if thou sheddest my blood. For the Lord will receive my spirit, if thou sheddest innocent blood at the vestibule of His temple." And Herod, enraged at this, ordered him to be slain in the midst of the altar before the dawn, that his slaying might not be prevented by the people. And Zacharias was murdered about daybreak, but the sons of Israel did not know that¹ he had been slain.²

¹(7) here reads *how*.

²Peter of Alexandria knows the above story, and Epiphanius says Zacharias was slain by Herod, but does not refer to the circumstances. There is little doubt that the above was invented as a supposed explanation of Mat. xxiii.25. Gregory of Nyssa says he was slain in a space between the temple and the altar. He also tells another story, that he was slain by the Jews because he brought Mary into the place of the virgins in the temple, after she had borne a son. Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil, and Theophylactus all knew this story. Epiphanius tells a strange story, taken from an apocryphal (Gnostic) book, of how Zacharias saw in the temple a man having the form of an ass, and it was really this

being that the Jews worshipped. He was struck dumb, so that he could not tell this; but when he recovered his speech and told it, the Jews killed him on that account. There is evidently some connection between this and the mysterious early charge against the Christians, that they worshipped the head of an ass. See notes on p. 3, vol. I, Fabricius, Ccd. Apoc. Nov. Test., also Eisenmenger, I, p. 481, where it is said to be held by the Jews that Messiah the son of David is signified by an ass. D'Herbelot, p. 911, art. "Zakaria," tells the Mohammedan legend that Zacharias was killed by the Jews because he would not believe that a virgin could conceive. He hid in the hollow trunk of a tree, but the Jews sawed it through, as the legend tells of Isaiah.

But at the hour of the salutation, the priests went away, (1) and Zacharias did not come forth to meet them with a bless- (7) ing according to his custom. And the priests stood waiting (11) for Zacharias, to salute him at the prayer, and to glorify the (28) Most High. And he still delaying, they were all afraid. But one of them ventured to go in, and he saw clotted blood beside the altar; and he heard a voice, saying, "Zacharias hath been murdered, and his blood shall not be wiped up until his avenger come."¹ And hearing this saying, he was afraid, and went out and told the priests. And they ventured in, and saw what had happened; and the fretwork of the temple made a wailing noise; and they rent their clothes from the top even unto the bottom. And they found not his body, but they found his blood turned into stone. And they were afraid, and went out, and reported to the people that Zacharias had been murdered. And all the tribes of the people heard, and mourned, and lamented for him three days and three nights.² And after the three days, the priests consulted as to whom they should put in his place; and the lot fell upon Simeon.³ For it was he that had been warned by

¹The Jewish tradition as to the blood of Zechariah the prophet and the vengeance that should be taken for him, is almost precisely as is narrated above, showing what a great part II Chron. xxiv.20-22 had in forming the Zacharias legend. These traditions were accepted by the Church fathers, as referring to the father of John the Baptist. For these Jewish traditions, see Eisenmenger, I, p. 469. According to the Jewish book, Gittim, "In the destruction of Jerusalem, the blood of Zacharias was avenged as he predicted. Although turned to stone, it boiled up and stirred up the Roman soldiers to kill all the priests, judges, and rulers, only becom-

ing tranquil when this was done, and the common people alone remained." The idea that the blood of a murdered man cannot be wiped up, is very ancient, and many well known legends of this kind might be cited. Sozomen tells in his Church History, IX, 17, how under the Emperor Valentinian, the uncorrupted body of the prophet Zechariah was dug up. This circumstance may have had some part in developing the above legend.

²The Jews ordinarily wept three days for the dead, and mourned seven.

³It is to be inferred from Luke ii.25-32, that Simeon was not a priest.

the Holy Spirit that he should not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.

(1) Now the day before this was done, Mary, having heard
 (2) that the children were being killed, was afraid, and took
 (5) the child Jesus and swaddled him, and put him into an ox-
 (7) stall. But Joseph was warned in his sleep by Michael, the
 (10) angel of the Lord, who said to him, "Take Mary and the
 (11) child, and go into Egypt by the way of the desert."¹ So
 (28) Joseph arose towards cock-crow, and set out according to
 the saying of the angel. And he put the virgin and the boy
 upon a beast, and himself mounted another, and took the
 road through the hill country and the desert, that he might
 get safe to Egypt; for they did not want to go by the shore,
 for fear of being waylaid.² And Zacharias had supplied
 them with all things needful for the journey.³ And there
 were with Joseph three boys, and with Mary a girl, going
 on the journey along with them. Salome⁴ also, was their
 fellow-traveller. And Christ lay in his mother's bosom.
 While, now, Joseph was reflecting upon how he was to set
 about his journey, morning came upon them after they had
 gone a very little way. And in the length of the journey the
 girths of the saddle broke.⁵

(n) And on the way they found a labourer who was sowing
 wheat. Then the child Jesus put his hand into the sack, and
 threw a handful of wheat upon the road. Immediately, the

¹Mat. ii.14. (28) says the warning was given by "Saphodamuel, who is the might of God the Most High."

²This passage is found only in certain Mss. of (2).

³This sentence is from Kes-saeus, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (27). He says that Herod had destined Mary, the child, and Zacharias, to death. The last-named went and told Joseph, supplying them as above stated, warning them to flee into Egypt, and accompanying them

out of the city of Jerusalem, at night. Some Church fathers say that the gifts of the Magi providentially furnished means for the expenses of the journey.

⁴Mentioned only by (5). It will be remembered that this was the name of Anna's third husband, of the midwife, and of several other apocryphal characters. Cf. Mat. xxvii.56, Mark xv.40.

⁵This sentence is found in the text as given by Sike and Thilo. Tischendorf omits it.

wheat became so large and ripe that one would think it had been there a year. And when the soldiers of Herod, who sought the child to slay him, came to that labourer who was then reaping his wheat, they asked him whether he had seen a woman pass who was carrying a child. "Yes," said he, "when I was sowing this wheat." Then the murderers thought that he did not know what he was doing; for it must have been a year since that wheat was sown. So they turned back.¹

And having come to a certain cave, and wishing to rest (2) in it, Mary dismounted from her beast, and sat down with the child Jesus in her bosom. And, lo, suddenly there came forth from the cave many dragons. And when the children who were with them saw them, they cried out in great terror. Then Jesus went down from the bosom of his mother, and stood on his feet before the dragons; and they adored Jesus, and thereafter retired. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by David the prophet, saying, "Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, ye dragons and all deeps."² And the young child Jesus, walking before them, commanded them to hurt no man. But Mary and Joseph were very much afraid lest perchance the child should be hurt by the dragons. And Jesus said to them, "Fear not, nor consider me to be a little child, for I am, and always have been perfect; and all the wild beasts of the forest must needs be tame before me."

In like manner, lions and leopards adored him, and accompanied them in the desert. Wherever Joseph and the blessed (2)

¹This paragraph consists of a legend reported by Migne, II, col. 385. It is from a book printed at Lyons about the end of the XV century. The story is a mere variation of another regarding the Infancy, told in chap. IX, but is of sufficient interest to be introduced here in this altered form.

the succeeding narrative for several paragraphs seems to be to show, how Christ from the beginning was perfect man and perfect God, and was recognized as such by the different parts of the creation, monsters, beasts, vegetable world, evil spirits. Portions of scripture are ingeniously cited as predictions of this recognition.

²Ps. cxlviii.7. The object of

Mary went, they went before them, showing them the way, and bowing their heads; and showing their submission by wagging their tails, they adored him with great reverence. Now at first, when Mary saw the lions and the leopards and various kinds of wild beasts coming about them, she was very much afraid. But the infant Jesus looked into her face with a joyful countenance, and said, "Be not afraid, mother; for they come not to do thee harm, but they make haste to serve both thee and me." With these words he drove all fear from her heart. And the lions kept walking with them, and with the oxen, and the asses, and the beasts of burden which carried their baggage, and did not hurt a single one of them, though they kept beside them; but they were tame among the sheep and rams which they had brought with them from Judaea, and which they had with them. They walked among wolves, and feared nothing; and no one of them was hurt by another. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet, "Wolves shall feed with lambs; the lion and the ox shall eat straw together."¹ There were two oxen also with them, and a cart, wherein they carried necessaries; and the lions directed them in their way.

(n) And as they were proceeding on their way, Joseph saw a great lion standing in the way where two roads met. And when he showed fear of it, Jesus spake to the lion, and said, "That bull which thou desirest to tear in pieces belongeth to poor men; but go thou to a certain place, where thou wilt find a dead camel, and devour it." Then the lion went, and devoured the camel.²

(2) Now it came to pass on the third day from their departure, as they went along, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to Joseph, "Let me rest a little under the shade

¹Is. lxxv.25. See also Is. xi.6-9. Many classical stories tell how animals yielded obedience to men. See the famous stories told in this regard of St. Francis of Assisi. The idea of beasts of prey dwelling peaceably with do-

mestic animals comes from Isaiah as above.

²This paragraph is given by Kessaesus, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (28). It is plainly a Mohammedan version of the preceding miracle.

of this tree." Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit, and said to Joseph, "I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm." And Joseph said to her, "I wonder that thou sayest this, when thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest to eat of its fruit. I think more of the scarcity of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle."¹ Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of his mother, said to the palm, "O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my mother with thy fruit." And immediately at these words, the palm bent its top down to the very foot of the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, with which they were all refreshed. And after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent down, waiting the order to rise from him who had commanded it to stoop. Then Jesus said to it, "Raise thyself, O palm tree, and be strong, and be the companion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my Father; and open from thy roots a spring of water which hath been hidden in the earth, and let the waters flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee." And it rose up immediately, and at its root there began to come forth a spring of water, exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring of water, they rejoiced with great joy, and were satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their beasts. Wherefore they gave thanks to God.²

¹A surprisingly surly character is attributed to Joseph in many of these legends.

²For an O. T. text that may have suggested the bowing of the palm, see Cant. vii.8, and for the gushing forth of fountain in desert, Num. xxi.17; Ps. lxxxiv.6; Is. xxxv.6. The legend preserved by Sozomen, given in the second paragraph following, would seem to be the oldest form

of this story. Similar tales are told by later writers in manifold form. Hofmann gives, p. 146, the story of how all the trees, except the poplar, bowed down before Christ, and it, for its obstinacy, was condemned to bow to the breeze, morning and evening. Also a similar tale of how the aspen, for this same reason, was condemned forever to quiver. Cowper, introduction, p. xxxviii,

- (2) And on the day after, when they were setting out thence, and at the hour when they began their journey, Jesus, turning to the palm tree, said, "This privilege I grant thee, O palm tree, that one of thy branches be carried away by my angels, and planted in the paradise of my Father. And this blessing I will confer upon thee, that it shall be said of all who conquer in any contest, 'Ye have attained the palm of victory.'" ¹ And while he was thus speaking, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared, and stood upon the palm tree; and taking off one of its branches, flew to heaven with the branch in his hand. ² And when they saw this, they fell on their faces, and became as it were dead. ³ And Jesus said to them, "Why doth fear possess your hearts? Know ye not that this palm, which I have caused to be transferred to paradise, shall be prepared for all the saints in the place of delights, as it hath been prepared for us in this place of the wilderness?" And they were filled with joy; and being strengthened, they all rose up. ⁴
- (2) After this, while they were going on their journey, Joseph said to Jesus, "Lord, this heat broileth us; if it please thee, let us hold our course near the sea, that we may rest in the

prints an interesting late ballad about Mary and the Cherry Tree. For a curious story of trees that miraculously bent over to help a saint across a river, see Narrative of Zosimus, Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. V, p. 220.

¹A great anachronism, of course, as, long before Christ, the palm branch had been recognized as a symbol of victory. Cicero speaks of it. But it did become a favourite Christian symbol, particularly of the martyr's victory. This is an instance of the tendency to endeavour to give a supernatural and exclusively Christian origin to recognized customs, as in the case of the ex-

pression, "Thanks be to God." Christ's causing a spring to well forth in the desert to quench Mary's thirst was commemorated by the Abyssinian church on June 8.

²This particular turn of the legend is certainly connected with the story of Seth, who received the branch from paradise, in some versions said to be of palm, see chap. XXV; and also with the palm leaf received by Mary from paradise, see the Assumption legends. I think the importance attached to the palm was originally a Gnostic idea.

³See Rev. i.17, etc.

⁴See Dan. x.18, etc.

cities on the coast."¹ Jesus said to him, "Fear not, Joseph, I will shorten the way for you, so that what ye would have taken thirty days to go over, ye shall accomplish in this one day."² And while they were thus speaking, behold, they looked forward, and began to see the mountains and cities of Egypt.

And rejoicing and exulting, they came into the regions of (2) Hermopolis, and when entering at the gate, a great tree which stood before it, as if not enduring the advent of Christ, inclined to the ground, and worshipped him. And of this tree, called Persis, the branches, the leaves, and the least portion of the bark are said to heal diseases when touched by the sick. This phenomenon was a sign of the presence of God in the city, or, perhaps, as seemeth most probable, the tree which had been worshipped by the inhabitants after the pagan custom, was shaken because the demon, who had been an object of worship, started up at the sight of him who was manifested for purification from such agencies. On the expulsion of the demon, the tree was permitted to remain as a monument of what had occurred, and was endued with the property of healing those who believed.³

And entering into this great city of Egypt which is called (2) Sotinen,⁴ because they knew no one there from whom they (8)

¹Some Mss. of (2) read, "Lord, this heat broileth us, and it is very difficult for us to get into Egypt on account of the mountains of the desert."

²The idea of the *shortening* of the journey *towards* Egypt would be readily suggested to the Christian romancer by the account of the *lengthening* of Israel's journey *from* Egypt on account of sin. It was fitting that in the case of the sinless one this contrast should be shown.

³I have adapted the most of this paragraph, with slight changes, from Sozomen's Eccle-

siastical History, V, 21. It is interesting, not only as giving the most primitive form of the miracle of the adoring tree, but as illustrating the superstitious ideas entertained, even by one of the most enlightened of the Church writers, at the beginning of the fifth century.

⁴Also given as Sotrina and Sotinen. It seems to be the intention of (2) to regard it as the Egyptian equivalent of the name Hermopolis. There were two or three cities in Egypt called by this latter name. Sozomen says this one was in the Thebaid, but

could ask hospitality, they went into a hospital, which was dedicated to the idol of the temple, which was called the Capitol of Egypt. Now in this temple there was an idol to which the other idols and gods of the Egyptians offered gifts and vows. And in this temple there had been set up three hundred and fifty-five idols,¹ to each of which on its own day divine honours and sacred rites were paid. And there stood before this idol a priest ministering to him, who, as often as Satan spake from that idol, reported it to the inhabitants of Egypt and its territories.² And the Egyptians belonging to the same city entered the Capitol, in which the priests told them how many sacrifices were offered each day, according to the honour in which the god was held.

- (2) And when Joseph and Mary had come to that city, and
 (8) had turned aside to that hospital, the citizens were very much afraid; and all the chief men and the priests of the idols came together to that idol, and said to it, "What agitation and commotion is this that hath arisen in our land?" The idol answered them, "A God hath come here in secret, who is God indeed; nor is any god besides Him worthy of divine worship, because He is truly the Son of God. And when this land became aware of His presence, it trembled at His arrival, and was moved and shaken; and we are exceedingly afraid from the greatness of His power." And in the same hour the idol fell down. And it came to pass when the most

this locality in upper Egypt was a very unlikely, not to say impossible place for the Holy Family to have entered first.

¹Evidently an error for 365, one for each day in the year. Basilides the Gnostic said there were 365 heavens; and this idea was enshrined in the name Abraxas for God, the numeral equivalent for which, in Greek, was 365. The Abraxas religion had at one time wide extension, and its memory is preserved to this day in the magical word

Abracadabra. Cowper sees here a suggestion of Gnostic ideas, and a possible clue to the identification of one of the sources of (10) with the lost Gospel of Basilides. No nation was so given to idolatry as Egypt, or worshipped so many gods. See Jerome on Isaiah.

²The Egyptians had many oracles. That of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes was the most famous, and is probably the one the apocryphal writer here had in mind.

blessed Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground, so that all of them were lying on their faces shattered and broken to pieces;¹ and thus they plainly showed that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled that which was said by the prophet Isaiah, "Behold, the Lord will come upon a swift cloud, and will enter Egypt, and all the handiwork of the Egyptians shall be moved at His presence."² And at the fall of the idols, all, inhabitants of Egypt and others, ran together.

Now the priest of the great idol had a son, three years (8) old, beset by several demons; and he made many speeches and utterances, and when the demons seized him, he tore his clothes, and remained naked, and threw stones at the people. And he, his usual disease having come upon him, entered the hospital, and there came upon Joseph and Mary, from whom all others had fled. Now Mary had washed the clothes of the Lord Christ, and had spread them over some wood. That demoniac boy, therefore, came and took one of the cloths, and put it on his head. Then the demons, fleeing in the shape of ravens and serpents, began to go forth out of his mouth.³ The boy, being immediately healed at the command of the Lord Christ, began to praise God, and then to give thanks to the Lord who had healed him. And when

¹See I Sam. v.3.

²Is. xix.1. We have already seen how it was held that the idols fell in Egypt at Christ's birth, and also fell in Persia. But here is the classical legend, of which those are but the reflections. This story is believed by Eusebius, Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Sozomen, Procopius, Palladius, Anselm, Bonaventure, and many later writers. Kessacus tells a similar story of the fall of the idols at the birth of Moses, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (45). See also the many tales about Abraham and the idols,

told by the Rabbins, *e. g.* Baring-Gould's *Legends of O. T. Characters*, vol. I, p. 170 seq. I think these, along with the above prophecy, most likely to have been the inspiration of this legend. It is also related that the idols bowed when the infant Buddha was presented in the temple.

³It would seem that the demons fled from the mouth because they were spirits that caused the boy to make "many speeches and utterances." The raven and serpent are everywhere regarded as types of malign powers.

his father saw him restored to health, "My son," said he, "what hath happened to thee? and by what means hast thou been healed?" The son answered, "When the demons had thrown me on the ground, I went into the hospital, and there I found an august woman with a boy, whose newly-washed clothes she had thrown upon some wood; one of these I took up and put upon my head, and the demons left me and fled."¹ At this the father rejoiced greatly, and said, "My son, it is possible that this boy is the Son of the living God who created the heavens and the earth; for when he came over to us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell and perished by the power of his magnificence."

- (8) Here was fulfilled the prophecy which saith, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."² Joseph, indeed, and Mary, when they heard that the idols had fallen down and perished, trembled, and were afraid. Then they said, "When we were in the land of Israel, Herod thought to put Jesus to death, and on that account slew all the children of Bethlehem and its confines; and there is no doubt that the Egyptians, as soon as they have heard that the idols have been broken, will burn us with fire."³
- (2) Then Aphrodosius,⁴ the governor of that city, when news of this was brought to him, went to the temple with all his army. And the priests of the temple, when they saw Aphrodosius with all his army coming into the temple, thought that he was making haste only to see vengeance taken on

¹This miracle, which has already in one form been given, is the type of an apocryphal legend that is from now on, often and monotonously repeated. Its plain N. T. source is Mat. ix.20 seq., and xiv.36; Mark v.25 seq., and vi.56; Luke viii.43 seq. A suggestion is also probably taken from Acts xix.12. The form of the boy's possession is suggested by Mat. viii.28, and Acts xix.16.

²Hos. xi.1, Mat. ii.15. I cannot see the appropriateness of

reference to this passage, just at this place.

³This was the usual penalty for sacrilege and for the practice of magic.

⁴The name is also given in various Mss. as Affrodosius, Aphrodosius, Frodisius, etc. Petrus de Natalibus says that he afterwards became bishop of Bourges in France. The name Aphroditianus appears in the prologue to (9), Vassiliev, p. 73.

those on whose account the gods had fallen down. But when he came into the temple, and saw all the gods lying prostrate on their faces, he went up to Mary, who was carrying the Lord in her bosom, and adored Him, and said to all the army and all his friends, "Unless this were the God of our gods, our gods would not have fallen on their faces before Him; nor would they be lying prostrate in His presence; wherefore they silently confess that He is their Lord. Unless we, therefore, take care to do what we have seen our gods doing, we may run the risk of His anger, and all come to destruction, even as it happened to Pharaoh, king of the Egyptians, who, not believing in powers so mighty, was drowned in the sea with all his army."¹ Then all the people of that same city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.

Now, when John had fulfilled four months in the desert, (28) the Lord came out of Egypt into the church of God,² with the archangel Gabriel, and commanded Uriel to bring John by night out of the mountain into the church of God. And of the unnumbered host there came the four strong archangels, Michael and Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael. And God³ was in the midst, and the body of Zacharias. And God breathed into it a living soul;⁴ and when they had risen up they served God.⁵ The Saviour, moreover, spake, and there sprang forth and remained in the temple of God an immortal fountain of healing for the saints. And he baptized in it, first John, and then his father Zacharias. And the angels answered, "Amen." And again they cried aloud, and said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Father and God, who sitteth upon the throne of glory! This command was a light⁶ from the Father, and this is a heavenly baptismal font!" And again

¹See Ex. xiv.27 seq.

²The temple at Jerusalem.

³Christ seems here to be meant, but throughout this section it is difficult to tell whether He or God the Father is indicated by the use of the divine name.

⁴Cf. Gen. ii.7.

⁵The implication seems to be

that up to this time all had been prostrate in the divine presence.

⁶This word is a plain indication of the Gnostic origin of this document; many other circumstances point in the same direction. The baptism of John by Christ is perhaps suggested by Mat. iii.14.

they said, "Amen." And the Lord commanded Zacharias to fall asleep. And the angels enveloped the body of Zacharias, and buried it in the temple of God, before the altar.¹ Then the Lord returned with Gabriel to Egypt, and John with Uriel to Elisabeth in the desert.

¹For the manner of burial, cf. burial before the altar is again in chap. XIV, the burial of Joseph, and notes regarding it. The referred to in chap. XVI.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MIRACLES PERFORMED IN EGYPT.

MIRACLE OF THE CORN—THE ROBBERS FLEE—DISMAS AND GESTAS—THE DEMONIAK WOMAN—THE DUMB BRIDE—THE WOMAN TORMENTED BY SATAN—THE LEPROUS GIRL—THE LEPROUS SON OF THE PRINCE—THE AFFLICTED BRIDEGROOM—THE ENCHANTED YOUTH—THE QUEEN IN TRAVAIL—THE HIDDEN TREASURE—THE HOUSE OF DAHCAN—THE FISH ANIMATED—THE SPARROWS—THE FOUNTAIN OF MATAREA—THE BALM—MANY MIRACLES—THE RETURN TO JUDAEA.

MAIN SOURCES: (2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 25.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 9.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 13-26.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 1-3.
(28)—Account of the Birth of John and Death of Zacharias.

Now Jesus was two years old when he went into Egypt. (10) And going out from the city on a certain day, he walked through a field of corn; and stretching forth his hand he took of the ears. And having returned to the city, he put them over the fire, and rubbed them, and began to eat. And he gave such grace to that field that each year, when it was sown, it yielded as many measures of grain to its owner as it had received grains from him.¹

¹This last sentence is found in Codex B, of (10). The story with this addition is but another version of the oft-repeated legend; see last chapter and the following one. The first part of the paragraph seems to be a reflection of Mat. xii.1; Luke vi.1; Mark ii.23. Migne reports this legend, II, col. 378, from a later

- (10) Now going out from hence, the Holy Family came to a place where there were robbers who had plundered several men of their baggage and clothes, and had bound them. Then the robbers heard a great noise, like the noise of a magnificent king going out of his city with his army, and his chariots, and his drums; and at this the robbers were terrified, and left all their plunder. And their captives rose up, loosed each other's bonds, recovered their baggage, and went away. And when they saw Joseph and Mary coming up to the place, they said to them, "Where is that king, at the hearing of the magnificent sound of whose approach the robbers have left us, so that we have escaped safe?" Joseph answered them, "He will come behind us."¹
- (8) And turning away from this place, they came to a desert; and hearing that it was infested by robbers, Joseph and the Lady Mary resolved to cross this region by night. But as they go along, behold, they see two robbers lying in the way, and along with them a great number of robbers, who were their associates, sleeping. Now these two robbers, into whose hands they had fallen, were Dismas and Gestas.²

source which tells it as above, with the addition of the circumstance that Christ entered a field that was *newly sown* with corn. He commanded it to become ripe, which immediately took place.

¹We have no less than four robber legends in this chapter, all having many points of correspondence. I take the special point in this one to be the unconscious testimony of Joseph to the royal dignity of Christ. Such testimony is a favourite inspiration for apocryphal tales. Joseph's answer, that a great king was coming behind them, probably referred to Aphrodisius, but the author would intimate that it had a truer meaning as referring to Christ.

²These names are given in (8), from which this narrative is taken, as Titus and Dumachus. I have used the above, which are the names oftenest found in apocryphal literature and legend. Other forms of them are, Dimas, Dysmas, Dymias, and Demas; and Gesmas or Stegas. Beda gives their names as Matha and Joca, and Xaverius in his Persian Life of Christ as Zjustin and Visimus. They are called by the Codex Colbertinus, see Resch, p. 470, Zoathan and Cham-matha. This is the first case, of which we shall have several, where the apocryphal writers introduce in the story of Christ's childhood, legends about men whose later lives are connected

And when Dismas, who was the son of the chief of the robbers, seeking for booty, saw the child in his mother's lap, there appeared to him so much of majesty and splendour in his most beautiful countenance, that not doubting him to be more than human, and kindling with love towards him, he embraced him. And he said, "O most blessed of children, if at any time again my miserable person shall be brought to thy notice, then remember me, and forget not this occasion."¹ Dismas therefore said to Gestas, "I beseech thee to let these persons go freely, and so that our comrades may not see them." And as Gestas refused, Dismas said to him again, "Take to thyself forty drachmas from me, and hold this as a pledge." At the same time he held out to him the belt which he had about his waist, to keep him from opening his mouth or speaking. And the Lady Mary, seeing that the robber had done them a kindness, said to him, "The Lord God will sustain thee by His right hand, and will grant thee remission of thy sins." And the Lord Jesus answered, and said to his mother, "Thirty years hence, O my mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two robbers will be raised upon the cross along with me, Dismas on my right hand, and Gestas on my left; and after that day Dismas shall go before me into paradise." And she said, "God keep this from thee, my son."² And they went thence towards a city of idols, which, as they came near it, was changed into sand-hills.³

Thereafter, they came into another city, where there was a (8) demoniac woman whom Satan, accursed and rebellious, had with His in the Gospel history. The Bonus Latro, or Penitent Thief, is commemorated in the Roman church, on Mar. 25; in the Greek church, on Mar. 23; and in the Syriac and Mesopotamian churches, on the ninth day after Good Friday. For further particulars about them, see chap. XXII, etc.

the text of (8), from Codice Regularum, Luc. Holstenii, quoted by Hofmann on p. 178. Without some such explanation, the robber's conduct must seem hard to understand.

²Compare Mat. xvi.22.

³This legend seems to be still another faint reflection of the story of the fall of the idols before the presence of Christ.

¹This portion, from the last reference, I have interpolated in

beset, when on one occasion she had gone out by night for water. She could neither bear clothes, nor live in a house; and as often as they tied her up with chains and thongs, she broke them, and fled naked into waste places; and, standing in crossroads and cemeteries, she kept throwing stones at people, and brought very heavy calamities upon her friends. And when the Lady Mary saw her, she pitied her; and upon this Satan immediately left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying, "Woe to me from thee, Mary, and from thy son." So that woman was cured of her torment, and being restored to her senses, she blushed on account of her nakedness; and shunning the sight of men, went home to her friends. And after she put on her clothes, she gave an account of the matter to her father and her friends; and as they were the chief men of the city, they received the Lady Mary and Joseph with the greatest honour and hospitality.¹

- (8) On the day after, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away, and on the evening of that day arrived at another town, in which they were celebrating a marriage; but by the arts of accursed Satan² and the work of enchanters, the bride had become dumb, and could not speak a word. And after the Lady Mary entered the town, carrying her son the Lord Christ, that dumb bride saw her, she stretched out her hands towards the Lord Christ, and drew him to her, and took him into her arms, and held him close and kissed him, and leaned over him, moving his body back and forwards. Immediately the knot of her tongue was loosened, and her ears were opened;³ and

¹The symptoms in this case of demoniacal possession seem to be closely imitated from those given in Mark v.2-5 and Luke viii.27, 28. Satan's cry on being driven out is from Mark v.7 and parallel passages. His leaving in the form of a young man intimates lustful persecution of the woman.

²In Mat. ix.32 and xii.22, Satan

is charged with producing this affliction.

³Plainly imitated from Mark vii.35. The miracle there recorded is the model from which this has been plagiarized. Although the apocryphal writer starts to tell of a bride who was *dumb* only, he ends by imitating his model closely enough to include *deafness*.

she gave thanks and praise to God, because He had restored her to health. And that night the inhabitants of that town exulted with joy, and thought that God and His angels had come down to them.¹

There they remained three days, being in great honour, (8) and living splendidly. Thereafter, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away and came to another city, in which, because it was very populous, they thought of passing the night. And there was in that city an excellent woman; and once, when she had gone to the river to bathe, lo, accursed Satan, in the form of a serpent, had leapt upon her, and twisted himself around her belly; and as often as night came on, he tyrannically tormented her.² This woman, seeing the mistress Mary, and the child, the Lord Christ, in her bosom, was struck with a longing for him, and said to the mistress, the Lady Mary, "O mistress, give me this child, that I may carry him, and kiss him." She therefore gave him to the woman; and when he was brought to her, Satan let her go, and fled and left her, nor did the woman ever see him after that day. Wherefore all who were present praised God Most High, and that same woman bestowed on them liberal gifts.

On the day after, the same woman took scented water to (8) wash the Lord Jesus; and after she had washed him, she took the water with which she had done it, and poured part of it upon a girl who was living there, whose body was white with leprosy, and washed her with it. And as soon as this was done, the girl was cleansed from her leprosy. And the townspeople said, "There is no doubt that Joseph and Mary and that boy are gods, not men." And when they were getting ready to go away from them, the girl who had laboured under the leprosy, came up to them, and asked them to let her go with them.³

¹Possibly there is use here of a suggestion taken from Acts xiv.11. The child and Mary and their party, taken for God and His angels, as were Barnabas and Paul called Jupiter and Mercury.

²Sike and Thilo for this clause read: *Singulisque noctibus super illa se extendebat.*

³This is the first of a large number of cures of leprosy reported by (8), which seems to

- (8) When they had given her permission, she went with them. And afterwards they came to a city, in which was the castle of a most illustrious prince, who kept a house for the entertainment of strangers. They turned into this place; and the girl went away to the prince's wife; and she found her weeping and sorrowful, and she asked why she was weeping. "Be not surprised," said she, "at my tears; for I am overwhelmed by a great affliction, which as yet I have not endured to tell to any one." "Perhaps," said the girl, "if thou reveal it and disclose it to me, I may have a remedy for it." "Hide this secret, then," replied the princess, "and tell it to no one. I was married to the prince, who is a king, and ruler over many cities, and I lived long with him, but by me he had no son. And when at length I produced him a son, he was leprous; and as soon as he saw him, he turned away with loathing, and said to me, 'Either kill him, or give him to the nurse to be brought up in some place from which we shall never hear of him more. After this I can have nothing to do with thee, and I will never see thee more.' On this account I know not what to do, and I am overwhelmed with grief. Alas! my son. Alas! my husband."

make a specialty of this form of miracle. It is the white leprosy described in Lev. xiii; and I suppose the method of cure by bathing is imitated from I Kings v.10. The idea that water in which the body of Christ had been washed acquired cleansing power, another idea that we shall find oft repeated in (8), seems to connect itself with certain views of baptism that were held in the Church. It was widely held that the waters of baptism first received their cleansing power through Christ's baptism in Jordan—literally the "washing of the body." So Hofmann quotes Maxim., Serm. de Epiphan., "Christ was baptized, not that

He might be purified by the waters, but that He himself might sanctify the waters." Augustine, Ambrose, Tertullian, and Gregory of Nazianzen may be quoted to the same effect, as well as many later writers. Out of this grew the belief, widely held to this day, that the waters of Jordan were specially sanctified by Christ's baptism, and have a peculiar cleansing power. Even Chrysostom says that the water which was drawn from it on the night of the day on which Christ was baptized could be kept two or three years without losing its mysterious power. See further notes on Christ's Baptism, in chap. XV.

"Did I not say so?" said the girl. "I have found a cure for thy disease, and I shall tell it thee. For I too was a leper; but I was cleansed by God, who is Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary." And the woman asking her where this God was whom she had spoken of, "Here with thee," said the girl; "he is living in the same house." "But how is this possible?" said she. "Where is he?" "There," said the girl, "are Joseph and Mary; and the child who is with them is called Jesus; and he it is who cured me of my disease and my torment." "But by what means," said she, "wast thou cured of thy leprosy? Wilt thou not tell me that?" "Why not?" said the girl. "I got from his mother the water in which he had been washed, and poured it over myself; and so I was cleansed from my leprosy." Then the princess rose up, and invited them to avail themselves of her hospitality. And she prepared a splendid banquet for Joseph in a great assemblage of the men of the place. And on the following day she took scented water with which to wash the Lord Jesus, and thereafter poured the same water over her son, whom she had taken with her; and immediately her son was cleansed from his leprosy. Therefore, singing thanks and praises to God, she said, "Blessed is the mother who bare thee, O Jesus; dost thou so cleanse those who share the same nature with thee with the water in which thy body hath been washed?"¹ Besides, she bestowed great gifts upon the mistress, the Lady Mary, and sent her away with great honour.

Coming thereafter to another city, they wished to spend (8) the night in it. They turned aside, therefore, to the house of a man newly married, but who, under the influence of witchcraft, was not able to enjoy his wife; and when they had spent that night with him, his bond was loosed.² And at daybreak, when they were girding themselves for their

¹This is an evident reference to baptism. The miracle is in essence but a repetition of the preceding one.

²The belief in this kind of sorcery is very ancient, and is held

by almost every race of men. Hofmann, p. 174, gives many interesting illustrations of it. See also Brunet, *Les Évangiles Apocryphes*, p. 101.

journey, the bridegroom would not let them go, and prepared for them a great banquet.

- (8) They set out, therefore, on the following day; and as they came near another city, they saw three women weeping as they came out of a cemetery. And when the Lady Mary beheld them, she said to the girl who accompanied her, "Ask them what is the matter with them, or what calamity hath befallen them." And to the girl's questions they made no reply, but asked in their turn, "Whence are ye, and whither are ye going? for the day is already passed, and night cometh on apace." "We are travellers," said the girl, "and are seeking a house of entertainment in which we may pass the night." They said, "Go with us, and spend the night with us." They followed them, therefore, and were brought into a new house with splendid decorations and furniture. Now it was winter; and the girl, going into the chamber of these women, found them again weeping and lamenting. There stood beside them a mule, covered with housings of cloth of gold, and sesame was put before him; and the women were kissing him, and giving him food. And the girl said, "What is all the ado, my ladies, about this mule?" They answered her with tears, and said, "This mule, which thou seest, was our brother, born of the same mother with ourselves. And when our father died, and left us great wealth, and this only brother, we did our best to get him married, and were preparing his nuptials for him, after the manner of men. But some women, moved by mutual jealousy, bewitched him unknown to us; and one night, a little before daybreak, when the door of our house was shut, we saw that this our brother had been turned into a mule, as thou now beholdest him. And we are sorrowful, as thou seest, having no father to comfort us; there is no wise man, or magician, or enchanter in the world that we have omitted to send for; but nothing hath done us any good. And as often as our hearts are overwhelmed with grief, we rise and go away with our mother here, and weep at our father's grave, and come back again."¹

¹This story reminds one greatly of one of the tales from the Ara-

And when the girl heard these things, "Be of good courage," (8) said she, "and weep not; for the cure of your calamity is near; yea, it is beside you, and in the middle of your own house. For I also was a leper; but when I saw that woman, and along with her that young child, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which his mother had washed him, and I was cured. And I know that he can cure your affliction also. But rise, go to Mary my mistress; bring her into your house, and tell her your secret; and entreat and supplicate her to have pity upon you." After the women had heard the girl's words, they went in haste to the Lady Mary, and brought her into their chamber, and sat down before her, weeping, and saying, "O our mistress, Lady Mary, have pity on thy handmaidens; for no one older than ourselves, and no head of the family is left—neither father nor brother—to live with us; but this mule which thou seest was our brother, and women have made him such as thou seest by witchcraft. We beseech thee, therefore, to have pity upon us." Then, grieving at their lot, the Lady Mary took up the Lord Jesus, and put him on the mule's back; and she wept as well as the women, and said to Jesus Christ, "Alas! my son, heal this mule by thy mighty power, and make him a man endowed with reason as he was before." And when these words were uttered by the Lady Mary, his form was changed, and the mule became a young man, free from every defect. Then he and his mother and his sisters adored the Lady Mary, and lifted the boy above their heads, and began to kiss him, saying, "Blessed is she

bian Nights. There may, indeed, be a connection, as Egypt is certainly the land in which both these collections were produced. I need not illustrate the widely disseminated belief of mankind in the possibility of such metamorphoses as the above, lycanthropy, and the like. I refer for this to Hofmann, p. 175, and

Migne, I, col. 993, n. (2223). It seems to me just possible that the narrative may be taken somewhat figuratively, as being the story of a youth, who, "bewitched" by the fascinations of women into the likeness of—shall I say an "ass"? was restored to his right mind, and settled down to married life.

that bare thee, O Jesus, O Saviour of the world; blessed are the eyes that enjoy the felicity of seeing thee."¹

(8) Moreover, both the sisters said to their mother, "Our brother indeed, by the aid of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the salutary intervention of this girl, who pointed out to us Mary and her son, hath been raised to human form. Now, indeed, since our brother is unmarried, it would do very well for us to give him as his wife this girl, this servant." And having asked the Lady Mary, and obtained her consent, they made a splendid wedding for the girl; and their sorrow being turned into joy, and the beating of their breasts into dancing, they began to be glad, to rejoice, to exult, and sing—adorned, on account of their great joy, in most splendid and gorgeous attire. Then they began to recite songs and praises, and to say, "O Jesus, son of David, who turnest sorrow into gladness and lamentations into joy!" And Joseph and Mary remained there ten days. Thereafter they set out, treated with great honours by these people, who bade them farewell, and from bidding them farewell returned weeping, especially the girl.

(n) Now when Jesus and those who were with him journeyed further, they came into a city where was a king to whom the citizens had assembled themselves, and weeping, prayed to an idol which was set up before them. When Jesus now asked them what was the matter, they answered, that the king's wife was pregnant and travailed in hard labour. But Jesus said, "Go to the king, and tell him that if I shall lay my hand upon her womb, his wife will very quickly be delivered." When this had been told the king, and he had commanded that they should bring Jesus to him, he entered, and went to the woman, and said, "O king, if before she is delivered, I tell thee what she beareth in her womb, wilt thou then believe upon my Lord, who hath created me without a father?" And when the king agreed to this, Jesus said, "She will, then, bear a beautiful boy, one of whose ears will be longer than the other, upon his cheek will be seen a black mark, and on his back a sign of the same colour."

¹Compare Luke xi.27 and x.23.

Then he stretched forth his hand, and placing it upon the body of the woman, said, "Come forth, O embryo, according to the will of God Most High, who hath made all things, and giveth nourishment abundantly to all." When, now, the woman had borne a boy such as Jesus had described, and the king was willing to believe on God, his councillors declared that Jesus was a sorcerer, so that the king was frightened out of accepting the faith. Wherefore, God sent upon them a terrible thunderbolt that destroyed them before they were aware of it.¹

Afterwards, they came to a multitude of men gathered (n) together, to whom Jesus said, "Do ye wish me to tell you the reason that ye are standing here?" And when they said that they did, he replied, "Your design is to enter the palace of the king, and carry off his goods; but because he is a good man, come, follow me, that I may show you a treasure whose owner hath long been dead." They followed him, therefore, and came to a certain opening in the earth; and Jesus said to them, "Dig." And when they dug, they found a great sum of money in it, and divided it among themselves.²

Next, journeying until they entered into a certain region (n) of Egypt, Mary turned aside, and entered into the house of a certain man called Dahcan. And since they had nothing to live upon, Mary spun for hire, and Joseph went out to find wood, and sold that which he had gathered. And thus for some time they lived there.³

Now it came to pass that a thief entered the house of (n) Dahcan, and carried off everything that was therein. Sadly, then, Dahcan said to Jesus, "Show me who it is that hath taken my goods." And Jesus replied, "Call thy whole

¹I take this paragraph from Kessaeus, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (31). It seems to be there introduced as an incident of the journey to Egypt. The likeness to the Arabian Nights is also strong here. Its finale, that a thunderbolt came from heaven

and destroyed them all, is characteristic of such Mohammedan tales.

²From Kessaeus, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (29).

³From Kessaeus, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (33).

family together before me." Now when he had done this, Jesus said, "Where is such and such a blind man, and such and such a lame one?" When, now, these had been brought to him, Jesus said, "These two are the thieves who have carried off all thy goods." When, now, the people were much astonished at this, Jesus said to them, "The lame man was assisted by the strength of the blind man, and the blind man by the eyesight of the lame one. For the lame man held a cord in the window whilst the blind one laid hands on each article, and brought it to him."¹

(10) And again they found a lodging in the house of a certain
(28) widow, and remained in the same place one year. Now Jesus was three years old,² and when he saw the boys playing, he began to play with them. And he took a dried fish,³ and put it into a basin, and ordered it to move about. And he said again to the fish, "Throw out thy salt which thou hast, and walk into the water." And it so came to pass. And the neighbours, seeing what had been done, told it to the widow woman in whose house Mary his mother lived. And as soon as she heard it, she thrust them out of her house with great haste. Also they remained twelve months in the house of Alphaeus, a man of God.

(10) And as Jesus was walking with Mary his mother through

¹From Kessaeus, *Evangelium Infantiae*, n. p. (42). A similar fable is told by Pocokius, in the notes to *Ad Portam Mosis*, pp. 280, 281. God will ask men a question similar to the above on the last day, when the body will blame all the guilt on the soul, and the soul on the body.

²This age, given in (10), which is also the document which states that Christ was two years old when he came into Egypt, would seem to show that the Holy Family had been there just a year when this event occurred. The Ethiopian Prayer

of the Virgin of Golgotha, says that Christ nursed three years, so that this time, according to these veracious documents, would be the period at which He was weaned.

³Codex B. of (10), in place of this, says that, "Jesus was walking by the sea shore and seeing a dead sea fish which was dry, he took it and put it in a basin," etc. These two forms of the legend intermingled explain the confusion in the above account between a dried fish and a salt one.

the middle of the city market-place, he looked and saw a schoolmaster teaching his scholars. And, behold, twelve¹ sparrows that were quarrelling fell over the wall into the bosom of that schoolmaster, who was teaching his boys. And seeing this, Jesus was very much amused, and stood still. And when that teacher saw him making merry, he said to his scholars with great fury, "Go and bring him to me." And when they had carried him to the master, he seized him by the ear, and said, "What didst thou see, to amuse thee so much?" And he said to him, "Master, see my hand full of wheat. I showed it to them, and scattered the wheat among them, and they carry it out of the middle of the street where they are in danger; and on this account they fought among themselves to divide the wheat." And Jesus did not pass from the place until it was accomplished.² And this being done, the master began to thrust him out of the city, along with his mother.

And hence they turned aside to Heliopolis, and came to (8) that sycamore of an extreme old age, which is now called Matarea.³ And it was that tree which, when Mary and the child were pursued by robbers, opened to receive them, and then closed up until the robbers had passed. And here Christ made a fountain miraculously appear of a sudden to quench the thirst from which Mary suffered. Now the

¹Some Mss. of (10) have "seven."

²This anecdote seems to be wanting in point, as it stands above. I suppose it means that Jesus did not pass from the place until the division among the sparrows had been accomplished. It might also be read to mean that Jesus did not go away until what the schoolmaster taught had been finished.

³Matarea lies a few miles northeast of Cairo, and is supposed to be the site of the ancient Heliopolis, or On; its name

is supposed to refer to the abundance of its waters. The author of (8) gives the name to the famous tree itself. A tree which is said to have sheltered the Holy Family is still shown there. The legend regarding it in the following sentence is found in Thevenot's *Itin. Orient.* xi.8; Tischendorf *Travels*, p. 141, and others. It is said that the opening in the trunk by which they emerged was to be seen until 1656, when a great part of the tree broke off.

waters of the fountain of Heliopolis had always been salt until the arrival of the Holy Family, when it became a source of sweet water, and all the sick who drank of this miraculous water were cured.¹ But some say that when Mary, exhausted by her long journey, sat down under a palm tree there, and took Jesus upon her lap, she stuck her finger into the earth, and out of the hole there welled forth fresh, clear water.²

(8) Now in this spring, which since that time gushed forth, Mary washed her child's clothes, and dried them upon stones. But from the sweat of the child, which was by this means mixed with the water, there went forth such blessing, that in the parts watered by it there grew by far the best balsam in the world.³ And when the inhabitants of this country wished to enlarge their gardens, and planted many balm trees in them, the trees produced no fruit. Then they be-thought themselves, that if the water in which the majesty of Jesus and his clothing had been washed should touch their trees, they might bear fruit. So they led the stream from the fountain of Christ through the whole garden. And so it was, that every part which was watered by this stream produced the choicest balm.⁴

(8) Thence the Holy Family came down to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh,⁵ and remained three years in

¹This legend is told in Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, I, 296, and in the *Travels of Clarke and Sandys*. See Ex. xv.25 and II Kings ii.21.

²From Sepp, *Symbolik zum Leben Christi*, p. 147.

³This expansion of the briefer version of this miracle found in (8), is given by Borchardus, Tostatus, and Jansenius. It is said that the balm trees were really transplanted from Judaea to Egypt by Cleopatra.

⁴This further expansion of the story is given by Xaverius in his

Persian Life of Christ, p. 102.

⁵A grave anachronism, of course, as Egypt was then under Roman rule. According to some versions of (5), Memphis was the principal residence of the Holy Family during their stay in Egypt. Adrichomius agrees with this view, but says Memphis was identical with Cairo, or Babylon. Tostatus says they dwelt at Heliopolis and Babylon, which latter was an alleged Egyptian city built by Cambyzes. Thomas of Aquin and Bonaventure favour Heliopolis,

Egypt.¹ And the Lord Jesus did in Egypt very many miracles which are recorded neither in the Gospel of the Infancy nor in the perfect Gospel.² For he once planted the three staves belonging to a shepherd and his two sons, in the earth, and immediately they became three trees covered with bloom and fruits. These trees still stood in the time of Cyriacus.³ And on one day, the twenty-fifth of May, the Lord Christ stuck a dry staff in the earth, and immediately there grew from it an olive tree which yet thrives in Buk, not far from Moharrak.⁴ He was accustomed to make little birds, upon which he blew and threw them into the air, and they flew away.⁵ And every day an angel descended from heaven, who brought him food to eat.⁶

And at the end of the three years an angel of the Lord (2)
(5)
(8)
(10)
(28)

and Jansenius, Matarea. Barra- dius says they chiefly stayed near Heliopolis, because Jacob and his sons had also dwelt there, and because it was fitting that Christ should dwell in the City of the Sun (*i. e.* Heliopolis.)

¹This period is assigned by (8), and is supported by Nicephorus and Christian Druthmar. Although not elsewhere supported by apocryphal literature, it seems best to accord with the facts, if they may be so called, of that literature. (5) says the stay was one year; Epiphanius says two years; Lucidus, five; Adrichomius, six; most legends, and indeed most Church writers, declare for a seven years' stay in Egypt.

²The Gospel of Thomas, the various forms of which I refer to under the designations of (10), etc., are doubtless what the compiler of (8) here means by the Gospel of the Infancy; of course,

he means the canonical four by his reference to the "perfect Gospel." The latter title indicates how far from his mind was the idea of placing these apocryphal compilations on a level with the four. I should perhaps refer for the inspiration of this sentence to John xxi.25.

³From a discourse of Cyriacus. See Hofmann, p. 184.

⁴From Wansleben, Collection of Remarkable Travels, III, p. 79. He says this event was commemorated by the Abyssinian church on the above date, May 25.

⁵This is a Coptic tradition reported by Thevenot in his Oriental Travels. It will be readily recognized as a reflection of the oft-repeated miracle, the typical form of which is found in chap. IX seq.

⁶From the same source is likewise a Coptic form of a legend that has already been told regarding Mary, chap. II, etc.

met Mary and Joseph,¹ and said to them, "Take the child, and return into the land of the Jews, for they are dead who sought the child's life. And they came back out of Egypt, and returned."²

¹As opposed to Mat. ii.19, (44), is that Zacharias sent to which says that the angel appeared in a dream to Joseph, Mary, telling her that the king of Israel was dead, and commanding her to return. (10) says he appeared to Mary only, and Codex B. states that he appeared to both of them. ²I find no legends elaborating the story of their return, save a brief one in regard to Dismas, The Mohammedan account, as which is noted in chap. XXVII. given by Kessaeus, Sike, n. p.

CHAPTER IX.

WONDER TALES OF THE CHILDHOOD OF CHRIST

HEROD'S DEATH—CHRIST IN THE DESERT—THE CHILD JOHN—CHRIST RETURNS TO NAZARETH—JOSEPH'S CARPENTER WORK—WOOD MIRACULOUSLY LENGTHENED—THRONE LENGTHENED—BEAM LENGTHENED—BOYS CHANGED TO KIDS—THE DYER—CHRIST WORKS AS A DYER—WATER CARRIED MIRACULOUSLY—FIRE LIKEWISE—MIRACULOUS HARVEST—LIVE ANIMALS MADE OF CLAY—THE LIONS' DEN—JORDAN MIRACULOUSLY DIVIDED.

- MAIN SOURCES: (1)—Protevangelium of James, 24.
(2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 33-37.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 9.
(7)—Protevangelium of James, Syriac Version, 24.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 26, 36-40, 45.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 3, 9-11.
(11)—Narrative regarding the Beheading of John the Baptist.
(12)—Gospel of Thomas, First Greek Form, 11-13.
(13)—Gospel of Thomas, Second Greek Form, 10, 11.
(14)—Gospel of Thomas, Syriac Form, 9-11.
(28)—Account of the Birth of John and Death of Zacharias.

Now Herod had died by the worst form of death,¹ atoning (1)
for the shedding of the blood of the children whom he (5)

¹The terrible disease from which Herod the Great suffered and his death are described by Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVII, 6, 8, and *Wars of the Jews*, I, 33. Many of the Church fathers speak of this evidently righteous retribution; and this account has formed the basis of apocryphal legends as to the manner of death of Herod Antipas. See chap. XXXVII. (7)
(8)
(10)

wickedly cut off, though there was no sin in them. But when Joseph and the child had arrived at Judaea, hearing that that impious tyrant was dead, and that Archelaus, his son, had succeeded him, he was afraid, indeed, to enter it. And he kept the child in the desert until there should be quietness in Jerusalem on the part of those who were seeking his life. And he gave thanks to God because He had given him understanding, and because he had found favour in the presence of the Lord God. At the same time, James, the Lord's brother, withdrew to the wilderness, until the commotion which had arisen in Jerusalem when Herod died, had ceased.¹ And an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph, and said, "O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide."

(11) Now when the child John had become five months old,²
 (28) the angel said to Elisabeth, "Wean the child, and no longer let him receive the mother's breast; but take locusts from the tree which is before the dwelling-place, and wild honey upon a palm branch from the rock that is at thy hand,³ and let him be nourished with these; they will not fail until God commandeth thee to come out hence." For there was a beautiful palm tree growing over the chasm, and at the hour when John was accustomed to eat, it bowed itself down to him.⁴ And when the child was thirteen months old, he began to creep about and walk. Then the angel said to Elisabeth, "Come out from the place, and go to thy house;

¹(1) claims this James as its author, which claim is made in close connection with the above statement.

²The chronology of (11) is, of course, badly at fault here. This would represent a time one month before the birth of Christ, whilst it is intended to represent the time when mother and child were hidden from Herod in the mountain. But I give the passage as it stands.

³Mat. iii.4 and parallel pas-

sages. The author thinks it a neat introduction, here, of the locusts and wild honey thus early.

⁴This would seem to indicate that a vegetable of some kind called honey was intended. (28) here goes on to speak of both honey and water being used in baptism. The Gnostic origin of this, as shown particularly in the introduction of the palm branch, is evident.

for the souls of those seeking to destroy the child are dead." But Elisabeth said, "I cannot find the way, and where can I go forth?" And immediately, having taken the child upon her knees, she was in a trance until she arrived through the air at her home.

And after John was given into the hands of the archangel (28) Uriel, he was, when five years old, clothed in a garment of camel's hair, and had a leathern girdle about his loins. Nor, besides this, did he wear any luxurious garment. And as he increased in size in growing, it remained without rent, even as the Lord also had a garment woven from top to bottom and not sewed. And when John was twelve years old he was discovered by Archelaus, and fled into a city of Galilee.¹

But Joseph, Mary, and the child Jesus returned, and lived (5) in Nazareth. And Joseph, going back to his trade of a carpenter, earned his living by the work of his hands; for, as the law of Moses had commanded, he never sought to live for nothing by another's labour.²

Now it came to pass that a certain rich young man (2) ordered Joseph, who at that time used to make nothing else (10) of wood but ox-yokes, and plows, and instruments of hus- (12) bandry, and wooden beds, to make him a couch six cubits (13) long, and both useful and beautiful.³ And he went out into (14) the field with his servant to get wood; and Jesus went with him. And having cut two pieces of wood, and smoothed

¹The inspiration of this legend is, of course, Mat. iii.4; Mark i.6. The similar legend regarding Christ's seamless robe is mentioned in chap. XXVI, and regarding Mary's, in chap. II.

²See Gen. iii.19; II Thes. iii.10.

³One Ms. of (2) tells this story, not of Joseph, but of a certain builder, a worker in wood. A wonderful number of varying details are given in the account as related by (2) and the four forms of the Thomas Gospel

which I have used, as well as in the various readings of each. This is the most primitive form of the legend, of which I give several derived versions. It is easy to see how, it being assumed that Jesus was a carpenter, such a legend should be invented, being possibly further suggested by His words in Mat. vi.27 and Luke xii.25, about adding one cubit to the stature by taking thought.

them with the axe, he commanded his servant to cut the wood with an iron saw, according to the measure which he had sent. And he did not keep to the prescribed measure, but made one piece of wood shorter than the other. Then Joseph put the one beside the other; and in measuring, he found it too short. And when he saw this, he was grieved, and sought to find another piece. And seeing this, Jesus said to him, "Put these two pieces together, so as to make both ends even." And Joseph, in doubt as to what the child should mean, did as he was told. And Jesus said to him again, "Take a firm hold of the short piece." And Joseph in astonishment took hold of it. Then Jesus also, taking hold of the other end, drew it towards himself, and made it equal to the other piece of wood. And he said to Joseph, "Grieve no more, but go and work, and do what thou hast promised to do." And Joseph did what he promised. And seeing this, he wondered greatly, and said to himself, "Blessed am I, because God hath given me such a boy." And when they came back to the city, Joseph gave an account of the matter to Mary. And when she heard and saw the strange miracles of her son, she rejoiced and glorified him.

- (8) And Joseph used to go about through the whole city, and take the Lord Jesus with him, when people sent for him in the way of his trade to make for them doors, and milk-pails, and beds, and chests; and the Lord Jesus was with him wherever he went. As often, therefore, as Joseph had to make anything a cubit or a span longer or shorter, wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus stretched his hands towards it; and as soon as he did so, it became such as Joseph wished. Nor was it necessary for him to make anything with his own hand, for Joseph was not very skilful in carpentry.¹ And Christ wrought as a carpenter, making ploughs and yokes whilst he was among men.²

¹The contrary statement is made by other documents.

²This sentence is spoken by Justin Martyr, Dialogue with

Trypho, chap. LXXXVIII. As an instance of how the Church fathers spoke of Christ as having been a carpenter, see Sozomen,

Now on a certain day the king of Jerusalem sent for (8) Joseph, and said, "I wish thee to make for me a throne to fit that place in which I usually sit."¹ Joseph obeyed, and began the work immediately, and remained in the palace two years, until he finished the work of that throne. And when he had it carried to its place, he perceived that each side wanted two spans of the prescribed measure. And the king, seeing this, was angry with Joseph; and Joseph, being in great fear of the king, spent the night without supper, nor did he taste anything at all. Then, being asked by the Lord Jesus why he was afraid, Joseph said, "Because I have spoiled all the work that I have been two years at." And the Lord Jesus said to him, "Fear not, and do not lose heart; but do thou take hold of one side of the throne; I shall take the other; and we shall put that to rights." And Joseph having done as the Lord Jesus had said, and each having drawn by his own side, the throne was put to rights, and brought to the exact measure of the place. And those that stood by and saw the miracle were struck with astonishment, and praised God. And the woods used in that throne were of those which are celebrated in the time of Solomon, the son of David, that is, woods of many and various kinds.²

Now the good old man Joseph was scarcely able to work, (n) for old age. And inasmuch as he had undertaken to build a house, he went to work, and bought a large piece of timber to use in the building. Now it came to pass that when Joseph worked with this beam, he cut it off so that it was too short. Then he was very sorry, and greatly troubled and depressed; for he did not have any money to buy

Ecclesiastical History, VI, chap. 2. All this apparently finds itself on Mark vi.3, but the reading there is at least open to doubt.

¹An anachronism, of course, as only the Roman procurator then resided and ruled in Jerusalem. This is the version which (8) gives of the foregoing

legend. It is adapted, as is characteristic of that writer, with little skill or taste. A throne was adopted as the object of the miracle, instead of a bed, because that seemed better to accord with the royal dignity of Christ.

²I Kings x.11, 12; ix.11.

another one. And when the child Jesus, who was gathering sticks and bark near-by, saw Joseph so troubled, he said to him, speaking like a child, "Be not troubled, my father, for we can easily make it longer." "Thou speakest as a child," said Joseph, letting his head fall like an old man. Thereupon the Saviour said, "My father, do thou pull at that end and I at this end, and thou shalt see how I will help thee." "But, my child, thou art too young to help me," said Joseph, "thou hast not yet eaten enough bread; there is no way of helping me here; there is no remedy for it but to buy another beam." But finally the child brought it to pass that Joseph pulled one end of the beam and he the other; and they so lengthened it that when Joseph came to measure it, he found it so very long that he had to cut more than an ell of it off.¹

- (8) On another day, the Lord Jesus went out into the road, and saw the boys that had come together to play, and followed them; but the boys hid themselves from him. The Lord Jesus, therefore, having come to the door of a certain house, and seen some women standing there, asked them where the boys had gone; and when they answered that there was no one there, he said again, "Who are these whom ye see in the furnace?" They replied that they were kids of three years old. And the Lord Jesus cried out, and said, "Come out hither, O kids, to your shepherd." Then the boys, in the form of kids, came out, and began to dance round him; and the women seeing this, were very much

¹This legend is given by Migne, II, 379. It is from a rare little book, *Enfance de Notre-Seigneur*, which appeared in divers forms towards the end of the fifteenth century, and represents mediaeval working over of the Apocryphal Gospels. I think this version of the foregoing legend is of sufficient interest to be given. The reference to Joseph's extreme old age accords perfectly with (8), al-

though that circumstance is not mentioned in any other versions of the above legend. Hofmann also gives, p. 249, a version of the above legend current in Persia, Chardin, *Travels in Persia*: "Jesus Christ, seeing Joseph greatly troubled because he had sawed a cedar board off too short, said to him, 'Why art thou troubled? give me one end of the board, and do thou pull the other end, and it will be lengthened.'" "

astonished, and were seized with trembling, and speedily supplicated and adored the Lord Jesus, saying, "O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, thou art of a truth that good shepherd of Israel; have mercy on thy handmaidens who stand before thee, and who have never doubted; for thou hast come, O our Lord, to heal, and not to destroy."¹ And when the Lord Jesus answered that the sons of Israel were like the Ethiopians among the nations,² the women said, "Thou, O Lord, knowest all things, nor is anything hid from thee; now, indeed, we beseech thee, and ask thee of thy affection to restore these boys, thy servants, to their former condition." The Lord Jesus therefore said, "Come, boys, let us go and play." And immediately, while these women were standing by, the kids were changed into boys.

On a certain day the Lord Jesus, running about and play- (8) ing with the boys, passed the shop of a dyer whose name was Salem; and he had in his shop many pieces of cloth which he was to dye. The Lord Jesus then, going into his shop, took up all the pieces of cloth, and threw them into a tub full of indigo. And when Salem came and saw his cloths destroyed, he began to cry out with a loud voice, and to reproach Jesus, saying, "Why hast thou done this to me, O son of Mary? Thou hast disgraced me before all my townsmen; for, seeing that every one wished the colour that suited himself, thou indeed hast come and destroyed them all." The Lord Jesus answered, "I shall change for thee the colour of any piece of cloth which thou shalt wish to

¹Another case of enchantment and metamorphosis after the Arabian Nights model, like that given in the last chapter. The apocryphal writer has had the subject suggested to him by John x.11 seq., Christ as the Good Shepherd. The reference to His healing and not destroying is from John iii.17; Mat. v.17; Luke ix.56. The reference to the furnace makes it seem prob-

able that there is some connection here with the story about Moses referred to in the next chapter, but it is quite possible that the narrative above should read "archway," instead of "furnace."

²See Jer. xiii.23. Reference to this text is dragged in here without any very obvious appropriateness.

be changed." And immediately he began to take the pieces of cloth out of the tub, each of them of that colour which the dyer wished, until he had taken them all out. When the Jews saw this miracle and prodigy, they praised God.¹

- (n) Now it came into the mind of Mary to entrust Jesus to a teacher,² who should teach him some trade that he could follow. So she brought him to a dyer, and said to him, "Take this boy, and teach him something of thine art." Accordingly, the dyer took him, and said to him, "What is thy name?" He answered, "My name is Jesus the son of Mary." Then he said to him, "Jesus, take this water-pot, and after thou hast filled it at the river, fill also all these tubs; and take these colours." Thereupon, he told him the dyes he should put in the tubs, and the colours he should dye the clothes; then he left him alone, and went to his own room. Jesus, then, going to the tubs, filled them with water; but he threw the dyes in one of them, and all the

¹The legend that Jesus was a dyer is wide-spread, especially amongst the Mohammedans, but whether the legend gave rise to these apocryphal stories, or they are the source of the legend, it is impossible to say. Probably the latter is the case. I know of no canonical incident that might serve as a foundation unless, possibly, the story of Joseph's coat of many colours. I give above the account from (8). The original story in the Thomas Gospels is very brief. Migne, II, 381, gives a much longer version from the mediæval *Enfance de Notre-Seigneur*, already referred to. But it does not seem to me to be of enough interest to reprint. It merely enlarges on the details, but concludes in the same manner with its versions of many of these stories, by representing the

dyer as going to Joseph and complaining that Jesus had spoiled his cloths. But when Joseph came and ordered the cloths to be retaken out of the cauldron, they were all of the right colour, and the dyer was confounded.

²This paragraph is given by Kessaëus, *Sike*, n. p. (57). That it is but a version of the above apocryphal story, is quite evident. Angeli de la Brosse, in his *Persian Lexicon*, under the title "*Tinctoria Ars*," says that the dyers of Persia honour Christ as their patron, and that a dyer's shop is called "*Shop of Christ*," there. And that this refers to an apocryphal writing current among the Persians, in which the story is told that Christ followed the dyer's trade, and with a single dye produced all the colours in materials.

clothes with them; then he went home to his mother. When, now, the dyer came on the following day, and saw what Jesus had done, he gave him a box on the ear, and said, "O Jesus, thou hast ruined me, and spoiled the peoples' clothes!" Jesus said to him, "Let that not trouble thee! But what is thy religion?" He answered, "I am a Jew." Jesus said to him, "Say, 'There is no God but God, and Jesus is the prophet of God;'¹ and then plunge thy hand into this cauldron, and take out each garment of the colour which its owner wished it to have." When, then, the dyer believed on God and Jesus, and went to work, he drew out each garment dyed according to the wish of the owner; and he remained stedfast in his faith in Jesus.

Now Jesus was seven² years old, and Mary his mother sent him with a pitcher to the fountain, to draw water with the children. And it came to pass, after he had drawn the water, that there were great crowds there; and one of the children came against him, and struck the pitcher, and broke it.³ And Jesus unfolded the cloak which he had on, and took up in his cloak⁴ as much water as there had been in the pitcher, and carried it to his mother. And seeing this, she was filled with astonishment, and embraced him, and kissed him, and said, "O Lord, hear me, and save my son." And she reflected within herself, and laid up all these things in her heart.⁵

¹The parody of the well known Mohammedan formula is apparent. Kessaesus follows this paragraph, which I have quoted above, with the words, "—upon whom be peace! And upon our prophet Mohammed, the highest benediction and the profoundest peace, until the day of judgment!"

²The age is given thus in (14), which seems to contain the most primitive form of this story. The fact has been referred to as a possible indication of the Man-

ichaeon origin of this document and with it of all this literature. Wonderful tales are told of what Manes did when he was seven years old. All the other versions of this story have changed the age to six.

³(8) does not contain the explanation that the children broke it.

⁴(8) says, "in his handkerchief," and (13), "in his overcoat."

⁵See Luke ii.51. The above incident contains no very evident

(n) Still further, it came to pass that our Saviour went one day to seek some fire in the mansion of a merchant, who had a servant that was a wicked fellow. And he said to the child Jesus, that he should not take the fire away if he did not carry it in his lap. "I am willing to do so," said the child Jesus. Then the servant put the coals in his lap, which the child carried as easily as if they were pears, without spoiling his robe, at which the servant and his master were greatly amazed.¹

(2) Now in the time of sowing, Joseph went out to sow wheat (10) in their land, and Jesus followed him. And when Joseph (12) began to sow, Jesus stretched out his hand, and took as (14) much wheat as he could hold in his fist, and scattered it.² Joseph came, therefore, at reaping time, to reap his harvest. Jesus came also, and collected the ears which he had scat-

supernatural element, as it is quite conceivable that the cloak might have been waterproof. The intention seems to be, however, to show, as in many instances already noticed, the virtue acquired by articles of clothing that had been worn by Christ.

¹This is taken from *Enfance de Notre-Seigneur*, Migne, II, col. 380. It is an evident parody of the foregoing. The mediæval legend-monger thinks he has heightened the miraculous character by changing the element. A hint may also have been taken from the story of the swaddling-band which the fire could not consume, told in chap. VI.

²We have already had forms of this favourite miracle in chaps. VII and VIII. It probably had its origin in the attempt to gloss and explain the text in John xii.24. Christ Himself represents the corn of wheat that falls into

the ground and dies. But from His death springs a myriad of other grains endowed with life by Him. I follow the version of (10) closest in the above. (12) says He sowed one grain and reaped a hundred quarters, and (14) that He sowed one bushel and reaped a hundred quarters. Antoninus of Placentia, translated by B. H. Cowper in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, January, 1866, says that *circa* 570, he saw the field in which Christ produced this miraculous harvest. In chap. XIII, speaking of Jericho, he says: "Before the church is the sacred field of the Lord, in which our Lord sowed corn with his own hand—sowing as much as three bushels of corn, which also is gathered twice a year; first in the month of February that it may be used at the communion at Easter; where it has been gathered it is ploughed, and gathered again

tered, and they made an hundred pecks of the best grain; and he called the poor, and the widows, and the orphans of the village to the threshing-floor, and distributed to them the wheat which he had made. Joseph also took a little of the same wheat which was left, for the blessing of Jesus to his house.¹ And he was eight years old when he did this miracle.

Now when the Lord Jesus had completed seven years (8) from his birth, on a certain day he was occupied with boys of his own age.² For they were playing among clay, from which they were making images of asses, oxen, birds, and other animals; and each one, boasting of his skill, was praising his own work. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, "The images that I have made I will order to walk." The boys asked him then whether he were the son of the Creator;

with the rest of the harvest. Then it is ploughed again." Cowper seems to think that this proves that the above miracle had not been invented at that date.

¹See Josh xv.19; II Kings v.15, for explanation of above Hebraism for a gift. The sense here, however, is rather that of a charm conferring blessing upon his house.

²I give here the version of this miracle just as reported by (8); other forms of it will occur in chap. XI, connected with malevolent circumstances as told in the Thomas Gospels. Again we have the significant age, seven years. In the other documents, this has been changed. A similar miracle is twice mentioned in the Koran. The first, from Sura iii.48, I have incorporated with my text in chap. XVI; the other, Sura v.119, represents God as saying, "O Jesus, son of Mary, think

of my grace toward thee, etc. * * * thou didst make according to my will the form of a bird from clay, thou didst breathe upon it, and according to my will it became a live bird." The Mohammedan interpreters said this bird was a bat, because that was the most perfect form of bird. Sike, n. p. (52), tells how Saracens who wished to embrace Christianity were required to anathematize this blasphemy of the Mohammedans, that Christ had made birds from clay and caused them to fly. The story is also told in the blasphemous Jewish book about Christ, Toldoth Jeschu, and in the Puranas, referring to Krishna. The story is thus probably of pre-Christian date, and one can readily see how such texts as, John v.21 and vi.63, or Mat. iii.9, would suggest to apocryphal writers its adaptation in Christian form.

and the Lord Jesus bade them walk. And they immediately began to leap; and then, when he had given them leave, they again stood still. And he made figures of birds and sparrows, which flew when he told them to fly, and stood still when he told them to stand, and ate and drank when he handed them food and drink. After the boys had gone away and told this to their parents, their fathers said to them, "My sons, take care not to keep company with him again, for he is a wizard; flee from him, therefore, and avoid him, and do not play with him again after this."

- (2) There is a road going out of Jericho and leading to the river Jordan, to the place where the children of Israel crossed; and there the ark of the covenant is said to have rested. And Jesus was eight years old, and he went out of Jericho, and went towards the Jordan.¹ And there was beside the road, near the bank of the Jordan, a cave where a lioness was nursing her cubs; and no one was safe to walk that way.² Jesus, then, coming from Jericho, and knowing that in that cave the lioness had brought forth her young, went into it in the sight of all. And when the lions saw Jesus, they ran to meet him, and adored him. And Jesus was sitting in the cavern, and the lion's cubs ran hither and thither round his feet, fawning upon him, and sporting. And the older lions, with their heads bowed down, stood

¹There is no other document of which I know that assumes any part of the Infancy to have been passed at Jericho. It is to be supposed that the other events narrated in this chapter took place at Nazareth. I have made no effort in my compilation of chapters IX, X, and XI to locate the scene of each incident, or to preserve chronological sequence as to the age at which Christ performed the different

miracles. To do either, is practically impossible amidst the conflicts that constantly occur amongst authorities, or the lack of any indications. My arrangement is based altogether upon the character of the incidents.

²Lions have long been extinct in Palestine, but Phocas says that in the twelfth century they were still to be found among the reeds on the banks of the Jordan.

at a distance, and adored him, and fawned upon him with their tails.¹

Then the people who were standing afar off, not seeing (2) Jesus, said, "Unless he or his parents had committed grievous sins, he would not of his own accord have offered himself up to the lions." And when the people were thus reflecting within themselves, and were lying under great sorrow, behold, on a sudden, in the sight of the people, Jesus came out of the cave, and the lions went before him; and the lion's cubs played with each other before his feet. And the parents of Jesus stood afar off, with their heads bowed down, and watched; likewise also the people stood at a distance, on account of the lions; for they did not dare to come close to them. Then Jesus began to say to the people, "How much better are the beasts than ye, seeing that they recognize their Lord, and glorify Him; while ye men, who have been made after the image and likeness of God, do not know Him! Beasts know me, and are tame; men see me, and do not acknowledge me."²

After these things, Jesus crossed the Jordan in the sight (2) of them all, with the lions; and the water of Jordan was divided on the right hand and on the left.³ Then he said to the lions, in the hearing of all, "Go in peace, and hurt no one; but neither let man injure you, until ye return to the place whence ye have come forth." And they, bidding him farewell, not only with their gestures, but with their voices, went to their own place. But Jesus returned to his mother.

¹We have already seen in chap. VII, a similar incident, these same beasts adoring Christ in the desert. But the special incident which has suggested the above is undoubtedly the story of Daniel cast into the lion's den. See Dan. vi.16 seq.

²There is plainly a reference here to Is. i.3.

³This seems to be modelled

after the crossing of the Jordan by Elijah with Elisha, as told in II Kings ii.8, and Elisha's similar miracle, *ibid*, v.14. But the language used in the second preceding paragraph, "where the children of Israel crossed," shows that the apocryphal writer had particularly in mind the incident told in Josh. iii.16.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHILD CHRIST PERFORMS WONDERFUL CURES.

PLAYS KING—CURES SERPENT'S BITE—VIPER'S BITE—HEALS WOUNDED FOOT—RAISES MAN FALLEN FROM HOUSE—RESCUES BOY FROM WELL—RAISES BOY FALLEN FROM ROOF—HEALS BROKEN ARMS AND LEGS BEFORE THE JUDGE—RAISES DEAD CHILD—HEALS CHILD WITH EYE DISEASE—ANOTHER—HEALS CHILD OF FEVER—PROTECTS CHILD IN OVEN AND WELL—HEALS THE TWIN—LEPROUS WOMAN—ANOTHER—HEALS WOMAN POSSESSED BY SATAN—HEALS JUDAS—RAISES DEAD MAN.

- MAIN SOURCES: (2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 32, 40, 41.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 27-35, 41-44.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 7, 8, 14, 15.
(12)—Gospel of Thomas, First Greek Form, 9, 10, 16-18.
(13)—Gospel of Thomas, Second Greek Form, 8, 9.
(14)—Gospel of Thomas, Syriac Form, 8, 14.

- (8) Now in the month of Adar,¹ Jesus, after the manner of a king, assembled the boys together. They spread their clothes on the ground and he sat down upon them.² Then they put on his head a crown made of flowers, and, like chamber-servants, stood in his presence, on the right and on

¹The twelfth month with the Jews, corresponding to the last half of February and the first half of March. See Esther iii.7; viii.12; II Mac. xv.37.

²See Luke xix.36, which, and the parallel accounts of the Palm Sunday entrance into Jerusalem, doubtless form the inspiration for this legend. Cyrus is said to have played king among the Persian boys.

the left, as if he were a king. And whoever passed by that way was forcibly dragged by the boys, saying, "Come hither, and adore the king; then go thy way."

In the meantime, while these things were going on, some (8) men came up carrying a boy. For this boy had gone into the mountains with those of his own age to seek wood, and there he found a partridge's nest; and when he stretched out his hand to take the eggs from it, a venomous serpent bit him from the middle of the nest, so that he called out for help. His comrades accordingly went to him with haste, and found him lying on the ground like one dead. Then his relatives came and took him up to carry him back to the city. And after they had come to that place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the rest of the boys standing round him like his servants, the boys went hastily forward to meet him who had been bitten by the serpent, and said to his relatives, "Come and salute the king." But when they were unwilling to go on account of the sorrow in which they were, the boys dragged them by force against their will.

And when they had come up to the Lord Jesus, he asked (8) them why they were carrying the boy. And when they answered that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, "Let us go and kill that serpent." And the parents of the boy asked leave to go away, because their son was in the agony of death; but the boys answered them, saying, "Did ye not hear the king saying, 'Let us go kill the serpent?' and will ye not obey him?" And so, against their will, the couch was carried back. And when they came to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, "Is this the serpent's place?" They said that it was; and the serpent, at the call of the Lord, came forth without delay, and submitted itself to him.¹ And he said to it, "Go away, and

¹Serpent charming is often mentioned in the Old Testament. See Deut. xviii.11; Ps. lviii.6; Jer. viii.17; Eccles. x.11. The passage first referred to shows that it was considered a forbidden art, and its professors ranked with sorcerers. The wish to have Christ appear as far surpassing what men could do by this occult art is sufficient explanation of the fabri-

suck out all the poison which thou hast infused into this boy." And so the serpent crawled to the boy, and sucked out all its poison. Then the Lord Jesus cursed it, and immediately on this being done, it burst asunder; and the Lord Jesus stroked the boy with his hand, and he was healed. And he began to weep, but Jesus said, "Weep not, for by and by thou shalt be my disciple." And this is Simon the Canaanite of whom mention is made in the Gospel.¹

(2) And when they lived in the city which is called Bethle-
 (8) hem, Joseph lived with Mary in his own house, and Jesus
 (10) with them. And on a certain day, Joseph called to him
 (12) his first-born son, James, and sent him into the vegetable
 (14) garden to gather vegetables for the purpose of making
 broth.² And Jesus followed his brother James into the
 garden; but Joseph and Mary did not know this. And
 while James was collecting the vegetables, a viper suddenly
 came out of a hole and struck his hand, and he began to cry
 out from excessive pain. And becoming exhausted, he said
 with a bitter cry, "Alas! alas! an accursed viper hath struck
 my hand."³ And Jesus, who was standing opposite to him,
 at the bitter cry ran up to James, and took hold of his hand;
 and all that he did was to blow on the hand of James,⁴ and

cation of this incident. He here simply calls the serpent to Him, whilst the charmer must indulge in incantations; and not only is the serpent harmless before Him, but must actually suck out the venom which it has injected. But I suppose there is not absent the idea of Christ's triumph over the old serpent Satan, the neutralizing of his poison, and his final destruction. This also would be enough to account for the legend. It is essentially only an expanded version of the older legend which follows.

¹See Mat. x.4; Mark iii.18; and compare Luke vi.15; Acts i.13. Another instance of that

early introduction of Gospel characters in which (8) delights.

²I give the form of this mirable in (2), which includes most of the details given by the various versions. (8), (12), and (14) say that James was sent to gather wood, which is plainly the true version; (10) says that he was sent to gather stubble.

³(10) says he fell to the ground as if dead.

⁴This healing by blowing, or as some of the versions have, breathing on the wound, suggests Christ's breathing on the apostles that they might receive the Holy Ghost, see John xx.22. According to the Persians, the

cool it; and immediately James was healed, and the serpent, bursting, died. And Joseph and Mary did not know what had been done; but at the cry of James, and the command of Jesus, they ran to the garden, and found the serpent already dead, and James quite cured.

A few days after, one of the neighbours, a young man in that town, was splitting wood in the corner, and the axe came down and cut the sole of his foot in two; and he was at the point of death from loss of blood. And there was a great commotion, and a great number of people ran together; and the child Jesus too went with them. And he pressed through the crowd, and took hold of the young man's wounded foot, and cured him directly; and it was made whole. And he said to him, "Rise up now, split thy wood, and remember me." And he rose up and adored him, giving thanks, and splitting the wood. Likewise, also, all that were there wondered and adored, and gave thanks to him, saying, "Truly the Spirit of God dwelleth in this child. Indeed we most surely believe that thou art God."⁽¹⁰⁾

And some time after there occurred a great commotion while a house was building, and Jesus stood up and went away to the place. And seeing a man lying dead, he took him by the hand, and said, "Man, I say to thee, arise, and go on with thy work." And directly he rose up, and adored him. And seeing this, the crowd wondered, and said, "This child is from heaven, for he hath saved many souls from death, and he continueth to save during all his life."⁽¹²⁾

healing power of Christ resided in His breath. Thus the lines in vs. iv. of Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyat, descriptive of the coming of spring:

"Where the white hand of
Moses on the bough
Puts out, and Jesus from the
ground suspires."

See chap. XXI for another reference to the virtue of the Saviour's breathing.

¹This particular Thomas Gos-

pel miracle has for some reason never passed over into any of the other compilations made from that collection. I know of no special conjecture to account for its origin, except that it was a natural fabrication in a collection speaking so often of the carpenter's work and of building.

²This last sentence is an instance of that true but unconscious prophecy, that these Gos-

(n) Now there was a rich man who had a great well about his mansion. And his son fell down this well, on which account the parents were very sorrowful. And he had all his friends in the city come to search for his son. And as our Saviour passed along the street, he heard the cries and weeping that arose in that mansion. So he entered, and asked the father of the child why he mourned so excessively. The father replied, "Alas! I have a bitter sorrow, for during three days have I been trying to recover my child who is drowned in this well." Then Jesus, before all the people, and without saying a word, leaped precipitately into the well, and afterwards emerged from it, bearing the child upon his neck, at which the father experienced the greatest joy. So he praised Jesus, the all-powerful, and thanked him.¹

(2) After these things, Joseph and Mary departed thence
 (8) with Jesus into the city of Nazareth; and he remained there
 (10) with his parents. And on the first day of the week,² when
 (12) Jesus was playing with the children on the roof³ of a certain
 (13) house, it happened that one of the children pushed another
 (14) down from the roof to the ground,⁴ and he was killed. And seeing this, the rest of the boys fled in all directions; and the Lord Jesus was left alone on the roof from which the boy had fallen. And when the news was brought to the parents of the dead boy, they ran weeping; and finding their boy lying dead upon the ground, and Jesus standing above,

pels so delight to introduce. The incident is not found in (14), the oldest form of Thomas, but only in (12), and has not passed into the derived documents. I take it to be a derived form of the legend told in the second paragraph following.

¹I take this paragraph from the *Enfance de Notre-Seigneur*, as given by Migne, II, col. 382. It is probably derived from the legend of the child preserved in the oven and the well, given

further on in this chapter, and drawn from (8). One of the *Agrapha*, see chap. XIX, has curious likeness to a reference to some such incident as this. Although from a late document, I imagine that this story preserves some ancient apocryphon.

²(14) says, "on the Sabbath day."

³(12) says, "in an upper room."

⁴(10) says, "one of the boys fell through a back door."

they supposed that their boy had been thrown down by him; and fixing their eyes upon him, they reviled him, and reproached and threatened him. And they cried out against Joseph and Mary, saying, "Your son hath thrown our son down to the ground, and he is dead." But Jesus was silent, and answered nothing. And Joseph and Mary came in haste to Jesus; and his mother asked him, saying, "My Lord, tell me if thou didst throw him down." And the Lord Jesus said to them, "Do not bring an evil report against me; but if ye do not believe me,¹ come and let us ask the boy himself, that he may bring the truth to light." Then the Lord Jesus immediately leaped down from the house-top, and standing over the dead body, said, with a loud voice, "Zeno, Zeno, who threw thee down from the roof?" Then the dead boy leaped and stood,² and answering, said, "My Lord, it was not thou who didst throw me down, but thou hast raised me up. Such an one cast me down from it." And when the Lord commanded those who were standing by to attend to his words, the parents of the boy and all who were present praised God for the miracle, and adored Jesus.

And when Jesus was with other children he repeatedly (2) went up and sat down on a balcony, and many of them began to do likewise; and they fell down, and broke their legs and arms. And the Lord Jesus healed them.³

Now Jesus grew very rapidly, and when upon a certain (n) day he was playing with the boys, one of them leaped upon the back of another, and rode upon him, and striking him with his foot, killed him. Then his parents hastened thither, and making an onset upon the boys (and Jesus was among them), brought them before the judge. Mary also was present, fearing on account of her son. And the judge asked,

¹See John viii.46. Perhaps the furnishing of a vivid commentary on this idea, that no man could convict Christ of sin, was the inspiration that produced this legend.

²See Acts iii.8. This expression is found only in the oldest

version of the story, that in (14).

³In one Ms. of (2), this little narrative follows the story of how Jesus lengthened the piece of wood. It seems to be a mere reflection of the foregoing miracle.

“Who hath killed this boy?” They answered, “Jesus hath killed him.” Then said the judge, “Why hast thou killed him?” Jesus said, “O judge, I see that thou art a foolish judge; for thou shouldest first ask whether or not I have killed him.” Then said the judge to him, “I see that thou art clever; but what is they name?” He replied, “I am called Jesus the son of Mary.” Then said the judge again, “Why hast thou killed him, O Jesus?” Jesus answered, “Have I not already admonished thee, that thou shouldest not speak thus?” Jesus, thereupon going to the dead boy, said to him, “Arise, by the permission of God.” And when he arose upon his feet, he asked him, “Who did kill thee?” He answered, “Such and such an one did kill me, but Jesus committed no offence against me.” Thereupon he fell down dead, and on his account they put that boy to death.¹

- (10) And after this, the infant of one of Joseph’s neighbours
 (12) fell sick and died; and its mother mourned for it, and wept sore. And Jesus heard that there was great lamentation and commotion, and ran in haste, and found the child dead. And he stood over the child, and knocked upon his breast, and said, “I say to thee, child, be not dead, but live, and be with thy mother.” And directly it looked up and laughed. And he said to the woman, “Take thy son, and give him the breast, and remember me.” And seeing this, the crowd that was standing by wondered, and said, “Truly this child is either God, or an angel of God, for every word of his is a certain fact. Already hath he freed many souls from death, and he hath made whole all that hope in him.” And Jesus went out thence, playing with the other children.²

¹This paragraph is from Kes-saeus, Sike, n. p. (63). It seems to be a much altered Mohammedan version of the story told in the second paragraph above. Mohammedan legend seems to be chary of representing Jesus as raising the dead permanently during His Childhood, although abounding in such stories re-

garding the public ministry. In this respect, its good sense might well have been imitated by the Christian legend-mongers.

²This is a rather colourless miracle found only in (10) and (12), but not in (14). It may, however, have furnished the groundwork for many of the accounts of healing, mainly from

Thereafter, going into the city of Bethlehem,¹ they saw (8) there many and grievous diseases infesting the eyes of the children, who were dying in consequence. And a woman was there with a sick son, whom, now very near death, she brought to the Lady Mary, who saw him as she was washing Jesus Christ. Then said the woman to her, "O my Lady Mary, look upon this son of mine, who is labouring under a grievous disease." And the Lady Mary listened to her, and said, "Take a little of that water in which I have washed my son, and sprinkle him with it." She therefore took a little of the water, as the Lady Mary had told her, and sprinkled it over her son. And when this was done, his illness abated; and after sleeping a little, he rose up from sleep, safe and sound. His mother, rejoicing at this, again took him to the Lady Mary. And she said to her, "Give thanks to God, because He hath healed this thy son."²

There was in the same place another woman, a neighbour (8) of her whose son had lately been restored to health. And as her son was labouring under the same disease, and his eyes were now almost blinded, she wept night and day. And the mother of the child that had been cured, said to her, "Why dost thou not take thy son to the Lady Mary, as I did with mine when he was nearly dead? And he got well with that water with which the body of her son Jesus had

(8), that follow. It is given with but slight variations in the *Enfance de Notre-Seigneur*, Migne, II, col. 382. Suggestions for it have been furnished by the accounts in Luke vii.11 seq. and I Kings xvii.17 seq.

¹This miracle and the long sequence of wonder tales taken from (8), which follow, seem all to be located by it, at or near Bethlehem. (8), however, near its close, refers to the ordinary residence of the Holy Family as being at Nazareth, agreeing thus essentially with all other apo-

cryphal documents. The mention of Bethlehem here is probably due to an error of the compiler of (8), who let this name stand where it was meant to refer to miracles worked at an earlier period in Christ's life.

²A disease of the character here described is very common in Palestine and is, as stated, very dangerous for young children. The method of cure by the water in which Christ had been washed, peculiar to (8), we have already had several instances of in chap. VIII.

been washed." And when the woman heard this from her, she too went and got some of the same water, and washed her son with it; and his body and his eyes were instantly made well. Her also, when she had brought her son to her, and disclosed to her all that had happened, the Lady Mary ordered to give thanks to God for her son's restoration to health, and to tell nobody of this matter.¹

- (8) There were in the same city two women, wives of one man, each having a son ill with fever. The one was called Mary, and her son's name was Cleopas.² She rose and took up her son, and went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offering her a beautiful mantle, said, "O my Lady Mary, accept this mantle, and for it give me one small bandage."³ Mary did so, and the mother of Cleopas went away, and made a shirt of it, and put it on her son. So he was cured of his disease; but the son of her rival died. Hence there sprung up hatred between them; and as they did the house-work week about, and as it was the turn of Mary the mother of Cleopas, she heated the oven to bake bread; and going away to bring the lump that she had kneaded, she left her son Cleopas beside the oven. Her rival seeing him alone—and the oven was very hot with the fire blazing under it—seized him and threw him into the oven, and took herself off. Mary coming back, and seeing her son Cleopas lying in the oven laughing, and the oven quite cold, as if no fire had ever come near it, knew that her rival had thrown him into the fire. She drew him out, therefore, and took him to the Lady Mary, and told her of what had happened

¹We have had another instance of such a request not to tell of a cure, near the end of chap. V. It is founded, of course, on such passages of the N. T. as, Mat. viii.4; ix.30; xii.16.

²Probably we are to understand, although the fact is not now stated in the text, that this was the Cleopas mentioned after-

wards in Luke xxiv.18, and Mary the mother of Cleopas is perhaps introduced as an explanation of the name given in John xix.25.

³We have already seen several examples of the attaching of magical properties to the garments worn by Christ.

to him.¹ And she said, "Keep silence, and tell nobody of the affair; for I am afraid for thee if thou dost divulge it." After this, her rival went to the well to draw water; and seeing Cleopas playing beside the well, and nobody near, she seized him and threw him into the well, and went home herself. And some men who had gone to the well for water saw the boy sitting on the surface of the water; and so they went down and drew him out. And they were seized with great admiration of that boy, and praised God. Then came his mother, and took him up, and went weeping to the Lady Mary, and said, "O my lady, see what my rival hath done to my son, and how she hath thrown him into the well; she will be sure to destroy him some day or other." The Lady Mary said to her, "God will avenge thee upon her." Thereafter, when her rival went to the well to draw water, her feet got entangled in the rope, and she fell into the well. Some men came to draw her out, but they found her skull fractured and her bones broken. Thus she died a miserable death, and in her came to pass that saying, "They have digged a well deep, but have fallen into the pit which they had prepared."²

Another woman there had twin sons who had fallen into (8) disease, and one of them died; and the other was at his last

¹At first sight, this legend would seem to be only an adaptation of the story of the Three Holy Children in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, Dan. iii.23. It so much resembles, however, one related by Kessaeus, *Sike* n. p. (45), that we may safely conclude it to have been derived from that, or at least from the same source with it. This story tells that when Moses was a child, his mother often put him in the oven and kept him there while she was away from home. Once when she had done so, Moses' sister, in ignorance of his presence there, kindled a fire under

it. Now, not only did this fire not injure the child, but it proved the means of saving his life. For just at this time, one of Pharaoh's officers came to search for the child. Seeing fire in the oven, he never thought of looking in it. When his mother returned, Moses called out to her from the oven, and told her how God had protected him.

²Reference to this saying, which may equally be found in Prov. xxvi.27; Eccles. x.8; Ps. vii.15; lvii.6, also in the Wisdom of Sirach xxvii.29, shows fully enough the suggestion upon which the legend was founded.

breath. And his mother, weeping, lifted him up, and took him to the Lady Mary, and said, "O my lady, aid me and succour me. For I had two sons, and have just buried the one, and the other is at the point of death. See how I am going to entreat and pray to God." And she began to say, "O Lord, Thou art compassionate and merciful, and full of affection. Thou gavest me two sons, of whom Thou hast taken away the one; this one, at least, leave to me." Wherefore the Lady Mary, seeing the fervour of her weeping, had compassion on her, and said, "Put thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes." And when she had put him in the bed in which Christ was lying, he had already closed his eyes in death; but as soon as the smell of the clothes of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, he opened his eyes, and, calling upon his mother with a loud voice, he asked for bread, and took it and sucked it. Then his mother said, "O Lady Mary, now I know that the power of God dwelleth in thee, so that thy son healeth those that partake of the same nature with himself, as soon as they have touched his clothes." This boy that was healed is he who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.¹

(8) Moreover, there was there a leprous woman, and she went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said, "My lady, help me." And the Lady Mary answered, "What help dost thou seek? Is it gold or silver?² or is it that thy body be made clean from the leprosy?" And that woman asked, "Who can grant me this?" And the Lady Mary said to her, "Wait a little, until I shall have washed my son Jesus, and put him to bed." The woman waited, as Mary had told her; and when she had put Jesus to bed, she held out to the woman the water in which she had washed his body, and said, "Take a little of this water, and pour it over thy body." And as soon as she had done so, she was cleansed, and gave praise and thanks to God.

(8) Therefore, after staying with her three days, she went away; and coming to a city, saw there one of the chief men,

¹For Bartholomew, see Mat. x.3; Mark iii.18; Luke vi.14.

²See Acts iii.6.

who had married the daughter of another of the chief men. But when he saw the woman, he beheld between her eyes the mark of leprosy in the shape of a star;¹ and so the marriage was dissolved, and became null and void. And when that woman saw them in this condition, weeping and overwhelmed with sorrow, she asked the cause of their grief. But they said, "Inquire not into our condition, for to no one living can we tell our grief, and to none but ourselves can we disclose it." She urged them, however, and entreated them to entrust it to her, saying that she would perhaps be able to tell them of a remedy. And when they showed her the girl, and the sign of leprosy which appeared between her eyes, as soon as she saw it, the woman said, "I also, whom ye see here, laboured under the same disease, when, upon some business which happened to come in my way, I went to Bethlehem. There, going into a cave,² I saw a woman named Mary, whose son was he who was named Jesus; and when she saw that I was a leper, she took pity on me, and handed me the water with which she had washed her son's body. With it I sprinkled my body, and came out clean." Then the woman said to her, "Wilt thou not, O lady, rise and go with us, and show us the Lady Mary?" And she assented; and they rose and went to the Lady Mary, carrying with them splendid gifts. And when they had gone in, and presented to her the gifts, they showed her the leprous girl whom they had brought. The Lady Mary therefore, said, "May the compassion of the Lord Jesus Christ descend upon thee." And handing to them a little of the water in which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she ordered the wretched woman to be bathed in it. And when this had been done, she was immediately cured; and

¹A spot, I suppose, such as is mentioned in Lev. xiii.2 seq., or 30 seq.

²Hofmann thinks that a real cave cannot here be meant, but a vaulted apartment or something of that kind. It seems to me, that this is more likely a ref-

erence to the cave of the Nativity, indicating a story that originally was connected with that earlier period, and has not by the compiler of (8) been completely adapted to the place which he gives it in his collection.

they, and all standing by, praised God. Joyfully, therefore, they returned to their own city, praising the Lord for what He had done. And when the chief heard that his wife had been cured, he took her home, and made a second marriage, and gave thanks to God for the recovery of his wife's health.

- (8) There was there also a young woman afflicted by Satan; for that accursed wretch repeatedly appeared to her in the form of a huge dragon, and prepared to swallow her. He also sucked out all her blood, so that she was left like a corpse. As often as he came near her, she, with her hands clasped over her head, cried out, and said, "Woe, woe's me, for nobody is near to free me from that accursed dragon!" And her father and mother, and all who were about her or saw her, bewailed her lot; and men stood round her in a crowd, and all wept and lamented, especially when she wept, and said, "O my brethren and friends, is there no one to free me from that murderer?" And the daughter of the chief who had been healed of her leprosy, hearing the girl's voice, went up to the roof of her castle, and saw her with her hands clasped over her head weeping, and all the crowds standing round her weeping as well. She therefore asked the demoniac's husband whether his wife's mother were alive. And when he answered that both her parents were living, she said, "Send for her mother to come to me." And when she saw that he had sent for her, and she had come, she said, "Is that distracted girl thy daughter?" "Yes, O lady," said that sorrowful and weeping woman, "she is my daughter." The chief's daughter answered, "Keep my secret, for I confess to thee that I was formerly a leper; but now the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, hath healed me. But if thou wishest thy daughter to be healed, take her to Bethlehem, and seek Mary the mother of Jesus, and believe that thy daughter will be healed; I indeed believe that thou wilt come back with joy, with thy daughter healed." As soon as the woman heard the words of the chief's daughter, she led away her daughter in haste; and going to the place indicated, she went to the Lady Mary, and revealed to her the state of her daughter.

And the Lady Mary, hearing her words, gave her a little of the water in which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and ordered her to pour it on the body of her daughter. And she gave her also from the clothes of the Lord Jesus, a swathing-cloth, saying, "Take this cloth, and show it to thine enemy as often as thou shalt see him." And she saluted them, and sent them away.

When, therefore, they had gone away from her, and returned to their own district, and the time was at hand at which Satan was wont to attack her, at this very time that accursed one appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon; and the girl was afraid at the sight of him. And her mother said to her, "Fear not, my daughter; allow him to come near thee, and then show him the cloth which the Lady Mary hath given us, and let us see what will happen." Satan, therefore, having come near in the likeness of a terrible dragon, the body of the girl shuddered for fear of him; but as soon as she took out the cloth, and placed it on her head, and covered her eyes with it, flames and live coals began to dart forth from it, and to be cast upon the dragon. O the great miracle which was done as soon as the dragon saw the cloth of the Lord Jesus, from which the fire darted, and was cast upon his head and eyes! He cried out with a loud voice, "What have I to do with thee, O Jesus, son of Mary? Whither shall I flee from thee?"¹ And with great fear he turned his back, and departed from the girl, and never afterwards appeared to her. And the girl now had rest from him, and gave praise and thanks to God, and along with her all who were present at this miracle.

Another woman was living in the same place, whose son (8) was tormented by Satan. He, Judas² by name, as often as

¹See Mat. viii.29; Mark v.7; Luke viii.28.

²The early life of Judas Iscariot is given at great length in the Golden Legend, which see, and in other mediæval tales. See Migne, *Légendes*, col. 714. These accounts were probably derived

from earlier apocryphal documents now lost. I give the following abstract of them:

Judas was the son of Reuben, or Simeon, a Jew of the tribe of Judah, who lived at Jerusalem with his wife Cyborea, of the tribe of Issachar. Now Cyborea

Satan seized him,¹ used to bite all that came near him; and if he found no one near him, he used to bite his own hands and other limbs. The mother of this wretched creature, then, hearing the fame of the Lady Mary and her son Jesus, rose up and brought her son Judas with her to the Lady Mary. In the meantime, James and Joses² had taken the

—it is an evident adaptation of the classical story of Oedipus—dreamed that she should bring forth a child, who would murder his father, marry his mother, and be the destruction of the race of the Jews. The parents, therefore, placed their new-born child, whom they called Judas, in a boat; and set him adrift upon the sea. This, again, is an evident imitation of the story of Moses; for the little vessel came ashore at Iscariot, which some call an island, others a city upon the coast of Palestine, and was there found by the childless queen of that country. She took the babe and palmed him off upon the people as her own son. But afterwards she became the mother of a son; Judas quarrelled with his little foster brother, and finally killed him, fleeing to Jerusalem. There he entered the service of Pontius Pilate. Now it happened, one day, that Pilate, passing by the garden of Reuben, who was the father of Judas, although the fact was unknown to him, saw therein a tree loaded with very beautiful apples, of which he greatly desired to eat. Going back to the place, he told Judas about them, and said that he would die if he did not get some. Judas at once went and made an assault

upon the garden, killing his father in an encounter, but bringing the apples in triumph to Pilate. It seems to the mediaeval blackener of the character of Judas a happy idea to have the greatest sins of that wretched character follow as the result of an offence that is similar to that of Adam and Eve.

The next thing, Pilate makes Cyborea, who was now a very rich widow, marry his friend Judas. But the latter, soon after, finding out his relationship to her, and realizing the enormity of his crimes, repented earnestly, and going to Jesus, who was just at that time in the last year of His public ministry, secured from Him the pardon of his sins. Judas became the twelfth disciple.

Shakespeare in *As You Like It*, act III, scene 4, refers thus to the prevalent mediaeval legend that Judas had red hair and beard:

“His very hair is of the dissembling colour.
Something browner than Judas’s.”

Painters of that age always so depicted the arch-traitor.

¹See Luke xxii.3; John xiii.27.

²See chap. III for notes on this name. Justus is the form used in most documents.

child, the Lord Jesus, with them to play with the other children; and they had gone out of the house, and sat down, and the Lord Jesus with them. And the demoniac Judas came up, and sat down at Jesus' right hand; then, being attacked by Satan in the same manner as usual, he wished to bite the Lord Jesus, but was not able; nevertheless, he struck Jesus on the right side, whereupon he began to weep. And immediately Satan went forth out of that boy, fleeing like a mad dog. And this boy who struck Jesus, and out of whom Satan went forth in the shape of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him to the Jews; and that same side on which Judas struck him, the Jews transfixed with a lance.¹

After these things, Joseph departed thence with Mary and (2) Jesus to go into Capernaum by the sea-shore, on account of the malice of his adversaries.² And when Jesus was living in Capernaum, there was in the city a man named Joseph, exceedingly rich. But he had wasted away under his infirmity, and died, and was lying dead on his couch. And when Jesus heard them in the city mourning, and lamenting over the dead man, he said to Joseph, "Why dost thou not afford the benefit of thy favour to this man, seeing that he is called by thy name?" And Joseph answered him, "How have I any power or ability to afford him a benefit?" And Jesus said to him, "Take the handkerchief³ which is upon thy head, and go and put it upon the face of the dead man, and say to him, 'Christ heal thee;'" and immediately the dead

See chap. XXVI.

This follows, in (2), the account of malevolent miracles of Christ, which I give in chaps. XI and XII. It was these that had excited the malice. In place of this paragraph, some Mss. of (2) give account of a number of miracles closely imitated from those of the canonical Gospels—Christ's walking on the sea, feeding the five thousand, healing a blind man, raising Laz-

arus and a certain young man. They are not of sufficient interest to be repeated, besides being entirely out of place at this point in the narrative.

³The suggestion for this is certainly found in Acts xix.12. Joseph's supposed obligation to confer a benefit because the man was called by his name, smacks of later ideas about patron saints.

man will be healed, and will rise from his couch." And when Joseph heard this, he went away at the command of Jesus, and ran, and entered the house of the dead man, and put the handkerchief which he was wearing on his head, upon the face of him who was lying in the couch, and said, "Jesus heal thee." And forthwith the dead man rose from his bed, and asked who Jesus was.

CHAPTER XI.

DESTRUCTIVE MIRACLES OF CHRIST'S CHILDHOOD.¹

MAKES WATER POOLS ON THE SABBATH—BOY DESTROYS THEM — IS STRUCK DEAD—CHRIST RAISES HIM — MAKES SPARROWS OF CLAY—MAKES THEM FLY AWAY —ANOTHER BOY DESTROYS THE POOLS—IS CURSED AND WITHERED — IS RAISED UP — BOY STRIKES AGAINST CHRIST—IS STRUCK DEAD—JOSEPH REPROVES CHRIST —ACCUSERS STRUCK BLIND—THE BOY RAISED UP—CHRIST BREAKS AND RESTORES THE EARTHEN POTS—THE STORY OF THE TILE FACTORY.

MAIN SOURCES: (2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 26-29.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 46, 47.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 4, 5.
(12)—Gospel of Thomas, First Greek Form, 2-5.
(13)—Gospel of Thomas, Second Greek Form, 2-5.
(14)—Gospel of Thomas, Syriac Form, 1-4.

Now it came to pass upon a certain Sabbath day, after (2) Jesus had returned out of Egypt and was in Galilee, being (10) five² years of age, that a great rain fell upon the earth. And (12) (13) (14)

¹I have included in this chapter all the miracles of Christ's Childhood which are destructive in their character, or attribute a malevolent disposition to the Saviour, so far, at least, as these can be separated from other incidents that do not share in these characteristics. I only regret that the scope of my plan compels me to include these

shocking figments of an imagination that seemed to have not the faintest conception of the real character of Jesus. All these stories appear to originate in the Thomas Gospels. See the introductory matter with reference to these, for some discussion of their character.

²All the Thomas Gospels give this age, but (2) says He was

the boy Jesus went out of the house where his mother was, and walked up and down in it. And he played with some children at the bed of the Jordan, on the ground where the water was flowing.¹ Now Jesus collected the water into seven pools, and to each of the pools he made passages through which, at his command, he brought the water in, and took it back again. Then he said, "It is my will that ye become clear and excellent waters." And they became so, directly.²

(2) Then one of those children with whom he was playing, a
 (8) son of the devil, moved with envy, shut the passages which
 (10) supplied the pools with water, and overthrew what Jesus
 (12) had built up.³ Then said Jesus unto him, "Woe unto thee, thou son of death, thou son of Satan! Dost thou destroy the works which I have wrought?"⁴ And immediately he who had done this, died. Then with great uproar the parents of the dead boy cried out against Mary and Joseph, saying to them, "Your son hath cursed our son, and he is dead." And when Joseph and Mary heard this, they came forthwith to Jesus, on account of the outcry of the parents of the boy, and the gathering together of the Jews. But Joseph privately said to Mary, "I dare not speak to him, but do thou admonish him, and say, 'Why hast thou raised against us the hatred of the people; and why must the troublesome

entering on His fourth year. It will be remembered, that the age was given as seven in the similar miracle—undoubtedly derived from this—which is given by (8), and which I have included in chap. IX. I refer back to the notes upon that, for discussion of some other points which might be raised here.

¹As for the locus and occasion, I have combined the accounts of (2), which mentions the Jordan, and of (10) and (13), which speak of the great rain. (14) says that Christ was "playing at

a ford of streams of water," and (12), "at the crossing of a stream."

²This, and other instances that follow of the waters obeying Christ may have been suggested by Luke viii.25. Notice the mystical number seven again. (8) says He made fish-ponds, and (10) says "one fish-pond."

³(2) only, gives the double account which I present in this and the two following paragraphs.

⁴I am mistaken, if the apocryphal writer did not have in mind here I John iii.8.

hatred of men be borne by us?" And his mother, having come to him, asked him, saying, "My Lord, what was it that he did to bring about his death?" And he said, "He deserved death, because he scattered the works that I had made." Then his mother asked him, saying, "'Do not so, my Lord, because all men rise up against us.'" But he, not wishing to grieve his mother, with his right foot kicked the hinder parts of the dead boy, and said to him, "Rise, thou son of iniquity; for thou art not worthy to enter into the rest of my Father, because thou didst destroy the works which I had made." Then he who had been dead, rose up, and went away. And Jesus, by the word of his power, brought water into the pools by the aqueduct.

And it came to pass, after these things, that in the sight (2) of all, Jesus took soft clay from the pools which he had (8) made, and of it fashioned twelve sparrows.¹ And it being (10) the Sabbath when Jesus did this,² one of the Jews who had (12) seen Jesus playing on this day, said to Joseph, "Joseph, dost (13) thou not see the child Jesus working on the Sabbath at (14) what is not lawful for him to do? for he hath made twelve sparrows³ of clay." And when Joseph, coming to the place, heard this, he reprov'd Jesus, saying, "Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath such things as are not lawful for us to do?" And when Jesus heard Joseph, he gave no answer, but struck his hands together, and said to his sparrows, "Fly! Off ye go!" And at the voice of his command they began to fly, and went off twittering; and they began to cry out and praise God Almighty. And in the sight and hearing

¹The number is given so in all the documents. The mystical reference to the twelve apostles is, I think, evident. Observe how well the words which Christ spoke to the sparrows, apply also to the mission of the apostles. See notes on corresponding miracle in chap. IV.

²The incident told in Mat. xii.1 seq. and Christ's words, particu-

larly in vs. 8, furnish a hint to the apocryphal writer who improves upon that incident, as he thinks, by having Christ perform a distinctly creative work on the Sabbath. This is probably further suggested by John v.17.

³The mention of this bird in particular is certainly suggested by Christ's teaching in Mat. x.29 and parallel passages.

of all that stood by, he said to the birds, "Go and fly through the earth, and through all the world; and live, for nobody shall kill you, and remember me." And when Joseph and those that were there saw such miracles, they were filled with great astonishment. And some praised and admired him, but others reviled him. And certain of them went to the chief priests and the heads of the Pharisees, and reported to them that Jesus the son of Joseph had done great signs and miracles in the sight of all the people of Israel. And this was reported among the twelve tribes.¹

(2) And again the son of Annas a priest of the temple, who
 (8) had come with Joseph, holding a willow branch in his hand,²
 (10) in the sight of all, with great fury broke down the dams
 (12) which Jesus had made with his own hands, and let out the
 (13) water which he had collected in them. Moreover, he shut
 (14) the aqueduct by which the water came in, and then broke it
 down. And when Jesus saw this, he said to the boy who
 had destroyed the dams, "O son of death! O workshop of
 Satan! O wicked, impious, and foolish sodomite! What
 harm did the pools and the waters do to thee, that thou hast
 emptied them? Verily the fruit of thy seed shall be without
 strength, and shall dry up like a bough of the wood which
 is withered by the storm, and is no more; thy branches shall
 be withered, bearing no fruit, and thy roots shall be without
 moisture. Behold, even now, thou shalt be dried up like a
 tree, and like the branch which thou art carrying." And
 immediately, in the sight of all, the boy withered away, and
 was quite dried up and died.³ And when the children that

¹The sentence is significant, as showing that the author of the Thomas Gospels was ignorant of Jewish history. He thinks the twelve tribes still dwell in Judaea at this time.

²(10) says that this person was a Pharisee, and that he used an olive branch. All the rest say that he was the son of Annas, the scribe, except (2), which says the son of Annas, the priest.

All the rest likewise agree that he used a willow branch, except (2), which does not mention the kind of wood. The name Annas seems to be that of the high priest of the Passion, and the different retailers of the legend seem to hold scribes, priests, and Pharisees in equal detestation.

³This second form of the narrative telling how the boy was struck dead, is certainly modelled

were playing with Jesus saw this, they wondered, and went away, and told the father of the dead boy. But the parents of the boy that had been dried up took him up, bewailing his youth, and brought him to Joseph; and reproached him because he had a child that did such things, saying, "See what thy son hath done. Teach him to pray and not to blaspheme." Then Jesus, being besought by all of them, healed him; but permitted a certain little member to remain useless, in order to admonish them.¹

Then Joseph trembled, and took hold of Jesus, and went with him through the village to his own house, and his mother with him. And, behold, suddenly from the opposite direction a boy, also a worker of iniquity, ran up and came against the shoulder of Jesus, wishing to make sport of him, or to hurt him if he could; and struck him with so much force that he fell.² And Jesus was angry, and said to him, "Thou shalt not go back safe and sound from the way that thou camest, and thou shalt not finish thy journey. As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall and not rise again." And immediately he fell to the ground and died. And the parents of the dead boy, and those who saw what had taken place, said, "Whence was this child begotten, that every word of his is certainly accomplished? and it is often accom-

after one of the two destructive miracles recorded of Christ in the canonical Gospels, the cursing and withering of the barren fig tree, Mark xi.13 seq. Notice the similarity of language. In this case, however, the boy was dried up *immediately*; the twelve did not for the space of a day see that the fig tree had dried up.

¹This sentence is an addition found only in the Parisian Codex of (12). Fabricius thinks it points out the man with the withered hand, healed by Christ (see Mat. xii.10-13), as the person here intended. But this would not agree with the legend

concerning this man which I give in chap. XVI.

²Details of this incident differ much in the various documents. I follow (2) mainly, with such additions from the others as are practicable. (2) brings this into immediate connection with the foregoing; all the others say that it was at some time after. (13) says that the boy threw a stone, and struck Christ on the shoulder, whilst (10) says he ran up against Him and struck Him on the arm. (8) merely says that the boy ran against Him, and apparently ascribes to him no malicious intention.

plished before he speaketh."¹ And they also went and reproached Joseph, saying, "Go away from this place, and take away that Jesus from this city; for it is not right for such a boy to live among us, since he is killing our children. But if thou wishest to remain here, teach thy child to pray and not to blaspheme."

(2) And Joseph came up to Jesus, and called the child apart, (10) and reproved him, saying, "Why dost thou speak and do (12) such things? For these people suffer, and already many are (13) in grief against thee, and hate us on thy account, and persecute us; and we endure the reproaches of men because of thee. Why dost thou blaspheme?" And Jesus answered, and said to Joseph, "I know that these words are not mine but thine own; but I will hold my tongue for thy sake; and let them see to it in their wisdom. No one is a wise son but he to whom his father hath taught according to the knowledge of this time; and a father's curse can hurt none but evil-doers. If they were the children of the bride-chamber they would not receive curses; these will not receive torment. Nevertheless, for thy sake, I will be silent; but they shall bear their punishment."² Then they came together against Joseph. When he saw this, he was in great terror, fearing the violence and uproar of the people of Israel. And, immediately, those who were speaking against Jesus became blind.³ And they walked up and down, and said, "All the words which proceed from his mouth are accomplished." And those who saw it were much afraid. And when they saw that Jesus had done such a thing, Joseph, who had been sitting in his seat, and the child standing before him, arose, and in a fury seized him by the

¹Probably Ps. xxxiii.9 was present to the mind of the author.

²This speech of Christ in answer to Joseph's reproaches differs widely in the various documents. Some of the speeches are, I think, purposely couched in obscure terms. I have given

above what is practically a combination of all of them.

³A punishment more than once recorded in this literature. Incidents in the Old Testament that might suggest it are numerous, *e. g.* Gen. xix.11; II Kings vi.18.

ear, and pinched it hard.¹ And the child was very angry, and looked at Joseph steadily, and said to him, "It is enough for thee to seek and not to find, to see me, and not to touch me. For thou knowest not who I am; but if thou didst know, thou wouldest not make me angry. Although just now I am with thee, and am thine, I was made before thee.² It is enough for thee to command me and control me, most certainly thou hast acted without knowledge."

And the same hour Jesus seized the dead boy by the ear, (2) and lifted him up from the earth in the sight of all; and they saw Jesus speaking to him like a father to his son. And his spirit came back to him, and he revived. And all of them wondered.³

Another day it came to pass that our Lord was looking (n) at an old woman who was making tiles and earthen pots, and she spake to him very roughly, saying, "Get away from here, bad boy; art thou not ashamed to loiter here?"⁴ And when the old woman went away from there, our Lord took the tiles which were not burnt, and broke them up into mere fragments. And when the old woman returned to her workshop, she was greatly astonished, and particularly when she saw that the work was destroyed by the infant Jesus. So she went to our Lady, crying and braying like a mad

¹Evidently, it is this incident that is referred to in chap. XIV, where Joseph asks Christ's forgiveness; but a different tale is told as to the circumstances under which this took place.

²See John viii.58.

³This paragraph is found only in (2), which has changed Joseph's taking Christ by the ear to the latter thus taking the boy and raising him up.

⁴This story is taken from the *Enfance de Notre-Seigneur*, Migne, vol. II, col. 380. It is headed, "How the Child Jesus Made Earthen Pots." It seems

to be but an attempt of a mediaeval legend-monger to vary or improve upon the foregoing stories of how Christ made birds, etc., out of clay. I do not think the tale can represent any other unknown apocryphal source. All the rest of the stories in the collection are from the sources which I have used in this work. Nevertheless, I think the legend of sufficient interest to give here. It contains a suggestion of the humorous, and a strong infusion of the malevolent element so prominent in the Thomas Gospels.

woman. "O Lady Mary," said the old woman, "thy son Jesus hath done me very great injury." "Do not believe it," saith Jesus, "go with her to see whether she telleth the truth." Then our Lady¹ took her child by the hand, and said to the old woman, "Let us go and see, my dear, what this good child hath done to thee. For if injury hath been done thee, I will pay well for it." And when they came to the workshop, they found the most beautiful pots and tiles that ever were made, nor could twelve workmen have made them in fifteen days. Then the old woman, seeing that, knelt before the child Jesus, and thanked him.

- (n) Now the child Jesus rose up one morning,² and went walking without the village, along the river;³ and he stopped near a tile factory where a large number of workmen were making tiles and pots. The child watched them working, and wished to imitate them. And the tile maker said to him, "Who art thou, who art so full of grace and beauty? Thou art not of those who work in earthenware. I believe that thou art a noble child, thou hast that face and appearance. Thou appearest to be of a noble race, and to come of very distinguished parents. I pray thee, leave us." The child Jesus replied, "I will not do so;" and he stayed with the workmen and helped them, even until night had fallen. And when the hour for going home had come, the workmen, wishing to go, and surveying their work, congratulated themselves on seeing that so much had been done in the very best manner. They had accomplished more that day than in the five preceding ones. And the wise potter said to his workmen, "I know not where that child is who hath aided

¹A title out of consonance with apocryphal matter, of course, but (8) constantly applies to her the name "Lady Mary."

²This legend, which extends to the close of this chapter, is given by Migne, vol. II, col. 232. It is from *L'Evangile de L'Enfance*, in Romance, and seems to be but a more elaborate and

greatly expanded form of the foregoing story. It differs widely enough, however, to be worthy a place in this collection.

³The writer either does not know, or does not care to observe the geographical proprieties that apply to the situation of Nazareth.

us to-day. We have been very much at fault and very ungrateful, not to have given him anything, and not to have invited him to eat with us." And they all replied, "If we are able to find him again, we will all show our gratitude to him." And they went to their lodging, well pleased, and very happy at having done so good a day's work. But the child Jesus had remained hidden in the tile factory; and when the workmen had gone, he began to break all the work which had been made during four or five days—pots, vessels, and tiles, nothing remained entire. And Jesus, having broken all, went home.

Now Joseph was seeking the child, and was greatly (n) troubled about him;¹ for the night was already black, and he was not able to find him. Joseph wept bitterly, and said, "What shall I do, unhappy man that I am? Where shall I find the child?" And after having searched much, when he was overwhelmed with fatigue, he perceived the child Jesus who was returning toward the house. And he took him, and brought him back with him. And when our Lady saw Joseph, who was bringing back her dear child, she experienced the greatest joy. And then our Lady asked him, very gently and with great humility, "My son, where hast thou been upon this dark night. If someone hath given thee lodging, I pray thee to tell me of it." The child replied, "This morning I rose up, and wished to go walking without the city; and in passing along the river, I entered into a tile factory where there were many workmen who were making tiles and pots." Our Lady then asked him, "My son, dost thou wish to lie down?" And he replied, "I wish to dine; for I have not eaten anything all day." Then said our Lady, "My son, those whom thou didst help to-day were very rude in that they did not give thee anything." Jesus replied, "They did not give me anything, and they did not ask me to eat with them." And the child Jesus ate and drank, and then lay down to rest.

Now the master of the tile factory rose up early, and went (n)

¹Paragraph continues L'Evangile de L'Enfance.

to his work, taking with him a large number of workmen.¹ He expected to find the work as he had left it, but saw that nothing remained whole, neither vessels, tiles, nor pots. Then he began to cry, "What shall I do, and to whom shall I apply? Who hath done me so great an injury in thus breaking all that I have manufactured? He might better have killed me." The potter was, therefore, filled with chagrin and anger at seeing the works in such a pitiable condition; then he said to the workmen, "I will tell you what I think, I suspect the child who helped us of having made all this havoc, because he was angry that we gave him nothing." All the workmen replied, "It is quite possible; we have done very badly in respect to this child in not giving him anything, and that is assuredly the reason for which we find an equal recompence on his part."

- (n) Then a wise Jew spake, and said, "Master, if thou wouldest find him, I would advise thee to go to Joseph, and tell him of the loss and great damage that his child hath brought upon thee."² They all replied, "Master, thou sayest well; let us go at once." They went, then, and presented themselves before Joseph, whom they saluted; and Joseph likewise saluted them; then he said to them, "Masters, what do ye wish?" They replied, "Master, we have come to tell thee as followeth." Then Joseph thought that the child had done something wrong, and the master tiler, speaking, said, "Master Joseph, hear us. Thy son Jesus came to the tile factory; he helped us willingly, but finally made us pay very dearly for the service that he rendered us; for of all our work nothing remaineth whole, neither pots, tiles, nor vessels." Then said Joseph, "Master, I shall be very much surprised if it is our child who hath thus spoiled all your work." The tiler responded, "As God shall help me, know, master Joseph, that not for any consideration in the world would I tell thee what is false." Then Joseph said to the tiler, "Let us go together to the tile factory, and we shall

¹Paragraph continues L'Evan-
gile de L'Enfance.

²Ibid.

see whether the child hath done as thou sayest." They all said, "Let us go very willingly."

And they went first, in order to be able to point out to (n) Joseph the havoc which had been wrought. The tiler hastened to see the things; and what was his astonishment when he perceived all the work in perfect condition! Vessels, tiles, and pots were intact as before. And Joseph then said, "Masters, what do ye wish me to do, since your work is whole? Ye seem to have wanted to jest and make sport of me. It is an evil deed that ye have thus done, and I should be justified in going to complain to the judge."¹ The master tiler replied, "Master Joseph, I beseech thee, have pity upon me, deign to pardon me in thy great goodness." Joseph replied, "May God pardon thee; for He is better able to do it than I." And the tiler went to his house, and all his workmen did the same; and they were full of joy and satisfaction, for their work was done.

¹Paragraph continues L'Evangile de L'Enfance. Notice that the author of this story not alone does not hesitate to represent Christ as malevolent and re-vengeful, but here makes Joseph hypocritical and unforgiving. The story furnishes a strong indictment of the morals of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CHILD CHRIST AND HIS TEACHERS.

ZACCHEUS WISHES TO INSTRUCT CHRIST—CHRIST'S REPLY—THE JEWS MARVEL—CHRIST'S DISCOURSE—LEVI TEACHES THE HEBREW LETTERS—IS CONVICTED OF IGNORANCE—CHRIST TEACHES THE MYSTERIES OF THE LETTERS—LEVI ABASHED—CHRIST RAISES THE AFFLICTED—A THIRD MASTER TEACHES THE GREEK LETTERS—STRIKES CHRIST—FALLS DEAD—A FOURTH MASTER—CHRIST READS WONDERS FROM THE BOOK—THE DEAD MASTER RAISED.

- MAIN SOURCES: (2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 30, 31, 38, 39.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 48, 49.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 6, 12, 13.
(12)—Gospel of Thomas, First Greek Form, 6-8, 14, 15.
(13)—Gospel of Thomas, Second Greek Form, 6, 7.
(14)—Gospel of Thomas, Syriac Form, 5-7, 12, 13.

(2) Now a certain Jewish schoolmaster, Zaccheus¹ by name,
(10) standing in a certain place, and hearing Jesus speaking
(12)

(13) ¹I have used, throughout, this the Marcossians. He does not give
(14) current form of the scriptural the name of the teacher. In the
name evidently here intended. Gemara Babyl. ad Sanhedrin, the
Different versions of the docu- name of the teacher of Christ is
ments used give Zachyas, Zach- given as Joshua the son of Pe-
ias, Zachameus, Zacheus, Zach- rachia. It is told that he, with
aeus. Irenaeus, Against Her- Christ, fled to Alexandria. The
esies, bk. I, chap. 20, mentions Toledoth Jeschu says that the
this story of Christ's learning name of the teacher was El-
His letters, which he calls "false kana. Kessaeus, Sike, n. p.
and wicked," and attributes to (68), says that Mary urged

boldly¹ to his father; seeing also that he could not be overcome from knowing the power that was in him,² in great astonishment said to himself, "Such a boy, speaking in this way, I have never seen." And he said to him, "O thou naughty boy!" And a few days after, he came to Joseph, and became angry; and began rudely and foolishly and without fear to speak against Joseph. And he said, "Dost thou not wish to entrust me with thy son, that he may be instructed in human learning and in reverence, to love children of his own age, and to honour old age? But I see that Mary and thyself have more regard for your son than for what the elders of the people of Israel say against him. Ye should have given more honour to us, the elders of the whole church of Israel, both that he might be on terms of mutual affection with the children, and that among us he might be instructed in Jewish learning. Thou hast a sensible boy, and he hath some mind. Give him to me, then, that he may learn letters; and I shall teach him, along with the letters, all knowledge, both how to address all the elders, and to honour them as forefathers and fathers, and how to love those of his own age. And I shall teach him the scriptures, and I shall persuade him to bless all, and not to curse.

Christ to attend school, but He replied that God had provided that He should need no preceptor, because He had taught Him the law and the Gospel when He was in His mother's womb. But Mary answered, that nevertheless she thought it better for Him to go to school and learn something. The two passages in John's Gospel, vii.15 and viii.6, are amply sufficient to account for these legends of Christ and His teachers, whether amongst heretics or Catholics. The Jews marvelled that Jesus knew letters, never having learned, and His writing on the ground gave

a proof of this. What more natural, then, than this story giving proof of literary acquirements without study? For account of alleged writings by Christ, see chaps. XVII, XX.

¹I have inserted this word in the text. The connection is, that Zaccheus heard Christ speaking to Joseph as narrated in the paragraph of the last chapter where it is recorded that the latter seized Jesus by the ear.

²This might also be read, "seeing that there was in him an insuperable knowledge of virtue."

And when he hath thoroughly learned his letters, I shall teach him honourably, so that he may be no fool." Joseph, on the other hand, said to him, "And is there any one who can keep this child, and teach him? Dost thou suppose that he is deserving of a small cross? But if thou canst keep him and teach him, we by no means hinder him from being taught by thee those things which are learned by all. Thou dost not believe that this little boy will be of no consequence? No one can teach him but God alone."¹

(2) And Jesus, having heard what Zaccheus had said,
 (10) laughed, and said to him, answering, "The precepts of the
 (13) law which thou hast just spoken of, and all the things which
 (14) thou hast named, must be kept by those who are instructed in human learning; but I am a stranger to your law courts, because I have no father after the flesh. Honour in the flesh, I have not."² Then said he to Joseph, "Thou art in the law and in the law abidest; for when thou wast born, I was;³ but thou supposest thou art my father. Thou shalt learn from me instruction which no other man knoweth, nor is able to learn, and the cross which thou didst speak of, he shall bear whose it is. For when I am greatly exalted I will lay aside whatever is mingled in your nature; for thou knowest not whence thou art; for I alone know truly when ye and your fathers' fathers were born, and how long time ye have to remain here.⁴ And thou who readest the law,

¹Much of the redundancy of language in this paragraph, as well as throughout the chapter, is of course due to the fact that I have here combined six accounts of the same events. I have tried to omit nothing from any of them that seemed to have any real significance. There are in the documents four accounts of Christ's encounters with teachers: 1. With Zaccheus. 2. With Zaccheus or Levi—the Hebrew letters. 3. With unnamed master who is struck dead

—Greek letters. 4. Unnamed teacher—Christ teaches from the book. (2), (10), (12), and (14) have all four of these accounts; (13) has the first and second; and (8), the second and third.

²Cf. Mat. xiii.57, etc.

³Cf. John viii.58.

⁴With this sentence, Christ's speech begins to be addressed to the Jews and to Zaccheus in particular instead of Joseph, as shown in the following sentence.

and art learned in it, thou abidest in the law; but I was before the law; for I am apart with you, and dwell within you. Thou sayest that thou knowest, but I know more than thou. But since thou thinkest that no one is equal to thee in learning, thou shalt be taught by me that no other can teach anything but those things which thou hast named. But he alone can who is worthy.¹ For when I shall be exalted on earth, I will cause to cease all mention of your genealogy. And I know how many years of life thou wilt have, and that thou wilt be carried into exile.² And indeed, master, my Father hath appointed this that thou mayest understand that whatever proceedeth from my mouth is true. Before all, I was Lord,³ but ye are foreigners. To me hath been given the glory of the ages;⁴ to you hath been given nothing, because I am before the ages.”

Then the Jews, and all who standing by heard these (2) words, were struck with astonishment, and cried out, “Oh! (10) Oh! Oh! this marvellously great and wonderful mystery. (13) Never have we heard the like! Never hath it been heard (14) from anyone else, nor hath it been said or at any time heard by the prophets, or the Pharisees, or the scribes. We know whence he is sprung, and he is scarcely five years old;⁵ and whence doth he speak these words?” The Pharisees answered, “We have never heard such words spoken by any other child so young.” And Jesus answered, and said to them, “At this do ye wonder, that such things are said by a child? Why, then, do ye not believe me in those things which I have said to you? Do ye consider it incredible that

¹Tischendorf says that the text is corrupt here. The meaning seems to be: “You are not a whit better than your neighbours; for all of you teach what you have named, and you can teach nothing else. But he alone who is worthy, *i. e.* Christ, can teach you more.”

²The author here must be thinking of the destruction of

Jerusalem, which occurred just about a century after this assumed time. The circumstance furnishes a fair illustration of the attention paid to the proprieties of time by the apocryphal writers.

³Cf. John i.1-3.

⁴Cf. John ii.11 and many other passages.

⁵Cf. John viii.57.

I speak the truth? And do ye wonder because I said to you that I know when you and your fathers were born? I will tell you greater things, that ye may wonder more. I have seen Abraham, whom ye call your father, and have spoken with him; and he hath seen me.¹ Assuredly I know when the world was created. Behold, ye do not believe me now. When ye see my cross, then will ye believe that I speak the truth. I know also who sent me to you."² And when the Jews heard the words which the child had spoken, they wondered, because they were not able to answer. They held their tongues, nor did any of them dare to speak. And communing with himself, the child exulted, and said to them, "I have told you a proverb; and I know that ye are weak and ignorant. I have been among you with children, and ye have not known me; I have spoken to you as wise men, and ye have not understood my words; because ye are younger³ than I am, and of little faith."

(2) A second time, the master Zaccheus, doctor of the law,
 (8) said to Joseph and Mary, "Give me thy boy, and I shall hand
 (10) him over to Master Levi,⁴ who shall teach him the letters
 (12) and instruct him." Then Joseph and Mary, soothing
 (13) Jesus, took him to the schools where other boys were
 (14) taught,⁵ that he might be taught his letters by old Levi. And as soon as he went in, he held his tongue. And the master Levi said to him all the letters from Aleph even to

¹John viii.56-58.

²John iv.34, etc.

³Literally, "inferior to me."

⁴This name is given only by (2). All the other documents represent Zaccheus himself as having made this second attempt, and (8), which gives this incident as the first attempt made to teach Christ letters, says that it was at Jerusalem.

⁵There were at this time public schools in some of the larger cities. The reference here, however, plainly seems to be to a

private school in connection with a synagogue. Cowper translates from Antoninus of Placentia, about 570, an account of how he went to Nazareth and saw "many marvels." "Also there lies in the synagogue the book in which the Lord had put A, B, C. In the synagogue also there is the beam where the Lord sat with the other children; this beam is moved and raised by Christians, but Jews can in no wise move it, nor does it allow itself to be carried out."

Tau,¹ with great exactness; and as he said each letter, beginning with Aleph, he said to Jesus, "Answer." But he was silent, and answered nothing. Wherefore the preceptor Levi was angry, and threatened to flog him; and seized his storax tree² rod, and struck him on the head. And Jesus said to the teacher Levi, "Why dost thou strike me? A blacksmith's anvil when it is beaten receiveth correction and doth not feel. Thou shalt know in truth that he who is struck can teach him who striketh him more than he can be taught by him. For I can teach thee those very things which thou art saying. But all these are blind, who speak and hear like sounding brass or tinkling cymbal,³ in which there is no perception of those things which are meant by their sound."

And Jesus in addition looked upon the teacher, and said, (2)
 "Thou hypocrite, thou art ignorant of the nature of Aleph, (8)
 how canst thou teach others the Beth? For every letter, (10)
 from Aleph even to Tau,⁴ is known by its arrangement. Say (12)
 thou first, therefore, what Tau is, and I will tell thee what (13)
 Aleph is." Then he, beginning the line, said the letters (14)
 from Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth on to Tau, in full, very fast, and with clearness and great exactness. And when he began to tell and question the teacher about the first letter, he was unable to give any answer. And in the hearing of many, the child began to ask the names of the letters one by one, and to say to Levi, "Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and notice here how it hath lines, and a middle stroke crossing those which thou seest common; lines brought together, the highest part supporting them, and again bringing them under one head; with three points of intersection; of the same kind; principal and subordinate;

¹(12) says here, "from Alpha to Omega," but the older documents represent the Hebrew letters as taught.



²The storax is still abundant in Palestine. This tree is not mentioned in the canonical scriptures, but its odoriferous prod-

uct is referred to in Ecclesiasticus xxiv.15.

³See I Cor. xiii.1; xiv.7.

⁴(2) says "Thet" in the place of Tau; it may be that the author thinks Teth the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

of equal length.¹ Let the master tell us what Aleph is; why it hath so many triangles, gradate, subacute, mediate, obduced, produced, erect, prostrate, curvistrate.² See how it hath two lines, advancing in the middle, standing still, giving, scattering, varying, threatening; triple intermingled with double; at the same time homogeneous, having all common."³ And the Lord Jesus explained to him the meanings of the letters Aleph and Beth; also which figures of the letter were straight, which crooked, which drawn round into a spiral, which marked with points, which without them, and why one letter went before another.⁴

¹This passage from (13) is certainly obscure, and the explanation is by different writers referred to the A of the Hebrew, the Greek, or the Armenian alphabets. It seems to suit best the old Phoenician A, which had the form  or 

²This collection of epithets from (2) certainly refers primarily to the Pentalpha, Pentacle, or Solomon's Seal, celebrated in the magical books that have come down under the names of Hermes and the Pythagoreans. It was formed by joining by straight lines the alternate angles of a pentagon. It is called the Hygeia, or symbol of health, and is still used in some of the Masonic degrees, as a symbol of power, it is said.

³The text of this passage from (10) is very corrupt, and probably these words have no real meaning. This document shows evidence of constant mistranslations from the Greek original.

⁴This is the effort made by (8) to set forth some of the mysteries which Christians, as well as Jews, long believed to

reside in the letters of the alphabet. The Jews believed that their letters were discovered by Adam and handed down to Seth. In the Talacha Tephillin, of R. Mardochai Japhe, will be found a complete mystical interpretation of them, and there are a number of such treatises. Kes-saeus, Sike n. p. (68), following the account which I have already given, represents Christ as giving to the teacher a complete mystical interpretation of the Arabic alphabet. I translate and abbreviate, following that: When Mary had brought Jesus to the teacher and asked him to teach her son, he said to him, "Come hither, O boy." But Jesus said, "I see, O teacher, that thou art foolish; for it is not becoming for thee to be ignorant of the name of a boy before thou beginnest to teach him, so that thou canst call him." Then the teacher asked and learned Christ's name, and began by commanding Him to say, "Bismi 'llâhi 'rrahmâni 'rrâhim," "in the name of God the most merciful." After this he

And when the teacher Levi heard the child speaking such and so great allegories of the first letter, and of the arrangement of the names of the letters, he was thunder-struck and at a great loss about such a narrative, and about his teaching; and he was stupefied about such a human being and such learning, and at his elucidating and recounting many other things which the master himself had never either heard or read in any book. Then he began in the hearing of all to cry out, and say, "Ought such an one to live on the earth? Yea, he ought to be hung on the great cross. For he can tame fire, and bridle the sea, and make sport of other modes of punishment. I think that he lived before the flood, and was born before the deluge.¹ For what womb bare him? or what mother brought him forth? or what breasts gave him suck? I flee before him; I am not able to withstand the words from his mouth, but my heart is astonished to hear such words. I do not think any man can understand what he saith, except God were with him. Alas! I unfortunate wretch that I am, am at a loss, bringing shame upon myself; and have given myself up to be a laughing-stock to him, by having dragged this child hither. Take him away, then, I beseech thee, brother Joseph; I cannot endure the

asks Christ to repeat after him the names of the Arabic letters, which He refuses to do unless the Teacher will tell Him what they mean. This he cannot do, and Christ finally teaches him the mystical meaning of each. Thus Elif is, "There is no God but God;" Be is, "the beauty of God," etc. At the end of this, the master takes Jesus by the hand and leads Him to Mary, saying, "Here, take thy son who hath taught me what I knew not; for He is the wisest of all mortals." A similar legend, in which Jesus explains the Armenian alphabet, is given in Chardin's Travels in Persia. A sim-

ilar story is told of the Xacam of the Thibetans, by August. Georgius in his Thibetan Alphabet. He knew all things from his mother's womb, and once repeated five hundred different alphabets to a teacher who attempted to teach him the letters. An interesting magical prayer used to enable a child to learn his letters is given by Vassiliev, p. 342. This contains the names of the twenty-four elders in heaven, corresponding, of course, to the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet.

¹(8) says, "was born before Noah."

(2)
(8)
(10)
(12)
(13)
(14)

sternness of his look, nor hear his mighty words. For when I thought I had a scholar, I, not knowing him, have found my master. What shall I say? I cannot withstand the words of this child; I shall now flee from this town, because I cannot understand them. An old man like me hath been beaten by a boy, because I can find neither beginning nor end of what he saith, and cannot make out his meaning at all. For it is no easy matter to find a beginning of himself.¹ I tell you of a certainty, I am not lying, that to my eyes the proceedings of this boy, the commencement of his conversation, and the upshot of his intention seem to have nothing in common with mortal man. Here, then, I know not whether he be a wizard or a god; or at least an angel of God speaketh in him.² Whence is he, or where he cometh from, or who he will turn out to be, I know not. There is nothing for me but despondency and death on account of this boy, for I am not able at this hour to look him in the face. All I have to do is to fall into some grievous illness, and depart from this world.”

(2) Then Jesus, smiling at him with a joyful countenance,
 (10) laughed aloud, and said in a commanding voice to all the
 (12) sons of Israel, when they were standing by and hearing and
 (14) encouraging Levi, “Let the unfruitful bring forth fruit, and the blind see the living fruit of the judge,³ and the lame walk right, and the poor enjoy the good things of this life,⁴ and the dead through me rise again, that each may return to his original state, and abide in him who is the root of life and of perpetual sweetness. I am here from above, that I may curse them, and call them to the things that are above, as He that sent me on your account hath commanded me. And those who are exalted, let me call to still higher things.” And when the child Jesus had said this, forthwith all who

¹*i. e.* It is not wonderful that we do not understand what he says, for we do not know what he is.

²These two sentences appear to be Docetic in teaching.

³The meaning of the Syriac here may be: “Let the fruitless be fruitful, and the blind see the living fruit of judgment.”

⁴Cf. Mat. xi.5.

had fallen under malignant diseases were restored, and all were made whole who were affected with any infirmity, having fallen under his curse through his words. And they did not dare to make him angry, or to say anything more to him, or to hear anything from him, lest he should curse them, and they should be maimed.

And it came to pass a second¹ time that Joseph and Mary ⁽²⁾ were asked by the people that Jesus should be taught his ⁽⁸⁾ letters in school. And Joseph, seeing that the child was ⁽¹⁰⁾ vigorous in mind and body; and that he had such favour, and ⁽¹²⁾ was increasing in stature, again resolved that he should not ⁽¹⁴⁾ remain ignorant of the letters. And according to the commandment of the elders, they took him to another and more learned master to be instructed in human learning. And the teacher said to Joseph, "What dost thou wish me to teach that boy?" Joseph answered, and said, "First teach him the Greek letters, and then the Hebrew."² For the teacher was aware of the trial that had been made of the child, and was afraid of him. Nevertheless, he wrote out the alphabet, and began to teach him in an imperious tone, saying, "Say Alpha," And he gave the child his attention for a long time, and he made no answer, but was silent. And when Jesus had said Alpha, the master ordered him to pronounce Beta. Then the Lord Jesus answered him, and said, "If thou art really a teacher, and art well acquainted with the letters, tell me the power of Alpha, and I will tell thee the power of Beta."³ Then his master was

¹Really the third time. The Thomas Gospels, which are the originals of these accounts, represent the two foregoing attempts to teach Jesus, to have been made by Zaccheus, and to be substantially but one.

²(8) here differs from all the rest in having the master attempt to teach only the Hebrew letters. In all the rest, the Greek are used. Herein lies the

point of this miracle, which is but a repetition of the foregoing, with the added teaching, that even as Christ miraculously knew all about His own language, so did He know all about the Gentile tongue, and inferentially, about all other languages.

³All this is an almost exact repetition of the story about the Hebrew alphabet.

filled with fury, and raised his hand and flogged him, and struck him on the head. And the child, being in pain, cursed him; and immediately his hand dried up,¹ and he swooned away, and fell to the ground on his face, dead.

(2) And the child went home again to his mother, and re-
 (8) turned to Joseph's house. And Joseph, being afraid, called
 (10) Mary to him, and said to her, "Know of a surety that my
 (12) soul is sorrowful even unto death on account of this child.
 (14) For it is very likely that at some time or another some one will strike him in malice, and he will die." And Joseph gave orders to his mother, saying, "Do not let him go outside the door, because those that make him angry die." But Mary answered, and said, "O man of God, do not believe that this is possible. Thou mayest believe to a certainty that He who hath sent him to be born among men will Himself guard him from all mischief, and will in His own name preserve him from all evil."

(2) Again the Jews asked Mary and Joseph a third² time to
 (10) coax him to go to another master to learn. And Joseph and
 (12) Mary fearing the people, and the overbearing of the princes,
 (14) and the threats of the priests, led him again to school, knowing that he could learn nothing from man, because he had perfect knowledge from God only. For after some time, another master again, a true friend of Joseph, said to him, "Bring the child to my school; with much sweetness will I teach him, and perhaps I shall be able to flatter him into learning his letters." And Joseph said, "If thou hast the courage, brother, take him with thee." And he took him with him in fear and great agony, and held him with exultation; but the child went along pleasantly. And when he had come to the teacher's house, and entered the school, led by the Holy Spirit, he took the book out of the hand of the master who was teaching the law,³ and in the sight and

¹This particular is furnished by (8).

²Really the fourth time.

³This is the account in (2), but (10) and (12) say that, "he

found a book lying on the reading desk, and took it and read."

(14) says that, "he entered the house of a scribe, and took a volume, and read, not what was

hearing of all the people began to read, not indeed what was written in their book, but he spake in the spirit of the living God, as if a stream of water were gushing forth from a living fountain, and the fountain remained always full. And with such power he taught the people the great things of the living God and the law, that the master himself fell to the ground and adored him. And a great crowd having come together, stood by and heard him, and wondered at the ripeness of his teaching, and the readiness of his words; and that he a child, as he was, spake in such a way. And the master who sat down beside him, and listened to him with pleasure, entreated him to teach them more.

And Joseph, hearing of it, was afraid, and ran to the school in doubt, lest this master too should be without experience,¹ and was dead. And the master said to Joseph, "Know, brother, that I have taken the child as a scholar, and he is full of much grace and wisdom; but I beseech thee, brother, take him home, because the gravity which he hath, hath been given him by the Lord. Thou hast given me not a scholar, but a master; and who can withstand his words?" Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Psalmist, "The river of God is full of water; Thou hast prepared them corn, for so is the provision for it."² And when the child heard the teacher's words, he laughed at him, and said, "Since thou hast spoken aright, and witnessed aright, for thy sake he also that was struck down shall rise again." And immediately the other master was cured. And Joseph took the child, and went away home.

written, but great marvels." The latter is probably the original form of the story, and it is plainly founded on the narrative in Luke iv.16-22.

¹Tischendorf gives a probable conjecture which would make this read, "should be maimed."

²Ps. lxxv.9.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHRIST'S VISIT TO THE TEMPLE, AND HOME LIFE AT NAZARETH.

THE VISIT TO JERUSALEM—JOSEPH AND MARY DEPART FOR HOME—CHRIST TARRIES IN THE TEMPLE—HIS PARENTS SEEK HIM—FIND HIM TEACHING AND ASKING QUESTIONS—HE TEACHES THE LAW—ASTRONOMY—NATURAL SCIENCE—MARY REPROACHES HIM—TEACHERS GLORIFY HIM—HE RETURNS TO NAZARETH—IS SUBJECT TO HIS PARENTS—JOSEPH'S FAMILY—CHRIST AT TABLE—JOSEPH'S OLD AGE—CONFESSION IN THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM—HIS LAST ILLNESS.

- MAIN SOURCES: (2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 42.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 10-15, 29.
(8)—Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, 50-55.
(10)—Gospel of Thomas, Latin Form, 15.
(12)—Gospel of Thomas, First Greek Form, 19.
(14)—Gospel of Thomas, Syriac Form, 15.
(15)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Bohairic Version, 10-15, 29.
(17)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, II, 13-15.
(18)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, III, 14, 15.

(5) Now when Jesus was twelve years old, his parents, as the
(8) custom was with Joseph and Mary, went to Jerusalem to
(12) the Feast of the Passover with their fellow-travellers, and
(14) took him with them.¹ And when the Feast of the Passover
(15) was finished, they indeed returned, and were coming home

¹This whole paragraph is so ii.41-47, and with so little success in the addition of original

again. And when they set out to come back, the child Jesus tarried in Jerusalem; and remained in the temple among the teachers and elders and learned men of the sons of Israel, to whom he put various questions upon the sciences, and gave answers in his turn. And neither Joseph nor Mary knew, but supposed he was in their company.¹ And having gone one day's journey, when they came to the resting place for that day, they sought for him among their kindred and acquaintances; and not finding him, they were in great grief, and turned back to Jerusalem, seeking for him. And after the third day, they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing the law and asking them questions. And they were all attending to him, and wondering that he being a child was shutting the mouths of the elders and teachers of the people, explaining the mysteries and hard sayings of the law, and the parables of the prophets.

For he said unto them, "Whose son is the Messiah?" (8) They answered him, "The son of David." "Wherefore, then," said he, "doth he in the spirit call him his lord, when he saith, 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, that I may put thine enemies under thy footsteps?'"² Again the chief of the teachers said to him, "Hast thou read the books?" "Both the books," said the Lord Jesus, "and the things contained in the books." And he explained the books, and the law, and the precepts, and the statutes, and the mysteries, which are contained in the books of the prophets—things which the understanding of no creature attaineth to.³ That teacher therefore said, "I hitherto have

features, that it scarcely deserves inclusion amongst apocryphal writings.

¹Beda says that the men and the women returned in separate companies. For this reason they were deceived, Joseph thinking Christ to be with the women's company, and Mary thinking Him to be with the men's.

²For the passage, see Ps. cx.1; Mat. xxii.43. The word footstool has above evidently been misunderstood by some transcriber, so as to be thus rendered.

³The imagination of the author of this account is not fertile enough to enlarge upon the theological teachings of Christ,

neither attained to nor heard of such knowledge. Who, pray, do ye think that boy will be?"

- (8) And a philosopher who was there present, a skilful astronomer, asked the Lord Jesus whether he had studied astronomy. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and explained the number of the spheres, and of the heavenly bodies; their natures and operations; their opposition; their aspect, triangular, square, and sextile; their course, direct and retrograde; the twenty-fourths,¹ and sixtieths of twenty-fourths; and other things beyond the reach of reason.²
- (8) There was also among those philosophers, one very skilled in treating of natural science, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether he had studied medicine. And he, in reply, explained to him physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hyphophysics, the powers likewise and humours of the body, and the effects of the same; also the number of members and bones, of veins, arteries, and nerves; also the effect of heat and dryness, of cold and moisture, and what these give

further than to give a weak paraphrase of Mat. xxii.41-46. Fabricius tells, however, of a mediaeval book that made a more ambitious attempt. It is a work which purports to have appeared in the year 1203, and to contain the witness of a Rabbi, who was present on this occasion and heard the teaching of Jesus. The book was, of course, a comparatively late work, written with the purpose of confuting Jewish arguments against Christianity. It represents Christ as teaching about His heavenly Father, the Holy Trinity, the divinity of the Messiah and His spiritual kingdom, and of the advent of the Messiah who was already come. He also spoke of the river Sambation, of the tradition of Elijah about the

world's enduring 6,000 years, and of the two Messiahs, one of whom, the son of Joseph, of the tribe of Ephraim, should die, and the other, the son of David, should reign forever.

¹The Latin word *scipulum*, here used, means the twenty-fourth part of the *as*. It is likely put here for the motion of a planet during one hour.

²As astronomy was the science most highly esteemed after theology by those having the Arabic culture, it was but natural that the author of (8), after showing Christ's knowledge of theology, should turn to the other science. In the next paragraph, we have medicine and natural science, which held the rank just below this.

rise to; what was the operation of the soul upon the body, and its perceptions and powers; what was the operation of the faculty of speech, of anger, of desire; lastly, their conjunction and disjunction, and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect.¹ Then that philosopher rose up, and adored the Lord Jesus, and said, "O Lord, from this time I will be thy disciple and slave."

And while they were speaking to each other of these (8) and other things, Mary came, after having gone about seek- (10) ing him for three days along with Joseph.² She therefore, (12) seeing him sitting among the teachers, asking them ques- (14) tions, and answering in his turn, said to him, "My son, why hast thou treated us thus? Why hast thou done these things to us, child? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee with great distress and trouble." And Jesus said to them, "Why seek ye me? Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business? Know ye not that I ought to occupy myself in my Father's house?" But they did not understand the words that he spake to them. Then those scribes, and Pharisees, and teachers asked Mary whether he were her son, saying, "Art thou the mother of this child?" And when she signified that he was her son, they said, "Blessed art thou, O Mary, who hast brought forth such a son. Blessed art thou among women, for God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb;³ for such glory, and such virtue and wisdom, we have not seen in boys, neither have we heard that any man hath mentioned." And Jesus rose up and fol-

¹All this is a curious summary of the knowledge of what I take to be the earlier mediaeval period.

²This paragraph, again, is but the paraphrase of Luke ii. 48-52. Various Church writers have discussed the question as to how Christ was fed during these three days when He was in the temple. Johannes Major dismisses as unworthy of Christ

the tradition, that during this time He begged his bread before the door of the temple. He says that during this period, He who once fasted forty days, either fasted, or was bidden to their table by the teachers in the temple, or more probably still, subsisted upon some of the provisions for the journey, which He had by Him.

³Luke i.42.

lowed his mother, and was subject to his parents. And returning with them to Nazareth, he obeyed them in all things. And his mother observed all these things that had happened, and all the great miracles that Jesus had done among the people, in healing many that were diseased; and she kept all these words of his in her heart. And the Lord Jesus advanced in stature, and in wisdom, and in favour with God and man;¹ and all who saw him glorified God the Father Almighty.

- (8) And from this day he began to hide his miracles and mys-
 (17) teries and secrets, and to give attention to the law, until he completed his thirtieth year, when his Father publicly declared him at the Jordan by this voice sent down from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;" the Holy Spirit being present in the form of a white dove. And there are other eighteen years since the Lord's mother brought him forth on earth, in a mystery which cannot be searched out, nor can any know it in the whole creation, except the Lord, and His Father, and the Holy Ghost in unity.²

¹The entire course of these apocryphal writings practically denies this statement.

²It seems rather curious that the apocryphal writers make no effort to fill in this long gap in the life of Christ. They seem, however, to have been restrained by the positive statement of the fourth Gospel, that the miracle at Cana was the first wrought by Christ in public. The statement above, that Christ began to hide His miracles, seems to have this in mind; but the next one about His attention to the law flatly contradicts the testimony just given by (8) itself, that He knew the law perfectly. Cajetan, Nic. Lyranus, and Tostatus say that during this period He worked at

His father's trade of a carpenter. Simon Cass., however, declares this to have been unworthy of Christ, and represents Him as spending His time in contemplation and prayer. Sepp, in his *Symbolik zum Leben Christi*, reports the various legends that during these years Christ made a journey to Persia to seek for the Magi, or a similar journey to India, or a journey to Egypt, where He was instructed in wisdom by the priests of that country. This latter legend is often given in blasphemous Jewish books, which represent Christ as having learned sorcery in Egypt, whereby He was able to work His miracles. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 149, 150. A similar theory of

Now Joses¹ and Simon, the elder sons of Joseph, were married, and had families of their own. Both the daughters (5) (15) were likewise married, and lived in their own houses. So there remained in Joseph's house Judas, and James the Less, and the virgin mother.² Jesus, moreover, dwelt along with them in all subjection of sonship, not otherwise than if he had been one of the sons. But he passed all his life without fault. He did every work of mankind, sin only excepted.³ Mary he called mother, and Joseph father, and he obeyed them in all that they said; nor did he ever contend against them, but complied with their commands, as other men whom earth produceth are wont to do; nor did he at any time arouse their anger, or give any word or answer in

a residence in Egypt has been broached in modern times, by various writers, who seek thus to account for the undoubted infusion of ancient Egyptian ideas in certain forms of the Catholic faith. These, however, owe their rise to the Gnostic movement, which was largely Egyptian in origin. A curious book appeared in English in 1895, called "The Unknown Life of Christ," London, Hutchinson & Co. The author is Nicolas Notovitch, a Russian, who claims that he found in the Buddhist monasteries of Thibet the record of Christ's residence in that country and India, from His twelfth to His thirtieth year. He gives at some length a record of His teachings, and of the Passion, from which all supernatural elements are eliminated. I have not the least doubt that this book is a fabrication, resting upon no shred of authentic tradition, even, and that it is intended to be an insidious attack

upon the Christian religion. Its inspiration is found in recent theories that Buddhism and Christianity are akin in their fundamental ideas, and that the latter must have been derived from the former. Notovitch's book is ingenious, and I recommend it to the curious, but a very slight acquaintance with apocryphal literature will convince one that it is a thoroughly modern composition. The last sentence of this paragraph is from (17).

¹(5) here reads Justus, and (15), Josetos, which I take to be the transitional form from the Joses of Mat. xiii.55, plainly here intended, and which I supply, as well as Simon instead of the Simeon of (5).

²(15) here says, "but Joseph dwelt with James his youngest son."

³Here is another, and it seems to me, much more sensible guess as to the occupations of the mysterious eighteen years.

opposition to them.¹ On the contrary, he cherished them with great love, like the apple of his eye.²

(2) And Joseph having come to a feast with his sons, James, Joses, Judas, and Simon,³ and his two daughters, Jesus met them, with Mary his mother, along with her sister, Mary of Cleophas,⁴ whom the Lord had given to her father Cleophas and her mother Anna, because they had offered Mary the mother of Jesus to the Lord. And she was called by the same name, Mary, for the consolation of her parents. And when they had come together, Jesus sanctified and blessed them, and he was the first to begin to eat and drink; for none of them dared to eat or drink, or to sit at table, or to break bread, until he had sanctified them, and first done so.⁵ And if he happened to be absent, they used to wait until he should do this. And when he did not wish to come for refreshment, neither Joseph nor Mary, nor the sons of Joseph, his brothers, came. And, indeed, these brothers, keeping his life as a lamp before their eyes, observed him, and feared him. And when Jesus slept, whether by day or by night, the brightness of God shone upon him.⁶

(5) Now at length, by increasing years, the pious old man
(15) Joseph arrived at a very advanced age, his life being pro-
(17) longed to the utmost limit, for he was a hundred and eleven years old.⁷ He did not, however, labour under any bodily

¹All this is but an expansion of Luke ii.51; see also Heb. iv.15; v.8; I Tim. ii.11.

²See Deut. xxxii.10; Ps. xvii.8; Zech. ii.8.

³Again I correct these names from Justus and Simeon.

⁴See chap. II.

⁵Christ here takes the place of the father of the family in presiding at table. Hofmann refers to a treatise by Kuinoel, 1764, on the custom of grace before and after meat amongst Jews and Christians. Some such rite was very ancient. But the reference

to it here is doubtless suggested to the apocryphal writer by the many instances recorded in scripture of Christ's blessing food. See Mat. xiv.19; xv.36; xxvi.26; Luke ix.16; John vi.11.

⁶See I Tim. vi.16. The author of (2) here adds: "To whom be all praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen, amen," marking the end of his Gospel.

⁷The age of Joseph at the time of his betrothal to Mary has already been discussed in chap. III. The reckoning there made, and which I have fol-

weakness; in mind, also, for the whole time of his life, he never wandered. His body was not bent, but like a boy in his business he always displayed youthful vigour; and his limbs remained unimpaired, and free from all pain, so that he worked at his trade of a carpenter until the day that he lay down with the sickness wherewith he should die. His sight had not failed, nor had any tooth perished from his mouth, or even hurt him.¹

So it came to pass that the death of the pious old man (5) Joseph drew near, and his departure from this world, even (15) as it is appointed unto all men² who are born of earth. And as his body was verging on dissolution, an angel of the Lord³ informed him that he should die this year, and that his death was now close at hand. Therefore fear and great perplexity came upon him, and his soul was troubled. So he rose up, and went to Jerusalem; and going into the

lowed, would make the event above narrated happen when Christ was eighteen years old, Joseph having been 93 at the time of his birth. Epiphanius, however, thinks that Joseph died shortly after Christ's twelfth year. Bonaventure thinks he survived the time of Christ's Baptism. John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, says that he did not live through Christ's public ministry. Pseudo-Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine all say that he survived Christ's Resurrection. The age of 111 here assigned Joseph at the time of his last illness, and called "the utmost limit," is just one year greater than the age of 110 at which the patriarch Joseph died, Gen. 1.26. This may have suggested the above number to the author. Joseph the Just must excel Joseph the Patriarch. Joshua also died at 110. The

painters have generally represented Joseph as grievously bowed down by old age.

¹The aim here is to represent Joseph as the ideal of manhood, as Mary was the ideal of womanhood. This idea has been fully sanctioned by the Roman Catholic church. John Gerson, at the Council of Constance, wished to have the immaculate conception of Joseph decreed.

²This expression, see Heb. ix.27, is repeated many times in (5).

³According to Jewish ideas, which I suppose are followed here, there were many angels of death, of whom the principal were Sammael and Gabriel. But according to later writers, Metatron was set over all these angels. According to Mohammedan views, Azrael was the death angel. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 854.

temple of the Lord, he repented, and poured forth his prayers there before the altar, saying:¹

(5) O God, author of all consolation, God of all compassion,²
 (15) and Lord of the whole human race; God of my soul, body,
 (17) and spirit; with supplications I reverence Thee, O Lord and my God! If now my days are ended, and the time draweth near when I must leave this world, send me, I beseech Thee, the great Michael, the prince of Thy holy angels;³ let him remain with me, that my wretched soul may depart from this afflicted body without trouble, without terror, and in patience. For great fear and intense sadness take hold of all bodies on the day of their death, whether it be man or woman, beast wild or tame, or whatever creepeth on the ground or flieth in the air. At the last all creatures under heaven in whom is the breath of life are struck with horror, and their souls depart from their bodies with strong fear and great depression.⁴ Now, therefore, O my Lord

¹This long prayer that follows is similar in many particulars to the prayers given in various Greek apocryphal acts of the different apostles, and said to have been uttered by them just before their deaths, *e. g.* the prayer uttered by Philip, in the Acts of Philip, Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII, p. 502.

²See I Cor. 1.3.

³To accompany souls from earth does not seem to have been a principal function assigned to Michael by Jewish belief; but in the Testament of Abraham, see Ante-Nicene Library, X. p. 185, a work bearing many points of resemblance to (5), and to which I shall refer again, it is Michael who is sent by God to Abraham, to warn him, to prepare him, and finally to bear his soul to heaven. Michael's chief

function was that of doorkeeper of paradise. For much curious lore about him, see Eisenmenger, vol. I.

⁴The intense fear of death here expressed is said to have been characteristic of the ancient Egyptians and of the Coptic Christians. See the essay of M. Revillout, *Les Affres de la Mort, Rev. Egypt.*, vol. I, p. 139 seq. The attitude of Joseph is like that of Abraham, who, in the Testament of Abraham, refuses to follow Michael, and utterly cowers before Death when he at last appears to him. The discussion of the question, why death is permitted to rule in the world, is the main inspiration of (5), being more truly its purpose, I think, even than the desire to glorify Joseph.

and my God, let Thy holy angel be present with his help to my soul and body, until they shall be dissevered from each other without trouble. And let not the face of the angel appointed my guardian¹ from the day of my birth until now, be turned away from me, to burn in anger toward me in the path, as I come unto Thee; but may he be the companion of my journey, even until he bring me to Thee. Let his countenance be pleasant and gladsome to me, and let him accompany me in peace. And let not the demons of frightful aspect² come near me to injure me in the way which I am to go, until I come to Thee in bliss. And let not the doorkeepers³ hinder my soul from entering paradise. And do not uncover my sins, and expose me to condemnation before Thy terrible tribunal. Let not the lions⁴ rush in upon me; nor let the waves of the river of fire⁵ overwhelm my soul. For this must all souls pass through, and be purified before they see the glory of Thy Godhead. O God, most righteous

¹The belief in guardian angels is certainly upheld by the New Testament. See Mat. xviii.10; Acts xii.7. Early Christian references to the belief are found in Shepherd of Hermas, III, 4; Justin Martyr's Apology, II, 5; do. Trypho, 5; Athenagoras, Legat. 10, 20; Clem. Alex. Stromata, VI, 17.

²(15) here reads, "those whose face is diverse." In the Testament of Abraham, Death's two diverse faces are described at great length. I presume that in it, and here, there is reference to some representation of the old religion of Egypt.

³(15) here has, "those who are by the gates." An allusion, doubtless, to an echo of the ancient religion. The doorkeepers of the gateways of Osiris.

⁴See Ps. xxxv.17; II Tim.

iv.17; I Pet. v.8.

⁵Or, "sea of fire," as it is in (5); (17) has "the threatening waves of demons;" and (15), the above, which I judge to be the original form. The belief in purgatory appeared very early in the Church. See Clem. Alex. Paedagog. 111, 9; do. Stromata, VII, 6; Origen against Celsus, V, 14, 15. I think there is every indication that the imagery connected with it was drawn from the religion of ancient Egypt. But see also Dan. vii.10. The Jewish idea seems to have been that paradise was surrounded by the abodes of hell, so that it was necessary for all souls to pass through it in order to reach the dwellings of the righteous. But good men were detained in it only long enough to be washed and cleansed.

Judge, who in justice and equity wilt judge mankind, and wilt render unto each one according to his works;¹ O Lord and my God, I beseech Thee, to be present to me in Thy compassion, and enlighten my path that I may come to Thee; for Thou art a fountain overflowing with all good things, and with glory for evermore. Amen.²

(5) And it came to pass, thereafter, when Joseph returned to
 (15) his own house in the city of Nazareth, that he was seized by
 (17) the disease wherewith he should die, and had to keep to his
 (18) bed. For now the fine gold, even the flesh of Joseph, began to be altered and lose its splendour; and the silver, even his understanding and wisdom, to be worn down by use.³ He also loathed food and drink, and lost all his skill in his trade of carpentry;⁴ for it turned into error and unreasonableness, nor did he any more pay attention to it. For this disease was very heavy upon him, and he had never been ill, as he was now, from the day of his birth. For it was at this time that he died, according to the destiny of all mankind.

¹Rev. xxii.12.

²Joseph said this prayer in Jerusalem because, according to Jewish belief, prayers ascended best from the temple. According to some Rabbis, all prayers ascended to God from the holy place alone. When offered in other lands, they had first to fly to the holy land, and then were gathered from all parts of the holy land to this one spot where they ascended straight up together. This reason was given for the practice of praying towards Jerusalem. See I Kings viii.4; Dan. vi.10. The Christian practice of orientation is certainly connected with this, also

the Mohammedan praying towards Mecca and the Kaaba, and orientation in Freemasonry.

³It seems strange that here the understanding is compared to silver, and the flesh to the nobler metal gold. This seems to be due to injudicious embellishments of the text by transcribers. In Tischendorf's text, the gold and silver refer to the wisdom and understanding, which is better. There is probably an allusion here to Eccles. xiii.6, and Lam. iv.1.

⁴Notice how conflicting is the tradition of these documents as to whether or not Joseph was skilful at his trade.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DEATH OF THE OLD MAN JOSEPH.

JOSEPH DYING—HIS CONFESSION—ASKS PARDON OF CHRIST WHO WEEPS—AND MINISTERS TO HIM—REPELS DEATH AND HIS CREW—PRAYS TO THE FATHER—THE ANGELS COME—RECEIVE JOSEPH'S SOUL—CHRIST COMFORTS THE CHILDREN—THE NEIGHBOURS ENTER—CHRIST BLESSES JOSEPH'S BODY—AND THOSE WHO COMMEMORATE HIM—PREPARATIONS FOR THE BURIAL—CHRIST TELLS WHY DEATH REIGNS—THE BURIAL—MARY DWELLS WITH HER NEPHEWS.

- MAIN SOURCES: (2)—Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 42.
(5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 15-29.
(15)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Bohairic Version, 15-29.
(18)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Sahidic Fragments, III, 15-23.

Now it came to pass, in the early dawn of the twenty-sixth (5) day of Abib,¹ that Joseph, that righteous old man, lying in (15) his bed, was giving up his unquiet soul. Wherefore he (18) opened his mouth with many sighs, and uttered a groan, and struck his hands one against the other three times, and

¹Abib, or Epep in the Coptic, corresponds to the last part of July and the first of August. The date of Joseph's commemoration in the calendar of the Coptic church is mentioned by Malan as July 20, which corresponds to the above date. This day differs from that kept by the rest of the Church, which has been already mentioned. The Jewish month Abib, however, falls during March and April.

with a loud voice cried out in great trouble, and spake after the following manner :

(5) Woe to the day on which I was born into the world!¹
 (15) Woe to the womb which bare me! Woe to the bowels
 (18) which admitted me! Woe to the breasts which suckled me!
 Woe to the knees upon which I sat and rested! Woe to the
 hands which carried me and reared me until I grew up!²
 For I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin did my mother
 desire me.³ Woe to my tongue and lips, which have brought
 forth and spoken vanity, detraction, falsehood, ignorance,
 derision, idle tales, craft, and hypocrisy! Woe to mine
 eyes, which have looked upon scandalous things, and loved
 witchery! Woe to mine ears, which have delighted in the
 words of slanderers, and all the words of swearing! Woe
 to my hands, which have seized what did not of right belong
 to them! Woe to my belly and my bowels,⁴ which have
 lusted after food unlawful to be eaten! Woe to my throat,
 which like a fire hath consumed all that it found!⁵ Woe to
 my feet, which have too often walked in ways displeasing to
 God! Woe to my body, and woe to my miserable soul,
 which hath already turned aside from God its Maker!
 What shall I do when I arrive at that place where I must
 stand before the most righteous Judge, and when He shall

¹This long confession is very similar to a prayer to be used upon one's death bed, which is found in a prayer book of the Italian Jews, and is reprinted by Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* cap. 49. Prof. Forbes Robinson also remarks that it forms a striking contrast to the "Negative Confessions," in c. 125 of the Book of the Dead, where the deceased asserts the purity of various acts during his life on earth, as the ground of his hope for admission into the Hall of the Two-fold Maat. The Jewish prayer mentioned has its successive

clauses begin with the letters of the alphabet, in order. There is also a like Mohammedan prayer founded upon the letters of the Arabic alphabet.

²Job iii. contains much that is strikingly similar to these earlier sentences of the confession.

³Ps. li.5.

⁴For a conception of the intestines as the causes of offences in this life, see Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, lib. IV, 10.

⁵(15) here has, "would consume it more than a burning fiery furnace, and make it everywhere unprofitable."

call me to account for the works which I have heaped up in my youth? Woe to every man dying in his sins! I say unto you, O my sons and daughters, that that same dreadful hour, which came upon my father Jacob,¹ when his soul was flying forth from his body, is now, assuredly, near at hand for me. Oh! how wretched I am this day, and worthy of lamentation! But God alone is the disposer of my soul and body; He also will deal with them after His own good pleasure.

Now as the righteous old man Joseph was saying these (5) things, Jesus arose and went to him as he lay exceedingly (15) troubled in soul and spirit. And he said to him, "Hail! (18) my beloved father, whose old age is at once good and blessed; how is it with thee?" He returned answer in great trouble and disquietude, saying, "Hail! many times, my beloved son. Indeed the agony and fear of death have already environed me; but as soon as I heard thy kindly voice, my soul was at rest. O Jesus of Nazareth! Jesus, my Lord! Jesus, my true King! Jesus, my good and merciful Saviour, the deliverer of my soul! Jesus! O sweetest name in my mouth, and in the mouth of all those that love it! O Jesus the Pilot! Jesus, who shelterest the universe and rulest it by the good pleasure of thy goodness! Jesus, the Eye that seest,² the Ear that hearest, hear me also to-day, even me thy servant, as I most humbly entreat thee, and pour out my tears before thy face. For thou art God in truth and perfection, even as thy angel warned me times without number; and especially on that day when my soul was driven about with perverse thoughts about the pure and blessed Mary, who was carrying thee in her womb, and whom I was thinking of secretly sending away. And while I was thus meditating, behold, there appeared to me in my rest the angel of the Lord, saying to me in a wonderful mystery, 'O Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife;³ and grieve not thy soul, nor speak unbecoming words

¹See Mat. i.16.

²Mat. i.20. The account of this

³Thilo points out a similar passage in the Hebrew Pirke Aboth.

event is given here in quite different words from those used to

of her conception, because she is with child of the Holy Spirit, and shall bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins.' And now, O my Lord, do not for this cause wish me evil; for I was ignorant of the mystery of thy birth, neither did I ever hear that a woman was with child without a man, or that a virgin bare, sealed in her virginity. I call to mind also, my Lord, the day that the horned serpent bit the lad on his foot, and he died. His relations wished to deliver thee to Herod, saying that thou hadst killed him; and thy Godhead laid hold of him, and he lived.¹ And when thou didst raise him up to his parents, there was great joy to them. But I requested thee, O my beloved son, saying, 'Be quiet in all things;' and I took hold of thy right ear, and pulled it.² Thou didst answer, saying unto me, 'Unless thou wert my father according to the flesh, surely I would have taught thee who I am.' Now, therefore, O my Lord and my God,³ if thou hast reckoned with me for that day, and hast caused these fearful signs to come upon me; I beseech thy goodness not to bring me in, to contend with me.⁴ I am thy servant and the son of thine handmaid.⁵ If thou breakest my bonds asunder, I will sacrifice to thee a sacrifice of praise, even the confession of the glory of thy Godhead, that thou art Jesus Christ, at once the Son of God in truth and the son of man."⁶

describe it in the earlier part of this same document. Which indicates, as other incidents further on will make more probable, that the author of (5) used apocryphal documents that differed from any that are now extant, or quoted those we have with extreme inexactness.

¹(5) here either used accounts similar to the Thomas Gospels and differing from them in many details, or quotes them from memory, and confuses different miracles in a strange manner. This seems to be a compound of

the tale of the lad who fell from the house, and of the other concerning James bitten by a serpent. There is no mention of Herod in this connection in the Thomas Gospels.

²Again, in the Thomas Gospels this is recorded to have occurred in quite a different connection.

³See John xx.28.

⁴Cf. John ix.3.

⁵Ps. cxvi.16.

⁶Joseph's whole confession here seems to have been fabricated for the purpose of shriv-

Now when the vigorous old man Joseph had thus spoken, (5) he was unable to weep more. And Jesus could not refrain (15) from weeping when he saw him already caught in the snares (18) of death who had dominion over him, and when he heard the words of misery which he spake. And he remembered the day of his death, at the time when the Jews would set him on the cross for the salvation of the whole world. Straightway, he went to the court outside; and Mary his virgin, undefiled mother arose, and came out to the place wherein he was; and she said to him, in great sorrow and shame of heart, "O my beloved son, this pious old man Joseph is now dying; shall he die, he of the good and blessed old age, Joseph the honourable, thy beloved father according to the flesh?" Jesus answered, and said to her, "O my beloved mother, who is there ever among the race of men, who have worn flesh, that will not taste death? Assuredly upon all creatures produced in this world the same necessity of death lieth; for death holdeth sway over the whole human race. Even thou, O my virgin mother, must look for the same end of life as other mortals. And yet thy death, as also the death of this pious man, is not death, but life eternal and unceasing. Nay more, even I must taste death for the universe,¹ because of the flesh that dieth, which I wore in thee. Now therefore, O my beloved mother, arise and go in unto Joseph, that blessed old man, in order that thou mayest see what will happen as his soul ascendeth from his body."

And Jesus arose, and went into the court where he lay, (5) and found him with the signs of death already manifest in (15) his countenance. He sat by his head, looking at him; and (18) Mary also, the beloved mother, sat at his feet. And that blessed old man raised his head, and kept his eyes fixed on

ing his soul from the sin of doubt concerning Mary's virginity, that is recorded against him in the canonical scriptures, and repeated in other forms in the apocryphal ones.

¹Heb. ii.9. This thought of the universality of the reign of death over all created things was a familiar one to the Jews. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 343.

the face of Jesus; but he was not able to speak, because the dumbness of death had dominion over him. But he lifted his right hand, and kept fetching many sighs. And Jesus held his hands and his feet for a great while; whilst Joseph kept holding the right hand of Jesus, looking at him steadfastly, as if entreating him, and saying, "O my Lord, suffer me not to be taken away." And Jesus put his hand in under his breast, and found that his soul reached to his throat; for it was preparing to depart from its receptacle. And the messengers of death were waiting for him, that he should go forth from the body. But the last hour had not yet been fulfilled; for when Death cometh, he hath no forbearance; for Confusion followeth him, and Weeping and Destruction go before him.

(5) And when the virgin mother saw Jesus touching his body,
 (15) she also touched the soles of his feet. And finding them
 (18) already dead, and destitute of the breath of heat, she said to him, in guilelessness, "Thanks be to thee, my beloved son; for from the hour that thou didst put thy hand on his body, the fire was afraid and withdrew from him. Behold, his feet and his legs are as cold as ice and snow." Then Jesus moved his head, and called Joseph's children, saying to them, "Come, as many as there are of you, and speak with your blessed father; for this is the time to speak, before the mouth that speaketh faileth, and the wretched flesh is cold." Then his sons and his daughters arose, and came unto their father, and spake with him, finding him in danger of death, being near to separation from this life. Lydia, his eldest daughter, who is the seller of purple,¹ answered and said to her brethren, "Woe to me, my brethren; this is the sickness which befell my beloved mother, and until now we have seen her no more. This also is that which happeneth to our father Joseph, that we should not see him forever."

¹Acts xvi.14. The author certainly does not intend intelligently to identify Joseph's daughter with this woman of Thyatira. Apocryphal writers

constantly seize upon points of similarity suggested by names, without regard to consequences. (5) here reads Assia, for Lydia or Lysia.

And she lamented and shed tears; and all Joseph's other children mourned along with her. And Jesus also and Mary his virgin mother wept along with them, knowing that the hour of death was come.

Then Jesus looked toward the south and saw Death ⁽⁵⁾ already approaching.¹ He came unto the house, Gehenna² ⁽¹⁵⁾ following him, who is the counsellor and the villain, the ⁽¹⁸⁾ devil from the beginning,³ many attendants of diverse aspects following him,⁴ all armed with fire, without number, brimstone and smoke of fire coming forth from their clothes, their faces, and their mouths. Then Joseph looked, and he saw those who came after him, being very wrathful, even as they burn with passion and anger toward every soul of man that cometh forth from the body, and especially a sinful one, if they find a token of their own in him.⁵ When the good old man saw them, Death being with them, his eyes dissolved in tears, and his soul was distracted with great groaning, seeking a way to be hid that it might be saved; for he saw powers which he had never seen. And when Jesus saw the great trouble which befell the soul of his father Joseph, that he beheld very diverse forms, fearful to look upon; he arose straightway, and rebuked him who is the instrument of the devil, and the hosts which followed him. And they fled in shame and in great confusion. But no man save Jesus, of those gathered about Joseph, not even Mary, knew concerning all the fearful hosts that come after the souls of men. And when Death saw that Jesus rebuked the powers

¹The personification of death here is very similar to that in the Testament of Abraham. Death appeared first to the patriarch in great glory and beauty, but afterwards, at his request, showed him his face of corruption and fierceness, which was so terrible that 7,000 of Abraham's servants died at sight of it.

²The Coptic versions here, and elsewhere that the word occurs

in the following narrative, have "Amenti," the name of the hell of the ancient Egyptian religion.

³See I John iii.8.

⁴For descriptions of such hellish crews, and the efforts of demons to get possession of souls, see the vision of the monk John in regard to Dagobert, in the Golden Legend, and many similar mediaeval legends.

⁵Cf. John xiv.30.

of darkness¹ which followed him, and put them forth, and that they had no power against his beloved father Joseph, he was afraid, and fled, and hid himself behind the door.² Then Jesus arose, straightway, and offered up a prayer to his Father, the exceeding merciful, saying:

(5) My Father and the Father of all mercies, the Root of
 (15) goodness, the Father of truth, the Eye which seest, the Ear
 (18) which hearest, hear Thy beloved Son, even me, as I entreat Thee for the work of Thy hands, even my father Joseph; that Thou mayest send me a great cherubim, and the choir of the angels, and Michael, the steward of goodness, and Gabriel, the evangelist of the aeons of light,³ and all the light of Thine angels; that their whole array may watch the soul of my father Joseph, and lead it, until it cross the seven aeons of darkness,⁴ and pass by the dark ways, wherein it is very fearful to go, and very disquieting to see the powers which are upon them. Let the river of fire, flowing as the waves of the sea, be as water, and the sea of demons cease vexing. Let it be gentle towards the soul of my father Joseph; for this is the hour wherein he hath need of mercy, as he cometh unto Thy holy hands.⁵

(5) Now it came to pass when Jesus had said the amen, Mary
 (15) his beloved mother answering him in the language of the
 (18) inhabitants of the heavens,⁶ that straightway, behold,

¹Luke xxii.53; Col. i.13.

²So, in the Testament of Abraham, Death cowers and trembles in the presence of God.

³Here, and in the passage to which the next note refers, there seems to be a survival of Gnostic terminology, the "aeons" of "light," and the mystical number seven. Gabriel is called "the angel of the aeons," in the Pistis Sophia.

⁴In the Testament of Abraham, Death says to the patriarch, "For seven aeons, I destroy the world and lead all down to Hades, kings and rulers, rich

and poor," etc. Here the aeons refer to time. Prof. Robinson cites also in illustration the Egyptian conception of the seven Arits through which the dead man was supposed to pass.

⁵This prayer, mainly formed of the Coptic versions, (5) being much briefer, impresses me as one of considerable beauty, and as having strong evidences of liturgical construction. May it not be the adaptation of some Gnostic formula?

⁶An expression often used in apocryphal literature.

Michael and Gabriel and the choir of the angels came from heaven, and stood by the body of Joseph. And straightway numbness and panting for breath rose against him exceedingly, and Jesus knew that the burning hour was come. And he kept labouring as one about to bear a child, affliction pursuing after him as a violent wind,¹ and as a great fire devouring a great wood. And as for Death also, fear did not suffer him to enter into the body of Joseph, that he might separate it from the soul; for, looking in, he saw Jesus sitting by his head, having hold of his temples. And when Jesus knew that Death feared to come in because of him, he arose and went outside the porch, and found him waiting alone in great fear. And straightway he said to him, "O thou that hast come from the places of the south, get thee in quickly, and accomplish that which my Father hath commanded thee. But watch him as the light of thine eyes; for he is my father according to the flesh, and he hath suffered with me in the days of my youth, fleeing with me from place to place because of the plot of Herod. And I learned from him as all sons, whom their fathers teach for their profit."² Then Abaddon³ went in, and took in peace the soul of

¹See Ps. xlvi.6, 7.

²Cf. Heb. xii.9, 10.

³Thus, in (18). See Rev. ix.11. I suppose Death is indicated. The other versions do not state who brought the soul forth. In various apocalypses, accounts are given of the difficulty that is experienced in bringing the soul forth. In that of Esdras, the angels cannot bring it through his mouth, nostrils, eyes, head, or the ends of the nails, and return to God in despair. The same difficulty is discussed in the Apocalypse of Sedrach. In the Testament of Abraham, God finally removes the soul as in a dream. For Jewish legends as to how death appears with a

sword in his hand, on which hangs a drop of gall that is given the victim, see Eisenmenger, I, 873. Similar Mohammedan legends are embodied in chap. XVIII. Eisenmenger gives the wonderful Rabbinical legends about the death of Moses, in I, 856. Zoega, in his Catalogue, p. 334, gives the Sahidic story of a monk to whom God permitted to see the soul of a wicked man come forth in torment, and also to see a righteous soul come forth. In the latter case, Michael and Gabriel were sent to take it. As it would not come forth, David with his melodious harp finally charmed it thence.

Joseph, and brought it forth from the body at the hour when the sun was about to rise on its course. Now when Joseph gave up his spirit, Jesus saluted him. And when he went in, he sat by him; and no man knew that he was dead, among those who sat about him. Then Michael and Gabriel came to the soul of Joseph, and Michael took hold of the two corners of a shining napkin, of fine texture, silken¹ and precious; and Gabriel took hold of the two other corners. They saluted the soul of Joseph, and wrapped it in the napkin. And Jesus made Michael and Gabriel watch the soul of his beloved father Joseph, because of the plunderers that are in the ways;² and he made the angels that have no body keep singing before him, until they took him to the heavens unto his good Father, even into the dwelling-place of the just.³

(5) Then Jesus turned to the body of his father Joseph, lying
 (15) prostrate and bloodless like an empty vessel, and sitting
 (18) down he reached forth his hands, and put right his eyes, and closed his mouth, and looked down upon him for a great while, weeping for him. And he said to the virgin, "O Mary, my mother, where now are the skill and all the works of trade which this man hath wrought from his youth until now? They all have passed away in this one hour, as though he had not been born into the world at all." When Joseph's sons and daughters heard Jesus saying these things to Mary his virgin mother, they knew that he had already breathed

¹Dr. Budge says that the custom of wrapping the dead in silk first came into Egypt about the end of the fourth century. This idea of wrapping up the soul seems like a fantastic one. But so, in the Testament of Abraham, does Michael take the soul in "a divinely woven linen cloth."

²(5) has "the demons of darkness which were in the way." Precisely the point of view of the vulgar Chinese Joss religion. The Jews held similar views, see

Eisenmenger, I, 879.

³Precisely similar was the conduct of the angels in taking to heaven the soul of Abraham, according to the Testament of Abraham. It is specified that they sang the Trisagion, and the account ends with a passage which is but an adaptation of the prayer for the faithful departed in the Liturgy of St. Basil. The last clause of the above is a fragment of the same prayer.

his last, and they shed tears and lamented. And they said to Jesus, with great weeping, "Woe to us, O our Lord! Is our father dead, and we knew it not?" And he said to them, "In truth, he is dead. But the death of Joseph my father is not death, but life forever. Those blessings which my beloved father Joseph will receive are great. For from the hour that his soul went forth from his body, all trouble ceased for him. He went into the kingdom forever. He left behind him the burden of the body. He left behind him this world full of all troubles and all vain cares.¹ He went into the resting places of my Father who is in the heavens, which are never destroyed." And when Jesus had said these things to his brethren, "Your father Joseph, the blessed old man, is dead," they arose; they rent their garments, and they wept for a great while.

And, indeed, the inhabitants of Nazareth and of Galilee, ⁽⁵⁾ when they heard the mourning, flocked to the place, accord- ⁽¹⁵⁾ ing to the law of the Jews; and they spent all the day mourning for him until the ninth hour.² And at the ninth hour they all went together to Joseph's bed. And they lifted his body, after they had anointed it with costly unguents.³ But at that hour Jesus caused all to be put forth. Then he poured water on the body of his beloved father Joseph, and anointed him with sweet smelling oil. He prayed to his good Father who is in the heavens, with heavenly prayers, which he wrote with his own fingers on the tables of heaven,⁴ before he took flesh in the holy virgin Mary. And as soon as he had finished it, and pronounced the amen, there came a multitude of angels; and he ordered two of them to stretch out their shining garments, and to wrap in them the body of Joseph, the blessed old man.

¹See II Cor. v.4.

²See Mat. ix.23; Mark v.38.

³See John xix.39.

⁴See Ex. xxxi.18; Deut. ix.10. The tables of heaven are mentioned in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Asher, 7, and apocryphal ideas about them

are discussed at some length by Fabricius, *Codex. Apoc. Vet. Test.* I, p. 551. As examples of alleged magical prayers composed by Christ, see two numbers of M. René Basset's *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, v. vii, and partly embodied in chap. XX.

(5) And Jesus placed his hands on the body of Joseph, and
 (15) spake to him, saying, "Let no evil smell of death have dominion over thee, neither let thine ears stink, nor let a worm ever come forth from thy body, neither let thy shroud nor thy flesh, wherewith I have clothed thee, rot in the earth,¹ but let it remain on thy body even until the day of the banquet of the thousand years.² Let nothing of thy body perish, nor a single limb of it be broken. Let not the hair of thy head waste away, of which I took hold with my hands many times, O my beloved father Joseph; and it shall be well with thee. They who shall take thought for an offering, and present it to thy shrine on the day of thy memorial, even the twenty-sixth of the month Abib; I will bless each one of them also in the heavenly offering which is in the heavens; for one will I render unto them thirty, sixty, and a hundred.³ And also he who shall give bread to the wretched, the poor, the widows, and orphans, from the work of his hands, on the day on which thy memory shall be celebrated, and in thy name, I will not suffer him to lack any good thing of this world, all the days of his life. Whosoever shall have given a cup of water or of wine into the hand of a stranger, or of a widow, or of an orphan, on the day of thy memorial; I will grant him to thee to take him to the banquet of the thousand years.⁴ They who shall write the history of thy

¹The idea of all this is the same that made the Egyptians spend such extraordinary pains in embalming the dead. According to their belief, which the Christian writer here seems to appropriate, it was necessary for the dead man to have his body as well preserved as possible, when he went to the underworld. See Book of the Dead, chap. 154. The Christian world to this day retains its prejudice against cremation, the rapid instead of slow destruction of the body.

²Cf. Rev. xx.2, 3, 4, 7. For

early Christian references to the banquet, see Barnabas, 15; Hermas, i.3; Irenaeus contra Haer. v.33; Justin, Trypho, 81; Tertullian adv. Marcion, III, 24. For the Jewish conception of this banquet, with many monstrous ideas, feasting upon the flesh of Behemoth, Leviathan, and the bird Bar Juchneh, see Eisenmenger, I, p. 880.

³Mat. xiii.8; Mark iv.8.

⁴The Testament of Isaac, given in Testament of Abraham, James, p. 148, contains a passage very similar to all this promise

life,¹ of thy labour, of thy going forth from the body, and of all the words which have come forth from my mouth to-day, I swear by thy life, O my beloved father Joseph, that I will grant them to thee in this world; and also when they go forth from the body, I will tear the bond of their sins,² that they may not receive any torment, save the necessity of death and the river of fire which is before my Father, which cleanseth all souls. This shall they cross without trouble or pain, nor will I torment them with any punishment of the day of judgment,³ but I will burn the book of their sins.⁴ And if he is a poor man, and hath not wherewith to do those things which I have said, if he beget a son, and call his name Joseph,⁵ glorifying thy name; famine and pestilence shall not be in that house, because thy name is in it.⁶

After these things, the chief men of the city came together (5) to the place where the body of the blessed old man Joseph (15) had been laid, bringing with them burial-clothes; and they

of recompence for good deeds at the banquet of the thousand years.

¹The inscription at the end of the Ms. of (15) is so curious that I give it as a specimen. Such prayers are to be found at the end of nearly all apocryphal Ms.: "Remember me, the least, the sinner, the wretched one, stinking in the pit of his sins, even Hapip. Lord, have mercy upon him. Amen. I wrote this on the twenty-eighth of the month Epep, in the year of the martyrs, seven hundred and eighty-three." Poor Hapip doubtless hoped to share in the above blessing.

²See Col. ii.14.

³All the fathers placed the purgatorial fires at the day of judgment, as the Greek church does still. Augustine was the

first who maintained that the purification took place in Hades before the judgment. According to the Koran, the judgment day shall endure a thousand years, or fifty thousand according to another passage.

⁴See Rev. xx.12; Dan. vii.10. It is a well known Jewish, also Mohammedan belief, that all the deeds of life are written in a book from which each man shall be judged. See a form of this legend in chap. XVIII.

⁵A similar promise is made in the Testament of Isaac, which I have once already referred to.

⁶It is plain from this paragraph, that the practical purpose the author had in view in this document was the encouraging the cultus of St. Joseph, although a disquisition on the mystery of death was his main theme.

wished to wrap it up in them after the manner in which the Jews are wont to arrange their dead bodies.¹ And they found it already prepared, the shroud having been fastened to his body, as though it were fastened with iron pins; and when they moved him, they found no entrance in the shroud. Nor could they find any ends in that piece of linen, which struck them with the greatest astonishment. And after these things, they carried him out to a place where there was a cave. And when they had dug at the door of the cave, that they might open its gates and bury his body beside the bodies of his fathers, Jesus remembered the day that Joseph went down with him into Egypt,² and the great troubles that he suffered because of him. And he stretched himself out on his body, and wept for him a great while, saying:

(5) O Death!³ Who makest all knowledge to vanish away, and
 (15) raisest so many tears and lamentations, surely it is God, my Father Himself, who hath granted thee this wonderful power. For men die for the transgression of Adam, and Eve his wife,⁴ but Death is not to blame like these. For though he spareth not so much as one, he doeth nothing without the command of my Father. There certainly was a man who lived nine hundred years before he died,⁵ and many others also have lived more than that; yet not one of them said, "I have seen Death," or that he cometh from time to time troubling any one. But he doth not trouble them save one time;⁶ and that time also it is my good Father who

¹See John xix.40; Mat. xxvii. 59; Mark xv.46; Luke xxiii.53.

²Such a reference as this is enough to indicate the almost certainly Egyptian origin of this apocryphal document.

³Prof. Robinson remarks that there is much pathos in many of the Egyptian lamentations over death, with several of which he compares the above. Egypt is certainly the inspiration of much of the mediaeval Christian

horror in the presence of death, and the source of some of the gloomier views as to the state of departed souls.

⁴Gen. iii.6; Rom. v.12; I Cor. xv.21, 22.

⁵See Gen. v.5. The Rabbins say that Adam was to have lived a thousand years, but presented seventy years of his life to David, who otherwise would have had a very short life.

⁶Cf. Heb. ix.27.

sendeth him after the man. And at the hour that he cometh after him, he heareth the sentence from heaven. If the sentence cometh in confusion and is full of anger, Death also cometh in confusion and in wrath, that he may fulfil the command of my good Father, and receive the soul of the man, and give it to the Lord.¹ Death is not able to cast him into the fire nor to bring him into the kingdom of the heavens. For Death performeth the commandment of God; but Adam did not the will of my Father, but rather wrought transgression, until my Father was angry with him, in that he obeyed his wife, and was disobedient to my good Father, until he brought Death upon all flesh.² If Adam had not been disobedient to my good Father, He would not have brought Death upon him. What is there that hindereth me from asking my good Father to send me a great chariot of fire,³ that I may set my father Joseph thereon, that he may not taste death at all; and that I may cause him to be taken up in the flesh wherein he was born, to the places of rest, and that he may dwell with my angels that have no body? But because of the transgression of Adam, this great trouble hath come upon all mankind, and this great necessity of death.⁴ Inasmuch as I wear the flesh that suffereth, I must needs taste death in it for the creatures that I have made, in order that I may have mercy on them.

Having thus spoken, Jesus embraced the body of his (5) father Joseph, and wept over it; and they opened the door of (15) the tomb and placed his body in it, near the body of his father Jacob.⁵ And thus, assuredly, it pleased Christ to order the destiny of righteous Joseph.

¹Another reference to the idea of death's two faces.

²The exposition of the author not only agrees with Christian theology, *e. g.* Rom. v.12, but with Jewish theology as well. See Eisenmenger, II, p. 81. God constantly gives power to death through the ministry of Metatron. Eisenmenger, I, p. 854.

³See II Kings ii.11.

⁴The Rabbins, however, said, some that six, some that nine, some that thirteen persons were not subject to the power of death. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 865.

⁵Beda says that the tomb of Joseph was in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near that of Simeon.

- (2) And when Joseph, worn out with old age, died and was buried with his parents, the blessed Mary lived with her nephews, or with the children of her sisters.¹

The Bollandists, however, say that tomb is that of the Joseph or Justus mentioned in Acts i.23. ¹This brief passage is found only in certain Mss. of (2).

CHAPTER XV.

CHRIST MADE A PRIEST, BAPTIZED, AND CALLS HIS APOSTLES.

ONE OF THE PRIESTS DIES—DIFFICULTY IN CHOOSING A SUCCESSOR—CHRIST NOMINATED—HIS GENEALOGY INVESTIGATED—MARY'S VIRGINITY AGAIN PROVED—CHRIST ENROLLED AS SON OF GOD—OFFICIATES AS PRIEST—JOHN BAPTIZES—CHRIST BROUGHT TO HIS BAPTISM—BAPTIZED—JOHN IMPRISONED—CHRIST CHOOSES HIS APOSTLES—WONDERS TOLD BY JOHN THE APOSTLE—PARTICULARS ABOUT THE APOSTLES—PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF CHRIST.

MAIN SOURCES: (11)—Narrative regarding the Beheading of John the Baptist.

(16)—Fragments of Lost Documents.

(19)—How Jesus Christ was made a Priest.

(20)—Acts of John, 2, 6, 7, 9.

(21)—Letter of Lentulus.

(24)—Story of Veronica.

(30)—Church Fathers and Other Writers.

(42)—Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, I, v.

Now it came to pass after the death of the old man (19) Joseph, at the time when Jesus abode in Judaea, before he began openly to show himself and teach the people to believe on him,¹ that one of the two and twenty priests in the temple died. For in the most ancient times, when the tem-

¹This first sentence, formed of latter essentially, but have phrases from several apocryphal slightly changed the order of documents, I have prefixed to some of its sentences.

(19). I have not altered this

ple was built in Jerusalem, certain priests were, according to the Jewish custom, appointed to minister in it, being the same in number as the letters in their alphabet, even two and twenty.¹ On this account, also, the Jews reckoned that there were two and twenty divinely-inspired books.² And there was a register³ laid up in the temple, in which the name of each of the priests was recorded; as well as that of his father and mother. When, now, one of these priests died, the others assembled in the temple, and chose by ballot another in place of the dead, to fill out the number of two and twenty. It was also then recorded in the register that on such a day, such and such a priest, the son of such and such a father and mother, had died; and that in his place, such and such a one, the son of such and such a father and mother, had been chosen.

¹History has no knowledge of such a number of priests, or courses of priests, in the temple. On the other hand, the division into twenty-four courses is given in I Chron. xxiv; is alluded to in Luke i.5, also is mentioned by Josephus, Antiquities, VII, 14, 7. It is probable that the Greek author of (19) tried to make a point as to the identity of the number of priests or courses with the letters of *his* alphabet, and some editor who noticed the inappropriateness of this in what purported to be a Hebrew document, changed his figures to twenty-two.

²The division of the Old Testament books into this number was recognized by Josephus, and generally by the Jews of the first Christian century. The Talmudic number, however, was twenty-four. This difference of reckoning may also have had influence in producing the dis-

crepancy referred to in the last note. For a brief and clear discussion of the number of the Hebrew books, see Encyclo. Brit., art. "Bible."

³Ezra ii.62; and Neh. vii.64; as well as, Josephus against Apion, I, 7; show the importance that the Jews attached to family registers, especially of the families of the priests. In the text, which in the account of Suidas accompanies this apocryphal fragment, (19), the story is told that the register mentioned above was at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, saved, and carried away to Tiberias by the Jews; and that only a few chosen ones of their number knew of its existence. Amongst these was Theodosius, a prince of the Jews, who is related to have confessed the fact and told this story to Philip, a Christian, during the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

Now in fulfilment of this custom, the remaining priests (19) had assembled to choose another in place of the dead. And as each one proposed the man whom he held to be most worthy to fill this office, the others rejected him on account of his lack of some of those qualities that were necessary. For when one was found fit in life and manners, but was not perfectly instructed in the law and the prophets, he was declared unworthy of the priesthood.¹ When, now, many priests had declared their nominations, and all had been rejected, a certain one rose up, and placing himself in the midst of the others, said to them, "Behold, many have been proposed by you and found unfit for the priesthood. Listen then, to me, and I will tell you of a man, who is worthy to be set in the place of the dead. For I think that none of you will be against the choice proposed by me." And when the remaining priests invited him to speak, he said, "I would that in place of the dead priest there be set Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter. He is, it is true, young in years,² but he is distinguished for eloquence of speech, and for his life and good morals. I maintain accordingly, that no man is his equal, so eminent is he in these respects; and I believe that to all of you who dwell in Jerusalem this is known, so that nothing can be said against it."

¹That the Jews were very careful in the choice of their priests, that the requirements as to learning were exacting, and that life and manners were carefully scanned, is undoubtedly true. See Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 12, 2; Philo, *Op.* II, p. 225. As to the care about avoiding bodily defects, see Lev. xxi.17 seq.; Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, V. 5, 7; *Mischna Middoth*, 5:4.

²The law made no provision as to the age a priest must reach before he could enter upon his duties, although this was fixed at thirty for the Levites, which

age, according to the Jews, was the beginning of complete manhood. It is probable that the apocryphal writer here intends to represent Christ as having attained that age, and places the incident just before the entrance on the public ministry. The universal tradition of the Catholic church is, that thirty is the earliest age at which a bishop can be consecrated, representing the fulness of the Christian priesthood. See Canon XIV of the Trullan Council of A. D. 692.

(19) And when the other priests heard these words, they hearkened to the man, and confirmed his proposal, whilst they said that Jesus was above all the fittest for the priesthood. But some of them averred that he was not of the tribe of Levi, but of the tribe of Judah, by which they meant that Jesus was the son of Joseph; for so was it believed amongst the Jews.¹ For all testified that Joseph descended from the tribe of Judah and not from the tribe of Levi; and on this account, because Jesus did not appear to be of the tribe of Levi, they objected to his being made a priest. But the priest who had proposed him, answering them, said that his genealogy was a mixed one. For in early times there had been a commingling of the families of the two tribes, from which the family of Joseph had originated.² Now when the other priests heard this, they voted for the one proposed; and by unanimous consent, it pleased them all to choose Jesus in place of the dead priest.³

(19) But as the custom was that not alone the name of the one made priest should be put down in the register, but also that of his father and his mother, some said that the parents of Jesus must first be summoned, to learn from their own mouths their names, as well as to ask of them a declaration as to whether this one who had been chosen priest was

¹Jewish tradition alleges that Christ Himself openly taught that He was the son of Joseph, as against the calumnies regarding His parentage that were circulated.

²The tradition here is undoubtedly derived from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, see Simeon, chap. 7; Levi, chap. 2; Dan, chap. 5; Gad, chap. 8; Joseph, chap. 19. See also Pseudepigrapha, Deane, p. 189. According to the Jewish view, the royal and sacerdotal dignities must be united in the Messiah, and this very early explanation

of how Christ inherited both, was accordingly invented.

³It is easy to see that the appearance of the claim that Christ had actually been made a Jewish priest was almost inevitable. Such passages as, Heb. viii.3, 11, 15, 20; viii.4; x.11, seem immediately to suggest it. It has also been argued that Christ would not have had the book delivered to Him in the synagogue, as recorded in Luke iv.16-20, if He had not belonged to the priesthood. Christ is represented in priestly garments by many of the older painters.

their son. And this was well pleasing to all. Thereupon, the one who had proposed Jesus as priest said that Joseph, the father of Jesus, was dead,¹ and that only his mother was living. All agreed, accordingly, that his mother should be brought into the council, to learn of her whether she was the mother of Jesus, and to hear the name of her husband, to whom she had borne him. So they summoned the mother of Jesus, and said to her, "Whereas, such and such a priest hath died, the son of such and such a one, and we desire to make Jesus thy son priest in his stead, it is the custom to record the names of his father and mother. Tell us, therefore, whether Jesus is thy son, and whether thou hast borne him, and the name of his father to whom thou didst bear him, in order that the name of Jesus and thy name, with that of the father to whom thou didst bear him, may be written in the register."

Now when Mary heard these words, she answered, and (19) said to the priests, "That Jesus is my son, I testify, for I have borne him; and the men and women who met me when I bare him, will testify for me, that he hath no father upon earth. Receive this testimony from me, if it please you. For when I was a virgin and dwelt in Galilee, the angel of the Lord came to me, in the house where I was, when I was awake and not sleeping; and he announced to me that I should bear a son from the Holy Ghost, and commanded me to call his name Jesus. As a virgin had I this vision, and conceived and bare Jesus, remaining a virgin unto this day, even after bringing forth."

When the priests heard this, they had trustworthy mid- (19) wives come, and charged them strictly to examine whether Mary were really still a virgin. And these testified from the examination that she was yet a virgin, and confirmed it. There came, also, those who were present, and had seen it when she brought forth, who testified that Jesus was her son.²

¹See notes on this subject in the preceding chapter. evidently modelled on that of the Apocryphal Gospels.

²See chap. V. This account is

(19) Then the priests were amazed at that which Mary and the witnesses testified concerning the birth of Jesus. And they said to her, "Tell us truly whose son he is, in order that we may hear it from thine own mouth, and so record it. For whatever parents thou namest to us, these and no others will we record." Then Mary answered, and said, "I have indeed borne him, and knew no father of his upon earth; but from the angel I have heard that he is the Son of God. He is then my son, who am called Mary, and the Son of God. And I am still a virgin as if I had not been married." When the priests heard this, they brought the register, and wrote therein, as followeth: "On this day died such and such a priest, the son of such and such a father and mother; and in his place, by the unanimous choice of all, Jesus, Son of the living God and of the virgin Mary, was made priest."¹ And Jesus ministered with the priests in the temple.

(11) Now it came to pass in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in
(24) the consulship of Albanus and Nerva, when Herod was king of Judaea, and Caiaphas high priest, that John the forerunner became thirty years of age. And they said of him that he was of the priestly family of Aaron, and the son of Zacharias and Elisabeth.²

(11) And John went to every city and village preaching tem-
(16) perance and the baptism of repentance. His food was
(30) locusts, the red ones, and wild honey, the taste of which was like unto manna, like a honey cake steeped in oil.³ He had a dress of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle was about his loins. And John the Baptist, like the moon, had thirty

¹After the manner of so many of the later apocryphal documents forged as anti-Jewish weapons, this was intended to confute absolutely objections to the divinity of Christ.

²This brief paragraph, I have formed from the account of (11), a fragment of the Gospel of Marcion as given by Thilo, and a fragment of the Gospel

of the Ebionites as reported by Epiphanius, *adv. Haeres.*, XXX, 13. There are, perhaps, a number of other Church writings that contain the same particulars. It differs little from the account in Luke iii. 1, 2.

³From the Gospel of the Ebionites, given by Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, XXX, 13.

disciples, even as Christ, the sun, had twelve.¹ John appeared before Christ, therefore, as the herald of his approach, and preceded him in the way of baptism. And as he baptized unto repentance in the river Jordan, there went out to him to be baptized, the Pharisees, and all Jerusalem, and all the Jewish region.²

Behold, then, the mother of the Lord and his brothers ⁽¹⁶⁾ said unto him, "John the Baptist baptizeth for the forgive- ⁽²⁴⁾ ness of sins; let us go, that we may be baptized of him." ⁽³⁰⁾ But the Lord said to them, "What have I sinned that I should be baptized of him, unless, perhaps, this very word which I now speak is a sin of ignorance?" So Jesus was by his mother Mary almost unwillingly brought to the receiving of the baptism of John.³ And he was baptized on the sixth of the month Andynaeus, or January, at the tenth hour of the day, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, as he came to be about thirty years old.⁴

Now John stood above the waters when Christ descended ⁽¹⁶⁾ into them that he might be baptized in Jordan.⁵ And im- ⁽³⁰⁾

¹From Clem. Hom. I, 6. But the tradition is probably of Gnostic origin, as the significant number, thirty, indicates.

²Parts of this paragraph are taken from various sources, but differing so slightly from the canonical accounts, they require little notice.

³All this is found in Jerome adv. Pelag. III, 2, and is said by him to be derived from the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.

⁴These traditions are given by John Malela in (24). As to the date, Jan. 6 is the prevalent tradition, but Epiphanius says it was in November, and Chrysostom and Theophylactus, that it was in the Spring, just before the passover mentioned in John ii.13. As to Christ's age at the

time, this agrees with Luke iii.23. The Church writers are not agreed as to whether this means that he had finished his thirtieth year, or only entered upon it. See Barradius, Comment. II, lib. I, cap. 12. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, bk. II, 22, argues that Christ's Baptism when thirty years old was not a type of the thirty aeons, as the Gnostics alleged.

⁵In this paragraph, I have used as a framework the account of the Baptism contained in the Syriac Baptismal Liturgy of Severus, as given by Resch, p. 362 seq., which see for extended discussion of this interesting document. As to the locality where the Baptism took place in Jordan, Adrichomius says it was

mediately there shone round the place a great light; and a fire was seen over the water, so that all who were gathered together there were afraid.¹ And the heaven was opened, and the Holy Spirit of God, flying like a dove,² descended and rested upon the head of the Son, and brooded over the waters.³ And when John saw that, he said to Jesus, "Who art thou, Lord?" And the Lord said to John, "Come, baptize thou me." Then fell John down before him, and said, "I pray thee Lord, baptize thou me. It cannot be that I should commit robbery."⁴ But Jesus said to him, "Let it be so, for thus it behoveth that all be fulfilled.⁵ Only place thy right hand upon my head, and I shall be baptized." And John as a blessed priest placed his hand upon the head of the Lord,⁶ and the Son, who inclined his head, was bap-

in the territory of Benjamin, not far from the Dead Sea. He adds that pilgrims still went there to bathe, and that there was a chapel there dedicated to St. John. Gregor. Turon. says the place was five miles from the Dead Sea, and that lepers were still in his time healed by bathing there. Boschardus says the place was two miles from Jericho.

¹This account of the light which shone round the place, and of the fire which was kindled over the water, represents one of the most ancient and widely disseminated traditions. Justin Martyr, Trypho, c. 88; Pseudo-Cyprian; and the Sibylline Oracles, VII, 81-83; mention the fire: and Epiphanius; Codex Vercellensis; Codex Sangermanensis; Ephraem Syrus; and Severus Alexandrinus; the light. For complete references to these, see Resch, p. 357 seq. The story of the light and fire is plainly

suggested by the account of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the canonical Gospels. See John i.29-34 and parallel passages; also the references to the true light in close connection with this in John i.

²Barradius, p. 48, gives a multitude of reasons why the dove was chosen as the symbol of the Holy Spirit.

³This addition in the Liturgy of Severus is suggested by Gen. i.2.

⁴This strange sentence, said by the Liturgy of Severus to have been uttered by John, "*Fieri non potest ut rapinam assumam*," has no parallel in other accounts of which I know. Cf. Phil. ii.6.

⁵From the Gospel of the Ebionites, Epiphanius, Haeres., XXX, 13.

⁶Ancient pictures of the scene sometimes represent John as pouring water upon Christ's head from a shell.

tized. And when Jesus ascended out of the water, the sun inclined his rays, and the stars adored him who had sanctified all streams and fountains.¹ And there was a voice from heaven, which said, "Thou art my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased," and again, "To-day have I borne witness to thee." And the Holy Spirit with full stream came down and rested upon Jesus, and said to him, "My Son, in all the prophets was I waiting for thee, that thou shouldst come, and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest. Thou art my first-born Son who reignest forever."² And when Jesus went up from the river Jordan, the devil came and tempted him, even so far as to say to him, "Worship me." And Christ answered him, "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."³

And Herod, hearing that John was beyond the Jordan ⁽¹¹⁾ baptizing, sent for him, and questioned him, saying "Art ⁽¹⁶⁾ thou John, the son of Zacharias? Knowest thou not that thy life is in my power?" But John boldly said to him, "I am the son of Zacharias, whose blood thou didst pour out in the temple of God, which crieth out concerning thee, thou lawless one. Be ashamed, because thou tookest the wife of thy brother Philip, and didst not fear God." Then Herod scourged John, and threw him into prison. And when Jesus heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee.

¹The idea that water was first sanctified for use in baptism by the Baptism of Christ in Jordan, is referred to by many Church writers. See the prayer for the sanctification of the water in the baptismal service of the Anglican church. Jerome says, Letter cviii, that the Lord had cleansed by His Baptism waters which the deluge had polluted. See also note on Christ's Baptism in chap. VIII.

²The last three sentences are given by Jerome in his commen-

tary on Isaiah, lib. IV, xi.2, as being from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. As already stated in the notes on the Epiphany, the Baptism of Christ is commemorated on that date, Jan. 6, by both the Eastern and Western churches.

³It is strange that the story of the Temptation is not found distinctly elaborated in apocryphal literature. A part of the matter in chap. XXI, however, may originally have been intended to refer to it.

- (16) After this it came to pass that Jesus was walking by the
 (30) sea of Tiberias near Capernaum. Now Andrew, the
 (42) brother of Simon Peter, and son of Jonas and Johanna, of the tribe of Simeon,¹ had heard from John that Jesus was the Lamb of God. Now he was large in person, a little stooped, having a large nose and high eyebrows. And he was moved through wonder at this, and at the appearance of John, so that he went hastily to his brother. And when he had told Peter² of Christ, he persuaded him that he should go with him to see Jesus. Now Peter was bald as to his head, but with full beard and much hair about his face, tawny like that of a lion. And they were both fishermen of the village of Bethsaida.
- (20) And they were upon this day on board the boat mending
 (42) their nets, for they went about the lake to catch fish. And there were with them Evodius³ and Alexander, their kinsmen, and Rufus⁴ also, aiding them, for the boat and nets were Peter's and the others were under him as workmen.

¹Most of these particulars as to the apostles are ultimately derived from the Apostolic Histories of Abdias, see Fabricius, I, p. 402 seq.; or Migne, vol. II, under separate titles, for French translations. The name of Andrew's mother, I take from Cod. Bibl. Reg. Paris, Cotelerius. It deserves no estimation as an ancient source. His tribe is mentioned by Epiphanius, see Lipsius, I, p. 575; and the personal description is from the same, p. 577. The newly-discovered Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, Harris in *Contemporary Review*, LXXXVI, p. 806, assigns Andrew to the tribe of Zebulon, just as it fancifully distributes all the twelve apostles among the twelve tribes. I shall mention these

in succession, but they deserve little attention.

²The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles illogically assigns Peter to the tribe of Reuben. Many descriptions of his personal appearance are extant. For discussion of them, see Lipsius, II, 213, 216, 80.

³This name is given as sixty-third in the list of the Seventy. He was undoubtedly the first bishop of Antioch, and was succeeded in that see by St. Peter.

⁴The author, I suppose, intends these to be identified with the men of the same names mentioned in Mark xv.21. For the legends of Rufus, see Lipsius, II, 222, 422. For Alexander, see do, I, 553, 621. Their legends are closely intertwined with that of Andrew.

And as the Lord Jesus came by, he called unto Peter and Andrew his brother, saying, "Come, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."¹ And when they heard the gentle voice of the Lord calling them, they stayed not at all, but bade farewell to everything, and to the boat, and came to the shore, and followed him. Evodius, Rufus, and Alexander, also, departed no more to their fathers, but went and followed their fathers the apostles, and ministered to Christ in all that he might command them.

Now Andrew was unmarried,² but Peter had taken to wife ⁽¹⁶⁾ Perpetua, the daughter of Aristobulus, who was a brother ⁽³⁰⁾ of Barnabas who afterwards became an apostle. And by ⁽⁴²⁾ her he had a son, and a daughter named Petronilla, who was a paralytic and very fair to look upon.³ Now Peter's name was formerly called Simon, but when the Lord called him, he added unto him two other names, Peter and Cephas, so that his names became three.

And when Jesus had chosen Peter and Andrew, he came ⁽¹⁶⁾ to John and his brother James, who were also fishermen ⁽²⁰⁾ of Bethsaida. Now they were in a ship with their father ⁽³⁰⁾ Zebedee, who was of the tribe of Zebulon;⁴ and their mother was Salome,⁵ the daughter of Joseph. And Zebedee had wished his son John to marry, but Jesus prevented him by the heavenly call. For John had lived most chastely from his youth, therefore Jesus loved him above all his disciples.⁶

¹See Mark i.17.

²See Lipsius.

³For references to these legends, see Lipsius, under titles "Peter" and "Petronilla." Legend has a good deal to say about the latter. The name Perpetua, for Peter's wife, is found in ancient tradition.

⁴The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles says that they were from the tribe of Issachar. For tradition as to tribe of Zebulon, see Lipsius, E, 20.

⁵The list in Cod. Bibl. Reg.

Paris, Cotelierius, names Hieroklea here. For tradition as to Salome, see Lipsius, E, 26. Their mother's name was also given as Bronte (thunder), in allusion to Mark iii.17. See Lipsius, E, 27.

⁶This tradition is many times repeated in apocryphal literature, and will be mentioned again in this work. See following chapter for account of the manner in which Christ prevented the consummation of John's marriage. I refer in

For Jesus said unto John and James, "I have need of you; come unto me." Then James, hearing this, said, "John, what would this child have, that called to us from the shore?" And John said, "What child?" And James said to him again, "The one that is beckoning to us." And John answered, "Because of our long watch, which we have kept at sea, thou seest not aright, my beloved James. Seest thou not the man that standeth there, fair and comely and of a cheerful countenance?"¹ But James said to him, "Him I see not, brother; but let us go forth, and we shall see what it meaneth." And so, when they had brought the ship to land, they saw Jesus also helping along with them to settle the ship.

(20) Now when they departed from the place, wishing to follow Jesus, again he was seen of John as having a head rather bald, but a thick and flowing beard. But to James he appeared as a youth whose beard was newly come. They were, therefore, perplexed, both of them, as to what that should mean which they had seen. And as they followed him, both of them by little and little became more perplexed as they thought upon the matter. Yet unto John there appeared this, which was still more wonderful; for he would try to see Jesus in private, yet he never at any time saw his eyes closing, but only open. And oftentimes he appeared to John as a small man and uncomely, and then again as one reaching to heaven.

(20) Also there was in him another marvel. When John sat at meat, Jesus would take him upon his breast,² and John would consider with himself; and sometimes his breast was felt of him to be smooth and tender; and sometimes hard like stones, so that he was perplexed in himself, and said, "Wherefore is this so unto me?" And another glory did

brief for these legends to Lipsius under title "Johannes, Apostel, Herkunft."

¹Tradition has always been two-fold as to the Lord's appearance. See closing paragraphs of this chapter. The

Docetic writer of (20) here uses this fact as a confirmation of his views as to the unsubstantial and phantasmal nature of the Christ.

²Cf. John xiii.25; xxi.20.

John tell. Sometimes when he would lay hold of Jesus, he met with a material and solid body. And at other times again when he felt him, the substance was immaterial, bodiless, and as it were not existing in any wise. And often when John was walking with Jesus, he wished to see whether the print of his foot appeared upon the earth, (for he saw him raising himself from the earth,) and he never saw it.¹

And when Jesus was come into Capernaum, he entered ⁽¹⁶⁾ into the house of Simon, who was surnamed Peter, and said, "As I passed along the lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew, and Thaddaeus, and Simon Zolotes, and Judas Iscariot, and thee, Matthew, I called as thou wast sitting at the receipt of custom, and thou followedst me. You, then, I wish to be of my twelve apostles for a testimony unto Israel."²

Now Thaddaeus, who is also called Judas and Lebbaeus, ⁽¹⁶⁾ was the brother of the Lord according to the flesh, and had ⁽³⁰⁾ received the baptism of John.³

Simon Zelotes, who was also called the Canaanite and ⁽¹⁶⁾ Nathanael, was of Cana of Galilee, his parents being Al- ⁽³⁰⁾ phaeus, and Mary the daughter of Cleophas, of the tribe of Asher. And these it was who bade Jesus and his disciples to the wedding feast.⁴

¹I John i.1 has doubtless suggested the fabrication of these Docetic tales.

²From the Gospel of the Ebionites as given by Epiphanius, Haer., XXX, 13.

³These identifications are generally made in apocryphal literature. We shall have more of Thaddaeus as the apostle of Edessa. In the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, he is said to be from the tribe of Judah. According to the Cod. Bibl., Cotelierius, which identifies him with Lebbaeus, but not with Jude, his

parents were Necrophanes and Selene. He is also given fourth in the list of the Seventy. He is again identified with Barsabas and Levi. I cannot pretend to refer to the different legends on this intricate subject, but give a general reference to the titles "Thaddaeus," and "Judas Jakobi," in Lipsius.

⁴These identifications are made in apocryphal literature, also with Simon Clopas. The tradition which identifies him with the bridegroom at the marriage in Cana, is ancient and

(16) And he whose very name is not worthy to be uttered,
 (30) Judas the traitor, was of the tribe of Dan, and from the city
 (42) of Sekharyût. And he bare the purse; but was a thief, and stole that which was given Jesus and the apostles.¹

(16) Matthew the publican, who was also called Levi, was descended from the tribe of that name. His father was called Rufus and his mother Chirothea; and they dwelt in Galilee.²

(16) And the other four apostles were Bartholomew, Philip, and
 (30) Thomas, with James³ the brother of the Lord, who was also called the son of Alphaeus. He was a stonecutter by trade.⁴

(16) Bartholomew came from Endor. He was by calling a
 (30) herdsman, and his parents, Sosthenes and Urania, were of the tribe of Issachar.⁵

(16) Philip was from Bethsaida, being a fellow countryman
 (30)

wide-spread. The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles gives his derivation from the tribe of Asher, others from Ephraim, see Lipsius, E, 20, to which work I make a general reference. In the document which several times I have quoted from Cotelerius, his father is called Gallion, or Zeus, and mother, Ammia, and he is said to be from the village Salem.

¹I have given a lengthy synopsis of the mediaeval legend of Judas in the notes on chap. X. That is not consistent with the brief account given here. That he was from the tribe of Dan, is stated in the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles. Lipsius also gives, E, 21, the tradition that he was of Gad.

²This is the tradition given by Cotelerius. His native place is variously given as Jerusalem, Nazareth, Capernaum, and Berytus. Gospel of the Twelve Apostles says he was from the

tribe of Naphtali. See Lipsius, for many traditions. I make this general reference for all the remaining apostles.

³The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles assigns these respectively to the tribes of Simeon, Joseph, Benjamin, and Levi. The fanciful names given to the parents come from Cotelerius, as do the trades which are assigned to three of them. He also speaks of Philip as coming from Bethsaida, and gives the origin of Thomas as being from Antioch.

⁴James the brother of the Lord, and James of Alphaeus are not always identified in apocryphal legend. The former is given first in the list of the Seventy.

⁵Literature concerning him is very extensive; he is also identified with Nathanael, which, I think, best agrees with the canonical accounts.

of Andrew and Peter. He was by trade a coachman, and his parents were Philisanon and Sophia, of the tribe of Joseph. He had a sister named Mariamne.¹

Thomas, who by the Lord was named Didymus, came from the city of Paneas, in Galilee. His father was Diophanes and his mother Rhoa. He had a sister called Lysia, and his parents were of the tribe of Benjamin.²

And besides the twelve,³ Christ had other disciples who were seventy in number.⁴ And the Lord himself baptized

¹Philip is also given seventh in the list of the Seventy.

²Thomas is often identified with Jude in apocryphal writings. The name of his sister, it will be observed, is the same as that of one of the sisters of the Lord.

³Augustine says that Christ chose twelve apostles, not alone because there were twelve tribes in Israel, but also because the four divisions of the earth, north, south, east and west, multiplied by the number of the Trinity, make twelve. Kessaeus, Sike, n. p. (61), thus gives the Mohammedan version of the call of the apostles: Christ was walking by the sea-shore, and saw certain fullers. Going to them, He said, "Ye cleanse your garments, but do not the same with your hearts." Therefore they believed in Him and became witnesses of His Gospel. Their names were: Simeon, Lucas, Petrus, Thomas, Matthaeus, Johannes, Jacobus, Jonas, Georgius, Hannas, Honein, and Paulus.

⁴(42) says that these were seventy-two. The list of the Seventy, as found in the works

attributed to Hippolytus, and elsewhere, is as follows:

1. James, brother of the Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem.

2. Cleophas, a cousin of Christ, who accompanied Him to Emmaus, successor of James.

3. Matthias of Bethlehem, appointed in place of Judas Iscariot, preached the Gospel in Ethiopia, and died a martyr.

4. Thaddaeus, disciple of Thomas, who carried the epistle of Christ to Edessa, to Abgar, and became the apostle of the Syrians.

5. Ananias, who baptized Paul, Bishop of Damascus.

6. Stephen, the first martyr.

7. Philip, one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, and afterwards Bishop of Trallium, in Asia.

8. Prochorus, one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, and afterwards Bishop of Nicomedia, in Bithynia.

9. Nicanor, also one of the deacons, who died when Stephen suffered martyrdom.

10. Timon, another deacon, Bishop of Bostra or Beroea; was burned.

Peter, and Peter Andrew, and Andrew John, and they

11. Parmenas, another deacon, afterwards Bishop of Sali.

12. Nicolaus, another deacon, afterwards Bishop of Samaria and apostate.

13. Barnabas, companion of Paul, afterwards Bishop of Milan.

14. Mark, the evangelist, together with Peter at Rome, founder of the congregation at Alexandria, a martyr under Nero.

15. Silas, who accompanied Paul, afterwards Bishop of Corinth.

16. Luke, the evangelist and painter, accompanied Paul, died in Bithynia, or Greece.

17. Silvanus, accompanied Paul and was Bishop of Thessalonica.

18. Crescens, who helped Paul, preached the Gospel in Galatia (Gaul), and founded the church at Vienna, or was Bishop of Carchedon.

19. Epænetus, Bishop of Carthage.

20. Andronicus, Bishop of Pannonia, or Spain.

21. Amplias, Bishop of Odysus.

22. Urbanus of Macedonia.

23. Stachys of Byzantium.

24. Barnabas, Bishop of Herculæa.

25. Phygellus, Bishop of Ephesus, who followed Simon Magus.

26. Hermogenes, co-prisoner with Paul, Bishop of Megara, a follower of Simon Magus.

27. Demas, companion of Paul, apostate and priest of idols.

28. Apelles, Bishop of Smyrna.

29. Aristobulus of Britain.

30. Narcissus of Athens.

31. Herodion of Tarsus.

32. Agabus, the prophet.

33. Rufus of Thebes.

34. Asyncritus of Hyrcania.

35. Phlegon, Bishop of Marathon.

36. Hermes, Bishop of Dalmatia.

37. Patrobulus, Bishop of Puteoli and Naples.

38. Hermas, Bishop of Philippi.

39. Linus, Bishop of Rome.

40. Caius of Ephesus.

41. Philologus of Sinope.

42. Olympas, martyred at Rome.

43. Rhodion, together with Peter beheaded at Rome.

44. Lucius, Bishop of Laodicea, in Syria.

45. Jason, Bishop of Tarsus.

46. Sosipater, Bishop of Iconium.

47. Tertius, his successor.

48. Erastus, first at Jerusalem, then Bishop of Paneas.

49. Quartus, Bishop of Berytus.

50. Apollos, first at Corinth, afterwards Bishop of Cæsarea.

51. Cephas, opposes Paul at Antioch, afterwards Bishop of Conia.

52. Sosthenes, chief of the synagogue at Corinth, afterwards Bishop of Colophon.

53. Tychicus, Bishop of Chalcædon.

54. Epaphroditus, Bishop of Andriace.

James and the rest.¹ And the dress which the master gave to his disciples was a mantle only, and a linen cloth.²

Now some said of Jesus that his form was without emi-⁽²¹⁾ nence, yea, deficient in comparison with the ordinary form⁽³⁰⁾ of men; that he was little, ill-favoured, ignoble.³ Yet Lentulus, president of the people of Jerusalem, sent this letter concerning him to the Roman senate and people:⁴

"There hath appeared in our times, and still is, a man of⁽²¹⁾ great virtue named Christ Jesus, who is called by the Gen-

55. Cæsar of Dyrrachium.

56. Marinus of Apollonia.

57. Jesus Justus, or Joses Bar-
sabas, Bishop of Eleutheropolis.

58. Artemas of Lystra.

59. Clement of Sardica.

60. Onesiphorus of Corone.

61. Tychicus, Paul's helpmeet.

62. Carpus, Bishop of the
church in Berytus, in Thrace.

63. Evodius of Antioch.

64. Aristarchus of Apamea, in
Syria.

65. Mark, who is also John,
Bishop of Biblus.

66. Zenas of Diospolis.

67. Philemon, to whom Paul
wrote his epistle, Bishop of
Gaza.

68. Aristarchus, the compan-
ion of Paul.

69. Pudens, beheaded at Rome
under Nero.

70. Trophimus, Bishop of
Arelate, beheaded at Rome un-
der Nero.

¹This statement is found in
Clement in Moschus.

²See Tertullian's elaborate dis-
quisition on the pallium, or man-
tle, which Christ, according to
tradition, directed His disciples
to wear.

³There were early traditions

that Christ's personal appear-
ance was repulsive. Clement
says that, "his form was without
eminence, yea, deficient in com-
parison with the ordinary form
of men;" the other words I have
used here are from Celsus
against Origen, VI, 75. Prob-
ably these ideas were founded on
Is. lii.14. There is a very an-
cient tradition that Christ was a
leper.

⁴This late document well sum-
marizes the prevalent traditions.
It seems to be mainly founded
on Nicephorus, Church History,
I, 40. This adds the particulars
that He was seven spans high,
His hair was yellowish and curled
at the ends, His eyes were hazel,
the colour of His face was yellow-
brown, His neck was somewhat
bent, and he did not walk per-
fectly upright. No razor had
ever touched His hair. There is
a similar prosopography by Epi-
phan. Monach., p. 29; another by
John of Damascus. See also
Pseudolentulus. There is an ex-
haustive work on the subject by
Peignot, Paris, 1829, "Recher-
ches Historiques," etc. Reiske,
Jena, 1685, also wrote, "De Ima-
gin. Christi." King thinks the

tiles a prophet of truth; whom his disciples call the Son of God, raising the dead and healing diseases. He is a man of lofty stature, handsome, having a venerable countenance which the beholders can both love and fear. He hath wavy hair, rather crisp, of a bluish tinge and glossy, flowing down from his shoulders; with a parting in the middle of the head after the manner of the Nazarenes.¹ His forehead is even and very serene, and his face without any wrinkle or spot, and beautiful with a slight blush. His nose and mouth are without fault; he hath a beard abundant and reddish, of the colour of his hair, not long but forked. His eyes are sparkling and bright. He is terrible in rebuke, calm and loving in admonition, cheerful but preserving gravity, hath never been seen to laugh but often to weep.² Thus, in stature of body, he is tall, and his hands and limbs are beautiful to look upon. In speech, he is a grave, reserved, and modest, and he is fair among the children of men.³ Farewell.”

(16) And Luke, who was one of the Seventy, and afterwards
(30) wrote the Gospel, painted a portrait of the Lord, as well as another of Mary his mother.⁴

present conventional portrait of Christ was borrowed from that of Serapis.

¹The Nazarites, evidently, are meant.

²See Luke xix.41.

³See Ps. xlv.2.

⁴We shall have in the course of this work, see particularly chaps. XVI, XVII, XXXVI, accounts of a number of alleged portraits and representations of Christ. The statement that St. Luke painted such portraits is very ancient. See Lipsius, E. 84, and III, 361. It is found in Simeon Metaphrastes and in

Thomas Aquinas. The latter says such a picture existed in the Lateran at Rome. Another alleged painting by St. Luke is possessed by the Benedictines of Vallombrosa, and still another by one of the Russian cathedrals of Moscow. There is also a story of a picture of Christ sketched by St. Peter on a napkin. Eusebius says, Church History, VII, 18, “We have learned also that the likenesses of the apostles Paul and Peter and of Christ Himself, are preserved in paintings.”

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST PUBLIC MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

CHRIST'S ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE PEOPLE—THE WEDDING AT CANA—THE WINE FAILS—HE TURNS THE WATER TO WINE—THE APOSTLES CONFESS THEIR FAITH—THEIR HEARTS FAIL—CHRIST ENTERS THE HEATHEN TEMPLE—ANIMATES THE SPHINX—THE PATRIARCHS CONVICT THE CHIEF PRIESTS—CURE OF MAN WITH WITHERED HAND—VERONICA CURED—JOHN REPROACHES HEROD—IS BEHEADED—CHRIST MOURNS—VERONICA'S STATUE—BURIAL OF JOHN.

MAIN SOURCES: (6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, II.

(11)—Narrative regarding the Beheading of John the Baptist.

(23)—Acts of Andrew and Matthias.

(24)—Story of Veronica.

And Jesus said to the children of Israel, "I come to you ⁽ⁿ⁾ with evident signs of my mission from your Lord; I will make unto you of the slime of the earth the figure of a bird; I will blow upon it, presently it shall be a bird, and by the permission of God shall fly;¹ I will heal them that are born blind, and the leprous; I will raise again the dead; I will teach you what ye shall eat, and what ye ought not to eat. This shall serve you for instruction, if ye believe in God. I am come to confirm the Old Testament, and what hath been taught you heretofore. Certainly it is lawful for you

¹This paragraph, I have taken of the infant miracle treated of entire from the Koran, Sura iii. at length in chap. IX, will be The Mohammedan echo above readily recognized.

to eat things that have heretofore been forbidden.¹ I am come to you with signs of my mission, that testify that I am truly sent from your Lord. Fear God, and obey me; God is my Lord,² and your Lord, worship Him; this is the right way.”

- (6) Now the marriage of John the evangelist was at Cana of Galilee,³ and the mother of Jesus was there. For her sister, Mary Salome, who was the wife of Zebedee, with urgency invited her to the wedding, because John was the son of the said Salome. And Christ and his disciples were invited to the wedding of John. And Christ seated himself at the middle of the table, because he did not wish to be the chief,⁴ although he was the most worthy; and he seated himself in the midst of those who served.⁵ And when they had almost supped, the parents of the bridegroom approached to Mary, as being of good courage, because she was their sister. And they said to her, “Mary, our sister, what shall we do? The wine hath failed. For wine it is that maketh glad those

¹This view was widely held by early Christians. Novatian in his treatise, *On the Jewish Meats*, proves that these restrictions of the law were to be understood and interpreted spiritually.

²Observe that Mohammed's references to the nature of Christ are not inconsistent with orthodox Christianity. Cf. I Cor. xv.28.

³I have supplied in this paragraph, up to the word “supped,” a passage from the fifteenth century *Vita Christi*, given in Migne, *Légendes*, col. 891. This document is evidently composed entirely of apocryphal legends. I do not know the source of this one, but it fits in admirably with the account of (6), which is a fragment beginning

here abruptly, and ending as abruptly in the second paragraph following, where, as indicated, I supply its conclusion from this same source. (6) itself contains no reference to St. John as the bridegroom. Early references to the story that our Lord prevented John from marrying are, however, many. I refer for these to Lipsius under title “*Johannes, Herkunft.*” The identification of the bridegroom with Simon the Canaanite is the more widely accepted tradition. See Lipsius, III, 151. Cf. with this whole account, John ii.1-11. In the *Vita Christi*, John is everywhere called, “St. John the evangelist.”

⁴Cf. Luke xiv.8 seq.

⁵Cf. Luke xxii.27.

who eat,¹ and, behold, it hath failed. O the great shame which hath befallen us to-day in the midst of those who are bidden, and especially because of thy son, for we were not worthy that he should come into our house² until to-day to manifest a wonder in the power of his Godhead. For we believe that he is the Saviour of the world, and that all things are possible to him.”³

And Mary was assured that Jesus would not grieve her in (6) anything that she should ask him. So she approached the place whereon her son was reclining, and worshipped him. And she said to him, “My son, my beloved, thou whom my soul desireth,⁴ my Lord and my God! Thou art bidden as son of Mary; manifest thy power as Son of God. Let all the nations know that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.⁵ My son, they have no wine.” Then Jesus said to his mother in a kindly voice, “Woman, what wilt thou with me? Mine hour is not yet come.” But his mother being assured that he would not grieve her in anything, spake with those that served, saying, “That which he shall say unto you, do it.”

Now there were six water-pots of stone set down at the (6) marriage, from which those who would recline were purified before they reclined, according to the law of the Jews.⁶ And each one contained two or three firkins. And Jesus said unto them, “Fill the water-pots with water.” They knew straightway that he would manifest a wonder, all those who reclined beholding it. So they hastened and filled the water-pots with water, being troubled because he was the chief of those who reclined.⁷ And they brought them to Jesus, who made the sign of the cross over the water-pots,⁸ and immediately the water was transformed into excellent wine.

¹Cf. Ps. civ.15.

²Cf. Mat. viii.8; Luke vii.6.

³Cf. John iv.42.

⁴Cf. Song of Sol. i.7; Mat. xii.18.

⁵Cf. Mat. xvi.16.

⁶The apocryphal writer has here given his interpretation of

the meaning of the purification mentioned in John ii.6.

⁷Here (6) ends, and the Vita Christi begins again.

⁸A mediaeval touch here, of course, but as we shall see further on, the use of the sign of the cross is very ancient.

And Christ said, "Give of it first to the governor of the feast, and afterwards to all the others." For this governor of the feast was the most honourable of those present, after Christ and the virgin Mary; he was steward¹ of the wedding, on which account it was commanded that they should give to him before the others. When, now, the master of the feast had drunken, he called John, and said to him, "Never have I seen such an arrangement at a wedding, or servants acting as they do here." "Why?" said John. "I have been accustomed to see them," said the governor of the feast, "give the best wine at the commencement of the feast, but ye have given it at the end." Then all the people who were present drank of this wine. And the disciples believed more firmly on him than they had before. When they had supped, Christ called John, and said to him, "John, leave thy wife and come after me, for I wish to bring thee to a grander wedding than this, and that thou mayest know what it is, it is my passion."

(21) And when Jesus knew the impiety of the Jews that believed not, he said, "Who shall sustain the law of God, in my absence? he shall be supported and protected." The apostles answered him, "We will sustain the law of God; we believe in the divine unity. Be thou a witness before God, that we resign ourselves wholly to the pleasure of His divine majesty. Lord, we believe in what thou hast commanded. Write us in the number of those that profess thy law."²

(23) And it came to pass as the twelve apostles were going with the Lord into a temple of the Gentiles that he might make known unto them the ignorance of the devil, that the chief priests, having beheld the disciples following Jesus, said to them, "O wretches, why do ye walk with him who saith, 'I am the Son of God?'"³ Do ye mean to say that God

¹In the French of the Vita Christi, "*maitre d'hotel*."

²This paragraph is taken, with slight alterations, from the Koran, Sura iii.

³This story from (23) is told throughout in the first person, being narrated by Andrew. I have changed it to the third person, and have made a few other

hath a son? Which of you hath ever at any time seen God associating with a woman? Is not this the son of Joseph the carpenter, and his mother is Mary, and his brothers, James and Simon?"¹ Now the hearts of the apostles were turned into weakness when they heard these words. And Jesus, having known that their hearts were giving way, took them into a desert place, and did great miracles before them, displaying to them all his Godhead. And the apostles spake to the chief priests, saying, "Come ye also, and see; for, behold, he hath persuaded us."

And the chief priests having come, went with them. And (23) when they had gone into the temple of the Gentiles, Jesus showed the apostles the heaven,² that they might know whether the things were true or not. And there went in along with them thirty men of the people, and four chief priests. And Jesus having looked on the right hand and on the left of the temple, saw two sculptured sphinxes, one on the right and one on the left. And Jesus turning to the apostles, said, "Behold the sign of the cross, for these are like the cherubim and seraphim which are in heaven." Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, "I say unto thee, thou image of that which is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured; be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man."

And immediately the sphinx removed from its place, and (23) having assumed a human voice, said, "O foolish sons of Israel, not only hath the blinding of their own hearts not been enough for them, but they also wish others to be blind like themselves, saying that God is man; who in the beginning fashioned man, and put the breath into all; who gave motion to those things which move not. He it is who called Abraham, who loved his son Isaac, who brought back his

slight changes. The text is bad in several places.

¹See Mark vi.3.

²There seems to be something

wrong with the text here. One Ms. reads, "the structure of the temple," and omits the following clause.

beloved Jacob into his land. He it is who prepareth great benefits for those who obey Him, and prepareth punishment for those who believe Him not. Pretend not that I am only an idol which can be touched with hands; for I say unto you, that the temples are more excellent than your synagogues.¹ For though we are stones, and the priests have given us only the name of a god; yet those priests who serve the temple purify themselves, being afraid of the demons. For if they have become ceremonially unclean, they purify themselves seven days, because of their fear; so that they do not come into the temple because of us, on account of the name of a god which they have given us. But ye, if ye have committed fornication, take up the law of God, and go into the synagogue of God, and read, and do not reverence the glorious words of God. Because of this, I say unto you that the temples purify your synagogues, so that they also become churches of His only-begotten Son.”

(23) The sphinx, having said this, ceased speaking, and the apostles said to the chief priests, “Now it is fitting that ye should believe, because even the stones have convicted you.” And the Jews answered, and said, “By magic, these stones speak, and do not ye think it is a god? For if ye have tested what hath been said by the stone, ye have ascertained its deception. For where did Jesus see Abraham, or how did he see him?² For Abraham died many years before he was born, and how doth he know him?”

(23) Then Jesus, having again turned to the image, said to it, “Because these believe not that I have spoken with Abraham, go away into the land of the Canaanites, and go to the double cave in the field of Mamre,³ where the body of Abraham is, and cry outside the tomb, saying, ‘Abraham, Abraham, whose body is in the tomb, and whose soul is in paradise, thus speaketh He who fashioned man, who made thee

¹One Ms. here reads, “Do not say that I am a carved stone, and that ye alone have a name, and are called high priests.”

²Cf. John viii.52-58. We have

already had, in chap. XII, one apocryphal gloss upon this passage.

³This is the version in the Septuagint, and amongst the old-

from the beginning His friend. Rise up, thou and thy son Isaac, and the son of thy son, Jacob, and come to the temple of the Jebusites,¹ that we may convict the chief priests, in order that they may know that I am acquainted with thee, and thou with me?" And when the sphinx heard these words, immediately it walked about in the presence of them all, and set out for the land of the Canaanites, to the field of Mamre, and cried outside of the tombs, as Jesus had commanded it.

And straightway the twelve patriarchs came forth alive (23) out of the tomb,² and answered, and said to it, "To which of us hast thou been sent?" And the sphinx answered, and said, "I have been sent to the three patriarchs³ for testimony; but do ye go in, and rest until the time of the resurrection." And having heard, they went into the tomb, and fell asleep. And the three patriarchs set out along with the sphinx to Jesus, and convicted the chief priests. And Jesus said to them, "Go away to your places." And they went away. And he said also to the image, "Go up to thy place." And straightway the sphinx went up and stood in its place. And Jesus also did many other miracles, yet they did not believe in him.

And Jesus on the Sabbath cured one who had a withered (n) hand. For he was a mason, seeking his livelihood by the labour of his hands. And he came to Jesus, saying, "I pray thee, Jesus, to restore to me my health, that I may not beg my bread in disgrace."⁴

est interpreters, of "Macpelah which was before Mamre," in Gen. xxiii.17.

¹I can see no particular reason why this ancient people is spoken of. The Jebusites are last mentioned in the O. T. in I Chr. xix.23.

²None of the twelve patriarchs were buried in Macpelah.

³*i. e.* Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Apparently, the author in-

cludes them above amongst the twelve patriarchs.

⁴These particulars are given by Jerome in his commentary on the incident in Mat. xii.10-13. He says that he derived them from the Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites. See note, chap. XI, regarding Christ's cursing one who retained a withered member. The word "restored," used in this miracle,

- (11) And Justus, surnamed Barsabas, swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm on account of the grace of the Lord.¹
- (11) And Jesus when he uttered a single word was thought by nations far removed from one another and of different speech, to be using well-known sounds, and the peculiar language of each.²
- (24) Now there was a certain very wealthy woman, Veronica³

probably suggested the idea that this man might have been one who had before this time been thus punished by Christ.

¹This is given by Eusebius in his Church History, III, 39, as a tradition preserved in the writings of Papias, which are now lost.

²This statement is made by Arnobius, Against the Heathen, I, 46. It is conjectured that this may only represent a confusion of the story of the gift of tongues at Pentecost, with Christ's works. This author rarely quotes any scripture with accuracy, and indulges in many of what appear to be confused accounts of occurrences.

³I have, in the following, changed somewhat the order and form of this story as told by (24), but have followed its substance closely, weaving the particulars given in Veronica's letter into the narrative. The name Veronica is also given in the forms Beronika and Berenice. Mabillon maintains that every early portrait of Christ was called in a barbarous jargon of Latin and Greek, *vera icon*, true image, and that later the legend of the woman *Veronica* was invented

to authenticate some of these images. Next she was identified with the unnamed woman of Mat. ix.20-22; Mark v.25; Luke viii.43. Ambrose thinks that the woman here mentioned was Martha, the sister of Lazarus. Origen, in his treatise against Celsus, says that the Valentinians speak of a certain *Prounice*, whom they call "Wisdom," of whom they assert that the woman of the Gospel, who had an issue of blood, was a symbol; and that Celsus, who heard this, and confounded the ideas of Greeks, barbarians, and heretics, changed them into the virtue of a certain virgin named Prounice. This is doubtless the true origin of the name. The Recognitions of Peter also speak of a certain Bernice, the daughter of Justa, the Canaanite. Another legend, again, tells that she was daughter of Salome, sister of Herod, and was martyred in Antioch. Eusebius gives the substance of all this particular legend in his Church History, VII, 18, but he does not give the woman's name. Other developments of the story are many, and several of them will be given in succeeding chapters. St. Veronica is com-

by name, who dwelt in Paneas,¹ a city of Judaea. And having from childhood been afflicted with an issue of blood, she went to the physicians, expending all her wealth, yet found no cure. But hearing at last of the cures of the wonderful Christ, who raised the dead, restored sight to the blind, cast out demons from mortals, and healed with a word all who pined away in sickness, she too ran to him as to a god. Observing, then, the multitude which surrounded him, and fearing to tell him of her incurable disease, lest turning away from the loathsomeness of her affliction, he should be angry with her, and the stroke of her disease come worse upon her, she thought within herself that if she could but take hold of the hem of his garment, she should be altogether healed.

So, secretly entering the multitude around her, she stole (24) a cure by touching Christ's hem. The fountain of her blood stayed, and suddenly she became well. But he the more, as foreknowing the purpose of her heart, cried out, "Who hath touched me? for power is gone out of me." And she, turning pale, and groaning, supposing the disease would return upon her more violently, falling before him, flooded the ground with tears, confessing her daring. But he, being good, had compassion on her, and confirmed her cure, saying, "Daughter, take heart, thy faith hath delivered thee; go in peace."

Now John, being at this time in prison, pricked Herod the (11) more concerning Polia,² Philip's wife. And Herod, indeed, was willing to loose him, and Polia did consent that he

memorated in the Roman church on Feb. 3, according to others on Feb. 4, or Mar. 25. Her legend has been marvellously developed in the Revelations of Catherine Emmerich, who supplies every particular regarding her life. See further, particularly, chap. XXXVI, and notes.

¹Eusebius refers to this town as, "Caesarea Philippi which the Phoenicians call Paneas." It is now a small village called Banias by the Arabs.

²It is quite certain from the accounts in Mat. xiv.8-11; Mark vi.24-28, as well as from other sources, that this woman's name was Herodias. Nevertheless, I have retained here the name Polia given her in (11), and have given with it the name Herodias to the daughter, as it is found also in other apocryphal documents that will be used further on. The daughter's name was probably Salome.

should be loosed, but the servants did as commanded, and for four hours suspended John upon his head, smoking him, the divine one. But John said to Herod, "Why dost thou persist, when convinced by the truth?" Herod said, "Of what truth speakest thou? Is it not contained in the law of Moses, that if the brother of any one die leaving a wife, the living brother shall take her, and raise up for him seed in Israel?" But John said, "Finely, in this thou tookest heed to the law of God, when thou didst poison thy brother, and tookest his wife.¹ Besides, also, whilst he was living, she committed adultery with thee. Behold, his soul crieth out to God, who is ready to avenge him, so that thou shalt end thy life miserably." And Herod was much grieved over these things, and wished to release John.

- (11) And it came to pass in those days, that Herod celebrated
 (24) his birthday, and during the banquet commanded his daughter to dance before him. And when she had done so, he swore to her by the safety of all, that he would grant her whatsoever she might ask. And she asked her mother, who said to her, "Ask the head of John Baptist upon a salver." And when she brought this request concerning John to her father, he was sore grieved, yet on account of his oath he sent executioners who beheaded him in the city of Sebaste, on the eighth before the calends of June, in the consulship of Flacco and Rufinus.² And when it was told Jesus that John was dead and decapitated, he and his disciples, and his mother who loved him very much, began to weep. And she said to Jesus, "Alas! my son, why didst thou not keep him from death?" And he said, "Mother, I ought not to have

¹Philip I. was certainly living when Herod Antipas took to himself the former's wife, nor do I know of any story that he was accused of poisoning him.

²The Western church celebrates the Decollation of St. John Baptist, on Aug. 29. This is actually the date upon which the alleged relics of John were

translated to Constantinople under Theodosius the Great. The Eastern church celebrates the Decollation on May 25, corresponding to the tradition given here from (24). Josephus says that John was put to death in the castle of Machaerus, which was near the Dead Sea. *Antiq.* XVIII, 5, 3.

kept him; for he is dead for the love of my Father, and soon shall he be in the glory of paradise above."¹ And Herod gave John's head upon a salver to Herodias,² who brought it to her mother Polia. Then Herod, being grieved because of John, went away from the city of Sebaste to Paneas.

And at this place there came to him the woman Veronica, (24) who wished, as having been healed by Jesus, to erect a monument to him. And not daring to do this, she offered a petition to Herod, telling the manner of her cure by Jesus, and asking permission to erect a monument to the Saviour Christ in this same city. And King Herod, hearing these things from the petition, was astonished at the miracle. And being afraid at the mystery of healing, he said, "This cure which hath befallen thee, O woman, is worthy of a very great monument. Go, therefore, and erect unto him such a one as thou wilt, honouring by thy zeal him that healed thee."³

Immediately after this, Veronica erected to Jesus Christ, (24) in the midst of her own city, Paneas, a monument of molten brass, mingling therewith a certain portion of gold and silver. It represented a woman with her hands stretched out, as if she were praying. Opposite this was another upright image, made of the same material, representing a man, clothed decently in a double cloak, and extending his hand

¹This passage, I have interpolated here from the *Vita Christi*, which I have several times used already. It is found in Migne, *Légendes*, col. 892.

²The *Vita Christi*, in the same connection as the note above, says that when the daughter brought John's head to her mother, the latter, for vengeance, took it by the hair, and with great fury struck it above the right eye with a knife, as plainly appears from the head which is yet to be seen in Picardy, in the city of Amiens.

Jerome is said to state that Herodias, after John's death, pierced his tongue with a bodkin to avenge herself for his words, but I have not been able to verify the reference.

³This last sentence is evidently suggested by the words with which Eusebius, *Ch. Hist.*, VII, 18, closes his account of the incident: "The ancients being accustomed, as it is likely, according to a habit of the Gentiles, to pay this kind of honour indiscriminately to those regarded by them as deliverers."

toward the woman.¹ And soon after this wonder appeared, that a certain strange, unknown herb of wonderful virtue sprang up near the statue, climbing to the hem of the brazen cloak. And it was a remedy for all kinds of diseases.²

- (11) Now his disciples had come by night, and stolen away the body of John Baptist, whom Herod slew. But the angel of the Lord remained with Elisabeth, and said unto her, "Arise, and having taken the body of thy son, bury it where his father resteth." And the angel led the way for her to the resting place of Zacharias in the temple of the Lord, even the altar. And there was a loud voice in the temple, and suddenly an earthquake and thunder; and the altar was opened, and the body of Zacharias appeared. And Elisabeth buried John there, underneath the altar. And the Most High called her, saying, "Behold, for a testimony against Herod, the blood of thy husband shall not be wiped away forever, and no man shall know of the tomb of thy husband and of thy son."³

¹I have here added to (24) the additional particulars about this famous image, given by Eusebius in the passage quoted in the last note. There can be no doubt that Eusebius saw this statue, and honestly believed that it was erected in honour of Christ. It is clear from other of his writings, that he did not approve of such representations, so the wish was not father to the thought. Gieseler says: "Judging by the analogy of many coins, the memorial had been erected in honour of an emperor (probably Hadrian), and falsely interpreted by the Christians, perhaps on account of a *σοτήρι*, or *θεῶ*, appearing in the inscription. Sozomen, in his Church History, V, 21, gives the later history of the statue. It

was cast down by Julian the Apostate, performed many miracles, and the fragments were gathered up by the Christians, and placed in a church, where he says they were still preserved.

²This is spoken of by Eusebius. Some maintain, however, that his words should be translated so as to refer to a representation sculptured upon the pedestal, and not to an actual plant.

³This is a strange legend. Jerome says that in his time the tomb of John was to be seen in Sebaste, or Samaria, see Letter CVIII. He describes the marvels to be seen there, demons screaming in different tortures before the tombs of the saints, etc. These strange phenomena

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HEALING OF ABGAR, AND OTHER MIRACLES.

ABGAR KING OF EDESSA IS SICK—HEARS OF CHRIST'S CURES—WRITES ASKING HIM TO COME AND HEAL HIM—CHRIST GIVES ANANIAS THE MIRACULOUS PORTRAIT—HIS LETTER TO ABGAR—ABGAR'S CURE—MULTITUDES FOLLOW CHRIST—HE MULTIPLIES THE LOAVES AND FISHES—CREATES BREAD AT OTHER TIMES—CAUSES HEAVENLY TABLE TO DESCEND—TURNS THE DOUBTERS TO SWINE—THE COOKED FISH ANIMATED—MANY EAT OF IT—THE APPARITION AT GENNESARET.

- MAIN SOURCES: (6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, III.
(20)—Acts of John, 6, 8.
(25)—History of Armenia, by Moses of Chorene, bk. I, chaps. 27-33.
(26)—Story concerning the King of Edessa, by Eusebius, Church History, bk. I, chap. 13.
(27)—Acts of the Holy Apostle Thaddaeus.
(29)—Mohammedan Legends.

Now while the Godhead of Christ was proclaimed among all men by reason of the astonishing mighty works which he wrought, and myriads, even from countries remote from the land of Judaea, who were afflicted with sicknesses and diseases of every kind were coming thither in the hope of

to be seen there, are also mentioned by Hilary, Sulpicius, and Paulinus. Again, legend tells that the head of John was interred in Herod's palace at Jerusalem, was found there under the emperor Valens, brought to Constantinople, and finally portions of it came to Rome and to Amiens.

being healed,¹ King Abgar, of Edessa,² also sent a letter of entreaty to Jesus, asking him to come and heal him of his pains and diseases. This Abgar was renowned among all the nations of the East for his valour and great size, as well as for his gentleness and great wisdom. Now in the second year of his reign, the Armenians became tributary to the Romans, and set up the statues of the Emperor Augustus in the temples of the country at the time when the Saviour Christ came into the world.³ And for seven years Abgar had felt in his whole body certain acute pains which he had gotten in Persia, and he was wasting away with a grievous disease such as there is no cure for on earth.⁴

(25) Now Abgar had formed a plan of revolt against the
 (26) Roman power, but it did not succeed, so he sent envoys to
 (27) the governor, Marinus, who dwelt at Eleutheropolis.⁵ And

¹Cf. Mat. iv.24.

²Abgar Ucomo, or "the Black," was the fifteenth king of Edessa, and reigned from A. D. 13 to A. D. 50. There were several kings of Edessa called Abgar. Indeed, it seems that all the later kings were called by that name, just as all Roman emperors were called Caesar, and all kings of Egypt, Pharaoh or Ptolemy. Assemanus says that Abgar means "lame"; Moses of Chorene, however, interprets it as "large man." Christianity was certainly planted very early in Edessa. In the latter part of the second century, a Christian King Abgar reigned there, at whose court Bardesanes, the Syrian Gnostic, enjoyed high favour. It has been supposed that shortly after this period the letters, etc., were forged, and foisted upon the reign of the earlier Abgar. The kingdom of

Edessa was brought to an end by the Romans, in 217 or 218 A. D. The city, however, long remained an important centre for Christian learning. There is an immense amount of Christian literature in Armenian, much of which has never been translated into Western tongues.

³This statement does not accord with the fact that this Abgar began his reign in A. D. 13. Moses of Chorene here gives a long account of troubles between Herod and Abgar, which I do not reprint. Herod wished his statues to be set up with those of the emperors, fought with Abgar, was defeated, etc.

⁴According to Cedrenus, Abgar's disease was leprosy; according to Procopius, the gout.

⁵The answer related by (25) to have been sent to Abgar by the Roman governor was, "Fear nothing from the Emperor on that account, provided you take

on their return, the Armenian deputies went to Jerusalem to see the Saviour, being attracted by the report of his miracles. Having themselves been eye-witnesses of these wonders, they related them to Abgar on their return. And when the king was informed of the name of Jesus, and had heard about the mighty works which he did, for they all bare witness concerning him, he was filled with admiration; and believed truly that Jesus was the Son of God. For he said, "These wonders are not those of a man, but of a God. No, there is no one amongst men who can raise the dead. God alone hath this power."

Then the king wrote this letter to Jesus:¹

"Abgar the Black, son of Archam, ruler of Edessa, an unworthy slave, to Jesus the good Saviour and benefactor of men, who hath appeared in the country of Jerusalem, greeting:²

(25)
(26)
(27)

I have heard of thee, and of the cures wrought by thee without medicines and herbs. For, as it is reported, thou makest the blind to see and the lame to walk; thou cleansest the lepers, and castest out unclean spirits and demons; thou healest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and

good care to pay the tribute regularly."

¹Eusebius is the first who mentions this and the following epistle. There is no doubt that he found the records of them, as he says, in the written archives of Edessa. Moses of Chorene, who studied at Edessa, is also an independent witness to the fact that they existed in the archives of that city. They are found in a number of apocryphal compositions, besides the writings of these two authors. Versions are known in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, besides Armenian. An Arabic version, differing very widely from that given above, is to be found in

the notes to Xavier's *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta*, p. 611. A French translation is found in Migne, II, col. 26. Many scholars long held that this and the following letter were genuine. Jones gives some notice of these in his work on the Canon, II, p. 7. During this century, a German, Rinck, has again maintained their genuineness. But at present no scholar doubts that they are forgeries, made perhaps a century before the time of Eusebius.

²I have formed my versions of these letters from combinations of the texts of (25), (26), and (27), with variations as noted.

raiseſt the dead.¹ And when I heard all theſe things about thee, I ſettled in my mind one of two things: Either that thou art God, who haſt come down from heaven, and doeſt theſe things; or that thou art the Son of God, and doeſt theſe things. Therefore have I written to beg of thee that thou wouldeſt weary thyſelf to come to me, and heal this diſeaſe which I have.² For I have alſo heard that the Jews murmur³ againſt thee, and through envy wiſh to do thee harm. I have a city, ſmall, but pleaſant. It would be large enough for us both.”

(25) And Abgar ſent this letter by meſſengers, with Ananias
(26) the courier, who was alſo a painter,⁴ a man belonging to him,
(27) upon whom he enjoined to take accurate account of Chriſt, of what appearance he was, and his ſtature, his hair, in a word, every thing. And that the meſſengers who bare this letter met Chriſt at Jeruſalem is confirmed by theſe words of the Goſpel: “Some from the heathen came to find Jeſus. But thoſe who heard them, not daring to tell Jeſus what they had heard, told it to Philip and Andrew, who reported it all to their maſter.”⁵

(25) Now Ananias, having gone and given the letter to Jeſus,
(27) was carefully looking at him; but was unable to fix him in his mind, being dazzled by the ſplendour of his countenance. Then Jeſus, as knowing the heart, aſked that materials might be brought him with which to waſh himſelf; and a towel was given him. And when he had waſhed, he wiped his face with the towel; and his image was imprinted upon the linen. Then he gave it back to Ananias, ſaying, “Give this, and take back this meſſage to him that ſent thee.”⁶

¹Cf. Mat. xi.5.

²Cf. Luke vii.6.

³Cf. John vi.41; vii.12.

⁴The original ſtory as given by (26) names Ananias as only a meſſenger, ſometimes tranſlated “cousin,” of Abgar, but later legend, repreſented by Cedrenus and (27), calls him a painter, and adds the miraculous

picture ſtory. This ſeems to be the original of the Veronica *picture* ſtory, as I think the Veronica *ſtatue* ſtory is the original of them both.

⁵See John xii.20-22.

⁶(26) does not mention the portrait; (25) ſays the meſſengers brought it back, but does not ſay how it was produced.

And this is the letter, written with his own hands,¹ which the Saviour deigned to give in reply to Abgar, although he did not accept the invitation given him: (25)
(26)
(27)

“Blessed is he who believeth in me, not having seen me.² For it is written concerning me, that those who see me will not believe in me; and that those will believe who have not seen me, and will be saved.³ And because thou hast believed in me, the town in which thou dwellest shall be blessed. And if thou wilt always keep this letter, the power of the enemies which rage against thee shall not prevail; and thy state shall, for thy sake, be blessed forever.⁴ But touching that which thou hast written to me, that I should come to thee, it is meet that I should finish here all that for the sake of which I have been sent;⁵ and, after I have finished it, then I shall be taken up to Him that sent me. And when I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thy disease, and give life to thee, and to those who are with thee.”⁶

Then Ananias, Abgar's courier, brought him this letter, as (25)
(26)
(27)

¹Cedrenus supplies this information that the letter was written with Christ's own hand. He also states that it was sealed with seven Hebrew letters; the meaning of them was, “The divine miracle of God is seen.” Hofmann states that Lambecius found in the Ms. Vindobonens., the following seven signs: **X, Ψ, X, E, Y, P, A.** For notice of other alleged writings by Christ Himself, see chap. XX.

²See John xx.29.

³Cf. Is. vi.10; liii.1; John ix.39.

⁴This sentence is a later interpolation. The words are found in the Arabic version of Xavier's Vita Christi. See Fabricius, I, p. 319. They are referred to by Ephraem Syrus, In Testament.,

tom. 3. The tradition constantly wavers as to whether the letter or the miraculous picture was the charm relied upon by the people to preserve Edessa from its enemies. Jones, in his work on the Canon, says that the common people of England, even in his time, had copies of this letter in their houses, in many places, fixed in a frame, with the picture of Christ before it; and that generally they regard it as the genuine epistle of Christ. I suppose that this particular sentence caused it to be regarded as a charm having power to repel enemies.

⁵See Mat. iii.15; John v.36; ix.4.

⁶Cf. Luke xix.9; Acts xi.14; xvi.31.

well as the portrait of the Saviour, a picture which is still to be found at this day in the city of Edessa.¹ And when Abgar had fallen down and adored the likeness, he was cured of his disease, even before the promised disciple came.² But Christ did not delay to fulfil his promise to Abgar; for he afterwards sent unto him Thaddaeus, through whom all his promise was fulfilled.³

(6) And as great multitudes came unto Jesus, having with

¹Procopius tells how the people of Edessa kept this letter, as a protection, over the gate of the city; and Evagrius also tells how it really did protect Edessa. Nevertheless, shortly after his death, Edessa was captured by the Persians. On the other hand, Cedrenus tells how the *portrait* acted as a charm for the preservation of the city. He traces its history for some centuries. In 944, the Greeks took Edessa, then in the hands of the Saracens, and seizing the sacred letters and picture, took them to Constantinople, where they were placed in St. Sophia. What became of these when Constantinople fell, is uncertain; but the Venetians claim to have secured the picture, and presented it to the church of St. Sylvester at Rome. Whilst the Genoese say that it is now in their Armenian church of St. Bartholomew, where it is still exhibited once a year. Mediaeval writers told many wonders about how this picture protected Edessa. They said, that on account of it no pagan, idolater, or Jew could live in that city. And when the barbarians besieged the city, all they had to do was to place a

little child over the city gate, and let him read the letter, when they would be seized with terror and flee like women.

²(25) and (26) know nothing of this method of cure; it is a later improvement on the story, found in (27). Still another late form of the legend, which is but an adaptation of the more popular Veronica legend, is given by Constantine Porphyrogeneta. Christ on His way to Calvary wipes His streaming face with a piece of linen, and leaves on it His portrait. Thomas preserves this, and gives it to Thaddaeus, who bears it to Edessa. When he enters the chamber of the sick king, he elevates it, and such a blaze of light streams forth from it that Abgar cannot endure it, but leaps forth from his bed, cured.

³A full account of this preaching of Thaddaeus at Edessa, which it does not enter into the scope of my work to include, may be found in (25), (26), (27), and a number of other works which are fully treated of by Lipsius. We have more about Abgar in chap XXV seq. of this work.

them the lame, the blind, the dumb, the maimed, and many others, and cast them down at his feet, when he healed them,¹ he said unto the apostles, "I have compassion upon this multitude, for, behold, three days they continue with me, and have nothing to eat. I would not send them away fasting, lest haply they faint on the way."²

Then Andrew saith unto him, "Master, where shall we (6) find bread in this desert place, that they may eat?"³ There is one here which hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes; but what are they among so many?" And Jesus saith unto Thomas, "Go to the man who hath the five barley loaves, and the two fishes, and bring them hither to me." Andrew saith unto him, "Master, what will these five loaves be among so great a multitude?" Jesus said unto him, "Bring them to me, and the master will see to it."

And they went, and brought the lad to Jesus, and he (6) worshipped him straightway, bringing up the loaves and two fishes. And the lad said to Jesus, "Master, I have toiled much for these."⁴ And Jesus said unto him, "Give me the five loaves which are entrusted to thee. For it is not thou that hast saved this multitude from affliction, but it is the dispensation which doth this for a wonderful work, and for a memorial unailing forever, and for food that they may be filled."

And Jesus took the loaves, and he gave thanks over them, (6) and gave them to the apostles to set them before the multitudes. Now Judas was the last who received of the loaves. And Andrew saith unto Jesus, "Master, Judas hath not received inheritance in his loaves, that he should set them before these multitudes. Dost thou wish⁵ that he should

¹I have supplied the above words, freely taken from Mat. xv.30, as an introduction to the narrative of (6), which begins abruptly.

²Almost literally Mat. xv.32.

³Cf. Mat. xiv.15; xv.33; Mark vi.35; John vi.5. The entire narrative is compounded of all

the accounts that follow these verses, variously intermingled, with but a few touches that are original.

⁴Cf. Luke v.5.

⁵There is a gap here in the Ms., and the seven words following are supplied by conjecture.

receive a portion, according to thy word, that he to whom I have not given the breaking of the loaves from my hands is not worthy of the breaking of my flesh? Neither, indeed, doth he care for giving to the poor, but only for the bag."¹

- (6) And straightway Jesus blessed them, saying, "My Father, my Father, all the Root of goodness,² L pray Thee to bless these five barley loaves, that they may fill all this multitude, in order that Thy Son may be glorified in Thee,³ and that those whom Thou hast drawn unto him from the world may obey him." And straightway his word was with authority;⁴ the blessing was in the loaves in the hands of the apostles. And all the people did eat, and were filled; and they blessed God.
- (20) And if at any time Jesus was bidden by one of the Pharisees, and went to the bidding, the apostles went with him. And if there was set before each one of them a loaf of bread by him that had bidden them, Jesus also received a loaf. And he would bless his own and divide among the apostles; and from that little each of them was filled, and their own loaves saved whole, so that they who bade him were amazed.⁵ And Jesus at another time also turned stones to bread.⁶
- (29) Now the apostles once said unto Jesus, "O son of Mary, is thy Lord able to send down a table from heaven, covered

¹Cf. John xii.6.

²The same formula also occurs in (5), see chap. XVI. It is, I think, of Egyptian Gnostic origin.

³Cf. John xi.4; xiii.31, 32, xvii.4, 5.

⁴Cf. Luke iv.32. The Golden Legend says this miracle was performed on the Epiphany, just a year after the turning of the water into wine. It seems to cite Beda as an authority for this fact.

⁵This is not intended, I think, so much to witness to a miracle

wrought by Christ, as to present the Docetic view that He Himself needed and used no earthly food.

⁶It would have been remarkable, had the apocryphal writers not in some way fabricated a miracle in answer to Satan's suggestion in Mat. iv.3. Accordingly, in the Revelation of Esdras, I find the Antichrist represented as saying, "I am the Son of God, that made stones bread, and water wine." See Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII, 573.

with meats to satisfy us?" But Jesus answered them, "Fear God, if ye believe in His law." And they answered, "We have an appetite, and desire to eat of the food of heaven, for the repose of our hearts, and to know if thou speakest truth, of which we shall be witnesses." Thereupon, Jesus said, "O God, my Lord, cause to descend upon us from heaven a table covered with meat, that this may be a day of rejoicing for us and those who come after. This shall be a sign of omnipotency; enrich us with Thy grace, for Thou possessest all treasure." Thereupon, God answered, "I will cause to descend from heaven the food which thou desirest; and whosoever of you will not after this believe, shall be punished with torments that no man yet hath suffered."¹ Thereupon, two clouds descended, bearing a golden table upon which was a covered silver dish.

And many of the children of Israel who were present, (29) cried out, "See the magician, he hath invented a new illusion." But they were immediately changed into swine.² And when Jesus saw this, he prayed, saying, "Lord, grant that this table may serve to heal and not condemn us." Then he said to the apostles, "Let him who is chief among you rise up and uncover the dish." But Simon, who was the eldest among them, said, "Lord, thou art worthiest to see first the dishes of heaven." Then Jesus washed his hands, and raising up the cover, said, "In the name of God." And, behold, a great fish³ all cooked and exhaling an odour

¹This paragraph, up to this word, is taken from the Koran, Sura, v; the remainder of the account, embracing the four paragraphs following, is from Mohammedan amplifications of the legend, given in Weil's *Biblische Legende der Muselmänner*.

²The same punishment is referred to near the close of the next chapter. We are here again in a realm of literature closely akin to that of the Arabian

Nights. One is especially reminded of the transformation of the companions of Ulysses by Circe. The Arabian Nights, too, have undoubtedly received much from the Odyssey. I think, however, that the above is rather a faint Mohammedan echo from Christ's miracle in sending the devils into a herd of swine.

³The great fish, that is sea monsters, play a leading part in Mohammedan legend. I wonder

sweet as the fruits of paradise! This fish was seasoned with salt, pepper, and other spices, whilst around it were five small loaves of bread.

(29) But Simon said, "O Spirit of God, are these meats from this or the other world?" And Jesus answered, "Are not both this and the other world, with all that they contain, equally the works of God? Enjoy with grateful hearts the things that the Lord giveth you, asking not whence they come. But if the appearance of this fish seemeth to you not marvellous enough, ye shall see a greater marvel than this." Then he turned to the fish, and said to it, "By the will of the Lord, live!" And the fish began to move, but the apostles fled away in terror. Then Jesus called them back, and said, "Why do ye flee from that which ye have asked for?" And he said to the fish, "Become as thou wast before." And immediately the fish became cooked, in the same state in which it was when it descended from heaven. The apostles asked Jesus to eat of it first, but he said, "I asked not for it, but let him who asked for it, eat of it."

(29) But as the apostles refused to eat of it, because they believed that their request for it had not been without sin, Jesus called many of the old, the dumb, the sick, the blind, and the lame, and had them eat of the fish. There were thirteen hundred who ate of it, and when a portion of it was cut off, it was in an instant replaced, so that the fish was yet whole as if no one had touched it. And not only were the guests satisfied, but they were also cured of all their infirmities. The old became young, the blind recovered their sight, the deaf heard, the dumb spake, and the lame walked. And when the apostles saw these things, it repented them that they had not eaten of the fish.

(29) And when a second time, in obedience to the command of Jesus, a like table descended from heaven, all the people, rich and poor, young and old, the whole and the sick, ran to partake of the meats from the heavenly table. This came to pass for forty days. At the break of day, the table, borne

whether there is not here con- widely used Christian symbol.
scious reference to the fish as a

by the clouds, descended in the presence of the children of Israel, and before the setting of the sun, it ascended, and disappeared in the clouds. Yet, as many still doubted whether it really descended from heaven, Jesus prayed no longer that it should return, and threatened the chastisements of the Lord upon the unbelieving. But all doubt was destroyed in the hearts of the apostles, and either with their Lord, or singly, they preached throughout Judaea concerning faith in God, and His prophet, the Christ. And in obedience to the new revelation, they permitted the use of many meats that were forbidden to the children of Israel.¹

Now once when all the disciples of Jesus were sleeping (20) in one house at Gennesaret, John alone, having wrapped himself up, watched from under his garments what he did. And first he heard him say, "John, go thou to sleep." Thereupon, John feigned to be asleep. And he saw another like unto Jesus come down, whom also he heard saying unto the Lord, "'Jesus, do they whom thou hast chosen still not believe in thee?'" And the Lord said unto him, "Thou sayest well, for they are men."²

¹See note on this subject at beginning of last chapter. This legend, from which I have been quoting, goes on from this point, and tells how in Christ's lifetime the apostles went forth to preach the Gospel in other lands, and how they were by Him en-

dowed with the gift of other tongues.

²I have slightly changed the form of this paragraph, which in (20) represents John as speaking in the first person. It is a bald presentation of Docetic views.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHRIST RAISES THE DEAD.

THOMAS DOUBTS CONCERNING THE RESURRECTION—CHRIST REASSURES HIM—ANNOUNCES THE DEATH OF LAZARUS—PROMISES TO RAISE HIM—OTHERS DOUBT—LAZARUS RAISED—TELLS WHAT HAPPENED IN GEHENNA—JEWS SEEK TO STONE CHRIST—HE ANIMATES THE SKULL—IT TELLS ITS HISTORY—REVEALS THE OTHER WORLD—CHRIST MAKES IT A MAN—HE LIVES MANY YEARS—CHRIST RAISES SHEM—GIVES ANOTHER SIGN—PUNISHES UNBELIEVERS—THOSE RAISED LIVE MANY YEARS.

MAIN SOURCES: (6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, III.
(29)—Mohammedan Legends.

- (6) Now once Thomas said unto Jesus, "My Lord, behold, thou hast shown all favours unto us in thy goodness.¹ There is one thing in which we wish that thou shouldest assure us. We wish, O my Lord, to see dead men sleeping in the tombs raised by thee, for a sign of thy resurrection which shall take place. For we know, O Lord, that thou didst raise the son of the widow of Nain. But the wonder at that time was different; for thou didst find them going with him in the

¹The document, (6), represents this as taking place immediately after the miracle of the loaves and fishes given in the last chapter. From its form, this apocryphal fragment is essentially a sermon, or collection of sermons. Much purely homiletical material is intermingled.

The following account appears like a homily on the text, "I am the resurrection and the life." The tendency in apocryphal writings, many times illustrated, is to make Thomas the medium for all kinds of trials of faith and dispellings of doubts.

way.¹ We wish to see how bones in the tomb, which have been dissolved, are joined together so that they speak here."

Jesus saith unto Thomas, "Thomas, my friend, ask me (6) and my brethren concerning everything that thou desirest; and I will hide nothing from you, that openly thou mayest see and touch and thy heart be assured.² Didst thou desire to see those who are in the tombs arise? Full well didst thou seek after a sign of the resurrection. For I have told you already, I am the resurrection and the life;³ and, if a grain of wheat dieth not, it beareth not fruit.⁴ If ye also do not see with your eyes, your heart is not assured. Did I not say to you, 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed, rather than they that have seen, and have not believed?'⁵ Ye see how many signs and wonders I have wrought before the Jews, and they have not believed on me."

"Now therefore, O my brethren, ye know Lazarus⁶ the (6) man of Bethany, who is called my friend. Behold, four days I abide with you, and I have not gone to visit his sisters; for to-day is the fourth day since Lazarus died.⁷ Now, therefore, let us go unto him that ye may comfort them concerning their brother Lazarus.⁸ Didymus, come with me, that we may go to Bethany, and that I may show thee the figure of the resurrection at the last day in his tomb; and thy heart shall be assured that I am the resurrection and the

¹See Luke vii.11 seq. This seems to be an answer to early rationalizing interpreters of this miracle, who perhaps, somewhat after the manner of the moderns, doubted whether this man had been really dead.

²Certainly modelled on John xx.27.

³John xi.25.

⁴John xii.24; I Cor. xv.35-38.

⁵John xx.29, possibly also a reference to Christ's letter to Abgar.

⁶The Golden Legend tells much about Lazarus. He was of royal

descent, his father's name, Syrus, his mother's, Emhasia. He was rich, and a soldier by profession. He was baptized, along with Martha and Mary Magdalene his sisters, by Maximinus, an early disciple. Epiphanius tells that he was thirty years old when he was raised from the dead, and lived thirty more years. His bones were said to be found in Cyprus, in the year 890, and were brought to Constantinople soon after.

⁷John xi.1, 3, 6, 11, 17.

⁸John xi.15, 19.

life. Come with me, O Didymus, that I may show thee the bones which have been dissolved in the tomb, gathered together again. Come with me, O Didymus, that I may show thee the eyes of Lazarus, which have been hollowed out, sending forth light. Come with me, O Didymus, unto the mount of Bethany, that I may show thee the tongue of Lazarus, which was wasted away by reason of corrupt matter, and that I may make it speak with thee again. Come with me, O Didymus, unto the tomb of Lazarus, that thou mayest see the corruption of his bones and of his shroud, which the worms have destroyed, that thou mayest see that which befalleth him by the voice wherewith I call him.¹ Come with me, O Didymus, unto the tomb of Lazarus—to-day is the fourth day since he died—that I may raise him up alive again. Thou hast sought after the sign of my resurrection, O Thomas. Come that I may show it thee in the tomb of Lazarus. Thou hast sought to see how bones are joined together. Come with me to the tomb of Lazarus, that thou mayest see them going and coming from the door of his tomb. Thou hast sought for hands to be stretched out. Come that I may show thee the hands of Lazarus, bound in grave-clothes, and wrapped in the linen cloths, set upon them alone, coming forth from the tomb.² Didymus, my friend, come with me to the tomb of Lazarus, for my mouth hath desired that of which thou hast thought. For to-day is the fourth day of Lazarus, and Martha and Mary are waiting for me to go and inquire of them concerning their brother.” Now whilst Jesus was saying these things to the apostles, Didymus approached, and said unto him, “My Lord, how then shall we go thither, whilst the Jews are seeking to stone thee?”³ He said this because he was grieved concerning the words which Jesus spake con-

¹All this amplification as to the probable state of the body of Lazarus seems to be a rhetorical comment on John xi.39. Such tedious sermonizings make up the bulk of this document. It is characteristic of Egyptian ideas

to find so much stress laid upon the condition of the body. Compare the narratives regarding Joseph in chap. XIV.

²John xi.44.

³Cf. John xi.8.

cerning Lazarus, in order that the Lord might not go. Jesus said to him, "Didymus, he that walketh in the light stumbleth not."¹ Jesus said this word to Thomas that he might comfort him, because he saw him grieving concerning the death of Lazarus.²

Now after all these things, Jesus came not far from the (6) tomb of Lazarus; and his sister met him there.³ She said unto him, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died;⁴ for thou art the resurrection that raiseth the dead; for I know thee from thy youth and my brother Lazarus." Jesus said unto her, "Believest thou this, that I am the resurrection that raiseth the dead, and the life of every one?" Martha said unto him, "Yea, Lord, I believe." Jesus saith unto her, "Thy brother shall rise." Then as they were saying these things one with another, behold, Martha and Mary and Jesus came to the tomb of Lazarus, Jesus going before the apostles. And he saith unto them, "Take away the stone, that thou mayest see the witness to the manner in which the dead are raised."⁵ And straightway Thomas wept before Jesus, saying, "If thou hast suffered this trouble, and hast come to the tomb of the dead because of my unbelief, let thy will be done unto me, and let this tomb receive me unto the day of thy resurrection." But Jesus knew that Thomas was grieved, and he said unto him with a voice of joy and a word of life, "Thomas, grieve not. What I do thou knowest not.⁶ Is it a trouble to take away the stone of a friend enclosed in a tomb, that he may arise and come forth?⁷ Grieve not, O Thomas, because I said unto thee, 'Take away the stone, that a witness to the resurrection may be manifested in a tomb of the dead.' Grieve not, O Thomas, because I said unto thee, 'Take away the stone, to raise the dead.' Open the door of the tomb, and I will bring forth him that is dead. Take away the stone, O Thomas, that I may give life to him who sleepeth in the

¹John xi.9, also I John i.7.

⁴John xi.21.

²A very clumsy explanation of the above text.

⁵Cf. John xi.38, 39.

⁶John xiii.7.

³Cf. John xi.30.

⁷Cf. John xi.11.

tomb. Drag far away the stone, O Thomas, and he that is dead shall find the way of coming forth from the tomb. I did not urge thee, O Thomas, saying, 'Take away the stone;' because Lazarus cannot come forth, whilst the door is shut; for all things are possible to me. But if thou takest away the stone, O Thomas, the tomb is manifested that all men may see it, and may see how he that is dead sleepeth. Hast thou taken away the stone, O Thomas; and the evil smell gone forth, and the corrupt matter, and the worm, in the manner of all those who are dead? Nay, God forbid."

- (6) Now after all these things, Jesus said unto Mary, "Believest thou that thy brother shall rise?"¹ She saith unto him, "Yea, Lord, I believe.² By this time he stinketh; for it is four days since he died.³ But I believe that all things are possible to thee."⁴ And Jesus turned to Thomas, and said unto him, "Come, that thou mayest see the bones of the dead lying in the tombs before I raise them. Come with me, O Thomas, that thou mayest see the eyes which have poured themselves forth, before I give the light to them again. Come, O Thomas, that thou mayest see how he who sleepeth is laid, before I raise him again. Come, O Thomas, have faith in me; for all things are possible to me. Martha and Mary, assure your heart. Have more faith than Martha and Mary, bearing witness to me, and saying, 'Yea, all things are possible to thee.'" And as Jesus said these things, he cried out, saying, "My Father, my Father, all the Root of goodness, I beseech Thee, for the hour is come, that Thou wouldest glorify Thy Son,⁵ that all may know that Thou didst send me for this end. The glory be to Thee unto the ages of the ages. Amen."⁶
- (6) And as Jesus was saying these things, he cried out, saying, "Lazarus, come forth."⁷ And straightway the mount went round as a wheel. They that were dead arose, and came forth because of the voice of Jesus who called him,

¹John xi.23, 26.

²John xi.27.

³John xi.39.

⁴Cf. Mark xiv.36.

⁵John xvii.1.

⁶Cf. John xvii.24.

⁷John xi.43.

saying, "Lazarus, come forth." And straightway Lazarus came forth,¹ wrapped in grave-clothes, his face bound with a napkin, his head bound in grave-clothes. Jesus saith unto them, "Loose him, and let him go."² Now when Lazarus say Jesus standing at the door of the tomb, he fell down and worshipped him. And he cried out, saying, "Blessed art thou, Jesus, at whose voice Gehenna³ trembleth, even the voice wherewith he called me; the glory of whose God-head those who are in Gehenna desire to see. Blessed art thou, Jesus, to whom belongeth this voice of resurrection; for thou art he who shall judge the whole world."⁴ And as Lazarus was saying these things to Jesus, the multitudes followed after him to see him.⁵ Now when Jesus saw that the multitudes thronged him⁶ and Lazarus also—some of those belonging to his family embracing him, some asking after his welfare, his sisters kissing his mouth, in short there being a great clamour in the mount of Bethany; some shouting aloud, others confessing that there was never a man like this is Israel,⁷ some saying, "We believe on that man, that he is the resurrection, from that which we have seen in the tomb of Lazarus to-day;"⁸ the multitudes being gathered together to Lazarus, like bees to a honey-comb,⁹ because of the wonder which was come to pass.¹⁰

But Lazarus did not go away from the feet of Jesus, kiss- (6)
ing them, and bearing witness to the multitudes, and saying, "Jesus is the resurrection of the quick and of the dead. What is the sight of this place at all compared with the sight of Gehenna at the hour that he called my name from the door of the tomb, saying, 'Lazarus, come forth?' I say unto you,

¹Possibly a reference here to the event recorded in Mat. xxvii.52. Amplification of this is given in chap. XXXIII, etc.

²John xi.44.

³For the Egyptian word Amenti, I have substituted the above where it occurs here and elsewhere. Possibly Hades would be better.

⁴Acts xviii.31.

⁵John xii.9.

⁶Cf. Mark v.31.

⁷Cf. Mat. ix.33.

⁸John xi.45.

⁹Cf. Ps. cxviii.12.

¹⁰This long sentence is not grammatical. I give it just as the translator does.

at that hour my father Adam knew his voice and his call, as though he were at the gates of death, calling him.¹ He spent a while with his ear inclined to his call, thinking that he was calling him. Adam bare witness to the multitudes, saying, "This call that I have heard is the voice of my surety, wherewith he calleth me in paradise. Where is that hour when he cometh to paradise to call me? Who is this good son whom my Creator calleth by this name, saying, Lazarus, come forth? I pray thee, my son Lazarus, upon whom the mercy of the Almighty hath come, inquire of my Creator concerning me, O my beloved son Lazarus, saying, How long shall it be before I hear this call of life?"

- (6) Now as Lazarus was saying these things to the multitude, lying prostrate at the feet of Jesus, the fame of him reached unto the chiefs of the Jews, that Jesus did this work on the Sabbath.² And they came that they might see Lazarus and stone Jesus.³
- (29) Now Jesus once, on a journey with his disciples, came into the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea; and there he found a dead man's skull lying upon the earth.⁴ And the disciples besought him to call it back to life. Then Jesus prayed to God, and turning to the skull, said, "By the will of God, come to life, and tell us what thou hast found beyond death, and in the tomb, and in the world to come." Immediately, then, the skull took the form of a living man, and said, "Know, O prophet of God, that four thousand years ago I

¹Cf. Job. xxxviii.17. For an account of how Adam awaited in Hades the call of Christ, see chap. XXVIII. (6) has here evidently drawn from the Gospel of Nicodemus.

²John v.16. The Report of Pontius Pilate, Second Greek Form, says that the raising of Lazarus took place upon the Sabbath.

³Cf. John viii.59; x.31; xi.53; xii.9.

⁴The extended piece which here begins is given by Weil in his *Biblische Legende der Muselmänner*. A French translation of it may be found in Migne, I, col. 977. It is essentially a sort of Mohammedan apocalypse, and whilst, perhaps, not having any real relation to Christian apocrypha or legend, is, I think, of enough intrinsic interest to be inserted here.

was living in pleasure ; and after I had taken a bath, I was attacked by a fever, which for seven days resisted all remedies. The fourth day, I found myself so weakened that all my members trembled, and my tongue clave to the roof of my mouth. Then did the angel of death appear unto me in frightful form ; his head touched the heavens, whilst his feet reached to the lowest depths of the earth. In his right hand he held a sword, and in his left a cup. With him were two other angels that seemed to be his servants.¹ I tried to utter a cry that should reach the inhabitants of heaven and earth ; but throwing themselves upon me, they held my tongue, and weighed upon all my veins to make my soul go forth from my body. I said to them, 'O redoubtable angels, I will give all that I possess to save my life.' But one of them struck me so roughly on my face that my jaw was almost broken, and said, 'Enemy of God ! God accepteth no ransom.' The angel of death then raised his sword above my neck, and offered me the cup which I had to empty to the last drop. And that was my death."

"I was bathed, wrapped in the shroud, and buried, with- (29)
out having knowledge of it. But when my tomb had been covered with earth, the soul returned to my body ; and I was seized with great terror at finding myself in solitude. Next, there came two angels having a scroll, and recounted to me all the good and evil that I had done during my life ; they commanded me to sign the scroll with my own hand, certifying to its correctness by my signature. And when I had done this, they suspended the record about my neck,² and left me. Next, there appeared two other angels of a dark blue colour. Each of these had a column of fire in his hand, and if a single spark of this fire should fall upon the earth, it would suffice to burn it up.³ They cried to me with a voice like thunder, 'Who is thy master ?' Fright made me lose my reason, and in response, I stammered, 'Ye are my mas-

¹The angel is Azrael ; see chap. XIV for references to Jewish legends which are very similar, and whence these are derived.

²Another version of the idea of the book of deeds written by the recording angel.

³A similar representation of

ters.' They replied to me, 'Thou liest, O enemy of God.'¹ And they struck me a blow with one of the columns which they had, that caused me to fall down to the seventh earth. And when I found myself again in my tomb, they said, 'Earth, punish this man, because he hath rebelled against his master.' Then the earth weighed upon me so heavily that almost all my bones were reduced to dust, and it said to me, 'O enemy of God, I hated thee when thou didst walk upon my surface; but now that thou restest in my bosom, I will avenge myself, thanks to the might of God.'"²

- (29) "Next, the angels opened one of the gates of hell, and said, 'Take a sinner who believed not in God, and burn him.' They bound me then with a chain that was seventy ells long, and plunged me into the midst of hell. And every time that the flames devoured my skin, I received a new one so that I might suffer again the torments of burning. I experienced such hunger that I asked for food, but I received nothing save the rotten fruit of the tree Sukum,³ which not only increased my hunger, but also brought upon me a burning thirst, and cruel pains throughout my body. If I asked for drink, they gave me only boiling water, and they thrust the end of the chain which bound my hands and feet into my mouth with such force that it came out through my back."
- (29) When Jesus heard these words, he wept with compassion, and commanded the dead man's head to describe hell more

the angel that desired to avenge the Crucifixion of Christ is found in chap. XXXI.

¹A Coptic fragment of the Acts of St. Andrew and St. Paul, given by Migne, *Légendes*, col. 720, affords a parallel to this. Judas Iscariot, after his betrayal of his master, secures conditional pardon of Christ, who tells him to flee into the desert, and fear no one save God. Satan then appears to him in frightful form, when Judas, in his terror, acknowledges him as his Lord.

Judas then, in despair, goes and hangs himself.

²A very poetical figure, as applied to the decay of the body.

³D'Herbelot gives the following account of the accursed tree Zacoum, under that title: The name of an infernal tree according to the fabulous tradition of the Mohammedans, the fruit of which is the heads of demons. It is mentioned in the Koran. But there is also an actual thorny tree which bears very bitter fruit, and has given rise to the fable.

particularly. So the head thus continued, "Know, O prophet of God, that hell consisteth of seven stages, one above the other.¹ The torments of sinners are so great that if thou sawest them, O prophet of God, thou wouldest shed tears of pity, weeping like a mother who hath lost her only son. The outside of hell is of copper and the interior of lead. The sun is a torment created by the wrath of the Almighty; from all sides of the fire which sendeth forth no light, but which is black, it emitteth a smoke thick and fetid. And that fire is fed with men, and with the figures of idols."

Long, then, did Jesus weep, and he asked the dead man to (29) what race he belonged in his lifetime. He replied, "I am descended from the prophet Elijah." And being asked what he most desired, he said, "That God would call me back to life, so that I might be able to serve Him with all my heart, and render myself worthy of paradise." Then Jesus prayed to God, and said, "Lord, Thou knowest this man and me better than we know ourselves, and Thou art almighty." And God replied, "That which he desireth hath long been determined by me, since he hath had much of merit, and hath, above all, shown himself very charitable to the poor. He shall return into the world in answer to thy request. And if he serve me faithfully, all his sins shall be pardoned." Jesus then called to the skull, and said to it, "Become once more, by the power of God, a perfect man." Scarcely had he pronounced these words when a man arose, who appeared yet fairer than in his past life, and said, "I am a witness that there is but one God, that Moses spake with God, and that Isaiah is the spirit and the word of God.² I recognize also that the resurrection is as true as death, and that hell and paradise really exist." This man lived sixty-six years after his resurrection, passing his days in fasting, and his nights in prayer, nor did he turn aside an instant from the service of the Lord, until the day of his death.

¹The account here describes these divisions more particularly, according to the well-known Mohammedan tradition.

²Of course, the text here adds, "And that Mohammed shall be the last envoy of God."

- (29) Now once when Jesus had promised to raise one from the dead, the Jews believed him not.¹ But for proof of his power, they brought him to the grave of Shem, because they knew of no older one.² Then was the grave opened, whereupon the corpse within raised itself up. And Jesus said, "Who art thou, and who am I?" And the dweller in the grave replied, "I am Shem, the son of Noah, and thou art Jesus, the Spirit of God." "Why, then," said Jesus, "is thy beard gray, whereas it was yet black at thy death?" "Thou sayest truly," said Shem, "but from terror at thy call, which I believed to be the voice of the angel of death, my hair became gray."³ Jesus answered, "If thou wishest it, son of Noah, I will obtain from the Lord yet another term of life for thee." "I thank thee," said Shem, "I have lived enough, and prefer the rest of the grave."⁴ Immediately, then, he sank back again into his sepulchre.
- (29) Now as Christ, to confirm his teachings amongst the unbelieving Jews by a sign, had raised the patriarch Shem from the dead, the people said, "That is sorcery, give us another sign."⁵ Then Jesus said unto them, "What do ye

¹Hofmann refers for this legend to Maracci's edition of the Koran, p. 113. Also see Kessaeus, in Sike, n. p. (53), and Sepp, V, p. 63.

²Rabbi Gerson in his book, called *Sepher Geliloth Eretz Israel*, says that as he journeyed through the land of King Og, he saw a grave which was eighty ells long, and they told him that it was that of Shem the son of Noah. The tradition is that Shem buried Adam at Jerusalem. See chaps. XXV, XXVI.

³Abraham was the first whose hair became white, says Jewish legend. There was such striking similarity between him and his son Isaac, that God gave him white hair and wrinkles to dis-

tinguish him. Mohammedan legend again says that when Abraham's beard became white, he asked God the reason of it. The Lord replied, "It is a token of gentleness, my son."

⁴By this blasé Mohammedan view of life I am reminded of verse lxviii of Omar's *Rubaiyat*: "We are no other than a moving row

Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go

Round with this sun-illumin'd lantern held

In midnight by the Master of the Show."

⁵This paragraph is given by Kessaeus, Sike, n. p. (53). Some of its particulars are contained in the Koran, Sura v.

desire?" They answered, "Tell us what we will lay aside, and what we will eat in our houses." When, now, he had told them this, and they would not yet believe, he went away. But as he on the following day came again to them, they said, "See, the sorcerer is here again." When Jesus heard this, he was angry, and said, "O God, Thou knowest that they accuse me and my mother of sorcery.¹ For this cause, curse them utterly." Then God turned them into swine, and after they had lived three days, they died. And as this became known in Judaea, they wished to kill him, but they could not. The Lord also raised a dead man to life in the days of Philip.²

The Saviour's works, moreover, were always present; for (n) they were real, consisting of those who had been healed of their diseases, and raised from the dead. And these were not only seen whilst they were being healed and raised up, but were afterwards constantly present. Jesus raised several who again married, and had offspring. Nor did they remain only during his sojourn on earth, but also a considerable time after his departure.³

¹Cf. John vii.19, 20, etc.

²Eusebius, in the Church History, bk. III, 39, gives this vague tradition as handed down by Papias. It might well refer simply to Lazarus, or the son of the widow of Nain.

³The above is contained in a fragment ascribed by Eusebius to Quadratus Bishop of Athens, and given in the Church History, bk. IV, 3.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WORDS OF CHRIST—THE AGRAPHA.¹

CHRIST ANNOUNCES HIS MISSION—REBUKES MANKIND—
INSTRUCTS THE APOSTLES—SPEAKS OF REPENTANCE—
—RENUNCIATION OF THE WORLD—PATIENCE—PRAYER
—TEMPTATION—CHARITY—GOODNESS—HIS OWN OMNI-
PRESENCE—FORGIVING BRETHREN—ALMSGIVING—THE
RICH—CURIOUS QUESTIONS—THE SOUL—WOMEN—
MARRIAGE—FALSE PROPHETS—THE JUDGMENT—THE
SECOND COMING—THE JEWS—VARIOUS TOPICS.

MAIN SOURCES: (16)—Fragments of Lost Documents.

(30)—Church Fathers and Other Writers.

(16) Jesus said: I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied,
(30) saying, "A prophet shall the Lord our God raise unto you
of your brethren, like unto me: Hear him in all things; and

¹Included in this chapter are 72 fragments which Resch accepts as genuine logia of Christ, and numerous others, gathered from many sources. The notes upon the former refer first to Resch's treatment of the logion. In all cases, reference is given in detail to the particular author whose version of the logion has been translated, and this is followed by mere mention of the authors, if any such there be, who also preserve it in one form or other. The scriptural references present first the nearest

canonical parallels to the thought of the logion, followed by illustrations of verbal and other coincidences. The arrangement of these fragments endeavours to secure some sort of continuity in their presentation, but it is realized that any completely satisfactory arrangement of them in continuous narrative is impossible. The genuine character of the apparent connecting thought that has been followed, in many instances, is not vouched for. Several of Resch's Agraphea, and a large number of other frag-

whosoever will not hear that prophet shall die."¹ For the Lord said: I come to gather all nations and tongues. I am the gate of life; he who entereth through me, entereth into life. (16)
(30)

If the Son is mightier than God, and the son of man is Lord over Him; who else than the Son can be Lord over that God who is the ruler over all things.²

I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword; and henceforth ye shall see father separated from son, son from father, husband from wife, and wife from husband, mother from daughter, and daughter from mother, brother from brother, father-in-law from daughter-in-law, friend from friend.³

I came to put an end to sacrifice, and unless ye cease from sacrificing, anger will not cease from you.⁴

Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.⁵

On the same day, having seen one working on the Sabbath, he said to him: O man, if indeed thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed, and art a transgressor of the law.⁶

ments similar to those contained in this chapter, will be found in their appropriate places elsewhere, in the course of the narrative of the present work. Reference in the General Index to the title "Agrapha," will show the exact location of these other logia.

¹Clementine Homilies, III, 53. Cf. John v.46; Luke xxiv.27, 44; Acts iii.22, 23; Deut. xviii.15, 19. The following sentence is from Clement of Rome, II, 17, and has little significance. The last sentence is from Clementine Homilies, III, 52. Cf. John x.9.

²Origen against Celsus, VIII,

15. See Luke iii.16; I Cor. xv.27, 28. Origen quotes this from A Heavenly Dialogue, a book probably of Basilidean Gnostic character, not now extant.

³Clementine Recognitions, II, 18, 19; cf. Mat. x.35, 36; Luke xii.53.

⁴Epiphanius, Heresies, XXX, 16; quoted there from the Gospel of the Ebionites. Cf. Mat. v.17; ix.13.

⁵Logia of Christ found at Behnesa. There is no close parallel in scripture. Cf. Gal. vi.14; Mat. vi.33.

⁶Resch, 27, pp. 108, 188; Codex

(16) How long shall I be with you and speak with you? I am
(30) weary of this generation. They proved me, He said, ten times, but these, twenty times, and ten times ten.¹

I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them; and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them; and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their hearts.²

Excepting a very few saints and illustrious ones, men have thought to atone for their crimes with a few pieces of money.³

Thou hearest with one ear, but the other thou hast closed.⁴

He who is near me is near the fire; but he who is far from me is far from the kingdom.⁵

They who are with me have not understood me.⁶

Even though ye were gathered together with me in my very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep my commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, "Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity."⁷

But ye seek to increase from little, and from greater to be less. But when ye are bidden to dinner, sit not down in the highest places lest a more worthy than thou cometh, and the host come, and say to thee, "Go down lower," and

Cantabrigiensis (D), following Luke vi.4. Cf. Gal. ii.18; Rom. ii.25; Jas. ii.11.

¹Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Conc. Expositio*. Cf. Luke ix.41; Mark ix.19; Mat. xvii.17. The last sentence, of course, refers to the children of Israel under Moses, and there is allusion to Ps. xcv.9, 10.

²Logia of Christ found at Behnesa. Cf. Mat. v.6; John i.10; Baruch iii.38.

³Salvianus de Gubernio, VII, 14. Cf. Mat. xxvii.4, 5. This is a fragment of a Latin hexameter verse from some old Christian poet like Juvencus; my translation is partly conjectural, and

there is some little doubt as to whether the author intended to ascribe these words to Christ. There is probably an allusion to Judas.

⁴Logia of Christ found at Behnesa. Swete thus restores the almost undecipherable logion at the close. Cf. Mat. xi.15, etc.

⁵Resch, 5, p. 98; Origen, *Homily on Jeremiah* xx.3; Didymus. Cf. Luke xii.49; iii.16; Mark ix.49; xii.34.

⁶Harnack, from *Acta Petri Vercell.*, 10; Cf. John viii.23, etc.

⁷Clement of Rome, *Epistles*, ii.4, 5. Cf. Luke xiii.27; Mat. vii.23; xviii.20; John xiii.23.

thou be put to shame. But when thou hast seated thyself in a lower place, and a lesser than thou cometh, so shall thy host say to thee, "Go up higher," and that shall be pleasing unto thee.¹ (16) (30)

He said to the apostles: I have chosen you before the world was made.² There shall be with me, also, my twelve servants.³ I will select to myself these things. Very, very excellent are those whom my Father who is in heaven hath given me.⁴ Ye have dismissed the living, who was before you, and talk of the dead.

Ye shall be called by my name, and ye shall be the temple of my Godhead.⁵

Blessed is the man whom his Lord shall appoint to the ministry of his fellow-servants.⁶

What ye preach in word to the people, that set before every man in your works.⁷

Thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking away therefrom.⁸

A share is allotted to all by the Father, according as each person is or shall be worthy.⁹

¹Codex D, after Mat. xx.28; see Westcott and Hort, New Testament, p. 572. Cf. Luke xiv.8-10; John v.44.

²Resch, 69, p. 299; Ephraem Syrus, Evang. Conc. Expositio. Cf. Eph. i.4; Luke vi.13; John vi.70; xiii.18.

³Codex Askew, p. 215. Cf. John xii.26.

⁴Eusebius, Theophania, IV, 13; from Gospel of the Hebrews. Cf. Luke vi.13. The following not very intelligible sentence, a possible logion of Christ in the first person. Cf. I John iii.18; Mat. v.16; xxiii.3; John xiii.17; Jas. i.25.

⁵Agathangelus, c. 37; I have slightly altered the form of this

in translation. Cf. Jas. ii.7.

⁶Clementine Homilies, III, 64; Cf. Mat. xviii.28 seq.; xxiv.46, etc.

⁷The Teaching of Addaeus. I have thrown the contents of this excerpt into the form of a possible logion of Christ in the first person. Cf. I John iii.18; Mat. v.16; xxiii.3; John xiii.17; Jas. i.25.

⁸Resch, 62, pp. 134, 267, 293; Didache, IV, 13; Barnabas; Hermas; The Two Ways; Constitutions; Eusebius; Irenaeus; Tertullian. Cf. Rev. xxii.18, 19; I Tim. v.21; I Cor. xi.23; Gal. i.9; I Cor. xv.1; Deut. iv.2.

⁹Irenaeus against Heresies, V, 36. Cf. parables of the pounds and of the talents.

(16) Be ye subject unto kings and governors.¹

(30) The labourer is worthy of his hire, and sufficient unto him that laboureth is his food.²

If any one doth not work, let not such an one eat. For the Lord our God hateth the slothful.³

The Lord said unto the apostles: Should, then, any one of Israel be willing to repent, so as to believe upon God through my name, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years, go out into the world, lest any one say, "We did not hear."⁴

The disciples thus spake unto Jesus: Thou art a key to every man, and the one who shutteth to every man.⁵

Jesus said: How cometh it, that while so many go about the well, no one goeth down into it?⁶ Why art thou afraid

¹Resch, 72, p. 302; Mart. Polyc., X, 2; Justin Martyr. I have, in translating, changed this to the form of a logion. Cf. I Pet. ii.13, 14; Rom. xiii.1, 3; Tit. iii.1; I Tim. ii.2.

²Resch, 3, p. 97; Epiphanius, Heresies, LXXX, 5. Cf. Luke x.7; Mat. x.10; the same word "sufficient" is used in Mat. x.25; vi.34. See also Luke iii.14.

³Resch, 45, pp. 128, 240; Constitutions, II, 62; Pseudo-Ignatius; Didascalia; Macarius. Cf. II Thes. iii.10; iii.8; Gen. iii.19; Mat. xx.3.

⁴Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, VI, 5, 43; Apollonius ap. Eusebium; Codex Askew; the last named says that Christ, after His Ascension, descended again to earth, and for eleven years instructed His disciples in various mysteries. The ordinary punctuation of this passage from Clement puts a period after the

word "years," and only a comma after the preceding word "him." I think the above gives the true meaning. Traditions of a command that the apostles should remain a long time in Jerusalem are found in several quarters, especially in Gnostic works. Cf. Acts i.4.

⁵Codex Askew. Not properly an Agraphon in this form, but probably contains one. Cf. Rev. iii.7.

⁶Origen against Celsus, VIII, 15, 16; quoted from a lost work called A Heavenly Dialogue. I suppose the idea is, "How many walk about this well of the world, but no one goes down into it to save those who have fallen into it, and are perishing." Cf. Luke xiv.5. Also cf., for possible connection in thought, the story of Christ's rescuing the child from the well, told in chap. X.

when thou hast gone so far on the way? Answer: Thou art mistaken; for I lack neither courage nor weapons.¹ (16)
(30)

He that wondereth shall reign; and he that reigneth shall rest. Look with wonder at that which is before you.²

A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.³

But where the pains are, thither hasteneth the physician.⁴

I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. For the heavenly Father desireth rather the repentance than the punishment of the sinner.⁵

Zaccheus, according to others, Matthias, chief of the tax-collectors, when he heard how the Lord wished to come to him, said, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." Of him said the Lord: The son of man came to-day and found that which was lost.⁶

Behold, I will make the last like the first.⁷

My friend, I do thee no wrong; thou hast received thine own in thy lifetime, take now what is thine, and depart.⁸

For the Father willeth that to all should be given of His gifts.⁹

¹Quoted a few sentences after the above, by Origen, from the same work. Cf. Luke xiv.31, 32; xxii.38.

²Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, XI, 9; from Gospel of the Hebrews. Cf. Mat. xi.29.

³Logia of Christ found at Behnesa. Cf. Luke iv.24; Mat. xiii.57; Mark vi.4; John iv.44.

⁴Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Conc. Expositio*. Cf. Luke v.31; Mat. ix.12.

⁵Resch, 51, pp. 130, 252; Justin Martyr, *Apology*, II, 15. Cf. II Pet. iii.9. The first part is Mat. ix.13, which I allow to stand here, just as it does in Justin, to show the connection. Cf. also

I Tim. ii.4; Ezek. xxxiii.11.

⁶Clem. Alex., *Stromata*, IV, 6. The passage is probably to be ascribed to the Traditions of Matthias; Cf. Luke xix.8-10.

⁷Resch, 59, pp. 133, 261, 292; Barnabas, VI, 13. Cf. Rev. xxi.5; Mat. xx.16; xix.30; Mark x.31; Luke xiii.30; Ezek. xxxvi.11; Is. xliii.18; II Cor. v.27.

⁸Zahn, *Kanon*, II, 455; words ascribed to Christ by Sergius the Paulician reformer; cf. Mat. xx.13; Luke xvi.25.

⁹Resch, 53, pp. 131, 255, 292; *Didache*, I, 5; *Hermas*; *Constitutions*; *John of Damascus*; *Apostolic Fathers of Cotelerius*. Cf. Jas. i.17; I Cor. vii.7.

(16) From above, I am about to be crucified.¹

(30) For those that are sick, I was sick, and for those that hunger, I suffered hunger, and for those that thirst, I suffered thirst.²

The weak through the strong shall be saved.³

Be saved, thou and thy soul.⁴

Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.⁵

In whatsoever I may find you, in this also will I judge you. Such as I may find thee, I will judge thee.⁶

The Lord knoweth them that are His, both those that are near and those that are far off.⁷

My mystery is for me and for the sons of my house. Keep the mystery for me and for the sons of my house.⁸

¹Origen on John, tom. XX, 12; attributed by Origen to the Acts of Paul. This saying, in the form, "I am going to be crucified again," is the foundation of the well-known Quo Vadis story, found in the Passion of Peter and Paul, and in many other apocryphal compilations. Peter, fleeing from Rome to escape persecution, meets the Lord, and asks Him where He is going. The Lord replies, "I am going to Rome to be crucified again," etc. Cf. Heb. vi.6.

²Resch 47, pp. 129, 244; Origen on Matthew, tom. XIII, 2. Cf. Heb. iv.15; Mat. viii.17; Is. liii.4.

³Resch 15, pp. 102, 153, 280; The Two Ways; Minucius Felix. Cf. I Cor. i.25; Mat. ix.12; Rom. viii.3; Luke iii.16.

⁴Resch, 8, p. 98; Theodotus, Excerpta apud Clem. Alex., 2. Probably from the Gospel of the Egyptians; the last word in the logion should possibly rather be

translated "life." Cf. Luke xvii.32, 33; Gen. xix.17; Mark viii.35; Mat. xvi.25; x.39; John xii.25.

⁵Resch, 37, pp. 112, 222, 289; Eph. v.14. Resch thinks this is taken from some account of Christ's raising the dead.

⁶Resch, 39, pp. 112, 227, 290; I give this in two representative forms, as reported by Justin Martyr, Trypho, 47; and Basil, Epistle to Chilo. Also given by Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Amphilocheus, and eleven others to whom Resch refers. Cf. Phil. iii.2; Ezek. xxxiii.20; xviii.30.

⁷Resch, 31, pp. 109, 204, 288; Constitutions, II, 54; V, 16. I have slightly changed the form of this sentence in translation. Cf. Eph. ii.17; II Tim. ii.19; Is. lvii.19.

⁸Resch, 17, pp. 103, 167, 282. The logion is given substantially as I have translated it for my first sentence, by Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, VI, 10; The-

For my brethren and fellow-heirs are those who do the will of my Father. And call no man your father upon earth; for there are many masters upon earth, but in heaven is the Father from whom is all the family in heaven and earth.¹

Our dwelling place is in heaven.²

For the fashion of this world passeth away.³

The world shall be built up through grace.⁴

Buy for yourselves, O children of Adam, through these transitory things, which are not yours, that which is yours, and which passeth not away.⁵

Why marvel ye at the signs? I give unto you a great inheritance, which the whole world hath not.⁶

Show yourselves tried money-changers.⁷ It is thine, O man, to prove my words, as silver and money are proved among the exchangers.

Care for those things which are necessary for the body, and be anxious about nothing further save virtue.⁸

odoret; Chrysostom; Symmachus and Theodotus; John of Damascus and Hilary: as in the second sentence, by the Clementine Homilies. Cf. I Cor. iv.1, 2; Mark iv.11, 34; Mat. vii.6; is probably from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

¹Resch, 32, pp. 109, 207; Clement of Alexandria, Fragments, 20; Hippolytus; Epiphanius. Cf. Mat. xii.50; xxiii.9; Eph. iii.15; Mark iii.35; Luke viii.21.

²Resch, 40, pp. 114, 229; Justin Martyr on the Resurrection, IX; Acta Apostolorum Apocryphorum, Fabricius. Cf. Phil. iii.20; Heb. xiii.14; John xiv.2.

³Resch, 19, pp. 104, 171; Didache; Theodore Balsamo. Cf. I Cor. vii.31; I John ii.17; Luke xxi.33; Mark xiii.31; Mat. xxiv.35; Job xvii.11.

⁴Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Conc. Expositio*. Cf. I Cor. iii.9.

⁵Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Conc. Expositio*. Cf. Luke xvi.9, 12.

⁶Resch, 29, pp. 108, 193; Macarius, Homily XII, 17. Cf. Eph. i.18, 19; Acts, xx.32; I Pet. i.4.

⁷Resch, 43, pp. 116, 233; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, I, 28; Origen; Clementines; Constitutions; indeed, nearly all the Church writers. Resch gives sixty-nine citations of this logion, which is by far the most widely known of any. It is in most cases quoted in direct connection with I Thes. v.21. The second sentence, from Clementine Homilies, III, 61, I give as essentially another version of this.

⁸Theodorus Monachus, *Catena on Matthew*. I have changed the

(16) Those who wish to see me, and to lay hold upon my kingdom, must receive me through tribulation and suffering.¹
 (30)

Blessed are they who are persecuted by righteousness; for they shall be perfect. And blessed are they who are persecuted for my sake; for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted.²

Watch ye, praying without ceasing, to escape from affliction.³

Be ye watchful, circumspect, and well-instructed, since the ancient enemy goeth about attacking the servants of God.⁴

The tempter is the wicked one.⁵

Give no pretext to the evil one.⁶

If ye resist the devil, he will be conquered, and flee from you in disgrace.⁷

Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love Him.⁸

form of this so as to express possible words of Christ in direct discourse. Cf. Rom. xiii.14; Phil. iv.8.

¹Resch, 10, pp. 100, 143, 278; Barnabas, VII, 11; Macarius; Hermas; Lactantius; Prochorus. My translation is a free one. Cf. Acts xiv.22. For parallels to first clause, see John xvi.16; Luke ii.26. With second clause, compare II Cor. i.6; Acts ix.16; I Thes. iii.4; Rev. ii.10; Mark xii.34.

²Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, IV, 6. Logion is introduced by the words, "Or, as some who transpose the Gospels say." Cf. Mat. v.10-12.

³Resch, 70, p. 300; Ephraem Syrus. Cf. I Thes. v.17.

⁴Resch, 73, p. 307; Pseudo-

Cyprian de Aleatoribus, V. Cf. I Pet. v.8; I Tim. iii.6; II Tim. ii.26.

⁵Resch, 42, pp. 115, 233; Clementine Homilies, III, 55. Cf. I Thes. iii.5; Mat. xiii.39.

⁶Resch, 34, pp. 110, 211; Clementine Homilies, XIX, 2. Cf. Eph. iv.27.

⁷Resch, 56, pp. 132, 257; Hermas, Commandments, XII, 5. In translating, I have supplied the word "devil," in place of the pronoun. Cf. Jas. iv.7; I Pet. v.8, 9; Eph. vi.11, 13.

⁸Resch, 52, pp. 130, 252; Apocryphal Acts of Philip; but I have used the exact version in Jas. i.12. Cf. also I Cor. ix.25; I Pet. v.4; Rev. ii.10; iii.11; II Tim. ii.5; iv.8.

A man that is a reprobate is not tried by God. A man ⁽¹⁶⁾ who is not tempted is not approved. ⁽³⁰⁾¹

He that is lawless, let him be lawless still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still.²

There is a shame which leadeth unto death, and there is a shame which leadeth unto life.³

Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. And Peter answered, and said unto him, "What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?" Jesus said unto Peter, "The lambs have no cause, after they are dead, to fear the wolves; and in like manner, fear ye not them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after ye are dead, hath power over both soul and body, to cast them into hell fire."⁴

Pray ye, and faint not.⁵

Ask great things, and the small shall be added unto you; and ask heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added unto you.⁶

If ye keep not that which is small, who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you, that he that is faithful in very little, is faithful also in much.⁷

¹Resch, 26, pp. 108, 187; Constitutions, II, 8; Didascalia. Cf. II Cor. xiii.5-7; Jas. i.12, 13; I Cor. xi.19. I have given, above, two versions of this; Tertullian, de Baptismate, XX, also has, "Watch and pray (saith the Lord), lest ye fall into temptation; for withal, the word hath gone before, that no one untempted should attain the celestial kingdom."

²Resch, 60, pp. 133, 263; Eusebius, Church History, V, 1. Cf. Rev. xx.11.

³Resch, 25, pp. 107, 186; Jerome on Ezekiel xvii. Cf. I Cor. vii.10; Eccles. iv.21.

⁴Clement of Rome, II, 5. Cf. Mat. x.16, 28.

⁵Resch, 67, p. 297; Aphraates. Cf. Luke xviii.1; I Thes. v.17; II Thes. iii.13; Gal. vi.9; II Cor. iv.1, 16.

⁶Resch, 41, pp. 114, 230; Origen de Oratore, 2; Clement of Alexandria; Eusebius; Ephraem Syrus. Cf. Col. iii.1, 2; Mat. xxv.29; vi.33; xiii.12; Mark iv.25; Luke viii.18; xix.26; xii.31.

⁷Resch, 7, pp. 98, 278; Clement of Rome, II, 8; Irenaeus; Hilary. Cf. Luke xvi.10; Mat. xxv.21. The second sentence is identical with Luke xvi.10. Many have supposed this fragment to be from the Gospel of the Egyptians.

(16) Let my name be hallowed in your hearts.¹

(30) First must the one who prayeth, who offereth his prayer, well consider his gift to see whether there be any spot found in it; and then shall he offer it, that his offering remain not upon the earth.²

Let the Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us.³

Those who walk in the Spirit of God, are the sons of God.⁴

Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you, and extinguish not the light which shineth within you.⁵

Just now, my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of my hairs, and bare me away to the great mountain Tabor.⁶

The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy; but He giveth more grace.⁷

God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.⁸

The Lord said to Peter: Verily thine eye shall never be closed in eternity for the light of this world.⁹

Doubt not, that ye sink not into the world, as Simon when he doubted and began to sink into the sea.¹⁰

¹Agathangelus, 73. Cf. Luke xi.2.

²Aphraates. Cf. Mat. v.23, 24.

³Gregory of Nyssa, I, p. 737; Maximus. Another version of the petition in the Lord's Prayer. Cf. Luke xi.2; Mat. vi.10.

⁴Resch, 68, p. 298; Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Conc. Expositio*. Cf. Rom. viii.14; Mat. v.9; II Cor. xii.18; Gal. v.16.

⁵Resch, 36a, pp. 111, 215; Pseudo-Cyprian de *Aleatoribus*, III. Cf. Eph. iv.30; I Thes. v.19; Mat. v.15; vi.23; Luke xi.35.

⁶Origen on John, tom. II, 6; Jerome. From Gospel of the Egyptians. A gross Gnostic idea; several Gnostic sects regarded the Holy Spirit as fem-

inine. Cf. Mat. xvii.1. The form "Thabor" is generally given in Mss. to the name of the mountain.

⁷Resch, 54, pp. 131, 256, 292; Jas. iv.5, 6. Cf. also Gal. v.17; Rom. viii.5-8; John iii.6.

⁸Resch, 55, pp. 131, 257; Clement of Rome, I, 30; Ephraem Syrus; Ignatius; Clement of Alexandria; Pseudo-Ignatius. Cf. Jas. iv.6; Prov. iii.24.

⁹Vita Schnudi (an Egyptian monk of the fifth century), p. 312. This passage comes from a document related to the Didache. I do not understand the reference in it. Cf. John xxi.22.

¹⁰Aphraates, Homily I. Cf. Mat. xiv. 28-31.

He that ploweth, should plow in hope; and he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope.¹ (16)
(30)

Cultivate faith and hope through which is begotten the love of God and of man, that gaineth everlasting life.²

Charity covereth a multitude of sins. Love beareth all things, is long-suffering in all things.³

He to whom more is forgiven, loveth more; and he to whom less is forgiven, loveth little.⁴

Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy. Forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown unto you. With what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured unto you.⁵

Good things must needs come, but blessed is he through whom they come. Likewise, evil things also shall come, but woe to him through whom they come.⁶

Men must give an account of every good word which they shall not speak.⁷

No one shall be called good who mixeth evil with the good.⁸

He keepeth the good which he hath, and increaseth more and more.⁹

¹Resch, 20, pp. 105, 171; Epistle to Diognetus. Cf. I Cor. vii.31; Jas. v.7; II Tim. ii.6; I Cor. iii.9.

²Resch, 23, pp. 106, 179, 284; Macarius, Homily XXXVII. Cf. I Cor. xiii.13.

³Resch, 49, pp. 129, 248; Didascalia, II, 3; I, 49; Clement of Alexandria; Clement of Rome. Cf. I Pet. iv.8; Jas. v.20; I Cor. xiii.4 seq.

⁴Cyprian, Test. III, 116. Cf. Luke vii.47.

⁵Resch, 2, p. 96; Clement of Rome, I, 13, and Clement of Alexandria; portions also given by

Polycarp, Macarius, the Didascalia, and Constitutions. Cf. Luke vi.36-38; Mat. vii.1, 2.

⁶Resch, 13, pp. 101, 152, 279; Clementine Homilies, XII, 29; Clementina; Aphraates. Cf. Rom. iii.8; Mat. xviii.7; Luke xvii.1.

⁷Cod. C of the Palestinian-Syriac Lectionary, at Mat. xii.36.

⁸Pseudo-Ignatius to the Trallians, VI, ancient Latin version of same. Cf. Rom. xii.9.

⁹Resch, 57, pp. 132, 258; Clementine Homilies, III, 26. Cf. Rev. iii.11; ii.25; Mat. xiii.12.

(16) For gall doth not mix well with honey.¹

(30) If concupiscence or malice shall ascend into the heart of man, it shall be taken for the deed itself.²

Let thy works shine, and, behold, a man and his works are before His face. For, behold God and His works.³

A city built upon the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid.⁴

All things whatsoever ye would not that a man should do unto you, do ye not unto another. And what thou hatest, thou shalt not do unto another.⁵

Be ye angry, and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath.⁶ Anger destroyeth even the prudent.

Render not evil for evil, or railing for railing, or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing.⁷

Pray for your enemies, and blessed are those who mourn on account of the destruction of the unbelievers.⁸

¹Muratorian Fragment; Irenaeus, III, 17, has, "Badly is gypsum mixed in the pure milk of God." It is doubtful whether this is intended to be ascribed to Christ. It seems, however, to be a figurative form of the second logion above, or of this one. Cf. Jas. iii.11.

²Tertullian on Idolatry, 23. Cf. Mat. v.28.

³Resch, 61, pp. 133, 265; Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, IV, 26; Constitutions; Tertullian; Pseudo-Ignatius; Augustine. Cf. for the main part of the logion, Rev. xxii.12; Ps. lxii.12; Is. xl.10; lxii.11.

⁴Logia of Christ found at Behnesa. Cf. Mat. v.14; vii.24, 25.

⁵Resch, 1, p. 95; the negative correlate to the Golden Rule; the first form above is given by Didache, I, 2; Theophilus; The Two Ways; Tischendorf's Additions to the Acts of the Apos-

ties: the second form by Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, II, 23; Didascalia; Constitutions. Cf. Luke vi.31; Mat. vii.12; Tobit iv.15. This logion gives precisely the form of Confucius' celebrated negative Golden Rule.

⁶Resch, 33, pp. 110, 210; Polycarp to the Philippians, II, 12; Clement of Alexandria; Origen; Constitutions; Life of St. Syncretica. Cf. Eph. iv.26; Mat. v.22-25; Ps. iv.4. For the second sentence, see Didascalia, II, 3.

⁷Resch, 48, pp. 129, 244, 291; Polycarp to the Philippians, II, 2; Ephraem Syrus; Anastasius Sinaita. I have used version of the first named, but translated it using the first person. Cf. I Pet. iii.9; Rom. xii.17; I Thes. v.15; Mat. v.38-42; Luke vi.27-30; I Pet. ii.23; Ps. cix.28.

⁸Didascalia, V, 15. Cf. Luke vi.28.

Amongst the greatest offenders is he who woundeth the spirit of his brother.¹ Never be joyful except when ye shall look upon your brother in love.²

As one of you seeth himself in the water or in a glass, so see ye me in you.³

Having seen thy brother, thou hast seen thy God.⁴

I am thou, and thou, I. And wheresoever thou art, there am I also; and I am in all scattered. And whence thou wilt, thou canst gather me together; but when thou gatherest me together, thou gatherest thyself together.⁵

Wherever there are [unbelievers], and there is one [believer] alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I.⁶

Where one is, there am I also. And where two are, there also will I be, and when we are three.⁷

Be ye joined unto the saints, because they that are joined unto them shall be sanctified.⁸

He that seeketh me shall find me in children after the seventh year. For there, to become hidden in the fourteenth year, I am manifested.⁹

¹Jerome on Ezekiel, XVIII, 7; ascribed to the Gospel of the Hebrews. Cf. Mat. v.22.

²Jerome on Ephesians, V, 3, 4; ascribed to the Gospel of the Hebrews. Cf. Mat. v.24.

³Resch, 36b, pp. 221, 289; Pseudo-Cyprian de Duobus Montibus, c.13. Cf. John xiv.20; Gal. ii.20; I Cor. xiii.12; Jas. i.23.

⁴Resch, 65, p. 296; Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, I, 19; II, 15; Tertullian. Cf. Mat. xxv.40.

⁵Epiphanius, Heresies, XXVI, 3; quoted from the Gnostic Gospel of Eve. In the context, the narrator says that he, "standing on a high mountain, heard these words in a voice of thunder." Cf. Luke ix.28. The teaching is

pantheistic, of course. The idea here expressed was a prominent one in later Manichaeism.

⁶Logia of Christ found at Behnesa. The conjecture as to the bracketed words is probable, although not certain. Cf. Mat. xviii.20; John xiv.20. The teaching is, I think, pantheistic, and to be compared with that of the passage above from the Gnostic Gospel.

⁷Resch, 64, p. 295; Ephraem Syrus, Evang. Conc. Expositio. Cf. *ibid.*

⁸Resch, 18, pp. 104, 169; Clement of Alexandria; The Two Ways. Cf. I Cor. vi.17; vii.14.

⁹Hippolytus, Philosophumena, V, 7; ascribed by him to a Gos-

(16) The just shall fall seven times and shall rise again.¹

(30) If thy brother sin against thee by a word, and giveth thee reparation, thou shalt seven times in a day accept him. Then said Simon his disciple to him, "Seven times?" The Lord answered, and said unto him: Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven. For even in the prophets, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there is found a word of sin.²

If the neighbour of an elect man sin, the elect man hath sinned. For had he conducted himself as the word prescribed, his neighbor also would have been filled with such reverence for the life he led as not to sin.³

Whatsoever brother liveth in the manner of the aliens, and alloweth things like unto their deeds, refrain from being in his company, which, unless thou doest, thou also wilt be a partaker with him.⁴

It is good to give rather than to receive.⁵

Let thine alms sweat in thy hands, until thou know to whom thou shouldst give.⁶

Accept not anything from any man, and possess not anything in this world.⁷

pel of Thomas—not the one which treats of the Infancy—used by the Naasenes. Cf. Mat. vii.8; xviii.5; Luke xi.10.

¹Justin Martyr, Trypho. Cf. Mat. xviii.21, 22; Luke xvii.4.

²Jerome against Pelagius, III, 2; also for last sentence, Tischendorf, Notitia, Ed. Cod. Sin. p. 58. Cf. Luke xvii.3, 4; Mat. xviii.21, 22. An expression of the Gnostic Ebionism which despised the Old Testament prophets.

³Clem. Alex. Stromata, VII, 13; attributed by him to the traditions of "Matthew," the apostle; probably not a logion. Cf. references of note above.

⁴Pseudo-Cyprian de Aleatoribus. Cf. Eph. v.11.

⁵Resch, 12, pp. 11, 150; Epi-phanus, Heresies, LXXIV, 5; Anastasius Sinaita; Constitutions; Didache; Clement of Rome. Cf. Acts xx.35. Resch thinks that "good" was found in the original of the Hebrew Gospel which he assumes to be the basis of this Agraphon.

⁶Resch, 35, pp. 111, 212, 288; Didache, I, 6; Hermas; Cassiodorus; Ephraem Syrus. Cf. Eph. iv.28; Acts xx.35.

⁷Ancient Syriac Documents, Cureton and Wright, p. 20; Ephraem Syrus; Teaching of Ad-daeus, Syriac and Armenian ver-

Woe unto those who have, and in hypocrisy receive, or who, being themselves able to help, receive from others. For each one shall give an account to the Lord God at the day of judgment.¹

Another rich man said to him, "Master, what good thing shall I do to live?" He said unto him: Fulfil the law and the prophets. He answered him, "I have fulfilled them." He said unto him: Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor, and come follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him: How sayest thou, "I have fulfilled the law and the prophets," since it is written in the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and lo, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of many goods, and nothing at all goeth out of it to them. And he turned, and said to Simon his disciple, who was sitting by him: Simon, son of Jonas, it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.²

Jesus said unto Cephas: What thinkest thou, Simon? The kings of the earth, from whom do they receive custom and tribute? from their sons, or from strangers? Simon said unto him, "From strangers." Jesus said unto him: Children, then, are free? Simon said unto him, "Yea." Jesus said unto him: Give thou also unto them, like the stranger.³

Woe unto those who do anything through their own presumption, and not through God.⁴

sions; *Fragmenta Apostolorum*, Praetorius; *Apostolic History of Abdias*. Cf. Luke xii.33; Mat. vi.19, 20; Phil. iii.19, 20.

¹Resch, 9, pp. 99, 146; Anastasius Sinaita, *Quaestio* 14; *Constitutions*; *Didascalia*; *Clement of Alexandria*; *Didache*; *Hermas*. Cf. Luke xx.47; Mat. xxiii.14; Mark xii.40.

²Origen's *Commentary on Mat-*

thew, tom. XVI, sec. 14; attributed to the Gospel of the Hebrews. Cf. Mat. xix.16-24; Luke xviii.18-25; Mark x.17-25.

³*Diatessaron of Tatian*, Arabic Version, Ante-Nicene, X, p. 82, sec. 25; it there refers to Mat. xvii.26, which see for further connection.

⁴*Pseudo-Cyprian*, *De Singularitate Clericorum*, 43; con-

(16) Woe unto those who join together their offences as with
(30) a long rope.¹

These are they that stretch the warps and weave nothing.²

A man had three servants; one who consumed his substance with harlots and flute-players; another who increased it; and another who hid the talent. Afterwards, one was accepted, one was blamed alone, and another was shut up in prison.³

Christ bade men to abandon and disregard [curious questions], which cause much strife, and not to waste their thoughts upon things which have been removed far from their knowledge; but as much as possible to seek the Lord of the universe with the whole mind and spirit.⁴

Christ said: Wisdom killeth her own children.⁵

Wisdom sendeth forth her own children.⁶

God made the heaven and the earth and all things which are therein.⁷

The soul is altogether impenetrable and hard to make out. For it abideth not always in the same form or shape, or in

nected by its context in this author with II Thes. iii.11.

¹Tertullian on Penitence, c. 11. It is very doubtful whether Tertullian intended to ascribe this saying to Christ. It has much the appearance of a loose memoriter quotation of Prov. v.22.

²Resch, 38, pp. 112, 226; Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, I, 8. Cf. Phil. ii.16; Mat. vi.28; I Cor. xv.58; I Thes. iii.5.

³Eusebius, Theophania; quoted from the Gospel of the Hebrews. I have slightly changed the form of this, which is evidently a bad commixture of Mat. xxv.14-30; Luke xv.13, 30; xix.16-19, and other passages.

⁴Arnobius, Against the Heathen, I, 46. I have slightly altered the form of this, which is not in

the proper sense offered as a logion of Christ. Cf. I Tim. vi. 20; i.4; Rom. xiv.1; Tit. iii.9.

⁵Tertullian, Scorp. c. 7. Cf. Luke xi.49. Possibly, it would be better to translate it in a metaphorical sense "confuteth," instead of the literal "killeth." Resch thinks that this logion is practically identical with the one that follows, and that its principal word "*jugulavit*" represents the translation of a Hebrew original that in the following logion is rendered in Greek, *ἄποστέλλει*.

⁶Resch, 4, pp. 97, 273; Origen, Homily on Jeremiah, xiv.5. Cf. Luke xi.49; vii.31-34; Mat. xi.16-19.

⁷Resch, 11, pp. 100, 149; Clementine Homilies, X, 3. Cf.

one condition, so that any one might express it by a type, or (16)
might lay hold upon its essence.¹ (30)

The Lord revealed unto Philip what the soul must say when it ascendeth to heaven, and what it must answer to each of the powers above. Namely, "I have known myself, and have gathered myself together everywhere, and have not begotten children for the prince [of this world], but have extirpated his roots, and have gathered together the scattered members, and know who thou art. For I am one of those above." And if it so speaketh, it is absolved. But if it is convicted that it hath borne a son, it is kept below, until it can take its children up and draw them to itself.²

Salome said,³ "Until when shall death have dominion?" He said: As long as ye women bring forth. For I came to destroy the works of the woman,⁴ namely, of lust; of the works, namely, of birth and of destruction.⁵ And she said, "I did well, then, in not bringing forth." The Lord answered, saying: Eat every herb, but of that which hath bitterness, eat not.⁶ And Salome, inquiring concerning when the things in regard to which he spake should be known, and when his kingdom should come, the Lord said:

Acts xvii.24; Gen. i.1; Ps. cxlvi.6; Luke x.21; Mat. xi.25-27.

¹Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, V, v; ascribed there to the Gospel of the Egyptians. Cf. II Cor. v.1-4.

²Epiphanius, *Heresies*, XXVI, 13; quoted from the Gnostic Gospel of Philip. Cf. I Pet. i.9. Grossly pantheistic. The reference to the soul's answer to the powers presents the old Egyptian idea of the ceremonials contained in the Book of the Dead. The view of the soul's chief duty is precisely that of later Manichaeism. Disgusting illustrations of the practical application

of this doctrine by the Manichaeans are given by the Church writers.

³This whole paragraph represents a passage from the Gospel of the Egyptians, as reconstructed from fragments found in the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria, viz. III, vi.45; ix.63, 64, 66; xiii.92. All the preceding part is probably but Gnostic amplification of the logion at the end of this paragraph.

⁴With this sentence, compare Mat. v.17; xix.12.

⁵This sentence, from the last note, is probably to be ascribed to Clement.

⁶Cf. Gen. iii.1-3; ii.16, 17.

(16) When ye shall trample under foot the garment of modesty,¹
 (30) when the two shall be one, and that which is without as that
 which is within, and the male with the female neither male
 nor female.²

If ye do not make what is on the right to be left, and the
 left right, and what is above to be below, and what is before
 to be behind, ye shall not perceive the kingdom of God. If
 ye do not make your low things high, and your crooked
 things straight, ye shall not enter into my kingdom.³

Let not the one who is married put away [his wife], and
 he who is unmarried, let him not marry. Let him who for
 the sake of chastity hath agreed not to marry, remain un-
 married.⁴

Let the women be subject unto their own husbands.⁵

The son and daughter shall inherit alike.⁶

Even if a woman doth all that is right, and yet once com-
 mitteth the sin of adultery, she must be punished.⁷

Keep the flesh holy and the seal unspotted, that ye may
 receive eternal life.⁸ Preserve ye the flesh, that ye may
 become partakers of the spirit.

¹Cf. Gen. iii.7, 21.

²This final logion, Resch gives as 30, pp. 109, 195, 287. As given by Clement of Rome, II, 12, 2, it begins, "The Lord himself having been asked by some one when his kingdom will come, said: When the two shall be one, etc." Cf. Eph. ii.14, 16; iv.4; Gal. iii.28; Mark vii.21; II Cor. xi.2; Mat. xxii.30.

³Pseudo-Linus de Passione Petri et Pauli; Acts of Philip according to Cod. Oxon. Cf. John iii.3, 5. This, of which I give the two versions, resembles in form the foregoing logion, and is probably only a variant of the same.

⁴Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, III, 15; probably from the

Gospel of the Egyptians. Cf. I Cor. vii.32-40; vii.10, 11.

⁵Resch, 24, pp. 107, 185; Constitutions, VI, 29; Didascalia. Cf. I Cor. xiv.34, 37; Eph. v.22, 24; Col. iii.18; Tit. ii.5; I Pet. iii.1, 5; Gen. iii.16.

⁶Talmud Shabbath, fol. 116, col. 1, 2. This, from Jewish sources, claims to be written in the Gospel; cf. Gal. iii.28.

⁷Clementine Homilies, XIII, 14. It is doubtful whether this is really quoted here as a word of Christ; I have slightly changed its form. Cf. John xviii.1-11; Luke vii.36.

⁸Resch, 46, pp. 128, 243; Clement of Rome, II, 8; Acts of Paul and Thecla. The seal, of course, refers to baptism. Cf. II Cor.

The flesh must be contended with, be evil entreated, and (16) its unbridled lust in no way be yielded to; but the soul must (30) be made to grow through faith and knowledge.¹

Should any one for this reason kiss [a woman] a second time, because she pleased him, [he committeth sin]. Men must therefore act thus with extreme caution in the kiss [of peace], (or rather the salutation), as knowing that, if perchance it should be sullied by thought, it would place them out of the pale of eternal life.²

If any one shall leave all things for my name's sake, at the second coming he shall inherit everlasting life.³

Many shall come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. And there shall be schisms and heresies. Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise and shall deceive many of the faithful.⁴

They are false Christs and false teachers, who have blasphemed the Spirit of grace, and done despite to the gift they had from Him, after the grace [of baptism], to whom forgiveness shall not be granted, neither in this world nor in that which is to come.⁵

A false prophet must first come from some deceiver; and then in like manner, after the removal of the holy place, the true Gospel must be secretly sent abroad for the rectification of the heresies that shall be. And then, toward the end, shall appear the world-deceiver as Son of God, and shall do signs

xi.2; Eph. i.13. The sentence following is found in Clement, II, 14, and has, I think, little claim to be regarded as a logion.

¹Clem. Alex., Stromata, III, 4. Attributed by him to the Teachings of Matthias; cf. Gal. vi.8, etc.

²Athenagoras, Legatio, 33. Cf. Mat. v.28; Rom. xvi.16; I Cor. xvi.20; II Cor. xiii.12; I Thes. v.26.

³Agathangelus, Ed. of Lagarde, p. 34. Cf. Luke xviii.29, 30; xiv.26; v.11; Mat. x.37.

⁴Resch, 21, pp. 105, 173, 282; Justin Martyr, Trypho, 35; Clementines; Didascalia; Clement of Alexandria; Hegesippus; Acta Archelai; Vincent of Lerins; Lactantius. The first sentence differs little from Mat. vii.15; the second, little from Mat. xxiv.11, 24. Cf. also II Pet. ii.1.

⁵Resch, 50, pp. 130, 249; Constitutions, VI, 8. Cf. II Pet. ii.1; Mat. xii.31, 32; Mark iii.29; Luke xii.10; Heb. vi.4; x.29; Rom. v. 15; Jude 4.

(16) and wonders ; and the earth shall be delivered into his hands,
 (30) and he shall do iniquitous things which have never yet come to pass since the beginning ; and after this, the eternal light having sprung up, all the things of darkness must disappear.¹

Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.²

What I say unto one of you, I say unto all.³

Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous shall go into life eternal, to inherit those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God hath prepared for them that love Him.⁴

Good things are prepared which the angels desire to look into.⁵

Often did I desire to hear one of these words, and I had not one to tell me.⁶

The days will come in which vines shall grow, having each ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in

¹Resch, 44, pp. 127, 239; Didache XVI, 4; Clementine Homilies, II, 17; which two accounts I have combined: also similar matter is found in the Epistle of Barnabas; Excerpts from Theodotus; Origen; and Constitutions. Cf. II Thes. ii.4, 8, 9; Mat. xxiv.11, 24; Is. xi.4. Legends of the Antichrist are more fully referred to in chap. XXI.

²Resch, 74, p. 310; Rev. xvi.15. Cf. Mat. xxiv.43; Luke xii.39.

³Resch, 66, p. 297; Optatus de Schismate Donatistarum, I, 1. Cf. Mark xiii.37.

⁴Resch, 16, pp. 102, 154, 281; Constitutions, VII, 32; Clement of Alexandria; Athanasius; Epiphanius; Origen; Hegesip-

pus; Clementina; Clement of Rome; Pseudo-Clement; Agathangelus; Martyr. Polyc. The introductory clauses differ but slightly from Mat. xxv.46. Cf. also Mat. xxv.34, 41. For the main part, compare I Cor. ii.9; Is. lxv.17. Jerome says that this was contained in the apocryphal Ascension of Isaiah, but in no version of that, which has come down to us, is it preserved. It seems to be related to a passage in the Apocalypse of Elijah.

⁵Resch 71, p. 301; Excerpts of Theodotus from Clement of Alexandria. Cf. I Pet. i.12.

⁶Irenaeus, I, 20, 2; Epiphanius. An extra-canonical parallel to Luke x.24; Mat. xiii.17.

every one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretes of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, "I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me." In like manner, a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears, and every ear shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain shall yield ten pounds of clear, pure, fine flour; and apples, and seeds, and grass shall produce in similar proportions; and all animals, feeding then only on the productions of the earth, shall become peaceable and harmonious, and be in perfect subjection to man. And Judas the traitor, not believing, and asking, "How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord?" the Lord said: They shall see who shall come to them. These, then, are the times mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, "And the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them."¹

By way of reproach, he said to Jerusalem: Sodom is justified of thee.² O Father, let their temple be desolate.³ The Gentiles are justified more than ye.⁴

Many shall come from the east, and from the west, the

¹Irenaeus against Heresies, V, 33. Irenaeus ascribes this famous fragment to Papias, who claimed that he had received the tradition from John the apostle. Cf. Rev. xxii.2. For notes on the banquet of the thousand years, see chap. XIV. The Codex Askew speaks of "the thousand years, according to the years of light." See Resch, p. 451. The sacred tree, a subject which has a voluminous literature of its own, is suggested by this passage. It played a leading part in Rabbinical legend, as well as in

Scandinavian and other mythologies. The passage seems to be largely borrowed from the Apocalypse of Baruch.

²Resch, 58, pp. 133, 259; Constitutions, II, 60; Origen. I have slightly changed the form of the clause introducing this logion. Cf. Rev. xi.8; Luke x.12; Mat. xi.20.

³Resch, 6, p. 98; Hippolytus, Demonstratio adv. Judaeos, VII. Cf. Luke xiii.35; Mat. xxiii.38.

⁴Resch, 28, pp. 108, 192; Constitutions, II, 60. Cf. Gal. iii.8; Rom. xi.11; Ezek. xvi.52.

(16) north, and the south, and shall recline on the bosoms of
(30) Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.¹

Prophesying concerning the temple, he said: See ye these buildings? Verily, I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be taken away; and this generation shall not pass until the destruction begin. For they shall come and shall sit here, and shall besiege it, and shall slay your children here.²

I will cleanse the house of my kingdom from every stumbling block.³

Whoso reedeemeth souls from idols, he shall be great in my kingdom.⁴

Of the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them, and to the hire of an harlot shall they return; from filth it came, to the place of filth shall it go.⁵

Be ye valiant in war, and fight with the ancient enemy, and ye shall receive the everlasting kingdom.⁶

Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the

¹Clementine Homilies, III, 15; cf. Mat. xxiv.34; Luke xix.43.

²Clementine Recognitions, IV, 4; cf. Luke xiii.29.

³Resch, 63, p. 295; Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Conc. Expositio*. I have changed form of this from third to first person. Cf. Mat. xiii.41; xviii.7; iii.12; Luke xvii.1.

⁴*Acta Thomae*, vi, (*Apocrypha Anecdota*, 2d Ser.). For this and the ten following Agrapha, I have to thank Prof. James Hardy Ropes, of Cambridge, and regret exceedingly that his most valuable treatise, "Die Sprüche Jesu die in den Kanonischen Evangelien nicht Überliefert sind," was not earlier brought to my notice.

⁶Mishna, *Aboda Zara*, 16b, 17a. In this narrative Rabbi Akiba

relates that a Christian, Jacob of Kephars Sekhanya, asked him whether it were lawful to build a draught-house for the high priest with the hire of an harlot. Cf. Deut. xxiii. 18. The Rabbi knew not what to say, but the Christian answered the question with this alleged saying of Christ. See Mic. i.7. Ropes is inclined to accept this Agraphon as authentic, but it appears to me like a Jewish attempt to ridicule Christian teaching. I believe that Edersheim also takes the latter view.

⁵Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, R. Morris, London, 1868. Cf. Heb. xi.34; Rev. xii.9; xx.2; II Pet. i.11.

power of God might be made manifest through him in healing the sins of ignorance.¹ (16)
(30)

To his chosen, he saith: Go ye out of the house of my Father.²

Let us resist all iniquity and hold it in hatred.³

The Saviour himself testified that Solomon was wiser than all who came before.⁴

Few things are needful, or one.⁵

Blessed is he who also fasts for this, that he might feed the poor.⁶

Honour the demons, not that ye may be assisted by them, but that they may not injure you.⁷

The Father begat me, he said, and I came forth from the Father, and am here.⁸

¹Clementine Homilies, xix, 22. This refers to the man who was born blind, and was healed by Christ. See John ix. 2, 3.

²Excerpts of Theodotus from Clement of Alexandria. Cf. John ii. 16.

³Barnabas, iv, 9 (in Latin version). This, which is quoted as an Agraphon by several writers, originated in a clerical error. The Greek makes this clear.

⁴Philastrius, Haer. 134. Ropes thinks this is only an ordinary allusion to Mat. xii.42; Luke xi. 31.

⁵Jerome's Epistle to Eustochius; also in various Mss. as alternative reading for Luke x.42.

⁶Origen, Homily on Lev. x.2. Attributed by him to "a certain book."

⁷Euthymius Zigabenus, Pano-
plia Dogmatica, tit. xxvii.20. Current among the Bogomiles. Cf. Mat. xxiii.3.

⁸Epiphanius, Haer. lxix.53. Ropes thinks this is only a false citation of Ps. ii.7. Cf. Heb. i.5; John v.36, 37; vi.39. I have not included in my list of Agrapha readings of the text of the four Gospels which, whilst rejected by Westcott and Hort, are found in the authorized version. A number of such are given by Ropes.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WORDS OF CHRIST—MISCELLANEOUS.

CHRIST TEACHES THE DISCIPLES ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES
—SPEAKS OF THE WORLD TO COME—WHY DEATH REIGNS
—WHY SOME LIVES ARE PROLONGED—THE WITNESSES
AGAINST ANTICHRIST—GIVES THE DISCIPLES HIS MYSTI-
CAL NAMES—SHOWS THEM HELL—REVEALS OTHER HID-
DEN NAMES—TELLS OF THEIR POTENCY—HIS PROMISE TO
MARY—STORY OF THE THREE TRAVELLERS—A PARABLE—
—WARNINGS AGAINST LOVE OF RICHES—MANY MOHAM-
MEDAN AGRAPHA.

MAIN SOURCES: (5)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, 1, 30-32.
(15)—History of Joseph the Carpenter, Bohairic Ver-
sion, 1, 30-32.
(29)—Mohammedan Legends.
(31)—Teachings of Jesus Christ to His Disciples.
(32)—Passing of Mary, First Latin Form.

(5) It happened one day,¹ when the Saviour Jesus Christ was
(15) sitting along with his disciples, and they were all assembled
on the Mount of Olives,² that he said to them, "O my
brethren beloved and friends, sons of my good Father who

¹The introduction to (5), the greater part of which is embodied in chap. XIV, and the first and last parts of which I place here amongst the pretended teachings of Christ during His public ministry, states that the holy apostles preserved this conversation, wrote it down, and

left it in the library at Jerusalem.

²This is a favourite scene for narratives embodied in Gnostic works, *e. g.* Pistis Sophia. It is often mentioned in the N. T. as the theatre of discourses to the apostles. Cf. Mat. xxiv.3; Mark xiii.3.

hath chosen you from all men, ye know that I have often told you that I must be crucified, and must die for the salvation of Adam and his posterity, and that I shall rise from the dead. Now I shall commit to you the doctrine of the holy Gospel formerly announced to you, that ye may declare it throughout the whole world. And I shall endow you with power from on high, and fill you with the Holy Spirit.¹ And ye shall declare to all nations repentance and remission of sins.² For a single cup of water,³ if a man shall find it in the world to come, is greater and better than all the wealth of this whole world. And as much ground as one foot can occupy in the house of my Father, is greater and more excellent than all the riches of the earth. Yea, a single hour in the joyful dwelling of the pious is more blessed and more precious than a thousand years among sinners;⁴ inasmuch as their weeping and lamentation shall not come to an end, and their tears shall not cease; nor shall they find for themselves consolation and repose at any time for ever. And now, O my honoured members, go declare to all nations, tell them, and say to them, 'Verily, the Saviour diligently inquireth into the inheritance which is due, and is the administrator of justice.' And the angels will cast down their enemies, and will fight for them in the day of conflict. And He will examine every single foolish and idle word which men speak, and they shall give an account of it.⁵ For as no one shall escape death, so also the works of every man shall be laid open on the day of judgment, whether they have been good or evil.⁶ Tell them also this word which I have said to you to-day, 'Let not the strong man glory in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but let him who wisheth to glory, glory in the Lord.'"⁷ Then did the Saviour relate unto his apostles the history of his father, the righteous old man Joseph the carpenter.⁸

¹Cf. Luke xxiv.49; Acts i.8.

²Cf. Luke xxiv.47.

³Cf. Mat. x.42.

⁴Cf. Ps. lxxxiv.10.

⁵Cf. Mat. xii.36.

⁶Cf. II Cor. v.10; I Cor. iii.15.

⁷Cf. Jer. ix.23, 24; I Cor. i.31; II Cor. x.17.

⁸I have supplied this sentence.

(5) And the apostles, when they heard these things¹ from the
 (15) Saviour, rose up joyfully, and prostrated themselves in honour of him, and saluted his hands and his feet, and said, "O our Saviour, show us thy grace. Now indeed we have heard the word of life; nevertheless we wonder, O our Saviour, at the fate of Enoch and Elijah,² inasmuch as they had not to undergo death. For truly they dwell in the habitation of the righteous even to the present day, in the flesh wherein they were born, nor have their bodies seen corruption. Yet that old man Joseph the carpenter was, nevertheless, thy father after the flesh. And thou hast ordered us to go into all the world and preach the holy Gospel; and thou hast said, 'Relate to them the death of my father Joseph, and celebrate to him with annual solemnity a festival and sacred day. And whosoever shall take away anything from this narrative, or add anything to it, committeth sin.'³ We wonder especially that Joseph, even from that day on which thou wast born in Bethlehem, called thee his son after the flesh. Wherefore, then, didst thou not make him immortal as well as them, and thou sayest that he was righteous and chosen?"

(5) And the Saviour answered, and said, "Indeed, the prophecy
 (15) of my Father upon Adam, for his disobedience, hath now been fulfilled. And all things are arranged according to the will and pleasure of my Father. For if a man reject the commandment of God, and follow the works of the devil by committing sin, his life is prolonged; for he is preserved in order that he may perhaps repent, and reflect that he must be delivered into the hands of death. But if any one hath been zealous of good works, his life also is prolonged, that, as the fame of his old age increaseth, upright men may

¹They are found in chap. XIV of this work.

²The later Rabbis extended to thirteen the list of those, including Enoch and Elijah, who whilst alive entered paradise, and remained there. See Eisenmenger, I, 865. See also other apoc-

ryphal references to this, found in this and following chapters. The subject is discussed by a number of the early Christian fathers, *e. g.* Irenaeus, Tertullian, Epiphanius.

³See Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

imitate him.¹ But when ye see a man whose mind is prone to anger, assuredly his days are shortened;² for it is these that are taken away in the flower of their age. Every prophecy, therefore, which my Father hath pronounced concerning the sons of men, must be fulfilled in every particular. But with reference to Enoch and Elijah, and how they remain alive to this day, keeping the same bodies with which they were born; and as to what concerneth my father Joseph, who hath not been allowed as well as they to remain in the body; indeed, though a man live in the world many myriads of years, nevertheless at some time or other he is compelled to exchange life for death. And I say to you, O my brethren, that every time Enoch and Elijah remember death, they would willingly have died already; for they must towards the end of time return into the world and die—in the day, namely, of commotion, of terror, of perplexity, and affliction.³ For Antichrist will slay four bodies, and will pour out their blood like water,⁴ because of the reproach to which they shall expose him, and the ignominy with which they, in their lifetime, shall brand him when they reveal his impiety.”⁵

¹An explanation of the manner in which long life is allotted that would seem to assure this blessing both to the most wicked and the most holy.

²Cf. Job v.2; xix.29.

³For this whole subject of the two witnesses who must be slain, cf. Rev. xi.3-12. Jewish expectation was that Elijah alone should come three days before the Messiah, and be slain; see Mal. iv.5; see also Eisenmenger, II, 406, 696, for many strange legends about this. The Jews knew nothing of Enoch's appearance along with Elijah, but this idea was almost universally accepted by the Church fathers. Its origin is unknown. There seems

to be some reason for thinking that Elijah and Moses were the two witnesses indicated, but not named, in the Apocalypse. Cf. the Gospel account of the witnesses of the Transfiguration. Victorinus identifies the two witnesses as Elijah and Jeremiah.

⁴(15) reads, “and shed their blood upon earth for a pot of water.” It knows of but two witnesses, which certainly marks the expansion of the number to four, in the Arabic version (5), which follows, as a later interpolation.

⁵Opinion in the Church was divided, from the earliest times, as to whether Antichrist should

- (5) And the apostles said, "O our Lord, our God and Saviour, (15) who are these four whom thou hast said Antichrist will cut off from the reproach they bring upon him?" The Lord answered, "They are Enoch, Elijah, Schila, and Tabitha."¹ When the apostles heard this from the Saviour, they rejoiced and exulted; and they offered all glory and thanksgiving to the Lord God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.²
- (31) And our Saviour Jesus Christ spake to his disciples, and said unto them, "Receive again and keep my word, together with my names; reject it not, despise it not, treat it not like fools, dishonour it not. Give ear, for I tell you things which are certain. Know and perceive how ye shall be saved from your sins, for my word is strong and powerful, as well as my names."³

be Satan incarnate, or only a desperately wicked man. The latter view is probably held here, whilst the former idea is plainly given in the following chapter. For a good popular discussion of the subject, see Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, and for a more thorough discussion, see *The Antichrist Legend*, Bousset, Keane, London, 1896.

¹For Tabitha, see Acts ix.36. As to Schila, some suggest that it may be intended for the name of the son of the widow of Nain. I think it much more likely that it is intended for the daughter of Jairus, raised by Christ. See Mark iv.22-42; Luke viii.41-50. This is rendered more probable by the words "*Talitha Cumi*," used in Mark iv.41. By one of those verbal confusions so common in apocryphal literature, the first part of this has been identified or associated with Tabitha. The compiler evidently intends to

add two female witnesses to the traditional two male ones. Later, a third witness, generally John the Baptist, was commonly added to the two. And there is often confusion between him and John the Divine, a special fitness for the latter's acting as one of the witnesses being derived from the belief that he never died, founded on John xxi.22-23. The legend that he still sleeps at Ephesus is well known, and this again is probably the origin of the yet more famous legend of the Seven Sleepers, which proceeds from the same city.

²(5) here ends with a doxology that contains expressions taken from the liturgy of the Greek, Coptic, and Syrian churches.

³Cf. perhaps, for the slight justification by the N. T. of the belief in the magical potency of names, so wide-spread among Oriental Christians, Phil. ii.9; Eph. i.21; Heb. i.4; Rev. ii.17;

Then he spake unto them his names, and added, "Elohé (31) signifieth venerable; Sourahé, great; Dëmânâhèl, that which obscureth all; Aqbâdèr, most high; Abyâtèr, He who chastiseth; Adânâèl, He hath pardoned; Kényâ, wise; Gëyon, rich; Séquâ, judge; S'équâ, sovereign master; Qatanâoui, creator of all; Satanâoui, Iyâguanadi; Iyâèl, everyone feareth Him; Amânouèl, of whom the light is not extinguished; Oëgzio, help; Afrâèl, guardian and salvation; Maryon, He who holdeth all in His hand; Nolâoui, essence; El, El; El, Elohé; Elohé, He who supporteth all; Akonou, patient; Hédâ, healer; H'é't'â, He who rejoiceth all; Yâoui-yâoui, just; S'abâot, sweet; Efo-ëfo-ëfo, humble; Ofëkyour, constant; Elohé-Elohé-Elohé, exempt from sin; Mëndyos, just; Aférâ-Aférâ-Aférâ, He who giveth and who taketh; Efo, with the frightful voice; Afronâ, not given to anger; Afêlt, the kings; Lah'ân, Lord of lords; Ourâèl, the first magistrate¹ There is no other Lord beside him, either in the

xix.12, 16, etc. The Jewish belief in the potency of the "incommunicable name of God," is well known. See Eisenmenger, *s. v.* "Schem Hammphorasch" for many, and often amusing illustrations of it. Such a belief, however, seems to be common to all religions; it is the fundamental idea of magic; it is even kept alive, figuratively speaking, to the present time, in the passwords, etc., of secret societies. The ancient Egyptian religion, however, carried this belief to the greatest height; its great work, the Book of the Dead, is but a collection of such formularies. The Egyptian believed that the name was the real essence of anything, and that one who possessed the name of a god, who pronounced it at the proper time and place, with proper intonation, could com-

mand the god as he could a slave. It is hence, I think, that Gnosticism, and from it Christian superstition, of which the above document is a fair specimen, derived the idea of its magical names and formularies. All the world has had its period when it tried, by magic, to compel the gods to grant its requests.

¹I think it hardly edifying to discuss the origin and meaning of the individual names in this list. Some of them are Ethiopic forms of Hebrew names of God, the angels, etc.; others are pure Ethiopic; the debt to Gnosticism is evident. Many of these names are found repeated, amongst documents that I know, in the Prayer of the Virgin at Bartos, the Prayer of the Virgin at Golgotha, the Prayer of Theophilus, in Vassiliev, and the Prières Magiques of Basset.

heavens above or in the earth beneath. He it is, Jesus Christ the Lord of sabaoth, holy, holy, holy, immortal unto the ages of the ages. Amen."

(31) Then the twelve apostles questioned Jesus Christ, and said unto him, "Behold, thou hast granted unto us that which we have asked of thee; thou hast shown unto us the light which is not extinguished, and the joy which perisheth not. Make us now to behold hell, in order that we may know its aspect and its likeness."

(31) The Lord Jesus replied to them, "It would be better for you not to see it, but I will show you hell; and when ye shall have seen it, ye shall tremble, and your soul shall fear to look upon it." Then he showed unto them the burning valley of fire, filled from the top even unto the bottom with a tainted odour and a fetid smoke.¹ When they perceived from afar this odour and this smoke, they were seized with fear and trembling, with terror and anguish; they fell upon their faces, shedding bitter tears. Life departed from them, and they became as dead men for forty days and forty nights.² The Lord Jesus said to them, "Rise up, my apostles." Then they made the sign of the cross upon their faces, and said, "We have seen that which is terrible and frightful in creation; when we saw it, we fell upon our faces, and were as dead men; when we saw its hideous smoke, we shed bitter tears, and said, 'It is as though we had not been born.'"³ The Lord Jesus answered them, "Have I not said to you, 'It would be better for you not to see it?'" "In truth, Lord, thou saidst thus unto us," replied his disciples, "but now explain to us how our friends shall be saved from this devouring fire."

(31) The twelve apostles wept during twelve years;⁴ then did

¹The description of hell is somewhat similar to that given in the Mohammedan apocalypse, printed near the end of chap. XVIII. Both, indeed, may come from the same source, Egyptian Gnosticism.

²Apocryphal legend delights to

assign this period to all intervals of time that it would designate as marked by important events.

³Cf. Mat. xxvi.24; Mark xiv.21.

⁴I know not whether this is intended as a mere Oriental hyperbole, or whether it is in-

they say unto the Lord Jesus, "Why didst thou create our father Adam in thy image and likeness?¹ Dost thou destroy the work of thy hands?² Explain unto us clearly, then, O master, how we shall be saved from hell and from sin. If thou hast pity upon us, we shall be called just and innocent. Thou art now called the merciful, and thy clemency manifesteth itself upon all sinners and the wicked, for thou art good, just, blameless, and gentle. There is no one like unto thee, Lord, our master; there is no man that doeth not evil in thy sight, Lord. They are as the tree which burneth not,³ and the perfect man is not able to exist without thee. O God, our master, smite us not in thine anger, and chastise us not with thy rod; for we are not able to support thine anger, we are not able to escape of ourselves; save us with thine own hand."

Then the Lord Jesus said to his disciples, "Say I not unto (31) you plainly, 'Let not this thing be known unto those who shall not be able to bear it⁴ and to keep it?' If I had revealed unto you the secret of my name, there would have been a torrent of fire which would have consumed all the earth. For you, I have unveiled all. There is nothing at all which I have hidden from you. There is no one whom I have made equal unto you; except Mary my mother, who bare me nine months in her womb, who enfolded me in her arms, who nourished me with her milk sweeter than honey and sugar; except John, who baptized me in the river Jordan, who touched my head, that which the flame of fire was not able to do; except Abraham my beloved, with whom I made a covenant in the land of Kirakyos,⁵ standing in a pillar of

tended to be taken literally. In the latter case, it connects itself with the Gnostic tradition that Christ taught His disciples twelve years after His Ascension, mentioned in the notes on chap. XIX.

¹Cf. Gen. v.3, etc.

²Cf. Eccles. v.6; Job x.3.

³I am not certain as to the meaning of this, but take it to refer to a proverb designating what is useless as like the wood that does not burn.

⁴Cf. John xvi.12.

⁵See Gen. xxii.14. The equivalent in the Septuagint of the Jehovah-jireh of this verse is

cloud when I made a sheep¹ descend in the place of Isaac his son; and I discovered unto him all secrets; except Moses my servant, with whom I made a covenant in a pillar of cloud, to whom I spake face to face, to whom I gave to vanquish the enemy, and whom I supported during forty years as the leader of the children of Israel."

- (31) The disciples asked the Lord Jesus not to reveal to them this thing nor his hidden name. Jesus said to them, "Here it is, henceforth take it. I give you this name; keep it, and let it strengthen you; for by means of it ye shall save every man from sin. If ye shall keep this name, whosoever shall invoke it, shall read it, shall purify himself by it, and believe in it, shall be saved from sin."
- (31) The Lord Jesus wrote many things with his sacred hands, and gave these to them to read.² They found his holy name,

Κύριος Ξιδεν, from which the name Kirakyos has evidently been formed.

¹Neither the pillar of cloud nor the descent of the sheep from heaven are mentioned in Genesis. But the Rabbins have much to tell about this ram. It was made for this purpose by God, at dusk on the sixth day of creation. It lived in paradise under the shadow of the tree of life, until an angel brought it to earth for this sacrifice, and then all the world was filled with the fragrance from its fleece, on which hung the odours of the flowers on which it had lain in paradise. Satan frightened the ram away, and entangled it in the thicket; Abraham would not have seen it as he passed by, but it caught his cloak, so seeing it, he sacrificed it. The last trumpets to call the just, and then the unjust, from the dead, shall be made of the horns of this ram.

²The only writings of Christ mentioned in the N. T. are those in John viii.6, 8. Jerome says that in this case He wrote the sins of the woman's accusers; Ambrose, that He wrote the words of Jer. xxii.29; Nicholas Lyranus, that He wrote the accompanying words of John viii.7. But besides this, with the Abgar letter and ante-communion hymn which appear elsewhere in this work, I merely mention other apocryphal writings attributed to Him, which either are not extant, or do not come within the scope of this work. Most of these are treated of fully by Fabricus, I, p. 303-321: 1. Christ is said at His ascension to have left to His disciples 27 books of his teachings; this evidently means no more than the 27 books of the N. T. 2. The Mohammedans say that Christ wrote one book, the Gospel, which according to some was taken up

experienced great joy, and said, "Be celebrated and glorified, Lord, our God, thou who hast shown us all this, thou who hast given us thy sacred name." They invoked his name, and said, "Rifon, rifon, rifon. Râkon, râkon. Pis, pis, pis. Aflis, aflis. Mëlyos, mëlyos. Enâèl, enâèl. S'ourâèl, s'ourâèl, s'ourâèl. Hénâèl, hénâèl, hénâèl. Noros, noros, noros. Kiros, kiros, kiros. Félon, félon, félon. Sirës, sirës, sirës. Linos, linos, linos. Lefërnos, lefërnos, lefërnos. Hiros, hiros, hiros."¹

And he said, "Of all these, the greatest of my names is (31) Karsëb Elyon;² there is none of them which surpasseth it. There is no one who knoweth this word and this name,³ except the four beasts which are in heaven,⁴ the four and twenty celestial elders,⁵ and Mary my mother." He added, "By this name ye shall be saved, and all your sins shall be remitted unto you, as well as unto all those who are with you. He who shall keep it, who shall invoke it, who shall believe on it, shall be saved, and shall not be covered with shame before me; he shall not see the smoke of hell; he shall be purified from his sins and his defilements, from his youth

into heaven, and the present Gospels forged by the apostles in place of it; another view is that the present Gospels are corrupted forms of this earlier one. For the Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas, see Fabricius, III, 375. 3. Books on Magic given by Christ to Peter and Paul, shortly before His Ascension; mentioned by Augustine. 4. Epistle of Christ concerning Sunday, said to have fallen from heaven at Jerusalem. This late fabrication is found in many languages and localized at many places. 5. The Liturgy of Our Saviour.

¹This list of names is similar to the preceding one, and much

the same remarks may be made regarding it. A Greek element here, however, is more evident. "Kiros," for instance, is plainly *Κύριος*, etc.

²In the Prayer at Bartos this mystical name of Christ is given as Alpha, which, of course, rests upon Rev. i.8, and corresponding passages. The Elyon here used is an old Hebrew form of the divine name, translated, *e. g.* in Num. xxiv.16, "Most High."

³Cf. Rev. ii.17.

⁴See Rev. iv.6.

⁵See Rev. iv.4. Their names are given in the Prayer at Bartos, p. 21; also an entirely different list in Vassiliev, p. 342.

even until old age; the faults and offences which he shall have committed shall be forgiven him."¹

(31) Again the Lord said, "Of all that which is written in my books, there is nothing which surpasseth this word. It is stronger than all prayer; he who believeth upon it, I will save him, I will pardon him. I swear it by my name, I swear it by my lofty throne, I swear it by my dwelling place, I swear it by that which my foot treadeth upon, I swear it by the head of Mary my mother, I swear it by the holy angels, my messengers. I retract not that which I have spoken, I am not unjust in my judgments, I profane not my covenant."²

(31) The Lord said again to his disciples, "Blessed is he who believeth in this prayer! Blessed is he who is washed with the water of this prayer! Blessed is he who is exorcised with the water of this prayer!³ Blessed is he who is consoled by this prayer! Blessed is he who heareth this prayer with his ears! Blessed is he who keepeth this prayer, and becometh by its virtue as solid as the rock! I will keep him by my strength and my power, and I will love him like my disciples. Blessed is he who shall bear this prayer suspended about his neck! None of the evil spirits shall be able to approach him; none of them shall be able to touch his soul or his body. He with whom this writing shall be, neither fever, weakness, nor hunger shall reach. Satan with his forces shall be driven away from him; he shall not approach him; he shall depart from him; no robber shall spoil him. He shall vanquish the power of his enemies; his house, his children, and his servants shall be blessed; the angels shall never depart from

¹All this paragraph is very similar to the passage from the Pistis Sophia which is found near the end of chap. XXXII. I am satisfied that (31) is largely derived from it, or from some very similar Gnostic work.

²Here there is an evident interpolation in the Ms. which I have not reprinted, a prayer on the part of Oualda-Mikael, who

is, I suppose, a transcriber of the document.

³Referring, I suppose, to the custom of steeping the prayer in water to hallow that element for the above purposes. Vassiliev, p. 342, tells how another magical formula is to be used in a similar manner to help a child to learn his letters.

him; the benediction of the prophets and apostles shall increase upon him; the spirit of Satan shall depart from him. If thou believest, and if thou keepest it, this prayer which effaceth sins and transgressions, which saveth the soul and the body, shall be effective for thee. If thou recitest it, and if thou purifiest thyself, thou shalt obtain the love and favour of kings; the mouth of the enemy and the wounding of the lance shall not come near thee; thou shalt vanquish, thou shalt weaken, thou shalt conquer all the forces of thine enemies and of thine adversaries; there shall be no one who shall be able to do anything against thee, to contend against thee, to resist thee; all shall fear and tremble at thy word. When they shall see thy face, all shall be seized with fear, and flee. Thy word shall taste to all men like the honey and the salt.¹ Nothing that men propose in their hearts, or of the forces they employ, shall have efficacy against thee. By this, each one shall be saved, saying, 'Jesus Christ, our Saviour, to whom be glory, praise, and adoration unto the ages of the ages. Amen, amen. So be it, so be it!'"

And in that time, before the Lord came to his passion, and (32) among many words which the mother asked of the son, she began to ask him about her own departure, addressing him as followeth, "O most dear son, I pray thy holiness, that when my soul goeth out of my body, thou let me know on the third day before; and do thou, beloved son, with thy angels, receive it."² Then he received the prayer of his beloved mother, and said to her, "O palace and temple of the living God, O blessed mother, O queen of all saints, and blessed above all women; before thou carriedst me in thy womb, I always guarded thee, and caused thee to be fed daily with angelic food, as thou knowest. How can I desert thee, after thou hast carried me, and nourished me, and

¹Cf. Ezek iii.3; Rev. x.9, 10; Col. iv.6.

²Some Mss. here add, "and cause all the apostles to be present at my departure." In the second Latin form of this document, the equivalent of this

prayer is made by Mary to Christ in the second year after His Ascension, and the promises are made to her from Him through the ministry of an angel.

brought me down in flight into Egypt, and endured many hardships for me? Know, then, that my angels have always guarded thee, and will guard thee even until thy departure. But after I undergo suffering for men, as it is written, and rise again on the third day, and after forty days ascend into heaven, when thou shalt see me coming to thee¹ with angels and archangels, with saints, and with virgins, and with my disciples, know for certain that thy soul will be separated from the body, and I shall carry it into heaven, where it shall never at all have tribulation or anguish." Then she joyed and gloried, and kissed the knees of her son; and blessed the Creator of heaven and earth, who gave her such a gift through Jesus Christ her son.

- (29) Now in the time of Jesus, three persons were once travelling, and they found a treasure. Then they said, "We are an hungered, so let one of us go and buy food." Now, as one of them went to get the food, he said to himself, "It would be a good idea to poison the food, that the others may eat it and die, so that I alone may have the treasure." So he mingled poison with the food. But the two travellers who were left agreed between themselves that when he should bring the food they would kill him. So when he brought the poisoned food, they put him to death; but they themselves ate of it, and thereupon died. And, behold, Jesus passed by with his disciples, and said, "This is the way of the world! Ye see how it dealeth with these three; but it itself remaineth in their condition. Woe unto him who seeketh the world in the world."²

- (29) Jesus once said in the form of a parable, that the world is like a decrepit old woman of whom he asked, "How many husbands hast thou had?" Then answered she that she had

¹Ms. C. has, "When, therefore, thou shalt see my archangel Gabriel coming to thee with a palm which I shall send to thee from heaven, know that I shall soon come to thee, my disciples, and angels," etc.

²From Levinus Warnerus in

the notes of his work, *Centuria Proverbiorum Persicorum*. The particular Mohammedan sources used by him, I do not know. This story is widely circulated in many forms and ascribed to various sources.

had so many that they could not be numbered. And Jesus (29) said, "Then, they died, and left thee?" "No indeed," said she, "I killed them, and put them out of the way." Then said Jesus, "It is wonderful that the others were so foolish, that when they saw how thou hadst treated these, they burned with love towards thee, instead of taking example by them."¹

Jesus said: He who is greedy of riches is like one who drinketh water from the sea. The more he drinketh, the more he increaseth his thirst; and he ceaseth not to drink until he perisheth.²

He said: O sons of men, when I give you riches and power, ye transfer all your aspirations and all your care from me to the riches and power. But when I make you poor, ye grow weary for sadness and for anxious care. Where will ye find the loveliness of my name, and when will ye bring to maturity reverence for me.³

Jesus said to John the son of Zacharias: If any one speaketh something true about thee, praise God; but if he uttereth lies about thee, praise God the more. For thereby shall thy treasure in the book of thy works be increased, and that without trouble to thee; that is to say, whatever of good that person hath done shall in thy book be written.⁴

Jesus prayed and said: O God, I am not able to extirpate (or overcome) that which I abhor, nor have I attained the good which I desired; but others, and not I, have their reward in their hands. But my glory abideth in my work; nor is any man poorer than I am. O God most high, grant me pardon. O God, suffer not mine enemy to reproach me; nor let my friend contemn me; nor add affliction to my religion; nor let the world be my chief aim; nor set him over me who shall not pity me, for thy mercy's sake, O most merciful of the merciful.⁵

¹From Levinus Warnerus, as before.

²From Levinus Warnerus.

³From Musladini Sadi, Gulistan, or Rosarium Persicum, p.

517. He says this was found in the "Gospel."

⁴From Levinus Warnerus.

⁵From Selden's Commentary on Eutychius' Arabic Annals of

- (29) Whosoever shall not twice be born from his mother's womb shall not attain unto the kingdom of heaven and unto the knowledge of the worlds.¹

Jesus asked Gabriel when the hour (*i. e.* the day of judgment) was to come? Gabriel answered, "He whom thou askest knoweth no better than he who asketh."²

Jesus said: The world is a place of transition, full of examples; be pilgrims therein, and take warnings by the traces of those that have gone before.³

Jesus said: Be in the midst, yet walk on one side.⁴

In the sermons of Jesus son of Mary, it is written: Beware how ye sit with sinners.⁵

Jesus said: I have treated the leprous and the blind, and have cured them; but when I have treated the fool, I have failed to cure him.⁶

God revealed unto Jesus: Command the children of Israel that they enter not my house save with pure hearts, and humble eyes, and clean hands; for I will not answer any one of them against whom any hath a complaint.⁷

Alexandria, p. 58. He does not give the precise Arabic source of this prayer, which was, he says, ascribed by the Mohammedans to Christ.

¹John iii. 3, 4 is read thus altered by Hamza, a Mohammedan Gnostic, and one of the founders of the Druse religion. See *Jésus-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Sayous, p. 45.

²Castalani, Commentary on Bukhari, i.163. I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. James Hardy Ropes, of Cambridge, for copies of this, as well as of the forty-five other Mohammedan Agrapha which follow. They appear in his forthcoming article on the Agrapha in Hastings' Bible Dictionary, and were first published by Prof. D. S. Margo-

liouth, to whom I make grateful acknowledgment. See *Expository Times*, Nov. 1893, Dec. 1893, Jan. 1894.

³Jakut's Geographical Lexicon, i.1

⁴Baidawi, Commentary on Koran, p. 71, Ed. Constantinop.

⁵Zamakshari, Commentary on the Koran, p. 986.

⁶El-Mustatraf, etc.

⁷El-Hadaic El-Wardiyyah, i. p. 27. All the remaining Agrapha in this chapter are from El-Ghazzali, Revival of the Religious Sciences. Several of them might more properly be called anecdotes concerning Christ, than Agrapha, and would have found their appropriate settings in various parts of the narrative of this work had they come to my

Jesus said: Whoso knoweth and doeth and teacheth, shall (29) be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

Jesus said: Trees are many, yet not all of them bear fruit; and fruits are many, yet not all of them are fit for food; and sciences are many, but not all of them are profitable.

Jesus said: Commit not wisdom to those who are not meet for it, lest ye harm it; and withhold it not from them that are meet for it, lest ye harm them. Be like a gentle physician, who putteth the remedy on the diseased spot.

According to another version, Jesus said: Whoso committeth wisdom to them that are not meet for it, is a fool; and whoso withholdeth it from them that are meet for it, is an evil-doer. Wisdom hath rights, and rightful owners; and give each his due.

Jesus said: Evil scholars are like a rock that hath fallen at the mouth of a brook; it doth not drink the water, neither doth it let the water flow to the fields. And they are like the conduit of a *latrina* which is plastered outside, and foul inside; or like graves, the outside of which is decorated, while within are dead men's bones.

Jesus said: How can he be a scholar who, when his journey is unto the next world, maketh for the things of this world? How can he be a scholar who seeketh for words in order to communicate by them, not to act according to them?

God said unto Jesus: Exhort thyself, and if thou hast profited by the exhortation, then exhort others; otherwise be ashamed before me.

Jesus said: If a man send away a beggar empty from his house, the angels will not visit that house for seven nights.

God revealed to Jesus: Though thou shouldst worship with the devotion of the inhabitants of the heaven and the earth, but hadst not love in God and hate in God, it would avail thee nothing.

Jesus said: Make yourselves beloved of God by hating the evil-doers. Bring yourselves nearer to God by removing

notice earlier. I have not scriptural references. thought it worth while to supply

(29) far from them; and seek God's favour by their displeasure. They said, "O Spirit of God, then with whom shall we converse?" Then he said: Converse with those whose presence will remind you of God, whose words will increase your works, and whose works will make you desire the next world.

Jesus said to the apostles: How would ye do if ye saw your brother sleeping, and the wind had lifted up his garment? They said, "We should cover him up." He said: Nay, ye would uncover him. They said, "God forbid! who would do this?" He said: One of you who heareth a word concerning his brother, and addeth to it, and relateth it with additions.

They say that there was no form of address Jesus loved better to hear than "Poor man!"

When Jesus was asked, "How art thou this morning?" he would answer: Unable to forestall what I hope, or to put off what I fear, bound by my works, with all my good in another's hand. There is no poor man poorer than I.

Satan, the accursed, appeared to Jesus, and said unto him, "Say, 'There is no God but God.'" He said: It is a true saying, but I will not say it at thy invitation.

When Jesus was born, the demons came to Satan, and said, "The idols have been overturned." He said, "This is a mere accident that hath occurred; keep still." Then he flew till he had gone over both hemispheres, and found nothing. After that he found Jesus the son of Mary already born, with the angels surrounding him. He returned to the demons, and said, "A prophet was born yesterday; no woman ever conceived or bare a child without my presence, save this one. Hope not, therefore, that the idols will be worshipped after this night, so attack mankind through haste and thoughtlessness."

Jesus lay down one day with his head upon a stone. Satan, passing by, said, "O Jesus, thou art fond of this world." So he took the stone and cast it from under his head, saying: This be thine together with the world.

Jesus was asked, "Who taught thee?" He answered: No

one taught me. I saw that the ignorance of the fool was a (29) shame, and I avoided it.

Jesus said: Blessed is he who abandoneth a present pleasure for the sake of a promised (reward) which is absent and unseen.

Jesus said: O company of apostles, make hungry your livers, and bare your bodies; perhaps then your hearts may see God.

It is related how Jesus remained sixty days addressing his Lord, without eating. Then the thought of bread came into his mind, and his communion was interrupted, and he saw a loaf set before him. Then he sat down and wept over the loss of his communion, when he beheld an old man close to him. Jesus said unto him: God bless thee, thou saint of God! Pray to God for me, for I was in an ecstasy when the thought of bread entered my mind, and the ecstasy was interrupted. The old man said, "O God, if Thou knowest that the thought of bread came into my mind since I knew Thee, then forgive me not. Nay, when it was before me, I would eat it without thought or reflection."

Jesus said: Beware of glances; for they plant passion in the heart, and that is a sufficient temptation.

Jesus was asked by some men to guide them to some course whereby they might enter paradise. He said: Speak not at all. They said, "We cannot do this." He said: Then only say what is good.

Jesus said: Devotion is of ten parts. Nine of them consist in silence, and one in solitude.

Jesus said: Whosoever lieth much, loseth his beauty; and whosoever wrangleth with others, loseth his honour; and whosoever is much troubled, sickeneth in his body; and whosoever is evilly disposed, tortureth himself.

Jesus, passing by a swine, said to it: Go in peace. They said, "O Spirit of God, sayest thou so to a swine?" He answered: I would not accustom my tongue to evil.

Jesus said: One of the greatest of sins in God's eyes is that a man should say God knoweth what He knoweth not.

Malik, son of Dinar, said, "Jesus one day walked with his

(29) apostles, and they passed by the carcass of a dog. The apostles said, 'How foul is the smell of this dog!' But Jesus said: How white are its teeth!"

Christ passed by certain of the Jews, who spake evil to him; but he spake good to them in return. It was said to him, "Verily, these speak ill unto thee, and dost thou speak good?" He said: Each giveth out of his store.

Jesus said: Take not the world for your lord, lest it take you for its slaves. Lay up your treasure with Him who will not waste it, etc.

Jesus said: Ye company of apostles, verily, I have overthrown the world upon her face for you; raise her not up after me. It is a mark of the foulness of this world that God is disobeyed therein, and that the future world cannot be attained save by abandonment of this; pass then through this world, and linger not there; and know that the root of every sin is love of the world. Often doth the pleasure of an hour bestow on him that enjoyeth it long pain.

He said again: I have laid the world low for you, and ye are seated upon its back. Let not kings and women dispute with you the possession of it. Dispute not the world with kings, for they will not offer you what you have abandoned and their world; but guard against women by fasting and prayer.

He said again: The world seeketh and is sought. If a man seeketh the next world, this world seeketh him till he obtain therein his full sustenance; but if a man seeketh this world, the next world seeketh him till death cometh and taketh him by the throat.

Jesus said: The love of this world and of the next cannot agree in a believer's heart, even as fire and water cannot agree in a single vessel.

Jesus being asked, "Why dost thou not take a house to shelter thee?" said: The rags of those that were before us are good enough for us.

It is recorded that one day Jesus was sore troubled by the rain and thunder and lightning, and began to seek a shelter. His eye fell upon a tent hard by; but when he came there,

finding a woman inside, he turned away from it. Then he (29) noticed a cave in a mountain; but when he came thither, there was a lion there. Laying his hand upon the lion, he said: My God, Thou hast given each thing a resting-place, but to me Thou hast given none. Then God revealed to him, "Thy resting-place is in the abode of my mercy, that I may wed thee on the day of judgment . . . and make thy bridal feast four thousand years, of which each day is like a lifetime in this present world; and that I may command a herald to proclaim, 'Where are they that fast in this world? Come to the bridal feast of Jesus, who fasted in this world!'"

Jesus said: Woe unto him who hath this world, seeing that he must die and leave it, and all that is in it! It deceiveth him, yet he trusteth in it; he relieth upon it, and it betrayeth him. Woe unto them that are deceived! When they shall be shown what they loathe, and shall be abandoned by what they love; and shall be overtaken by that where-with they are threatened! Woe unto him whose care is the world, and whose work is sin; seeing that one day he shall be disgraced by his sin.

Jesus said: Who is it that buildeth upon the waves of the sea? Such is the world; take it not for your resting-place.

Some said to Jesus, "Teach us some doctrine for which God will love us." Jesus said: Hate the world, and God will love you.

Jesus said: Ye company of apostles, be satisfied with a humble portion in this world, so your faith be whole; even as the people of this world are satisfied with a humble portion in faith, so this world be secured to them.

Jesus said: O thou that seekest this world to do charity, to abandon it were more charitable.

Jesus used to say: My condiment is hunger, my inner garment fear, and my outer garment wool. I warm myself in winter in the sun; my candle is the moon; my mounts are my feet; my food and dainties are the fruits of the earth; neither at eventide nor in the morning have I aught in my possession, yet no one on earth is richer than I.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHRIST ON THE HOLY MOUNT.

THE APOSTLES QUESTION CHRIST—HE LEADS THEM UP TO THE MOUNT—THE DEVIL QUESTIONS HIM—THE CONTROVERSY—THE DEVIL ATTACKS CHRIST—IS SUSPENDED ABOVE THE EARTH—CHRIST TELLS ABOUT ANTICHRIST—IS TRANSFIGURED—HIS DIFFERENT APPEARANCES TO JOHN—THE AUTHORITIES WISH TO MAKE HIM KING—HE IS HIDDEN ON THE MOUNT—COMES DOWN FROM THE MOUNT—MEETS THE DEVIL WHO APPEARS AS A FISHERMAN.

MAIN SOURCES: (6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, IV.

(20)—Acts of John, 3, 4, 5.

(33)—Questions of Bartholomew.

(34)—Controversy of the Devil with Jesus Christ, A.

(35)—Controversy of the Devil with Jesus Christ, B.

(33) Before our Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection from the dead, the apostles, wishing to question him, said, "Lord, reveal unto us thy mysteries." And Jesus said unto them, "If I lay aside my mortal body, I shall not be able to reveal them unto you."¹

(34) And our Lord Jesus Christ having gone up to the mountain² with Peter,³ and Andrew, and the rest of his disciples,

¹This is the beginning of the Questions of Bartholomew from the Slavic version, given in Latin by Vassiliev, p. 7

²Tabor, as the traditional scene of the Transfiguration, would seem to be suggested by a narrative having so much in

common with that incident. In the Apocryphal Revelations of John, whence so much of (34) and (35) are drawn, Tabor is specially named as the scene. It is not mentioned by name in the N. T.

³(34) here adds, "and Paul."

the Lord fasted forty days. Then the devil appeared before his face, and said unto him, "I adjure thee by the name of the great God, that thou tell me the very truth as to whence thou art."¹ Jesus said unto him, "I am from the eternal and immortal Father." Then the devil said to him, "Thou didst say it." The devil again said to him, "Go to heaven, and sit down upon thy throne, in order that the heavens, as thou pratest, and the earth, may hearken unto thee. Thou didst have angels; why didst thou not send them? but being God, thou camest upon such a journey." The Lord said, "Hear why I came although I was God. It was on account of thee and thy angels; for having descended from the heavens, ye did no good work, but having overcome mankind, ye rejoice, ye unclean demons, and lead men astray by your deceit." The devil said, "Go to heaven, and sit down upon thy throne, lest I discover thee to my angels; for my angels are terrible, and if I should show thee to them, I could smite thee like one of mankind." And the Lord said, "I came on account of thee, and of thy angels, of thy associates, of thy works, and of thy desires."² The devil said, "Who are my associates, and what are my works and desires?" Jesus said, "Murderers, adulterers, thieves, liars, darkness, fire, hail, tumults, depths, false witnessing, disobedience, drunkenness, harp-dances, remembering of grudges, cursing of brethren, daggers for children, the separation of hermaphrodites,³ heresy and faction, envy

So great an anachronism may be the fault of a copyist. But (34) has drawn something from the Revelation of Paul, and the name may have come in from that source and been preserved despite its inappropriateness. Or possibly, in the wildness of Gnostic fancy, this represents Christ's stay as enduring for years, until after Paul's conversion.

¹Cf. Mat. iv.2, 3. This narrative seems to have a three-fold

inspiration in the accounts of Christ's Temptation, His Transfiguration, and an apocalyptic purpose.

²Cf. I John iii.8, 10. (34) speaks of the associates of the devil; (35), of his works and desires.

³I am not certain that this is the correct translation of *χωρισμὸς ἀνδρογύνων*, which may perhaps refer to some vice of effeminacy. If the above gives the meaning, it would seem

towards brethren and neighbours, and the things not pleasing to God."¹

(34) The devil said, "Because such are my works, then I am
(35) greater than thou, and I was greater than thy angels. Thou art the king in the heavens, I am the king upon earth. Thou art Christ, and I am Antichrist." The Lord said, "Thou art the phantasm² of the world." The devil said, "And thou art the phantasm which was born of the woman." Jesus said, "It is true that I was born of a woman, that I might save the man whom I created; and on this account, I shall not abandon him before he appear at the third heaven,³ before the face of my Father, and shall enjoy the good things in the heavens." And the devil said, "Thou thyself didst form Adam, and didst plant paradise, and didst place him in it; but I made him not to enter into paradise for one day."⁴ And the Lord said, "Thou didst deceive Adam, and didst drive him out of paradise; but I will not suffer him to be made a mockery by thee."

(34) And the devil said, "If a man shall sin, and give up thy
(35) glory, and shall do my will, what part hath he with thee?" And the Lord said, "If a man shall sin, and do thy works, and perform thy will, and shall give up my glory, and shall

to refer to the Rabbinic legend that Adam was created androgynous; he and Eve were formed back to back, united at the shoulders, and were hewn asunder with a hatchet. It would be in accordance with the Manichaean ideas of the compiler of this work to represent Satan as the agent who effected this separation, since these sectarians in general contemned marriage and particularly the propagation of offspring.

¹I place in the notes one of these works, *λευκόματα*, possibly "whited tablets," or "white hair," which I am not able satis-

factorily to translate or explain.

²An allusion to the Docetic teaching regarding the phantasmal body of Christ, which the compiler here would cause to react against the devil. Hippolytus held that the Antichrist would be the devil clothed in a phantasmal body.

³Allusion, doubtless, to II Cor. xii.2.

⁴Accounts differ as to the amount of time which Adam spent in paradise, but it has been widely held that he was cast out on the same day on which he was placed there.

live ninety years and come to repentance, receive strangers, guide the blind, shall company with the dead in prayers and fastings, and in his prayer shall say, 'O God, have mercy on me a sinner,'¹ his good death cometh, and obtaineth the pardon of his wickedness.² He shall be given to the archangel Michael, leader of those above, and shall become a suppliant to me; and I shall enlighten him, and lead him to paradise." And again Jesus said, "If a man shall live and do thy will, and reject my glory, and if he shall not repent of the evil which he shall do, especially should he live fifty or sixty years, and until eighty years shall not come to repentance, and when a sinner his death cometh, I will deliver him to the angel Emelouch,³ and he will lead him away to the outer darkness with the archdemons, and he shall be punished. According to his stumblings, I will reckon; I will examine him for my perfecting, and will not destroy him, because he is my creation.⁴ And the angel will lead him away to the lake of fire, where also thou art about to proceed with thy demons, O wicked devil."

Then the devil, being angry, withdrew from him, and (34) called his eight myriads of grinning demons, saying unto them, "My children, be strong and play the man; for the great Christ hath descended upon the earth, and if we shall kill him, the kingdom is ours forever.⁵ But we ourselves must go before, and I will come behind, and we will smite

¹Cf. Luke xviii.13.

²The exact idea intended to be conveyed here is somewhat confused. It is evidently the same as in the Apocalypse of Sedrach, 12, 13, whence, or from some common source, I suppose this is taken. There the teaching is, that if a man lives ninety or a hundred years in sin, and then repents, living righteously for three years, he shall be saved.

³Thus in (35), but in (34) the name is given Melouch, and in

the Revelation of Paul, whence the name is borrowed, it is Tem-eluch. He is there called the merciless angel. I do not know of the occurrence of the name elsewhere. The context here plainly shows indebtedness to the Revelation of Paul.

⁴(35) here seems to incline to the view that even the wicked, though punished in the lake of fire, should not finally be lost.

⁵A close parallel to a passage in the Gospel of Nicodemus. See chap. XXVIII.

him like one of mankind. From the time when he formed Adam, I was not willing to worship him,¹ and from that time he and his Father hated me." And when he had said these things, the crowd of demons put itself in motion, and the cloud of dust raised by them extended twenty stadia. But the Lord's disciples, seeing the mountains trembling, the fountains spouting forth, and the fishes leaping out, were exceedingly terrified, and said, "Lord, seeing these things, we shall die." The Lord said to them, "Fear not the devil; I will smite him together with his demons."

(34) While they were saying these things, the crowd of demons
 (35) drew near, about thirteen stadia off. But Philip and Thomas said, "The God of all Himself cast the devil from heaven."² While they were saying these things, the crowd of demons approached until they were three stadia distant. And Peter, receiving cowardice from the devil, wished to make Jesus manifest.³ And the Lord said, "Be not afraid until thou seest the glory of God." He turned and stood at the feet of Jesus. Then our Lord Jesus Christ prayed, and changed to his divine glory. And he commanded a cloud of heaven to suspend the devil at his feet; and he smoked him with smoke.⁴ And here the demons cried out, saying, "And whither shall we flee? But come, let us betake ourselves into the abyss, where we may be saved." And the devil, being suspended, cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Lord, lead me down from this distress, and destroy me not prematurely." And the Lord said, "If I lead thee down, wilt thou cease to make war against the race of men?" And the devil said, "My Lord, I can bring it to pass that as many as believed upon my polluted and unclean kind shall believe upon thy name."⁵ And the Lord commanded him to be brought down upon the earth; and the devil, having fallen as light-

¹For this legend in fuller form, and notes, see chap. XXXII; a passage taken from (33). There are many parallels between that document and (34) and (35).

²Cf. Rev. xii.9.

³Cf. Mark xiv.66-72 and parallel passages.

⁴In the Greek of (35), "with καπνὸν τεαφίου."

⁵Cf. Mat. iv.9; Luke iv.7.

ning,¹ stationed himself before the feet of Jesus. Then Jesus changed into his human condition, even as on our account he was born. And the devil, seeing that Jesus was become a man, snorted contemptuously in his mouth, and violently stood up against him for the purpose of laying hold on Jesus.

And the Lord said to him, "Again, devil, hast thou the (34) power to attack me? O Satan, wilt thou again enter into controversy? I will not spit upon thee, nor will I breathe upon thee. For my spittle is healing and strength, and as to my breathing, the very Holy Spirit proceedeth from my mouth.² Yea, my powers are great, but if I do not make war upon thee, I will not be king forever."

And the devil said, "I will go to the high priests Annas (34) and Caiaphas, to the chief priests, to my Jews; and I will (35) prepare them to crucify thee. I am not like the Most High, but thou art His Son. But I am like myself; I am Antichrist.³ Thou art the heavenly king, and I the earthly, since, indeed, thou castest me away. And also I caused John, who baptized thee, to be put to death by Herod, and his head to be triumphed over by a dancing woman." And the Lord said, "John did not die, but liveth. But hear, wicked devil. Art thou able to gather wine from thorns, or harvest fruit from thistles?"⁴ And the devil was silent, making no answer. And Jesus said to him, "Art thou satisfied, devil? O Satan, wilt thou again make disputation?" And he answered, "My Lord, I have naught to say."

And the Lord prayed a third time, and was changed into (34) his divine glory. And he commanded the devil to be removed (35) from him thirteen stadia. And he sealed the earth; and the earth was rent a hundred cubits, and was cloven asunder to the subterranean regions of the abyss. And the devil sent

¹Cf. Luke x.18.

²See note regarding the healing power of Christ, in chap. X.

³The fathers of the Church from Chrysostom and Jerome onward held that Antichrist was

not to be identified with the devil himself, but it seems that the earlier tradition generally made this identification.

⁴Cf. Mat. vii.16; Luke vi.44.

forth a loud voice, saying, "Lord, where am I going." The Lord said, "Descend, and thou shalt know." The devil said, "My Lord, how great is the depth?" Jesus said, "Should ninety-eight men roll down it a stone commensurate with their strength, the stone descending for fifty years would become like a grain of mustard before it came near the place where thou art going."¹

- (34) And the devil said, "Lord, and from then what?" The
 (35) Lord said, "There thou shalt remain until the end of time, being beaten by twenty-four angels, night and day. But at the end of that age, thou shalt go out upon the earth, and come to a country called Gouze,² a country of the Egyptians, to the city of Daphne,³ offered for sale as a little fish.⁴ A virgin maid will conceive thee, by name Eudocia; ⁵ because thou oughtest to be born from injustice. Being born of her three months, thou shalt establish thy throne upon the earth, and shalt reign three years; and many shall believe upon thee."

¹In the Revelation of John, whence this is taken, it reads: "As big a stone as a man of thirty years old can roll, and let go down into the depth, even falling down for twenty years will not arrive at the bottom of Hades." The above is the version of (35), which improves somewhat upon this model. (34) has a vague reference to a child of seventeen years rolling a stone which falls for twenty ages.

²Ethiopia.

³I know of no city of this name or any such tradition. Probably the allusion is to the famous heathen grove of Daphne near Antioch, widely known to the Christian world for its licentious practices. The most prevalent tradition was that Anti-

christ should be born in Babylon, in Chorazin, or from the tribe of Dan. The later Jewish idea was that he should be born of a marble statue in a Christian church at Rome.

⁴I am utterly unable to explain this, but the constant recurrence of the fish as a symbol is noticeable.

⁵This may possibly be suggested by Eudocia, wife of the Emperor Theodosius II., who played a leading part in the religious controversies of her age, and may, on the part of the heretics who compiled this document, have been especially remembered as one full of injustice. She died about 460. That Antichrist should by deception be born of a virgin was an idea widely held.

And the devil said, "Until then, have I power to reign?" (34)
 Jesus said, "O Satan, rejoice not because thou hast power (35)
 to reign! But I can shift the years as a book, and I can
 make the three years three months or three weeks, the
 weeks days, the days hours, the hours moments."¹ The devil
 said, "Lord, and from then what?" And Jesus said, "In its
 own season there shall be corn and much wine, and for two
 seasons there shall not be found in the four extremities of the
 earth either wine or oil, except the widow's measure² of
 corn and half a pound of oil.³ I myself will come with ten
 thousand times ten thousand angels, and with Enoch and
 Elijah and John, and with my mother the virgin, and with
 the holy John⁴ who baptized me, whom thou didst say, 'I
 made as the sport of a feast to be beheaded, and his head to
 be presented on a waiter before Herod.' I send him for thy
 upbraiding and destruction. These will refute thee of thy
 name appearing any longer either in heaven or on earth,
 and they purpose to kill thee, base dog, devil. Because
 glory is becoming to our holy God."⁵

At another time, Jesus taketh up John, and James, and (20)
 Peter into the mountain where his custom was to pray; and

¹This passage closely follows a similar one in the Revelation of John. An idea, similar, but lengthening the period, occurs in the Mohammedan legend of Dejjal, or Antichrist. He will reign forty days, but the first of these shall be a year long, the second a month, the third a week, and the rest of the natural length. He will be a king followed by 40,000 Jews and many monsters. He will lay waste all the earth, save Mecca and Medina, etc.

²(35) here has *φουνίκη*, but the correspondence with the Revelation of John shows that the choenix, or measure, is in-

tended. There is no reference in that document, as there evidently is here, to the widow woman of I Kings xvii.9 seq.

³The tradition of this whole passage, that at the coming of Antichrist there should first be unusual harvests and then famine, is wide-spread. The corn and much wine have the appearance of a reference to the tradition of Papias in chap. XIX. This is still more apparent in the Revelation of John.

⁴Here both the Johns seem to be among the witnesses.

⁵Here follow, elaborate doxologies.

they beheld him in such a light as it is not possible for a man that useth corruptible speech to tell what it was like.¹

(20) Again in like manner he leadeth these three up into the mountain, saying, "Come ye with me." And they again went; and they beheld him at a distance, praying. Now, therefore, John, because Jesus loved him, drew nigh unto him softly, as though he would not see, and stood looking upon his hinder parts.² And he beheld him that he was not in any wise clad with garments, but was seen of them naked thereof, and not in any wise as a man; and his feet whiter than any snow, so that the ground there was lighted up by his feet; and his head reaching unto the heaven; so that John was afraid and cried out, and he turned and appeared as a man of small stature,³ and took hold upon his beard and pulled it, and said unto him, "John, be not unbelieving, but believing,⁴ and not a busybody." And John said unto him, "But what have I done, Lord?" And John suffered so great pain in that place where he took hold upon his beard, for thirty days, that he said unto him, "Lord, if thy twitch when thou wast in sport hath given me so great pain, what were it if thou hadst given me a buffet?" And he said unto him, "Let it be thine from henceforth not to tempt him who is not to be tempted."⁵

(20) But Peter and James were wroth because John spake with the Lord, and beckoned unto him that he should come unto them, and leave the Lord alone. And he went, and they both said unto him, "He that was speaking with the Lord when he was upon the mount, who was he? for we heard both of them speaking." And John, when he considered his great grace and his unity which hath many faces, and his wisdom which without ceasing looked upon them, said, "That ye shall learn if ye inquire of him."

(j) Now Jesus said these and many other things to his disciples, "Nothing is impossible to you in the removal of the

¹Cf. Mat. xvii.1, 2; Mark ix.2; Luke ix.28, 29.

²Cf. Ex. xxxiii.23.

³A characteristic Docetic rep-

resentation.

⁴Cf. John xx.27.

⁵Cf. Jas. i.13.

mountains.¹ Now, therefore, have faith in the love of my Father; for faith is the end of all things." And all these things our Saviour spake to his apostles, comforting them on the mount; knowing that which was spread abroad concerning him in Judaea, by the authorities that came after him, to take him by force, that they might make him a king.² And the messengers of Theophilus³ came unto Jesus, and they told him, saying, "They seek after thee, wishing to make thee king." The apostles said to Jesus, "Our Lord, we are glad that they will make thee king." Jesus said to them, "Did I not say unto you again, 'My kingdom is not of this world?'"⁴ Do not have the joy of the kingdom of this world in your heart, O my brethren and apostles; for it is temporal. Did I covenant⁵ with you, O my holy members and my brethren, to eat with you at the table of the kingdom of this world? But my kingdom continueth forever in heaven and on earth."⁶

Now as Jesus said these and many other things to his (6) disciples, he was hidden on the mount, because they sought after him to make him king.⁷ And again, our Lord Jesus, knowing all things that were coming upon him,⁸ said to his disciples, "My brethren, behold, the devil hath mingled for himself a cup of guile, that I should be crucified. Now, therefore, let all my mysteries sink into your ears.⁹ I have not left you lacking any of all the mysteries of my kingdom.¹⁰ I have given unto you all authority in heaven and on earth.¹¹ I have set the power of serpents and scorpions under your

¹Cf. Mat. xvii.20. I have supplied the clause introductory to this sentence.

²Cf. John vi.15.

³It is impossible to tell who is referred to here. The name occurs in Luke i.3; Acts i.1; in apocryphal literature, only in the account of the chair of Peter at Antioch, for which see, *e. g.* the

Golden Legend. I suspect that Tiberius is meant.

⁴See John xviii.36.

⁵Cf. Luke xxii.29, 30.

⁶Cf. Mat. vi.10.

⁷Cf. John vi.15.

⁸Cf. John xviii.4.

⁹Cf. Luke ix.44.

¹⁰Cf. Mat. xiii.11.

¹¹Cf. Mat. xxviii.18.

authority.¹ Now, therefore, arise, let us go hence, for Herod seeketh me to kill me.”²

- (6) And our Lord Jesus came down from the mount with his disciples. And, behold, the devil met them; and he took the form of a fisherman, many demons following him, carrying many nets and drag-nets and hooks, and casting nets and hooks on the mount. Now the apostles, when they saw them casting nets hither and thither, and hooks, wondered exceedingly. And they said to Jesus, “O Lord, what manner of one is this, doing these things in this desert?” Jesus said to them, “Peter, this is he of whom I spake to thee, saying, ‘Behold, Satan asked for you, that he might sift you as wheat; but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not.’”³
- (6) John said to him, “What do these find in this desert?” Jesus said to him, “My beloved John, he who seeketh him, behold, he hath caught him already. This is the fisherman that catcheth every bad fish.⁴ This is the snarer of every foul beast and of every one that is bad.”
- (6) Philip said to him, “My Lord, who shall be taken by the hook of this one or by his nets?” Jesus said to him, “Many shall be taken by the hook of this one and by his nets.” Andrew said to him, “My Lord, what is the use of this one making men to transgress?” Jesus said to him, “Did I not come to take those who are mine for my kingdom? This one also seeketh those who are his for punishment. I suffered this great humiliation, and I came down to the world, that I might pluck out this talon of death,⁵ even this one.”
- (6) John said to him, “My Lord, command me to go unto him, that I may know what he hath done.” Jesus said to

¹Cf. Luke x.19.

²Cf. Luke xiii.31.

³Cf. Luke xxii.31, 32.

⁴Cf. II Tim. ii.26.

⁵Certainly a characteristic Gnostic expression. I find it also in the Neues Evangelien-fragment von Adolf Jacoby,

Strassburg, 1900, and in the text of still another fragment which he prints along with that. See p. 32 of same. In the latter, it runs, “the talon of Charon,” pointing to a mingling of classical mythological ideas with Christian ones.

him, "Go, my beloved John, for I have sanctified thee from the time that thou didst receive suck from thy mother." And the holy John went to the devil. He said to him, "What dost thou with these nets? or what dost thou catch here?" The devil said to him, "I have heard concerning thee and thy brethren, that ye are fishermen that catch fish. I have come hither to see your mastery to-day. Behold, I and my servants and my nets are here. Do thou also call thy brethren; and let them come unto thee hither with their nets, that we may cast them here. He who catcheth fish here, he is the master. It is not a wonder to catch fish in the waters; the wonder is in this desert, to catch fish therein." John said to him, "I have already heard of thy mastery, before I came unto thee hither. But cast thy nets, that we may see what thou wilt catch." Straightway he cast them. He caught every kind of foul fish which was in the waters—some taken by their eyes, some caught by their entrails, others taken by their lips. Jesus was afar off with his apostles, beholding them. He said to them, "See how Satan catcheth the sinners by their members."¹

¹The fragment ends with the John, Say to him, Cast—." broken sentence, "Jesus said to

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST CHRIST.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING CHRIST—THEY WISH TO MAKE HIM KING—HEROD ENRAGED—THREATENS—JEWS CONSPIRE AGAINST CHRIST—GESTAS—DISMAS STEALS THE LAW—JUDAS WATCHES CHRIST—THE DISCIPLES HIDDEN—CHRIST ARRESTED—IMPRISONED—THE COUNCIL—THE VARIOUS OPINIONS GIVEN—CHRIST CRAFTILY RELEASED—JUDAS SELLS HIM FOR THIRTY PIECES OF GOLD—THEIR HISTORY—JUDAS PREPARES TO SEIZE CHRIST.

- MAIN SOURCES: (6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, III, IV.
(36)—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea, 1-3.
(37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 1.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 1.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 1.
(41)—Council concerning Jesus.
(42)—Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, I, V.

- (6) Now it came to pass in those days when Jesus had wrought many and extraordinary miracles in Judaea, and had raised Lazarus, that there was a chief of Galilee¹ with Herod, for the care of the countries of Philip, over which he was appointed; who was accused before the king² that he was laying them waste for the sake of his wife, because Herod took her from him.³ And Carius,⁴ the chief of the

¹Cf. Mark vi.21; Luke iii.1.

²Meaning the Roman emperor.

³Cf. Mark vi.17, also notes on this subject in chap. XVI.

⁴Probably the Cyrenius, or Quirinius, of Luke ii.2 is here intended.

king, when he heard the mighty works which Jesus was doing, went unto him that he might see him. Then Carius brought the report of Jesus, and sent it to Herod, saying, "This man is worthy to be made king¹ over all Judaea and the countries of Philip."

And the authorities of Tiberius prevailed the second time (6) concerning Jesus, and indeed Pilate also, that they might commend Jesus, to make him king. And Pilate praised them exceedingly, saying, "Truly, according to the signs and wonders which that man doeth, he is worthy. We will make him king over all the countries of Judaea. And as for those things that I hear concerning that man, he is a good man,² and he is fit to be made king."

When Herod heard these things concerning Jesus, that (6) he was worthy to be made king, he was greatly distressed,³ and brought great accusations against Jesus. And as Pilate was saying these things before the authorities of Tiberius the king, Herod could not refrain from setting Pilate at nought, saying, "Thou art a Galilaean, foreign, Egyptian Pontus.⁴ Thou dost not know any law at all; and indeed thou hast not long been governor of this city, that thou shouldest know the works of that man." Herod said to him, "Every one that opposeth the command of the king angereth the king;⁵ for it is no care to me that Jesus should

¹This legend is doubtless inspired by the attempt to explain the inscription on the cross, "The King of the Jews."

²Cf. John vii.12.

³Cf. Mat. ii.3.

⁴This seems intended as a play on Pilate's name, Pontius. I do not understand the allusions in this string of epithets. In the Golden Legend, it is said that Pilate was in his youth sent by the Romans to the island of Pontus, that the cruel people who lived there might kill him. From this he received the name

Pontius. He was the son of a king, Tyrus, and a maid, Pilam, whose father was called Atus; from the names of the last two, the name Pilatus was formed. Pilate slew the king's legitimate son, and was for this delivered as a hostage to the Romans. At Rome, he slew a son of the king of France. In consequence of this, he was sent to Pontus. Herod, hearing of his great wickedness, eagerly sent for him to come to him.

⁵Cf. John xix.12,

reign over Judaea." And straightway there was enmity between Herod and Pilate,¹ because of Jesus, from that day. This saying was spread abroad in all Judaea, "Jesus the king of the Jews."²

(6) Now when Herod heard these things, he still continued in his madness against Jesus, saying, "My father died at the occasion of this man in his youth; but I suffer not myself to die, whilst this man liveth." And he gave much money to the authorities; and he brought them on their way to the king. And he spread abroad great guile in all Judaea. And so he gathered together all the chiefs of the Jews, and spake to them that which Carius thought concerning Jesus, that he should be made king. And straightway Herod commanded them, saying, "He who is found consenting unto this matter shall come under the destruction of the sword, and they that are in his house shall be seized."

(6) Now Annas and Caiaphas and the chiefs of the Jews were
 (37) gathered together unto Carius, the chief of Tiberius the
 (38) king; and they agreed upon lying words and false testi-
 (39) monies, which did not agree together, concerning Jesus,³ from his birth unto his death; some saying, "He is a magician;" others, "He was born of fornication;" some, "He breaketh the Sabbath;" others, "He hath abolished the synagogue of the Jews."⁴ And straightway they sent for Joseph⁵ and Nicodemus, and brought them; who also were

¹Cf. Luke xxiii.12. The Golden Legend says that Pilate went to Rome and with great sums of money purchased of the Emperor that which Herod held, which was the cause of the enmity. Another reason which it says was assigned for this in the Scholastica Historia was, that Pilate had put to death a Galilaean pretender, who declared himself to be God. Herod resented this because he reigned in Galilee.

²The Ms. of (6) here adds:

"And Pilate wrote the report of Jesus, and fastened it to the cross, 'This is Jesus the King of the Jews.'"

³Cf. Mark xiv.56, 59.

⁴The charges here preferred against Christ according to (6) agree with those made in the Gospel of Nicodemus. The one given in the account of (36), which follows, is, so far as I know, peculiar to that late mediaeval document.

⁵Of Arimathaea,

chiefs of the Jews; and they consented not with them unto their lying accusations, but spake blessed words concerning Jesus. And Jesus being hated by the Hebrews on account of the miracles he did, there came of the Jews to the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, Judas, Levi, Nephtholim, Alexander, Syrus, Semes, Dathaes, Gamaliel, Jairus,¹ and many others, speaking against Christ. And the chief priests sent them away to say these things to Pilate also.

Now seven days before Christ suffered, two condemned (36) robbers were sent from Jericho to the procurator Pilate, and their case was as followeth: The first, his name Gestas, put travellers to death, murdering them with the sword, and others he exposed naked. And he hung up women by the heels, head down, and cut off their breasts, and drank the blood of infants' limbs, never having known God, not obeying the laws, being violent from the beginning, and doing such deeds.²

The case of the other was as followeth: He was called (36) Dismas, and was by birth a Galilæan, and kept an inn. He made attacks upon the rich, but was good to the poor—a thief like Tobit; for he buried the bodies of the poor.³ And he set his hands to robbing the multitude of the Jews, and stole the law⁴ itself in Jerusalem, and stripped naked the daughter of Caiaphas, who was priestess of the sanctuary, and took away from its place the mysterious deposit itself placed there by Solomon.⁵ Such were his doings.

¹These names differ greatly in the three versions of the Gospel of Nicodemus, and in the various Mss. of same.

²For the early history of the robbers, etc., see chap. VIII. The story of their activity in Egypt is not absolutely inconsistent with what is told here, although highly improbable in connection with it.

³Tobit i.17, 18. This pious deed was highly regarded by the

Jews, and by Christians is reckoned one of the seven corporal works of mercy.

⁴Another reading, and perhaps a more probable one is, "plundered the sanctuary." The inspiration of this legend seems to be the implied charge of the Jews that Christ intended to take away or destroy the law.

⁵A gross error, as well as anachronism.

- (36) And to Caiaphas and the multitude of the Jews it was not a passover; but it was a great mourning to them, on account of the plundering of the sanctuary by the robber. And they summoned Judas Iscariot, and spake to him, for he was son of the brother of Caiaphas the priest.¹ He was not a disciple before the face of Jesus, but all the multitude of the Jews craftily supported him, that he might follow Jesus, not that he might be obedient to the miracles done by him, nor that he might confess him; but that he might betray him to them, wishing to catch up some lying word of him, giving him gifts for such brave, honest conduct to the amount of a half shekel of gold each day.² And he did this for two years with Jesus, as saith one of his disciples called John.³
- (42) And through this great matter the disciples remained hidden, and were not able to go out for a great while for fear of the Jews, lest they should put them to death; until the Lord Jesus Christ came unto them, and showed them the way wherein they should go.⁴ And Mary the mother of the Lord

¹For account of the early life of Judas, etc., see chap. X. Ms. B. of (36) has, "And they say that he was of the family of the sister," etc. Somewhat similar is the story told in the blasphemous Jewish book, *Toledoth Jeschu*. According to this, Judas was a wise man amongst the Jews, apparently belonging to the ruling classes. When he saw the wonders that Jesus did by means of the *shem hammphorash*, or incommunicable name of God, he told the other Jews that if they would take the sin upon them, he would learn this name, which it was so dangerous to pronounce. He did so, and performed wonders equal to those of Jesus. The latter flew away into the air, and Judas was able to follow Him.

(There is a strong suggestion here of the Simon Magus legend.) Judas finally succeeded in finding Christ asleep, and cutting open the place in His flesh where He had concealed a bit of parchment with the incommunicable name written on it, Christ was deprived of His power. After this, He was readily delivered by Judas to the council.

²All this is evidently influenced by the story of *Toledoth Jeschu*.

³Cf. John vi.71.

⁴The context in (42) does not clearly show the connection of this paragraph, which I have introduced here. Possibly the reference is to the time just after the Crucifixion, and such verses as, John xix.38 and xx.19 are in the writer's mind. But, as the

Jesus Christ was with them in the house, and the women also that followed her from Jerusalem, (for they were going with them until the Lord Jesus was crucified); even Salome and Joanna¹ and all the rest of the virgins who went with her. And their father Peter² sanctified an altar in the house in which they were, even as the Lord taught them before he suffered.

And on the third day before Jesus was laid hold of, Judas (36) saith to the Jews, "Come, let us hold a council; for perhaps it was not the robber that stole the law, but Jesus himself, and I accuse him." And when these words had been spoken, Nicodemus, who kept the keys of the sanctuary, came in and said to all, "Do not do such a deed." For Nicodemus was true, more than all the multitude of the Jews. And the daughter of Caiaphas, Sarah by name,³ cried out, and said, "He himself said before all, against this holy place, 'I am able to destroy this temple, and in three days to raise it.'"⁴ The Jews say to her, "Thou hast credit with all of us." For they regarded her as a prophetess.⁵ And, assuredly, after the council had been held, Jesus was laid hold of.

And on the following day, the fourth day of the week, they (36) brought him at the ninth hour into the hall of Caiaphas. And he remained in keeping in the house of the high priest during that day; and the rulers of the people were troubled, and counselled together concerning him.⁶ And Annas and Caiaphas say to him, "Tell us, why hast thou stolen our law, and renounced the ordinances of Moses and the prophets?"

paragraph ends with the words "Again after He rose from the dead, He taught them again," I have chosen to refer the incident to some period of alarm before the Crucifixion.

¹Cf. Luke xxiv.10.

²This insistence on the prerogative of Peter indicates a late date.

³I know of no other legend in regard to such an individual.

⁴See John ii.19.

⁵This office had undoubtedly been exercised by many daughters of Israel, but the idea here is to make a prophetess of the daughter of one who is recognized in John xi.51 as temporarily a prophet.

⁶This sentence is taken from the Didascalia, V, 13. The statement that Christ remained a day a prisoner in the house of Caiaphas is a remarkable one.

And Jesus answered nothing. And again a second time, the multitude being present, they say to him, "The sanctuary which Solomon built in forty and six years,¹ why dost thou wish to destroy in one moment?" And to these things Jesus answered nothing. For the sanctuary of the synagogue had been plundered by the robber.

(41) And the different ones present at the council² spake as followeth:

Simon the Leper:³ By what right do ye condemn a man for insurrection?

Rabam: I know not why the laws were made, if they are not kept.

Achias: We must first have well-founded information and knowledge, and the ground for an accusation, before we condemn him to death.

Subath: We cannot, according to divine and human law, condemn anyone unless he hath deserved it. Therefore, what hath this man done?⁴

Rosnophin: Why are the laws enacted, if we are not willing to keep them?

Phutiphares: A deceiver,⁵ through whom a tumult is made among the common folk, is not good for the country.

Ryphar: The laws punish none but the guilty, therefore, if he is a transgressor, let him first acknowledge his own deed; but wish ye not hastily to condemn him.

Joseph of Arimathaea: O how shameful and ridiculous it is, that there cannot be found one in a city to be a defender of the innocent man!

Joram: Why do we let the righteous man die on account of his righteousness?⁶

Ehiberis: Although he were righteous, yet should he be put to death; because the common folk, through his teachings, have become rebellious.

¹Cf. John ii.20.

²It is hopeless to endeavour to settle just which council this was; we may suppose it to be the one referred to in John xi.47.

³See Mat. xxvi.6.

⁴Cf. Luke xxiii.4.

⁵Cf. Mat. xxvii.63.

⁶Cf. Ezek. xviii.24.

Nicodemus: Doth our law, then, judge a man before he hath been heard and it is known what he hath done?

Diarabias: Because he is accused of such things before a council, so is he worthy of death.

Sereas: A rebellious man is harmful to the country, therefore must he be taken away from the people.

Rabinth: Be he righteous or unrighteous, so long as he is opposed to the laws customary from of old, we can by no means bear with or suffer him.

Josaphat:¹ Let him forever be bound in prison with iron chains.

Ptolomaeus: Is he then neither righteous nor unrighteous? Why do we so long delay, ere we condemn him to death, or banish him out of the land?

Jeras: It is much better and wiser that he be put out of the country, or that he be sent to the Emperor.

Mesa: Is he righteous, we ourselves will turn unto him; is he unrighteous, we will thrust him away from us.

Samech: Let us use peaceful means, in order that he be not stubborn towards us; and will he not afterwards do our will, so shall he be punished for it.

Caiaphas: Ye all know not what ye say to one another. It is better for us that one man die, than that the whole people should perish.²

And from then on they thought only on how they might (n) put him to death. But they were afraid, and said, "Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar amongst the people."³

And the evening of the fourth day being ended, all the (36) multitude sought to burn the daughter of Caiaphas, on account of the loss of the law; for they did not know how they were to keep the passover.⁴ And she said to them, "Wait, my children, and let us destroy this Jesus, and the law will be found, and the holy feast will be fully accomplished."

¹A name used in the famous mediaeval tale of Barlaam and Josephat, which, I suppose, suggested its use here.

²Cf. John xi.49, 50.

³Mat. xxvi.5. All his paragraph is found in the Didascalia, V, 17.

⁴An absurd idea.

And secretly Annas and Caiaphas gave considerable money to Judas Iscariot, saying, "Say as thou saidst to us before, 'I know that the law hath been stolen by Jesus,' that the accusation may be turned against him, and not against this maiden, who is free from blame." And Judas, having received this command, said to them, "Let not all the multitude know that I have been instructed by you to do this against Jesus; but release Jesus, and I persuade the multitude that it is so." And craftily they released Jesus.

- (36) And Judas, going into the sanctuary at the dawn of the fifth day, saith to all the people, "What will ye give me, and I will give up to you the overthrower¹ of the law, and the plunderer of the prophets?"² The Jews say to him, "If thou wilt give him up to us, we will give thee thirty pieces of gold."³ And the people did not know that Judas was speaking about Jesus; for many of them confessed that he was the Son of God. And Judas received the thirty pieces of gold. Now these were the same which the Magi brought among the presents for Jesus. They were lost during the flight into Egypt, and a herdsman finding them, offered them in the temple, so that they came into the hands of the high priest, who with them purchased the treachery of Judas.⁴ Now Judas had been unfortunate in regard to his lust for the three hundred pence for the ointment of Mary. Thirty pence, as the tenth part which he was accustomed to appropriate to himself, was thus lost to him, and this persuaded him to compensate himself for the sum lost, by the basest treachery.⁵

- (36) Now Jesus abode that day at the house of Simon the

¹Or, "taker away."

²Judas' going into the temple in the morning seems to be another idea taken from the Tole-doth Jeschu.

³This substitution of gold for the silver of the evangelical narrative seems bold, but it appears to be a necessary consequence of the identification of

this money with the gold brought by the Magi, etc.

⁴This is contained in the Golden Legend.

⁵That Judas took the tenth part out of all contributions to the purse, is mentioned by several writers. The sentences I have given here are found in the Golden Legend.

leper, the disciples being with him; and he told unto them the things which were about to happen to him.¹ And Judas going out at the fourth hour, and at the fifth, found Jesus walking in the street. And as evening was coming on, Judas said to the Jews, "Give me the aid of soldiers with swords and staves, and I will give him up to you." They therefore gave him officers for the purpose of seizing him. And as they were going along, Judas said to them, "Lay hold of the man whom I shall kiss, for he hath stolen the law and the prophets."²

Now they say that on this day they served up to the Lord (n) a roasted cock. And when Judas had gone out to make the bargain about the Saviour, he ordered the roasted cock to rise up and follow the traitor. The cock did so, and reported to the Lord that Judas had sold him. And for this, that cock shall enter paradise.³

¹This sentence is found in the Didascalia, V, 17. See Mat. xxvi.6.

²Cf. Luke xxii.47.

³This is a Coptic legend given by Thevenot, Voyages, II, 75. The cock makes many appearances in legends of the Passion, and the story told in chap. XXV.

is almost identical with this, as are also some of the Arabian Nights stories, which also originated in Egypt. As to the last sentence of the above, Mohammed's seven animals which shall enter paradise will be remembered.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LAST SUPPER, BETRAYAL, AND ARRAIGNMENT.

CHRIST EATS THE PASSOVER—INSTITUTES THE EUCHARIST—HYMN WITH THE DISCIPLES—DISCOURSE IN THE GARDEN—JUDAS BETRAYS CHRIST—HE IS TRIED BEFORE CAIAPHAS—BEFORE ANNAS—IS ACCUSED BEFORE PILATE—WHO ORDERS HIM TO BE ARRAIGNED—THE RUNNER ADORES CHRIST—THE JEWS MURMUR—THE RUNNER'S EXPLANATION—THE STANDARDS ADORE CHRIST—THIS REPEATED—PROCLA'S DREAM AND MESSAGE.

MAIN SOURCES: (20)—Acts of John, II.

(36)—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea, 2, 3.

(37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, I, 2.

(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, I.

(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, I, 2.

(n) Now the disciples said unto Jesus, "Where wishest thou that we should prepare for thee to eat the passover?" And he said to them, "Have I earnestly desired to eat this flesh, the passover, with you?¹ And when they had eaten the passover with him, and when Judas had dipped his hand into the dish, and received the sop, and was gone out by night, the Lord said to them, "The hour is come that ye shall be dispersed, and shall leave me alone."² And every

¹This is given by Epiphanius, Heresies, XXX, 22, and is by him attributed to the Gospel of the Ebionites. Cf. Luke xxii.15.

It indicates the vegetarian point of view of this sect.

²See John xvi.32; Mat.xxvi.31.

one vehemently affirming that they would not forsake him, Peter adding the promise that he would die with him, the Lord said, "Verily, I say unto thee, before the cock croweth, thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me."¹

And he delivered to his disciples the representative mysteries of his precious body and blood, Judas not being present with them. And he said, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show my death and confess my resurrection till I come."² Again he said, "Let no man deceive himself; if any be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God."³ If any one taketh the body of the Lord, and rinseth [the mouth], he shall be accursed."

And lifting up his hands, Jesus said to his disciples, "Behold, the hour is come to drink the cup, which the Father hath given me to drink. I go again to my Father who hath sent me; and I say to you again: I send you; keep my commandments. Teach what I have taught you, that the world may know it. Therefore receive the Holy Ghost; and whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained; ye have heard what

¹See Luke xxii.34. This paragraph, with the exception noted before, is taken from the Apostolic Constitutions, V, 14. I have not reproduced by any means the full account of the Passion given by this document; in most places it is but a paraphrase of the four Gospels. The Didascalia, closely allied to the Constitutions, also covers all this ground, but scarcely contains enough apocryphal matter to be worth reprinting here. The lately discovered Fayum Gospel-fragment also thus gives this passage: "Before I depart, ye all will be offended in this night according to the scripture: I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered abroad.

But Peter said, 'And if all, yet not I.' But the Lord said, 'The cock will crow twice, and thou shalt be the first to betray me thrice.'"

²This sentence is given by Resch as Logion 22; see pp. 105, 178, 284. It is found in the Liturgies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Mark, St. James, do. Syriac. Cf. I Cor. xi.26; Mat. xxvi.29; Mark xiv.25.

³This sentence, found in Ignatius to the Ephesians, V, 2, and in Pseudo-Ignatius to the Ephesians, V, seems to be attributed to Christ. Cf. I Cor. ix.13; I Cor. x.18. The following one is from Horos Kanonikos, in Lagarde's *Reliquae Juris. Eccles.*

I said unto you: I am not of this world, the Comforter is among you; teach through the Comforter. As the Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Verily, I say unto you, I am not of this world; but John shall be your father, till he shall go with me into the paradise." And he anointed them with the Holy Ghost.¹

- (20) Now before he was taken by the lawless Jews, who also were governed by the lawless serpent,² he gathered the disciples all together, and said, "Before I am delivered up to them, let us sing an hymn³ to the Father, and so go forth to what lieth before us." So he commanded them to make as it were a ring, holding one another's hands; and himself standing in the middle, he said, "Respond amen to me." He began, then, to sing an hymn, and to say:

- (20) Glory to Thee, Father.

And the disciples, going about in a ring, said, "Amen."

Glory to Thee, Word; glory to Thee, Grace. Amen.

Glory to Thee, Holy Ghost; glory to Thy glory. Amen.

We praise Thee, O Father; we give thanks to Thee,⁴ O Light wherein dwelleth not darkness. Amen.

Now whereas we give thanks, I say:

I would be saved and I would save. Amen.

I would be loosed and I would loose. Amen.

I would be pierced and I would pierce. Amen.

I would be born and I would bear. Amen.

I would eat and I would be eaten. Amen.

¹Gospel of St. John preserved by the Templars, John xvii.26 seq. See Thilo, p. 880 seq.

²This clause is found only in some of the Mss. Probably it was eliminated in order to purge heretical elements. Some understand the lawless serpent here to refer to the God of the Old Testament.

³Evidently this is a Gnostic attempt to supply the hymn mentioned in Mat. xxvi.30. It is attributed to the Priscillianists,

but Augustine says that it was found in apocryphal writings which were not peculiar to them. It was used by other heretics as we find it here. Its great antiquity is evident.

⁴May not the hymn up to this point have given some suggestions towards the composition of the Te Deum? Augustine, whose name is generally connected with the composition of the latter, certainly knew the former.

I would hear and I would be heard. Amen.

I would be understood, being wholly understanding.
Amen.

I would wash myself, and I would wash others. Amen.
Grace is dancing, I would pipe; dance, all of you.¹ Amen.

I would mourn; lament, all of you. Amen.

One Ogdoad is singing praise with us. Amen.

The Twelfth number is dancing above. Amen.²

Also the Whole,³ that can dance. Amen.

He that danceth not, knoweth not what is being done.
Amen.

I would flee and I would stay. Amen.

I would deck and I would be decked. Amen.

I would be united and I would unite. Amen.

I have no house and I have houses.⁴ Amen.

I have no place and I have places. Amen.

I have no temple and I have temples. Amen.

I am a lamp to thee who beholdest me.⁵ Amen.

I am a mirror to thee who perceivest me.⁶ Amen.

I am a door to thee who knockest at me.⁷ Amen.

I am a way to thee,⁸ a wayfarer.

Now respond to my dancing.

See thyself in me who speak; and when thou hast seen
what I do, keep silence about my mysteries.⁹

Thou that dancest, perceive what I do; for thine is this
passion of the manhood which I am to suffer.

For thou couldest not at all have apprehended what thou

¹Cf. Mat. xi.17; Luke vii.32.

²This line and the one above plainly reveal the Gnostic origin of the hymn. It is probable that an intermediate line speaking of a Decad has fallen out. Nearly all the principal Gnostic systems, *e. g.* that of Valentinus, speak of the Ogdoad, Decad, and Dodecad, making up the number of thirty aeons. Thirty is the mystical number of completeness

with the Gnostics, and no system founded on twenty, which the above as it stands would give, is known.

³I presume that this refers to the Gnostic Pleroma.

⁴Cf. Mat. viii.20; John xiv.2.

⁵Cf. Ps. cxix.105.

⁶Cf. Logion 36 b, Resch, n. 10.

⁷Cf. John x.7.

⁸Cf. John xiv.4.

⁹Cf. Mat. xiii.11.

sufferest, if I had not been sent unto thee as the Word by the Father.

Thou that hast seen what I suffer, thou hast seen me as suffering; and seeing that, thou hast not stood firm, but wast moved wholly, yea, moved to make wise.

Thou hast me for a bed, rest upon me.

Who am I? Thou shalt know when I go away.¹

What I am now seen to be, that am I not; but what I am, thou shalt see when thou comest.

If thou hadst known how to suffer, thou wouldst have had the power not so suffer.²

That which thou knowest not, I myself will teach thee.

Thy God am I, not the God of the betrayer.

I would keep time with holy souls.

In me know thou the word of wisdom.

Say thou again with me, "Glory to Thee, Father; glory to Thee, Word; glory to Thee, Holy Ghost."

Now concerning me, if thou wouldst know what I was.

With a word did I once deceive all things, and was not put to shame in any wise.

I have leaped; but do thou understand the whole, and having understood it, say,

"Glory to Thee, Father. Amen."³

- (n) And the Lord went out to the Mount of Olives, near the brook Cedron, where there was a garden; and the disciples were with him. And he said to them:⁴
- (n) The tree will be known by its fruit, so that men will praise it on account of its fruit; for it is more excellent than many fruits of the garden.⁵

¹Cf. John xiv.3, 26, etc.

²Precisely the teaching of modern Christian Science. An old foe with a new face.

³I conclude here my excerpt from (20). It goes on to tell how the apostles, after this dance, like men awaked out of sleep, fled every way.

⁴Apostolic Constitutions, V, 14.

⁵This, and all the matter below given before the next reference to the Apostolic Constitutions, is found in a Coptic fragment, Ein Neues Evangelienfragment von Adolf Jacoby, Strassburg, 1900. For scriptural parallels to this paragraph, see Mat. vii.16; Luke vi.43, 44; John xv.1, 2 seq. It is not absolutely certain that this

Amen. Give me then Thy power, my Father, wherewith I may lead them that love Thy words.¹

Amen. I have taken unto me the crown of lordship, namely, the crown of those who live, since they are despised in their humility, whilst yet no one hath become like unto them. I have become king through Thee, my Father. Thou makest the enemy to be subject unto me.

Amen. Through whom shall the enemy be dashed in pieces? Through the Anointed One.

Amen. Through whom shall the talons of death² be destroyed? Through the Only-begotten.

Amen. To whom belongeth the lordship? It belongeth to the Son.

Amen. Through whom have all things been? Through the First-born.

And when the Lord had completed the whole story of his (n) life, he turned to the apostles, and said, "The hour is come when I must be taken away from you. The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak. Tarry, then, and watch with me." But the apostles wept, whilst they said to him, "Blame us not, O Son of God; what is then our end?" Jesus answered, and said unto them, "Fear ye not lest I should be destroyed, but yet the more take courage. Fear ye not before the presence of the power of death. Remember all that I have said unto you. Know that they have persecuted me, as they have persecuted you. Rejoice ye, then, that I have overcome the world."³

And being separated not far from the disciples, the Lord (36)

fragment properly belongs here in the narrative, but it is most probable that it does.

¹The hymn in these six clauses, each beginning with an amen, offers points of correspondence with the foregoing Gnostic composition, and is probably related to it.

²This expression has before been noted, which see.

³This whole paragraph, from the same source as the foregoing, is a remarkable commingling of St. John and the synoptics, with the addition of some new matter. Cf. Luke xxii.45; John xvi.33, etc. The following paragraph, with exceptions noted, is from the Apostolic Constitutions, V, 14.

prayed to his Father, saying, "Father, remove this cup away from me, yet not my will, but Thine be done."¹ And when he had done this thrice, while the disciples out of despondency of mind were fallen asleep, he came, and said, "The hour is come, and the son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners." And behold, Judas, and with him a multitude of ungodly men,² to whom he showeth the signal by which he was to betray him—a deceitful kiss. Going up to Jesus, therefore, he kissed him, saying, "Hail, Rabbi!"³ And having laid hold of the Lord, and bound him, they led him to the house of Caiaphas the high priest, wherein were assembled many, not the people, but a great rout, not an holy council, but an assembly of the wicked and council of the ungodly. And when they gave him up to Caiaphas and the chief priests, Judas said, "This is he who stole the law and the prophets." And the Jews gave Jesus an unjust trial, saying, "Why hast thou done these things?" And he answered nothing. And they did many things against him, and left no kind of injury untried, spitting upon him, cavilling at him, beating him, smiting him on the face, reviling him, tempting him, seeking vain divination instead of true prophecies from him; calling him a deceiver, a blasphemer, a transgressor of Moses, a destroyer of the temple, a taker away of sacrifices, an enemy to the Romans, and adversary to Caesar. And these reproaches did these bulls and dogs⁴ in their madness cast upon him, till it was very early in the morning; and then they led him away to Annas, who was father-in-law to Caiaphas; and they did the like things to him there, it being the day of the preparation. But Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, seeing the seat of the plagues,⁵ stood off from them, not wishing to perish along with the counsel of the ungodly.⁶

(36) Having therefore done many and dreadful things against

(37)

(38)

(39) ¹Luke xxii.42; Mat. xxvi.39,

42.

²Luke xxii.47; Mat. xxvi.47.

³I have interpolated this sentence from (36).

⁴Cf. Ps. xxii.12, 16.

⁵Reading of the Septuagint, Ps. i.1.

⁶This sentence is also from (36).

Jesus that night, the Jews wished to give him up to Pilate the procurator, at the dawn of the preparation, that he might crucify him. And for this purpose they all came together, and accused Jesus before Pilate,¹ saying, "A man walketh about in this city whose father is called Joseph the carpenter, and his mother Mary; and he calleth himself king and Son of God; and being a Jew, he overturneth the scriptures, and doeth away with the Sabbath, and wisheth to do away with the law of our fathers."²

Pilate, then, asked, in order to learn from them in what manner he did away with the Sabbath, "What is it that he doeth, and wisheth to destroy the law?" And the Jews answered, saying, "He cureth the sick on the Sabbath. We have a law not to heal any one on the Sabbath, but he, by evil arts, healeth on the Sabbath the lame and the hunch-backed, the blind, the palsied, the lepers, the demoniacs, the withered, and the dumb." Pilate saith to them, "If he maketh the sick whole, he doeth no evil. By what evil arts?" They say to him, "He is a magician. If he effected the cures properly, small would be the evil; but by using magic he doeth these things, and by having the demons on his side. By Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casteth out demons, and they are all subject to him." Pilate saith, "To cure a person that is ill is not a diabolic work, but a grace from God. It is not in an unclean spirit to cast out demons, but in the god Aesculapius."³

And the Jews said, "We beseech your highness to summon him before your tribunal, in order that thou mayest

¹From (36). From here on to the end of the chapter, the narrative is that of (37), (38), and (39).

²Lactantius says, IV, 17, that the Jews brought charges against Jesus, that He did away with the law of God given by Moses; that is, that He did not rest on the Sabbath, etc. As gathered from the various apocryphal

sources, these charges brought against Christ are necessarily found sometimes to be in conflict. It will be noticed that the main charge brought against Him in (36), that of stealing the law, appears no more in the course of the trial.

³(39) here reads, "the god of Scolapius." The Coptic reads, "in the name of the Lord."

make accurate inquiry into what we say.”¹ And Pilate, having called them, saith, “Tell me how I, being a procurator, can try a king?” They say to him, “We do not say that he is a king, but he himself saith that he is.” And Pilate, calling one of his officers, Rahab,² threw off his cloak,³ and gave it to him, saying, “Go away, and show this to Jesus, and say to him, ‘Pilate the governor calleth thee to come before him.’ And let Jesus be brought in with respect.” And the runner going out, and recognizing him, adored him, and took the cloak,⁴ and spread it on the ground; and urged him to walk upon it, and summoned him, saying, “My lord, walk upon this, and come in, because the governor calleth thee.” And the Jews, seeing what the runner had done, were greatly enraged, and came to Pilate murmuring against him that he had deemed Jesus worthy of so great honour. And they cried out, saying, “Why hast thou ordered him to come in by a runner,⁵ and not by a crier? for the runner too, seeing him, hath adored him; and hath spread out before him on the ground the cloak which he held in his hand, and made him walk like a king; and hath said to him, ‘My lord, the governor calleth thee.’”

(37) And Pilate, having called the runner, saith to him, “Why
(38) hast thou done this, and spread out the cloak upon the earth,
(39) and made Jesus walk upon it?” The runner saith to him, “My lord procurator, when thou didst send me to Jerusalem to the Jew Alexander,⁶ I came upon Jesus entering the gate

¹Another reading of (37) here is, “we entreat your highness to go into the praetorium and question him.”

²The name is given only in certain Mss. of (38). The name is found again in chaps. XXXVI, XXXVIII, applied to a runner sent from Rome by Tiberius.

³Cowper renders this word, “scarf,” and says it means a loose wrapper. Only (38) states that Pilate gave his own cloak

to the *cursor*, or runner.

⁴(39) says that this was the runner’s own cloak; (37) does not mention the circumstance of the cloak at all.

⁵Hofmann refers to Chrysostom, Suetonius, Martial, and others, as showing the high honour implied in a summons by the *cursor*, or runner.

⁶Possibly it is here intended to indicate the Alexander mentioned in Acts iv.6.

of the city, sitting upon an ass; and the sons of the Hebrews held branches in their hands, others cut branches from the trees, strewing them in the way; others spread their garments in the way under him, saying, 'Hosanna, thou who art in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.'¹ And the ass walked upon the garments, and they went forth to meet him, and cried. Thus, therefore, it was necessary for me also to do."²

The Jews, hearing these words, cried out and said to the runner, "The children of the Hebrews, indeed, cried out in Hebrew. How canst thou, a Gentile, know what was said by the Hebrews?" The runner saith to them, "I asked one of the Jews, and said, 'What is it they are shouting in Hebrew?' and he interpreted it for me." Pilate saith to them, "And what did they shout in Hebrew?" The Jews say to him, "HOSANNA MEMBROME BARUCHAMMA ADONÄI."³ Pilate saith to them, "And this hosanna, etc., how is it interpreted?" The Jews say to him, "Save now in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Pilate saith to them, "If ye bear witness to the words spoken by your children, in what hath the runner done wrong? How now do ye bring charges, and say against Jesus what ye say?" And they were silent, having nothing to answer. And the procurator saith to the runner, "Go out, and bring him in what way thou wilt." And the runner going out, did in the same manner as before, and saith to Jesus, "My lord, come in, the procurator calleth thee."

Now as Jesus was coming to Pilate, the soldiers of Pilate adored him.⁴ And others also were standing before Pilate holding standards. And the tops of the standards were bent

¹Mat. xxi.8, 9. Folf-lore says that the cross was impressed forever upon the back of the ass on this occasion.

²Observe how here, as throughout the account of the trial in the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Jews themselves are represented as involuntary witnesses to the

divinity of Christ, and convict themselves in every charge which they bring against Him.

³Ps. cxviii.26. "*Hosyah bimromim baruch habba (b'shem) Adonai.*"

⁴Only (38) mentions the adoration by the soldiers.

down, and adored Jesus as he was coming in.¹ As Pilate, therefore, was wondering at what had happened, the Jews seeing the standards, how they bowed themselves and adored Jesus, cried out² the more vehemently against the standard-bearers. And Pilate saith to the Jews, "Do ye not wonder how the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus?" The Jews say to Pilate, "We see how the standard-bearers bent them down, and adored him; it was not the standards that adored Jesus, but the soldiers who were holding them carelessly." And the governor, calling the standard-bearers, saith to them, "Why have ye done so?" They say to Pilate, "We are Greeks and temple-slaves,³ and how could we adore him? and assuredly, as we were holding them up, the tops bent down of their own accord, and adored him."

(37) Pilate saith to the chiefs of the synagogue and the elders
(38) of the people, "Choose ye twelve men, strong and powerful,
(39) and let them hold up the standards firmly; and let us see whether they will bend down with them of themselves." And the elders of the Jews, taking twelve men very powerful and strong, made them hold the standards, six and six; and they stood before the governor's tribunal. And Pilate saith to the runner, "Take Jesus outside of the praetorium, and bring him in again in whatever way thou wilt!" And Jesus and the runner went out of the praetorium. And Pilate, calling those who had formerly held the standards, said to them, "I have sworn by the health of Caesar, and if⁴ the standards do not bow themselves when Jesus cometh in, I will cut off

¹This miracle is, I think, suggested by the earlier ones of the trees which bowed down to Him; and of the idols which fell and were broken before Him. A Christ in His Infancy and adored similar story of how the standards bowed before Mary is to be found in the Arabic version of the Prayer of the Virgin at Bartos.

²Some Mss. of (37) say, "Anas, Caiaphas, and Joseph, the three false witnesses, began to cry out."

³This is the literal translation, but the meaning certainly is, "worshippers of the gods."

⁴Some Mss. of (39) add, "if ye make the standards to incline."

your heads." And the procurator ordered Jesus to come in the second time. And the runner did in the same manner as before, and made many entreaties to Jesus that he would go up to walk on the cloak. And he walked on it, and went in. And as he went in, the standards were again bent down, and adored Jesus.

And Pilate, seeing this, wondered greatly and was afraid; (37) and immediately he sought to go away from the tribunal; (38) but the Jews said, "He is a magician, and through that he doeth these things." And when he was still thinking of going away, his wife Procla¹ sent to him, saying, "Have nothing to do with this just man; for many things have I suffered on his account this night."² And Pilate, calling the Jews, said to them, "Ye know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and preferreth to adhere to the Jewish religion along with you."³ The Jews say to him, "So it is, and we know." Pilate saith to them, "Lo, my wife hath sent to me, saying, 'Have nothing to do with this just man; for I have suffered many things on account of him this night.'" And the Jews, answering, said to Pilate, "Did we not say to thee, that he is a magician?⁴ Lo, he hath sent a vision of dreams to thy wife."⁵

¹The name is given only in some Mss. of (37); it is given Procle in (38). It is mentioned also by Nicephorus and John Malela. By Pseudo-Dexter she is called Claudia Procula, and this author tells how she afterwards became a Christian. She has been honoured as a saint by the Eastern church and by the Ethiopian church, where she is called Abrocla. Fabricius describes (III, 398), a book which appeared in the eighteenth century and pretended to give the history of her life. See notes in

chap. XXXVIII.

²Mat. xxvii.19.

³This story that Pilate's wife was a proselyte is certainly not a probable one.

⁴Some Mss. of (37) here add: "And by Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casteth out the demons, and they are all subject to him."

⁵The possibility of such dreams being sent by the power of evil was held in the classical religion, and widely recognized by early Christian writers, of which many instances might be given.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.

CHARGES MADE BY THE JEWS—TWELVE MEN DENY THAT CHRIST WAS BORN OF FORNICATION—PILATE PRONOUNCES CHRIST INNOCENT—CONFERS WITH HIM—NEW ACCUSATIONS—NICODEMUS SPEAKS IN FAVOUR OF CHRIST—OTHERS WITNESS FOR HIM—VERONICA—MANY OTHERS—JEWS PREFER BARABBAS TO CHRIST—PILATE'S ADDRESS TO CHRIST—PILATE'S ADDRESS TO THE JEWS—IS AFRAID—SENDS CHRIST TO HEROD—WHO QUESTIONS HIM AND SENDS HIM BACK AGAIN.

MAIN SOURCES: (37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 2-9.

(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 2-9.

(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 2-9.

(37) And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, saith to him, "Hear-
(38) est thou what these testify against thee? Sayest thou nothing
(39) to them?"¹ And Jesus said, "Unless they had the power they would say nothing; for every one hath the power over his own mouth to speak both good and evil as he wisheth.² Let them see to it."³ And the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus, "What shall we see. First, that thou

¹See Mat. xxvii.13, 14. This present chapter, as drawn from the Gospel of Nicodemus, is made up almost entirely of extracts from the four Gospels. I have by no means thought it necessary to give references to

all these correspondences, which would unduly burden the notes. John's Gospel is most extensively used.

²Cf. John xix.11.

³Cf. Mat. xxvii.24.

wast born of fornication;¹ secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the murder of the infants;² thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence in the people."

Some of the bystanders, God-fearing men of the Jews, (37) say, "We deny that he was born of fornication; for we know (38) that Joseph espoused Mary, and he was not born of fornication." Pilate saith to the Jews who said that he was born of fornication, "This story of yours is not true, because they were betrothed, as also these fellow countrymen of yours say." Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate, "We, with all the multitude, cry out that he was born of fornication, and that he is a magician, and are not believed; these are proselytes and his disciples." And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, saith to them, "What are proselytes?"³ They say to him, "They are by birth children of the Gentiles, and have now

¹This charge, now first brought forward and given the principal place amongst the accusations against Christ, was certainly not heard of in the first century. In the second century, it was used by Celsus, see Origen against Celsus, I, 28, notes on chap. IV. From this period until modern times it has been one of the chief charges brought against Christ by the Jews. Its refutation was probably one of the chief motives that led to the composition of the First Part of the Gospel of Nicodemus. The story commonly told is, that Mary was the wife or betrothed of a man named Jochanan; she lived with her mother, a widow, at Bethlehem. Joseph Pandera, a soldier, had carnal intercourse with her thrice on a Sabbath evening, whilst she was sitting before the door of her house. She was at the time unclean,

and thought that Joseph was her husband Jochanan. These stories are referred to in the Talmud, and given in fullest detail in Toledoth Jeschu, as well as many other Jewish books. I will only refer to Eisenmenger, I, 133, 249, 261. The name Panther is given in early Christian genealogies of Christ. May it not also have some connection with the Greek Pandarus and his legend?

²Some Mss. of (38) here say 14,000, others, 44,000 infants.

³Pilate has shortly before described his wife as a proselyte, although not using the word. But this inconsistency is in line with that which throughout the work represents him as at one instant ignorant of the most elementary facts concerning the Jews, and the next, indulging in long disquisitions upon their history.

become Jews." And those that knew of his daily life and said that he was not born of fornication, and was no magician, were: Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Amnes, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippa, and Judas.¹ And they said, "We were not born proselytes, but are sons of the Jews, and we speak the truth; for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and Mary."

(37) And Pilate, calling these twelve men, saith to them, "I
(38) adjure you by the health of Caesar, to tell me whether it be
(39) true that ye say, that he was not born of fornication." They say to Pilate, "We have a law against taking oaths, because it is a sin; but let them swear by the health of Caesar that it is not as we say, and we are worthy of death." Pilate saith to Annas and Caiaphas, "Have ye nothing to answer to this which these testify?" Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate, "These twelve are believed when they say that he was not born of fornication; and all of us cry out and know for certain that he was born of fornication, and that he is a magician, and a blasphemer, and that he saith that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed."

(37) And Pilate ordereth all the multitude to go out, except the
(38) said twelve men alone; and he ordereth Jesus to be separated
(39) from them. And Pilate saith to them privately, "For what reason do they wish to put him to death?" They say to him, "They are angry because he healeth on the Sabbath." Pilate saith, "For a good work do they wish to put him to death?" They say to him, "Yes, my lord."

(37) And Pilate went outside the praetorium, being filled with
(38) fury and anger, and said to Annas, Caiaphas, and the crowd
(39) who brought Jesus, "I take the sun to witness² that I find no fault in this man." The Jews answered, and said to the procurator, "If he were not a magician and blasphemer, we would not have delivered him to your highness." And Pilate

¹There are great variations in the form of these names amongst the different versions.

²See Apostolic Constitutions, II, 56: "At last he who is going

to pronounce sentence of death upon the culprit raises his hands aloft, and takes the sun to witness that he is innocent of his blood."

said, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law."¹ The Jews said to Pilate, "It is not lawful for us to put any one to death." Pilate said, "Hath God said that ye are not to put to death, but that I am?"² If ye are unwilling to put him to death, how much more am I."

And Pilate went again into the praetorium, and spake to (37) Jesus privately, and said to him, "Tell me, art thou the king (38) of the Jews?"³ Jesus answered Pilate, "Dost thou say this (39) of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me?" Pilate answered Jesus, "Am I also a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have given thee up to me. What hast thou done?" Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight in order that I should not be given up to the Jews; but now my kingdom is not from thence." Pilate said to him, "Art thou, then, a king?"⁴ Jesus answered him, "Thou sayest that I am a king. Because for this I have been born, and for this I have come, that I should bear witness to the truth; and every one who is of the truth heareth my voice." Pilate saith to him, "What is truth?" Jesus saith to him, "Truth is from heaven." Pilate saith, "Is truth not upon earth?" Jesus said to Pilate, "Thou seest how those who speak the truth are judged by those that have the power upon earth."⁵

And leaving Jesus within the praetorium, Pilate went out (37) to the Jews, and said to them, "I find no fault in him." The (38) Jews answered, "Let us tell your highness what he said. He (39) said, 'I can destroy this temple, and in three days build it.'⁶ Pilate saith, "What temple?" The Jews say, "The one that Solomon built in forty-six years;⁷ and this man speaketh of pulling it down and building it in three days." Pilate

¹See John xviii.31.

²Pilate here evidently refers to the sixth commandment.

³John xviii.33 seq.

⁴John xviii.37.

⁵Cf. with John xviii.37, do. xiv.6 and xv.26. The apocryphal writer has here expanded the

canonical account by the aid of the suggestions offered by these passages.

⁶See Mat. xxvi.61; Mark xiv.50.

⁷See John ii.20. The apocryphal writer has ventured to embellish the canonical narra-

saith privately to the chief priests, and the scribes, and Pharisees, "I entreat you, do nothing evil against this man. For if ye do evil against him, ye will do unjustly. It is not just that such a man should die, who hath done great good to many men. For though ye accuse him, I do not find him worthy of death, not even about the healing and the breaking of the Sabbath." The priests and elders say, "Tell us, if any one blaspheme Caesar, is he deserving of death, or not?" Pilate saith to them, "He deserveth to die." They say to Pilate, "If, my lord, he who dishonoureth Caesar is worthy of death, how much more this man who dishonoureth God?"¹

(37) And the procurator ordered the Jews to go outside of the
 (38) praetorium; and summoning Jesus, he saith to him, "What
 (39) shall I do to thee?" Jesus saith to Pilate, "As it hath been given to thee."² Pilate saith, "How given?" Jesus saith, "Moses and the prophets have proclaimed beforehand of my death and resurrection."³ And the Jews, noticing this, and hearing it, say to Pilate, "What more wilt thou hear of this blasphemy?" Pilate saith to the Jews, "These words are not an insult against God, since they are written in the books of the prophets. But if these words be blasphemous, do ye take him for the blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law." The Jews say to Pilate, "Our law beareth that a man who wrongeth his fellow-men is worthy to receive forty strokes with a rod, save one; but he that blasphemeth God is to be stoned with stones."⁴ Pilate saith to them, "Do ye take him, and punish him in whatever way ye please."⁵ The Jews say to Pilate, "We wish that he be crucified." Pilate saith, "He is not deserving of crucifixion."

(37) And the procurator, looking round upon the crowd of the
 (38) Jews standing by, seeth many of the Jews weeping, and
 (39)

tive here, and so perpetrated a glaring anachronism regarding Solomon's temple.

¹Cf. Mark xiv.64.

²Cf. John xix.11.

³Cf. Luke xxiv.27.

⁴See Deut. xxv.3; Lev. xxiv.10-16; II Cor. xi.24.

⁵John xviii.31.

saith, "To me it seemeth that it is not the wish of all the people that this man should die." The elders of the Jews say, "For this reason have all the multitude of us come together, that he should die." Pilate saith, "Why should he die?" The Jews say, "Because he calleth himself Son of God¹ and king."

But a God-fearing Jew, one Nicodemus,² stood before the procurator, and said, "I beseech your highness to let me say a few words." "Say on," saith Pilate. Nicodemus saith, "I being present in the synagogue, said to the priests, and the elders, and the Levites, and to all the multitude, 'What have ye to say against this man? This man doeth many miracles, such as man hath never yet done, nor will do. Let him go, therefore, and do not devise any evil against him. If the miracles which he doeth are of God, they will stand; but if of man they will come to nothing.'³ For assuredly, Moses being sent by God into Egypt, did many miracles which the Lord commanded him to do before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And there were there Jannes and Jambres,⁴ ser-

¹John xix.7.

²For scriptural reference to Nicodemus, see John iii.1; vii.50; xix.39. A tradition given by Photius and Lucianus Presbyterus says that he was a cousin of Gamaliel, and was baptized by Peter and John along with the latter and his son, Abiba. As Nicodemus was on account of his apostasy deprived of his office by the Jews, he was taken by Gamaliel into his own house, where he afterwards died, and was buried near Stephen. According to another tradition, Nicodemus was the son of Gamaliel, and afterwards died a martyr. Notice, that the speech of Nicodemus here given bears great resemblance to that which Gamaliel made, Acts v.34 seq.

Other legends regarding Nicodemus will be found in following chapters.

³See Acts v.38.

⁴See II Tim. iii.8, 9. These names are found in the Palestine Targum at Ex. vii.11. In the Apostolic History of Abdias, the names are given Jannes and Mambres, and the variant is found in some of the later Targums. There are many traditions about them, as that they were the sons of the prophet Balaam. Their graves are shown in Egypt. Arabic traditions about them are given in the *Asiatic Journal*, 1843, No. VII. See also Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, II, 68 seq.; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, I, 813 seq.; where refer-

vants of Pharaoh; and they also did by magic art not a few of the miracles which Moses did,¹ but not all; and the Egyptians took them to be gods—this Jannes and this Jambres. But since the miracles which they did were not of God, what they did perished; and both they and those who believed in them were destroyed. This Jesus, then, raised up Lazarus, and he is alive. On this account I entreat thee, my lord, by no means to allow this man to be put to death; for he is not deserving of it.”

(37) The Jews said to Nicodemus, “Thou hast become his dis-
 (38) ciple, and therefore thou defendest him.”² Nicodemus saith
 (39) to them, “Hath the governor also become his disciple, and doth he take his part? Hath the Emperor not appointed him to his place of dignity?” And the Jews were vehemently enraged, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate saith to them, “Why do ye gnash your teeth against him when ye hear the truth?” The Jews say to Nicodemus, “Mayest thou receive his truth and have a portion with him.” Nicodemus saith, “Amen, amen; may I receive it as ye have said.”

(37) And when Nicodemus had thus spoken, another Jew rose
 (38) up, and said to Pilate, “I beg of thee, my lord Pilate, hear me
 (39) also.” Pilate answered, “Say what thou wishest.” And the Jew said, “Thirty-eight years I lay in my bed in great agony. And when Jesus came, many demoniacs, and many lying ill of various diseases were cured by him. And some young men taking pity on me, carried me, bed and all, and took me to him. And when Jesus saw me, he had compassion on me, and said to me, ‘Take up thy couch and walk.’ And immediately I was made whole, and took up my couch and walked.” The Jews say to Pilate, “Ask him on what day it was that he was cured.” He that had been cured said, “On a Sabbath.” The Jews say, “Is not this the very thing that we said, that on a Sabbath he cureth and casteth out demons.”³

ence may be found to many authors who treat of these characters.

¹See Ex. vii.10-14.

²Cf. John vii.52.

³See John v.2.10. Some Mss.

And another Jew, standing in the midst, said, "I was born (37) blind; and as Jesus was going along the road, I cried to (38) him, saying, 'Have mercy upon me, Lord, thou son of (39) David.' And he pitied me, and took clay and anointed mine eyes; and straightway I received my sight."¹ And another Jew, starting up, said, "I was hunch-backed, and seeing him, I cried, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord.' And he took me by the hand, and I was immediately straightened."² And another said, "I was a leper, and he cured me with a word."³

And also a certain woman, Veronica by name, from afar (37) off cried out to the governor, "I was flowing with blood for (38) twelve years; and I touched the fringe of his garment, and (39) immediately the flowing of my blood stopped." The Jews say, "We have a law that a woman's evidence is not to be received."⁴

And a Jew spake among others, "I saw that Jesus with (39) his disciples was bidden to a wedding at Cana of Galilee; and the wine failed. And when the wine failed, he commanded the servants that they should fill the six water-pots which stood there, with water; and they filled them to the brim. And he blessed them, and turned the water into wine; and all the people drank, and wondered at the sign."⁵

of (39) give here the entire contents of the foregoing passage, including the account of how the angel periodically troubled the waters of the pool, and imparted to it healing virtue, a narrative which probably did not belong to the original text of John. See, in next chapter, another explanation of the virtue of this pool. The original text of the Gospel of Nicodemus evidently did not contain this incident, or the long list of others verbally extracted from the Gospels, which follows.

¹Cf. Mat. xx.29 seq.; Mark x.46-52; Luke xviii.35. Cf. also John ix.1.

²Cf. Luke xiii.11; Mat. ix.2.

³Cf. Mat. viii.2; Luke xvii.12 seq.; Mark i.40-45.

⁴Cf. Mat. ix.20 seq.; Mark v.25 seq.; Luke viii.43 seq. The name Veronica is generally mentioned only by the Latin versions. For discussion of it, see chap. XVI. Other Veronica legends will follow. For the statement that a woman's evidence was not received by the Jews, see Josephus, Antiquities, IV, 8, 15; Otho's Lex. Rob. s. v. "Testimonium."

⁵This, with the four following paragraphs, is found only in certain Mss. of the Latin version.

- (39) And another Jew arose, and said, "I saw Jesus when he taught in Capernaum in the synagogue. And in the synagogue was a man who was possessed by a demon, and cried out, saying, 'Let me be. What have we to do with thee, O Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know that thou art the holy one of God.' And Jesus rebuked him, and said, 'Be silent, unclean spirit, and come out of this man.' And immediately he came out of him, and did not injure him."¹
- (39) And a Pharisee said this, "I saw how a great multitude came to Jesus out of Galilee and Judaea, and from the sea, and from many places on the Jordan; and many sick came to him, and he healed them all. And I heard the unclean spirits call, and cry, 'Thou art the Son of God.' And he rebuked them severely, that they should not make him manifest."²
- (39) And thereupon said another named Centurio, "I saw Jesus at Capernaum, and besought him, and said, 'Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy.' And Jesus said to me, 'Go, and be it unto thee as thou hast believed.' And at the same hour was the servant healed."³
- (39) And after that a nobleman said, "I had a son in Capernaum who was dying; and when I heard that Jesus came to Galilee, I went to him and besought him that he would come down to my house and heal my son; for he was about to die. And he said to me, 'Go, thy son liveth.' And he was healed at the same hour."⁴

(37) And others, a multitude both of men and women, cried out,

(38)

(39) They are all undoubtedly very late interpolations, and introduced with little variation from the canonical texts. For this miracle, see John ii.1 seq.

¹See Mark i.23 seq.; Luke iv.33 seq.

²See Mark iii.6-8; Mat. xii.14-16.

³See Mat. viii.5 seq. The compiler here treats the centurion's official title as a proper name. According to legend, his name

was C. Oppius, and he was a Spaniard, the son of Caius Cornelius, who was also a centurion. He was the first of all the Gentiles, after the death of Christ, baptized; by the Apostle Barnabas; and afterwards became the third bishop of Milan. According to Gregory of Nyssa, he became bishop of Cappadocia. For this, and much more, see Fabricius, III, 471.

⁴See John iv.47 seq.

saying, "This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him." Pilate said to them who said that the demons were subject to him, "Why, then, were not your teachers also subject to him? and how were the demons thus not at all afraid of your parents also?" They say to Pilate, "We do not know." And others said to Pilate, "He raised up dead Lazarus from the tomb, after four days, by a single word."¹ And the procurator, hearing of the raising of Lazarus, was afraid, and said to the people, "Why do ye wish to shed the innocent blood of a just man?"

And having summoned Nicodemus and the twelve God-fearing Jews, Pilate said to them, "What do ye say that I should do? because there is insurrection among the people." They say to him, "We do not know; do as thou wilt; but what the people do, they do unjustly, in order to kill him. Let them see to it."

Pilate again going outside, and summoning all the multitude of the people, said to them, "Ye know that it is customary at the feast of unleavened bread, to release one prisoner to you of the criminals kept in custody."² I have one condemned prisoner in the prison, a murderer named Barabbas,³ and this man standing in your presence, Jesus, in whom I find no fault. Which of them do ye wish me to release to you?" And they cry out, "Barabbas." Pilate saith, "What, then, shall we do to Jesus who is called Christ?" The Jews say, "Let him be crucified."⁴ Again, others of them cried out, "If thou release Jesus, thou art no friend of Caesar; because he calleth himself Son of God and king.

¹See John xi.1-16.

²See Mat. xxvii.15; Luke xxiii.17; John xviii.39. Hofmann gives, p. 360, many references to discussion of the question whether or not such a custom existed.

³Farrar says that there is some reason for thinking that the name of Barabbas was also "Jesus," although it may have

disappeared from the chief manuscripts, partly from feelings of reverence, partly from the mistaken fancy of Origen that we find no sinner among all those who had borne the name. It is now found in some cursive Mss., and in the Armenian and Syriac versions of the N. T.

⁴See Mat. xxvii.15-18, 21-23.

And if thou dost free him, he becometh a king, and will take Caesar's kingdom. Thou wishest, then, perhaps, this man to be a king, and not Caesar."¹

(37) Pilate, therefore, was enraged, and said, "Always hath
(38) your nation been devilish, unbelieving, and rebellious; and
(39) always have ye been adversaries to your benefactors, and spoken against them." The Jews say, "And who were our benefactors?" He saith to them, "Your God freed you out of the hand of Pharaoh, from bitter slavery in Egypt, and brought you safe through the sea as upon dry land. In the desert He fed you with manna, and gave you quails, and gave you water to drink out of the dry rock, and gave you a law, which denying God, ye broke. Ye provoked Him to anger, and sought a molten calf; ye exasperated your God, and He sought to slay you; and if Moses had not stood and entreated Him, ye would have perished by a bitter death. All these things, then, ye have forgotten. Thus, also, even now, ye say that I do not at all love Caesar, but hate him, and wish to plot against his kingdom."²

(37) And having thus spoken, Pilate rose up from the throne
(38) with anger, wishing to flee from them. The Jews, therefore,
(39) cried out, saying, "We wish Caesar to be king over us, not Jesus, because Jesus received gifts from the Magi.³ And Herod also heard this—that there was going to be a king—and wished to put him to death, and for this purpose sent and put to death all the infants that were in Bethlehem.⁴ And on this account also, his father Joseph and his mother fled from fear of him into Egypt."

(37) So then, Pilate, hearing this, was afraid, and ordered the
(38) crowd to keep silence, because they were crying out; and he
(39) said to them, "So this, then, is the Jesus whom Herod⁵

¹See Mat. xxvii.15-18, 21-23

²This address by Pilate is evidently modelled on that of Stephen in Acts vii.

³The word used concerning the gifts of the Magi, in Mat. ii.11, is *δῶρα*. But the word used above for gifts is *χάρισμα*,

which the N. T. applies only to divine gifts, especially those imparted by the Holy Spirit.

⁴Some Mss. of (37) add, "from two years old and under."

⁵The compiler confuses Herod the Great and Herod Antipas.

sought, that he might put him to death?" They say to him, "Yes, it is he." Pilate, therefore, having ascertained that he was of the jurisdiction of Herod, as being derived of the race of the Jews,¹ sent Jesus to him.

And Herod, seeing him, rejoiced greatly, because he had (38) been long desiring to see him, hearing of the miracles which he did. He put on him, therefore, white garments. Then he began to question him. But Jesus did not give him an answer. And Herod, wishing to see also some miracle or other done by Jesus, and not seeing it, and also because he did not answer him a single word, sent him back again to Pilate.²

¹This idea here expressed is in (38). The interpolation of absurd. Luke xxiii.6-11 is manifestly a

²This narrative is found only late addition.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SENTENCE AND WAY OF THE CROSS.

PILATE CONDEMNS CHRIST—THE SENTENCE IN FULL—CHRIST SCOURGED—ABUSED—MOCKED—CROWNED WITH THORNS—THE CROSS PREPARED—ITS CURIOUS HISTORY ACCORDING TO SEVERAL VERSIONS—JUDAS REPENTS—IS REPROACHED BY THE JEWS—THE MIRACLE OF THE ROASTED COCK—DEATH OF JUDAS—CHRIST BEARS THE CROSS—JOHN AND OTHERS FOLLOW AFTER—MARY COMES AND LAMENTS—VERONICA—THE WANDERING JEW.

- MAIN SOURCES: (37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 9, 10.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 9, 10.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 9, 10.
(40)—Gospel of Peter, 1, 2, 6-9.
(50)—Legends.
(51)—Sentence of Pilate.

(37) Now when Pilate saw that Herod had sent Jesus back to
(38) him, he ordered his officers to bring water. Washing, then,
(39) his hands with water in the face of the sun, he said to the
(40) people, "I am innocent of the blood of this good man. See ye to it, that he is unjustly put to death, since neither have I found a fault in him,¹ nor Herod; for because of this he hath sent him back again to me." The Jews said, "His blood be upon us, and upon our children."² But of the Jews none

¹Cf. Mat. xxvii.24. For Pilate's witnessing in sight of the sun, see note, last chap. For the washing, cf. Deut. xxi.6.
²See Mat. xxvii.25.

washed his hands, neither Herod nor any of his judges. And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up. And thereupon Herod the king commanded that the Lord be taken off, saying to them, "What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do."¹

Then Pilate sat down upon his throne to pass sentence. (37) And he ordered the curtain of the tribunal, where he was (38) sitting, to be drawn.² He gave order, therefore, and Jesus (39) came before him. Then Pilate passed sentence, and said unto him,³ "Thy nation saith, and testifieth against thee, that thou wishest to be a king.⁴ On this account I sentence thee, first to be scourged, according to the enactment of venerable kings, with forty strokes, and that they shall mock thee, and then shalt thou be fastened on the cross in the garden where thou wast seized.⁵ And let Dismas and Gestas, the two malefactors, be crucified with thee."

Here followeth, word for word, the death sentence passed (51) by Pilate:⁶

¹All these strange words are from (40). Representing Herod as present at the scene of judgment, they are scarcely reconcilable with the narrative of the Gospel of Nicodemus, which here conforms to that of the canonical Gospels.

²Hofmann proposes an emendation of the text, translating this passage quite differently, in which I do not concur. See p. 362. Thilo, p. 576, gives references to this Roman custom of drawing the *velum*, or curtain.

³Whilst the canonical Gospels say nothing of a sentence pronounced by Pilate, such a thing is mentioned by Lactantius and Tertullian.

⁴Notice that Pilate here disregards all the charges upon which the Jews have laid most stress.

⁵This idea doubtless arises from a mistaken identification of the gardens mentioned in John xix.41; xviii.1.

⁶Whilst this very late piece has absolutely no claim to be considered a proper apocryphal document, I think it has some interest; and it gathers into one a large number of legends. This is the longest of the number of such pieces that are extant. Another interesting one, much shorter, is given by Hofmann, p. 368. It purports to have been found graven on a bronze plate, in 1820, in Aquileia, in the kingdom of Naples. On the back of the plate was graven, "A like plate has been sent to each tribe." The date, character of this plate, etc. remind one of the Mormon legend; Joseph Smith's

- (51) In the seventeenth year of Claudius Tiberius, Roman Emperor and invincible monarch of the whole world; in the 202d olympiad, or Greek reckoning of time by periods of five years, and in the 24th Iliad; in the 3996th year after the creation of the world according to the common reckoning; in the 73d year of the Roman Empire, and in the 794th after the founding of the city of Rome; in the 440th year after the return from the Babylonian captivity, and the 487th after the reëstablishment of the holy dominion; under the civil administration of Furius Camillus, Aruntius Scribonianus, Lucius Pisanus, Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, and Marcus Isauricus, consuls or chief councillors of the Roman people; under the government of Lucius Balena, pro-consul in Palestine; of Quintus Flaccus as governor-general in Judaea; of Pontius Pilate, the beloved president of the city of Jerusalem; and of Herod Herodiades Antipatriades, regent in lower Galilee; under the high priest Annas Caiaphas Alexander, and the assistant-priest, Raban Achabel; finally, when the Roman mayors and overseers of the city of Jerusalem were Quintus Cornelius Sublinia, and Sextus Pompilius Ruffus; in the midst of March,¹ have I, Pontius Pilate, President of

alleged golden plates were found in 1827. Justin Martyr says, that after the death of Christ, information of this was sent to the Jews throughout the world, as does also Eusebius. For accounts of some of these alleged documents among the Jews, see Fabricius, III, 495.

¹The above list, both of dates and names, merits no serious discussion. The other sentence of Pilate to which I have referred above, distinctly places the Crucifixion on Mar. 25, the date which is evidently referred to here, and is given in the pre-faces to (37) and (39). A widespread tradition makes this day the date of the Crucifixion. The

history of the placing of the date of Christmas, the Annunciation, and the Crucifixion is curious. All three, from early times, were felt to be closely related; and the tradition is prevalent that Christ was crucified on the anniversary of the Annunciation. In the Greek *Menaea*, the memorial of the Crucifixion is made on Mar. 23. It is now said that astronomical calculations prove that on the 14th of Nisan (Apr. 6), A. D. 31, there was a total eclipse of the sun. If this is true, which is probable, it should settle the date of the Crucifixion as having occurred on that day. But notice, that this would still leave these three dates curiously

the Roman Empire, in the city of Jerusalem, in the palace of the arch-resident, after notice taken of a penal matter, convicted, condemned, and sentenced to death; and I also do hereby again convict, condemn, and sentence to death Jesus of Nazareth, who by the people is called the Christ and Messiah and the anointed one of Nazareth; that he, as a malefactor, be affixed, raised up, stretched out, set up, and hanged upon a cross.

And this I ordain, because he hath been a man seditious (51) against the law of the Jews, which they call that of Moses, and a rebel against the priesthood of the same, as well as against the power and majesty of the mighty Emperor Tiberius. Also, the people have not ceased to adhere to him, making for him a faction composed of persons coming from everywhere both in the city and in the country, by which, meanwhile, things dangerous to this city, to the temple of the Jews, and to our most gracious Lord and Master the Roman Emperor, are instigated and undertaken. In particular, in consideration that unceasingly he hath threatened the destruction and ruin of the city of Jerusalem and its holy temple, together with their polity, and hath forbidden to give tribute or taxes to the Emperor. Yea, in consideration that he hath also, against the teachings of the Mosaic law of the Jews, given himself out to be a Son of God; and against Roman law hath called himself a king, namely, king of the Jews, and a king in Israel. Whence also, in consequence of his once having a little power, as a triumphant conqueror he insolently went into Jerusalem and the temple with palms and acclamations, stirred up the people, and addressed to them seditious words and speeches.

Accordingly, then, in consideration of all such high and (51) punishable crimes and misdemeanors, I determine and will, in the name of the illustrious Roman government, that for the due performance and execution of the above sentence,

intertwined. Jan. 6, the Epiphany, is certainly the Church's primitive Christmas; the adoption of this date would throw the

Annunciation on Apr. 6, and thus still make it the anniversary of the Crucifixion.

my centurion, Cornelius Francinus,¹ after he shall have caused the said Jesus of Nazareth to be scourged according to Roman custom, shall next lead him forth between two murderers already sentenced, through the gate Zagarola, now called Antoniana, to the place of execution, otherwise called the place of a skull, and there inflict upon him his doom and gibbet of the cross; and for a terror to all evil-doers, according to the sentence passed, shall he draw up, nail, and hang his body, waiting our order as to whatsoever further is to be done therewith.

- (51) He shall, also, for a terror to all rebels, and for an explanation of this deserved punishment, set up upon the cross the following inscription in those languages that are to-day commonest and best understood, namely:

Hebrew: JESU ATIQU OLISANDIN.²

Greek: Jesus Nazarenos Basileus ton Joudaion.³

Latin: Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum.⁴

- (51) It is hereby strictly interdicted and forbidden to any, of whatsoever rank or condition, and of whichsoever nation, Roman or Jewish, they be, to presume to prejudice our centurion or captain of the guard in the execution and fulfil-

¹Of course, all these names are entirely fanciful. I suppose it is the intention of the compiler to identify this man with the good centurion, generally called in legend Longinus. See notes in next chapter.

²Thus it stands in this document. Thilo notes, referring to this, III, 492, "*Nozri Melech Jehudim.*" Edersheim in his *Life of Jesus*, II, 590, expresses the belief that the Hebrew inscription must have read, "*Jeshu-han-Notsri malka dihudacy.*"

³This is the form of the inscription as given by John xix.19. All the evangelists contain in their report of it the words given by Mark, "The

King of the Jews." Luke adds the words, "This is," at the beginning of the inscription. Matthew prefixes, "This is Jesus;" and John, "Jesus of Nazareth." According to Honoratus Niquetus, this inscription is still to be seen in Rome at the church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

⁴The Latin inscription, according to Matthew, would be, "*Hic est Jesus Rex Judaeorum.*" Edersheim says that this exactly corresponds with that which Eusebius gives as the Latin *titulus* on the cross of one of the early martyrs. He therefore concludes that it rightly represents the official Latin words.

ment of the aforesaid sentence, or to offer any hindrance thereto, under penalty of certain and unavoidable punishment as insurrectionaries and rebels against the Roman Empire, and as disobedient to our most gracious lord, the Emperor, in respect both to the Roman and Jewish laws, in such cases ordained and established.

By counsel and command of the great council of the Jews, (51) witnesses of this our sentence :

Rabani the Hebrew. ¹	For the priests :
Daniel.	Rabani the Chief.
Rabani the Chaldaean.	Judas.
Joan.	Boncassado.
Bouian.	Notaries of public penal
Barbas Jusabe.	justice for the Jews :
Bercalan.	Natani.
Of the Pharisees :	Bertoch.
Kolcan.	For the Roman Emperor
Simeon.	and Roman Presi-
Bonol.	dent :
Rabani the Egyptian.	Lucius Sextilius.
Mandagra.	
Bemonforchi.	

The sentence to this effect, then, having been passed by (37) Pilate, he had Christ scourged, being bound to a marble (38) pillar in the judgment hall, according to the Roman custom.² (39) (40) (50)

¹It may plainly be seen that many of these names are late Italian in form.

²According to Mat. xxvii.26 and Mark xv.15, the scourging was just before Christ was delivered over to be crucified; but according to John xix.1, it was before sentence was pronounced. Scourging was customary before crucifixion. The marble pillar here mentioned is the Roman tradition. It is referred to by Jerome, Beda, and others. A part of this pillar is shown in

Rome, in St. Praxed's church; it is said to have been brought thither in 1223. According to the Mohammedan writer, Ahmed ben Abdalla, Christ received 5,000 blows from the scourge. This nearly agrees with the Revelations of Bridget, which declare, as do Barradius and Ludolphus Saxo, that Christ had 5,475 wounds. Barradius attributes the extra 475 wounds to the blows which Christ received on the *Via Dolorosa*. According to Echius, Christ received 5,375

Then he delivered Jesus and the two robbers with him, to the Jews, to be crucified.¹ And the Jews began to strike Jesus, some with rods, others with their hands, others with their feet; some also spat in his face. And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgment, saying, "Judge righteously, O king of Israel."² And one of them brought a crown of thorns, and put it on the head of the Lord,³ and put a reed into his right hand. Others also stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks; others pricked him with a reed, whilst some scourged him, saying, "With this honour, let us honour the Son of God."⁴ And Jesus went forth out of the praetorium, the two malefactors also being with him.

- (38) Immediately, therefore, the Jews got ready the cross, and
 (50) giving it to Jesus, flew to take the road.⁵ Now the cross had

blows of the scourge, according to Lanspergius, 5,460. Vincentius says that the body consists of 276 bones, and that three blows fell upon each of them.

¹Mat. xxvii.26; Mark xv.15; Luke xxiii.25; John xix.16.

²Mat. xxvii.29, etc.

³The tree from the twigs of which the crown of thorns was plaited is said to be still shown at Jerusalem. The oldest painters represent this crown as a chaplet which encircled the head. Vincentius says that Christ's head was wounded by it in seventy-two places.

⁴These details are found in (40.)

⁵Adrichomius, in *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae*, gives the following remarkable "facts" as to the various points along the *Via Dolorosa*. From the palace of Pilate to the place of execution was 1,321 paces, or 3,333 feet. After Christ had gone 26 paces,

the cross was laid upon Him. After 80 paces more, He fell the first time. After 61 1-5 additional paces, He met John and Mary. 71 3-5 paces further on, He came to a crossway, where Simon of Cyrene was compelled to bear the cross. 191 1-5 paces further, He met Veronica. At a distance of 336 4-5 paces thence, He fell the second time. He walked now along a rough and stony way leading towards the north, 348 4-5 paces, to a place where two roads met, and there He saw for the last time the weeping women. From there, it was 161 2-5 paces to the foot of Mount Calvary, where He fell the last time. After 18 paces, He finally came to the place where He was given the wine mixed with gall; 12 paces further on, He was nailed to the cross; and 14 paces further still, the cross was raised up on Calvary.

the form of a T,¹ and was fifteen feet high,² its transverse beam being eight feet long. It was composed of four pieces of wood;³ the upright beam, the cross beam, the tablet above the Saviour's head, on which was the superscription, as Pilate had commanded, and the socket in which the cross was fastened, or, as some say, the fourth piece was the wooden shelf upon which the Saviour's feet rested. And these four pieces were of as many kinds of wood, that is, of palm, cypress, olive, and cedar.⁴

The Jews had formed the upright beam of a piece of timber (50) which they found floating upon the pool of Bethesda. Now this beam had grown from the branch of the tree of life⁵ which the angel Michael gave to Seth, son of Adam, in

¹Tertullian, Jerome, etc. declare in favour of this form, whilst Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and others testify in favour of the Latin cross, which seems to be the more probable tradition. See Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, art. "Legend of the Cross," for many curious details on the subject of the cross.

²This tradition is given by Barradius, *Commentar.*, IV, 255. It does not seem probable that it should have been so high.

³The mediaeval legend of the cross, which is given in the remainder of this paragraph and in the three following ones, is found in the *Golden Legend*, in an old Dutch work of the thirteenth century mentioned by Baring-Gould, p. 379, in the works of Gervase of Tilbury, in the *Vita Christi*, printed at Troyes, in 1517, and in many other works to which I might refer. Parts of it are very much older than these. I shall

try to distinguish some of these sources, in the notes on the composite narrative which I have here prepared.

⁴The *Golden Legend* names the four kinds of wood in the cross. The three, however, pine, cypress, and cedar, are more generally mentioned; I think that this is the original legend, and that it owes its origin to a misapplication of Is. lx.13. See Thilo, p. 891. The *Toledoth Jeschu* says that Christ had taken an oath from all the trees that none of them would bear Him. This is an adaptation of the Norse myth of Balder. Christ, according to this book, was finally hung on a cabbage stalk (*kraut-stengel*); Balder was killed by the mistletoe. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 180. European folk-lore says that the aspen trembles for horror, because the cross was made from its wood.

⁵This is the version in the *Golden Legend*. In Malory's

paradise. For when Adam felt death approaching, he sent Seth to the gates of paradise, to ask for the oil of the tree of mercy, which had once been promised him, wherewith he might be healed.¹ Then Seth followed a verdant path, along which were traces of the footsteps of Adam and Eve as they fled from paradise; for their feet scorched the grass as they went along; and he saw at last a great light, and flames which reached even unto the clouds. These were the walls of paradise. Then did the angel Michael appear unto him, and say, "Weep not, nor supplicate for this oil of mercy, which ye shall not have until five thousand, five hundred years be past."² But the angel told him to look three times at paradise. The first time, Seth saw it filled with brightness, happiness, and fragrance; from the midst of it went forth four streams,³ and it was overshadowed by a tree of wonderful beauty, covered with foliage and fruits. The second time, Seth saw the tree despoiled of its fruits, of its leaves, and of its bark; a serpent enfolded it in its hideous coils. The third time, Seth saw the tree raised to heaven, and at its summit was a child, marvellously beautiful; then the serpent fled. The angel explained that the serpent was the demon vanquished by the Son of God; and that the dried up tree was a symbol of the condition of man fallen into sin. Then he gave Seth a branch of the tree of life, telling him to plant it on Lebanon, and promising that when it bare fruit, his father should be healed.

Morte d'Arthur, bk. 17, what seems to be a related story is told. When Eve came out of paradise she brought along the bough on which had hung the fatal apple. From this bough, which she planted, there grew a white tree. Before Abel was born, it turned green, and when Cain killed his brother, it became red. For still another account of this latter, see Migne, I, col. 295.

¹This legend of the oil of

mercy is ancient. It is found in the Second Part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, chap. 19 (see chap. XXVIII of this work), and in other apocryphal writings. See notes on that chap. for further discussion.

²According to some versions of the legend, four thousand years. See further notes on this subject in chaps. XXVIII and XXXV.

³These streams are mystically explained in chap XXXII.

But when Seth returned, he found his father Adam dead, (50) and planted the branch on his tomb.¹ This branch flourished and became a great and beautiful tree. Some say that from it Moses cut the rod with which he performed wonders for the children of Israel, as well as the branches with which he sweetened the bitter waters of Marah, and that to its trunk he attached the serpent which was lifted up in the wilderness. Solomon, seeing this tree, ordered that it be cut and used in building the temple of the Lord.² But the workmen could find no place where it could be used; always was it found too long or too short, even when they had carefully prepared it for a place. So the workmen angrily cast it aside. Next, it was placed across a pool of water,³ where it served as a bridge for those who passed over. When the queen of Sheba was about to cross the pool, she saw in the spirit that the Saviour of the world should be suspended upon that beam, and through respect, she adored, instead of walking over it. She told Solomon, that he who should be suspended upon this beam, should, by his death, occasion the destruction of the Jewish kingdom. Solomon therefore ordered that it should be buried in the bowels of the earth. Now at the place where it was interred, they afterwards dug the pool of Bethesda; and not alone on account of the descent of the angel, but also on account of the virtue of this wood, the moving of these waters gave healing to the sick. And when the time of the Saviour's passion approached, this beam swam upon the surface of the pool, so that the Jews found it ready for their purpose.

Some say, however, that the angel gave to Seth, instead (50) of a branch from the tree of life, three grains taken from the fruit borne by this tree. And when Adam was dead, Seth placed these in his mouth, from which grew three trees,

¹That would be on Golgotha at the center of the earth, as we shall see in the next chapter. Legend has much to tell, *e. g.* in the Combat of Adam, of how Shem and Melchizedek transported Adam's body thither, and

buried it, as he commanded.

²Legend here seems to return to the story that this tree grew on Lebanon.

³Some versions say, "across the brook Kedron."

the palm, the cypress, and the cedar,¹ of which the parts of the holy cross were afterwards made. The upright beam was cedar, the transverse, cypress, and the tablet upon it was of the wood of the palm. They say, likewise, that David had these three trees transported to Jerusalem amidst grand ceremonies, and with the sound of instruments. They exhaled a wondrous perfume, and all the sick who came to honour them were cured immediately. They say, further, that Solomon had the cedar tree² placed in the temple, and covered with plates of silver, that it might be honoured and held in reverence. But when one day a woman came, and, in mockery, seated herself upon it, behold, all at once her clothing was set on fire. Seized with fear, she said these words, "God is a prophet, and Jesus Christ is my God." Therefore the Jews, accusing her of blasphemy, stoned her, and cast the beam out, so that it came to be in the pool.³

- (n) Moreover, before the cross was erected, Satan was eager that it should be so. And he wrought for this end in the children of disobedience. He wrought in Judas, in the Pharisees, in the Sadducees, in the old, in the young, and in the priests. But when it was about to be erected, he was troubled, and infused repentance into the traitor, and

¹Other versions again say the pine, the cypress, and cedar, which I presume is the original story; they also say that these three trees grew up close together, and finally coalesced in one trunk. The history of this becomes the same as in the foregoing legend. The one that follows was apparently evolved later.

²Still another legend of this tree is given by Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, I, 428. "Abraham sent Lot to the source of the Nile to bring back three sorts of wood, a young cypress plant, a cedar, and a pine. Abraham planted them on a moun-

tain, in the shape of a triangle. He commanded Lot to water them every day to expiate his sins, although the place was 24,000 paces from the Jordan. Lot did so, and lo, in three months' time, the trees had grown together so as to form one trunk. At the sight of this miracle, Abraham bowed his face to the earth, and said, 'This tree will destroy sin.'" The tree grew, and in the time of Solomon underwent the same adventures that are told above.

³See Migne, I, col. 389, n. for this legend, which seems to be from a mediæval *Life of Christ*.

pointed him a rope to hang himself with, and taught him to die of strangulation.¹

For when Judas saw how Jesus was brought before Pilate, (38) fear and trembling came upon him, and he condemned himself for his shameful treachery.² And in his despair, he repented, and wished to return the thirty pieces of money to the high priests and elders of the Jews. But these evil-doers and traitors, knowing what he wished to do, together with the people, with one voice spake against him, insolently denouncing him, and placing on him all the blame for the crucifixion. And they all cried out against him, calling him the traitor, the transgressor of the law, the faithless, the ingrate, the one who sold his master and caused him to be put to death, the one whose feet had been washed by him, the one who kept his purse and gave such things from it as he wished, who gave to his wife and hid away what he desired. Now Judas was not able to bear these reproaches, and going into the temple and finding the high priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees, he said, "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood. I know well that I have done evil. Take ye the money which ye have given me for the betrayal of Jesus to his death." But they said, "What is that to us? Look thou to that."

And when the Jews refused to receive again from Judas (38) the thirty pieces of silver for which he had betrayed his (50) master, he threw them in their midst, and went away. And he came home to make a halter out of a cord, to hang himself with. There he found his wife sitting and roasting a cock upon the coals.³ And he said unto her, "Rise, wife, and get a rope ready for me, because I mean to hang myself as I deserve." But his wife said unto him, "Why speakest thou like that?" And Judas replied, "Know, then, that I have

¹From Ignatius, Epistle to the Philippians, IV.

²This and the following paragraph—I have slightly abbreviated them—are found only in certain Mss. of the Second Greek Form of the Gospel of Nicode-

mus, there replacing the greater part of the first chapter. For the Greek text, see Tischendorf, p. 289 seq. Cf. Mat. xxvii.3-5.

³The curious recurrence of the cock in Christian tradition, has before been referred to.

unjustly betrayed my master Jesus to the evil-doers, who have taken him before Pilate, to put him to death. But he will rise again on the third day, and then woe to us." But his wife said unto him, "Speak not so, and believe it not. For it is just as likely as that this cock roasting on the coals will crow, that Jesus will rise as thou sayest." And whilst she was thus speaking, the cock flapped his wings, and crew thrice. Then was Judas yet the more convicted, and immediately made the halter out of the rope. And going out, he hung himself upon a fig¹ tree, and was strangled.²

(n) But there are some who say that for a short time Judas walked about in this world a sad example of impiety.³ His eyes were so swollen that they could not see the light; they were so sunken that they could not be seen, even by the optical instruments of the physicians; and the rest of his body was covered by runnings and worms. His body having swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out. Thus he died in a solitary spot, which was left desolate long, and no one could pass the place without stopping his nose with his hands.⁴

(38) But the Jews took the Lord, and pushed him along bearing
(40) the cross. And as they ran, they said, "Let us drag along

¹I have introduced the designation of a fig tree into the text of (38). This is vouched for by Beda, Juvencus, and others. According to Adrichomius, the tree was a sycamore, and is yet to be seen in a wood to the west of Mount Zion.

²The text which I have been following, here adds a verbal repetition of Mat. xxvii.6-10, which I do not think it necessary to include in my text.

³See n. regarding Coptic legend of the penitence of Judas in chap. XVIII. Mediaeval legends regarding the punishment of Judas

in hell, are many. The best known, perhaps, is that contained in the Voyages of St. Brendan, found in the Golden Legend, and in many other collections.

⁴The principal part of this paragraph consists of a fragment preserved by Oecumenius, and by him attributed to Papias. Theophylactus, quoting also this passage, adds many of the details, which may be taken from Papias, or may be his own. They are strikingly similar to the account of Herod's death, and may be drawn thence. Cf. with this account, Acts i.18, 19.

the Son of God, having obtained power over him.”¹ And thus bearing the cross, Jesus came as far as the gate of the city of Jerusalem. But as he from the many blows and the weight of the cross was unable to walk, the Jews, out of the eager desire they had to crucify him as quickly as possible, took the cross from him, and gave it to a man that met them, Simon by name, who had also two sons, Alexander and Rufus. And he was from the city of Cyrene.² They gave the cross, then, to him, not because they pitied Jesus, and wished to lighten him of the weight, but because they eagerly desired, as hath been said, to put him to death more speedily.

Of his disciples, therefore, John followed him there. Then (38) he came fleeing to the mother of the Lord,³ and said to her, “Where hast thou been, that thou hast not come to see what hath happened?” She answered, “What is it that hath happened?” John said, “Know that the Jews have laid hold of my master, and are taking him away to crucify him.” Hearing this, his mother cried out with a loud voice, saying, “My son, my son, what evil hast thou done, that they are taking thee away to crucify thee?” And she rose up as if blinded, and goeth along the road weeping. And women followed her—Martha, and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, and other virgins.⁴ And John also was with her. When, therefore, they came to the multitude of the crowd, the mother of the Lord saith to John, “Where is my son?” John saith, “Seest thou him bearing the crown of thorns and having his hands bound?”⁵

And the mother of the Lord, hearing this, and seeing him, (38) fainted, and fell backwards to the ground, and lay a considerable time. And the women, as many as followed her, stood

¹From (40.)

²Cf. Mark xv.21; Mat. xxvii.32; xxiii.26.

³This title of Mary was used as early as the time of Athanasius; he died A. D. 393. But this passage is a later interpolation.

⁴Cf. Luke xxiii.27.

⁵This, with the preceding paragraph, is found only in (38). Both are certainly late interpolations in the original text of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

round her, and wept. And as soon as she revived and rose up, she cried out with a loud voice, "My Lord, my son, where hath the beauty of thy form sunk? How shall I endure to see thee suffering such things?" And thus saying, she tore her face with her nails, and beat her breast. "Where are they gone," said she, "the good deeds which thou didst in Judaea? What evil hast thou done to the Jews?" The Jews, then, seeing her thus lamenting and crying, came and drove her from the road; yet she would not flee, but remained, saying, "Kill me first, ye lawless Jews."¹

(50) And the holy woman Veronica saw Christ passing on his way to Calvary, bending under the heavy cross. And as he fell, she, moved with compassion, went to him, and gently wiped the sweat and blood from his face with her veil. Then the impression of the sacred countenance remained on the veil, which she ever preserved with veneration.²

(50) And there was also a certain Jew, Ahasuerus by name and a shoemaker by trade, who had helped to secure the condemnation of Jesus. When, then, judgment had been pronounced by Pilate, and Christ was about to be dragged past his house, he ran home, and called his household together to have a look at him who was condemned. And so he stood, with a little child in his arms, as Christ was led by, weary and fainting. The Saviour tried to rest, and stood still a

¹This paragraph, also, is peculiar to (38). It is precisely similar in form to some of those mediaeval legendary narratives which I quote in the two following chapters.

²I have given in this paragraph, very succinctly, the prevalent Roman tradition regarding Veronica. There are many versions of this, and quite a different one will be found presented in chap. XXXVI seq. The veil is still preserved in St. Peter's at Rome. For an interesting description of it, and much other

curious matter on the subject, see Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. II, p. 73. Veronica is generally commemorated on Feb. 4, sometimes on Mar. 25. In the strange Revelations of Catherine Emmerich, innumerable pretended details are given about this personage. She was the cousin of John the Baptist, was one of those reared in the temple with Mary, offered to Christ an aromatic wine as he passed along the *Via Dolorosa*, etc.

moment; but the shoemaker, in zeal and rage, and for the sake of obtaining credit with the Jews, drove the Lord forward, and told him to hasten on his way. Jesus obeyed, looked at him, and said, "I shall stand and rest, but thou shalt go to the last day." At these words, Ahasuerus set down the child, and followed Christ. Others say that this man's name was Cartaphilus, and that he was a porter of the hall in Pilate's service. And as the Jews were dragging Jesus forth, having reached the door, this man struck him on the back, saying, "Go quicker, Jesus, go quicker; why dost thou loiter?" And Jesus, looking back at him with severe countenance, said, "I am going, and thou shalt wait until I return." But in any case, this unhappy man wandereth ever until the judgment day. And when he attaineth the age of a hundred years, he returneth again to the age of thirty, as he was when he smote the Lord.¹

¹I have inserted here two brief versions of this famous late legend. It would be vain to endeavour here to discuss it, or to note all its varied forms. I know of no better brief treatise on it than Baring-Gould's article in his *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*. Also, article in Migne, *Légendes*; the bibliography given

there is valuable. I agree with Baring-Gould in his opinion that the legend of El Khoudr, see *Legends of O. T. Characters*, II, 115, is probably the origin of this story. But the true meaning of the legend is the personification of Israel's later history. The "eternal Jew" wanders forever, expiating a great crime.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

CALVARY — PREPARATIONS — THE CRUCIFIXION — GESTAS
RAILS AT CHRIST—DISMAS ASKS PARDON—IS FORGIVEN—
RECEIVES A LETTER—MARY ENTRUSTED TO JOHN—
CHRIST'S TESTAMENT—MARY LAMENTS—THE DARKNESS
—CHRIST'S DEATH—ANGEL RENDS THE VEIL—EARTH-
QUAKE AND OTHER SIGNS—THE PEOPLE FEAR—CENTU-
RION REPORTS TO PILATE—HE CALLS A COUNCIL—LONGI-
NUS PIERCES CHRIST'S SIDE—HIS CURE—KINSMEN
STAND AFAR OFF.

- MAIN SOURCES: (36)—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea, 3.
(37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek
Form, 10, 11.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek
Form, 10, 11.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 10,
11.
(40)—Gospel of Peter, 10-20, 25.
(43)—Sahidic Fragments of the Falling Asleep of
Mary, 11.

(38) Now the Jews and the Roman soldiers, leading Jesus, with those that followed, got safe to the place called Cranium, which was paved with stone.¹ Now the skull of Adam had been found there, and that it was his, Solomon knew by his great wisdom. And because it was the place of Adam's skull, therefore the hill was called Golgotha, or Calvary.²

¹This idea seems to have arisen from the confusion of Golgotha with the Gabbatha of John xix.13.

²See Mat. xxvii.33; Mark xv.22; Luke xxiii.35; John xix.17. This legend of the skull is of Jewish origin. See S. Basil,

And there the Jews set up the cross. Then they stripped (36) Jesus of his garments, whilst the soldiers, taking and setting (37) them before him, divided them among themselves by casting (38) of lots.¹ Now the coat was seamless from the top through- (39) out. For Mary had woven it for Christ when they were in (40) Egypt, and it had increased in size as the Lord had grown.² The soldiers, therefore, said to one another, "Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be." Now all this came to pass that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, "They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots."³ And they girt Jesus about with a linen cloth, putting on him, also, the crown of thorns and a tattered robe of scarlet;⁴ and about the sixth hour of the day,

Seleuc. Orat. 38, and many of the Church fathers. The legend that Adam was buried here, has already been referred to, and the idea that it was the center of the earth will be more fully treated in the notes on the next chapter. The *Kessat Alguimgiumah*, an Arabic book, says that the cross was planted just above the head of Adam.

¹John xix.23, etc. The stripping was in accordance with Roman law.

²This tradition is given by Euthymius. Similar ones have already been given with regard to Mary's and John's garments. The alleged Holy Coat is still preserved at Treves. There is a work which gives an account of this and twenty other holy coats, as well as much more literature on the subject. See also chap. XXXVIII. According to Solomon of Bassora (see *Christusbilder*, E. von. Dobschütz, Leipzig, 1899): "As the three kings (Magi) passed on their

way near Edessa, and slept, they left behind them the thirty pieces of silver (for which Christ was afterwards betrayed). Merchants found these, and brought them to the fountain of Edessa. There they met the shepherds to whom an angel had given the seamless robe. The merchants purchased it with the thirty pieces. The king of Edessa got from them the robe, and also got the thirty pieces from the shepherds. He sent these to Christ, who wore the robe, and sent the money to the treasury of the Jews."

³John xix.24; Mat. xxvii.35, etc.

⁴(38) mentions the tattered scarlet robe in this place, and (39), the linen cloth, and crown of thorns. By most painters, Christ is represented as wearing the latter upon the cross, although the Gospels certainly represent that it was placed upon Him in the judgment hall. The robe, in this connection, is certainly due to confusion in the

they raised him, and drew him upon the cross.¹ Likewise also, they hanged the two robbers with him, Dismas on the right, and Gestas on the left. And Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Father, let not this sin stand against them, for they know not what they do."²

(37) And the people stood looking at him, and laughed at him.

(38) Their chief priests and rulers with them, also, mocked him,

(39) saying, "If thou sayest truly that thou art the Son of God,

(40) come down from the cross immediately that we may believe in thee." Others said, mocking, "He saved others, others he cured, and he healed the sick, the paralytic, the lepers, the demoniacs, the blind, the lame, the dead, yet himself he cannot cure." And the soldiers made sport of him, coming near and offering him vinegar mixed with gall. And they put it on a reed, and gave Jesus to drink. But having tasted it, he would not drink it. And they said, "Thou art the king of the Jews; save thyself."³ But Jesus held his peace as though having no pain.⁴

(36) And the robber that was on his left hand began to cry out, saying to Jesus, "See how many evil deeds I have done in the earth; and if I had known that thou wast the king, I should have cut off thee also. Why dost thou call thyself

text. The linen cloth (around the loins) agrees with tradition.

¹Luke xxiii.33, etc. Most painters represent Christ as fastened to the cross with three nails, one for each hand, and one for the two feet. The Revelations of Bridget say there were four nails. The Prayer of the Virgin at Bartos says there were five, and gives their mystical names, Sator, Arepo, Tenet, Opera, Rotas, our Latin palindrome, again.

²Luke xxiii.34.

³Luke xxiii.35-37, etc.

⁴From (40), and expressing the Docetic views of this docu-

ment; only a phantasmal Christ appeared to suffer on the cross. The Mohammedan tradition says that it was Judas who was really crucified; he was miraculously made to look like Christ, and so was seized, whilst the Saviour Himself ascended at once into heaven. He later descended to relieve the anguish of the virgin mother, who believed that He had suffered on the cross. The same view was held by certain Christian heretics; others believed that Simon of Cyrene had been crucified in the Saviour's stead.

Son of God, and canst not help thyself in necessity? How canst thou afford it to another one praying for help? If thou art the Christ, come down from the cross, that I may believe in thee. But now I see thee perishing along with me, not like a man, but like a wild beast." And many other things he began to say against Jesus, blaspheming and gnashing his teeth upon him.¹ For the robber was taken alive in the snare of the devil.²

But Dismas, the robber on the right hand, seeing the god-⁽³⁶⁾like grace of Jesus, rebuked the other, and cried out, saying,⁽³⁷⁾ "O wretched and miserable man, who art in this condemna-⁽³⁸⁾tion, dost thou not fear God? We suffer the just punish-⁽³⁹⁾ment of what we have done; but this man hath committed⁽⁴⁰⁾ no evil." And he reproached the executioners, saying, "We for the evils that we have done have suffered thus, but this man, who hath become the Saviour of men, what wrong hath he done to you?" And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment. Then turning to the Lord, he said, "I know thee Jesus Christ, that thou art the Son of God. I see thee, Christ, adored by myriads of myriads of angels. Pardon me my sins which I have committed.³ In my trial, make not the stars to come against me, or the moon, when thou shalt judge all the world; because in the night I have accomplished my wicked purposes. Urge not the sun, which is now darkened on account of thee, to tell the evils of my heart, for no gift can I give to thee for the remission of my sins. Already death cometh upon me because of my sins; but thine is the propitiation. Deliver me, O Lord of all,

¹Luke xxiii.39, etc.

²Cf. II Tim. ii.26.

³According to Gregory the Great, Dismas had committed fratricide. According to some, he was converted because Christ's shadow fell upon him, as he hung upon the cross. For legend tells that the faces of all were turned towards the west,

that is, towards Rome. According to Augustine, he received baptism from the water that streamed out of Christ's side; for without baptism he could not have entered paradise. But Cyprian says that he received the baptism of blood, dying a martyr upon the cross.

from thy fearful judgment. Give not the enemy power to swallow me up, and to become heir of my soul, as of that of him who hangeth on the left; for I see how the devil joyfully taketh his soul, and his body disappeareth. Order me not, even to go away unto the portion of the Jews; for I see Moses and the patriarchs in great weeping, and the devil rejoicing over them. Before, then, O Lord, my spirit departeth, order my sins to be washed away, and remember me the sinner in thy kingdom, when upon the great most lofty throne¹ thou shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel.² For thou hast prepared great punishment for thy world on account of thyself."

(36) And the robber having thus spoken, Jesus saith unto him,
 (37) "Amen, amen, I say unto thee, Dismas, that to-day thou
 (38) shalt be with me in paradise.³ And the sons of the king-
 (39) dom, the children of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and
 Moses, shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be
 weeping and gnashing of teeth.⁴ And thou alone shalt dwell
 in paradise until my second appearing, when I am to judge
 those who confess not my name."⁵ And he said to the robber,
 "Go away, and tell the cherubim and the powers that
 turn the flaming sword, that guard paradise from the time

¹Or, "upon the great throne of the Most High."

²Mat. xix.28.

³Luke xxiii.43. Ms. C. of (38) here inserts an early history of Dismas that differs slightly from the accounts already given, drawn from the Gospels of the Infancy. It mentions the miracle of the palm tree which bent down in the desert, and says that Dismas, meeting Mary with the child, was so touched with her beauty, that he adored her, and exclaimed that if God had a mother he would have said that it was she. He received the Holy Family into his house, and

going out hunting, earnestly commended them to his wife's care. Meanwhile, his leprous son being washed in the water in which Christ was bathed, was made clean. Dismas, out of gratitude, helped them on their way. He also helped them on their return from Egypt, and Mary promised him a reward for this, etc. See Tischendorf, 308.

⁴Mat. viii.11, 12.

⁵This statement is flatly contradicted by the developments of chap. XXIX, which represent all the saints as introduced to paradise by Christ before his Resurrection.

that Adam, the first created, was in paradise and sinned, and kept not my commandments, and I cast him out thence. And none of the first shall see paradise, until I am to come the second time to judge the living and the dead." And he wrote thus :

"Jesus Christ the Son of God, who have come down from (36) the heights of the heavens, who have come forth out of the bosom of the invisible Father without being separated from Him, and who have come down into the world to be made flesh, and to be nailed to a cross, in order that I might save Adam, whom I fashioned,—to my angelic powers, the gate-keepers of paradise, to the officers of my Father: I will and order that he who hath been crucified along with me should go in, should receive remission of sins through me; and that he, having put on our incorruptible body, should go into paradise, and dwell there where no one hath ever been able to dwell."

Now the Lord saw about the cross his mother standing, (38) and John the evangelist, whom he particularly loved above the rest of the apostles, because he alone of them was a virgin in the body. And the Lord's mother, standing and looking, cried out with a loud voice, saying, "My son! my son!" And Jesus turning to her, and seeing John near her weeping with the rest of the women, said, "Behold thy son." And he gave John the charge of holy Mary, saying unto him, "Behold thy mother." From that hour, the holy mother of the Lord remained specially in the care of John, as long as she had her habitation in this life.¹

And this is the testament of our Saviour and Redeemer (n) Jesus Christ:²

¹John xix.25-27. The Gospel of St. John preserved by the Templars here has for John xix.26-30, "He saith to His mother, 'Weep not; I go to my Father and to eternal life; behold thy son! He will keep my place.' Then saith He to the disciple, 'Behold thy mother!' Then

bowing His head, He gave up the ghost."

²This fanciful composition is given by Migne, *Légendes*, col. 709. It is taken from the *Heures de Chartres*, published in Paris about 1554. Of course, this is in no sense an apocryphal document, and perhaps was not even

In the name of God my Father, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

I, Jesus of Nazareth, son of my sweet, precious, and blessed mother Mary, knowing that there is nothing more certain than that I have descended and come from heaven to this world to suffer and endure a painful, harsh, and agonizing death to redeem poor sinners from the fire of hell and eternal damnation; wishing to die testate, whilst extended in great torment upon the bed of my most cruel cross, amidst sufferings mortal and terrible, in the fulness of my divine consciousness, and in the plenitude of eternal wisdom, make, establish, and ordain my last perpetual will and testament, in form and manner following:

First. I commend my soul to God my Father, praying and beseeching Him, that when it leaveth and issueth from

intended to be taken literally, by the compiler; it is a typical specimen of a form of composition that is responsible for the existence of more than one apocryphal piece that is now supposed to have been seriously intended. I cannot refrain from printing here a curious Calvinistic figment, somewhat similar in conception. It shows how religious extremes meet, and that the tendencies which produced Gnostic and Catholic apocrypha, are to be found in the extremest form of Protestantism. This is found in a book originally printed in Glasgow in the eighteenth century, called the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden. I preserve the original capitalization and punctuation. Peden, a Presbyterian minister, sets forth the essential ideas of Calvinism, as follows:

BE it known to all men, That in the presence of the Ancient of

days, it was finally contracted, and unanimously agreed, between these honourable and royal persons in the God-head, *to wit*, The great and infinite LORD of heaven and earth, on one side; and JESUS CHRIST God-man, his eternal and undoubted heir, on the other side, in manner, form and effect, as follows: That forasmuch as the LORD JESUS CHRIST is content, and obliges himself to become surety, and to fulfil the whole law; and that he shall suffer, and become an offering for sin, and take the guiding of all the children of GOD on him, and make them perfect in every good word and work; and that of his fulness, they shall all receive grace for grace; and also present them, man, wife and bairns, on heaven's floor, and lose none of them; and that he shall raise them up at the last day, and come in on heaven's floor, with

my body, it may go and descend into the places where the souls of the righteous await my coming to deliver and take them out of the said places.

Item. I commend my greatly afflicted, sorrowful, and bereaved mother, the most beloved among all creatures, to God my said Father, and also to my loyal and singular friend, John Zebedee, now near my bed on which I die in terrible torment; and also, forasmuch as except my said mother, I have the said Zebedee beyond all other human

all the bairns at his back: therefore, the noble LORD of heaven and earth, on the other hand, binds and obliges himself to CHRIST, to send all the elect into the world, and to deliver them all fairly to JESUS CHRIST; and also to give him a body, flesh of their flesh, and bone of their bone: and to carry CHRIST through in all his undertaking in that work and to hold him by the hand: and also, let the HOLY GHOST, who is equal, go forth into the world, that he may be a sharer in this great work, and also, of the glory of this noble contrivance: and let him enlighten the minds of all those whom WE have chosen out of the world, in the knowledge of our name; and to convince them of their lost state; and persuade and enable them to embrace and accept of his free-love offer; and to support and comfort them, in all their trials and tribulations, especially those for our name's sake; and to sanctify them, soul and body, and make them fit for serving us, and dwelling with us, and singing forth the praises of the riches of Our free grace, in this

noble contrivance, for ever and ever; likewise the same noble LORD of heaven and earth, doth fully covenant grace and glory, and all good things, to as many as shall be persuaded and enabled to accept and embrace you as their LORD, KING and GOD: and moreover he allows the said JESUS CHRIST, to make proclamations by his servants, to the world in his name, that all that will come and engage under his colors, he shall give them noble pay in hand for the present, and a rich inheritance forever; with certification, that all those who will not accept of this offer, for the same cause, shall be guilty, and eternally condemned from our presence, and tormented with these devils, whom WE cast out from US, for their pride and rebellion, for the glory of our justice, through eternity.

In testimony whereof, He subscribes his presents, and is content the same be registrate in the books of Holy Scripture, to be kept on record to future generations. Dated at the throne of heaven, in the ancient records of eternity.

creatures, most lovingly and tenderly in my heart and true affection, I commend him to my said mother.¹

Item. I pardon my death to all my enemies, praying to God my Father that it may please Him to hold them excused, and that He may be willing not to do justice or take vengeance upon them, because they neither knew nor realized what they did.²

Item. To my companion Dismas, hanging near me, seeing and considering the cordial goodness, good will, and true affection which he hath towards me from this present, I give and leave the eternal kingdom now, henceforth, and forever; and from this time forth, I give him seisin of it, and will that his soul, leaving his body, shall proceed and come to me wheresoever I be.³

Item. And as it hath been so that amongst other virtues, there hath been a particular one which I have always possessed, that is, patience in tribulation;⁴ considering also, that many for love of me shall have much to suffer; to all my good and loyal friends, to all my devotees and loyal daughters in all their afflictions, adversities, and tribulations, I leave my treasure of patience; and, because the said treasure is great, plentiful, and abundant, I will that part of it be distributed to all poor orphans, to the sick, the languishing, to prisoners, to impotent folk, to the aged and decrepit, and to widows.

Item. I will that on the day of my decease, this, my present testament, last and perpetual will, be read before and in the presence of my Christian people, for whom I endure the said death, and that my obsequies⁵ be made with piteous weeping, mournful tears, and agonizing sighs; and in recognition of all those who shall be present at my said obsequies, weeping and lamenting my said death and dolorous passion in true contrition for their sins, and in memory of my said agonizing death, I give my kingdom of paradise.

Item. To all those who heartily forgive one another for

¹John xix.25-27.

²Luke xxiii.34.

³Luke xxiii.43.

⁴Rom. v.3, etc.

⁵Reference, of course, to the celebration of mass.

love of me, who am their God, their Father, and Creator, being willing henceforth to live in peace, love, and charity; from this time forth, I pardon all their offences, crimes, and all sins, by which so often they have offended me; protesting, nevertheless, that if hereafter they return to their grudges, hatreds, and dissensions against one another, I revoke this present article, and will that it be of no value and force, until they return and seek pardon of one another.¹

Item. To all poor sinners who are contrite, have confessed, and are repentant, protesting heartily and of good will that henceforth they will not offend us, wishing to be and abide in our service, I will and ordain, that if they are willing to persevere in my said service, in keeping and obeying both my commandments and those of my most loyal spouse, my Church, that at the end of their lives, when their souls go forth from their bodies, they shall go home to me in my kingdom of paradise; and I promise to them my eternal kingdom with me, in glory everlasting, forever, without end. Amen.

And in token of this, I will that this present, my said testament, be written by four notaries of our said court, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. And I have made this present testament in the presence of my well beloved mother, she being near the bed of my said dolorous cross, upon Mount Calvary, in the midst of the earth.

Signed with our blood, sealed with the seal of our dolorous cross. Thus signed.

Jesus of Nazareth, Paradise street.² The Comfort of sinners returning to his mercy.

But Mary wept much, saying, "For this I weep, my son, (38) because thou sufferest unjustly, because the lawless Jews have delivered thee to a bitter death. Without thee, my son, what will become of me? How shall I live without thee? Where are thy disciples, who boasted that they would die with thee?³ Where are those healed by thee? How hath no one been found to help thee?" And looking to the cross,

¹Cf. Mat. vi.14, 15.

rue de Paradis."

²French, "*Jesus de Nazareth,* ³Mat. xxvi.35, etc.

she said, "Bend down, O cross, that I may embrace and kiss my son, whom I suckled at these breasts after a strange manner, as not having known man. Bend down, O cross; I wish to throw my arms around my son. Bend down, O cross, that I may bid farewell to my son like a mother." But the Jews, hearing these words, came forward, and drove to a distance both Mary and the women and John.¹

(37) Now it was about the sixth hour, and there was dark-
 (37) ness over all the earth until the ninth hour.² The sun was
 (38) darkened, his fiery blaze was checked, and his heat became
 (39) moderate;³ the moon became blood, and the stars fell down
 (40) from heaven.⁴ Many, also, went about with lamps, sup-
 (43) posing that it was night, and fell down.⁵ And the Lord cried
 out, saying, "My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me."⁶
 And again he said, "I thirst."⁷ Then one of them said,
 "Give him to drink gall with vinegar." And they mixed and
 gave him to drink, fulfilling all things, and accomplishing
 their sin against their own head.⁸ Then Jesus, crying out
 with a loud voice, "Father, into Thy hands I shall commit
 my spirit," gave up the ghost, and was taken up.⁹

(37) And immediately the veil of the temple was rent in
 (38) twain.¹⁰ For in that hour the twelve virgins who ministered
 (39) in the temple saw all things created change. And fear-
 (40) ing, they fled into the tabernacle, into the holy of holies, and
 (43) shut the door of the temple. Straightway, then, they saw a
 great and strong angel come down from heaven, being in

¹This paragraph is found only in (38). It is a late interpolation. In some copies, it is much longer than the text here given.

²Luke xxiii.44, etc.

³These particulars are found in Arnobius, *Against the Heathen*, I, 53. His account of the Passion has some appearance of being independent of that of the Gospels, and I shall give other of his particulars.

⁴Cf. Rev. vi.10; Mat. xxiv.29, etc. (43).

⁵This particular is given by (40).

⁶This version of the words of Mat. xxvii.46, etc. is given by (40).

⁷John xix.28.

⁸(40).

⁹Luke xxiii.46, etc. (40).

¹⁰Mark xv.38. See also another account of the rending of the veil of the temple, in chap. XXXI. This one is found in (43).

great anger, with a sharp sword drawn in his right hand. And when they saw him, they fled into the shrine, being afraid, and exceedingly troubled, fearing that he would smite them with the sword that was in his hand. But the angel said to them, "Be not afraid, I will not slay you, neither shall evil befall you. Surely those who are dead, also, shall arise and come forth from the tomb to enter into the city,¹ and appear unto many men, reprovng and convicting the folly of the cursed Jews, and their shamelessness which they wrought against the Lord of the inhabitants of heaven and of earth." Straightway, then, the angel stretched forth the sword which was in his hand; and he brought it down upon the veil of the temple, rending it in the midst, and dividing it from the top to the bottom.²

And the virgins heard a great voice from the horns of (43) the altar, saying, "Woe to thee, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee. Often would I have gathered thy children, even as a bird gathereth its eggs together under its wings, but ye would not. Behold your house, I have left it unto you."³ They looked again, and saw the angel assigned to the altar fly up on the canopy of the altar, and the angel also having the sword, both being in great mourning and anger. And when they saw all these things come to pass, they knew that the Lord was angry with His people, and had left them. So they hasted, and came unto Mary, and were with her, in order that they might not come to be under the curse, which they had heard from the mouth of the angel of the Lord, who rent the veil.

And in that hour there was a very great and violent earth- (36)
quake over all the earth.⁴ The rocks also were rent, and the (38)
tombs of the dead were opened;⁵ the sanctuary fell down with the wings of the temple, a lintel of which was broken

¹Mat. xxvii.53.

⁴Mat. xxvii.51. Arnobius says

²Cf. the account of the destroying angel in II Sam. xxiv.16, 17.

that the earthquake shook the world.

⁵Mat. xxvii.52.

³Mat. xxiii.37, etc.

asunder.¹ Many places in Judaea and other districts were thrown down, and all the elements of the universe, bewildered by the strange events, were thrown into confusion.² And when the philosophers at Athens were not able to explain these events by natural causes, they concluded that the God of nature was suffering, so that the people raised an altar to this God, and put on it the inscription, "To the Unknown God."³

(37) And from all these things that had happened, the Jews
(38) were afraid, and said, "Certainly this was a just man."⁴ And
(39) Longinus,⁵ the centurion, who stood by, glorified God, and
(40) said, "Truly, this was a Son of God." And all the crowds who were present at the spectacle, seeing what had happened, beat their breasts with fear, and turned and went away.⁶ Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament, and to say, "Woe for our sins; the judgment hath drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem."

(37) And the centurion, having perceived all these so great
(38) miracles, went away and reported them to Pilate. Now
(39) when the procurator and his wife heard them, wondering and astonished, they were greatly grieved. And from their

¹Jerome states that the Gospel of the Hebrews records, not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that a lintel of it was broken. Hofmann shows, p. 380, how this idea arose from a mistranslation.

²From Arnobius, as above.

³This, and much more of the same kind, is to be found in the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, whence it came into the Golden Legend. The root of this legend is, of course, Acts xvii.23.

⁴Mat. xxvii.54.

⁶Legend inclines to give this same name to and to identify

this centurion and the soldier who pierced Christ's side; further to identify both with the centurion already mentioned in chap. XXIV. For this present centurion, the name Longinus is, by practically all legend, given, and he is said to have been in after times bishop of Cappadocia and a martyr. The name Longinus is most probably derived from the Greek λόγχη, a spear, and shows thus how it originated. For an unfavourable legend as to his punishment, see chap. XXXVII.

⁵Luke xxiii.48.

fear and grief, they would neither eat nor drink, that day. And Pilate sending notice, all the Sanhedrin came to him, as soon as the darkness was past. Then he said to the people, "Ye know how the sun hath been darkened, ye know how the curtain hath been rent. Certainly I did well in being by no means willing to put to death this good man." But the malefactors said to Pilate, "This darkness is an eclipse of the sun, such as hath also happened at other times." And Pilate said to them, "Ye scoundrels! is this the way ye tell the truth about everything? I know that never happeneth but at new moon. Now, ye ate your passover yesterday, the fourteenth of the month, and ye say that it was an eclipse of the sun. And what say ye that the other disastrous signs were?" And they could say nothing in reply. For it was not an eclipse of the sun, because the moon was then in the fifteenth day of its course, and far from the sun. Moreover, an eclipse doth not deprive all parts of the world of light, and cannot endure three hours. But this eclipse was seen at Heliopolis, in Egypt, in Rome, in Greece, and Asia Minor.¹

Now the Jews were troubled lest the sun set whilst Jesus (37) was yet alive. For it is written for them, that the sun set not (38) on him that hath been put to death. So they said to Pilate, (39) "We hold the feast of unleavened bread to-morrow; and (40) we entreat thee, since the crucified are still breathing, that their bones be broken, and that they be brought down."² And Pilate said, "It shall be so." He therefore sent soldiers, and they found the two robbers yet breathing, and brake their legs; but finding Jesus dead, they did not touch him at all, except Longinus,³ a soldier, speared him in the right side⁴

¹These signs in many parts of the world, and others, are mentioned by Dionysius the Areopagite, etc.

²John xix.31 seq.

³This name is generally given to the soldier, except that Beda calls him Legorrius; Xaverius, Ignatius or Inasius. His legend,

generally confused with that of the centurion before mentioned, is given at some length in the Golden Legend as before. Another account of his end will be given later in my text. His epitaph is shown in a church near Lyons.

⁴That it was the right side is

with a lance,¹ and immediately there came forth blood and water.² Now this soldier, who was one of those who buffeted and spit upon Jesus, had for thirty-eight years been troubled with sore eyes. Yet when the drops of Christ's blood, coming from the wound, fell upon him, immediately he was healed.³ And the kinsfolk and acquaintances of Jesus, together with the women who had followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.⁴

mentioned by many writers, *e. g.* Bernard, Innocent, and Bonaventura.

¹Pope Innocent VI. instituted, in 1353, the Feast of the Lance and Nails.

²John xix.34.

³Solomon of Bassora retails these legends, as does the Golden Legend. Both call Longinus a knight.

⁴Luke xxiii.49, etc.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BURIAL OF CHRIST.

JOSEPH ASKED TO BURY CHRIST—CONFERS WITH NICODEMUS—BEGS THE BODY OF PILATE—PILATE ASKS HEROD FOR IT—JOSEPH AND NICODEMUS TAKE IT DOWN FROM THE CROSS—EARTH QUAKES—MARY HOLDS THE BODY—WILL NOT PART WITH IT—LAMENTATIONS—MAGDALENE ENVELOPES THE FEET—MARY THE HEAD—THE BURIAL—MARY ABIDES WITH JOHN—APOSTLES HIDDEN—TOMB GUARDED—LEUCIUS AND CHARINUS ARISE AND TELL OF THE DESCENT INTO HELL.

- MAIN SOURCES: (36)—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea, 4.
(37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 11.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 11, 12.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 11.
(40)—Gospel of Peter, 3-5, 21-24, 26-33.
(45)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Greek Form, 1, 2.
(46)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, First Latin Form, 1, 2.
(47)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Second Latin Form, 1, 2.
(48)—Report of Pilate concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, First Greek Form.
(49)—Report of Pilate concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, Second Greek Form.
(50)—Legends.

Now Mary, by means of John, had asked of Joseph, who (37)
was of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews, that he might care (38)
(39)

for and bury the body of Jesus.¹ This man was well-born, rich, and the holder of office, a friend of Jesus, and also of Pilate. He was, moreover, a God-fearing Jew, waiting for the kingdom of God, who did not consent to the counsels or deeds of the wicked.² And he finding Nicodemus, whose sentiments his foregoing speech had shown, since he had seen what good deeds Jesus had done, saith to him, "I know that thou didst love Jesus when living, and didst gladly hear his words; and I saw thee fighting with the Jews on his account. If, then, it seemeth good to thee, let us go to Pilate, and beg the body of Jesus for burial, because it is a great sin for him to lie unburied."³ Nicodemus said, however, "I am afraid lest Pilate should be enraged, and some evil should befall me. But if thou wilt go alone, and beg the dead, and take him, then will I also go with thee, and help thee to do everything necessary for the burial."⁴ Nicodemus, having thus spoken, Joseph directed his eyes to heaven, and prayed that he might not fail in his request.

(38) Then Joseph went away to Pilate, and having saluted him, sat down. And he saith unto him, "I entreat thee, my lord, not to be angry with me, if I shall ask anything contrary to what seemeth good to your highness." Then saith Pilate,

¹Cf. Mat. xxvii.57; Mark xv.42; Luke xxiii.50; John xix.38. That Mary had asked Joseph to bury the body of Jesus, I find stated in various mediaeval legends which I have used, as well as in Codex C. of (38), see Tischendorf, p. 311. All these incidents are elaborated at some length in that document.

²Tradition says that Joseph was one of the Seventy. This is stated, *e. g.* by Chrysostom and in the *Bibl. Orient.* of Assemanus. Many other legends regarding him will be given later. He is commemorated by the

Western church on Mar. 17, and by the Greek church on Jul. 31.

³Cf. John xix.31.

⁴The compiler of (38) seems to wish to place Nicodemus in an unfavourable light, as compared with Joseph. This view is perhaps inspired by the fact that whilst all four of the evangelists mention Joseph's agency in the burial of Christ, but one, John, refers to the part which Nicodemus had in it. All these particulars which follow, about how Joseph begged the body, are found only in (38), and are of late date.

“And what is it that thou askest?” Joseph saith, “Jesus, the good man whom through hatred the Jews have taken away to crucify, him I entreat that thou give me for burial.” Pilate saith, “And what hath happened, that we should deliver to be honoured again, the dead body of him against whom evidence of sorcery was brought by his nation; and who was in suspicion of taking the kingdom of Caesar, and so was given up by us to death?” Then Joseph, weeping, and in great grief, fell at the feet of Pilate, saying, “My lord, let no hatred fall upon a dead man, for all the evil that a man hath done should perish with him in his death.¹ And I know, your highness, how eager thou wast that Jesus should not be crucified; and how much thou saidst to the Jews on his behalf, now in entreaty, and again in anger, and at last how thou didst wash thy hands, and declare that thou wouldst by no means take part with those who wished him to be put to death; for all which reasons, I entreat thee not to refuse my request.” Pilate, therefore, seeing Joseph thus lying, supplicating and weeping, raised him up, and said, “Go, I grant thee this dead man; take him, and do whatsoever thou wilt.”²

Then Pilate sent to Herod and asked the body of Jesus. (38)
 And Herod said, “Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked (40)
 for him, we purposed to bury him, especially as the Sabbath draweth on; for it is written in the law, that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death.”³ Then Joseph, having thanked Pilate, and kissed his hands, and his garments,

¹This sentence affords a striking parallel to the well known lines of Julius Caesar, act III, scene 2:

“The evil that men do lives after them,
 The good is oft interred with their bones.”

Shakespeare was probably acquainted with some form of the Gospel of Nicodemus, which existed in many English versions before his time, and formed the

basis of the old miracle plays.

²This passage, a later interpolation, does not well agree with the rest of the Gospel of Nicodemus, which represents Pilate as uniformly favourable to Christ.

³From (40). This very ancient document differs from the evangelists, in representing Christ as having been sentenced by Herod. In its proper context, this passage represents Joseph as

went forth, rejoicing indeed in his heart, as having obtained his desire; but carrying tears in his eyes. Accordingly, he goeth away to Nicodemus, and discloseth to him all that had happened. Then having bought myrrh and aloes, a hundred pounds,¹ they, along with the mother of the Lord and Mary Magdalene and Salome and the rest of the women and John, went to do what was customary for the body of the Lord.

(36) And Joseph and Nicodemus prepared to take the Lord's
(50) body down from the cross.² Now the body of the robber on the right was not found; but of him on the left, as the form of a dragon, so was his body.³ And they set two ladders against the arms of the cross.⁴ Then Joseph, with a hammer and a pair of pincers, ascended one of the ladders, and drew out the nail from the right hand of the Lord. Very fast it held, for it was long, and so deeply imbedded in the cross that it pressed the hand of the Lord very close. But in good time, Joseph got it out. Then did John make to him a sign that he should deliver it to him secretly, lest Mary seeing it, her heart should burst. Likewise, Nicodemus went up the ladder on the left side, and with great difficulty drew out the nail from the other hand, giving it to John secretly. Then Nicodemus descended, to draw the nail from the feet, and whilst he did so, Joseph supported the body of Jesus upon his shoulders. Mary, seeing this, raised herself upon her feet so that she was able to touch the hands

asking Pilate for the body, and Pilate asking Herod, *before* Christ had been put to death.

¹John xix.39.

²Beginning here, and extending, with exceptions noted, through the rest of this chapter, I have woven my text from a *Vita Christi* of the fifteenth century given by Migne, *Légendes*, col. 874, and another version of the same, given in col. 707 of this book. These legends mainly represent only further fanciful

expansion of the Gospel of Nicodemus, being notably similar in form to (38), especially in Codex C. and the Venetian Mss. I note, however, that these documents bear traces of an acquaintance with the text of (40), which has but recently been discovered, after remaining unknown for many centuries.

³From (36).

⁴The ladders are represented in many paintings of this scene.

of her son, for the arms hung down from the shoulders of Joseph. And she kissed them gladly, weeping and moaning bitterly.

When, then, the nail of the feet was drawn out, Joseph ⁽⁴⁰⁾ descended from the ladder, supporting on his shoulders the ⁽⁵⁰⁾ body of the Lord, whilst Nicodemus aided him. And they extended the body upon a white cloth that they had placed upon the earth. And when they did so, the whole earth quaked and great fear arose.¹ Then Mary received in her lap the head and shoulders of the Lord,² taking the crown of thorns from his head, and Mary Magdalene took him by the feet before which she had found the forgiveness of her sins; and all the others gathered round the body.

The poor bereaved mother held upon her knees the sacred ⁽⁵⁰⁾ head, and could not cease kissing it or watering it with the abundance of her tears. Sighing dolorously,³ she said to her son, "Alas, dearest son, what hast thou done? Why have they thus put thee to death? Alas, sorrowing mother, what shalt thou do? How is that joy which I received of thee when I conceived thee turned into great sorrow" Then she began again to kiss the visage of her son, and to water it with her tears, so that it even seemed then as if she were about to die. And she remembered how she had conceived without sin, and brought forth without sorrow. How, when he lived, nothing was wanting to her, since she had in him God, Lord, father, and husband. Now she saw him dead, which was an evil so great that it was not possible for it to be. And in great sorrow, she said, "Alas, my son, the life of my soul, my joy, why hast thou gone away from me?"

¹From (40). The next sentence in this document is, "Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour; and the Jews rejoiced, and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it." According to this, then, the body was taken down at three o'clock in the afternoon by the Jews themselves.

²This representation is found in many legends.

³I have here, and in a number of places, translated the French "*douloureuse*," etc., by the word of corresponding form in English. The *Mater Dolorosa* of the *Stabat Mater* seems to be the inspiration of all this amplification of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

My God, have mercy upon me. Alas, my sweet son, and who shall comfort me now?" The other women, her companions, mourned with her for the pity they had to see their master dead before them, as well as in pity for the sorrow of the glorious virgin Mary. And she was surrounded by angels from paradise, who mourned with her for love of their Lord and for pity for their lady.

(50) Now Joseph of Arimathaea, seeing that the day rapidly declined and night was near, went to Mary, and began pityingly to say to her, "Dolorous lady, be content at last to suffer that the body of thy son, our master, be shrouded in these beautiful linens;¹ so shall we bury him in the sepulchre." But Mary, greatly troubled, replied, "Alas! haste not in taking away from me the sight of my son, or bury me with him." And they knew not what to say to that, save to beseech her. Incessantly she looked upon the countenance of her son, which she held in her lap; tenderly, she regarded the wounds which the thorns had made. She looked at that face from which they had torn the beard and the hair, at that countenance divine soiled with spittle and blood. And looking at these things, she was not able to leave off lamenting.

(50) And John, seeing that night approached, said to Mary, "Lady, see what hour it is; the night beginneth to overcome the day. Consent to Joseph, and suffer the body of Jesus to be shrouded and buried." Then Mary remembered how the Lord had given her into the keeping of John, and to him she consented. So Joseph and Nicodemus began to envelope the body at the middle.² And when they had come to the feet, Mary Magdalene said unto them, "I pray you, leave this part to me. I wish to put in the shroud the feet before which my sins were forgiven."³ Then she looked at the feet very attentively, beholding how they were pierced by the nails, torn, and bruised, and smeared with blood. And she washed with pitying and compassionate tears those feet which formerly she had washed with tears of contrition.

¹Cf. Mark xv.46, etc.

²Cf. John xix.40.

³Cf. Mark xvi.2; John xii.7;
Mark xiv.8, etc.

Afterwards, very gently, she dried them with her hair; then enveloped and shrouded them the best that she could.

And Mary, putting her face upon that of her son, said to (50) him very sadly, "My dearly beloved son, now art thou dead upon my bosom. It must be that I, thy sorrowing mother, bury thee. But how am I able to live without thee? Most gladly would I be buried with thee, but since bodily I cannot be, I leave thee my soul, and recommend it to thee. Dearest son, how full of anguish is this separation!" When, now, she had bathed his visage with her tears, she kissed him on the mouth, then shrouded and enveloped the head.

Now when they had done what was customary for the (39) body of the Lord, and washed him, it remained but to put (40) him in the sepulchre. Joseph also had collected, in the (50) vessel which the Lord had used to drink and break the bread at the last supper, the drops of blood that fell from the wounds, after the body was taken down from the cross. For as soon as he knew that the Lord was dead, he had gone to the house and carried away the vessel for this purpose. And he preserved it always with veneration, for it gave to its possessor the privilege of being in direct communication with God.¹ Nicodemus, also, preserved the linen cloth upon which the body of the Lord lay, and upon which its image

'This sketch of the Holy Grail legend, I give here as found in Migne, *Légendes*, col. 442, also, 1,269. The literature of it is voluminous. I refer to Baring-Gould's essay in the *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, and to Migne, as above cited. The latter gives some curious French versions, and references to little-known literature regarding it. The most famous versions are those in Malory's *Morte d' Arthur*, and in the *Perceval*, of Chrétien de Troyes. The legend is probably derived from Celtic sources, and took a Chris-

tian form about the twelfth century, at which time the story of Joseph of Arimathaea, who was said to have come into Britain, was connected with it. Druidism, with many other religions, knew of a mystical vessel, the contents of which were sacred. The rising belief in transubstantiation would, I think, favour the adaptation of such a Christian legend, and the last sentence which I have cited seems to suggest this. Folk-lore says, with many differences of detail, that the robin's breast was crimsoned by the Lord's blood.

was imprinted.¹ Then they placed the body in Joseph's own tomb, hewn out of the rock, in which no one ever had lain, in what was called the Garden of Joseph.² And this tomb was once prepared for Joshua the son of Nun.³ And they say that in the place where Joseph and Nicodemus washed the body of Jesus, the Lord once placed his finger, saying, "This is the middle of the earth."⁴

(50) And in carrying the body of Jesus to the sepulchre, Mary supported the head, Mary Magdalene, the feet, and the others, the body, weeping tenderly. The bereaved mother, also, when it was in the tomb, so looked at it, and to touch it bent so low, that almost she fell in, so that Joseph and Nicodemus raised her up. And they rolled before the sepulchre a stone so great⁵ that scarcely could three men move it. Now this stone was the same out of which water once flowed forth in the desert for the children of Israel.⁶ And Mary, in great grief, said, "O friends, have pity upon me, and help me to take away this stone, putting me in with my son."

(38) And the mother of the Lord said, weeping,⁷ "How am I not to lament thee, my son? How should I not tear my face with my nails? This is that, my son, which Simeon the

¹This adaptation of the Veronica legend is given by Nicephorus. Further legend tells the history of this portrait until it came to Turin in 1578, where it is still preserved. Further, the napkin which was about Christ's face, and is impressed with His portrait, is said to be preserved at Besançon. A volume recently printed, *The Shroud of Christ*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, is entirely devoted to the Turin legend.

²This name is given in (40), suggested probably by Mat. xxvii.60. Beda gives an alleged exact description of the tomb in which Christ was laid.

³This is a legend given by Solomon of Bassora from Syrian sources.

⁴The legend that Jerusalem, and particularly Calvary, was the middle of the earth, has been already referred to. That Christ pointed out a particular spot, generally said to be that of his tomb, and said that this was the middle of the earth, is repeated by a number of mediaeval chroniclers. For references, see Resch, p. 458.

⁵Cf. Mark xvi.4.

⁶A Syrian legend given by Solomon of Bassora.

⁷This, with the paragraph following, is to be found in (38).

elder foretold to me when I brought thee, an infant of forty days old, into the temple. This is the sword which now goeth through my soul.¹ Who shall put a stop to my tears, my sweetest son? No one at all except thyself alone, if, as thou saidst, thou shalt rise again in three days."

Mary Magdalene also, said, weeping, "Hear, O peoples, (38) tribes, and tongues; and learn to what death the lawless Jews have delivered him who did them ten thousand good deeds. Hear, and be astonished. Who will let these things be heard by all the world? I shall go alone to Rome, to the Caesar.² I shall show him what evil Pilate hath done in obeying the lawless Jews." Likewise, Joseph also lamented, saying, "Ah me, sweetest Jesus, most excellent of men, if indeed it be proper to call thee man,³ who hast wrought such miracles as no man hath ever done. How shall I enshroud thee? How shall I entomb thee? There should have been here those whom thou feddst with a few loaves, for thus should I not have seemed to fail in what is due."

And the hearts of all who were weeping there were moved (38) by the piteous lamentations of the blessed virgin Mary, so (50) that they knew not what to do or say; and they seated themselves against the sepulchre, and Joseph said, "Dear lady, if it please thee, let us go to Jerusalem, for there is nothing that we can do here." Then the glorious lady thanked him, saying, "That which John wisheth, I will gladly do; for my son hath given me into his keeping." And John said, "Lady, it would be a shame for us to remain here during the night, wherefore, it will be better for us to go to Mount Zion, to the house where our master supped." So the virgin Mary and John went together, along with the women; and Joseph and Nicodemus returned to their homes. And from that time the holy virgin Mary abode in Jerusalem, in the house of saint John the evangelist, near the

¹See Luke ii.35.

²The fulfilment of this promise is described in chap. XXXVI.

³Cf. the famous, and almost certainly forged passage about

Christ in Josephus, *Antiq.*, bk. XVIII, chap. iii.3. "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man," etc.

Mount of Olives;¹ and John took care of her as of his own mother.

(40) And the apostles, with their companions, were grieved, and being wounded in mind they hid themselves; for they were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple. And upon all these things they fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day, until the Sabbath.²

(38) But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered
(40) together one with another, when they heard that all the peo-
(50) ple murmured and beat their breasts, saying, "If by his death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how just he is," were afraid.³ And they went away to Pilate, beseeching him, and saying, "My lord, that deceiver said, that after three days he should rise again. Give us soldiers, and order his tomb to be guarded for three days, lest his disciples come, and steal him away by night, and the people, led astray by such deceit, suppose that he is risen from the dead, and do us evil." And Pilate gave them Petronius⁴ the centurion, with five hundred soldiers to guard the tomb, who also sat round the sepulchre so as to guard it, after having put seals upon the stone of the tomb. This also they fastened with iron clamps,⁵ so that it was impossible to open it by ordinary means. And with them came the elders and scribes to the sepulchre. These watchers were Isaachar, Gad, Matthias, Barnabas, and Simeon.⁶ They, too, affixed seven

¹This house is still shown in Jerusalem.

²From (40). The idea of charging the apostles with the design to fire the temple is probably suggested by John ii.19, etc.

³This whole paragraph is mainly taken from (40).

⁴Roman tradition says that Longinus, the oft-mentioned centurion, watched the tomb, and the twelve soldiers who watched with him are mentioned in Pilate's Letter to Herod, chap.

XXXVII. P. Petronius was Roman governor of Syria about this time, and the name here used by (40) may have been taken from him. I do not know of the occurrence of the name elsewhere in apocryphal literature.

⁵This tradition is given by Nicephorus and others.

⁶Solomon of Bassora, in Assemanus, *Bibl. Orient.*, mentions these names as given by Syrian sources.

seals¹ to the tomb, and pitching a tent, together with the centurion and soldiers, they guarded it.

Now at the time when Jesus was crucified, there were not (45) only many other signs over the whole world, but in that (46) terror dead men were seen that had risen, as the Jews them- (48) selves testified. And they said that it was Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses, and Job, and Noah, that had died, as they say, three thousand, five hundred years before. And there were very many of them appearing in the body, who were making lamentations about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had come to pass through them, and the destruction of the Jews and their law; and many others of the dead were raised up, and were seen by many in Jerusalem.² (49)

And among those that arose were Charinus and Leucius,³ (45) full brothers, the two sons of the blessed Simeon, the great (46) high priest who took up with his hands Jesus when an infant in the temple.⁴ And they were alive and dwelt in (47) Arimathaea, living in prayer. And these two left behind the account of the descent of our Lord Jesus Christ into hell, each of them first writing: "O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the dead,⁵ permit us to speak mysteries through the death of thy cross, because we have

¹The seven seals mentioned here by (40) are perhaps suggested by Rev. v.1.

²Cf. Mat. xxvii.52, 53. These particulars are given in (48) and (49).

³These names undoubtedly represent the name of Leucius Charinus, the celebrated author of so many Gnostic works, and very probably of the identical book, the Second Part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, or Descent of Christ into Hell, whence this is taken. For discussion of the many questions concerning the life of this mysterious char-

acter, see Lipsius, index, s. v. "Leucius." He probably wrote in the second half of the second century. Some would place him much earlier, and even make him the disciple of John the evangelist. The above two names have many different forms. The circumstances under which Leucius and Charinus are said to have told the story of the Descent into Hell, which I have placed in the two following chapters, will be told in chap. XXXIV.

⁴See Luke ii.28 seq.

⁵Cf. John xi.25.

been adjured by thee. Grant us grace that we may give an account of thy resurrection, and thy miracles which thou didst in Hades. For thou didst order thy servants to relate to no one the secrets of thy divine majesty, which thou didst in the lower world."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DESCENT INTO HELL.

THE DESCENT BEGINS—HADES AND SATAN ALARMED—THE REGIONS LIGHTED UP—ADAM, ABRAHAM, AND THE PATRIARCHS UNITED—TESTIMONY OF ISAIAH—SIMEON—JOHN THE BAPTIST—SETH TELLS OF THE OIL OF MERCY—HADES DISPUTES WITH SATAN—WHO DENIES THAT CHRIST IS DIVINE—HADES TELLS HOW HE RAISED THE DEAD—THE SAINTS EXULT—THE GREAT VOICE—THE BOLTS FASTENED—DAVID TESTIFIES—ISAIAH—THE VOICE REPEATED.

- MAIN SOURCES: (33)—Questions of Bartholomew.
(45)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Greek Form, 2-5.
(46)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, First Latin Form, 2-5.
(47)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Second Latin Form, 2-7.

Now when Christ descended for the purpose of breaking (33) in pieces the strong bolts of Hades, and destroying the brazen bars,¹ Hades said unto the devil, "I see as it were God descending into the earth."² And the angels called out

¹This paragraph, with the one following, is taken from (33), which represents here only a version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II. Essentially the same matter is repeated in this chapter, but it seems to me worth while to give it here, as an introduction to the story of

the Descent. The stages in the Descent is an idea evidently borrowed from the Apocalypse of Esdras; also cf. Ascension of Isaiah.

²The writer evidently intended this to be taken literally, placing Hades in the bowels of the earth.

to the adverse powers, saying, "Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors, for the King of glory is entering."¹ And Hades said, "Who is this King of glory that descendeth to us from heaven?"² And when the Lord had descended five hundred steps, Hades being troubled, said, "Now do I perceive that it is the Most High who liveth, nor can I submit to Him." The devil said to him in reply, "Consent not to submit to Him, O Hades, but be of good cheer; for God Himself will by no means descend into the earth."³

- (33) When, then, the Lord had descended other five hundred steps, the angels and powers cried out, "Lift up the gates, let them be removed; for, behold, the King of glory is descending." And Hades said, "Woe to me; for I perceive that it is a spirit divine." And the devil said to Hades, "Why dost thou seek to terrify me, O Hades? This is a prophet who hath been made like unto God;⁴ we will seize this prophet, and take him thence to those who hope that they shall ascend into heaven." And Hades said, "Tell me which of the prophets it is. Is it Enoch who wrote concerning righteousness? God suffereth him not to descend into the earth before the six thousand years⁵ be fulfilled. Or dost thou say it is Elijah the avenger? Neither shall he sooner descend. What shall I do, because destruction cometh from God? Now is our departure close at hand; for I have a number in my hands." Then the devil, when

¹Ps. xxiv.7. This verse, with the three following ones, is repeated again and again in all the documents; it forms, in fact, the inspiration of the whole narrative; and I take it to be the germ of all these legends.

²Ps. xxiv.8, 10.

³The controversy rages between Hades and Satan until the latter is bound, as to whether Christ is truly God. The devil, the mystery having been hidden from him, as many of the

Church fathers declare, continues to be incredulous about this.

⁴Cf. Ps. lxxxii.6, 7. The Psalms are woven into this narrative everywhere.

⁵This is a Jewish idea, that the world should endure 6,000 years, corresponding to the six days of the week; then should come the Messiah preceded by Elijah. For details of this belief, see Eisenmenger, II, p. 652 seq. See also notes on chap. XXXV.

he perceived that the Word of the Father was descending into the earth, said to him, "Fear not, O Hades, let us defend the gates. We will strengthen our bolts; for God Himself will never come into the earth." And Hades said, "Where shall we hide ourselves from the face of God the great King?¹ Thou shalt permit me to yield, nor shalt thou resist; for I was created before thee."²

Now when all those who had fallen asleep since the beginning of the world were lying in Hades, in the blackness of darkness and shadow of death,³ suddenly there appeared at the hour of midnight,⁴ a golden light as of the sun,⁵ and a purple, royal light shone upon them. And this shining into these dark regions, those who dwelt there were all lighted up, and saw each other; and Hades and the gates of death trembled. And then was heard the voice of the Son of the Father Most High, as if the voice of a great thunder; and loudly proclaiming, he thus charged them, "Lift up your gates, ye princes; lift up the everlasting gates; the

¹Cf. Mat. v.35.

²According to Jewish tradition, seven things, of which hell was one, were created before the world was. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 316 seq. Yet I think that all tradition is to the effect that the angels were created before any of these, so that I am ignorant of the grounds on which Hades claimed the priority over Satan.

³Ps. cvii.10, 14; Mat. iv.16; Luke i.79; Is. ix.2, etc. All souls, both righteous and wicked, are here represented as having been in the same place of waiting, until Christ came. This view was taught by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Jerome, and others. The Jews believed that both the righteous and wicked went first to hell, but that the former remained there but a short time.

The same is taught by the Koran. It seems, however, from this narrative, that there were dungeons in hell deeper than others, and that certain classes, as, the patriarchs and prophets, accompanied together.

⁴The view here seems to be that Christ descended into hell at the midnight which followed the Crucifixion. Pseudo-Athanasius says that this event happened at the twelfth hour, or just after His burial at six o'clock in the evening. Others, again, think that it was only shortly before the Resurrection.

⁵Cf. Mal. iv.2. Hofmann, p. 423, gives many citations regarding Jewish belief as to how Messiah would deliver the souls from hell.

King of glory, Christ the Lord, will come up to enter in."¹

(45) And straightway Abraham was united with the father
(46) of all the human race,² and with all the patriarchs and
(47) prophets; and at the same time they were filled with joy, and said to each other, "That light is the source of eternal light, which hath promised to transmit to us co-eternal light."³ And the prophet Isaiah who was there, said, "This light is from the Father, and from the Son, and from the Holy Ghost, about whom I prophesied when yet alive, saying, 'The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephtholim across Jordan, Galilee of the nations, the people who sat in darkness, have seen a great light; and light was shining among those who are in the region of the shadow of death.'⁴ And now it hath come and shone upon us sitting in death."

(46) And when they were all exulting in the light which shone over them, there came up to them Simeon;⁵ and he said, exulting, "Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; because I took him up when born, an infant, in my hands in the temple, and instigated by the Holy Spirit, I said to him, confessing, 'Now mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared in the sight of all peoples, a light for the revealing of the nations, and the glory of thy people Israel.'⁶ When they heard this, all the multitude of the saints exulted more.

(45) Then there came into the midst another, as it were an
(46) ascetic⁷ from the desert; and the patriarchs said to him,
(47) "Who art thou?" And he said, "I am John the last of the

¹This quotation is given in the different narratives with many verbal variations.

²(45) merely states here that Abraham was united with all the patriarchs, etc.; (46) and (47) seem to imply, as above, that Adam also shared in this reunion.

³Allusion seems to be made to the article of the Nicene creed, "God of God, Light of Light," etc.

⁴Is. iv.1, 2; Mat. iv.15.

⁵This account of Simeon's appearance in Hades is also given by Pseudo-Athanasius, Leo, and Photius.

⁶Luke ii.30-32.

⁷John was called by many of the fathers, the first hermit or monk, although some of them went as far back as Abel for the beginning of this order.

prophets, who made the paths of the Son of God straight,¹ and proclaimed to the people repentance for the remission of sins.² And the Son of God came to me; and I, seeing him a long way off, said to the people, instigated by the Holy Spirit, 'Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world.'³ And with my hand I baptized him in the river Jordan, and I saw the Holy Ghost descending upon him in the form of a dove; and I heard a voice from heaven, even from God the Father, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'⁴ And on this account He sent me also to you, to proclaim how the rising Son of God is close at hand, and is coming here to visit us, that whosoever of us sitting in darkness shall believe in him shall be saved, and whosoever shall not believe in him shall be condemned.⁵ On this account I say to you all, in order that when ye see him, ye may all adore him, that now only is for you the time of repentance for having adored idols in the vain upper world, and for the sins ye have committed; and that this is impossible at any other time."⁶

While John was thus teaching those in Hades, the first (45) created and forefather Adam heard that Jesus was bap- (46) tized in Jordan. And gazing on all that multitude, he won- (47) dered greatly whether all of them had been begotten from him into this world.⁷ And he embraced those who were

¹Mat. iii.3.

²Mark i.4.

³John i.29, 36.

⁴Luke, iii.22.

⁵Mark xvi.16; John iii.18.

⁶Cyril of Alexandria says that Christ preached the Gospel in Hades to those who would have believed on Him if they had been alive at the time of His appearance on the earth. The fathers differed; from the view that the Gospel was preached to all, and that all were delivered from Hades, to the view that only a select number was ransomed.

Our document seems, in its different parts, to share in this uncertainty of view. The Jews seem to have excepted seven persons from the possibility of being released from hell.

⁷According to some legends, Adam had a book with the names and descriptions of all his descendants written in it; according to others, God made all his descendants, no larger than ants in size, to pass before him in procession when he was in paradise.

standing around everywhere, and shedding tears, said to his son Seth, "Tell my sons the patriarchs and prophets all that thou heardest from Michael the archangel, when I sent thee to the gates of paradise to implore God that He might send thee His angels to give thee oil from the tree of mercy,¹ with which to anoint my body when I was sick, and it fell to my lot to die."

(45) Then Seth, coming near to the holy patriarchs and
 (46) prophets, said, "When I, Seth, was praying to the Lord at
 (47) the gates of paradise, behold, Michael the angel of the Lord appeared to me, saying, 'I have been sent to thee by the Lord. I am set over the human race.² What, Seth, dost thou ask? Dost thou ask oil which raiseth up the sick,³ or the tree from which this oil floweth, on account of the sickness of thy father? This is not to be found now. Go, therefore, and tell thy father, that after the accomplishing of five thousand, five hundred years from the creation of the world,⁴ then

¹See, in chap. XXV, several versions of the legend. It is undoubtedly of Jewish origin, but was readily adapted to Christian, and especially Gnostic use. These sectaries had a special fondness for the use of Seth's name. This legend's principal Gnostic uses are to bring out the antithesis between the tree of death, of the serpent, and the tree of life, the cross; and to provide a type for the oil or crism used for anointing the sick, and for anointing in baptism. For references to other appearances of the legend, see, besides chap XXV, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, I, 139; II, 49; *Apocalypse of Moses*, Ante-Nicene, VIII, 565; Selden, *Otia Theol.*, p. 600.

²Michael is said in Dan. x.21, and in many other Jewish writ-

ings, to be set over the people of the Jews. Hermas and Nicephorus recognize him as the special patron of Christians. Later fathers, as Sophronius, recognize him as the patron of the whole human race.

³Reference is certainly intended here to the sacramental anointing of the sick. See Jas. v.14, 15; Mark vi.13. Anointing the sick with oil was practiced by the Jews, and is to this day practiced in the Eastern church. Not until the twelfth century did it generally cease in the Western church, and an anointing only of those *in extremis*, extreme unction, take its place.

⁴The belief that it was about 5,500 years from the creation to the Passion was generally held in the earlier Christian centuries. A detailed calculation of this,

shall come into the earth the only-begotten Son of God, being made man; and shall raise him up, and shall wash clean with water and with the Holy Spirit, both him and those out of him; and then shall he be healed of every disease. But now, this is impossible. And when he cometh, he will be baptized in Jordan. And when he shall have come out of the water of Jordan, then, with the oil of his mercy¹ shall he anoint all that believe on him; and that oil of mercy shall be for the generation of those who shall be born out of water and the Holy Spirit² into life eternal. Then descending upon earth, Christ Jesus, the most beloved Son of God, will lead our father Abraham into paradise, to the tree of mercy." And when they heard all these things from Seth, all the patriarchs and prophets exulted with great exultation.

And when all were in such joy, came Satan, the heir of (45)
darkness and prince and leader of death, and said to Hades, (46)
"O all-devouring and insatiable, hear my words. There is (47)
one of the race of the Jews, one named Jesus, who boasteth himself to be the Son of God. But I know him to be a man; for I heard him say, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death.'³ And being a man, by our working with them, the Jews have crucified him; and now when he is dead, be ready that we may secure him here. And he hath withstood me much, doing me evil; for wherever he found my servants, he persecuted them; and many whom I made blind, lame, deaf, leprous, and demoniac, he healed with a

which is, however, on its face an incorrect one, is found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, chap 28, and will be found in chap. XXXV of this work. Theophilus makes the period 5,698 years; Julius Africanus and Eustathius make it 5,531; and Syncellus and Malela point out an error of 2 years in their calculations, making it 5,533. The 5,500 years is

mentioned in the Book of the Combat of Adam.

¹Here the reference is plainly to the chrisim accompanying baptism. One must not forget, in estimating the value set upon oil in the legend, the meaning of Christ and Messiah, that is, "Anointed."

²John iii.5.

³Mark xiv.34.

word; and those whom I have brought to thee dead, he hath dragged away from thee.”¹

(45) Hades, answering, said to Prince Satan, “Who is he that
(46) is so powerful as to do such things by a single word, when
(47) he is a man afraid of death? For all the powerful of the earth are kept in subjection by my power, whom thou hast brought into subjection by thy power. If, then, thou art powerful, what is that man Jesus like, who, though fearing death, withstandeth thy power? If he is so powerful in humanity, verily I say unto thee, he is all-powerful in divinity, and his power no one can resist. And when he saith that he feareth death, he said this mocking and laughing, wishing to seize thee with the strong hand; and woe to thee to all eternity!”²

(45) And Satan, Prince of Tartarus, said, “O all-devouring
(46) and insatiable Hades, art thou so afraid of hearing of our
(47) common enemy? Why hast thou doubted and feared to receive this Jesus, thy adversary and mine? For I have tempted him, and I have raised up my ancient people the Jews³ with hatred and anger against him; I have sharpened a lance to strike him; I have mixed gall and vinegar⁴ to give him to drink; and I have prepared wood to crucify him, and nails to pierce him; and his death is near at hand, that I may bring him to thee, subject to thee and me.⁵ Make ready, then, in order that thou mayest lay fast hold upon him when he cometh.”

¹Many of the Church fathers take this view, that the divinity of Christ was hidden from Satan, who believed him to be a man. They supported this by such passages as, Eph. iii.9, and I Pet. i.12.

²This sentence reveals the reason for the invention of this part of the legend. Celsus, perhaps others, had charged Christ with cowardice, because He had uttered the words above quoted by Satan. The writer thus explains

them as a mockery of Satan, and a snare to compass his overthrow.

³Perhaps an indication of the Gnostic, and particularly Marcionite origin of this document. Marcion identified the God of the Jews with Satan.

⁴Mat. xxvii.34.

⁵Certainly John xiii.2 and I Cor. ii.8 uphold the above view, that the Crucifixion of Christ was the work of the devil.

Hades answered, "Heir of darkness, son of destruction,¹ (45)
 devil, thou hast just now told me that many whom thou (46)
 hadst made ready to be buried, he brought to life again by (47)
 a single word; that it is he himself who hath dragged away
 the dead from me. And if he hath delivered others from
 the tomb, how and with what power shall he be laid hold of
 by us? Now there are many who are here kept by me,
 who, while they lived on earth, took the dead from me, not
 by their own powers, but by godly prayers; and their al-
 mighty God dragged them away from me. Who is that
 Jesus, who by his word hath withdrawn the dead from me
 without prayers? For I not long ago swallowed down one
 dead, Lazarus by name; and not long after, one of the living
 by a single word dragged him up by force out of my bowels
 after he had been four days in stench and corruption; and
 I think it was he of whom thou speakest." Satan answered,
 and said, "That Jesus is the same." And when Hades
 heard this, he said to him, "If, therefore, we receive him
 here, I am afraid lest perchance we be in danger even about
 the rest. For lo, all those that I have swallowed from
 eternity, I perceive to be in commotion, and I am pained in
 my belly.² And the snatching away of Lazarus beforehand
 seemeth to me to be no good sign; for, not like a dead body,
 but like an eagle, he flew out of me, so suddenly did the
 earth throw him out. Wherefore I also adjure even thee,
 for thy benefit and for mine, not to bring him here. For
 I, at the time when I heard the command of his voice,
 trembled with terror and dismay; and my officers at the
 same time were confounded along with me. And I think
 that he is coming here to raise all the dead. And this I
 tell thee by the darkness³ in which we live; if thou bring
 him here, not one of the dead will be left behind in it to me.
 For I know that that man who could do these things is God,
 strong in authority, powerful in humanity, and he is the
 Saviour of the human race. But if thou bring him to me,
 all who are here shut up in the cruelty of the prison, and

¹Cf. John xvii.12; II Thes. ii.3.

²Cf. Jonah ii.2; Eccus. li.5.

³For a strong figure as to the
 darkness of Hades, see Job x.22.

bound by their sins in chains¹ that cannot be loosened, he will let loose, and will bring to the life of his divinity forever.”

(45) While Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other,
 (46) all the saints of God heard their wranglings. They, how-
 (47) ever, though as yet not at all recognizing each other, were, notwithstanding, in the possession of their faculties.² But our holy father Adam thus replied to Satan at once, “O captain of death, why dost thou fear and tremble? Behold, the Lord cometh, who will now destroy all thy inventions; and thou shalt be taken by him, and be bound through all eternity.” And all the saints, hearing the voice of our father Adam, how boldly he replied to Satan in all points, were strengthened in joy; and all running together to father Adam, were crowded in one place.

(45) And suddenly there was a great voice as of thunders,³
 (46) and a shouting of spirits, “Lift up your gates, ye princes,
 (47) and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors,⁴ and the King of glory, Christ the Lord, shall come in.” Then Satan the leader of death came up, fleeing in terror. And Hades, hearing this, said to Prince Satan, “Retire from me, and go outside of my realms; if thou art a powerful warrior, fight against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with him?” And Hades thrust Satan outside of his realms.

(45) And Hades said to his impious officers, “My officers and
 (46) all the powers below, run together, shut your cruel gates
 (47) of brass, secure well and strongly the iron bars,⁵ and attend

¹Cf. Ps. lxxviii.6.

²This passage occurs in (47), and perhaps should have been introduced at the point in this chapter where Adam speaks to Seth. It may be reconciled with its position here, however, by assuming that Adam was at the earlier point united only to the patriarchs and prophets, but was here united to the great body of the saints.

³Cf. Rev. xiv.2.

⁴The conception of hell as a room closed by doors, etc. is upheld by many scriptural passages, such as, Job. xvii.16; xxxviii.17; Ps. ix.13; Is. xxxviii.10; Mat. xvi.18; Rev. i.18; ix.1; xx.1. The Mohammedans say there are seven doors to it, and similar ideas are found in classical mythology.

⁵Ps. cvii.16.

to the bolts ; fight bravely and resist, lest they lay hold of us, and keep us captive in chains, that he holding captivity may not be taken captive.¹ For if he cometh here, woe will seize us." Then all his impious officers were perplexed, and began to shut the gates of death with all diligence, and by little and little to fasten the locks and the iron bars, and to hold all their weapons grasped in their hands, and to utter howlings in a direful and most hideous voice. And the forefathers, with all the multitude of the saints, having heard this, began all to revile Hades, saying with the voice of reproach, "O all-devouring and insatiable, open thy gates that the King of glory may come in."

After that, another standing there, preëminent as it were, ⁽⁴⁵⁾ with a certain mark of an emperor, David by name, thus ⁽⁴⁶⁾ cried out, and said, "When I was upon earth, I made revelations ⁽⁴⁷⁾ to the people, of the mercy of God and His visitation, prophesying future joys, saying through all ages, 'Let us make confession to the Lord of His tender mercy, and His wonderful works to the sons of men ; because He hath shattered the gates of brass, and broken the bars of iron. He hath taken them up out of the way of their iniquity.'"² Then the holy patriarchs and prophets began mutually to recognize each other, and each to quote his prophecies. Then holy Jeremiah, examining his prophecies, said to the patriarchs and prophets, "When I was upon earth, I prophesied of the Son of God, that he was seen upon earth, and dwelt with men." And after this, in like manner Isaiah said, "Did not I when I was alive upon earth, prophesy to you, 'The dead shall rise up, and all those who are in their tombs shall rise again, and those who are upon earth shall exult ; because the dew which is from the Lord is their health?'"³ And again I said, 'Where, O death, is thy sting? Where, O Hades, is thy victory?'"⁴

¹Ps. lxxviii.18; Eph. iv.8.

²Ps. cvii.15-17, according to the Septuagint.

³Is. xxvi.19, according to the Septuagint. The Jews believed

that God, at the resurrection, should raise the dead by a quickening dew from heaven.

⁴The author here makes Isaiah claim Hos. xiii.14 as his own ;

(45) And when all the saints heard this from Isaiah, they said
 (46) to Hades, "Open thy gates. Since thou art now conquered,
 (47) thou wilt be weak and powerless." And there was a great
 voice again, as of thunders, saying, "Lift up your gates, ye
 princes, and be ye lifted up, ye infernal gates; and the King
 of glory shall come in." Hades, seeing that they had twice
 shouted out this, saith, as if not knowing, "Who is this King
 of glory?" The angels of the Lord say, "The Lord strong
 and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle."¹ David saith in
 answer to Hades, "I recognize those words of the shout,
 since I prophesied the same by His Spirit. And now what
 I have said above, I say to thee, 'The Lord strong and
 mighty, the Lord mighty in battle; he is the King of glory.'
 'And the Lord Himself hath looked down from heaven upon
 earth, to hear the groans of the prisoners, and to release the
 sons of the slain.'² And now most filthy and most foul
 Hades, open the gates, that the King of glory may come in."

also, see I Cor. xv.55 which is
 verbally quoted; Is. xxv.8 con-
 tains a similar expression, which
 perhaps occasioned the error.

¹Ps. xxiv.8.

²Ps. cii.19, 20.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CHRIST DELIVERS THE FATHERS.

CHRIST ENTERS—HADES OPENED AND LIGHTED UP—ITS KEEPERS FEAR AND QUESTION CHRIST—CHRIST BINDS SATAN AND DELIVERS HIM TO HADES—WHO REPROACHES AND REVILES HIM—CHRIST BLESSES THE SAINTS—ADAM AND THE SAINTS ADORE HIM—CHRIST SETS HIS CROSS IN HADES—THE SAINTS SING PRAISES—CHRIST BRINGS THEM TO PARADISE—THEY MEET ENOCH, ELIJAH, AND DISMAS—THE INJUNCTIONS TO CHARINUS AND LEUCIUS.

- MAIN SOURCES: (33)—Questions of Bartholomew.
(45)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Greek Form, 5-11.
(46)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, First Latin Form, 5-11.
(47)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Second Latin Form, 7-11.

And, behold, suddenly Hades trembled, and the brazen (33) gates of death were destroyed; the bolts were shattered, the (45) iron bars were broken, falling to the ground, and the indis- (46) soluble chains were burst asunder. Everything was laid (47) open, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up. And, behold, the Lord Jesus Christ, coming in the form of a man,¹ in the brightness of light from on high, compassionate, great, and lowly, carrying a chain in his hand.² And the aid of unconquered power visited those sitting in the

¹Apparently this indicates that only the soul or spirit of Christ descended into hell, taking the form of a man; His body re-
mained still in the tomb. This is the general view of the fathers.
²Cf. Rev. xx.i.

profound darkness of transgressions, and in the shadow of death of sins. And all the dead who had been bound came out of the prisons.

(45) When this was seen by Hades and Death, and their im-
 (46) pious officers, along with their cruel servants, they trembled at perceiving in their own dominions the clearness of so great a light when they saw Christ so suddenly in their abodes; and they cried out, saying, "We have been overcome by thee. Woe to us! Who art thou that to the Lord directest our confusion?¹ Who art thou, that, undestroyed by corruption, the uncorrupted proof of thy majesty, with fury condemnest our power? Who art thou, so great and little, lowly and exalted, soldier and commander, wonderful warrior in the form of a slave, and the King of glory, dead and alive,² whom slain the cross hath carried? Thou who wast nailed to the cross, and didst lie dead in the sepulchre, hast come down to us alive; and in thy death every creature trembled, and the stars in a body were moved; and now thou hast been made free among the dead,³ and destroyest our legions. Who art thou that comest here without sin, that settest free those who are held captive, bound by original sin,⁴ and recallest them to their former liberty? Who art thou, who sheddest a divine and splendid, and illuminating light upon those who have been blinded by the darkness of their sins, and hast destroyed all our power? Art thou, then, that Jesus about whom the chief satrap Satan told us, that through cross and death thou art to inherit the whole world?"

(46) In like manner, also, all the legions of the demons, terror-stricken with like fear from their frightful overthrow, cried out, saying, "Whence art thou, O Jesus, a man so powerful and splendid in majesty, so excellent, without spot,

¹Possibly the meaning is, "Who art thou that bringest confusion upon our lord?"

²Cf. Rev. i.18; ii.8.

³Ps. lxxxviii.5.

⁴This expression is found in

(46). The idea that the saints were detained in Hades on account of original sin, seems to have arisen after the time of Augustine.

and free from guilt? For that world of earth which hath always been subject to us until now, which used to pay tribute for our uses, hath never sent us such a dead man; hath never destined such gifts¹ for the man below. Who, therefore, art thou, that hast so intrepidly entered our bounds, and who hast not only no fear of our punishments, but, moreover, attemptest to take all away from our chains?"

Then the King of glory, trampling on Death by his majesty, seized the chief satrap Satan by the head, and tormented him with a hundred wounds.² And binding him by the neck with the great chain that cannot be loosed, and again tying his hands behind him, he dashed him on his back into Tartarus, and placed his holy foot on his throat, saying, "Through all ages thou hast done many evils; thou hast not in any wise rested; to-day, I deliver thee to everlasting fire."³ And Hades being suddenly summoned, he commanded him, and said, "Take this most wicked and impious one, and have him in thy keeping, even to that day which I shall command thee, my second appearing.⁴ Satan the prince will be in thy power for ever, in place of Adam and his sons, my just ones." And Hades, as soon as he received Satan, was plunged under the feet of the Lord along with him into the depth of the abyss.

Then Hades, having received Prince Satan, said to him with vehement revilings, "O prince of perdition, and leader of extermination, Beelzebub, derision of angels, to be spit upon by the just; why didst thou wish to do this? Didst thou wish to crucify the King of glory, in whose death thou didst promise so great spoils? Like a fool, thou didst not know what thou wast doing.⁵ For, behold, that Jesus by the splendour of his death, is putting to flight all the darkness

¹Cf. Ps. lxxviii.18.

²From (33). Cf. Gen. iii.15.

³See Rev. xx.2, 3.

⁴It is evident that the apocryphal writer must here place the millennium before the sec-

ond coming of Christ.

⁵The idea that Satan was in some way a dupe in the course of the scheme of redemption, is one that has many manifestations in theology.

of death, and he hath broken into the strong lowest depths of our dungeons, and hath brought out all the captives, and released those who were bound.¹ And all who used to groan under our torments, insult us; and by their prayers our dominions are taken by storm, and our realms conquered; and no race of men hath now any respect for us. Moreover, also, we are grievously threatened by the dead, who have never been haughty to us, and who have not at any time been joyful as captives. O Prince Satan, father of all impious wretches and renegades, why didst thou wish to do this? Of those who from the beginning, even until now, have despaired of salvation and light, no bellowing after the usual fashion is now heard here; and no groaning of theirs resoundeth, nor in any of their faces is a trace of tears found. O Prince Satan, possessor of the keys of the lower regions, all the riches which thou hast acquired by the tree of transgression and the loss of paradise, thou hast now lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy joy hath perished.² When thou didst hang up that Christ Jesus the King of glory, thou wast acting against thyself and against me. Thou hast put thyself to death. Henceforth, thou shalt know what eternal torments and infinite punishments thou art to endure in my everlasting keeping. O Prince Satan, author of death, and source of all pride, thou oughtest first to have inquired into the bad cause of that Jesus. Him in whom thou perceivedst no fault, why, without reason, didst thou dare unjustly to crucify? And why hast thou brought to our regions one innocent and just, and lost the guilty, the impious, and the unjust of the whole world?³ For since I have received thee to keep thee safe, by experience thou shalt learn how many evils I shall do thee."

(45) And when Hades had thus spoken to Prince Satan, the
 (46) King of glory, the Saviour of all, affectionate and most mild,
 (47)

¹This view that there were separate dwellings in Hades for the just and unjust, and that the wickeder a man was, the lower in its depths was his dungeon,

appears in many of the fathers.

²Cf. Luke xi.21, 22.

³This seems to teach that all the wicked, as well as the saints, were ransomed from Hades.

stretched out his right hand, and said, "Come to me, all my saints,¹ who have my image and likeness. Do ye, who have been condemned through the tree and the devil and death, now see the devil and death condemned through the tree. Immediately, then, all the saints were brought together under the hand of the Lord. And he took hold of our forefather Adam by the right hand, and saluting him, kindly raised him up, saying, "Peace be to thee, Adam, with thy children, through immeasurable ages of ages. Amen." Then father Adam, falling forward at the feet of the Lord, and being raised erect, kissed his hands, and shed many tears, testifying to all, "Behold the hands which fashioned me!"² And he said to the Lord, "Thou hast come, O King of glory, delivering men, and bringing them into thy everlasting kingdom. I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me. O Lord God, I cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me. O Lord, thou hast brought out my soul from the powers below. Thou hast saved me from them that go down into the pit. Sing praises to the Lord, all His saints, and confess to the memory of His holiness; since there is anger in His indignation, and life in His good-will."³

Then also our mother Eve in like manner fell forward (47) at the feet of our Lord, and was raised erect, and kissed his hands, and poured forth tears in abundance, and said, testifying to all, "Behold the hands which made me."

In like manner also, all the saints of God, falling on their (46) knees at the feet of the Lord, said with one voice, "Thou (47) hast come, O Redeemer of the world. As thou hast foretold by thy law and thy prophets, so hast thou fulfilled by thy deeds. Thou hast redeemed the living by thy cross; and by the death of thy cross thou hast come down to us, to rescue us from the powers below, and from death, by thy majesty, O Lord. As thou hast set the title of thy glory in heaven, and hast erected as the title of redemption thy cross upon earth, so, O Lord, set in Hades the sign of the victory of

¹Cf. Mat. xi.28.

²Ps. xxx.1-5, Vulgate.

³Job x.8; Ps. cxix.73.

thy cross, that death may no more have dominion; that its most impious officers might not retain as an offender any one whom the Lord hath absolved."¹

(45) And so it was done. And the Lord set his cross in the
(46) midst of Hades, which is the sign of victory, and which
(47) will remain even to eternity. And the Lord, stretching forth his hand, made the sign of the cross upon Adam upon his forehead, and upon all his saints, the patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and forefathers; and holding Adam by the right hand, he went up from the powers below, and all the saints followed him. And while he was going, holy David cried out aloud, saying, "Sing unto the Lord a new song, for He hath done wonderful things. His right hand and His holy arm have brought salvation to Himself. The Lord hath made known His salvation; His righteousness hath He revealed in the sight of the heathen."²

(45) And all the holy fathers, accompanying the King of
(46) glory, sang praises, saying, "Blessed is he that cometh in
(47) the name of the Lord.³ Alleluia, to Him be the glory of all the saints. The Lord God hath shone upon us through all ages. Amen. Alleluia for ever and ever. Praise, honour, power, glory; because thou hast come from on high to visit us."⁴ And after this, the prophet Habakkuk cried out, saying, "Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, to deliver thine elect."⁵ And all the saints answered, saying, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; and He hath shone upon us. Amen, alleluia."

(46) In like manner after this, the prophet Micah also cried out, saying, "Who is God like unto thee, O Lord. taking away iniquities, and passing by sins? And now thou dost withhold thine anger for a testimony against us, because thou delightest in mercy. And thou turnest again, and hast compassion upon us, and pardonest all our iniquities; and

¹Cf. perhaps, in connection, Phil. ii.9, 10. The sign of the cross was early venerated. See, e. g. Justin Martyr.

²See Ps. xcvi.1, 2.

³Ps. cxviii.26.

⁴Cf. Luke i.78.

⁵Hab. iii.13.

all our sins hast thou sunk in the multitude of death,¹ as thou hast sworn unto our fathers in the days of old.”² And all the saints answered, saying, “This is our God to eternity, and for ever and ever; and he will direct us for evermore.³ Amen, alleluia.” So also all the prophets, quoting the sacred writings concerning his praises, and all the saints, crying, “Amen, alleluia,” followed the Lord.

And setting out to paradise, the Lord holding the hand (45) of Adam our forefather, delivered him and all the just to the (46) archangel Michael; and all the saints followed Michael, and he led them all into the glorious grace of paradise.⁴ And as they were going into the door of paradise, there met them two old men, ancient of days, to whom the holy fathers said, “Who are ye, that have not yet been dead with us in the regions below, and have been placed in paradise in your bodies and souls?” One of them answered, and said, “I am Enoch, who by the word of the Lord have been translated hither by Him; and he who is with me is Elijah the Tishbite, who was taken up by a fiery chariot. Here also even until now we have not tasted death, and we are also to live until the end of the world; and then we are to be sent by God to withstand Antichrist, by divine signs and wonders to do battle with him, and, being killed by him in Jerusalem, after three days and half a day to be taken up alive, and to be snatched up in the clouds to meet the Lord.”⁵

While they were thus speaking, there came another, a (45) most lowly wretched man, carrying also upon his shoulders (46) a cross; and his appearance was also that of a robber.⁶ And (47)

¹So the expression stands in the Ms., but this is certainly only a transcriber's error for “the depths of the sea.”

²Micah vii.18-20.

³Ps. xlvi.14.

⁴It is evident that the writer here represents the saints as entering the same paradise from which Adam was driven out. (47), in this connection, says

that the Lord threw some down into Tartarus, and led some with him to the upper world.

⁵I Thes. iv.17; Rev. xi.3-12; I John ii.18; iv.3. Enoch and Elijah, as dwellers in paradise and witnesses, have already been mentioned and discussed.

⁶The view is that the robber was transported corporeally to paradise. Notice that (36) says

seeing him, all the saints said to him, "Who art thou? because thy appearance is that of a robber; and what is the cross which thou bearest upon thy shoulder?" In answer to them, he said, "Truly have ye said that I was a robber and a thief in the world, doing all sorts of evil upon the earth. And for all these things the Jews crucified me along with Jesus; and I saw the miracles in created things which were done through the cross of Jesus crucified; and I believed him to be the Creator of all created things, and the King omnipotent. And I entreated him, saying, 'Be mindful of me, Lord, when thou shalt have come into thy kingdom.' Immediately, he accepted my entreaty, and said to me, 'Amen; I say unto thee; to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.'¹ And he gave me this sign of the cross, saying, 'Walk into paradise carrying this; and if the guardian angel of paradise will not let you go in, show him the sign of the cross, and thou shalt say to him, 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God who hath now been crucified, hath sent me.' Having done so, I said all this to the archangel Michael, the guardian of paradise. And when he heard this, he immediately opened, and led me in, and placed me at the right of paradise, saying, 'Lo, hold a little, and there will come in the father of the whole human race, Adam, with all his children, holy and just, after the triumph and glory of the ascension of Christ the crucified Lord.' And now seeing you, I come to meet you."

(45) Hearing all these words of the robber, all the holy patri-
 (46) archs and prophets with one voice, said, "Great is our Lord, and great is His strength.² Blessed art thou, O Lord Almighty, Father of everlasting benefits, and Father of mercies, who hast given such grace to thy sinners, and hast brought them back into the grace of paradise, and into thy rich pastures; for this is spiritual life most sure. Amen, amen."

(46) These are the divine and sacred mysteries which Charinus

in chap. XXV, that the body of the robber on the right was not found after the Crucifixion.

¹Luke xxiii.42, 43.

²Ps. cxlvii.5.

and Leucius heard. More, they were not allowed to tell of the other mysteries of God, since Michael the archangel adjured them, and said, "Ye shall go into Jerusalem with your brethren, and continue in prayers; and ye shall cry out and glorify the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath raised you up from the dead with himself. And with none of men shall ye speak. And ye shall sit as dumb, until the hour shall come when the Lord himself shall permit you to relate the mysteries of his divinity."¹ And Michael the archangel ordered them to walk across Jordan into a place rich and fertile, where there were many who rose again along with them for an evidence of the resurrection of Christ the Lord; because only three days were allowed to those who had risen from the dead to celebrate in Jerusalem the passover of the Lord,² with their living relations, for an evidence of the resurrection of Christ the Lord. And they were told to go first to Jordan to be baptized,³ and then to remain in the city of Arimathaea in prayers.

¹These circumstances under which they relate the story are given in chap. XXXIV.

²This seems to point to a celebration of Easter on not only the Lord's Day, but the two days

following, as is, indeed, still the ideal of the Church.

³It would be interesting to know who administered this baptism according to the writer's idea.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RESURRECTION.

MANY VIEW THE SEPULCHRE—JEWS SEEK CHRIST'S FRIENDS—THE DISCIPLES DEPART—NICODEMUS REPROACHED—JOSEPH IMPRISONED—TWO MEN DESCEND FROM HEAVEN INTO THE TOMB—THREE DEPART FROM IT—WATCHERS TELL PILATE—WOMEN COME TO THE TOMB—CHRIST APPEARS TO THEM—TO THE DISCIPLES—JAMES—THE ELEVEN—JOSEPH'S DELIVERANCE—THE ROBBER—JOURNEY INTO GALILEE—JEWS' COUNCIL—GUARD EXAMINED AND BRIBED.

- MAIN SOURCES: (36)—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea, 4, 5.
(37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 12, 13, 15.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 12, 13, 15.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 12, 13, 15.
(40)—Gospel of Peter, 34-60.

(37) Now early in the morning, as the Sabbath was drawing on,
(38) there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round
(39) about, that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed.¹
(40) And the Jews hearing that Joseph of Arimathaea had begged the body of Jesus, being also made acquainted with those things done by him and Nicodemus, were greatly stirred up against them. They therefore sought them, with the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and many others who had stepped up before Pilate and declared his good works.²

¹This sentence is from (40).

²The time of this, as will after-

But the twelve disciples of the Lord mourned, and were (40) grieved, and each one, being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. Now it was the last day of unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes as the feast was ended. And Simon Peter and Andrew his brother took their nets, and went to the sea, and there was with them Levi the son of Alphaeus.¹

And of all those that were hid, Nicodemus alone was (37) seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And (39) Nicodemus saith to them, "How have ye come into the synagogue?"² The Jews say unto him, "How hast thou come into the synagogue? for thou art a confederate of his, and his portion is with thee in the world to come." Nicodemus saith, "Amen, amen."

And the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas sent for (37) Joseph, and said, "Why hast thou done this service to (38) Jesus?" Joseph saith, "I know that Jesus was a man just (39) and true, and good in all respects; I know also that ye through hatred managed to murder him; and therefore I buried him. Why are ye angry against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Behold, I have put him in my new tomb, wrapped him in clean linen; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the tomb. And ye have acted not well against the just man, because ye have not repented of crucifying him, but have also pierced him with a spear."

Then the high priests were enraged, and laid hold of (36) Joseph. And carried away by hatred and rage, they or- (37) dered him to be shut up in prison where evil-doers were kept (38) under restraint, until the first day of the week, saying unto (39) him, "Know that the time doth not allow us to do anything

wards appear, was the night of Good Friday.

¹This paragraph forms the conclusion of (40) as that document is at present known. The time to which it evidently refers here is Easter Day; the disciples depart in ignorance of the Resurrection. Cf. Mat. xxviii.7; Mark

xvi.7. But I put the passage here, in order not to make too evident a contradiction in my narrative further on.

²I suppose the meaning is, "How have ye the face to come into a holy place after sharing in such a deed as the Crucifixion of Jesus."

against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning,¹ but early in the morning of the first day of the week² thou shalt be given up to death. Know, also, that thou shalt not be deemed worthy of burial, but we shall give thy flesh to the birds of the air.”³ Joseph saith to them, “These be the words of the arrogant Goliath, who reproached the living God and holy David. For God hath said by the prophet, ‘Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord.’⁴ And now he that is uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, hath taken water, and washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying, ‘I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it.’⁵ And ye answered, and said unto Pilate, ‘His blood be upon us, and upon our children.’ And now I am afraid lest the wrath of God come upon you, and upon your children, as ye have said.”

(36) And the Jews, hearing these words, were embittered in
 (37) their souls, and seized Joseph, and locked him into a room
 (38) where there was no window; and guards were stationed
 (39) at the door. Also, they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in, having secured it by fastenings of all sorts. Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites, made a decree that all should be found in the synagogue on the first day of the week. Now this happened on the evening of the Sabbath, about the tenth hour,⁶ whereby the Jews transgressed the law. And, behold, that same nation endured fearful tribulations on the Sabbath day.

(40) But in the night in which the Lord’s Day was drawing on,

¹There seems to be some doubt as to whether courts could be held upon such days.

²(38) here says, the “Lord’s Day.” A curious anachronism.

³I Sam xvii.44. The denial of burial was counted the greatest punishment amongst the Jews, *e. g.* see I Kings xiii.22; xiv.11; xvi.4; xxi.24, etc. Cf. also the Christian denial of burial to heretics, suicides, etc. Classical ideas about the evils that fol-

lowed privation of burial are well known.

⁴Deut. xxxiv.35; Rom. xii.19; Heb. x.30.

⁵Mat. xxvii.24, 25.

⁶If it is possible that any harmonious sequence of these events can be made out, it would appear that the Jews sought first for Joseph on the night of Good Friday, arrested him early on Saturday morning, and imprisoned him; then examined him

as the soldiers kept guard two by two in a watch, there was a great voice in the heavens. And they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with great light, and approach the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled of itself, and made way in part; and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered it.¹

When,² therefore, these soldiers saw it, they awakened (40) the centurion and the elders,—for they too were hardby keeping guard; and as they declared what things they had seen, again they see three men coming forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross following them.³ And of the two, the head reached unto the heavens, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens.⁴ And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, “Hast thou preached to them that sleep?” And a response was heard from the cross, “Yea.”⁵ But those who were guarding the sepulchre saw not how he came forth from it.

They therefore considered one with another whether to go (40) away and show these things to Pilate.⁶ And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again are seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sepulchre.

on Saturday evening, and put him under strong guard.

¹This account from (40) has no direct canonical parallel. It accounts, however, for the two men in shining garments of Luke xxiv.4.

²This entire paragraph is from (40), save the last sentence, which is taken from a Syriac document, *The Teaching of Abgar*, Cod. Add., 14, 535, fol. I. See *Ante-Nicene*, VIII, p. 655.

³Probably the source of the story in the foregoing chapter of how Christ brought the cross to Hades. This account of the Resurrection is strikingly similar to that of the *Codex Bobbiensis*, at Mark xvi.4. See *Resch*, 454, for

full discussion: When the three Marys came to the tomb, suddenly at the third hour there was darkness throughout the whole earth. Angels—how many is not stated—descended from heaven and ascended with Him in the brightness of the living God, and light continually appeared. Then the women came to the tomb, and saw that the stone was rolled away.

⁴The gigantic size here attributed to Christ is an indication of the Docetic origin of (40).

⁵Cf. I Pet. iv.6, as well as the whole story of the last two chapters.

⁶All this paragraph is from (40).

When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate,¹ leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed, and saying, "Truly he was the Son of God." Pilate answered, and said, "I am pure from the blood of the Son of God; but ye determined this."² Then they all drew near and besought him, and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen. "For it is better," say they, "for us to incur the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned."³ Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

- (40) Now very early upon the Lord's Day, Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalene,⁴ their friends also being with them, went to the sepulchre to anoint the body. For out of fear of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, they had not done at the Lord's sepulchre all the things which the women are wont to do for those that die and are beloved of them. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, saying, "Although on the day on which he was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet let us now do these things at his sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid

¹As told by (39), in the account incorporated in this chapter further on, the deliverance of Joseph and the Resurrection took place at the midnight which ushered in Easter Day. Practically all Greek church tradition agrees as to this. The Latin fathers, however, favour three in the morning as the hour. Augustine says that no mortal knows what the hour of the Resurrection was. The one man who last entered the tomb must represent the single angel of Mat. xxviii.2, 3; Mark xvi.5.

²Mat. xxvii.24.

³A bitterly hostile feeling towards the Jews appears everywhere in (40).

⁴Practically all this paragraph is from (40), but that mentions only Mary Magdalene and her friends as having come to the sepulchre. Martha is mentioned by a Coptic papyrus fragment, translated by Dr. Schmidt in the *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, June 20, 1895, (XXI, pp. 705-711). See Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, Robinson, p. xiv. I shall use this brief fragment further on.

at the door of the sepulchre? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of him, we will weep and lament, until we come into our home."¹

Then they went away and found the tomb opened, and (40) coming near, they looked in, and see a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright, who also said to them, "Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not here; for he is risen and gone away thither, whence he was sent." Then the women feared and fled.²

But they grieved and wept since they had found the sepulchre (n) empty. Then the Lord appeared to them, and saith, "Why do ye weep? Cease to weep, for I am he whom ye seek. But let one of you go to your brethren, and say, 'Come, the master hath risen from the dead.'" Then Martha went and told them. But they said to her, "What hast thou to do with us, O woman? He who died is buried, and it is not possible that he should be living." For they did not believe her that the Saviour was risen from the dead. Then she went to the Lord, and said to him, "No one among them hath believed me that thou livest." And he said, "Let another of you go to them and say it to them again." So Mary went and told them again, and they did not believe. She came back to the Lord, and told him. Then the Lord

¹Cf. for this paragraph, Mat. xxviii.1; Mark xvi.1-3; Luke xxiv.1; John xx.1. The Didascalia, V, 13, and Apostolic Constitutions, V, 14, also contain accounts, but not differing enough from the canonical ones to be worth inserting here. They exhibit much confusion as to the sequence of events.

²This paragraph is from (40), which here ends its account of the Resurrection. The canonical parallels are Mat. xxviii.3, 5, 6; Mark xvi.5, 6; Luke xxiv.2-8; John xx.1. The most remarkable thing about this account is that it makes Christ's Resurrection at the same time His Ascension.

said to Mary and her other sisters, "Let us go to them."¹
 (n) And the Lord went and found the disciples within, and called to them.² But they thought that it was a phantom, and believed not that it was the Lord.³ And he said to them, "Come.⁴ And thou, O Peter, who hast thrice denied him, dost thou still deny?" But they approached him whilst they still doubted in their hearts whether it were he. Then did he say to them, "Why doubt ye yet, and are unbelieving? Why are ye disturbed, and thoughts ascend into your hearts?"⁵ I am he that hath told you, so that on account of my flesh and my death and my resurrection ye should know that it is I. Peter, lay thy finger in the nail prints of my hands. And thou, Thomas, lay thy finger in the lance wound in my side. And do thou, Andrew, touch my feet, and thou wilt see that they are like those of earth.⁶ Take hold, handle me; and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit." And straightway they touched him, and believed, being convinced by his flesh and by his spirit.⁷ And they answered him, "We have indeed come to know that it is thee, in the

¹This paragraph is from Schmidt's Coptic fragment, just referred to. Cf. Mat. xxviii.8; Luke xxiv.9; Mark xvi.9-11. Of course this, and much else that follows, is inconsistent with the story told by (40).

²This paragraph also, with exceptions noted, is from Schmidt's fragment. Cf. John xx.20, 24-28; Luke xxiv.12; I Cor. xv.5. Uncanonical accounts of the central incident regarding Peter are many.

³Cf. Acts xii.15, as well as Luke xxiv.37.

⁴There is here a lacuna in the Ms.

⁵This sentence is from a passage quoted by Jerome, in Proem. in lib. XVIII, Esaiæ, and by him attributed to the He-

brew Gospel used by the Nazarenes. It is identically Luke xxiv.38.

⁶Schmidt's fragment here continues, "For it is written in the prophets, 'Phantoms of dreams upon earth.'" The next sentence in my text is the rest of the fragment mentioned in note 6. Substantially the same fragment is found in Jerome de Vir. III.; Pseudo-Ignatius ad Smyrn., III; Eusebius, Church Hist., III, 36; Origen de Princ. Proem, c. 8; Ignatius ad Smyrn., III. Cf. Luke xxiv.39, 40.

⁷I have added this sentence from the last source cited in note 16. The remainder of the paragraph is again from Schmidt's fragment.

flesh." And they cast themselves on their faces, confessing their sins that they had been unbelieving.

And the Lord, after he had given his grave clothes to the (n) servant of the priest, appeared to James. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he drank the cup of the Lord, until he should see him rising again from among those that sleep. And the Lord said, "Bring a table and bread." He brought bread, and brake, and gave to James the Just, and said to him, "My brother, eat thy bread; for the son of man is risen from among those that sleep."¹

Afterwards, he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at (n) meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they had not believed them which had seen him arising. And they excused themselves to him, saying, "This age of iniquity and unbelief is under the power of Satan, who by means of unclean spirits permitteth not the power of God to be perceived. For that reason, reveal now thy righteousness."²

Now Joseph fell a-praying in the prison throughout the (36) whole night of the preparation and the whole day of the (37) Sabbath. And at midnight,³ as he was standing and praying, (38) the room where he was kept was hung up by the four (39) corners,⁴ whilst he saw a light like lightning to his eyes.

¹This passage is found in Jerome de Vir. Illust., II, where it is said to be taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It is also found in Pseudo-Abdias, Hist. Apostol., VI, 1; in Gregorius Turonensis; and in the Golden Legend. There would seem to be strong reason for thinking this to be the appearance mentioned in I Cor. xv.7. Cf. also John xx.24. See Resch, p. 421, for full discussion.

²This version of Mark xvi.14 is found in Jerome adv. Pelag., II, 15. Probably the addition is but

another version of the story in the second paragraph preceding. But notice how Paul, in I Cor. xv.5, speaks of one appearance to Cephas, then to the twelve; and then in xv.7 of an appearance to James and then to all the apostles. For the significant sentence, "This age of iniquity," etc., cf. Eph. ii.2; II Cor. iv.4.

³(36) makes this to be the midnight following Easter Day, which senseless tradition I disregard, placing these events at the midnight before.

⁴The narrative of Acts v.18

And he was afraid, falling to the ground. Then one took him by the hand, and removed him from the place where he had fallen; and moisture of water was poured from his head even to his feet, whilst a smell of perfumes¹ came about his nostrils. And one, embracing him, wiped his face and kissed him, saying unto him, "Fear not, Joseph, open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaketh unto thee." And looking up, Joseph saw Jesus. But thinking it was a phantom, Joseph trembled and said the commandments; then said he them with him. Even so, none is ignorant that a phantom, if it meet anybody and hear the commandments, taketh to flight.² And seeing that he repeated them with him, Joseph said unto him, "Rabbi Elias." And he said unto Joseph, "I am not Elias."³ Then Joseph said unto him, "Who art thou, my Lord?" And he said unto Joseph, "I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate; and thou didst clothe me with clean linen, and didst put a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the tomb."

- (36) Now there was along with Jesus the robber who had been
 (37) crucified with him on the right, whom he sent into paradise.
 (38)
 (39) And Joseph first recognized Jesus when he came out of the prison, and saw with him the robber, bringing a letter to

may have furnished some suggestion for this whole legend. The legend of the taking up of the house finds its fuller later development in the story of the Virgin's house transported to Loretto, which I have already noted.

¹Intended, probably, to indicate the smell of the spices in which Christ's body was wrapped, and thus to show that it was really He and not a phantom.

²Verbal formulæ to use as charms, and especially to exorcise evil spirits, are used amongst

nearly all nations. For examples of Christian ones, see chap. XX. The Jewish phylacteries, enclosing certain verses of scripture, were so used. The ten commandments were often found in these, and it is natural to think that they would have been regarded as equally effective when pronounced aloud.

³It was believed by the Jews that Elijah often appeared to the wise in different forms. See Eisenmenger, II, 402. So it was natural for Joseph to think that this might be he.

Jesus. And there was also with the robber a great fragrance out of paradise. And Joseph said to Jesus, "Show me the place where I laid thee." Then he carried Joseph away, and showed him the place where he laid him, and the linen cloth lying in it, and the napkin for his face.¹ Then Joseph knew that it was Jesus.

And Jesus, having sat down in a certain place, thus read (36) the letter borne by the robber: "We, the cherubim and the six-winged, who have been ordered by Thy Godhead to watch the garden of paradise, make the following statement through the robber, who was crucified along with Thee, by Thy arrangement: When we saw the print of the nails of the robber crucified along with Thee, and the shining light of the letter of Thy Godhead, the fire indeed was extinguished, not being able to bear the splendour of the print;² and we crouched down, being in great fear. For we heard that the Maker of heaven and earth, and of the whole creation, had come down from on high to dwell in the lower parts of the earth, on account of Adam, the first-created. And when we beheld the undefiled cross shining like lightning from the robber, gleaming with sevenfold the light of the sun, trembling fell upon us. We felt a violent shaking of the world below; and with a loud voice, the ministers of Hades, said, along with us, 'Holy, holy holy, is He who in the beginning was in the highest.' And the powers sent up a cry, 'O Lord, Thou hast been made manifest in heaven and in earth, bringing joy to the world; and a greater gift than this, Thou hast freed Thine own image from death by the invisible purpose of the ages.'³

After Joseph had beheld these things, as he was going (36) into Galilee with Jesus and the robber, Jesus was transfigured, and was not as formerly, before he was crucified, but was altogether light.⁴ And the angels always ministered to him, Jesus speaking with them. But no one of his disciples

¹John xx.6, 7.

²The print of the nails.

³The indebtedness of all this

to the Gospel of Nicodemus is evident.

⁴Cf. Mat. xvii.2; Mark ix.3.

was with him, except the robber alone. And Joseph remained with him three days.¹

(36) And in the middle of the feast of unleavened bread, his disciple John cometh, and they no longer beheld the robber as to what took place.² And John asked Jesus, "Who is this, that thou hast not made me to be seen by him?" But Jesus answered him nothing. And falling down before him, John said, "Lord, I know that thou hast loved me from the beginning, and why dost thou not reveal to me that man?" Jesus saith unto him, "Why dost thou seek what is hidden? Art thou still without understanding? Dost thou not perceive the fragrance of paradise filling the place? Dost thou not know who it is? The robber on the cross hath become heir of paradise. Amen, amen, I say unto thee, that it shall belong to him alone³ until that the great day shall come." And John said, "Make me worthy to behold him."

(36) Now, while John was yet speaking, the robber suddenly
(37) appeared; and John, struck with astonishment, fell to the
(38) earth. And the robber was not in his first form, as before
(39) John came; but he was like a king in great power, having on him the cross. And the voice of a great multitude was sent forth, "Thou hast come to the place prepared for thee in paradise. We have been commanded by Him that hath sent thee, to serve thee until the great day." And after this voice, the robber vanished. Then Jesus took Joseph by the hand, and placed him, though the doors were locked, in the middle of his own house; and leading him away to his bed, he said unto him, "Peace to thee."⁴ And he kissed Joseph, and said

¹The time and manner of this journey, as well as the locality where these days were spent, involve mysterious questions, indeed. I am unequal to their solution. For Christ's journey unto Galilee, cf. Mat. xxviii.7; Mark xvi.7; John xxi.1.

²The inference seems to be that he had returned once more

bodily to paradise.

³Inconsistent, of course, with the representations of chap. XXIX, which brings all the saints into paradise.

⁴Here there is a transition from the narrative of (36) to that of the Gospel of Nicodemus. For the locked doors, cf. John xx.19.

to him, "For forty days go not forth out of thy house; for, behold, I go to my brethren unto Galilee."

Now rising up early,¹ all the multitude in the synagogue (37) had consulted by what death they should slay Joseph. And (38) when the Sanhedrin was sitting, they ordered him to be (39) brought in with much indignity. But having opened the door of the prison, they found him not. Then were all the people surprised, and struck with dismay, because they found the seals unbroken and the door shut and the bolts safe, whilst Caiaphas had the key. Then they no longer dared to lay hands upon those who had spoken before Pilate in Jesus' behalf.²

And while they were still sitting in the synagogue, re- (37) criminating about Joseph, there came some of the guard (38) whom the Jews had begged of Pilate to watch the tomb of (39) Jesus, that his disciples might not come and steal him. And they reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites, what had happened. And they said, "Learn that Jesus hath risen." The Jews say, "How?" And they said, "First there was a great earthquake,³ then we saw an angel of the Lord, clothed with lightning and in raiment white as snow, come from heaven; and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the tomb and sat upon it: his countenance also shone like lightning. And from fear of him, all of us soldiers were greatly afraid; for we lay like dead men, and were able neither to flee nor speak.⁴ And we heard the voice of the angel saying to the women who remained beside the tomb, 'Be not afraid, for I know that ye seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here. He is risen, as he said. Bend down and see the place where the Lord lay; and go quickly, telling his disciples that he hath risen from the dead, and is in Galilee. And let them go into

¹That is, on Easter morning.

²Some Mss. of (38) (see Tischendorf, p 315) here add an account of how the Jews went to Pilate and complained that he had given the body of Christ to

Joseph for burial, of how they had carefully guarded the tomb, etc. But I omit this, as the substance is repeated elsewhere.

³Mat. xxviii.2.

⁴Mat. xxviii.3, 4.

Galilee, for there shall they find him.¹ For this reason I tell you this first.’”

(37) Then say the Jews unto the soldiers, “To what women did
(38) he speak? What sort of women were they who came to the
(39) tomb?” Then men of the guard say, “We know not who they were.” The Jews say, “At what time was this?” The men of the guard reply, “At midnight.” The Jews say, “And wherefore did ye not lay hold of them?” The men of the guard reply, “From the mere sight of the angel, we were like dead men from fear, and were not able to speak or move, not expecting to see the light of day. How then could we lay hold of them?” The Jews say, “As the Lord liveth, we believe not a word that ye say.” The men of the guard reply to the Jews, “If ye have seen so great miracles in the case of this man, and have not believed, how then can ye believe us? Assuredly, ye have done well to swear as the Lord liveth, for indeed he whom ye crucified doth live.” And again the men of the guard say, “We have heard that ye have locked up the body of the man that begged the body of Jesus, sealing the door with your rings, and that opening it ye have not found him. Do ye then give us the man whom ye were guarding, and we shall give you Jesus.” The Jews say, “Joseph hath gone away to his own city; ye will find him in Arimathaea.” The men of the guard say to the Jews, “Jesus hath risen, as we heard from the angel, and is in Galilee; go ye too into Galilee, and ye will find Jesus, as the angel said to the women.”

(37) And when the Jews heard these words, they were very
(38) much afraid, saying, “We must take care lest this story be
(39) heard, and all will believe in Jesus.” So they called a council, and consulting among themselves, brought forth a considerable sum of money in silver pieces. And they gave this to the soldiers, saying, “See that ye tell this story to nobody. But say that while ye slept his disciples came and stole him from the tomb.”² But the soldiers said, “We are

¹Mat. xxviii 5-7; Mark xvi.6, 7. amongst the Jews is alleged by

²Mat. xxviii.12, 13. That this Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and report was widely spread Pseudo-Clement. The somewhat

afraid lest by any means Pilate hear that we have taken money, and kill us." But the Jews said, "Take it, and we pledge ourselves to keep you out of trouble. For if this come to the ears of the procurator, we shall speak to Pilate in your defence, and persuading him, make you secure." So the soldiers took it, and said as they had been instructed. Their saying, also, was spread abroad among all, so that up to this day, this same lying tale is told among the Jews.¹ But when those watchers were questioned before Pilate, they confessed before him how large a bribe the chief priests of the Jews had given them, so that they might say that his disciples had stolen the body of Christ.

similar story, that one of the leaders of the people, Judas, for fear that His disciples would steal Christ's body, took it out of the tomb and buried it in the bed of a river, is told in the *Toledoth Jeschu*, a blasphemous Jewish book to which I have several times referred. And Tertullian gives, *De Spectaculis*, chap. XXX, another curious

theory, which was doubtless broached by the skeptics of his time. He speaks ironically, "This is He whom His disciples secretly stole away, that it might be said He had risen again, or the gardener abstracted, that his lettuces might come to no harm from the crowds of visitants."

¹Mat. xxviii.14, 15.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REVELATIONS DURING THE GREAT FORTY DAYS.

BARTHOLOMEW ALONE DARES QUESTION CHRIST—WHO TELLS OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE FROM THE CROSS—OF THE AVENGING ANGEL—DISCOURSES ABOUT THE SOULS IN PARADISE—BARTHOLOMEW QUESTIONS MARY—HER PRAYER—SHE TELLS OF THE ANNUNCIATION—CHRIST SHOWS BELIAR TO THE APOSTLES—BARTHOLOMEW QUESTIONS HIM—HE TELLS OF THE CREATION AND FALL OF THE ANGELS—OF THE VARIOUS ANGELS WHO PRESIDE OVER THE EARTH.

MAIN SOURCE: (33)—Questions of Bartholomew.

- (33) Now when, after Christ's burial, he arose from the dead, no one dared to question him; because his mortal body, indeed, was not seen, but his divinity only.¹ And Bartholomew, coming to him, said, "I have a word which I would fain speak unto thee, O Lord." And Jesus said unto him, "I know what thou wouldest ask me; speak it, then; for even what thou hast not in mind, I will reveal unto thee." And Bartholomew said, "Lord, when thou didst will to be fixed to the cross, I, following afar off, saw thee suspended from the cross; and I saw the angels descending from heaven to hail thy passion, and the darkness; and looking again, I saw not thee hanging upon the cross,² but I heard only shoutings in the under-world, and groanings, and grievous gnashing of teeth. Tell me, I beseech thee, O

¹This chapter is composed exclusively of the first part of (33).

²A plainly Docetic view of the Crucifixion.

Lord, whither thou didst go from the cross." And the Lord said, "Happy art thou, Bartholomew my servant, because thou hast seen this mystery; on this account, I will tell thee all that thou askest me. When I disappeared from the cross, I descended to the lower world with my angels, whence I led forth Adam and all the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and ascended upon the cross."¹

And Bartholomew said, "I saw, O Lord, all the angelic (33) powers ascending into heaven and praising thee before the Father, but one angel, pre-eminent amongst them² all, wished not to seek heaven; in his hand, moreover, he held a fiery lance, and he looked toward thee alone; and all the angels asked that they might ascend into heaven, but he wished not to enter except thou shouldst command him; and I saw a flame of fire which went forth from his hand, reaching out toward the city." And Jesus said, "Happy art thou, Bartholomew my beloved, because thou hast seen these mysteries; he was one of the avenging angels who stand around the throne of my Father, whom my Father sent me.³ For this reason he was unwilling to enter heaven, because he wished to destroy the power of the world. When, moreover, I commanded him to ascend, a flame went forth from his hand, dividing and cleaving into two parts the veil of the temple, in testimony of suffering upon the children of Israel because they crucified me."⁴

And having said these things, the Lord said to the apos- (33) tles, "Wait for me in this place, that I being present may receive the sacrifice which is offered to me to-day in para-

¹I have never met elsewhere this idea that the deliverance of the fathers took place during Christ's brief absence from the cross before His burial. For other views, see note, chap. XXVIII.

²Perhaps to be identified with the angel Emelouch, mentioned in chap. XXI. This document and that have drawn from com-

mon sources, or from each other. A similar description of avenging angels is to be found in the Mohammedan apocalypse incorporated in chap. XVIII.

³Cf. Mat. xxvi.53.

⁴At this point ends the Slavic version of (33), which Vassiliev prints in Latin, and his Greek text begins with the next paragraph.

dise." Bartholomew, answering, said to Jesus, "Lord, what sacrifice is being offered in paradise?" Jesus saith, "The souls of the just, departing to-day from the body, come into paradise; and if I be not present, they do not enter in." Bartholomew said, "How many souls are there, Lord, that enter into paradise?" Jesus, replying, said to him, "There are three." Bartholomew saith to him, "Lord, when thou didst teach the word with us, didst thou receive sacrifices in paradise?" Jesus, answering, saith to him, "Verily, I say unto thee, my beloved, that I both taught the word with you, and without sorrow was sitting down with the Father, and each day received sacrifices in paradise."¹ Bartholomew, answering, saith to him, "Lord, have only three souls come out each day?" Jesus saith to him, "Scarcely fifty-three, my beloved." Again Bartholomew saith, "And how do only three enter into paradise?"² Jesus saith to him, "Certainly they are set down in Abraham's bosom; but the rest are in the place of resurrection, because they are not the same as the fifty." Bartholomew saith to him, "How many souls are there, Lord, in the world? Are they very numerous?" Jesus saith to him, "One soul only of those coming out is superfluous, and is born."³ And whilst they were saying these things, he gave to them peace, and disappeared from them.

(33) And the apostles were in the Cherubim⁴ with Mary. And Bartholomew, drawing near, saith to Peter and An-

¹For note on the praises of the angels in paradise, see chap. IV.

²Something seems to have dropped out of the Ms. here, perhaps a somewhat lengthy passage. Possibly the teaching is that fifty souls each day pass into Abraham's bosom, and three into paradise, which is distinguished from the former place.

³This is the literal translation of the Greek as it stands, and seems meaningless. The confusion is probably due to the omis-

sion of matter above noted. There is possibly allusion to the pre-existence and rebirth of souls.

⁴At first sight it would look as if the meaning were, "*among* the Cherubim"; but further on, the Cherubim is distinctly called a place. There is probably here an imitation of, and attempted improvement on the language of Rev. i.10, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day."

drew and John, "Let us ask the highly-favoured Mary how she conceived the boundless, or how she carried the insupportable, or how she brought forth such greatness." But they hesitated to ask her. Therefore Bartholomew saith to Peter, "Father Peter, thou as leader, having requested, ask her." But Peter saith to John, "Thou as a virgin like her, oughtest to ask her." And while they were all hesitating and disputing, Bartholomew, drawing near, looked into her face, and lifting up his voice, said to her, "O tabernacle which hast obtained favour, who didst cherish unpolluted, we would question thee. O mother more spacious than a city! O mother broader than the unfolding of the heavens! O mother having contained Him whom the seven heavens could not contain, and who having contained Him painlessly, didst hold Him sacredly in thy bosom! O mother who lying in secret places didst give birth to the very manifest Christ! O mother more extensive than all the creation, having become little!¹ All the apostles sent me to thee, that I might say to thee, 'How didst thou conceive the boundless, or how didst thou carry the insupportable, or how didst thou bring forth such greatness?'"

Mary saith to them, "Do ye ask concerning this mystery? (33) If I should begin to tell you, fire would proceed from my mouth, and consume all the world." But they were the more united in asking her. And she, not wishing to disregard the apostles, said, "Let us stand in prayer." And the apostles stood behind Mary. But she saith to Peter, "Peter, chief and greatest pillar, didst thou stand behind us? Did not our Lord say that the head of the man is Christ?² Wherefore, now, pray standing before me." But they say to her, "In thee the Lord fixed his tabernacle, and was well pleased that thou shouldst carry him; and thou

¹The four addresses above made to the Virgin, are in the Ms. found further on in a place without connection, which will be indicated. I have placed them here, which is their probable true position. This is the only change

I have made in the exact order of the text of (33), as printed by Vassiliev, although it abounds in probable transpositions.

²There is here a lacuna in the Ms. Cf. I Cor. xi.3.

the rather oughtest to gather us together for prayer." But she said to them, "Ye are shining stars.¹ Even as the prophet said, 'I will lift up mine eyes to the hills whence cometh my help.'² Wherefore, ye are the mountains, and ye ought to pray." The apostles say to her, "It behoveth the mother of the heavenly king to pray."³ Mary saith to them, "According to your image, God fashioned the sparrows, and sent them to the four corners of the world."⁴ They say to her, "He who is scarcely contained in the seven heavens was well pleased to be contained in thee."

- (33) And Mary stood before them, and began to say, as followeth: "Elphoue, Zarethra, Charboum, Nemioth, Melitho, Thrabouttha, Mophnoumoe, Chemiath, Aroura, Maridon, Elison, Marmiadon, Sephon, Esabouttha, Ennouna, Saktinos Athour, Belelam, Opheoth, Abio, Chrasar."⁵ Which is, in the Greek tongue, "God, the very great and all-wise and King of the ages, the undeclarable and unspeakable; who by a word didst sustain all the magnitude of the heavens; who out of concordant darkness didst establish and join together the heavenly poles; who didst linger at the creation of matter until the third day;⁶ who didst bring the disordered into system; who didst separate the gloomy darkness from the light; who didst establish the foundations of

¹Cf. Dan. xii.3.

²Ps. cxxi.1.

³Again there is a gap in the Ms. and the word "pray" is partly conjectural.

⁴A reference, evidently, to the oft-repeated story of how Christ made sparrows out of clay. See chaps. IX and XI. The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy seems to have been the one here drawn on directly; it, in chap. 46. gives the exact number, twelve sparrows, and uses language that might be interpreted to mean, "sent them to the four corners of the world."

⁵For other magical prayer for-

mulae, see chaps. XX, XXXII.

⁶There is a small lacuna in the Ms. here. I am not certain that this translation is correct, which would mean that not until the third day did God bring matter into final form, a view that agrees with Gen. i.10. It might also be rendered, "who didst create the forests on the third day," which would equally agree with Gen. i.11, or possibly also, "who didst create the wood (*i. e.* of the cross) on the third day." Mystical allusions to this last are always to be looked for in such documents.

the waters upon Himself;¹ who being the course of the celestial, also didst appear as the terror of the terrestrial; who didst establish the earth, and wert not pleased to destroy it, when for food for all who pleased the Father thou didst fill the earth with showers!² Thou whom the seven heavens scarcely contained wert well pleased to be contained by me without pain, thus becoming the complete Word of the Father; and by thee all things come to pass. Give glory to thy very great name, and bid me speak in the presence of thy holy apostles."

And having completed the prayer, Mary began to say to (33) the apostles, "Let us sit upon the ground. And do thou, O Peter, the chief, come and sit on my right hand, and place thy left hand under my armpit. And do thou, Andrew, do in like manner. And do thou, John, virgin, support my breast. And do thou, Bartholomew, apply thy knees to my shoulders and squeeze my shoulders together, lest when I have begun to speak, my bones give way." And when they did so, she began to speak, "When I was in the temple of God, having received food from the hand of an angel, on one of the days an angel appeared to me. As for the appearance of the angel, his face was gigantic, and he did not have in his hand bread or cup like the angel that came to me before.³ And immediately the veil of the temple was rent, and there was a very great earthquake; and I fell upon the earth, and could not bear his presence. And he put his hand under me and raised me up; and I looked toward heaven, and there came a cloud of dew upon my face and sprinkled me from head to foot; and he wiped me with his robe, and said to me, 'Hail! highly-favoured, chosen vessel and unceasing grace!' And he struck the right side of his robe, and it became a very large piece of bread;⁴ and he placed it upon the altar of the temple; and he himself

¹Cf. Gen. i.1-10.

²Cf. Gen. ii.6; Ps. lxxv.9, etc.

³For the legend that Mary was fed by the angels in the temple, see chap. II. It is found in Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 6, and in

many other, particularly Mohammedan, documents.

⁴Referring to the Eastern custom of making bread in large thin rolls, which would look not unlike the cloth of a robe.

ate first, and gave to me. And I looked and saw a cup of wine. And he placed it upon the altar of the temple, and himself drank first and gave to me; and I looked and saw the fulness of the bread and cup.¹ And he said to me, 'Yet three years, and I will send to thee my Word. And thou shalt conceive my Son; and through him all my creation shall be saved. Peace be to thee, highly-favoured one; and in thee shall be my peace forever.'² And having said these things to me, he disappeared from mine eyes, and the temple became as it was before."

(33) Now when Mary said these things, fire came out of her mouth, and was about to finish the world. Jesus came running, and saith to her, "Fear not this, since all my creation is perfected to-day." And the apostles were affected with fear lest God were angry with them. And the Lord departed with them into the mountain, and seated himself in the midst of them. And they were in doubt, fearing to see him. And Jesus, answering, saith to them, "Ask me what ye wish that I may teach you and show you; for yet seven days and I will go to my Father, and I will not any longer be seen by you in this form." They doubting, say to him, "Lord, show us the abyss, according to thy promise." And he said, "It is not well for you to see the abyss; but if according to my promise ye wish it, come, accompany me, and see."

(33) And the Lord led them away to a place called Cherubim because it is the place of truth. And he beckoned to two angels; and the earth was rolled up as a book, and the abyss was revealed to them. Seeing it, the apostles fell on their faces upon the earth. And Jesus raised them up, saying, "Did I not tell you that it is not good to see the abyss?"³ And again he nodded to the angels, and the abyss was concealed. And taking them, he went away to the Mount of

¹The mystical foreshadowing of the eucharist here intended is quite evident.

²The language here used is very similar to words quoted by Jerome from the Gospel of the

Nazarenes, see chap. XV.

³The account here bears great resemblance to that embodied in the Teachings of Jesus Christ to His Disciples, see chap. XX.

Olives. But Peter said to Mary, "Highly-favoured one, pray the Lord that he may reveal to us all things that are in the heavens." And Mary said to Peter, "Peter the cornerstone, did he not make thee¹ the foundation upon which he built the Church? Do thou, therefore, go first and ask him." Again Peter saith, "Do thou, the tabernacle² in which he was carried about, ask him." Mary saith, "Thou art the image of Adam. Was he not formed thus, and Eve thus? Behold the sun, because according to the likeness of Adam is its brightness; but on account of the transgression of Eve, behold the moon, because clay hath been supplied to it. For God placed Adam at the east, but Eve at the west, and ordained the stars that they should shine upon the earth; the sun to shine upon Adam from the east with fiery chariots, but the moon from the west to give to Eve a milky-appearing light. And the command of the Lord remained firm. On this account, the moon was turned into clay, and doth not make bright her light.³ Wherefore, since thou art the image of Adam, thou oughtest to ask; but in me he had space on account of my being called the strength of the females."

And when the master went to the summit of the mountain, (33) and went on a little from them, Peter saith to Mary, "If thou hast abolished the power of Eve, and changed it from disgrace to grace, to thee it is lawful to ask." Jesus again appearing, Bartholomew saith to him, "Lord, show us the adversary of men, that we may see of what sort he is, or what is his work, or whence he rusheth forth, or what power

¹Something appears to have fallen out of the text here.

²Again there is an apparent lacuna; I have supplied the English words, "Do thou ask him."

³The Rabbins taught that in the beginning God made the moon as large and bright as the sun, but reduced its size because it said to him, "O Lord of the world, can two kings wear one crown?" etc. See Eisenmenger, I, p. 39, for this, and much more

curious lore of the kind. I judge that the above Manichæan legend has been derived from this. See also Fabricius, *Vet. Test.*, I, p. 5, about Adam the apostle of the moon. Another tradition says that Satan in his fall spat in his hatred towards God; his spittle stained the moon, and thus accounts for its spots. The Cathari (Manichæan heretics) say that the sun is the devil himself, and the moon is Eve.

he hath; because he did not even spare thee thyself, but caused thee to be suspended upon the tree." Jesus, looking upon him, saith to him, "O stern heart! thou askest things which thou art not able to behold." Bartholomew being in terror, fell at the feet of Jesus, and began to speak in this manner, "Unquenchable light, Lord Jesus Christ, the one without end, who givest grace through all the world to those who love thee, who givest the eternal light through thy presence in the world, who didst finish the work of the creation which is above, by the Word of the Father, who didst change the gloomy visage of Adam into cheerfulness, who didst change the grief of Eve to a pleasing countenance through the birth from a virgin mother, who forgetting injuries yieldest to me the word of interrogation!" And when he said these things, Jesus raised him up, and saith to him, "Bartholomew, dost thou wish to see the antagonist of men? But I say that looking upon him, not thou only, but the apostles with thee, and Mary will fall upon your faces, and become as dead."

- (33) But they all said to him, "Lord, we would see him together with the infernal angels." But he beckoned to Michael to sound the trumpet in the height of the heavens; and the earth was shaken; and Beliar¹ came forth held in check, being bound under six hundred and sixty-three fiery chains.² His length was a thousand and six hundred cubits, and his breadth forty cubits; his countenance was as the flash of fire, and his eyes gloomy; and from his nostrils there went out an ill-smelling smoke. And his mouth was as a chasm of ice; one of his wings was eighty cubits.³ And straight-

¹The name is identical with the Belial of II Cor. vi.15; Deut. xiii.13, etc.; other forms are Beriar, Beliac; his general identification in apocryphal literature is with Satan regarded as Antichrist; see Sibylline Books, II, 167; the Ascension of Isaiah, etc.

²The number of the chains.

perhaps originally 666, may be suggested by the number of the beast, Rev. xiii.18; for the binding of Satan, cf. Rev. xx.2.

³Descriptions of the enormous size and deformity of Antichrist are found in a great many of the numerous Apocryphal Apocalypses; see chap. XXI for other notes on the subject.

way, when all the apostles saw him, they fell upon their faces to the earth, and were as dead. But Jesus, coming near, raised up the apostles, and gave them the spirit of power, and saith to Bartholomew, "Come near, Bartholomew, and trample with thy feet upon his neck. And I will tell thee his work, what it is, and how he deceiveth men." But Jesus stood afar off with the apostles.¹ And Bartholomew being afraid, saith, "Lord Jesus, grant me the hem of thy garments that I may be bold towards him." Jesus saith to him, "Thou canst not take the hem of my garments, for these are not the garments which I wore before my crucifixion." Bartholomew saith, "I was afraid, Lord, since one like the angels was not spared, lest he might also devour me." Christ saith to him, "Is it not by my word that all things exist, and by the will of my Father are subject to the spirit which was in Solomon?"² Do thou, therefore, having given him commandment in my name, go and ask him whatsoever thou wishest." And Bartholomew, having trodden on his neck, averted his face to the earth, even to his hearing.³ And Bartholomew saith to him, "Tell me who thou art, and what thy name is." But he saith to him, "Lighten me a little, and I will tell thee who I am, and how I came here, and what my work is, and what my power is."⁴

And Bartholomew, having lightened him, saith to (33) him, "Tell me all things which thou hast done and what thou doest." Beliar, answering, saith, "If thou

¹Here was interpolated the address to the Virgin given earlier in this chapter and there noted.

²The subjection of the animate world, and of all spirits, to Solomon was a favourite subject of Rabbinical, as well as later of Mohammedan legends; the details are voluminous. A full sketch of them in English is found in Baring-Gould's *Legends of O. T. Characters*, II, p. 178 seq.

³This word is in the text the

present participle, nominative, masculine, with the neuter article, evidently used as a noun; the above seems to be the nearest literal translation, whatever the meaning is. The Ms. abounds in similar curious uses of Greek.

⁴The language here, and in several of the paragraphs following, is similar and evidently related to that of the Controversy of the Devil with Jesus Christ, given in chap. XXI.

wishest to learn my name, I was at first called Satan-ael,¹ which is, being interpreted, a traitor to God. But then, not knowing the antitype to God, my name was also called Satan, which is an infernal angel." And again Bartholomew saith to him, "Reveal all things to me, and conceal nothing from me." But he said to him, "I swear to thee by the power of the glory of God, that if I wished to conceal, I could not; for He that refuteth me standeth by. For if I were able, I would destroy you like one of those before you. For I was the first angel who was deceived. For when God made the heavens, He took a handful of fire and formed me first, next Michael;² for He wished that we should be His first son as to the heavens and the earth. For when He purposed the creation of all things, He spake the word. His Son was created, and we by the will of the Son and by the counsel of the Father. He formed me first; second, Michael the chief leader of the powers above; third, Gabriel; fourth, Uriel; fifth, Raphael; sixth, Nathaniel; and the other angels whose names I cannot tell. For they are the lictors of God, and pursue me with rods seven times during the night, and seven times during the day, and do not let me alone at any time, and conceal all my power. These are the angels of vengeance who stand near the throne of God. These were the first angels formed, and after them all the angels were formed. In the first heaven there 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, where are the powers that work among men, is the first petalon.³ For there are other angels over the winds. One angel who is called

¹This name is frequently found in apocryphal literature, and presents a form analogous to that of Michael, Gabriel, and the most of the Hebrew names of the angels.

²The creation of the angels from fire is mentioned by the

Mohammedan historian, Mohammed Djafar al Tabari.

³I suppose the reference here intended is to the golden plate on the high priest's mitre; see note on chap. I; this first petalon of angels would be the inner circle that stood nearest the

Chairoum is over the north wind, and holdeth in his hand a fiery rod, and restraineth its excessive moisture, that the earth may not be dried up.¹ And the angel which is over Aparpsetos² is called Ertha. He holdeth a lamp of fire, and placeth it to his sides and warmeth his coldness, lest he might congeal the world. And the angel over the south wind is called Kerkoutha, and he moderateth its violence so as not to shake the earth. And the angel over Liba is called Naoutha, and he hath a snowy rod in his hand; and he placeth it to his mouth, and quencheth the fire coming out of his mouth. And if it were not for the angel over his mouth, he would consume all the world.³ And another angel is over the sea, who maketh it bold by means of the waves. The rest, I will not tell thee, for the one who standeth by doth not permit me.”

Bartholomew saith to him, “How dost thou train the souls (33) of men?” Beliar saith to him, “If thou wishest, I will announce to thee the knowledge of hypocrites, of slanderers and robbers, of idolaters, of the avaricious, of adulterers, of enchanters, of soothsayers, of those who believe on us, and of all of whom I may think.” Bartholomew saith to him, “I would fain learn briefly about these things.” And Beliar gnashed his teeth; and there came a wheel⁴ out from the abyss, having a sword shining like fire; and the sword had pipes in it. And Bartholomew asked him, saying, “What is this sword?” And he said, “This is the sword of the gluttonous; for into this pipe they are sent, because they discover every sin through gluttony. Into the second pipe are sent the slanderers, who calumniate their neighbours secretly. Into the third pipe are sent the hypocrites and the

throne of God. Metatron, the angel of the Presence, is another expression of the same idea.

¹This lore about the angels of the winds is evidently ultimately drawn from the Book of Enoch, see chaps. lxxv-vi. These barbarous names of the angels do not appear there; they may be

assumed to be of Gnostic origin. Cf. also Rev. vii.1; xvi.5.

²Greek, ἀπαρπυροῦ. I do not know the meaning, and whether a reference to the east or west wind is intended.

³The text is depraved here.

⁴Cf. Ezek. i.15 seq.

rest whom I overthrow by my designs." But Bartholomew saith, "Dost thou do these things by thyself, then?" Satan saith, "If I were able to go out of myself, I would utterly destroy the whole earth in three days; but neither I, nor one of the six hundred can go out. For we have other swift servants whom we command, and invest with many hooks,¹ and we send them a-hunting, and they ensnare for us the souls of men, soothing them with different sweets, that is with drunkenness, and frivolity, with slander, with counterfeits of pleasures, with fornication, or with the other offences of our treasury. But I will tell you the remaining names of the angels. The angel of hail is called Mermeoth, and he holdeth the hail upon his head. And my ministers bind him with an oath, and send him wherever they wish. And there are other angels over hail, and other angels over thunder, and other angels over lightning.² And when a spirit wisheth to go out from us, either through the earth or through the sea, these angels send out fiery stones, and they kindle our limbs."³

- (33) Bartholomew saith, "Be silent, dragon of the deep" But Beliar said, "I can tell you many things concerning the angels. Those who run about over the regions of heaven and earth, are these: Mermeoth, Onomatath, Douth, Melioth, Charouth, Graphathas, Oethra, Nephonos, Chalkatoura. By these flights are made over heaven and earth, and the regions under the earth." Bartholomew saith, "Be silent, and pay no attention to these things for a little, that I may sift them through our Lord."

¹Very similar to the Coptic fragment incorporated into chap. XXI, near the end; there is probably a connection.

²See Book of Enoch, chap. lxxv.

³Evidently an explanation of the appearance of meteors. Mohammedan legend says of these. that they are fiery lances hurled by the good angels at the wicked jinns.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REVELATIONS OF THE FORTY DAYS CONCLUDED.

BARTHOLOMEW'S PRAYER—REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE CREATION OF MAN—SATAN'S FALL—EVE'S TEMPTATION—ANOTHER PRAYER—THE RIVERS OF PARADISE—CHRIST'S NAMES EXPLAINED—THE GREATEST SINS—THE APOSTLES DESIRE TO SEE THE BLESSED ONES—THIS VISION—THAT OF PARADISE—OF HELL—ITS MANY TORMENTS—CHRIST'S APPEARANCES TO THE APOSTLES—THE EUCHARIST IN GALILEE—THE APOSTLES' SINS FORGIVEN.

MAIN SOURCES: (33)—Questions of Bartholomew.
(52)—Apocalypse of Peter, 1-33.
(53)—Pistis Sophia.
(54)—Conflict of St. Thomas, 1, 2.

And Bartholomew having fallen on his face, and throwing (33) earth upon his head, began thus to speak,¹ "Lord Jesus Christ, the great and glorious name, even all the choirs of angels praise thee, master! And I, an unworthy one, having moved the instrument² with my lips, praise thee, master! Harken to me, thy servant, that I may be delivered from the seat of the publican; and mayest thou grant me not to be turned back to my former deeds until the end. Lord Jesus Christ, hear me, and have mercy on sinners!"

Upon his saying these things, the Lord saith to him, "Arise, (33) turn to the one who is groaning, and I will tell unto thee the rest." And Bartholomew raised up Satan, and said to him, "Go to thine own place³ with thy prizes, but the Lord hath

¹The first half of this chapter consists of the remaining part of (33).

²Greek, ὄργανον.

³Cf. Acts i.25.

pity on all the world." But the devil said, "Suffer that I tell thee how I was cast down here, and how God made man. I was going about in the world, and God said to Michael, 'Bring me a clod from each of the four extremities of the earth, and water from the four rivers of paradise.'¹ And when Michael brought these, He made Adam in the regions of the East, shaping the shapeless clod, stretching the sinews and veins; and bringing them together in harmony, He worshipped him; and He, on His own account first, because he was His image, worshipped him.² And Michael said to me, as I was coming from the remotest parts, 'Worship the image of God, which He formed according to His own likeness.'³ But I said, 'I was made of fire, I was the first angel made; and shall I worship clay and moisture?' And Michael saith to me, 'Worship, lest God be angry with thee.' But I said to him, 'God shall not be angry with me, but I will place my throne over against His throne, and will be even like Him.'⁴ Then God, being angry with me, cast me down, having commanded the gates of heaven to be opened. And when I was thrown out, He also asked the six hundred who were under me if they were willing to worship. They said, 'Even as we saw the first, neither will we worship one inferior to us.' Then also the six hundred under me were stupefied for forty years; and the sun shining seven-fold brighter than fire, suddenly I awoke from sleep. And looking about, I saw

¹The creation of man from earth brought from different quarters of the world is a Rabbinical story told in many forms, see Eisenmenger, I, 364 seq., 830. Many sources are assigned to the earth used. The story is also told by Mohammedan writers; according to them, the earth of which the head and breast were made was brought from Mecca and Medina.

²I take it that the meaning is here, that God Himself, and not Michael, worshipped the man,

although the text is ambiguous, and the pronoun might possibly refer to the latter.

³Cf. Gen. i.26, etc.

⁴Cf. Is. xiv.12-14; also Rev. xii.7-9. The fall of Satan through pride is accepted by practically all theology, and the story that the immediate occasion was his refusal to worship the newly-made man, is told by the Rabbins, by Mohammedan writers, and by many Christian documents.

the six hundred under me stupefied, and they awoke my son Salpsa.¹ And having counselled with them as to how I might seduce the man, on whose account I was cast down from heaven,² I decided it in my mind in this manner. I took a vial in my hand, and poured out the sweat of my breast and of my hair, and washed myself at the goings out of the waters whence the four rivers flow; and Eve, having drunken, entertained a longing. For if she had not drunken this water, she could not have been led astray."³

Then Bartholomew commanded Beliar to enter into Hades. (33) And Bartholomew came, and falling at the feet of Jesus, began with tears thus to speak, "O my Father! O Word of the Father, which cannot be investigated by us! Thou whom the seven heavens hardly contained, rejoicing within the dwelling of the virgin, wast pleased to be born painlessly; whom the virgin bearing thee did not perceive, but thou by thy understanding didst appoint all things which exist! Thou didst give us free will offerings before thou wast entreated! Thou didst wear a crown of thorns, that thou mightest prepare for us who repent a very precious crown from heaven! Upon the tree wert thou suspended, that thou mightest drink for us the wine of affliction; and thy side was pierced with a spear, that thou mightest fill us with thy body and with thy blood! Thou didst give names to the four rivers; to the first, Pheson,⁴ on account of the

¹Of this word I know nothing. It does not appear in the Greek text to be a proper name, and I can make no guess at the true meaning or allusion.

²The few preceding sentences have remarkable correspondence with the argument of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, canto I, regarding Satan's fall, the burning strand, and his arousing the angels from their stupefaction. Milton must have known some account that reproduced practically this same apocryphal story.

³I have not elsewhere met this story in exactly similar form; one that suggests it is found in the *Book of the Combat of Adam*, Migne, I, col. 332; I would suspect that it might be from the lost Gospel of Eve; nearly all Gnostic works connect carnal sin with Eve's transgression. Many of these heretics taught that Satan himself sinned with Eve, and that Cain was his offspring. See Fabricius, *Vet. Test.*, I, p. 95 seq.

⁴I have given the Greek forms

faith which thou didst preach, being manifest in the world; to the second, Geon,¹ on account of the man's being earthy; to the third, Tigris,² on account of thy disclosure to us of the three-fold essence which existeth in the heavens; to the fourth, Euphrates,³ because thou being present in the world dost gladden every soul through the word of cleansing. My God and greatest Father and King, save, Lord, the sinful!"

- (33) When he had thus prayed, Jesus saith to him, "Bartholomew, the Father called me Christ,⁴ in order that I might come to earth and anoint every man who came, with the oil of life.⁵ And he called me Jesus,⁶ in order that I might heal every sin of the ignorant by means of God, or else might grant divine prayer to men." And again Bartholomew saith to him, "Lord, may one reveal these mysteries to every man?" Jesus saith to him, "Bartholomew my beloved, it is proper to reveal them to as many as are faithful and able to keep these things to themselves; believe these things. For, indeed, there are those who are unworthy of them, and others who are not able to do them. For there are boasters, drunkards, haughty, merciless, partakers in idolatry, fathers of fornication, slanderers, teachers of vain boasting, and those doing all such things, which are works of the devil; and on this account they are not worthy to believe these things. For they are concealed so that these should not comprehend them. For as many as comprehend these things, have part in them. Wherefore, in this, my beloved,

of the names of these rivers; see Gen. ii.10-14. The Sept. for this one has Phison. Above is an attempt at a pun, a very bad one, on the Greek word "manifest."

¹A pun on the Greek word "earthy."

²This agrees with the Sept. of Gen. ii.14; the pun is with the Greek "threefold."

³A bad pun with the word "gladden."

⁴Again a pun with the word "anoint," which, as is well known, is the root of the name.

⁵See notes on the oil of mercy, chap. XXVIII, etc.; the reference here seems to be to the chrism of baptism.

⁶A bad pun with the word "head," but the suggested pun with a word in the last clause does not appear; perhaps some wholly inappropriate word has dropped out of the text.

I have told thee that thou art blessed, and all thy kindred who through praise believe in this word; because all who receive these things are blessed.¹ But those who wish not to believe in them shall be taken of my judgment."²

Then Bartholomew, having written these things in his (33) heart, and having seized the hand of the benefactor, began to leap for joy, and to say thus, "Glory to thee, Lord Jesus Christ, who hast given to all thy grace which we all beheld. Hallelujah! Glory to thee, Lord, the life of sinners! Glory to thee, Lord, death is put to shame! Glory to thee, Lord, the treasury of righteousness, for thou art celebrated as God!" And Bartholomew having said these things, Jesus again putting off his cloak and having taken the orarium³ from the neck of Bartholomew, he began to rejoice and to say, "Thou didst substitute thyself for us. Hallelujah! Thou didst become meek for us. Hallelujah! Glory to thee, Lord, for I give to all those that desire of me.⁴ Hallelujah!"⁵ And when he ceased, the apostles loved him, and gave him the peace of charity.⁶

And Bartholomew saith to him, "Show us, Lord, what (33) sins are more grievous than all sins. "Christ saith to him,⁷ "Very grievous are hypocrisy and evil speaking. For the prophet, singing psalms, saith in them that the wicked shall

¹I have added the words "are blessed," conjecturally; something has fallen out of the text, which is here very corrupt, as also in the following sentence, which I have emended. The teaching here seems to be derived from (53).

²Referring to the teaching of this paragraph, cf. Mat. xiii.11; Luke viii.10; I Cor. iv.1; xiii.2. Perhaps the cardinal doctrine of Gnosticism was that Christ had delivered mysteries to the apostles, which were not to be revealed to the uninitiated.

³A deacon's stole in use in

the East, wider than the Latin stole. The anachronism of its introduction here is evident.

⁴Something seems to have been omitted from the text here.

⁵The song of praise given by Bartholomew in this paragraph contains some points of correspondence with the Gnostic hymn embodied in chap. XXIII.

⁶This is the literal translation; the *pax*, kiss of peace or charity, is evidently meant.

⁷I have supplied these four words, not in the text, which are plainly required by the connection.

not stand in judgment, or sinners in the counsel of the just, or the wicked in the judgment of my Father.¹ Verily, verily, I say unto you, that every sin shall be remitted to every man, but the sin against the Holy Spirit shall not be remitted.”² Bartholomew saith to him, “What is the sin against the Holy Spirit?” Jesus saith to him, “Every one who shall prophesy that every man shall serve my Father by the Holy Spirit, hath blasphemed against the Holy Spirit. Because every man who serveth God reverently is worthy of the Holy Spirit, and will not give assent to one who saith any wicked thing against Him.”³ Woe to him who sweareth by the head of God, or committeth perjury against Him; for there are twelve heads of the Most High God.⁴ For He is the truth, and in Him is no falsehood or perjury.⁵ Wherefore, go ye, preach to all the world the word of truth; but do thou, O Bartholomew, preach this word to every one who is willing, and as many as believe on Him shall have eternal life.” Bartholomew saith, “O Lord, if any one shall offend through carnal sin, what is the punishment?” Jesus saith, “It is well that one who is baptized should keep his baptism blameless.⁶ But pleasure will make one a lover of the flesh; for a single marriage is most honourable. But verily I say unto thee, that he who sinneth after the third wife,⁷ is unworthy of God. But preach ye to every man to observe these things; for I am unrequited by you, and give unto you the Holy Spirit.” And Bartholomew, with the apostles, glorified God to him, saying fervently, “Glory to Thee, holy Father, un-

¹Cf. Ps. i.5.

²See Mark iii.29; Luke xii.10.

³The teaching is not very clear as to the nature of this sin; I think suggestions have been drawn in this paragraph from a similar discourse of Christ with His apostles in the *Pistis Sophia*, see text in Migne, I, col. 1281 seq.

⁴The apostles, evidently. The Mohammedans also have some

curious ideas about the heads of God.

⁵Cf. I John v.6, etc.

⁶Cf. the logion in chap. XIX, “Keep the flesh holy and the seal (*i. e.* of baptism) unspotted.”

⁷The author regards celibacy as holiest, a first marriage as altogether allowable, second and third marriages as permissible, but a fourth marriage, as is still

quenchable Sun, the incomprehensible One, to Thee be glory, honour, and worship unto the ages of the ages. Amen."¹

And the Lord said, "Let us go into the mountain; let us (52) pray." And going with him, the twelve disciples begged that he would show them one of their brethren, the righteous who are gone forth out of the world, in order that they might see of what manner of form they are, and having taken courage, might also encourage the men who hear them.²

And as they prayed, suddenly there appeared two men (52) standing before the Lord toward the East, on whom they were not able to look;³ for there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining, such as eye of man⁴ never saw; for no mouth is able to express or heart to conceive the glory with which they were endued, and the beauty of their appearance. And as the disciples looked upon them, they were astounded; for their bodies were whiter than any snow, and ruddier than any rose;⁵ and the red thereof was mingled with the white, and it is utterly impossible to express their beauty; for their hair was curly and bright and seemly, both on their face and shoulders, as it were a wreath woven of spikenard and divers-coloured flowers, or like a rainbow in the sky, such was their seemliness. Seeing, therefore, their beauty, the

the teaching of the Eastern church, is adulterous.

¹Here ends (33). (52) begins with the next paragraph. The text of this document begins in the midst of a sentence, as follows, "—many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdition; but these will become sons of perdition. And then God will come unto my faithful ones who hunger and thirst and are afflicted, and purify their souls in this life; and He will judge the sons of lawlessness." I have throughout this docu-

ment, the rest of which follows entire, changed the language to the third person; Peter generally speaks, sometimes the apostles.

²This indicates that the time was after the Resurrection, the apostles having already begun to preach.

³Cf. II Cor. iii.7.

⁴Cf. I Cor. ii.9. For "ray as of the sun," cf. Rev. i.16.

⁵In the Book of Enoch, chap. cvi.2, 10, the infant son of Lamech is said to be "whiter than the snow and redder than the rose."

disciples became astounded at them, since they appeared suddenly. And Peter approached the Lord and said, "Who are these?" He saith to Peter, "These are your brethren the righteous, whose forms ye desired to see." And Peter said to him, "And where are all the righteous ones, and what is the aeon in which they are and have their glory?"

(52) And the Lord showed them¹ a very great country outside of this world, exceeding bright with light, and the air there lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible and bearing blessed fruit. And so great was the perfume that it was borne thence even unto them. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of shining angels, and their raiment was like unto their country; and angels hovered about them there. And the glory of the dwellers there was equal, and with one voice they sang praises alternately to the Lord God, rejoicing in that place. The Lord saith to the disciples, "This is the place of your high priests, the righteous men."²

(52) And over against that place Peter saw another, squalid, and it was the place of punishment; and those who were punished there and the punishing angels had their raiment dark like the air of the place. And there were certain there hanging by the tongue; and these were the blasphemers of

¹Apparently all the disciples saw the vision of the blessed country, but Peter alone that of hell.

²Rutherford notes that this representation of heaven, perhaps the earliest uncanonical Christian one, is similar to heathen ideas of the Elysian Fields and the Islands of the Blest. He quotes as perhaps the most striking parallel, a fragment of a dirge of Pindar, "For them shineth below the strength of the sun, while in our world it is night, and the space of crim-

son-flowered meadow before their city is full of the shade of frankincense trees, and of fruits of gold. And some in horses, and in bodily feats, and some in dice, and some in harp-playing have delight; and among them thriveth all fair-flowering bliss; and fragrance streameth ever through the lovely land, as they mingle incense of every kind upon the altars of the gods." The New Jerusalem of the canonical Revelation is austere compared to this, and utterly dissimilar.

the way of righteousness; and under them lay fire, burning and punishing them. And there was a great lake, full of flaming fire,¹ in which were certain that pervert righteousness, and tormenting angels afflicted them. And there were also others, women, hanged by their hair over that mire that bubbled up; and these were they who adorned themselves for adultery; and the men who mingled with them in the defilement of adultery, were hanging by the feet and their heads in that mire. And Peter said, "I did not believe that I should come into this place." And he saw the murderers and those who conspired with them, cast into a certain strait place, full of evil snakes, and smitten by those beasts, and thus turning to and fro in that punishment; and worms, as it were clouds of darkness,² afflicted them. And the souls of the murdered stood and looked upon the punishment of those murderers and said, "O God, thy judgment is just."

And near that place Peter saw another strait place into (52) which the gore and filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lake; and there sat women having the gore up to their necks, and over against them sat many children who were born to them out of due time, crying; and there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes; and these were the accursed who conceived and caused abortion.³ And other men and

¹Evidently the heathen Acherusian lake; this is mentioned by name in the Apocalypse of Paul, which, however, gives it an entirely different character. The last-named document has drawn heavily on (52), as indeed have most of the later very numerous apocalypses, directly or indirectly. It may be regarded as the principal source of these.

²Cf. II Pet. ii.17. Verbal coincidences of (52) with II Peter are many; all such are noted in Ante-Nicene, X, p. 145 seq.

³Fragments of (52), pre-

served by Clement of Alexandria, tell how "the children who are born out of due time shall be of the better part; and that these are delivered over to a care-taking angel that they may attain a share of knowledge and gain the better abode." Methodius also apparently refers to this passage, and Clement in another place says, "The scripture says that infants that have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel, by whom they are educated and so grow up, and they will be, it says, as the faith-

women were burning up to the middle, and were cast into a dark place and were beaten by evil spirits, and their inwards were eaten by restless worms; and these were they who persecuted the righteous and delivered them up. And near those were again women and men gnawing their own lips, and being punished and receiving a red-hot iron in their eyes; and these were they who blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness. And over against these again were other men and women gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths; and these were the false witnesses. And in a certain other place there were pebbles sharper than swords or any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment; and these were the rich who trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows,¹ and despised the commandment of God.

- (52) And in another great lake, full of pitch and blood and mire bubbling up, there stood men and women up to their knees; and these were the usurers and those who take interest on interest. And other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff and reached the bottom, and again were driven by those who were set over them to climb up upon the cliff, and these were hurled down again, and had no rest from this punishment;² and these were they who defiled³ their bodies acting as women; and the women who were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman. And alongside of that cliff there was a place full of much fire, and there stood men who with their own hands had made for themselves carven images instead of God. And alongside of these were other men and women, having rods and striking each other and never ceas-

ful of a hundred years old are here."

¹Cf. II Pet. ii.14.

²The story of Sisyphus is strongly suggested. But, indeed, all the representations of the torments of hell, as has already been

noted of the characteristics of heaven, apparently look back to classical models. I have not attempted to note all of these correspondences.

³Cf. II Pet. ii.10; Jude 8.

ing from such punishment. And others again near them, women and men, were burning and turning themselves and roasting; and these were they that left the way of God.¹

And it came to pass after the resurrection of our Lord (54) Jesus Christ from the dead, that he appeared unto the holy apostles, and said to them, "The peace of my Father be with you all; what He gave me, I give you;² gather together, and part the world among yourselves into twelve portions, and go ye, every one of you my holy disciples, to the portion allotted to them.³ And fear not, for I will be with you, and I know what will come upon you, suffering and afflictions⁴ from the men of the world; but endure them patiently that ye may bring men back from their errors to the truth which is in me. Remember the sufferings that came upon me, and all that was done to me for the sake of mankind."

He was seen of all his apostles, and manifested his glory (n) through forty days, teaching them to preach in his name repentance and remission of sins.⁵ And he said, "I chose

¹For this expression, with which the known text of (52) abruptly ends, cf. II Pet. ii 2; Acts xviii.26. I add here two other extracts from (52), the first preserved by Clement of Alexandria, "But the milk of the women running down from their breasts and congealing shall engender small flesh-eating beasts; and these run up upon them and devour them;" this probably is to be connected with the other fragment from the same source, already quoted. The second, preserved by Macarius Magnes, runs thus, "The earth shall present all men before God at the day of judgment, being itself also to be judged, with the heaven also which encompasses it." This fragment probably belonged to the eschato-

logical discourse of Christ that seems to have preceded the part of (52) which remains to us.

²Cf. Mat. xxviii.16-18. This paragraph is from the Conflict of St. Thomas, translation of Ethiopic version, by S. C. Malan, Apoc. Anecdota, II, p. 46; a somewhat different Greek version is given on p. 28 of same.

³Cf. Acts i.8. A circumstantial account of the dividing the world by lot amongst the apostles, is given in many of the Apocryphal Acts; this, however, does not come within the scope of the present work; the best summary of such stories is to be found in Lipsius.

⁴Cf. John xvi.33.

⁵This sentence is taken from the Apostolic Didagmata, see Resch, 460. It begins with the

out you twelve disciples, having judged you worthy of me."¹ He revealed to them that the same was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.² He commanded them to make disciples of all nations, and to baptize into his death.³

- (53) And Jesus and his disciples abode upon the mountain in Galilee.⁴ And the disciples continued to speak to him, saying, "When is it that thou hast effected the remission of the sins that we have committed, and that thou wilt render us worthy of the kingdom of thy Father?" And Jesus said to them, "Verily, I say unto you, not alone am I able to give a ransom for your sins, but also to render you worthy of the kingdom of my Father, and to give you the mystery of the remission of sins upon earth, so that to whomsoever ye shall have remitted his sins on earth, they shall be remitted to him in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall have bound upon earth, shall be bound in heaven.⁵ I will give to you the mystery of the kingdom of heaven, so that ye also shall make it known unto men." And Jesus said to them, "Bring me fire and palm branches."⁶ And they brought him what he asked.

statement that Christ rose from the dead at the sixth hour of the night. Cf. with it Acts i.9.

¹This sentence is found in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, VI, 48. Cf. John vi.70.

²Given by Epiphanius, *Heresies*, LXII, 2, as taught by the Sabellians and by them derived from the Gospel of the Egyptians.

³Apostolic Constitutions, V, 7; VI, 23; VII, 43.

⁴I have given this paragraph and the following one from the celebrated *Pistis Sophia*. The most of the book would be too tedious and unintelligible to have a place in the present work, although it is an Apocryphal Gospel *par eminence*; and is the best extant specimen of the original

forms of the most of the matter in the present work, in my judgment.

⁵Mat. xvi.19; xviii.18.

⁶King, p. 285, here reads, "vine branches." I do not have access to the Coptic text, but should regard the palm branches as the much more probable reading; there is constant mention of them in apocryphal literature. This narrative, which is doubtless the description of a Gnostic Ophite or Valentinian mass as performed in the second or third century, is of the greatest importance for the history of the ceremonial of that sacrament. How it contrasts with the simple ceremonial of the Catholic eucharist, as described by Justin Martyr, somewhat earlier than

And presenting the offering, he placed two vessels of wine, the one on the right, the other on the left. He placed the offering before them; and he put the chalice of water before the vessel of wine which was on the right; also, he put the chalice of wine before the vessel of wine which was on the left; and he put the loaves of bread, ranged in order,¹ in the midst of the chalices. He placed the chalice of water near the loaves. And Jesus, standing before the offering, stationed his disciples behind him, being all clothed in linen vestments, and having in their hands the seal of the name of the Father of the treasures of light.²

And he cried aloud, saying, "Hear me, my Father, Father (53) of all paternities, Iao;³ Iouo; Iao; Aoi; Oai; Psinother; Theropsin; Opsither Nephthumaoth; Marachachtia; Par-

that date! See First Apology, chs. LXV, LXVI. Justin says in the latter chapter, that the eucharist was imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, implying that it was performed with much more ceremony. There is great reason to believe that the mass above described owed much to the influence of the Mithras religion; and it is plain that the Catholic church, in after times, made use of some of the same ceremonial.

¹King here adds, "According to the number of his disciples." I know not how far the Coptic justifies this; Migne does not give it. See, see King, p. 124, holds that in the Mithraic sacrament the bread was of precisely the same form and dimension as the host at present used in the Western church. Notice that there is here a host for each communicant. The Mithraic name for the bread was *misd*, which furnishes quite as probable an etymology for the word

"mass" as the ones commonly given.

²King here translates, "the number of the name," and suggests that the meaning is, that the disciples have their fingers so arranged as to express this number; Pliny mentions a very old statue of Janus, displaying the fingers in such manner as to indicate his own *numeral*, that of the days in the year.

³This is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew incommunicable name, Jehovah. See n. on chap. XX; for full discussion of it, see King, p. 319 seq. The lore of this subject is voluminous. The string of unintelligible Gnostic words which follows, if it has any sane derivation whatever, would seem to go back to Hebrew sources, but is now hopelessly corrupted. All Gnostic formulae were made up of such jargons to mystify the hearer; and my object in including this is to show how, by comparison

marachtha; Ieana Menaman; Amanei of heaven; Israi, Amen, Amen; Soubaibai Appaap, Amen, Amen; Deraarai; Apaeu; Amen; Amen; Sasarsartou, Amen; Amen; Derarai Apaou, Amen; Amen, Koukiamin Miai; Amen; Amen, Iai; Iai; Tonap, Amen, Amen, Amen; Mainmari; Marie; Marei; Amen, Amen, Amen! I have chosen you to remit the sins and to purify from all faults. Remit the sins of these disciples who follow me, and purify them of their faults, so that they may be able to enter into the kingdom of my Father. Father of the treasure of light, be propitious unto them, because they have followed me and observed my commandments. Now, my Father, Father of all paternity, let those come who remit sins, whose names I shall speak: Siphirepsnichieu, Zenei, Berimou, Sochabricher, Euthari, Nanai, Dieisbahnerich, Meunipos, Chirie, Entair, Moutliour, Sinour, Peucher, Ouschous, Minionor, Isochobortha! Hear me, remit the sins of these souls, and extinguish their faults. Let them be worthy to be admitted to the kingdom of my Father, the Father of the light; for I know Thy great powers, and I invoke them: Auer, Bebro, Athroni, Heoureph, Heone, Souphen, Knitousochreoph, Mauonbi, Mneuror, Souoni, Chocheteoph, Choche, Anemph! Remit the sins of these souls, extinguish the faults which knowingly or ignorantly they have committed, even though they be committed in debauchery and adultery; even unto this day remit unto them their faults,¹ and let them be worthy to enter into the kingdom of my Father, O my holy Father! If, then, my Father, Thou hearest me, and dost remit the sins of these souls and efface their faults, and dost render them worthy of entrance into Thy kingdom, show me a sign in this offering." And the sign was given as Jesus asked.² And Jesus said to

of late Christian magic formulae, as given in chap. XX, all such are derived from the earlier Gnostic ones. The strange Abraxas religion is also related.

¹The remission of sins through the sacrament is certainly more

directly insisted on here than by Catholic writers of this age.

²It is natural to suspect here, that in Gnostic practice a magical sign of the acceptance of the offering was arranged to occur at the right time, just as

his disciples, "Rejoice ye, and be glad, because your sins are remitted, and your faults are effaced, and ye are worthy of being admitted to the kingdom of my Father.¹ Rejoice and be glad, and add joy above your joy, for the times are fulfilled that I may put on my garment which is prepared for me from the beginning. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever hath quickened one soul, and hath preserved her apart from his light in the kingdom of light, will receive another glory in place of the soul which he hath preserved. Therefore, I once said unto you, 'Ye shall sit upon thrones in my kingdom, to my right and to my left, and reign with me.'" And when he had thus spoken, the disciples experienced great joy.

happened in many of the famous heathen wonder-working temples; and, I might add, at saintly shrines in later times.

I have after this long extract added below three short ones from *Pistis Sophia*, which seem to be especially significant. Besides the rest of this book, which might have been included in the account of Christ's Words after the Resurrection, there are also other Gnostic remains, very fragmentary, which pretend to give discourses during the eleven

or twelve years which He is alleged to have spent here before the last Ascension. There are also numerous accounts in the various Apocryphal Acts of discourses of Christ with the apostles on His return to earth after the first Ascension. The Testament of Our Lord, which I have not seen, see *Apocrypha Anecdota*, II, p. lxxxiv, probably covers this ground, and there are other fragments. But I do not imagine that any of this literature has much interest or value.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ASCENSION.

LAST CHARGE TO THE APOSTLES—THE ASCENSION—APOSTLES RETURN TO JERUSALEM—THREE OTHER WITNESSES OF THE ASCENSION COME THITHER FROM GALILEE—THEIR ACCOUNT—ARE NOT BELIEVED AND RETURN TO GALILEE—JEWISH COUNCIL REGARDING THIS NEWS—SPEECH OF NICODEMUS—SEARCH FOR CHRIST—JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA FOUND—LETTER SENT HIM—TELLS THE COUNCIL HIS STORY—THE THREE WITNESSES AGAIN SENT FOR.

- MAIN SOURCES: (37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 14-16.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 14-16.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 14-16.
(42)—Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, II, 1.
(55)—Teaching of the Apostles, Syriac.

(42) And at the end of forty days came Christ's holy assumption. He took his disciples up into the Mount of Olives.¹ He lifted up his eyes to heaven, and blessed them,² and gave them oneness of heart and his holy laws. Then he said to Peter, "Peter, my bishop, dost thou not remember that I once called thee Simon Bar-Jona?³ which is, I made thee son

¹Cf. Acts i.2, 12. This paragraph is taken from the Second Bohairic Account of the Falling Asleep of Mary. The central theme of the book is Mary's Assumption, and the mention of the Ascension is only incidental.
²Cf. Luke xxiv.50; John xvii.1.
³Cf. Mat. xvi.17.

of the dove, which is my blessed mother. Now continue with her, until she die and bless thee." Then again, he said to John, "John, my beloved, remember that I love thee. Therefore have I sanctified thee, and I have taken from thee the poison of the serpent.¹ Now continue with my mother, as thou dost continue with me, until she die, and thou obtain her blessing.² Remember that I gave her to thee, as I was hanging on the cross, that thou shouldest be to her a son in my stead."

And at that time Christ was taken up to his Father, in (55) the year three hundred and thirty-nine of the kingdom of the Greeks, in the month Heziran,³ on the fourth day of the same, which is the first day of the week and the end of Pentecost,⁴—on the selfsame day came the disciples from Nazareth of Galilee, where the conception of our Lord was announced, to the mount which is called Beth Zaithe,⁵ our Lord being with them, but not being visible to them. And at the time of early dawn our Lord lifted up his hands, and laid them upon the heads of the eleven disciples, and gave to them the gift of the priesthood.⁶ And suddenly a bright cloud received him. And they saw him as he was going up to heaven.⁷ And he sat down on the right hand of the Father.⁸ And they praised God because they saw his ascension according as he had told them; and they rejoiced because they had received the right hand conferring on them the priesthood of the house of Moses and Aaron. And

¹Cf. Rom. iii.13. But the reference here is undoubtedly to John's traditional virginity. Gnostic, especially Manichaean teaching, would regard infraction of celibacy as the serpent's poison.

²All of which is elaborately fulfilled according to the voluminous literature of the Assumption of Mary.

³This month began with the

new moon of June. The paragraph is from the Teachings of the Apostles, Syriac.

⁴The writer seems curiously to have confused Pentecost with Ascension Day.

⁵That is, "the house of olives," doubtless for Mount of Olives, cf. Luke xxiv.50.

⁶Cf. John xx.21-23.

⁷Cf. Acts i.9-10.

⁸Cf. Mark xvi.19.

they returned to Jerusalem, giving thanks for all those things that he spake to them.¹

(37) And a few days after, there came from Galilee to Jerusalem, three men. One of them was a priest, by name
(38) Phinees; the second a Levite, by name Haggai; and the
(39) third a teacher, by name Adas.² These came to the chief priests and said to them and to the people, "We saw Jesus whom ye crucified, and his eleven disciples, sitting on the Mount of Olives in Galilee, which is called Mambre, or Mamilch;³ and teaching them, he said to his disciples, 'Go

¹Cf. Acts i.12 seq. From this point begin the numerous legends of the division of the world amongst the apostles, the composition of the creed, the apostolic canons, such as those of the Apostolic Constitutions, etc., all of which do not come within the scope of this work.

²There is great variety in the different Mss. in the forms of these names, *e. g.* Phinehas, Eneas, Finees; Egias, Aggaeus, Egeas; Adda, etc., and also in the occupations attributed to them. Besides the above, they are also called soldiers.

³This name has a vast variety of forms in the Mss: Mambre, Mabrech, Momphe, and Mophek are evidently founded on a confusion of the name with Mamre. The Hebrew Malech, or Melech, "a king," is plainly the origin, and it has been corrupted into such forms besides, as Malek, Males, Maleth, Amalech, and Mamilk. The Rabbins gave this name to the hill country of Judea. The author here identifies it with the Mount of Olives, and daringly places that in Galilee, thus reconciling two possible interpreta-

tions of the Gospels. Mat. and Mark certainly leave the impression that the Ascension took place in Galilee. Cf. Mat. xxviii.16; Mark xvi.7, 14, 19; whilst Luke xxiv.50, 51 definitely locates it near Bethany; and Acts i.12 fairly implies that it was from the Mount of Olives. The last was the early and almost universal tradition of the Church; almost equally widespread was the belief that Christ should appear there at His second coming. There was a Jewish tradition, founded upon such passages as, Zech. xiv.4, that the Messiah should manifest His glory on this mountain; see Eisenmenger, II, 296. Hofmann develops at length, p. 394 seq., the reconciliation of the two views above which proceeds to show that the northern peak of the Mount of Olives was called Galilee; it seems weak to me. He also gives grounds for holding that the southern peak of Olivet had really been called by some such names as Mamilch, derived from the name of Milcom, or Moloch, who probably once had a place of worship

into all the world, and proclaim the good news to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not, shall be condemned. And these signs shall attend those who have believed; in my name they shall cast out demons, speak new tongues, take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall be well.¹ And while Jesus was speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.² And both we and many others of the five hundred who were there besides, were looking on.”³

The elders and priests and Levites say to the three when they heard these things, “Give glory to the God of Israel, and confess to Him whether ye have heard and seen these things of which ye have given us an account; and repent of these lies which ye have told.” And those who had given the account said, “As the Lord liveth, the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven; we do not lie, but tell the truth.” The elders and the priests and the Levites say to them, “Have ye come to give us this announcement, or to offer prayer to God?” And they say, “To offer prayer to God.” The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say to them, “If ye have come to offer prayer to God, why then have ye

there. Cf. I Kings ii.5, 7, 33; II Kings xxiii.13; Jer. xlix.1, 3. Helena is said to have built a church upon this traditional site of the Ascension, and Paulinus Nolanus tells, that over the spot where the Saviour stood, it was impossible to make a wooden covering, since the bare rock continually thrust itself through. Another old author tells, that although pilgrims to the spot continually carried away pieces of the rock upon which the footsteps of Christ were still plainly

to be seen, yet the rock was never diminished in the least. Finally, Beda relates that when the church was erected upon this spot, it was found to be impossible to close up completely the round dome above it; it had to be left open on account of the Lord's passage to heaven from this place. Casaubon also mentions these wonders.

¹Mark xvi.15-18.

²Acts i.10.

³Cf. I Cor. xv.6.

told these idle tales¹ in the presence of all the people?" Phinees the priest, and Haggai the Levite, and Adas the teacher say to the rulers of the synagogues, and the priests, and the Levites, "If what we have said and seen be sinful, behold, we are before you; do to us as seemeth good in your eyes." And they took the law, the old covenant of the Hebrews, and made them swear upon it² not to give any more an account of these matters to any one. And they gave them to eat and drink, and sent them out of the city, having also given them money, and three men with them who should conduct them to Galilee, in order that they might not proclaim in Jerusalem the resurrection of Christ.

(37) And when these stories had been heard by all the people,
 (38) the three men having gone into Galilee, the crowd came
 (39) together into the temple, and there was a great commotion. For many said, "Jesus hath risen from the dead, as we hear, and why did ye crucify him?" And the chief priests, and the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders came together into the synagogue, and locked the door, and lamented with a great lamentation, saying, "Is this a miracle that hath happened in Israel?" And Annas and Caiaphas said, "Why are ye so much moved? why do ye weep? Do not believe, ye Jews, what the soldiers say. Do ye not know that his disciples have given a sum of money to the guards of the tomb, and have instructed them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? For we have given money to the soldiers, in order that they should not tell such tales to any one, and thus, also, have the disciples of Jesus given them money, in order that they should say that Jesus hath risen from the dead." And the priests and elders said, "Be it that his disciples have stolen his body; how is it that the life hath come into his body, and that he hath been going about in Galilee?" And they, being unable to give an answer to these things, said, after great hesitation, "It is not lawful for us to believe the un-

¹Lit. "Why then this trifling amongst many nations, and its that ye have trifled," etc. survival to this day, have already

²The prevalence of this usage been noted.

circumcised in a single word,¹ knowing that these same who received sufficient gold from us have said as we taught them."

And Nicodemus rose up,² and stood before the Sanhedrin, (37) saying, "Ye say well.³ Ye are not ignorant, ye people of the (38) Lord, of these men that came down from Galilee, that they (39) fear God, and are men of substance, haters of covetousness, men of peace; and they have declared with an oath, 'We saw Jesus upon the mountain Mamilch with his disciples; and he taught what we heard from him, and we saw him taken up into heaven.' And no one asked them in what form he went up. For, assuredly, as the book of the holy scripture hath taught us, Elijah also was taken up into the height of heaven with a fiery chariot;⁴ and Elisha cried out with a loud voice, and Elijah threw his sheepskin upon Elisha, and Elisha threw his sheepskin upon the Jordan, and crossed, and came into Jericho. And the children of the prophets met him, and said, 'O Elisha, where is thy master Elijah?' And he said, 'He hath been taken up into heaven.' And they said to Elijah, 'Hath not a spirit seized him, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But let us take our servants with us, and seek him.' And they persuaded Elisha; and he went away with them. And they sought him three days, and did not find him; and they knew he had been taken up. And it is nothing incredible if Jesus too hath risen; for the prophet Elijah was a prototype of Jesus,⁵ in order that ye, hearing that Jesus hath risen, might not disbelieve. I therefore say and advise, that it is befitting

¹Eisenmenger, I, 615, shows how emphatically the Jews in later times rejected the testimony of Gentiles.

²The position of influence here accorded Nicodemus does not agree with his recent reviling by the Jews, recorded in the same document.

³This sentence is perhaps to be taken interrogatively.

⁴Cf. II Kings ii.1 seq.

⁵This view was taken by many of the Church fathers, *e. g.* Epiphanius, Theophanes Ceram., Arnoldus Abbas. An Apocalypse of Elijah was known to St. Augustine and others, see Fabricius, *Vet. Test.*, I, 1072, which may have contained matter used here.

that we send soldiers into Galilee, to that place where these men testify that they saw him with his disciples, in order that they may go round about and find him; and let us send into every district of Israel, and see lest perchance Christ hath been taken up by a spirit, and thrown upon one of the mountains. And that thus we may ask pardon of him for the evil which we have done to him." And this proposal pleased them all. And they sent into every district of Israel, and sought Jesus; and they sent soldiers away into Galilee. And Jesus, indeed, they did not find; but they found Joseph in Arimathaea, and no one dared to lay hands on him.

(37) And they reported to the elders and the priests and the
 (38) Levites, "We have gone round to every district of Israel,
 (39) and have not found Jesus; but Joseph we have found in Arimathaea." And hearing about Joseph, they were glad, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites, having held a council as to the manner in which they should meet with Joseph, and get him to come with them, took a piece of paper, and wrote to him, as followeth:—

(37) "O father Joseph, peace be to thee and all thy house, and
 (38) thy friends! We know that we have offended against God,
 (39) and against thee His servant. And we have prayed to the God of Israel on account of this, that thou shouldest deign to come to thy fathers, and to thy children, because we have all been grieved; and we entreat thee to come. For having opened the door, we did not find thee; and we have wondered much how thou didst escape from the prison; and we say in truth that we had counselled an evil design against thee. But God, seeing that our designs against thee were unjust, hath delivered thee out of our hands; the Lord hath defended thee, and the Lord Himself hath scattered to the winds our counsel against thee. But come to us; for thou art the honour of our people, O honourable father Joseph!"

(37) And they chose from all Israel seven soldiers,¹ friends of
 (38) Joseph; and the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests,
 (39)

¹Only (38) mentions that the men were soldiers.

and the Levites say to them, "Take notice; if, after receiving our letter, he read it, know that he will come with you to us; but if he doth not read it, know that he is ill-disposed toward us. And having saluted him in peace, return to us." And having blessed the men, they dismissed them to Arimathaea. And the men came to Joseph, and did reverence to him, and said to him, "Peace to thee!" And he said, "Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel!" And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph having received it, read the letter and rolled it up, and blessed God, and said, "Blessed be the Lord God, who hath delivered Israel that they should not shed innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord, who sent out His angel, and covered me under his wings."¹ And he set a table for them, and they ate and drank and slept there.

And they rose up early, and prayed. And Joseph saddled ⁽³⁷⁾ his ass, and set out with the men; and they came to the ⁽³⁸⁾ holy city Jerusalem. And all the people came forth to meet ⁽³⁹⁾ him, and embraced him, and cried out, "Peace to thee in thy coming in!" And he said to all the people, "Peace to you!" and he kissed them. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him. And Nicodemus received him into his house, and made a great feast; and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders, and the priests, and the Levites to his house.² And they rejoiced, eating and drinking with Joseph; and after singing hymns,³ each proceeded to his own house. But Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the following day, which was the preparation, the ⁽³⁷⁾ rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites ⁽³⁸⁾ went early to the house of Nicodemus; and Nicodemus met ⁽³⁹⁾ them, and said, "Peace to you!" And they said, "Peace to thee, and to Joseph, and to all thy house, and to all the house of Joseph!" And he brought them into his house. And all

¹Cf. Ps. xxxvi.7, etc.

cently desired to put him to death.

²Very elaborate hospitalities are offered Joseph, despite the fact that the Jews had but re-

³Cf. perhaps, Col. iii.16; Jas. v.13.

the Sanhedrin sat down, and Joseph sat down between Annas and Caiaphas; and no one dared to say a word to him. And Joseph said, "Why have ye called me?" And they signalled to Nicodemus to speak to Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said to Joseph, "Father, thou knowest that the honourable teachers, and the priests, and the Levites seek to learn a word from thee." And Joseph said, "Ask." And Annas and Caiaphas, having taken the law, made Joseph swear, saying, "Give glory to the God of Israel, and give Him confession; for Achan being made to swear by the prophet Joshua did not forswear himself,¹ but declared unto him all, and did not hide a word from him. Do thou also, accordingly, not hide from us to the extent of a word."² And Joseph said, "I shall not hide from you one word." And they said to him, "With grief were we grieved,³ because thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. And on account of this we secured thee in a room where there were no windows; and we put locks and seals upon the doors, and guards kept watching where thou wast locked in. And on the first day of the week we opened, and found thee not, and were grieved exceedingly; and astonishment fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. And now relate to us what hath happened to thee."

(37) Then Joseph related to them all that had happened to
 (38) him.⁴ And when the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests,
 (39) and the Levites heard these words from Joseph, they became as dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus, along with Joseph, exhorted Annas and Caiaphas, the priests, and the Levites, saying "Rise up, and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and strengthen your souls, because to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord." And they rose up, and prayed to God, and ate and drank, and departed every man to his own house.

¹See Josh. vii.19, 20.

³The familiar Hebrew idiom

²The Greek word here used so often used in the O. T. means either a "word" or a "thing."

⁴As told in chap. XXX.

And on the Sabbath, the teachers and the priests and the Levites sat questioning each other,¹ and saying, "What is this wrath that hath come upon us? For we know his father and mother; how can we believe that he is the Christ?"² Levi, a teacher, saith, "I know the family of Jesus, noble-minded men,³ great servants of God. I know that his parents⁴ fear God, and do not withdraw themselves from the prayers, and give the tithes thrice a year.⁵ And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him to this place, and gave sacrifices and burnt offerings to God.⁶ And when the great teacher Simeon took him into his arms, he said, 'Now Thou sendest away Thy servant, Lord, according to Thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all the peoples; a light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel.' And Simeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother, 'I give thee good news about this child.' And Mary said, 'It is well, my Lord.' And Simeon said to her, 'It is well; behold, he lieth for the fall and rising again of many in Isreal, and for a sign spoken against; and of thee thyself, a sword shall go through thy soul, in order that the reasonings of many hearts may be revealed.' "

They say to the teacher Levi, "How knowest thou these things?" Levi saith to them, "Do ye not know that from him, I learned the law?" The Sanhedrin say to him, "We wish to see thy father." And they sent for his father. And they asked him, and he said to them, "Why have ye not be-

¹If, as appears to be the case, this meeting was a session of the Sanhedrin, it was not lawful according to the usual practice.

²Cf. John vii.27. The fact that Christ's parents were well known was still a fatal objection to the reality of His messiahship.

³Lit. "men of good family."

⁴Implying that Joseph was still alive, although, as we have shown in chap. XIV, nearly all tradition points the other way.

⁵This confirms the opinion that tithes were paid thrice a year.

(38) here reads, "receiving tithes of the people of the Jews."

But this is a mere corruption of the text, without foundation, even in legend. It might have been suggested, or at least perpetuated, by reference to Ps. lxxviii.18.

⁶See Luke ii.28-35, and chap. V, at close, for account and notes.

lieved my son?¹ The blessed and just Simeon himself taught him the law." The Sanhedrin say to Rabbi Levi, "Is the word that thou hast said, true?" And he said, "It is true." And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites said to themselves, "Come, let us send into Galilee to the three men that came and told about his teaching and his taking up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up." And this saying pleased all. And they sent away the three men who had already gone away into Galilee with them; and they say to them, "Say to Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai, and Rabbi Adas, 'Peace to you, and all who are with you! A great inquiry having taken place in the Sanhedrin, we have been sent to you to call you to the holy place, Jerusalem.'" "

(37) And the men set out into Galilee, and found them sitting
 (38) and considering the law;² and they saluted them in peace.
 (39) And the men who were in Galilee said to those who had come to them, "Peace upon all Israel!" And they said to them again, "Why have ye come?" And those who had been sent, said, "The Sanhedrin calleth you to the holy city Jerusalem." And when the men heard that they were sought by the Sanhedrin, they prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank, and rose up, and set out in peace to Jerusalem.

¹This incident, the calling of Levi's father to confirm his testimony, is evidently suggested by the case in John ix.17-25, where

the blind man's parents are similarly appealed to.

²Cf. Ps. i.2, etc.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FURTHER TESTIMONY CONCERNING CHRIST.

THE THREE MEN FROM GALILEE CONFIRM THEIR WITNESS TO THE ASCENSION—SCRIPTURE CITED IN THE COUNCIL—JOSEPH TELLS HOW CHARINUS AND LEUCIUS AROSE WITH CHRIST—THESE MEN SOUGHT AND FOUND—THEY WRITE THEIR TESTIMONY—IT IS READ—ANOTHER COUNCIL—THE JEWS LAMENT—HOW NICODEMUS AND JOSEPH HID THE CROSS—TESTIMONY REGARDING CLEOPAS AND THE RAISING OF RUFUS BY THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

- MAIN SOURCES: (6)—Various Sahidic Fragments, V.
(37)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, First Greek Form, 16.
(38)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Second Greek Form, 16.
(39)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, Latin Form, 16.
(45)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Greek Form, I, II.
(46)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, First Latin Form, I, II.
(47)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, Second Latin Form, I, II.

(37) Now on the following day the Sanhedrin sat in the syna-
(38) gogue, and asked the three men from Galilee, saying, "Did
(39) ye plainly see Jesus sitting on the mountain Mamilch teaching his eleven disciples, and did ye see him taken up?" And the men answered them, and said, "As we saw him taken up, so also we said, as the God of Israel liveth."

(37) Annas saith, "Take them away from one another, and let
(38) us see whether their account agreeth." And they took them
(39)

away from one another. And first they call Adas, and say to him, "How didst thou see Jesus taken up?" Adas saith, "While he was yet sitting on the mountain Mamilch, and teaching his disciples, we saw a shining cloud overshadowing both him and his disciples. And the cloud took him up into heaven, and his disciples lay upon their face upon the earth and prayed."¹ And calling Phinees the priest, they questioned him also, saying, "How didst thou see Jesus taken up?" And he said the same as the other. And again they called the third, Rabbi Haggai, and questioned him; and he said the same as the first and second. And those who were in the council said, "The law of Moses holdeth, 'At the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established.'"² Butthem,³ one of the doctors, saith, "It is written in the law, 'And Enoch walked with God, and is not, because God took him.'"⁴ Jairus,⁵ one of the teachers, said, "And the death of holy Moses we have heard of, and have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord, 'And Moses died from the mouth of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.'"⁶ And Rabbi Levi said, "Why did Rabbi Simeon say, when he saw Jesus, 'Behold, he lieth for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for

¹Although the kneeling of the apostles at the Ascension is not recorded in the Gospels, they are almost always represented in this position by the painters. Many painters also represent Christ as surrounded by a multitude of angels, and the souls of those whom he had delivered from the underworld.

²Cf. Deut. xvii.6; xix.15; Mat. xviii.16.

³Abudem and various other forms are given by different Mss.

⁴Cf. Gen. v.24; Heb. xi.5, also Eccles. xlv.16. But according to legends which we have al-

ready had, also the opinion of the Church fathers, Enoch does not finally enter heaven until the time of the end. Cf. the teaching of John iii.13; I Cor. xv.20; Rev. i.5.

⁵Probably intended to be identified with the Jairus of Mark v.22; Luke viii.41, already mentioned in this apocryphal literature.

⁶Cf. Deut. xxxiv.5, 6. The idea that Moses was taken up into heaven was found early, *e. g.* Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, etc. The Assumption of Moses, which is still extant, is of early date.

a sign spoken against?"¹ And Rabbi Isaac said, "It is written in the law, "Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, because my name hath been called upon him."²

Then Annas and Caiaphas said, "Rightly have ye said (37) what is written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the (38) death of Enoch, and no one hath named the burying of holy (39) Moses; but Jesus was tried before Pilate, and we saw him receiving blows and spittings on his face, and the soldiers put about him a crown of thorns; and he was scourged, and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified upon the Cranium, and two robbers with him; and they gave him to drink vinegar with gall, and Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear; and Joseph, our honourable father, begged his body, and hath confessed that he, along with Nicodemus, attended to his body and buried him; and as he saith, 'He is risen;' and as these teachers say, 'We saw him taken up into heaven;' and Rabbi Levi hath given evidence of what was said by Rabbi Simeon, and that he said, "Behold, he lieth for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against."³

And all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord, (37) "If this is from the Lord, and is wonderful in your eyes,⁴ (38) knowing ye shall know, O house of Jacob, that it is written, 'Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree.'⁵ And another scripture teacheth, 'The gods which have not made the heaven and the earth, shall be destroyed.'⁶ And the priests and the Levites said to each other, "If his memorial be until the year that is called Jubel,⁷ know that it shall

¹Luke ii.34.

²Cf. Ex. xxiii.20, 21; Mal. iii.1; Mat. xi.10. Cowper here translates this last clause, as given in (39), "For I have brought in his new name," and cites Mat. iii.1; Is. lxii.2, in connection.

³Luke ii.34.

⁴Cf. Ps. cxviii.23.

⁵Cf. Deut. xxi.23; Gal. iii.13.

⁶Jer. x.11.

⁷This is the Hebrew word jubilee given in Greek letters. It is preceded in the text by *σώμμον*, which seems to represent the Hebrew *shanah*, "year." The whole phrase represents the expression "year of jubilee," so often used in Lev. xxv, although there seems little point or appropriate-

endure forever, and he hath raised for himself a new people."¹ Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites announced to all Israel, saying, "Cursed is that man who shall worship the works of man's hand, and cursed is the man who shall worship the creature more than the creator."² And all the people said, "Amen, amen." And the chiefs of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites said to each other how the law holdeth, saying, "His name shall be blessed forever. His place endureth before the sun, and His seat before the moon; and all the tribes of Israel shall be blessed in Him, and all the nations shall serve Him; and kings shall come from far, adoring and magnifying Him."³

- (37) And all the people praised the Lord, and said, "Blessed is the Lord who hath given rest to His people Israel, according to all that He hath spoken; there hath not failed one word of every good word of His that He spake to Moses His servant.⁴ May the Lord our God be with us, as He was with our fathers; let Him not destroy us, that we may incline our hearts to Him, that we may walk in all His ways, that we may keep His commandments and His judgments which He commanded our fathers.⁵ And the Lord shall be for a king over all the earth in that day; and there shall be one Lord, and His name one.⁶ The Lord is our king; He shall save us.⁷ There is none like Thee, O Lord.⁸ Great art Thou, O Lord, and great is Thy name. By Thy power, heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed; save us, O Lord, and we shall be saved;⁹ because we are Thy lot and heritage. And the Lord will not leave His people, for His great name's sake; for the Lord hath begun to make us into His people."¹⁰

ness in its introduction here. Possibly there is a reference intended to such passages as, Is. lxi.1-3.

¹Cf. Acts xv.14.

²Deut. xxvii.15; Rom. i.25.

³Ps. lxxii.11, 17.

⁴Josh. xxi.45; I Kings viii.56, etc.

⁵I Kings viii.57, 58.

⁶Zech. xiv.9.

⁷Is. xxxiii.22.

⁸Ps. lxxxvi.8.

⁹Cf. Jer. xvii.4.

¹⁰Cf. I Sam. xii.22; I Chr. xxiii.35; Josh. xxi.45, etc.

And Joseph rose up and said to Annas and Caiaphas, (45)
 "Truly and well do ye wonder, since ye heard that Jesus (46)
 hath been seen alive from the dead, ascending up into
 heaven. But it is more wonderful that he hath not risen
 alone; he is not the only one who hath risen from the dead,
 but he hath also raised up alive out of the tombs many
 others of the dead, who have appeared in Jerusalem to
 many.¹ And if ye do not know the others, the blessed
 Simeon, the great high priest who took Jesus up in his
 hands when an infant in the temple, him, at least, we all
 know. And Simeon himself had two sons, full brothers;
 and we were at their falling asleep and at their burial. Go,
 therefore, and see their tombs; for they are open and empty,
 because they have risen; and, behold, they are in the city
 of Arimathaea, living together in prayers.² And indeed
 they are heard crying out, but speaking with nobody; and
 they are silent as the dead.³ But come, let us go to Arima-
 thaea and find them; let us conduct them to us with all
 honour and respect; and if we adjure them, perhaps they
 will speak to us of the mystery of their resurrection."

Then Rabbi Adas, Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai, the (47)
 three men who had come from Galilee testifying that they
 had seen Jesus taken up into heaven, rose up in the midst
 of the multitude of the chiefs of the Jews, and said before
 the priests and the Levites, who had been called together
 to the council of the Lord, "When we were coming from
 Galilee, we met at the Jordan a very great multitude of men,
 fathers who had been some time dead. And present among

¹See Mat. xxvii.53, which
 verse seems to be the foundation
 on which all the following nar-
 rative is constructed.

²According to later fathers,
 Zacharias, John the Baptist,
 Simeon, Joachim, and Anna and
 Joseph, amongst those who had
 died in recent times, also arose
 at this time. The Revelations of
 St. Bridget particularly state

that Joachim and Anna arose,
 and those of Maria d'Agreda
 mention the resurrection of Jo-
 seph.

³According to Jewish beliefs,
c. g. Eisenmenger, II. 897, Mes-
 siah should raise the dead, and
 the account here given agrees
 perfectly with Rabbinical repre-
 sentations.

them we saw Charinus and Leucius. And they came up to us, and we kissed each other, because they were dear friends of ours; and we asked them, 'Tell us, friends and brothers, what is this breath of life and flesh? and who are those with whom ye are going, and how do ye, who have been some time dead, remain in the body?' And they said in answer, 'We have risen again along with Christ from the lower world; and he hath raised us again from the dead. And from this ye may know that the gates of death and darkness have been destroyed, and the souls of the saints have been brought out thence, and have ascended into heaven along with Christ the Lord. And, indeed, to us it hath been commanded by the Lord Himself, that for an appointed time we should walk over the banks of Jordan and the mountains; not, however, appearing to every one, nor speaking to every one, except to those to whom He hath permitted us.¹ And just now we neither could have spoken nor appeared to you, unless it had been allowed to us by the Holy Spirit.'"

(47) And when they heard this, all the multitude who were present in the council were struck with fear and trembling, and wondered whether these things had really happened, which these Galileans testified. Then Annas and Caiaphas said to the council, "What these have testified, first and last, must shortly be altogether made clear. If it shall be found to be true that Charinus and Leucius remain alive in the body, and if we shall be able to behold them with our own eyes, then what they testify is altogether true; and if we find them, they will inform us of everything; but if not, ye may know that it is all lies."

(45) Then the council having suddenly risen, it pleased them
 (46) to choose men fit for the duty, fearing God and who knew
 (47) when they died and where they were buried, to inquire diligently, and to see whether it was as they had heard.

¹Certainly there is here the influence of the classical belief as to the state of the dead; pale, restless shades that wander un-

ceasingly and cannot communicate with men; the modern idea of ghosts is almost identical.

The men therefore proceeded to the same place, fifteen in number,¹ who through all were present at their falling asleep, and had stood at their feet when they were buried, and had beheld their tombs. And they came and found their tombs open, and very many others besides, and found a sign neither of their bones nor of their dust. And they returned in all haste, and reported what they had seen.

Then all their synagogue was in great grief and perplexity; and they said to each other, "What shall we do?"⁽⁴⁵⁾
 Annas and Caiaphas said, "Let us turn to where we have heard that they are, and let us send to them men of rank, asking and entreating them; perhaps they will deign to come to us."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Then they sent to them Nicodemus and Joseph, and the three men, the Galilaean rabbis who had seen them, asking that they should deign to come to them.⁽⁴⁷⁾ And they went and walked round all the region of Jordan and of the mountains, and they were coming back without finding them. And, behold, suddenly there appeared coming down from Mount Mamilch a very great number, as it were twelve thousand men,² who had risen with the Lord. And though they recognized very many there, they were not able to say anything to them for fear and the angelic vision; and they stood at a distance, gazing, and hearing them, how they walked along, singing praises, and saying, "The Lord hath risen again from the dead, as He had said; let us all exult and be glad, since He reigneth forever." Then those who had been sent were astonished, and fell to the ground for fear, and received the answer from them, that they should see Charinus and Leucius at their own houses.³

And they rose up and went to their houses in Arimathaea,⁽⁴⁵⁾ and found them on their bended knees, spending their time⁽⁴⁶⁾
⁽⁴⁷⁾

¹According to (46), it was Annas, Caiaphas, Nicodemus, Joseph, and Gamaliel who went on this quest, as well as on the second one to Arimathaea.

²Cf. possibly, Rev. vii.5-9.

³There is slight confusion in this paragraph on account of the

combining of two scarcely reconcilable versions of this Gnostic romance. According to one, it was known at the beginning that the two men were in Arimathaea; according to the other, search had to be made for them.

in prayer. And going to them, they fell on their faces to the ground, saluting and kissing them; and being raised up, they said, "O friends of God, all the multitude of the Jews have directed us to you, hearing that ye have risen from the dead, asking and beseeching you to come to them, that we all may know the great things of God which have happened around us in our times." And they immediately, at a sign from God, rose up, and came with them. And they conducted them to Jerusalem with all veneration and fear of God, and entered the synagogue.

(45) Then the multitude of the Jews with the priests secured
(46) the doors, and lifting up the books of the law of the Lord,
(47) they put them in their hands, and adjured them by the God Heloi, and the God Adonai,¹ the God of Israel who by the law and prophets spake to the fathers, saying, "Tell us how ye have risen from the dead. Do ye believe that it was Jesus who raised you from the dead? And what are these wonderful things which have happened in our times, such as we have never heard to have happened at any other time? Because already for fear all our bones have been benumbed, and have dried up, and the earth moveth itself under our feet; for we have joined all our hearts to shed righteous and holy blood."

(45) Then Charinus and Leucius, hearing this adjuration,
(46) trembled in their body, and groaned, being disturbed in
(47) heart. And together they looked toward heaven, and with their fingers made the sign of the cross on their tongues. And they signed to them with their hands to give them sheets of paper, and ink.² And this they did because the

¹These Hebrew forms of, and circumlocutions for, the name of God, are much used in Gnostic writings. Adonai became in Greek Adoneus, and was used as a synonym for Pluto.

²(45) does not contain the story of the two writings, but implies that the brothers together wrote but one account;

(46) says that the men spoke together, saying, "Give us sheets of paper, and ink"; according to this, the sign of the cross must have been to loosen their tongues this far; (47), which I have principally followed from this on, is the latest and furthest developed form of the romance.

Holy Spirit did not allow them to speak to them. And they gave each of them paper, and put them apart, the one from the other in separate cells.¹ And they, making with their fingers the sign of the cross of Christ, began to write on the separate sheets. And they wrote the account of the Lord's descent into hell.² And after they had finished, as if out of one mouth, from the separate cells they cried out, "Amen." And rising up, Charinus gave his paper to Annas, and Leucius his to Caiaphas;³ and suddenly becoming transfigured, they became exceeding white;⁴ and saluting each other, they went out, and returned to their sepulchres, and were seen no more.

Then Annas and Caiaphas, opening the sheets of paper, (46) began each to read them in secret. But all the people took (47) ill, and so all cried out, "Read these writings to us openly; and after they have been read through we shall keep them, lest perchance the truth of God be turned through wilful blindness, by unclean and deceitful men, into falsehood." At this, Annas and Caiaphas fell a-trembling, and delivered the sheets of paper to Rabbi Adas, and Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai, who had come from Galilee, and announced that Jesus had been taken up into heaven. All the multitude of the Jews trusted to them to read the writing. And they read the paper of Charinus.

And when the paper was read through and finished, all (46) (47)

¹This and the sequel are evident adaptations of the legend as to how the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was made. According to the Letter of Aristaeus, Ptolemy II. Philadelphus secured six learned men from each tribe of Israel to translate the O. T. into Greek. The seventy-two men were placed in separate cells on the island of Pharos; each completed his separate version in seventy-two days, and when the Mss. were compared, they were

found not to vary from each other by a single word or letter.

²As given in chaps. XXVIII, XXIX.

³I here follow (47). (46) says that Leucius gave his paper to Nicodemus and Joseph, and Charinus his to Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel; it proceeds at once to the climax, that the writings were found to be identical.

⁴Cf. Mark ix.3, etc. Some versions say that their garments became white.

the synagogue of the Jews, having heard these wonderful words, fell on their faces, weeping bitterly, and cruelly beating their breasts, crying out and saying through all, "Woe to us! Why hath this happened to us wretched? Pilate fleeth! Annas and Caiaphas flee! The priests and Levites flee! Moreover, also the people of Jerusalem, the Jews, are weeping and saying, 'Woe to us wretched! We have shed sacred blood upon the earth!' Truly all these things have been done by the Lord, and blessed be the Lord forever and ever. Amen."

(46) And they went away each to his own house. For three
(47) days, therefore, and three nights, they did not taste bread and water at all; nor did any of them return to the synagogue. But on the third day again the council was assembled, and the other paper of Leucius was read through; and it was found neither more nor less to a single letter, than that which the writing of Charinus contained. Then the synagogue was perplexed; and they all lamented forty days and forty nights, looking for destruction from God, and the vengeance of God. But He, pitier, affectionate and most high, did not immediately destroy them, bountifully giving them a place of repentance. But they were not found worthy to be turned to the Lord.

(6) Now there had also been great malice in the hearts of the Jews who crucified the Lord, against the wood of the cross, wishing to hide it. And after the Lord was risen, the cross was fixed in the place in which it was nailed. And when the tumult was a little abated, for the disciples were hidden for fear of the Jews,¹ Joseph of Arimathaea arose and came unto Nicodemus, saying unto him, "Behold, the chief priests and the rest of the Jews take counsel, saying, 'Let us burn the wood on which Jesus was crucified.'" So Joseph, with Nicodemus, arose by night, and they both went to the place of the skull without the city, where they crucified Jesus. And they took away the cross of Jesus and the title of Pilate² which was nailed to it. There they found the nails

¹Cf. the Gospel of Peter, 6. there is an account of the finding

²Among the Rossi Pap. Cop. of the title of the cross in the

also which were nailed to his hands and his feet, nailed to the cross. And thus they took them away and those also of the robbers. They could not go with them into the city for fear of the Jews. Joseph, therefore, said to Nicodemus, "Let us take them into the tomb in which Jesus was laid; for also it is mine, and a body I never laid in it." So they arose thence, and took them into the tomb, for it was nigh to the place where Jesus was crucified. And having taken them into the tomb, they rolled the stone to the door of the tomb, and went their way. And no one knew for a great while that which they did.¹

Now the disciples and the multitude of the faithful were (6) going forth secretly to the tomb by night, praying;² so that

time of Constantine. This alleged relic was shown in later times.

¹Another legend regarding the disposal of the cross, also the crown of thorns, spear, and robes worn by Christ, is found in the Syriac *Transitus Beatae Virginis*, given by Wright on p. 28 seq. The Jews when questioned before the Hegemon, apparently several years after the Crucifixion, admitted that they had buried these in the ground thirty cubits deep; the crosses of the thieves were buried near. They made a hole in the earth, reaching down to the head of the Lord's cross. Whoever reached down and touched it, was healed of all disease, and the Jews said they knew of 10,502 persons in Jerusalem who had been cured in this manner. Also, one Jonadab had one of the nails concealed in his house, by which he had healed 550 persons and become rich through the fees given him. The He-

gemon punished the Jews, but would not allow the cross to be brought forth, commanding it to be covered with stones to ten times the height of a man; he said that the Lord would in His own time bring forth the cross. This legend is adapted to authenticate the account of Helena's discovery of the three crosses buried on Calvary, in A. D. 328. Christ's was distinguished from those of the thieves by a sick woman being healed by touching it. In commemoration of this event, the Church still celebrates the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, on May 3d. The later history of the true cross is voluminous. The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross celebrates the recovery of this relic from Chosroes king of Persia, who had carried it away from Jerusalem; Heraclius defeated him in battle on Sep. 14, 615.

²This legend, the beginning of the Holy Sepulchre cycle, is

many who were troubled by unclean spirits came, that they might but touch the stone that was at the door of the tomb. And they would cry out straightway, saying, "O Jesus, thou didst rebuke us when thou wert in the flesh. And also when thou wast crucified, behold, the wood on which thou wast crucified, and the tomb in which thou wast laid, were made manifest; troubling us and casting us out of the bodies which were yielded to us."

(6) And at that time there was a great Jew in Jerusalem, abounding much in great wealth, whose name was Cleopas. He was diseased in the feet, and had not walked for a great while; neither could he ride on an animal, but he used to be placed on a litter and taken to be bathed. Now that man, even Cleopas, did not indeed go in the counsel of the lawless Jews, at the time they crucified the Lord; but he gave command also to his kinsmen and to his servants, saying, "Consent not with the Jews who will kill this righteous man; for they will kill him for jealousy. For also he is the son of Mary, the daughter of Cleopas¹ the brother of my father; and according to the prophecies which the prophets spake, he is the Son of God." Moreover, Rufus,² the only son of Cleopas, was sick. And he said to his servants, "Go, take a pick, and hew the tomb of my son near the tomb of the Son of God; and when I also die, place me in it."

(6) Now after two days, Rufus the son of Cleopas died. Now that day was the Sabbath, and they could not take him out to bury him. But in the morning, on the first day of the week, they gave diligence to take him out, that he might not stink. And they took him up and Cleopas his father, and they went with him. And when they came to the tomb, they set him down by the tomb of Jesus, until they opened the door of the tomb. And they placed his father by him,

made especially prominent in the abundant literature regarding the Assumption of Mary.

¹See note on chap. I, regarding Joachim. Much legend points to Cleopas as his true name.

²Possibly intended to be iden-

tified with the Rufus mentioned in chap. XV, although the description does not agree with what seems to be intended there, the former's identification with the Rufus of Mark xv.21.

his back being stayed up by the stone, which was at the door of the tomb of Jesus. And Cleopas was weeping, saying, "Would, O my beloved son, that¹ Jesus were yet alive; for I would have gone unto him and besought him to come and raise thee. For also he brought back many that were dead. He raised one, even Lazarus, who had been four days already in the tomb, and behold, he is in the body to-day. And he raised the daughter of Jairus the ruler of the synagogue. Nevertheless, Jesus will receive thee." Now as he was yet saying these things, a great and sweet savour was given forth from the tomb of Jesus. Cleopas saw with his eyes a figure of the cross come forth² from the tomb of Jesus. It rested upon him that was dead; and straightway he arose and sat. Now when Cleopas saw his son sitting, he leaped up straightway and stood, as though his feet were not at all diseased.

¹A lacuna begins in the Ms. with this word, and I have conjecturally completed the sentence.

²For the cross coming forth from the tomb, cf. Gospel of

Peter, 10, as embodied in chap. XXX; the accompanying fragrance seems to be an almost invariable element in such stories.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PILATE'S INQUIRIES AND THE LETTERS TO CAESAR.

PILATE INFORMED OF THE JEWS' PROCEEDINGS—CALLS A COUNCIL—THE JEWS CONFESS THAT CHRIST WAS THE MESSIAH—PILATE RECORDS THESE THINGS—WRITES TO CAESAR TELLING OF CHRIST'S LIFE—OF HIS MIRACLES—HIS UNJUST TRIAL—THE WONDERS OF HIS CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION—PILATE'S TERROR—LETTERS OF THEODORUS AND PILATE—ABGAR'S LETTER TO CAESAR—WISHES TO AVENGE THE SAVIOUR.

MAIN SOURCES: (25)—History of Armenia, by Moses of Chorene, VIII.

(46)—Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, First Latin Form, 11-13.

(48)—Report of Pilate the Procurator concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, First Greek Form.

(49)—Report of Pilate the Procurator concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, Second Greek Form.

(56)—Letter of Pontius Pilate.

(57)—Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

(58)—Teaching of Addaeus the Apostle.

(59)—Epistles of Herod and Pilate, Syriac Form.

(61)—Departure of Marath Mary from the World.

(46) Now all these things which were said by the Jews in their synagogues, Joseph and Nicodemus had immediately reported to the pro-consul. And Pilate himself wrote all which had been done and said concerning Jesus, by the Jews; and he placed all the words in the public records of his praetorium.¹

¹Many have seriously contended that Pilate left such records.

After this, Pilate, going into the temple of the Jews, assembled all the chief priests, and learned men, and scribes, and teachers of the law, and went in with them into the sanctuary of the temple;¹ and ordered that all the gates should be shut, and said to them, "We have heard that ye have a certain great collection of books in this temple;² therefore I ask you that it be presented before us." And when four officers brought in that collection of books,³ adorned with gold and precious stones, Pilate said to all, "I adjure you by the God of your fathers, who ordered you to build this temple in the place of His sanctuary, not to conceal the truth from me. Ye all know what is written in that collection of books; but now say whether ye have found in the writings that Jesus, whom ye have crucified, to be the Son of God that was to come for the salvation of the human race; and in how many revolutions of the seasons he ought to come. Declare to me whether ye in ignorance of this crucified him, or knowing it."

Being thus adjured, Annas and Caiaphas ordered all others who were with them to go out of the sanctuary; and themselves shut all the gates of the temple and the sanc-

¹A more glaring blunder could scarcely have been made than to represent the heathen Pilate as being permitted to enter the sanctuary.

²A probable origin of this story about the library in the temple is the narrative of IV Esdras (II Esdras in the Eng. version of the Apocrypha), xiv.44-47. According to this, 204 books were written in forty days (or 94 books according to the Arabic version). Esdras said that the Highest commanded to publish openly the first he had written that all might read them, "but keep the seventy last that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the

people." The Seventy referred to in the following paragraph, were evidently then the apocryphal writings; subtracting these from the total of ninety-four books (according to the Arabic and evidently correct version), twenty-four, the traditional number of books of the canonical Old Testament, according to some, remain. See third note on chap. XV. Epiphanius and John of Damascus state that a library of the writings of the Old Testament was kept in a chest in the temple.

³The collection of books is not represented as a very large one, since four men sufficed to bring it in.

tuary, and said to Pilate, "We have been adjured by thee, O good judge, by the building of this temple, to give thee the truth, and a clear account of this matter. After we had crucified Jesus, not knowing him to be the Son of God, thinking that he did miracles by some charm,¹ we made a great synagogue in this temple.² And conferring with each other of the signs and miracles which Jesus had done, we found many witnesses of our nation who said that they had seen Jesus alive after suffering death, and that he had penetrated into the height of heaven. And we have seen two witnesses, whom Jesus raised up again from the dead, who told us many wonderful things that Jesus did among the dead, which we have in our hands, written out. And our custom is, every year before our synagogue, to open that holy collection of books, and seek out the testimony of God. And we have found in the first book of the LXX,³ where the archangel Michael spake to the third son of Adam the first man, of five thousand and five hundred years, in which the Christ, the most beloved Son of God, was to come from the heavens;⁴ and upon this we have considered that perhaps He was the God of Israel who said to Moses, 'Make to thee the ark of the covenant, two cubits and a half in length, one cubit and a half in breadth, one cubit and a half in height.'⁵ In these five and a half cubits we have understood and recognized from the structure of the ark of the old covenant, that in five and a half thousands of years,⁶ Jesus Christ was to come in the ark of the body; and we have

¹See preceding notes regarding Christ's possession of the shem hammphorash.

²We have often already met with apparent references to a synagogue held in the temple. It is a disputed point as to whether there really was such a thing; there is at least some evidence for it. See Edersheim, II, p. 742.

³The LXX. is certainly not, as might at first sight appear, the

Septuagint; but I take it to mean, as indicated in the second note on this chapter, a collection of apocryphal books. The Little Genesis, which contains the following story, is most probably the first book of the Seventy here meant.

⁴See chap. XXVIII and accompanying notes.

⁵Ex. xxv.10.

⁶See notes on chap. XXVIII.

found Him to be the God of Israel, the Son of God. Because after his passion, we, the chief priests, wondering at the signs which happened on account of him, opened the collection of books, searching out all the generations, even to the generation of Joseph, and reckoning that Mary the mother of Christ was of the seed of David; and we have found that from the time that God made the heaven and the earth and the first man, to the deluge, are two thousand, two hundred, and twelve years;¹ and from the deluge to the building of the tower, five hundred and thirty-one years; and from the building of the tower to Abraham, six hundred and six² years; and from Abraham to the arrival of the children of Israel from Egypt, four hundred and seventy years; from the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt to the building of the temple, five hundred and eleven years; and from the building of the temple to the destruction of the same temple, four hundred and sixty-four years. Thus far have we found in the book of Esdras. After searching, we find that from the burning of the temple to the advent of Christ, and His birth, there are six hundred and thirty-six³ years, which together were five thousand five hundred years,⁴ as we have found written in the book that Michael the archangel foretold to Seth, the third son

¹Mss. differ much as to this, and all these dates. The Ante-Nicene says that this one should be 2262, and Hofmann gives 2512 as an alternative reading. The Usherian estimate for this period is 1656. Some Mss. read next, "from the Flood to Abraham, 912 (960) years, from Abraham to Moses, 430, from Moses to David, 510, from David to the Babylonian captivity, 500, from the Babylonian captivity to the incarnation of Christ, 538 years," etc. These trifling fancies of (46), a document of very late date, scarce

deserve serious study and comparison, even from the apocryphal student's standpoint.

²The Ante-Nicene notes that this should be 676.

³The Ante-Nicene notes that this should be 586.

⁴The sum of the numbers, as given above in my text, is 5430, and not 5500 years. The text which Hofmann used gives an even lower total, or 4964. The text above can be made to produce the 5500 total by changing 606 to 676, which probably represents the original state of the text.

of Adam,¹ that in five and a half thousands of years, Christ, the Son of God, would come. Even until now we have told no one, that there might be no dissension in our synagogues. And now thou hast adjured us, O good judge, by this holy book of the testimonies of God; and we make it manifest to thee. And now we adjure thee, by thy life and safety, to make manifest these words to no one in Jerusalem.”

(46) Pilate hearing these words of Annas and Caiaphas, laid
(48) them all up in the acts of our Lord and Saviour, in the
(49) public records of his praetorium;² and along with his private
(56) report wrote a letter to Claudius,³ king of the city of Rome,
(57) saying:⁴

(46) To the most mighty, venerable, most divine and most ter-
(48) rible, the august Emperor Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate
(49) the Governor of the East sendeth greeting:

(57) I have, O most mighty Emperor, a narrative to report to thy reverence, on account of which I am seized with fear and trembling. For whilst, according to the commandment of thy clemency, I was discharging the duties of my government in one of its cities which is called Jerusalem, in which is built the temple of the Jewish nation; all the people of the Jews came together, and delivered to me a man named Jesus (upon whose case I had clearly set forth

¹See notes on chap. XXVIII, and for the books given to Seth, of which the legends are numerous, see Fabricius, *Vet. Test.*, I. p. 152 seq.

²See first note on this chapter.

³It is perhaps worth noting that the Emperor's full name was, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero. He died near A. D. 37, after a reign of twenty-two and one-half years.

⁴To form the version of this letter which follows, I have combined the three letters of Pilate, designated, (56), (48), and (49), as well as the letters con-

tained in (46) and (57). Besides these, which agree well enough in their main lines, there is another and much shorter one, contained in Xavier's *Persian Life of Christ*. It reads, "At that time in this territory there was a certain man whom his disciples called God, and who performed various miracles, whom many men have seen, and who ascended alive into heaven, and his disciples now do great things in his name, and testify that he is God, and a teacher of the way of salvation in truth."

to thee in my last), through envy bringing many groundless charges against him, which they were not able to convict him of by the consistency of their evidence. In short, when their fathers had a promise that their God would send them from heaven his holy one, who should deservedly be called their king, and promised that He would send him by a virgin on earth; when, therefore, I was procurator, he had come into Judaea. And the people have punished themselves and their posterity by a cruel condemnation of him to a bitter death, I, myself, being in a sort unwilling and rather afraid.

And one of the heresies they had against him was that Jesus had said that their Sabbath should not be a day of leisure, and should not be observed. For he performed many cures on that day, in addition to good works; he made the blind receive their sight, the lame walk; he cleansed the lepers, he raised up the dead; he healed paralytics that were not at all able to make any movement of their body, or to keep the nerves steady, but who had only speech and the modulation of their voice, and the joining of their bones; and he gave them the power of walking and running, removing their illness by a single word. Commanding the winds, he walked dry-shod upon the waves of the sea, and did many other signs and miracles. Another thing, again, more powerful still, which is strange, even with our gods; he raised up one Lazarus that had been dead four days, summoning him by a single word, when the dead man had his blood corrupted, and when his body was destroyed by the worms produced in wounds, and when it had the stink of a dog. And seeing him lying in the tomb, he ordered that ill-smelling body to run. Nor had he anything of a dead body about him at all; but as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth from the tomb, filled with very great fragrance.¹

And strangers that were manifestly demoniac, and that had their dwellings in deserts, and ate the flesh of their own

¹I do not think it necessary to repeat the references to the oft-mentioned miracles referred to in this letter.

limbs, living like beasts and creeping things, even these he made to be dwellers in cities and their own houses, and by his word restored them to soundness of mind, and rendered them wise and able and reputable, eating with all the enemies of the unclean spirits that dwelt in them for their destruction; and sending away the demons in them into a herd of swine, he cast them down into the depths of the sea, and suffocated them.¹ And again, there was another having a withered hand, and living in sorrow; and not the hand only, but rather the half of the body of the man was petrified, so that he had not the form of a man, or the power of moving his body. And him, by a word he healed, and made sound. And there was a woman² that had an issue of blood for many years, and whose arteries and veins were drained by the flowing of the blood, so that she did not present the appearance of a human being, but was like a corpse, all the joinings of her bones appearing and being transparent like glass; and she was speechless every day, so that all the physicians of the district could not cure her, and left her without hope of life. And when Jesus passed by, she mysteriously received strength through his overshadowing her; and she took hold of his fringe behind, and immediately in the same hour power filled up what in her was empty, so that, no longer suffering any pain, she began to run swiftly to her own city Paneas,³ so as to accomplish the journey in six days.

(46) And these things indeed were so. A man, by Hercules,
 (48) so pious, no age hath ever had nor will have. But wonderful
 (49) were the efforts of the people themselves, and the unanimity
 (56) of all the scribes and chief men and elders to crucify this ambassador of truth, notwithstanding that their own prophets, and after our manner the Sybils,⁴ warned them

¹See Mark v.13; Luke viii.33.

²Veronica.

³The Ms. here has Spania; Paneas is Thilo's conjecture, in accordance with the wide-spread legend.

⁴The classical belief regard-

ing the Sibyls is well known. The fourteen books of Sibylline Oracles that are now extant are formed of a commingling of Jewish, heathen, but mainly Christian prophecies, ranging in date from more than

against it. And these are the things which I lately had in my mind to report; and the Jews gave information that Jesus accomplished them on the Sabbath. And other signs greater than these he did, so that I perceived that the wonderful works done by him are greater than can be done by the gods whom we worship.

And when all the people of the Jews said that he was the Son of God, the chief priests felt envy against him. And him, Herod and Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people delivered to me, making a great uproar against me that I should try him. Urged more by fidelity to thy dignity than induced by my own wishes, I did not according to my strength resist that innocent blood free from the whole charges brought against it, but which unjustly, through the malignity of men, should be sold and suffer, yet, as the scriptures signify, to the Jews' own destruction. But as many were exciting an insurrection against me, which was just on the point of breaking out, I delivered him to be scourged according to their will, having found against him no cause of evil accusations or deeds. And they crucified him, and set guards over him when buried; but had I not been afraid of this insurrection, perhaps this man would still have been alive to us.

And at the time he was crucified there was darkness over all the world, as I suppose your reverence is not ignorant of, the sun being darkened at mid-day and the stars appearing, but in them there appeared no lustre; and the moon, which

a century B. C. to over 400 years later. The authors attempted to palm these off as the genuine productions of the ancient Sibyls, supporting their own views of religion. Many of the Christian fathers laid great stress upon the testimony to Christ afforded by these supposed ancient oracles. Celsus sneers at Christians as "sibyl-believers." Different authorities give two,

three, four, ten, or twelve as the number of the Sibyls. The last-named is the mediaeval number, and they were designated as, the Libyan, Samian, Cuman, Cumaeon, Erythraean, Persian, Tiburtine, Delphic, Phrygian, European, Agrippinian, and Hellespontic Sibyls. See Deane, p. 276 seq. for a full discussion of the Sibylline Oracles.

happened to be at the full, as if turned into blood, failed in her light. In all the world, they lighted lamps from the sixth to the ninth hour, and the world was swallowed up by the lower regions, so that the very statuary of the temple, as they call it, could not be seen by the Jews in their fall; and they saw below them a chasm of the earth, with the roar of the thunder that fell upon it. And the stars also and Orion made a lament about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had been done by them;¹ and the whole world was shaken by unspeakable miracles.² And in that terror dead men were seen that had risen,³ as the Jews themselves testified; and they said that it was Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses, and Job, that had died three thousand, five hundred years before; and they said that they had seen Noah manifestly in the body. And there were very many whom I also saw appearing in the body. And all the multitude walked about and sang praises to God with a loud voice, saying, "The Lord our God hath risen from the dead, hath brought to life all the dead, and hath plundered Hades and put him to death." And they were making a lamentation about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had come to pass through them, and the destruction of the Jews, and of their law. And there began to be earthquakes in the hour in which the nails were fixed in Jesus' hands and feet, until evening.⁴

(46) And the fear of the earthquake remained from the sixth
 (48) hour of the preparation until the ninth hour. And on the
 (49) evening of the first day of the week,⁵ there was a sound out
 (57) of the heaven, so that the heaven became enlightened sevenfold more than all the days. And at the third hour of the

¹Cf. Joel ii.10; iii.15, etc. For further notes upon these signs, I refer back to chap. XXVI.

²Passage found only in some Mss. of (49).

³Some Mss. of (49) add, "to the number of five hundred."

⁴Sentence found only in some Mss. of (49). I think this in-

dicates the influence of the Gospel of Peter, see chap. XXVI.

⁵The intention must be to indicate the evening *preceding* Easter morning, and I suppose that the third hour of the night must be *intended* to mean three o'clock on Easter morning.

night, also, the sun was seen brighter than it had ever shone before, lighting up all the heaven. And as lightnings come suddenly in winter, so majestic men appeared in glorious robes of indescribable splendour, and an innumerable multitude of angels whose voice was heard as that of a very great thunder, crying out, "Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace; among men, good will!"¹ Jesus that was crucified is risen; come up out of Hades, ye that have been enslaved in the underground regions of Hades!" And at their voice, all the mountains and hills were shaken, and the rocks were burst asunder, and the chasm of the earth was as if it had no bottom, so that what was in the abyss appeared; but it was as if the very foundations of the earth appeared along with those that cried out in the heavens, and walked about in the body in the midst of the dead that had arisen. And he that raised up all the dead and bound Hades, said, "Say to my disciples, 'He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him.'"² For he rose again on the third day, while my soldiers were keeping guard. But so flagrant was the iniquity of the Jews, that they gave money to my soldiers, saying, "Say that his disciples have stolen his body."³ But after receiving the money, they could not keep secret what had been done; for they bare witness, both that he had risen again, and that they had seen him, and that they had received money from the Jews. And all that night the light did not cease shining. And many of the Jews died, swallowed up in the chasm of the earth, so that on the following day most of those who had been against Jesus could not be found. Others saw the appearing of those that had arisen, whom no one of us had ever seen. And only one synagogue⁴ of the Jews was left in this Jerusalem, since all disappeared in that fall.

With that terror, being in perplexity, and seized with a most frightful trembling, I have written what I saw at that time, and have reported to thy majesty, lest any one should

¹Luke ii.14.

²Mark xvi.7.

³Cf. Mat. xxviii.13.

⁴Another reading is, "not one synagogue."

(46)
(48)
(49)
(56)
(57)

give a different and false account of it, and thou shouldest think that the lies of the Jews are to be believed. His disciples are flourishing in their work and the regulation of their lives, not belying their master, yea, in his name most beneficent.¹ Having set in order, also, what was done by the Jews against Jesus, I have sent it, my lord, to thy divinity. Farewell. 28th March.²

(59) And Theodorus³ wrote to Pilate the governor, "Who was the man, against whom there was a complaint before thee, that he was crucified by the men of Palestine? If the many demanded this righteously, why didst thou not consent to their righteousness? And if they demanded this unrighteously, how didst thou transgress the law,⁴ and command what was far from righteousness?" Pilate sent to him, "Because he wrought signs, I did not wish to crucify him; and since his accusers said, 'He called himself a king,' I crucified him."

(25)
(58)
(61) Now Abgar the king of Edessa,⁵ with his people, had by this time received the preaching of the Gospel by the mouth of Thaddaeus the apostle. Abgar the king, moreover, because he was not able to pass over the territory of the Romans, and go to Palestine to slay the Jews for having crucified Christ, wrote a letter, and sent it to Tiberius Caesar, writing in it thus:

¹Cf. the famous passage in Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, iii.3.

²Or, as Cowper gives it, "the fifth of the Kalends of April." The intention of the writer, no doubt, is to represent the Crucifixion as having taken place on the late traditional date, Mar. 25, and Pilate writes on the 28th, the day after the Resurrection. This date for the letter does not agree with the place I have given it in my compilation.

³This, if it is intended to refer to any real personage, must mean Tiberius. The passage is

a fragment appended to (59), and is apparently but another form of the numerous letters of Pilate to the Emperor.

⁴Baronius says that Pilate violated the law by crucifying Christ under any circumstances, so soon after sentence had been passed; forasmuch as, a delay of ten days was required in such cases, by a law passed in the reign of Tiberius.

⁵According to Moses of Chorene, "King of Armenia." I have not distinguished between the titles.

Abgar, King of the city of Edessa, to my Lord Tiberius (25)
 Caesar, Emperor of the Romans, greeting:—Although I (58)
 know that nothing is hidden from thy majesty, but as thy (61)
 friend, I write to inform thy dread and mighty sovereignty
 that the Jews who are under thy dominion and dwell in the
 country of Palestine, have assembled themselves together
 and crucified Christ Jesus, without any fault worthy of
 death, after he had done before them signs and wonders,
 and had shown them powerful mighty works, so that he
 even raised the dead. Be assured that these are not the
 effects of the power of a simple mortal, but of God. And
 at the time that they crucified him, the sun became dark-
 ened, and the earth also quaked, and all created things
 trembled and quaked; and, as if of themselves, at this dread
 the whole creation and the inhabitants of the creation shrank
 away. Jesus himself, three days afterwards, rose from the
 dead and appeared to many. Now, everywhere, his name
 alone, invoked by his disciples, produceth the greatest mira-
 cles. What hath happened to myself is the most evident
 proof of this. And now thy majesty knoweth what is meet
 for thee to command concerning the people of the Jews who
 have committed this crime. In order that thy majesty may
 not be offended with me, I have not passed over the river
 Euphrates; for I have been wishing to go up against Jerusa-
 lem and lay her waste, forasmuch as she hath slain Christ.¹
 But do thou as a great sovereign, who hath authority over
 all the earth and over us, send and do me judgment on
 the people of Jerusalem. Thy majesty knoweth whether
 a command should not be published throughout the universe
 to worship Christ as the true God. Safety and health!

¹This late legend attributes to the petty king Abgar a most val-
 ourous design in purposing to
 destroy Jerusalem, a plan which
 cost the Romans themselves so
 much to carry out. The story

reminds one of that told of more
 than one of the barbarian kings
 of Europe. *e. g.* Clovis; at his
 baptism, he expressed a wish to
 revenge the Saviour.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE EMBASSY OF VOLUSIANUS AND CAESAR'S CURE.

THE ILLNESS OF TIBERIUS—SENDS VOLUSIANUS TO SEEK HIS CURE OF CHRIST—WHO LEARNS OF CHRIST'S DEATH FROM PILATE—INTERVIEWS JOSEPH AND NICODEMUS—FINDS VERONICA AND THE SACRED PORTRAIT—MARY MAGDALENE COMPLAINS TO CAESAR AT ROME—MEETS GALEN—LETTERS ARRIVE AT ROME—CAESAR'S LETTER TO PILATE—TO ABGAR—ITS ANSWER—CAESAR CURED BY THE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST—BECOMES A CHRISTIAN.

MAIN SOURCES: (25)—History of Armenia, by Moses of Chorenc, VIII.

(58)—Teaching of Addaeus the Apostle.

(60)—Epistle of Tiberius to Pilate.

(62)—Giving Up of Pontius Pilate.

(63)—Death of Pilate, who condemned Jesus.

(64)—Avenging of the Saviour.

(63) Now Tiberius Caesar, the Emperor of the Romans, was
(64) ill and full of ulcers and fevers; and he had nine kinds of leprosy, labouring under a grievous disease.¹ And having understood that there was at Jerusalem a certain physician, Jesus by name, who by a single word cured all infirmities, he, not yet knowing that the Jews and Pilate had put him to death, ordered a certain friend of his, Volusianus,² "Take

¹I know of no historical evidence of this kind, although the legend is found in many forms. (63) tells of the disease in general, but (64), which is a very late and ridiculously elaborated

romance, adds the above absurd particulars.

²This is the name used in (63), in the Golden Legend, and generally; (64) uses the form Velosianus, in most Mss. L.

all that is necessary for thee, and go as quickly as possible across the seas to Judaea; and there shalt thou tell Pilate my servant and friend, to send me this physician, that he may restore me to my former health; for I am daily exceedingly burdened, and of my wounds I am ill at ease. And if thou shalt find there a man such as may be able to free me from this infirmity of mine, I will believe in Christ the Son of God, and will baptize myself in his name." And Volusianus said, "My Lord Emperor, if I find such a man as may be able to help and free us, what reward shall I promise him?" Tiberius said to him, "The half of my kingdom,¹ without fail, to be in his hand."

Then Volusianus, having heard the Emperor's command, (63) immediately went forth, and went on board the ship, and (64) hoisted the sail in the vessel, and went on sailing through the sea. And he sailed a year and seven days,² after which he arrived at Jerusalem. And Volusianus came to Pilate. And he related to the same Pilate what had been entrusted to him by Tiberius Caesar, saying, "Tiberius Caesar, the Emperor of the Romans, thy master, having heard that in this city there is a physician who by his word alone healeth infirmities, earnestly prayeth thee to send him to him for the cure of his infirmity." Pilate, hearing this, was very much afraid, knowing that through envy he had caused him to be put to death. He answered the same messenger thus, saying, "This man was a malefactor, and a man who drew to himself all the people; so a council of the wise men of the

Volusius Saturninus was Roman governor of Syria, near this period, from whom, perhaps, the name Volusianus was derived. According to (63), Volusianus merely went on a pacific mission to Jerusalem and brought back Veronica; according to (64), he there found Pilate under arrest, and co-operated with Titus and Vespasian, who had already captured the city and were taking vengeance. I have been sorely

put to, as the succeeding pages will show, to make anything of a continuous and not too absurdly contradictory narrative out of the mass of discordant material which follows.

¹Cf. Mark vi.23; Esther, v.3; vii.2.

²Utter ignorance or disregard of all geography, as well as history, is everywhere apparent in (64), whence this is taken.

city was held, and I caused him to be crucified." Then Volusianus said to Pilate, "Thou Pilate, impious and cruel, why hast thou slain the Son of God?" And Pilate answered, "His own nation, and the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, gave him to me." Volusianus said, "Impious and cruel, thou art worthy of death and cruel punishment."¹

- (64) And Volusianus immediately ordered some of the Jews to come to his power,² and began carefully to ask what had been the acts of Christ. Then Joseph, of the city of Arimathaea,³ and Nicodemus came at the same time. And Nicodemus said, "I saw him, and I know indeed that he is the Saviour of the world." And Joseph said to him, "And I took him down from the cross, and laid him in a new tomb which had been cut out of the rock. And the Jews kept me shut up on the day of the preparation, at evening; and while I was standing at prayer on the Sabbath day, the house was hung up by the four corners, and I saw the Lord Jesus Christ like a gleam of light, and for fear, I fell to the ground. And he said to me, 'Look upon me, for I am Jesus, whose body thou didst lay in thy tomb.' And I said

¹According to (64), Volusianus here sent Pilate back to prison, he having already been arrested by Titus and Vespasian, who had taken the city. I bring this narrative in later.

²"To his potency," *i. e.* to himself as the one who had the power.

³As this is the last reference to Joseph in this collection, perhaps it is worth while mentioning some of the numerous legends as to his later history. The Golden Legend tells that when Titus took Jerusalem, he found Joseph where he had been mured up in a wall by the Jews; he was kept to that time with heavenly meat and drink, and comforted with light divine. Ac-

ording to some, it was the Holy Grail that thus sustained him; and he now sleeps until the second coming, in the mystical city of Sarras, sustained by its life-giving virtue. The principal legend is, that he embarked from the holy land in the same ship without sails or rudder that carried Mary Magdalene, and other saints; they were miraculously wafted to Marseilles. Joseph went to England; planted his staff at Glastonbury, where it produced the famous thorn that flowered at Yuletide; he brought the Holy Grail, built a church, wrote letters to the British church, etc. He is said to have been buried in the abbey of Moyon-Moutier.

to him, 'Show me the sepulchre where I laid thee.' And Jesus, holding my hand in his right hand, led me to the place where I buried him."¹

And Volusianus, returning to his inn, met the woman named Veronica,² who had been a friend of Jesus; and he said, "O woman, a certain physician who was in this city, who cured the sick by a word alone, why have the Jews put him to death?" And she began to weep, saying, "Ah me! my lord, my God and my Lord, whom Pilate for envy delivered, condemned, and ordered to be crucified." Then he, being exceedingly grieved, said, "I am vehemently grieved, that I am unable to accomplish that for which my lord hath sent me." And Veronica said to him, "When my Lord was going about preaching, and I, much against my will, was deprived of his presence, I wished his picture to be painted for me, in order that, while I was deprived of his presence, the figure of his presence might at least afford me consolation. And when I was carrying the canvas to the painter to be painted, my Lord met me, and asked me whither I was going. And when I had disclosed to him the cause of my journey, he asked of me the cloth, and gave it back to me impressed with the image of his venerable face.³ Therefore, if my lord will devoutly gaze upon his face, he shall obtain forthwith the benefit of health." And he said to her, "Is a picture of this sort procurable by gold or silver?" She said to him, "No, but by the pious influence

¹In the Saxon version of (64), Joseph's speech runs, "I know that they took him down from the cross, and laid him in the tomb which I had cut out of the rock. And I was one of those who guarded his tomb; and I bent my head and thought I should see him, but I beheld nothing of him, but saw two angels, one at the head and the other at the foot, and they asked me whom I was seeking. I answered and said to them, 'I seek

Jesus who was crucified.' Again they said to me, 'Go into Galilee; there shall you see him, as he said to you before.'"

²I have mainly followed, in the succeeding narrative, the account of (63); (64) represents Volusianus as having heard of Veronica's portrait; he has her summoned, by torture compels her to discover it, and takes it.

³Cf. this with the legend in chap. XXV, at end.

of devotion. I shall therefore set out with thee, and shall carry the picture to be seen by Caesar, and shall come back again. I have it in clean linen, my lord, and daily adore it." Volusianus said, "Show it to me." Then she showed the portrait of the Lord. When Volusianus saw it, he prostrated himself on the ground; and with a ready heart and true faith he took hold of it, and wrapped it in cloth of gold, and placed it in a casket, and sealed it with his ring. And he swore with an oath, and said, "As the Lord God liveth, and by the health of Caesar, no man shall any more see it, until I see the face of my lord Tiberius."¹

(63) And Volusianus took the portrait of the Lord, with all his
(64) disciples, and all in his pay, and they went on board the ship the same day. Then the woman Veronica, for the love of Christ, left all that she possessed, and followed Volusianus. And he said to her, "What dost thou wish, woman, or what dost thou seek?" And she answered, "I am seeking the portrait of our Lord Jesus Christ, who enlightened me, not for mine own merits, but through his own holy affections. Give back to me the portrait of my Lord Jesus Christ; for because of this I die with a righteous longing. But if thou do not give it back to me, I will not leave it, until I see where thou wilt put it, because I, most miserable woman that I am, will serve him all the days of my life; because I believe that he, my Redeemer, liveth for everlasting." Then Volusianus ordered the woman Veronica to be taken down with him into the ship. And the sails being hoisted, they began to go in the vessel in the name of the Lord, and they sailed through the sea.

(62) Now after the ascension of Christ, Mary Magdalene hastened to Rome, crying out vehemently against the things which had been done to Christ unlawfully.² And there

¹I omit the statement made here by (64), that the chief of the Jews now arrested Pilate, and took him to a seaport.

²This statement, and one or two particulars that follow, I

take from Glycas, as reported in Apocrypha Anecdota, II, p. xlix. This visit, which is anticipated in the Gospel of Nicodemus, is also referred to by Cedrenus, Nicephorus, Joannes Cinnamus,

Galen,¹ the physician, met her, and was told by her about the healing of the man born blind. And he said to her that Christ must have been well acquainted with the metals of the earth, in order to give eyes to the blind man. And the anger of Tiberius was greatly stirred up by Mary, that he should take vengeance upon the priests, and the scribes, and Pilate himself. And the writings of Pilate and Abgar having come to the city of Rome, and having been read to Caesar, with not a few standing by, all were astounded, because through the wickedness of Pilate the darkness and the earthquake had come upon the whole world.² And the Caesar, filled with rage, sent soldiers, and ordered them to bring Pilate a prisoner, and sent a letter, as followeth :

The things written by Caesar Augustus, and sent to Pon- (60)
 tius Pilate, holding the eastern magistracy. He both wrote the declaration, and sent it along with the runner Rahab,³ also giving him soldiers to the number of two thousand.

Seeing that thou didst vote against the violent and unjust- (60)
 ice-filled death of Jesus of Nazareth, yet before condemnation didst deliver him up to death at the hands of the insatiable and frenzied Jews, and didst not have compassion on this just man, but having dipped a pen and delivered a very unhappy decision, and having scourged him, didst give him up to be crucified without cause, and didst receive gifts on account of his death,⁴ and didst sympathize with him in word, but in heart betrayed him to the lawless Jews; thou shalt be brought bound to me, in order that thou mayest

and Const. Manasses. See *ibid.*
 1. Later legends of Mary Magdalene are especially associated with the south of France, where an endless number of tales appear regarding her. She is said to have died at Aix, and is commemorated on July 22. Relics of her are still shown.

¹The legend-monger is not troubled by the fact that Galen lived in the second century. This

legend is also told by Glycas.

²Cf. chap. XXVI for the fact that the earthquake was felt at Rome.

³The name has already appeared in chap. XXIII, as that of Pilate's runner.

⁴Here appears a new charge against Pilate. This document is marked by extreme bitterness against him and the Jews.

plead thy cause, and give to me an account concerning the life which thou without cause didst give over unto death. But, O, thy shamelessness and callousness! I who have heard of him by report, am greatly agitated in mind and harassed in my feelings. For a certain woman said to be his disciple, who is Mary Magdalene, from whom they testify that he cast out seven demons, came to me bearing witness that he performed the most wonderful healings. He made the blind to see, the lame to walk, and the deaf to hear, and cleansed lepers; and simply spake, as she herself testifieth that he performed the healings by word only. How couldst thou yield that this one should be crucified without cause? And if ye did not receive him as a god, ye might have sympathized with him as a physician. But even according to thy deceitful account which came to me, thou didst vote against the punishment, having written that he was greater than the gods whom we worship. How couldst thou condemn him to death? But just as thou didst condemn him unjustly, and give him over to death, so will I give thee over to death justly; and not alone thee, but also all thy fellow counsellors and associates, from whom thou also didst receive the gifts on account of his death.

(60) And having given the writings to the letter carriers, by written order the sentence of Augustus was given to these, that they should put to death with the sword all the race of the Jews; and that Pilate, bound and condemned, be brought to Rome, and the chief men of the Jews, those then rulers, Archelaus son of the most detestable Herod, and Philip his companion, and their high priests, both Caiaphas and his father-in-law Annas, and all the chiefs of the Jews.

(25)
(58) And Tiberius Caesar wrote and sent to King Abgar; and thus did he write to him:

The letter of thy fidelity towards me, I have received, and it hath been read before me. I wish that thanks should be given to thee from me. Concerning what the Jews have dared to do in the matter of the cross, Pilate the governor also hath written and informed Aulbinus¹ my pro-consul,

¹This is probably intended for Albinus, who was later made

concerning these selfsame things of which thou hast written me. Though we have already heard several persons relate these facts, Pilate hath officially informed us of the miracles of Jesus. He hath certified to us that after his resurrection from the dead, he was acknowledged by many to be God. Therefore, I myself also wished to do what thou proposest; but, as it is the custom of the Romans not to admit a god merely by the command of the sovereign, but only when the admission hath been discussed and examined in full senate,¹ I proposed the affair to the senate, and they rejected it with contempt,² doubtless because it had not been considered by them first. But we have commanded all those whom Jesus suiteth, to receive him among the gods. We have threatened with death any one who shall speak evil of the Christians.³ As to the Jewish nation which hath dared to crucify Jesus, when I am free from the war with rebellious Spain,⁴ I will examine into the matter, and will treat the

procurator of Judaea by Nero, A. D. 62. If there is a refraction of some little historic truth in the above, the person meant is L. Vitellius, the then governor of Syria, who removed Pilate from office in 36 A. D., on account of his cruelty to the Samaritans, Marcellus being appointed in his stead. Pilate was ordered to appear before Tiberius, but the Emperor was dead before he reached Rome.

¹Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. V, makes this statement in almost the same words, whence, I doubt not, this part of the letter was drawn.

²See Tertullian, *ibid.*, also Eusebius, *Church Hist.*, II, ii, 2, who repeats his statements and enlarges upon them. I quote this passage from Tertullian: "Tiberius, accordingly, in whose days the Christian name made

its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the senate, with his own decision in favour of Christ. The senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected his proposal. Caesar held to his opinion, threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians." Few of the learned have attached any importance to this statement of Tertullian's; he was most probably deceived by forged documents of late date.

³Sufficient refutation of this, which is founded on Tertullian's statement, is furnished by Trajan's rescript, and the conduct of succeeding emperors.

⁴History makes no mention of a war in Spain near this period,

Jews as they deserve. And on this account, as regardeth Pilate also, who was appointed by me governor there—I have sent another in his stead, and dismissed him in disgrace, because he departed from the law,¹ and did the will of the Jews; and for the gratification of the Jews crucified Christ, who, according to what I hear concerning him, instead of suffering the cross of death, deserved to be honoured and worshipped by them; and more especially, because with their own eyes they saw everything that he did. Yet thou, in accordance with thy fidelity towards me, and thy faithful covenant entered into by thyself and by thy fathers, hast done well in writing to me thus.

(58) And Abgar the king received Aristides,² who had been sent by Tiberius Caesar to him; and in reply he sent him back with presents of honour suitable for him who had been sent to him. And Abgar wrote another letter to Tiberius:

(25) Abgar, King of the Armenians, to my Lord Tiberius, Emperor of the Romans, greeting:—

I have received the letter written from thy august majesty, and I have applauded the commands which have emanated from thy wisdom. If thou wilt not be angry with me, I will say that the conduct of the senate is extremely ridiculous and absurd. For, according to the senators, it is after the examination and by the suffrages of men that divinity may be ascribed. Thus, then, if God doth not suit man, He cannot be God, since God is to be judged and justified by man.³ It will no doubt seem just to my lord and master to send another governor to Jerusalem in the place

but Vitellius, the governor of Syria at this time, was involved in the wars of the Parthians and Hiberians. These latter, as well as the Spaniards, were called Hiberi in Latin. So the confusion may have arisen in translating this letter from Latin into Syriac.

¹See note, third from end of last chapter.

²(58) here adds further, that Aristides on his return to Ortygia (probably intended for Ortygia near Syracuse, where Tiberius then resided), told him of the mighty works which Ad-daeus had done before King Abgar.

³The substance of this also seems to be drawn from Tertulian's Apology, chap. V.

of Pilate, who ought to be ignominiously driven from the powerful post in which thou didst place him; for he hath done the will of the Jews; he hath crucified Christ unjustly, without thy order. That thou mayest enjoy health, is my desire.

Abgar, having written the letter, placed a copy of it, with (25) copies of the other letters, in his archives.

And at the end of a year, Volusianus came to the city of (63) Rome, brought his vessel into the river which is called Ti- (64) beris, or Tiber, and entered the city which is called Rome. And he sent his messengers to his lord Tiberius the Emperor about his prosperous arrival. Then Tiberius the Emperor, when he heard the message of Volusianus, rejoiced greatly, and ordered him to come before his face. And when he had come, he called him, saying, "Volusianus, how hast thou come, and what hast thou seen in the region of Judaea, of Christ the Lord, and his disciples? Tell me, I beseech thee, that I may be at once cleansed from that leprosy which I have over my body, and I give up my whole kingdom into thy power and his." And Volusianus said, "My lord Emperor, I have found out about Jesus whom thou hast been longing for, whom Pilate and the Jews most wickedly crucified, and about the wonders which he did.¹ And I found a woman named Veronica, who had the portrait of the Lord, and she hath come with me. And if thou wilt devoutly look upon it, thou shalt immediately obtain the benefit of thy health." Then the Emperor Tiberius said to Volusianus, "How hast thou it?" And he answered, "I have it in clean cloth of gold, rolled up in a shawl." And the Emperor Tiberius said, "Bring it to me and spread it before my face, that I, falling to the ground and bending my knees, may adore it on the ground."

¹Volusianus also tells here in the narrative of (64), how he found Titus and Vespasian in Jerusalem, cleansed from their infirmities and taking vengeance on the Jews; how he sent Pilate

to prison in Damascus, etc. But I omit these details here, to preserve a semblance of consistency in the narrative. They will appear later.

- (63) Caesar therefore ordered the way to be strewn with silk cloth, and the picture to be presented to him. Then Volusianus spread out his shawl, with the cloth of gold on which the portrait of the Lord had been imprinted; and the Emperor Tiberius saw it. And he immediately adored the image of the Lord with a pure heart. And as soon as he looked upon it, he regained his former health, and his flesh was cleansed as the flesh of a little child.¹ And all the blind, the lepers, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, and those possessed by various diseases who were there present, were healed, and cured, and cleansed. And the Emperor Tiberius bowed his head and bent his knees, considering that saying, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the beasts which thou hast sucked."² And he groaned to the Lord, saying with tears, "God of heaven and earth, do not permit me to sin; but confirm my soul and my body, and place me in Thy kingdom, because in Thy name do I trust always. Free me from all evils, as Thou deliveredst the three children from the furnace of burning fire."³
- (64) Then said the Emperor Tiberius to Volusianus, "Volusianus, hast thou seen any of these men who saw Christ?" Volusianus answered, "I have." He said, "Didst thou ask how they baptized those who believed in Christ?" Volusianus said, "Here, my lord, we have one of the disciples of Christ himself." Then he ordered Nathan⁴ to be summoned to come to him. Nathan, therefore, came and baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Immediately, the Emperor Tiberius, made whole from all his diseases, ascended upon his throne, and said, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord God Almighty, and worthy to be praised, who hast freed me from all mine iniquities;⁵

¹II Kings v.14.

²Luke xi.27. Perhaps the height of legendary absurdity, greater even than the bold conception of having Tiberius embrace the Christian faith, is involved in having him readily call to mind a passage of the

Gospel, which was not written until long after this period.

³Cf. Dan. iii.19-27.

⁴His history is given in the next chapter.

⁵Cf. perhaps, the story of Nebuchadnezzar's restoration. Dan. iv.33-37.

because I have greatly sinned before Thee, O Lord my God, and I am not worthy to see Thy face." And then the Emperor Tiberius was instructed in all the articles of the faith fully, and with strong faith.¹

¹The details of this absurd story about Tiberius, as well as other legends in this and the following chapters, are recounted at great length in a book published at Lisbon in 1496, "Estoria de Muy Nobre Vespasiano Emperador de Roma." A Span-

ish translation, which appeared at Seville, is also known. Of course those authors who condescend to consider the historic date of the destruction of Jerusalem, must fasten this story on Vespasian.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PILATE AND HEROD.

NATHAN'S VOYAGE—HE FINDS TITUS—THE LATTER'S AFFLICTION—IS CURED AND CONVERTED—SENDS FOR VESPASIAN—THEY PROCEED TO ATTACK JUDAEA—THE JEWS TERRIFIED—PILATE'S LETTER TO HEROD—HIS REPENTANCE—CHRIST'S APPEARANCE TO PROCLA—TO PILATE—WHO IS ABSOLVED—HEROD'S LETTER TO PILATE—DEATH OF HERODIAS—ILLNESS OF HEROD AND FAMILY—HIS REQUESTS, DEATH, AND BURIAL—PUNISHMENT OF LONGINUS.

MAIN SOURCES: (11)—Narrative regarding the Beheading of John the Baptist.

(59)—Epistles of Herod and Pilate, Syriac Form.

(64)—Avenging of the Saviour.

(65)—Epistles of Pilate and Herod, Greek Form.

(64) Now regarding this Nathan, who was a disciple of the Lord and baptized the Emperor Tiberius, the story is as followeth: He was a man from Judaea, an Ishmaelite, the son of Nahum, who went from land to land, and from sea to sea, and in all the ends of the earth. Now Nathan was sent from Judaea to the Emperor Tiberius to carry their treaty to the city of Rome. And Nathan wished to go to the city of Rome, but the north wind blew and hindered his sailing, and carried him down to the harbour of a city of Libia,¹ Burgidalla, in the region of Equitania.

¹Libia, Burgidalla, and Equitania are probably intended to represent the modern names, Albi, Bordeaux, and Aquitaine. The geography of these latter regions would not at all agree

And in those days, Titus¹ was a prince under Tiberius in (64) that region. And he, seeing the ship coming, knew that it was from Judaea; and they all wondered, and said that they had never seen any vessel so coming from that quarter. And Titus ordered the captain to come to him, and asked him who he was. And he said, "I am Nathan the son of Nahum, of the race of the Ishmaelites; and I am a subject of Pontius Pilate, in Judaea. And I have been sent to go to Tiberius the Roman Emperor, to carry a treaty from Judaea. And a strong wind came down upon the sea, and hath brought me to a country that I do not know." And Titus saith, "If thou couldest at any time find anything either of cosmetics or herbs which would cure the wound that I have in my face, as thou seest, so that I should become whole, and regain my former health, I would bestow upon thee many good things." For Titus had a sore in his right nostril, on account of a cancer; and he had his face torn even to the eye. And Nathan said to him, "I do not know, nor have I ever known, of such things as thou speakest to me about. But for all that, if thou hadst been some time ago in Jerusalem, there thou wouldest have found a choice prophet, whose name was Emmanuel; for he will save his people from their sins.² He did many wonderful deeds and miracles before his passion. After his resurrection, we saw him in the flesh as he had been before." And Titus said to him, "How did he rise again from the dead, seeing that he was dead?" And Nathan answered, and said, "He was manifestly dead, and hung up on the cross, and again taken down from the cross, and for three days he lay in the tomb; there-

with the statement that the ship was driven thither by a north wind from Judaea. But (64) has no historical or geographical limitations. Cowper thinks that Equitania means the African province of Zeugitana; and Libia, the city of Clypea, or Aspis, which still exists under the name of Calibia, or Kelibia;

Burgidalla, he rejects as an interpolation; the name is not found in some copies. It is evident from the narrative that some locality in Africa was in the writer's mind.

¹The Saxon version reads Tirus.

²Cf. Mat. i.21, 23.

after, he rose from the dead, and went down to Hades, and freed the patriarchs and prophets, and the whole human race; thereafter, he appeared to his disciples, and ate with them; thereafter, they saw him going up into heaven. And so it is the truth, all this that I tell thee; for I saw it with my own eyes, and all the house of Israel."

(64) And Titus said in his own words, "Woe to thee, O Emperor Tiberius, full of ulcers and enveloped in leprosy, that such a scandal hath been committed in thy kingdom; because thou hast made such kings¹ in Judaea, in the land of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they have seized the king, and put to death the ruler of the peoples;² and they have not made him come to us to cure thee of thy leprosy, and cleanse me from mine infirmity; on which account, if they had been before my face, with my own hands I should have slain the carcasses of those Jews, and hung them up on the cruel tree, because they have destroyed my Lord, and mine eyes have not been worthy to see his face."

(64) And when he had spoken thus, immediately the wound fell from the face of Titus, and his face and his flesh were restored to health. And all the sick who were in the same place were made whole in that hour. And Titus cried out, and all the rest with him, in a loud voice, saying, "My king and my God, because I have never seen thee, and thou hast made me whole, bid me go with the ship over the waters to the land of thy birth, to take vengeance on thine enemies; and help me, O Lord, that I may be able to destroy them, and avenge thy death. Do thou, Lord, deliver them into my hand."³ And having thus spoken he ordered that he should be baptized. And he called Nathan to him, and said to him, "How hast thou seen those baptized who believe in

¹Cowper suggests here the emendation of *leges* for *reges*, thus reading, "because thou hast made such laws in Judaea."

²Cf. Micah v.2 etc.

³It is quite evident that the compiler of (64) believes that the destruction of Jerusalem fol-

lowed soon after Christ's Crucifixion, and attributes the former event to a direct case of vengeance taken for the latter. Many of his gruesome details are a distorted version of the story of Jerusalem's destruction as told by Josephus.

Christ? Come to me, and baptize me in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.¹ For I also firmly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all my heart, and with all my soul; because nowhere in the whole world is there another who hath created me, and made me whole from my wounds.”

And having thus spoken, Titus sent messengers to Ves- (64)
 pasian to come with all haste with his bravest men, so prepared as if for war. Then Vespasian brought with him five thousand armed men, and they went to meet Titus. And when they had come to the city of Libia, he said to Titus, “Why is it that thou hast made me come hither?” And he said, “Know that Jesus hath come into this world, and hath been born in Judaea, in a place which is called Bethlehem, and hath been given up by the Jews, and scourged and crucified on Mount Calvary, and hath risen again from the dead on the third day. And his disciples have seen him in the same flesh in which he was born; and he hath shown himself to his disciples, and they have believed in him. And we indeed wish to become his disciples. Now let us go and destroy his enemies from the earth, that they may now know that there is none like the Lord our God on the face of the earth.” With this design, then, they went forth from the city of Libia, which is called Burgidalla, and went on board a ship, and proceeded to Jerusalem, and surrounded the kingdom of the Jews, and began to send them to destruction.²

And when the kings of the Jews heard of their doings, (59)
 and the wasting of their land, fear came upon them, and (64)
 they were in great perplexity. And Pilate, the governor of (65)

¹The Saxon here reads, “Then Nathan came, and baptized him in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and took away from him his name of Tirus, and called him in his baptism, Titus, which is in our language ‘Pius.’”

ment with my other accounts of the vengeance visited on the Jews by Rahab and Licianus, which follow in the next chapter, I must here suppose that Titus and Vespasian did not for some time attack Jerusalem itself.

²To make any sort of adjust-

Jerusalem, wrote a letter to Herod the Tetrarch, sending greeting, and saying:¹

(59) I did nothing good on that day on which the Jews brought
(65) forward Jesus called Christ, when, under thy persuasion, I did on him thy pleasure, joining with thee in crucifying him. But I had compassion on myself, and testified by washing of my hands, that I was free from his blood, who rose from the grave after three days. But I now learn this from the Jews, and from the executioners, and from the centurion, and the soldiers who watched his sepulchre. And I myself also have been persuaded to send to Galilee, and I have especially confirmed what was told me, that he appeared there bodily, in his own flesh, in the same form, and with the same voice, and with the same doctrine, and with the same disciples, not having changed in anything; he showed himself to more than five hundred² devout men, preaching with boldness his resurrection and an everlasting kingdom. And, behold, for his holy doctrines, the heavens and earth seem to leap for joy.

(59) And my wife Procla, having believed on account of the
(65) visions³ which appeared to her while I was hesitating to deliver Jesus up through thy counsel, when thou sentest that I should deliver him to the people of Israel, because of the ill-will they had—she having heard that Jesus was risen, and had appeared in Galilee, left me; and took with her Longinus the faithful centurion, and twelve soldiers, the same that had watched at the sepulchre; and went forth to greet the face of the Messiah, as if to a great spectacle; and she saw him with his disciples, seated in a cultivated field, a great crowd standing by, and teaching the mighty works of the fathers, so that all wondered and were amazed whether the one having suffered and been crucified were raised from the dead. And whilst they were standing and wondering and gazing at him, he, conscious of it, looked at them, and

¹The Syriac gives Herod's letter first; I here follow the Greek order, which places Pilate's letter first, and seems to me to be

the order intended by the original compiler.

²Cf. I Cor. xv.6.

³See notes on chap. XXIII.

talked to them, and said, "What is it? Do ye still not believe me, Procla and Longinus? Art thou not he who watched my sufferings and my tomb? And didst not thou, O woman, send to thy husband concerning me? Procla, dost thou not believe the covenant of God, which the fathers gave? For in that it is said, that every body which hath perished should live by means of my death, which ye have seen. And now, ye see that I live, whom ye crucified. And I suffered many things, till that I was laid in the sepulchre. Wherefore, I, having been raised up, will make alive all lost flesh through my death which ye saw. Wherefore, hear now, that all flesh believing upon the Father, God, and upon me, is not lost. For I loosed the pains of death, and brake the gates of Sheol, and pierced the many-headed dragon;¹ and my coming shall be hereafter. And as each one possesseth in my future presence, being raised up in body and mind, he will thank my Father for my being crucified by Pontius Pilate."

And my wife Procla, having heard him say these things, (59) and the centurion Longinus who was trusted to watch over (65) the sufferings of Jesus, and the soldiers who journeyed with her, weeping and groaning came and announced to me these things. For they also were against him, when they devised the evils which they had done unto him. And when I heard them, I announced them to the army leaders and to their fellow soldiers. And they, grieving and weeping daily, reflected upon the evil which they did to him, as I also myself, in the anguish of my life, was on the couch of my bed in affliction and fasting, and put on a garment of mourning, and took unto me fifty Romans with my wife, and went into Galilee. And when I was going on the way, I testified these things, that Herod did these things by me; that he took counsel with me, and constrained me to arm my hands against him,² and to judge him that judgeth all, and to

¹Cf. Is. li.9. According to many of the Rabbins, the Rahab mentioned in the verse quoted, was a mighty angel, who was slain by God. The apocryphal

name Rahab, for Pilate's or the Emperor's runner, has probably some connection with this legend.

²Note that the very ancient

scourge the just one, lord of the just. And when we drew nigh to him, O Herod, a great voice was heard from heaven, and dreadful thunder; and the earth trembled, and gave forth a sweet smell,¹ like unto which was never perceived, even in the temple of Jerusalem. Now while I stood in the way, our Lord saw me as he stood and talked with his disciples. But I prayed in my heart, for I knew that it was he whom ye delivered unto me, that he was Lord of created things and Creator of all. But we, when we saw him, all of us fell upon our faces before his feet. And I said with a loud voice, "I have sinned, O Lord, in that I sat and judged thee, who avengest all in truth. And lo, I know that thou art God, the Son of God, and I beheld thy humanity and not thy divinity. But Herod, with the children of Israel, constrained me to do evil unto thee. Have pity, therefore, upon me, O God of Israel." And my wife in great anguish, said, "God of heaven and earth, God of Israel, reward me not according to the deeds of Pontius Pilate, nor according to the will of the children of Israel, nor according to the thoughts of the sons of the priests; but remember my husband in thy glory!" And the Lord drew near and raised me up, and my wife, and the Romans, from the earth. And I, gazing intently upon him, saw his body still having the wounds of scourging and the scars of his cross. And he placed his hands upon my shoulders, saying, "All generations and tribes will bless thee,² because in thy time was that which all the righteous fathers hoped to receive and saw not,³ that the son of man, the Son of the Most High, who is forever, died and rose again from the dead, and will ascend to the heavens, and will sit down among the highest;

Gospel of Peter in like manner represents Herod as the leader in crucifying Christ. The favourable view of Pilate was held early.

¹The sweet smell seems to be a symbol of the nearness of paradise; it is, as we have seen in many places, one of the com-

monest adornments introduced in apocryphal literature.

²This passage is also found in (62), and will so be found again in chap. XXXVIII, as drawn from that document. Cf. Luke i.48.

³Cf. I Pet. i.10.

and is glorified on high by all that he created, and established forever. And all the tribes of the earth shall know that I am he who shall come to judge the living and dead at the last day."

And Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee, wrote to Pontius Pilate, (59)
governor of the Jews, sending greeting, and saying: (65)

Being in no little grief on account of the divine retribu- (11)
tion, I write thee, that when thou hearest it, thou mayest (59)
likewise be grieved for me. For I keep longing for my (65)
daughter Herodias,¹ who was dear to me, who lost her life
upon the water when playing, the river being full to the
bank and having ice upon it. For suddenly the water was
increased even to her neck, and the ice brake under her, and
all her body went down; and her mother grasped her by the
head in order that she might not be taken under the water;
and the child's head was cut off and remained upon the
surface of the ice, so that my wife could hold only the head,
and the water took her whole body. And my wife is holding
the head upon her knees in her lap and weeping, and the
whole household is in indescribable grief.²

And I suffer a great multitude of ills, because having (59)
heard concerning the man Jesus, I treated him contempt- (65)
uously. And I wish to go and see him alone, and to fall
before him, and to hear his word whether it is like that of the
sons of men, since I did many evil things against him, and
mocked the Messiah, the reward of righteousness, and John
the Baptist; and behold, I receive justly the things I deserve.
For my father made much flowing of blood upon the earth,³
of other people's children, on account of Jesus. And I
again beheaded John, who baptized him. Therefore the
judgments of God are righteous, for every man receiveth
according to his thought.⁴ But since thou wast worthy to

¹The name should be Salome; see note on chap. XVI.

²This story is not only found in (65), (59), and (11), but also in the Golden Legend, in Pseudo-Dorotheus, and Nicophorus, besides other places.

I have endeavoured to embrace all the versions, and have, I fear, made an extremely diffuse narrative.

³Cf. Mat. ii.16.

⁴Cf. Acts viii.22.

see that God-man, therefore it becometh thee to pray for me, and when thou canst again see the man Jesus, then struggle in my behalf, and be an ambassador for me. For to you, the Gentiles, was the kingdom given according to the prophets and the Messiah.

(59) And Lesbonax,¹ my son, is of necessity at the last of life,
(65) and in the agony of death, being afflicted with a withering fever many days. And I, indeed, myself am lying greatly enfeebled, in affliction and great trial with a dropsical complaint; and I am in great distress because I persecuted the introducer of baptism by water, which was John.² Therefore, my brother, the judgments of God are righteous.³

(59) And my wife also, through all her grief for the house-
(65) hold, is become blind in her left eye, because we desired to blind the eye of righteousness. There is no peace to the doers of evil, saith the Lord.⁴ For already great affliction cometh upon the priests, and the assembly of the elders of the sons of Israel, and the writers of the law; and death will take hold of them, because they unjustly laid hands upon the just Jesus, and delivered him unto thee. These things were to be fulfilled in the consummation of the ages, so that the Gentiles are the heirs of the kingdom of God, and the sons of light shall be cast out,⁵ because we have not kept the things preached in regard to the Lord, nor the things preached in regard to His Son. Therefore gird up thy loins,⁶ and seek again thy righteousness, thou with thy wife remem-

¹No such son of Herod is known. This is the reading of the Greek text; the Syriac has "Azbonius."

²The compiler has here, and in the rest of the letter, drawn upon the account of Herod Agrippa's death, as given by Josephus, *Antiq.*, bk. XIX, 8, and as abbreviated by Eusebius in his *Ch. Hist.* Some literal extracts from the latter are appended to (59), but I have not

thought it worth while to reprint them. Cf. also in connection, Acts xii.23. None of these authorities speak of the dropsy, and that feature, as introduced here, has striking similarity to the legend of the death of Judas Iscariot.

³Ps. xix.9, etc.

⁴Cf. Is. xlvi.22; lvii.21.

⁵Cf. Luke xvi.8.

⁶Cf. I Pet. i.13.

bering Jesus night and day; and the kingdom shall belong to you Gentiles; for we the chosen people of God have mocked the righteous one.

Now if there is any place for our request, O Pilate, since (59) we have been contemporaries in power, bury my household (65) with care; for it is more proper that we should be buried by thee than by the priests, whom, shortly after, according to the scriptures, at the coming of Jesus Christ, vengeance shall overtake. I send thee the ear-rings of my wife¹ and my own signet ring, that they may be unto thee a memorial of me after my death. For already worms begin to issue from my mouth,² and lo, I am receiving temporal judgment; and I am afraid of the judgment to come; for I shall doubly receive the judgments of the living God. We may escape in this life, being of short duration here, but there the condemnation and the retribution for our deeds is everlasting. Fare thee well with Procla thy wife!

And when Herod was sitting down, the head of Herodias (11) was brought; and he took it upon his knees, and began to weep and say "O righteous water, more cutting than unrighteous death! O tomb of the holy ones, prepared in the holy temple!³ O righteous tomb, not having received unrighteous bodies, but having sent them forth to the fowls of heaven and the wild beasts of the earth!" When Herod died, the earth did not receive his body, but spewed it out. And the fowls of the heaven came and took away his flesh.⁴

¹The Syriac says, "of my daughter."

²See Acts xii.23, after which this statement is made. The anachronism of placing Agrippa's death at this time is evident. Various descriptions of his punishment in hell are extant.

³The reference is to the event recorded at the close of chap. XVI.

⁴We have a good illustration here of the manner in which va-

rious apocryphal tales are often mingled. Our document (11), here tells of Herod the same story about holding the head in his lap, that (59) and (65) relate of his wife. And further, (60) tells in my next chapter the same tale about the burial of Caiaphas, that is here related with regard to Herod. Jewish feeling about this fate is illustrated by Deut. xxviii.26.

(65) Now in the same hour, the angel of the Lord, having laid hold of the head of Longinus who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear, took him beyond the Jordan to a desert place; and bringing him further to a cave, stretched him on the ground on his face. And a lion was so stationed as to come forth at evening and to consume the body until morning.¹ And in the morning the lion goeth away, and again his body groweth again.² And he suffereth this punishment until the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.

¹This story is an evident adaptation of the classical tales about Prometheus, Tityus, Tantalus, etc. For the favourable and more generally accepted legends as to the close of the life of Longinus, see note on chap. XXVI.

²The story reminds me of an incident in the legend of St. Mary the Egyptian (commemorated Apr. 2). In this same locality, beyond Jordan in the desert, a lion came and buried the dead body of the saint.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE AVENGING OF THE SAVIOUR.

RAHAB SLAUGHTERS THE JEWS—DEATH OF CAIAPHAS—
OTHER CAPTIVES BROUGHT TO ROME—PILATE PROTECT-
ED BY THE HOLY TUNIC—STRIPPED AND SENT TO PRISON
—LICIANUS RAVAGES JUDAEA BY CAESAR'S DECREE—
PILATE SENTENCED BY CAESAR—EXECUTED BY ALBIUS—
PARDONED BY GOD—SOME SAY HE WAS SLAIN BY CAESAR
—OR KILLS HIMSELF—CAST INTO THE TIBER—TAKEN
TO VIENNA—FINAL DESTRUCTION OF ALL THE JEWS.

MAIN SOURCES: (60)—Epistle of Tiberius to Pilate.
(62)—Giving Up of Pontius Pilate.
(63)—Death of Pilate, who condemned Jesus.
(64)—Avenging of the Saviour.

And Rahab, having come to Jerusalem, did as he was (60) commanded, and overcame with the sword all the male race of the Jews.¹ But the Gentiles mingled with their women, who were unchaste; and the abominable seed of their father Satan rose up and grew again.²

¹If we are to reconcile this imaginary expedition with the accounts of those of Licianus, and Titus and Vespasian, which follow, we may imagine that it was merely a punitive visitation on the male Jews of Jerusalem; that Licianus ravaged all of Judaea; and that Titus and Vespasian completed the work of destruction in accordance with

the historical facts regarding their destruction of the nation of the Jews.

²A fine illustration, this statement, of the amenities of early controversy between Jews and Christians. These apocryphal writings re-echo the distasteful Jewish blasphemy, that Christ was born of fornication; the Christian pseudepigrapher re-

(60) And the runner Rahab having taken Pilate, Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, and all the chiefs of the Jews, started to bring them bound to Rome. And Archelaus was perplexed in his words, and said to his son, "My son, take the kingdom and judge it, and take counsel with the other kings who are in the land of Judaea, that ye may be able to escape from our enemies." And having said this, he unsheathed his sword, and thrust it into his breast, and died.¹ And it chanced that while they were going to Rome, Caiaphas severed his life violently and wretchedly in an island called Crete. And having taken him that they might bury him, the earth did not receive the whole of him, but threw him out. The whole multitude, seeing this, having taken up stones, with friendly hands they cast them upon him; and thus they buried him.²

(60) The rest were brought to harbour in Rome, Pilate having
 (62) first for a time been confined in prison in Damascus, guarded
 (63) by four quaternions of soldiers. And Caesar, hearing that
 (64) Pilate had arrived at Rome, was filled with exceeding fury against him, and sat in the temple of the gods, in the presence of all the senate, and with all the army and all the multitude of his power; and he caused him to be brought to him, and ordered him to stand forward.³ But Pilate had brought down with him the seamless tunic of Jesus;⁴ and he wore it on him in the presence of the Emperor. And as soon as the Emperor saw him, he laid aside all his anger, and forthwith rose up to meet him; nor was he able to speak

torts with alleged proof that the whole Jewish race was subject to the same charge.

¹The historical fact probably is that he died in banishment in the region of Vienna, but Jerome states that he had seen his sepulchre near Bethlehem.

²See note on death of Herod, preceding chapter. Caiaphas was deposed by Vitellius about A. D. 36, but his later history is not

known. The legend of St. Brendan tells the particulars of his punishment in hell. (8), in chap. I, ascribes the authorship of that work to Joseph Caiaphas, and Josephus states that this was his full name. A tradition of the Syrian Jacobites maintains that Caiaphas became a Christian.

³Or, "in the entrance."

⁴See fourth note on chap. XXVI.

harshly to him in anything; and he who seemed so terrible and fierce in his absence, now in his presence was somehow found to be mild. And Pilate said, "O almighty king,¹ I am innocent of these things, but the multitude of the Jews are violent and guilty." And the Caesar said, "And who are they?" Pilate saith, "Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, and all the multitude of the Jews." The Caesar saith, "For what reason didst thou follow out their counsel?" And Pilate saith, "Their nation is rebellious and insubmissive, not submitting themselves to thy power." And the Caesar said, "When they delivered him to thee, thou oughtest to have made him secure, and to have sent him to me, and not to have obeyed them in crucifying such a man, righteous as he was, and one that did such good miracles, as thou hast said in thy report. For from such miracles, Jesus was manifestly the Christ, the king of the Jews." And as Caesar was thus speaking, when he named the name of Christ, all the multitude of the gods fell down in a body, and became as dust, when the Caesar was sitting with the senate.² And the people standing beside the Caesar all began to tremble, on account of the speaking of the word, and the fall of their gods; and being seized with terror, they all went away, each to his own house, wondering at what had happened.

And when Caesar had sent Pilate away, immediately he (63) blazed out against him terribly, crying out that he was a wretch, inasmuch as he had not at all shown him the fury of his heart. And immediately he made him to be called back, swearing and declaring that he was the son of death, and that it was infamous that he should live upon the earth. And as soon as he saw him, he forthwith saluted him, and threw away all the ferocity of his mind. All wondered; and he himself wondered that he should thus blaze out against Pilate when he was absent, and that while he was present he could say nothing to him roughly. Then by a

¹Gr. *ἀυτοκράτωρ*.

miracle told in the Gospels of the Infancy.

²Reference is scarcely needed to the instances of the same

divine impulse, or perhaps by the advice of some Christian,¹ he caused him to be stripped of that tunic, and immediately resumed against him his former ferocity of mind. And when at this the Emperor wondered very much, it was told him that that tunic had belonged to the Lord Jesus.² Then the Emperor ordered him to be kept in prison, until he should deliberate in a council of the wise men what ought to be done with him.

(62) And on the following day, Caesar, sitting in the Capitol with the senate, tried again to question Pilate. And Caesar saith, "Tell the truth, O most impious, because through thy impious action which thou hast perpetrated against Jesus, even here the doing of thy wicked deeds hath been shown by the gods having been cast down. Say, then, who is he that hath been crucified; because even his name hath destroyed all the gods?" Pilate said, "Indeed the records of him are true; for assuredly I myself was persuaded from his works that he was greater than all the gods whom we worship." And the Caesar said, "For what reason, then, didst thou bring against him such audacity, and such doings, if thou wert not ignorant of him, and altogether devising mischief against my kingdom?" Pilate said, "On account of the wickedness and rebellion of the lawless and ungodly Jews, I did this." And Caesar, being filled with rage, held a council with all his senate and his power, and ordered a decree to be written against the Jews, as followeth:

(62) To Licianus,³ the governor of the chief places of the East, greeting. The reckless deed which hath been done at the present time by the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the cities of the Jews round about, and their wicked action, hath come to my knowledge, that they have forced Pilate to crucify

¹This word rarely appears in the apocryphal documents I have used.

²The garment that renders invisible, or preserves from harm, is widely known in mythology and folk-lore, so that references are scarcely necessary.

³No such person is known in the history of those times. I suppose that the name is only a corruption of Volusianus, and this whole story told by (62), a confusion of his office with that of Vitellius, the governor.

a certain god named Jesus, and on account of this great fault of theirs the world hath been darkened and dragged to destruction. Do thou, then, speedily, with a multitude of soldiers, go to them there, and make them prisoners, in accordance with this decree. Be obedient, and take action against them, and scatter them, and make them slaves among all the nations. And having driven them out of all Judaea, make them the smallest of nations, so that it may not any longer be seen at all, because they are full of wickedness.¹

And this decree having come into the regions of the East, (62) Licianus, obeying from fear of the decree, seized all the nation of the Jews; and those that were left in Judaea he scattered among the nations, and sold for slaves,² so that it was known to Caesar that these things had been done by Licianus against the Jews in the region of the East; and it pleased him.

And again, a few days after, the Caesar set himself to (62) question Pilate; and sentence was passed upon him, that he (63) should be condemned to the most disgraceful death. And Caesar ordered a captain named Albius³ to cut off Pilate's head, saying, "Just as he laid hands upon the just man named Christ, in like manner also shall he fall, and not find safety." And Pilate, going away to the place, prayed in silence, saying, "Lord, do not destroy me along with the wicked Hebrews, because I would not have laid hands upon thee except for the nation of the lawless Jews, because they were exciting rebellion against me. But Thou knowest that I did it in ignorance. Do not then destroy me for this my sin; but remember not evil against me, O Lord, and against Thy servant Procla, who is standing with me in the hour of my death, whom Thou didst appoint to prophesy that Thou shouldest be nailed to the cross. Do not condemn her also

¹The text here is very corrupt.

²Lit. "He made to be slaves in the dispersion of the Gentiles."

³Perhaps we have in this

name another echo of the name of Albinus, already mentioned; he was the eighth procurator of Judaea in succession to Pilate.

in my sin; but pardon us, and make us to be numbered in the portion of Thy righteous."¹

(62) And, behold, when Pilate had finished his prayer, there came a voice out of the heaven, saying, "All the generations and families of the nations shall count thee blessed, because under thee have been fulfilled all those things said about me by the prophets; and thou thyself shalt be seen as my witness at my second appearing, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and those that have not owned my name." And the prefect struck off the head of Pilate; and, behold, the angel of the Lord received it.² And his wife Procla, seeing the angel coming and receiving his head, being filled with joy herself also, immediately gave up the ghost, and was buried along with her husband.³

(60) But others say that Pilate was killed by the hands of Caesar himself. For they relate that it was customary with the ancient kings, that if any one condemned to death saw their face, he was rescued from the sentence. Wherefore Caesar ordered that Pilate should not see him, in order that he might not be rescued from death. By his command, they placed Pilate in a certain cave, and left him there. But on a certain day, Caesar having gone to the chase, was pursuing an antelope, and the antelope coming to the opening of the cave, stopped. And in order that destiny might be fulfilled, that Pilate was to be killed by Caesar, Pilate cleared the way to see the king. And the antelope standing opposite him, Caesar hurled a dart with the bow to kill the

¹A quotation speaking of familiarity with the *Te Deum*. "Make them to be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting."

²The early view certainly was that Pilate was almost a saint; Tertullian indicates this view in *Apology*, chap. 21. The Ethiopic calendar inserts Pilate as a saint, as well as Procla, on June 25. On the other hand, as the succeeding legends will show,

the later Church apparently pursued Pilate as remorselessly as Judas. When the empire was heathen, Pilate's hesitation in condemning Christ caused his justice to be commended; but when the empire became Christian, the fact that he had condemned the Saviour at all, consigned his memory to undying infamy.

³Cf. Acts v.10. Some Mss. here add a doxology.

antelope. And the dart entering through the opening killed Pilate.¹

And still others say that when Pilate heard that he had (63) been condemned, he killed himself with his own knife, and by such a death ended his life. When Caesar knew of the death of Pilate, he said, "Truly, he hath died by a most disgraceful death, whom his own hand hath not spared."² Pilate was therefore bound to a great mass, and sunk into the river Tiber. But malignant and filthy spirits in his malignant and filthy body, all rejoicing together, kept moving themselves in the waters, and in a terrible manner brought lightnings and tempests, thunders and hailstorms, in the air, so that all men were kept in horrible fear.

Wherefore the Romans, drawing him out of the river (63) Tiber, in derision carried him down to Vienna, and sunk him in the river Rhone. For Vienna is called, as it were *Via Gehennae*,³ the way of Gehenna, because it was then a place of cursing. But there evil spirits were present, working the same things in the same place.⁴ These men, there-

¹This incident is modelled on the story of the death of Cain, told by the Rabbins. See Book of Yascher, *Midrash Jalkut*, *Palaea Historica*, etc. Lamech was a hunter, but became blind in his old age, and was led about by his son Tubal Cain, who directed him where to aim at objects. The latter, seeing the wandering Cain at a distance, and supposing from the horn he had on his forehead (this was the mark of Cain), that he was a gazelle, directed his father to shoot; he discharged an arrow, and slew Cain. When Lamech ascertained that he had killed Cain, he struck his hands together, and in so doing accidentally killed Tubal Cain. This is supposed to be what he re-

fers to in his song, Gen. iv.23, 24.

²Strange error, to make a Roman emperor especially reprobate suicide. It is well known that the Romans approved of it under many circumstances, and that their laws practically assigned a reward to the families of those who, under certain circumstances, made away with themselves.

³Of course the etymology is absurd.

⁴The legend of Pilate's stay at Vienna and death there was greatly expanded in the Middle Ages. It had at least this to rest on, that he probably was banished to that city. The legend may be found in Migne, *Légendes*, col. 1092 seq. It tells at great length how he was con-

fore, not enduring such a visitation of demons, removed from themselves that vessel of malediction, and sent him to be buried in the territory of Losania.¹ And they, seeing that they were troubled by the aforesaid visitations, removed him from themselves, and sunk him in a certain pit surrounded by mountains, where to this day, according to the account of some, certain diabolical machinations are said to bubble up.²

(60) But they wrapped up Annas in the skin of an ox. And the hide becoming dried by the sun, and Annas being squeezed in it, his bowels came out of his mouth, and forcibly ended his wretched life.³ And all the rest of the Jews given up, Caesar gave over to death, and they killed them with swords. And Philip,⁴ the associate of Archelaus, Caesar commanded to be impaled.

(64) And the son of Archelaus allied himself with the other kings who were under him, and they took counsel among themselves, and went into Jerusalem, with their chief men who were in their counsel, and stood in the same place seven years.⁵ And Titus and Vespasian took counsel to

find in a tower there, and the tower fell into the Rhone. Titus, Joseph of Arimathaea, and others told these particulars to the Emperor. Other versions likewise transpose this legend to Switzerland.

¹Losonium was the Roman name of Lausanne, but this probably is intended for the Canton of Lucerne, although its Latin name was Luceria.

²The legend regarding Mons Pilatus on the lake of Lucerne, to which the above refers, is well known. According to some accounts, Pilate cast himself from the mountain into the lake or a little tarn on the mountain, but the place where the water bubbles up is still shown. A still

richer adornment of the story declares that the devil takes the body from the water on Good Fridays, and sets it on a throne, where it goes through the gesture of washing its hands. The probability is that the mountain referred to was called Pilatus from its appearance, before the legend was ever attached to it.

³This legend is probably adapted from the foregoing one regarding Pilate's body. Annas is known to have lived to a good old age.

⁴Philip II. died at Bethsaida, A. D. 34.

⁵It is to be noted here that most of the particulars which follow are distorted versions of the accounts given by Josephus.

surround their city. And they did so. And the seven years being fulfilled, there was a very sore famine, and for want of bread they began to eat earth.

Then all the soldiers who were of the four kings took (64) counsel among themselves, and said, "Now we are sure to die; what will God do to us? or of what good is our life to us? because the Romans have come to take away our place and nation?¹ It is better for us to kill each other, than that the Romans should say that they have slain us and gained the victory over us." And they drew their swords and smote themselves, and died, to the number of twelve thousand of them.

Then there was a great stench in the city from the corpses (64) of those dead men. And their kings feared with a very great fear, even unto death; and they could not bear the stench of them, nor bury them, nor throw them forth out of the city. And they said to each other, "What shall we do? We indeed gave up Christ to death, and now we are given up to death ourselves. Let us bow our heads, and give up the keys of the city to the Romans, because God hath already given us up to death." And immediately they went up upon the walls of the city, and all cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Titus and Vespasian, take the keys of the city, which have been given to you by Messiah, who is called Christ."

Then they gave themselves up into the hands of Titus (64) and Vespasian, and said, "Judge us, seeing that we ought to die, because we judged Christ; and he was given up without cause." Titus and Vespasian seized them; and some they stoned, and some they hanged on a tree, feet up and head down, and struck them through with lances; and others they gave up to be sold, and others they divided among themselves. And having done so, they seized all the lands of Judaea and Jerusalem. And Vespasian afterwards said, "What shall we do about those who shall re-

I shall not further note them, but once for all remark on the

absurdity of the setting given to his facts.

¹Cf. John xi.48.

main?" Titus answered, "They hanged our Lord on a green tree,¹ and struck him with a lance; now let us hang them on a dry tree, and pierce their bodies through and through with the lance." And they did so. And Vespasian said, "What about those who are left?" Titus answered, "They seized the tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of it made four parts; now let us seize them, and divide them into four parts,²—to thee one, to me one, to thy men another, and to my servants the fourth part." And they did so. And Vespasian said, "But what shall we do about those who are left?" Titus answered him, "The Jews sold our Lord for thirty pieces of silver; now let us sell thirty of them for one piece of silver." And they did so.

(60) And all who believed in Christ the true God, our Saviour, gave glory and majesty to Him. Because glory is becoming to Him, and honour and adoration, together with His Father without beginning, and His Spirit of the same substance, now, and always, and unto the ages. Amen!³

¹Cf. Luke xxiii.31.

²Cf. John xix.23.

³I add the doxology found at

the end of (60). Such compositions are found at the end of most apocryphal documents.

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