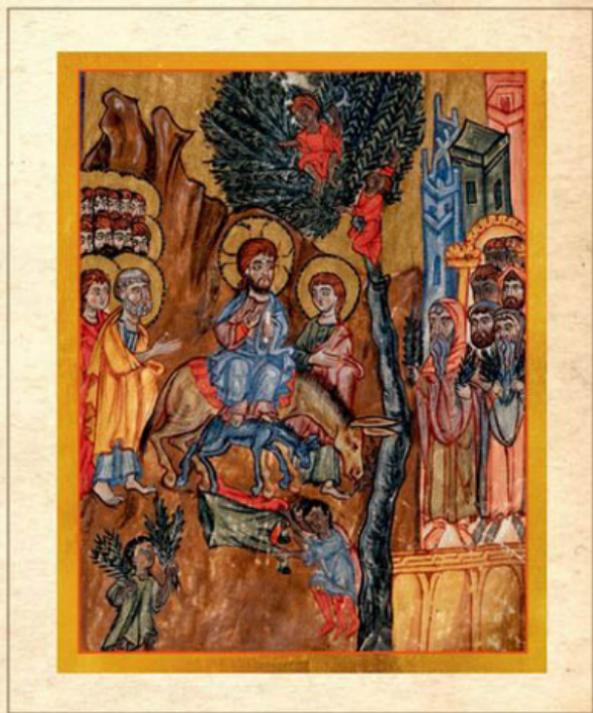


THE
APOCRYPHAL
GOSPELS



Texts and Translations

BART D. EHRMAN
AND ZLATKO PLEŠE

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Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleš

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Printed in the United States of America
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To Liz Clark
Colleague, Friend, and Scholar Extraordinaire

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Preface

Interest in the apocryphal writings of early Christianity has exploded in recent years. Although there continue to be debates over just what the term “apocrypha” (literally: “hidden writings”) means in this context, or what it ought to mean, the term is most widely used to refer to books of roughly the same genre as those that came to be included in the canon of the New Testament (Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Apocalypses) but that were excluded. The majority of these books are pseudonymous (as are some of those that were included).

The interest in this amorphous body of literature is evident in the widespread use of collections of apocrypha, both among scholars and graduate students (e.g., W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, and J. K. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*) and in the general public (e.g., B. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures*). Excellent translations can be found in other European languages besides English: German (Scheemelcher’s original German edition, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 2 vols.), Dutch (A. F. J. Klijn, *Apokriefen van het Nieuwe Testament*, 2 vols.), Spanish (A. de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios apócrifos*), Italian (M. Erbetta, *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, 3 vols.), and French (F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain, and J.-D. Kaestli, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 2 vols.), for example. Most of these collections, however, provide translations only (exception: de Santos Otero). Where is one to go for a collection of these texts in the original languages? Regrettably, original text editions are sometimes difficult to track down. This is not true in every instance, of course. The Coptic materials discovered near Nag Hammadi, for example, are readily available in the handy five-volume paperback edition by Brill of *The Coptic Gnostic Library*. Some individual apocrypha outside of Nag Hammadi have also been published in original language–English translation editions, such as R. Hock’s edition of *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas* for the Scholars Bible, or W. Stroker’s edition of all the assortedagrapha of Jesus, *Extracanonical Sayings of Jesus*. Moreover, fragments of apocryphal Gospels have recently become available in original language text editions (A. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*; E. Schlarb and D. Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien*).

Other apocryphal works have not fared as well, however. Where does one go to find a Greek edition of the Gospel of Nicodemus? Or a Latin edition of the

Death of Pilate? Or a Coptic version of the Story of Joseph the Carpenter? Or full English translations of any of these? Where does one turn to have Egerton Papyrus 2, the Gospel of Mary, and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, in their original languages, in one handy volume? In some instances one must resort to Constantine von Tischendorf's volumes (e.g., *Evangelia Apocrypha*) from the mid-nineteenth century—a remarkable accomplishment in its time, but inadequate for the needs of scholars today. And, of course, many texts have been uncovered since Tischendorf's day, some of them relatively difficult to access.

What is even more remarkable is that there has never been, until now, a collection of all the noncanonical Gospel materials from early Christianity in an original language-facing page English translation edition. That is the need that this volume seeks to redress. In it we have collected nearly all of the apocryphal Gospels originally written in Greek, Latin, and Coptic (for exceptions, see later), in the best editions now available, and provided them with fresh and readable English translations.

Our decision concerning which Gospels to include was quite simple: we wanted to include everything that a graduate student or scholar working on the apocryphal Gospels would need or want access to, with one major proviso: since the Nag Hammadi Library is readily available we have not included the Coptic texts. But there is a proviso to this proviso: it is our sense that anyone who is teaching or researching early Christian Gospels will surely want easy access to the Gospels of Thomas and Mary, which are already included in the *Coptic Gnostic Library* (although the Gospel of Mary was not discovered at Nag Hammadi). We have felt compelled, then, to make exceptions in these two cases, and to include these texts with fresh translations. We have also chosen not to include the Coptic Gospel of the Savior, as we are awaiting a final critical edition of the text currently under way.

Altogether we provide over forty Gospel texts in this collection. Some of them, of course, are complete Gospels (such as the Gospel of Thomas), others are surviving large fragments (the Gospel of Peter), others are only small fragments (Egerton Papyrus 2), and others are known only from the quotations of church fathers (the Gospel of the Ebionites). For each text we have provided a brief introduction that deals with important historical, literary, and textual issues. We have kept our apparatus sparse, intentionally, as we see this as a hand edition for students and scholars. Nor have we created new critical editions of these texts. Our model has been the Loeb Classical Library, not *Die griechische christlichen Schriftsteller*. We have, however, included cross-references to other early Christian literature (chiefly the New Testament) and provided notes on particularly thorny textual or literary problems. Abbreviations follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*, ed. Patrick Alexander et al.

This has been a joint project from the outset. One of us has taken responsibility for the primary work in the translation and introduction of one or another

of these texts, but each of us has reviewed the translations and introductions of the other.

We would like to extend our thanks to Robert Miller, editor extraordinaire at Oxford University Press, for being willing to take on this project, one that will not earn Oxford large quantities of money, but that will, we hope, earn it large quantities of gratitude—from the editors/translators, if from no one else! Thanks as well to our graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Jared Anderson, for his generous assistance, especially in preparing the work for publication. The authors would like to express their gratitude to two scholarly institutions—Bart Ehrman to the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, NC, and Zlatko Pleše to the Lichtenberg-Kolleg at the Georg-August Universität Göttingen—for their generous support and invaluable help in the last stages of manuscript preparation.

We have dedicated this book to Elizabeth A. Clark, the John Carlisle Kilgo Professor of Religion at Duke University, who as a colleague, friend, and scholar is a beacon to us all.

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INFANCY GOSPELS

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The Infancy Gospel of Thomas

The so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas presents some of the most intractable textual and historical problems of the entire corpus of early Christian literature. On the most basic level, we do not know the scope and contents of the original version of the book, if we can even speak about an “original.” This Gospel, in its various forms, presents a number of self-contained narratives about the young Jesus, between the ages of five and twelve. It was probably written, originally, in Greek. But the Greek manuscripts that contain the account differ radically from one another, with entire chapters missing from some witnesses and present in others. Of the fourteen Greek manuscripts that attest the Gospel, fully eight have never been published or made available to scholarly scrutiny. Moreover, these manuscripts are all very late—most of them from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, well over a millennium removed from the earliest attested form of the text. We do have, on the other hand, earlier manuscripts in other languages. There are Syriac copies from the fifth and sixth centuries (*Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 14484* and Göttingen ms *Syr. 10*; three other Syriac witnesses are later), and at least one fragmentary Latin witness from about the same date (a Vienna palimpsest *Vindob. 563*; other Latin witnesses are also later). But these versional witnesses also differ significantly both among themselves and from what can be found in the Greek, so that some scholars have even argued that the version of the Gospel found in the Syriac (Peeters), or as attested in a combination of various versions—Syriac, Latin, Georgian, and especially Ethiopic (Voicu, 1991)—better represents the “original” than the Greek. Whatever its most primitive form, there can be no doubt that this Gospel was one of the most popular of the early Christian apocrypha down through the ages. We have copies of it in an astonishing number of late antique and medieval languages—thirteen altogether. Particularly important for scholarship on the history of the text have been the four Ethiopic versions studied by Van Rompay and the sixteen Slavonic manuscripts studied by de Santos Otero (*Das kirchenslavische*).

J. A. Fabricius was the first to publish a version of the Gospel in 1703 (Greek and Latin), but for the past century and a half it has been best known from the two Greek versions produced by Constantine von Tischendorf in 1853. The longer of his two versions contained nineteen chapters and has commonly been called Greek A; Tischendorf based it, principally, on two fifteenth-century manuscripts (Bologna ms *Univ.* 2702 and Dresden ms *A* 187), supplemented in places by two other manuscripts of about the same date, one of which has now been lost (*Phil. gr.* 144) and the other of which contained only what is now chapters 1–6 (Paris ms, *Bibl. Nat. gr.* 239.). His shorter version (Greek B) contained just eleven chapters, and was based on just one fourteenth- or fifteenth-century manuscript (*Cod. Sinai gr.* 453). Since Tischendorf's day, other Greek manuscripts have come to light, in particular one published by A. Delatte in 1927 (*Cod. Ath. gr.* 355), which contains an additional three chapters at the beginning of the narrative portraying some of Jesus' miraculous activities already as a two-year-old in Egypt, and a longer version of one of the child Jesus' speeches (ch. 6; this ms also ascribes the account to James rather than Thomas). These differences make Delatte's Athenian manuscript much closer to the Latin form of the text that Tischendorf had published (based mainly on a fourteenth-century manuscript, *Vat. Reg.* 648).

But there were other forms of the text used by other translators into other languages, centuries earlier, making it well nigh impossible to know in some cases which of the disputed stories of Tischendorf's fuller Greek A derive from the oldest traceable form of the tradition and which are later (medieval?) additions. The most recent detailed study of the manuscript tradition has been by Tony Chartrand-Burke, who convincingly argues that the oldest form of Greek text is found in the eleventh-century Jerusalem manuscript *Sabaiticus gr.* 259, and that this should be the basis for any critical edition. In any event, constructing such a critical edition, taking into account all the surviving manuscript evidence, continues to be a major desideratum in the field.

With no critical edition available, most translators have continued to use Tischendorf's Greek A (e.g., Elliott, Cullmann). Some scholars have argued that this is a counsel of despair, and that this form of the text should be abandoned for something more closely approximating the original (Gero, Voicu). This quest for the "original" form of the text, however, is not self-evidently the best way to proceed in the study of the apocryphon, for there is no reason to privilege the earliest form of the text over other forms. All of the stories found in the account—in whatever version one finds it—are apocryphal, and all can contribute to our understanding of how different Christian storytellers in different times and places told stories about the young Jesus prior to his experience in the temple as a twelve-year-old. Various storytellers (and authors) added some incidents to the narrative and deleted others; they edited the stories they inherited and put their own stamp upon them. For contemporary readers of the

apocryphon, a case can be made that a fuller version rather than some kind of posited “original” is of the greatest interest. And so, in the text that follows we have given the fuller form of the narrative, roughly in Tischendorf’s Greek A version. The following chapter will provide the additional stories found in the opening narrative of the Athens manuscript published by Delatte.

The textual problems posed by our manuscripts affect such basic issues as what this Gospel (or these various versions of this Gospel) should even be called. Until the middle of the twentieth century it was most widely known simply as the “Gospel of Thomas,” or the “Gospel of Thomas the Israelite.” Since the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library it has become customary to refer to it as the “Infancy Gospel of Thomas,” to differentiate it from the Coptic Gospel of Thomas that is now more familiar. Both titles are derived from the late Greek manuscripts used by Tischendorf (none of which actually calls the book a “Gospel”). The earlier versional accounts do not attribute the book to Thomas (whether “doubting Thomas” or “Thomas the Twin,” the alleged author of Coptic Thomas); Stephen Gero has argued that the ascription is medieval. Aurelio de Santos Otero has argued (*Los Evangelios apócrifos*) that the oldest (“original”) title was “The Childhood Deeds (TA PAIDIKA) of Our Lord Jesus Christ.”

When was the first account of these “childhood deeds” written? Any range of dates from the first to the sixth centuries (whence our earliest manuscripts derive) has been proposed, with the majority of scholars opting for an earlier date (see Chartrand-Burke). In part this is based on the assumption that early Christians would have been interested in knowing what their miracle-working Savior was like as a child, and no doubt would have told stories about his various escapades, encounters, and miracles from an early period. And in part the early dating is based on the circumstance that one of the most familiar stories—where the young Jesus confronts and confounds a potential teacher by explaining to him the mysteries of the alphabet (see ch. 14)—is attested already in the writings of Irenaeus from around 180 CE (*Adv. Haer.* 1.20.1) and in the *Epistula Apostolorum* (ch. 4), which dates possibly several decades earlier. Even though neither source indicates that the story derives from a “Gospel of Thomas,” Irenaeus does intimate that he found it in a “heretical” book (rather than having simply heard it from an oral source). Possibly this was an early version of what is now the collection of stories familiar to us in Infancy Thomas. As Irenaeus was writing in Greek, the story was evidently already in that language. Where the first version of the book was first produced is anyone’s guess, though it must have been somewhere in the Greek-speaking East.

In part because Irenaeus indicates that the story was used by a group of Gnostics called the Marcosians, some scholars (Cullmann, Elliott) have considered whether the Infancy Gospel of Thomas is a Gnostic production. On the one hand, one of the overarching themes of the Gospel could lend itself to a Gnostic construal, for here Jesus is shown to be full of divine knowledge from

an early age—on three occasions, for example, besting teachers who presumed to provide him with instruction. On the other hand, there is nothing particularly Gnostic about the desire to portray Jesus as superior to other humans, and there is no trace of sophisticated Gnostic cosmology or mythology in the text. Moreover, there is nothing docetic about the portrayal of Jesus (contra Cullmann): he appears to experience pain when hit on the shoulder (ch. 4) or pulled by the ear (ch. 5). It is probably better, therefore, not to see this as a specifically Gnostic set of tales.

What, then, was the function of the Gospel in its earliest iterations? The individual accounts of the Gospel are self-contained stories. They may well have circulated independently of one another prior to being written down, much like the stories of the New Testament Gospels. Only the loosest organizational patterns can be found in the book. Occasionally stories are linked by theme (e.g., Jesus' household miracles in chs. 11–13), and the collection is carried forward by periodic indications of Jesus' advancing age (five years old, 2:1; six, 11:1; eight, 12:4; and twelve, 19:1). Taken as a whole, the stories are clearly designed to show the amazing miracle-working abilities of Jesus already as a child: he did not wait for his public ministry to begin doing wondrous deeds. But many of the accounts do not seem to portray Jesus—at least to modern eyes—in a favorable light. As a child he uses his supernatural powers in a way that seems capricious, mean-spirited, and vicious—killing off playmates who irritate him and withering teachers who discipline him. Is this the loving Savior of the canonical tradition?

Many readers think not. And so Paul Mirecki indicates that the entire narrative simply focuses on the “sensational nature of the precocious child's activities”; Oscar Cullmann thinks the editor of the text was “lacking in good taste, restraint, and discretion”; and J. K. Elliott states that “the main thrust of the episodes is to stress in a crudely sensational way the miraculous powers of Jesus.” Ronald Hock and others, however, have seen something more historically and theologically significant in these accounts of Jesus as the miracle-working wunderkind. As has long been recognized by scholars of classical antiquity, ancient biographers typically told stories about their protagonists' childhoods in order to adumbrate the outstanding features of their personalities that came to full expression in deeds during their adulthoods. Ancient writers (and readers) knew nothing of “psychological development” (in our post-Freudian terms). For them, a person's character (personality) was fixed at birth, and could be seen in their activities from an early age. The Infancy Gospel of Thomas is designed to show who the Savior was and to explicate his character.

This view accounts for the effortless miracles done by the child Jesus, as he heals the sick, raises the dead, and proves remarkably handy around the home (ch. 11), the farm (ch. 12), and the carpenter shop (ch. 13). But how can this view explain the apparent evil streak in the child? It may be that the modern

reading of Jesus' interactions with his playmates and teachers would not have occurred to ancient readers. These were Christians who revered Jesus as their all-powerful Lord and Savior, who thought that unbelievers and opponents of Christ would be subject to dire consequences. This is seen already in the stories of the youthful Jesus. He is opposed by a Jewish man for violating the Sabbath (as he will be later in life), and shows that he is in fact superior to the Sabbath (ch. 2); he is opposed by the son of a scribe (as he would eventually be opposed by the scribes), and he demonstrates his power to judge the living and the dead (ch. 3). Those who think themselves superior in knowledge are shown to be fools by comparison (the three accounts of Jesus and a teacher; chs. 6–7, 14, 15). Those who harm him are subject to his divine wrath (ch. 3), an adumbration of what will happen—in the view of Christian storytellers—at the end of time (cf. Matthew 25:31–46 and the book of Revelation).

In short, in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas we have stories of the child Jesus that indicate the character of the Christian Savior. He is a powerful miracle worker, the all-knowing Son of God; he is one who stands above the law of the Jews, who has the power of life and death; he is one who heals those in desperate need yet who violently opposes all who fail to believe in him or who try to gainsay his mission.

The following Greek text is essentially that of Tischendorf Greek A, used here for reasons explained earlier, with only minor textual alterations. In the apparatus we have included only a handful of variants of particular significance or interest. For fuller apparatus see the editions of Tischendorf and Hock. The following are the manuscripts used by Tischendorf to establish his text.

- B—fifteenth century
- D—sixteenth century
- P—fifteenth century
- V—fifteenth century

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ΘΩΜΑ ΙΣΡΑΗΛΙΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΡΗΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ

1

Ἄναγγέλλω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς Ἰσραηλίτης πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἀδελφοῖς γνωρίσαι τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα ἐποίησεν γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν. οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ οὕτως.

2

1 Τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς πενταέτης γενόμενος παίζων ἦν ἐν διαβάσει ρύακος, καὶ τὰ ρέοντα ὕδατα συνήγαγεν εἰς λάκκους, καὶ ἐποίηε αὐτὰ εὐθέως καθαρὰ, καὶ λόγῳ μόνῳ ἐπέταξεν αὐτά.² 2 Καὶ ποιήσας πηλὸν τρυφερὸν ἔπλασεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ στρουθία ἰβ' καὶ ἦν σάββατον ὅτε ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παιδία πολλὰ παίζοντα σὺν αὐτῷ. 3 Ἴδὼν δὲ τις Ἰουδαῖος ἅ ἐποίηε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν σαββάτῳ παίζων, ἀπήλθε παραχρῆμα καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ· ἰδοὺ τὸ παιδίον σου ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ ρυάκιον, καὶ λαβὼν πηλὸν ἔπλασεν πουλία ἰβ', καὶ ἐβεβήλωσεν τὸ σάββατον. 4 Καὶ ἔλθων Ἰωσήφ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνέκραξεν αὐτῷ λέγων· διατί ταῦτα ποιεῖς ἐν σαββάτῳ ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς συγκροτήσας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀνέκραξε τοῖς στρουθίοις καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὑπάγετε.³ καὶ πετασθέντα τὰ στρουθία ὑπήγον κρίζοντα. 5 Ἴδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐθαμβήθησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες διηγῆσαντο τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὅπερ εἶδον πεποιηκότα τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

3

1 Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Ἄννα τοῦ γραμματέως ἦν ἐστὼς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ λαβὼν κλάδον ἰτέας ἐξέχεε τὰ ὕδατα ἃ συνήγαγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. 2 Ἴδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ γινόμενον ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· ἄδικε, ἀσεβή, καὶ ἀνόητε, τί ἠδίκησάν σε οἱ λάκκοι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα; ἰδοὺ νῦν καὶ σὺ ὡς δένδρον ἀποξηρανθής, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐνέγκης φύλλα οὔτε ρίζαν οὔτε καρπόν. 3 Καὶ εὐθέως ὁ παῖς ἐκείνος ἐξηράνθη ὅλος. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἀπήλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἰωσήφ. οἱ δὲ γονεῖς τοῦ ξηρανθέντος ἐβάστασαν αὐτὸν θρηνοῦντες τὴν νεότηταν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἦγαγον πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν αὐτὸν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις παιδίον ἐργαζόμενον τοιαῦτα.⁴

1 αναγγελλω υμιν B D: αναγκαιον ηγησαμην P V

2 λογω μονω επεταξεν αυτα B D P: λογω δε μονον και ουκ εργω επιταξας αυτοις V

3 υπαγετε BDV: add. πετασθητε και μεμνησθε μου ζωντες P

4 τοιαυτα BDV: add. ειτα ο Ιησους παρακληθεις παρα παντων ιατρευσεν αυτον, εασαντος τι μελος τινα αργον ολιγον, εις το προσχειν αυτοις P

The Infancy Gospel of Thomas

1

I, Thomas the Israelite, make this report to all of you, my brothers among the Gentiles, that you may know the magnificent childhood activities of our Lord Jesus Christ—all that he did after being born in our country. The beginning is as follows:

Jesus Makes Sparrows on the Sabbath

2

(1) When this child Jesus was five years old, he was playing by the ford of a stream; and he gathered the flowing waters into pools and made them instantly pure. These things he ordered simply by speaking a word. (2) He then made some soft mud and fashioned twelve sparrows from it. It was the Sabbath when he did this. There were also a number of other children playing with him. (3) When a certain Jew saw what Jesus was doing while playing on the Sabbath, he left right away and reported to his father, Joseph, "Look, your child is at the stream and he has taken mud and formed twelve sparrows. He has profaned the Sabbath!" (4) When Joseph came to the place and looked, he cried out to him, "Why are you doing what is forbidden on the Sabbath?" But Jesus clapped his hands and cried to the sparrows, "Be gone!" And the sparrows took flight and went off, chirping. (5) When the Jews saw this they were amazed; and they went away and reported to their leaders what they had seen Jesus do.

Jesus and His Young Playmates

3

(1) Now the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph. He took a willow branch and scattered the water that Jesus had gathered. (2) Jesus was irritated when he saw what happened, and he said to him: "You unrighteous, irreverent idiot! What did the pools of water do to harm you? See, now you also will be withered like a tree, and you will never bear leaves or root or fruit."¹ (3) Immediately that child was completely withered. Jesus left and returned to Joseph's house. But the parents of the withered child carried him away, mourning his lost youth. They brought him to Joseph and began to accuse him, "What kind of child do you have who does such things?"

1. Cf. Psalm 1:3.

4

1 Εἶτα πάλιν ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς κόμης, καὶ παιδίον τρέχων διερράγη εἰς τὸν ὄμον αὐτοῦ. καὶ πικρανθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐκ ἀπελεύσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου. καὶ παραχρήμα πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν. ἰδόντες δὲ τινες τὸ γινόμενον εἶπον· 2 Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ τεθνεώτος τῷ Ἰωσήφ κατεμέμφοντο λέγοντες· σὺ τοιοῦτον παιδίον ἔχων οὐ δύνασαι μεθ' ἡμῶν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ κόμῃ, ἢ διδάσκει αὐτῷ εὐλογεῖν καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι· τὰ γὰρ παιδία ἡμῶν θανατοῖ.

5

1 Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὸ παιδίον κατ' ἰδίαν ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν λέγων· ἵνατί τοιαῦτα κατεργάζεται, καὶ πάσχουσιν οὗτοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ διώκουσιν; εἶπε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά σου ταῦτα οὐκ εἰσι σά,⁵ ὅμως σιγήσω διὰ σέ· ἐκείνοι δὲ οἴσουσιν τὴν κόλασιν αὐτῶν. καὶ εὐθέως οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀπετυφλώθησαν. 2 Καὶ οἱ ἰδόντες ἐφοβήσαν σφόδρα καὶ ἠπόρουν, καὶ ἔλεγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι πᾶν ῥήμα ὃ ἐλάλει, εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε κακόν, ἔργον ἦν καὶ θαῦμα ἐγένετο. ἰδόντες δὲ ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐγερθεὶς ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀπέλαβεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄτιον καὶ ἔτιλεν σφόδρα. 3 Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠγανάκτησε καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄρκετόν σοί ἐστιν ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκειν, καὶ μάλιστα οὐ σοφῶς ἔπραξας· οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σός; μὴ με λῦπει.⁶

6

1 Καθηγητὴς δὲ τις ὀνόματι Ζακχαῖος ἐστὼς ἐν μέρει τινὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα λαλοῦντος τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθαύμασεν σφοδρῶς ὅτι παιδίον ὦν τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται. 2 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας προσήγγισεν τῷ Ἰωσήφ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι παιδίον φρόνιμον ἔχεις, καὶ νοῦν ἔχει· δεῦρο παράδος μοι αὐτὸ ὅπως μάθη γράμματα, καὶ ἐγὼ διδάξω αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην καὶ προσαγορεύειν πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς ὡς προπάτορας καὶ πατέρας καὶ τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν συνηλικιωτάς. 3 Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ τοῦ α̅ ἕως τοῦ ω̅ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐξετάσεως τρανῶς, ἐμβλέψας δὲ τῷ καθηγητῇ Ζακχαίῳ λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ τὸ ἄλφα μὴ εἰδὼς κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ βῆτα πῶς ἄλλους διδάσκει; ὑποκριτά, πρῶτον εἰ οἶδας δίδαξον τὸ α̅, καὶ τότε σοι πιστεύομεν περὶ τοῦ β̅. εἶτα ἤρξατο ἀποστοματίζειν τὸν διδάσκαλον

5 οὐκ εἰσι σα P: εμα εἰσιν ἀλλα σα B D

6 λυπει P: add. σος γαρ εἰμι B D

4

(1) Somewhat later he was going through the village, and a child ran up and banged into his shoulder. Jesus was aggravated and said to him, "You will go no further on your way." Right away the child fell down and died. Some of those who saw what happened said, "Where was this child born? For everything he says is a deed accomplished!" (2) The parents of the dead child came to Joseph and blamed him, saying "Since you have such a child you cannot live with us in the village. Or teach him to bless and not to curse²—for he is killing our children!"

Joseph Rebukes Jesus

5

(1) Joseph called to the child and admonished him privately, "Why are you doing such things? These people are suffering, they hate us and are persecuting us!" But Jesus replied, "I know these are not your words; nevertheless, I also will keep silent for your sake. But those others will bear their punishment." And immediately those who were accusing him were blinded. (2) Those who saw these things were greatly frightened and disturbed; they were saying about him, "Everything he has said, whether good or bad, has become an amazing deed." When Joseph saw what Jesus had done, he rose up, grabbed his ear, and yanked it hard. (3) The child was irritated and said to him, "It is enough for you to seek and not find; you have not acted at all wisely. Do you not know that I am yours? Do not grieve me."

Jesus' First Encounter with a Teacher

6

(1) Standing off to the side was an instructor named Zachaeus, who heard Jesus say these things to his father. He was greatly amazed that he was speaking such things, though just a child. (2) After a few days he approached Joseph and said to him, "You have a bright child with a good mind. Come, hand him over to me that he may learn his letters, and along with the letters I will teach him all knowledge, including how to greet all the elders and to honor them as his ancestors and fathers, and to love children his own age." (3) And he told him all the letters from Alpha to Omega, clearly and with great precision. But Jesus looked at the instructor Zachaeus and said to him, "Since you do not know the true nature of the Alpha, how can you teach anyone the Beta? You hypocrite! If you know it, first teach the Alpha, and then we will believe you about the Beta." Then he began to interrogate the teacher

2. Cf. Rom. 12:14.

περὶ τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν αὐτῷ ἀνταποκριθῆναι.⁷

4 Ἀκούοντων δὲ πολλῶν λέγει τὸ παιδίον τῷ Ζακχαίῳ· ἄκουε διδάσκαλε τὴν τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου τάξιν, καὶ πρόσθετος ᾧδε πῶς ἔχει κανόνας, καὶ μεσαχαρακτῆρα οὓς ὀρᾷς ξυνοὺς διαβαίνοντα, συναγομένους, ὕψους μὲν πορευόντος πάλιν δὲ κεφαλαιούντος, τρισήμους ὁμογενεῖς, ὑπάρχους δὲ καὶ ὑποστάτους, ἰσομέτρους· κανόνας ἔχεις τοῦ ᾱ.

7

1 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ διδάσκαλος Ζακχαῖος τὰς τσσαύτας καὶ τοιαύτας ἀλληγορίας τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος εἰρηκότος τοῦ παιδός, ἠπόρησεν ἐπὶ τσσαύτην ἀπολογία καὶ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς παροῦσιν· οἴμοι, ἠπορήθην ὁ τάλας ἐγώ, ἐμαυτῷ αἰσχύνην παρέχων ἐπισπασάμενος τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο. 2 Ἄρον οὖν αὐτό, παρακαλῶ σε, ἀδελφὲ Ἰωσήφ· οὐ φέρω τὸ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ βλέμματος αὐτοῦ, οὐ τρανῶ τὸν λόγον ἅπαξ. τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον γηγενῆς οὐκ ἔστι, τοῦτο δύναται καὶ πῦρ δαμάσαι· τάχα τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἐστὶν γεγεννημένον. ποία γαστήρ τοῦτο ἐβάστασεν, ποία δὲ μήτρα τοῦτο ἐξέθρεψεν, ἐγὼ ἀγνοῶ. οἴμοι φίλε, ἐξηγεῖ με, οὐ παρακολουθήσω τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ· ἠπάτησα ἐαυτόν, ὁ τρισάθλιος ἐγώ· ἠγωνιζόμεν ἔχειν μαθητὴν, καὶ εὐρέθην ἔχειν διδάσκαλον. 3 Ἐνθυμούμαι, φίλοι, τὴν αἰσχύνην, ὅτι γέρων ὑπάρχων ὑπὸ παιδίου ἐνικήθην. καὶ ἔχω ἐκκαῆσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τούτου τοῦ παιδός· οὐ δύναμαι γάρ ἐν τῇ ᾠρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐμβλέψαι εἰς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πάντων εἰπόντων ὅτι ἐνικήθην ὑπὸ παιδίου μικροῦ, τί ἔχω εἰπεῖν; καὶ τί διηγήσασθαι περὶ ὧν μοι εἶπε κανόνων τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου; ἀγνοῶ, ὦ φίλοι· οὐ γάρ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος αὐτοῦ γινώσκω. 4 Τοιγαρὸν ἀξιώ σε, ἀδελφὲ Ἰωσήφ, ἀπάγαγε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. οὗτος τί ποτε μέγα ἐστίν, ἢ θεὸς ἢ ἄγγελος, ἢ τί εἶπω οὐκ οἶδα.

8

1 Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων παραινούντων τῷ Ζακχαίῳ, ἐγέλασε τὸ παιδίον μέγα καὶ εἶπεν· νῦν καρποφορεῖτωσαν τὰ σά, καὶ βλέπέτωσαν οἱ τυφλοὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ. ἐγὼ ἄνωθεν πάρεμι ἵνα αὐτοὺς καταράσομαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄνω καλέσω, καθὼς

7 καὶ εἶπεν . . . ανταποκριθῆναι B D: P reads this entire verse differently: καθισταντος δε αυτου του διδαξαι γραμματα τω Ιησου, ηρξατο το πρωτον στοιχειον το αλεφ. Ο δε Ιησους λεγει το δευτερον στοιχειον μεθ, γκιμελ, και εἶπεν αυτω παντα τα στοιχεια εως τελους. Και αναπτυξας βιβλιον, τους προφητας εδιδασκε τον καθηγητην.

about the first letter, and he was not able to give him the answers. (4) While many others were listening, the child said to Zachaeus, "Listen, teacher, to the arrangement of the first letter of the alphabet; observe here how it has lines, and a middle stroke crossing both lines which you see, how they converge with the top projecting and turning back, three marks of the same kind, each principal and subordinate, of equal proportion.³ Now you have the lines of the Alpha."⁴

7

(1) When the teacher Zachaeus heard the child setting forth so many such allegorical interpretations of the first letter, he was at a complete loss about this kind of explanation and his teaching, and he said to those standing there, "Woe is me! I am wretched and at a complete loss; I have put myself to shame, taking on this child. (2) I beg you, brother Joseph, take him away. I cannot bear his stern gaze or make sense of a single word. This child is not of this world; he can even tame fire. Maybe he was born before the world came into being. I cannot fathom what kind of uterus bore him or what kind of womb nourished him. Woe is me, friend. He befuddles me; I cannot follow his reasoning. I have fooled myself and am miserable three times over. I was struggling to have a student and have been found to have a teacher. (3) My friends, I know all too well my shame: though an old man, I have been defeated by a child. I may grow weak and die because of this child, for at this moment I cannot look him in the face. When everyone says that I have been defeated by a young child, what can I say? How can I explain the things he told me about the lines of the first letter? I have no idea, my friends, for I do not know its⁵ beginning or end. (4) And so I ask you, brother Joseph, take him back home. What kind of great thing he could be—whether a divine being or an angel—I do not know even what to say."

8

(1) While the Jews were giving Zachaeus advice, (1) the child laughed aloud and said, "Now let what is yours bear fruit, and led the blind in heart see. I have come from above to curse them and call them to the realm above, just as the

3. The Greek passage may be corrupt. For the cursive technique of joining the three constituent movements of the capital letter Alpha in a single sequence, see E. G. Turner, *Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. London: Institute of Class. Studies, 1987²; pp. 1–3.

4. Irenaeus indicates that a Gnostic group known as the Marcosians had an apocryphal writing in which the young Jesus disputed with his teacher over the meaning of the Alpha and the Beta. It is difficult to know if Irenaeus was referring to the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. See Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.20.1.

5. Or: his

διετάξατο ὁ ἀποστείλας με δι' ὑμᾶς. 2 Καὶ ὡς τὸ παιδίον κατέπαυσε τὸν λόγον, εὐθέως ἐσώθησαν οἱ πάντες οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάραν αὐτοῦ πεσόντες, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπὸ τότε ἐτόλμα παροργίσει αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ καταράσεται αὐτὸν καὶ ἔσται ἀνάπηρος.

9

1 Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας δέ τινας ἔπαιζεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τινι δώματι ἐν ὑπερόφῳ, καὶ ἐν τῶν παιδίων τῶν παιζόντων μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ δώματος κάτω ἀπέθανε· καὶ ἰδόντα τὰ ἄλλα παιδιά ἔφυγον, καὶ κατέστη ὁ Ἰησοῦς μόνος. 2 Καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ τεθνεώτος ἐνεκάλουν [αὐτὸν ὡς καταβαλόντα αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε κατέβαλον αὐτόν].⁸ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπηρέαζον αὐτόν. 3 Κατεπήδησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγου καὶ ἔστη παρὰ τὸ πτώμα τοῦ παιδίου, καὶ ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλη καὶ εἶπεν· Ζῆνον – οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο – ἀναστάς εἰπέ μοι, ἐγὼ σε κατέβαλον; καὶ ἀναστάς παραχρῆμα εἶπεν· οὐχὶ κύριε, οὐ κατέβαλες ἀλλὰ ἀνέστησας, καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξεπλάγησαν. οἱ δὲ γονεῖς τοῦ παιδίου ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι σημείῳ, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

10

1 Μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας σχίζων τις ξύλα ἐν γωνία νεώτερος, ἔπεσεν ἡ ἀξίνη καὶ διέσχισεν τὴν βᾶσιν τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕξιμος γενόμενος ἀπέθνησκεν. 2 Θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ συνδρομῆς, ἔδραμε καὶ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ. καὶ βιασάμενος διήλθεν τὸν ὄχλον, καὶ ἐκράτησεν τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν πεπληγότα πόδαν, καὶ εὐθέως ἰάθη. εἶπε δὲ τῷ νεανίσκῳ· ἀνάστα νῦν, σχίζε τὰ ξύλα καὶ μνημόνευέ μου. ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἰδὼν τὸ γεγονὸς προσεκύνησαν τὸ παιδίον, λέγοντες· ἀληθῶς πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐνοικεῖ ἐν τῷ παιδίῳ τούτῳ.

11

1 Ὅντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξαέτους, πέμπει αὐτόν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ ἀντλήσαι καὶ φέρειν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, δεδοκῶς αὐτῷ ὑδρίαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄχλῳ συγκρούσας, ἡ ὑδρία ἐρράγη. 2 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀπλώσας τὸ παλῖον ὅπερ ἦν βεβλημένος, ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἤνεγκε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τὸ γεγονὸς σημεῖον κατεφίλει αὐτόν, καὶ διετήρει ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ μυστήρια ἃ ἔβλεπεν αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα.

8 The restoration of the bracketed words is disputed.

one who sent me for your sake commanded.” (2) When the child stopped speaking, immediately all those who had fallen under his curse were healed. No one dared to anger him from that time on, fearing that he might cripple them with a curse.

Jesus' Healing Powers

9

(1) Some days later Jesus was playing on a flat rooftop of a house, and one of the children playing with him fell from the roof and died. When the other children saw what had happened, they ran away, so that Jesus stood there alone.

(2) When the parents of the one who died arrived they accused him of throwing him down. But Jesus said, “I certainly did not throw him down.” But they continued to abuse him verbally. (3) Jesus leapt down from the roof and stood beside the child’s corpse, and with a loud voice he cried out, “Zenon!” (for that was his name) “rise up and tell me: did I throw you down?” Right away he arose and said, “Not at all, Lord! You did not throw me down, but you have raised me up!” When they saw this they were astounded. The parents of the child glorified God for the sign that had occurred, and they worshiped Jesus.

10

(1) A few days later there was a young man who was splitting wood in a secluded spot. The axe fell and split open the sole of his foot. He lost a lot of blood and was dying. (2) There was a disturbance and a crowd started to gather. The child Jesus also ran to the spot. Forcing his way through the crowd, he grabbed the young man’s injured foot and immediately it was healed. He said to the young man, “Rise now, split the wood, and remember me.”⁶ When the crowd saw what had happened it worshiped the child, saying, “The Spirit of God truly resides within this child.”

Jesus' Miracles at Home

11

(1) When he was six years old, his mother gave him a water jug and sent him to draw some water and bring it back home. But he was jostled by the crowd, and the water jug was shattered. (2) So Jesus unfolded the cloak he was wearing and filled it with water, and brought it to his mother. When his mother saw the sign that had happened, she kissed him. She kept to herself the mysterious deeds that she saw him do.⁷

6. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 77.

7. Cf. Luke 2:19, 51.

12

1 Πάλιν δὲ ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ σπόρου ἐξῆλθεν τὸ παιδίον μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἵνα σπείρει σῖτον εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσπειρε καὶ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ἓνα κόκκον σίτου. 2 Καὶ θερίσας καὶ ἀλωνίσας ἐποίησε κόρους β, καὶ καλέσας πάντας τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῆς κώμης εἰς τὴν ἄλωνα ἐχαρίσατο αὐτοῖς τὸν σίτον, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἔφερεν τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ σίτου. ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν ἧ ὅτε τοῦτο ἐποίησε τὸ σημεῖον.

13

1 Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τέκτων ἦν, καὶ ἐποίει ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς, ἐπετάγη αὐτῷ κράββατος παρά τινος πλουσίου ὅπως ποιήσει αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ ἐνός κανόνος τοῦ καλουμένου ἐναλλάκτου ὄντος κολοβωτέρου, μὴ ἔχοντες⁹ τί ποιῆσαι, εἶπεν τὸ παιδίον ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ· θές κάτω τὰ δύο ξύλα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου μέρους ἰσοποιήσον αὐτά. 2 Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ παιδίον. ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου μέρους καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸ κολοβώτερον ξύλον, καὶ ἐκτείνας αὐτὸ ἴσον ἐποίησεν τοῦ ἄλλου. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἐθαύμασε, καὶ περιλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον κατεφίλει λέγων· μακάριός εἰμι, ὅτι τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο δέδωκέ μοι ὁ θεός.

14

1 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὸν νοῦν τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὴν ἡλικιότητα, ὅτι ἀκμάζει, πάλιν ἐβουλεύσατο μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἄπειρον τῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸ παρέδωκεν ἐτέρῳ διδασκάλῳ. εἶπε δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ Ἰωσήφ· πρῶτον παιδεύσω αὐτὸ τὰ ἑλληνικά, ἔπειτα τὰ ἑβραϊκά. ἦδει γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος τὴν πείραν τοῦ παιδίου, καὶ ἐφοβήθη αὐτό· ὅμως γράψας τὸν ἀλφάβητον ἐπετήδευεν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὥραν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ. 2 Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· εἰ ὄντως διδάσκαλος εἶ, καὶ εἰ οἶδας καλῶς τὰ γράμματα, εἰπέ μοι τοῦ ἄλφα τὴν δύναμιν, κἀγὼ σοι ἐρῶ τὴν τοῦ βῆτα. πικρανθεὶς δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἔκρουσεν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὸ δὲ παιδίον πονέσας κατηράσατο αὐτόν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐλιποθύμησε καὶ ἔπεσεν χαμαὶ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. 3 Ἄπεστράφη δὲ τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἰωσήφ. Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐλυπήθη, καὶ παρήγγειλε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἔξω τῆς θύρας μὴ ἀπολύσεις αὐτόν, διότι ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ παροργίζοντες αὐτόν.

9 ἐναλλακτου . . . εχοντες conj. Thilo, Tischendorf: mss. ἐναλλακτου μη εχοντος

12

(1) When it later became time for sowing, the child went out with his father to sow wheat in their field. When his father sowed, the child Jesus also sowed a single grain of wheat. (2) When he harvested and threshed the grain, it produced a hundred large bushels.⁸ He called all the poor people of the village to the threshing floor and gave them the wheat; and Joseph took what was left of it. He was eight years old when he did this sign.

13

(1) Now his father was a carpenter, and at that time he used to make plows and yokes. He received an order from a certain rich man to make a bed for him. But when one of the bars, the so-called cross beam, came out too short, he did not know what to do. The child Jesus said to his father Joseph, "Place the two pieces of wood on the floor and line them up from the middle to one end." (2) Joseph did just as the child said. Then Jesus stood at the other end, grabbed the shorter board, and stretched it out to make it the same length as the other. His father Joseph saw what he had done and was amazed. He embraced the child and gave him a kiss, saying, "I am blessed that God has given me this child."

Jesus' Second Encounter with a Teacher

14

(1) When Joseph observed the mind of the child and his age, and saw that he was starting to mature, he again resolved that he should not be unable to read, and so took him out and gave him over to another teacher. The teacher said to Joseph, "First I will teach him to read Greek, and then Hebrew." For the teacher knew of the child's learning and was afraid of him. Nonetheless, he wrote out the alphabet and practiced it for him for a long time; but the child gave him no response. (2) Then Jesus said to him, "If you are really a teacher and know the letters well, tell me the power of the Alpha, and I will tell you the power of the Beta." The teacher was aggravated and struck him on the head. The child was hurt and cursed him; and immediately he fainted and fell to the ground on his face. (3) The child returned to Joseph's house. Joseph was smitten with grief and ordered his mother, "Do not let him out the door; for those who anger him die."

8. Cf. Matt. 13:3-9; Mark 4:3-9; Luke 8:5-8; Gospel of Thomas 9.

15

1 Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἕτερος πάλιν καθηγητής, γνήσιος φίλος ὢν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄγαγέ μοι τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὸ παιδευτήριον· ἴσως ἂν δυνηθῶ ἐγὼ μετὰ κολακίας διδάξαι αὐτὸν τὰ γράμματα. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· εἰ θαρρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, ἔπαρον αὐτὸ μετὰ σεαυτοῦ. καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ, τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠδέως ἐπορεύετο. **2** Καὶ εἰσελθὼν θρασὺς εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον εὗρε βιβλίον κείμενον ἐν τῷ ἀναλογίῳ, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀνεγίνωσκε τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ἀνοιξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐλάλει πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, καὶ ἐδίδασκε τὸν νόμον τοὺς περιεστῶτας. ὄχλος δὲ πολλὺς συνελθόντες παριστήκεισαν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἐν τῇ ὠραιότητι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἐτοιμασίᾳ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι νήπιον ὢν τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται. **3** Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἐφοβήθη, καὶ ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, λογισάμενος μὴ οὗτος ὁ καθηγητής ἐστίν ἀπειρος.¹⁰ εἶπε δὲ ὁ καθηγητής τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ἵνα εἰδῆς, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον ὡς μαθητὴν, αὐτὸ δὲ πολλῆς χάριτος καὶ σοφίας μεστὸν ἐστίν· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀξιῶ σε. ἀδελφέ, ἄρον αὐτὸ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. **4** Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν τὸ παιδίον ταῦτα, εὐθέως προσεγέλασεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ὀρθῶς ἐλάλησας καὶ ὀρθῶς ἐμαρτύρησας, διὰ σὲ κάκεινος ὁ πληρωθεὶς ἰαθήσεται. καὶ παραυτὰ ἰάθη ὁ ἕτερος καθηγητής. παρέλαβε δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.

16

Ἔπεμψε δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰάκωβον τοῦ δησαι ξύλα καὶ φέρειν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς αὐτῷ. καὶ συλλέγοντος τοῦ Ἰακώβου τὰ φρύγανα, ἔχιδνα ἔδακε τὴν χειρὰν Ἰακώβου. **2** Καὶ κατατειναμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολλυμένου προσήγγισεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ κατεφύσησε τὸ δῆγμα· καὶ εὐθέως ἐπαύσατο ὁ πόνος, καὶ τὸ θηρίον ἐρράγη, καὶ παραυτὰ ἔμεινεν ὁ Ἰακώβος ὑγιής.

17

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ γειτονίᾳ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ νοσῶν τι νήπιον ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἔκλαιεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ σφόδρα. ἤκουσε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πένθος μέγα καὶ θόρυβος γίνεται, καὶ ἔδραμε σπουδαίως· καὶ εὗράν τὸ παιδίον νεκρὸν, καὶ ἤψατο τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· σοὶ λέγω, βρέφος, μὴ ἀποθάνης ἀλλὰ ζῆσον, καὶ ἔστω μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς σου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβλέψας ἐγέλασεν.

¹⁰ ἐστίν ἀπειρος B D: ἐσται ἀναπηρος *conj.* suggested by Tischendorf, accepted by de Santos Otero

Jesus' Third Encounter with a Teacher

15

(1) Some time later there was another instructor, a close friend of Joseph, who said to him, "Bring the child to me at the school. Maybe I can use flattery to teach him his letters." Joseph said to him, "If you are that courageous, brother, take him along with you." He took him with great fear and much anxiety, but the child went along gladly. (2) He entered the school with confidence and found a book lying on the reading desk. He picked it up, but instead of reading the words in it, he opened his mouth and began to speak in the Holy Spirit, teaching the Law to those who were standing there. A great crowd gathered and stood there listening to him; they were amazed at the beauty of his teaching and his carefully crafted words⁹—amazed that he could speak such things though still an infant. (3) But when Joseph heard about this he was frightened. He ran to the school, concerned that this instructor may also have proved inexperienced. But the instructor said to Joseph, "You should know, brother, that I took the child as a pupil; but he is filled with great grace and wisdom. Now I ask you, brother, take him home." (4) When the child heard these things, he immediately laughed at him and said, "Since you have rightly spoken and rightly borne witness, for your sake that other one who was struck down will be healed." And right away the other instructor was healed. Joseph took the child and returned home.

Additional Healings

16

(1) Now Joseph sent his son James to bundle some wood and bring it home. The child Jesus also followed him. While James was gathering the firewood, a snake bit his hand. (2) When he was stretched out on the ground dying, Jesus came up to him and breathed on the bite. The pain immediately stopped, the animal burst, and straight away James was returned to health.¹⁰

17

(1) After these things, an infant in Joseph's neighborhood became sick and died; and his mother was weeping loudly. When Jesus heard the outburst of sorrow and the disturbance, he ran up quickly and found the child dead.¹¹ He touched its breast, saying "I say to you, young child, do not die but live, and be with your mother." Immediately the child opened its eyes and laughed. Jesus

9. Cf. Luke 4:16–22.

10. Cf. Acts 28:1–6.

11. Cf. Mark 5:22–43; Luke 7:11–17.

εἶπε δὲ τῇ γυναικί· ἄρον αὐτὸ καὶ δὸς γάλα, καὶ μνημόνευέ μου. 2 Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ παρεστὼς ὄχλος ἐθαύμασεν, καὶ εἶπον· ἀληθῶς τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἢ θεὸς ἦν ἢ ἄγγελος θεοῦ, ὅτι πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἔτοιμον. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν παίζων μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων παιδίων.

18

1 Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ οἰκοδομῆς γενομένης καὶ θορύβου μεγάλου, ἴστατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕως ἐκεῖ. καὶ ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον νεκρὸν κείμενον ἐπελάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· σοὶ λέγω, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνάστα, ποιεὶ τὸ ἔργον σου. καὶ εὐθέως ἀναστὰς προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. 2 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ὄχλος ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον οὐράνιον ἐστίν· πολλὰς γὰρ ψυχὰς ἔσωσεν ἐκ θανάτου, καὶ ἔχει σῶσαι ἕως πάσης τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

19

1 Ὅντος δὲ αὐτοῦ δωδεκαετοῦς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα μετὰ τῆς συνοδίας αὐτῶν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ὑπέστρεφον εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἀνήλθε τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· οἱ δὲ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ εἶναι. 2 Ὅδευσάντων δὲ ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς, ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες αὐτὸν ἐλυπήθησαν, καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ζητοῦντες αὐτόν. καὶ μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν εὗρον αὐτόν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ ἀκούοντα καὶ ἐρωτῶντα αὐτοῦς. προσεῖχον δὲ πάντες καὶ ἐθαύμαζον, πῶς παιδίον ὑπάρχων ἀποστομίζει τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τοῦ λαοῦ, ἐπιλύων τὰ κεφάλαια τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς τῶν προφητῶν. 3 Προσελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρία εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἰνατί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ἡμῖν, τέκνον; ἰδοὺ ὀδυνώμενοι ἐζητοῦμέν σε. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· τί με ζητεῖτε; οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναι με; 4 Οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι εἶπον· σὺ εἰ μήτηρ τοῦ παιδίου τούτου; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ· μακαρία σὺ εἰ ἐν γυναιξίν, ὅτι ἠυλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν καρπὸν τῆς κοιλίας σου· τοιαύτην γὰρ δόξαν καὶ τοιαύτην ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν οὔτε ἴδομεν οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν ποτε. 5 Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἠκολούθησεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς γονεῦσιν αὐτοῦ. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετήρει πάντα τὰ γενόμενα. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πρόεκοπτε σοφία καὶ ἡλικία καὶ χάριτι· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

said to the woman, "Take him, give him milk, and remember me." (2) When the crowd standing there saw what had happened, it was amazed. The people said, "Truly this child is either a god or an angel of God, for his every word is an accomplished deed." Jesus then left from there to play with the other children.

18

(1) Some time later a house was being built and there was a great disturbance. Jesus got up and went out to the place. He saw a man lying down, dead. Taking his hand he said, "I say to you, O man, rise up and do your work." Immediately he rose up and worshiped him. (2) When the crowd saw this, it was amazed and said, "This child comes from heaven. For he has saved many souls from death—for his entire life he is able to save them."

Jesus as a Twelve-Year-Old in the Temple

19

(1) When he was twelve years old his parents made their customary trip to Jerusalem, in a caravan, for the Passover feast.¹² After the Passover they returned home. While they were returning, the child Jesus went back up to Jerusalem. But his parents thought he was in the caravan. (2) After their first day of travel, they began looking for him among their relatives and were upset not to find him. They returned again to the city to look for him. After the third day they found him sitting in the Temple in the midst of the teachers, both listening and asking them questions. Everyone was attending closely, amazed that though a child, he silenced the elders and teachers of the people, explaining the chief points of the Law and the parables of the prophets. (3) When his mother Mary came up to him she said, "Why have you done this to us, child? See, we have been distressed, looking for you." Jesus replied to them, "Why are you looking for me? Don't you know that I must be doing my Father's business?"¹³ (4) The scribes and Pharisees said, "Are you the mother of this child?" She replied, "I am." They said to her, "You are most fortunate among women, because God has blessed the fruit of your womb."¹⁴ For we have never seen or heard of such glory, such virtue and wisdom." (5) Jesus got up from there and followed his mother, and he was obedient to his parents. But his mother kept to herself all these things that had happened. And Jesus grew in wisdom and stature and grace.¹⁵ To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

12. Luke 2:41–52.

13. Or: with those who are my Father's; or: in my Father's house.

14. Luke 1:42.

15. Luke 2:51–52.

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The Infancy Gospel of Thomas C

An Alternative Beginning

The following is the text and translation of the three additional chapters, similar to those found in the Latin version, that occur at the beginning of the narrative of Infancy Thomas in the fifteenth-century manuscript edited by Armand Delatte in 1927 (Ms 355; Bibliothèque National, Paris).

Bibliography

Delatte, A. "Évangile de L'Enfance de Jacques: Manuscrit No. 355 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Anecdota Atheniensia*. Paris: Champion, 1927; vol. 1, pp. 264–71.

EVANGELIUM INFANTIAE GRAECE C

Θορύβου γενομένου ἐζητεῖτο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως. τότε οὖν ἄγγελος Κυρίου λέγει τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ φεῦγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Ἡρώδου· ζητοῦσι γὰρ τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τότε ἐτῶν δύο ὅτε εἰσιῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ διαβαινόντων αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν σοριμίμων, ἤρξαντο τίλλειν τοὺς στάχους καὶ ἐσθίειν. καταλαβόντες οὖν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἦλθον εἰς οἶκόν τινος χήρας καὶ ἐποίησαν ἐκεῖ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ παιδιά τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ Ἰησοῦς παίζοντα, συνέπαιζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ λαβὼν ὀψάριον ἀλισμένον ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ εἶπων· ἀποτίναξον τὸ ἄλας καὶ νῆγε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ τῆς γειτονίας τὰ γινόμενα ἀπήγγειλαν εὐθέως τῇ χήρᾳ ἔνθα ἦν Μαρία συνοικοῦσα· ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, σπουδαίως ἀπελθοῦσα ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς.

2

παρερχόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως, εἶδε διδάσκαλον καθηγητὴν διδάσκοντα παιδιά. δώδεκα οὖν στρουθία κατελθόντα ἀπὸ τείχους ἐμάχοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξάφνης εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ καθηγητοῦ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐγέλασεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ καθηγητὴς γελῶντα, θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς εἶπε· τί ἰδὼν ἐγέλασας; ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· καθηγητά, ἰδοὺ γυνὴ χήρα ἔρχεται πρὸς σὲ βαστάζουσα σίτον ὃν μετὰ κόπου ἠγοράσατο καὶ ὧδε ἔχει προσκόψαι καὶ διασκορπίσαι τὸν σίτον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάχονται τὰ στρουθία ταῦτα πόσους κόκκους δεῖ ἕκαστον λαβεῖν. οὐκ ἀνεχώρησε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἕως οὗ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπληρώθη. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ἔργον γεγονότας, ἐκέλευσε διωχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

3

ἄγγελος δὲ Κυρίου ὑπήνησε τῇ Μαριάμ λέγων αὐτῇ· παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἄπελθε εἰς γῆν Ἰουδαίας· τεθνήκασι γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριάμ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἰησοῦ, ἦλθον εἰς Καπερναοῦμ, πόλιν Τιβεριάδος, εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, συνέστειλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην Ἡρώδου ἕως οὗ

Infancy Gospel of Thomas C

1

When a disturbance occurred Jesus was being sought after by Herod the king.¹ Then an angel of the Lord said to Joseph, "Rise, take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt, away from Herod, for he is seeking to destroy the child."² Jesus was two years old then, when he went into Egypt. As they were passing through the wheat fields they began plucking the ears of grain and eating them. When they reached Egypt they came to the house of a certain widow and stayed there for a year. When Jesus saw the children of the Hebrews playing, he played with them; and he took a salted fish and cast it into the water, saying, "Shake off the salt and swim in the water."³ When the people in the neighborhood saw what happened, they immediately reported to the widow with whom Mary was living. When the woman heard these things, she hastened outside and chased them away.

2

As Jesus was walking with his mother along the streets of the city, he saw a teacher instructing a group of children. Twelve sparrows came down off the wall, fighting with one another, and suddenly they fell into the teacher's lap. When Jesus saw this he laughed. But when the teacher saw him laughing he was filled with anger and said, "What have you seen that is so funny?" He said to him, "Listen, teacher: a widow is coming to you carrying some wheat that she has had a hard time purchasing. When she arrives here she will stumble and scatter her wheat. That is why these sparrows are fighting, to see how much grain each one of them can get." Jesus did not leave until the matter that he had spoken of came to fulfillment. But when the teacher saw that Jesus' words actually happened, he ordered him to be chased from the city, along with his mother.

3

An angel of the Lord met Mary and said to her, "Take the child and return to the land of Judea; for those who were seeking the child's life have died."⁴ Mary arose with Joseph and Jesus, and they came to Capernaum, in the region of Tiberias, in their own homeland. When Jesus knew he had come out of Egypt, he withdrew into the wilderness after the death of Herod, until the disturbance

1. Cf. Matt. 2:1–16.

2. Matt. 2:13.

3. Cf. Acts of Peter 5.13.

4. Cf. Matt. 2:20.

κατέπαυσεν ὁ θόρυβος ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ ἠρξάμην δοξάζειν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ γὰρ Ἰάκωβος, τὸν δόντα μοι σοφίαν ὅτι ἐξεῦρον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν. ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ γὰρ γνωρίσαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἀδελφοῖς ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Ναζαρέτ· οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη.

in Jerusalem had died out. And I myself, James, began to glorify God, who gave me the wisdom I found before him to write his story. Amen! I also thought it necessary to make known to all the brothers from the Gentiles all the things done by our Lord Jesus Christ. He was born in our region of Bethlehem and in the village of Nazareth. The beginning of these things is as follows.

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The Proto-Gospel of James

The Birth of Mary, the Revelation of James

Of all the early Christian apocrypha, none played a larger a role in late antique and medieval theology, culture, and popular imagination than the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, the Proto-Gospel of James (see, for example, Cartlidge and Elliott). This title is not original or even ancient: it comes from the first publication of the book in the sixteenth century (see later). But it is in some respects appropriate: this is the Gospel “prior to” the Gospel, an account of the events leading up to and immediately following the birth of Jesus. The focus of attention is on Jesus’ mother Mary, on her own miraculous birth, upbringing, young life, and engagement to Joseph. In addition, the account narrates, as a kind of Christian midrash on the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke (see Cothenet), the circumstances of Jesus’ birth, Mary’s continued virginity (demonstrated famously by a midwife’s postpartum inspection), and the opposition to the Christ child by King Herod, leading to the miraculous protection of John the Baptist and his mother, and the murder of his father, Zacharias, the high priest of the Jews, in the Temple.

The account was probably written in the late second century (see later) and became particularly popular in the eastern part of Christendom. Largely on the basis of episodes found in its narrative, the eastern church instituted feast days to honor the Virgin Mary throughout the year (Beyers and Gijssels). The book now survives in some 150 Greek manuscripts and a range of eastern versions: Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic (169 Slavonic mss were catalogued by de Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*). This is not to say that it was completely unknown in the West (see Bovon): there are still fragments of a Latin version, and more important, it was taken over by the widely read Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, which popularized most of its stories. But for the most part the *Protevangelium* was not transmitted in the West because its portrayal of Jesus’ “brothers” as sons of Joseph from a previous marriage was roundly condemned by no less an authority than Jerome (see *De perpetua*

virginitate beatae Mariae adversus Helvidium). In Jerome's forcefully stated view, Jesus' alleged brothers were in fact his cousins. This interpretation was closely tied to Jerome's ascetic agenda: for him, not only was Mary a perpetual virgin, but Joseph—the earthly father of the Lord—was as well. The account of the Protevangelium was explicitly condemned in 405 CE by Pope Innocent I (Letter 6 to Exuperius of Toulouse 7.30) and eventually in the sixth-century Gelasian Decree (No. 8).

The book was reintroduced in the West by G. Postel in 1552, in a Latin translation of a now unidentified Greek manuscript. Postel entitled the work *Protevangelium sive de natalibus Jesu Christi et ipsius Matris virginis Mariae, sermo historicus divi Jacobi minoris*, a title traditionally shortened to *Protevangelium Jacobi*. It is not called this in the manuscripts, however, which have a bewildering array of long and explanatory titles for the work, such as “Narrative and History concerning How the Very Holy Mother of God Was Born for Our Salvation” (Tischendorf's ms C) or “Narrative of the Holy Apostle James, the Archbishop of Jerusalem and Brother of God, concerning the Birth of the All Holy Mother of God and Eternal Virgin Mary” (ms A). Our earliest manuscript, however, Bodmer V of the third or fourth century, simply calls it “The Birth of Mary, the Revelation of James.” In this context, “revelation” does not refer to the literary genre (“apocalypse”), but either to the nature of the account (it is revelatory) or to the ultimate source of the author's information: even though he claimed to be James—presumably the brother of Jesus—he received his information by divine revelation.

In earlier times the book may simply have been called the Book of James. This appears to be its title in our earliest certain reference to the account, by the church father Origen (died 254 CE), who indicates in his *Commentary on Matthew* 10.17 (on Matt. 13:55) that James was the son of Joseph from a previous marriage, claiming that this is taught either in “the Gospel of Peter” or the “Book of James,” the latter of which, he says, stresses the ongoing virginity of Mary. As the latter is a key theme of the Protevangelium, there is little doubt that Origen is referring to our text. More questionable are possible references in Clement of Alexandria (died 215 CE), who knows the story of Mary's postpartum inspection by a midwife, but does not indicate the source of his knowledge (*Stromateis*, 7, 16, 93), and in Justin Martyr (died 160 CE), who knows the tradition that Jesus was born in a cave outside Bethlehem, but also does not reference the text of the Protevangelium itself (see *Apology* 1. 33).

The Greek text of the Protevangelium was first published by M. Neander in Basel in 1563. For the past century and a half, the most influential and widely translated edition has been the eclectic Greek text constructed by Constantine von Tischendorf in 1853 on the basis of eighteen late medieval manuscripts. Just over a century later our first truly early manuscript, Bodmer V, was published by M. Testuz; this became the basis of what is now the best available edition of

the Gospel, E. de Strycker's *La Forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*. But even this is not a critical edition that takes full account of all the surviving manuscripts and versions. The construction of such a critical edition is a major desideratum of early Christian studies. A start has been made by B. Daniels and G. Zervos, who between them have provided full collations of the surviving Greek witnesses (both in unpublished dissertations).

Our earliest full manuscript, Bodmer V, is interesting in part because it demonstrates that enormous textual alterations have been made in the course of the transmission of the text. Among other things, this papyrus manuscript lacks one of the most fascinating passages of the entire Gospel, the account in chapter 18 in which Joseph, in the first person, describes how time stood still when the Son of God entered into the world (on which, see Bovon; the chapter is missing in two of our other Greek witnesses as well). Indeed, our surviving witnesses attest wide-ranging textual differences, both great and small. This makes it particularly difficult to speak about an "original" form of the text. Like many of the other early Christian Gospels, the Protevangelium is based on oral traditions that had long been in circulation among Christian storytellers. These oral traditions affected the written texts, just as the written texts affected the oral accounts.

Any quest for an ostensible original is complicated by the circumstance that the Protevangelium gives clear signs of being based on yet earlier sources available to the author. Not only is chapter 18 narrated in the first person (Joseph's perspective); so too is the postscript: "I James, the one who has written this account" (ch. 24). What is most striking, of course, is that the first person of chapter 24 is different from the first person of chapter 18. Clearly the two parts of the narrative come from different sources. What has struck scholars even more, however, is that the Gospel appears to contain three self-contained narratives with only slight ties to one another. This led Adolf von Harnack to posit three older sources that had been incorporated into the longer account: (1) a kind of "biography of Mary" in chapters 1–17, beginning with the circumstances of her miraculous birth to the wealthy Jerusalemite Joachim and his hitherto barren wife, Anna; through her holy and protected infancy; to her upbringing in the Jerusalem Temple, where she was daily fed by an angel; through her engagement to the elderly Joseph and then her virginal conception; (2) an account of Joseph and the birth of Jesus in chapters 18–20, including the trip to Bethlehem, the firsthand account of his vision of time standing still, and the narrative of the postpartum inspection of Mary, which showed her to be a virgin even after giving birth; and (3) an account of the death of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, in the wake of Herod's wrath, in chapters 22–24.

More recent scholars such as de Strycker have argued for an original unity of the text, largely on the grounds of literary style and vocabulary. What is clear, in any event, is that the subject matter does shift in the final chapters of the book,

where Mary, the key figure of the narrative as a whole, disappears from sight, and the family of John the Baptist assumes center stage. Even if this latter account was “original” to the text, it probably came from a different oral or written source from the rest of the account, as did the vision of Joseph in chapter 18 (see Gijssels).

The various sources of the author’s information are, of course, lost in the mists of Christian antiquity. But it is not difficult to reconstruct the driving force that led to their creation (this is true of many of the apocryphal Gospels, especially the so-called Infancy Gospels). Our canonical texts are largely silent about the events prior to and leading up to Jesus’ birth, but his unique standing as the Son of God led Christians to wonder about parts of the story left out. If he was special, as shown by the fact that he was conceived by a virgin—what can we say about his mother? Who was Mary? What made her special? How was she herself born? How did she maintain her own purity, to make her a worthy “vessel” for the Son of God?

It would be a mistake, however, to see this account driven exclusively by biographical concerns, or even by the impulse to provide an “encomium” of Mary, the mother of Jesus (see Hock). Scholars have long recognized that there is an apologetic impulse behind the account as well (see, for example, Smid, van Stempvoort, and Frey). In the late second century, the probable date of this work, pagan and possibly Jewish opponents of Christianity attacked the “credentials” of Jesus as the Son of God. One of the earliest and best known polemicists was the pagan Celsus, who voiced the widespread charges that Jesus came from the lower class, that his parents were poor and not of royal blood, that his “father” was a common laborer (a carpenter), and that his mother had to spin for a living. Moreover, the circumstances of his birth were highly suspect: his mother, according to Celsus, had been seduced by a Roman soldier and given birth out of wedlock. With this kind of pedigree, Jesus could surely not be the Son of God (see Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.28–39).

Celsus was answered by no less an apologist than Origen, in his work *Contra Celsum*. But the apologetic task was not only taken up in tractates that directly engaged the polemics, it also came to color the ways Christians told their stories about Jesus, precisely in order to highlight the aspects of his life and background that would counter the pagan charges leveled against him. This apologetic goal may explain many of the emphases of the Protevangelium. Here Mary is not an impoverished Jewish peasant. Her father was the richest man in Israel and of royal blood. She herself was of impeccable morals and purity. Her purity was safeguarded from the time of her birth and demonstrated in her unusual upbringing, as she spent her young life, literally, in the Temple, day and night, fed by the hand of an angel. The stories of the account demonstrate in particular her sexual purity. Not only was she a virgin at the time of her conception; she also remained a virgin, even after giving birth, as shown by the physical inspection

of a skeptical midwife. Joseph himself never laid a finger on her. Moreover, he was not a poor carpenter, but an established building contractor. Finally, Mary's spinning activity was not for money; it was to provide a curtain for the sacred Temple of God.

The apologetic need to establish Jesus', and Mary's, credentials eventually waned as Christianity spread throughout the Roman world and became, near the end of the fourth century, the religion of the empire. But the theological emphases that sprouted in the apologetic discourse of the second century came to bear considerable doctrinal fruit in these later years, as the purity and perpetual virginity of Mary became central issues in the theological discussions of the fourth century and on into the Middle Ages. For many of these discussions, the Protevangelium played a central role—either itself or in its revised form in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and later texts.

The Protevangelium is written in such a way as to encourage its "authoritative" nature. Even though it was probably not written by a Jew in Palestine—or if it was, it was by a Jew who was remarkably ignorant of both Palestinian geography (he evidently did not realize that Bethlehem was in Judea) and Jewish customs (such as the "water of purity" ritual)—it was written in a style self-consciously imitative of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. In particular, themes from I Samuel 1–4 (the miraculous birth of Samuel to the barren Hannah; cf. the miraculous birth of Mary to the barren Anna) and Susannah (whose father was also "a very rich" Joachim) predominate. It appears that this pseudonymous author wanted to give his account a biblical feel and resonance. That he claims to be none other than James—presumably Jesus' older "brother"—provides credibility to his account, as does his claim to have written the Gospel soon after the death of Herod (the Great): the account, that is, is to be taken as nearly contemporaneous with the events it describes.

It is impossible to say where the text was originally written. As it appears to have been composed in Greek, it must have been somewhere in the Christian east. Given the apologetic concerns that drive much of the narrative, and the knowledge of the account by the late second- / early third-century Origen, it appears to have been written some time in the second half of the second century.

The translation here is of the text provided by de Strycker (used with permission, and with only occasional changes), including the longer version of 18:1–21:3, which is (secondarily) shortened in our oldest witness, Bodmer V.

In the apparatus of this highly variant text, we have noted only variants that are of special interest (e.g., for interpretation) or significance. For an exhaustive discussion of the textual history of the Proto-Gospel and detailed apparatus, see the edition of de Strycker. The following witnesses have been used to establish the text:

Manuscripts Used by Tischendorf (With Range of Possible Dates)

- A—tenth–fourteenth century
- B—twelfth–thirteenth century
- C—tenth century
- D—eleventh century
- E—eleventh century
- F—ninth–eleventh century
- G—twelfth–thirteenth century
- H—fifteenth–seventeenth century
- I—thirteenth–fourteenth century
- K—ninth–tenth century
- L—sixteenth century
- M—twelfth century
- N—twelfth–thirteenth century
- O—eleventh century
- P—fourteenth century
- Q—sixteenth–seventeenth century
- R—sixteenth–seventeenth century

Manuscripts Discovered since Tischendorf, Used by de Strycker

- Z—(Bodmer 5) fourth century
- Y—fourth century (highly fragmentary)
- X—fifth–sixth century (highly fragmentary)
- S—ninth century (highly fragmentary)

Major Versions Cited

- Syr a—fifth–sixth century
- Syr b—sixth century
- Syr c—n.d. (highly fragmentary)
- Syr d—n.d. (small portion of the text)

- Arm a—thirteenth–fourteenth century
- Arm b—fifteenth century
- Arm c—twelfth–thirteenth century

- Georg—tenth century
- Eth—based on two mss of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries
- Sah a—tenth century (highly fragmentary)
- Sah b—eleventh century (highly fragmentary)

NB: In citing manuscripts for variant readings, those (earlier) manuscripts not known to Tischendorf are cited first, and then those cited by Tischendorf, in alphabetical sequence, followed by the versional witnesses. In keeping with the practice of Tischendorf, followed as well by de Strycker, the following sigla are also used:

c-o = codices omnes, that is, all the manuscripts used by Tischendorf support the reading in question (if they preserve the text at this point)

c-p = codices plerique, when at least two-thirds of the manuscripts used by Tischendorf support the reading in question

c-n = codices nonnulli, when some of the manuscripts used by Tischendorf support the reading in question (in such cases he does not identify the manuscripts)

A* — an asterisk is used by Tischendorf to indicate that one or more other (undesigned) witnesses also support the reading in question

Parentheses () indicate that a witness attests a minor variation that does not materially alter its support for the reading in question

Where versions are not cited explicitly for one reading or another, their witness is ambiguous.

The term "rell" is used (rarely) to indicate that all witnesses not cited for the variant reading support the reading in question.

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ΠΡΩΤΟΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ

ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ. ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΑΚΩΒ.¹

1

1 Ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν ἰβ' φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ² ἦν Ἰωακείμ πλούσιος σφόδρα, καὶ προσέφερε Κυρίῳ τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλά λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ "Ἔσται τὸ τῆς περισσείας³ μου ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ εἰς ἰλασμόν ἐμοί." 2 Ἦγγισεν δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ προσέφερον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἔσθη κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ Ῥουβὴλ λέγων: "Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι πρότω ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ δῶρά σου, καθότι σπέρμα οὐκ ἐποίησας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ." 3 Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακείμ σφόδρα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν δωδεκάφυλον τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ "Θεάσομαι τὴν δωδεκάφυλον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, εἰ ἐγὼ μόνος οὐκ ἐποίησα σπέρμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ." Καὶ ἠραύνησε, καὶ εὗρεν πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ὅτι σπέρμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἀνέστησαν. Καὶ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρᾳ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ. 4 Καὶ ἐλυπεῖτο Ἰωακείμ σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. Καὶ ἐπῆξεν τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐνήστευσεν μ' ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας μ' λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ Ἰωακείμ: "Οὐ καταβήσομαι οὔτε ἐπὶ βρωτὸν οὔτε ἐπὶ ποτόν, ἕως ἐπισκέψηταί με Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου· καὶ ἔσται μου ἡ εὐχὴ βρώματα καὶ πόματα."

2

1 Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἄννα δύο θρήνους ἐθρήνει καὶ δύο κοπετοὺς ἐκόπτετο λέγουσα: "Κόψομαι τὴν χηροσύνην μου καὶ κόψομαι τὴν ἀτεκνίαν μου." 2 Ἦγγισεν δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰουθὶνὴ ἡ παιδίσκη αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτήν: "Ἔως πότε ταπεινοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν σου; Ἴδου ἤγγισε ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι πενθεῖν. Ἀλλὰ λάβε τοῦτο τὸ κεφαλοδέσμιον, ὃ ἔδωκέν μοι ἡ κυρία τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι δῆσασθαι αὐτό, καθότι παιδίσκη εἰμι⁴ καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἔχει⁵ βασιλικόν." 3 Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα: "Ἀπόστηθι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐποίησα, καὶ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐταπεινωσέν με σφόδρα. Μήπως τοῦτο πανουργός⁶ ἔδωκέν σοι, καὶ ἦλθες κοινωνῆσάι με τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ σου." Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰουθὶνὴ ἡ παιδίσκη: "Τί ἀρασωμαί σε, καθότι οὐκ ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς μου;⁷ Ἀπέκλεισεν Κύριος ὁ Θεός τὴν μήτραν σου, τοῦ μὴ δοῦναί σοι καρπὸν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ."

1 The title is given a different form in nearly every manuscript of the Protevangelium used by Tischendorf and de Strycher; the title given here is from Bodmer 5.

2 του Ἰσραὴλ c-o Syr a Arm c Eth: om. Z Arm b Georg

3 περισσείας Z E M: περιουσίας c-p

4 εἰμι ση Z R Georg: σου εἰμι C D (I) Arm a b: om. A B Syr a c

5 εχει Z A B L Syr a c Arm a b Georg: εχεις C I R

6 πανουργος C E I R Arm b (Eth): πανουργως A B D Syr a c Georg: πανουργω Z

7 καθοτι . . . μου Z c-p Arm a b: om. A D Syr a c Georg Eth

The Proto-Gospel of James
The Birth of Mary. The Revelation of James.

The Rich Joachim and His Self-Exile

1

(1) In the "Histories of the Twelve Tribes of Israel" there was a very wealthy man Joachim, who used to offer a double portion of his gifts to the Lord, saying to himself, "The portion that is my surplus will be for all the people, and the portion that is for forgiveness will be for the Lord God as my atonement." (2) Now the great day of the Lord drew near, and the sons of Israel were offering their gifts. Reuben stood before him and said, "You are not allowed to offer your gifts first, since you have not produced any offspring in Israel."

(3) Joachim was very upset and went away to consult the book of the twelve tribes of the people, saying to himself, "I will examine the Book of the Twelve Tribes of Israel to see if I am the only one not to produce offspring in Israel." And he searched and found that everyone who was righteous had raised up offspring in Israel. Then he remembered the patriarch Abraham, that at the end of his life the Lord God had given him a son, Isaac.

(4) Joachim was very upset and did not appear to his wife, but went out to the wilderness and pitched his tent there. Joachim fasted for forty days and nights, saying to himself, "I will not come down for either food or drink until the Lord my God visits me. My prayer will be my food and drink."¹

The Lamentation of Anna

2

(1) Now his wife Anna wailed and mourned twice over, saying "I mourn for being a widow, I mourn for being childless." (2) The great day of the Lord drew near, and her servant Judith said to her, "How long will you humble your soul? See, the great day of the Lord is drawing near, and you are not allowed to lament. But take this headband that my supervisor gave me; I am not allowed to wear it, since I am your servant and it is of royal quality."

(3) Anna replied, "Go away from me. I did none of these things and yet the Lord God has severely humbled me. For all I know, some scoundrel has given this to you, and you have come to implicate me in your sin."² Judith, her servant, said, "Why would I curse you, just because you have not listened to me? The Lord God has closed your womb to keep you from bearing fruit in Israel."

1. Cf. John 4:34.

2. The meaning of the exchange is obscure.

4 Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἄννα σφόδρα, καὶ περιείλατο τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτῆς τὰ πενθικά καὶ ἀπεσήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνεδύσατο τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτῆς τὰ νυμφικά. Καὶ περὶ ὥραν θ' κατέβη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον αὐτῆς τοῦ περιπατήσαι· καὶ εἶδεν δαφνιδέα καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναπαῖναι⁸ ἐλίτανευσε τὸν Δεσπότην λέγουσα· "Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου, εὐλόγησόν με καὶ ἐπάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου, καθὼς εὐλόγησας τὴν μήτραν Σάρρας⁹ καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτῇ υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ."

3

1 Καὶ ἀτενίσασα Ἄννα εἰς οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδεν καλιὰν στρουθῶν ἐν τῇ δαφνιδέα. Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἄννα θρήνον ἐν αὐτῇ λέγουσα· "Ὅϊμοι, τίς μοι ἐγέννησεν; ποία δὲ μήτρα ἐξέφυσέν με; ὅτι ἐγὼ κατὰρα ἐγεννήθην ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ ὠνειδίσθην καὶ ἐμυκτήρισαν καὶ ἐξώρισάν¹⁰ με ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. 2 Ὅϊμοι τίني ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ; Οὐχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γόνιμά ἐστιν ἐνώπιον σου, Κύριε. Ὅϊμοι τίني ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ; Οὐχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα γόνιμά εἰσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, Κύριε.¹¹ Ὅϊμοι τίني ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ; Οὐχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς γόνιμά εἰσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, Κύριε. 3 Ὅϊμοι τίني ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ; Οὐχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς ὕδασι τούτοις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα¹² γαληνιώντα¹³ καὶ σκιρτῶντα, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες αὐτῶν σε εὐλογοῦσιν, Κύριε.¹⁴ Ὅϊμοι τίني ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ; Οὐχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτι καὶ ἡ γῆ προφέρει τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ σε εὐλογεῖ, Κύριε."

4

1 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη¹⁵ λέγων αὐτῇ· "Ἄννα Ἄννα, ἐπήκουσεν Κύριος τῆς δεήσεώς σου. Συνλήμψεις καὶ γεννήσεις, καὶ λαληθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ." Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· "Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός· ἐὰν γεννήσω εἴτε ἄρσενά εἴτε θήλειαν, προσάξω αὐτὸ δῶρον Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου, καὶ ἔσται λειτουργῶν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ."

8 μετὰ τὸ ἀναπαῖναι Z: ἠβηλησε τοῦ ἀναπαῖναι L: *om.* c-p Syr a c Arm a b c Georg Eth
9 μήτραν σαρρας c-o: Arm a b c Georg Eth: μητεραν σαραν Z Syr a c
10 καὶ ἐξώρισαν Z E Syr a c Arm a b (Georg): καὶ ἐξεβαλλον R: *om.* B D L Arm c
11 οἰμοί² . . . Κυριε² c-p Syr a Arm a b c Georg Eth: *om.* A D (other mss *om.* others of the five "woes")

12 ὕδατα ταυτα Z Arm a: *add.* γονιμα εἰσιν ἐνωπιον σου Κυριε c-o Arm b c Georg
13 γαληνιώντα Z (A) C (Arm c): οἰμοι τίني ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ· ουχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς κωμασι τῆς θαλασσης ὅτι καὶ τα κωματα γαληνιώντα B (D) E F (I) L M N (R) Arm a b (c) (Georg)

14 γαληνιώντα . . . Κυριε Z (A) B D E F I L M N R Arm a b c Georg: *om.* C

15 ἐπεστη c-p Georg: εφανη (A) L Arm c: εστη Z B D Syr a Arm a b Eth

(4) Anna was very upset, and took off her clothes of mourning; she then washed her face and put on her bridal clothes, and in midafternoon went down to walk in her garden. She saw a laurel tree and sat beneath it, and after resting a bit she prayed to the Master, saying, "O God of my fathers, bless me and hear my prayer, just as you blessed the womb of Sarah and gave her a son, Isaac."³

3

(1) While Anna was gazing at the sky she saw a nest of sparrows in the laurel tree, and she mourned to herself, "Woe is me. Who gave me birth? What kind of womb bore me? I have been born as a curse before the sons of Israel and have been despised; they have mocked me and banished me from the Temple of the Lord my God. (2) Woe is me, what am I like? I am not like the birds of the sky, for even the birds of the sky are productive before you, O Lord. Woe is me, what am I like? I am not like the senseless living creatures, for even the senseless living creatures are productive before you, O Lord. Woe is me, what am I like? I am not like the wild beasts of the earth, for even the wild beasts of the earth are productive before you, O Lord. (3) Woe is me, what am I like? I am not like these waters, for even these waters are tranquil yet prance about, and their fish bless you, O Lord. Woe is me. What am I like? I am not like this soil, for even this soil produces its fruit in its season and blesses you, O Lord."

Some Angelic Visitations

4

(1) Then, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared and said to her, "Anna, Anna, the Lord has heard your prayer. You will conceive a child and give birth,⁴ and your offspring will be spoken of throughout the entire world." Anna replied, "As the Lord God lives, whether my child is a boy or a girl, I will offer it as a gift to the Lord my God, and it will minister to him its entire life."⁵

3. Gen. 21:1–3.

4. Cf. Luke 1:13.

5. Cf. 1 Sam. 1:11, 28; 2:11.

2 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἤλθσαν ἄγγελοι δύο λέγοντες αὐτῇ· "Ἴδοὺ Ἰωακεὶμ ὁ ἀνὴρ σου ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτοῦ." Ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου κατέβη πρὸς Ἰωακεὶμ λέγων· "Ἰωακεὶμ Ἰωακεὶμ, ἐπήκουσεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δεήσεώς σου. Κατάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν. Ἴδοὺ ἡ γυνὴ σου Ἄννα ἐν γαστρὶ εἴληφεν."¹⁶ 3 Καὶ εὐθέως κατέβη Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς ποιμένας λέγων αὐτοῖς· "Φέρετέ μοι ὧδε δέκα¹⁷ ἀμνάδας ἀσπίλους καὶ ἀμάμους, καὶ ἔσονται αἱ δέκα ἀμνάδες¹⁸ Κυρίου τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ φέρετέ μοι δώδεκα μόσχους ἀπαλούς, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δώδεκα μόσχοι¹⁹ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ῥ' χιμάρους²⁰ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ."

4 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦκει Ἰωακεὶμ μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἔστη Ἄννα πρὸς τῆ πύλῃ καὶ εἶδεν Ἰωακεὶμ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτοῦ.²¹ Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔδραμεν καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη²² εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ λέγουσα· "Νῦν οἶδα ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς εὐλόγησέν με²³ σφόδρα. Ἴδοὺ γὰρ ἡ χήρα οὐκέτι χήρα, καὶ ἡ ἄτεκνος ἰδοὺ ἐν γαστρὶ εἴληφα."²⁴ Καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο Ἰωακεὶμ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

5

1 Τῇ δὲ ἐφαύριον προσέφερον τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· "Ἐὰν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἰλασθῇ μοι τὸ πέταλον τοῦ ἱερέως φανερόν μοι ποιήσει."²⁵ Καὶ προσέφερον τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ προσεῖχε τῷ πετάλῳ τοῦ ἱερέως ὡς²⁶ ἐπέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου, καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακεὶμ· "Νῦν οἶδα ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἰλάσθη μοι καὶ ἀφῆκέν μοι πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματά μου." Καὶ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Κυρίου δεδικαιωμένος, καὶ ἦκει ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.²⁷ 2 Καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν μῆνες αὐτῇ ὡσεὶ ἑξή²⁸ τῷ δε ἐβδόμῳ μηνί²⁹ ἐγέννησεν Ἄννα καὶ εἶπεν τῇ μαίᾳ· "Τί ἐγέννησα;" Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαία·

16 εἴληφεν Z B Syr a Eth: ληφεται c-p Arm c: *concipiet et pariet* Arm a b Georg

17 δεκα Z c-p Syr a Arm a b c: δωδεκα (δεκαδυο) B C K Georg: *duos* Eth

18 αι δεκα αμναδες Z F L Syr a Arm (b): αι δωδεκα αμναδες B D (Georg): *om.* A E I Arm c

19 απαλους . . . μοσχοι (with variation) B D E L (Georg): *απαλους και εσονται*: A C R* Syr a Arm b c: *om.* Z

20 χιμαρους A D E Georg: *add.* και εσονται οι εκατον χιμαροι Z B C L R Syr a Arm b c

21 μετα των ποιμνιων αυτου Z C D E F R Arm a b Georg: *om.* A B* (Syr a) Arm c Eth

22 εκρεμασθη c-a: εκραμασεν ατην Z

23 με c-o Syr a Arm a b c Georg Eth: σε Z

24 ειληφα Z B F M Syr a: ληψομαι c-p: συλληψομαι και ειληφα L

25 ποιησει c-p Arm b Georg: ποιησαι Z: γενησεται L Syr a

26 ως C F L R Arm a b: εως A I Syr a: ος D: και B E Georg: *om.* Z

27 οικω αυτου c-p: *add.* χαιρων και δοξαζων τον θεον B C (D) Eth: *add.* συνελαβε δε αννα I R Arm c

28 ωσει εξ (Z) (L): εξ A E (Arm a) Georg: επτα B Arm b: εννεα Eth: *om.* C D F (R) (Syr a Arm c)

29 τω δε εβδομω μηνι E L Arm b Georg: τω δε επτα μηνι Z: τω δε ογδοω μηνι R Arm a: τω δε εννατω μηνι c-p Syr a: και D (Arm c Eth)

(2) Behold, two angels came, saying to her, "See, your husband Joachim is coming with his flocks." For an angel of the Lord had descended to Joachim and said, "Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God has heard your prayer. Go down from here; see, your wife Anna has conceived a child." (3) Joachim immediately went down and called his shepherds and said, "Bring me here ten lambs without spot or blemish, and the ten lambs will be for the Lord God; and bring me twelve young calves, and the twelve calves will be for the priests and the council leaders, and bring a hundred male goats for all the people." (4) And behold, Joachim came with his flocks and Anna stood beside the gate and saw Joachim coming with his flocks; and running up to him she hung on his neck and said, "Now I know that the Lord God has blessed me abundantly. For see, the widow is no longer a widow and I who am childless have conceived a child." Then Joachim rested the first day in his home.

The Birth of Mary

5

(1) On the next day he brought his gifts as an offering, saying to himself, "If the Lord is gracious to me, the leafed plate of the priest's mitre⁶ will make it known to me." And Joachim offered his gifts and looked closely at the priest's leafed mitre as he went up to the altar of the Lord; and he saw no sin in himself. Joachim then said, "Now I know that the Lord God has been gracious to me and forgiven me all my sins." He went down from the Temple of the Lord justified and came to his house.⁷

(2) Some six months came to completion for Anna; and in the seventh month she gave birth. She asked the midwife, "What is it?" The midwife replied,

6. Literally: the priest's leaf. The meaning is obscure. See de Strycher, *Protévangile*, p. 85. n. 1.

7. Cf. Luke 18:14.

"Θήλειαν." Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· "Ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου³⁰ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην." Καὶ ἀνέκλιεν αὐτήν. Πληρωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπεσμήξατο ἡ Ἄννα τῆς ἀφόδρου αὐτῆς³¹ καὶ ἔδωκε μασθὸν τῇ παιδί καὶ ὠνόμασεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Μαρία.

6

1 Ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡμέρα ἐκραταιοῦτο ἡ παῖς. Γεναμένης δὲ αὐτῆς ἑξαμήνου ἔστησεν αὐτήν ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῆς χαμαί, διαπειρᾶσαι εἰ ἴσταται. Καὶ ἐπτά βήματα περιπατήσασα ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἀνήρπασεν αὐτήν ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῆς λέγουσα·³² "Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου· οὐ μὴ περιπατήσης ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἕως σε ἀπάξω ἐν τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου." Καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀγίασμα ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτῆς, καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον οὐκ εἶα διέρχεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰς ἀμιάντους, καὶ διεπλάνων αὐτήν.

2 Ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτος ἐνιαυτὸς τῇ παιδί, καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰωακεῖμ δοχὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ ὅλον τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ προσήνεγκεν τὴν παῖδα Ἰωακεῖμ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, καὶ ἠλόγησαν αὐτήν λέγοντες· "Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, εὐλόγησον τὴν παῖδα ταύτην καὶ δὸς αὐτῇ ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν αἰώνιον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς." Καὶ εἶπεν πᾶς ὁ λαός· "Γένοιτο, ἀμήν." Καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν, καὶ εὐλόγησαν αὐτήν λέγοντες· "Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὑψωμάτων, ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν παῖδα ταύτην καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτήν ἐσχάτην εὐλογίαν ἣτις διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἔχει." 3 Καὶ ἀνήρπασεν αὐτήν ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ ἀγιάσματι τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ ἔδωκε μασθὸν τῇ παιδί. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄσμα Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ Ἄννα λέγουσα· "Αἰσω ὄψθην ἀγίαν Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου, ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατό με καὶ ἀφείλεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὄνειδισμὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου, καὶ ἔδωκέν μοι Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ μονοουσίον πολυπλάσιον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. Τίς ἀγγελεῖ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ρουβὴλ ὅτι Ἄννα θηλάζει; Ἀκούσατε ἀκούσατε, αἱ ἰβ' φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,³³ ὅτι Ἄννα θηλάζει." Καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι τοῦ ἀγιάσματος αὐτῆς,³⁴ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν καὶ διηκόνει αὐτοῖς. Τελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ δειπνοῦ κατέβησαν εὐφρανόμενοι³⁵ καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

³⁰ εμεγαλυνη η ψυχη μου Z c-p Arm a c Georg: εμεγαλυνη η ψυχη μου τον κυριον C D F Syr a Arm b Eth

³¹ της αφεδρου αυτης (Z) L (R) Arm b: της λοχειας αυτης N Georg: απο του αιματος αυτης (I): om. c-p Arm c Eth

³² Καί . . . λεγουσα Z c-p Syr a Arm a b Georg: και ειπεν αννα B (C) D I Arm c Eth

³³ οτι Αννα . . . του Ισραηλ c-p Syr a Georg: om. z C R Arm a b

³⁴ αγιασματος αυτης c-p Syr a: αγιασματος Z R Georg

³⁵ ευφρανόμενοι c-p Syr a Arm a b c Georg Eth: add. και επεθηκαν αυτη ονομα μαριαμ διοτι το ονομα αυτης ου μαρανθησεται εις τον αιωνα (with minor variations) B F I

“A girl.” Anna said, “My soul is exalted today.”⁸ And she laid the child down. When the days came to completion, Anna washed off the blood of her impurity, gave her breast to the child, and named her Mary.

Mary's Early Life

6

(1) The child grew stronger every day. When she was six months old, her mother set her on the ground, to see if she could stand. She walked seven steps and came to her mother's bosom. Her mother lifted her up and said, “As the Lord my God lives, you will not walk at all on this ground until I have taken you up to the Temple of the Lord.” Then she made a sanctuary in her bedroom and did not allow anything impure or unclean to pass through her lips. And she called the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews and they entertained her.

(2) When the child had her first birthday, Joachim held a great feast and invited the chief priests, priests, scribes, council leaders, and all the people of Israel. Joachim brought the child out to the priests and they blessed her, saying, “O God of our fathers, bless this child and give her a name that will be famous forever, to all generations.” And all the people replied, “Let it be so! Amen.” They brought her to the chief priests, and they blessed her, saying, “O Most High God, look upon this child and bless her with an ultimate blessing, equal to none.”

(3) Her mother took her back to the sanctuary in her bedroom and nursed the child. And Anna made a song to the Lord God, saying, “I will sing a holy song to the Lord my God, for he has visited me and removed from me the reproach of my enemies.⁹ The Lord my God has given me the fruit of his righteousness, unique and abundant before him. Who will report to the sons of Reuben that Anna is now nursing a child?¹⁰ Listen closely, you twelve tribes of Israel: Anna is nursing a child!” And she laid her down to rest in the bedroom of her sanctuary and went out to serve the others. When the feast ended they descended happy, and they gave glory to the God of Israel.

8. Cf. Luke 1:46.

9. Cf. 1 Sam. 2:1.

10. Cf. Gen. 21:7.

7

1 Τῇ δὲ παιδί προσετίθεντο οἱ μῆνες αὐτῆς. Ἐγένετο δὲ διετὴς ἡ παῖς, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακείμ· "Ἀνάξωμεν αὐτὴν ἐν ναφ̄ Κυρίου ὅπως ἀποδώμεν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἣν ἐπηγγελιάμεθα, μήπως ἀποστείλῃ ὁ Δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπρόσδεκτον ἔσται τὸ δῶρον ἡμῶν." Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· "Ἀναμεινῶμεν τὸ τρίτον ἔτος, ὅπως μὴ ζητήσῃ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα." Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακείμ· "Ἀναμεινῶμεν."³⁶
 2 Ἐγένετο δὲ τριετὴς ἡ παῖς, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακείμ· "Καλέσωμεν τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰς ἀμιάντους, καὶ λαβέτωσαν ἀνά λαμπάδα, καὶ ἔστωσαν καϊόμεναι ἵνα μὴ στραφῇ ἡ παῖς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθῆσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῆς ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου." Καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως ἕως ἀνέβησαν ἐν ναφ̄ Κυρίου.³⁷ Καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτὴν ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ φιλήσας αὐτὴν εὐλόγησεν καὶ εἶπεν· "Ἐμεγάλυνεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς. Ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν φανερώσει Κύριος τὸ λύτρον αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ."
 3 Καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τρίτου βαθμοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἔβαλλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς χάριν ἐπ' αὐτὴν, καὶ κατεχόρευε τοὺς ποσὶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἡγάπησεν αὐτὴν πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ.

8

1 Καὶ κατέβησαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ δοξαζόντες³⁸ τὸν Δεσπότην Θεὸν³⁹ ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ἡ παῖς ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἦν δὲ Μαρία ἐν ναφ̄ Κυρίου ὥσει περιστέρα νεμομένη καὶ ἐλάμβανε τροφήν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀγγέλου. 2 Γενομένης δὲ αὐτῆς ἰβ' ετοῦς, συμβούλιον ἐγένετο τῶν ἱερέων λεγόντων· "Ἴδου Μαρία γέγονεν ἰβ' ετῆς ἐν τῷ ναφ̄ Κυρίου. Τί οὖν αὐτὴν ποιήσωμεν, μήπως μιάνη τὸ ἅγιασμα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν;" Καὶ εἶπαν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ·⁴⁰ "Σὺ ἔστηκας ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου. Εἰσελθε καὶ πρόσευξαι περὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν φανερώσῃ σοι 3 Κύριος ὁ Θεός, τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν." Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λαβὼν τὸν ἰβ' κώδωνα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἠύξατο περὶ αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη⁴¹ λέγων· "Ζαχαρία Ζαχαρία, ἔξελθε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσον τοὺς χηρεύοντας τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ

³⁶ αναμεινωμεν c-p: αμην Z: αμην γενοιτο C Arm b Georg: γενοιτο αμην L: γενοιτο Arm a

³⁷ καὶ . . . ναφ̄ κυριου Z c-p Syr a: om. A K Arm a b Georg

³⁸ επαινουντες καὶ δοξαζοντες Z: αινουντες καὶ δοξαζοντες E F R: δοξαζοντες καὶ επαινουντες X: δοξαζοντες καὶ αινουντες A: *glorificantes et laudantes* Georg Eth: *glorificantes et benedicentes* Arm a: αινουντες C K Syr a: δοξαζοντες B D Arm b: υμνουντες L

³⁹ τον δεσποτην θεον Z F K: κυριον τον θεον X B Eth: τον θεον A C R: alii alia

⁴⁰ τω αρχιερει A D E Georg: αυτω οι ιερεις Z: οι ιερεις τω αρχιερει I R Syr a: τω ιερει L: οι αρχιερεις τω ζαχαρια B C K Arm b: τω Ζαχαρια οι αρχιερεις F: οι ιερεις προς Ζαχαριαν Arm a: *ad sacerdotem zachariam* Eth: τω αρχιερει λεγοντες Ζαχαρια X

⁴¹ επεστη B C D I: εστη Z F K R

7

(1) Months passed for the child. When she became two, Joachim said, "Now we should take her up to the Temple of the Lord, to fulfill the promise we made;¹¹ otherwise the Master may send some harm our way and our gift be deemed unacceptable." Anna replied, "Let's wait until she is three; otherwise she may be homesick for her father and mother." Joachim agreed, "Let us wait."

(2) When the child turned three, Joachim said, "We should call the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews and have each take a torch and set them up, blazing, that the child not turn back and her heart be taken captive away from the Temple of the Lord." They did this, until they had gone up to the Lord's Temple. And the priest of the Lord received her and gave her a kiss, blessing her and saying, "The Lord has made your name great among all generations. Through you will the Lord reveal his redemption to the sons of Israel at the end of time."

(3) He set her on the third step of the altar, and the Lord God cast his grace down upon her. She danced on her feet, and the entire house of Israel loved her.

Joseph Becomes Mary's Guardian

8

(1) Her parents went away marveling, praising and glorifying God, the Master, that the child did not turn back. Mary was in the Temple of the Lord, cared for like a dove, receiving her food from the hand of an angel.

(2) But when she reached her twelfth birthday, the priests held a council and said, "See, Mary has become twelve years old in the Lord's Temple. What then shall we do with her, to keep her from defiling the sanctuary of the Lord our God?" They said to the chief priest, "You have stood on the Lord's altar. Go in and pray about her, and we will do whatever the Lord God reveals to you."

(3) The chief priest went in, taking the robe with twelve bells into the Holy of Holies; and he prayed about her. And behold, an angel of the Lord appeared and said to him, "Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and gather the widowers of the people, and have each of them bring a rod; she will become the wife of

11. Cf. 1 Sam. 1:21–28.

ἐνεγκάτωσαν ἀνά ράβδον, καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν ἐπιδείξη Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σημεῖον, τοῦτ' ἔσται γυνή." Ἐξήλθαν δὲ οἱ κήρυκες καθ' ὅλου τῆς περιχώρου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ ἤχησεν σάλπιγξ Κυρίου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔδραμον ἅπαντες.

9

1 Ἰωσήφ δὲ ρίψας τὸ σκέπαρον ἐξήλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν. Καὶ συναχθέντες ὁμοῦ ἀπήλθαν πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα λαβόντες τὰς ράβδους. Δεξάμενος δὲ⁴² τὰς ράβδους ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἠΰξαστο. Τελέσας δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαβε τὰς ράβδους καὶ ἐξήλθεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ σημεῖον οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐταῖς. Τὴν δὲ ἐσχάτην ράβδον ἔλαβε ὁ Ἰωσήφ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ περιστερά ἐξήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ράβδου καὶ ἐπετάσθη⁴³ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ Ἰωσήφ·⁴⁴ "Σὺ κεκλήρωσαι τὴν παρθένον Κυρίου παραλάβαι εἰς τήρησιν αὐτῶ.⁴⁵ 2 Καὶ ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ λέγων· "Υἱοὺς ἔχω καὶ πρεσβύτης εἰμί· αὐτὴ δὲ νεάνις. Μήπως ἔσομαι περίγελος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ." Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· "Ἰωσήφ, φοβήθητι Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, καὶ μνήσθητι ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβιρὸν καὶ Κορέ, πῶς ἐδιχάσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατεπόθησαν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῶν. Καὶ νῦν φοβήθητι, Ἰωσήφ, μήπως ἔσται ταῦτα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου." 3 Καὶ φοβηθεὶς Ἰωσήφ παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν εἰς τήρησιν αὐτῶ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· "Μαρία, παρέλαβόν σε ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου. Καὶ νῦν καταλείπω σε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου. Ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὰς οἰκοδομάς, καὶ ἤξω πρὸς σέ. Κύριός σε διαφυλάξει."

10

1 Ἐγένετο δὲ συμβούλιον τῶν ἱερέων λεγόντων· "Ποιήσωμεν καταπέτασμα τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου." Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· "Καλέσατέ μοι τὰς παρθένους⁴⁶ τὰς ἀμίαντους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Δαυὶδ." Καὶ ἀπήλθασιν οἱ ὑπηρέται καὶ ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ εὗρσαν ζ'. Καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς παιδὸς Μαρίας ὅτι ἦν τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἀμίαντος τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ ἀπήλθασιν οἱ ὑπηρέται καὶ ἤγαγαν αὐτήν. 2 Καὶ εἰσήγαγαν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· "Λάχετε με ὧδε, τίς νῆσει τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἀμίαντον καὶ τὴν βύσσον καὶ τὸ σιρκόν καὶ τὸ ὑακίνθινον καὶ τὸ κόκκινον καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πορφύραν." Καὶ ἔλαχε τὴν Μαρίαν

42 δεξάμενος δε B D I Arm a b Georg Eth: *add.* ο ἱερος (Z) E K (C) (F) (L) (Syr a): *add.* ο αρχιερευς X (A) G (R)

43 ἐπετασθη c-p Georg: ἐπεσταθη Z X Syr a Arm a b Eth

44 τῷ Ἰωσήφ X B R Arm a b: τῷ Ἰωσήφ Ἰωσήφ A D E K: τῷ Ἰωσήφ Ἰωσήφ Ἰωσήφ D L: Ἰωσήφ C Syr a (Georg): Ἰωσήφ Ἰωσήφ Z

45 αὐτῷ X c-p: αὐτῷ Z: σεαυτῷ C R: *tibi* Arm a b: *sibi ipsi* Georg: αὐτῆς A Syr a: *om.* D L

46 τὰς παρθένους Z A: παρθένους B E I R Georg: οκτὼ παρθένους τὰς X: οκτὼ παρθένους G K L Syr a Arm a b Eth: ἐπτα παρθένους C D

the one to whom the Lord God gives a sign.”¹² The heralds went out to all the countryside of Judea and the trumpet of the Lord was blown, and see, everyone came running.

9

(1) Joseph cast aside his carpenter’s axe and went to their meeting. When they had gathered together they went to the priest, bringing their rods. When he had received the rods from them he went into the Temple and prayed. When he finished his prayer, he took the rods, went outside, and gave them back. And no sign appeared among them. But Joseph took the last rod, and behold! A dove came out of the rod and flew onto Joseph’s head. The priest said to Joseph, “You have been chosen to take the Lord’s virgin into your safekeeping.” (2) But Joseph refused, saying, “I have sons and am an old man; she is but a child. I do not want to become a laughingstock to the sons of Israel.” The priest replied, “Fear the Lord your God, and remember everything that he did to Dathan, Abeira, and Core, how the earth split open and they were all swallowed up because of their dispute.¹³ Now, Joseph, you should be afraid of this happening to your house as well.”

(3) Joseph was afraid and took her into his safekeeping. He said to her, “Mary, I have received you from the Temple of the Lord. Now I am leaving you in my house, for I am going out to construct some buildings; later I will come back to you. The Lord will watch over you.”

Mary Spins for the Curtain in the Temple

10

(1) Then the priests held a council and said, “We should make a curtain for the Lord’s Temple.” The priest said, “Call to me the undefiled virgins from the tribe of David.” The servants went out looking for them and found seven virgins. The priest then remembered that the child Mary was from the tribe of David, and that she was undefiled before God. The servants went out and led her back. (2) And they brought them into the Lord’s Temple. And the priest said, “Cast lots before me to see who will spin the gold, the asbestos, the fine linen, the silk, the sapphire blue, the scarlet, and the true purple.” Mary drew

12. Cf. Num. 17:1–9.

13. Cf. Num. 16:1, 31–33.

ἡ ἀληθινή πορφύρα καὶ τὸ κόκκινον. Καὶ λαβοῦσα ἀπήει ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς. Τῷ δὲ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ Ζαχαρίας ἐσίγησεν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀντί αὐτοῦ Σαμουὴλ, μέχρι ὅτε ἐλάλησεν Ζαχαρίας. Μαρία δὲ λαβοῦσα τὸ κόκκινον ἔκλωθεν.

11

1 Καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν κάλπιν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν γεμίσει ὕδωρ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα αὐτῇ: "Χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη· ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ· εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν." Καὶ περιέβλεπεν τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ Μαρία πόθεν αὐτὴ εἶη ἡ φωνή. Καὶ ἔντρομος γενομένη εἰσήει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναπαύσασα τὴν κάλπιν ἔλαβεν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτῆς καὶ ἤλκεν τὴν πορφύραν. 2 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου⁴⁷ ἔστη ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς λέγων: "Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαρία· εὗρες γὰρ χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πάντων Δεσπότου. Συνλήμψῃ ἐκ Λόγου αὐτοῦ." Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα Μαρία διεκρίθη ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα: "Ἐγὼ συνλήμψομαι ἀπὸ Κυρίου Θεοῦ ζώντος⁴⁸ καὶ γεννήσω⁴⁹ ὡς πᾶσα γυνὴ γεννᾷ;" 3 Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου⁵⁰ "Οὐχ οὕτως, Μαρία. Δύναμις γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σοι⁵¹ διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ σοῦ⁵² ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς Ὑψίστου.⁵³ Καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν." Καὶ εἶπε Μαρία: "Ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη Κυρίου κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ. Γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ρῆμά σου."

12

1 Καὶ ἐποίησεν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ κόκκινον, καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν τῷ ἱερεῖ. Καὶ λαβὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν: "Μαρία, ἐμεγάλυνεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔση εὐλογημένη ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς." 2 Χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἀπήει πρὸς τὴν συγγενίδα αὐτῆς Ἐλισάβεδ καὶ ἔκρουσεν πρὸς τὴν θύραν. Καὶ ἀκούσασα ἡ Ἐλισάβεδ ἔρριψεν τὸ κόκκινον καὶ ἔδραμεν πρὸς τὴν θύραν καὶ ἠνοιξεν αὐτῇ⁵⁴ καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν: "Πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ; Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐσκίρτησεν⁵⁵ καὶ εὐλόγησέν σε." Ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἐπελάθετο τῶν μυστηρίων ὧν ἐλάλησεν Γαβριὴλ ὁ ἄγγελος.

47 κυριου¹ c-o Syr a Arm a b Georg Eth: *om.* Z

48 απο Κυριου Θεου ζωντος Z c-o Syr a Georg Eth: *om.* C Arm a b

49 και γεννησω c-p Syr a Arm a: *om.* Z C D G K L (Georg)

50 και ειπεν αυτη ο αγγελος Κυριου (with minor variations) c-p Syr c: και ιδου αγγελος εστη αυτη λεγων αυτη Z (and with minor variations) E F K Syr a Arm a b Georg

51 δυναμις γαρ θεου επισκιασει σοι (with variations) Z c-p Syr a c: αλλα πνευμα αγιον επελευσεται επι σε και δυναμις υψιστου επισκιασει σοι E (K) Arm a Georg Eth

52 ἐκ σου B E I R Syr a c Arm a b Georg: *om.* Z A C D F H K

53 υψιστου Z C E K L Syr a c (Arm b) Eth: θεου c-p Georg

54 αυτη Z B C R Syr a c Arm a b: αυτην (F) G K: *om.* A D E Georg

55 εσκιρτησεν Z c-p: *add.* εν τη κοιλια μου A E H Syr c Arm a b: *add.* εν αγαλλιασει F Georg: *add.* εν τη κοιλια μου εν αγαλλιασει D Eth

the lot for the true purple and the scarlet, and taking them she returned home. At that time Zacharias became silent.¹⁴ Samuel took his place, until Zacharias spoke again. And Mary took the scarlet and began to spin it.

The Annunciation

11

(1) Mary took a pitcher and went out to fetch some water. And behold, she heard a voice saying, "Greetings, you who are favored! The Lord is with you. You are blessed among women."¹⁵ Mary looked around, right and left, to see where the voice was coming from. She then entered her house frightened and set the pitcher down. Taking up the purple she sat on her chair and began to draw it out. (2) And behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her and said, "Do not fear, Mary. For you have found favor before the Master of all. You will conceive a child from his Word."¹⁶ But when she heard this she asked herself, "Am I to conceive from the living Lord God and give birth like every other woman?" (3) The angel of the Lord said to her, "Not so, Mary. For the power of God will overshadow you. Therefore the holy one born from you will be called the Son of the Highest.¹⁷ And you will name him Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins."¹⁸ Mary replied, "Behold the slave of the Lord is before him. May it happen to me as you have said."¹⁹

Mary Visits Elizabeth

12

(1) She made the purple and the scarlet, and brought them to the Temple. The priest took them and blessed her, "Mary, the Lord God has made your name great; you will be blessed among all the generations of earth."

(2) Full of joy, Mary went off to her relative Elizabeth.²⁰ She knocked on the door; and when Elizabeth heard she cast aside the scarlet and ran to the door. When she opened it she blessed Mary and said, "How is it that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For see, the child in me leapt up and blessed you." But Mary forgot the mysteries that the archangel Gabriel had spoken to

14. Cf. Luke 1:20–22, 64.

15. Cf. Luke 1:28.

16. Cf. Luke 1:30–31.

17. Cf. Luke 1:35.

18. Cf. Matt. 1:21.

19. Cf. Luke 1:38.

20. Cf. Luke 1:39–45.

Καὶ ἠτένισεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ εἶπεν· "Κύριε,⁵⁶ τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες⁵⁷ τῆς γῆς μακαριοῦσίν με;" 3 Καὶ ἐποίησεν τρεῖς μῆνας πρὸς τὴν Ἑλισάβεθ. Καὶ ἡμέρα ἀφ' ἡμέρας ἡ γαστήρ αὐτῆς ὠγκοῦτο. Καὶ φοβηθεῖσα ἡ Μαρία ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἔκρυβεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. Ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν ις,⁵⁸ ὅτε ταῦτα τὰ μυστήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῇ.

13

1 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῇ 5^ο μὴν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ εὗρεν⁵⁹ αὐτὴν ὠγκωμένην. Καὶ ἔτυψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν χαμαὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σάκκον καὶ ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς λέγων· "Ποίῳ προσώπῳ ἀτενίσω πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεόν; Τί ἄρα εὕξομαι περὶ τῆς κόρης ταύτης;⁶⁰ Ὅτι παρθένον παρέλαβον αὐτὴν ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξα αὐτὴν. Τίς ὁ θηρεύσας με; Τίς τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου⁶¹ καὶ ἐμίανεν τὴν παρθένον;⁶² Μῆτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ; Ὡσπερ γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἦν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς δοξολογίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ ὄφις καὶ εὗρεν τὴν Εὐὰν μόνην καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν,⁶³ οὕτως κάμοι συνέβη." 2 Καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ σάκκου καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· "Μεμελημένη Θεῷ, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Ἐπελάθου Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου; Τί ἐταπεινώσας τὴν ψυχὴν σου, ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τροφὴν λαμβάνουσα ἐκ χειρὸς ἀγγέλου;" 3 Ἡ δὲ ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς λέγουσα καθότι "Καθαρὰ εἰμι ἐγὼ καὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω." Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Ἰωσήφ· "Πόθεν οὖν τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου;" Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· "Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου καθότι οὐ γινώσκω πόθεν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐμοί."

14

1 Καὶ ἐφοβήθη ὁ Ἰωσήφ σφόδρα καὶ ἠρέμησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς, διαλογιζόμενος αὐτὴν τί ποιήσει. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· "Ἐὰν αὐτῆς κρύψω τὸ ἀμάρτημα, εὐρεθήσομαι μαχομένος⁶⁴ τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου· καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴν φανερώσω τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, φοβοῦμαι μήπως ἀγγελικόν⁶⁵ ἐστὶν τὸ ἐν ἐαυτῇ,

56 Κυριε A (D) K (Syr a c Arm a b Georg): om. Z B C H R

57 γυναικες Z: γενεαι c-o Syr a c Arm a b Georg

58 δεκα εξ (Z) c-p: *sedecim* Syr a Georg: δεκα επτα H: δεκα πεντε F: πεντεκαιδεκα C: δεκα τεσσαρων Arm b: *duodecim* Syr c: *decem* Arm a

59 ευρεν Z A C H Syr a c Arm a b Georg: ειδεν B D I R Eth

60 της κορης ταυτης c-p: αυτης Z: της νεανιδος της F: *puellam hanc* Syr a Arm a b Georg Eth

61 οικω μου Z c-p Arm b Georg: *add.* τις ηχηλωσευσε την παρθενον απ' εμου C (D) Syr a Arm a Eth

62 την παρθενον c-p: αυτην Z C Syr a Eth

63 εξηπατησεν αυτην c-o Arm a b Georg: *add.* και εμιανεν αυτην Z Syr a

64 μαχομενος Z Y A C D E H Syr a Arm a b: ενοχος B I M N R Eth

65 αγγελικον Z c-p Arm (a) b (Eth): αγιον S B I L M R

her, and gazed at the sky and said, "Who am I, Lord, that all the women of earth will bless me?"

(3) She stayed with Elizabeth for three months. Day by day her own belly grew. Mary then returned home in fear, and hid herself from the sons of Israel. She was sixteen when these mysteries happened to her.

Joseph Discovers Mary's Condition

13

(1) When she was in her sixth month, behold, Joseph returned from his buildings. As he came into the house he saw that she was pregnant. Striking his face he cast himself to the ground on sackcloth, weeping bitterly and saying, "How can I look upon the Lord God? How can I utter a prayer for this young girl? For I received her from the Temple of the Lord God as a virgin, but I did not watch over her. Who has preyed upon me? Who has done this wicked deed in my home and defiled the virgin? Has not the entire history of Adam been summed up in me? For just as Adam was singing praise to God, when the serpent came and found Eve alone and led her astray,²¹ so too has this now happened to me."

(2) Joseph rose up from the sackcloth, called Mary, and said to her, "You who have been cared for by God: why have you done this? Have you forgotten the Lord your God? Why have you humiliated your soul—you who were brought up in the Holy of Holies and received your food from the hand of an angel?" (3) But she wept bitterly and said, "I am pure and have not had sex with any man."²² Joseph replied to her, "How then have you become pregnant?" She said, "As the Lord my God lives, I do not know."

14

(1) Joseph was very afraid and let her be, debating what to do about her. Joseph said, "If I hide her sin, I will be found to be fighting the Law of the Lord; if I reveal her condition to the sons of Israel, I am afraid that the child in her is

21. Cf. Gen. 3:13.

22. Cf. Luke 1:34.

καὶ εὐρεθήσομαι παραδιδούς ἀθῶν αἶμα εἰς κρίσιμα θανάτου. Τί οὖν αὐτὴν ποιήσω; Λάθρα αὐτὴν ἀπολύσω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ." Καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν νύξ. 2 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου φαίνεται αὐτῷ κατ' ὄνειρον λέγων· "Μὴ φοβηθῆς τὴν παῖδα ταύτην· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄν ἐκ Πνεύματός ἐστιν Ἁγίου. Τέξεται δέ⁶⁶ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα ἑαυτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν." Καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ ἐδόξασεν τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὸν δόντα αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐφύλασσε αὐτήν.⁶⁷

15

1 Ἦλθεν δὲ Ἄννας ὁ γραμματεὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "Ἰωσήφ, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐφάνης τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν;" Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "Ὅτι ἔκαμον ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀνεπαυσάμην τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν." Καὶ ἐστράφη Ἄννας καὶ εἶδεν τὴν Μαρίαν ἀγκωμένην. 2 Καὶ ἀπήει δρομαῖος πρὸς τὸν ἱερέαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "Ἰωσήφ, ὃ σὺ μαρτυρεῖς, ἠνόμησεν σφόδρα." Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· "Τί τοῦτο;" Καὶ εἶπεν· "Τὴν παρθένον, ἣν Ἰωσήφ παρέλαβεν ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου, ἐμίανεν αὐτήν καὶ ἔκλεψεν τοὺς γάμους αὐτῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐφανέρωσεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ." Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπεν· "Ἰωσήφ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν;" Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννας ὁ γραμματεὺς αὐτῷ· "Ἀπόστειλον ὑπηρέτας καὶ εὐρήσεις τὴν παρθένον ἀγκωμένην." Καὶ ἀπήλθον οἱ ὑπηρέται καὶ εὗρον αὐτὴν καθὼς εἶπεν καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὴν ἅμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ^{68, 69} εἰς τὸ κριτήριον. 3 Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· "Μαρία, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Τί ἐταπείνωσας τὴν ψυχὴν σου καὶ ἐπελάθου Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου; Ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων καὶ λαβοῦσα τροφὴν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀγγέλου,⁷⁰ καὶ ἀκούσασα τῶν ὕμνων⁷¹ αὐτοῦ⁷² καὶ χορεύσασα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,⁷³ τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας;" Ἡ δὲ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς λέγουσα· "Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς καθότι καθαρὰ εἰμι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω." 4 Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· "Ἰωσήφ, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας;" Εἶπεν δὲ Ἰωσήφ· "Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς μου⁷⁴ καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ μάρτυς καθότι καθαρὸς εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐξ αὐτῆς." Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· "Μὴ

66 τεξεται δε S c-p Arm a Georg Eth: *add.* σοι Z Syr a Arm b

67 αυτην S B H I L R Syr a: την παιδα Z A C E Arm a b Georg

68 αμα τω ιωσηφ (A C D) E H Georg: και τον ιωσηφ S B (F) I L: *om.* Z Syr a Arm a b69 ιωσηφ S c-p Georg: *add.* εις το ιερον και εστι Z (F Arm a b): εις το ιερον Syr a: *add.* και εστησεν αυτους ο αρχιερευς D: *add.* και παρεστησεν αυτους H: *add.* εις το ιερον και αυτους Syr a

70 αγγελου S c-o Syr a Arm a Georg Eth: αγγελων Z Arm b

71 των υμνων C (E) Syr a Eth: τον υμνον Z (A) D H Georg: *vozem* Arm a: των μυστηριων S B I L M R72 αυτου S B I L M R: αυτων Z D Syr a Georg: ενωπιον αυτων E H: *om.* C

73 ενωπιον αυτου S B C G I L R: ενωπιον αυτων Z Syr a Georg

74 ζη κυριος ο θεος μου c-p Syr a Arm b: ζη κυριος ο χριστος αυτου Z: *vivus est dominus et vivus est spiritus eius* Georg: ζη κυριος ο θεος και ζη ο χριστος αυτου Z^{vid.}: ζη κυριος ο θεος μου ο χριστος αυτου και ο της αληθειας αυτου μαρτυς E

angelic, and I may be handing innocent blood over to a death sentence. What then should I do with her? I will secretly divorce her.”²³ Then night overtook him.

(2) Behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream and said, “Do not be afraid of this child. For that which is in her comes from the Holy Spirit. She will give birth to a son, and you will name him Jesus. For he will save his people from their sins.”²⁴ Joseph rose up from his sleep and glorified the God of Israel who had bestowed favor on him; and he watched over her.

The Authorities Discover Mary's Condition

15

(1) But Annas the scribe came to see him and said, “Joseph, why have you not appeared before our council?” Joseph replied, “I was tired from my journey and rested on my first day back.” Annas then turned and saw that Mary was pregnant. (2) He left and ran off to the priest and said to him, “Joseph, the one you have vouched for, has committed a great sin.” The priest replied, “What has he done?” He said, “He has defiled the virgin he received from the Lord’s Temple and has stolen her wedding rights.²⁵ And he has not revealed this to the sons of Israel.” The priest asked, “Joseph, has done this?” Annas the scribe replied, “Send some servants, and you will find that the virgin is pregnant.” The servants went off and found her just as he had said. They brought her back to the judgment hall, along with Joseph.

(3) The high priest said to her, “Mary, why have you done this? Why have you humiliated your soul and forgotten the Lord your God? You who were brought up in the Holy of Holies and received your food from the hand of an angel, and heard his hymns, and danced before him—why have you done this?” But she wept bitterly and said, “As the Lord my God lives, I am pure before him and have not had sex with any man.”

(4) The priest then said, “Joseph, why have you done this?” Joseph replied, “As the Lord my God lives, and the witness of his truth, I am pure toward

23. Cf. Matt. 1:19.

24. Cf. Matt. 1:20–21.

25. Or: eloped with her.

ψευδομαρτύρει, ἀλλὰ λέγε τὰ ἀληθῆ. "Ἐκλεψας τοὺς γάμους αὐτῆς⁷⁵ καὶ οὐκ ἐφανερώσας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ οὐκ ἔκλινας τὴν κεφαλὴν σου ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖραν ὅπως εὐλογηθῆ τὸ σπέρμα σου."

16

1 Καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐσίγησεν. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς: "Ἀπόδος τὴν παρθένον ἣν παρέλαβες ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου." Καὶ περιδάκρυτος γενόμενος ὁ Ἰωσήφ . . . Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς: "Ποτίσω ὑμᾶς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγγεως Κυρίου, καὶ φανερώσει τὸ ἀμάρτημα ὑμῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν." 2 Καὶ λαβὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπότισεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ ἦλθεν ὀλόκληρος. Καὶ ἐπότισεν καὶ τὴν Μαριάμ⁷⁶ καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν, καὶ κατέβη ὀλόκληρος. Καὶ ἐθαύμασεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὅτι οὐκ ἐφάνη ἡ ἀμαρτία αὐτῶν.⁷⁷ 3 Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς: "Εἰ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐφανερώσεν τὸ ἀμάρτημα ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ κρίνω ὑμᾶς." Καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς. Καὶ παρέλαβεν Ἰωσήφ τὴν Μαριάμην καὶ ἀπήει ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ χαίρων καὶ δοξάζων τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

17

1 Κέλευσις δὲ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ Αὐγούστου βασιλέως ἀπογράψασθαι ὅσοι εἰσὶν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ: "Ἐγὼ ἀπογράψομαι τοὺς υἱοὺς μου. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν παῖδα τί ποιήσω; Πῶς αὐτὴν ἀπογράψομαι; Γυναῖκα ἐμήν; Ἐπαισχύνομαι. Ἀλλὰ θυγατέρα; Οἶδαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν θυγάτηρ μου. Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ποιήσει ὡς βούλεται."⁷⁸ 2 Καὶ ἔστρωσεν τὸν ὄνον καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἦλκεν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ⁷⁹ καὶ ἠκολούθει Σαμουὴλ.⁸⁰ Καὶ ἤγγισαν ἐπὶ μίλιον τρίτον, καὶ ἐστράφη Ἰωσήφ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὴν στουγνὴν καὶ ἔλεγεν

75 αὐτης A D E H: σου Z S B I N R Syr a Arm a b Georg: om. L M

76 μαριαμ c-p Arm b Georg Eth: παιδα Z E Syr a: παρθενον A C

77 ουκ εφανη η αμαρτια αυτων cn. de Strycker: ουκ εφανεν αμαρτιαν αυτων Z: η αμαρτια αυτων ουκ εφανη H: non sunt manifestata peccata eorum Arm a b: αμαρτια ουκ εφανη εν αυτοις S c-p: αμαρτια ουχ ευρεθην εν αυτοις C F Syr a Georg

78 βουλεται Z A C D E Syr a b Arm a b Georg Eth: add. κυριος S B H I L R

79 και ηλκεν ο υιος αυτου Z A C (D: add. Σαμουηλ) E (N: add. Ιακωβος ante ο υιος) Syr a b: και ηλθεν ιωσηφ και ο υιος αυτου Syr a: και ηλθεν σιμων υιος ιωσηφ Arm b: om. B F H I L M R Arm a Georg Eth

80 και ηκολουθει σαμουηλ Z Y^{vid} (D) E (Georg Eth): και ηκολουθει και ο υιος αυτου σαμουηλ οπισθεν αυτων L (M R): et manuel filius ioseph sequebatur mariam Arm a: και ηκολουθει ιωσηφ A (C) H N: και ιακωβος και σιμων επηκολουθουν B F I: qui sequebatur mariam Arm b: om. Syr a b

her.” The priest said, “Do not bear false witness, but speak the truth. You have stolen her wedding rights²⁶ and not revealed it to the sons of Israel; and you have not bowed your head under the mighty hand that your offspring might be blessed.” Joseph kept his silence.

16

(1) The priest said, “Hand over the virgin you received from the Lord’s Temple.” And Joseph began to weep bitterly. The priest said, “I will have both of you drink the Lord’s ‘water of refutation,’ and it will reveal your sin to your own eyes.”²⁷ (2) The priest gave it to Joseph to drink, and sent him away to the wilderness. But he came back whole. He then gave it to Mary to drink and sent her off to the wilderness. And she came back whole. All the people were amazed that their sin was not revealed.

(3) The priest said, “If the Lord God has not revealed your sin, neither do I judge you.” And he released them. Joseph took Mary and returned home, rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel.

The Journey to Bethlehem

17

(1) An order went out from the king, Augustus, that everyone from Bethlehem of Judea was to be registered for a census.²⁸ Joseph said, “I will register my sons. But what should I do about this child? How should I register her? As my wife? I would be too ashamed. As my daughter? The sons of Israel know that she is not my daughter. This day of the Lord will turn out as he wishes.” (2) He saddled the donkey and seated her on it; and his son led it along, while Samuel followed behind. When they approached the third milestone, Joseph turned and saw that she was gloomy. He said to himself,

26. Or: eloped with her.

27. Cf. Num. 5:11–31.

28. Cf. Luke 2:1.

“Ίσως τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ χειμάζει αὐτήν.” Καὶ πάλιν ἐστράφη Ἰωσήφ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὴν γελοῦσαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ: “Μαριάμμη, τί ἐστίν σοι τοῦτο, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου βλέπω ποτὲ μὲν γελοῦντα ποτὲ δὲ στυγνάζον;” Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ: “Ὅτι δύο λαοὺς βλέπω ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, ἓνα κλαίοντα καὶ κοπτόμενον καὶ ἓνα χαίροντα καὶ ἀγαλλιώντα.” 3 Καὶ ἤλθωσιν ἀνά μέσον τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Μαριάμμη: “Ἰωσήφ, κατάγαγέ με ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνου, ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐπείγει με προελθεῖν.” Καὶ κατήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄνου⁸¹ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ: “Ποῦ σε ἀπάξω καὶ σκεπάσω σου τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην, ὅτι ὁ τόπος ἔρημός ἐστιν;”

18

1 Καὶ εὗρεν ἐκεῖ σπῆλαιον καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν καὶ παρέστησεν αὐτῇ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ζητῆσαι μαῖαν Ἑβραίαν ἐν χώρᾳ Βηθλεέμ.⁸² 2 Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰωσήφ περιεπάτουں καὶ οὐ περιεπάτουں. Καὶ ἀνέβλεψα εἰς τὸν πόλον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐστῶτα, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἔκθαμβον καὶ τὰ πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἠρεμοῦντα. Καὶ ἐπέβλεψα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶδον σκάφην κειμένην καὶ ἐργάτας ἀνακειμένους, καὶ ἦσαν αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ σκάφῃ. Καὶ οἱ μασώμενοι οὐκ ἐμασῶντο καὶ οἱ αἶροντες οὐκ ἀνέφερον καὶ οἱ προσφέροντες τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐ προσέφερον, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἦν τὰ πρόσωπα ἄνω⁸³ βλέποντα. 3 Καὶ εἶδον ἐλαυνόμενα πρόβατα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ἐστήκει· καὶ ἐπῆρεν ὁ ποιμὴν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατάξαι αὐτά,⁸⁴ καὶ ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ ἔστη ἄνω. Καὶ ἐπέβλεψα ἐπὶ τὸν χειμάρρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ εἶδον ἐρίφους καὶ τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικείμενα τῷ ὕδατι⁸⁵ καὶ μὴ πίνοντα. Καὶ πάντα θῆξει ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου αὐτῶν ἀπηλαύνετο.

19

1 Καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρεινῆς, καὶ εἶπέν μοι: “Ἀνθρώπε, ποῦ πορεύῃ;” Καὶ εἶπον: “Μαῖαν ζητῶ Ἑβραίαν.” Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπέν μοι: “Ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ εἶ;” Καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ: “Ναί.” Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν: “Καὶ τίς ἐστιν ἡ γενεῶσα ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ;” Καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ: “Ἡ μεμνηστευμένη μοι.” Καὶ εἶπέ μοι: “Οὐκ ἔστι σου γυνή;” Καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ: “Μαρία ἐστίν, ἡ

81 ἀπο τῆς οἰου B C D H I L: ἐκεῖ Z Georg: om. A E F G R Syr a b

82 For 18.1–19.1 Bodmer 5 has a severely truncated text, omitting Joseph’s vision, as follows: καὶ εὗρεν ἠνεγκεν ἀπο ὀρεινῆς καταβαίνουσαν. καὶ εἶπεν ἰωσήφ τῇ μαῖα ὅτι μαρία ἐστὶν ἡ μεμνηστευμένη μοι ἀλλὰ συλλημμα εχει ἐκ πνευματος ἁγίου ἀνατραφείσα ἐν νῶω κυριου.

83 ἀνω c-p Syr a Arm b (Georg): κατῶ A E Arm a

84 αὐτα Y c-p Syr a Arm a b Georg: add. ἐν τῇ ραβδῶ B (I) L R

85 ἐρίφους καὶ τὰ στοματα αὐτῶν ἐπικείμενα τῷ ὕδατι Y^{vid} C (D H Syr a) Georg (Arm a b): τὰ στοματα τῶν ἐρίφῶν ἐπικείμενα A B E I L R

“Maybe the child in her is causing her trouble.” Then Joseph turned again and saw her laughing. He said to her, “Mary, why is it that one time I see you laughing and at another time gloomy?” She replied, “Because my eyes see two peoples, one weeping and mourning and the other happy and rejoicing.”

(3) When they were halfway there, Mary said to him, “Joseph, take me down from the donkey. The child inside me is pressing on me to come out.” He took her down from the donkey and said to her, “Where can I take you to hide your shame? For this place is a wilderness.”

Joseph Watches Time Stand Still

18

(1) He found a cave there and took her into it. Then he gave his sons to her and went out to find a Hebrew midwife in the region of Bethlehem.

(2) But I, Joseph, was walking, and I was not walking.²⁹ I looked up to the vault of the sky, and I saw it standing still, and into the air, and I saw that it was greatly disturbed, and the birds of the sky were at rest. I looked down to the earth and saw a bowl laid out for some workers who were reclining to eat. Their hands were in the bowl, but those who were chewing were not chewing; and those who were taking something from the bowl were not lifting it up; and those who were bringing their hands to their mouths were not bringing them to their mouths. Everyone was looking up. I saw a flock of sheep being herded, but they were standing still. The shepherd raised his hand to strike them, but his hand remained in the air. I looked down at the torrential stream, and I saw some goats whose mouths were over the water, but they were not drinking. Then suddenly everything returned to its normal course.

The Birth of Jesus and the Witness of the Midwives

19

(1) I saw a woman coming down from the hill country, and she said to me, “O man, where are you going?” I replied, “I am looking for a Hebrew midwife.” She asked me, “Are you from Israel?” I said to her, “Yes.” She asked, “Who is the one who has given birth in the cave?” I replied, “My betrothed.” She said to me, “Is she not your wife?” I said to her, “She is Mary, the one who

29. The Bodmer Papyrus V gives a much shorter version of chs. 18–21; the longer form of the text, generally regarded as older than the Bodmer version, is followed here, as reconstructed by de Strycher. Several witnesses report the vision of Joseph in ch. 18 in the third person.

ἀνατραφεῖσα⁸⁶ ἐν ναφ̄ Κυρίου. Καὶ ἐκκληρωσάμην αὐτὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μου γυνή, ἀλλὰ σύλλημμα ἔχει ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου." Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα· "Τοῦτο ἀληθές;" Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Ἰωσήφ· "Δεῦρο καὶ ἴδε." Καὶ ἀπῆι ἡ μαῖα μετ' αὐτοῦ, 2 καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ σπηλαίου. Καὶ ἦν νεφέλη φωτεινῆ⁸⁷ ἐπισκιάζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα· "Ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου σήμερον, ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου παράδοξα, ὅτι σωτηρία τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐγεννήθη." Καὶ παραχρῆμα ἡ νεφέλη ὑπεστέλλετο τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ ἐφάνη φῶς μέγα ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ ὡστε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μὴ φέρειν. Καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο ὑπεστέλλετο, ἕως ἐφάνη βρέφος· καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ ἔλαβε μασθὸν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας. Καὶ ἀνεβόησεν ἡ μαῖα καὶ εἶπεν· "'Ὡς μεγάλη μοι ἡ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ὅτι εἶδον τὸ καινὸν θέαμα τοῦτο." 3 Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου ἡ μαῖα, καὶ ἠπήνησεν αὐτῇ Σαλώμη, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· "Σαλώμη Σαλώμη, καινὸν σοι θέαμα ἔχω ἐξηγήσασθαι· παρθένος ἐγέννησεν, ἃ οὐ χωρεῖ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς."^{88, 89} Καὶ εἶπεν Σαλώμη· "Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου· ἐὰν μὴ βάλω τὸν δάκτυλόν μου καὶ ἐραυνήσω τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς,⁹⁰ οὐ μὴ πιστεῦσω ὅτι ἡ⁹¹ παρθένος ἐγέννησεν."⁹²

20

1 Καὶ εἰσηλθεν ἡ μαῖα καὶ εἶπεν· "Μαρία, σχηματίσων σεαυτὴν· οὐ γὰρ μικρὸς ἀγὼν πρόκειται περὶ σοῦ."⁹³ Καὶ ἔβαλε Σαλώμη τὸν δάκτυλον αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς.⁹⁴ Καὶ ἀνηλάλαξεν Σαλώμη καὶ εἶπεν· "Οὐαὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ μου καὶ

86 ἀναστραφεῖσα c-p Syr a b Arm a b: *add.* εἰς τα ἁγια τῶν ἁγιῶν C R Georg

87 φωτεινῆ c-p Arm a b: φωτός H Syr a b Georg Eth: σκοτεινῆ z: *om.* C

88 αὐτῆς Z c-p Georg: αὐτῆ A B Syr a b: ἀνθρωπινῆ C (Arm a b): *om.* L

89 αὐτῆς Y rell Syr a b Arm a b Georg: *add.* καὶ ἡ παρθενοσ μενει παρθενοσ (or something similiar) A B F H I Eth

90 εἰαν μὴ βάλω τὸν δακτυλον μου καὶ ἐραυνησω τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς Z D F G H (Georg): εἰαν μὴ ἐραυνησω τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς B I L R: εἰαν μὴ ἰδῶ A (C) E Syr a (*add. oculis meis*) Eth Syr b (*add. quod virgo est* and place after οὐ μὴ πιστεῦσω): *si non ibo, explorabo et videbo oculis* Arm a b

91 ἡ Z I: *om.* c-p Arm a b Georg

92 For 20.1–4a Bodmer 5 has a severely truncated text, as follows: καὶ εἰσηλθεν καὶ ἐσηματίσεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἠραυνησε ἡ σαλωμη τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀνηλάλαξεν σαλωμη ὅτι ἐξεπειρασεν θεὸν ζῶντα· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ μου πυρὶ ἀποπιπτει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ προσηξατο πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἰαθη ἡ μαῖα ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀγγελοσ κυριου ἐστὶ πρὸς σαλωμην λεγων· εἰσηκουση ἡ δεησις σου ἐνωπιον κυριου του θεου, προσελθουσα ἀψαι του παιδου καὶ αὐτοσ ἐστὶ σοι ἡ σωτηρια, καὶ ἐποιησεν οὕτω καὶ ἰαθη σαλωμη καθὼς προσεκουνησεν καὶ ἐξηλθεν ἐκ του σπηλαιου, ἰδοὺ ἀγγελοσ κυριου ἐν φωνῇ λεγων·

93 σου c-p Arm a b Georg: *add.* καὶ ἡ μαρια ἀκουσασσα ταυτα ἐσηματίσεν αὐτὴν H: *add.* καὶ ἐσηματίσεν αὐτὴν Z: *add. sed monstra teipsam num virgo sis* Syr a b

94 ἔβαλε σαλωμη τὸν δακτυλον αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς (D) F (Georg): ἔβαλε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς εἰς αὐτὴν G H: ἐραυνησε ἡ σαλωμη τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς Z: ἐσημειωσατο αὐτὴν ἡ σαλωμη B I L R: κατενοησεν αὐτὴν C: *accessit et vidit eam esse virginem* Syr a b: *appropinquabat salome ut videret et tenaret* Arm b: *accessit sulame ad mariam et extendit manum suam ut videret* Eth: πιστωθεισα σαλωμη (and *om.* the following καὶ) A E

was brought up in the Lord's Temple, and I received the lot to take her as my wife. She is not, however, my wife, but she has conceived her child by the Holy Spirit." The midwife said to him, "Can this be true?" Joseph replied to her, "Come and see." And the midwife went with him.

(2) They stood at the entrance of the cave, and a bright cloud overshadowed it. The midwife said, "My soul has been magnified today, for my eyes have seen a miraculous sign: salvation has been born to Israel." Right away the cloud began to depart from the cave, and a great light appeared within, so that their eyes could not bear it. Soon that light began to depart, until an infant could be seen. It came and took hold of the breast of Mary, its mother. The midwife cried out, "Today is a great day for me, for I have seen this new wonder."

(3) The midwife went out of the cave and Salome met her. And she said to her, "Salome, Salome, I can describe a new wonder to you. A virgin has given birth,³⁰ contrary to her natural condition." Salome replied, "As the Lord my God lives, if I do not insert my finger and examine her condition,³¹ I will not believe that the virgin has given birth."

20

(1) The midwife went in and said to Mary, "Brace yourself. For there is no small controversy concerning you." Then Salome inserted her finger in order to examine her condition, and she cried out, "Woe to me for my sin and

30. Cf. Isa. 7:14.

31. Cf. John 20:25.

τῆ ἀπιστίας⁹⁵ μου, ὅτι ἐξεπείρασα Θεὸν ζῶντα. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ μου πυρὶ⁹⁶ ἀποπίπτει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ." 2 Καὶ ἔκλινεν τὰ γόνατα πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην λέγουσα· "Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου, μνήσθητί μου ὅτι σπέρμα εἰμι Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. Μὴ παραδειγματίσης με τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ἀλλὰ ἀπόδος με τοῖς πένησιν.⁹⁷ Σὺ γὰρ οἶδας, Δέσποτα, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι τὰς θεραπείας μου ἐπετέλουν καὶ τὸν μισθόν μου παρά σου ἐλάμβανον." 3 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη⁹⁸ λέγων πρὸς αὐτήν· "Σαλώμη Σαλώμη, ἐπήκουσεν ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης τῆς δεήσεώς σου. Προσένεγκε τὴν χεῖρά σου τῷ παιδίῳ καὶ βάσταξον αὐτό, καὶ ἔσται σοι σωτηρία καὶ χαρά." 4 Λαβοῦσα δὲ χαρὰν προσῆλθε Σαλώμη τῷ παιδίῳ καὶ ἐβάσταξεν αὐτό λέγουσα· "Προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ⁹⁹ ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη μέγας¹⁰⁰ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ." Καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰάθη Σαλώμη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου δεδδικαιωμένη. Καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα· "Σαλώμη Σαλώμη, μὴ ἀναγγεῖλις ὅσα εἶδες παράδοξα ἕως ἔλθῃ ὁ παῖς εἰς Ἱερουσόλημα."

21

1 Καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἰωσήφ ἠτοιμάσθη τοῦ ἐξελεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ θόρυβος ἐγένετο μέγας ἐν Βηθλὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Ἦλθωσαν γὰρ μάγοι λέγοντες· "Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Εἶδομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀστέρα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἦλθαμεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ." 2 Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐταράχθη καὶ ἐπεμψεν ὑπηρέτας πρὸς τοὺς μάγους· καὶ μετεπέμψατο καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ λέγων αὐτοῖς· "Πῶς γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Ποῦ γεννᾶται;" Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· οὕτως γὰρ ἔγραπται." Καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς. Καὶ ἀνέκρινεν τοὺς μάγους λέγων αὐτοῖς· "Τί εἶδετε σημεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν γεννηθέντα βασιλέα;" Καὶ εἶπον οἱ μάγοι· "Εἶδομεν ἀστέρα παμμεγέθη λάμπωντα ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις τούτοις καὶ ἀμβλύναντα αὐτούς, ὥστε τοὺς ἀστέρας μὴ φαίνεσθαι. Καὶ οὕτως ἔγνωμεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἦλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ." Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης· "Ἰτάγετε καὶ ζητήσατε, καὶ ἐὰν εὕρητε ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι, ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ." 3 Καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ μάγοι. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ὃν εἶδον ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ προῆγεν αὐτούς ἕως εἰσῆλθαι ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ καὶ ἔστη ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν¹⁰¹

95 ανομία . . . ἀπιστία B C F H Syr a b Georg; αμαρτία . . . ἀπιστία Arm a b Eth; ανομία αμαρτία A D E (G); ανομία I; ἀπιστία L R

96 πυρὶ Z A E F I; ἐν πυρὶ C; πυρὶ καιομένη B D Syr a b Arm a b Georg; ὡς δαλος πυρὸς καίεται καὶ G H; *om.* L M N R

97 ἀλλὰ ἀποδος με τοῖς πένησιν A B (E) (H) Arm a b Georg; ἀλλὰ ἀποδος με τοῖς γονεῦσι μου Syr a; ἀλλὰ ἀποδος μοι γινῆ την χεῖρα μου C D G; ἀλλὰ ποιήσον μετ' ἐμοῦ το ελεος σου L R; *om.* Syr b

98 ἐπέστη c-p; ἐστή Z C G

99 προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ Y^{vid.}; c-p: *accedo (hoc enim erravi in corde meo) ut adorem puerum* (F G) Syr a (b); *om.* C Arm a b Eth

100 βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη μέγας B H; μέγας ἐγεννήθη βασιλεὺς I (L) R; βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγεννήθη C; οὗτος ἐγεννήθη βασιλεὺς Y Arm a (b) (Eth); βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐγεννήθη A E; βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη οὗτος Syr a (b) Georg; βασιλεὺς οὗτος μέγας ἐγεννήθη F G N

101 ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Z c-p Syr a b Arm a b Georg; ἐπὶ τὴν θυραν M; ἐπ' αὐτῷ A B N Eth; ἐκεῖ F

faithlessness. For I have put the living God to the test, and see, my hand is burning, falling away from me.” (2) She kneeled before the Master and said, “O God of my fathers, remember that I am a descendant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Do not make me an example to the sons of Israel, but deliver me over to the poor. For you know, O Master, that I have performed my services in your name and have received my wages from you.”

(3) And behold, an angel of the Lord appeared and said to her, “Salome, Salome, the Master of all has heard your prayer. Bring your hand to the child and lift him up; and you will find salvation and joy.” (4) Salome joyfully came and lifted the child, saying, “I will worship him, for he has been born as a great king to Israel.” Salome was immediately cured, and she went out of the cave justified. And behold a voice came saying, “Salome, Salome, do not report all the miraculous deeds you have seen until the child enters Jerusalem.”

The Visit of the Magi and the Slaughter of the Innocents

21

(1) And behold, Joseph was ready to go into Judea. But there was a great disturbance in Bethlehem of Judea. For magi came saying, “Where is the king of the Jews? For we saw his star in the east, and we have come to worship him.”³² (2) When Herod heard, he was troubled; and he sent servants to the magi. He then summoned the high priests and asked them in the praetorium, “What does Scripture say about where the messiah is to be born?” They replied, “In Bethlehem of Judea, for that is what is found in Scripture.” He then released them and asked the magi, “What sign did you see concerning the king who has been born?” The magi said, “We saw a magnificent star shining among these stars and overshadowing them, so that the other stars disappeared. And thus we knew that a king had been born in Israel, and we came to worship him.” Herod replied, “Go and look for him. If you find him, let me know, that I too may come to worship him.”

(3) The magi then left, and behold, the star they had seen in the east preceded them until they entered the cave, and it stood over the entrance of

32. Cf. Matt. 2:1–12

του σπηλαίου.¹⁰² Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μάγοι¹⁰³ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας,¹⁰⁴ ἐξέβαλον ἀπὸ τῆς πήρας αὐτῶν δῶρα, χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν.¹⁰⁵ 4 Καὶ χρηματισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, διὰ ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

22

1 Τότε Ἡρώδης ἰδὼν ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων ὀργισθεὶς ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς φονευτὰς λέγων αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν πάντα τὰ βρέφη ἀπὸ διετίας καὶ κάτω.¹⁰⁶
 2 Καὶ ἀκούσασα ἡ Μαρία ὅτι τὰ βρέφη ἀναιρεῖται, φοβηθεῖσα ἔλαβεν τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔβαλεν ἐν πάθῃ βοῶν. 3 Ἡ δὲ Ἐλισάβεδ ἀκούσασα ὅτι Ἰωάνης ζητεῖται, λαβομένη αὐτὸν ἀνέβη ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ· καὶ περιεβλέπετο ποῦ αὐτὸν ἀποκρύψει, καὶ οὐκ ἔνι τόπος ἀποκρυφός. Τότε στενάξασα Ἐλισάβεδ¹⁰⁷ λέγει· "Ὅρος Θεοῦ, δεῦξαι¹⁰⁸ μητέρα μετὰ τέκνου." Οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο ἡ Ἐλισάβεδ ἀναβῆναι.¹⁰⁹ Καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐδιχάσθη τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτήν. Καὶ ἦν τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο διαφαίνον αὐτῇ φῶς·¹¹⁰ ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν αὐτούς.

23

1 Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐζητεῖ τὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὑπηρέτας¹¹¹ πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν λέγων αὐτῷ· "Ποῦ ἀπέκρυψας τὸν υἱόν σου;" Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων αὐτοῖς· "Ἐγὼ λειτουργὸς ὑπάρχω Θεοῦ καὶ προσεδρεύω τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ. Τί γινώσκω ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου;" 2 Καὶ ἀπήλθωσαν οἱ ὑπηρέται αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ πάντα ταῦτα. Καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ἡρώδης

102 του σπηλαιου B I M R: του παιδιου Z C D H Syr a b Arm a b Georg Eth: ου ην το παιδιον A E N: του σπηλαιου ου ην το παιδιον L: om. F

103 μαγοι c-p Syr a b Arm a Georg: add. εστωτα Z E Arm b

104 μαριας rell: add. πεσοντες προσεκυνησαν αυτω και A C D (G H) Syr a b

105 σμυρναν rell: add. και προσηνεγκαν αυτω A B E I Arm b: add. και προσεκυνησαν αυτω F Arm a (Georg)

106 κατω rell: add. τους εν βηθλεεμ (Y?) B D F I R: add. τους εν βηθλεεμ και εν πασι τοις οριοις αυτης N (Arm a) Eth: add. κατα τον χρονον του φαινομενου αστερος ον ηκριβωσε παρα των μαγων G H (N Syr a b)

107 ελισαβεδ Z C E Syr a b d Arm a b: add. φωνη μεγαλη (Y A) c-p Eth

108 δεξαι c-o Syr a b d Arm a b: add. με Z

109 αναβηναι c-p Syr. a: add. δια την δειλιαν Z (Y?) Sah a: add. το ορος δια τον φοβον D

110 και ην το ορος εκεινο διαφαινον αυτη φως Z Y c-p: και ην φως μεγα εν τω ορει εκεινω ωστε φαινειν αυτους A D Syr a b d Arm b: om. Arm a

111 υπηρετας c-p Syr d Eth: add. εν τω θυσιαστηριω Z H: add. εις το θυσιαστηριον κυριου C Arm a b: add. in templum Syr a b Sah a

the cave. The magi saw the child with its mother, Mary, and they took from their packs gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. (4) When they were warned by a revelation from an angel not to enter Judea, they went home another way.

22

(1) When Herod realized that he had been duped by the magi, he grew angry and sent his murderers, saying to them, "Kill every infant, two years and under."³³

(2) When Mary heard that the infants were being killed, out of fear she took her child and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and placed him in a cattle manger.³⁴ (3) But when Elizabeth heard that they were looking for John, she took him and went up into the hill country looking for a place to hide him. But there was no hiding place. Then Elizabeth moaned and said, "Mountain of God, receive a mother with her child." For Elizabeth was not able to climb the mountain. And straight away the mountain split open and received her. And the mountain was shining a light on her, for an angel of the Lord was with them, protecting them.

The Death of Zacharias

23

(1) Herod was looking for John, and he sent servants to Zacharias, saying, "Where have you hidden your son?" He answered them, "I am a minister of God, constantly attending his Temple. How could I know where my son is?"

(2) The servants left and reported everything to Herod. Herod became angry

33. Cf. Matt. 2:16–18.

34. Cf. Luke 2:7.

εἶπεν· "Ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ μέλλει βασιλεύειν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ;" Καὶ ἔπεμψεν πάλιν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας λέγων αὐτῶ· "Εἶπόν μοι τὰ ἀληθῆ· ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς σου; Οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι τὸ αἷμά σου ὑπὸ τὴν χειρᾶν μου ἐστίν;" Καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἱ ὑπηρέται καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῶ ταῦτα. 3 Καὶ εἶπεν Ζαχαρίας· "Μάρτυς εἰμὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ,¹¹² εἰ ἐκχείεις¹¹³ μου τὸ αἷμα. Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμά μου ὁ Δεσπότης δέξεται, ὅτι ἀθῶον αἷμα ἐκχύνεις εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ ναοῦ Κυρίου." Καὶ περὶ τὸ διάφραγμα ἐφονεύθη Ζαχαρίας, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι¹¹⁴ ἐφονεύθη.¹¹⁵

24

1 Ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἱερεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἠπήντησεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ζαχαρίου. Καὶ ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς προσδοκῶντες τὸν Ζαχαρίαν τοῦ ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐν εὐχῇ καὶ δοξάσαι τὸν Ὑψιστον Θεόν. 2 Χρονίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθησαν πάντες. Τολμήσας δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸ ἅγισμα καὶ εἶδεν παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου αἷμα πεπηγὸς καὶ φωνὴν λέγουσαν· "Ζαχαρίας ἐφόνευται, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἕως ἔλθῃ ὁ ἔκδικος." Καὶ ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἃ εἶδεν καὶ ἤκουσεν.¹¹⁶ 3 Καὶ τολμήσαντες εἰσήλθον καὶ εἶδαν τὸ γεγονός. Καὶ τὰ παθνώματα τοῦ ναοῦ ἀλόλυξαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ περιεσχίσαντο ἐπάνωθεν ἕως κάτω. Καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὗρωσαν, ἀλλ' εὗρον τὸ αἷμα¹¹⁷ αὐτοῦ λίθον¹¹⁸ γεγεννημένον. Καὶ φοβηθέντες ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ¹¹⁹ ὅτι Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευται. Καὶ ἤκουσαν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐπένησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκόπαντο τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. 4 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ ἱερεῖς τίνα ἀναστήσουσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ Ζαχαρίου. Καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ κληρὸς ἐπὶ Συμεῶν· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ χρηματισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον ἕως ἂν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἴδῃ.

112 μαρτυς εἰμι του θεου Z c-p Arm b (Sah a): μαρτυς ο θεος οτι ου γνωσκω που εστιν ο υιος μου (B I Eth): *deus testis est quod effudisti sanguinem meum intra limina templi domini (om. the following sentence)* Syr a b d

113 εἰ εκχειεις A (C) D E R: καὶ εαν εκχεητε Arm (a) b Eth: εκχεου H: οτι εκχειει L M: συ μεν ουν εκχειεις B (I): εκχεε N: εκχε Z Sah a (for Syr a b d see preceding note)

114 οτι A E: πως Z C F H Syr a b Arm b Sah b

115 καὶ οὐκ ηδεισαν οἱ υιοι Ἰσραηλ πως εφονευθη Z A C E F H Syr (a) b d Arm b Eth: *om.* B D L R Arm a

116 ηκουσεν *rell.* *add.* ηνεωξεν δε τας πυλας του ναου του κυριου G H Eth

117 αιμα c-p Syr a d Eth: πτωμα Z: σωμα A

118 λιθον Z c-p: ως λιθον B (C) L R Syr a d Arm a

119 παντι τω λαω B (D) H L R: *add.* τω λαω C E: *om.* Z A F Q Syr a d

and said, "His son is about to rule Israel." He sent his servants back to him to say, "Tell me the truth: where is your son? For you know that I can shed your blood with my hand." The servants went to report these things to him. (3) Zacharias responded, "I am God's witness if you shed my blood. For the Master will receive my spirit, since you will be shedding innocent blood in the forecourt of the Lord's Temple."³⁵ Zacharias was murdered around dawn, but the sons of Israel did not know that he was murdered.

24

(1) But the priests came out at the time of greeting, and Zacharias did not come out to meet them with his blessing, as was the custom. The priests stood, waiting to greet Zacharias with a prayer and to glorify the Most High God. (2) When he did not come, everyone grew afraid. One of them took courage, entered the sanctuary, and saw blood congealed beside the altar of the Lord. He then heard a voice, "Zacharias has been murdered, and his blood will not be wiped away until the avenger comes." When he heard this word he was afraid and went outside to report to the priests what he had seen and heard. (3) Taking courage they entered and saw what had happened. The paneling around the Temple cried out and they ripped their clothes from top to bottom. They did not find his corpse, but they found his blood turned to stone. They left in fear, and reported to all the people that Zacharias had been murdered. All the tribes of the people heard and grieved for him, mourning for three days and nights. (4) After three days the priests deliberated whom to appoint in Zacharias's place, and the lot fell to Simeon. For this is the one who learned from a revelation of the Holy Spirit that he would not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.³⁶

35. Cf. Matt. 23:35.

36. Cf. Luke 2:26.

Ἴ Εγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, θορύβου γενναμένου ὅτε ἐτελεύτησεν Ἡρώδης,¹²⁰ συνέστελλον ἑμαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἕως παύσῃται ὁ θόρυβος Ἱερουσαλήμ, δοξάζων τὸν Δεσπότην Θεόν¹²¹ τὸν δόντα μοι τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην. Καὶ ἔσται ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον. Ἀμήν.¹²²

¹²⁰ ηρωδης rell: *add.* πικρῶ θανατῶ G H Syr a b

¹²¹ δεσποτην θεον C F H N: δεσποτην χριστον D G Arm b: θεον D L O P R Syr b: δεσποτην Z A E M Syr a Sah b

¹²² αμην rell: *add.* γενεσις μαριας αποκαλυψις ιακωβ ειρηνη τῶ γραψαντι και τῶ αναγιγνωσκοντι Z

Epilogue

25

(1) But I James, the one who has written this account in Jerusalem, hid myself away in the wilderness when there was a disturbance at the death of Herod, until the disturbance in Jerusalem came to an end. There I glorified God, the Master, who gave me the wisdom to write this account.

(2) Grace be with all those who fear the Lord. Amen.

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The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew

The designation of this Gospel as Pseudo-Matthew is modern, originating with the 1853 edition of Constantine von Tischendorf, who wrongly thought the book's false attribution to the disciple Matthew formed part of the original text. Recent scholarship has shown, however, that the attribution entered into the manuscript tradition centuries after the book itself was composed (Gijssels). For the sake of convenience, however, the now traditional name continues to be used.

The book is a Latin reworking of the (Greek) *Protevangelium Jacobi*, based probably on one or more Latin editions of that work that have long since been lost. There are numerous differences from the *Protevangelium*, in both contents and emphases. In terms of contents, Pseudo-Matthew lacks the account of Joseph's observation of time standing still at the birth of Jesus (ch. 18; lacking in some mss of the *Protevangelium* as well), as well as the entire final section of the *Protevangelium*, which directly concerns neither Mary nor Jesus, but instead describes how John the Baptist and his mother, Elizabeth, were divinely protected from the wrath of Herod, and how his father, the priest Zacharias, was murdered in the Temple (chs. 22–24). In place of these stories, Pseudo-Matthew tells of the holy family's flight to Egypt, during which the infant Jesus performs numerous miracles—taming dragons, lions, and leopards; making a palm tree bend down to deliver its fruit to a famished Mary; causing idols in an Egyptian pagan temple to bow down in worship before him. These were some of the most familiar stories of the Christ child throughout the Middle Ages.

The attribution of the account to Matthew is found only in later versions of the text, in two prefatory letters: one from two bishops, Cromatius and Heliodorus, to the famous scholar and translator Jerome, and the other his response to them. The first letter indicates that the bishops have learned that Jerome had discovered a Hebrew Gospel written by Matthew about the birth of the Virgin Mary and the infancy of Jesus; they would like him to translate it for them into Latin. In his reply Jerome affirms that he does in fact have this Gospel, and that he is translating it so as to counter false claims made about such matters by heretics.

That this correspondence was not originally part of the Gospel has been shown by the most recent full study of the book by Gijssel; the apocryphal letters were tacked on two centuries after the book had been in circulation, in order to authenticate its account by no less a figure than Jerome—whose criticism of the views of the Protevangelium ultimately led to its condemnation in the West. And so, whereas the Protevangelium itself was not (extensively) promulgated in Latin translation, its legacy lived on in the reworking and expansion of Pseudo-Matthew.

Portions of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew were first printed in an edition of the Letters of Jerome by G. A. Bussi in 1468 (Gijssel). But the first scholarly edition of the Gospel was by Thilo in 1832, on the basis of one fourteenth-century and one fifteenth-century manuscript, both at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The former provided the book's title: *Incipit liber de ortu virginis et de infantia Christi* ("Here Begins the Book concerning the Origin of the Virgin and the Childhood of Christ").

The most influential edition until very recent times has been Tischendorf's. In addition to the manuscripts used by Thilo, Tischendorf had access to two others of the fourteenth century. One of them, *Vaticanus lat. 4578* (not 5257 as indicated by Elliott), provided him with his title, *Incipit liber de ortu beatae Mariae et infantia Salvatoris a beato Mattaeo evangelista hebraice scriptus et a beato Hieronymo presbytero in latinum translatus* ("Here Begins the Book concerning the Origin of the Blessed Mary and the Childhood of the Savior, from the Gospel Written by the Blessed Matthew in Hebrew and Translated by the Blessed Elder Jerome into Latin"). This title is what led Tischendorf to call the book "Pseudo-Matthew."

Tischendorf's limited exposure to manuscripts of the book led to one other far-reaching result. Three of his four manuscripts, like many other late manuscripts in the tradition, tacked an additional section onto the narrative, a Latin reworking of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Recognizing that this section must have derived from a different source, Tischendorf labeled it the "altera pars." What he could not have realized was that this "other part" in fact was not an original component of the Gospel, but was added only in some elements of the tradition long after the Gospel itself had been in circulation. Since a version of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas is already translated in this collection, the "altera pars" will not be included here.

The manuscript attestation of the Gospel has increased exponentially since Tischendorf's day. Jan Gijssel provides an exhaustive and compelling analysis in which he examines 187 manuscripts, classifying the great bulk of them (150) into four major family groups, which he labels A, P, Q, and R. Of these, A represents the oldest form of the text, with one notable exception—for, as it turns out, the A manuscripts reproduce the forged correspondence of Jerome. It is the later P group that retains the original beginning of the Gospel, in which

the account is attributed not to Matthew but to James, the brother of Jesus. In other words, the epilogue of the Protevangelium has, in effect, become the prologue of Pseudo-Matthew. Only in later times, with the explicit condemnation of an infancy Gospel allegedly “written by James,” was this prologue suppressed in favor of the forged Jerome correspondence. Since this correspondence was never part of the Gospel itself (it provided its introduction; it was not part of its narrative), the following translation will give the original introduction (from the P recension) followed by the best attested form of the text (the A recension).

The earliest surviving manuscripts of the Gospel date from the early ninth century (Gijssel’s A²a1 was written ca. 820; A³a1 and A¹a2, ca. 850). Gijssel therefore dates the archetype of his family A to around 800 CE and sees the proliferation of manuscripts as deriving from the general reflection on and devotion to Mary during the Carolingian Age. This was also a period that saw a revival of interest in the writings of the “great” church fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, which accounts for the correspondence of Jerome forged, then, at this time, and appended to the Gospel.

There continue to be debates concerning when the Gospel itself was composed. E. Amman produced one of the most influential studies nearly a century ago. Amman’s most significant argument was that one of the distinctive changes that Pseudo-Matthew made to the Protevangelium was the description of Mary’s ascetic existence in the Temple as a child, in which she is said to have devoted herself to prayer and work. This description, Amman argues, is dependent on the Rule of Benedict from the mid-sixth century. Amman, then, dates the Gospel to the end of that century. The problem is that the changes Amman notes could have been made at just about any date after the mid-sixth century. More recently, M. Berthold has argued that Pseudo-Matthew shows evidence of literary dependence on the *Vita Agnetis* of Pseudo-Ambrose, which itself was used in the *De Virginitate* of Aldhelm of Malmesbury in 690 CE. On these grounds, Pseudo-Matthew must obviously date to some time in the mid-seventh century, at the earliest.

In the most thorough analysis to date, Gijssel has maintained that even though direct literary dependence on the Rule of Benedict cannot be demonstrated, there are enough general similarities to suggest that the book was written when monastic orders were beginning to expand in the West, by someone invested in them. Largely on these grounds he makes a convincing argument that the text was produced in the first quarter of the seventh century, by a monk in the Latin-speaking West who was enchanted by the account of the Protevangelium and its potential for conveying homage to Mary as a model virgin embracing the monastic ideal. This author was not well versed in Jewish customs or biblical traditions—there are even more “mistakes” here than in the Protevangelium—and he was not a particularly gifted writer, hence the rough and occasionally slovenly character of the older A recension, in contrast to the later, more refined P.

In reworking his model, the Protevangelium, this pseudonymous author ("James") made numerous changes, great and small (see Klauck, Elliott, and Gijssel). In addition to the major omissions and additions mentioned earlier, the author has minimized references to Jewish customs and practices, even dubious ones, such as Joachim's perusal of the "Book of the Twelve Tribes of Israel," and his later consultation of the "leafed plate of the priest's mitre." Moreover, he made several more plausible narrative claims (Anna is upset after her husband has been gone five months, instead of right away; she gives birth after nine months instead of seven). In addition, he clarified the miraculous nature of Mary's virginal state. She is explicitly stated to have remained a virgin, not just at her conception of Jesus but even after giving birth, as the midwife Salome now explicitly proclaims: "I dared to tempt your virgin, who brought forth the light, and remained a virgin after giving birth" (13:4).

Possibly the most striking differences from the Protevangelium, however, involve Mary's voluntary commitment to a state of virginal purity (so Gijssel). To be sure, in the second-century Protevangelium Mary is and remains a virgin. But that is because of external circumstances: she has been protected by others and has, as a result, never touched a man. Revising the account some five hundred years later, the Latin author of Pseudo-Matthew makes Mary's virginity a matter of deliberate choice and commitment from her earliest years. When the priests in the temple tell her that "God is cherished in children and is worshiped in a posterity, just as has always been among the people of Israel," she replies: "Above all, God is recognized and worshiped through chastity. . . . This is what I learned in the temple of God from my infancy: a virgin can be most precious to God. For that reason I determined in my heart that I would never know a man" (7.1–2). In addition, as we have seen, she is committed to do nothing but pray and work, all day long; and what food she receives she distributes to the poor. Here is a Mary who is the model of the monastic life as practiced in the sixth and seventh centuries in the West.

Not only was Pseudo-Matthew itself popular in such circles for nearly a millennium, its message was spread even further abroad as its reworked stories were themselves edited for incorporation in the eleventh-century *Libellus de nativitate sanctae Mariae* (see Beyers) and by Jacob of Voragine in *The Golden Legend* (written 1260 CE), the most widely read and influential book of the late Middle Ages, down to the Reformation.

The following translation is of Gijssel's A text, used with permission and altered in only a handful of places based on the manuscript evidence.

The manuscript tradition of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew is highly variant. In the apparatus here we have noted only variants that are of special interest (e.g., for interpretation). For an exhaustive discussion of the textual history of Pseudo-Matthew, and a detailed description of the manuscripts and family groups, see Jan Gijssel, *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, pp. 69–275. The following are

the manuscripts cited in the edition for the older of the two major branches of the tradition, Group A, following Gijssel's sigla:

- A—ninth-century ms representing subgroup A^{1a}
- a—reconstruction of the A^{1a} subgroup when ms A represents a variation from it
- b—reconstruction of subgroup A^{1b}
- C—tenth-century ms representing subgroup A^{1c}
- D—eleventh-century ms representing subgroup A^{1d}; extant only for 8.1–15.2
- e—reconstruction of subgroup A^{1c}
- F—fourteenth-century ms representing subgroup A^{1f}; extant only for 1.1–8.5, 12
- G—ninth-century ms representing subgroup A^{2a}
- g—reconstruction of the A^{2a} subgroup when ms G represents a variation from it
- H—twelfth-century ms representing subgroup A^{2b} (and A⁴ⁿ in ch. 13)
- I—ninth-century ms representing subgroup A^{3a}
- j—reconstruction of subgroup A^{3b}
- k—reconstruction of subgroup A^{4a}
- L—twelfth-century ms representing subgroup A^{4c}

NB: In the apparatus, witnesses (either manuscripts or reconstructed subgroups) will be cited only for the variant readings; witnesses not cited (except for the lacunae in D and F) can be taken as supporting the reading of the text. A plus sign (see variant cited at I. 1: A⁺) indicates that the witness cited does not agree with the other manuscripts of its family group; an apostrophe (see variant cited at 4.1, n. 20: j') indicates that some witnesses of the family present a variant that may be original, or that deserves careful consideration. Superscript numerals (e.g., L²) indicate subsequent scribal hands in the manuscript.

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PSEUDO-MATTHAEI EVANGELIUM
(Forma Textus P)

Ego Iacobus filius Ioseph fabri conuersans in timore dei perscripsi omnia quae oculis meis ipse uidi fieri in tempore natiuitatis sanctae Mariae siue saluatoris, gratias agens deo qui mihi dedit sapientiam in historiis aduentus sui, ostendens plenitudinem duodecim tribubus Israel.

1

1 In diebus illis erat uir in Israel nomine Ioachim ex tribu Iuda, et hic erat pastor ouium suarum timens dominum in simplicitate, cui nulla cura erat alia nisi gregum, de quorum fructu alebat omnes timentes deum, duplicia offerens munera in timore dei et doctrina laborantibus et simplicia offerens his qui ministrabant eis.¹ Siue in agnis, siue in haedis, siue in lanis, siue in omnibus rebus suis, de omnibus tres partes faciebat. Vnam partem dabat uiduis, orphanis et peregrinis atque pauperibus, alteram partem colentibus deum, tertiam partem sibi et omni domui suae.

2 Haec autem illi facienti multiplicabat deus greges, ita ut non esset similis illi homo in populo Israel. Haec autem inchoauit facere a quintodecimo anno aetatis suae. Cum esset annorum uiginti accepit Annam filiam Isachar uxorem, ex tribu et genere Dauid, cum qua moratus per annos uiginti filios non excepit.

2

1 Factum est autem ut in diebus festis inter eos qui offerebant incensum domino staret Ioachim, parans munera sua in conspectu domini. Et accedens ad eum scriba templi domini nomine Ruben ait ad eum: Non tibi licet intra sacrificia dei consistere, quia non te benedixit deus ut daret tibi semen in Israel. Passus itaque uerecundiam in conspectu populi, abscessit de templo dei plorans et non est reuersus ad domum suam, sed abiit ad pecora sua et duxit secum pastores inter montes in longinquo, ita ut per quinque² menses nec nuntium de eo audiret uxor eius.

1 eis: ei A⁺ FL

2 quinque: tres L

The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew

Prologue

I, James, son of Joseph the carpenter, who have lived in the fear of God, have carefully recorded everything I have seen with my own eyes that occurred at the time of the birth of the holy Mary and of the Savior. And I give thanks to God, who has given me wisdom to tell the accounts of his advent, and who has shown the fullness of time to the twelve tribes of Israel.

The Wealthy and Pious Joachim

I

1 In those days there was a man in Israel named Joachim, from the tribe of Judah. He was a shepherd of his own sheep, and he feared the Lord with a simple heart. He had no concerns apart from his flocks, from which he would feed all those who feared God, making a double gift to those who labored in the fear of God and in teaching, and making a single gift to those who ministered to them. He used to divide everything into three parts—whether his lambs, his goats, his wool, or anything else he owned. One part he would give to the widows, orphans, sojourners, and the poor; another part to those engaged in serving God; and the third part to himself and his entire household.

2 Because he did these things, God multiplied his flocks, so that there was no one like him among the people of Israel. He began doing these things when he was fifteen years old. When he was twenty he took as his wife Anna, daughter of Isachar, from the tribe and family of David. He lived with her for twenty years, but had no children.

Joachim Goes into Self-Exile

2

1 And it came to pass during the days of the festival that Joachim was standing among those who were offering incense to the Lord, preparing his own gifts in the presence of the Lord. A scribe of the Temple named Ruben approached him and said to him, “You are not allowed to stand among the sacrifices being offered to God, because God has not blessed you by giving you offspring in Israel.” And so, being put to shame in the presence of the people, he left the Temple of God weeping and did not return to his own home, but went off to his flocks. He took his shepherds with him into the mountains far away, so that his wife heard no word from him for five months.

2 Quae dum fleret in oratione sua et diceret: Domine,³ iam quia filios non dedisti mihi, uirum meum quare tulisti a me? Ecce enim quinque⁴ menses fluxerunt et uirum meum non uideo, et nescio ubinam mortuus sit uel⁵ sepulturam eius fecissem. Et dum nimis fleret in uiridario domus suae, in oratione sua eleuans oculos ad dominum uidit nidum passerum in arbore lauri et misit uocem ad dominum cum gemitu et dixit: Domine, deus omnipotens, qui omni creaturae tuae donasti filios, et bestiis et iumentis et repentibus⁶ et piscibus et uolucris, omnes super filios gaudent, me solam a benignitatis tuae dono excludis? Tu nosti, domine, ab initio coniugii hoc uouisse ut, si dedisses mihi filium aut filiam, obtulissem in templo sancto tuo.

3 Et dum ista dicit, ante faciem eius apparuit angelus domini dicens: Noli timere, Anna, quoniam in consilio dei est germen tuum, et quod ex te natum fuerit⁷ dabitur in admirationem⁸ omnibus saeculis usque in finem. Et cum haec dixisset, ab oculis eius elapsus est. Illa autem tremens quod uidisset talem uirtutem⁹ et talem sermonem audisset, ingressa est cubiculum et iactauit se in lectum suum et quasi mortua tota die atque tota nocte in oratione permansit.

4 Post haec uocauit ad se puellam suam et dixit ei: Vides me uiduitatem habentem in angustia et tu nec ingredi ad me uoluisti? Tunc illa in murmure respondens ait: Si conclusit deus uterum tuum et uirum tuum a te abstulit, ego tibi quid factura sum? Et haec audiens Anna amplius flebat.

3

1 In ipso autem tempore apparuit quidam iuuenis inter montes ubi Ioachim pascebat greges suos et dixit ad eum: Quare non reuerteris ad uxorem tuam? Et dixit Ioachim: Per uiginti annos habui eam. Nunc uero, quia deus noluit mihi dare ex ea filios, cum uerecundia de templo dei exprobratus exiui. Vt quid reuertar ad eam semel eiectus? Iam hic ero cum ouibus meis quamdiu me uoluerit uiuere deus. Per manus autem puerorum meorum pauperibus et uiduis et orphanis et colentibus deum partes suas restituiam.

2 Et cum haec dixisset, respondit ei ille iuuenis dicens: Angelus dei ego sum, qui apparui hodie flenti et oranti uxori tuae et consolatus sum eam,

3 Domine: *add.* deus fortissime Israel j

4 quinque: tres L

5 ubinam mortuus sit uel: ubi sit uel mortuus fuisset G H

6 repentibus: reptilibus b: serpentibus C I j k L: reptantibus F

7 est . . . fuerit: germen tuum est. ante quinque enim menses concepisti et nescisti, nunc autem primum scire tibi datur. et quod ex te nascetur F

8 in admirationem: ad imitationem F

9 talem uirtutem: angelum dei b: talem uisionem j

The Promise to Anna

2 As she was weeping in prayer, she said, "Lord, you have already not given me children; why have you taken my husband from me? Behold, five months have passed and I have not seen my husband; I do not know where he might have died or where I should construct his tomb." While she was weeping profusely in the garden of her house, she lifted her eyes in prayer to the Lord and saw a nest of sparrows in a laurel tree. She sent up her voice to the Lord with a sigh and said, "Lord God Almighty, who has given children to all your creatures, to wild animals, beasts of burden, reptiles, fish, and birds—all of whom rejoice over their children: have you excluded me alone from the gift of your bounty? You know, O Lord, that from the beginning of my marriage I vowed that if you would give me a son or daughter, I would offer the child in your holy Temple."¹

3 And while she was speaking, an angel of the Lord appeared before her and said, "Do not fear, Anna, for your offspring is in the plan of God. The child you will bear will be marveled at in all ages, until the end of time." When he said these things, he disappeared from her sight. But she was filled with trembling, having seen such power and having heard such words. She entered her room and threw herself on her bed, and stayed in prayer, as if dead, all day and night.

4 After this she called in her servant and said to her, "You have seen me bereaved and in distress, but you did not even want to come to me?" She replied by murmuring, "If God has closed your womb and taken your husband from you, what can I do for you?" When Anna heard these words, she wept even more.

An Angel Visits Joachim

3

1 At that time a young man appeared in the mountains where Joachim was shepherding his flocks; and he said to him, "Why do you not return to your wife?" Joachim replied, "I have been married to her for twenty years. But now, since God has not wanted to give me children from her, I have come out of the Temple of God in shame, under reproach. Why should I return to her, now that I have been cast out? I will stay here with my sheep, for as long as God wants me to live, but through the hands of my servants I will bestow their portions again to the poor, the widows, the orphans, and those who serve God."

2 When he had said these things, the young man replied to him, "I am an angel of God; today I appeared to your wife, who was weeping and praying,

1. Cf. 1 Sam. 1:11, 28; 2:11.

quam scias ex semine tuo¹⁰ concepisse filiam.¹¹ Haec templum¹² dei erit et spiritus sanctus requiescet in ea, et erit beatitudo super omnes feminas sanctas, ita ut nullus dicat quia fuit talis aliquando ante eam, sed et post eam non erit similis ei. Descende ergo de montibus et reuertere ad coniugem tuam, et inuenies eam habentem in utero.¹³ Excitauit enim deus semen¹⁴ in ea et fecit eam matrem benedictionis aeternae.

3 Et adorans eum Ioachim dixit ei: Si inueni gratiam coram te, sede modicum in tabernaculo meo et benedic seruum tuum. Et dixit illi angelus: Noli dicere te seruum sed conseruum meum. Vnius enim domini serui sumus. Nam cibus meus inuisibilis est, et potus meus ab hominibus mortalibus uideri non potest. Et ideo non debes tu me hoc rogare ut intrem in tabernaculum tuum, sed quod mihi eras daturus offer holocaustum deo. Tunc Ioachim accepit agnum immaculatum et dixit ad angelum: Ego non ausus essem offerre holocaustum deo nisi tua iussio daret mihi pontificium offerendi. Et dixit ei angelus: Nec ego te ad offerendum hortarer nisi uoluntatem domini cognouissem. Factum est autem cum offerret sacrificium, simul cum odore sacrificii quasi cum fumo perrexit ad caelum.

4 Tunc Ioachim cecidit in faciem suam ab hora diei sexta usque ad uesperum. Venientes autem pueri eius et mercenarii, nescientes quae causa esset expauerunt, atque putantes quod ipse uellet se interficere uix eleuauerunt eum. Quibus cum enarrasset et audirent, stupore nimio et admiratione impulsus hortabantur eum ut sine mora iussum angeli perficeret atque uelociter ad suam coniugem remearet. Cumque nutaret Ioachim et animo suo discuteret si reuerti deberet,¹⁵ factum est ut sopore teneretur. Et ecce angelus qui ei apparuerat uigilanti apparuit ei in somno dicens: Ego sum angelus qui a deo tibi datus sum custos. Descende securus et reuertere ad Annam, quia misericordiae quas fecisti tu et uxor tua in conspectu altissimi recitatae sunt. Et tale uobis datum est germen, quale numquam ab initio nec prophetae aut sancti habuerunt neque habituri sunt. Et factum est cum euigilasset Ioachim, uocauit ad se omnes pueros suos et indicauit eis somnium suum. At illi adorauerunt deum et dixerunt: Vide ne ultra contemnas¹⁶ angelum dei. Sed surge, proficiscamur et lento gradu pascentes eamus.¹⁷

5 Cumque per triginta dies ambulantes peruenissent, apparuit Annae in oratione stanti angelus domini dicens ei: Vade ad portam quae uocatur aurea et occure uiro tuo, quoniam ueniet ad te hodie.

10 tuo: *add.* ante quinque menses F

11 filiam: *add.* quod tu nesciens reliquisti eam j

12 templum: in templo j

13 utero: *add.* de quo gratias referas domino et semen eius erit benedictum I j

14 semen: *add.* tuum b

15 cumque ... deberet: *om.* G

16 contemnas: contendas contra F

17 et factum est ... eamus: *om.* G+

and I consoled her. You should know that she has conceived a daughter from your seed. This one will be the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit will rest within her, and she will be blessed above all holy women, so that no one will be able to say that there has ever been anyone like her, nor will there be anyone like her after her. And so go down from the mountains and return to your wife, and you will find her pregnant. For God has animated a seed in her and has made her the mother of an eternal blessing.”

3 Joachim worshiped him and said, “If I have found favor before you, sit for a while in my tent and bless your servant.” The angel said to him, “Do not call yourself a servant, but a fellow servant with me; for we are servants of one Lord. For my food is invisible and my drink cannot be seen by mortals.² For that reason, you should not ask me to enter your tent, but what you were about to give to me, offer up as a burnt offering to God.” Then Joachim took a spotless lamb and said to the angel, “I would not have dared to offer a burnt offering to God if your commandment had not given me the authority to make a priestly offering.” The angel replied to him, “Nor would I have urged you to make an offering, if I did not know the will of the Lord.” Now when Joachim offered the sacrifice, the angel returned to heaven along with the odor of the sacrifice, as if with the smoke.

4 Then Joachim fell on his face from noon until evening. But when his servants and paid workers came, not knowing what had happened, they were frightened; and thinking that he might want to kill himself, they forced him to get up. When they heard his explanation, they were struck with great wonder and astonishment; and they urged him to do as the angel had commanded without delay and to return quickly to his wife. When Joachim wavered and debated within himself whether he should return, he was overpowered by sleep. And behold, the angel who had appeared to him while he was awake appeared to him in a dream, and said, “I am the angel God has given you as a guardian. Go down with confidence and return to Anna, for the compassionate deeds that you and your wife have done have been recited in the presence of the Highest. Such an offspring has been given to you as neither the prophets nor the saints have had from the beginning—nor ever will have.” Then when Joachim awoke, he summoned all of his servants and told them his dream. They then worshiped God and said, “Be careful not to spurn the angel of God any further; but get up; let us go and shepherd the flocks at a slow pace.”

5 When they had arrived, after walking for thirty days, the angel of the Lord appeared to Anna while she was standing in prayer and said to her, “Go to the door that is called ‘golden’ to meet your husband, for he is coming to you today.”

2. Cf. John 4:34.

At illa festinanter perrexit cum puellis suis et coepit in ipsa porta stans orare et diutius exspectare. Et cum longa expectatione deficeret, eleuans oculos suos uidit Ioachim uenientem cum pecoribus suis. Et occurrit Anna et suspendit se in collo eius¹⁸ agens gratias deo et dicens: Vidua eram et ecce iam non sum, sterilis eram et ecce concepi. Et factum est gaudium omnibus notis et affinibus eorum, ita ut uniuersa terra et affines de ista fama gratularentur.

4

¶ Post haec autem expletis mensibus nouem¹⁹ peperit Anna filiam et uocauit nomen eius Mariam. Cum autem tertio anno perlactasset²⁰ eam, abierunt simul Ioachim et Anna uxor eius ad templum domini. Et offerentes hostias domino tradiderunt infantulam suam²¹ Mariam in contubernium uirginum quae die noctue in dei laudibus perseuerabant. Quae cum posita esset ante templum, quindecim gradus templi ita cursim ascendit ut penitus non respiceret neque ut solitum est infantiae parentes requireret. In quo facto omnes stupor tenebat, ita ut ipsi pontifices templi mirarentur.

5

¶ Tunc Anna repleta spiritu sancto in conspectu omnium dixit: Dominus deus exercituum memor factus est uerbi sui, et uisitauit deus populum suum uisitatione sancta sua ut gentes quae insurgabant in nos humiles conuertat ad se cor eorum. Aperuit aures suas ad preces nostras et exclusit a nobis insultationes inimicorum nostrorum. Sterilis facta est mater et genuit exsultationem et laetitiam in Israel. Ecce potero offerre munera domino, et non poterunt me prohibere inimici mei. Dominus enim auertit eos a me et dedit mihi gaudium sempiternum.

6

¶ Erat autem Maria in admirationem omnibus quae, cum trium esset annorum, ita maturo gressu ambulabat et perfectissime loquebatur atque ita in dei laudibus studebat ut non infantula putaretur esse sed magna.

18 occurrit . . . in collo eius: occurrens ei obuiam amplexata est eum L

19 nouem: quattuor F

20 perlactasset: ablactasset A⁺ b j⁺ L²

21 suam: sanctam F

And she went out in haste with her servants and began to pray, standing in the door and waiting for a long time. Just when she was becoming disheartened by her long wait, she raised her eyes and saw Joachim coming with his flocks. Anna ran out to him and hung onto his neck, giving thanks to God and saying, "I was a widow, and behold I am no longer; I was sterile and behold, I have conceived." Then there was joy among all their friends and family, so that the entire land and people from all around rejoiced at this news.

The Birth, Infancy, and Upbringing of Mary

4

1 After these things, when her nine months were completed, Anna brought forth a daughter and named her Mary. When Anna finished nursing her in her third year, Joachim and Anna his wife went up together to the Temple of the Lord. They offered sacrificial victims to the Lord and handed over their little girl Mary to the company of virgins, who continuously praised God, day and night. When she was placed before the Temple, she ascended the fifteen steps of the Temple so quickly that she did not look back at all or seek after her parents, as infants customarily do. When this happened everyone was struck with wonder, so that the priests of the Temple themselves were amazed.

5

1 Then Anna was filled with the Holy Spirit in the presence of all, and she said, "The Lord God of hosts has remembered his word, and God has visited his people with his holy visitation to turn back to himself the hearts of those who have risen up against us, the lowly. He has opened his ears to our prayers and removed from us the insults of our enemies. The one who was sterile has become a mother, and has brought forth exultation and joy in Israel. Behold, I will be able to offer gifts to the Lord, and my enemies will not be able to stop me—for the Lord has turned them away from me and given me an eternal joy."³

6

1 Now everyone stood in admiration of Mary. Even though she was only three years old, she walked with such a firm step and spoke so perfectly and was so devoted to the praise of God that she seemed not to be a little girl but an adult.

3. Cf. 1 Sam. 2:1.

Et quasi iam triginta annorum esset, ita in orationibus insistebat; et splendebat facies eius ut uix potuisset in eius uultum quisquam attendere. Insistebat autem in lanificio, et omnia quae mulieres antiquae facere non poterant, ista in tenera aetate posita explicabat.

2 Hanc autem sibi ipsa regulam statuerat ut a mane usque ad horam tertiam orationibus insisteret, a tertia uero usque ad nonam textrino se in opere occupabat.²² A nona uero hora²³ iterum ab oratione non recedebat usque dum illi dei angelus appareret de cuius manu escam acciperet, et ita melius atque melius in dei timore²⁴ proficiebat. Denique cum a maioribus suis uirginibus in dei laudibus agere docebatur,²⁵ zelo nimio bonitatis satagebat²⁶ ut in uigiliis inueniretur prior, in sapientia legis dei eruditior, in humilitate humilior, in carminibus dauitidis elegantior, in caritate gratiosior, in puritate purior, in omni uirtute²⁷ perfectior. Erat enim constans, immobilis, et quae cotidie melior atque melior transiret.

3 Hanc irascentem nullus uidit, hanc maledicentem numquam ullus audiuit.²⁸ Omnis sermo eius ita erat gratia plenus ut cognosceretur in lingua eius deus. Semper in oratione et scrutatione legis dei permanebat. Et erat sollicita circa socias suas ne aliqua ex eis uel in uno sermone peccaret, ne aliqua in risu exaltaret sonum suum, ne aliqua in iniuriis aut in superbia circa parem suam²⁹ existeret. Sine intermissione benedicebat deum et, ne forte uel in salutatione sua a laudibus domini tolleretur, si quis eam salutaret, illa pro salutatione “Deo gratias” respondebat. Denique ab ipsa primum exiit ut dum se resalutant homines sancti “Deo gratias” dicant. Cotidie autem escam quam de angeli manu accipiebat ipsa tantum reficiebatur, eam uero quam a pontificibus templi consequebatur pauperibus diuidebat. Frequenter uidebant cum ea angelos loqui, et quasi carissimae obtemperabant ei. Si quis autem de infirmantibus tetigisset eam, saluus ab ea eadem hora reuertebatur.

7

1 Tunc Abiathar sacerdos obtulit infinita munera pontificibus ut acciperet eam filio suo tradendam uxorem. Prohibebat autem eos Maria dicens: Non potest

22 a tertia . . . occupabat: *om.* b

23 usque . . . hora: *om.* C

24 timore: amore G H I j k L

25 a maioribus . . . docebatur A b C e F: maiores uirgines suas in dei laude doceret persistere G H: maiores suas uirgines in dei laudibus agere docebatur I: seniores uirgines in dei laudibus agere docebatur j: uidisset maiores suas uirgines in dei laudibus proficere ducebatur k: maiores suas uirgines in dei laudibus proficere prospiceret ducebatur L

26 satagebat: et agebat k L

27 uirtute: perfectione F

28 hanc maledicentem . . . audiuit: *om.* G

29 parem suam: partem suam b e': patrem suam (*sic*) C: patrem suum aut matrem suam j

She dedicated herself to prayer as if she were already thirty years old. Her face shone so brightly that it was barely possible for anyone to look straight at her. She was dedicated to working in wool; and whatever the old women were unable to do, she could untangle, even though she was of such a tender age.

2 Moreover, she established this rule for herself, that she would dedicate herself to prayer from the early morning until nine o'clock; then from nine until three she engaged in weaving. From three o'clock onward, again, she did not stop praying until an angel of God appeared to her and she received some food from his hand. And so she advanced more and more in the fear of God. Finally, when she was trained by the older virgins to offer praise to God, she was energized by such a zeal for goodness that she was found to be the first at the vigils, more learned in the wisdom of the law of God, more deeply humble, more elegant in singing the songs of David, more generous in giving, more pure in heart, and more perfect in every virtue. For she was stable and unmoveable; and she daily progressed, becoming better and better.

3 No one saw her irritated; never did anyone hear a word of abuse from her. Her every word was so full of grace that God could be detected in her speech. She always persevered in prayer and the study of the law of God. And she was anxious for her companions, lest any of them should sin even through a single word, lest any raise her voice in laughter, lest any should be hurtful or proud toward a companion. She blessed God without ceasing; and in order to avoid being drawn from her praise of the Lord even when meeting someone, she would respond to one who greeted her with the words, "Thanks be to God." And so it was from her that the saints first acquired the habit of greeting one another by saying, "Thanks be to God." Every day she was refreshed only by the food she received from the hand of an angel, and what she received from the priests of the Temple she gave to the poor. Angels were frequently seen speaking with her, and they attended to her as to a most esteemed loved one. And any sick person who touched her was immediately restored to health by her.

Mary's Commitment to Chastity

7

1 At that time, the priest Abiathar offered countless gifts to the priests that he might take Mary for his son as a wife. But Mary forbade them by saying, "It is not possible

fieri ut ego cognoscam uirum aut uir cognoscat me. Et dicebant ei pontifices et omnes affines eius: Deus in filiis colitur et in posteris adoratur sicut semper fuit in populo Israel. Et respondens Maria dicebat eis: Deus in castitate³⁰ primo omnium probatur et adoratur.

2 Nam ante Abel nullus fuit iustus inter homines. Et iste pro oblatione placuerat deo, ab eo qui displicuit inclementer³¹ occisus est. Duas tamen coronas accepit, oblationis et uirginitatis, quia nullam in sua carne pollutionem admisit. Denique et Heliam ideo cum esset in carne assumpsit, quia carnem suam uirginem³² custodiuit. Haec ergo in templo dei didici ab infanzia mea quod satis cara deo possit esse uirgo,³³ et ideo hoc statui in corde meo ut uirum penitus non cognoscam.

8

1 Factum est autem ut quattuordecim annos aetatis acciperet et esset occasio qua Pharisei dicerent, iam pro consuetudine feminea in templo dei illam morari³⁴ non posse. Et inuentum est tale consilium ut mitteretur praeco per totas tribus Israel ut omnes die tertia ad templum domini conuenirent. Cum autem uniuersus populus conuenisset, surrexit Isachar pontifex et ascendit in altiores gradus ut ab omni populo audiri et uideri potuisset. Factoque magno silentio dixit: Audite me, filii Israel, et auribus percipite uerba mea. Ex quo templum istud a Salomone aedificatum est fuerunt in eo regum filiae³⁵ et prophetarum et summorum sacerdotum et pontificum, et magnae ac mirabiles exstiterunt. Tamen uenientes ad legitimam aetatem uiros ad coniugium adeptae sunt, et secutae priorum suorum ordinem et domino placuerunt. A sola Maria nouus ordo³⁶ inuentus est quae promittit deo se uirginem permanere.³⁷ Vnde uidetur mihi ut interrogatione nostra et responso dei agnoscere studeamus cui debeat custodienda committi.

2 Tunc placuit iste sermo omni synagoga et missa est sors a sacerdotibus super duodecim tribus, et cecidit sors super tribum Iuda,³⁸ et admonuerunt omnes tribum Iuda dicentes ut sequenti die quicumque sine uxore est ueniat et

30 castitate: caritate j'

31 inclementer: innocens C: *om.* G H

32 carnem suam uirginem: uirginitatem in carnem suam C

33 quod satis cara deo possit esse uirgo g: *om.* A b C e F: quod satis caro possit esse uirgo G+: quod deo satis cara possit esse uirginitas H: pro satis caro possit esse uirgo I: quod deo cara possit esse uirgo j: quod satis cara possit esse deo uirgo k: quod satis cara possit esse deo uirginitas L

34 morari (F) H I j k L: orare A b C (D) e (F) j': orari G

35 regum filiae: *add.* uirgines j

36 ordo k L: *add.* tacendi A b C D F G H I: *add.* uiuendi e j'

37 permanere: custodire G H

38 et cecidit ... Iuda H j k L: *om.* A b C D e F G I

for me to know a man or for a man to know me.” The priests and all her family said to her, “God is cherished in children and is worshiped in a posterity, just as has always been among the people of Israel.” Mary responded by saying, “Above all, God is recognized and worshiped through chastity.”

2 “For before Abel, no human was just before God. He pleased God through his sacrifice; and he was violently murdered by the one who was displeasing to God.⁴ But he received two crowns—one for his sacrifice and the other for his virginity—because he allowed no pollution to enter his flesh. Then Elijah, for the same reason, was taken up to heaven while in his flesh, because he kept his flesh virgin.⁵ Thus, this is what I learned in the Temple of God from my infancy: a virgin can be most precious to God. For that reason I have determined in my heart that I will never know a man.”

Joseph Is Chosen as Mary's Guardian

8

1 Then Mary reached the age of fourteen. On this occasion the Pharisees said, “Now that the way of women has come upon her, she can no longer stay in the Temple.” They came up with a plan to send a herald to all the tribes of Israel, so that everyone should convene at the Temple of the Lord on the third day. When all the people had convened, Isachar the high priest rose up and climbed to the highest step so that he could be heard and seen by all the people. When there was a great silence, he spoke: “Hear me, children of Israel, and give ear to my words. Since the day this Temple was constructed by Solomon, there have lived in it daughters of kings, of prophets, of chief priests, and of high priests—women known to be both great and admirable. Nonetheless, when they reached the legal age, they have taken men in marriage, followed the custom of their predecessors, and so pleased the Lord. But to Mary alone has a new arrangement appeared, since she has vowed to God to remain a virgin. For this reason, it seems to me that we should seek to learn to whom she should be given as her guardian, by asking God and awaiting his answer.”

2 This word pleased the entire assembly, and a lot was cast by the priests over the twelve tribes, and the lot fell on the tribe of Judah. They all then admonished the tribe of Judah, telling them that everyone who did not have a wife was to come on the following day and

4. Gen. 4:1–16.

5. Cf. 2 Kings 2:11–12.

deferat uirgam in manu sua. Vnde factum est ut Ioseph cum iuuenibus senior deferret uirgam. Cumque tradidissent pontifici uirgas suas, obtulit sacrificium deo et interrogauit dominum, et dixit ad eum dominus: Intromitte omnium uirgas intra sancta sanctorum et ibi maneant omnium uirgae, et praecipe eis ut mane ueniant ad te ad recipiendas uirgas suas. Ex cacumine unius uirgae egredietur columba et uolabit ad caelos. In cuius manu uirga reddita hoc dederit signum, ipsi trade Mariam custodiendam.

3 Factum est autem ut altera die maturius uenirent uniuersi, et facta oblatione incensi ingressus pontifex sancta sanctorum protulit uirgas. Cumque erogasset singulis et ex nulla uirga exisset columba, induit se Abiathar pontifex duodecim tintinnabulis sacerdotii,³⁹ et ingressus sancta sanctorum incendit sacrificium et effudit illic orationem. Apparuit autem angelus et dixit ei: Est hic uirgula breuissima quam pro nihilo computasti et non illam cum ceteris protulisti. Hanc tu cum protuleris et dederis, ipsa demonstrabit signum quod locutus sum tibi. Erat autem haec uirga Ioseph pro abiecto habita, quoniam senex erat et non posset accipere eam, sed nec ipse requirere uoluit uirgam suam. Cumque staret ultimus et humilis, uoce magna clamauit eum Abiathar pontifex dicens: Veni et accipe uirgam tuam, quoniam tu exspectaris. Et accessit Ioseph expauescens quod summus pontifex cum clamore nimio eum uocasset. Mox autem ut extendit manum suam et uirgam accepit, statim de cacumine uirgae est egressa columba niue candidior, speciosa nimis, et uolans diu per templi fastigium caelos petiit.

4 Tunc uniuersus populus congratulabantur seni dicentes: Beatus factus es in senectute ut deus te idoneum ostenderet ad accipiendam Mariam.⁴⁰ Cum autem sacerdotes dicerent ei: Accipe eam, quia ex omni tribu tua tu solus electus es a deo, coepit adorare et⁴¹ rogare⁴² eos Ioseph atque cum uerecundia dicere: Senex sum et filios habeo;⁴³ ut quid mihi istam traditis infantulam, aetate neptem⁴⁴ meam, et quae minor sit iam nepotibus meis? Tunc Abiathar summus pontifex ait: Memor es, Ioseph,⁴⁵ quemadmodum Dathan et Choreb et Abiron perierunt, quoniam uoluntatem domini contempserunt. Ita et tibi eueniet, si hoc quod tibi a deo iubetur fortiter contempseris. Et dixit ei Ioseph: Ego quidem non contemno uoluntatem dei, sed custos eius ero quousque et hoc de uoluntate dei cognosci possit, quis possit eam habere ex filiis meis⁴⁶

39 sacerdotii: sacerdotales (*sic*) C: et uestem sacerdotalem I j; et ueste sacerdotali j'; et iura sacerdotii k L: et mitra sacerdotii k': *om.* G H

40 Mariam: uirginem Mariam I j

41 adorare et: *om.* L

42 et rogare: *om.* D

43 et filios habeo: *om.* L

44 neptem b e F G H j k L: nepotem A C (D) I j'

45 ait: memor es, Ioseph: ait ad Ioseph: cur tanta persequeris? memento D

46 ex filiis meis: *om.* L

bring a branch in his hand. This is how it came about that Joseph, even though he was an old man among youngsters, brought a branch. When they handed their branches over to the high priest, he made a sacrifice to God and inquired of the Lord. And the Lord said to him, "Bring everyone's branches into the holy of holies, and let everyone's branch remain there. And instruct them to come to you in the morning in order to receive their branches. From the tip of one of the branches a dove will emerge and fly up to heaven. Whoever is holding the branch that has produced this sign should be given to Mary as her guardian."⁶

3 It happened that very early on the next day, everyone came together; and after making an offering of incense, the high priest entered the holy of holies and brought out the branches. When he distributed them to each one, no dove emerged from any of the branches. Then Abiathar the high priest put on his priestly robe with twelve bells, entered the holy of holies, burned a sacrifice, and poured forth a prayer. An angel appeared and said to him, "Here is a very short branch which you counted as nothing and did not bring out with the others. When you bring it out and give it away, it will reveal the sign that I told you." This was the branch that Joseph had held, which had been considered worthless, since he was an old man and was not able to take Mary; nor did he want to ask for his branch. And since he stood at the very back of the crowd, humbly, the high priest Abiathar called out with a great voice and said, "Come and take your branch, for we are waiting for you." Joseph went up full of fear, since the high priest called him with a very loud voice. And just as he reached out his hand and took the branch, immediately from the tip of the branch a dove emerged, brighter than snow, very beautiful, and after flying a long time around the top of the Temple, it went up to the heavens.

4 Then all the people congratulated the old man, saying, "You have been blessed in your old age, for God has shown you worthy to receive Mary." But when the priests said to him, "Receive her, because from all your tribe, you alone have been chosen by God," Joseph began to entreat and ask them, speaking out of shame, "I am an old man and I have sons; why are you handing this little girl over to me? She is my granddaughter's age and is younger than my grandsons." Then Abiathar the high priest said, "Remember, Joseph, how Dathan, Core, and Abiron perished when they despised the will of the Lord. So also it will happen to you, if you insist on despising what God has commanded you."⁷ Joseph said to him, "Indeed, I do not despise the will of God, but I will be her guardian until this too can be learned from the will of God—which of my sons is able to have her

6. Cf. Num. 17:1–9.

7. Cf. Num. 16:1, 31–33.

coniugem. Dentur aliquae ex sodalibus eius⁴⁷ uirgines cum quibus interim degat. Et respondit Abiathar pontifex dicens: Virgines quidem ad solatium eius dabuntur quousque dies statutus ueniat in quo tu eam accipias. Non enim poterit alteri in matrimonium copulari.^{48, 49}

5 Tunc Ioseph accepit Mariam cum aliis quinque uirginibus quae essent cum ea in domo Ioseph. Erant autem istae Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea et Zahel, quibus datum est a pontifice sericum et iacinctum et coccum et byssum et purpura et linum. Miserunt autem sortes inter se quae uirgo quid faceret. Et sic factum est ut Mariae contingeret purpuram nendam accipere ad uelum templi domini. Et dum acciperet, dixerunt illae uirgines: Cum sis ultima et humilis, purpuram obtinere meruisti? Et haec dicentes in fatigationis sermone coeperunt eam reginam uirginum⁵⁰ appellare. Cumque haec agerent inter se, apparuit angelus in medio earum et dixit: Non erit iste sermo inemissus,⁵¹ sed in praeuaticinatione uerissima prophetatis. Expauerunt autem in aspectu angeli et in uerbis eius et rogare coeperunt Mariam ut indulgeret eis et oraret pro illis.

9

1 Altera autem die Maria dum staret iuxta fontem ut urceolum impleret, apparuit ei angelus et dixit ei: Beata es, Maria, quoniam in mente tua deo habitaculum praeparasti. Ecce ueniet lux de caelo ut in te habitet et per te uniuerso mundo resplendeat. Item tertio die dum operaretur purpuram digitis suis, ingressus est ad eam iuuenis cuius pulchritudo non potuit enarrari. Hunc uidens Maria expauit et contremuit. Cui ille ait: Noli timere, Maria, inuenisti gratiam ante deum. Ecce concipies et paries regem⁵² qui imperat non solum in terra sed et in caelis⁵³ et regnabit in saecula saeculorum.

10

1 Cum haec agerentur, Ioseph in Capharnaum maritima erat in opere occupatus, erat enim faber ligni, ubi moratus est mensibus nouem. Reuersus itaque in domum suam inuenit praegnantem et totus contremuit, et positus in angustia exclamauit et dixit: Domine, domine, accipe spiritum meum, quoniam melius est mihi mori magis quam uiuere.

47 ex sodalibus eius: *om.* L

48 et respondit ... copulari: *om.* L

49 non ... copulari: *om.* b

50 uirginum: *om.* C

51 inemissus A b e I k: inanis C: a deo emissus D: intermissus F: in me missus G: immissus H: in fatigationem missus j: in nissus L

52 regem: filium g

53 non solum ... in caelis: in caelo et in terra et in abyso D

as a wife. Let several virgins from among her companions be given over for her to spend time with in the meanwhile.” Abiathar the high priest responded, “Indeed virgins will be given to comfort her until the day arrives that has been fixed for you to receive her. For she cannot be united to another in marriage.”

5 Then Joseph received Mary into his home, along with the five other virgins who were to be with her, namely Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Zahel. The high priest gave them silk, hyacinth, scarlet, flax, purple, and linen. They cast lots among themselves to see what each virgin should do. And this is how it happened that Mary came to receive the purple, to weave for the curtain in the Temple of the Lord. And when she received it, the virgins said, “You are the youngest and from humble origins: how have you deserved to get the purple?” And when they said this, they began to call her, in derision, “Queen of Virgins.” But while they were acting this way among themselves, an angel appeared in their midst and said to them, “This word will not be spoken in vain; for you have made the truest prophecy.” Terrified by the appearance of the angel and by his words, they began to ask Mary to forgive them and to pray for them.

The Annunciation

9

1 On the next day while Mary was standing beside the fountain to fill her small pitcher, an angel appeared to her and said, “You are blessed, Mary, for you have prepared a dwelling place for God in your spirit. Behold, a light will come from heaven in order to dwell in you, and through you it will enlighten all the world.” Likewise on the third day while she was working the purple with her fingers, a young man of indescribable beauty came in to her. When Mary saw him she was afraid and began to tremble. He said to her, “Do not fear, Mary; you have found favor with God.⁸ Behold, you will conceive and bring forth a king who will rule not only on earth but also in heaven; and he will reign forever and ever.”

Joseph Discovers Mary's Condition

10

1 While these things were happening, Joseph was in Capernaum beside the sea, occupied with his work, for he was a carpenter. He had stayed there for nine months. And so, when he returned to his house, he found Mary pregnant and he began to tremble all over; and out of anguish he cried out and said, “Lord, Lord, receive my spirit, for it is better for me to die than to live.”

8. Luke 1:28.

Cui dixerunt illae uirgines quae cum Maria erant: Nos scimus⁵⁴ quia uir numquam tetigit eam.⁵⁵ Nos scimus⁵⁶ quia integritas⁵⁷ et uirginitas in ea immaculata perseuerans custodita est. Semper in deo, semper in oratione permansit. Cotidie cum ea angelus domini loquitur, cotidie de manu angeli escam accipit. Quomodo potest fieri ut sit aliquod peccatum in illa? Nam si suspicionem nostram tibi uis ut pandamus, istam grauidam non fecit nisi angelus dei.

2 Ioseph dixit: Quid seducitis me ut credam uobis quia angelus dei eam impraegnavit? Potest fieri ut quicumque finxerit se angelum et deceperit⁵⁸ eam. Et haec dicens flebat et dicebat: Qua fronte ad templum dei iturus sum? Qua facie uisurus sum sacerdotes dei? Quid facturus sum? Et haec dicens cogitabat occultare se et⁵⁹ dimittere eam.

11

1 Cumque ordinasset ut nocte exsurgeret et fugiens abiret, ecce ipsa nocte⁶⁰ apparuit ei in somnis angelus domini dicens: Ioseph, fili Dauid, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam, quoniam quod in utero eius est de spiritu sancto est. Pariet autem filium qui uocabitur Iesus; ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Exurgens autem Ioseph a somno gratias egit deo suo et locutus est Mariae et uirginibus quae erant cum ea et enarrauit uisum, et consolatus est super Mariam dicens: Peccaui quoniam suspicionem aliquam habui in te.

12

1 Factum est autem ut hic rumor exiret quod Maria esset grauida, et comprehensa a ministris templi et Ioseph,^{61, 62} perducti sunt ad pontificem, qui una cum sacerdotibus coepit ei exprobrare: Vt quid fraudatus exstitisti tantam uirginem, quam angelus dei sicut columbam in templo domini nutriebat,⁶³ quae uirum numquam nec uidere uoluit, quae in lege domini eruditionem optimam habuit? Tu autem nisi illi uiolentiam fecisses,

54 scimus: certe scimus L

55 nos scimus . . . eam: *om.* A b C D e

56 scimus: pro certo scimus D

57 integritas: mentis integritas G H

58 potest . . . deceperit: in uerbo deceperit D

59 occultare se et: se C

60 ut nocte . . . ipsa nocte: ecce ipsa ut nocte exsurgeret et fugiens abiret nocte I*

61 et comprehensa . . . Ioseph: tunc comprehensi sunt a ministris templi Maria et Ioseph C: et comprehensa est beata Maria et Ioseph a ministris templi et D

62 Ioseph: ipsa et Ioseph L

63 angelus . . . nutriebat: angeli . . . nutrierunt K L

The virgins who were with Mary said to him, “We know that no man has ever touched her. We know that innocence and virginity have been constantly kept immaculate in her. She has always abided in God, always in prayer. Daily an angel of the Lord speaks with her; daily she receives food from the hand of an angel. How could there be any sin in her? If you want us to lay out our suspicion to you—no one but an angel of God has made her pregnant!”

2 Joseph said, “Why are you misleading me, making me believe you, that an angel of God has made her pregnant? It could be that someone disguised himself as an angel and seduced her.” When he said this he wept and said, “How will I be able to approach the Temple of God? How can I see the priests of God? What am I to do?” And when he said these things he thought he should go into hiding and send her away.

11

1 When he had decided to rise up at night and flee from home, behold, in that night an angel of the Lord appeared to him in his sleep and said, “Joseph, son of David, do not fear to take Mary as your wife, for the child that is in her is from the Holy Spirit. She will bear a son who will be named Jesus; for he will save his people from their sins.”⁹ Rising from his sleep Joseph gave thanks to his God and spoke to Mary and the virgins who were with her, and he told them his vision. And feeling relieved about Mary, he said, “I have sinned, for I held you in some suspicion.”

Mary and Joseph Put on Trial

12

1 Now the rumor spread that Mary was pregnant, and she was arrested by the ministers of the Temple, along with Joseph; and they were taken to the high priest. Together with the priests he began to reproach Joseph, “Why have you wronged this virgin, who is so great and respected that an angel of God used to feed her like a dove in the Temple of the Lord? She never even wanted to see a man, and she was so learned in the law of the Lord! If you had not done her violence,

9. Matt. 1:20–21.

illa hodie uirgo perseuerasset. Qui deuotabat se iurans quod numquam penitus eam tetigisset. Cui Abiathar pontifex dixit: Viuit dominus, quoniam modo te faciam potare aquam potationis domini et statim apparebit peccatum tuum.⁶⁴

2 Tunc congregata est omnis multitudo quae dinumerari non poterat⁶⁵ et adducta est etiam Maria ad templum domini. Et flentes sacerdotes et parentes eius et affines eius dicebant ad Mariam: Confitere sacerdotibus peccatum tuum, quae eras sicut columba in tempo dei et accipiebas cibum de manu angeli. Vocatus est autem Ioseph ad altare sursum et data est ei potationis aqua, quam qui gustasset mentiens⁶⁶ et septies circuisset altare dabat signum aliquod in facie eius. Cum ergo bibisset securus Ioseph et girasset septies, nullum signum peccati apparuit in eo. Tunc sanctificauerunt eum omnes sacerdotes et ministri et populi dicentes: Beatus es tu, quoniam non est inuentus reatus in te.

3 Et uocantes Mariam dixerunt ei: Tu quam excusationem afferre poteris, aut quod signum maius apparebit in te quam hoc quod prodidit te conceptus uteri tui? Hoc solum a te requirimus ut, quia Ioseph mundus est a te, confitere quis est qui deceperit te. Melius enim est ut te tua professio prodat quam ira domini dans signum in facie tua et in medio populi⁶⁷ te manifestet. Tunc Maria constanter intrepida dixit:⁶⁸ Si est in me aliqua pollutio aut aliquod peccatum aut fuit aliqua concupiscentia,⁶⁹ detegat dominus me in conspectu omnium populorum⁷⁰ ut possim emendari ab omnibus emendationis exemplo. Et accessit ad altare domini et accepit aquam potationis et gustauit circuiuitque septies, et non est inuentum nec signum nec uestigium alicuius peccati in ea.

4 Et cum omnis populus stupelet uidentes conceptum uentris, coeperunt inter se populi uaria⁷¹ loquacitate turbari. Alius dicebat sanctitatem,⁷² alius uero mala conscientia accusabat. Tunc Maria uidens suspicionem populi quod non ex integro fuisset purgata, omnibus audientibus uoce clara dixit: Viuit dominus omnium exercituum ante cuius conspectum sto, quoniam uirum numquam cognoui, sed neque cognoscere ab ineunte aetate mea ante definiui.⁷³ Et hoc deo meo uotum feci ab infantia mea ut in ipsius qui me creauit integritate permaneam, in quo me confido ipsi soli uiuere et ipsi soli seruire et ipsi soli sine aliqua pollutione quamdiu uiuero permanere.

64 tuum: *add.* in conspectu omnium D

65 quae . . . poterat: *om.* L

66 mentiens: adulter D: metuens e' L: *om.* C

67 populi: templi G H

68 dixit: *add.* domine deus rex omnium qui es conscius secretorum L

69 concupiscentia: *add.* peccati in me D: *add.* impudicitiae k L

70 populorum: *add.* et si hic egi non denegat turpitudinem tuam deus (*sic*) D

71 uaria H k L: uana A b C e G I j: una D

72 sanctitatem e k: sanctitate A b C D G H I j: sanctam et immaculatam L

73 cognoscere . . . definiui: cognoscere cupio ab ineunte mea usque dum finem percipiam C

she would have remained a virgin to this day.” But Joseph swore a solemn oath that he had never even touched her. Abiathar the high priest then said to him, “As the Lord lives, now I will make you drink the water of the Lord’s drinking, and your sin will immediately be revealed.”¹⁰

2 Then the entire multitude, greater than could be numbered, gathered together; and Mary was again brought to the Temple of the Lord. The priests, her parents, and her relatives were weeping and saying to Mary, “Confess your sin to the priests! You were like a dove in the Temple of God, and you received food from the hand of an angel!” But Joseph was summoned to the high altar and was given the “water of drinking.” If a liar tastes this water, and then goes around the altar seven times, God gives a certain sign in his face. When, therefore, Joseph drank confidently, and went around seven times, no sign of sin appeared in him. Then all the priests and ministers and people declared that he was pure, saying “You are blessed, because no guilt has been found in you.”

3 They called Mary and said to her, “What excuse are you able to give? Or what greater sign can appear in you besides what is already clearly seen, that you have conceived a child in your womb? This is all we ask of you: since Joseph is pure with respect to you, confess who has seduced you. For it is better for you to admit what you have done than to have the Lord’s anger expose you through a sign on your face, in full public view.” Then Mary said, with firm conviction, “If there is any stain on me, or any sin, or if any lustful act has been committed, let the Lord unmask me before all the people, so that I can be corrected by all as an example of correction.” She then went up to the altar of the Lord and received the “water of drinking.” After tasting it she walked around seven times, and no sign or trace of any sin was found in her.

4 When the entire crowd was amazed—for it saw her pregnant belly—it began to be disturbed, everyone saying different things at once. One said she was holy, another accused her of having a bad conscience. Then Mary, seeing that the crowd was suspicious that she had not been entirely vindicated, spoke with a clear voice to all who would listen: “As the Lord of all hosts lives, in whose presence I stand, I have never known a man; indeed, I decided long ago, while still a young child, never to know one. And this is the vow I made to God from my childhood, that I would remain in the purity of the one who created me. By this vow I am confident that I will live for him alone, and serve him alone, and abide in him alone, without any pollution, as long as I live.”

10. Cf. Num. 5:11–31.

5 Tunc omnes osculabantur genua eius rogantes eam ut daret malis suspicionibus eorum indulgentiam. Et deduxerunt eam omnis populus et sacerdotes et omnes uirgines cum exultatione et gaudio usque in domum suam, clamantes et dicentes ei: Sit nomen domini benedictum qui manifestauit sanctitatem tuam⁷⁴ uniuersae plebi Israel.

13

1 Factum est autem post aliquantum temporis cum facta esset professio ex edicto Caesaris Augusti ut properaret unusquisque in patriam suam. Haec professio prima facta est sub praeside Syriae Cyrino, et necesse fuit ut Ioseph cum Maria proficisceretur in Bethleem, quia erat Ioseph et Maria de tribu Iuda et de domo et patria Daud. Cum ergo Ioseph et Maria irent per uiam quae ducit ad Bethleem, dixit Maria ad Ioseph: Duos populus uideo ante me, unum flentem et alium gaudentem. Cui respondit Ioseph dicens: Sede et tene iumentum et noli uerba superflua mihi loqui. Tunc apparuit puer speciosus ante eos indutus ueste splendida et dixit ad Ioseph: Quare dixisti uerba esse superflua de duobus populis quod audisti? Nam populum Iudaeorum uidit flentem quia recessit a deo, et gentium populum gaudentem respexit quia accessit ad dominum, quod promisit patribus uestris⁷⁵ Abraham et Isaac et Iacob. Tempus enim aduenit ut in semine Abrahae benedictio omnibus gentibus tribuatur.

2 Et cum haec dixisset, iussit stare iumentum,⁷⁶ et praecepit descendere de animali Mariam et ingredi in speluncam in qua semper tenebrae erant, quia lucem diei⁷⁷ penitus non habebat. Sed in ingressu Mariae coepit tota spelunca splendorem habere nimium, et quasi⁷⁸ sol inesset, ita tota coepit fulgorem lucis ostendere, et quasi esset ibi hora diei sexta,⁷⁹ ita eandem speluncam lux diuina illustrabat. Quae lux non defecit nec in die nec in nocte, quamdiu ibi Maria peperit masculum, quem circumdederunt nascentem angeli, et natum super pedes suos⁸⁰ statim adorauerunt eum dicentes: Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis.

3 Et inueniens⁸¹ Ioseph Mariam cum infante quem genuerat dixit ad eam: Ego Zaelem⁸² tibi obstetricem adduxi quae ecce foris ante speluncam stat, quia prae splendore nimio huc non potest introire.

74 tuam D e' H j' k L: suam A b C e G I j

75 uestris A (b) C D I k L: nostris (b) e G H j

76 iumentum: angelus iumentum quia tempus aduenit pariendi j

77 diei: die C

78 et quasi . . . tota: ita enim A b C e

79 quasi . . . sexta: om. L

80 super pedes suos: om. A b C D e G H

81 et inueniens: iam enim dudum perrexit Ioseph ad quaerendam obstetricem. qui dum eam inuenisset, reuersus est ad speluncam et inueniens j

82 Zaelem: talem C: Ra(c)helem I j

5 Then everyone began kissing her knees, asking her to forgive their evil suspicions. And all the crowd, along with the priests and all the virgins, led her home with exaltation and joy, crying out and saying to her, "May the name of the Lord be blessed, for he has revealed your holiness to all the people of Israel."

The Journey to Bethlehem

13

1 And then, after some time, a census was ordered by an edict of Caesar Augustus, so that everyone had to hurry to their native land.¹¹ This census was the first made while Cyrinus was the governor of Syria, and it compelled Joseph to go with Mary to Bethlehem, because Joseph and Mary were from the tribe of Judah and from the house and ancestry of David. While, therefore, Joseph and Mary were going on the road that led to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph: "I see two peoples before me, one weeping and the other rejoicing." Joseph responded to her, "Sit and hold onto the donkey, and do not speak any unnecessary words to me." Then a beautiful child appeared before them, dressed in bright clothing; and he said to Joseph, "Why do you say that these words that you have heard about the two peoples are unnecessary? For she has seen the Jewish people weeping because they are moving away from God, and she has observed the gentile people rejoicing, because they are coming to the Lord, as he promised to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For the time is coming when in the seed of Abraham the blessing will be bestowed on all people."

2 When he said these things, he commanded the donkey to stop and he instructed Mary to come down from the animal and to enter a cave which had always been dark, since it had never seen the light of day. But when Mary entered, the entire cave began to shine with great splendor. It was as if the sun were inside, so the whole cave began to produce a brilliant light; and it was like noontime inside, so the divine light lit up that cave. This light did not diminish day or night, until Mary brought forth a son, whom the angels surrounded at birth. And once he was born and standing firmly on his feet, they worshiped him, saying, "Glory to God in the highest and on earth, peace among people of good will."¹²

Mary Is Inspected by the Midwives

3 When Joseph found Mary with the infant she had borne, he said to her, "I have brought Zahel, a midwife, to you. Look, she is standing outside the entrance to the cave, unable to enter because of the great brightness."

11. Luke 2:1.

12. Luke 2:14.

Audiens Maria subrisit. Ioseph autem dixit ad eam: Noli subridere, sed cauta esto ut inspiciat te, ne forte indigeas medicina eius. Et iussit eam Maria introire ad se. Cumque permisisset se Maria scrutari, clamauit uoce magna obstetrix et dixit: Domine magne, miserere. Adhuc hoc numquam nec auditum nec in suspicione habitum⁸³ est ut mamillae plenae sint lactis et natus masculus uirginem suam matrem ostendat. Nulla pollutio sanguinis facta est in nascente, nullus dolor in pariente apparuit. Virgo⁸⁴ peperit et postquam peperit uirgo esse perdurat.

4 Audiens hanc uocem obstetrix nomine Salome dixit: Plane hoc ego non credam nisi forte probauero. Et ingressa Salome ad Mariam dixit ei: Patere tu conspici a me ut cognoscam si uerba Zahel⁸⁵ uera sunt quae indicauit mihi. Cumque permisisset Maria conspectum suum statim ut manum suam dexteram ab aspectione eius abstraxit, aruit manus et prae dolore coepit uehementissime angustiari et clamare flens et⁸⁶ dicens: Domine, tu nosti quia semper te timui et omnes pauperes sine tribulatione acceptionis curauit. A uidua et orphano nihil accepi et inopem a me uacuum numquam dimisi. Et ecce misera facta sum propter incredulitatem meam, quia ausa fui temptare uirginem⁸⁷ tuam, quae peperit lumen⁸⁸ et post hunc partum uirgo permansit.

5 Et cum haec diceret, apparuit iuxta illam iuuenis splendidus dicens: Accede ad infantem et adora eum et continge de manu tua, et ipse te saluabit, quia hic est saluator⁸⁹ omnium sperantium in se. Et confestim accessit Salome adorans infantem ac tetigit fimbrias pannorum in quibus erat infans, et statim saluata est manus eius. Exiens autem foras clamare coepit et dicere magnalia uirtutum quae uiderat et quae passa fuerat et quemadmodum curata fuerat, ita ut ad praedicationem eius multi crederent.

6 Nam et pastores ouium⁹⁰ asserebant se angelos uidisse in media nocte hymnum dicentes deo, et ab ipsis audisse quod natus esset saluator hominum⁹¹ qui est Christus dominus in quo restituetur salus Israel.

7 Sed et stella ingens a uespere usque in matutinum splendebat.⁹² Haec stella indicabat natiuitatem Christi qui restauraret sicut promiserat non solum Israel sed et⁹³ omnes gentes.

83 nec in suspicione habitum: *om.* j

84 uirgo: *add.* concepit, uirgo H k L

85 Zahel: Rahel I: Rachel J

86 flens et: *om.* H L

87 uirginem: uirginitatem j

88 lumen: *add.* mundi D: *add.* uerum H L

89 saluator: uere saluator mundi et H L: saluator saeculi I: saluator saeculi et j k

90 ouium: *add.* qui erant in ipsis partibus uenientes H L

91 hominum: omnium b C D E' G j

92 splendebat A b C D e G I: *add.* super speluncam. prophetae autem qui fuerunt in Hierusalem [Israel L] dicebant H (j) k L: *add.* super speluncam, cuius magnitudo numquam uisa fuerat ab origine mundi. et prophetae qui fuerunt in Hierusalem dicebant j

93 restauraret . . . sed et: restaurare uenerat omnia quae promiserat deus Abrahae, ut in semine eius benedicerentur D

When Mary heard this she smiled. But Joseph said to her, “Do not smile, but take care so that she can examine you, to see if you may need her medicine.” And Mary ordered her to come in to her. When Mary allowed herself to be inspected, the midwife cried out with a great voice, “Great Lord, have mercy! Before now, nothing like this has been heard of or even suspected—the breasts are full of milk and the boy who has been born shows the virginity of his mother. No stain of blood can be found on the child, and no pain has appeared in the mother. A virgin has given birth and after giving birth she has remained a virgin!”

4 Another midwife named Salome heard her say this and said, “Certainly I will not believe this unless I examine her myself.” Salome came in to Mary and said to her, “Allow me to inspect you, so that I might know if what Zahel told me is true.” Mary permitted herself to be inspected; but as soon as Salome pulled her right hand away from the examination, her hand withered and she began to be greatly distressed by the pain and to cry out, weeping and saying, “Lord, you know that I have always feared you and have taken care of the poor asking for nothing in return. I have accepted nothing from the widow and the orphan, and I have never sent the impoverished away empty-handed. Behold, I have become wretched because of my disbelief, because I dared to put your virgin to the test, who brought forth the light, and remained a virgin after giving birth.”

5 While she was saying this, a luminous young man appeared next to her and said, “Go up to the child and worship him; touch him with your hand and he will heal you, for he is the savior of all who hope in him.” Salome immediately went up and worshiped the child; she touched the fringe of the swaddling clothes that covered him, and right away her hand was healed. She then went outside and began to cry out, speaking about the great miracles that she had seen, about what she had suffered and how she had been cured, so that many came to believe by her proclamation.

Witnesses to Christ's Character

6 There were also some shepherds who were claiming to have seen angels in the middle of the night, singing a hymn to God; from them they heard that the savior of humans had been born, who is Christ the Lord, in whom the salvation of Israel would be reestablished.¹³

7 And also a gigantic star was shining from evening until morning. This star was signaling the birth of Christ, who would restore not only Israel but also all the nations, as he promised.

13. Luke 22:15–19.

14

1 Tertia autem die natiuitatis domini egressa est Maria de spelunca et ingressa est in stabulum et posuit puerum in praesepio, et bos et asinus genua flectentes adorauerunt eum. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Esaiam prophetam dicentem: Agnouit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepeium domini sui. Et ipse animalia in medio eum habentes incessanter adorabant eum. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Abacuc prophetam dicentem: In medio duorum animalium innotesceris. In eodem autem loco commoratus est Ioseph et Maria cum infante tribus diebus.

15

1 Sexta autem die Bethleem ingressus est, ubi compleuit septem dies. Octauo autem die deduxit infantem in⁹⁴ templum domini. Cumque accepisset infans perithomen, obtulerunt pro eo par turturum et duos pullos columbarum.

2 Erat autem in templo uir dei propheta et iustus nomine Simeon, annorum centum duodecim. Hic responsum a deo acceperat quod non gustaret mortem nisi uideret Christum filium dei⁹⁵ in carne. Qui cum uidisset infantem exclamauit uoce magna dicens: Visitauit deus plebem suam, impleuit deus promissionem suam; et festinans adorauit infantem. Post haec suscipiens eum in pallium suum adorauit eum et osculabatur plantas eius dicens: Nunc dimitte seruum tuum, domine, in pace, quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare tuum quod praeparasti in conspectu omnium populorum, lumen ad reuelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuae Israel.

3 Erat autem in templo domini Anna, filia Phanael, quae uixerat cum uiro suo annis septem a uirginitate sua. Et haec uidua erat iam annorum octoginta quattuor, quae numquam discesserat de templo domini ieiuniis et orationibus uacans. Et haec accedens adorauit infantem dicens quoniam in isto erit redemptio saeculi.

16

1 Transacto autem secundo⁹⁶ anno uenerunt magi ab Oriente in Hierosolimam munera deferentes magna, et instanter interrogabant Iudaeos dicentes: Vbi est rex qui natus est nobis?⁹⁷

94 deduxit infantem in: circumcidentes puerum uocatum est nomen eius Iesus [om. Iesus L], quod uocatum est ab angelo antequam in utero conciperetur. postquam autem impleti sunt dies purgationis Mariae secundum legem Moysi, detulerunt eum in Hierusalem ad H k L

95 filium dei: deum C

96 secundo: om. H L

14

1 On the third day after the Lord's birth, Mary left the cave and came into a stable, and she placed the child in a manger. And an ox and an ass bent their knees and worshiped him. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, who said, "The ox has recognized its owner and the ass the manger of its lord."¹⁴ These animals were around him, constantly worshiping him. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by Habbakuk the prophet, who said, "Between the two animals you will make yourself known."¹⁵ Joseph and Mary stayed in the same place with the child for three days.

15

1 On the sixth day he entered Bethlehem, where he spent seven days. On the eighth day he brought the child to the Temple of the Lord. And when the child received circumcision, they offered up for him a pair of turtledoves and two young doves.¹⁶

2 There was a man of God in the Temple, a prophet who was righteous, whose name was Simeon, who was 112 years old.¹⁷ He had received from God an answer to prayer: he would not taste death until he saw Christ, the Son of God, in the flesh. When he saw the child he exclaimed with a loud voice, "God has visited his people; God has fulfilled his promise." And he hastened to worship the child. After this he took him up in his garment and worshiped him and kissed the soles of his feet, saying, "Now send your servant away in peace, O Lord; for my eyes have seen your salvation, which you prepared in the view of all the people, a light for a revelation to the nations and glory to your people, Israel."

3 Also in the Temple of the Lord was Anna, the daughter of Phanuel.¹⁸ She had lived with her husband seven years from the time of her virginity. She was now a widow, eighty-four years old. She never left the Temple of the Lord, but devoted herself to fastings and prayers. She also came up to the child and worshiped him, saying that in him would be the redemption of the age.

The Visit of the Magi

16

1 Two years later, magi came from the East to Jerusalem, bringing great gifts; and they fervently asked the Jews: "Where is the king who has been born to us?"

14. Isa. 1:3.

15. Cf. Hab. 3:2 in the Latin version; the Hebrew reads differently.

16. Luke 2:21-24.

17. Luke 2:25-35.

18. Luke 2:36-38.

Vidimus enim stellam eius in Oriente et uenimus adorare eum. Haec opinio peruenit ad Herodem regem et ita eum terruit ut mitteret ad scribas et ad Pharisaeos et doctores populi, et inquireret ab eis ubi nasciturum Christum prophetae praedixerunt. At illi dixerunt: In Bethleem. Sic enim scriptum est: Et tu Bethleem, terra Iuda, non es minima in principibus Iuda. Ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel. Tunc Herodes rex uocauit magos ad se et diligenter exquisiuit ab eis quomodo eis apparuisset stella, et misit eos ad Bethleem dicens: Ite, et⁹⁸ dum inueneritis eum, renuntiate mihi ut et ego ueniens adorem eum.

2 Euntibus autem magis in uia apparuit stella et quasi ducatum praestaret illis antecedeat eos quousque peruenirent ubi erat puer. Videntes autem stellam magi gauisi sunt gaudio magno, et ingressi⁹⁹ inuenerunt infantem Iesum sedentem in sinu Mariae. Tunc aperuerunt thesauros suos et ingentibus muneribus munerauerunt Mariam et Ioseph, ipsi autem infanti obtulerunt singuli singulos aureos. Vnus obtulit aurum, alius thus, tertius uero myrram. Qui cum ad Herodem regem reuertenti uellent, admoniti sunt in somno quid cogitaret Herodes.¹⁰⁰ Illi autem readorauerunt infantem et cum omni gaudio per alteram uiam ad suam sunt reuersi regionem.

17

1 Videns autem Herodes rex quod delusus esset a magis inflammatum est cor eius, et misit per omnes uias, coepit uelle¹⁰¹ capere eos. Quos cum penitus inuenire non potuisset, misit in Bethleem et occidit omnes infantes a bimatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis.

2 Ante unum uero diem quam hoc fieret, admonitus est Ioseph ab angelo domini:¹⁰² Tolle Mariam et infantem et per uiam heremi perge ad Aegyptum.¹⁰³

18

1 Cumque peruenissent ad speluncam quandam ut quasi sub ea refrigerarent, descendit Maria de iumento et sedit et habebat Iesum in gremio. Erant autem

97 nobis A C e I j: uobis G H k L (b)

98 Ite, et: *add.* diligenter inquirite puerum et H L

99 ingressi: *add.* domum H k L

100 quid cogitaret Herodes: ab angelo ne ultra ad eum reuerterentur eo quod male cogitaret de puero H L

101 misit . . . uelle: mittens insidiatores per omnes uias uolebat k'

102 admonitus . . . domini: uenit angelus domini in somnis ad Ioseph et admonuit eum dicens H L

103 Aegyptum: *add.* rex enim Herodes quaerit occidere infantem [occidere eum L]. surgens autem a somno Ioseph accepit Mariam et puerum et pergebat in Aegyptum H k L

For we saw his star in the East and we have come to worship him.”¹⁹ When this news reached King Herod, it so terrified him that he summoned the scribes, Pharisees, and teachers of the people and inquired from them where the prophets had predicted the Christ would be born. They told him, “In Bethlehem, for so it is written, ‘And you Bethlehem, land of Judah, you are not least among the leading lands of Judah, for from you will go forth a leader who will rule my people Israel.’” Then King Herod summoned the magi and carefully inquired from them how the star had appeared to them; and he sent them to Bethlehem, saying, “Go, and when you find him report back to me, so I may also come to worship him.”

2 As the magi advanced on the road the star appeared, and as if providing them guidance it preceded them until they came to the place where the child was. And when the magi saw the star they rejoiced with a great joy, and entering in they found the child Jesus sitting on Mary’s lap. Then they opened their treasures and gave expensive gifts to Mary and Joseph (and to the infant himself a piece of gold). One offered gold, another incense, and the third myrrh. When they wanted to return to King Herod, they were warned in a dream what Herod was planning. They then worshiped the infant again and with great joy they returned to their own region by a different way.

The Wrath of Herod and the Flight to Egypt

17

1 When King Herod saw that he had been deceived by the magi, his heart was inflamed and he sent his soldiers out on every path, wishing to capture them. When he was not able to find a trace of them, he sent soldiers to Bethlehem and killed every infant from two years and under, according to the time that he had solicited from the magi.²⁰

2 One day before Herod had done this, Joseph was warned by an angel of the Lord, “Take Mary and the child and go, take the desert route to Egypt.”²¹

Baby Jesus Is Worshiped by Dragons and Other Wild Beasts

18

1 When they arrived at a certain cave where they wanted to cool themselves off, Mary came off the donkey and sat down, and held Jesus on her lap. There were

19. Matt. 2:1–12.

20. Matt. 2:16–18.

21. Matt. 2:13–15.

tres pueri et cum Maria una puella iter agentes. Et ecce subito egressi sunt de spelunca dracones multi, quos uidentes pueri exclamauerunt. Tunc dominus cum esset nondum bimulus excussit se et stans in pedibus stetit ante eos. Illi autem dracones adorauerunt eum et cum adorassent eum abierunt. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per psalmographum prophetam dicentem: Laudate dominum de terra dracones et omnes abyssi.¹⁰⁴

2 Ipse autem dominus Iesus Christus infantulus deambulabat cum eis ut nullum grauaret.¹⁰⁵ Sed Maria et Ioseph dicebant inter se: Melius est ut nos interficiant isti dracones quam infantem laedant. Quibus Iesus ait: Nolite me considerare quia infantulus sum; ego enim semper uir perfectus fui et sum, et necesse est ut omnia genera ferarum mansuescere faciam.

19

1 Similiter autem et leones et pardi¹⁰⁶ adorabant et comitabantur eum in deserto quocumque ibat Maria cum Ioseph, atque antecedeabant eos ostendentes uiam et obsequium exhibentes, inclinantes capita sua immani cum reuerentia seruitium caudis adulantibus exhibebant. Prima autem die ut uidit Maria leones circa se uenientes et pardos et uaria ferarum monstra, uehementer expauit. In cuius faciem infans Iesus subrisit, et consolationis eam uoce alloquens dixit: Noli timere, mater, non enim ad iniuriam tuam sed ad obsequium tuum¹⁰⁷ uenire festinant. Et his dictis amputauit timorem cordis eorum.

2 Ambulabant ergo simul leones et asini et boues et sagmarii qui eis portabant necessaria, et simul ubi mansio facta esset ad pabulum accedebant. Erant etiam mansueti arietes¹⁰⁸ qui simul de Iudaea exierant et sequebantur, qui et ipsi inter lupos¹⁰⁹ ambulabant sine formidine. Non timebat ullus ullum, et nullus a nullo laedebatur in aliquo. Tunc adimpletum est quod Esaias ait: Lupi cum agnis pascentur et leo et bos simul paleis uescentur. Erant enim duo boues in itinere eorum sagmarii, quos dirigebant¹¹⁰ leones in itinere domini nostri Iesu Christi cuius necessaria portabant.

20

1 Factum est autem post haec in die tertia profectionis suae ut Maria solis nimio fatigaretur in heremo, et uidens arborem palmae¹¹¹

104 tunc . . . abyssi: *om.* H L

105 grauaret A b C G I j k; grauarent e H k' L

106 pardi: *add.* et uaria ferarum genera undique uenientes H L

107 tuum: meum et tuum L: *om.* A C e

108 arietes: oues et arietes j

109 lupos: leones H L

110 dirigebant H k L: diligebant A b C E G I j

111 palmae: *add.* mirae pulchritudinis et altitudinis ac H L

three male servants with them on the road, and one female servant with Mary. And behold, suddenly many dragons came out of the cave. When the servants saw them they cried out. Then the Lord, even though he was not yet two years old, roused himself, got to his feet, and stood in front of them. And the dragons worshiped him. When they finished worshipping him, they went away. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet in the Psalms, who said, "Praise the Lord from the earth, O dragons and all the places of the abyss."²²

2 The Lord Jesus Christ, though just a small child, walked along with them so that he might not be a burden to anyone. Mary and Joseph were saying to one another, "It would be better for those dragons to kill us than to harm the child." Jesus said to them, "Do not think of me as a young child, for I have always been the perfect man, and am now; and it is necessary for me to tame every kind of wild beast."

19

1 So too both lions and leopards were worshipping him and accompanying him in the desert, wherever Mary went with Joseph. They went before them showing them the way and being subject to them; and bowing their heads with great reverence they showed their servitude by wagging their tails. But on the first day that Mary saw lions, leopards, and various other wild beasts surrounding them, she was terrified. The young child Jesus smiled in her face and spoke to her with a consoling word, saying, "Do not fear, Mother, for they are hastening along, not to hurt you but to serve you." With these words he removed the fear from their hearts.

2 And so lions, asses, oxen, and beasts of burden carrying their baggage were all walking together with them, and whenever they made a stop, they would graze. There were also tame goats who came out with them and followed them from Judah; these were walking among the wolves with no fear. One was not afraid of another, and none of them was harmed by another in any way. Then was fulfilled what Isaiah said, "Wolves will pasture with sheep and the lion and ox will eat straw together."²³ There were two oxen used as pack animals with them on the way; lions guided them on the way of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose baggage they were carrying.

The Miracle of the Palm Tree

20

1 Then, after these things, on the third day after they had started out, Mary was weary from too much sun in the wilderness, and seeing a palm tree she

22. Ps. 148:7.

23. Isa. 11:6.

sub umbra eius aliquantulum uellet quiescere. Et festinans Ioseph perduxit eam ad palmam et descendere eam fecit de iumento. Cumque resedisset Maria, respiciens ad comam palmae uidit eam repletam pomis, et ait:¹¹² O si possit fieri ut ex istis fructibus palmae perciperem. Et ait Ioseph ad eam: Miror te haec dicere, cum uideas tantam altitudinem palmae huius. Tu quidem de palmae fructibus cogitas. Ego autem de aqua cogito quae nobis iam defecit in utribus, et non habemus unde replere eos aut nos ipsos refocillare.

2 Tunc infantulus Iesus sedens in sinu matris suae uirginis¹¹³ exclamauit ad palmam et dixit: Flectere, arbor, et de fructibus tuis refice matrem meam. Statim autem ad uocem eius inclinauit palma cacumen suum usque ad plantas Mariae, et colligentes ex ea fructus quos habebat omnes refecti sunt. Postea uero quam collecta sunt omnia poma eius, inclinata manebat, exspectans ut eius imperio surgeret cuius imperio fuerat inclinata. Tunc Iesus dixit ad eam: Erige te, palma, et confortare et esto consors arborum mearum¹¹⁴ quae sunt in paradiso patris mei. Aperi autem ex radicibus tuis fontes occultantes, et fluant ex eis aquae in satietatem. Et statim erecta est palma, et coeperunt per radices eius fontes aquarum egredi limpidi et frigidi et dulcissimi. Videntes autem fluentes fontes aquarum gauisi sunt gaudio magno et potati una cum iumentis et hominibus gratias agentes deo.

21

1 Die autem altera profecti sunt. In hora autem in qua agerent iter, conuersus Iesus ad palmam ait: Hoc privilegium do¹¹⁵ tibi, palma, ut unus ex ramis tuis transferatur ab angelis meis et plantetur in paradiso patris mei. Hanc autem benedictionem in te conferam ut omnis qui in quocumque certamine uicerit dicetur ei: Peruenisti ad palmam. Haec eo loquente, ecce angelus domini apparuit stans super arborem palmae, et auferens unum de ramis eius ibat uolans.¹¹⁶ Quod uidentes uniuersi ceciderunt in faciem suam et facti sunt tamquam mortui. Tunc Iesus loquens ad eos dixit:¹¹⁷ Quare formido obtinuit cor uestrum? Aut nescitis quoniam palma haec quam feci transferri parata erit omnibus sanctis in loco deliciarum, sicut uobis parata fuit in deserto hoc?¹¹⁸

112 ait: *add.* desiderium mihi factum est j

113 matris suae uirginis: uirginis matris suae et audiens et intelligens quae dicebantur H L

114 mearum: illarum H L: *om.* G

115 priuilegium do e' H k L: exagilium do A b C G I: ex praecepto meo dico j

116 uolans: *add.* per medium coeli habens ramum arboris palmae in manu sua j

117 loquens as eos dixit: uidens eos ita perterritos ait eis H L

118 deserto hoc: hoc loco deserti. at illi gaudio repleti [*add.* et fortes effecti L] surrexerunt omnes H L

wanted to rest awhile in its shade. Joseph hastened to lead her to the palm and he had her descend from the donkey. When Mary sat down, she looked to the foliage on the palm and saw that it was full of fruit, and she said, "If only I could get some of that fruit from the palm!" Joseph said to her, "I am surprised that you're saying this, when you can see how high the palm is. You are thinking of the fruit of the palm; but I am thinking about the water that we no longer have in our water skins; we have nowhere to replenish them to quench our thirst."

2 Then the young child Jesus, sitting in the lap of his mother, the virgin, cried out to the palm tree and said, "Bend down, O tree, and refresh my mother from your fruit." Immediately when he spoke, the palm tree bent its top down to Mary's feet. Everyone gathered the fruit in it and was refreshed. After all its fruit had been gathered, the tree remained bent, expecting that it would rise up at the command of the one who had ordered it to bend over. Then Jesus said to it, "Stand erect, O palm, and be strong, and become a companion of my trees that are in the paradise of my Father. And open up from your roots the hidden springs, that water may flow from them to quench our thirst." Immediately the palm stood erect, and from its roots springs of water began to come forth, clear, cold, and very sweet. When they saw the springs of water flowing, they all rejoiced with a great joy and drank, together with their beasts and companions, giving thanks to God.

21

1 They set out on the next day. But as they started their journey, Jesus turned to the palm tree and said, "I give you this privilege, O palm: one of your branches will be taken by my angels and planted in the paradise of my Father. Moreover, I will bestow this blessing on you, that whoever emerges victorious from a contest will be told, 'You have attained to the palm.'" While he was saying this, behold an angel of the Lord appeared, standing above the palm tree. Removing one of its branches it went flying away. When everyone saw this they fell on their faces to the ground as if dead. Then Jesus spoke to them and said, "Why has fear seized your hearts? Do you not know that this palm that I have had moved will be available to all the saints in the place of delights, just as it was available to you in this desert?"

22

I Dicit ei Ioseph: Domine, quoniam aestus nimius decoquit nos, si uis teneamus uiam maris ut possimus per ciuitates maritimas requiescendo transire. Dicit ei Iesus: Noli timere, Ioseph, ego uobis mansiones adbreuiabo ita ut ubi per triginta dies uobis properandum erat, in hac una die in mansiunculam pertingatis. Adhuc eo loquente, ecce prospicientes uiderunt montes Aegypti et aequitates eius.

2 Et gaudentes atque exultantes¹¹⁹ in unam ex ciuitatibus quae Sohennen dicitur intrauerunt. Et quoniam nullus in ea erat notus ubi hospitarentur, templum ingressi sunt quod capitolium eiusdem ciuitatis Aegypti uocabatur. In quo templo CCCLXV idola posita erant quibus singulis diebus honor deitatis a sacrilegis praebebatur.

23

I Factum est autem ut ingressa Maria templum cum infantulo uniuersa corruerent simulacra, et omnia ipsa idola iacentia in faciem nihil se esse euidenti¹²⁰us perdocerent. Tunc adimpletum est quod propheta ait: Ecce dominus ueniet¹²¹ super nubem leuem et mouebuntur a facie eius omnia manufacta Aegyptiorum.¹²²

24

I Tunc Afrodasio¹²³ cum nuntiatum esset, uenit ad templum cum omni exercitu suo et cum omnibus amicis et comitibus suis. Sperabant autem omnes pontifices templi ut nihil diceret in his quorum causa corruerant. Ille autem ingressus templum et uidens uera esse quae audierat, statim accessit ad Mariam et adorabat infantem quem ipsa Maria in sinu suo dominum portabat. Et cum adorasset eum, allocutus est ad uniuersum exercitum suum et ad omnes amicos suos et dixit: Hic nisi esset dominus¹²⁴ horum deorum nostrorum, non isti coram eo se prosternerent et in eius conspectu prostrati dominum¹²⁵ illum suum iacentes protestarentur.

119 exultantes: *add.* deuenerunt in finibus Hermopolis et H L

120 quod propheta ait: uaticinium illud Isaiae dicentis H L: quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem k

121 ueniet: sedet H L

122 leuem . . . Aegyptiorum: leuem et ueniet in Aegyptum et commouebuntur manufacta Aegyptiorum a facie eius et cadent in terram H L

123 Afrodasio: *add.* principi eiusdem ciuitatis H k L: *add.* duci ciuitatis illius j

124 esset dominus: deus esset H k L

125 dominum: deum C H L

The Shortcut to Egypt

22

1 Joseph said to him, "Lord, since this great heat is burning us up, if you wish let us take the route by the sea, so that we can pass through the coastal cities in order to rest." Jesus said to him, "Do not fear, Joseph; I will shorten the stages along the way for you, so that you will reach your humble abode in this single day, when it would normally take you thirty days of haste." While he was saying this, they looked up and saw the mountains of Egypt and its plains.

2 While rejoicing and exulting, they entered one of the cities, called Sohennen. Since they knew no one there to provide them with hospitality, they went into a temple which is called the capitol of this city in Egypt. In this temple were placed 365 idols, to each of whom the impious were paying divine honors on a separate day.

Jesus Is Worshiped by the Pagan Idols

23

1 Then, when Mary entered the Temple with her young child, all the images fell, and every idol, cast on its face, showed itself clearly to be nothing. Then was fulfilled what the prophet said, "Behold, the Lord will come on a swift cloud, and all the handiwork of the Egyptians will be moved from before his face."²⁴

24

1 When word reached Afrodisius, he came to the temple with his entire army and all his friends and companions. But all the priests of the Temple were hoping that he would say nothing against those who had caused the idols to fall. When he entered the Temple and saw that what he had heard was true, he immediately went up to Mary and began to worship the young child Mary was holding in her lap as the Lord. And after he worshiped him, he spoke out to his entire army and all his friends, and said, "If this one were not the Lord of these our gods, they would not have prostrated themselves before him; nor would they lie prostrate in his presence and declare him to be their Lord.

24. Isa. 19:1.

Nos ergo quod deos nostros uidemus facere nisi cautius fecerimus, omnes potius periculum indignationis incurremus et uniuersi in interitum deueniemus, sicut euenit Pharaoni regi Aegyptiorum qui fuit in illis diebus quibus fecit mirabilia deus magna in Aegypto et eduxit populum suum in manu forti.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ fuit in illis diebus . . . in manu forti A b C e: fuit induratus corde ad credendum in omnibus mirabilibus dei quae per Moysem et Aaron facta sunt in diebus illis. completa sunt in his verbis g: deum contempsit audire. iam post multo tempore dixit angelus ad Ioseph: revertere in terram Iuda, mortui sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri. tunc adimpleta sunt in antea omnia de Iesu sicut euangelistae in sacro euangelio ueridico protestati sunt eloquio I j: tantis uirtutibus non credit et cum omni exercitu suo in mare demersus est. tunc omnis populus eiusdem ciuitatis crediderunt deo et domino nostro Iesu Christo et spiritui sancto cui est honor et gloria una cum patre et spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen H k L.

And so, if we ourselves do not very carefully do what we have seen our gods do, we are all in great danger of incurring his wrath and being destroyed, just as happened to Pharoah, king of Egypt, who lived in those days when God performed great miracles in Egypt and led forth his people by his mighty hand.”

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The Latin Infancy Gospels (J Composition)

Arundel Form

The Latin Infancy Gospels, more recently labeled the “J Composition,” is a later account of the births and early lives of Mary and Jesus, based largely (though not exclusively) on a reworking of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (from a lost Latin translation) and of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. Included in the narrative are the events surrounding the birth of Mary, her early life, her betrothal to Joseph, her conception, the birth of Jesus, the trip to Egypt, and Jesus’ miracles as a young boy. Also included here, however, is unique material drawn from an otherwise unknown Latin source, including accounts of the conversations of Joseph and his son Symeon both before and after Mary gives birth (ch. 66), declarations by the midwife and the wise men about Mary and Jesus (chs. 70–76; 93–94), and a story of a compassionate robber (chs. 111–25).

The text was first edited by M. R. James in 1927, who recognized that it survived in two different recensions, one preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Library (Arundel 404, ms A) the other in a thirteenth-century manuscript found in the Hereford Cathedral Library (Hereford 0.3.9, ms H). Since James’s edition, more manuscripts of each recension have been discovered; the most recent edition has been produced by Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Martin McNamara, who have replaced James’s vague title (“The Latin Infancy Gospels”) by designating the work as the J Composition, in honor of James himself.

The earliest manuscript of the Gospel in either form is from Montpellier (Bibliothèque de l’École de médecine, 55), known as M, and dating from around 800. It preserves the first twenty-one paragraphs of the Arundel recension (JAr). Even though this manuscript is at least three hundred years older than any of our other witnesses, Kaestli and McNamara judge that it does not preserve the earliest form of the text but represents a later, more heavily edited version. Other manuscripts available for the text are, for the Arundel recension, designated Z

(twelfth century), L (1385), A (fourteenth century), V (fourteenth century), and W (fifteenth century); for Hereford recension (JHer), we have H and C, both of the thirteenth century. Full descriptions of the manuscripts are provided by Kaesti and McNamara (pp. 641–66).

Since the Gospel heavily utilizes Pseudo-Matthew, it must have been composed some time after the mid-seventh century and, obviously, before the end of the eighth century (the date of ms M). Its place of origin is not known.

There is some question about the “Special Source” (i.e., for the material not drawn from the Protevangelium or Pseudo-Matthew), especially for the traditions found in chapters 59–97. James believed these materials contained a docetic Christology and so he assigned the source to the one docetic Gospel with which he was familiar, the Gospel of Peter. This view has not met with widespread assent. Some scholars have been more persuaded by a quotation by Sedulius Scottus, allegedly drawn from “The Gospel according to the Hebrews,” which coincides closely with the Special Source. P. Vielhauer and Jan Gijzel have suggested that the Source was therefore the Gospel of the Nazareans, which now survives otherwise only in fragments (Gijzel, pp. 299–301). This view too has not won many supporters. The reality is that we simply cannot know where the unknown author of the J Composition derived his unique traditions.

The text and translation that we provide here follow the more famous Arundel recension, as reconstructed by Kaestli and McNamara and used with permission. These editors have chosen not to reconstruct the “earliest” form of the Gospel but the fullest form, as found principally in three of its manuscripts: A, V, and W. They hypothesize that the original title of the work was *Liber de nativitate sancte Marie genetricis Dei et de infancia salvatoris Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum carnem* (p. 637).

We do not reproduce the entire Gospel here (the earlier chapters closely parallel the Protevangelium and Pseudo-Matthew) but only selections from chapters 59–97 and 111–25. These portions of the Gospel contain much of the unique material, although even here there are overlaps with the earlier traditions (especially Pseudo-Matthew), as we indicate in the notes. Kaestli and McNamara argue that the source of the special traditions of chapters 59–97 is preserved “in a better and more complete form” in two Irish Infancy Gospel texts that they have also edited (pp. 64–134).

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EVANGELIA INFANTIAE
(J Compilation: Arundel Form)

59 In illis autem diebus exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto ut profiteretur unusquisque properans in patriam suam et descriptionem faceret omnium suorum tam de ipso quam de coniugibus suis et filiis, seruisque et ancillis suis, sed et predia et pecora et debitam sibi pecuniam et suppellectilem domus sue designarent, ut omnes in locis suis in quibus natus quis fuerat reuerterentur et censum ac tributa prestarent.

60 Igitur dum hec exisset preceptio in uniuersam Iudeam sub preside Syrie Cirino, Ioseph qui erat faber, qui ante Moab uocabatur, necesse fuit ut proficisceretur ad Bethleem cum filiis suis et Maria sibi desponsata, quam de templo Domini acceperat, eo quod esset Ioseph et Maria de tribu Iuda et de patria Daud.

61 Cum ergo iter facerent per uiam dixit Maria ad Ioseph: "Video ante me duos populus, unum flentem et alium gaudentem." Et respondens Ioseph dixit ei: "Sede in iumento et noli mihi uerba superflua loqui." Tunc apparuit ante eos puer speciosus indutus uestem splendidam dicens ad Ioseph: "Quare dixisti uerba esse superflua de duobus populis que audisti? Nam populum Iudeorum flentem uidit quia recessit a Deo, gencium autem populum gaudentem respicit

The Latin Infancy Gospels
(J Compilation: Arundel Form)

[...]

The Journey to Bethlehem for the Census

59 But in those days an edict went out from Augustus Caesar that everyone should register¹ by hurrying to their own native land² and making a transcript of all their belongings, both for themselves and for their wives and children, as well as for their male and female servants. They were also to declare their estates, cattle, money owed to them, and their household possessions. And so they all returned to the places where they had been born to file for the census and taxes.³

60 When therefore that decree had gone out to all Judea under the governor of Syria, Cyrinus, it was necessary that Joseph, who was a carpenter,⁴ and who was formerly called Moab,⁵ set out for Bethlehem with his sons and with Mary, who was betrothed to him, and whom he had received from the temple of the Lord⁶ because Joseph and Mary were from the tribe of Judah and the land of David.⁷

Mary's Vision of Two People

61 As they thus traveled on the road, Mary said to Joseph, "I see two people before me, one weeping and the other rejoicing." Joseph replied to her, "Sit on the donkey and do not speak any unnecessary words to me!" Then a beautiful child appeared before them, clad in bright clothing, saying to Joseph, "Why did you say that the words you had heard about the two people are unnecessary? For she has seen the people of the Jews weeping because they have departed from God, and she sees the people of the Gentiles rejoicing

1. Cf. Luke 2:1.

2. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13:1.

3. Cf. Luke 2:3.

4. Cf. Matt. 13:55.

5. The name Moab may be related to Joseph's lineage from the house of David (Luke 2:4); see the beginning of the Book of Ruth, where a relative of David's grandfather emigrates from Bethlehem to Moab. See McNamara et al., *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, pp. 79, 218–19.

6. Cf. Prot. Jas. 19:3.

7. Cf. Luke 2:4; Ps.-Mt. 13:1.

quia accessit ad Deum, secundum quod promisit Deus patribus uestris Abrahe, Ysaac et Iacob. Tempus enim aduenit ut in semine Abrahe benedictio omnibus gentibus tribuatur.” Et hec dicens ab oculis eorum ablatus est.

62.1 Ioseph autem precessit in ciuitatem. Mariam autem reliquit cum Symeone filio suo, eo quod esset pregnans et tardius ambularet.

62.2 Ingressusque Bethleem patriam suam, stans in media ciuitate dixit: “Non est aliud iustum nisi quis diligat suam ciuitatem. Ipsa enim est uniuscuiusque hominis requies ut in sua tribu quis requiescat. Ego autem post multum tempus te uideo, Bethleem, bona domus Dauid regis et prophete Dei.”

63 Et circuiens uidit unum stabulum singulare et ait: “In isto loco oportet me diuertere, quoniam uidetur mihi exceptorium esse peregrinorum. Michi enim neque hospicium est hic neque diuersorium ubi requiescere possimus.” Et circumspiciens eum dixit: “Modica quidem habitacio est sed pauperibus apta, presertim quia remota est a clamoribus hominum ut non possit nocere mulieri parturienti. Itaque in isto loco necesse est me requiescere cum omnibus meis.”

64.1 Cumque hoc diceret exiit foris et respexit ad uiam, et ecce appropriantes ueniebant Maria cum Symeone.

64.2 Cum ergo peruenissent ad eum, dixit Ioseph: “Fili Symeon, quare tarde uenisti?” Qui respondit: “Si non ego essem, domine pater, moram fecisset Maria eo quod esset grauida et sepius in uia pausabat et refrigerabatur. Nam semper ego sollicitudinem habui in uia ne occuparet eam partus. Sed ago altissimo gratias quia dedit ei sufferenciam. Nam quantum suspicor, et sicut ipsa refert, iam partus eius proximus est.” Et cum hec dixisset iussit stare iumentum et descendit de animali Maria.

65 Tunc dixit Ioseph Marie: “Filiola, multum laborasti propter me. Ingredere itaque et adhibe tibi diligenciam. Tu autem, Symeon, affer aquam et laua pedes eius, et dabis ei cibum, aut si quid aliud opus habuerit fac sicut desiderat anima eius.” Fecit ergo Symeon quod iussit pater eius

because they have come to God, according to what God promised to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For the time is coming when the blessing will be bestowed on all nations in the seed of Abraham.”⁸ And saying this he withdrew from their sight.

Joseph in Search of a Lodging Place

62 (1) But Joseph went forward to the city, while Mary remained behind with his son Symeon because she was pregnant and walked slowly. (2) Having entered Bethlehem, his native land, standing in the center of the city he said, “It is truly right to love one’s own city. Indeed, the true repose for every human being is to repose in one’s own tribe. Now I see you after a long time, Bethlehem, the fair house of David the king and God’s prophet.”

63 And marching around he saw a solitary little house and said, “I should stay in this place because it seems to me to be an abode for visiting strangers; for I do not have any lodging here or a guest chamber where we could rest.” And looking around it he said, “This is a humble dwelling indeed, but fitting for poor people, particularly because it is so far from human clamor that it cannot harm a woman in labor. In this place, therefore, I must take rest with all who are mine.”

The Arrival of Mary

64 (1) And when he was saying this, he went outside and looked down the road, and there he saw Mary approaching with Symeon. (2) When they had thus arrived to him, Joseph said, “Symeon, my son, why have you been long in coming?” He responded, “If it were not for me, lord father, then Mary would have delayed because of her pregnancy, as she often paused on the way and grew tired; for I was worried all the time that she would go into labor on the road. But I thank the Most High for giving her endurance; for as far as I can guess, and as she herself is saying, she is about to give birth.” When he had said these things, he commanded the donkey to stand still, and Mary came down from the animal.⁹

65 Then Joseph said to Mary, “My child, you have had great exertion because of me. Go inside, therefore, and take care of yourself. And you, Symeon, fetch water and wash her feet, and give her food and, should she need anything else, do as her heart wishes.” So Symeon did what his father ordered

8. Cf. Gen. 12:3; the whole chapter reproduces almost verbatim the text of Ps.-Mt. 13.1.

9. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.2.

duxitque eam in speluncam que lucem diei in ingressu Marie cepit et quasi hora sexta illuxit.

66.1 Ipsa autem penitus non cessabat, sed semper intra se gracias agebat. Symeon autem dixit patri suo: "Pater, quid esse putamus quod patitur hec puella, quia omni hora intra semetipsam loquitur?" Ait illi Ioseph: "Non potest tecum loqui eo quod lassata sit de uia. Ideo secum loquitur, gracias autem agit."

66.3 Et accedens ad eam dixit: "Leua te, domina filia, ascende in grabatum et requiesce."

67 Et hec dicens egressus est foris. Et post pusillum Symeon secutus eum dixit: "Festina, domine pater, ueni celerius, quia rogat te Maria. Valde enim te desiderat. Puto enim quia partus eius prope est." Dicit ei Ioseph: "Ego non ab ea discedo. Tu autem uade celeriter ut iuuenis. Ingredere ciuitatem et inquire obstetricem que introeat ad puellam, quia multum prodest obstetrici mulieri parturienti." Respondit Symeon dicens: "Ego in hac ciuitate ignotus sum, quomodo possum obstetricem inuenire? Sed audi me, domine pater. Scio et certus sum quia Domino cura est de ea, et ipse dabit ei obstetricem et nutricem et omnia quecumque necessaria sunt ei."

68.1 Cumque hec loquerentur, ecce puella ueniebat cum cathedra in qua solitum erat succurrere mulieribus parturientibus, et stare cepit. Cum ergo uidissent eam mirati sunt, dixitque ad eam Ioseph: "Filiola, quo uadis cum cathedra ista?" Puella respondit: "Misit me magistra mea ad istum locum quia uenit ad eam iuuenis cum magna festinatione dicens ei: 'Veni celerius ut excipias nouum partum, quia puella parturit primum partum.' Hec audiens, magistra mea premisit me ante se. Nam et ipsa ecce sequitur me."

68.2 Respiiciens uero Ioseph uidit eam uenientem, **3** et abiit obuiam ei salutaueruntque se inuicem. Et dicit illi obstetrici: "Homo, ubi uadis?" Qui respondit: "Obstetricem Hebream quero." Dicit ei mulier: "Tu ex Israel es?" Et Ioseph ait: "Ex Israel sum ego." Dicit ad eum mulier: "Que est puella que parturit in hac spelunca?" Repondit Ioseph: "Maria que mihi desponsata est, que nutrita est in templo Domini." Dicit ei obstetrici: "Non est tua uxor?"

and led her to a cave which, upon Mary's entrance, welcomed the daylight and began to shine as if it were noon.¹⁰

66 (1) But once inside, she herself did not remain at rest, but she was unceasingly giving thanks within herself. Symeon said to his father, "Father, what are we to think this maiden is experiencing, for she is speaking to herself all the time?" Joseph said to him, "She cannot speak to you because she is tired from the journey. For this reason she speaks to herself—in fact, she is giving thanks." (3)¹¹ And he approached her and said, "Arise, lady daughter, climb into bed and rest."

The Visit and Witness of the Midwife

67 Saying these things he went outside. After a little while, Symeon followed him and said, "Hurry, lord father, come quickly. Mary is asking for you; for she is very much in want of you. I think her delivery is near." Joseph said to him, "I will not leave her; you rush quickly, since you are young, go into the city and look for a midwife to come in to the girl, for a midwife is a great help for a woman in labor." Symeon replied, "I am not known in this city. How can I find a midwife? But hear me, lord father: I know, indeed I am certain, that the Lord cares for her and will give her a midwife and a nurse, and everything else she needs."

68 (1) And as they spoke these things, behold, a young woman was coming with a chair on which it was customary to assist women in labor, and she began to wait. When they thus saw her, they were amazed, and Joseph said to her, "My child, where are you going with this chair?" The maiden responded, "My mistress sent me to this place because a youth came to her in a great hurry, saying to her, 'Come quickly to pull out a new baby, for the maiden is about to give birth to her first offspring.' Hearing this, my mistress sent me on ahead of her. For behold, she herself is following me." (2)¹² Joseph looked about and indeed saw her coming, and he went out to meet her and they greeted one another. And the midwife said to him, "Man, where are you going?" He replied, "I am looking for a Hebrew midwife." The woman said to him, "Are you from Israel?" And Joseph said to her, "I am from Israel." The woman said to him, "Who is the maiden who is giving birth in this cave?" Joseph replied, "Mary, who has been betrothed to me, and who was reared in the temple of the Lord." The midwife said to him, "Is she not your wife?"

10. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.2.

11. 66(2) is omitted here, as it is found only in the Irish Infancy Gospels (Liber Flavus Fergusiorum and Lebbeare Breac). The Latin "J compilation," of which the Arundel text is one of the main representatives, has already narrated a similar episode about Mary's vision of the two peoples, in this case borrowed from Ps.-Mt. 13.1, in ch. 61. Cf. supra, n. 8.

12. For the whole second paragraph see the parallel text in Prot. Jas. 19.1.

Et Ioseph: "Mihi desponsata est, sed conceptum habet de Spiritu Sancto." Dicit ei obstetrix: "Hoc quod dicis uerum est?" Dicit ei Ioseph: "Veni et uide."

69 Et introierunt in speluncam. Dixitque ei Ioseph: "Vade, uisita Mariam." Et cum uellet intrare in interiorum speluncam timuit eo quod lux magna resplendebat in ea, que non defuit neque in die neque per noctem quamdiu ibi Maria mansit. Dixit ergo Ioseph Marie: "Ecce Zachelem obstetricem adduxi tibi, que ecce foris stat ante speluncam, que pre splendore nimio huc introire non audet nec enim potest." Audiens hec Maria subrisit. Cui dixit Ioseph: "Noli subridere sed cauta esto. Venit enim ut inspiciat te, ne forte indigeas medicina." Et iussit eam intrare ad se, et stare cepit ante eam. Cumque per horarum spacium permisisset se Maria scrutari, exclamauit obstetrix uoce magna et dixit: "Domine Deus magne, miserere, quoniam hoc nunquam nec auditum adhuc nec uisum est, sed neque is suspicionem habitum, ut mamille plene sint lacte et natus masculus suam matrem uirginem ostendat. Nulla pollucio sanguinis facta est in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente apparuit. Virgo concepit, uirgo peperit et postea quam peperit uirgo perdurat."

70.1 Cumque tardaret obstetrix in spelunca, introiuit Ioseph, occurritque illi obstetrix et prodierunt ambo foris inueneruntque Symeonem stantem.
2 Et interrogauit eam Symeon dicens: "Domina, quid agitur de puella? Potest aliquam spem uite habere?" Dicit illi obstetrix: "Quid dicis, homo? Reside et narrabo tibi rem admirabilem."
3 Et eleuans oculos ad celum obstetrix clara uoce dixit: "Pater omnipotens, quid est hoc quod uidi tale miraculum in quo stupeo? Que sunt opera mea quia digna fui uidere sancta tua sacramenta, ut illa hora prepares ancillam tuam huc uenire et uidere mirabilia bonorum tuorum, Domine? Quid faciam? Quomodo possum enarrare quod uidi?"
4 Dicit ei Symeon: "Rogo te ut quod uidisti indices mihi." Dicit illi obstetrix: "Non te latebit hec res, quia multorum bonorum est. Itaque intende in uerba mea et in corde tuo retine."

71 "Cum introissem ad puellam inspiciendam inueni eam faciem sursum habentem et intendentem in celum et secum loquentem. Ego uero suspicor quia orabat et benedicebat altissimum. Cum ergo uenissem ad eam dixi ei: 'Filia, dic mihi, non aliquem dolorem sentis aut aliquis locus membrorum tuorum tenetur dolori?' Illa autem quasi que nichil audiret et sicut solida petra ita immobilis permanebat, in celum intendens."

“She has been betrothed to me,” replied Joseph, “but she has conceived by the Holy Spirit.” The midwife said to him, “Is it true what you are saying?” Joseph replied to her, “Come and see.”

69 They entered the cave, and Joseph said to her, “Go and visit her.” As she wanted to move deeper into the cave, she became afraid because a great light shone in it, which did not diminish day or night, as long as Mary remained there.¹³ Joseph then said to Mary: “Behold, I have brought Zachel, a midwife, to you; look, she is standing outside in front of the cave and she dares not enter here because it is too bright, nor indeed can she.” When Mary heard this she smiled. Joseph said to her, “Do not smile, but be wary; for she has come to examine you, in case you need medicine.” And she ordered her to come in to her, and she began to stand before her. After Mary allowed herself to be inspected for hours, the midwife cried out with a loud voice and said, “Great Lord God, have mercy, for this has so far never been heard of or seen, or even suspected, that the breasts are full of milk yet the newborn boy declares her a virgin. No stain of blood has befallen the child, and no pain has appeared on her while delivering. A virgin has conceived, a virgin has given birth, and after giving birth she has remained a virgin!”¹⁴

70 (1) Since the midwife was delaying in the cave, Joseph entered. The midwife ran to meet him, and they both proceeded outside and found Symeon waiting. (2) Symeon questioned her, saying, “Mistress, what is happening with the girl? Can she have some hope for her life?” The midwife said to him, “What is that you say, man? Sit down and I will tell you about a marvelous event.” (3) And raising her eyes to heaven, the midwife said with a clear voice, “Almighty Father, what is this great marvel I have seen, by which I am astounded? What are my deeds that have made me worthy to see your holy sacraments, so that you have prepared your handmaid to come here and to see the wonders of your blessings, my Lord? What should I do? How can I relate what I have seen?” (4) Symeon said to her, “I entreat you to reveal to me what you have seen.” The midwife said to him, “This thing will not be hidden from you because it has many blessings. So attend to my words and keep them in your heart.

71 “When I came in to inspect the girl, I found her with her face upward, gazing up into heaven and talking to herself—though I suspect that she prayed and gave blessings to the Most High. When I had thus come to her, I said to her, ‘Daughter, tell me, do you not feel some pain, or is there not some spot on your body seized with pain?’ But as if she had not heard anything, she remained as still as a solid rock, gazing up into heaven.

13. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.2.

14. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.3.

72 “In illa hora requieuerunt omnia silencio maximo cum timore. Nam et uenti cessauerunt non dantes flatum suum, neque aliquis ex foliis arborum motus est, neque aquarum sonitus auditus est, neque mouerunt se flumina, neque maris fluctuatus erat, et omnia aquarum nascentia siluerunt neque uox hominum sonuit, et erat silencium magnum. Nam et ipse polus cessauit ab ea hora ab agilitate cursus. Mensure horarum pene transierant. Omnia cum timore magno siluerant stupencia nos expectantes¹ aduentum altitudinis terminum seculorum.

73.1 “Cum ergo approximauit hora, processit uirtus Dei in palam. 2 Et stans puella, intuens in celum, ut niuea facta est. Iam enim procedebat terminus bonorum. Cum uero processisset lux, adorauit eum quem se uidit enixam. Erat autem ipse infans solummodo circumfulgens uehementer, mundus et iocundissimus in respectu, quoniam totum pax pacans solus apparuit.

73.3 “In illa autem hora qua natus est audita est uox multorum inuisibilium una uoce dicencium ‘Amen.’ Et ipsa lux que nata est multiplicata est et de claritate luminis sui solis lumen obscurauit. Et repleta est hec spelunca lumine claro cum odore suauissimo. Sic autem nata est hec lux quemadmodum ros qui de celo descendit super terram. Nam odor illius super omnem odorem ungentorum fragrat.

74.1 “Ego autem steti stupens et mirans, et timor apprehendit me. Intendebam enim in tantam claritatem luminis nati. Ipsa autem lux paulisper in se residens assimilauit se infanti et in continenti factus est infans ut solent infantes nasci.

74.2 “Et sumpsit audaciam et inclinaui me et tetigi eum, leuauique eum in manibus meis cum magno timore, et perterrita sum quia non erat pondus in eo sicut hominis nati.

74.3 “Et inspexi eum, et non erat in eo aliqua coinquinatio, sed erat quasi in rore Dei altissimi totus² nitidus corpore, leuis ad portandum, splendidus ad respiciendum. Et dum nimis mirarer eo quod non ploraret, sicut soliti sunt nati infantes plorare, 4 et dum tenuissem eum in faciem eius intendens, risit ad me iocundissimum risum, aperiensque oculos intendit in me argute, et subito progressa³ est lux magna de oculis eius tamquam chorcuscus magnus.”

1 stupencia nos expectantes *AVW*: stupentia et expectantia *conj. Kaestli et McNamara*

2 totus *AVW*: lotus *conj. Kaestli et McNamara*

3 progressa *VW*: regressa *A*: egressa *conj. James*

72 In that hour all became quiet with deep silence and awe. For even winds stopped and gave no breeze, and not a single leaf on trees was stirred nor sound of waters heard; rivers did not flow, nor did the sea wave, and all the gushing waters grew silent; no human voice made a sound, and there was great silence. For indeed, from that hour on even the heavenly firmament had ceased its rapid course and the measures of hours all but passed away. All things had become silent in a great awe and were stupefied, while we were attending on the coming of the Highness, the end of the ages.¹⁵

73 (1) When therefore the hour came near, the power of God went forth openly. (2) And the girl, standing and gazing into heaven, became as white as snow. For the appointed time of the blessings was already coming forth. When the light had thus come forth, she adored the one she saw she had borne. And the child himself was radiating intensely round about like the sun,¹⁶ clean and most pleasant to look at, because he appeared alone as peace bringing calm to everything. (3) Now in that hour in which he was born, the voice of many invisible ones was heard, saying 'Amen' in unison. And that same newborn light was multiplied, and the clarity of its brightness darkened the brightness of the sun. And this cave was filled with clear brightness, together with a most sweet odor. Thus, in fact, was this light born as the dew that comes down from heaven to the earth. For its odor gives off a fragrance that is stronger than any scent of ointments.

74. (1) Now I stood stupefied and marveling, and fear gripped me; for I was looking upon the astounding clarity of the brightness that was born. But that light, little by little withdrawing into itself, assimilated itself to the child, and in a moment the child came to be as children are normally born.¹⁷ (2) And I put on boldness and bent down and touched him, and lifted him up in my hands with great fear, and I was frightened because there was no weight in him as of a newborn person. (3) And I inspected him, and there was no defilement in him,¹⁸ but it was as if he was bathed in the dew of God Most High, shining in his body, light to carry, and brilliant to look at. And while I was greatly amazed that he was not crying, as newborn children normally do, (4) and while I held him looking into his face, he smiled at me with a most pleasant smile, and opening his eyes he gazed at me intently; and immediately a great light came forth from his eyes like a great lightning."

15. Cf. Heb. 9:26.

16. "Like the sun" renders M. R. James's conjecture *solis modo*, based on the Hereford reading *ad modum solis* (JHer 73.2); the Arundel manuscript has *solummodo*, "in a unique fashion."

17. This "nondocetic" rendering of the passage stands at odds with James's translation, p. xxi: "But that light by little and little withdrawing into itself, made itself like to an infant, and in a moment it became an infant as infants are wont to be born."

18. Cf. *supra* 69 and Ps.-Mt. 13.3.

75 Symeon autem audiens hec respondit: “O beata mulier que digna fuisti hoc nouum uisum et sanctum uidere ac predicare. Et ego felix sum qui hec audierim licet non uiderim, sed tamen crediderim.” Dicit illi obstetrix: “Habeo tibi indicare adhuc rem mirabilem ut stupeas.” Respondit Symeon: “Indica, domina, quia hec audiendo gaudeo.” Dicit ei obstetrix: “Illa hora qua tuli infantem in manus meas uidi eum mundum corpus habentem et non coinquinatum sicut solent homines cum immundicia nasci. Et existimaui in corde meo ne casu intus in matrice puelle fetus secandi⁴ remansissent. Solet enim mulieribus contingere in partu, et ex ea causa periclitari et deficere animo. Statimque uocaui Ioseph et dedi infantem in manibus eius. Et accessi ad puellam et tetigi eam et inueni eam mundam a sanguine. Quomodo autem referam? Quid dicam? Non mecum conuenio. Ignoro quomodo possim narrare tantam claritatem Dei uiui. Tu autem, Domine, testis es mihi quia tetigi eam manibus meis et inueni hanc puellam que genuit uirginem non solum a partu sed et sexu hominus masculini. In ipsa hora exclamaui uoce magna et glorificaui Deum et cecidi in faciem meam et adoraui eum. Post hoc processi foris. Ioseph uero inuoluit infantem pannis et posuit in presepio.”

76 Dixit ad eam Symeon: “Dedit tibi aliquam mercedem?” Respondit obstetrix: “Ego magis debeo mercedem et gratiam et oracionem, et promisi sacrificium immaculatum Deo offerre qui dignatus est me huius sacramenti inspectricem et consciam esse. Nam ego per me ipsam munus offero pro muneribus que offeruntur in templo Domini.” Et hec dicens ait ad discipulam suam: “Filiola, tolle cathedram et eamus. Hodie enim uidit mea senectus parturientem sine doloribus et uirginem peperisse, si tamen debeat dici hic partus. Suspicio enim in animo meo quia tradidit se uoluntati Dei qui permanet in secula.” Et hec dicens ibat cum illa.

4 fetus secandi *AV*: secundina *W*: fetus secundi *conj. James*

75 When Symeon heard these things, he replied, "O blessed woman, who was worthy to see and proclaim this new and holy sight! I am fortunate because I heard these things and, even though I did not see, nevertheless believed."¹⁹ The midwife said to him, "I have yet to reveal to you a marvelous event for your amazement." Symeon replied, "Reveal, O mistress, for I rejoice hearing these things." The midwife said to him, "In that hour in which I carried the child in my hands, I saw that he had a clean body, which was not defiled like other humans who are born with impurity. And I was concerned in my heart lest perchance there might remain inside the girl's womb some residues²⁰ to be cut free. For this sometimes happens to women at childbirth, and for this reason they are in peril and feel disheartened. And straightaway I called up Joseph and gave the child into his hands. And I approached the girl, touched her, and found her clean from blood. But what should I relate? What should I say? I am confused. I do not know how I could explain such great brightness of the living God. But you, O Lord, are my witness that I have touched her with my hands and found the girl who had given birth a virgin, not only from childbirth but also from having sex with a man. In that very hour I cried out with a mighty voice and glorified God, and I fell on my face and worshiped him. After this I went outside. And Joseph, for his part, wrapped the child in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger."²¹

76 Symeon said to her, "Has he given you some reward?" The midwife replied, "I rather owe a reward and a debt of gratitude and prayer. Indeed I have promised to offer a flawless sacrifice to God, who has deemed me worthy to be the examiner and witness of this mystery. For instead of the gifts that are offered in the temple of the Lord, I am offering the gift on my own."²² Saying this, she told her apprentice, "Little daughter, pick up the chair and let us go. For today my old age has seen that the pregnant woman has given birth without pangs and as a virgin—if indeed this ought to be called birth. For I suspect in my mind that she has abandoned herself to the will of the everlasting God." And saying this, she left with her.

19. Cf. John 20:29.

20. Lit. "fetuses."

21. Cf. Luke 2:7.

22. The Hereford form (JHer), ad loc., has instead: "And since I have promised to offer a flawless sacrifice in the temple of the Lord, I am rather offering myself as a gift instead of the gifts to Almighty God."

77 Factum est ergo dum ambulant occurrit eis alia obstetrix nomine Salome, et salutauerunt se inuicem. Dicit ei obstetrix: "Nouam rem tibi habeo docere, Salome." Illa respondit: "Quid tale est?" Obstetrix dixit: "Virgo peperit masculum, et natura uirginis clausa permanet, quod difficile aliquando uisum est." Dicit ei Salome: "Vir est quod uirgo peperit?" Respondit obstetrix: "Virgo uirum peperit." Dicit ei Salome: "Viuit Dominus plane quia nisi ipsa probauero non credam et nisi mittam manum meam et aspiciam diligenter non credam uirginem peperisse." Ait illi obstetrix: "Eamus pariter ad eam." Cumque introissent ad Mariam, dixit ei Salome: "Filia, patere tu ut conspiciam te et cognoscam si hec que Rachel dixit mihi uera sunt." Cum hoc permisisset Maria, in conspectu suo scrutauit diligenter, et ita inuenit quemadmodum dixerat ei obstetrix.

78 Vt autem abstraxit manum suam dexteram ab inspectu, subito arefacta est ex splendore nimio. Et pre dolore cepit uehementissime angustiari, et flens clamabat dicens: "Ve iniquitati et incredulitati mee, quoniam temptaui Dominum, et ecce manus mea ardet ab igne." Et figens genua coram Domino dixit: "Domine Deus patrum meorum, memor esto mei quoniam ex semine sum Abrahe, Ysaac et Iacob. Ne modo prodigium hoc facias filiis Israel, sed redde me pauperibus tuis. Domine, tu nosti quia semper te timui et in tuo nomine hiis omnem curam exhibui, et omnes pauperes sine acceptione curauit, nulli tribulationem intuli et mercedem meam a te expectaui. A uidua et orphano nichil accepi et inopem a me uacuum non dimisi. Et ecce misera facta sum propter incredulitatem meam quoniam audenter accessi temptare uirginem tuam que peperit magnum lumen, uirgo post partum permanens."

Salome's Incredulity

77²³ Now it came to pass that, while they traveled, another midwife met them, Salome by name,²⁴ and they greeted one another. The midwife said to her, "I have some news to tell you, Salome." She replied, "What sort of news?" The midwife said, "A virgin has given birth to a boy, and her nature as a virgin has remained intact, which has hardly ever been seen." Salome said to her, "Is it a male that the virgin has given birth to?" The midwife responded, "A virgin gave birth to a male." Salome said to her, "As surely as the Lord lives, I will not believe unless I examine her myself,²⁵ and unless I put my hand in and look her over carefully, I will not believe that the virgin has given birth."²⁶ The midwife said to her, "Let us go to her together." When they came in to Mary, Salome said to her, "My child, allow me to inspect you to learn if that which Rachel said to me is true."²⁷ When Mary permitted this, she gave her a full inspection and thus found it to be as the midwife had told her.

78 But as soon as she pulled her hand away from the examination, it withered from the excessive splendor. And because of the pain she began to be greatly distressed, and weeping she cried out and said,²⁸ "Woe to my wickedness and disbelief, for I have put the Lord to the test, and see, my hand is withering by fire."²⁹ She knelt before the Lord and said, "Lord, God of my fathers, remember me, for I am of the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. You should not make this a portent to the sons of Israel,³⁰ but rather deliver me over to your poor. Lord, you know that I have always feared you; that I have provided every care for them in your name and cured all of the poor without receiving anything; and that I have inflicted no pain on anyone and expected my reward from you. From the widow and the orphan I have accepted nothing, and I have not let the poor go empty-handed. Behold, I have become wretched because of my disbelief, because I boldly came to test your virgin who had given birth to the great light, and remained a virgin after giving birth."³¹

23. The Salome episode is preserved only in the Latin versions of the infancy narrative (77–80), in a form that is based on Prot. Jas. 19.3–20.3 and further enriched with the borrowings from Ps.-Mt. 13.4–5.

24. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.4.

25. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.4.

26. Cf. Prot. Jas. 19.3.

27. Cf. Prot. Jas. 20.1. In ch. 69 as well as in the parallel passage in Ps.-Mt. 13.4 the midwife is identified as Zachel.

28. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.4.

29. Cf. Prot. Jas. 20.1.

30. See the Hereford form ad loc. "You should not make me a portent in Israel. . ."

31. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 19.4.

79 Et cum hec loqueretur, apparuit ante eam iuuenis splendidus dicens ei: “Salome, accedens ad puerum adora eum, infer manum tuam et continge, et ipse eam saluam faciet, quia ipse est qui te saluabit, saluator mundi et omnium spes credencium in eum.” Et confestim accedens Salome ad puerum dixit: “Domine, tangamne te an primum adorem te?” Et adorans infantem tetigit fimbrias pannorum in quibus erat inuolutus, statimque sana facta est manus eius. Et exiens foris clamare cepit magnalia uirtutum que uiderat et que passa fuerat et quemadmodum curata est, ita ut ad predicationem eius multi crederent dicentes: “Hic puer qui filius Dei est rex natus est in Israel.”

80 Iter autem facientibus obstetrice et Salome, facta est uox dicens: “Salome, uide ne ultra dixeris que uidisti mirabilia donec intret puer in Ierusalem.”

81 Ioseph autem procedens de spelunca in atrio dixit: “O noua ciuitas! O peregrinus partus! Quomodo factus sum ego pater ignoro, quoniam ecce hodie natus est mihi filius qui est omnium Dominus.” Hoc cum diceret exiit ad uiam foris dicens: “Iustum est mihi hodie aliquid querere ad uictum nostrum, preterea dum sit natalis pueri huius. Credo enim quia hodie in celis gloria magna colitur et gaudium est uniuersis archangelis et omnibus uirtutibus celorum. Ideoque iustum est mihi hunc diem iustificare in quo gloria Dei apparuit in omnem terram.”

82.1 Et cum hec diceret uidit pastores uenientes et ad alterutrum dicentes: “Circuiuimus ecce totam Bethleem et non inuenimus quod dictum est nobis extra ciuitatem. Intremus ergo et in hiis locis queramus proximis.” **2** Dixit ad eos Ioseph: “Numquid agnum aut hedum⁵ uenalem habetis, uel gallinas aut oua?” At illi dixerunt ei: “Nichil horum hic habemus nobiscum.” Dixit eis Ioseph: “Nec herbas rusticas aut caseum?” Responderunt ei: “O homo, quare derides nos? Propter aliam rem magnam uenimus, et tu nos interrogas de rebus uenalibus.” Dicit eis Ioseph: “Quid est propter quod uenistis?” At illi dixerunt: “Si audis miraberis.” Dicit eis Ioseph: “Si dixeritis mihi, et ego uobis dicam rem mirabilem quam habeo in hospitali meo.”

⁵ hedum *AV*: vitulum *W*

79 While she was saying these things, a splendid young man appeared before her, saying to her, "Salome, approach the boy and worship him; bring your hand and touch him, and he will heal it, for he is the one who will save you, the Savior of the world, a hope for all who believe in him."³² Salome immediately approached the boy and said, "Lord, should I touch you or worship you first?"³³ And worshipping the child she touched the fringe of the swaddling clothes in which he was wrapped, and immediately her hand was healed. She went outside and began to proclaim the great miracles she had seen, and what she had suffered and how she had been cured, so that many came to believe her proclamation,³⁴ saying, "This boy, who is the son of God, has been born a king in Israel."³⁵

80 As the midwife and Salome journeyed on the road, a voice came saying, "Salome, mind you don't talk further about the wonders you have seen until the boy enters Jerusalem."³⁶

The Visit and Witness of the Shepherds

81³⁷ Now Joseph came out of the cave into the forecourt and said, "O new order of things! O strange childbirth! How I have become a father I know not; for, behold, today a son has been born to me who is Lord of all." While he was saying this, he went to the road outside and said, "Today it is fitting for me to search for some food, especially since it is the birthday of this boy. For I believe that today a great glory is celebrated in heaven and that all the archangels and all the heavenly powers are rejoicing. And it is therefore fitting for me to do justice to this very day in which the glory of God has appeared for the whole earth."

82 (1) While he was saying this, he saw the shepherds coming and speaking to each other, "Behold, we have gone around the whole of Bethlehem and we have not found what has been said to us outside the city. Let us enter, then, and search in these places nearby." (2) Joseph said to them, "Do you have any lamb or kid for sale, or hens or eggs?" They said to him, "We have none of these here with us." Joseph said to them, "Not even country herbs or cheese?" They replied to him, "O man, why are you making fun of us? We have come for another great thing, yet you keep asking us about things for sale." Joseph said to them, "What is it that you have come for?" They said, "If you hear, you will be amazed." Joseph said to them, "If you tell me, then I will also tell you about a wonder that I have in my guest house."

32. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 19.5 and Prot. Jas. 20.3.

33. Cf. Prot. Jas. 20.4.

34. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 13.5.

35. Cf. Prot. Jas. 20.4.

36. Cf. Prot. Jas. 20.4.

37. For a similar yet more detailed and expanded version of this section see the parallel text in the Irish *Leabhar Breac* infancy narrative (InfLB), pp. 81–85, McNamara et al., *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, pp. 324–42.

83.1 Dicunt ei pastores: “In hac nocte que transiit uigilantes sedebamus in monte et luna orta est clara tamquam dies serenus. Nos autem secundum consuetudinem custodiebamus pecora nostra propter fures aut lupos. Et eramus nobis inuicem fabulas narrantes, alii autem cantantes et inuicem nos abalienantes, et ualde leti eramus in illa hora.

83.2 “Cum autem hec inter nos agerentur, subito apparuit nobis uir magnus et potens ab oriente ueniens. Venit ergo ad nos circumfulgens in claritate Dei, et in circuitu eius magnam multitudinem quadrigarum uidimus. Cumque uidissemus nimio pauore perterriti cecidimus in facies nostras.

83.3 “Ille autem magna uoce dixit nobis: ‘Nolite timere, pastores. Ecce enim ueni ad uos euangelizare uobis claritatem Dei et gaudium magnum, non solum uobis sed et omnibus gentibus, quia natus est hodie Christus Dominus, qui est saluator omnium uirtutum celorum et hominum. Ecce hodie manifestatus est in Bethleem ciuitate Dauid. Itaque ite, et inuenietis eum pannis inuolutum et positum in presepio. Ipse est enim filius Dei qui uenit dare gentibus et omnibus in eum credentibus uitam eternam.’

83.4 “Et cum hec dixisset nobis, audiuius uoces multorum de celis angelorum cantantium et dicentium: ‘Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis.’ Hec autem dicebant cantantes, sed et alia multa. Et ideo huc uenimus ut respiciamus hec, uideamus et donum Dei secundum quod dictum est nobis.”

84.1 Hoc audito Ioseph dixit: “Non mihi continget ut et ego uobis abscondam hoc mysterium. Venite itaque et uidete. Ecce enim ipse puer qui natus est, hic est in hospicio meo. Ipse est enim Christus Dominus.” Dicunt ei pastores: “Benedicte homo, ostende nobis ipsum puerum.” **2** Dicit eis Ioseph: “Venite et uidete ubi positus est in presepio.” Qui abierunt simul. Cumque intendissent in presepio et uidissent puerum procidentes adorauerunt eum.

84.3 Dixeruntque ad Ioseph: “Vidimus puerum Dei gracia plenum. Nos autem adorabamus archanum eius. Ipse autem respiciens nos risit iocundissime per effigies multas, semper species mutans. Primum enim ostendit se nobis quod sit iocundissimus, quod sit austerus et timendus, sit etiam suauissimus et humanus, iterum uero pusillus et magnus. Et subito cum aperuisset oculos, ex oculis illius lux magna, et de ore eius exiit odor suauissimus.”

84.4 Dixerunt ergo ei: “O beatissime homo, qualis tibi natus est filius qui te saluum faciat! Et quia nos dignatus es cum pace suscipere et permisisti nos in domum tuam introire et Dei claritatem uidere, petimus te ut uenias in

83 (1) The shepherds said to him, "Last night we sat watching on a hill, and the moon rose bright as a clear day. We were keeping watch over our flock,³⁸ as is our custom, because of thieves and wolves. And we were telling stories to one another, while some were singing and playing hide-and-seek, and we were very happy at that hour.³⁹ (2) But as these things were happening among us, suddenly a large and powerful man appeared to us, coming from the east. He came to us, then, shining round in the glory of God, and round about him we saw a great multitude of chariots. When we saw it, we fell on our faces smitten with great fear. (3) But he said to us with a loud voice, 'Fear not, O shepherds! For behold, I have come to you to proclaim to you the glory of God and a great joy, not only to you but also to all nations, because today is born Christ the Lord, who is the Savior of all the heavenly powers and humans. Behold, today he has been made manifest in Bethlehem, the city of David. Go, therefore, and you will find him wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger. Indeed, he is the Son of God, who has come to give eternal life to the nations and to all who believe in him.'⁴⁰ (4) When he had said this to us, we heard the voices of many angels singing and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to people of good will.' They said these words while singing, as well as many others. We have therefore come here to look for these things, and also to see the gift of God according to what has been said to us."

84 (1) When Joseph heard this, he said, "I am not entitled to hide this mystery from you. Come, then, and see. For behold, the child who has been born is here in my guest house. He is indeed Christ the Lord." The shepherds said to him, "Blessed man, show us that child." Joseph said to them, "Come and see where he is lying in a manger." They left at once, and when they looked into the manger and saw the child, they fell prostrate and worshiped him. (3)⁴¹ And they said to Joseph, "We have seen the child filled with God's grace; we adored his arcane secret while he looked at us and smiled most pleasantly in manifold appearances, constantly changing form. For at first he revealed himself to us as most pleasant, as stern and fearsome, and also as most sweet and human, and then again as both small and large. And as soon as he opened his eyes, the great light emanated from his eyes and the sweetest odor from his mouth." (4) They said to him, "O most blessed man, what a son has been born to you, one who is able to save you! And since you have deigned to accept us in peace and permitted us to enter your house and see the glory of God,

38. Cf. Luke 2:8.

39. Cf. the variant "in that joy," instead of "in the same region" (Luke 2:8), in the Greek column of Codex Bezae.

40. Cf. Luke 2:9–12.

41. The second paragraph, which contains the conversation between Joseph and his son Symeon (Semion) while the shepherds are inside the house, is preserved only in the Irish *Leabhar Breac* infancy narrative.

conuentum omnium nostrum, ut simul iocundemur, quia uniuersi pastores hodie offerimus munera Deo omnipotenti. Vnde rogamus te ut non fastidiaris uenire ut hodie nobiscum epuleris.”

85.1 Dicit eis Ioseph: “Bene quidem fecistis quod ita locuti estis. Ago gracias, mihi autem non est iustum uenire uobiscum et relinquere puerum cum matre eius. Sed plane scitote me uobiscum esse.” Dicunt ei pastores: “Ergo quia tibi sic placuit nos pergitimus, et mandamus tibi pingue lactis et recentes caseos.”

2 Dicit eis Ioseph: “Ita cum pace.” At illi abierunt gaudentes et glorificantes Deum, asserentes hoc quod angelos uiderint in media nocte ymnum dicentes Deo, et ab ipsis audierint quod natus esset saluator hominum qui est Christus Dominus in quo restitueretur salus Israel.

86 Tercia autem dies tunc erat. Ad ipsum uero presepium bos et asinus genua flectentes adorabant. Tunc impletum est quod dictum est per Ysaïam prophetam: Agnouit bos possessorem suum et asinus presepium domini sui. Ipsa autem animalia in medio habentes eum flectebant genua adorantes eum, ut impleretur quod dictum est per Abacuc prophetam dicentem: In medio duorum animalium innotesceris. In eodem autem loco commorati sunt cum infante tribus diebus. Sexta autem die Bethleem ingressi compleuerunt septimum diem. Octauo autem die circumcisione completa nomen accepit quo uocatus est ab angelo infans. Postquam autem dies purgacionis illuxit habuerunt uota pauperum quia non fuerant eis supplementa diuitum.

87 Ioseph autem post dies plurimos, id est post tres annos dierum,⁶ respiciens ad uiam itineris uidit turbam uiatorum ueniencium ad speluncam.

88 Nam et stella ingens a uespere usque in matutinum super speluncam splendebat, cuius magnitudo nunquam uisa fuerat ab origine mundi. Nam et prophete qui erant in Ierusalem dicebant hanc stellam indicare natiuitatem Christi, qui restaurare promissus est non solum Israel sed et omnes gentes.

6 plurimos id est post tres annos dierum *V*: plurimos *W*: paucos id est die tredecima *AB^c*: (paucos et die tredecima in rasura; spatium vacuum post tredecima)

we invite you to come to our meeting that we may rejoice together, for today all of us shepherds are offering gifts to the almighty God. And so we ask you to agree to come and feast with us today.”

85 (1) Joseph replied to them, “You have done well indeed for asking me. Thank you, but it is not right for me to come with you and leave the child alone with his mother. Be assured, however, that I am entirely with you.” The shepherds said to him, “Since you have thus decided, we will go on and send to you the fat of milk and fresh cheeses.” (2) Joseph replied to them, “Go in peace.” They left rejoicing and glorifying God, claiming that they had seen angels in the middle of the night singing a hymn to God, and that they had heard from them that the Savior of humans had been born, who is Christ the Lord, in whom the salvation of Israel would be restored.⁴²

86⁴³ And then there was the third day: an ox and an ass bent their knees at that manger and worshiped him. Then was fulfilled what was said through Isaiah the prophet, “The ox has recognized its owner and the ass the manger of its lord.”⁴⁴ Now these animals, having him between themselves, bent their knees and worshiped him so that what was spoken by Habakkuk the prophet might be fulfilled, who said, “Between the two animals you will make yourself known.”⁴⁵ They stayed in the same place with the child for three days. But on the sixth day they entered Bethlehem and spent the seventh day there. And on the eighth day, after circumcision was done, the child received the name by which the angel had called him. And when the day of purification had dawned, they made offerings⁴⁶ of the poor, for they did not possess the supplies of the rich.

The Visit and Witness of the Magi

87 After many days, that is, after three years of days,⁴⁷ Joseph looked out on the journey road and saw a band of wayfarers coming to the cave.

88 For an enormous star was shining over the cave from evening until morning, whose magnitude had never been seen since the beginning of the world. For even the prophets who were in Jerusalem were saying that this star was signaling the birth of Christ, who, as it was promised, would restore not only Israel but also all the nations.⁴⁸

42. claiming . . . restored: cf. Ps.-Mt. 13,6.

43. The chapter draws heavily on Ps.-Mt. 14,1–15,1.

44. Cf. Isa. 1:3.

45. Cf. Hab. 3:2 (LXX).

46. the child . . . called him: cf. Luke 2:21–24.

47. This is the reading of V; W has only “after many days” and A “a few days later, that is, on the thirteenth day” (“a few” and “on the thirteenth day” are subsequently erased and a blank space left after the erasure).

48. The chapter is a slightly revised version of Ps.-Mt. 13,7.

88a Venerunt autem ab oriente in Iherosolimam munera deferentes magna qui instanter interrogabant Iudeos dicentes: “Vbi est rex Iudeorum qui natus est? Visa eius in oriente stella et cognouimus eius aroma⁷ uenimusque adorandi eum gracia.” Hec opinio perueniens ad Herodem regem turbauit eum, et ita terruit ut mitteret ad scribas et phariseos et doctores populi et inquireret ab eis ubi nasciturum Christum prophete predixerunt. At illi dixerunt ei secundum quod scriptum est quod in Bethleem Iuda, que non est minima in principibus Iuda, exiret dux qui regeret populum Israel. Tunc Herodes rex uocauit eos ad se et diligenter exquisiuit ab eis quomodo apparuisset eis stella. Et dimisit eos, rogans ut diligenter inquirerent et dum inuenirent sibi renunciarent, ut et ipse ueniens ipsum adoret, collatis sibi muneribus optimis promiscuis atque plurimis. Euntibus autem in uia apparuit stella et quasi ducatum prestaret antecedebat eos quousque peruenirent ubi erat puer. Videntes autem stellam hauserunt maximam leticiam.

89.1 Ioseph autem uidens eos dixit: “Putas qui sunt hii qui ueniunt huc ad nos? Videtur mihi de longinquo uenientes huc appropriare. Igitur surgam et uadam obuiam eis.” Ergo cum procederet dixit ad Symeonem: “Videntur mihi isti qui ueniunt augures esse. Ecce enim omni non cessant momento, respiciunt et inter se disputant. Sed et peregrini mihi uidentur esse, quia et habitus eorum differt ab habitu nostro, quin illorum uestis amplissima est et color fuscus. Denique et pilleos habent in capitibus suis et in pedibus eorum sunt saraballe uelud opere deficientes. Ecce steterunt et me intenderunt. Ecce iterum huc ueniunt.”

89.2 Cum ergo peruenissent ad speluncam ait ad illos Ioseph: “Qui estis uos? Dicite mihi.” Illi autem audaciter introire uolebant. Nam et direxerunt se introire. Et dixit eis Ioseph: “Per uestram salutem dicite mihi qui estis, quod sic uos dirigitis in hospicium meum?” At illi dixerunt: “Quia noster dux hic coram nobis intrauit, 3 unde quam ob rem interrogas nos qui sumus?”

7 aroma AV: yconia W: horoma *vel* horama *conj.* James

88a⁴⁹ And they came to Jerusalem from the East, bringing great gifts, and they earnestly asked the Jews, saying, "Where is the king of the Jews who has been born? For we saw his star in the East and sensed of his aroma, and so we have come to pay him homage." When this rumor reached King Herod, it disturbed and so terrified him that he sent for the scribes, Pharisees, and teachers of the people and inquired from them where the prophets had predicted the Christ would be born. They told him as it was written: that in Bethlehem of Judah, which is not least among the leading lands of Judah, a leader would go forth who would rule the people of Israel.⁵⁰ Then King Herod summoned them and carefully inquired from them how the star had appeared to them. And he sent them away, asking that they search diligently and, when they find out, report back to him so that he also might come and worship him upon collecting a great number of the best possible gifts of all kinds. When they thus went out on the road, the star appeared and, as if providing guidance, moved ahead of them until they came to the place where the child was. When they saw the star they were overwhelmed with a great joy.

89 (1)⁵¹ But when Joseph saw them, he said, "Who do you think are those coming here to us? It seems to me that they have drawn near after coming a long way. I should therefore get up and meet them." While he thus moved forward, he said to Symeon, "I think that those who are coming are diviners. For behold, they do not rest even for a moment, and they are looking around and arguing among themselves. I also think that they are strangers, for even their appearance differs from ours—indeed, their attire is flowing and its color is purple. Furthermore, they have pointed caps on their heads and shoes on their feet, as those who are free from work."⁵² Look, they have stopped and are looking at me. Look again, they are coming here!" (2) When they had thus reached the cave, Joseph said to them, "Who are you? Tell me!" But they rashly wanted to get inside, and indeed they said that they would enter. And Joseph said to them, "For your salvation's sake, tell me who you are, and why you are heading toward my guest house." They replied, "Because our guide⁵³ has entered here before us. (3) Why are you asking us where we are from?"

49. This section, a slightly revised version of Ps.-Mt. 16.1–2 (cf. also Matt. 2:1–12), is completely absent in the Hereford form (JHer).

50. Cf. Matt. 2:5–6.

51. Along with the parallel texts in the Hereford form (JHer) and the Irish Leabhar Breac infancy narrative (InflB), there are two external witnesses to the dialogue between Joseph and his son Symeon at the arrival of the "magi" in the Arundel ms. (JAr) 87 and 89.1. One is preserved by the mid-ninth century Irish writer Sedulius Scottus in his Commentary on Matthew, and the other is quoted by the glossator of the twelfth-century Irish Gospel-Book of Máel Brigte, ad Matt. 2:11.

52. The Irish Leabhar Breac Infancy Narrative has the following text: "The manner of their aspect is that of a king or leader."

53. That is, the star. JHer has "dux itineris nostri," the guide of our journey.

Ab oriente uenimus quia Deus nos huc misit.” Dixit eis Ioseph: “Rogo uos ut mihi dicatis cuius rei causa huc uenistis.” Dicunt ei illi: “Dicimus tibi quia salus communis est.”

90.1 “Vidimus in celo stellam regis Iudeorum et uenimus adorare eum, quia sic scriptum est in libris antiquis de signo stelle huius quia cum hec stella apparuerit nascetur rex eternus et dabit iustis uitam immortalem.”

90.2 Dicit eis Ioseph: “Iustum erat ut primum Iherosolimam inquireretis, quia ibi est sanctimonium Domini.” Responderunt ei: “Fuimus Iherosolimam et indicauius regi quia Christus natus est et ipsum querimus. Ille uero dixit nobis: ‘Ego quidem ignoro ubi natus sit.’ **3** Continuo uero misit ad omnes inquisitores scripturarum et ad omnes magos et ad principes sacerdotum et doctores, et uenerunt ad eum. Interrogauitque eos ubi Christus nasceretur. At illi dixerunt: ‘In Bethleem Iude. Sic enim scriptum est de illo: Et tu Bethleem, terra Iuda, non eris minima in principibus Iuda. Ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel.’ Quod nos ut audiuimus cognouimus et uenimus adorare eum. Nam et hec stella que apparuit precessit nos ex quo profecti sumus.

90.4 “Herodes uero cum audisset hos sermones timuit et occulte inquisiuit a nobis tempus stelle, quando apparuit. **5** Et nobis euntibus dixit: ‘Inquirete diligenter, et cum inueneritis eum renunciate mihi ut et ego ueniens adorem eum.’

91.1 “Deditque nobis ipse Herodes dyadema suum quo utebatur in caput suum. Hoc autem dyadema mitram habet albam, et anulum regalem gemmam habentem, signum incomparabile quod rex Persarum ei munus misit, precipiens ipse nobis Herodes dare munus hoc puero. Nam et ipse Herodes promisit se munus ei offerendum si reuersi fuerimus ad eum. **2** Et accipientes munera profecti sumus ab Iherosolima. Et ecce stella que apparuerat nobis precessit nos ex quo profecti sumus ab Iherosolima usque in locum istum. Et ecce in hac spelunca intrauit in qua tu stas et non permittis nos ingredi.”

91.3 Dicit eis Ioseph: “Ego iam uos non ueto. Sequimini illam, quia Deus est dux uester. Preterea non tantum uester sed et omnium quibus uoluit manifestare gloriam suam.”

91.4 Hec audientes magi introierunt et salutauerunt Mariam dicentes: “Aue gracia plena.” Et accedentes ad presepium inspexerunt et uiderunt infantem.

92.1 Ioseph uero dixit: “Symeon fili, intende et uide quid faciant isti peregrini intus. Me enim non decet insidiari eis.” **2** Et fecit sic. Et dixit patri suo: “Ecce introeuntes salutauerunt puerum cecideruntque in faciem super terram, et more

We have come from the East because God has sent us here.” Joseph said to them, “I ask you to tell me why you have come here.” They replied to him, “We are going to tell you, for salvation is for all.

90 (1) “We have seen in the sky the star of the king of the Jews, and we have come to worship him; for thus it is written in the old books about the sign of this star, that, when this star appears, the eternal King shall be born and grant immortal life to the just.” (2) Joseph said to them, “You should have first searched through Jerusalem, for the sanctuary of God is there.” They responded to him,⁵⁴ “We have been to Jerusalem and announced to the king that the Christ was born and that we are searching for him. But he said to us, ‘I do not know where he has been born.’” (3) Yet he kept sending for all who search the Scriptures, and for all the wise men and the chief priests and the teachers, and they came to him. He inquired of them where the Christ was to be born. And they said, ‘In Bethlehem of Judah, for thus it is written about him: “And you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, shall not be least among the leading lands of Judah; for from you shall come forth a leader who is to rule my people Israel.”’” As soon as we had heard this, we understood it and have come to worship him. For this star appeared, too, and preceded us ever since we set out. (4) But when Herod heard these reports, he was frightened and secretly inquired of us the time when the star had appeared. (5) As we were about to leave, he said, ‘Search diligently, and when you have found him, report back to me so that I may also come and worship him.’

91 (1) Herod himself gave us his diadem, which he used to wear on his head—this diadem has a white headband—and the royal ring holding a gem, an incomparable token which the king of the Persians had sent him as a gift and which Herod, in his turn, bid us to give as a gift to this child. For Herod himself has promised to bring him a gift if we return to him. (2) We accepted the gifts and departed from Jerusalem. And behold, the star that had appeared to us preceded us from the time we had left Jerusalem all the way to this place. See, it entered this cave in which you stand; and you do not allow us to come inside.” (3) Joseph said to them, “I will no longer hinder you. Follow it, for God is your guide—not only yours but also of all those to whom he wanted to reveal his glory.” (4) When the magi heard this, they entered and saluted Mary, saying, “Hail, full of grace!”⁵⁵ And when they approached the manger, they looked inside and saw the child.

92 (1) But Joseph said, “Symeon, my son, pay attention and see what these strangers are doing inside; for it is not proper for me to spy on them.” (2) And thus he did. He said to his father, “Behold, they entered and saluted the boy, and fell facedown to the ground, and according

54. For the content of the Magi’s report to Joseph (90.2 *Fuimus* to 90.4 *adorem eum*), a vivid elaboration of the reworking of Matt. 2:1–12 in Ps.-Mt. 16.1–2, see *supra*, 88a.

55. Cf. Luke 1:28.

barbarico adorant eum singulatimque osculantur pedes infantis. Quid est hoc quod faciunt ignoro.” Dicit illi Ioseph: “Vide, uide diligenter.” Respondit Symeon: “Ecce aperiunt thesauros suos et offerunt ei munera.” **3** Dicit ei Ioseph: “Quid illi offerunt?” Symeon respondit: “Suspitor quia illa munera ei offerunt que misit Herodes rex. Nam ecce obtulerunt ei de peris suis aurum thus et mirram. Et Marie multa munera dederunt.” **4** Dicit ei Ioseph: “Valde bene fecerunt uiri isti in hoc quia non gratis osculati sunt infantem et non sicut pastores illi nostri qui sine muneribus huc uenerunt.” **5** Iterumque dicit ei: “Intende diligentius et uide quid faciant.” Intendens ergo Symeon dicit: “Ecce iterum adorauerunt puerum, et ecce huc exeunt.”

93.1 Illi autem exierunt et dixerunt ad Ioseph: “O beatissime uir, nunc scies quis est hic puer quem nutris.” Dicit eis Ioseph: “Suspitor quoniam filius meus est.” Dicunt ei illi: “Maius est nomen eius quam tuum. Sed forte ita est quod tamen dignus est nominari pater illius, quoniam seruus ei non quasi filio tuo sed ut Deo et Domino tuo et tangens eum manibus tuis obseruas cum magno timore et diligencia. Noli ergo nos quasi ignorantes attendere. Illud autem a nobis cognosce quoniam cui tu assignatus es nutritor, ipse est Deus deorum et Dominus dominancium, Deus et rex uniuersorum principum ac potestatum, Deus angelorum et iustorum. **2** Ipse est qui eruet omnes gentes in suo nomine, quoniam illius est maiestas et imperium, et confringet mortis aculeum et dissipabit inferni potestatem. Illi seruiant reges et omnes tribus terre adorabunt eum, et illi omnis lingua confitebitur dicens: ‘Tu es Christus Iesus liberator et saluator noster. Tu enim es Deus, patris eterni uirtus et claritas.’”

94.1 Dicit eis Ioseph: “Vnde hec cognouistis que mihi dicitis?” Dicunt ei magi: “Sunt apud uos scripture ueteres prophetarum Dei in quibus scriptum est de Christo quemadmodum aduentus illius habet esse in hoc seculo. Item sunt apud nos antiquiores scripture scripturarum⁸ in quibus scriptum est de eo. **2** Nam de cetero, quia interrogasti nos unde hoc nos scire possimus, audi nos. **3** A signo stelle didicimus. Hoc enim nobis solis super specie⁹ apparuit. **4** De cuius specie nemo unquam potuit dicere. Hec enim stella que est orta designat quod regnabit stirps Dei in splendore diei. Et non circuibat in centro celi sicut solent stelle que sunt fixe uel eciam planete, que licet certum seruent

⁸ scripturarum *AV*: prophetarum *W*

⁹ super specie *AV*: per speciem *W*: super speciem *comi. Kehl*

to the custom of the barbarians they now adore him, one at a time kissing the child's feet. I do not know what it is they are doing." Joseph said to him, "Watch, watch intently." Symeon responded, "Behold, they are opening their treasure chests and offering him gifts." (3) Joseph said to him, "What are they offering?" Symeon, replied, "I think that they are offering those gifts which King Herod sent. For, look, from their purses they have offered to him gold, incense, and myrrh. And they have given many gifts to Mary." (4) Joseph said to him, "These men have done well indeed, for they have not kissed the child without payment—not like those shepherds of ours, who came here without any gifts."⁵⁶ (5) Again, he said to him, "Watch more intently and see what they are doing!" So Simeon watched them and said, "Behold, they adored the boy again and, look, they are coming out here."

93 (1) They came out and said to Joseph, "O most blessed man, now you know who this boy is whom you are rearing." Joseph said to them, "I believe that he is my son." They said to him, "His name is greater than yours. Yet perhaps you are still worthy to be called his father, for you serve him not as your son but as God and your Lord, and whenever you touch him with your hands, you take note of him with great fear and attention. Do not therefore regard us as though we were ignorant, but learn this from us: the one to whom you have been assigned as foster father is himself the God of gods and the Lord of lords, the God and king of all rulers and powers, God of the angels and of the just. (2) He is the one who will deliver all nations in his name, for his is the majesty and the dominion, and he will crush death's sting and overthrow the power of hell. All kings will serve him, and all the tribes of the earth will worship him, and every tongue will make confession to him,⁵⁷ saying, 'You are the Christ Jesus, our redeemer and savior. For you are God, the power and brilliance of the eternal Father.'"

94 (1) Joseph said to them, "Whence have you learned these things you are telling us?" The magi said to him, "There are, among you, old writings of God's prophets in which it is written about Christ, how his coming is to take place in this age. Likewise, there are even older scriptural writings among us in which it is written about him. (2) And as for the rest of it, since you have asked us how we are able to know this, listen to us. (3) We have learned about it from the sign of the star; for it has appeared to us brighter than the sun. (4) About its brightness nobody has ever been able to say anything. Now this star which has risen indicates that God's offspring will reign in the splendor of daylight. And it did not move about in the center of the sky as the fixed stars are wont to do, or even the planets; for although they both observe

56. Cf. *supra*, 82.2.

57. Cf. Phil. 2:9–11.

temporis cursum—hec tamen cum sint immobiles, et incerte prouidencie iste—semper errantes dicuntur esse. Sola autem hec est sine errore. Nam et totus polus, id est celum, uidebatur nobis non posse eam capere in sua magnitudine, sed neque sol potuit eam obscurare claritate luminis sui sicut ceteras stellas. Ipse autem sol infirmior factus est, uiso splendore aduentus ipsius. Nam stella hec uerbum Dei est. Quot enim stelle tot uerba Dei sunt. Verbum autem Dei Deus inenarrabile, sicut hec stella inenarrabilis. 5-7 Et ipsa nobis comes fuit in uia in qua iter fecimus uenientes ad Christum.”

95.1 Dixit itaque eis Ioseph: “In hiis omnibus dictis que locuti estis nimis iocundastis me. Peto autem uos ut dignemini mecum esse hodie.” 2 Dixerunt ei illi: “Rogamus te, permitte nos proficisci iter nostrum. Sic enim precepit nobis rex ut cicius reuertamur ad eum.” Detinuit autem eos.

96 Illi autem aperuerunt thesauros suos et ingentis muneribus munerauerunt Mariam et Ioseph. Qui cum uellent redire ad Herodem regem, eadem nocte admoniti sunt in sompnis ab angelo Domini ne redirent ad Herodem. Illi autem adorantes infantem cum gaudio magno per aliam uiam reuersi sunt in regionem suam.

97 Videns autem Herodes quod delusus est a magis, inflammatum est cor eius, et iratus uehementer misit per omnes uias querere et capere eos. Quos cum penitus inuenire non potuisset, misit in Bethleem et occidit omnes infantes secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis. Angelus autem Domini ante unum diem antequam hoc fieret apparuit in sompnis Ioseph dicens: “Tolle puerum et matrem eius et fuge per uiam heremi in Egyptum, quoniam Herodes querit animam pueri.” Exurgens ergo Ioseph a sompno fecit sicut preceperat ei angelus Domini.

a determined course of time—the former in spite of being immobile, and the latter in spite of their undetermined forecast—they are said always to wander. Yet this one alone does not wander. For neither the whole firmament, that is, the sky, seemed to us to be able to contain it in its greatness, nor could the sun darken it by the brilliance of its light as it does with the other stars. The sun itself grew weaker having seen the splendor of its arrival. Indeed, this star is the Word of God; for there are as many words of God as there are stars, but the Word of God is the indescribable God, just as this star is indescribable. (5–7) And it was our companion on the road we traveled as we were coming to Christ.”

95 (1) Joseph therefore said to them, “You have delighted me immensely with all these words you have spoken. Now I ask that you deign to stay with me today.” (2) They said to him, “We request that you permit us to set out on our journey. For the king has commanded us to return rather swiftly to him.” But he detained them.

96 Then they opened their treasure chests and bestowed expensive gifts upon Mary and Joseph. And when they wanted to return to King Herod, that same night they were warned in dreams by an angel of the Lord not to return to Herod. They adored the child with great joy and returned to their own country by another road.⁵⁸

Herod's Massacre and the Flight to Egypt

97 But when Herod saw that he had been tricked by the magi, his heart was inflamed and, in his great anger, he sent his people out on every road to search them out and capture them. And since he was not able to find them at all, he sent soldiers to Bethlehem and killed all the children according to the time he had learned from the magi. Now, one day before this had happened, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in dreams and said, “Take the boy and his mother and flee on the desert road to Egypt, for Herod is after the child's life.” Then Joseph got up from sleep and did as the angel of the Lord had commanded him.⁵⁹

[...]

58. Cf. Ps.-Mt. 16.2, based on Matt. 2:11–12.

59. In the two basic manuscript witnesses of the Arundel form of the J compilation, viz. A and V, the narrative of Herod's massacre and the flight to Egypt is followed by (1) Herod's attempt to kill John the Baptist (98) and the murder of the priest Zacharias (99–101), both based on Prot. Jas. 22.3–24.4; (2) the life and teaching of John the Baptist (102), inspired by the canonical Gospels; (3) the miracles of the child Jesus during the flight to Egypt and in Egypt (103–109), including the miracle of the bowing palm tree and that of the animals worshipping Jesus (103–106), the fall of the idols, and the conversion of Afrodisios (107:2–109)—all borrowed from Ps.-Mt. 18–24; (4) the end of the sojourn in Egypt and the subsequent settling in Nazareth (110), based on Ps.-Mt. 25 (cf. 24.1, 17–19 Gijssel).

111 Mercede itaque magna Christi palme a Iesu tradita ut est dictum de loco ubi pernoctauerunt, campum solitudinis desertum longum latumque transire ceperunt. Frequentabant autem hunc campum duodecim latrones operis pietatis ignari qui transeuntibus nec in rebus nec in corpore pepercerunt. Consueuerunt et hii cum potencia uenientibus cum in eos uim exercere non possent dicere a terrarum circumiacencium potestatibus se accepisse ut sue mercedis causa in hoc heremo homines conducerent et ab errantibus preseruent. Qui uictum nugis huiusmodi et latrocinii conquirentes dampna quecunque poterant transeuntibus intulerunt. Solebat tamen inter eos frequenter contingere ut pro maioritate porcionum intra se ita spoliatorum diuisionibus discerpentes adinuicem se acerrime uulnerent. Propter quod est tale postremo consilium editum inter illos ut lucrum unius diei uni et alterius diei alteri deberetur. Et sic ex ordine successiue. Sicque illorum quisque deputans diei lucro sine complicum inquietacione gauderet. Quod et sic factum est.

112 Quadam autem die dum locis rapinarum insisterent et se aliquid execrabiler acquiruros sperarent, uisus est Ioseph cum beata uirgine et eorum familiis a remotis uenire. Estimantes ergo mercatores illos esse, eo quod pecora cum eis gradiencia somarii uiderentur, dicebant se plurimum ab illorum facultatibus esse ditandos. Inquiunt enim illos pro nimia mole gressu leniore progredi. Respondens is cui lucrum illius debebatur diei ceteris dixit: "Sinite et ab hac spe desistite quia nichil in huiusmodi uerba proficitis. Ego enim numquam ordinem ab omnibus nobis acceptatum infregi. Qua propter huius diei debito mihi lucro gaudebo. Quo accepto uitam meam deinceps meliorare desiderans nephande rei hactenus geste iam magis interesse non cupio. Dolet enim uxor mea et filii tanto me tempore in uita tam nepharia perdurare."

113 Latronibus itaque hiis et aliis conferentibus, appropinquabat beata societas. Cognita ergo adueniencium tenuitate substancie, illusus est a ceteris huiusmodi sibi predam usurpans, dicentes reliqui: "Si hoc magnum lucrum nobiscum partitus non fueris, altera uice cum se facultas optulerit, tibi talionem reddemus.

The Story of the Compassionate Robber

111⁶⁰ When Jesus had thus granted a magnificent reward to the palm of Christ, as told in the story about the place where they spent the night,⁶¹ they began to traverse a solitary desert plain that was both long and wide. Now twelve merciless robbers were frequenting this plain, sparing neither possessions nor lives of those who were passing through. To those traveling with guards they used to say—for they were unable to exercise violence against them—that they had received the permission from the authorities of the neighboring lands to escort people in this desert for a fee and to protect them from wanderers. It is by trifles of this sort and by robberies that they procured their living, and they inflicted whatever harm they could on those passing through. Yet it often happened that they argued so much among themselves over the division of spoils for the sake of a greater share that they injured each other severely. For this reason, they made an agreement that the total gain of one day would belong to one person and the gain of another day to another, and so on in an orderly sequence. In this way, each one of them could enjoy his allotted daily gain without disquieting his accomplices.

112 One day, however, while they stood in the places of ambush and hoped to acquire something in their abominable way, they saw Joseph with the blessed virgin and their servants coming from afar. Thinking that these were merchants because the cattle that walked with them seemed to be loaded, they kept saying that they would greatly enrich themselves with these people's possessions. For these people, they claimed, were advancing at a slower pace because their load was so heavy. Yet he to whom the gain of that day was due replied to the rest, "Stop and give up your hope, for you will accomplish nothing with such words! Surely, I have never broken the sequence that we all accepted, and so I will enjoy the gain that is due to me on this day. Once I receive it, I wish thereafter to improve my life, and I no longer want to take part in the heinous work done so far. For both my wife and my children are grieved that I have persisted so long in such an ignominious life."

113 While the robbers were thus conversing about these and other things, the blessed company was drawing near. When they noticed the scarcity of the incomers' possessions, the robber was ridiculed by the others for obtaining this sort of booty, as the rest of them were saying, "If you refuse to share this great gain with us, we will retaliate against you when such an opportunity arises again.

60. The story of the holy family's encounter with the compassionate robber is preserved only in the two most important manuscript witnesses of the Arundel form (A and V), and is absent from the Hereford form, which finishes near the end of the preceding section (108).

61. Cf. 106, not translated in this selection. The special privilege granted to the bowing palm (the "palm of Christ") consisted in having one of its branches planted in Paradise. The story is borrowed from Ps.-Mt. 21.

Solet enim a uicinis ad inuicem uices reddi.” Mouentes in eum digitos dixerunt: “O digne debuit a societate nostra fructuosa pro lucro tam honorifico segregari quod sub umbra paupertatis latuit ignorantes.”

114 Illo uero ceterorum illusionibus et irritacionibus diuersis quasi ad amenciam prouocato frendens dixit: “Ingentem meum in hoc sene quem dyabolus ad tantam uetustatem perduxit uindicabo dolorem. Paruuli autem mei lacticiis pecorum nutriuntur. Puerum uero cum uenusto sit aspectu filio meo in seruitutem redigam. Dominam quoque et familiam eius quanto cicui potero uendicioni exponam. De sene autem quid faciam ignoro. Emolumentum aliquod per eum me consecuturum non uideo. Expediit ut intereat quia iam uetustate consumptus per eum panis consumitur non nisi gratis.”

115 Sic ergo latrone impio margaritas preciosissimas secum cum indignacione ducente de illarumque dispendio cogitante. Et stridens dentibus ad suum habitaculum properante modo puerum modo matrem modo senem terribili ac uultu pretorio respexit. Cui puer horis omnibus arridere non desiit. Senem uero a lacrimis numquam continentem inuenit quia cura non sui corporis sed pueri et matris eum feruentissime perurgebat.

116 Cum autem sibi complacuit per quem leones pariter et dracones mansuescunt, prout in eodem itinere euidentissimis¹⁰ fuerat documentis probatum, per quem etiam populus Israheliticus ab Egypciis mansuefactis regis Egypciolorum furoribus misericorditer reducitur et potenter, latronem lupum subito in agnum mansuetum mutatum sue pietatis rore perfudit. Ita etiam ut circa eos quos crudeli sentencie deputarat pure dileccionis ac dulcedinis uiscera demonstraret. Dixit enim ad Ioseph: “Noli lugere, karissime, confortare puerum et matrem eius et familiam. Quoniam ex hac hora in antea a me non scies nisi bonum.”

117 Consolacionibus ergo uerborum ad inuicem habitis dixit latro: “Me sequimini. Ego preibo et uestre recepcionis locum congruum preparabo.” Ioseph uero circa uesperum cum familia sua in domo latronis recepto et in omnibus necessariis laudabiliter procurato de iussu mariti per hospitam domusque hospitem suorum summopere curam gerebat, balneum fuerat puero procuratum. In quo dum puer applaudens matrone que tenebat eum resideret, et aquam balnei puerili more manibus compulsaret, factus est odor suauiissimus effumigans super aquam. Domo autem tota huiusmodi odore referta apparuit in superficie aque balnei spuma niuei candoris redolens plus quam dici possit.

¹⁰ euidentissimis *James: euidentissimus AV*

For it is customary for fellows to recompense one another.” They pointed their fingers at him saying, “O worthy sir, you really should depart from our beneficial company in favor of such an honorable gain, which has remained hidden from the ignorant under the semblance of poverty!”

114 He, however, as if stirred into madness by all sorts of sneers and nettling remarks made by the others, gnashed his teeth and said, “I will avenge my immense pain on this old man, whom the Devil has brought to such an advanced age. My little children will be nourished with milk from his flock. As for the boy, since he is of a comely appearance, I will make him serve my son. The mistress and her servants, too, I will put out for sale as quickly as possible. But I still do not know what to do with the old man. I do not see how to make any use of him. The best thing for him is to die; for having already been wasted by old age, he is wasting bread for nothing.”

115 Thus, therefore, did the impious robber march with displeasure in front of the most precious treasure, thinking about its value. And grinding his teeth as he hastened toward his dwelling, with his dreadful and grim face he looked now at the boy, now at the mother, and now at the old man. During all that time, the boy did not cease to smile at him; but the old man he found never holding back his tears, for he was overly distressed with concerns not over his own life, but over those of the boy and his mother.

116 But when it seemed fitting to him, who makes both lions and dragons tame (as was confirmed by very clear proofs during that same journey),⁶² who is merciful, and who with his might brought back the Israelites from Egypt after taming the fury of the Egyptian king—he suddenly turned the wolflike robber into a tame lamb. He besprinkled him with the dew of his piety, to the point that the robber showed the feelings of pure compassion and kindness toward those on whom he had earlier pronounced such a cruel sentence. For he said to Joseph, “My dearest, do not wail, but comfort the boy, his mother, and the servants! For, from now on, you will experience only good things from me.”

117 After they had exchanged comforting words, the robber said, “Follow me. I will lead the way and prepare a suitable place for your reception.” And so, around evening time, Joseph was received with his family into the robber’s house and, at the husband’s command, laudably provided with all necessary things by the hostess. And since the household took the utmost care of its guests, a bath had already been prepared for the boy. While the boy sat in it, clapping hands at the matron who was holding him, and splashing water in the bath with his hands as children are wont to do, a most pleasant odor arose like a vapor above the water. When the whole house had been filled with the odor of this sort, foam as white as snow appeared on the surface, more fragrant than could be said.

62. Cf. 103–104, borrowed from Ps.-Mt.18–19.

Quam spumam dum de balneo superexiens ad terram deflueret domina domus que in balneo puerum tenebat in mundo uasculo diligenter suscipiens honorifice collocauit, attribuens que acciderant pocius diuinitati quam humanitati.

118 Mane autem sumpto prandio matrona domus cum hospitibus multiplicatis amplexibus puerum suo pectori comprimens matrem benedictam que illum genuerat asserebat, eo quod tanti dulcoris puer numquam magis uisus fuerat super terram. Commendatis itaque eis ab hospita domino, reducti sunt ab hospite ad sui locum securum itineris, redditaque ibidem hospiti tam amicabilem hospitii gratiarum actione multimoda, creatori eos omnium commendauit. Sic eis ab inuicem segregatis dixit ad Iesum Ioseph: "Domine, estus nimius dequoquit nos."

119 Reuocato itaque per angelum ab Egipto Ioseph, ubi confractis diis gentilium, deiecto erroris fomite legis precepta Egiptiis puris cordis desiderio id depositibus per Ioseph fuerant demonstrata eius secum sumpta familia uiam per quam uenerat remeavit ut impleretur dictum: "Ex Egipto uocauit filium meum."

120 Cumque peruenissent ad locum ubi ab hospite qui altera uice illos adeo dure receperat et cum tante pietatis fomento dimiserat recesserunt cogitauerunt dicentes quod et hospitem et hospitam uisitare deberent. Dimissa ergo strata publica semitam per quam cum hospite uenerant intrauerunt. Contigerat autem medio tempore hospiti eidem res non obliuioni tradenda.

121 Nam quadam die dum complices sui una secum quosdam strenuos transire uolentes per heremum rapiendi et occidendi causa crudeliter insilirent, illis et res et uitam prouide defendentibus maior fuit quantitas occisa latronum. Ex eis etiam quidam uulneribus sic diuersis afflicti quod denegata uidebatur recuperatio sanitatis. Inter quos omnes dum hospes predictus multo plus ceteris uulneratus quasi ad sepeliendum sue domui redderetur, facto super eum muliere planctu nimio et ineffabili lamentacione uisoque a latronibus astantibus quod nullo sibi poterat medicamine subueniri, extra domum uniuersi se iussu mulieris miserunt.

As this foam went over the top of the bath and began to flow down on the ground, the lady of the house, who was holding the boy in the bath, gathered it with diligence and respectfully found a place for it, attributing what had happened to divinity rather than to a human force.

118 Next morning after breakfast, the lady of the house exchanged multiple embraces with the guests and then, pressing the boy upon her breast, declared that the mother who had given him birth was blessed, since the child of such sweetness had never been seen on earth. When the hostess thus commended them to the Lord, their host took them to the safe place for resuming their journey, and after they thanked their host in many ways for such a friendly hospitality, he commended them to the Creator of All. When they thus parted from one another, Joseph said to Jesus, "Lord, the excessive heat is wearing us down."

119 Joseph was therefore ordered through an angel to return from Egypt,⁶³ where the gods of the Gentiles had been broken into pieces and the wood of error cast down,⁶⁴ and where Joseph had next revealed the commandments of the Law to those Egyptians who had requested it out of the desire of their pure heart. And taking along his family, he went back the same way he had come so that what had been spoken might be fulfilled, "Out of Egypt I have called my son."⁶⁵

120 When they arrived at the place where they had departed from their host, who on that other occasion had received them so harshly and then sent them away after being stirred up to such a great piety, they took counsel together, saying that they should visit the host and the hostess. So they got off the public road and entered the same narrow path they had taken with the host. Meanwhile, the host had experienced an event that should not be consigned to oblivion.

121 For one day, when he and his accomplices cruelly attacked certain strong people wanting to pass through the desert, in order to plunder them and kill them, these so prudently defended their possessions and their lives that a great number of the robbers were killed. Some of them were also afflicted with so many different wounds that they seemed unable to restore health. Among them all, the aforementioned host was wounded more seriously than the rest, and he was delivered back to his house as if he were to be buried. His wife wailed over him with loud cries and ineffable laments, and the robbers who stood by, seeing that no remedy could cure him, left the house at his wife's command.

63. Cf. Matt. 2:19–20.

64. The text refers back to the episode describing the fall of the idols in Sothenen (107.2–109); cf. Ps-Mt. 22.2–24.1.

65. Cf. Hos. 11:1; for the whole sentence cf. Matt. 2:13–15, 21.

122 Clausis itaque fenestris et ianuis uniuersis accessit mulier deuotissime ad medicandum quod alia uice in pueri balneo susceperat quia per ipsum sui ipsius corporis medio tempore passiones diuersas sepe fugarat. Linitisque exinde cum fiducia magna et prece non modica mariti uulneribus uniuersis ac singulis statim et sine mora sanatis uulneribus, maritus pristinae redditus est sanitati. Ita etiam quod nec ulle cicatrices uulnerum apparerent. Intellecto igitur ab uxore quali uirtute sanatus exstiterat maritus Deo gratias egit.

123 Et conuocans omnes qui poterant presentes adesse rem gestam et qualiter hoc fuerat unguentum optentum interrogata mulier ex ordine recitauit. Quod uidentes latrones ceteri unguentum hoc eis uendi quantocumque carius deprecantur. Renuens autem mulier hoc dixit se donum ex Dei uirtute receptum uendere non uelle. Sed tamen exinde in summis necessitatibus deuote poscentibus largiri gratis pollicita est. Ad optinendum ergo beneplacitum mulieris, ut si necessitas eueniret latronibus de huiusmodi medicamine partiretur, quisque illorum sibi tam feruenti studio seruiebat ut quidcumque preciosi capere posset horis singulis ad eius domicilium deportaret. Propter quod plus quam credi possit maritus et uxor extremo ditati iam magis non nisi bonis operibus inherere studebant, soli Deo et puero quem hospitati fuerant, a quo etiam processerat hoc unguentum gratias et de corpore et de acquisitis omnibus referentes.

124 Locupletatis eis bonis plurimis ut est dictum, aggreditur uisitandi gratia domum illorum Ioseph labore multiplici fatigatus. Quem cum familia cum maritus adesse uideret ingenti repletus gaudio aduocans festinus uxorem occurrentes aduenientibus letissimo eos aspectu suscipiunt, asserentes aduenisse tocios eorum salutis auctorem. Benignissima ergo salutatione peracta dum ad inuicem collacionibus fruerentur hospes, quidcumque sibi post illorum recessum sibi acciderat enarrauit, referens qualiter sanatus et de huiusmodi medicamento ditatus. Super quibus omnibus cum Domino gratias reddidissent leti intendere refectioni ceperunt. Variis ergo ferculis sumptis quolibet potus genere multiplicato iocunditate omnimoda que in Domino licuit habitaque frequenti requiescendi gratia lectisterniis se committunt. Quorum commoditatibus sollicita domus familia intendebat. Mane autem sumpto prandio dum ibidem non uellent diucius permorari concedente illos hospite quantum matrona cum marito de illorum tam de repentino recessu doluerunt nequit dici.

122 And so, having closed all windows and doors, the wife most devoutly approached the remedy she had collected on that earlier occasion during the boy's bath;⁶⁶ for in the meantime she had often used it to drive away the afflictions of her own body. And when she had daubed all of her husband's wounds with great confidence and exuberant prayers, every single wound was healed instantly and without delay. The husband was so fully restored to his previous health that there were no visible scars from the wounds. So when his wife realized by what sort of power the husband had become healed, she gave thanks to God.

123 The wife then summoned all who could be there in person and, when asked about what had happened, she retold in the exact order both the event and the manner in which this ointment had been obtained. When other robbers saw it, they implored that this ointment be sold to them at howsoever high a price. Yet the wife refused and said that she did not want to sell the gift received from God's power. She nevertheless promised that she would bestow some of it for free upon those who made a pious request under extreme necessities. And so each robber, in order to find favor with the wife—so that he might get a share of the remedy should the necessity arise for it—began to serve her with so fervent a zeal that every single hour he would bring to her abode whatever valuable thing he could seize. For this reason, the husband and wife in the end became rich beyond belief; but now they were even more resolved to engage only in good deeds, returning gratitude for their life and riches to God alone and the child whom they had hosted, and from whom also that ointment came.

124 When they had grown rich with a great many goods, as said above, Joseph arrived to their house for a visit, exhausted by his many toils. As the husband saw him there with his family, full of immense joy he hastily called up his wife, and they both ran to meet the visitors and received them in a most cheerful manner, declaring that the cause of all their prosperity was come. After most friendly greetings, while they continued to enjoy one another's company, the host narrated in detail everything that had happened to him since their departure, recounting how he had been healed and made rich on account of that remedy. Having thanked God for all these things, they began to proceed with cheer toward the dining room. There they consumed various dishes, along with an ever increasing number of all sorts of drinks, and they frequently made all kinds of jokes that were not offensive to God before they went to bed in order to rest. The household staff carefully attended to their well-being. Next morning, after breakfast, they did not wish to tarry there longer; and although the host assented to their wish, it is impossible to express how much the hostess and her husband were sorry about their hasty departure.

66. Cf. *supra*, 117.

Ipsē uero maritus illis uiam per quam secure progredierentur et uictualia inuenirentur uenalia demonstrauit.

125 Sic ipse regrediens ab illis Domino commendatus in tanto bonis operibus insudauit quod postmodum penes Dominum in cruce suspensus omnium ueniam suorum obtinere meruit peccatorum. Ad quos nos perducere dignetur qui uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

The husband himself showed them the road on which they might proceed safely and find food for sale.

125 So when he returned home, commended by them to God, he toiled so hard to do good works that afterwards, hanging on the cross with the Lord, he deserved to obtain pardon for all his sins.⁶⁷ May he deign to lead us to them, who lives and rules forever and ever! Amen.

67. Cf. Luke 23:39–43.

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The History of Joseph the Carpenter

Like other infancy gospels, the History of Joseph the Carpenter purports to fill the narrative gaps in the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke by shedding more light on the life and death of “the father of Christ according to flesh.” Framed as a revelatory dialogue between Jesus and his disciples on the Mount of Olives (chs. 1, 30–32), this first-person “homily” outlines the central moments in Joseph’s biography: his background (ch. 2), his relationship with Mary (chs. 3–4), his role in Jesus’ birth and growing to manhood (chs. 5–14), and his death at the age of 111 (chs. 15–29). As indicated by its opening section (“This is the departure from the body of our father Joseph”), the text focuses on the circumstances accompanying Joseph’s death and on Jesus’ miraculous preservation of Joseph’s body, followed by the proclamation of his feast day. Besides its clear liturgical purpose, the text provides an elaborate clarification of a somewhat ambiguous status assigned to Jesus’ adoptive father in the canonical Gospels. Thus, Joseph is portrayed as an old widower with children from his previous marriage; this clarifies the New Testament references to Jesus’ brothers (chs. 2–4). Joseph’s initial doubts about Mary’s virginity (ch. 5) are immediately countered by his readiness to register Jesus as a legitimate son (ch. 7), and are further explained by human incapacity to understand divine mysteries (ch. 17). Finally, Jesus’ curious reluctance to promise immortality to Joseph during his lifetime, which created a stir among the apostles (chs. 30–31), is amended by a passionate filial care for the father’s postmortem fate. At Jesus’ instigation, the soul of Joseph is delivered to heaven (ch. 23) and his body is preserved both from corruption (chs. 25–27) and from end-times tribulations (ch. 31).

The History of Joseph the Carpenter is a complex mixture of ancient literary genres. The revelatory dialogue serves as a narrative frame for two distinct literary units: (1) the biography of Joseph, a kind of Christian midrash on the canonical infancy narratives, which seems heavily indebted to the Protevangelium of James, and (2) the account of Joseph’s death, to which the text itself refers as a “testament” (30: *diathēkē*), and which exhibits a number of formal and thematic similarities with the Jewish-Hellenistic genre of “testament” literature (e.g., the

Testament of Abraham). The section is also strikingly similar in form and content to various sixth- and seventh-century Coptic accounts of the passing (*transitus, dormitio*) of the Virgin Mary, including the *Sermon on the Virgin's Dormition* delivered by Theodosius of Alexandria in 565. In its present form, the History of Joseph the Carpenter is thus a compilation of various traditions concerning Mary and the "holy family," most likely composed in Byzantine Egypt in the late sixth or early seventh century. Some earlier scholars (e.g., Morenz) proposed Greek as the original language of this composition, but their linguistic arguments, grounded primarily on the significant presence of Greco-Coptic particles and technical terms, have been rejected by other specialists (Lefort, Giamberardini, Boud'hors) in favor of a (Sahidic) Coptic original.

The text of the History of Joseph the Carpenter is preserved in three different redactions: one in Arabic and two in the regional dialects of Coptic—Sahidic and Bohairic, respectively. The Arabic version, attested by a number of both complete and fragmentary manuscript witnesses dating from the fourteenth century onward, was first published by G. Wallin in 1722 along with his own Latin translation. In 1808, E. Quatremère reported his discovery of the complete Bohairic version in an eleventh-century manuscript from the Vatican Library (Vat. copt. 66, 11), at that time stored in the Royal Library in Paris. Prior to its restitution to the Vatican in 1815, the Bohairic text was copied by Raphael Tûkhî—a faulty transcription that served as a basis for the first printed edition by E. Revillout in 1876, accompanied with the *editio princeps* of two Sahidic fragments from the famous Borgia collection of Coptic manuscripts. These Sahidic fragments had previously been recorded, and even partly published, by the Danish scholar G. Zoega in his 1810 *Catalogue* as nos. 116 (the tenth-century ms. Vat. Borgia 109, no. 116=frg. S^A, 4.6–8.1) and 121 (the eleventh-century ms. Vat. Borgia 109, no. 121=frg. S^D, 14.1–24.1). Seven years after Revillout, Paul de Lagarde produced an authoritative critical edition of the Vatican Bohairic manuscript, in which he also included Wallin's Arabic text and the Sahidic fragment S^D. Then, in 1896, F. Robinson brought to light yet another eleventh-century Sahidic fragment from the British Library (BL Or 3581 B=frg. S^C, 13.6–15.2), as well as two new fragments of the Bohairic version (Crawford 39=Rylands 440, chaps. 2.4–4.4; 10–13.4). Finally, in an important 1953 article on the textual transmission of the History of Joseph the Carpenter, L.-Th. Lefort edited the text of two previously unknown Sahidic fragments from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: a single leaf from the eleventh-century manuscript (BNF, copte 129¹⁷, fol. 12=frg. S^B, 7.1–9.1) and four additional leaves from Vat. Borgia 109, no. 116 (frg. S^A, 7.1–23.2). All four manuscript witnesses of the Sahidic version, now randomly distributed in three major European collections, originate from the same locale—the library of the White Monastery in Upper Egypt.

In his article, Lefort made some pertinent remarks about the relationship between the three versions of the History of Joseph the Carpenter. The Arabic

“redaction,” whose surviving witnesses show significant divergences in content and phraseology, is likely to go back to a Bohairic archetype, of a kind attested in Vat. cop. 66, 11. The extant Bohairic form of the text descends, in turn, from a Sahidic model, as evidenced by the language and style of its biblical citations patterned on the Sahidic text of the Bible, as well as by the occasional occurrence of some lexical and grammatical features typical of the Sahidic dialect. Finally, multiple parallel passages in the extant fragments of four Sahidic manuscripts display a number of variants that cannot be explained by the copyists’ accidental deviations from a common model. Rather, these divergences testify to a complex redaction history of the Sahidic version.

The translation here is of the Bohairic text (Vat. copt. 66, 11) edited by P. de Lagarde, with occasional changes based on the collation against the manuscript photographs. The most significant variants in the Sahidic fragments are given in footnotes to the translation.

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HISTORIA IOSEPHI FABRI LIGNARIJ

φαι πε πιχινί έβολ βεν σωνα ήτε πενωτ ιωσηφ πανωφ φωτ ήπ̄χ̄ς
 κατα σαρξ φη εταφερ π̄αδ ήρονπι βεν πεφωης έδ̄ πενωτθρη τανε
 ηιδποστολος έπεφριος θρηφ ριχεν πιτωσ ήτε ηιχωιτ δηιδποστολος
 ρωσ̄ σβᾱ ήηαισαχι ατχασ̄ βεν φ̄εβλιόθηκη βεν λ̄ηη̄ σπορ̄ οη χε
 πιέροσ̄ έτα πιβελλο εθοσ̄αβ χα σωνα έβρη η̄σθηφ πε σω̄ρε̄ ήπιδρωτ
 έπηπ βεν σθρηνην ήτε φ̄δ̄ λ̄ηηη:

I (1) ασωπι δε ήσσεροσ̄ έρε πενωτθρη ήδ̄γαθος ρενσι έχεν
 πιτωσ̄ ήτε ηιχωιτ έρε πεφιαθηης θοσθητ έροφ̄ αφσαχι πενωσ̄
 εφχω ήνος χε ω̄ ηασηνοφ ήνηρητ σπορ̄ ηωρη ήτε παιωτ ήδ̄γαθος
 ηη έταφσοπισ̄ έβολ σθε πικοςνος θρηφ (2) τετενωσση χε ις
 σθηηφ ήσοπ ατμηωτην χε ρωφ̄ έροι πε ήσσερ σταθρωη(η) ήμοι σπορ̄
 ήταχεν φ̄π̄ ήφησ̄ βᾱ πιεπηρηφ ήτατωητ έβολ βεν ηη εθνωσ̄τ̄ ήταφ̄
 ηωτην ήπρηωφ ήτε πεσ̄αγγεαιον χε ρηα ήτετηηρ̄ ωηφ ήνοφ βεν
 πικοςνος θρηφ ήταφ̄ ρι εθησ̄ ήσσχον έβολ βεν πᾱσι ήταηαρ̄ εθησ̄
 έβολ βε(η) σ̄π̄π̄ᾱ εφσ̄αβ ήτετηηρ̄ ωηφ ήηεθνος θηρω̄ έρετηηχω
 ήνος ηωσ̄ χε άρι μεταηοη (3) χε ηαηε σ̄δ̄φσ̄τ̄ ήηωσ̄ βεν πιεωη
 εθηησ̄ ήτε πιρωη χενφ̄ έροτε ηιχηηα θηρω̄ ήτε πικοςνος θρηφ
 (4) σπορ̄ οη χε ηαηε σ̄σ̄πητατ̄σι ήσ̄ωτ βεν πηη ήπιδωτ έροτε
 φ̄ηετραηαδ̄ θηρ̄ς ήτε πακοςμος (5) σπορ̄ οη χε ηαηε σ̄σ̄σ̄ησ̄τ̄ ήσ̄ωτ
 ήτε ηέηηη εσ̄ραφ̄ι έροτε σ̄σ̄ωφ̄ ήρονπι ήτε ηρεφερ ηοβ̄ι εσ̄ρηη σπορ̄
 εσ̄ηεηπ̄ι ήσ̄σ̄πητηηφ̄ έβολ ήησ̄ερηωσ̄τ̄ σ̄σ̄δε ήσ̄σ̄πητηηφ̄ ρ̄θησ̄
 έρωσ̄ επ̄θηρ̄φ (6) φ̄ησ̄ χε ω̄ ηαηελοσ̄ ετταηησ̄τ̄ άρετηηωηφ̄
 ηωτε(η) ρι ωηφ̄ ηωσ̄ χε σ̄ηαφ̄ι ήδικεον ηεν σ̄ωφ̄ ήδικεον ηε ηη έτε
 παιωτ ηασ̄εκ λογος ηενωτην ήσ̄ησ̄σ̄ σπορ̄ οη χε σ̄εηαφ̄ηη ήσα σ̄σ̄σαχι
 ήσ̄ωτ ήδ̄ιρ̄αφ̄ ήτην εθηησ̄ έρετηηηαχοφ̄ (7) ήφρηφ̄ έτε ήηον ρηι¹ ηαφ̄ερ
 έβολ ήτοτ̄φ̄ ήφησ̄ αη παρηφ̄ ήηον ρηη ηαφ̄ερ έβολ εηη² έταφαισ̄τ̄ ήτε
 σ̄δ̄άγαθον ήτε σ̄σ̄πετ̄ρωσ̄ (8) πηηη ηαισαχι θηρω̄ έταιχοτοσ̄ ηωτην
 φ̄ησ̄ χε ήηο(η) ρηη ήχωρη ηαφ̄ηορ̄εν αη εθεε τεφχον σ̄δε ήηον
 σ̄ρωηη ηαφ̄ηορ̄εν αη εθεε παφ̄α ήτε τεφ̄ηετραηαδ̄ (9) φ̄ησ̄ χε σωτην
 ήταχω έρωτην ήφ̄ριος ήπιδωτ ιωσηφ̄ πιβελλο ήρ̄αηφ̄ ετσαρ̄ωσ̄τ̄

1 ήηον ρηι *ms.*: ηηον *Lagarde*

2 εηη *ms.*: ήηη *Lagarde*

History of Joseph the Carpenter

Prologue

This is the departure from the body of our father Joseph, the carpenter, the father of Christ according to flesh, who lived one hundred and eleven years, and whose entire life our Savior related to the apostles on the Mount of Olives. The apostles, for their part, wrote down these words and deposited them in the Library at Jerusalem. And the day when the holy old man laid down the body was the twenty-sixth day of the month of Epiphi,¹ in the peace of God. Amen.

Frame Story: Jesus Addresses His Disciples

1 (1) One day, when our good Savior was sitting on the Mount of Olives and his disciples were assembled before him, he spoke with them saying: "Beloved brothers and children of my good Father, whom he chose from among the whole world, (2) you know that I have told you many times that I must be crucified and taste death for the sake of all,² and rise from the dead and give you the preaching of the gospel, so that you may preach it in the whole world, and that I would clothe you with power from on high³ and fill you with a holy spirit, so that you may preach to all the nations saying to them, 'Repent, (3) for it is better for a person to find a cup of water⁴ in the age that is coming than all the goods of the entire world.' (4) And again, 'Better is a single footstep in the house of my father than all the wealth of this world.'⁵ (5) And again, 'Better is a single moment of the righteous rejoicing than a thousand years of the sinners crying and mourning: their tears cannot be wiped away, nor are they heeded at all.'⁶ (6) Now then, my honorable members, when you go to them, preach to them that it is with right balance and right measure that my Father will draw an account with you.⁷ And again, 'A single careless word that you utter will be required from you.'⁸ (7) Just as no one can escape death, so no one also can escape what he has done, be it good or evil.⁹ (8) Yet all these words have I told you already, that is, 'No mighty one can be saved by his power, nor can a person be saved by the size of his riches.'¹⁰ Listen now, I will tell you the life of my father Joseph, the blessed old carpenter.

1. July 20 in the Julian, or August 2 in the Gregorian calendar.

2. Cf. Heb. 2:9.

3. Cf. Luke 24:49.

4. Cf. Mark 9:41.

5. Cf. Mark 10:23–25.

6. Cf. Rev. 21:3–4; Isa. 25:8.

7. Cf. Ezek. 45:10; Matt. 7:2; Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38.

8. Cf. Matt. 12:36.

9. Cf. Eccl. 12:14; 2 Cor. 5:10.

10. Cf. Ps. 32:16.

2 (1) ΠΕ ΟΥΟΗ ΟΥΩΡΗΗ ΧΕ ΙΩΧΗΦ ΟΥΈΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΞΕΗ ΟΥΒΑΚΙ ΧΕ | ΒΗΘΛΕΕΗ
 έθα ήίΟσλαΙ τε ΟΥΟΖ ΘΒΑΚΙ ήΠΟΟΥΟ ΛΑΤΙΛΑ ΤΕ (2) ΟΥΟΖ ΔΥΤΣΑΒΟ ήΚΑΛΩΣ
 έΐσοφιά ήεν ΐτεχην ήτε ΐμετανφε (3) ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΙΡΩΗΗ ΧΕ ΙΩΧΗΦ ΔΥΔΙ
 ΗΑΥ ήΟσϋΗΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΧΗΗΗΟΤΧΤ ήτε ΟΥΓΑΗΟΣ ΕΥΟΟΥΑΒ ΟΥΟΖ ΔΧΗΣΙ ΗΑΥ
 ήΖΗΗΦΗΡΗ ΗΕΗ ΖΗΗΦΕΡΗ Χ ήΦΗΡΗ ήΖΩΟΥΤ ΗΕΗ ΣΗΟΥΐ ήΦΕΡΗ ήϋϋΗΗ ΕΤΕ
 ΗΑΙ ΗΕ ΗΟΥΡΑΗ ΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΗΕΗ ΙΩΧΗΤΟΣ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΗΕΗ ΣΗΩΗΗ ΦΡΑΗ ήΗΕΥΦΕΡΗ
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4 (1) ΞΕΗ ΐΟΐΗΟΐ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΗΗΑΐ ΔΐΗΟΐΐ ΕΐΐΦΐΛΗ ήΤΕ ΙΟΥΔΑ ΔΐΗΗ ΕΒΟΛ
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3 ΗΑΥήΒΟΛ *ms*: ΗΑΥή ήΒΟΛ *Lagarde*.

Joseph's First Marriage

2 (1) There was a man Joseph from a city called Bethlehem, which belonged to the Jews and is the city of King David.¹¹ (2) He became well versed in the knowledge and craft of carpentry. (3) This man Joseph took to himself a wife in the union of a holy matrimony, and she bore him sons and daughters, four male sons and two female daughters, whose names are Judas, Joset, James, and Simon; the names of his daughters are Lysia and Lydia.¹² (4) And the wife of Joseph died as it is appointed to all people¹³ and left James still at young age.¹⁴ (5) Joseph was a righteous man¹⁵ glorifying God in all things, and he worked outside the home at the craft of carpentry, he and his two sons, living by the work of their hands according to the Law of Moses. (6) And this righteous man of whom I speak, this is Joseph my father according to flesh, to whom my mother Mary was betrothed for a wife.¹⁶

Mary in the Temple

3¹⁷ (1) While my father Joseph remained a widower, my mother Mary, good and blessed in every manner, dwelled in the temple and served there in purity, having grown up to twelve years: she spent three years in the house of her parents and another nine years in the temple of the Lord. (2) Then the priests, as they saw the virgin live reverently and dwell in the fear of the Lord, spoke to one another, saying, 'Let us search for a good man and betroth her to him until the time of the wedding, lest we let the custom of women befall her in the temple and we come to be under a great sin.'

Joseph the Safekeeper of Mary

4 (1) Immediately they called up the tribe of Judah and chose from it twelve people corresponding to the names of twelve tribes of Israel. (2) The lot fell upon the good old man Joseph, my father according to flesh. (3) Then the priests spoke and said to my blessed virgin mother, 'Go with Joseph

11. Cf. Luke 2:4.

12. For the names of Joseph's sons, see Mark 6:3 (James, Joses, Judas, Simon) and Matt. 13:55 (James, Joseph, Simon, Judas). In Mark 15:40, Mary is "the mother of James the younger and of Joses, and Salome." Epiphanius, Panar. 78.8, names Joseph's two daughters "Mary and Salome"; according to the Coptic Synaxarion, Joseph had three daughters.

13. This phrase, used throughout the text, is probably borrowed from Heb. 9:27.

14. Cf. Mark 15:40.

15. Cf. Matt. 1:19.

16. Cf. Matt. 1:18; Luke 1:27.

17. Cf. parallel passages in Prot. Jas. 7.2-8.

and obey him until the time comes that we make the wedding.¹⁸ (4) My father Joseph received Mary my mother into his house. She found the little boy James in the sadness of orphanage and began to foster him; for this reason she was called Mary of James.¹⁹ (5) After Joseph had brought her into his house, he next took to the road to work in carpentry. (6) Mary my mother spent two years in his house until the right time.

Mary's Pregnancy and Joseph's Dream Vision

5 (1) Now in the fourteenth year of her life I came out of my own will and resided in her, I who am Jesus, your life. (2) And when she was three months pregnant, the guileless Joseph came from the place where he worked in carpentry and found my virgin mother pregnant. Disturbed and fearful, he planned to dismiss her secretly.²⁰ (3) And because of grief he did not eat or drink.

6 (1)²¹ But in the middle of the night, behold, Gabriel, the archangel of joy, came to him in a vision by the order of my good Father and said to him, 'Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary your wife to yourself; for he whom she is about to bear is from the Holy Spirit. (2) She shall bear a son and you shall call his name Jesus:²² it is he who will rule all nations with a rod of iron.'²³ (3) And the angel left him. Joseph awoke from sleep and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him: he took Mary to himself.²⁴

The Birth of Jesus

7 (1) After these things a decree went out from Emperor Augustus that all of the inhabited world should be registered, each person after his city. (2) The good old man also went, and he took Mary, my virgin mother, to his city of Bethlehem—for she was about to deliver—and had his name recorded by the scribe: 'Joseph, the son of David, and Mary his wife, and Jesus his son are of the tribe of Judah.'²⁵ (3) And Mary my mother bore me on the way back to Bethlehem, near the tomb of Rachel,²⁶ the wife of Jacob the patriarch, who is the mother of Joseph and Benjamin.

18. For the alternative account of Joseph's election as the guardian of Mary, cf. Prot. Jas. 8.3–9.2.

19. Mary the virgin is assimilated here to Mary of James from Luke 24:10; cf. Matt. 27:56; Mark 15:40.

20. Cf. Matt. 1:18–19; cf. Prot. Jas. 13.1–14.1.

21. For 6.1–2 cf. Matt. 1:20–21; the whole chapter resembles Prot. Jas. 14.2.

22. Cf. infra 17.5–6.

23. Cf. Ps. 2:9.

24. Cf. Matt. 1:24.

25. Cf. Luke 2:1–6; cf. also Prot. Jas. 17.1, where Joseph is at a loss as to how he should register Mary and her child.

26. Cf. Gen. 35:19–20.

8 (1) ἀπεκαλάσθη ἐρ στήνωλεθρη ἡῖρωλης πιηψὶ φωτ ἡαρχηλαοσ φη
 ἔτασφωι ἡταφε ἡπανηρητ ὁσορ πασθηγενησ ιωαηηησ (2) παρητ ἀσφωτ
 ἡσωι ἐπχηνσθερετ εφρητὶ χε τανετοστρο θα παικοσνοσ τε (3) ὁσορ
 ἀσχοσ ἡσωνφ ἔβωλ ριτεν παωτ βεν ὁσρῶραηα ὁσορ ἀσφωησ ἀσφὶ ἡνοι
 ηην ηαρηά τανασ ερηενσὶ ἔχην ηεσδηασρ ἔρε σλλονη ηωφι ἡσωνη ἀηφε
 ηαν ἔσρη ἔχηνη ἀρηενσὶ ἡηασ ἡσρρηη ἡέρσοσ φατε πσωνη ἡῖρωλησ
 ἐρ φεντ ἡτεφρησ εθεε πσνοσ ἡηηκοσχι ἡάλωσὶ ἡάηηοβι ἔτασφωησ ἔβωλ

9 (1) βην πχηνῶρεφρησ δε ἡχε πηπαραιοηοσ ετεηηασ ἡῖρωλησ
 ἀητασθεη ἐπκαρὶ ἡπὶσλ ὁσορ ἀηωφη βην ὁσβακὶ ἡτε ἱγαηηεά ἐπεσρρη
 πε ηαζαρεθε (3) παωτ δε ιωσφη πβελλο ετσηαρωσστ ηαφερ ρωβ πε ἐτ
 τεχην ἡτε ἱηετρδανηφε ἡονησ⁶ ἐπρωβ ἡτε ηεσφχχ ἡπεσφσων ἡσρωηκ
 ἡχηνχη ἔηερ εφὶρη κατὰ φηηοηοσ ἡηωσχησ

10 ὁσορ ηενηησα παηηψὶ ἡσνοσ ἡπε πεσφωηα ἐρ ἀτχοη ἡπε ηεσβαλ
 ἐρ ἀθεσωηηη ἡπε ὁσηαχρὶ ἡσσωτ φωσ βην ρωσ ἡπεσφερ ἀτέη ρι σοφὶά
 ἡπαησηοσ τηρησ ἀλλὰ ηαφοι ἡφρητ ἡσδῶλοσ πε ηεάπεσφδρὶ φωπη φα ρῖδ
 ἡρρηη βην ὁσηετβελλο ἔηηηεσ.

11 (1) πεσφῖ δε ἡηηψὶ ἡφρη ιωσητοσ ηην σθηηωη ἀσδὶ σρηνη ἀσφε ηωσσ
 ἐποσθη ὁσορ τεσφερὶ σηοστ ἀσδὶ ραὶ ρωσσ ἡφρητ ἔτεσχη ἔσρη ἡρωη
 ηηεν ιωσφη δε ἀρηνσὶ ηην ιακωβοσ πεσφκοσχι ἡφρη (2) βην πχηνῶρε
 ἱπαρθεηοσ ησὶ ἡνοι ηαηωπη ηενωσσ πε βην ρηποτακη ηηεν ἡτε
 ἱηετρωρη χε ὁσθη γαρ ἀερ ρωβ ηηεν ἡτε ἱηετρωηη φατεη φηοβι ἡηασατσ
 (3) ἀηοκ δε ηαηωστ ἔηηαρηά χε τανασ ὁσορ ιωσφη χε παωτ ὁσορ
 ηαησωτεη ἡσωσσ βην ρωβ ηηεν ἔτοσηαχτοσ ἡηη ἡηποσῶρην ἡσρσαχὶ
 ἔβωσθη ἔχωσσ ἀλλὰ ηαηηει ἡηωσσ πε ἔηηαφω

The Flight to Egypt

8 (1) Satan took counsel with Herod the Great,²⁷ the father of Archelaus, who beheaded John, my beloved kinsman.²⁸ (2) Thus he sought for me in order to kill me,²⁹ thinking that my kingdom was from this world.³⁰ (3) Joseph was informed by my Father in a vision, and he got up and took me and Mary my mother;³¹ I was sitting on her arms, with Salome walking behind us. We went down to Egypt and stayed there for a year, until the body of Herod was eaten by worms and died³² because of the blood he shed of the sinless little children.³³

The Settling in Nazareth

9 (1) When that lawless Herod died, we returned to the land of Israel and resided in a city of Galilee whose name is Nazareth.³⁴ (2) And my father Joseph, the blessed old man, worked at the craft of carpentry and we lived from the work of his hands. He never ate bread he did not earn, acting in accordance with the Law of Moses.

10 And after this long period of time, his body did not remain without power, nor his eyes without light; not one tooth was missing in his mouth; and he did not lack in understanding and wisdom all that time, but was rather like a youth. His life had reached one hundred and eleven years in a good old age.³⁵

11 (1) Now his two elder sons Joset and Symeon took wives and went to their house. His two daughters also took their husbands, as it is customary for all people; and Joseph stayed with James, his little son. (2) After the virgin bore me, I lived with them in a full obedience of childhood.³⁶ Indeed, I did all things human short of sin alone.³⁷ (3) And I called Mary my mother and Joseph my father, and I obeyed them in everything they told me. I never contradicted them, but I loved them dearly.

27. Cf. Matt. 2:4, where Herod consults with all the chief priests and scribes.

28. Herod the Great (37–4 BCE), who ordered the massacre of the infants (Matt. 2:16–17), is confused here with Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee and Perea (4 BCE–39 CE), who had John the Baptist beheaded (Matt. 14:1–12, Mark 6:14–29).

29. Cf. Matt. 2:13.

30. Cf. John 18:36.

31. Cf. Matt. 2:13–14.

32. Cf. Acts 12:23, which describes the death of Herod Agrippa.

33. Cf. Matt. 2:15–16.

34. Cf. Matt. 2:19–23.

35. Cf. Deut. 34:7: "Moses was one hundred twenty years old when he died; his sight was unimpaired and his vigor had not abated."

36. Cf. Luke 2:51.

37. Cf. Heb. 4:15.

12 (1) Ἀσχωπι δε νενενεσα ηαι ἀφωητ ἐςοση ἵχε φηοσ ἰωσχηφ παιωτ κατα φρητ ἐτ-θηψ ἰρωη ηιβεν (2) βεν πχιν-ερε πεφωηα ωηη ἀπεφγγελος τανοφ χε ἰβρη βεν ταρονηη χηανοσ (3) οσορ βενπχιν-ερε τεφτ-σχη φθορτερ ἀφωε ηαφ ἐρρη ειλπῆη ἀφωε ηαφ ἐςοση ἐπιερφει ἵτε πδ̄τ ἀφτ ηεταηοιά ριτρη ἰπῆοσσιασθηριον ἀφτωερ ἰπαρηφτ ἐφχω ἵηος

13 (1) χε φφ φωτ ἵτε ηετφηνρηη ηιβεν οσορ φφ ἵτε σαρξ ηιβεν πδ̄τ ἵταφσχη ηεν πασωηα ηεν παπῆα (2) ισχε ηιέροοσ ἵτε παωησ ἐτακτηηοσ ηηη βεν πικοςηος ἀφχωκ ἐβοα ιε †† ρο εροκ πδ̄τ φφ ε-ερεκοσωρη ηηη ἰηηαηα παρχηαγγελος ἵτεφόρι ἐρατφ ηενηη φατε ταφσχη ἰέηηη ι ἐβοα βεν πασωηα ἀτῆε βιςι ηεν φθορτερ (3) χε οσηηφτ ἵροφ ηεν ἵκαρ πε φηοσ ἰρωηη ηιβεν ἵτε ρωη ἵτε τεβηη ἵτε θηρηη ἵτε δατφ ἵτε ραηη (4) ἀπλωσ σωηη ηιβεν ετσα πεσηη ἵτφε ἐτε οσση φσχη ἵωησ ἰβηηφ οσβιςι πε ηεν οσῆκαρ φατε τοσφσχη φωρη ἐποσσωηα (5) †ηοσ χε ὠ παδ̄τ ηαρε πεκαγγελος ὄρι ἐρατφ ηεν ταφσχη ηεν πασωηα φατοσφωρη ἐβοα ἰηοσέρηηος ἀτῆε βιςι (6) ἰηεκ-ερε παγγελος ἐτ-θηψ ἐροι ισχηη πιέροοσ ἐτακερ παρρη ἵηοι φα ἐςοση ἐ†ηοσ ηορ ἰπεφρρο ἵχωηη ἐςοση ἐροι βεν πηωηφ ἵηοφη εηηηοσ ραροκ ἀλλα ηαρεφερ ριρηηη ηενηη (7) ἰπεν-ερε ηη ἐτε ποσρο φεβηηοσ† † βιςι ηηη βεν πηωηφ ἵηοφη εηηηοσ ραροκ (8) ἰπεν-ερε ηη ετρηχηη ηησλη ερ κατεχηη ἵταφσχη οσδε ἰπερ† ωπη ηηη βεν πεκβηηα ἐτοι ἵροφ (9) ἰπεν-εροσερ θηρηη ἐςοση ἐροι ἵχε ηηρωηη ἵτε πιδρο ἵχρωη φαι ἐτε φαρε φσχη ηιβεν ερ καθαρρηη ἰβηηφ ἰπατοσηασ ἐπώοσ ἵτε τεκηεθηηοσ† (10) ὠ φφ ετ† ραη ἐπιοσαι πιοσαι βεν οσηεθηηηη ηεν οσδικεόσθηηη †ηοσ χε παδ̄τ ηαρε πεκηαι ωπηη ηηη ἵσοαεα χε ἵθοκ πε †ηοσηη ἵτε δγαθηη ηιβεν πῶοσ φωκ πε φα ἐηερ ἵτε ηιέηερ ἀηηη %

14 (1) Ἀσχωπι δε νενενεσα ηαι ἀφί ἐρρη ἐηαζαρεθ †βακι ἐτεφωοη ἰβηηησ ἀφηνκοτ βεν πωωηη ἐτεφμηαηοσ ἰβηηφ ἰφρηφ ἐτ-θηψ ἰρωηη ηιβεν (2) οσορ ηαρε πεφωωηη ρορω ἐηαφω πε παρ ηιςοη τηροσ ἐφωαφωηη ισχηη πιέροοσ ἐτασχηφοφ ἐπικοςηος

Joseph's Death Draws Near

12 (1) But then the death of Joseph, my father, drew near, as is appointed to all people.³⁸ (2) When his body grew ill, his angel announced to him, 'In this year you will die.' (3) And as his soul was troubled, he went up to Jerusalem. He entered the temple of the Lord and repented in front of the altar. He prayed in this way, saying:

13 (1) 'God, the Father of all mercy³⁹ and the God of all flesh,⁴⁰ the Lord of my soul and body and spirit:⁴¹ (2) If the days of my life you have allotted me in the world are completed, then I beseech you, Lord God, that you send me the archangel Michael to stand by me until my wretched soul come out from my body without trouble and torment. (3) For death is a great fear and trouble to all people, whether human, cattle, beast, reptile, or bird. (4) In short, every creature under heaven which has a living soul is fearful and troubled until their soul is separated from their body. (5) Now, then, my Lord, let your angel stand by my soul and my body until they are separated from one another without trouble. (6) Do not cause the angel, appointed to me from the day you created me until now, to fill his face with anger toward me in my path, as I am coming to you, but rather let him be at peace with me. (7) Let not those with changing faces give trouble to me in the path, as I am coming to you.⁴² (8) Let not those who are at the gates retain my soul, and do not put me to shame at your fearful tribunal. (9) Let not the waves of the fiery river heave like beasts towards me, the river in which all souls are purified before seeing the glory of your Godhead. (10) O God who judges everyone with equity and righteousness,⁴³ let now your mercy, my Lord, become my solace; for you are the fountain of all good. Yours is the glory forever and ever. Amen.'

14 (1) After these things he returned to Nazareth, the town where he resided, and fell sick with the illness of which he was to die,⁴⁴ as it is appointed to all people.⁴⁵ (2) And his illness was very grave, more than all other times he was sick from the day he was born into the world.

38. Cf. Heb. 9:27.

39. Cf. 2 Cor. 1:3.

40. Cf. Jer. 32:27.

41. Cf. 1 Thess. 5:23.

42. Cf. the Egyptian Book of the Dead, ch. 17. In T. Ab. 17, Death reveals to Abraham all of his frightening faces.

43. Cf. Ps. 9:8.

44. Cf. 2 Kings 13:14.

45. Cf. Heb. 9:27.

Joseph's Biography Summarized

(3) This is the life story of my beloved father Joseph. (4) He was forty when he took a wife. He remained in wedlock with his wife for another forty-nine years; she died, and he lived alone for a year. (5) My mother spent two years in his house when the priests gave her to him, after he was told by the priests, 'Guard her until the time for celebrating your marriage.' (6) At the beginning of the third year of her dwelling in his house, that is, the fifteenth year of her life,⁴⁶ she bore me on the ground in a mysterious fashion; no one understands it in the whole creation save me and my Father and the Holy Spirit, since we are in unity.

15 (1) Now all the days of the life of my father Joseph, the blessed old man, were one hundred and eleven years, as my good Father commanded. (2) And the day he departed from the body was the twenty-sixth of the month Epiphi. (3) Then began the transformation of the precious gold, which is the flesh of my father Joseph, and the change of the silver, which is the mind and wisdom.⁴⁷ (4) He forgot to eat and to drink, and the knowledge of his craft turned into error. (5) And when the light rose on that day, that is, the twenty-sixth of the month Epiphi, my father Joseph became disturbed on his bed: he let out a loud groan, clapped his hands, and cried out in great disturbance, speaking as follows:

The Lament of Joseph

16 (1) 'Woe to me today. Woe to the day my mother bore me to the world. (2) Woe to the womb in which my life was sown. Woe to the breasts whose milk I sucked.⁴⁸ (3) Woe to the knees on which I sat. (4) Woe to the hands that lifted me up until I grew up and came to live in sin. (5) Woe to my tongue and my lips, for oftentimes they have been implicated in violence, in calumny and false slander, and in idle words of distraction full of deceit. (6) Woe to my eyes, for they have looked at wrongdoings. (7) Woe to my ears, for they have loved to listen to empty talks. (8) Woe to my hands, for they have laid hold of things that are not theirs. (9) Woe to my stomach and my bowels, for they have craved for foods that are not theirs; whenever my stomach found something, it burned it more than a burning fiery furnace and made it useless in all respect. (10) Woe to my knees, which have served my body ill,

46. One of the Sahidic manuscript fragments (S; British Library, Or 3581B, chs. 13.6–15.2) has after "the fifteenth year of her life" the following text: "and Joseph lived for yet another 18 years from the moment she gave birth by an inscrutable mystery." This detail supplements information about the length of Joseph's life in the prologue as well as in 10.1 and 15.1.

47. In ancient Egyptian texts, the flesh of gods is made of gold and their bones of silver.

48. Cf. Job 3:11–16.

taking it to many a worthless path. (11) Woe to my body, for it has made my soul barren and estranged from God who created it. (12) What am I to do now? I am confined on all sides. (13) Truly woe to all who will sin. (14) Truly this is the same great trouble which I saw upon my father Jacob⁴⁹ when he was coming forth from the body, and which has also overtaken me, the wretched one, as of today. (15) But hurry, O God the arbitrator of my soul and my body, who do your will in me!

Jesus at Joseph's Death-Bed

17 (1) While my beloved father Joseph was saying these things, I got up and approached him as he lay down. I found him troubled in his soul and his spirit, and I said to him, 'Hail, my beloved father Joseph, whose old age is good and blessed at once.' (2) He answered in great fear of death, saying to me, 'Hail many times, my beloved son. Behold, my soul has rested within me a little when I heard your voice. (3) Jesus my lord, Jesus my true king, Jesus my good and merciful savior, Jesus the redeemer, Jesus the steward, Jesus the protector, Jesus who is all goodness, Jesus whose name is sweet in the mouth of all and very soothing, Jesus the eye that sees, the ear that listens with righteousness: Hear me today, me your servant, as I beseech you, shedding my tears in your presence. (4) You are truly God, you are truly the Lord, just as the angel oftentimes said to me, and especially on the day that my heart was in doubt because of typically human thought about the blessed virgin—for she conceived a child—and I said: "I will dismiss her secretly."⁵⁰ (5) But as I was thinking about this, the angel appeared to me in a vision and said to me: "Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid and accept Mary your wife to yourself; for he whom she is about to bear is from the Holy Spirit. (6) Do not doubt at all about her conception, for she will bear a son and you shall call his name Jesus."⁵¹ (7) You are Jesus Christ, the savior of my soul and my body and my spirit. Do not find fault with me, your servant and the work of your hands! (8) I did not understand, my Lord, nor do I know the mystery of your incredible birth; nor did I ever hear that a woman had conceived without a man, or that a virgin bore a child while sealed in her virginity. (9) My Lord, if this mystery had not been ordained, I would not believe in you and your holy birth, nor would I glorify her who bore you, Mary the holy virgin.

49. Cf. Matt. 1:15–16.

50. Cf. Matt. 1:19.

51. Cf. Matt. 1:20–21; cf. supra 6.1–2.

(10) ἥρι ἡφνεῖσι οἱ ἡπιέροοσ ἐτα πικερασθῆσ δι λασι ἡπίλωσ αἰμοσ
 (11) ἀνεφρωνι κω† ἐροκ χε εσθιαθῆκ ἡἱρωλῆσ (12) ἀτεκνησθιαθ ταροϋ
 ακτοσθνοσϋ φῆ ἐτασρῖ λα ἐροκ εσθιαθϋ χε ἡθοκ ακσωτεβ ἡνοϋ οσορ
 οσθιαϋ† ἡραϋ αἰφωπι βεν πῆ ἡφῆ ἐτααμοσ (13) βεν ἴσθιοσ ἀιδνοῆ
 ἡπεκῆαϋχ αἰσααῖ νενακ εἰχω ἡνοσ χε ἀρι σαβε παϋηρι (14) βεν ἴσθιοσ
 ἀκερ ἐπίπῆαῆ ἡῆ εκχω ἡνοσ χε ἐβῆα χε ἡθοκ πε παιωτ κατα σαρῶ
 ἡνοῆ ἡαῆαταῆοκ πε χε οσ πε φῆ ἐτακαῖϋ ἡῆ (15) ἥιοσ χε ὦ παδ̄σ
 οσορ πανοσ† εϋωπ ἐτακϋ ωπ νενῆ εθεε πῆροοσ ἐτεῆῆαϋ ἀκερε
 ἡαῆῆῆῆ ἡρο† ἰ ἐρρη ἐχωῖ †† ρο ἐτεκνηεταῆαθοσ ἡτεκωτεῆενεῆ ἐσσοῆ
 εἰ ραπ νενῆ (16) ἀνοκ πε πεκκωκ νεν παῆρι ἡτε τεκκωκῖ (17) ακωῆσωαπ
 ἡῆασῆασρ ἥαϋωτ ἡακ ἡσοσϋωσϋωσϋω ἡσῆοσ ἐτε θαῖ τε ἴοῆολογῖ ἡτε
 πωοσ ἡτε τεκνηεθιοσ† χε ἡθοκ πε ἡπ̄σ ἡχ̄σ παῆρι ἡῆ† βεν οσθιεθῆῆ
 οσορ παῆρι ἡῆφρωνι εσσοῆ

18 (1) ἡαῖ δε εφωσ ἡνωσ ἡχε παιωτ ἡσῆφ ἡῆῆῆοῆ ἀῆε † ερηῆ οσορ
 ἀρηῆ εἰσωσϋτ ἐροϋ χε ἀφῆοσ ερ δ̄σ ἐροϋ οσορ εἰσωτεῆ εῆσῆαῖ
 ἡῆετταλεπωροσ ετεφχω ἡνωσ (2) οσορ νενεῆσα ἡαῖ ὦ ἡασῆοσ
 ἀρι φῆεῖ ἡῆαῆοσ ἐχεν πῆσῆροσ ἐχεν πωῆσ ἡῆκοσῆοσ τηρϋ (3)
 οσορ ἀσθῆσ ἡχε τανερῖτ ἡῆαϋ ἡαῖῖ ῆα πῆραῆ εθῆοτεῆ βεν ρωϋ
 ἡσοσῆ ἡβεν εθῆεῖ ἡῆοῖ πεχασ ἡῆ βεν οσθιαϋ† ἡῆκαρ ἡῆτ χε οσοῖ
 ἡῆῆ παῆερῖτ ἡῆρη ἀρηοσ εφῆαῆοσ ἡχε φα ἥῆετβελλο εθῆαῆεσ οσορ
 ετσαρωοσ† ἡσῆφ πεκῆερῖτ ἡωτ ετταῆοσ† κατα σαρῶ (4) πεχῆῆ ἡασ
 χε ὦ τανερῖτ ἡῆαϋ ἡῆ ἡῆερ βεν ἡρῆῆ εταφερ φορη ἡσοσαρῶ ἐτε
 ἡφῆαχεν ἥῆ ἡφῆοσ ἀῆ (5) φῆοσ γαρ πε παρῆῆ ἡῆῆετρῆῆ ὦ τανῆαϋ
 ετσαρωοσ† (6) ρω† γαρ ἐρο ρω πε ἡῆενοσ ἡῆρη† ἡρῆῆ ἡῆβεν (7) ἡτε
 ἡσῆφ παιωτ ἡτε ἡθο τανῆαϋ ετσαρωοσ† ἡσοῆοσ ἀῆ πε πετεῆῆοσ ἀλλῆ
 οσῆῆσ πε ἡῆεῆρ ἡατκῆῆ. (8) ἀνοκ γαρ ρω ἥῆαῆοσ βῆ πῆεπτηρϋ εθεε
 ἥσαρῶ ἡρεφῆοσ ἐταῆερ φορη ἡῆοσ ἡσῆ† (9) ἥιοσ χε ὦ τανῆαϋ ἡῆερῖτ
 τωοῆ ἡτεφῆ ἡε ἐσσοῆ φῆ πῆελλο ετσαρωοσ† ἡσῆφ φῆεεῆ ἐπῆωϋ
 εθῆαϋωπῆ ἡῆοϋ ἐβολ βεν πῆσι

19 (1) οσορ ἀσθῆσ ἀσϋε ἡασ ἐσσοῆ ἐπῆῆωτ¹⁰ ετεφενκοτ ἡσῆτϋ οσορ
 ἀσχενϋ ἐῆ πῆῆῆῆ ἡτε φῆοσ οσῆῆῆρ ἐβολ ἡσῆτϋ (2) ἀνοκ δε ρω ἡαῆερῶ†
 ἡαῖρεῆσι βῆ τεφῆφε οσορ ἡαῖῖ τανῆαϋ ἡασρῆεῆσι βῆτεῆ ἡεφῆαλλῆσϋ
 (3) ἡθοϋ δε ἐταϋϋῖ ἡῆεφῆαῖ ἐπῆωῖ ρῆ παρῆο ἡῆεφῆχενχῆῆ ἡσαῖ χε
 ἀἥσοῆοσ ἡτε φῆοσ ερ κοῖσ ἐροϋ (4) λοιποῆ ἐταϋϋῖ ἡῆεφῆαῖ ἐπῆωῖ αἰφῆ
 οσθιαϋ† ἡϋ ἀρῆῆ ἐβολ (5) ἀνοκ δε ἀιδνοῆῆ ἡῆεφῆαῖχ ἡῆῆ ἡεφῆαλλῆσϋ

10 ἐπῆῆωτ *ms.*: ἐπῆῆ *Lagarde*

Joseph Recalls an Episode from Jesus' Infancy

(10)⁵² I remember also the day when the asp bit a boy and he died. (11) His people surrounded you in order to deliver you to Herod. (12) Your mercy laid hold of him: you raised him, even though they falsely charged you that it was you who killed him. And there was a great joy in the house of the one who had died. (13) I immediately took you by the ear and spoke with you saying: "Be prudent, my son!" You rebuked me at once and said, "If you were not my father according to the flesh, surely I would tell you what you did to me!" (15) Now then, my Lord and my God, supposing that you have settled accounts with me for that day and caused these fearful signs to fall upon me, I beseech your goodness not to bring me to your judgment. (16) I am your servant and the son of your servant. (17) If you break off my bonds, I will offer to you a sacrifice of praise, which is the confession of the glory of your Godhead, that you are Jesus Christ, truly the Son of God and the son of man at once.'

Jesus to Mary on the Inevitability of Death

18 (1) As my father Joseph was speaking, I could not refrain from shedding tears, and I cried, watching as death held sway over him and listening to the words of misery he was speaking. (2) Following this, my brothers, remember my death on the cross for the life of the whole world. (3) Then my beloved mother Mary, whose name is sweet in the mouth of all who love me, got up and said to me in great pain, 'Woe to me, my beloved son. Is he perhaps going to die, Joseph of the good and blessed old age, your beloved and honorable father according to flesh?' (4) I said to her, 'My beloved mother, who is there ever among people who have worn flesh that will not taste death? (5) For death is the ruler of humankind, my blessed mother. (6) Indeed, you also must die like all people. (7) Whether it is Joseph my father or you my blessed mother, your death is not death but life eternal and unending. (8) For I am also going to die for the sake of all, because of the mortal flesh I wore in you. (9) So now, my beloved mother, get up and go inside to the blessed old man Joseph until you get acquainted with the ordinance which will come from on high.'

19 (1) And she got up and entered the place where he lay, and she found him with the mark of death shown forth in him. (2) I, for my part, my beloved ones, was sitting at his head, and Mary my mother was sitting by his feet. (3) And he lifted up his eyes to my face, but was not able to speak, for the hour of death held sway over him. (4) He then lifted up his eyes and released a loud groan. (5) And I held his hands and his knees

52. This whole section combines three episodes from the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, chs. 4-5, 9, and 16.

for a long while, as he looked at me and beseeched me, 'Do not let me be taken away!' (6) And I placed my hand beneath his heart and found his soul brought to his throat, for it was about to be brought up from his body. But the last hour had not yet been completed for Death to come; otherwise he would not have refrained, for he was accompanied by Disturbance and preceded by Crying and Destruction.

Farewell and Lamentation by Joseph's Children

20 (1) When my beloved mother saw me touch his body, she likewise touched his feet and found out that the breath and heat had withdrawn and left them. (2) She said to me, guilelessly, 'Thank you, my beloved son, for since the moment you placed your hand on his body, the heat withdrew from him. (3) Look, his feet and his shins are cold like crystal.' And I called his sons and his daughters and said to them, 'Get up and speak with your father; for this is the time to speak, before the mouth that speaks fails and the wretched flesh becomes cold.' (5) Then his sons and his daughters spoke with Joseph. He was in peril because of the fatigue of dying, ready to depart from this world. (6) Lysia the daughter of Joseph⁵³ replied, saying to her brothers, 'Woe to me, my brothers, if this is not the disease of our beloved mother—we have not seen her ever since! (7) And so it is also with our father, that we should not see him forever.' (8) Then the children of Joseph lifted up their voices and cried. I, too, and Mary my virgin mother cried with them, for surely the hour of death was come.

Jesus Wards Off the Powers of Darkness

21 (1) Then I looked towards the south, and I saw Death.⁵⁴ He arrived near the house followed by Amente, who is his instrument along with the Devil, and by a countless troop of officers clothed with fire, their mouths breathing out smoke and sulfur. (2) And my father Joseph looked and saw those who came after him, who were filled with wrath toward him, just as they usually fill their face with rage against every soul coming forth from the body, and especially the sinners, in whom they find a little of their own. (3) When the good old man saw them in the company of Death, his eyes shed tears. (4) In that hour the soul of my father Joseph separated with a loud groan, seeking a way to hide so as to be saved. (5) When I saw the groaning of my father Joseph—for he saw authorities that he had never seen—I got up at once

53. SP has "his older daughter Lydia, the purple seller," alluding to Lydia from Acts 16:14.

54. The arrival of Death with countless frightening forms or powers is a distinctive feature of the Jewish "testament" genre; cf. T. Ab. 16–20, where it is God who sends Death to the patriarch's deathbed.

αιερ ἐπιτιμαὶ ἡπιδιάβολος νεν νη εθηνειαυ τηροσ (6) ἡθωσθ λε ατψε
 ηωσθ βεν σσωπι νεν σσηωτ ἡψθορτερ (7) σσορ ἡπε ραι ἡρωνι βεν νη
 ετρενσι βεν πκωτ ἡπαιωτ ιωσνφ ἐνι σσλε ηαριά ταηασ εθε ηηαζις
 τηροσ ἡροτ εθνηοσ ἡσα ττῆχη ἡηρωηι (8) βεν πχιηερεφιατ λε ἡχε
 φηοσ χε αιερ ἐπιτιμαὶ ἡηεζοσσιὰ ἡτε πχακι αιριτωσ ἐβολ εθε χε ἡηνο
 ραι ἡεζοσσιὰ ἡτωσ ἐχωυ αφερ ροτ (9) ἀηοκ λε αιπωητ ἡτσηηοσ αιχω
 ἡοσπροσετχη ἐπωι ρα παιωτ φα ἡηετψενηητ ετωυ ειχω ἡηνοσ

22 (1) χε παιωτ σσορ φιωτ ἡτε ηετψενηητ ηηε(η) φιωτ ἡτε
 τηεθνηι πβαλ ἡρεφιατ πηαψχ ἡρεφωτεη σωτεη ἐπεκηηεριτ
 ἡψηρι ἐτε ἀηοκ πε ειτ ρο ἐροκ εθε ηρωη ἡηεκχιχ ἐτε παιωτ ιωσνφ
 πε ἡτεκοσωρη νη ἡσηηωτ ἡχοροσ ἡαγγελοσ νεν ηιχαηα ποικονοηοσ
 ἡτε τηετἀγαθοσ νεν γαβρηη πιαμψηηοσφι ἡτε φοσωηηι ἡσενωωι νεν
 ττῆχη ἡπαιωτ ιωσνφ ψατεσσιηι ἡπῆζ ἡέωη ἡχακι σσορ οη χε ἡηεσσιη
 βεν ηηηωτ ετρεχρωχ ηαι ἐτε σσοροτ τε ἐηωι ἡσηηοσ σσορ σσηωτ
 ἡροτ πε ἐηασ ἐηασηηηησ ετχη ριχωσ ερε πῆδρο ἡχρων βεν πηα
 ἐτεηηασ εφσεκ βατ ἡφρητ ἡηηχοη ἡτε φηοη (2) σσορ ωωπι ἡηηητ ἐσση
 ἐττῆχη ἡπαιωτ ιωσνφ εφηηοσ ἐσρη ἐηεκχιχ εθεστω χε θα τε τσηηοσ
 ετεφερ χρια ἡπηηαι ἡσηηε %

(3) τχω ἡηοσ ηωτεη ὦ ηασηηοσ ετταηηοσ σσορ ηαἀποστολοσ
 ετσηαρωοσ χε ρωη ηηβη ἐτασχοφου ἐπκοσηοσ ἐταφῆηι ἐπιπεθηηηεφ
 νεν πηπεθρωσ ἐαφερ πεφσηοσ τηρφ εφάωι ἡσα ηηωσρη ἡτε ηεφβαλ φερ
 ἡχρηὰ ἡπηηαι ἡτεη παιωτ ἡἀγαθοσ αφωηηί ἐτσηηοσ ἡτε φηοσ νεν
 τχῆσσιηι ἡτε πηηωτ ἡηοωι νεν πηηηα ετοι ἡροτ νεν πηχηηερ ἀπολογιθε
 (4) πηηηι τηατασθοι ἐχεν πηηηί ἐβολ βεν σωηα ἡτε παιωτ ιωσνφ πηελλο
 ἡθηηηι

23 (1) εταφτ λε ἡπεφπῆα αιερ ασπαζεσθε ἡηου (2) ασσι ἡτεφτῆχη ἡχε
 ηαγγελοσ ασηηησ ἐσρη ἐζαηηηαππα ἡψηησ ἡόλοσρικοη (3) εταψε λε

and reprimanded the Devil and all those who were with him. (6) And they departed in shame and in great disturbance. (7) And no one among those sitting around my father Joseph knew anything, not even Mary my mother, about all the fearful squads coming after the soul of humans. (8) But when Death saw that I had reprimanded the authorities of darkness and cast them out, for they had no authority over him, he became afraid.⁵⁵ (9) And I got up at once and raised a prayer to my Father of many mercies,⁵⁶ saying:

Jesus' Prayer for the Soul of Joseph

22 (1) 'My Father and the Father of all mercies, the Father of truth, the eye that sees, the ear that hears,⁵⁷ hear me, your beloved Son, as I beseech you for the work of your hands, namely my father Joseph: send me a great choir of angels, and Michael the steward of goodness, and Gabriel the herald of light, that they may walk with the soul of my father Joseph until it passes across the seven eons of Darkness,⁵⁸ and also that it may not pass through the narrow paths it is fearful to tread on and even more to see the powers upon them, the river of fire rushing there like waves of the sea. (2) And be merciful toward the soul of my father Joseph as it is ascending to your holy hands, for this is the hour when he needs mercy.'

(3) I say to you, my honorable brothers and my blessed apostles, that every person born into the world and acquainted with good and evil, if he has spent his time relying on his eyelids, has need of the mercy of my good Father when he comes to the hour of death, and to the passing of the path, and to the fearful tribunal, and to the making of his defense. (4) But I will turn back to how my father Joseph, the righteous old man, departed from the body.

Jesus Hands Joseph's Soul to the Angels

23⁵⁹ (1) When he thus gave up his spirit, I saluted him. (2) The angels took his soul and wrapped it in finest linen packages.⁶⁰ (3) I entered and sat by him;

55. For a similar outcome of Jesus' encounter with Death in the underworld (Amente), cf. *The Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew* (Res. Bart.) 4.2–8.

56. Cf. 2 Cor. 1:3.

57. Cf. Joseph's invocation in 17.3.

58. For Boud'hors, "Histoire," p. 51, ad loc., the seven eons of darkness are the inversed image of the seven heavens of Paradise; but they can also stand for the seven planetary spheres that the soul must traverse during its postmortem heavenly voyage.

59. The longest extant Sahidic manuscript fragment (S^D; Vatican Library, Borgia 109, no. 121, chs. 14–24,1) contains a more detailed version of ch. 23, which runs as follows: "(1) When I said 'Amen,' my beloved mother Mary responded to me in the language of the heavenly beings. (2) And, behold, immediately Michael and Gabriel and the choir of the angels came forth from heaven. They came and stood upon the body of my father Joseph. (3) And straightaway his

nobody noticed that he was dead among those sitting around him. (4) And I made Michael and Gabriel watch over his soul because of the authorities on the road; and the angels sang before it until they delivered it to my good Father.

Jesus Consoles Joseph's Family

24 (1) Now I turned to the body of my father Joseph, laid down like an empty jar. I sat, brought down his eyes, and tried to close them and his mouth. I stayed there looking upon him. (2) I said to the virgin, 'Mary, my mother, where are now all works of craftsmanship that this man had made from his youth until now? They have all passed away in this single hour as though he had never been born into the world.' (3) When his sons and his daughters heard me saying this to Mary, my virgin mother, they said to me with great weeping, 'Woe to us, our Lord; for surely our father is dead and we did not notice it, did we?' (4) I said to them, 'Indeed he is dead, and yet the death of Joseph my father is not death, but life forever.⁶¹ (5) Great are the things which my beloved father Joseph is about to receive. For as soon as his soul came forth from the body, all trouble ceased for him. He went into the eternal kingdom; he left behind the burden of the body; he left behind this world full of all sorts of troubles and empty concerns.

rattling and panting greatly increased, and I realized that his bitter hour was come. (4) And he kept laboring like a woman about to give birth, his affliction spreading over him as a violent wind and as a great fire that devours a great wood. (5) As for Death, however, fear did not let him enter unto the body of my beloved father Joseph and separate it away; for he looked in and saw me sitting by his head, having hold of his temples. (6) And when I realized that Death feared to enter because of me, I rose and went outside the gate, and I found him waiting there alone in great fear. (7) And straightaway I said to him, 'O you who have come from the places of the South, enter quickly and accomplish that which my Father has commanded you. (8) But watch over him like the light of your eyes; for he is my father according to flesh, and he suffered with me in the days of my youth, fleeing with me from place to place because of Herod's plot, and I was taught by him like all children, whom their fathers teach for their benefit.' (9) Then Abbaton went in and took the soul of my father Joseph, and he brought it forth from the body at the hour when the sun was about to rise in its course, on the twenty-sixth of the month of Epiphi, in peace. (10) All the days of the life of my beloved father Joseph amount to a hundred and eleven years. (11) Michael took hold of the two ends of a precious silken package, and Gabriel took hold of the other two ends. They greeted the soul of my beloved father Joseph and put it down into the package. (12) But no one among those sitting beside him knew that he had died, nor did my mother Mary know. (13) And I had Michael and Gabriel watch over the soul of my beloved father Joseph because of the robbers on the roads. And I made the bodiless angels sing continually before him, until they took him to the heavens unto my good Father."

60. The way in which the angels handle Joseph's soul resembles the treatment of the viscera in the ancient Egyptian mummification procedures, where each of the inner bodily organs was wrapped in a separate linen package.

61. Cf. *supra* 18.7.

αυφει ηαυ εβηνα ηεντοι ητε παιωτ ετβεν ηιφνωτι ηη ετε ηπαρωτακο
 ψα ενεεζ (6) ηαι δε εταλχοτοσ ηηασηνοσ χε αμνοσ ηχε πετενηωτ
 ιωσηφ πιβελλο ετσηαρωοστ αρωτοσηνοσ αρωφωσ ηηνοσρωωσ οσοζ αρωρη
 ηοσηνωτ ηηαε

25 (1) τοτε ηα τβακι τηρε ηαζαρεθ ηεν ηα τγαλιεα ετασρωτεη
 επρηνη αρωοστωτ τηροσ εβηνα εηαληη ηηνου κατα φηνοσ
 ηηηοσλαμ αρωε ηιεζοοσ τηρε ερωε ρηνη ερωυ ψα φηαε ηαχπρωτ (2) βεν
 φηαε δε ηαχπρωτ ητε ηιεζοοσ αρωρωρτωοτι εβολ ηοστοι ηβεν αιωστι
 ηοσηνωσ εχεν πεωηα ηηαηενρητ ηωτ ιωσηφ αρωαζωυ βεν οσηεζ
 ησθοι ηοστωι ατωρω ηηαιωτ ηαγαθοσ ετβε(η) ηιφνωτι βεν ραηπροσεσχη
 ηεπωρληον ηαι εταλσητοσ βεν ηατην ηηηη ηηηοι βεν ηηπαλζ ητε
 τφε ηηατδω σαρζ βεν τπαρωενοσ εθοσδω ηαρηα (3) οσοζ βεν τοσηνοσ
 ετατ ηηαδηηηη ητε τπροσεσχη αωι ηχε οσηηω ηαγγελοσ αρωαζ σαρηη
 ερωε η βησητοσ φωρω ηοσστολη αρωρω ωη ηηπεωηα ετσηαρωοστ ητε
 παιωτ ιωσηφ ησθηηω εθηνητ ηηηρωωσ ησεκοσλωαυ

26 (1) οσοζ αηω ηηαηηχ εχεν περωωηα εηωω ηηνοσ χε ηηηε σθοι ρωη
 ητε φηοσ επ αε ερωκ οσδε ηηηε ηεκηαωχ χωησ οσδε ηηηε τβαρη ωρωο
 εβολ βεν πεκωηα ψα ενεεζ οσδε ηηηεσλωυαευ εβολ βεν ηκαρη ηχε
 τεκκαωι οσδε τεκσαρζ εταληηησ ριωτκ αλλα εσεωρη βεν πεκωηα ψα
 ηιεζοοσ ητε ηηαηηον ητε ηωω ηηρηηη ηηηε ηηωω ητε τεκαφε λωη ηαι
 εταδηηονη ηηηωσ βεν ηαηηχ ηοσηηω ησρη ω παηηρητ ηωτ ιωσηφ οσοζ
 ηηηεθηαηεωυ ηαωωηη ηηηοκ

(2) ηη εθηαυι θρωστω ηοσπροσφορα ησθηησ εβωση επεκτοποσ
 βεν ηιεζοοσ ητε πεκερ φηεωι ετε σρωε ηηαρωοτ επηη πε τηατ
 σηοσ ηαυ ρω βεν τπροσφορα ηεπωρληον ετβεν ηηηοστι (3) οσοζ οη
 φη εθηατ ηοστωκ ετχηχ ηοσρηηηη βεν πεκραη ηηαηαυ αη εερ βαε ηρη
 ηαγαθον ητε ηαηκοσηοσ βεν ηιεζοοσ τηροσ ητε περωησ (4) ηη εθηατ
 ηοσαφοτ ηηρη ετχηχ ηοσωηηηη ηηρηη ηε οσχηρη ηε οσρωφληοσ βεν
 ηιεζοοσ ητε πεκερ φηεωι τηαερ χαρηζεσθε ηηηωσ ηακ ερωεκολωσ
 επηαηηον ητε ηωω ηηρηηη (5) ηη εθηαεβαι ηηαωη ητε πεκωηι εβολ
 βεν σωηα ηεν ησλαηη τηροσ εταωι εβολ βεν ρωη ηηφοσ ωε πεκοσχαμ ω
 παηηρητ ηωτ ιωσηφ χε τηαερ χαρηζεσθε ηηηωσ ηακ βεν ηαηκοσηοσ

He went to the resting places of my Father, who is in the heavens that can never be destroyed.’ (6) Now when I said to my brothers, ‘Your father Joseph is dead, the blessed old man,’ they got up and rent their garments and cried for a long while.

Jesus Preserves Joseph’s Body from Corruption

25 (1) Then all the residents of the town of Nazareth and of Galilee, when they heard about the mourning, gathered to the place where we were, according to the law of the Jews. They spent the whole day mourning for him until the ninth hour. (2) And at the ninth hour of the day⁶² I had everyone leave. I poured the water on the body of my beloved father Joseph and anointed it with fragrant oil. I prayed to my good Father in the heavens with heavenly prayers, which I had written with my own fingers on the tablets of heaven⁶³ before I took flesh in the holy virgin Mary. (3) And right after I said the Amen of my prayer, there came a host of angels; and I ordered two of them to spread a robe and had them take up the blessed body of my father Joseph, deposit it amid the garments, and wrap it.

26 (1) And I laid my hands upon his body saying, ‘No bad smell of death shall rule over you, nor shall your ears be foul-smelling; no waste shall ever flow forth from your body, and neither shall your shroud rot in the earth nor indeed your flesh, with which I have clothed you, but it shall stay in your body until the day of the thousand-year feast. The hair of your head, which I held in my hands so many times, shall not wither, my beloved father Joseph. And all will be well with you.

Jesus Establishes the Cult of Joseph

(2) Those who will provide an offering and deposit it in your shrine on your memorial day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Epiphi, I will also bless in the celestial offering, which is in the heavens. (3) And also whoever gives bread into the hand of a poor person in your name, I will not allow to lack in any good of this world in all the days of his life. (4) Those who give a cup of wine into the hand of a stranger, a widow, or an orphan on your memorial day, I will grant them to you to take them to the thousand-year feast. (5) Those who copy the book of your departure from the body and all the words that have come forth from my mouth today, I swear by your salvation, my beloved father Joseph, that I will grant them to you in this world;

62. This is also the hour of Jesus’ death in the Synoptic Gospels; cf. Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34; Luke 23:44.

63. Cf. 1 Enoch 81.1, 93.2, 103.2, 106.19.

οσοζ οη αρωαηί έβολ βεν σωνα τιαφωβ ήπιχιρογραφοη ήτε
 ηοηηοηι ήτοσπητεηι ζαι ήβασανοσ έβηη έταηαηκη ήφηηοσ ηεν ηιίδρο
 ήχρωη ετχι ήπενθο ήπαιωτ φα ετερ καθαρίζηη ήτση ηηβηη (6) οσοζ
 εωωη οσζηκη ήρωηη πε ήηηοη ήταη είρη ήηη έταηαχοτοσ αηωαηηηηη
 ήοσπηρη ήτεαη ρην πεαρηη ηε ωσχηφ εαη ώοσ ήπεκρηη ήηε ζκωη οσλε
 ηεταηοηοσ ωωηη βεν ηηηη έτεηηηασ ηε οσηη ηεκρηη χη ήσηηη

27 (1) ηενεηηα ηαι αηί έπηηηα έηηαρε ησωηα ήπαιωτ ωσχηφ χη ήσηηη ήχε
 ηηηωη ήτε ηηακη έρε ηηρεαηκωσ ηοωη ηενηοσσ εσσοσωη εκωσ ήπεαησωηα
 καηα ηχηηκωσ ήτε ηηοσλαη (2) οσοζ ασχηηη εασκηηη εκωσ ήηοη εαηκαηη
 χωαχ έβσοηη έπεαησωηα ζωσ ιαχηεη έτασχοαηα βεν ζαηφεροηη
 ήβηηηηη οσοζ έτασκηη έροη ήποσχηη ζαι ήρο βεν ηκαηη (3) ηενεηηα ηαι
 λε ατοαη έβολ έπηήζασ (4) έτασωωκη λε ζηρωη ήηηηηαβηοη ηε αηηαοσωη
 ήρωη ήσεαη εαηηη ηεαηοη αηε ρηεσί ήηέζοοσ εταηηοωη ηενηη έβρηη
 έχηηη ηεν ηηηωη ήωθορτερ έταηωποποσ εθηηη οσοζ αηφορωη έβολ έχηη
 πεαησωηα αηρηη έροη ήοσηηωη ήηασ εηα ηηοσ

28 (1) ηε ω φηοσ φη εητοσηηοσ ήζαηρηη ετοω ηεν ζαηηεζηη
 έηαωωοσ αλα φη εηζηχηηη οσση ηηβηη ήθοη ηεταηη ηαη ήηαηέζοσηα
 ετοη ήωφηρη (2) αλα ήηηοη άρηη αη έφηηοσ ήφηη ήάλαη ηεν ηεαηηηη
 (3) φηοσ λε ήπααηε ραι ήζωκ αηηηη ηοσζαη ααηηη ήτε παιωτ (4) οσοζ οσση
 ρωηη ήηασ έααηε φ ήωε ήροηη ήπαηεαηηοσ ζαηκεηηηη λε οη αρερ
 ζοσο έηηα (5) ηηε οσαι ήσηηοσ χοσ ηε αηηασ έφηηοσ ηε ηε εαηηηοσ καηα
 σηοσ εαη ηηη ήζαι (6) αλα ήπααηη ηηη ηωοσ έβηη εοσσοη ήοσωη οσοζ
 ηηεσοη έτεηηηασ παιωτ ήάγαθοσ ηε εθοσωρηη ήηοη ήσα ηηρωηη
 (7) ήηηηασ λε έωαηη ήσωη ωααησωηη εηάποφαηησ εσηηοσ έβολ βεν ηφε
 (8) έωωη έρε ηάποφαηησ ηηοσ βεν οσωθορτερ οσοζ εσηεζ ήαωηη
 ωαρε φηοσ η ζωα βεν οσωθορτερ ηεν οσήβηοη ήτεαηακ έβολ ήηηοσζα
 ααηηη ήτε παιωτ ήάγαθοσ ήτεαηη ήτση ηηηρωηη ήτεαηηησ ήπεαηδσ
 (9) ήπααηωχηηηοη ήχε φηοσ έζηηη έπηηρωηη οσλε έζηηη εηηηετοσπο ήτε
 ηηφηοση (10) φηοσ ηεν ηηοσζαη ααηηη ήτε φφ ηεηεαηρηη ήηοη άλα λε ήθοη
 ήπεαηρηη ήφοσωη ήπαιωτ αλα κεπαρβαηησ ααηησ ωαηε παιωτ αωηη
 έροη βεν ηαηηηερεαηωηηη ηηα ηεαηηηηη οσοζ ήτεαηερ αησωηηη ηηα παιωτ
 ήάγαθοσ ωαηεαηηηη ήφηηοσ έχηη ησηη ηηβηη (11) έηε ήηε άλα ερ αησωηηη

and also that, when they come forth from the body, I will tear the record of their sins so that they may not receive any torment, save the necessity of death and the fiery river⁶⁴ placed before my Father, which purifies every soul. (6) And if there is a poor person who has no means to do what I have said, when he begets a son and names him Joseph, glorifying your name, no famine or pestilence will happen in that house because your name dwells in it.’

The Burial of Joseph

27 (1) Afterward, the dignitaries of the town came accompanied by the corpse buriers to the place where my father’s body had been laid, wanting to bury his body according to the burial custom of the Jews.⁶⁵ (2) And they found him already prepared for burial, with the shroud fitted to his body as if had been fastened with iron clasps; and when they touched him, they did not find any hole in the shroud. (3) Then they took him out to the tomb. (4) And while they dug at the cave’s mouth to open up the entrance and place him next to his parents, I recalled the day when he had traveled with me down to Egypt and the great torments he had suffered because of me. And I spread myself over his body and wept over him⁶⁶ for a long while, saying:

Jesus Teaches about Death

28 (1) ‘O Death, you stir plenty of tears and many a lament—but it is he who is over all things that gave you this marvelous authority! (2) But Death is not to be blamed like Adam and his wife, (3) and Death accomplishes nothing without my Father’s command. (4) There are people who had lived nine hundred years before they died, and many others even more than that. (5) But not a single one of them has said, “I have seen death,” or “It comes at times, troubling anyone.” (6) Rather, it does not trouble them save on a single occasion, and even at that time it is my good Father who sends it after the person. (7) And the moment it comes after him, he hears the verdict coming from heaven. (8) If the verdict comes in haste and full of wrath, Death also comes in haste and anger so as to fulfill the command of my good Father, and to receive the person’s soul and hand him to his Lord. (9) Death has no power to cast him into the fire or take him to the kingdom of the heavens. (10) Death, then, fulfills God’s command; Adam, however, did not do the will of my Father but rather committed transgression until my Father got angry with him—for he obeyed his wife and disobeyed my good Father until he brought death upon every soul. (11) Had Adam not disobeyed

64. Cf. *supra*, 13.9 and 22.1.

65. Cf. John 19:40.

66. Cf. Gen. 50:1.

my good Father, he would not have brought death upon him. (12) What is it that prevents me from beseeching my good Father to send me a great chariot of light to place my father Joseph upon it, so that he does not taste death at all but is taken up in the flesh in which he was born to the places of rest, to dwell there with my incorporeal angels?⁶⁷ (13) But because of Adam's transgression these great troubles have come upon all mankind along with this great necessity of death. (14) Insofar as I myself wear the troubling flesh, it is necessary that I taste death in it for the creation I have made, in order that I may have mercy on them.⁶⁸

Jesus Concludes His Narrative

29 (1) As I was saying this, embracing my father Joseph and lamenting him, (2) they opened the door of the tomb and laid his body in it next to the body of Jacob, his father. (3) His end took place when he was a hundred and eleven years old; and not a single tooth was missing in his mouth, nor did his eyes remain without light, but his appearance was like that of a little child. (4) He never lost his strength, but was working at the craft of carpentry until the day he fell sick with the illness of which he was to die.”

Frame Story Resumed: Apostles Ask about Enoch and Elijah

30. (1) Now we the apostles rejoiced while hearing these things from our Savior, and we got up at once and made our obeisance before his hands and his feet, rejoicing and saying, “We give thanks to you, our good Savior, for you have made us worthy to hear these words of life from you, our Lord. (2) Yet we wonder at you, our good Savior, as to why you have granted immortality to Enoch and Elijah, so that they till now reside amid the blessings while being in the flesh in which they were born, and their flesh never saw corruption.⁶⁹ (3) But the blessed old man, Joseph the carpenter, to whom you granted this great honor of calling him your father, and whom you obeyed in all things, and bid us saying, ‘When I clothe you with power and send upon you the promise of my Father, that is, the Advocate, the Holy Spirit,⁷⁰ and send you to preach the holy gospel, preach also my beloved father Joseph’; (4) and again, ‘Speak these words of life in the testament of his departure from the body’; (5) and again, ‘Read the words of this testament on the feast days and on the sacred days’; (6) and again, ‘A person who has not been taught to read well shall not read this testament on

67. Cf. Matt. 26:53.

68. The whole section 28.10–14 echoes both the images and themes of Rom. 4:12–19.

69. Cf. Acts 2:27, 31; 13:35–37; for Enoch, cf. Gen. 5:24 and 1 En. 70.1–2; for Elijah, cf. 2 Kings 2:11.

70. Cf. John 14:26.

πρόσοσ ἡψαι (7) ὁσοῦ οἱ χε φη εθαδῶλι έβολ βεν παισαχι ιε ἡτεροσοῦο
 έρωσο ρωσδε ἡτεροπιτ ἡρεφχε νεθιοσϫ †ηαδὶ ἡπωψ ἡνοϥ ἡχωλεη
 (8) ὁσοῦ τειοι ἡψφηρι χε ισχεη πρέσοσο έτασϫφок βεν βηθλεβη ακηοσ†
 έροϥ ἡψωτ ηακ κατὰ σαρξ χε ἡπεκωψ ηαϥ ἡθοϥ ἡσοηεταθηοσ ἡτεκ†
 ηαϥ ἡσοωησ ψα εηεῶ

31 (1) αϥερ οσῶ ἡχε πεησωτηρ πεχαϥ ηαη χε †άποφασις έτα παωτ
 ερ άποφαιηη ἡηοσ βα άλλη σηακωρϥ αη ἡπηασ έταϥερ ατσωτεη ἡσα
 ηεϥεητολη (2) άρεψαη παωτ ερ άποφαιηη έχε(η) πηρωη χε ϥηαερ δικεοσ
 ψαϥωπι ηαϥ ἡσωτ¹³ άρεψαη πηρωη ρωϥ ηεηρε ηηβηοσἰ ἡτε πηλιάβρολοσ
 βεν πεϥοσωψ ἡτεϥέρ νοη ἡτεϥχαϥ ἡτεϥερ οσηηψ† ἡάρι ηη ϥσωση
 αη χε ϥηηοσ έβρη ηέηεϥχιϥ έψωπ ϥηαερ ηεταηοη αη (4) έψωπ οη
 άρεψαη οσαι ερ οσηηψ† ἡαρι έρε ηεϥρβηοσἰ ηαηεσ ηεϥπραϥις ετπρι ἡηοϥ
 ἡβελλο (5) αϥψαηηασ δε οη έσοαι εϥτακο ἡπεϥηωιτ ψαϥερε πεϥάρι
 ερ κοσχι φαη πε πηη† έψαϥόλοσ βεν τφλω ἡτε ηοσέροσο (6) πηηη
 ηηπροφηηιά τηροσ έτα παωτ χοτοσ σεναϥωκ έβολ έχεη †ηετρωη ἡτε
 ρωβ ηηβεν ωπι ἡηωσο (7) ὁσοῦ οἱ άτετεηταηοι εθεε έηωχ ηεν ἡλιασ
 χε σεοησ βεν †σαρξ έτασϫφωσο ἡβηης εθεε ωσηφ δε ρωϥ παωτ κατὰ
 σαρξ χε εθεε οσ ἡπεκχαϥ βεν †σαρξ ψα †ηοσ (8) έηε έταϥερ οσθβα
 ἡροηη πε άηαγκη έροϥ πε έθρεϥηοσ (9) †χω ἡηοσ ηωτεη ῶ ηαηελοσ
 έθοσδβ χε σοη ηηβεν έρε έηωχ ηεν ἡλιασ ηαερ φηεσἰ ηφηοσ ερηωσο πε
 έλσκηη έηοσ ἡσσερ έβολ έταηηψ† ἡάηαγκη ετχη ηωσο έβρη ηαηιστα
 έρε ηη έτεηηασ ηαηοσ βεν οσέροσο ἡψθορτερ ηεν ρο† ηεν ωψ ηεν
 άπωη ηεν ἡκαρ ἡηητ (10) πηηηηϫ̄ρ̄ϥ γαρ ηασωτεη ἡπαἰἡ ἡρωη ἡτεϥετϥ
 ποσχοϥ ριχεη πκαρι εθεε οσζεσηις ἡηωσο εθεε ηιχφίό ετοσηαηηηοσ
 ηαϥ ετσορι ἡηοϥ

32 (1) αηερ οσῶ πεχαη ηαϥ χε πεηδ̄σ ὁσοῦ πεηηοσ† ηηη παἰἡ ἡρωη
 έτακχοσ εθβητοσ χε έρε πωηρι ἡπτακο ηασωτεη ἡηωσο εθεε

the feast days'; (7) and again, 'Whoever takes away from these words or adds to them,⁷¹ and so considers me a liar, I will soon take vengeance on him'— (8) we wonder why, since the day you were born in Bethlehem and called him your father according to the flesh, you have not promised immortality to him and granted him eternal life."

Jesus Replies by Invoking His Father's Omnipotence

31 (1) Our Savior answered and said to us, "The sentence which my Father pronounced upon Adam will not be annulled, inasmuch as he did not obey his commandments. (2) When my Father pronounces upon a person that he will be righteous, he becomes his chosen one. (3) When, on the contrary, the person loves the works of the Devil by his own will and sins, and he lets him live a long life, does he not know that he is about to fall into his hands unless he repents? (4) If again one lives a long life in good works, his actions make him an old person; (5) but when he sees one corrupting his way, he shortens his life. This is how he 'takes them away at the midpoint of their days.'⁷² (6) Yet all the prophecies issued by my Father will be fulfilled upon humankind, and all things will befall them. (7) Also, you have told me about Enoch and Elijah that they are alive in the flesh in which they were born, but about Joseph, my father according to flesh, you ask: 'Why have you not left him in the flesh till now?' (8) Even if he had lived ten thousand years, he still must die. (9) I say to you, my holy members, that every time Enoch and Elijah think of death, their wish is that they have already died so as to escape this great necessity which is laid down for them—especially since they will die in a day of torment and fear, of shouts and threats, and of grief. (10) For the Antichrist will kill these two men and shed their blood upon the earth for a jug of water, because of the rebukes they will give him when they denounce him."⁷³

Concluding Doxology

32 (1) We replied and said to him, "Our Lord and our God,⁷⁴ who are these two men of whom you have said, 'The son of perdition⁷⁵ will kill them for

71. Cf. Rev. 22:18–19.

72. Cf. Ps. 101:25.

73. In this section, Enoch and Elijah are identified with the "two witnesses" of the heavenly voice from Rev. 11:3–11.

74. Cf. John 20:28.

75. Cf. 2 Thess. 2:3.

οσ̄εστης ἰνωσ̄ (2) πεχε πενωτηρ ἡ̄ς̄ οσορ πε(η)ων̄ς̄ ηαν̄ χε ἐνωχ
 πε̄ ηεν̄ ἡ̄λιας̄ (3) ας̄ωπι δε̄ βεν̄ πχιν̄ορε̄ πενωτηρ ἡ̄δ̄γαθος̄ χε̄ ηαῑ ηαν̄
 ληοσ̄ηοϋ̄ οσορ̄ ληραψῑ ληωπεῑ ρηοτ̄ οσορ̄ λητ̄ ωσ̄ ηαϋ̄ ἡ̄θοϋ̄ πεη̄δ̄ς̄ οσορ̄
 πεη̄ηοσ̄† πενωτηρ ἡ̄ς̄ ἡ̄χ̄ς̄ φαῑ ἐτε̄ ἐβοᾱ ριτοτϋ̄ ἐρε̄ ὡσ̄ η̄βεν̄ ηεν̄ τᾱιο
 η̄βεν̄ ἐρ̄ πρεπ̄ ἡ̄φωτ̄ ηεν̄αϋ̄ ηεν̄ πῆπῆλ̄ ε̄θοσ̄ᾱ ἡ̄ρεϋτᾱη̄σο̄ †η̄οσ̄ ηεν̄
 ἡ̄σ̄η̄οσ̄ η̄βεν̄ ηεν̄ ψᾱ ἐη̄ε̄ρ̄ ἡ̄τε̄ η̄ἐη̄ε̄ρ̄ τηροσ̄ δ̄η̄η̄η̄

a jug of water'?" (2) Our Savior Jesus and our Life said to us, "They are Enoch and Elijah." (3) And when our good Savior said this to us, we were glad and rejoiced, and we gave thanks and glorified him, our Lord and our God,⁷⁶ our Savior Jesus Christ, through whom all glory and all honor is due to the Father and Him and the life-giving Holy Spirit, now and for all time and forever and ever. Amen.⁷⁷

76. Cf. John 20:28.

77. The following text was added by the scribe: "Remember me, the sinner, the wretched, who stinks in the pit of his sins, Hapip. Lord, have mercy on him. Amen. I copied it on the twenty-eight of the month of Epiphi, in the year of the martyrs 783."

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MINISTRY GOSPELS

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The Jewish-Christian Gospels

There are no surviving manuscripts of the so-called Jewish-Christian Gospels. Information about their scope and character can only be inferred from quotations of them in hostile sources, the writings of the proto-orthodox church fathers. These quotations are in a hopeless state of confusion, so much so that scholars have long disagreed over the most basic issues, including whether these quotations derive from two, three, or more Gospels written by Christians concerned to portray Jesus in light of their own ongoing commitments to Jewish law and culture.

Part of the confusion resides in the fact that different patristic authors (and sometimes the same author) appear to call different Gospels by the same name (e.g., “the Gospel according to the Hebrews”). Moreover, in many instances authors understand these Gospels all to be versions of the Gospel according to Matthew, thought to have been originally written in Hebrew and then edited by “heretics” inclined to propagate a Jewish understanding of Jesus and his ministry.

The view that Matthew was originally written in Hebrew is very old, going back at least to the early second century. The proto-orthodox father Papias, whose works also are preserved only in quotations of later writers, wrote a five-volume work known as the *Expositions of the Sayings of the Lord*, in which he indicates that “Matthew composed the sayings [of Jesus] in the Hebrew tongue, and each one interpreted [*or: translated*] them to the best of his ability.” Traditionally this has been taken to indicate that the First Gospel first appeared in Hebrew. A closer reading of Papias’s quotation (preserved in Eusebius), however, suggests that he was not speaking of our Gospel of Matthew—or that if he was, he did not actually know about the origins and character of the book. Our Gospel of Matthew is much more than the sayings of Jesus; and it was almost certainly not originally written in Hebrew: it borrows stories verbatim from Mark, for example, a source that was written in Greek. Nonetheless, church fathers after Papias assumed that he was talking about our Matthew,

and concluded that since this book was written in Hebrew, it must have been the Gospel of choice among Christians who continued to hold allegiance to Jewish law and customs. And so any Gospel traditions that appeared to derive from a “Jewish” Gospel were thought to have come from this Hebrew form of Matthew—or a later redaction of it that incorporated even more fully Jewish ideas and concerns.

Compounding the confusion was the circumstance that various church fathers appear not to have realized that there were different Jewish-Christian groups with different theological views and liturgical practices living in different parts of the Christian world at different times. These different groups, of course, had different scriptural warrants for their religious commitments—including a range of different Gospels. Among other things, some of the church fathers did not realize that some Jewish-Christian groups (or at least one of them) derived from Palestine and continued to speak and read Aramaic, whereas others lived in the Jewish diaspora and knew only Greek.

As a result of all these factors, church fathers not infrequently confused one Jewish Christian Gospel with another, all the time thinking that each of these Gospels was in fact the Hebrew version of Matthew. As it turns out, probably none of the Jewish-Christian Gospels known to us today was simply Matthew in Hebrew dress.

The early church fathers who quote the Jewish-Christian Gospels range from the late second to the early fifth centuries: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Didymus the Blind, Epiphanius, and Jerome—not to mention later medieval sources. To give a sense of the confusion that reigned, we may consider just one reference in the writings of Jerome:

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was actually written in the Chaldean or Syriac language but with Hebrew letters, which the Nazareans use still today and which is the Gospel according to the Apostles, or, as most believe, according to Matthew—a Gospel that can also be found in the library of Caesarea—the following story is found. (Jerome, *Against the Pelagians*, 3.2)

There are actually four different Gospels referred to by Jerome here: the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel according to Matthew translated into Hebrew, the Gospel used by the Nazareans, and the Gospel according to the Apostles. But he understands these four books to be one and the same. As it turns out, two of the referents are problematic: it appears that Jerome never did know a form of Matthew written in Hebrew, and there is debate today over whether or not the Gospel according to the Apostles is simply a different name for one of the other known Gospels. The other two referents are confused, because now there is reason to think that the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel of the Nazareans were different texts, written in different languages, with different views, and different contents.

The state of confusion witnessed to by Jerome has created endless headaches for modern critics trying to reconstruct the true state of affairs. A. F. J. Klijn, who has done more than anyone to try to sort out the mess, has convincingly argued that Jerome himself spoke of, and understood, the nature of the Jewish-Christian Gospels differently at different points of his career. All modern scholars working on the problem have tried to separate the various lines of tradition from one another. There is universal agreement that the various quotations in the church fathers cannot go back to an original Hebrew (or Aramaic) version of Matthew's Gospel—most of them have no parallel in the canonical traditions. Nor can they all go back, in their entirety, to a single Aramaic revision of Matthew: for among the quotations are two different accounts of the baptism of Jesus, and these clearly come from different Gospels. There must, then, have been at least two Jewish-Christian Gospels. Moreover, there are solid linguistic reasons for thinking that one of these books was transmitted in Aramaic (as a number of the Fathers, including Eusebius and Jerome, explicitly state), whereas the other was written in Greek, since some of the Fathers (e.g., Clement of Alexandria and Didymus) could not read Hebrew/Aramaic, and so could not have quoted the book if that was its language. Moreover, there are linguistic features of some of the quotations that clearly indicate they derive from a Greek source.

And so, there were at least two Jewish-Christian Gospels. The question has long been whether, at least in the early centuries of the church (up to, say, the fifth century), there were two such Gospels (Schlarb and Lührmann) or three (Bauer, Vielhauer and Strecker, Klijn). Most scholars have thought there were three, one in Aramaic/Hebrew and two (at least) in Greek. One group of quotations (found in Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, along with a group of marginal notes in several medieval Greek manuscripts of the Gospel of Matthew) involve Gospel traditions closely aligned with Matthew that appear to have had their origin in a Semitic-language Gospel. Another group of quotations (found in the Alexandrian writers Clement, Origen, and Didymus the Blind, along with his one-time student Jerome) presuppose a different perspective, are not closely tied to the Gospel of Matthew, and appear to derive from a Greek source. A final group of quotations (found only in Epiphanius) presuppose yet a different perspective and clearly derive from some kind of Gospel harmony that was originally composed in Greek.

And so we possibly have three Jewish-Christian Gospels to consider from our sources: (1) the Gospel of the Nazareans, written in Aramaic, closely connected to Matthew, and located by church fathers in the region of Berea, near Aleppo, Syria; (2) the Gospel according to the Hebrews, written in Greek and propagated among Jewish Christians living in Egypt; and (3) the Gospel of the Ebionites, a Greek Gospel harmony in use among Christians known by Epiphanius to be living in the area east of the Jordan River.

The quotations from these writings that follow derive from the works of the early church fathers (up to the fifth century), but do not include the later, and even more confused, quotations from the Middle Ages (ninth centuries and later). We have drawn quotations from Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Traditions*.

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The Gospel of the Nazareans

None of the ancient sources that quotes this Gospel refers to it as the Gospel of the Nazareans. Indeed, to our knowledge, no Gospel went by that name until the ninth century, when Haimor of Halberstadt quotes an apocryphal tradition which indicated that many thousands of Jews converted to believe in Jesus while standing near his cross (see the discussion in Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Traditions*, pp. 129–31). It was thought in our more ancient sources, however, that there was a Gospel originally written “in Hebrew letters” that was used by the Jewish sect of the Nazareans (see quotation 9 from Jerome), a name used of Christians as early as the New Testament period (Acts 24:3), no doubt because Jesus himself was called “the Nazarene.” In any event, as the various quotations from this Gospel answer to this description, modern scholars have customarily called it the Gospel of the Nazareans.

Among our surviving sources the Gospel is quoted once by Origen, twice by Eusebius, and several times by Jerome. The sources have often confused the issue by calling the book the Gospel of the Hebrews, or by maintaining that it was the original (or edited) Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew. The Gospel does, to be sure, show close ties to Matthew. And it is at least possible that it was a later translation of that Gospel into Aramaic (Matthew originally having been written in Greek); but it is more likely that the author of this apocryphon wrote his account in light of his knowledge of Matthew, or of the traditions that were known to Matthew (see Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Traditions*, 36).

In addition to the patristic citations, this Gospel is also attested in the marginalia of a group of New Testament manuscripts dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Two of these manuscripts have a subscription that refers to a Gospel preserved on Mount Zion, in Jerusalem, which is called “the Jewish Gospel”: TO IOUDAIKON (ms 566, ninth century; and ms 899, eleventh century). All five manuscripts (including ms 4, thirteenth century; ms 273, thirteenth century; and ms 1424, eleventh century) have marginal notes on sundry passages of the Gospel of Matthew, which indicate the alternative readings of this “Jewish Gospel.” The variant readings include explanatory comments, expansions, and variant traditions.

Jerome claims that the Gospel written in Hebrew was preserved in the famous library of Caesarea. This would make sense, in light of the circumstance that both Origen and Eusebius (the other two authors who quote it) had strong connections there. Jerome also claims that he personally translated the text from Hebrew into Greek (see 5). He may mean, however, that he translated *portions* of the text as quoted in one of his sources, for example, Origen; there is no evidence to suggest that Jerome actually translated the entire work.

In any event, the quotations of this apocryphon suggest that it was a synoptic-like Gospel, which at the least contained accounts of Jesus' baptism, teaching, healing, and passion. Since the Gospel was already known to Origen, it must have been written by the mid-second century at the latest. Since its language was Aramaic, it was probably written in Palestine. Some scholars have suggested that it originated in Berea of Syria near Aleppo (see Vielhauer and Strecker, p. 159). The Gospel enjoyed a long life: the sources attesting it range at least from the late second (Origen) to the thirteenth centuries (TO IOUDAIKON mss).

Bibliography

See the bibliography in the general introduction to the Jewish-Christian Gospels.

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EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM NAZARENOS

1

Scriptum est in euangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebraeos (si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud, non ad auctoritatem sed ad manifestationem propositae quaestionis): Dixit, inquit ad eum alter diuitum: Magister, quid bonum faciens uiuam? Dixit ei: Homo, legem et prophetas fac. Respondit ad eum: Feci. Dixit ei: Vade, uende omnia quae possides et diuide pauperibus, et ueni, sequere me. Coepit autem diues scalpere caput suum et non placuit ei. Et dicit ad eum dominus: Quomodo dicitis: Feci legem et prophetas? Quoniam scriptum est in lege: Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahae amicti sunt stercore, morientes prae fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conuersus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon, fili Ionae, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus quam diuitem in regnum coelorum.

(Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* 15.14)

2

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκον Ἑβραϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν εὐαγγέλιον τὴν ἀπειλὴν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ἀποκρύψαντος ἐπήγεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦ ἀσώτως ἐζηκότος. Τρεῖς γὰρ δούλους περιεῖχε, τὸν μὲν καταφαγότα τὴν ὑπαρξίν τοῦ δεσπότου μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητρίδων, τὸν δὲ πολλὰ πλασιάσαντα τὴν ἐργασίαν, τὸν δὲ κατακρύψαντα τὸ τάλαντον· εἶτα τὸν μὲν ἀποδεχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ μεμψθῆναι, μόνον τὸν δὲ συγκλεισθῆναι δεσμοτηρίῳ. (Eusebius, *Theophania* 4.22)

3

In euangelio quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos pro supersubstantiali pane maar repperi, quod dicitur crastinum . . . (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 6.11)

The Gospel of the Nazareans

1

It is written in a certain Gospel that is called “according to the Hebrews” (if in any event anyone is inclined to accept it, not as an authority but to shed some light on the question we have posed) that another rich man asked [Jesus], “Master, what good thing must I do to have life?” He replied to him, “O man, you should keep the law and the prophets.” He responded, “I have already done that.” Jesus said to him, “Go, sell all that you have and distribute the proceeds to the poor; then come, follow me.”¹

But the rich man began to scratch his head, for he was not pleased. And the Lord said to him, “How can you say, ‘I have kept the law and the prophets?’ For it is written in the law, ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ And look, many of your brothers, sons of Abraham, are clothed in excrement and dying of hunger while your house is filled with many good things, not one of which goes forth to these others.” He turned and said to his disciple Simon, who sat beside him, “Simon, son of Jonah, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of heaven.” (Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* 15.14)

2

For the Gospel that has come down to us in Hebrew letters makes the threat not against the one who hid the (master’s) money but against the one who engaged in riotous living.² For (the master) had three slaves, one who used up his fortune with whores and flute players, one who invested the money and increased its value, and one who hid the money. The one was welcomed with open arms, the other blamed, and only the third locked up in prison. (Eusebius, *Theophania* 4.22)

3

In the Gospel that is called “according to the Hebrews,” for the words, “bread to sustain our lives” I found the word “Mahar,” which means “[bread] for tomorrow.”³ (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 6.11)

1. Cf. Matt. 19:16–24; Mark 10:17–25; and Luke 18:18–25.

2. Cf. Matt. 25:14–30.

3. Cf. Matt. 6:11.

4

In euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Hebionitae, quod nuper in graecum de hebraeo sermone transtulimus et quod uocatur a plerisque Mathei authenticum, homo iste qui aridam habet manum caementarius scribitur, istiusmodi uocibus auxilium precans: Caementarius eram manibus uictum quaeritans; precor te, Iesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos. (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 12.13)

5

In euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni pro filio Barachiae filium Ioiadae scriptum reperimus. (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 23.35)

6

Iste (*scil.* Barabbas) in euangelio quod scribitur iuxta Hebraeos filius magistrorum interpretatur. (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 27.16)

7

In euangelio cuius saepe facimus mentionem superliminare templi infinitae magnitudinis fractum esse atque diuisum legimus. (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 27.51)

8

In euangelio iuxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, siue ut plerique autumnant, iuxta Matthaicum, quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia: Ecce mater Domini et fratres eius dicebant ei: Ioannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum: eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis: Quid peccaui, ut uadam et baptizer ab eo? Nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est. (Jerome, *Against the Pelagians* 3.2)

9

Et in eodem uolumine: Si peccauerit, inquit, frater tuus in uerbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius: Septies in die?

4

In the Gospel that the Nazareans and Ebionites use, which I recently translated from Hebrew into Greek, and which most people consider the authentic version of Matthew, the man with a withered hand⁴ is described as a mason, seeking for help in words like these: "I was a mason who made a living with my hands; I beseech you, Jesus, restore my health so I do not have to beg for food shamefully." (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 12.13)

5

In the Gospel the Nazareans use, we find it written "son of Johoiada" instead of "son of Barachia." (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 23.35)

6

The name of that one (i.e., Barabbas) is interpreted to mean "son of their master" in the Gospel written according to the Hebrews. (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 27.16)

7

In the Gospel we have often referred to we read that "the enormous lintel of the temple was broken and split apart." (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 27.51)

8

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was actually written in the Chaldean or Syriac language but with Hebrew letters, which the Nazareans use still today and which is that according to the Apostles, or, as most believe, according to Matthew—a Gospel that can also be found in the library of Caesarea—the following story is found: "Behold, the mother of the Lord and his brothers were saying to him, 'John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins. Let us go and be baptized by him.' But he replied to them, 'What sin have I committed that I should go to be baptized by him? Unless possibly what I just said was spoken in ignorance.'" (Jerome, *Against the Pelagians* 3.2)

9

And in the same volume: "(Jesus) said, 'If your brother sins by speaking a word against you, but then makes it up to you, you should accept him seven times a day.' His disciple Simon said to him, 'Seven times in a day?'

4. Cf. Matt. 12:9–14; Mark 3:1–6; Luke 6:6–11.

Respondit Dominus et dixit ei: Etiam ego dico tibi usque septuagies septies. Etenim in prophetis quoque postquam uncti sunt Spiritu Sancto, inuentus est sermo peccati. (Jerome, *Against the Pelagians* 3.2)

10

Variant Readings Noted in New Testament Manuscripts

- On Matthew 4:5. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν οὐκ ἔχει· εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (MS 566)
- On Matthew 5:22. τὸ εἰκὴ ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κεῖται οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 7:5. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐνταῦθα οὕτως ἔχει· ἐὰν ᾗτε ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς μὴ ποιῆτε, ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου ἀπορίψω ὑμᾶς (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 10:16. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· ὑπερ ὄφεις (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 11:12. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· διαρπάζεται ἔχει (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 11:25. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· εὐχαριστῶ σε (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 12:40. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν οὐκ ἔχει τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας] (MS 899)
- On Matthew 15:5. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· κορβᾶν ὃ ὑμεῖς ὠφεληθήσεσθε ἐξ ἡμῶν (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 16:2-3. τὰ σεσημειωμένα διὰ τοῦ ἀστερίσκου ἐν ἐτέροις οὐκ ἐμφέρεται οὔτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 16:17. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· ὡς Ἰωάννου (MS 566)
- On Matthew 18:22. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐξῆς ἔχει μετὰ τὸ ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μετὰ τὸ χρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εὐρίσκετο ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ἁμαρτίας. (MSS 566, 899)
- On Matthew 26:74. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· καὶ ἠρνήσατο καὶ ὤμοσεν καὶ κατηράσατο (MSS 4, 273, 899, 1414)
- On Matthew 27:65. τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν· καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδρας ἐνόπλους, ἵνα καθέζωνται κατ' ἐναντίον τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ τηρῶσιν αὐτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας κουστῶδιαν (MS 1424)

The Lord responded, “Yes indeed, I tell you—even up to seventy times seven!⁵ For even among the prophets, after they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, a word of sin was found.” (Jerome, *Against the Pelagians* 3.2)

10

Variant Readings Noted in New Testament Manuscripts

- On Matthew 4:5. The Jewish Gospel does not have “into the holy city,” but “in Jerusalem.” (MS 566)
- On Matthew 5:22. The words “without cause” are not present in some copies, nor in the Jewish Gospel. (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 7:5. In this place the Jewish Gospel reads: “Even if you are resting on my breast but do not do the will of my Father in heaven, I will cast you away from my breast.” (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 10:16. The Jewish Gospel says, “more than serpents.” (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 11:12. The Jewish Gospel reads “plunders.” (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 11:25. The Jewish Gospel says, “I give you thanks.” (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 12:40. The Jewish Gospel does not have “three days and three nights.” (MS 899)
- On Matthew 15:5. The Jewish Gospel says, “That which you would have had as a benefit from us is now an offering [to the Temple].” (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 16:2–3. The passages marked with an asterisk are not set forth in other copies, nor in the Jewish Gospel. (MS 1424)
- On Matthew 16:17. The Jewish Gospel says, “son of John.” (MS 566)
- On Matthew 18:22. After the words “seventy times seven” the Jewish Gospel has: “For even among the prophets, after they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, a word of sin was found.” (MSS 566, 899)
- On Matthew 26:74. The Jewish Gospel says, “And he made a denial, and swore, and cursed.” (MSS 4, 273, 899, 1414)
- On Matthew 27:65. The Jewish Gospel says, “And he gave them armed men to sit opposite the cave and keep watch over it day and night.” (MS 1424)

5. Cf. Matt. 18:21–22 and Luke 17:3–4.

The Gospel of the Ebionites

Christianity started out as a sect within Judaism that had come to understand Jesus as the Jewish messiah. Eventually, however, the religion became predominantly Gentile, and the Jewish understandings of the faith came to be proscribed and condemned as heresy. Still, Jewish-Christian communities existed throughout the Jewish diaspora for centuries, as Christian polemical sources amply attest.

From at least the time of Irenaeus (ca. 180 CE), Jewish-Christian groups were known as the Ebionites. Evidently the name derives from the Hebrew EBYON, “the poor.” Jewish followers of Jesus may have adopted this name because they, like the earliest Jewish-Christian communities mentioned in Acts 2:43–47 and 4:32–37, took on voluntary poverty for the sake of the gospel. Their opponents sometimes claimed they were “poor in faith.”

Irenaeus believed that the Ebionites used only one Gospel, a version of the Gospel of Matthew (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 11, 7), which Irenaeus maintained was originally written in Hebrew. This claim contributed to the confusion among later writers, who believed that quotations from a Jewish-Christian Gospel must have derived from this Hebrew version of Matthew. This confusion persisted all the way down to one of our latest independent witnesses to the Jewish-Christian Gospels, Epiphanius, at the end of the fourth century, who quotes a Gospel of the Ebionites, but mistakenly thinks that it goes under the name Matthew, and that it was originally written in Hebrew.

In fact, unlike the Gospel of the Nazareans, the account quoted by Epiphanius shows clear evidence of having been composed in Greek. One of the “confusions” of the Gospel involves the diet of John the Baptist, who is said to have eaten “pancakes” (Greek EGKRIDES) rather than “locusts” (AKRIDES). While this wordplay involves simply a change of one letter into two in Greek, it does not work in Aramaic. It should not be thought, however that this Gospel is the Gospel according to the Hebrews (the other Jewish-Christian Gospel written in Greek): both accounts describe Jesus’ baptism, but in radically different ways. In the Gospel of the Ebionites, in fact, the baptism scene is a key passage for understanding how the narrative was constructed, for here the unknown author has combined the traditions of Matthew, Mark, and Luke (as found in codex Bezae and several old Latin mss). In each of these earlier sources, the voice from heaven at the baptism speaks different words; in the Gospel of the Ebionites it speaks *all* these words, by speaking on three different occasions. The Gospel of the Ebionites, in other words, was, in part, a Gospel harmony, a conflation of the accounts of the Synoptic Gospels, comparable to the Diatesaron created by Tatian in the mid-second century (about the same time as this Gospel was composed), except that unlike Tatian, this author did not, so far as

we know, use the traditions found in the Gospel of John. Like Tatian, however, he does appear to have used some noncanonical traditions.

Epiphanius maintained that the Jewish-Christian group that used this Gospel was located in the region east of the Jordan River. It is he alone who gives us access to their Gospel traditions, in his polemical work *The Panarion* (i.e., the "Medicine Chest," which provided the antidote for the bites of the serpents of heresy). From his quotations, several distinctive features of this Jewish sect can be detected. In particular, it is clear that they maintained that Jesus was the perfect sacrifice for sins, so that there was no longer any need for the Jewish sacrificial cult (saying 7). Moreover, since meat in the ancient world was generally consumed in connection with its sacrifice to God (or the gods), the Ebionites, who no longer believed in sacrifice, evidently maintained a vegetarian cuisine. That appears to be the reason that Jesus shows a disinclination to eat the Passover lamb (saying 8) and why his forerunner ate pancakes instead of locusts (cf. saying 3). It is somewhat more difficult to establish the group's particular christological views, although it appears that they rejected the notion that Jesus was fully human, and thought instead that he was an angel made incarnate (so, at least, Epiphanius; see sayings 6 and 7). In any event, their Gospel did not narrate a virgin birth; according to Epiphanius it began (as does the Gospel of Mark) with Jesus' baptism.

In addition to the baptism narrative, the quotations of the Gospel refer to Jesus' call of the twelve, his public ministry, the Last Supper, and the passion. It was, in other words, a narrative Gospel much like the Synoptics, on which it appears to have been based. It is difficult to assign a precise date to the Gospel, since it is known only in the writings of a late-fourth-century church father. At the least we can say that it must date no earlier than the end of the first century, since its author had at his disposal the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Some scholars (Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Traditions*) have argued that since it shows no evidence of knowing the Gospel of John, it cannot easily be dated after 150 CE; this presupposes, however, that a Christian writer would feel compelled to use the Fourth Gospel if it was widely in circulation (cf. Justin from the mid-second century, for example, who also never quotes John explicitly). In any event, most scholars have dated the Gospel to the mid- to late second century (Elliott, Klauck, Vielhauer and Strecker).

Bibliography

See bibliography in the general introduction to the Jewish-Christian Gospels.

EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM EBIONITAS

1

Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίου ἔχει ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρῶν τῶν ἱερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ, καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες. (Eriphanus, *Panarion* 30.13.6)

2

Παρακόψαντες γὰρ τὰς παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ γενεαλογίας ἄρχονται τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς προείπομεν, λέγοντες ὅτι ἐγένετο, φησὶν, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπ' ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα, ἦλθεν τις Ἰωάννης ὀνόματι βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ. (Eriphanus, *Panarion* 30.14.3)

3

Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τὸ βρώμα αὐτοῦ, φησί, μέλι ἄγριον, οὐ ἡ γεῦσις ἢ τοῦ μάννα, ὡς ἐγκρίξ ἐν ἐλαίῳ (Eriphanus, *Panarion* 30.13.4–5)

4

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἦλθεν καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου. Καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοιγσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ εἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς, κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠδύοκησα, καὶ πάλιν· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. Ὁ ἰδὼν, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ τίς εἶ, κύριε; Καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ἠδύοκησα. Καὶ τότε, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· δέομαί σου, κύριε, σὺ με βάπτισον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτόν λέγων· ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα. (Eriphanus, *Panarion* 30.13.7–8)

The Gospel of the Ebionites

1

The beginning of the Gospel they use reads as follows: “And so in the days of Herod, King of Judea, John came baptizing a baptism of repentance in the Jordan River. He was said to have come from the tribe of Aaron, the priest, and was the child of Zacharias and Elizabeth. And everyone went out to him.”¹ (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.13.6)

2

For by chopping off the genealogies of Matthew they make their Gospel begin as we indicated before, with the words: “And so in the days of Herod, King of Judea, when Caiaphas was high priest, a certain one named John came baptizing a baptism of repentance in the Jordan River.” (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.14.3)

3

And so John was baptizing, and Pharisees came out to him and were baptized, as was all of Jerusalem. John wore a garment of camel hair and a leather belt around his waist; and his food was wild honey that tasted like manna, like a cake cooked in olive oil.² (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.13.4–5)

4

And after a good deal more, it goes on: “When the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John. When he came up out of the water, the heavens opened and he saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, descending and entering him. And a voice came from heaven, ‘You are my beloved Son, in you I am well pleased.’ Then it said, ‘Today I have given you birth.’ Immediately a great light enlightened the place. When John saw this,” it says, “he said to him, ‘Who are you, Lord?’ Yet again a voice came from heaven to him, ‘This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased.’³ And then,” it says, “John fell before him and said, ‘I beg you, Lord—you baptize me!’ But Jesus restrained him by saying, ‘Let it be, for it is fitting that all things be fulfilled in this way.’”⁴ (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.13.3–4)

1. Cf. Matt. 3:1–12; Mark 1:4–8; Luke 3:1–20.

2. Cf. Matt. 3:4–5; Mark 1:5–6.

3. See Matt. 3:17; Mark 1:11; and Luke 3:22 (in MS D and several Old Latin witnesses).

4. Matt. 3:14–15.

5

Ἐν τῷ γούν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὄλω δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἠκρωτηριασμένῳ, Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν, ἐμφέρεται ὅτι ἐγένετό τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὃς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· παρερχόμενος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος ἐξελεξάμην Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον, υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ Σίμονα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Θαδδαῖον καὶ Σίμονα τὸν ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην, καὶ σὲ τὸν Ματθαῖον καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσα καὶ ἠκολούθησάς μοι. Ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύο ἀποστόλους εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. (Eiriphanius, *Panarion* 30.13.2–3)

6

Πάλιν δὲ ἀρνοῦνται εἶναι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, δῆθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου οὗ εἶρηκεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐν τῷ ἀναγγελῆναι αὐτῷ ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἐστήκασιν, ὅτι τίς μοῦ ἐστὶ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφοί; καὶ ἐκτεινας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἔφη· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφαὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρὸς μου. (Eiriphanius, *Panarion* 30.14.5)

7

Οὐ φάσκουσι δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κεκτίσθαι ὡς ἓνα τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων [καὶ ἔτι περισσοτέρως] αὐτὸν δὲ κυριεύειν καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ πάντων <τῶν> ὑπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος πεποιημένων, καὶ ἐλθόντα καὶ ὑφηγησάμενον, ὡς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον περιέχει, ὅτι ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσησθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσετε ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή. (Eiriphanius, *Panarion* 30.16.4–5)

8

Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκολουθίαν ἠλλαξαν τὸ ῥητόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πᾶσι φανερόν ἐκ τῶν συνεζευγμένων λέξεων, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μαθητὰς μὲν λέγοντας· ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν; καὶ αὐτὸν δῆθεν λέγοντα· μὴ ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα κρέας τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν. (Eiriphanius, *Panarion* 30.22.4)

5

In the Gospel that they call “according to Matthew”—which is not at all complete, but is falsified and mutilated—which they refer to as the Hebrew Gospel, the following is found:

“There was a certain man named Jesus, who was about thirty years old. He is the one who chose us. When he came to Capernaum he entered the house of Simon, also called Peter, and he opened his mouth to say, ‘As I was passing by the lake of Tiberias I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon, Andrew, Thaddaeus, Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot; and I called you, Matthew, while you were sitting at the tax collector’s booth, and you followed me.⁵ I want you, therefore, to be the twelve apostles as a witness to Israel.’” (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.13.2–3)

6

Again they deny that he was a man, apparently based on the word the Savior spoke when it was reported to him, “See, your mother and brothers are standing outside.” “Who,” (he asked) “are my mother and brothers?” Stretching out his hand over his disciples he said, “These are my brothers and mother and sisters—those who do the will of my Father.”⁶ (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.14.5)

7

They do not allege that he was born from God the Father, but that he was created as one of the archangels, yet was made greater than they, since he rules over the angels and all things made by the Almighty. And, as found in their Gospel, they say that when he came he taught, “I have come to destroy the sacrifices. And if you do not stop making sacrifice, God’s wrath will not stop afflicting you.” (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.16.4–5)

8

They have changed the saying by abandoning its true sequence, as is clear to everyone who considers the combination of the words. For they had the disciples say, “Where do you want us to make preparations for you to eat the Passover lamb?”⁷ And they made him respond, “I have no desire to eat the meat of this Passover lamb with you.” (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.22.4)

5. Cf. Matt. 4:18–22; 9:9–13; Mark 1:16–20; 2:13–14; Luke 5:1–11, 27–32.

6. See Matt. 12:47–50; Mark 3:32–35; and Luke 8:20–21.

7. See Matt. 26:17; Mark 14:12; and especially Luke 22:15.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews

The Gospel according to the Hebrews was known and used in Egypt. It is quoted there by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Didymus the Blind. Jerome may also have become acquainted with it during his time there, although it is also possible that he came to know of it through his extensive knowledge of the writings of Origen (many of which are now lost to us). The title of the Gospel, as found in many of the patristic sources, indicates that it was used by Jewish Christians. Confusion as to its relationship to the other Jewish-Christian Gospels is caused principally by the ways it is referenced by Jerome, who (wrongly) indicates that it was originally written in Hebrew and that it was in use by the Jewish sect known as the Nazareans.

Unlike the Gospel of the Nazareans, this Gospel appears to have been circulated in Greek. Otherwise it would be impossible to account for its quotation by Clement of Alexandria and Didymus the Blind. Moreover, it does not appear to have any particular ties to the Gospel of Matthew, or to Matthean traditions in particular. In fact, it does not appear that any of its surviving traditions are reworkings of canonical stories: they instead seem to have been drawn from independent sources.

It is difficult to detect any particular theological orientation of the Gospel, when all the quotations of it are viewed in their entirety. But the first quotation, from Clement, is more familiar to modern readers from the Gospel of Thomas. Could this Gospel have had a Gnostic orientation? Possibly saying number 6 could be read in a Gnostic way, as indicating the moment when the divine element entered into Jesus at his baptism, making possible his ministry of healing and teaching. A Gnostic slant would make sense in light of an Egyptian provenance, but none of the other quotations is closely tied to Gnostic ideas. Some scholars have instead preferred to see the Gospel as standing firmly within the tradition of Jewish wisdom literature (Klauck).

Like the Gospel of the Nazareans, the Gospel according to the Hebrews appears to have been a narrative account of Jesus' entire public ministry, from beginning to end: the surviving quotations involve his baptism, temptation, teaching, death, and resurrection. Since the Gospel was known already to Clement, it must have been written by the early or mid-second century. If Jerome knew the Gospel in manuscript form (as opposed to drawing his information about it from Origen), then it was extant at least until the early fifth century.

Bibliography

See the bibliography in the general introduction to the Jewish-Christian Gospels.

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EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM HEBRAEOS

1

ἡ κἀν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει γέγραπται καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται. (Clement, *Miscellanies* 2.9.45)

2

Ἐὰν δὲ προσιῆται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ φησιν· Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ. (Origen, *Commentary on John* 2.12)

3

Τὸν Ματθαῖον δοκεῖ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Λεὺν ὀνομάζειν. οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὁ Μαθθίας καὶ ὁ Λεὺς εἰς διώνυμοί εἰσιν. ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦτο φαίνεται. (Didymus the Blind, *Commentary on the Psalms* 184.9–10)

4

... ut in Hebraico quoque Euangelio legimus, Dominum ad discipulos loquentem: Et numquam, inquit, laeti sitis, nisi cum fratrem uestrum uideritis in charitate. (Jerome, *Commentary on Ephesians* 5.4)

5

... et euangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebreos et a me nuper in graecum sermonem latinumque translatum est, quo et Adamantius saepe utitur, post resurrectionem Saluatoris refert: Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem seruo sacerdotis, iit ad Iacobum et apparuit ei (iurauerit enim Iacobus se non comesurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec uideret eum resurgentem a dormientibus) rursusque post paululum: Adferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque additur: Tulit panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit Iacobo Iusto et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus. (Jerome, *Illustrious Men* 2)

The Gospel according to the Hebrews

1

As it is also written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, “The one who is amazed will rule, and the one who rules will find rest.” (Clement, *Miscellanies* 2.9.45)

2

If anyone accepts the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Savior himself says, “Just now my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of my hairs and carried me up to the great mountain, Tabor.” (Origen, *Commentary on John* 2.12)

3

It seems that Matthew is named Levi in the Gospel of Luke.¹ But this is not he; it is Matthias, the one who replaced Judas, who is the same as Levi, known by two names. This appears in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. (Didymus the Blind, *Commentary on the Psalms* 184.9–10)

4

As we also read in the Hebrew Gospel, the Lord speaking to his disciples: “You should never rejoice, he said, except when you look upon your brother in love.” (Jerome, *Commentary on Ephesians* 5.4)

5

The Gospel that is called “according to the Hebrews,” which I have recently translated into both Greek and Latin, a Gospel that Origen frequently used, records the following after the Savior’s resurrection: “But when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the servant of the priest, he went and appeared to James. For James had taken a vow not to eat bread from the time he drank the cup of the Lord until he should see him raised from among those who sleep.” And soon after this it says, “The Lord said, ‘Bring a table and bread.’” And immediately it continues, “He took the bread and blessed it, broke it, gave it to James the Just, and said to him, ‘My brother, eat your bread. For the Son of Man is risen from among those who sleep.’” (Jerome, *Illustrious Men* 2)

1. Cf. Mark 2:14; Matt. 9:9; and Luke 5:27.

6

Sed iuxta euangelium quod Hebraeo sermone conscriptum legunt Nazaraei: Descendet super eum omnis fons Spiritus Sancti. Dominus autem spiritus est, et ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. . . . Porro in euangelio cuius supra fecimus mentionem haec scripta reperimus: Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti, et requieuit super eum, et dixit illi: fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut uenires et requiescerem in te. Tu enim es requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum. (Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah* 11.1–3)

7

. . . et in euangelio quod iuxta Hebraeos Nazarei legere consuerunt, inter maxima ponitur crimina: qui fratris sui spiritum contristauerit. (Jerome, *Commentary on Ezekiel* 18.7)

6

It is stated in the Gospel written in Hebrew, which the Nazareans read: "The entire fountain of the Holy Spirit will descend on him. And the Lord is Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Later in that Gospel that we have mentioned above we find the following written: "Then, when the Lord came up from the water, the entire fountain of the Holy Spirit descended and rested on him; and it said to him, "My Son, in all the prophets I have been expecting you to come, that I might rest on you. For you are my rest, you are my firstborn Son, who rules forever."² (Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah* 11.1–3)

7

And in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazareans are accustomed to read, the following is among the worst offenses: that someone should make the spirit of his brother sad. (Jerome, *Commentary on Ezekiel* 18.7)

2. Cf. Matt. 3:16–17; Mark 1:10–11; Luke 3:21–22; John 1:32–34; cf. Isa. 11:2.

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The Gospel according to the Egyptians

The Gospel according to the Egyptians cannot be found in any surviving manuscript, but only in the citations of the late-second-century church father Clement of Alexandria. Several other church fathers mention the existence of the Gospel, and say disparaging things about it.

Clement's contemporary Hippolytus of Rome (*Refutation* 5.7) indicates that the Gospel was used by the Gnostic group known as the Naassenes to validate their view of the complexity of the soul. It is difficult to know whether this information is reliable: most of the surviving quotations are susceptible to a Gnostic interpretation, but none of them directly mentions the soul. Some decades later, Origen (*Homily on Luke* 1.2) indicates that the Gospel was not one of the "church's," but that it was among the "large number" of Gospels used by "the heretics." The fourth-century Epiphanius (*Panarion* 62.2) indicates that the book was used by the Sabellians to demonstrate that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were one and the same. As so often happens with Epiphanius, it is not clear whether he actually had seen the book, or if rather he knew of it as a heretical Gospel and chose to slur the Sabellians by claiming they made use of it (so Schneemelcher).

It is Clement alone who gives us quotations from the book, six altogether. On two occasions (sayings 2 and 5) he mentions the Gospel by name; in both instances it involves a conversation between Jesus and a woman disciple named Salome, who is known to us from two passages of the New Testament (Mark 15:40, 16:1; also Gospel of Thomas 61 and Pistis Sophia 132). In four other instances, Clement cites Gospel quotations of a conversation between these two; by inference, these quotations are also generally understood as having come from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. All these quotations deal with the same basic issues: sexual abstinence, the relation of the genders, and the legitimacy of childbearing.

None of Clement's quotations of the Gospel is disparaging; on the contrary, he appears to hold it as an authority. But he does assert that the teachings of the

Gospel have been twisted by those who take them in a literal way to denigrate sexual activities and procreation. Clement quotes the Gospel in order to provide his own allegorizing interpretation of it. A more straightforward reading of the Gospel suggests that it was indeed written to support an ascetic lifestyle that rejected the pleasures of sex and denied the value of procreation. Its views appear to be based on a close reading of the Adam and Eve stories of Genesis 2–3, where, for example, pain in childbirth is seen as a direct result of sin having entered into the world.

It is impossible to say anything definitive about the extent and character of the Gospel: it may have been a sayings Gospel like the Gospel of Thomas or, more likely, a dialogue narrative like the *Pistis Sophia*. But it may just as well have been a full narrative Gospel such as those that made it into the canon. If the latter, there is no trace in any of our sources of the rest of the Gospel, just the conversation(s) Jesus had with Salome, presumably, but not necessarily, during his earthly ministry (it is also possible that it consisted of postresurrection dialogues).

One of the sayings (5) has striking similarities to the dominical words preserved in 2 Clement 12:1–2, but also to sayings of the Gospel of Thomas (22, 37). It is not clear if one source is borrowing from another, or if, instead, the saying was independently known in a variety of forms to various authors of the second century, as it circulated freely through the oral tradition.

Some scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were keen to tie this Gospel to other, equally scarcely known documents: the Gospel of Peter (T. Zahn); POxy 1 and 655 (W. Bauer; these are now known to belong to the Gospel of Thomas), the Gospel of the Hebrews (H. Quispel), the Epistle of Titus (Hennecke), and so on. Schneemelcher, among others, has shown that we simply do not have evidence to make any of these suggestions plausible.

There have long been debates concerning the name of the Gospel, and what the name might signify. W. Bauer maintained that it was the Gospel used by Gentiles in Egypt, and that it was called the Gospel according to the Egyptians to differentiate it from the other Gospel widely in use there, but by Jews, the Gospel according to the Hebrews (p. 50). Other scholars have seen this reasoning as faulty, since Jews also could be Egyptian, and there were other Gospels (many other Gospels!) in use by Christians (Jew and Gentile) in Egypt. More likely is the view advanced, among others, by M. Hornshuh, that the title was devised by non-Egyptians to designate a Gospel used by the Christians of Egypt.

The Gospel must date before the earliest known references to it, that is, prior to the writings of Clement of Alexandria in the late second century. Most scholars date it to around the middle of the century. Given its title and its early attestation by the Alexandrian church fathers Clement and Origen, it is widely assumed to have been written there, in Egypt. There is now an-

other Gospel called "Egyptian," in the Nag Hammadi Library. These two books have nothing in common and are not to be confused with one another.

We have taken the texts of Clement's quotation from the editions of Lührmann, with permission.

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ΤΟ ΚΑΤ' ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΥΣ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

1

Τῇ Σαλώμῃ ὁ κύριος πυνθανομένη μέχρι πότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει; οὐχ ὡς κακοῦ τοῦ βίου ὄντος καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πονηρᾶς, μέχρις ἂν εἶπεν ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτητε, ἀλλ' ὡς τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τὴν φυσικὴν διδάσκων. γενέσει γὰρ πάντως ἔπεται καὶ φθορά. (*Miscellanies* 3.45.3)

2

Οἱ δὲ ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῇ κτίσει τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς εὐφήμου ἐγκρατείας κάκεῖνα λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένα, ὧν πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν· φέρεται δέ, οἶμαι, ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίουσ εὐαγγελίῳ. φασὶ γάρ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ· ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας, θηλείας μὲν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἔργα δὲ γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν. (*Miscellanies* 3.63.1)

3

Ἔθεν εἰκότως περὶ συντελείας μηνύσαντος τοῦ λόγου ἡ Σαλώμη φησὶ μέχρι τίνος οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποθανοῦνται; ἄνθρωπον δὲ καλεῖ ἡ γραφὴ διχῶς, τὸν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, πάλιν τε αὐτὸν σωζόμενον καὶ τὸν μὴ. καὶ θάνατος ψυχῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία λέγεται. διὸ καὶ παρατηρημένως ἀποκρίνεται ὁ κύριος· μέχρις ἂν τίκτωσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, τουτέστι μέχρις ἂν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι ἐνεργῶσι. (*Miscellanies* 3.64.1)

4

Τὰ δὲ οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένων ἐπιφέρουσιν οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχίσαντες κανόνι; φαμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς· καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα, ὡς οὐ δεόντως τῆς γενέσεως παραλαμβανομένης, ἀμείβεται λέγων ὁ κύριος· πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν μὴ φάγῃς. (*Miscellanies* 3.66.1–2)

5

Διὰ τοῦτό τοι ὁ Κασσιανὸς φησι· πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος· ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσῃτε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἐν καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ

The Gospel according to the Egyptians

1

When Salome asked, “How long will death prevail?” the Lord replied, “For as long as you women bear children.” But he did not say this because life is evil or the creation wicked; instead he was teaching the natural succession of things; for everything degenerates after coming into being. (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.45.3)

2

Those who oppose God’s creation through self-control—which sounds good—also quote the words spoken to Salome, some of which we have already mentioned, found, I think, in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. For they claim that the Savior himself said, “I have come to destroy the works of the female.” By “the female” he meant desire and by “works” he meant birth and degeneration. (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.63.1)

3

Therefore it is probably with regard to the final consummation, as the argument indicates, that Salome says, “How long will people continue to die?” Now Scripture refers to a human being in two senses: that which is visible and the soul, that is, one subject to salvation and one not. And sin is called the death of the soul. For this reason, the Lord also replied shrewdly, “For as long as women bear children”—that is to say, for as long as desires continue to be active. (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.64.1)

4

Why do those who adhere more to everything other than the true gospel rule not cite the following words spoken to Salome? For when she said, “Then I have done well not to bear children” (supposing that it was not necessary to give birth), the Lord responded, “Eat every herb, but not the one that is bitter.” (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.66.1–2)

5

This is why Cassian says, “When Salome inquired when the things she had asked about would become known, the Lord replied: ‘When you (pl.) trample on the garment of shame and when the two become one and the male with

τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ρητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτίους. (*Miscellanies* 3.92.2–93.1)

6

Καὶ ὅταν ὁ σωτὴρ πρὸς Σαλώμην λέγῃ· μέχρι τότε εἶναι θάνατον, ἄχρις ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες τίκωσιν, οὐ τὴν γένεσιν κακίζων ἔλεγεν ἀναγκαίαν οὔσαν διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν πιστευόντων. (*Excerpts from Theodotus* 67.2)

the female is neither male nor female.”¹ The first thing to note, then, is that we do not find this saying in the four Gospels handed down to us, but in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.92.2–93.1)

6

And when the Savior said to Salome, “Death will last as long as women give birth,” he was not denigrating birth—since it is, after all, necessary for the salvation of those who believe. (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus* 67.2)

1. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 22, 37.

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A Gospel Harmony: The Diatessaron?

It is difficult to know whether or not to include the one (possible) surviving fragment of Tatian's enormously important Diatessaron in an edition of the apocryphal Gospels. On the one hand, the Diatessaron did not principally contain apocryphal tales about Jesus, but was a harmony of the four (eventually) canonical Gospels, which wove their various accounts into one long, continuous narrative. On the other hand, the Diatessaron was a Gospel text that did not finally make it into the canon, even in the Syrian church where it was (probably) written and (certainly) promulgated—and in that sense it is “apocryphal.” Moreover, some scholars (see Petersen, 1994) have argued that Tatian used one or more noncanonical Gospels in composing his work.

Tatian was a Christian philosopher-theologian from Eastern Syria who went to Rome in the mid-second century and studied under the great Christian apologist Justin. After Justin's martyrdom in 165 CE, Tatian returned to his homeland. Justin himself may have used some kind of harmony of the Synoptic Gospels—many of his Gospel quotations appear to embody conflated forms of the text—but there is no certainty that he used the Fourth Gospel. Tatian, on the other hand, created a new Gospel harmony with all four of the Gospels that were to become canonical—hence the name of his great work, the Diatessaron (“through the Four”).

It continues to be debated among scholars whether Tatian produced this Gospel harmony in Greek or Syriac (see Metzger; for a strong argument for Syriac, see Petersen, 1994). It was, in any event, “the” Gospel used in Syria for at least two centuries. And it became popular in other places in Christendom, where it was either translated or used as the basis of indigenous Gospel harmonies down through the Middle Ages. Eventually the Diatessaron was replaced in Syria with an edition of the “separate” Gospels in the Peshitta translation, and remarkably, copies of the Diatessaron were not reproduced or preserved, so that today its reconstruction is one of the most difficult tasks confronting textual scholars, who have to rely on such sources as the commentary written on the

Diatessaron by the Syriac church father Ephrem and the many vernacular harmonies that were more or less closely tied to it (Arabic, Persian, Latin, Middle German, Middle Dutch, Middle Italian, Middle English).

In some small measure that changed when the ancient city Dura on the Euphrates was uncovered in one of the great archaeological finds of the twentieth century. Dura had been destroyed by war in 256–57 CE; it was then deserted and lost, until accidentally unearthed by British soldiers after the First World War. Among the significant finds in Dura were the remains of a house that had been converted for use as a church building (ca. 231 CE). This is the first hard evidence of a physical structure used as a church from the ancient world—some two hundred years after the days of Jesus himself.

Also found in the excavations in Dura were a number of manuscripts—including a small scrap of parchment (9 × 11 cm), written on one side, that contains a Greek Gospel account drawn from the Passion narrative (Dura Parchment 24). The fragmentary copy relates the passages in which women were said to have watched the crucifixion from afar, and in which Joseph of Arimathea requests the body of Jesus. This account has extensive verbal similarities with each of the Gospels of the New Testament, but is identical to none of them (see Metzger). This circumstance led the first editor of the text, Carl Kraeling, to suggest that it was in fact a portion of a Greek version of the Diatessaron.

That judgment is not altogether certain, given the fact that there were other Gospel harmonies produced in the early centuries of the church as well (see the Gospel of the Ebionites for another example). But this fragmentary text certainly presents at least one such account, whether from the hand of Tatian or not.

We have taken the text of the fragment from the edition of Lührmann, used with permission.

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A Gospel Harmony
(Dura Parchment 24)

[Ζεβεδ]αίου καὶ Σαλώμη κ[α]ὶ αἱ γυναῖκες
 [τῶν συ]γκακολουθησάντων ἀ[ὐτ]ῷ ἀπὸ τῆς
 [Γαλιλαί]ας ὁρῶσαι τὸν στ(αυρωθέντ)α ἦν δὲ
 [ἡ ἡμέρ]α παρασκευῆ. σάββατον ἐπέφω-
 5 [σκεν. ὁ]ψίας δὲ γενομένης τ[ῆ] π[α]ρ[α]σ-
 [κευῆ.] ὅ ἐστιν προσάββατον, προσ-
 [ἦλθεν] ἄνθρωπος βουλευτῆ[ς] ὑ[πάρ]-
 [χων ἀ]πὸ Ἐρινμαθαία[ς] π[ό]λ[ε]ως τῆς
 [Ἰουδαί]ας, ὄνομα Ἰω[σήφ] ἀ[γ]αθὸς δί-
 10 [καιος.] ὢν μαθητῆς τ[ο]ῦ Ἰη(σοῦ), κρυμ-
 [μένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν
 [Ἰουδαίω]ν, καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδέχετο
 [τὴν] β[ασιλείαν] τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ. οὗτος οὐκ
 [ἦν συγκατα]τιθέμεν[ος] τῆ β[ουλῆ]
 [- - - - 12 - - - -] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . . .]

A Gospel Harmony
Dura Parchment 24

. . . of Zebedee, and Salome, and the wives of those who had accompanied him from Galilee, to see the one who was crucified. But it was the Day of Preparation. The Sabbath was dawning. When evening came on the Day of Preparation, which is the day before the Sabbath, a man came, who was a council member from Arimathea, a city of Judea. His name was Joseph. He was a good and righteous man, and a disciple of Jesus, but in secret, because he feared the Jews. He was waiting for the Kingdom of God. This one had not agreed with the council. . . .¹

1. Cf. Matt. 27:55–61; Mark 15:42–47; Luke 23:50–56; and John 19:38–42; see also Gospel of Peter 3–5, 23–24.

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Papyrus Berlin 11710

First published in 1923 by H. Lietzmann, P.Berl. 11710 contains a brief conversation between Jesus and his disciple Nathaniel, modeled, evidently, on John 1:49 and 29—or at least on traditions similar to those incorporated in John. The surviving manuscript consists of two very small papyrus leaves (6.5 × 7.5 cm) that are well preserved and written on front and back; they date from the sixth century, but there is no way of knowing more exactly when the Gospel account they contain was itself composed. Their diminutive size suggests that they may have been part of an amulet, rather than a Gospel book for public (or private) reading.

Altogether twenty-one short lines of text are preserved, followed at the end (frag b, recto) with the Coptic words “Jesus Christ, God.” Jesus is otherwise not named in the text; he is instead consistently called the “Rabbi,” possibly in keeping with the account of John 1:38, 49. We have taken the text from Bernhard, with permission.

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Papyrus Berolinensis 11710

Fragment a recto

θ . μεσον και
 ει̅πε· ραββιο-
 υ, κ(υρι)ε, συ̅ ει̅ ο υι-
 ος του̅ θεου̅. <απεκριθη̅ αυ̅τω̅>
 ο̅ ραββις και
 ει̅πε· Ναθα-
 ναήλ,

Fragment a verso

πορεύου̅ εν̅ τ-
 ω̅ ήλιω̅. απεκ-
 ριθη̅ αυ̅τω̅ Να-
 θαναήλ και
 ει̅πεν· ραβ-
 βιού, κ(υρι)ε, συ̅ ει̅
 ο̅ άμνός

Fragment b recto

του̅ θ(εο)υ̅ ο̅ αι̅ρ-
 ων̅ τὰς άμ<α>-
 ρ<τί>α<ς> του̅ κόσ-
 μο<υ>. απεκρ-
 ιθη̅ αυ̅τω̅ ο̅ ρ-
 αββις και
 ει̅πεν . .

Fragment b verso

η̅ι̅ ι(ησοϿ)ς χ(ριστο)ς πηο-
 γτε̅ (π)

Papyrus Berlin 11710

Fragment a, recto

[. . .] and
said, "Rabbi,
Lord, you are the Son
of God."¹ The rabbi answered him
and
said, "Nathaniel,

Fragment a, verso

walk in
the sun."
Nathaniel answered him
and
said, "Rabbi,
Lord, you are the lamb

Fragment b, recto

of God, who takes away
the sins of
the world."²
The rabbi
answered him
and said . . .

Fragment b, verso

[in Coptic]
Jesus Christ,
God

1. Cf. John 1:48–49.

2. Cf. John 1:48–49; 1:29, 35.

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Papyrus Cairo 10735

papyrus Cairo 10735 consists of one papyrus leaf, written front and back and dating from the sixth or seventh century. It was first published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in 1903 as the fragment of a lost Gospel. In the following year, A. Deissmann wrote an influential analysis arguing that the text was not a Gospel but a homily or commentary on a Gospel. If the text is a Gospel, it provides an expansive version of the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. It is also possible, then, that the text derives from an early Gospel harmony.

The lines on the recto involve the flight of the holy family to Egypt, with close connections to Matthew 2:13; the lines on the verso relate to the birth of John the Baptist, as narrated in Luke 1:36. Both texts, especially the latter, differ from the biblical accounts. Whether the author actually knew these earlier Gospels or only knew of the traditions that they utilized cannot be determined. It is also impossible to know when the account may have originally been written.

We have taken the text of the fragment from the edition of Santos Otero.

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Papyrus Cairo 10735

Recto

The angel of the Lord said, "Joseph, Rise up,
take Mary your wife and
flee to Egypt, and. . .¹

. . .

. . .

every gift and if. . .
his friends. . .
of the king. . ."

Verso

. . . you should understand." Then
the leader of hosts said to the virgin, "Behold
Elizabeth your relative has also conceived
and it is the sixth month for her who has been called
barren."² In the sixth month of the year, which is (called) Thoth,
the mother of John conceived him.
But it was necessary that the leader of the hosts
proclaim John in advance, the servant who precedes
the coming of his Lord.

1. Cf. Matt. 2:13.

2. Cf. Luke 1:36.

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Papyrus Egerton 2 (and Papyrus Köln 255)

One of the most significant publications of early Christian texts in the first part of the twentieth century was H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Christian Papyri*. The “Unknown Gospel” is preserved in P.Egerton 2, which consists of four fragmentary papyrus leaves, two of which are too fragmentary to be reconstructed (one of them has simply one letter on one side). The other two (9.2 × 11.5 cm and 9.7 × 11.8 cm) contain four narratives that have, in places, striking similarities with the Gospels of the New Testament. But there are few verbatim agreements with their New Testament parallels, and some significant differences in content—including one narrative otherwise unknown.

Half a century after Bell and Skeat’s initial publication of the papyrus, M. Gronewald discovered a fragment among the Cologne papyri that he perceptively recognized as belonging to the same manuscript (P.Köln 255). This new fragment (6.5 × 3.0 cm) adds portions of six lines to both recto and verso of fragment 1.

The stories contained in P.Egerton 2 are as follows: (1) Jesus’ exhortation to his Jewish opponents to “search the Scriptures” (cf. John 5:39–47 and 10:31–39); (2) a foiled attempt to stone and then arrest Jesus, followed by his healing of a leper (cf., e.g., John 10:31ff; Matt 8:1–4; Mark 1:40–45; Luke 5:12–16; and Luke 17:11–14); (3) the question of whether it is right to pay tribute to the ruling authorities (cf. Matt 22:15–22; Mark 12:13–17; and Luke 20:20–26); and (4) the highly fragmentary account of a miracle Jesus performed by the Jordan River, possibly to illustrate his parable about the miraculous growth of seeds. This final story has no parallel in the canonical Gospels.

Bell and Skeat were inclined to date the manuscript to 150 CE. This was a sensational claim, as it made P.Egerton 2 the oldest surviving Christian manuscript of any kind—older than the earliest surviving copies of the books that later became the New Testament. But soon after its publication, C. H. Roberts edited a papyrus that is now known as P⁵², which contains portions of John 18:31–38

and is generally dated to the year 125 CE (+/-25 years). This is now generally considered the oldest surviving copy of any Christian writing. Moreover, on the basis of his fresh examination of P.Egerton 2, Gronewald has argued that Bell and Skeat were overly generous in their dating, that the text more likely was produced around 200 CE. Even so, P.Egerton 2 remains one of our earliest manuscripts of any piece of Christian literature.

After its first publication there was a flurry of scholarly interest in the text, with some fifty scholarly articles devoted to it within three years. One of the leading questions was, and continues to be, the relationship of this "Unknown Gospel" to the Gospels of the New Testament. Was its author literarily dependent on the canonical four Gospels? If so, why are there only scattered verbatim agreements? Was he attempting to create a Gospel harmony? This would explain the material agreements not only with the Synoptics but also with John; on the other hand, the author must have been doing more than creating a harmony, since the fourth story of the text has no parallel in the New Testament (or anywhere else). Had the author read the Gospels that later became canonical and used them to construct his account from memory, without looking at them carefully (Elliott)? Had the stories of the New Testament Gospels been circulating orally, and did he base his narratives on these oral traditions (Klauck)? Or was he writing in complete independence of the canonical Gospels (Bell and Skeat, Mayeda)? Is it possible that his account actually antedates the canonical accounts, that it was one of the sources for, say, the Fourth Gospel (Bell and Skeat, Koester)?

Without page numbering on the surviving fragments of P.Egerton 2, it is impossible to know for certain which pages preceded the others, and which side, recto or verso, is to be read first. What follows is a plausible reconstruction of the original order. For the most part, we have followed the text as reconstructed in Lührmann, used with permission, but we have taken the sequence of the fragments from Bell-Skeat. For full apparatus of alternative reconstructions, see Lührmann and Bernhard.

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Papyrus Egerton 2 (and Papyrus Köln 255)

1

And Jesus said to the lawyers:
“Punish every wrongdoer and transgressor,
but not me. . . .
how he does what he does.”
Then he turned to the rulers of the people
and spoke this word: “Search
the Scriptures; you think that in them
you have life. They are the ones
that testify concerning me.¹ Do not think
that I came to accuse
you to my Father. The one who
accuses you is Moses, in whom
you have hoped.”² They replied,
“We know full well that God spoke
to Moses. But we do not know
where you have come from.”³ Jesus answered
them, “Now what stands accused
is your failure to believe his
testimonies. For if you
had believed Moses, you would have believed
me. For that one wrote
to your fathers about me.⁴ . . .”

2

. . . to the crowd . . .
stones together so that they might stone
him. And the rulers sought to lay
their hands on him,
that they might arrest him and deliver him over
to the crowd. They were unable
to arrest him because the hour

1. Cf. John 5:39.

2. Cf. John 5:45.

3. Cf. John 9:29.

4. Cf. John 5:46.

αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδό[σεως.]
 ἀντὸς δὲ ὁ κ(ύριος) ἐξεληθὼν [διὰ μέσου αὐ-]
 10 τῶν ἀπένευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.]
 καὶ [ι]δοὺ λεπρὸς προσελθ[ὼν αὐτῷ]
 λέγει· διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) λε[προῖς συν-]
 οδεύων καὶ συνεσθίω[ν αὐτοῖς]
 ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ ἐλ[έπησα]
 15 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ· ἐὰν [ο]ῦν [σὺ θέλησ]
 καθαρίζομαι· ὁ δὲ κ(ύριος) [ἔφη αὐτῷ·]
 θέλ[ω] καθαρίσθητι· [καὶ εὐθέως]
 [ἀ]π² ἐστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπ[ρα· λέγει]
 δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰη(σοῦς)· πορευθεὶς σεαυ-]
 20 τὸν ἐπίδειξον τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν]
 καὶ ἀνένεγκον [περὶ τοῦ κα-]
 [θ]αρισμοῦ ὡς προ[σ]έ[ταξεν Μω(ϋσῆς) καὶ]
 [μ]ηκέτι ἀ[μ]άρτανε []·.³ [

Egerton 2 frag. 2 recto

[παραγε-] .
 νόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ[ετασ-]
 τικῶς ἐπέιραζον αὐτὸν λ[έγοντες]
 διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) οἴδαμεν ὅτι [ἀπὸ θε(ο)ῦ]
 ἐλήλυθας. ἃ γὰρ ποιεῖς μα[ρτυρεῖ]
 5 ὑπὲρ το[ῦ]ς προφ[η]τ[ας] πάντας[. λέγε οὔν]
 ἡμῖν· ἐξὸν τοῖς βα(σι)λεῦσ[ιν ἀποδοῦ-]
 ναι τὰ ἀγ[ή]κοντα τῆ ἀρχῆ; ἀπ[ο]δῶμεν αὐ-]
 τοῖς ἢ μ[η]; ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) εἰδὼς [τὴν δι-]
 ἀνοιαν [αὐτ]ῶν ἐμβριμ[η]σάμενος]
 10 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί με καλεῖτε τῷ στό-]
 ματι ὑμ[ῶν] διδ[ά]σκαλον; μὴ ἀκού-]
 οντες ὃ [λ]έγω; καλῶς Ἡ[σ(αῖ)]ας περὶ ὑ-]
 μῶν ἐπ[ρο]φ[η]τευσεν εἰπών· ὁ [λαὸς οὔ-]
 τος τοῖς [χεῖλ]εσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν]
 15 με· ἡ [δὲ καρδί]α αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέ-]
 χει ἀπ' ἐ[μ]οῦ, μ[α]τῆ[ν] με σέβονται.]
 ἐγτάλ[ματα . . .

2 The letters/words starting in the left margin for ll. 18–23 are from P. Köln 255; see Gronewald in the bibliography.

3 The superlinear stroke above two virtually obliterated letters may indicate the presence of a *nomen sacrum*.

for him to be delivered over had not yet come.⁵
But the Lord himself went out through their midst
and escaped from them.⁶
And behold, a leper approached him
and said, "Teacher Jesus, while I was traveling with some lepers
and eating with them
at the inn, I myself contracted leprosy.
If, then, you are willing,
I will be made clean." Then the Lord said to him,
"I am willing; be clean." Immediately
the leprosy left him.
Jesus said to him, "Go,
show yourself to the priests
and make an offering for your cleansing
as Moses commanded; and
sin no more. . . ."⁷

3

. . . [they came]

to him and began rigorously
testing him, saying,
"Teacher Jesus, we know that you have come from God.
For the things you do give a testimony
that is beyond all the prophets. And so, tell
us: is it right to pay the kings the things
that relate to their rule? Shall we pay them
or not?"⁸ But Jesus, knowing their
mind, became incensed
and said to them, "Why do you call me
teacher with your mouth, when you do not listen
to what I say? Well did Isaiah
prophecy about you, 'This people
honors me with their lips,
but their heart is far removed
from me. In vain do they worship me,
commandments. . . .'"⁹

5. Cf. John 7:30, 44.

6. Cf. John 10:39; 4:30.

7. Cf. Matt. 8:2-4; Mark 1:40-44; Luke 5:12-16.

8. Cf. Matt. 22:15-22; Mark 12:13-17; Luke 20:20-26.

9. Isa. 29:13; cf. Mark 7:6-7.

Egerton 2 frag. 2 verso

[.] τῷ τρόπῳ [κ]ατακλείσαν-
 [.] ὑποτέτακτα[ι] ἀδήλως
 [.] . . . τὸ βάρος αὐτοῦ ἄστατο(v)
 [.] ἀπορηθέντων δὲ ἐκεῖ-
 5 [νων ὡς] πρὸς τὸ ξένον ἐπερώτημα
 [αὐτοῦ π]εριπατῶν ὁ Ἰη(σοῦς) [ἐ]στάθη
 [ἐπὶ τοῦ] χεῖλους τοῦ Ἰο[ρδ]άνου
 [ποταμ]οῦ καὶ ἐκτείνα[ς τὴν] χεῖ-
 [ρα αὐτο]ῦ τὴν δεξιάν [ἐγέ]μισεν
 10 [. . . . κ]αὶ κατέσπειρ[εν ἐπ]ὶ τὸν
 [.]ον· καὶ τότε [. . . .] κατε-
 [.]ενον ὕδωρ· ε . [. .] ν τὴν
 [.]· καὶ ἐπ . [. .]θη ἐνώ-
 [πιον αὐτῶν ἐ]ξήγα[γε]ν [δὲ] καρπὸ(v)
 15 [.] πολλ[.] εἰς χα-
 [ρὰν] τα [.]υτους·

Egerton 2 frag. 3 recto

ἐν ἐσμ[εν]]
 μενω π[] λι-]
 θους εἰς [] ἀπο-]
 κτείνω[σιν αὐτὸν]]
 λέγει· ο[]]
 5 [.]ε[. .] . . []]

Egerton 2 frag. 3 verso

] . παρη
]ς ἐάν
]αυτοῦ
]ημενος
] εἰδῶς
 5]ηπ .

Egerton 2 frag. 4 recto

blank

Egerton 2 frag. 4 verso

]σ[

4

... enclosed in a secret place ...
placed underneath inwardly ...
its weight beyond measure. ...
And when they were puzzled, as it were,
over his strange question,
Jesus walked and stood
on the bank of the Jordan
river; he reached out
his right hand, and filled it
... And he sowed it on the ...
... And then ...
... water ...
... and ...
before their eyes; and it brought forth fruit
... many ... for
joy ...

No English Translation

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Papyrus Merton 51

Papyrus Merton 51 consists of one papyrus leaf (3.9 × 5.3 cm), written on front and back, dating from the third century. It was first published by B. R. Rees in 1959. Rees was uncertain whether the fragment contained an unknown Gospel or a homily based on the Gospel of Luke. Given the fragmentary nature of the text, it is impossible to resolve the question.

The verso is the easier side to reconstruct, as it appears to contain Jesus' discourse about good trees bearing good fruit and bad trees bad, as found in Luke 6:43–45 and Matt. 12:33–35. The recto is poorly preserved, but it may be tied to Luke 7:29–30, where the unrepentant and unrighteous Pharisees are contrasted with the tax collectors and (common) people who accompanied Jesus.

The Lukan parallel has been used extensively to help reconstruct the missing words of the fragment. It should be noted, for example, that the term "Pharisees" does not occur in the preserved text, but is part of the reconstruction. For a full apparatus of alternative reconstructions, see the edition of Lührmann, from which we have taken the text, with permission.

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Papyrus Merton 51

recto

[καὶ πᾶς ὁ λα]ὸς καὶ οἱ τελεῶ[ναι]
 [ἀκούσαντες ἐδικ]αίωσαν τὸν θε(εὸ)ν
 [ὁμολογούντες τὰς] ἀμαρτίας ἐαυτῶν.
 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ο]ὐκ ἐβαπτίσαντο
 5 [ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τὴν δὲ βου]λὴν τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ
 [καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ] ἠθέτησαν
 [(?) ὡσαύτως ὁ θε(εὸς) αὐτοῦς] ἀθετεῖ
 [ἡρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖος μ]ετ' αὐτοῦ[·]
 [φαγεῖν(?) . . .]

verso

[. . . (?) ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ]
 [πονη]ρῶ προφέρ[ων καρπὸν πονηρὸν προ-]
 [έ]φερει ὡς ἐκ π[ονηροῦ πονηρὸν δένδ-]
 5 ρον. καὶ ὅτε ἀποσ[τέλλετε ἐκ τοῦ ἀγα-]
 θοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆ[ς καρδίας ἀγαθὰ οὐκ]
 ἀπόλλυτ[αι ὁ ἀγαθὸς καρπὸς]
 [αὐ]τῆς. οὐκ ἄρ[α ἐμὲ καλεῖτε κ(ύρι)ε κ(ύρι)ε]
 [καὶ] οὐ ποιεῖτε [ἃ λέγω οὐδὲ τοῦ προ-]
 [φήτου λέγ]οντος ἀκούετε(?)]

Papyrus Merton 51

recto

. . . and when all the people and the tax collectors
heard, they declared God righteous,
confessing their own sins.
But the Pharisees were not baptized
by John, and they rejected the counsel of God
and the commandment of God.¹
So too God rejects them.
But a Pharisee asked him to eat with him. . . .²

verso

For the evil man, bringing forth from [his]
evil, brought forth evil fruit,
as an evil tree brings forth (evil fruit) from evil.
And when you send forth good things
from the good treasure of the heart,
its good fruit is not destroyed.³
Now you do not call me Lord, Lord,
and do not do the things I say, nor
listen to a prophet who speaks. . . .⁴

1. Cf. Luke 7:29–30; Mark 9:7.

2. Cf. Luke 7:36.

3. Cf. Matt. 7:15–20; 12:33–35; Luke 6:43–45.

4. Cf. Matt. 7:21; Luke 6:46.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 210

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 210 is a highly fragmentary text that comprises two fragments, the second of which has portions of just five letters. The other is more substantial (8.7 × 17.3 cm), containing, among other things, a discourse of Jesus. The text was first published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in 1899 as a Gospel fragment. More recently, C. H. Roberts has maintained that it comes from a homily or commentary on the Gospel. The text dates to the third century.

The fragmentary nature of the text makes its reconstruction highly problematic. The recto appears to relate the appearance of an angel; this may be a reference to the infancy narrative of Matthew 1:24. The verso is more complete and involves the dominical saying about the good tree producing good fruit, as found for example in Luke 6:44–45 and Matt. 12:33–35. But then the tone changes and the speaker, presumably Jesus, begins to speak in the style of the “I am” discourses of the Fourth Gospel. Moreover, he appears to claim to be the “form of God” and the “image of God”—phrases known not from the Gospels but from the Pauline corpus (cf. 2 Cor. 4:4; Phil. 2:6; and Col. 1:15). It is not clear whether, in the full text, these were self-attributions of Jesus or if they were comments on the text by a homilist or exegete. If the former, this would have been a Gospel incorporating both Synoptic-like and Johannine-like features.

We have taken the text of the fragment from the edition of Lührmann, with permission.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 210

recto

.
 αρτη[. . .] ἀλ[
 εξει ἰ[. . .]ν αγ[
 ρσιν οὐ δ[.] νατα[ὑ-]
 πομείναι ἃ ἐπο[ίησε καθὰ προσέ-]
 5 τᾶζε ἄγγελος πα[ραλαβεῖν Μαρίαν τὰ δὲ]
 περὶ ἄγγελον λεχ[θέντα]
 ἐ[στὶ] σημεῖα . ρ[.] . . [
 να τα ισχ[
 ουτος τα[
 10 ἔτι εξ[.] ἀλ[
 τι απ[
 δου[
 οπε[
 [.
 [.
 [.
 σειπε[

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 210

recto

... to wait. He did these things as the angel
commanded, taking Mary.¹ But what was
spoken concerning the angel. . . .
they are signs. . . .

this . . .

yet . . .

1. Cf. Matt. 1:24; 2:14.

Verso

.
]μ[
]γ[
]κα[.]πε . [
]άγαθο[
 5]ἔλεγεγ[
]ι π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς υἱ(ὸ)ς
]ν άγα[
]το[
]ρο[
 10 άγα]θὸν το[
]ενεγ[κε[
]θ(εὸ)ς ο[. . .] ἀλλά[
]α Ἰη(σοῦ)[. κα]ἰ ἐρεῖ τ[
 καρπὸς άγα]θὸς [ἐν]έγκει ὁ [δὲ πονηρὸς
 15 πονηρὸς ἐ]νέγ[κει. ά]γαθὸς [
 καρ]πὸς δ[ὲ δέν]δρου άγαθοῦ [
 κ]αὶ πο[ιεῖ <τὸ> ά]γαθόν. ἐγὼ εἰμι [
]το εἰμι εἰκὼν τῆς [
]ος ἐν μορφῇ θ(εο)ῦ [
 20]δια ὡς εἰκὼν αὐ[τοῦ
]α θ(ε)ῶ θ(ε)ῶ τῶ [
]ν τοῦ εἶναι [
]εῖται ὁρατά [
]ντα τοῦ αι[
 25]ξιδεν ὅτι [
]εαν ιδεγ[
]ενοσεπ[
]ανθρ(ω)π[

verso

good. . .
he was saying. . .
son of the Father. . .
good. . . .
good

God . . . but. . .
Jesus. And he will say. . .
brings forth good fruit. But the evil
brings forth evil. Good. . .
but the fruit of the good tree. . .
and he will do good.² I am. . .
I am the image of. . .³
in the form of God. . .⁴
as his image
to God, to God the. . .
to be. . .
visible. . .
the. . .
that. . .
human. . . .

2. Cf. Matt. 7:16–20; 12:33–35; Luke 6:43–45.

3. Cf. 2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15.

4. Cf. Phil. 2:6.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840

Discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in 1905 and published in 1908, P. Oxy. 840 consists of a single parchment leaf, written front and back. The leaf itself is largely complete (with a few lacunae, especially at the top of each page), but the text both begins and ends in mid-sentence. This then was part of a larger text. It is impossible to determine how extensive this larger text was, but the portion that remains is clearly a Gospel account unknown to us from any other source. The leaf itself is quite small (7.4 × 8.8 cm), and the writing is virtually microscopic, though legible. Size considerations suggest that the leaf was part of an amulet, although whether the amulet consisted of an entire Gospel narrative, or merely an abstract, cannot be determined. The fragment dates to the third or, more probably, the fourth century.

The text begins in the middle of a speech of Jesus, in which he warns against the wages of evil-doing. It then moves into an account of a controversy between a certain high priest, a Pharisee evidently named Levi (by making the high priest a Pharisee, the author reveals his ignorance of Jewish history and customs, and possibly his Christian bias), who confronts Jesus for entering the Temple along with his disciples, without observing the proper cleansing rituals. This dispute is reminiscent of Synoptic passages such as Mark 7:1–8 and Luke 11:37–41, but has no precise parallel in any other known Gospel. In response to the high priest's rebuke, Jesus launches into a vituperative attack on the nature of the cleansing rituals and begins to pronounce a "woe" upon his interlocutor, in a fashion comparable to Matthew 23:25–28.

The controversy related by this text is thus in some ways comparable to those of the Synoptics in style and substance, but it is a unique event among the Gospel records of the life of Jesus. Some scholars have tried to identify the text as belonging to lost portions of other known Gospels, such as the Gospel of Peter (M. R. James) or the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Lagrange). But all such attempts have faltered, in no small measure because they attempt, with almost no evidence, to explain the unknown (the origin of this fragment) by

other unknowns (the missing portions of other fragments). Bovon has argued that the fragment does not reflect an incident from the life of the historical Jesus but controversies over water baptism rituals in the early church (second or third centuries, the presumed date of the original form of the Gospel text).

For a full apparatus of alternative reconstructions, see the edition of Lührmann, from which we have taken the text, with permission.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840

verso

πρότερον πρὸ <τοῦ> ἀδικῆσαι πάντα σοφί-
 ζεται. ἀλλὰ προσέχετε μή πως καὶ
 ὑμεῖς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς πάθητε· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐν τοῖς ζῶοις μόνοις ἀπολαμβάνου-
 5 σιν οἱ κακοῦργοι τῶν ἀν(θρώπων) ἀλλὰ [κ]αὶ
 κόλασιν ὑπομένουσιν καὶ πολ[λ]ήν
 βάσανον. καὶ παραλαβὸν αὐτοῦς
 εἰσήγαγεν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ
 περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. καὶ προσ[ελ-]
 10 θῶν Φαρισαῖός τις ἀρχιερεὺς [Λευεῖς?]
 τὸ ὄνομα συνέτυχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν
 τῷ σω(τή)ρι· τίς ἐπέτρεπέν σοι πατ[εῖν]
 τοῦτο τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ ἰδεῖν [ταῦ-]
 15 τα τὰ ἅγια σκεύη μήτε λουσα[μ]έγ[ω] μ[ή]-
 τε μὴ τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς π[ό]δας βα-
 πτισθέντων; ἀλλὰ μεμολυ[μμένος]
 ἐπάτησας τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν τ[ό]πον ὄν-
 τα καθαρὸν, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἄ[λλος εἰ μὴ]
 20 λοῦσάμενος καὶ ἀλλά[ξας τὰ ἐνδύ-]
 ματα πατεῖ οὐδὲ ὀ[ραν] τολμᾷ ταῦτα
 τὰ ἅγια σκεύη. καὶ σ[τάς] εὐθέως ὁ σω(τή)ρ
 [σὺν τ]οῖς μαθηταῖς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ·

recto

σὺ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ὢν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθα-
 25 ρεύεις; λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· καθαρεύω, ἐλουσά-
 μην γὰρ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δ(αεῖ)δ καὶ δι' ἐτέ-
 ρας κλίμακος κατελθὼν δι' ἐτέρας
 ἄ[ν]ηλθον, καὶ λευκὰ ἐνδύματα ἐνε-
 δυσάμην καὶ καθαρὰ, καὶ τότε ἦλθον
 καὶ προσέβλεψα τούτοις τοῖς ἀγίοις
 30 σκεύεσιν. ὁ σω(τή)ρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπο-
 [κρι]θεὶς εἶπεν· οὐαί, τυφλοὶ μὴ ὀρώ-
 ντες· σὺ ἐλούσω τούτοις τοῖς χρομέοις
 ὑ[δ]ρασι (ν) ἐν οἷς κύνες καὶ χοῖροι βέβλην-

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840

verso

“. . . earlier, before acting unjustly, he argues every point subtly.
 But take care lest you somehow also
 suffer the way they do.
 For human evildoers receive [their due]
 not only among the living;
 they also await punishment and great
 torment.” And taking them along
 he brought them into the sanctuary itself and
 began walking in the Temple.¹ A certain
 Pharisee, a high priest named Levi,
 came and met them and said
 to the Savior, “Who has permitted you to trample
 this sanctuary and to view these
 holy vessels, when you have not washed
 nor indeed have your disciples bathed their feet?
 Although you are defiled
 you have trampled this Temple,
 a place that is clean, where no one else
 walks or dares to look upon these holy vessels without
 washing and changing his clothes.”² Immediately the Savior stood
 with his disciples and answered him,

recto

“You therefore who are here in the Temple,
 are you clean?” That one said to him, “I am clean, for I washed
 in the pool of David, and by
 one set of steps I went down [into the water] and by another
 I came up; and I put on clothes that are white
 and clean. Then I came
 and looked upon these holy
 vessels.” The Savior answered him
 and said, “Woe to you blind who do not see.
 You have washed in these waters that have been poured out,
 in which dogs and swine have wallowed

1. Cf. Mark 11:27.

2. Cf. Matt. 15:1–20; Mark 7:1–23.

35 [ται] νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ νιψάμε-
 [ν]ος τὸ ἐκτὸς δέρμα ἐσμήξω, ὅπερ
 [κα]ὶ αἱ πόρνοι καὶ αἱ ἀύλητρίδες μυρί-
 [ζ]οῦσιν κ)αὶ λούουσιν καὶ σμήχουσι
 [καὶ κ]αλλωπίζουσι πρὸς ἐπιθυμί-
 40 [αν τ]ῶν ἀν(θρώπων)· ἐνδοθεν δὲ ἐκεῖ-
 [ναι πεπλ]ήρωνται σκορπίων καὶ
 [πάσης κα]κίας. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ
 [μαθηταὶ μου] οὐς λέγεις μὴ βεβα-
 [πίσθαι βεβά]μμεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζω-
 [ῆς αἰωνίου τοῖ]ς ἐλθοῦσιν ἀπὸ . . [.]
 45 [. ἀλ]λὰ οὐαὶ [τ]οῖς [. . .]

night and day. And when you washed
you scoured the outer skin, which
even prostitutes and flute girls
anoint, wash, scour,
and beautify for human lust.
But inside they are
full of scorpions and
every evil.³ But
my disciples and I, whom you say
have not bathed, have been dipped in waters
of eternal life, which come from . . .
But woe to those. . .”

3. Cf. Matt. 23:16–28; Luke 11:37–41.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1224

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1224 is a fourth-century manuscript consisting of several papyrus fragments written front and back, the largest measuring 6.3 × 13.1 cm. Altogether, small portions of six different pages of text are preserved, and on three of the pages the page numbers are visible: pages 139, 174, [1]76. Obviously these fragments came from a large codex, the complete contents of which, of course, are unknown. Moreover, since over thirty pages separate the first fragment from the second, it is impossible to determine whether they contain portions of the same literary work or of different works.

The text was first published in 1914 by Grenfell and Hunt, who thought that it belonged with that found in P.Oxy 1, 654, and 655. The publication of the Nag Hammadi Library, however, has shown that the latter three all belong to a Greek version (or versions) of the (“Coptic”) Gospel of Thomas. That is obviously not the case with P.Oxy. 1224.

The early parts of the text are too fragmentary to be reconstructed. The remaining portions appear to contain four different passages: (1) a firsthand account of a dream in which the author speaks with Jesus (p. 173; this has no parallel in the NT Gospels); (2) a (hostile) question, presumably directed to Jesus, concerning his “new teaching” (p. 174; cf. Mark 1:27); (3) a controversy over Jesus’ association with sinners (p. 175; cf. Mark 2:13–17); (4) an exhortation, presumably by Jesus, to pray for one’s enemies (p. 176; cf. Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27; Didache 1:3).

For a full apparatus of alternative reconstructions, see the edition of Lührmann, from which we have taken the text, with permission.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1224

Fragment 1 recto

ρλθ
]ντι ἐν παντὶ
 [μων. ἀμὴν ὑ-
 [μῖν λέγω]εισ[. . .]

Fragment 1 verso

[
 σεται. ὑμεῖς [.
 [. . .] . ητ[

Fragment 2 recto Column 2

ρ[ογ]
 με ἐβάρησεν. καὶ [παρεσταμέ-]
 νου Ἰη(σοῦ) [ἐ]ν ὄράμα[τι λέγει·]
 τί ἀθ[υμ]εῖς; οὐ γὰρ [.]
 [σ]ὺ ἀλλὰ ὁ [.]
 δοὺς ἐπ[
 5

Fragment 2 verso Column 1

ροδ
 εἶ]πες μὴ ἀποκρινό-
 [μενος. τί οὖν ἀ]πεῖπας; π[ο]ίαν σέ
 [φασιν διδα]χὴν καιν[ήν] δι-
 [δάσκειν, ἢ τί β]ά[πτισμ]α καινὸν
 5 [κηρύσσειν; ἀποκρί]θητι καὶ

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1224

Fragment 1 recto

139
... in all
... truly
I say to you ...

Fragment 1 verso

will ... you. ...

Fragment 2 recto Column 2

173
burdened me. And when Jesus appeared
in a vision he said
“Why are you (sg.) disheartened? For not ...
you, but the ...
giving. ...

Fragment 2 verso Column 1

174
you spoke without answering.
What then have you replied? What sort
of new teaching do they say you
teach? Or what new baptism
do you preach? Answer and. . .

Fragment 2 verso Column 2

[ροε]
 οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖ-]
 οὶ καὶ ἱερεῖς θεασάμ[ενοι αὐ-]
 τὸν ἠγανάκτουν [ὅτι σὺν ἁμαρ-]
 τωλοῖς ἀνά μέ[σον κεῖται. ὁ]
 5 [δὲ] Ἰη(σοῦς) ἀκούσας [εἶπεν· οὐ χρεῖαν]
 [ἔχ]ουσιν οἱ ὑ[γιαίνοντες]
 [ἰατροῦ] . [

Fragment 2 recto Column 1

[ρ]ος
 [καὶ π[ρ]οσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ
 [τῶν ἐχθ]ρῶν ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὢν
 [κατὰ ὑμ]ῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν.
 [οἱ ἀπέστησα]ν μακράν, αὔριον
 5 [ἢ ὥρα αὐτῶν γ]ενήσεται, καὶ ἐν
 [.] . τοῦ ἀντιδί[κου]
 [.]ινενῶγ[. . .

Fragment 2 verso Column 2

175

But when the scribes, the Pharisees,
and the priests, saw him
they became aggravated, because
he was reclining in the midst of sinners.
But when Jesus heard this he said,
“Those who are healthy have no need
of a physician. . . .”¹

Fragment 2 recto Column 1

176

“And pray for
your enemies,² for whoever is not
against you is for you.³
They are far away; tomorrow
their hour will come, and in . . .
of the opponent. . .

1. Cf. Matt. 9:10–12; Mark 2:15–17; Luke 5:29–31.

2. Cf. Matt. 5:44; Luke 6:27–28; Didache 1:3.

3. Cf. Mark 9:40; Luke 9:50.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949, discovered by Grenfell and Hunt sometime between 1897 and 1906, was first published in 1972 by R. A. Coles. It consists of two small papyrus fragments, the larger (4.0 × 7.5 cm) with thirteen lines of text, the smaller (1.7 × 2.6 cm) with five. Both fragments are written on one side only, so that probably they come from a roll rather than a codex.

Coles immediately recognized that the text had striking parallels with the Akhmim fragment of the Gospel of Peter 2:3–5 (note especially the unusual phrase “friend of Pilate”), but saw that there were numerous differences as well. It would be highly significant if the fragments did preserve a copy of the Gospel of Peter, since they date from “the early third or possibly the late second century” (Coles). This would show beyond doubt that the Akhmim fragment (see later) did not represent an early medieval composition in circulation only in the sixth or seventh centuries, but that the text could date no later than 200 CE or so—some three hundred to five hundred years before the earliest extensive witness to it (on the vexed question of whether this Gospel is the one referred to by Serapion in the late second century, see the discussion of the Akhmim fragment).

Still, on the basis of this scant and fragmentary text, it is difficult to establish the relationship between P.Oxy. 2949 and the Akhmim fragment. The coincidences in wording might indicate that (1) they come from literarily related but distinct Gospels (just as Matthew and Mark are verbatim alike in places, but are different compositions; see Foster); (2) that the earlier papyrus preserves one of the sources for the other (suggested by Kraus and Nicklas), or (3) that it represents a distinct version or recension of the other (also Kraus and Nicklas). In view of the extensive similarities between the texts, however, it may be best to understand that the Gospel of Peter was subject to the vagaries of textual corruption over the centuries, and that these two documents represent two different textual traditions of the same Gospel (thus Lührmann).

We have taken the text of the fragment from the edition of Lührmann, used with permission.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949

]γ[

.....

]ν . . [

[Εἰστήκει δὲ ἐκεῖ]

5

[Ἰωσήφ,] ὁ φίλος Π[ε]ιλιά[τ]ου κ[αὶ . . .]

[καὶ εἰδ]ῶς ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν [σταυρω-]

[θῆναι ἐλ]θὼν πρὸς Πειλᾶτο[ν ἤτησεν]

[αὐτοῦ] τὸ σῶμα εἰς ταφὴν. [Πειλᾶτος]

[πέμψας πρὸς Ἡρώδ]ην ἠτήσα[το αὐτῷ]

10

[τὸ σῶμα ἀποδοθ]ῆναι εἰπῶ[ν· ὁ φίλος]

μου [τὸ σῶμα] ἠτήσα[το. Ἡρώδης ἔφη·]

Πειλ[ᾶτε, . . .] αὐτόν [. . .

τις α[ὐτόν . . .] ὅτι α[. . . ἐθάπτο-]

μεν [. . .

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949

But Joseph, the friend of Pilate,
stood there, and . . .
And knowing that he ordered him to be crucified
he came to Pilate and asked
for his body, for burial.¹ Pilate
sent to Herod and asked him
to return the body, saying, "My friend
has asked for the body." Herod said,
"Pilate, . . . him . . .
someone . . . him . . . because
we would bury . . ."²

1. Cf. Matt. 27:57–58; Mark 15:43; Luke 23:50–52; John 19:38.

2. Cf. Gospel of Peter, 2:3–5.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4009

One of the most interesting early Christian papyri to be published in recent years is P.Oxy. 4009. It was edited by D. Lührmann and P. J. Parsons in 1994, but already in the previous year it had been identified by Lührmann as belonging to the Gospel of Peter. If he is right, this would be a spectacular find: not only is this record of an unusual conversation between Jesus and Peter intriguing on its own merits, but if it derived from the Gospel of Peter, we would know beyond reasonable doubt that the Gospel was not simply a passion narrative but contained sayings of Jesus as well (either after the resurrection or, more likely, from his public ministry).

The papyrus consists of a single leaf 2.9×9.0 cm, written on front and back. It probably dates to the second century (Foster dates it to the early third). It is so fragmentary that the verso cannot be reconstructed; but familiar words on the recto point to parallels in well-known passages in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 9:37–38 = Luke 10:2–3; Matt 10:16b; Matt 10:16a = Luke 10:3; Matt 10:27 = Luke 12:4–5). The wording of these passages enabled Lührmann to reconstruct the text. What matters more, however, is the most striking parallel to a dominical agraphon otherwise known only from 2 Clement 5:2–4 (see entry under Agrapha), which records the bizarre conversation of Jesus with Peter about the wolves who rip apart the lambs (the followers of Jesus). What is most intriguing is that in the Oxyrhynchus fragment, the conversation is recorded in the first person: instead of speaking to “Peter,” Jesus speaks to “me.” Since the one other Gospel that we have in which Peter speaks in the first person is the Akhmim fragment of the Gospel of Peter, Lührmann has argued that in P.Oxy 4009 we have an episode from the same Gospel.

Against this view, Kraus and Nicklas have raised reasonable, but probably not compelling, counterarguments: (1) The “I” in the Oxyrhynchus fragment is never identified as Peter (the identification comes only through a comparison with 2 Clement); (2) in other Petrine texts (besides the Gospel) Peter identifies himself in the first person (cf. 2 Peter); (3) there are plenty of other, non-Petrine,

narratives also written in the first person (and this could be one of them); and (4) the passage in question, obviously, has no parallel in the Akhmim fragment, which is the only certifiable Gospel of Peter we have.

In evaluating this back and forth, one cannot help but remain impressed that in P.Oxy 4009 we find a first-person narrative that is otherwise recounted of Peter—just as happens in the Akhmim fragment, where Peter in the first person narrates events that in other sources, such as canonical John, are narrated in the third person, about Peter. Thus in this small fragment we have not only an intriguing discussion between Jesus and Peter, but also, possibly, an early remnant of the Gospel that bears Peter's name.

For a full apparatus of alternative reconstructions, see Lührmann, *Fragmente*, from which we have taken the text, with permission.

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Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4009

	<i>recto</i>	<i>verso</i>
] . [. . .] . [
] . ει . [. .] ψξ . [
] . κα[. .] . [. .] υσ . [
] ὁ θερισμός . [συ δε . . . [
5	γίνου δὲ ἀκέ] ραιος ὡς αἱ [πε- ριστεραὶ κ] αἱ φρόνιμοι[ς ὡς οἱ ὄφεις.] ἔσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια ἀνά μέ] στον λύκων. εἶπον πρὸς αὐ] τόν· ἐὰν οὐ(ν)	παρεσχ[θοντιμι[κασδια . [
10	εἶπον πρὸς αὐ] τόν· ἐὰν οὐ(ν) σπαραχθῶ] μεν; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς] λέγει μοι· οἱ λύκοι σπαρα] ξαντες τὸ ἄρνιον οὐ] κέτι αὐτῷ οὐ- δὲν δύνανται] ποιῆσαι. δι-	λαιαμα[αυτωεκ[μενων[νοματ . [
15	ὁ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑ] μῖν· [μ] ἢ φο- βεῖσθε ἀπὸ τ] ῶν ἀπ[οκτε- νόντων ὑμᾶ] ς καὶ [μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι] μηκέ[τι ποι- ῆσαι δυναμέ] νων [μηδέν.	αφεις κ(ύρι)ε[. .] . [] . ουθ . [
20] . . ω . [. .] μαι [
] μει[. .] τουο . [
		. .] πη . [
		. .] . ιν . . [
		. .] [
		. .] [. .

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4009

Recto

“ . . . the harvest . . .
But be as innocent as
doves and wise
as serpents. You shall be like
sheep among wolves.”¹
I said to him, “What if
we are torn apart?”
He replied and said to me, “When the
wolves tear apart
the sheep they can no longer
do it any harm.² Therefore
I say to you, do not
fear those who kill
you and after
killing can no longer
do anything. . . .”³

1. Cf. Matt. 10:16; Luke 10:3; Gospel of Thomas 39.

2. Cf. 2 Clement 5:2-4.

3. Cf. Luke 12:4-5.

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Papyrus Vindobonensis G 2325
(*The Fayûm Fragment*)

Gustav Bickell published a first account of the Fayûm Fragment in 1885, the year he discovered the manuscript in Vienna, among a collection of papyri owned by Archduke Rainer. Bickell's facsimile edition followed in 1887. The discovery created a sensation in the world of scholarship (this was years before the appearance of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*)—especially among scholars who thought that this fragmentary account of Jesus' passion might predate the Synoptic Gospels.

The fragment is only 3.5 × 4.3 cm and is written on one side only, so that it probably comes from a roll rather than a codex. It is dated to the third century, possibly the first half, and was originally found in the southeast Fayûm (Kraus and Nicklas). It was, of course, part of a much larger manuscript, otherwise lost. It contains Jesus' prediction of the flight of the disciples and of the denials of Peter (cf. Mark 14:26–30 and Matthew 26:30–34). As in Mark (but not Matthew), Jesus predicts that Peter will deny him three times before the cock crows "twice"; but unlike in Mark, Jesus does not intimate that the disciples will meet him in Galilee after he rises from the dead. Given the circumstance that the oldest form of the Gospel of Mark ends in 16:8, with the women fleeing the empty tomb and not telling anyone what they had learned there (so that the disciples never do go to Galilee to meet Jesus), some scholars argued that here we have a more ancient version of Jesus' words at his Last Supper. (The fragment could not simply be a manuscript of Mark [or Matthew] because of the many differences of wording.)

Today the fragment is more widely thought to be a reworking of the Synoptic accounts, which provides an alternative and truncated version of them (Schneemelcher). Still, interest in the fragment has now been renewed because of Lührmann's suggestion of a different reconstruction of line 5. Rather than T]JOU PETROU, Lührmann proposes EM]JOU PETROU, so that the words of the text were spoken in the first person, by Peter. On this ground he suggests

that it contains a narrative from the Gospel of Peter, earlier than our surviving account of the document in the Akhmim fragment (see later).

Lührmann's reconstruction has not received widespread support (see Foster, Kraus, Kraus and Nicklas). Kraus in particular has argued that there is probably not enough space in the left edge of the text to accommodate the two letters required and that it is never safe to draw significant historical conclusions (that this formed part of the Gospel of Peter) on the ground of what we do not know (the contents of a lacuna).

As a result, the most we can say is that the Fayûm Fragment appears to be from an early Synoptic-like Gospel, which otherwise remains unknown.

For a full apparatus of alternative reconstructions, see the edition of Lührmann, from which we have taken the text, with permission.

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Papyrus Vindobonensis G 2325

- [. αγειν ὡς ε πά[ντες]
 [έν ταύτη] τῇ νυκτὶ σκανδαλισ[θήσεσ-]
 [θε κατὰ] τὸ γραφέν· πατάξω τὸν [ποιμέ-]
 [να καὶ τὰ] πρόβατα διασκορπισθή[εται. εἰ-]
 5 [πόντος το]ῦ Πέτ[ρου·] καὶ εἰ πάντες ο[ὐκ ἐγώ. λέ-]
 [γει Ἰησοῦ]ς· πρὶ]ν ἀλεκτρυῶν δις κοκ[κύσει, τρὶς]
 [σὺ σήμερόν με ἀ]π[αρνήση . . .

Papyrus Vienna G 2325
(The Fayûm Fragment)

“ . . . all . . .

In this night you will all stumble,
just as it is written: ‘I will smite the shepherd,
and the sheep will be scattered.’”

Peter said, “Even if all do so, I will not.

Jesus said, “Before a cock crows twice, three times
today you will deny me. . . .”¹

1. Cf. Matt. 26:30–35; Mark 14:26–31; Luke 22:31–34.

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SAYINGS GOSPELS
AND AGRAPHA

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The Gospel according to Thomas

The Coptic Gospel of Thomas is the best known, most studied, and most controversial of all the apocryphal Gospels. Before the full text had been discovered, scholars had access to portions of it, without realizing what they were. Among the earliest discoveries and publications made by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus were several papyrus fragments, later numbered P.Oxy 1, 654, and 655, which contained isolated sayings of Jesus. Published in 1897 and then 1904, these sayings were not recognized as belonging to the Gospel of Thomas until the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library in 1945, which contained a complete copy of the Gospel in Coptic, in what is now known as Codex 2.

The details of Grenfell and Hunt's earlier discovery can be summarized as follows. P.Oxy. 1 is a papyrus leaf, 9.5 × 14.5 cm, written on front and back and dating to around 200 CE. Grenfell and Hunt published the fragment in 1897, the year of its discovery, as *LOGIA IESOU: Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus*. The manuscript contains sayings that are now numbered as 26–30, 77b, 31–33 of the Gospel.

The two other fragments were discovered in 1903. P.Oxy. 654 comes from a papyrus roll of the mid- to late third century. Measuring 7.8 × 24.4 cm, the Gospel text is written on the verso of a land survey. It contains what are now numbered as sayings 1–7. It dates to the third century and was published in 1904 as *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*. The "Lost Gospel" of the title is P.Oxy. 655, which in fact is not a single fragment but eight fragments, from a roll, the largest of which is 8.3 × 8.2 cm. Two of the fragments have now been lost; two others contain too little text to be identified. The fragments date to the third century, and contain sayings 24 (probably) and 36–39.

Since these three Oxyrhynchus papyri come from different manuscripts, they provide some indication of the popularity of the Gospel, at least in this part of Egypt (120 miles south of Cairo).

Prior to 1945, scholars knew of the existence of a Gospel of Thomas—which was known to be different from the Infancy Gospel of Thomas transmitted

throughout the Middle Ages—only because of occasional patristic references to it. The first certain reference is in the *Refutation* of Hippolytus of Rome, circa 222–235 CE, who contends that the book was used by a group of Gnostics known as the Naassenes, and who cites the following saying (with obvious similarities to saying 4 of the now extant text): “The one who seeks after me will find me in children from the seventh year onward; for it is there that I reveal myself, hidden away in the fourteenth aeon” (*Refut.* 5.7.20). At about the same time Origen mentions a Gospel of Thomas that he regarded as heterodox (*Hom. 1 on Luke*). Eusebius follows suit some decades later (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.25.6). Cyril of Jerusalem indicates that the Gospel was popular among the Manichaeans (*Catecheses* 4.36 and 6.31).

The details of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library as reconstructed by James Robinson are now widely known (see his introduction to *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*). The find consisted of twelve relatively complete codices and the remains of a thirteenth. These books are anthologies of texts, a total of fifty-two writings altogether. Eliminating duplicates from the total, forty-six different texts were found; most of these, including the Gospel of Thomas, were either completely or mostly unknown before the find. The texts are all written in Coptic, mainly Sahidic with some influence from Lycopolitan. The leather covers of most of the codices survive; these have been helpful for dating the manuscripts: the bindings were strengthened with scrap papyrus, some of which contained dated receipts. The books were manufactured in the second half of the fourth century. The writings they contained, therefore, must have been composed some time before then; there continue to be debates concerning the date of many of these writings, including the Gospel of Thomas (see later).

Thomas has been the most significant of the texts in the small “library.” It is found in a single copy, bound as the second work of Codex 2, which contains, in this order, the Apocryphon of John, the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Hypostases of the Archons, On the Origin of the World, Exegesis of the Soul, and the Book of Thomas the Contender. Like the other texts of this codex, and indeed of the entire collection, Thomas appears to be a Coptic translation from a Greek original. While some scholars have argued for a Syriac original of Thomas, based in part on alleged semiticisms of the text, this has not proved convincing to most (see Fallon and Cameron). At the least we can say that there was an early history of transmission of the book in Greek—witness the multiple copies from Oxyrhynchus, dating as much as a century and a half before the Coptic version.

A comparison of the Greek fragments with the Coptic text shows some variation in sequence and wording. Most striking is the circumstance that in P.Oxy. 1, saying 77b of the Coptic text is located between what is now numbered saying 30 and saying 31. In terms of textual variation, sometimes the Greek form of the

text has a longer version (saying 3), sometimes a shorter version (saying 2), and sometimes simply a different version (saying 6).

The Coptic version consists of 114 sayings of Jesus. It contains no narratives of any kind, no report of Jesus' activities, his healings, or his exorcisms, no accounts of his travels, his passion, or his resurrection. Most sayings are simply introduced with the words "Jesus said . . .". In some instances, however, there is a dialogue, for example, when the disciples ask Jesus a question and he responds.

The division of the Gospel into 114 sayings is not found in the manuscript itself but goes back to the *editio princeps* published in 1959—fifteen years after the discovery—by A. Guillaumont et al. Within the Gospel there is no obvious organizational pattern of the various sayings, although on occasion it appears that smaller groups of sayings have been combined on the basis of catchwords (sayings 28–29; 36–37; 50–51) or themes (sayings 63–65; 68–69).

One of the reasons the Gospel evoked such scholarly interest upon its first publication was precisely that it contained nothing but sayings. New Testament scholars had long suspected that some such Gospel was used as a source for two of the Synoptics, Matthew and Luke, which combined a Sayings Gospel Source, called Q (from the German, *Quelle*, "source"), with the narratives of Mark to produce their fuller accounts. But a consistent objection to the one-time existence of this hypothetical Q source was that early Christians would (surely) never have composed a Gospel comprising only Jesus' sayings, without an account of his death and resurrection—since these events were, after all, the heart and soul of the Christian message. With the discovery of Thomas, all such doubts disappeared. It is not that Thomas could be the long-lost Q source: most of the sayings material in Matthew and Luke cannot be found in Thomas, just as many of Thomas's sayings cannot be found in the Synoptics. But it came to be thought that Q may have been a Gospel *like* Thomas, in structure and purpose (see Robinson, "Logoi Sophon").

It is possible to get a sense of the character of Thomas already from its prologue and first saying: "These are the hidden sayings that the living Jesus spoke and Didymus Judas Thomas wrote down. And he said, 'Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not taste death.'" The sayings of Jesus recorded in this book are "hidden" or "secret"—not available to people at large; and understanding their meaning will bring eternal life. Jesus himself is the one who can give life (he is the "living" Jesus), and he does so *not* through his death and resurrection (as, for example, in the writings of Paul or the Gospels of the New Testament), but through his secret sayings. The author claims to be Didymus Judas Thomas. Didymus is the Greek word for twin; Thomas is an Aramaic term for twin. The author's name is Judas, or Jude. In traditions known from early Christianity in Syria, Judas/Jude was thought to be a twin of none other than Jesus himself. It is no accident that he is the one charged with

writing down the secret teachings: he is the one closest to Jesus who best understands his revelation.

One of the most disputed areas in the scholarship on the Gospel of Thomas is whether this revelation through secret teachings is best understood as Gnostic or not. In recent years, some scholars have contended that we should do away with the category of “Gnostic” altogether, since it has come to be used in such a wide variety of ways that it has virtually lost all specificity of meaning (thus Williams, King). On the other hand, it can be argued that the misuse of a term is not sufficient ground for disallowing its use altogether. The term “Gnostic” comes from the Greek term for “knowledge” (GNOSIS), and can still be helpfully used to refer to a broad range of religious groups from at least the second Christian century onward that emphasized the importance of secret knowledge for salvation. These groups varied greatly from one another (just as do groups within “Judaism” or “Christianity”—with which there is, of course, significant overlap). But they tended to devalue the material world as the creation not of the one true God but of lower, inferior, often ignorant or even evil divinities, who have used their creation as a place to imprison elements of the divine. People have a spark of the divine within them, trapped in the material shell of their body. By coming to know secrets from the divine realm, they can learn how to escape this world and return to the spiritual realm whence they came. Many Gnostic texts (e.g., the Apocryphon of John, *On the Origin of the World*) describe in complex, graphic, and sometimes contradictory detail the myths underlying this worldview.

With some such broad understanding of Gnosticism it is still possible to see the Gospel of Thomas as presenting a Gnostic understanding of the world, Christ, and salvation. Those who have argued that Thomas is not Gnostic have largely based their argument on the circumstance that nowhere does this Gospel elaborate the Gnostic myth, and that, as a result, a Gnostic view needs to be imported into the text rather than drawn out of it. In response it should be pointed out that Gnostic texts do not need to lay out the Gnostic myth, any more than ideological texts of any sort need to spell out in detail the ideology on which they are based (apocalyptic texts, for example, rarely explicate what exactly will happen at the end of time). And so the question is whether there are indications that a Gnostic (or apocalyptic or any other particular ideological) set of assumptions lies behind the text, and whether the text itself suggests that orientation.

In fact there are clear and numerous indications in the Gospel of Thomas that some kind of Gnostic worldview lies behind it. As already suggested, saying 1, with its emphasis on the need to understand the secret knowledge that Jesus conveys in order to have salvation, can be seen as a key to the Gnostic function of the collection. For this Gospel, the material world is dead and useless (saying 56); it is the realm of poverty into which the “wealth” of the spirit has unfortunately become entrapped (29); people have come into it from another realm, the realm of light (50), where they enjoyed a unified, rather than a bifurcated

existence (i.e., as a mixture of spirit and matter; 11b). Now they are like drunk people who cannot see the truth (28); they need to be brought back to sobriety (28), to come to saving “knowledge” that Jesus alone provides (3b) through his secret teachings (1). When they do so they will discard the body of the flesh (38) and find their salvation.

The Gnostic orientation is especially signaled by the repeated emphasis on the need for saving “knowledge” (sayings 1, 3, 5, 16, 18, 39, 46, 56, 67, and so on), found implicitly even in sayings where the term “knowledge” or its verbal equivalent are not explicitly found (e.g., 2, 4, 13).

This is not to say that every saying of this collection needs to be forced into the procrustean bed of some preconceived understanding of the specific kind of gnosis it contains. But understanding that the collection, in its final form, is shaped by Gnostic concerns can help make sense of many of its most obscure sayings.

At the same time, it is important to emphasize that the final author/editor of this text was not simply devising sayings to put on the lips of Jesus. Instead, a large number—possibly all—of the sayings came to him from the Christian oral and, perhaps, written tradition. One of the ongoing and heated arguments concerning this text involves its level of dependency on other known Gospel sources (see Fallon and Cameron). Depending on how one counts, somewhere between half and two-thirds of the sayings have parallels in the Synoptic Gospels of the New Testament. In some instances the parallels are very close (sayings 20, 34, 54, for example); in other instances a saying starts off with a Synoptic ring, but then shifts to a gnosticized form of expression (saying 2: cf. “Seek and you shall find”). Other sayings, of course, or parts of sayings, have no Synoptic parallel, and these are the ones that appear most clearly to express a Gnostic perspective (e.g., sayings 3b, 11b, 37b). And so the question: did this author/editor utilize the Synoptic Gospels as one of his sources?

Scholars have given every imaginable answer to the question, some thinking that the author is literarily dependent on the Synoptics, some that he is independent, some that he had read the Synoptics but did not use them as literary sources, some that he had heard the Synoptics read and that they influenced him in a secondary, oral way, and so on (see Fallon and Cameron). Given the circumstance that even the sayings with clear Synoptic parallels differ, usually significantly, in their wording from the Synoptics, at the very least we can say that the author did not slavishly copy his sources, if indeed these were his sources. On the contrary, in many instances the parallels have been used to show that Thomas preserves not a redacted form of a Synoptic saying but an earlier, “more original” form; often, for example, his form of a saying is more concise and pithy (thus Crossan).

Possibly it is best to say that both Thomas and the Synoptics had access to sayings of Jesus in the oral tradition and included the sayings in the forms familiar

to them. If so, this raises the possibility that in some of the sayings of Thomas we may have access not just to later versions of Jesus' teachings, but to the actual teachings themselves—at least for those sayings that do not reflect the later concerns of whatever form of Gnostic thought underlies much of the Gospel.

In the form it is now known to us, the Gospel of Thomas may have been composed in (bilingual) Syria. Among the reasons for thinking so is the circumstance that the name Didymus Judas Thomas is otherwise attested there in a number of important traditions (thus Blatz, Klauck, and many others). Given the date of the earliest surviving fragment of the text (P.Oxy. 1, from around 200 CE), the text must have been composed sometime in the second century at the latest. Attempts by Crossan and others to argue for a first-century date are generally recognized as inadequate, especially in light of the developed Gnostic concerns of some of the sayings, which presuppose at the very least an early second century dating. And so the majority of scholars continue to place the text some time around 100–150 CE.

The bibliography on the Gospel of Thomas is enormous (up to 1988, see Fallon and Cameron). Here we give only the most important works for dealing with the text we reproduce, along with other works cited in this introduction. We have taken the Coptic text (reformatted and slightly revised) and the text of the Greek fragments (by Attridge) from the edition of Layton, used with permission.

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ΠΕΥΔΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ

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 ΗΔΟΥΟΗϢ ΑΥΩ ΠΠΟΥΕΙ ΗΔΨΩΠΕ ΡΡΩΗΕ

The Gospel According to Thomas

These are the hidden sayings that the living Jesus spoke and Didymus Judas Thomas wrote down.

(1) And he said, "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not taste death."¹

(2) Jesus said, "The one who seeks should not cease seeking until he finds.² And when he finds he will be disturbed; and when he is disturbed, he will marvel. And he will rule over the all."

(3) Jesus said, "If your leaders say to you, 'Look, the kingdom is in the sky,' then the birds of the sky will precede you. If they say to you, 'It is in the sea,' then the fish will precede you. But the kingdom is within you,³ and it is outside you. When you come to know yourselves, then you will be known, and you will understand that you are the children of the living Father. But if you will not know yourselves, then you are in poverty, and it is you who are the poverty."⁴

(4) Jesus said, "A person advanced in days will not hesitate to ask a little child of seven days about the place of life, and that person will live. For many who are first will be last⁵ and so become a single one."

(5) Jesus said, "Know what is before your face, and what is hidden from you will be disclosed to you. For there is nothing hidden that will not be revealed."⁶

(6) His disciples questioned him and said to him, "Do you want us to fast? And how should we pray? Should we give alms?⁷ And what kind of diet should we observe?" Jesus said, "Do not tell lies and do not do what you hate, for they are all disclosed before heaven. For there is nothing hidden that will not be revealed, and nothing that is covered will remain undisclosed."⁸

(7) Jesus said, "Blessed is the lion that the human will eat so that the lion becomes human. And cursed is the human whom the lion will eat, and the lion will become human."⁹

1. Cf. John 8:51–52.

2. Cf. Matt. 7:7–8; Luke 11:9–10.

3. Cf. Luke 17:20–21.

4. Cf. Gal. 4:9.

5. Cf. Matt. 19:30; 20:16; Mark 10:31; Luke 13:30.

6. Cf. Matt. 10:26; Mark 4:22; Luke 8:17; 12:2.

7. Cf. Matt. 6:1–8, 16–18.

8. Cf. Matt. 10:26; Mark 4:22; Luke 8:17; 12:2.

9. Cf. Plato, Rep. 9.588c7–589b6.

(8) And he said, "The human being is like a wise fisherman, who cast his net into the sea and dragged it up from the sea, full of little fish. Among them the wise fisherman found a fine large fish. He cast all the small fish back into the sea and chose the large fish without any effort. The one who has ears to listen had better listen!"¹⁰

(9) Jesus said, "Look, the sower came forth, took a handful, and cast. Now, some fell on the path, and the birds came and gathered them up. Others fell on the rock, and they did not take roots down into the ground and send up ears. And others fell on thorns, and they choked the seeds and the worm devoured them. And others fell on the good ground, and it sent up good fruit and yielded sixty per measure and a hundred twenty per measure."¹¹

(10) Jesus said, "I have cast a fire upon the world, and look, I am guarding it until it blazes."¹²

(11) Jesus said, "This heaven will pass away, and the one above it will pass away.¹³ And the dead are not alive, and the living will not die. In the days you ate what is dead you made it alive; (but) when you come to be in light, what will you do?¹⁴ On the day when you were one, you became two; but when you become two, what will you do?"

(12) The disciples said to Jesus, "We know that you will leave us. Who will be great among us?"¹⁵ Jesus said to them, "Wherever you have come,¹⁶ you will go to James the Righteous, for whose sake heaven and earth came to be."

(13) Jesus said to his disciples, "Make a comparison and tell me: who am I like?"¹⁷ Simon Peter said to him, "You are like a righteous angel." Matthew said to him, "You are like a wise philosopher." Thomas said to him, "Teacher, my mouth cannot let me say at all what you are like." Jesus said, "I am not your teacher, for you have drunk and become intoxicated from the bubbling spring that I myself have measured out." And he took him, withdrew, and said three sayings to him. Now, when Thomas came to his companions, they asked him, "What did Jesus say to you?" Thomas said to them, "If I tell you one of the sayings he said to me, you will take up stones and cast them at me, and fire will come out of the stones and burn you."

(14) Jesus said to them, "If you fast, you will bring sin upon yourselves; and if you pray, you will be condemned; and if you give alms, you will do harm to

10. Cf. Matt. 13:47–50.

11. Cf. Matt. 13:3–9; Mark 4:3–9; Luke 8:5–8.

12. Cf. Luke 12:49.

13. Cf. Matt. 24:35; Mark 13:31; Luke 21:33.

14. Cf. Hippolytus, *Refut.* 5.8.32.

15. Cf. Matt. 18:1; Mark 9:34; Luke 9:46.

16. Or: "have come from."

17. Cf. Matt. 16:13–17; Mark 8:27–30; Luke 9:18–21.

εΤΕΤΨΑΝ† ΕΛΕΝΝΟΣΥΝ ΕΤΕΤΗΔΕΙΡΕ ΠΟΥΚΑΚΟΝ ΠΙΝΕΤΨΠΠΔ ΛΥΩ
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(16) ΠΕΧΕ ΙC ΧΕ ΤΑΧΑ ΕΥΗΕΕΥΕ ΠΔ ΠΡΩΝΕ ΧΕ ΠΤΑΕΙΕΙ ΕΝΟΥΧΕ
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(17) ΠΕΧΕ ΙC ΧΕ ΦΗΔ† ΗΠΤΨ ΠΠΕΤΕ ΠΠΕ ΒΑΔ ΗΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ' ΛΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ ΠΠΕ
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(20) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΗΔΘΗΤΗC ΠΨC ΧΕ ΧΟΟC ΕΡΟΗ ΧΕ ΤΨΠΤΕΡΟ ΗΠΠΗΥΕ ΕCΤΨΤΩΗ
 ΕΠΗ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΗΔΥ ΧΕ ΕCΤΨΤΩΗ ΛΥΒΛΒΙΕ ΠΨΛΤΑΗ <C>CΟΒΚ ΠΑΡΑ ΠCΡΟC
 ΠΗΡΟΥ ΖΟΤΑΗ ΔΕ ΕCΨΑ(Η)ΖΕ ΕΧΨ ΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΟΥΡΨ ΖΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ ΦΑΔΤΕΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΠΗΟΥΗΟC ΠΤΑΡ ΠΨΨΠΠΕ ΠCΚΕΠΗ ΠΖΔΔΑΤΕ ΠΤΠΕ

(21) ΠΕΧΕ ΗΑΡΨΑΗ ΠΨC ΧΕ ΕΠΕΚΗΔΘΗΤΗC ΕΠΕ ΠΠΗ' ΠΕΧΑΔ' ΧΕ ΕΥΕΠΠΕ
 37 ΠΖΨΠΠΕ ΨΠΗ' ΕΥΒΕΛΗΤ' ΛΥCΨΠΠΕ ΕΤΨΟΥ ΔΗ ΤΕ ΖΟΤΑΗ ΕΥΨΑΕΙ ΠΔ
 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΤCΨΠΠΕ CΕΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΚΕ ΠΨCΨΠΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΔΗ ΠΤΟΟΥ CΕΚΑΚΑΖΗΥ
 ΠΠΟΥΨΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡΟΥΚΑΔC ΕΒΟΛ ΗΔΥ ΠCΕ† ΤΟΥCΨΠΠΕ ΗΔΥ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ †ΧΩ
 ΠΠΟC ΧΕ ΕΔ'ΨΑΒΗΠΕ ΠΔ ΠΧΕCΖΨΠΠΕΙ ΧΕ ΦΗΥ ΠΔ ΠΡΕΔΧΙΟΥΕ ΦΗΑΡΟΕΙC

your spirits.¹⁸ And when you go into any land and walk in the countryside, if they receive you, eat whatever they place before you and heal the sick among them.¹⁹ For whatever goes into your mouth will not defile you; rather, it is what comes out of your mouth that will defile you.”²⁰

(15) Jesus said, “When you see one who was not born from woman, fall upon your faces and worship him: that one is your father.”

(16) Jesus said, “Perhaps people think that I have come to cast peace on the world, and they do not know that I have come to cast divisions on the earth: fire, sword, war. For there will be five in a house: three will be against two and two against three, the father against the son and the son against the father.²¹ And they will stand as solitary ones.”

(17) Jesus said, “I will give you what eyes have not seen, and what ears have not heard, and what hands have not touched, and what has not arisen in the human heart.”²²

(18) The disciples said to Jesus, “Tell us how our end will come about.”²³ Jesus said, “Have you uncovered the beginning, then, that you are now seeking the end? For where the beginning is the end will come to be. Blessed is the one who stands at the beginning: that one will know the end and will not taste death.”

(19) Jesus said, “Blessed is the one who existed before coming to exist. If you exist as my disciples and listen to my sayings, these stones will serve you. For you have five trees in paradise that do not move in summer or winter, and whose leaves do not fall. Whoever knows them will not taste death.”

(20) The disciples said to Jesus, “Tell us: what is the kingdom of heaven like?” He said to them, “It is like a mustard seed. It is smallest of all seeds, but when it falls on tilled ground, it puts forth a great branch and becomes a shelter for the birds of the sky.”²⁴

(21) Mary said to Jesus, “Whom are your disciples like?” He said, “They are like children²⁵ dwelling in a field that is not theirs. When the owners of the field come they will say, ‘Surrender our field to us.’ They, for their part, strip in their presence in order to surrender it to them and so give their field to them. For this reason I say, when the homeowner knows that the burglar is

18. Cf. Matt. 6:1–8, 16–18.

19. Cf. Luke 10:8–9.

20. Cf. Matt. 15:11, 17–18; Mark 7:15, 18, 20.

21. Cf. Matt. 10:34–35; Luke 12:51–53.

22. Cf. 1 Cor. 2:9.

23. Cf. Matt. 24:3; Mark 13:4; Luke 21:7.

24. Cf. Matt. 13:31–32; Mark 4:20–32; Luke 13:18–19.

25. Or: “servants.”

εἰσατεῦσαι ἰσχυροὺς ἐξουσίαν ἐπεφάνη ἵτε τεῦρῆπιτερο ἐτρεῦσαι
 ἰνεῦςσκεῦος ἰτωτῆι λέ ροεῖς ἄ τεῖν ἰπκοςνος νοῦρ ἰνωτῆι ἐχῆ
 νετῆιπε ἄἰνοῦος ἰλῦναις φῆνα χε νε νανστῆς ἄε ἐῖν ἐει φαρωτῆι
 ἐπει τεχρεῖα ἐτεῖδωστ ἔβολ ἄητῆ σεναρῆ ἔρος ἰαρῆφωπε ἄἰ
 τεῖνῆιτε ἰδῖ οὔρως ἰεπιστῆνῶν ἰτῆρε ἰκαρπος πωῖ ἄρει ἄἰνοῦδῆ
 ἐπεῦαςῶ ἄἰ τεῦςῖς ἄφῆαςῖ πετε οὔἰ ἰαῶχε ἰνοῦ ἔσωτῆ ἰαρῆςωτῆι

(22) ἄτῆ ἰαῦ ἄῖκοῦει ἐῦχῖ ἐρωτε πεχαῦ ἰνεῦνῆθῆς χε νεεῖκοῦει
 ἐτῖ ἐρωτε ἐῦτῆτωῖ ἀνετῆκ ἔξουῖ ἀηῆτερο πεχαῦ ἰαῦ χε ἐειεῖο
 ἰκοῦει τῆνῆωκ ἔξουῖ ἐηῆτερο πεχε ἰπῆ ἰαῦ χε ῶταν ἐτεῖφῆρ
 ἰσῆαῦ οῦα ἄω ἐτεῖφῆρ ἰσα ἰξουῖ ἰῆε ἰἰσα ἰβολ ἄω ἰσα ἰβολ
 ἰῆε ἰἰσα ἰξουῖ ἄω ἰσα(ἡ)τῆε ἰῆε ἰἰσα ἰπῆτῆ ἄω φῆνα ἐτεῖνῆερε
 ἰφοῦστ ἡἰ τῶεἰν ἰἰποῦα οὔστ χεκαῶς νε φοοῦτ ῖ ῶοῦτ ἰτε τῶεἰν
 ῖ ῶεἰν ῶταν ἐτεῖφῆερε ἰῖἰβαῶ ἐἰνα ἰοῦβαῶ ἄω οὔςῖς ἐἰνα
 ἰνοῦςῖς ἄω οὔεἰτε ἐἰνα ἰοὔεἰτε οὔῖκωἡ ἐἰνα ἰοὔῖκω(ἡ) τῶτε
 τεῖνῆωκ ἔξουῖ ἐ[τ]ἡ[τ]ε[ρ]ο

(23) 38 πεχε ἰῆ χε ἰνασεῖπ τῆε οῦα ἐβολ ἄἰ φῶ ἄω σῆαῦ ἐβολ ἄἰ
 τῶα ἄω σενῆωῖε ἐρατοῦ ἐῦο οῦα οὔστ

(24) πεχε νεῦνῆθῆς χε ἰατσεῖον ἔπτοπος ἐτῆἰναῦ ἐπει
 τῆναῖκῆ ἐρον τε ἐτῆφῆε ἰσωῦ πεχαῦ ἰαῦ χε πετεῦἰ ἰαῶχε ἰνοῦ
 ἰαρῆςωτῆι οὔἰ οὔεἰν φῶοἰ ἰφοῦἡ ἰνοῦρἰοὔεἰν ἄω ῦρ οὔεἰν
 ἐπκοςνος τῆρῖ ἐτῆἰρ οὔεἰν οὔκακε πε

(25) πεχε ἰῆ χε νερε πεκσον ἰῆε ἰτεκῖγῦχῆ ἐρητῆεἰ ἰνοῦ ἰῆε
 ἰτελοῦ ἰπεκῖβαῶ

(26) πεχε ἰῆ χε ἰχῆ ἐτῶἰ πβαῶ ἰπεκῖσον κῆαῦ ἐροῦ ἰσῶεἰ λέ ἐτῶἰ
 πεκβαῶ κῆαῦ ἰη ἐροῦ ῶταν ἐκφῆνοῦχε ἰἰσῶεἰ ἐβολ ἄἰ πεκῖβαῶ
 τῶτε κῆαῦ ἐβολ ἐνοῦχε ἰἰχῆ ἐβολ ἄἰ πβαῶ ἰπεκσον

(27) ἐτεῖτῆτῆἰνστῆε ἐπκοςμος τεῖνῆε ἰη ἐηῆτερο ἐτεῖτῆερε
 ἰἰσαῖνατον ἰσαῖνατον ἰτεῖνῆαῦ ἰη ἐπεῖστ

coming, he will keep watch before he comes, and will not let him dig through into his house, which belongs to his kingdom, to steal his possessions.²⁶ You, then, keep watch against the world. Gird your loins with great power,²⁷ so that the brigands may not find a way to come to you; for they will find the gain for which you are waiting.²⁸ Let there be among you a person of understanding. When the crop ripened, he came hastily with a sickle in his hand and reaped it.²⁹ The one who has ears to listen had better listen!³⁰

(22) Jesus saw some infants being nursed. He said to his disciples, "These infants being nursed are like those entering the kingdom." They said to him, "Shall we then enter the kingdom by being infants?"³¹ Jesus said to them, "When you make the two one, and make the inside like the outside and the outside like the inside and the upper like the lower; and you make³² the male and the female be a single one, with the male no longer being male and the female no longer female; when you make eyes in the place of an eye and a hand in the place of a hand and a foot in the place of a foot, an image in the place of an image—then you will enter the kingdom."

(23) Jesus said, "I will choose you—one out of a thousand and two out of ten thousand. And they will stand as a single one."

(24) His disciples said, "Show us the place where you are, since we must seek it." He said to them, "The one who has ears had better listen! There is light inside a person of light, and it³³ shines on the whole world. If it does not shine, it is dark."³⁴

(25) Jesus said, "Love your brother like your soul; guard him like the pupil of your eye."³⁵

(26) Jesus said, "You see the speck that is in your brother's eye, but you do not see the log that is in your eye. When you take the log out of your eye, then you will see well enough to take the speck out of your brother's eye."³⁶

(27) "If you do not fast from the world, you will not find the kingdom. If you do not make the Sabbath a sabbath,³⁷ you will not see the Father."

26. Cf. Matt. 24:43–44; Luke 12:39–40.

27. Cf. Exod 12:11; Luke 12:35.

28. Or: "for they will find the necessities you are watching out for."

29. Cf. Mark 4:29.

30. Cf. Matt. 13:9; Mark 4:9; Luke 8:8.

31. Cf. Matt. 18:1–3; 19:13–15; Mark 9:33–36; 10:13–16; Luke 9:46–47; 18:15–17.

32. Lit. "and that you might make. . ."

33. Or: "and he . . . If he . . ."

34. Cf. Matt. 6:22–23; 11:34–35.

35. Cf. Matt. 22:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27.

36. Cf. Matt. 7:3–5; Luke 6:41–42.

37. The clause may mean two opposite things: either "if you do not observe the Sabbath day as a Sabbath," or "if you do not turn the Sabbath into a regular day (a sabbath)" that is, abstain from it. For the latter interpretation, see *supra*, sayings (6) and (14).

(28) πεχε ιϛ χε λειωζε ερατ' ρη̅ τη̅ντε̅ ἰ̅π̅κο̅ς̅νο̅ς̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ λ̅ει̅ο̅γ̅ω̅η̅ε̅
 ε̅βο̅λ̅ η̅α̅γ̅ ρ̅η̅ σα̅ρ̅ξ̅ λ̅ει̅ρ̅ε̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅γ̅τα̅ρ̅ε̅ ἰ̅π̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅ ε̅λ̅α̅α̅γ̅ ἰ̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ο̅γ̅
 ε̅γ̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ α̅τα̅φ̅γ̅χη̅ † τ̅κα̅ς̅ ε̅χ̅η̅ ἰ̅ψ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ ἰ̅ρ̅ω̅η̅ε̅ χε̅ ρ̅η̅β̅λ̅ε̅υ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅
 η̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅π̅ο̅υ̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ σ̅ε̅ν̅α̅γ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ α̅η̅ χε̅ ἰ̅τα̅γ̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅π̅κο̅ς̅νο̅ς̅
 ε̅γ̅ψ̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ ε̅γ̅ψ̅η̅ε̅ ο̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ π̅κο̅ς̅νο̅ς̅ ε̅γ̅ψ̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ π̅α̅η̅η̅
 τ̅ε̅η̅ο̅γ̅ σ̅ε̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ε̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅α̅η̅ ε̅γ̅ψ̅α̅η̅η̅ε̅ρ̅ ρ̅ο̅γ̅η̅ρ̅η̅ τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ σ̅ε̅ν̅α̅ρ̅η̅ε̅τ̅α̅η̅ο̅ε̅ι̅

(29) πεχε ιϛ ε̅ψ̅χε̅ ἰ̅τα̅ τ̅σα̅ρ̅ξ̅ ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ ἰ̅π̅ξ̅ ο̅γ̅ψ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ τ̅ε̅ ε̅ψ̅χε̅
 ἰ̅π̅ξ̅ δ̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ π̅σ̅ω̅η̅α̅ ο̅γ̅ψ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ ἰ̅ψ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ λ̅λ̅α̅ α̅η̅ο̅κ̅ † ἰ̅ρ̅ ω̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ 39 ἰ̅π̅α̅ε̅ι̅
 χε̅ π̅ω̅ς̅ α̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅η̅ο̅ς̅ ἰ̅π̅η̅τ̅ρ̅η̅η̅α̅ο̅ α̅σ̅ο̅γ̅ω̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅ε̅ε̅ἰ̅π̅η̅τ̅ρ̅η̅κ̅ε̅

(30) πεχε ιϛ χε̅ π̅η̅α̅ ε̅γ̅η̅ ω̅ο̅η̅τ̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅γ̅τ̅ε̅ ἰ̅η̅α̅γ̅ ρ̅η̅ἰ̅ο̅γ̅τ̅ε̅ η̅ε̅ π̅η̅α̅ ε̅γ̅η̅
 σ̅η̅α̅γ̅ η̅ ο̅γ̅α̅ α̅η̅ο̅κ̅ † ψ̅ο̅ο̅η̅ ἰ̅η̅η̅α̅γ̅

(31) πεχε ιϛ ἠ̅ἰ̅ π̅ρ̅ο̅φ̅η̅τ̅η̅ς̅ ω̅η̅η̅ ρ̅η̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅η̅ε̅ ἠ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ σ̅ο̅ε̅η̅ ῥ̅θ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅π̅ε̅υ̅ε̅
 ἰ̅η̅ε̅τ̅'σ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅η̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅γ̅

(32) πεχε ιϛ χε̅ ο̅γ̅π̅ο̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅γ̅κ̅ω̅τ̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅ς̅ ρ̅η̅ξ̅η̅ ο̅γ̅τ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅ϕ̅χ̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅σ̅τ̅α̅χ̅ρ̅η̅γ̅
 ἠ̅ἰ̅ δ̅ο̅η̅ ἰ̅ς̅ρ̅ε̅ ο̅γ̅δ̅ε̅ σ̅η̅α̅ψ̅ρ̅ω̅η̅γ̅ α̅η̅

(33) πεχε ιϛ π̅ε̅τ̅'κ̅η̅α̅ς̅ω̅τ̅η̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ϕ̅ ρ̅η̅ π̅ε̅κ̅'η̅α̅α̅χ̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅ π̅κ̅ε̅η̅α̅α̅χ̅ε̅ τ̅α̅ψ̅ε̅
 ο̅ε̅ω̅γ̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅γ̅ ρ̅η̅ξ̅η̅ η̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅χ̅ε̅η̅ε̅π̅ω̅ρ̅ ἠ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ λ̅α̅α̅γ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ χ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅ε̅τ̅ ἰ̅ϕ̅'κ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ρ̅α̅
 ἠ̅α̅α̅χ̅ε̅ ο̅γ̅δ̅ε̅ ἠ̅α̅ϕ̅κ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ρ̅η̅ ἠ̅α̅ ε̅ϕ̅ρ̅η̅η̅ λ̅λ̅α̅ ε̅ψ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ϕ̅κ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ρ̅η̅ξ̅η̅ τ̅α̅γ̅χ̅η̅α̅
 χ̅ε̅κ̅α̅α̅ς̅ ο̅γ̅ο̅η̅ ἠ̅η̅η̅ ε̅τ̅β̅η̅κ̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅η̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅ἰ̅η̅η̅γ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ε̅γ̅η̅α̅η̅α̅γ̅ α̅π̅ε̅ϕ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ε̅η̅

(34) πεχε ιϛ χε̅ ο̅γ̅β̅λ̅ε̅ ε̅ϕ̅ψ̅α̅η̅'σ̅ω̅κ̅ ρ̅η̅τ̅ϕ̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅γ̅β̅λ̅ε̅ ψ̅α̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ ἰ̅π̅ε̅ς̅η̅α̅γ̅
 ε̅π̅ε̅ς̅η̅τ̅ ε̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ι̅ε̅τ̅

(35) πεχε ιϛ ἠ̅ἰ̅ δ̅ο̅η̅ ἰ̅τ̅ε̅ ο̅γ̅α̅ β̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅η̅ ε̅π̅η̅ε̅ι̅ ἰ̅π̅χ̅ω̅ρ̅ε̅ ἰ̅ϕ̅χ̅η̅τ̅ϕ̅
 ἰ̅η̅χ̅η̅α̅ ε̅η̅η̅η̅τ̅ ἰ̅ϕ̅ο̅η̅ο̅γ̅ ἰ̅η̅ε̅ϕ̅α̅ι̅χ̅ τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ ϕ̅η̅α̅π̅ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ἰ̅π̅ε̅ϕ̅η̅ε̅ι̅

(36) πεχε ιϛ ἠ̅ἰ̅ϕ̅ι̅ ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ω̅ χ̅ι̅(η̅) ρ̅τ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ ψ̅α̅ ρ̅ο̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ χ̅η̅ ρ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ ψ̅α̅
 ρ̅τ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ χε̅ ο̅γ̅ π̅ε̅κ̅'ε̅τ̅η̅α̅τ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ρ̅η̅ω̅τ̅ τ̅η̅γ̅η̅ἰ̅

(37) πεχε η̅ε̅ϕ̅η̅α̅θ̅η̅τ̅η̅ς̅ χε̅ α̅ψ̅ ἰ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅κ̅η̅α̅ο̅γ̅ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ἠ̅α̅η̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅
 α̅ψ̅ ἰ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅η̅α̅η̅α̅γ̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅κ̅ πεχε ιϛ χε̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅α̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ψ̅α̅κ̅ε̅κ̅ τ̅η̅γ̅η̅ἰ̅
 ε̅ρ̅η̅γ̅ ἰ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ψ̅η̅ε̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ ἰ̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ϕ̅ι̅ ἰ̅η̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ψ̅τ̅η̅η̅ ἰ̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅κ̅α̅α̅γ̅ ρ̅α̅ π̅ε̅ς̅η̅τ̅
 ἰ̅η̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ε̅ ἰ̅θ̅ε̅ ἰ̅η̅κ̅ο̅γ̅ε̅ι̅ ἰ̅ψ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ ω̅η̅η̅ ἰ̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅χ̅ο̅π̅ξ̅τ̅ἰ̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ [τ̅ε̅τ̅]
 ἠ̅α̅η̅α̅γ̅ 40 ε̅π̅ω̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ ἰ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ο̅η̅ε̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ρ̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ α̅η̅

(38) πεχε ιϛ χε̅ ρ̅α̅ ρ̅ἰ̅σ̅ο̅γ̅ α̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ρ̅ε̅π̅θ̅γ̅η̅ε̅ ε̅σ̅ω̅τ̅η̅ α̅η̅ε̅ι̅ψ̅α̅χ̅ε̅ ἠ̅α̅ε̅ι̅
 ε̅τ̅χ̅ω̅ ἰ̅η̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ἠ̅η̅τ̅ἰ̅ λ̅γ̅ω̅ ἠ̅ἰ̅τ̅η̅τ̅ἰ̅ κ̅ε̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅σ̅τ̅η̅ο̅η̅ο̅ ἰ̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ϕ̅ ο̅γ̅η̅ ρ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅
 ἠ̅α̅ψ̅ω̅η̅ε̅ ἰ̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ἰ̅ψ̅η̅ε̅ ἰ̅ς̅ω̅ε̅ι̅ τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ α̅η̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅

(28) Jesus said, "I stood in the midst of the world and appeared to them in flesh.³⁸ I found them all drunk, and I did not find any of them thirsty. And my soul was anguished for the children of humankind, for they are blind in their hearts and do not see. For they came into the world empty, and empty again they seek to depart from the world. Yet now they are drunk; when they shake off their wine, then they will repent."

(29) Jesus said, "If the flesh came into being because of the spirit, it is a marvel. But if the spirit (came into existence) because of the body, it is a marvel of marvels. Yet I marvel at this, how this great wealth has come to dwell in this poverty."

(30) Jesus said, "Where there are three gods, they are divine. Where there are two or one, I am with that one."³⁹

(31) Jesus said, "A prophet is not welcome in his village; a physician does not heal those who know him."⁴⁰

(32) Jesus said, "A city built upon a high mountain and fortified cannot fall, nor can it become hidden."⁴¹

(33) Jesus said, "Whatever you hear with your ear, proclaim it into the other ear upon your rooftops.⁴² For no one lights a lamp and places it under a bushel or sets it in a hidden place. But he puts it on the lampstand so that everyone who enters and leaves might see its light."⁴³

(34) Jesus said, "If a blind person leads a blind person, they both fall into a pit."⁴⁴

(35) Jesus said, "No one can enter the house of the strong and take it by force unless he binds his hands. Then he will plunder his house."⁴⁵

(36) Jesus said, "Do not be concerned from morning to evening and from evening to morning about what you will wear."⁴⁶

(37) His disciples said, "When will you appear to us and when shall we see you?" Jesus said, "When you strip naked without being ashamed and take your clothes and place them under your feet like little children and stamp on them, then you will see the Son of the Living One, and you will not be afraid."

(38) Jesus said, "Many times you have desired to hear these sayings that I am speaking to you, and you have no one else to hear them from. Days will come when you will seek me, and you will not find me."⁴⁷

38. Cf. John 1:9–10, 14.

39. Cf. Matt. 18:20.

40. Cf. Matt. 13:57–58; Mark 6:4–5; Luke 4:24; John 4:44.

41. Cf. Matt. 5:14.

42. Cf. Matt. 10:27; Luke 12:3.

43. Cf. Matt. 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 8:16; 11:33.

44. Cf. Matt. 15:14; Luke 6:39.

45. Cf. Matt. 12:29; Mark 3:27; Luke 11:21–22.

46. Cf. Matt. 6:25; Luke 12:22.

47. Cf. Matt. 13:17; Luke 10:24; John 7:33–36.

(39) πεχε ιϛ χε ι̅φ̅α̅ρι̅α̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ η̅ι̅ ι̅γ̅ρ̅α̅ν̅η̅α̅τ̅ε̅υ̅ς̅ λ̅υ̅χ̅ι̅ ι̅φ̅α̅φ̅τ̅ ι̅τ̅τ̅η̅ω̅ς̅ι̅ς̅
 λ̅υ̅ζ̅ο̅π̅ο̅υ̅ ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ ι̅π̅ο̅υ̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅ζ̅ο̅υ̅η̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ η̅ε̅τ̅ο̅υ̅ω̅ ε̅β̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅ζ̅ο̅υ̅η̅
 ι̅π̅ο̅υ̅κ̅α̅λ̅υ̅ ι̅τ̅ω̅τ̅η̅ δ̅ε̅ ω̅φ̅η̅ε̅ ι̅φ̅ρ̅ο̅ν̅η̅ο̅ς̅ ι̅θ̅ε̅ ι̅η̅ι̅ρ̅ο̅ϛ̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ ι̅α̅κ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ ι̅θ̅ε̅
 ι̅π̅ι̅β̅ρ̅ο̅η̅ι̅ε̅

(40) πεχε ιϛ ο̅υ̅β̅ε̅η̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ο̅λ̅ε̅ λ̅υ̅τ̅ο̅ς̅ ι̅π̅ι̅α̅ η̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ι̅π̅ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ ε̅ς̅τ̅α̅
 χ̅ρ̅η̅ λ̅η̅ ε̅η̅α̅η̅ο̅ρ̅κ̅ϛ̅ ρ̅α̅ τ̅ε̅ς̅η̅ο̅υ̅η̅ε̅ ι̅ς̅τ̅α̅κ̅ο̅

(41) πεχε ιϛ χε πετεϋι̅τ̅α̅ϛ̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅ε̅ϛ̅δ̅ι̅χ̅ ε̅η̅α̅ϛ̅ η̅α̅ϛ̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ πετε η̅ι̅τ̅α̅ϛ̅
 η̅κ̅ε̅φ̅η̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅υ̅ι̅τ̅α̅ϛ̅ ε̅η̅α̅ϛ̅ι̅τ̅η̅ ι̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ϛ̅

(42) πεχε ιϛ χε ω̅φ̅η̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅ρ̅η̅α̅ρ̅α̅γ̅ε̅

(43) πεχαϛ η̅α̅ϛ̅ ι̅β̅ι̅ η̅ε̅ϛ̅η̅α̅θ̅η̅ς̅ χε̅ ι̅τ̅α̅κ̅ η̅η̅η̅ ε̅κ̅χ̅ω̅ ι̅η̅α̅ι̅ η̅α̅η̅ ρ̅η̅
 η̅ε̅τ̅χ̅ω̅ ι̅η̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ η̅η̅τ̅η̅ ι̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅ε̅η̅ε̅ λ̅η̅ χε̅ λ̅η̅ο̅κ̅ η̅η̅ λ̅α̅λ̅α̅ ι̅τ̅ω̅τ̅η̅ α̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅ω̅φ̅η̅ε̅
 ι̅θ̅ε̅ ι̅η̅ι̅ο̅υ̅λ̅α̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ χε̅ ε̅η̅ε̅ η̅η̅φ̅η̅η̅ ε̅η̅ο̅ς̅τ̅ε̅ ι̅π̅ε̅ϛ̅κ̅α̅ρ̅π̅ο̅ς̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ ε̅η̅ε̅
 ι̅π̅κ̅α̅ρ̅π̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅η̅ο̅ς̅τ̅ε̅ ι̅π̅φ̅η̅η̅

(44) πεχε ιϛ χε πεταχε̅ ο̅υ̅α̅ λ̅η̅ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ ε̅η̅α̅κ̅ω̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ η̅α̅ϛ̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ πεταχε̅
 ο̅υ̅α̅ ε̅π̅ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅η̅α̅κ̅ω̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ η̅α̅ϛ̅ πεταχε̅ ο̅υ̅α̅ δ̅ε̅ λ̅η̅ι̅π̅η̅λ̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅υ̅α̅λ̅ ε̅η̅α̅κ̅ω̅
 λ̅η̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ η̅α̅ϛ̅ ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅ η̅κ̅α̅ρ̅ ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅η̅ε̅

(45) πεχε ιϛ η̅α̅ϛ̅ χε̅λ̅ε̅ ε̅λ̅ο̅ο̅λ̅ε̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ φ̅ο̅η̅τ̅ε̅ ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ η̅α̅ϛ̅κ̅ω̅τ̅ϛ̅
 κ̅η̅τ̅ε̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ ε̅ρ̅β̅α̅η̅ο̅υ̅λ̅ η̅α̅ϛ̅τ̅ κ̅α̅ρ̅π̅ο̅ς̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ ο̅υ̅λ̅α̅γ̅α̅θ̅ο̅ς̅ ρ̅η̅ω̅η̅ε̅ φ̅α̅ϛ̅ε̅η̅ε̅
 ι̅π̅α̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅α̅γ̅α̅θ̅ο̅η̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ πεϛ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅ ο̅υ̅κ̅α̅κ̅[ο̅ς̅] ρ̅η̅ω̅η̅ε̅ φ̅α̅ϛ̅ε̅η̅ε̅ ι̅ρ̅η̅π̅ο̅η̅η̅ρ̅ο̅η̅
 ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ πεϛ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅ ε̅θ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅η̅ πεϛ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ ι̅ϛ̅χ̅ω̅ ι̅ρ̅η̅π̅ο̅η̅η̅ρ̅ο̅η̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅
 ρ̅η̅ φ̅ο̅υ̅ο̅ ι̅φ̅η̅τ̅ φ̅α̅ϛ̅ε̅η̅ε̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ι̅ρ̅η̅π̅ο̅η̅η̅ρ̅ο̅η̅

(46) πεχε ιϛ χε χη̅η̅ λ̅λ̅α̅η̅ φ̅α̅ ι̅ω̅ρ̅α̅(η̅)η̅η̅ς̅ η̅α̅π̅τ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅η̅ς̅ ρ̅η̅ ι̅η̅π̅ο̅
 ι̅π̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅η̅ε̅ η̅η̅ πετ̅χ̅ο̅ς̅ε̅ λ̅ι̅ω̅ρ̅α̅η̅η̅ς̅ η̅α̅π̅τ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅η̅ς̅ φ̅η̅α̅ χε̅ η̅ο̅υ̅ω̅δ̅η̅ ι̅β̅ι̅
 η̅ε̅ϛ̅β̅α̅λ̅ λ̅ε̅ι̅χ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ δ̅ε̅ χε̅ πετ̅η̅α̅φ̅η̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅η̅ϛ̅τ̅η̅ ε̅ϛ̅ο̅ ι̅κ̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ι̅ ϛ̅η̅α̅ς̅ο̅υ̅ω̅η̅
 τ̅η̅η̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ ϛ̅η̅α̅χ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅ λ̅ι̅ω̅ρ̅α̅η̅η̅ς̅

(47) πεχε ιϛ χε η̅η̅ δ̅ο̅η̅ ι̅τ̅ε̅ ο̅υ̅ρ̅ω̅η̅ε̅ τ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ α̅ρ̅τ̅ο̅ ε̅η̅α̅ϛ̅ ι̅ϛ̅χ̅ω̅α̅κ̅ η̅η̅π̅η̅ε̅
 ε̅π̅η̅ε̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ η̅η̅ δ̅ο̅η̅ ι̅τ̅ε̅ ο̅υ̅ρ̅η̅ρ̅α̅λ̅ φ̅η̅φ̅ε̅ χ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅η̅α̅ϛ̅ η̅ ϛ̅η̅α̅ρ̅η̅η̅α̅
 ι̅π̅ο̅υ̅α̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ η̅κ̅ε̅ο̅υ̅α̅ ϛ̅η̅α̅ρ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ζ̅ε̅ ι̅η̅ο̅ϛ̅ η̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ ρ̅ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅α̅ς̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅

(39) Jesus said, "The Pharisees and the scribes have taken the keys of knowledge and hidden them. They have neither entered nor let those wishing to enter do so.⁴⁸ But you should be wise as snakes, and innocent as doves."⁴⁹

(40) Jesus said, "A grapevine has been planted outside of the Father. And since it is not strong, it will be pulled up by its root and perish."⁵⁰

(41) Jesus said, "The one who has something in his hand will be given (more); and the one who has nothing will have even the little that he has taken from him."⁵¹

(42) Jesus said, "Become passersby."

(43) His disciples said to him, "Who are you to say these things to us?" "You do not understand who I am from what I say to you.⁵² Rather, you have become like the Jews; for they love the tree but hate its fruit; and they love the fruit but hate the tree."⁵³

(44) Jesus said, "Whoever blasphemes against the Father will be forgiven; and whoever blasphemes against the Son will be forgiven; but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either on earth or in heaven."⁵⁴

(45) Jesus said, "Grapes are not harvested from thorn bushes, nor are figs collected from thistles; for they do not yield fruit. A good person brings something good from his storehouse; a bad person brings vile things from his evil storehouse inside his heart and speaks vile things. For from the abundance of the heart he brings forth vile things."⁵⁵

(46) Jesus said, "From Adam to John the Baptist, among those born of women there is no one greater than John the Baptist lest he should avert his eyes.⁵⁶ Yet I have said that whoever among you becomes a young child will know the kingdom; and he will become greater than John."⁵⁷

(47) Jesus said, "No person can mount two horses and string two bows; and no servant can serve two masters, or he will honor the one and insult the other.⁵⁸ No person drinks aged wine and immediately desires to drink new

48. Cf. Matt. 23:13; Luke 11:52.

49. Cf. Matt. 10:16.

50. Cf. Matt. 15:13.

51. Cf. Matt. 13:12; 25:29; Mark 4:25; Luke 18:18; 19:26.

52. Cf. John 14:9.

53. Cf. Matt. 7:16–18; 12:33; Luke 6:43.

54. Cf. Matt. 12:31–32; Mark 3:28–29; Luke 12:10.

55. Cf. Matt. 7:16; 12:34–35; Luke 6:44–45.

56. Or: "lest he should keep his eyes down." Lit. "lest his eyes should be broken."

57. Cf. Matt. 11:11; 18:3; Mark 10:15; Luke 7:28; 18:17.

58. Cf. Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:13.

ἴτευνοῦ ἰδ' ἐπιθῆναι ἄσω ἠριτ' ἄρρηε ἄσω ἠαῦνοῦχ' ἠριτ' ἄρρηε ἄσκος
 ἴας χεκαῶς ἴνοῦπῶ 2 ἄσω ἠαῦνεχ' ἠριτ' ἴας ἄσκος ἄρρηε φῆα χε
 νεφτεκαῶ ἠαῦχῶς τοεῖς ἴας ἄση(η) ἴφαι ἐπει οὔη οὔπῶ 2 ἠαῦπε

(48) πεχε ἴε χε ερφα σῆα ῥ εἰρηῆη ἠῖ πογερῆ 2 ἠ πεῆει οὔωτ'
 σῆαχοος ἴπταῦ χε πῶηε εῖολ ἄσω φῆαῦπε

(49) πεχε ἴε χε 2 ἠακαριος ἠε ἠηναχος ἄσω ετσοῖτ' χε τεῆα2ε
 ἄτηῖτερο χε ἴτωῖ 2 ἠεολ ἠ2ητῆ παλῆ ετεῆαῦκ' εῆαῦ

(50) πεχε ἴε χε εῦφαιχοος ἠηῖ χε ἴτατεῖφῶπε εῖολ τῶη
 χοος ἠαῦ χε ἴταῆε εῖολ 2 ἠ πογῶεη ἠη εῆτα πογῶεη φῶπε ἠῆαῦ
 εῖολ 2 ἴτοοτ' οὔαῦτ' ἄφω2[ε ερατ'] 42 ἄσω ἄφῶη2 ε[β]οῶ 2 ἠ
 τοῦ2κῶη εῦφαιχοος ἠηῖ χε ἴτωῖ πε χοος χε ἄηη νεφῶηε ἄσω
 ἄηη ἴσῶηῖ ἠπεῖωτ' ετοῆ2 εῦφαιχῆε τηῦῖ χε οὔ πε ἠηεῖη
 ἠπεῖῖεωτ' ετ2 ἠ τηῦῖ χοος εροοῦ χε οὔκῖη πε ἠῖ οὔαῆαῦς

(51) πεχαῦ ἠαῦ ἠῖ νεφαιῆηε χε ἄφ ἠ2οοῦ εῖκοσῆε ἄρρηε ἠηῦ πεχαῦ ἠαῦ
 χε τη ετεῖῖεωτ' εῖολ 2 ἠτῆ ἄσει ἄλλῆ ἴτωῖ τεῖῖσοοῖη ἄη ἠῖος

(52) πεχαῦ ἠαῦ ἠῖ νεφαιῆηε χε χοῦταῦτε ἠπροῖηε ἄφῶχε
 2 ἠ πσραῆ ἄσω ἄφῶχε τηροῦ 2 ῥαῖ ἠ2ητ' πε'χαῦ ἠαῦ χε ἄτεῖῖκῶ
 ἠπετοῆ2 ἠπεῖῖῖτο εῖολ ἄσω ἄτεῖῖφῶχε 2 ἄ ἠεῖηοοῦτ'

(53) πεχαῦ ἠαῦ ἠῖ νεφαιῆηε χε πῶῖε ῥφῶεῖ η ἠῖηη πεχαῦ ἠαῦ
 χε νεφῶφῶεῖ ἠε πογῶεωτ' ἠαῖποοῦ εῖολ 2 ἠ τοῦῆαῦ εῦςῖῖηῦ ἄλλῆ
 πῶῖε ἠῖε 2 ἠ ἠῖῖ ἄφῖ 2 ἠη τηρ'

(54) πεχε ἴε χε 2 ἠακαριος ἠε ἠ2ηκε χε τῶῖ τε ἠῖῖτερο ἠῖῖηε

(55) πεχε ἴε χε πετανεστε πεφ'εωτ' ἄη ἠῖ τεφῆαῦ φῆαῦ ἠαῆηε
 ἄη ἠαῖ ἄσω ἠφῆεστε πεφ'σῖηῦ ἠῖ πεφ'σῶηε ἠφ'εῖ ἠπεφ'ε-εος ἠτα2ε
 φῆαῦπε ἄη εῖο ἠαῖος ἠαῖ

(56) πεχε ἴε χε πετα2σοῦηη πκοσῆε ἄφ'ε εῦῖῖηη ἄσω πεῆα22εε
 ἄπῶηη πκοσῆε ἠῖφῆ ἠῖηοῦ ἄη

(57) πεχε ἴε χε ἠῖῖτερο ἠπεῖωτ' εστῖῖτῶ(η) ἄρῶηε εῦῖῖαῦ ἠῆαῦ
 ἠῖηοῖροκ εῖῖῖηοῦφ' ἄπεφῶχε εῖ ἠτοῦφῆ 43 ἄφ'εῖε ἠοῦ2ῖαῖη[ο]ῖη εῖῖ
 περῶ[ε εῖῖῖηοῦφ' ἠπε ἠρῶηε κοοῦ ε2ῶε ἠπ2ῖαῖηηη πεχαῦ ἠαῦ χε
 ἠῖῖε ἠτεῖῖῖκῶ χε εῖα2ῶε³ ἠπ2ῖαῖηη(η) ἠτεῖῖ2ῶε ἠπσοῦο ἠῖῖαῦ
 2 ἠ φοοῦ γῆρ ἠῖῖε ἠ2ῖαῖηηη ἠαοῦη2 εῖολ' σε2ολοῦ ἠσεροκ2οῦ

wine. And new wine is not put into old skins, or they might burst. And aged wine is not put into new skins, or it might go bad. An old patch is not sown on a new garment, for there would be a tear."⁵⁹

(48) Jesus said, "If two make peace with one another in a single house, they will say to the mountain, 'Move from here,' and it will move."⁶⁰

(49) Jesus said, "Blessed are the solitary ones and the elect, for you will find the kingdom. For you have come from it and you will return there."

(50) Jesus said, "If they say to you, 'Where have you come from?' tell them 'We have come from the light, from the place where the light came to be on its own, established itself, and was revealed in their image.' If they say to you, 'Is it you?' say, 'We are its children, and we are the chosen of the living Father.' If they ask you, 'What is the sign of your Father in you?' say to them, 'It is movement and repose.'"

(51) His disciples said to him, "When will the repose of the dead take place? And when will the new world come?"⁶¹ He said to them, "What you are looking for has come, but for your part you do not know it."⁶²

(52) His disciples said to him, "Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel, and they all spoke about you." He said to them, "You have abandoned the one who lives in your presence and have spoken of the dead."

(53) His disciples said to him, "Is circumcision beneficial or not?" He said to them, "If it were beneficial, their father would beget them already circumcised from their mother. But true circumcision in the spirit has become entirely profitable."⁶³

(54) Jesus said, "Blessed are the poor, for the kingdom of heaven is yours."⁶⁴

(55) Jesus said, "Whoever does not hate his father and his mother cannot be a disciple of mine; and whoever does not hate his brothers and his sisters and take up his cross the way I do, that person will not be worthy of me."⁶⁵

(56) Jesus said, "The one who has come to know the world has found a corpse; and the one who has found the corpse, the world is not worthy of that person."

(57) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the Father is like a person having some good seed. His enemy came at night and sowed weeds among the good seed. The person did not allow them to pluck the weeds. He said to them, 'Otherwise, you might go to pluck the weeds and pluck the wheat with it. For on the harvest day the weeds will be plainly visible: they will be plucked and burned.'"⁶⁶

59. Cf. Matt. 9:16-17; Mark 2:21-22; Luke 5:36-39.

60. Cf. Matt. 17:20; 21:21; Mark 11:22-23; Luke 17:6.

61. Cf. Matt. 24:3; Mark 13:4; Luke 21:7.

62. Cf. Luke 17:20-21.

63. Cf. Rom. 2:25-29.

64. Cf. Matt. 5:3; Luke 6:20.

65. Cf. Matt. 10:37-38; 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23; 14:26-27.

66. Cf. Matt. 13:24-30.

(58) Jesus said, "Blessed is the person who has suffered and found life."

(59) Jesus said, "Look to the living one while you are living, or you might die and then seek to see him, and you will not be able to see."⁶⁷

(60) (They saw) a Samaritan carrying a lamb on his way to Judea. He said to his disciples, "That one is going around with the lamb." They said to him, "It is so he can kill it and eat it." He said to them, "While it is living he will not eat it, but only if he kills it and it becomes a corpse." They said, "He cannot do it otherwise." He said to them, "You, too, seek for yourselves a place for repose, lest you become a corpse and be eaten."

(61) Jesus said, "Two will be resting on a couch: one will die, one will live."⁶⁸ Salome said, "Who are you, O man? As if you are from someone,⁶⁹ you have climbed onto my couch and eaten from my table." Jesus said to her, "I am the one who comes from what is whole."⁷⁰ I was given some of the things of my Father."⁷¹ "I am your disciple." "For this reason I say that the one who is whole⁷² will be full of light, but that the one who is divided will be filled with darkness."

(62) Jesus said, "I am speaking my mysteries to those who are worthy of my mysteries."⁷³ Do not let your left hand understand what your right hand is doing."⁷⁴

(63) Jesus said, "There was a rich person who had many possessions. He said, 'I will use my possessions: I will sow, harvest, plant, and fill my storehouses with crops, so that I no longer need anything.' These things he was thinking in his heart, but that very night he died. The one who has ears had better listen!"⁷⁵

(64) Jesus said, "A person had some visitors. And when he prepared a dinner he sent his servant to invite the visitors. He went to the first and said to him, 'My master invites you.' He replied, 'Some merchants owe me money; they are coming to me this evening, and I must go to give them instructions. I ask to be excused from the dinner.' He went to another and said to him, 'My master has invited you.' He said to him, 'I have bought a house and need to be there for a day; I will not be free.' He went to another and said to him, 'My

67. Cf. John 7:33–36.

68. Cf. Matt. 24:40; Luke 17:34.

69. Or: "as a stranger"; or "as from whom."

70. Or: "the sameness."

71. Cf. Matt. 11:27; Luke 10:22.

72. Or: "destroyed"; or "desolate," following the ms. reading.

73. Cf. Matt. 13:11; Mark 4:11; Luke 8:10.

74. Cf. Matt. 6:3.

75. Cf. Luke 12:16–21.

master invites you.' He said to him, 'My friend is getting married, and it is I who am to prepare the banquet. I cannot come; I ask to be excused from the dinner.' He went to another and said to him, 'My master invites you.' He said to him, 'I have bought an estate, and I am going to collect the rent. I cannot come: I ask to be excused.' The servant came and said to his master, 'The people you invited to the dinner have asked to be excused.' The master said to his servant, 'Go out to the streets; whomever you find, bring them in to have dinner.' Buyers and traders will not enter the places of my Father."⁷⁶

(65) He said, "A good man⁷⁷ owned a vineyard, and he leased it to tenant farmers so that they might work it and he might receive its produce from them. He sent his servant so the farmers might give him the produce of the vineyard. They seized the servant and beat him: they almost killed him. The servant went and told his master. The master said, 'Perhaps he did not know them.' He sent another servant, and the farmers beat this one as well. Then the master sent his son and said, 'Perhaps they will show respect to my son.' Since those farmers knew that he was the heir of the vineyard, they grabbed him and killed him. The one who has ears had better listen!"⁷⁸

(66) Jesus said, "Show me the stone that the builders have rejected: that is the cornerstone."⁷⁹

(67) Jesus said, "The one who knows the all but is lacking in himself lacks everything."⁸⁰

(68) Jesus said, "Blessed are you whenever they hate you and persecute you;⁸¹ and wherever they have persecuted you, they will not find you there."

(69) Jesus said, "Blessed are those who have been persecuted in their heart: it is they who have come to know the Father in truth. Blessed are those who are hungry, so that the stomach of the needy may be satisfied."⁸²

(70) Jesus said, "If you bring forth what is within you, what you have will save you; if you do not have that within you, what you do not have within you will kill you."

(71) Jesus said, "I will destroy this house, and no one will be able to build it . . ."⁸³

(72) A person said to him, "Tell my brothers to divide my father's possessions with me." He said to him, "O man, who has made me a divider?" He turned to his disciples and said to them, "I am not a divider, am I?"⁸⁴

76. Cf. Matt. 22:1-10; Luke 14:15-24.

77. Or: "a usurer."

78. Cf. Matt. 21:33-39; Mark 12:1-8; Luke 20:9-15.

79. Cf. Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:10; Luke 20:17.

80. Or: "The one who knows the all but is deficient in one thing has been deficient in everything" (Emmel).

81. Cf. Matt. 5:11; Luke 6:22.

82. Cf. Matt. 5:6, 8, 10; Luke 6:21.

83. Cf. Matt. 26:61; Mark 14:58.

84. Cf. Luke 12:13-14.

(73) πεχε ιϛ χε πωρς νεν ηαφωϙ̄ ἰεργατης δε σοκκ̄ σοπ̄ δε ἰπχοεις ωηα εφιανεχ' εργατης εβολ' επωρ̄ς

(74) πεχαϙ χε πχοεις οϑῆ 222 ἰπκωτε ἰτχωτε ἠῖ αλαϙ δε 2ῖ τωωτε⁹

(75) πεχε ιϛ οϑῖ 222 α2ερατοϑ 2ῖῖ προ αλα ἰνοηαχος νετιακωκ' ε2οϑῖ επηα ἰφελεετ'

(76) πεχε ιϛ χε τῖῖτερο ἰπειωτ' εστῖῖτων αϑρωνα ἰεφωωτ' εϑῖταϙ ἰηαϑ ἰοϑφορτιον εαϑ2ε αηαργαριτης πεφωτ' ετῖηαϑ οϑσαε πε αϙ† πεφορτιον εβολ αϙτοοϑ ηαϙ ἰπηαργαριτης οϑωτ' ἰτωτῖ 2ωτ'τηϑῖ ωηε ἰσα πεϙε2ο¹⁰ εηαϙωχῖ εφῖηη' εβολ πηα εηαρε χοολες τ2ηο ε2οϑῖ' εηαϑ εοϑωη' οϑλε ηαρε ϙϙῖτ τακο

(77) πεχε ιϛ χε αηοκ πε ποϑοειη παει ετ2ιχωϑ τηροϑ αηοκ' πε πτηρϙ ἰτα πτηρϙ' ει εβολ ἰ2ητ' αϑω ἰτα πτηρϙ' πω2 φαροει πω2 ἰηοϑφε αηοκ' ἰῖηαϑ ϙῖ ἰπωηε ε2ραῖ αϑω τετῖα2ε εροει ἰηαϑ

(78) πεχε ιϛ χε ετβε οϑ ατετῖει εβολ ετσωφε εηαϑ εϑκαφ εϙκῖη ε[βολ] 2ῖῖ πτηϑ αϑω εηαϑ εϑρωη[ε] εϑῖωτηη εϑδῖη 2ῖωωκ' ἰ[ε]ε ἰῖετῖῖῖρρωϑ ἠῖ νετῖηεγ147ετῖηος ηαει εη[ε]ωτῖη ε[τ]ῖηη 2ῖωϑ αϑω σεη[α]ωϛσοϑῖη τηε αη

(79) πεχε οϑς2ῖη[ε] ηαϙ 2ῖῖ πῖηφε χε ηεειατς ἰῖῖ2η ἰτα2ϙῖ 2αροκ αϑω ἰκ[ῖ]ε εητα2σα[2]ῖηοϑκ πεχαϙ ηα[ς] χε ηεειατοϑ ἰῖεητα2ςωτῖ ατῖλογος ἰπειωτ' αϑαρε2 εροϙ 2ῖῖ οϑῖε οϑῖ 2ῖ2οοϑ γαρ ηαφωπε ἰτετῖχοος χε ηεειατς ἰῖ2η ταει ετε ἰπσω αϑω ἰκῖε ηαει εηποϑ† ερωτε

(80) πεχε ιϛ χε πεητα2ςοϑῖη πκοσηος αϑ2ε επσωηα πεητα22ε δε επσωηα πκοσηος ἰπῖα ἰηοϙ' αη'

(81) πεχε ιϛ χε πεητα2ῖ ῖῖηαο ηαρεϙῖ προ αϑω πετεϑῖταϙ ἰοϑαϑηαηις ηαρεϙαρηα

(82) πεχε ιϛ χε πετ2ῖη εροει εϙ2ῖη ετσατε αϑω πετοϑῖηϑ ἰηοει ϙοϑῖηϑ ἰτῖῖτερο

(83) πεχε ιϛ χε η2ικωη σεοϑῖη2 εβολ ἰπρωηε αϑω ποϑοειη ετῖ2ητοϑ ϙ2ῖηῖ 2ῖ ῖηκῖη ἰποϑοειη ἰπειωτ' ϙηαδωλῖ εβολ αϑω τεϙ2ικωη 2ῖηῖ εβολ 2ῖῖ πεϙ'οϑοειη

9 τωωτε *Doresse; Guillaumont et al.*: τωωηε *ms.*

10 πεϙε2ο *ms.*: π[εϙ]ε2ο *Guillaumont et al.*

(73) Jesus said, "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers few. So pray to the Lord that he might send workers out to the harvest."⁸⁵

(74) He said, "Lord, there are many around the drinking trough, but there is nothing in the cistern."

(75) Jesus said, "Many are standing at the door, but it is the solitary ones who will enter the bridal chamber."

(76) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the Father is like a merchant who owned merchandise and then found a pearl. That merchant was wise; he sold the merchandise and bought for himself the single pearl.⁸⁶ You, too, seek his unfailling and enduring treasure, which no moth comes in to devour and no worm destroys."⁸⁷

(77) Jesus said, "It is I who am the light upon them all.⁸⁸ It is I who am the all. It is from me that the all has come, and to me that the all has extended.⁸⁹ Split a piece of wood: I am there. Lift up the stone and you will find me there."

(78) Jesus said, "Why did you come out into the country? To see a reed moved by the wind? And to see a person dressed in soft clothes, like your kings and your dignitaries, who are dressed in soft clothes and are unable to know the truth?"⁹⁰

(79) A woman in the crowd said to him, "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that nourished you." He said to her, "Blessed are those who have heard the word of the Father and guarded it in truth. For days are coming when you will say, 'Blessed is the womb that has not conceived and the breasts that have not given milk.'⁹¹

(80) Jesus said, "The one who has come to know the world has found the body; and the one who has found the body—the world is not worthy of him."

(81) Jesus said, "The one who has become rich, let him reign; and the one who has power, let him renounce (it)."

(82) Jesus said, "The one who is near me is near the fire; and the one who is far from me is far from the kingdom."⁹²

(83) Jesus said, "The images are visible to humans. And the light that is within them is hidden in the image of the light of the Father. It⁹³ will be disclosed; and his image is hidden by his light."

85. Cf. Matt. 9:37–38; Luke 10:2.

86. Cf. Matt. 13:44–46.

87. Cf. Matt. 6:20; Luke 12:33.

88. Cf. John 8:12.

89. Cf. John 1:3.

90. Cf. Matt. 11:7–8; Luke 7:24–25.

91. Cf. Matt. 24:19; Mark 13:17; Luke 11:27–28; 21:23; 23:29.

92. Cf. Mark 12:34.

93. "It," viz. the hidden light. Or: "he."

(84) Jesus said, "When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when you see your images that came into being before you and that neither die nor become revealed, how much you will bear!"⁹⁴

(85) Jesus said, "Adam came into being from a great power and a great wealth; and he did not become worthy of you. For had he been worthy, he would not have tasted death."

(86) Jesus said, "The foxes have their dens and the birds their nests, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head and rest."⁹⁵

(87) Jesus said, "Wretched is the body that depends on a body; and wretched is the soul that depends on these two."

(88) Jesus said, "The angels⁹⁶ and the prophets are coming to you, and they will give you what you have. And you, too, give them what is yours and say to yourselves, 'When will they come and take what is theirs?'"

(89) Jesus said, "Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not realize that the one who made the inside is also the one who made the outside?"⁹⁷

(90) Jesus said, "Come to me, for my yoke is easy and my lordship is kind. And you will find repose for yourselves."⁹⁸

(91) They said to him, "Tell us who you are, so that we may believe in you." He said to them, "You evaluate the appearance of the sky and of the earth, yet you have not come to know the one who is before you, and you do not know how to evaluate this moment."⁹⁹

(92) Jesus said, "Seek and you will find.¹⁰⁰ Yet, the things you asked me about in the past and I did not tell you then, now I am willing to tell you, and you no longer seek after them."¹⁰¹

(93) "Do not give holy things to dogs, or they might throw them on the dung heap. Do not throw pearls to swine, or else they might make it . . ." ¹⁰²

(94) Jesus said, "The one who seeks will find; the one who knocks will have it opened."¹⁰³

(95) Jesus said, "If you have money, do not lend it at interest, but give it to the one from whom you will not get it back."¹⁰⁴

94. Cf. Gen. 1:26-27; Philo, *Opif.* 69-71; LA 1.31-32.

95. Cf. Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58.

96. Or: "messengers."

97. Cf. Matt. 23:25-26; Luke 11:39-40.

98. Cf. Matt. 11:28-30.

99. Cf. Matt. 16:1-3; Luke 12:56.

100. Cf. Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9.

101. Cf. John 16:4-5.

102. Cf. Matt. 7:6. There are several possible restorations of the end of this saying: "or they might bring it to naught"; "or they might grind them to bits"; "or they might make mud of it."

103. Cf. Matt. 7:8; Luke 11:10.

104. Cf. Matt. 5:42; Luke 6:34-35.

(96) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the Father is like a woman who took a small amount of yeast, hid it in dough, and made it into large loaves of bread. The one who has ears had better listen!"¹⁰⁵

(97) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the Father is like a woman who was carrying a jar full of meal. While she was walking a great distance on the road, the handle of the jar broke off and the meal poured out behind her on the road. She was not aware of it: she had noticed no trouble. When she reached her house, she set the jar down and found that it was empty."

(98) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the Father is like a person who wanted to kill a dignitary. At home, he pulled the sword out and stuck it in the wall, to find out if his hand would be firm. Then he murdered the dignitary."

(99) The disciples said to him, "Your brothers and your mother are standing outside." He said to them, "Those here who do the will of my Father, they are my brothers and my mother. It is they who will enter the kingdom of my Father."¹⁰⁶

(100) They showed Jesus a gold coin and said to him, "Caesar's people are demanding taxes from us." He said to them, "Give what is Caesar's to Caesar, and give what is God's to God; and what is mine, give it to me."¹⁰⁷

(101) "Whoever does not hate his father and his mother the way I do cannot be a disciple of mine.¹⁰⁸ And whoever does not love his father and his mother the way I do cannot be a disciple of mine. For my mother did . . .¹⁰⁹ But my true mother gave me life."

(102) Jesus said, "Woe to the Pharisees, for they are like a dog sleeping in the cattle's feeding trough. For it neither eats nor lets the cattle eat."¹¹⁰

(103) Jesus said, "Blessed is the person who knows at what point the robbers are entering, so that he may rise up, muster his estate, and arm himself before they enter."¹¹¹

(104) They said to Jesus, "Come, let us pray today and let us fast." Jesus said, "What is the sin that I have committed, or how have I been overcome? Rather, when the bridegroom comes out of the bridal chamber, then people should fast and pray."¹¹²

(105) Jesus said, "Whoever knows the father and the mother will be called the child of a prostitute."

105. Cf. Matt. 13:33; Luke 13:20–21.

106. Cf. Matt. 12:47; Mark 3:32; Luke 8:20–21.

107. Cf. Matt. 22:16–21; Mark 12:14–17; Luke 20:21–25.

108. Cf. Matt. 10:37; Luke 14:26.

109. Possibly: "For my mother gave me falsehood."

110. Cf. Matt. 23:13; Luke 11:52.

111. Cf. Matt. 24:43; Luke 12:37–39.

112. Cf. Matt. 9:14–15; Mark 2:18–20; Luke 5:33–35.

(106) Jesus said, "When you make the two one, you will become children of humanity.¹¹³ And when you say, 'Mountain, move away,' it will move."¹¹⁴

(107) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like a shepherd who had a hundred sheep. One of them, the largest, wandered away. He left the ninety-nine and looked for the one until he found it. After all his labor, he said to the sheep, 'I love you more than the ninety-nine.'"¹¹⁵

(108) Jesus said, "Whoever drinks from my mouth will become like me. I myself will become that person, and the hidden things will be revealed to that person."¹¹⁶

(109) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like a person who had a hidden treasure in his field without knowing it. And upon dying he left it to his son. The son did not know (about it). He took over the field and sold it. And the one who bought it came plowing and found the treasure. He began to lend out money at interest to whomever he wished."¹¹⁷

(110) Jesus said, "Whoever finds the world and becomes rich, let him renounce the world."

(111) Jesus said, "The heavens and the earth will roll up before you, and the one who is living from the living one will not see death." Does not Jesus say, "Whoever has found oneself, the world is not worthy of that person"?

(112) Jesus said, "Woe to the flesh that depends on the soul. Woe to the soul that depends on the flesh."

(113) His disciples said to him, "When will the kingdom come?"¹¹⁸ "It will not come by waiting for it. It will not be said, 'Look, here it is,' or 'Look, it is there.' Rather, the kingdom of the Father is spread out upon the earth, and people do not see it."¹¹⁹

(114) Simon Peter said to them, "Mary should leave us, for females are not worthy of the life." Jesus said, "Look, I am going to guide her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every female who makes herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven."

The Gospel according to Thomas

113. Or: "sons of man."

114. Cf. Matt. 21:21; Luke 11:23.

115. Cf. Matt. 18:12-13; Luke 16:4-6.

116. Cf. Matt. 10:26; Luke 12:2.

117. Cf. Matt. 13:44.

118. Cf. Matt. 24:3; Mark 13:4; Luke 21:7.

119. Cf. Luke 7:20-21.

EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM THOMAM GRAECE

*Prologue and Saying 1**Papyrus Oxxyrhynchus 654.1-5*

οὗτοι¹ οἱ {οι} λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοὶ οὓς ἐλά-]
 λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ] ἔγραψεν Ἰουδα ὁ
 καὶ Θωμᾶ. καὶ εἶπεν· [ὄς ἂν τὴν ἔρμηνει-]
 αν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων] εὖρη, θανάτου]
 5 οὐ μὴ γεύσεται.

*Saying 2**Papyrus Oxxyrhynchus 654.5-9*

5 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς]
 μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζῆ[τῶν] τοῦ ζῆτειν ἕως ἂν
 εὖρη, καὶ ὅταν εὖρη [θαμβηθήσεται, καὶ θαμ-]
 βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει, κα[ὶ] βασιλεύσας ἐπαναπα-]
 ῆσεται.

*Saying 3**Papyrus Oxxyrhynchus 654.9-21*

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· ἐὰν]
 10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἶπωσιν ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ]
 ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ, ὑμᾶς φθήσεται]
 τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ· ἐὰν δ' εἶπωσιν ὅ-]
 τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν], εἰσελεύσονται]
 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης] προφθάσαν-]
 15 τες ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία] τοῦ θεοῦ]
 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐστ]ι [κάκτος, ὃς ἂν ἐαυτὸν]
 γνῶ, ταύτην εὐρή[σει], καὶ ὅτε ὑμεῖς]
 ἐαυτοὺς γνώσεσθα[ι, εἴσεσθε ὅτι υἱοὶ]
 20 ἐστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ζ[ῶντος· εἰ δὲ μὴ]
 γνώσεσθε ἐαυτοὺς, ἐν [τῇ] πτωχείᾳ ἐστέ]
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πτω[χεία].

The Gospel according to Thomas
The Greek Fragments

Prologue and Saying 1

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.1–5

These are the hidden sayings that
the living Jesus spoke and Judas,
who is also Thomas, wrote down. And he said, "Whoever
finds the interpretation of these sayings
will not taste death."

Saying 2

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.5–9

Jesus said,¹
"Let the one who seeks not cease seeking until
he finds; and when he finds he will be amazed, and
when he has been amazed, he will rule, and when he has ruled,
he will rest."

Saying 3

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.9–21

Jesus said, "If
those who lead you say to you, 'See,
the kingdom is in the sky,'
the birds of the sky will precede you. But if they say that
it is under the earth, the fish
of the sea will enter (it) ahead of
you. Indeed, the kingdom of God
is both inside you and outside. Whoever
has come to know himself will find it; and when you
come to know yourselves, you will realize that
you are children of the living Father. But if you will not
know yourselves, you are in poverty,
and it is you who are the poverty."

1. Or: "says," *passim*.

*Saying 4**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.21–27*

[λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς]
 οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος παλαιός ἡμε-]
 ρῶν ἐπερωτήσε πα[ίδιον ἐπτὰ ἡμε-]
 ρῶν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς ζωῆς, καὶ ζή-]
 25 σετε· ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ]
 οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι, καὶ [εἰς ἐν καταντήσου-]
 σιν.

*Saying 5**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.27–31*

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· γ[νωθὶ τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσ-]
 θεν τῆς ὄψεώς σου, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον]
 ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ-θήσε[ταί σοι· οὐ γὰρ ἐς-]
 30 τιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται],
 καὶ θεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται].

*Saying 6**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.32–40*

[ἐξ]ετάζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ]
 [λέ]γουσιν· πῶς νηστεύ[σομεν, καὶ πῶς προσ-]
 [ευξό]μεθα, καὶ πῶς [ἐλεημοσύνην ποιήσο-]
 35 [μεν κ]αὶ τί παρατηρή[σομεν περὶ τῶν βρω-]
 [μάτων]; λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [μὴ ψεύδεσθε καὶ ὄ-]
 [τι μισ]εῖται, μὴ ποιεῖτε· ὅτι πάντα ἐνώπ-]
 [ιον τ]ῆς ἀληθ[ε]ίας ἀν[αφαίνε]ται. οὐδὲν]
 [γὰρ ἐστι]ν ἀ[πι]οκεκρ[υμμένον ὃ οὐ φανερόν]
 40 [ἔσται].

*Saying 7**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.40–42*

40 [- - - μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστιν [- - -]
 [- - - λέ]ων ἔστα[ι - - -]
 [- -]ον[- - -]

Restoration exempli gratia:

[- - - μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστιν [ὁ λέων ὄν ἄνθρωπος]
 [ἔσθιει καὶ ὁ λέ]ων ἔστα[ι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀνά-]
 [θεμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ὄν [λέων ἔσθιει *et cetera*]

Saying 4

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.21–27

Jesus said,
“A person old in days will not hesitate
to ask a seven-day-old child
about the place of life, and
he will live. For many who are first will be last, and
the last first, and they will come to be one.”

Saying 5

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.27–31

Jesus said, “Know what is before
your eyes, and what is hidden
from you will be disclosed to you. For there is nothing
hidden that will not become manifest,
and nothing buried that will not be raised.”

Saying 6

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.32–40

His disciples asked him and
said, “How shall we fast, and how shall we
pray, and how shall we give alms,
and what rule shall we observe concerning
food?” Jesus says, “Do not lie, and
whatever you hate, do not do, because everything
is revealed in the sight of truth. For nothing
is hidden that will not become manifest.”

Saying 7

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654.40–42

... Blessed is ...
... lion will be ...
...

Possible restoration:

... “Blessed is the lion that a human
eats, and the lion will be human; and
cursed is the human that a lion eats ...”

*Saying 24**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 (Fragment d)*

[--- ἐσ]τιν
 [--- φ]ωτεινῶ
 [--- κ]όσμω
 [---]η
 [--- ἐ]στιν

Restoration exempli gratia:

[--- φῶς ἐσ]τιν
 [ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ φ]ωτεινῶ,
 [καὶ φωτίζει τῷ κ]όσμῳ
 [ὅλῳ· ἐὰν μὴ φωτίζ]η,
 [τότε σκοτεινός ἐ]στιν.

*Saying 26**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 recto 1–4*

[- - - - -]
 καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις
 ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος
 τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

*Saying 27**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 recto 4–11*

λέγει

5 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύση-
 ται τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ
 εὔρηται τὴν βασιλεί-
 αν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ
 10 σαββατίσῃτε τὸ σάβ-
 βατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸ(ν)
 π(ατέ)ρα.

Saying 24

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 (Fragment d)

... is ...
... of light ...
... world ...
...
... is ...

Possible restoration:

“... There is light
within a person of light,
and it shines on the entire world.
If it does not shine,
then it is dark.”

Saying 26

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 recto, 1–4

“...
and then you will see clearly
to take out the speck,
which is in the eye
of your brother.”

Saying 27

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 recto, 4–11

Jesus
said, “If you do not fast
as regards the world, you will not
find the kingdom
of God; and if you do not
keep the Sabbath as a sabbath,
you will not see the
Father.”

*Saying 28**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 recto 11–21*

λέγει Ἰησοῦς· ἔ[σ]την
 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου
 καὶ ἐν σαρκ[ε]ῖ ὠφθην
 αὐτοῖς καὶ εὔρον πάν-
 15 τας μεθύοντας καὶ
 οὐδένα εὔρον δειψῶ(ν)-
 τα ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πο-
 νεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ
 τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀν(θρώπων)
 20 ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρ-
 διᾷ αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ [οὐ] βλέπ-
 [ουσιν ὅτι *et cetera*]

*Saying 29**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso 22*

[- - - ἐνοι-]
 [κ]εῖ [ταύτ]η[ν] τ]ῆν πτωχεῖα(ν).

*Saying 30 + 77b**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso 23–30*

[λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς· ὅ]που ἐὰν ὄσιν
 [τρ]ε[ῖς], εἰσὶ[ν] ἄθεοι· καὶ
 25 [ὄ]που εἰς[τ] ἐστὶν ὁ μόνος,
 [λ]έγω· ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐ-
 τ[οῦ]. ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθο(ν)
 κάκεῖ εὐρήσεις με·
 30 σχίσον τὸ ξύλον κάγῶ
 ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

*Saying 31**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso 30–35*

30 λέγει Ἰησοῦς· οὐ-
 κ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προ-
 φήτης ἐν τῇ π(ατ)ρίδι αὐ-
 τ[οῦ], οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ
 θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς
 35 γεινώσκοντας αὐτό(ν).

Saying 28

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 recto, 11–21

Jesus said, "I stood
in the midst of the world,
and in flesh I appeared
to them; and I found everyone
drunk and
I found no one
among them thirsting. And
my soul is distressed for
the children of humans,
for they are blind in
their hearts and they do not
see that . . ."

Saying 29

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso, 22

“ . . .
inhabits this poverty.”

Saying 30 and 77b

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso, 23–30

Jesus said, "Wherever there are
three, they are without God. And
wherever there is one alone,
I say, 'I am with him.'
Lift up the stone
and you will find me there.
Split the wood and I
am there."

Saying 31

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso, 30–35

Jesus said,
"A prophet is not welcome
in his own country,
nor does a physician
perform healings on those
who know him."

*Saying 32**Papyrus Oxxyrhynchus 1 verso 36–41*

λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· πόλις οἰκοδο-
μημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον
[ὄ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ(ς) καὶ ἐσ-
τηριγμένη οὔτε πε-
40 [σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ-
[β]ῆναι.

*Saying 33**Papyrus Oxxyrhynchus 1 recto 41–42*

λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· <ὁ> ἀκούεις
[ε]ἰς τὸ ἐν ὧτίον σου, το[ῦ-]
[το κήρυξον *et cetera*]

*Saying 36**Papyrus Oxxyrhynchus 655 column 1.1–17*

[λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· μὴ μεριμνᾶ-]
[τε ἀ]πὸ πρῶι ἔ[ως ὀψέ],
[μῆ]τε ἀφ' ἐσπ[έρας]
[ἔ]ως πρῶι, μῆτε [τῆ]
5 [τροφῆ ὑ]μῶν τί φά-
[γητε, μῆτε] τῆ στ[ο-]
[λῆ ὑμῶν] τί ἐνδύ-
[ση]σθε. [πολ]λῶ κρεί[σ-]
[σον]ές ἐ[στε] τῶν [κρί-]
10 νων, ἄτι[να ο]ὐ ξα[ί-]
νει οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει. μ[ηδ-]
ἐν ἔχον[τες] ἔ[νδ]υ-
μα, τί ἐν[δύ]εσθε] καὶ
ὑμεῖς; τίς ἂν προσθ<εί>η
15 ἐπὶ τὴν εἰλικίαν
ὑμῶν; αὐτὸ[ς δ] ὥσει
ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ-
μῶν.

Saying 32

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso, 36–41

Jesus said, “A city
built on the top
of a high mountain and
fortified can neither
fall nor
be hidden.”

Saying 33

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1 verso, 41–42

Jesus said, “What you hear
in your one ear,
proclaim this . . .”

Saying 36

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 1.1–17

Jesus said, “Do not be concerned
from early morning till late,
nor from evening
till early morning, either about
your food, what you should eat, or
about your clothing, what
you should wear.
You are worth
much more than the lilies,
which neither card
nor spin. If you
have no clothing,
what will you put on?
Who might add
to your stature?
He is the one who will give
you your clothing.”

*Saying 37**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 1.17–column 2.1*

λέγουσιν αὐ-
 τῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·
 πότε ἡμεῖν ἐμφα-
 20 νῆς ἔσει, καὶ πότε
 σε ὀψόμεθα; λέγει·
 ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ
 μὴ αἰσχυρθῆτε
 [et cetera, approx. 6 lines]
 [- - - οὐδὲ φοβη-
 θήσεσθε].

*Saying 38**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 2.1–11*

λέ[γει]
 ο[]
 τ[]
 5 γ[]
 κα[]
 ν[]
 κα[]
 ημ[]
 10 σε[]

Restoration exempli gratia:

λέ[γει Ἰησοῦς·] πολλαίκις]
 ο[ὓν ἐπεθυμεῖτε]
 τ[ούτους τοὺς λό-]
 5 γ[ους μου ἀκοῦσαι]
 κα[ὶ ἔχετε οὐδε-]
 ν[ὸς ἄλλου ἀκοῦσαι]
 κα[ὶ ἐλεύσονται]
 ἡμ[έραι ὅτε ζητή-]
 10 σε[τέ με καὶ οὐ μὴ]
 [εὐρήσετέ με].

Saying 37

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 1.17–column 2.1

His disciples
said to him,
“When will you be
visible to us, and when
will we see you?” He says,
“When you take off your clothing and
are not ashamed . . .
[ca. 6 lines]
and you will not be
afraid.”

Saying 38

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 2.2–11

. . . said . . .
[lines 2–11 mostly wanting]

Possible restoration:

Jesus said, “Oftentimes
you have desired
to hear these
sayings of mine,
and you have no one
else from whom to hear (them).
And there will come
days when you will
seek me and you will not
find me.”

*Saying 39**Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 2.11–23*

[λέγει]

[Ι(ησοῦ)ς· οἱ Φαρισαῖοι]

[καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς]

ἔλ[αβον τὰς κλεῖδας]

15 τῆς [γνώσεως, αὐτοὶ ἔ-]

κρυψ[αν αὐτάς, οὔτε]

εἰσῆλ[θον, οὔτε τοὺς]

εἰσερ[χομένους ἀφή-]

καν [εἰσελθεῖν, ὑμεῖς]

20 δὲ γεί[νεσθε φρόνι-]

μοι ὡ[ς ὄφεις καὶ ἄ-]

κέραι[οὶ ὡς περιστε-]

ρα[ί].

*Saying 77**(Cf. above Saying 30)**Unidentified fragments of Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655*Fragment *e* [- - -].KO[- - -]

Fragment *f* [- - -] . . . [- - -]

[- - -]. A[- - -]

[- - -] . . . [- - -]

Fragment *g* [- - -] . . . [- - -]

[- - -] K . [- - -]

[- - -] AN[- - -]

[- - -] . . . [- - -]

Fragment *h* [- - -] . . . [- - -]

[- - -] E[- - -]

[- - -] . . . [- - -]

Saying 39

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655 column 2.11–23

Jesus
said, “The Pharisees
and the scribes
have taken the keys
of knowledge; they themselves
have hidden them. Neither
have they entered, nor have they
permitted those entering
to enter. But you,
become wise
as snakes and
innocent as
doves.”

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Agrapha

The term “agrapha” has traditionally been applied to a group of “unrecorded” sayings allegedly delivered by the historical Jesus. The term is not altogether apt, since technically speaking these sayings have indeed been recorded—otherwise we would have no access to them. And so the term is more normally taken to mean sayings of Jesus that are not found in the canonical Gospels. Even this definition is problematic, however, since it privileges books that eventually came to be included in the canon, a decision that involves theological rather than historical judgments. And so perhaps it is best to understand the agrapha as comprising sayings allegedly spoken by the historical Jesus that are recorded in documents other than the surviving Gospels (canonical or noncanonical).

In the following listing of the agrapha several types of dominical sayings have been excluded. Since the principal concern is with sayings that Jesus allegedly delivered during his lifetime, words attributed to the preincarnate or postresurrection Christ are not included (e.g., Ignatius, *Smyrneans* 3:1–2, or the sayings of such “resurrection dialogues” as the *Epistula Apostolorum*). We have also not included sayings that appear to be quotations (loose or exact) of surviving Gospel sources (such as the strings of sayings found in the *Didache* or *1 Clement*; scholars debate, of course, whether such traditions are dependent on the Gospels or not—see Koester for an alternative view). We have also not included sayings from non-Christian sources, which require extensive attention in their own right (e.g., in the Talmud and the Quran).

The three principal sources for the agrapha, then, are (1) sayings of Jesus recorded in books outside the Gospel genre (e.g., the book of Acts), (2) manuscript variations of passages found within the Gospels, and (3) Patristic citations of no longer surviving Gospels.

Most listings of the agrapha in collections of the early Christian apocrypha are notably sparse (see Hofius and Elliott); a few collections are far more extensive than what we provide here (see especially Stroker). Our listing is meant to be full and representative, but not exhaustive. We do not give duplications of

sayings (that is, additional sources that give the same saying, often in different words); normally we cite either the earliest or clearest iteration of the saying.

In the history of scholarship, much of the interest in these materials has been to uncover authentic sayings of the historical Jesus from outside the Gospels (thus Ropes, Jeremias, Hofius; this is one reason many collections are so sparse). But this is a myopic concern: the agrapha are important not only for determining what the historical Jesus might have said but also for seeing how traditions about Jesus were circulated in oral and written form in the early centuries of the church (see Koester, Stroker). These agrapha are, in other words, directly germane to the interests and concerns of the early Christian apocrypha.

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AGRAPHA

New Testament

Acts 20:35

. . . μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, μακάριόν ἐστιν μάλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν.

1 Cor. 7:10, 11b

τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσιν παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος, γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι . . . καὶ ἄνδρα γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφιέναι.

1 Cor. 9:14

οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.

1 Cor. 11:23–25

ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων, τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

Manuscript Variations in the NT

Matthew 20:28 in ms D (Cf. Luke 14:8–10)

ὁμοῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ ἀυξήσαι καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἔλαττον εἶναι. εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνήσαι μὴ ἀνακλίνεσθε εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπέλθῃ καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι· ἔτι κάτω χώρει, καὶ κατασχυνθήσῃ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσῃς εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων, ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ· σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω, καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον.

Mark 9:49 in ms D et al.

πᾶσα γὰρ θυσία ἀλλὶ ἀλισθήσεται.

Agrapha

New Testament

Acts 20:35

We must . . . remember the words of the Lord Jesus, for he himself said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

1 Cor. 7:10

To those who are married I command—not I, but the Lord: "A woman should not be separated from her husband . . . and a man should not divorce his wife."

1 Cor. 9:14

So also the Lord ordered that those who proclaim the gospel should make their living from the gospel.

1 Cor. 11:23–25

The Lord Jesus, on the night in which he was handed over, took bread, and after giving thanks he broke it and said, "This is my body that is for you. Do this to remember me." Likewise also the cup after dining, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this as often as you drink, to remember me."

Manuscript Variations in the NT

Matthew 20:28 in ms D (cf. Luke 14:8–10)

But you, seek to increase from what is small and to become less from what is greater. And when you enter in and are invited to eat, do not recline in the prominent place, or else someone more exalted than you might come in and the host of the dinner might come and say to you, "Go down lower"—and you would be put to shame. But if you recline in the lower spot and a lesser person enters, the host of the dinner will tell you, "Come up higher"; and this will be to your profit.

Mark 9:49 in ms D et al.

For every sacrifice will be salted with salt.

Mark 16:14 in ms W (Freer Logion)

κάκεινοι ἀπελογοῦντο λέγοντες· ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας ὑπὸ τὸν σατανᾶν ἐστίν, ὁ μὴ ἐὼν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀκάθαρτα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβέσθαι <καὶ> δύναμιν· διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψόν σου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἥδη, ἐκεῖνοι ἔλεγον τῷ Χριστῷ. καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκείνοις προέλεγεν ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἐγγίξει ἄλλα δεινά· καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἁμαρτήσαντων παρεδόθην εἰς θάνατον, ἵνα ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μηκέτι ἁμαρτήσωσιν, ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξαν κληρονομήσωσιν.

Mark 16:15–18 in Later Greek Manuscripts

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς, [καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν] ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν κἄν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ, ἐπὶ ἄρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν.

Luke 6:4 in ms D

τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

Luke 9:55b, 56a in K Γ Θ and Other Manuscripts

καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ οἶδατε οἴου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς· ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι.

Luke 22:27, 28 in ms D

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ἦλθον οὐχ ὡς ἀνακεῖμενος· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ διακονῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἠυξήθητε ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ μου ὡς ὁ διακονῶν.

John 8:7; 10–11 in ms D and Later Greek Manuscripts

ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν, ἀνέκλυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον. . . ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι, ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορευοῦ, [καί] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε.

Mark 16:14 in ms W (Freer Logion)

And they defended themselves saying, "This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits. And so, reveal your righteousness now." They were speaking to Christ. And Christ foretold to them, "The term for the years of Satan's authority has been fulfilled; but other terrible things draw near. And I was handed over to death for those who have sinned, in order that they might return to the truth and sin no longer, that they might inherit the spiritual and imperishable glory of righteousness that is in heaven."

Mark 16:15–18 in Later Greek Manuscripts

And he said to them, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation. The one who believes and is baptized will be saved; but the one who does not believe will be condemned. And these signs will follow those who believe. In my name they will cast out demons, they will speak in new tongues, and they will take up snakes in their hands; and if they drink anything poisonous it will not harm them; they will place their hands upon the sick and they will become well."

Luke 6:4 in ms D

On the same day, when he saw a certain man working on the Sabbath, he said to him, "O man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are cursed, and a transgressor of the Law."

Luke 9:55b, 56a in K, G, Q, and Other Manuscripts

And he said, "You do not know of what sort of spirit you are; for the son of man did not come to destroy human souls but to save them."

Luke 22:27, 28 in ms D

"For I came into your midst not as one who reclines at the table, but as the one who serves; and you have grown in my service as one who serves."

John 8:7; 10–11 in ms D and Later Greek Manuscripts

As they continued to question him, he stood up and said to them, "Let the one who has no sin among you be the first to cast a stone at her." . . . Standing up, Jesus said to her, "Woman, where are they? Has no one condemned you?" She said, "No one, Lord." Jesus replied, "Neither do I condemn you. Go, and from now on, sin no more."

Papias (according to Irenaeus, Against Heresies 5.33.3–4)

Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Ioannem discipulum domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat dominus et dicebat: venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero brachio dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botrum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit viginti quinque meretras vini.

Et cum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me dominum benedic. Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similae clarae mundaе: et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam secundum congruentiam iis consequentem: et omnia animalia iis cibis utentia, quae a terra accipiuntur, pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subiecta hominibus cum omni subiectione. . . . Et adiecit dicens: haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus. Et Iuda, inquit, proditore non credente et interrogante: quomodo ergo tales geniturae a domino perficiuntur? dixisse dominum: videbunt, qui venient in illa. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 2.92–95)

Barnabas 7:11

οὐτω, φησίν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλουσιν θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 2.40–41)

2 Clement

3:2

λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.168)

4:2

λέγει γάρ· οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι· κύριε κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.170)

4:5

εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, πῶθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.170)

Papias (according to Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5.33.3-4)

Thus the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, remembered hearing him say how the Lord used to teach about those times, saying:

“The days are coming when vines will come forth, each with ten thousand boughs; and on a single bough will be ten thousand branches. And indeed, on a single branch will be ten thousand shoots and on every shoot ten thousand clusters; and in every cluster will be ten thousand grapes, and every grape, when pressed, will yield twenty-five measures of wine.

And when any of the saints grabs hold of a cluster, another will cry out, ‘I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.’ So too a grain of wheat will produce ten thousand heads and every head will have ten thousand grains and every grain will yield ten pounds of pure, exceptionally fine flour. So too the remaining fruits and seeds and vegetation will produce in similar proportions. And all the animals who eat this food taken from the earth will come to be at peace and harmony with one another, yielding in complete submission to humans.”

... And in addition he (*Papias*) says, “These things can be believed by those who believe. And the betrayer Judas,” he said, “did not believe, but asked, ‘How then can the Lord bring forth such produce?’ The Lord then replied, ‘Those who come into those times will see.’” (*Ehrman, Apostolic Fathers* 1.92-95)

Barnabas 7:11

And so he says: “Those who wish to see me and touch my kingdom must take hold of me through pain and suffering.” (*Ehrman, Apostolic Fathers* 2.40-41)

2 *Clement*

3:2

For even he himself says, “I will acknowledge before my Father the one who acknowledges me before others.” (*Ehrman, Apostolic Fathers* 1.168)

4:2

For he says, “Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord’ will be saved, but only the one who does righteousness.” (*Ehrman, Apostolic Fathers* 1.170)

4:5

The Lord has said, “Even if you were cuddled up with me next to my breast but did not do what I have commanded, I would cast you away and say to you, ‘Leave me! I do not know where you are from, you who do what is lawless.’” (*Ehrman, Apostolic Fathers* 1.170)

5:2-4

λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτένοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.170-72)

8:5

λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.176)

12:2-6

ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος, πότε ἦξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἐν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ . . . ταῦτα ὑμῶν ποιούντων, φησίν, ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς μου. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.182-84)

13:2

λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ πάλιν· οὐαὶ δι' ὃν βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.184)

13:4

ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσιν παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι λέγει ὁ θεός· οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς. (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.184)

Justin, Dialogue with Trypho

47:5

διὸ καὶ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν· ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. (Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* 146)

5:2-4

For the Lord said, "You will be like sheep in the midst of wolves." But Peter replied to him, "What if the wolves rip apart the sheep?" Jesus said to Peter, "After they are dead, the sheep should fear the wolves no longer. So too you: do not fear those who kill you and then can do nothing more to you; but fear the one who, after you die, has the power to cast your body and soul into the hell of fire." (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.170-72)

8:5

For the Lord says in the Gospel, "If you do not keep what is small, who will give you what is great? For I say to you that the one who is faithful in very little is faithful also in much." (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.177)

12:2-6

For when the Lord himself was asked by someone when his kingdom would come, he said, "When the two are one, and the outside like the inside, and the male with the female is neither male nor female. . . . When you do these things," he says, "the kingdom of my Father will come." (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.183-85)

13:2

For the Lord says, "My name is constantly blasphemed among all the outsiders." And again he says, "Woe to the one who causes my name to be blasphemed." (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.185)

13:4

For they hear from us that God has said, "It is no great accomplishment for you to love those who love you; it is great if you love your enemies and those who hate you." (Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers* 1.185)

Justin, Dialogue with Trypho

47:5

Therefore our Lord Jesus Christ said, "In whatever circumstances I overtake you, in those I will also judge you." (Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* 146)

*Kerygma Petrou*Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.6.48

ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα, μαθητὰς κρίνας ἀξίους ἐμοῦ, οὓς ὁ κύριος ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἀποστόλους πιστοὺς ἠγησάμενος εἶναι, πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους, γινώσκειν ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστεως ἐμῆς δηλοῦντας τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅπως οἱ ἀκούσαντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ πιστεύσαντες ἀκούσαντες μαρτυρήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀπολογίαν εἰπεῖν· οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15], 456.)

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6. 5.43

διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· ἔάν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοήσας διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μετὰ <δὲ> δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μὴ τις εἴπῃ· οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15], 453).

*Clement of Alexandria**Stromateis* 1.24.158

αἰτεῖσθε γάρ, φησί, τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται. (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15], 100).

Stromateis 5.10.63

παρηγγεῖλεν ὁ κύριος ἔν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ μυστήριον ἔμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου. (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15], 368)

Exc. Theod. 2.2

διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ Σωτήρ· σῶζου σὺ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ σου. (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15], 106)

*Origen**Commentary on John 19.7.2*

τηρούντων τὴν ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ λέγουσαν· γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται. (Preuschen, *Origenes Johanneskommentar* 307)

The Preaching of Peter

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.6.48

I chose you twelve, judging you to be disciples worthy of me, you whom the Lord desired; and considering you faithful apostles, I am sending you into the world to proclaim the gospel to people throughout the earth, that they might know that there is one God, and to reveal the things that are about to take place through faith in me, the Christ, so that those who hear and believe may be saved, but those who hear and do not believe may bear witness and have no excuse to say, "We did not hear." (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15] 456.)

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.5.43

For this reason Peter indicates that the Lord said to the apostles: "If then anyone in Israel wishes to believe in God after repenting through my name, his sins will be forgiven. But after twelve years go out into the world, so that no one can say, 'We did not hear.'" (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15] 453.)

Clement of Alexandria

Stromateis 1.24.158

"For," he says, "ask for the great things, and the small things will be given you as well." (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* CS 52 [15] 100).

Stromateis 5. 10.63

For the Lord proclaimed in a certain Gospel, "My mystery is for me and the children of my house." (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* CS 52 [15] 368)

Clement, Exc. Theod. 2.2

For this reason the Savior says, "Save yourself, you and your soul." (Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* GCS 52 [15] 106)

Origen

Commentary on John 19.7.2

Keeping the commandment of Jesus, which says, "Be skillful moneychangers." (Preuschen, *Origenes Johanneskommentar* 307)

Commentary on Matthew 13.2

καὶ Ἰησοῦς γοῦν φησι διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἡσθενοῦν καὶ διὰ τοὺς πεινώντας ἐπεινών καὶ διὰ τοὺς διψῶντας ἐδίψων. (Klostermann, *Origenes Werke* 10.183)

Acts of Peter

10

Audiui enim et hoc eum dixisse: "Qui mecum sunt, non me intellexerunt."
(Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 1.58)

38

περὶ ὧν ὁ κύριος ἐν μυστηρίῳ λέγει· Ἐάν μὴ ποιήσητε τὰ δεξιὰ ὡς τὰ ἀριστερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ ὡς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἄνω ὡς τὰ κάτω καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ὡς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οὐ μὴ ἐπιγνῶτε τὴν βασιλείαν. (Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 1.94)

Apostolic Church Ordinances

26

προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται.
(Preuschen, *Antilegomena* 27)

*Pseudo-Cyprian**De montibus Sina et Sion* 13

Nam et nos qui illi credimus Christum in nobis tamquam in speculo uidemus ipso nos instruente et monente in epistula Iohannis discipuli sui ad populum: ita me in uobis uidete, quomodo quis uestrum se uidet in aquam aut in speculum . . . (Hartel, *Cyprianus* 3.117)

De aleatoribus 3

Monet dominus et dicit: nolite contristare spiritum sanctum qui in uobis est, et nolite extinguere lumen, quod in uobis effulsit. (Harnack, *Der pseudocyprianische Tractat De aleatoribus* 17)

Commentary on Matthew 13.2

And Jesus indeed said, "I was weak because of the weak, and I was hungry because of the hungry, and I was thirsty because of the thirsty." (Klostermann, *Origenes Werke* 10.183)

Acts of Peter

10

For I heard that he also said this: "Those who are with me have not understood me." (Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 1.58)

38

Concerning these things the Lord said, in a mystery, "If you do not make the things on the right like the things on the left and the things on the left like the things on the right, and the things above like the things below and the things behind like the things in front, you will not come to know the kingdom." (Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* 1.94)

Apostolic Church Ordinances

26

For he foretold to us when he was teaching: "The weak will be saved through the strong." (Preuschen, *Antilegomena* 27)

Pseudo-Cyprian

De montibus Sina et Sion 13

For we, too, who believe in him, see Christ in ourselves as if in a mirror. As he himself instructs and admonishes us in a letter of his own disciple John to the people, "So you see me in yourselves, just as one of you sees himself in the water or in the mirror." (Hartel, *Cyprianus* 3.117)

De aleatoribus 3

The Lord admonishes and says, "Do not grieve the Holy Spirit who is in you, and do not extinguish the light which shines in you." (Harnack, *Der pseudocyprianische Tractat De aleatoribus* 17)

Psalms of Heracleides 187.27–29

αἰρηθεγε ἡπεταῖχοοϋ ογτωῖ ηενεκ ρῖπταγ ἡῖχαῖτ χε ογῖτηῖ
 πετῖαχοοϋ ἡῖτηῖ πετῖαχοοϋ αραϋ (Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm
 Book* 187)

Manichaean Psalms of the Bema, Ps. 239.23–24

ρογηγ ἡῖαι ηεν ηασηγ ἡθε ἡταχοοϋ εϋτλαωε λῖω χε τῖηη αρωτῖ
 ἡθε ἡθερω ἡπετῖωηα (Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm Book* 39)

Acts of Philip

137

εἶπεν δὲ ὁ σωτήρ· ὦ Φίλιππε, ἐπειδὴ κατέλιπες τὴν ἐντολὴν μου ταύτην μόνον
 μὴ τελειώσας τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο κατασχεθῆσῃ ἐν
 τοῖς αἰῶσιν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας μὴ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας
 σου. (Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 2.2.69)

Apostolic Constitutions

4.2–3

καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται πάλιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει
 λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ’ ἐτέρων
 βουλομένοις· ἐκάτερος γὰρ ἀποδώσει λόγον κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.
 (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* 221)

*Symeon of Mesopotamia**Homily 12.17*

λοιπὸν ὁ κύριος ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· τί θαυμάζετε τὰ σημεῖα, κληρονομίαν μεγάλην
 δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἣν οὐκ ἔχει ὅλος ὁ κόσμος. (Dorries, Klostermann, and Kroeger,
Geistliche Homilien 119)

Homily 37.1

ἀλλ’ ἀκούων τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος· ἐπιμελεῖσθε πίστεως καὶ ἐλπίδος, δι’ ὧν
 γεννᾶται ἡ φιλόθεος καὶ φιλόθρωπος ἀγάπη ἢ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν παρέχουσα.
 (Dorries, Klostermann, and Kroeger, *Geistliche Homilien* 265)

Psalms of Heracleides 187.27–29

Remember what I said, between you and me on the Mount of Olives: “I have something to say but no one to whom to say it.” (Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm Book* 187)

Manichaean Psalms of the Bema, Ps. 239:23–24

He is not far from us, my brothers, as he said when he proclaimed, “I am near you, like the garment of your body.” (Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm Book* 39)

Acts of Philip

137

But the Savior said, “O Philip, since you have abandoned and not fulfilled this my commandment, that you should not pay back evil for evil, for this reason you will be held back from eternity for forty days and will not come to the place that has been promised you.” (Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 2.2.69)

Apostolic Constitutions

4.2–3

For also again it was said by him, “Woe to those who (already) have and who receive in hypocrisy, or who are able to help themselves yet wish to receive from others. For each one will render an account to the Lord God on the day of judgment.” (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* 221)

Symeon of Mesopotamia

Homily 12.17

Finally the Lord was saying to them, “Why do you marvel at my signs? I am giving a great inheritance to you, which the entire world does not have.” (Dorries, Klostermann, and Kroeger, *Geistliche Homilien* 119)

Homily 37.1

... but hearing the Lord who says: “Pay attention to faith and hope, through which love—directed toward both God and others—provides eternal life.” (Dorries, Klostermann, and Kroeger, *Geistliche Homilien* 265)

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PASSION, RESURRECTION,
AND POST-RESURRECTION
GOSPELS

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The Gospel of Peter

The third-century Origen is the first patristic author to mention a Gospel allegedly written by Jesus' disciple Simon Peter. Origen indicates that the book may have spoken of Jesus' "brothers" as sons of Joseph from a previous marriage (*Comm. Matt.* 10.17). It is not clear that Origen had actually read the book: nothing that we now know indicates that any such story was in it, and Origen also writes that the information may instead have come from a "book of James"—presumably a reference to what is now called the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (the *Proto-Gospel of James*), a book that does identify Jesus' brothers in this way. The next church father to mention a Gospel of Peter is Eusebius, who twice numbers the book among writings not accepted by the church as Scripture (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3.2; 3.25.6). On one other occasion, Eusebius discusses the book at some length, in order to show why it had been excluded from consideration from the canon.

The story involves Serapion, a bishop of Antioch at the end of the second century. Based on an account he had read from Serapion's own hand, Eusebius indicates that Serapion had firsthand knowledge of the Gospel of Peter and proscribed its use. As bishop over a large area, Serapion had made a trip among the various churches under his authority, including the church in the Syrian village of Rhossus. Upon arriving in Rhossus he learned that for their worship services the Christians there used a Gospel allegedly written by Peter. At first Serapion sanctioned the use of the book, sight unseen: if Peter had written a Gospel, then certainly it was appropriate for use in the church. After returning to Antioch, however, he learned from several informers that the so-called Gospel of Peter was in favor among a group of heretical believers known as the "Docetae."

We do not know exactly what this group was or what beliefs they held (see Kraus and Nicklas). It is usually thought that they subscribed to an alternative understanding of Christ. The term "docetism" comes from the Greek term *DOKEO*, "to seem" or "to appear," and is usually applied to christological views that maintained that Christ was not really human and did not really suffer and

die, but only appeared to do so. We know of two major forms of docetic belief in the early church. One form, associated with figures such as Marcion of Sinope, held that Jesus was not a real human being, but that he had come from heaven only in the “appearance” of human flesh. His body, in other words, was a phantasm. The other form of docetism, associated with a number of different Gnostic groups, maintained that Jesus himself was a flesh-and-blood human being, but that he was not to be identified with the Christ. The Christ was a divine being who descended from heaven and temporarily united with the man Jesus (at his baptism, for example) empowering him for his ministry of teaching and miracles. Then at the end of Jesus’ life, before his death, the divine Christ once more separated from him, leaving him to die alone. Here again, Christ only “appeared” to suffer.

We do not know which, if either, of these beliefs was held by Serapion’s Docetae. But once Serapion learned that the group revered the Gospel of Peter used in Rhossus, he obtained a copy for himself and read it. On the basis of this perusal he decided that even though most of its account was orthodox, there were some “additions” to the story that could indeed be used to support a heretical understanding of the gospel. Serapion wrote a small tractate detailing the problems of the book and sent it to the church in Rhossus, along with a letter forbidding their future use of the book.

Over a century later, Eusebius tells the story (*Ecc. Hist.* 6.12) and quotes from the letter. But he does not quote any of the problematic passages that Serapion detailed in his tractate. This is much to be regretted, because it makes it impossible to know with absolute certainty that the Gospel of Peter that has now come into our hands is the one that Serapion had read at the end of the second century. In any event, the Gospel more or less disappeared from sight for seventeen hundred years.

What we now call the Gospel of Peter was found in one of the most remarkable archaeological discoveries of Christian texts in the nineteenth century. In the winter season of 1886–87, a French archaeological team headed by M. Gréban was digging in Akhmîm in Upper Egypt, in a portion of a cemetery that contained graves ranging from the eighth to the twelfth centuries CE. They uncovered the grave of what they took to be a Christian monk, who had been buried with a book. Among other things, the book contained a fragmentary copy of a Gospel written in the name of Peter.

It is a parchment manuscript (P. Cair. 10759) of thirty-three leaves (sixty-six pages) averaging 13 × 16 cm, containing a small anthology of four texts in Greek, all of them fragmentary (the manuscript itself is not fragmentary; the works copied into it are incomplete): the Gospel of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Book of Enoch, and the Martyrdom of St. Julian. The first page is adorned with a cross; the second page starts, at the top, in the middle of a sentence: “. . . but none of the Jews washed his hands, nor did Herod or any of his judges. Since

they did not wish to wash, Pilate stood up.” Since this is the beginning of the text (after a page of decoration) and yet starts in midsentence, it appears that the scribe producing this manuscript had before him only a fragmentary text. Pages 2–10 of the manuscript contain, then, an account of Jesus’ trial, death, and resurrection, before ending, once again, in the middle of a sentence, which is followed then by two blank pages before the next text begins. It is impossible to know what else the “original” Gospel of Peter may have contained—whether it was simply a passion narrative (like the Gospel of Nicodemus, from later times) or rather a complete Gospel of Jesus’ life and ministry leading up to his passion, like the Gospels of the New Testament (so Lührmann, on the basis of his identification of other fragments belonging to earlier portions of the Gospel; see later).

U. Bouriant, in the *editio princeps*, indicated that the Akhmîm manuscript could be dated anywhere from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. Since then van Haelst’s dating, which places it somewhere from the sixth to the eighth centuries, has received wider support. G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, however, have dated it more definitively to the late sixth century (*Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period*; thus too Bernhard); most recently T. Klaus and T. Nicklas settle on late sixth or early seventh century.

The account provides us with an alternative version of the passion and resurrection of Jesus, similar in many respects to the accounts of the New Testament Gospels but with striking differences and few extensive verbatim agreements. As the opening line quoted earlier intimates, this Gospel is even more concerned than those of the New Testament with implicating “the Jews” for the death of Jesus. Here, in fact, it is not the Roman governor Pilate who orders Jesus’ execution, but the Jewish king Herod. Throughout the text “the Jews” are vilified for demanding Jesus’ death. After the crucifixion, for example, they realize just what they have done: “Then the Jews, the elders, and the priests realized how much evil they had done to themselves and began beating their breasts, saying, ‘Woe to us because of our sins. The judgment and the end of Jerusalem are near’” (v. 25). Here then is the notion, found scattered throughout Christian sources of the second and third centuries, that the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE was divine retribution for the execution of Jesus.

In addition to maligning the Jews (and exonerating Pilate), the text provides a number of narrative details not found in other Gospel accounts of the passion. On the cross, one of the robbers reviles not Jesus, but the Roman soldiers for killing Jesus. The soldiers respond by *not* breaking his legs, thus prolonging his suffering and forcing him to die in agony.

Most remarkable, and most famous, is the major episode near the end of the Gospel, an account of Jesus emerging from the tomb on the third day. The Gospels of the New Testament give no such report, but simply indicate that Jesus *had* been raised (when the women find the tomb empty). The report of

the resurrection in the Gospel of Peter, on the other hand, is its best known and most commented-on feature: for here Jesus comes forth from the tomb as tall as a mountain, with the cross emerging behind him and speaking to the heavens, affirming that the message of salvation has been proclaimed in the realm of the dead.

The author of this account writes in the first person on two occasions, once without identifying himself (“I and my companions,” v. 26), but the other time indicating that he is none other than the disciple Peter: “But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother” (v. 60). Here then is a Gospel with the marks of antiquity, written in the name of Peter. Is it the Gospel of Peter known and proscribed by Serapion at the end of the second century?

Unfortunately, since Eusebius chose not to quote the passages of the Gospel that Serapion had found potentially offensive to orthodox faith, but open to docetic construal, it may be impossible ever to know. Scholars did identify this text with Serapion’s almost immediately upon its discovery, for example, in Bouriant’s *editio princeps* in 1892. The identification was accepted without question by the host of scholars who published editions or discussions of the find soon thereafter (e.g., Robinson, Swete, Harnack). In part the identification was obvious: Serapion spoke of a Gospel by Peter, we have record of only one such Gospel in the early church, and now we have an ancient Gospel that claims to be written by Peter. Contributing to the identification, however, was the sense that the theological emphases of this text coincide with what Eusebius tells us about the Gospel, for it was thought that it was indeed a docetic text. Particularly to be noted are the statements in v. 10 that Jesus “was silent as if he had no pain” (if he had no pain, he must not have had a real body); in v. 19 his cry “My power, o power, you have left me behind” (is this the divine Christ leaving the body of the man Jesus?); the statement that on the cross “he was taken up” (Jesus’ body obviously wasn’t “taken up,” since it remained on the cross; was it his “spirit”—the divine Christ—that ascended?); and of course the resurrection narrative, where the body that emerges from the tomb is obviously not a normal but a superhuman body.

A number of scholars later in the twentieth century, however, came to question whether these passages are necessarily docetic (see esp. McCant): v. 10 indicates that Jesus was silent “as if” he had no pain—not that he had no pain. The cry in v. 19 is just a paraphrase of the cry of dereliction in Mark 15:34; and his “being taken up” may simply be a euphemism for his “giving up his spirit”—that is, for dying. Moreover, even in the New Testament Gospels Jesus’ resurrection body is not a normal human body (it can walk through walls and disappear at will, for example)—but that does not make these books docetic.

In trying to resolve these issues it is useful to return to what Eusebius indicates about Serapion and the Gospel of Peter. Nowhere does Eusebius (or

Serapion) indicate that the Gospel was actually written from a docetic perspective, only that while the book was for the most part orthodox, it was open to a docetic interpretation (hence it was used by the Docetae). Certainly the Gospel we now have before us is all that. Much of the Gospel is comparable to the Gospels of the New Testament, and there are some passages that *could* be understood docetically (whether they were *meant* to be docetic is an entirely different question).

For these reasons, the majority of scholars today see this Gospel as the one referred to by Serapion in the late second century. Assuming that this identification is correct, what is the book's relationship to the Gospels of the New Testament, and what is its date? The first issue has occupied a large number of scholarly discussions over the years, with every possible relationship being proposed: (1) that the Gospel of Peter is a pastiche of the earlier canonical Gospels with legendary accretions (most of the early commentators); (2) that its author had read the earlier Gospels and constructed his own account based on his (somewhat faulty) recollection of them (Klauck); (3) that the author was writing independently of the other Gospels and had derived his stories from the oral traditions about Jesus (Ehrman); (4) that the Gospel of Peter was based on a source that *antedated* the canonical Gospels, and that it preserved this source better than they, so that it, not they, represents the earliest form of the tradition of Jesus' death and Resurrection (Crossan). The final option has had the fewest adherents. On the other hand, since there are so few verbatim agreements with the other Gospels, it is hard to establish that the author actually used them as literary sources. And so it seems more likely that he constructed his Gospel on the basis of oral traditions and/or on recollections of accounts he had earlier read.

The question of the date of the Gospel is, of course, closely tied to the questions of whether it is the book known to Serapion and if its author was familiar with the Gospels of the New Testament. If both questions are answered in the affirmative then the book must date sometime in the middle of the second century—after the canonical Gospels and before Serapion. More recently D. Lührmann has argued that there is hard evidence for a second-century dating. In Lührmann's view, there are three other ancient fragments of the Gospel of Peter: P.Oxy. 2949; P.Oxy. 4009; and the Fayûm Fragment P.Vindob. G 2325. He dates the first two of these to the second century and the other to the third, so that if they belong to the Gospel of Peter, the book must have circulated nearly half a millennium before the Akhmîm codex. Few scholars have been convinced by Lührmann's identification of the Fayûm fragment as part of the Gospel of Peter, but his other two identifications may be correct (see introductions for each one earlier; for a contrary view see Foster, Kraus and Nicklas).

Whether or not these fragments go back to the Gospel of Peter, there are reasons for dating the text to a period after the canonical Gospels, probably some time in the beginning or middle of the second century. In particular, the heightened animosity toward “the Jews” for their involvement with the death of Jesus and the legendary accretions to the stories of his death and resurrection fit well into that time frame.

In early editions, the Gospel was divided into either fourteen chapters (Harnack) or sixty verses (Robinson). Over the years, scholars have followed the confusing convention of using both enumerations, so that, for example, 4:14–15 is immediately followed by 5:16–17. For the sake of simplicity, only Robinson’s verse divisions will be given here.

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EVANGELIUM PETRI

1. . . . τ[ῶν] δὲ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας, οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης οὐδὲ [εἰς τ[ῶν]¹ κριτῶν αὐτοῦ. Κ[αὶ μὴ] βουλευθέντων ν[ί]ψασθαι ἀνέσ[τη] Πειλάτος·

2. καὶ τότε κελεύει Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ[α]πεμθῆναι² τὸν Κύριον, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι “ὅσα ἐκέλευσα ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ ποιήσατε.”

3. Ἰσθίκει δὲ ἐκεῖ Ἰωσήφ, ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι σταυρίσκειν αὐτὸν μέλλουσιν ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλάτον καὶ ἤτησε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς ταφήν.

4. Καὶ ὁ Πειλάτος πέμψας πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἤτησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα·

5. καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἔφη· “Ἀδελφὲ Πειλάτε, εἰ καὶ μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἠτήκει, ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐθάπτομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει. Γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἥλιον μὴ δύναι ἐπὶ πεφονευμένῳ.” Καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν.

6. Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν Κύριον ὄθουν αὐτὸν τρέχοντες καὶ ἔλεγον· “Σύρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσχηκότες.”

7. Καὶ πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλον καὶ ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως λέγοντες· “Δικαίως κρίνε, βασιλεῦ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.”

8. Καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἐνεγκὼν στέφανον ἀκάνθινον ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κυρίου,

9. καὶ ἕτεροι ἐστῶτες ἐνέπτυν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ ἐράπισαν, ἕτεροι καλάμῳ ἐνυσσον αὐτὸν καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμάστιζον λέγοντες· “Ταύτη τῇ τιμῇ τιμήσωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.”

10. Καὶ ἔνεγκον δύο κακούργους καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν ἀνά μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν Κύριον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα ὡς μηδὲν³ πόνον ἔχων·

1 οὐδε εἰς τῶν *Mara*; οὐδ' εἰς τῶν *Harnack, Zahn, Vaganay*; οὐδε ἑτερῶν *Bruston*; οὐδε τις τῶν *Hilgenfeld*

2 παραπεμθῆναι *Lejay, Manchot, Mara*; παραλημθῆναι *Vaganay*

3 μηδὲν *cod.*: μηδὲνα *Robinson, Hilgenfeld, von Gobhardt*

The Gospel of Peter

Jesus Put on Trial and Mocked

(1) . . . but none of the Jews washed his hands, nor did Herod or any of his judges.¹ Since they did not wish to wash, Pilate stood up. (2) Then King Herod ordered the Lord to be taken away and said to them, "Do everything that I ordered you to do to him."

(3) Standing there was Joseph, a friend of both Pilate and the Lord. When he knew that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and asked for the Lord's body for burial.² (4) Pilate sent word to Herod, asking for his body. (5) Herod said, "Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him we would have buried him, since the Sabbath is dawning.³ For it is written in the Law that the sun must not set on one who has been killed."⁴ And he delivered him over to the people⁵ the day before their Feast of Unleavened Bread.⁶

(6) Those who took the Lord began pushing him about, running up to him and saying, "Let us drag around the Son of God, since we have authority over him." (7) They clothed him in purple and sat him on the judgment seat, saying, "Give a righteous judgment, O King of Israel!"⁷ (8) One of them brought a crown made of thorns and placed it on the Lord's head. (9) Others standing there were spitting in his face; some slapped his cheeks; others were beating him with a reed; and some began to flog him, saying, "This is how we should honor the Son of God!"⁸

The Crucifixion of Jesus

(10) They brought forward two evildoers and crucified the Lord between them. But he was silent, as if he had no pain.

1. Cf. Matt. 27:24.

2. Cf. Matt. 27:58; Mark 15:43; Luke 23:52; John 19:38.

3. Cf. Luke 23:54.

4. Deut. 21:22–23; cf. John 19:31.

5. Cf. Matt. 27:26; Mark 15:15; Luke 23:25; John 19:16.

6. Cf. Matt. 26:17; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7.

7. Cf. John 19:13.

8. Cf. Matt. 26:67–68; 27:27–31; Mark 14:65; 15:16–20; Luke 22:63–65; John 19:2–3.

11. και ὅτε ὄρθωσαν τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπέγραψαν ὅτι “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.”

12. Καὶ θεθικότες τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ διμερίσαντο, καὶ λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς.

13. Εἷς δέ τις τῶν κακούργων ἐκείνων ὠνείδισεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· “Ἡμεῖς διὰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν οὕτω πεπόνθαμεν, οὗτος δὲ σωτὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τί ἠδίκησεν ὑμᾶς;”

14. Καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσαν ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῆ ὅπως βασανιζόμενος ἀποθάνῃ.

15. Ἦν δὲ μεσημβρία, καὶ σκότος κατέσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν· καὶ ἐθουρουβούντο καὶ ἠγωνίων μήποτε ὁ ἥλιος ἔδω ἐπειδὴ ἔτι ἔζη· γέγραπται <γὰρ> αὐτοῖς ἥλιον μὴ δύναι ἐπὶ πεφονευμένῳ.

16. Καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν· “Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους;” καὶ κεράσαντες ἐπότισαν.

17. Καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα καὶ ἐτελείωσαν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.

18. Περιήρχοντο δὲ πολλοὶ μετὰ λύχνων νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν <καὶ> ἐπέσαντο.⁴

19. Καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀνεβόησε λέγων· “Ἡ δυνάμις μου, ἡ δύναμις, κατέλειψάς με;” καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη.

20. Καὶ αὐτῆς ὥρας διεράγη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς δύο.

21. Καὶ τότε ἀπέσπασαν τοὺς ἥλιους ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐσεισθη καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐγένετο.

22. Τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε καὶ εὐρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη.

23. Ἐχάρησαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ δεδώκασιν τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἵνα αὐτὸ θάψῃ, ἐπειδὴ θεασάμενος ἦν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐποίησεν.

24. Λαβὼν δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἔλουσε καὶ εἴλησε σινδόνι καὶ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς ἴδιον τάφον καλούμενον κήπον Ἰωσήφ.

25. Τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς γνόντες οἷον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἠρξάντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· “Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν· ἠγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος Ἱερουσαλὴμ.”

4. και επεσαντο *Harnack, Mara*; ανεπαυσαντο *von Gebhardt, Klostermann*; εσπευσαντο *Bruston*; επεσαν τε *Kraus and Nicklas*.

(11) When they had set the cross upright, they wrote an inscription: "This is the King of Israel." (12) Putting his clothes in front of him they divided them up and cast a lot for them.⁹ (13) But one of the evildoers reviled them, "We have suffered like this for the evil things we did; but this one, the Savior of the people—what wrong has he done you?"¹⁰ (14) They became angry at him and ordered his legs not be broken,¹¹ so that he would die in torment.

(15) It was noon and darkness came over all of Judea. They were disturbed and upset that the sun may have already set while he was still alive; for their Scripture says that the sun must not set on one who has been killed.¹² (16) One of them said, "Give him gall mixed with vinegar to drink." And they made the mixture and gave it to him to drink.¹³ (17) Thus they brought all things to fulfillment and completed all their sins on their heads.

(18) But many were wandering around with torches, thinking that it was night; and they stumbled about. (19) And the Lord cried out, "My power, O power, you have left me behind!"¹⁴ When he said this, he¹⁵ was taken up.

(20) At that hour, the curtain of the Temple in Jerusalem was ripped in half.¹⁶ (21) Then they pulled the nails from the Lord's hands and placed him on the ground. All the ground shook and everyone was terrified.¹⁷ (22) Then the sun shone and it was found to be three in the afternoon.¹⁸

The Burial of Jesus

(23) But the Jews were glad and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury him, since he had seen all the good things he did. (24) He took the Lord, washed him, wrapped him in a linen cloth,¹⁹ and brought him into his own tomb, called the Garden of Joseph.²⁰ (25) Then the Jews, the elders, and the priests realized how much evil they had done to themselves and began beating their breasts, saying "Woe to us because of our sins. The judgment and the end of Jerusalem are near."²¹

9. Cf. Matt. 27:33–37; Mark 15:22–26; Luke 23:33–34; John 19:17–27.

10. Cf. Luke 23:39–43.

11. Cf. John 19:31–37.

12. Deut. 21:22–23; cf. John 19:31.

13. Cf. Matt. 27:34, 48; Mark 15:23, 36; Luke 23:36; John 20:28–30.

14. Cf. Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34.

15. Or: it.

16. Cf. Matt. 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45.

17. Cf. Matt. 27:51, 54.

18. Cf. Matt. 27:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44.

19. Cf. Matt. 27:59; Mark 14:46; Luke 23:53; John 19:40.

20. Cf. John 19:41.

21. Cf. Luke 23:48; esp. note the variant reading in the Latin ms g¹: *dicentes: vae nobis quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra; appropinquavit enim desolatio Hierusalem.*

26. Ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐλυπούμην, καὶ τετραμένοι κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐκρυβόμεθα· ἐζητούμεθα γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς κακοῦργοι καὶ ὡς τὸν ναὸν θέλοντες ἐμπρῆσαι.

27. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐνηστεύομεν καὶ ἐκαθεζόμεθα πενθοῦντες καὶ κλαίοντες νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου.

28. Συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ὁ λαὸς ἅπας γογγύζει καὶ κόπτεται τὰ στήθη λέγοντες ὅτι “εἰ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα γέγονεν, ἴδετε ὅτι πόσον δίκαιός ἐστιν.”

29. ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς Πειλᾶτον δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντες·

30. “Παράδος ἡμῖν στρατιώτας, ἵνα φυλάξωσιν⁵ τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας], μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπολάβῃ ὁ λαὸς ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, καὶ ποιήσωσιν ἡμῖν κακά.”

31. Ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος παραδέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Πετρῶνιον τὸν κεντυρίωνα μετὰ στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν τὸν τάφον. Καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἦλθον πρεσβύτεροι καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα.

32. Καὶ κυλίσαντες λίθον μέγαν μετὰ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνήματος.

33. Καὶ ἐπέχρισαν ἐπτὰ σφραγίδας, καὶ σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ πῆξαντες ἐφύλαξαν.

34. Πρωῖας δὲ ἐπιφώσκοντος τοῦ σαββάτου, ἦλθεν ὄχλος ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς περιχώρου ἵνα ἴδωσι τὸ μνημεῖον ἐσφραγισμένον.

35. Τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἣ ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακὴ, φυλασσόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνά δύο κατὰ φρουράν, μεγάλη φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

36. Καὶ εἶδον ἀνοιχθέντας τοὺς οὐρα[ν]οὺς καὶ δύο ἄνδρας κατελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, πολὺ φέγγος ἔχοντας καὶ ἐγγίσαντας τῷ τάφῳ.

37. Ὁ δὲ λίθος ἐκεῖνος ὁ βεβλημένος ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος, καὶ ὁ τάφος ἠνοίγη καὶ ἀμφότεροι οἱ νεανίσκοι εἰσῆλθον.

38. Ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκεῖνοι ἐξύπνισαν τὸν κεντυρίωνα καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες,

39. καὶ ἐξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἃ εἶδον, πάλιν ὀρώσων ἐξελθόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τρεῖς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπορθοῦντας καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς,

40. καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν χωροῦσαν μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ χειραγωγουμένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπερβαίνουσαν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς·

41. καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λεγούσης· “Ἐκῆρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις;”

⁵ φυλάξωσιν *Robinson, Zahn*; φυλάξωμεν *Harnack, Klostermann, Mara, Klaus and Nicklas* (ms: φυλάξω)

(26) But I and my companions were grieving and went into hiding, wounded in heart. For we were being sought out by them as if we were evildoers who wanted to burn the Temple. (27) While these things were happening, we fasted and sat mourning and weeping, night and day, until the Sabbath.

(28) The scribes, Pharisees, and elders gathered together and heard all the people murmuring and beating their breasts, saying, "If such great signs happened when he died, you can see how righteous he was!"²² (29) The elders became fearful and went to Pilate and asked him, (30) "Give us some soldiers to guard his crypt for three days to keep his disciples from coming to steal him. Otherwise the people may assume he has been raised from the dead and then harm us."²³

(31) So Pilate gave them the centurion Petronius and soldiers to guard the tomb. The elders and scribes came with them to the crypt. (32) Everyone who was there, along with the centurion and the soldiers, rolled a great stone and placed it there before the entrance of the crypt.²⁴ (33) They smeared it with seven seals, pitched a tent there, and stood guard.²⁵

The Resurrection of Jesus

(34) Early in the morning, as the Sabbath dawned, a crowd came from Jerusalem and the surrounding area to see the sealed crypt. (35) But during the night on which the Lord's day dawned, while the soldiers stood guard two by two on their watch, a great voice came from the sky. (36) They saw the skies open and two men descend from there; they were very bright and drew near to the tomb. (37) That stone which had been cast before the entrance rolled away by itself and moved to one side; the tomb was open and both young men entered.²⁶

(38) When the soldiers saw these things, they woke up the centurion and the elders—for they were also there on guard. (39) As they were explaining what they had seen, they saw three men emerge from the tomb, two of them supporting the other, with a cross following behind them. (40) The heads of the two reached up to the sky, but the head of the one they were leading went up above the skies. (41) And they heard a voice from the skies, "Have you preached to those who are asleep?"²⁷

22. Cf. Luke 23:47–48.

23. Cf. Matt. 27:62–66.

24. Cf. Matt. 27:60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53.

25. Cf. Matt. 27:66.

26. Cf. Matt. 28:1–2.

27. Cf. 1 Pet. 3:19.

42. Καὶ ὑπακοὴ ἠκούετο ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὅτι “ναί.”

43. Συνεσκέπτοντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖνοι ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐμφανίσει ταῦτα τῷ Πειλάτῳ·

44. καὶ ἔτι διανοουμένων αὐτῶν φαίνονται πάλιν ἀνοιχθέντες οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἀνθρωπὸς τις κατελθὼν καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ μνήμα.

45. Ταῦτα ἰδόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν κεντυρίωνα νυκτὸς ἔσπευσαν πρὸς Πειλᾶτον, ἀφέντες τὸν τάφον ὃν ἐφύλασσαν, καὶ ἐξηγήσαντο πάντα ἅπερ εἶδον, ἀγωνιῶντες μεγάλως καὶ λέγοντες· “Ἀληθῶς υἱὸς ἦν Θεοῦ.”

46. Ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πειλᾶτος ἔφη· “Ἐγὼ καθαρεύω τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν.”

47. Εἶτα προσελθόντες πάντες ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ παρεκάλουν κελεῦσαι τῷ κεντυρίωνι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν ἃ εἶδον·

48. “Συμφέρει γάρ,” φασίν, “ἡμῖν ὀφλήσαι μεγίστην ἁμαρτίαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λιθασθῆναι.”

49. Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Πειλᾶτος τῷ κεντυρίωνι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν εἰπεῖν.

50. Ὁρθροῦ δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ, μαθήτρια τοῦ Κυρίου φοβουμένη διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ ἐφλέγοντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἃ εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι τοῖς ἀγαπωμένοις αὐταῖς

51. λαβούσα μεθ’ ἑαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθεῖς.

52. Καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἴδωσιν αὐτάς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἔλεγον· “Εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦ ἐσταυρώθη ἐδυνήθημεν κλαῦσαι καὶ κόπασθαι, κἂν νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσωμεν ταῦτα.

53. Τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσαι παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα;

54. Μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος, καὶ φοβούμεθα μὴ τις ἡμᾶς ἴδῃ. Καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα, κἂν ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας βάλωμεν ἃ φέρομεν εἰς μνημοσύνην αὐτοῦ, κλαύσωμεν καὶ κοψώμεθα ἕως ἔλθωμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν.”

55. Καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἠνεωγμένον· καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκυσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὀρῶσιν ἐκεῖ τινα νεανίσκον καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τάφου ὥραϊον καὶ περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπροτάτην, ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖς·

56. “Τί ἤλλατε; τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκεῖνον; Ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη.”

(42) And a reply came from the cross, "Yes."

(43) They then decided among themselves to go off to disclose what had happened to Pilate. (44) While they were still making their plans, the skies were again seen to open, and a person descended and entered the crypt.

(45) Those who were with the centurion saw these things and hurried to Pilate at night, abandoning the tomb they had been guarding, and explained everything they had seen. Greatly agitated, they said, "He actually was the Son of God."²⁸ (46) Pilate replied, "I am clean of the blood of the Son of God; you decided to do this."²⁹

(47) Then everyone approached him to ask and urge him to order the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing about what they had seen. (48) "For it is better," they said, "for us to incur a great sin before God than to fall into the hands of the Jewish people and be stoned." (49) And so Pilate ordered the centurion and the soldiers not to say a word.³⁰

The Women at the Tomb

(50) Now Mary Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord, had been afraid of the Jews, since they were inflamed with anger; and so she had not done at the Lord's crypt the things that women customarily do for loved ones who die. But early in the morning of the Lord's day (51) she took some of her women friends with her and came to the crypt where he had been buried.³¹ (52) And they were afraid that the Jews might see them, and they said, "Even though we were not able to weep and beat our breasts on the day he was crucified, we should do these things now at his crypt. (53) But who will roll away for us the stone placed before the entrance of the crypt, that we can go in, sit beside him, and do what we should? (54) For it was a large stone,³² and we are afraid someone may see us. If we cannot move it, we should at least cast down the things we have brought at the entrance as a memorial to him; and we will weep and beat our breasts until we return home."

(55) When they arrived they found the tomb opened. And when they came up to it they stooped down to look in, and they saw a beautiful young man dressed in a very bright garment, sitting in the middle of the tomb. He said to them, (56) "Why have you come? Whom are you seeking? Not the one who was crucified? He has risen and left. But if you do not believe it, stoop down to look, and see the place where he was laid, that he is not there. For he has risen and left for the place from which he was sent."

28. Cf. Matt. 27:54; Mark 15:39.

29. Cf. Matt. 27:24.

30. Cf. Matt. 28:11–15.

31. Cf. Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:1–2; Luke 24:1; John 19:1.

32. Cf. Mark 16:3–4.

57. Τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον.

58. Ἦν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἁζύμων, καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἐξήρχοντο ὑποστρέφοντες εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς παυσσαμένης.

59. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκλαίομεν καὶ ἐλπούμεθα, καὶ ἕκαστος λυπούμενος διὰ τὸ συμβάν ἀπηλλάγη εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.

60. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφός μου λαβόντες ἡμῶν τὰ λίνα ἀπήλθαμεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἦν σὺν ἡμῖν Λευεῖς ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου, ὃν Κύριος

(57) Then the women fled out of fear.³³

The Disciples after the Resurrection

(58) But it was the final day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and many left to return to their homes, now that the feast had ended. (59) But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and grieved; and each one returned to his home, grieving for what had happened. (60) But I, Simon Peter, and my brother Andrew, took our nets and went off to the sea.³⁴ And with us was Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord. . . .

33. Cf. Mark 16:1–8.

34. Cf. John 21:1–14.

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The Gospel of Judas

The Gospel of Judas is the most recently discovered Gospel to be published, and is arguably the most important and intriguing Christian text to appear since the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library in 1945. Details of the discovery and the mishandling of the manuscript by antiquities dealers are provided in the exhaustive account of Herb Krosney. The manuscript containing the Gospel preserves three other Gnostic works as well: the Letter of Peter to Philip, known in a slightly different version from the findings at Nag Hammadi; the (First) Apocalypse of James, also known from Nag Hammadi; and a treatise entitled the Book of Allogenes, unrelated to the Nag Hammadi treatise also called Allogenes (= the Stranger). All four texts are in Coptic, but they are clearly translations of Greek originals. The manuscript was discovered by peasants rummaging through a burial cave in the Al Minya province of Egypt in 1978; but its existence was not known to the scholarly world at large until the Swiss Coptologist Rodolphe Kasser announced its discovery and pending publication at the Eighth International Conference of Coptic Studies in Paris, in July 2004.

By this time Kasser and conservationist Florence Darbre had been at work for three years conserving the text, after it had been subject to abuse by the overly zealous and poorly informed antiquities dealers who had, over the years, torn the manuscript straight through, rearranged its pages, frozen and then thawed it, and so on. As a result of this mishandling, something like 10 to 15 percent of the contents of the Gospel of Judas have been permanently lost. But enough remains to make this one of the truly significant finds of modern times.

It is a complete Gospel, with the beginning, end, and much of the middle preserved. The manuscript itself can be dated on palaeographic grounds to the fourth century (a carbon-14 dating puts it in the late third; see Krosney). The question, of course, is when the account was originally composed. The church father Irenaeus mentions the Gospel of Judas as a document used by a group of Gnostics later known as the Cainites. Gregor Wurst, along with others, has

made a compelling case that the recently published text is the one known to Irenaeus, who was writing around 180 CE (see Wurst in Kasser, Meyer, and Wurst). Since the book had been in circulation before it came to Irenaeus's attention, a date of 140–150 CE seems plausible.

The publication of an English translation of the Gospel created a media stir in April 2006. The Gospel was seen as having wide public appeal. Not only does it contain a Gnostic revelation that explains the generation of the divine realm and the creation of this world (a cryptic revelation that, like most Gnostic cosmogonies, is difficult to unpack), it contains a number of encounters between Jesus and his disciples, principally Judas Iscariot, prior to Jesus' arrest. What was most striking to the scholars who first investigated the text is that Judas is given such a high profile in the account. He alone among the disciples is portrayed as recognizing who Jesus really is (he is not from the world of the creator). Debates over the Gospel have turned on whether Judas is portrayed as the hero of the text, the one who both knows Jesus and does his will (so Ehrman; Meyer in Kasser, Meyer, and Wurst) or if, instead, he is denigrated as an evil demon who may recognize aspects of the truth (gnosis) but is nonetheless condemned not to attain salvation (De Conick; Schenke Robinson). Quite possibly a mediating position is to be preferred, in which Judas is portrayed as a "psychic" Christian who is superior to the other disciples but is not a true "spiritual" Gnostic who will eventually ascend to the "heavenly generation" (thus Pleše).

In terms of its structure, the Gospel contains a series of dialogues between Jesus and his disciples during the Passover week, before the crucifixion. The crucifixion itself is not narrated in the account—indeed, for this anonymous author, the crucifixion is not the climax of the story of Jesus. What matters, instead, is the "secret" revelation (1.1) that Jesus delivers, as he unveils the hidden truths of salvation to his disciples, and especially to Judas. This text, in other words, embodies a Gnostic understanding of Jesus, in which it is not his death and resurrection that bring salvation, but his secret teachings. The Gospel, accordingly, ends not with the passion but with the betrayal of Judas, when Jesus' discussions with his disciples come to an end.

The tone of the Gospel is set at the first encounter of Jesus with the disciples. He comes upon them while they are sharing a eucharistic meal—that is, a sacred meal in which they are "thanking" (the meaning of "eucharist") God for their food. When Jesus sees what they are doing, he laughs, much to their dismay. But for Jesus their actions are indeed risible, for the disciples have mistakenly assumed that the creator of this world (i.e., the one who provides food) is the God he himself represents. In fact, he is not related to the creator God—as Judas alone realizes, when he confesses that Jesus comes from the realm of Barbelo, the name of a Gnostic deity known from other texts as the mother of all that exists. Judas is praised for his insight, and Jesus takes him aside to give him private instruction.

From this point on there occur a number of discussions and dialogues, none more significant than the cosmogonic revelation that takes up a large portion of the second half of the Gospel. While many readers will find this revelation bizarre and hard to understand (as well it should be, since it is part of the “secret” knowledge that only the insiders—the Gnostics—can fathom), its overarching point is not difficult to discern. There is more to this creation than meets the eye. Before the material world came into existence there evolved a higher, divine realm; the divine beings responsible for the creation of our material world were lower inferior deities: the creator of the world itself is Nebro, whose name means “rebel” and who is said to be stained with blood; the creator of human beings is his assistant, Saklas, whose name means “fool.” In other worlds, this world and the humans who inhabit it were created by a bloodthirsty rebel and a fool.

This revelation leads to a further back-and-forth between Jesus and Judas, climaxing in the key line of the text, where Jesus indicates Judas’s superiority to all the other disciples: “you will surpass them all” (a translation probably to be preferred to “you will do worse than all of them,” for which see De Conick, p. 58) “for you will sacrifice the human being that bears me.” This much-debated line may suggest that Jesus, like the Gnostics themselves, is only temporarily resident in the body; he needs to escape it in order to return, permanently, to his heavenly home. In this reading, Judas’s act is thus not a nefarious betrayal but a beneficent deed done for the Savior—whose teachings (not death) are salvific. The Gospel ends, then, with an account of the betrayal itself.

If this Gospel is quite unlike most of the others presented in this collection, it is not unlike those preserved in Gnostic documents found at Nag Hammadi. As Marvin Meyer has shown, in one of the trenchant early pieces of scholarship on the text, the Gospel of Judas is best seen as containing a version of the Sethian Gnostic myth (See Kasser, Meyer, and Wurst). At the same time, the Gospel is rich with connections to other non-Sethian writings of Christian antiquity: Jesus’ laughter is found in non-Sethian sources, the ignorance of the disciples was a key theme in the teachings of Marcion, and there are even remnants of Jewish apocalyptic thought here (see Ehrman). Still, the scholarship on this important document has just begun, and no consensus has emerged on many aspects of its interpretation.

Since this text is just beginning to be known and analyzed, we have included a fuller set of interpretative and translational notes. The Coptic text has been taken from Kasser and Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas: Critical Edition*, used with permission.

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ΠΕΥΔΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΙΟΥΔΑΣ

33 ΠΑΓΟΓ[Ο] ΕΤΖΗΓ¹ ΠΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ Η[ΤΑ] ΗΠ[Σ] ΦΑΧΕ ΗΠΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΣ [ΠΙ]ΚΑΡΙΩΤ[Η]Σ
ΠΙΖΗΤ[Ω] Π[Ω]ΝΟΥΗ Η200Υ 2Δ ΘΗ ΠΩΦ[Η]ΗΤ Η200Υ ΕΝΠΑΤΕΩΡ² ΠΑΣΧΑ

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. .]³ ΟΡ[Η] ΑΥΩ ΕΧ[Ι] ΟΥΑ ΕΡΟΦ 2Π ΠΕΥΖΗΤ: Π[Σ] ΔΕ ΠΤΕΡΕΦΗΔΥ ΕΤΕΥΗΗΤ⁴ ΔΗΗΤ
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ΗΗ ΑΥΩ ΠΤΑΚ[Ε] ΕΒΟΛ: 2ΠΗ ΔΩ ΠΗΑ: ΠΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Π ΠΑΙΩΗ ΠΤΕΒΡΗΛΩ
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1 Π2ΤΟΡ *coni.* Turner : Π2ΡΟΤ *Kasser et al., fort. pro Boh.* 3ΡΟΤ¹ *vel Boh.* 2ΟΡΤ[Ω] (2ΟΡΤ)

2 ΠΤΟΚ¹ . . [. .] . ΠΕ *Kasser et al.* : ΗΔ[Η]ΗΕ *Brankaer et Bethge*: [ΠΧΟΙC] *coni.* Nagel

3 Ε[± . . .] ΟΡ[Η] *Kasser et al.* : Ε[Χ]Ι *Brankaer et Bethge*

4 Η[Ε]Φ[± . . .] *Kasser et al.* : Η[Ε]Φ[ΚΟΗ] *vel Η[Ε]Φ[ΔΛΟΥ] coni.* *Kasser et al.*

The Gospel of Judas

33 The secret word of revelation that Jesus spoke with Judas Iscariot in the course of eight days, three days before he celebrated Passover.

Gospel Frame: Jesus' Ministry

When he appeared on earth, he performed signs and great miracles for the salvation of humankind. And since some walked on the path of righteousness and others walked in their transgression, the twelve disciples were called. He began to speak with them about the mysteries that are beyond the world and what will happen at the end. Oftentimes he would not disclose himself to his disciples, but when necessary,¹ you would find him in their midst.

First Day: Jesus Separates Judas from Other Disciples

One day he was in Judaea with his disciples, and he found them seated and assembled together, practicing godliness.² When he approached his disciples 34 as they were assembled together, seated and giving thanks over the bread, he laughed. But the disciples said to him, "Teacher, why are you laughing at our thanksgiving? Or what have we done? This is what is appropriate." He answered and said to them, "I am not laughing at you. You are not doing this out of your own will: rather, your god will receive praise through this." They said, "Teacher, you . . . are the son of God." Jesus said to them, "How do you know me? Truly I say to you that no generation will know me from the people that are among you."

Now when his disciples heard this, they began to feel irritated and angry, and to blaspheme against him in their hearts. And Jesus, when he saw their senselessness, said to them, "Why has this agitation produced wrath? Your god who is within you and his powers³ 35 have become irritated together with your souls. Whoever is strong among you humans, let him bring out the perfect human being and stand before my face!"

And they all said, "We are strong." Yet their spirits could not dare to stand before him, except Judas Iscariot. He was able to stand before him, yet he could not look him in the eye, but rather turned his face away. Judas said to him, "I know who you are and where you have come from. You have come from the immortal aeon of Barbelo, and from the one that has sent you, whose

1. Or: "you would find him as an apparition," or "as a child."

2. Cf. 1 Tim. 4:7; or: "disputing issues concerning God."

3. Or: "servants."

name I am not worthy to utter.” But Jesus, knowing that he was thinking of something lofty, said to him, “Separate from them, and I will tell you the mysteries of the kingdom, not so that you may go there, but that you may grieve greatly. 36 For someone else will take your place, so that the twelve disciples may again be complete with their god.”⁴ And Judas said to him, “When will you tell me these things, and when will the great [day] of light dawn for the . . . generation?” But when he said these things, Jesus left him.

Second Day: Jesus Appears to His Disciples Again

The next morning, after this happened, he appeared to his disciples. They said to him, “Teacher, where did you go and what were you doing after you left us?” Jesus said to them, “I went to another generation, one that is great and holy.” His disciples said to him, “Lord, which is the great generation that is superior to us and holy, but is not now in these aeons?”

When Jesus heard this, he laughed. He said to them, “Why are you thinking in your heart about the strong and holy generation? 37 Truly I say to you, no one born of this aeon will see that generation; and no angelic host of the stars will rule over that generation; and no human of mortal birth will be able to come along with it. For that generation is not from . . . that has come to be . . . but . . . the generation of people among you is from the generation of humanity . . . power, which . . . other powers . . . by which you rule.”

When his disciples heard this, they each became disturbed in their spirit, and they did not find anything to say.

Another Day: Jesus Interprets to His Disciples Their Vision of the Temple

On another day Jesus came to them. They said to him, “Teacher, we have seen you in a vision; for we have seen great dreams this past night.” He said, “Why have you . . . and have hidden yourselves away?” 38 They said, “We have seen a great house with a large altar in it, and twelve men—we would say they are the priests—and a name. A crowd attended at that altar until the priests were done presenting the offerings. As for us, we also were in attendance.” Jesus said, “What are . . .⁵ like?” They said, “Some . . .⁶ two weeks, while others sacrifice their own children and others their wives, praising and humiliating each other. Some sleep with men, others perform murder, and still others commit a multitude of sins and lawless acts; and the men who stand before the altar invoke your name. 39 And as they are occupied with all the actions of their sacrifice,⁷ that altar becomes full.”

4. Cf. Acts 1:15–26; John 17:13, 23.

5. The lacuna may be filled with the “priests,” the “crowd,” or the “people.”

6. Probably restore to “fast for,” or “abstain for”; cf. *infra*, 40.

7. Or: “deficiency.”

When they said these things, they fell silent, for they were disturbed. Jesus said to them, “Why have you become disturbed? Truly I say to you, all the priests who stand before that altar call upon my name. I tell you again that my name has been written on this . . . of the generations of the stars by the generations of people, and they have shamefully planted trees without fruit in my name.”

Jesus said to them, “It is you who are presenting the offerings at the altar you have seen. That one is the God you serve, and the twelve men you have seen are you. And the cattle brought in are the sacrifices you have seen—they are the crowd of people you lead astray **40** beside that altar. The . . .⁸ will stand up and in this way use my name, and the generations of pious people will attend him. After him, another person will stand up for the fornicators, and another will stand up for the murderers of children, and yet another for those who sleep with men and those who fast, and the rest of the people of impurity, lawlessness, and error, and those who say, ‘We are like angels.’⁹ And they are the stars that bring everything to its end. For it has been said to the generations of people, ‘Behold, God has received your sacrifice from the hands of the priests’—that is, the Minister of Error. Now, the Lord who commands is he who rules over the all.¹⁰ On the last day they will be put to shame.”

41 Jesus said to them, “Stop sacrificing . . . that you have . . . upon the altar, since they are over your stars and your angels and have already come to their end there. So let them be . . . before you and go . . . the generations . . . A baker cannot feed all creation **42** that is under [heaven].” And when the disciples heard this they said to him, “Lord, help us and save us.” Jesus said to them, “Stop contending with me. Each of you has his own star, and every one . . . **43** in the . . . he has not come . . . spring for the tree of . . . time of this aeon . . . after a while . . . Rather, he has come to water God’s paradise and the race that will last, for he will not defile the journey of that generation, but rather . . . for all eternity.”

*Jesus Discloses the Fate of Human Generations to
Judas and Other Disciples*

Judas said to him, “Rabbi, what fruit does this generation have?” Jesus said, “The souls of every human generation will die. But when these people bring

8. Possibly “the ruler of the world” (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11), or “the great bishop.”

9. Cf. Luke 20:36.

10. Or: “the universe.”

the time of the kingdom to its end and the spirit parts from them, their bodies will die, but their souls will be alive and will be taken up.”¹¹ Judas said, “Then what will the remaining generations of people do?” Jesus said, “It is impossible **44** to sow upon rock and receive fruit.¹² So also . . . the defiled race and the corruptible Sophia¹³ . . . the hand that has fashioned mortal people, and their souls ascend to the aeons on high. Truly I say to you,¹⁴ no . . . or angel or power can see those places, which this great, holy generation will see.” After Jesus said these things, he departed.¹⁵

Jesus Interprets Judas's Vision

Judas said, “Teacher, just as you have listened to all of them, now also listen to me, for I have seen a great vision.” When Jesus heard (this), he laughed and said to him, “Why do you trouble yourself, O thirteenth daimon?¹⁶ But speak up for yourself: I will bear with you.”

Judas said to him, “I saw myself in the vision as the twelve disciples threw stones at me and **45** persecuted me zealously. And I came again to the place that . . . after you. I saw a house . . . and my eyes could not measure its size. Some great people were surrounding it, and that house (had a) grass rooftop,¹⁷ and in the midst of the house there was a crowd . . . Teacher, take me inside, too, together with these people.”

Jesus answered and said, “Your star has led you astray, Judas!” And further, “No person born of any mortal is worthy to enter the house you have seen. For that place is reserved for the holy, where neither the sun nor the moon will rule, nor will the day, but they will always stand there in the aeon with the holy angels. Look, I have told you the mysteries of the kingdom **46** and I have taught you about the error of the stars. And . . . send for . . . upon the twelve aeons.”

Judas said, “Teacher, is it perhaps that my seed, too, is under the control of the rulers?” Jesus answered and said to him, “Come, I will . . . you, that . . . but that¹⁸ you may come to grieve even more when you see the kingdom and its entire generation.” When Judas heard these things, he said to him, “What gain is there for me, since you have set me apart from that generation?” Jesus answered and said, “You will become the thirteenth, and you will be cursed

11. See *infra*, 53.

12. Cf. Luke 8:6.

13. Or: “wisdom.”

14. Plural form: the disciples are present as Jesus and Judas discuss the fate of human generations.

15. Or: “they departed.”

16. Cf. *infra*, 46. The number thirteen and the term *daimon* may have both positive and negative applications in the religious and philosophical texts of the period.

17. Cf. 4 Kgdms 19:16 LXX; Ps. 128:6 LXX; Isa. 37:27.

18. Probably “I will tell you, not that . . . but that . . .”

ΑΥΩ ΚΗΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΚΑΡΧΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ Π̄ΖΔΕΟΥ ΗΝΕΖ̄ΟΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΚΑΥΩ¹³ ΗΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΠΩΩΙ
47 ΕΤΓΕΙΗΕΑ ΕΤ]ΟΥΔΑΑ:

[Π]ΕΧΑΔ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΗΠ̄Σ Χ[Ε ΑΝΟΥ] Π̄ΤΑ[Τ]Σ]ΔΒΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ Η[±] Ε]ΤΗΝΑΥ
ΕΡ]Ο]ΟΥ Η[ΔΙ . . . [. . .] Π̄ΡΩΝΕ ΦΩΟΠ' ΓΑΡ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΟΥ]Ν]ΟΣ ΗΔΙΩΗ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΤΑΡΗΧΔ
ΠΑ[Π̄] ΕΤΕ Π̄ΠΕC¹⁴ ΔΔΟΥΕ Π̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Π̄[ΔΓ]ΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΑΥ ΕΠΕΦΩΙ ΕΡΕ Π̄[Η]ΟΣ Π̄Π̄ΝΑ
ΗΔ̄Ζ̄ΟΡΑ[Τ]ΟΗ [Π̄ΖΗΤ]Δ ΠΑΙ Ε[Τ]Ε Π̄ΠΕΒΑΛ ΗΑ[ΓΓΕΛΟ]C ΗΑΥ ΕΡΟC: ΟΥΔΕ
Π̄Π[ΕΗ]ΕΥΕ Π̄ΖΗΤ ΦΑΠΔ ΟΥΔΕ ΗΠΟΥΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC Π̄ΑΛΟΥΕ [Π̄]ΡΑΗ

ΑΥΩ ΔCΟΥΗΩ̄ ΕΒΟ[Α] ΗΠΗΑ ΕΤ̄Π̄ΝΑΥ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΟΥΚΛΟ[Ο]ΛΕ Π̄ΟΥΟΗ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΔ
ΧΕ [ΧΕ] ΗΑΡΕCΦΩΠΕ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΑΠΑΡΑCΤΑCΙC: ΑΥΩ ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΠ̄ ΤΕΚΛΟΟΛΕ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΟΥΗΟΣ ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΗΗC Π̄ΠΟΥΤΕ Π̄ΠΟΥΟΗ ΑΥΩ
ΑΥΩΠΕ ΕΤΒΗΤΔ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΚΑΙCΤΟΥC ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ: ΕΒΟΛ ΖΠ̄Η ΚΑΙCΗΠΕ: ΑΥΩ
ΑΥΩΠΕ ΕΤΠΑΡΑCΤΑCΙC Π̄ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΗΗC: ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ: ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΔ: 48 Π̄ΙCΙ
Π̄[Δ]ΥΤΟΓΕΗΗC ΧΕ] ΗΑΡΕCΦΩΠ[Ε] Π̄ΙCΙ Δ[ΔΗΑC]¹⁵ ΑΥΩ ΔCΩΠΕ
[.] ΟC¹⁶ ΑΥΩ: ΑCΤ[Α]ΗΗΟ Π̄ΠΦΩΠ̄Τ ΗΦΩCΤΗΡ ΕΤΡ[ΕC]Π̄ ΕΡΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ
ΕΧΩC: ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΧΕ ΗΑΡΟΥΩΠΕ: Π̄ΙCΙ Ζ]ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΦΩΠ̄Ε: Η[Δ]C:
ΑΥ]Ω ΑΥΩΠΕ Π̄ΙCΙ ΖΠ̄Τ[ΒΑ Π̄]ΑΤΗΠΕ:

ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΧΕ [ΗΑΡ]ΕCΦΩΠΕ Π̄ΙCΙ ΟΥΑ]ΙΩΗ Π̄ΟΥΟΗ ΑΥΩ ΑCΦΩΠΕ
ΑCΤΑΖ̄[ΤΟ] Π̄Π̄ΝΕΖCΗΑΥ Π̄ΦΩCΤΗΡ: [ΕΡ̄ Ε]ΡΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩC ΗΠ̄ ΖΠ̄ΤΒΑ ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΗΑΤΗΠΕ ΕΥΦΩΠ̄Ε ΑΥΩ ΘΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΕΙ Π̄ΤΑCΤΑΗΗΟ Π̄ΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ Π̄ΗΑΙΩΗ Π̄ΠΟΥΟΗ
ΑΥΩ ΑCΤΟΥΡ̄ ΕΡΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩC ΑΥΩ ΑCΤΑΗΗΟ ΗΑΥ Π̄ΖΠ̄ΤΒΑ ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΑΤΗΠΕ
ΕΤΕΥΖΥΠΗΡΕCΙΑ:

ΑΥΩ ΗΕCΦΩΟΠ Π̄ΙCΙ ΔΔΗΑC ΖΠ̄ ΤΦΩΡΠ̄ Π̄CΗΠΕ Π̄ΤΕ ΠΟΥΟΗ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΕ
Π̄ΠΕC¹⁷ ΔΔΟΥΕ ΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΑΥ ΕΡΟC ΖΠ̄ ΗΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΧΕ ΠΟΥΤΕ: ΑΥΩ ΑC[49] ΑΥΩ¹⁸ [Ε]Τ̄Π̄ΝΑΥ []
ΘΗΚΩΗ [] ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΗΕ ΗΠ[Ε]ΕΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ: ΑCΟΥΟΗ̄ Τ[Γ]ΕΝΕΑ
ΗΑΦΘΑΡΤΟC Π̄CΠ̄Θ ΕΒ[Ο]Α Π̄Π̄ΗΗΤCΗΟΟΥC Π̄ [±] Π̄ΧΟΥΤ[Δ]CΤΕ . . [± . .
.] ΑCΟΥΟΗ̄ ΨΕCΗΟ[ΟΥC] Π̄ΦΩCΤΗΡ ΖΠ̄ ΤΓΕΗ[ΕΑ Η]ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟC
ΖΠ̄ ΠΟΥ[Ω]Φ Π̄ΠΕΠ̄Π̄Α ΠΕΦΩCΗ[ΟΟΥ]C ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ Π̄ΦΩC]ΤΗΡ

13 ΣΕΝΑΚΑΥΩ *ms.*: ΣΕΝΑ- >Kasser et al., Nagel (fort. homoioarcton)

14 Π̄ΠΕC Kasser et al.: Π̄ΠΕΩ *coni.* Kasser et al. (Funk)

15 Δ[ΔΗΑC] Kasser et al., *suppl.* Plisch: κ[ΕΔΩΗ] Brankær et Bethge

16 [.] ΟC *ms.*: [Π̄ΙCΙ ΤΕΠΡΟΟΔ]ΟC Kasser et al., *suppl.* Turner: [Π̄ΘΕ Π̄ΤΑCΧΟ]ΟC Nagel

17. Π̄ΠΕC Kasser et al.: Π̄ΠΕΩ *coni.* Kasser et al. (Funk)

18 ΑΥΩ ΑC ΑΥΩ Kasser et al.: [ΑΥΩ ΑC] ΑΥΩ *coni.* Kasser et al.

by the remaining generations, and you will come to rule over them. In the last days they will . . . you shall not ascend¹⁹ on high 47 to the holy generation.”

Jesus' Revelatory Monologue: The Mystery of Creation

Jesus said, “Come, I will teach you about the things . . . that human . . . will see. For there exists a great and boundless aeon, whose size no angelic generation could see, in which is the great Invisible Spirit, that no eye of angel has seen and no thought of the mind comprehended,²⁰ and which was never called by any name.

And a luminous cloud appeared there. And he²¹ said, ‘Let an angel come into being as my attendant.’ And from the cloud there came forth a great angel, the Self-Originate, the god of light. And because of him, another four angels came into being from another cloud, and they came to be as attendants for the angelic Self-Originate. And 48 the Self-Originate said, ‘Let . . .²² come into being,’ and . . . came to be.²³ And he created the first luminary to rule over it,²⁴ and he said, ‘Let angels come into being to serve it,’ and countless myriads came to be.

And he said, ‘Let a luminous aeon come into being,’ and it came to be. He established the second luminary to rule over it, along with countless myriads of angels to render service. This is how he created the rest of the aeons of light, and he made them rule over them. And he created for them countless myriads of angels for their assistance.

And Adamas was in the first cloud of light, which no angel could see among all those called ‘God.’ And he did 49 . . . that . . . the image . . . and after the likeness of this angel he revealed the incorruptible generation of Seth . . . the twelve . . . twenty-four . . . He revealed seventy-two luminaries in the incorruptible generation by the will of the Spirit. The seventy-two luminaries,

19. All letter traces of this difficult passage have been deciphered, but its meaning remains ambiguous. The National Geographic critical edition (Kasser and Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas*, 21 fn. 25) follows Nagel, “Das Evangelium,” 249n. 108, and suggests that something might have dropped out by homoiarcton: “In the last days they <will ---> to you, and (that?) you will not ascend on high to the holy [generation].” As it stands, the extant manuscript text yields two possible translations: (1) “In the last days they will utter a curse [cf. Matt. 26:74; Mark 14:71]. You shall not ascend on high. . .” (2) “In the last days they will utter a curse that you may not ascend on high.” If the former, then Jesus prohibits Judas’s ascent into the spiritual realm; if the latter, Jesus only announces that the others will try to prevent Judas from ascending.

20. Cf. 1 Cor. 2:9.

21. Or: “it,” viz., the Invisible Spirit.

22. Possibly “another aeon,” or “Adamas.”

23. Possibly “the procession occurred,” or “it came to be as he said.”

24. Or: “him.”

α[ΥΟ]ΥΟΗΩ̄ ΤΞ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Π̄ΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΖΗ ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΗΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΗ [2]Η ΠΟΥΨΩ Π̄ΠΕΠ̄Α
 ΧΕ ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ Π̄ΔΙ ΤΕΥΗΠΕ Π̄ΤΟΥ ΕΠΟΥΑ

ΑΨΩ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ ΠΗΠ̄ΤΣΗΟΥΣ ΗΑΩΗ Π̄ΠΗΠ̄ΤΣΗΟΥΣ Π̄ΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΑΨΩ
 ΚΑΤΑ ΔΩΗ ΝΗΝ ΣΟΟΥ ΠΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ Π̄ΔΙ ΨΕΨΣΗΟΥΣ ΠΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ:
 ΗΠ̄ΕΨΨΕΨΣΗΟΥΣ Π̄ΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΑΨΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ: [50] Π̄Π̄ΗΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 Π̄ΣΤ]ΕΡΕΩΗΑ [ΧΕ ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ] ΗΔΙ ΤΞ̄ Π̄ΣΤΕΡΕΩΗΑ: Π̄ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤ̄ [ΗΑΥ ΟΥ]ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ
 ΗΠ̄ ΟΥΝΗΠ̄ΗΟΣ Η]ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Η]Δ]ΤΗΠΕ ΕΥΕΘΟΥ ΗΠ̄ ΟΥΨΩΠ̄]Ε ΕΤΙ ΔΕ
 ΖΠ̄ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ [ΟΗ Π̄Π̄Π̄Α ΕΥΕ]ΟΥΟΥ ΗΠ̄ ΟΥΨΩΠ̄]Ε ΗΗΔ]ΩΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΗΠ̄ Η]ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ
 ΗΠ̄ ΗΕΥ]Σ]ΤΕΡΕΩΗΑ:]

ΠΗΝΗΨΕ ΔΕ Π̄ΗΑΤΗΟΥ ΕΤ̄ΗΗ]Δ]Υ: ΕΨΑΥΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ [Χ]Ε ΚΟΣΗΟΣ
 ΧΕ ΤΕΦΘΟΡΑ [Ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΗ ΠΩΤ ΗΠ̄ ΠΕΨΨΕΨΣΗΟΥΣ Π̄ΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΕΤ̄ΗΕΝΑΔ:
 Π̄ΠΑΥΤΟΥΕΝΗΣ ΗΠ̄ ΠΕΨΨΕΨΣΗΟΥΣ Π̄ΗΑΩΗ: Π̄Η]Δ] ΗΤΑΔΟΥΗΖ ΕΒΟΛ Π̄ΖΗΤ̄
 ΗΔΙ Π̄ΩΡΠ̄ Π̄ΡΩΗΕ: ΗΠ̄ Π̄ΕΔ]ΥΗΑΜΙΣ ΗΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΗ:

ΠΑΩΗ ΔΕ Π̄ΤΑΔΟΥΗΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠ̄ ΤΕΓΓΕΝΕΑ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΑΠΕ
 Π̄ΤΕΓ]Η]Ω]ΣΙΣ Π̄ΖΗΤ̄ ΗΠ̄ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΨΑΥΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΔ ΧΕ [51] Π̄Α .

[. . . .]¹⁹ ΧΕ ΗΑΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ Π̄]ΔΙ ΗΠ̄Τ]ΣΗΟΥΣ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ: [ΕΥΡ̄ Ε]ΡΟ ΕΧ̄Π̄ ΠΕΧΛΟΣ
 ΗΠ̄ Δ]ΗΠ̄ΤΕ (:) ΑΨΩ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ ΑΔΟΥ]ΥΗΖ Ε]ΒΟΛ Π̄ΤΑΠΕ Π̄ΔΙ ΟΥΑ]ΓΓΕΛΟΣ]
 ΕΡΕ]Π]ΕΔ]Ω ΨΟΥΟ ΚΡ]ΩΗ] ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕΨΨΕΠΕ ΔΕ Ε]Δ]ΧΟΥ]Ζ] Π̄ΣΗΟΥ ΕΟΥΠ̄ΤΑΔ
 Π̄ΗΑΥ Η]ΟΥΡ]ΔΗ ΧΕ ΝΕΒΡΩ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ [Π̄Τ]ΑΥΖΕΡΗΗΗΕΥΕ Π̄ΗΟΥ ΧΕ
 ΑΠ̄]ΟΣ]ΤΑΤΗΣ ΖΠ̄ΚΟΟΥ Ε ΔΕ ΧΕ [Δ]Δ]Δ]Δ]Δ]Δ] ΑΨΩ ΟΗ ΑΚΑΔ]ΓΓΕΛ]ΟΣ] ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ
 [2]Π̄ ΤΑΠΕ ΧΕ ΣΑΚΑΔ]Σ ΝΕΒΡΩ Δ]Ε] ΑΔ]ΤΑΜΙΟ Π̄ΣΟΟΥ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ] ΑΨΩ ΣΑΚΑΔ]
 ΕΤΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΑΨΩ ΗΑΙ ΑΥΧΠΟ Π̄ΗΗΤΣΗΟΥΣ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΖΗ Π̄Π̄ΗΟΥΕ ΑΨΩ
 ΑΥΧΙ ΠΟΥΝΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΖΠ̄ Π̄Π̄ΗΟΥΕ:

ΑΨΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ Π̄ΔΙ Π̄Π̄ΤΣΗΟΥΣ ΗΑΡΧΩΗ ΗΠ̄ Π̄ΗΗΤΣΗΟΥΣ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΕ
 ΗΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ Π̄ΝΩΤ̄Π̄ [52] [. . . .] . Π̄ΣΕ [. . . .] ΓΕ]Π̄ΕΑ
 [. . . .] Ε Π̄:]ΤΟΥ Π̄]Δ]ΓΓΕΛΟΣ: Π̄ΩΡΠ̄ [ΠΕ Σ]ΗΘ ΠΕΤΕΨΑΥΗΟΥΤΕ
 Ε]ΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΕΧ̄: Π̄Π̄Ε]Σ]ΗΑ]Υ ΠΕ ΖΔΡΗΑΘΩΘ̄ ΕΤΕ [.] Ε:
 Π̄Π̄Ε]Ζ:]ΨΟΗΠ̄]Τ ΠΕ Γ̄Δ]Δ]Δ]Δ]Δ] Π̄Π̄Ε]Ζ]Τ]ΟΥ] ΠΕ ΙΩΒΗΠ̄: Π̄Π̄Ε]Ζ]ΤΟΥ [Π]Ε Δ]Δ]ΩΗΔ]ΟΣ]:
 ΗΑΕΙ ΠΕ Π̄]ΟΥ] Π̄ΤΑΥΡ ΕΡΟ ΕΧ̄Π̄ ΔΗΠ̄Τ]Ε:] ΑΨΩ Π̄ΩΡΠ̄ ΕΧ̄Π̄ ΠΕΧΛΟΥ]Σ]:

19 Π̄ΔΙ] : *Kasser et al.* : Π̄ΔΙ ΗΛΕΛΗΘ] *Brunkaer et Bethge*

for their part, revealed three hundred sixty luminaries in the incorruptible generation by the will of the Spirit, so that their numbers should be five for each.

And their Father consists of the twelve aeons of the twelve luminaries, with six heavens for each aeon, so that there might be seventy-two heavens for the seventy-two luminaries, and for each 50 of them five firmaments, so that there might be three hundred sixty firmaments.²⁵ They were granted authority and a great host of countless angels, for glory and service, and in addition virgin spirits as well, for glory and service of all the aeons and the heavens and their firmaments.

Now, the multitude of those immortal beings is called 'cosmos'—that is, corruption—by the Father and the seventy-two luminaries that are with the Self-Originate and his seventy-two aeons. There the first human being appeared together with his incorruptible powers.

Now, the aeon that appeared with his generation, the one in whom are the cloud of knowledge and the angel, is called 51 El.²⁶ . . . aeon . . . After these things he said . . .²⁷ 'Let twelve angels come into being to rule over chaos and the underworld.' And look, from the cloud there appeared an angel, whose face breathed out fire, and whose appearance was defiled with blood. His name was Nebro, meaning 'rebel' in translation,²⁸ but other people call him Ialdabaoth. And another angel, Saklas, also came forth from the cloud. Nebro then created six angels, and Saklas,²⁹ to be attendants. And these gave birth to twelve angels in the heavens, and they each received a share in the heavens.

And the twelve rulers spoke with the twelve angels, 'Let each of you 52 . . . and let them . . . generation . . . five angels.'

The first is Seth, who is called Christ;
the second is Harmathoth, who . . .
the third is Galila;
the fourth is Iobel;
the fifth is Adonaïos.

These are the five who have ruled over the underworld, and first over chaos.

25. All of these numbers have a clear astrological significance, denoting the hierarchy of heavenly beings, from twelve zodiacal constellations and seventy-two pentads (i.e., the stars presiding over the Egyptian week of five days) down to three hundred sixty zodiacal *monomoiriai*.

26. Possibly a variant form of Eleleth.

27. Possibly "Eleleth."

28. In Gos. Eg. (NCH III.2 pp. 56–57), Nebruel is a great feminine demon who mates with Saklas and produces twelve aeons, and is probably related to Nebrod, "the first on earth to be a giant" (Gen. 10:8–12 LXX), whose Hebrew name, viz., Nimrod, may mean "rebel."

29. The Coptic construction is unclear and may be rendered in the following ways: "Nebro and Saklas together created six angels"; "Nebro created six angels besides Saklas," i.e., the total of seven angels; "Nebro created six angels, and so did Saklas," i.e., they each created six angels, for a total of twelve.

ΤΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΗΣΙ ΣΑΚΛΑ[Σ] Π̄ΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΕ: ΗΑΡΗΤΑΝΙΟ ΠΟΥΡΩΝΕ [ΚΑ]ΤΑ
 Π̄ΝΗ ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΙΚΩ[Η] Π̄ΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΥΠΛΑССА ΗΑΛΛΗ ΔΥΩ ΤΕΦΟΖ̄ΗΝΕ ΕΥΖΑ
 ΕΦΑΔΗΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΣ Ζ̄Π̄ ΤΑΗΠΕ ΧΕ Ζ̄ΩΠ̄ Ζ̄ΡΑΕΙ ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Π̄ Π̄ΒΕΙΡΑΗ ΕΡΕ Π̄ΓΕΝΕΑ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ Φ̄Π̄ΝΕ Π̄ΣΩΦ: ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ Π̄ΝΟΟΥ ΣΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ Π̄ΝΕΥΡΑΗ:
 [ΣΑ]ΚΛΑ ΔΕ Π̄Π̄ [53] ΟΥΕΖ [ΣΑ]ΖΗΕ] ΕΠ̄Η[ΤΙ]
 Π̄ΓΕΗ[ΕΑ] ΤΑΕΙ . . [. . .] . [] ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΗΑΔ Π̄ΒΙ
 Π̄[ΔΡΧΩΗ] ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΚΩΗΖ̄ ΦΩΠ[Ε ± . . .]²⁰ Π̄ΟΟΥΕΩ Π̄ ΗΕΚΩΗ[ΡΕ:]

ΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΔ Π̄ΙΤ̄ [ΧΕ ΟΥ] ΠΕ Π̄ΕΖΟΥΟ ΕΤΦΑΩΗ[Ζ] Π̄ΒΙ [Π]ΡΩΗ[Ε]:
 ΠΕΧΑΔ [Π̄ΒΙ] Π̄ΗC ΧΕ ΑΖ̄ΡΟΚ̄ ΚΡ [Φ]Π̄ΗΡΕ [Χ]Ε ΑΛΛΗ Π̄ ΤΕΦΓΕΝΕΑ Π̄Τ[Δ]ΥΧΙ
 ΠΕΦΟΥΕΩ Ζ̄Π̄ ΟΥΗΠ[Ε] Ζ̄Π̄ Π̄ΝΑ Π̄ΤΑΥΧΙ Π̄ΤΕΦΗΗ[ΤΕ]ΡΟ Π̄ΖΗΤ̄C Ζ̄Π̄ ΟΥΗΠ̄²¹ Π̄ Η
 ΠΕΦΑΡΧΩΗ:

ΠΕΧΑΔ ΗΣΙ Ι[ΟΥ]ΔΑΣ Π̄ΙΤ̄ [Χ]Ε ΦΑΠ̄Π̄ Π̄ΡΩΗΕ ΝΟΥ: ΠΕΧΑΔ ΗΣΙ Π̄ΙΤ̄ ΧΕ
 ΘΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΕΙ Π̄ΤΑΠ̄ΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΗΕ Π̄ΗΧΑΗΛ Ε† Π̄ΗΕΠ̄Π̄Δ Π̄ΡΩΗΕ ΗΑΥ
 ΕΥΦ̄Π̄ΦΕ ΕΠΕΥΦΑΠ: Π̄ΗC ΔΕ Π̄ΤΑΦΟΥΕΖ̄ ΣΑΖΗΕ <Ε>ΓΑΒΡΗΛ Ε† Π̄ΗΕΠ̄Π̄Δ Π̄ΤΗC
 Π̄ΓΕΝΕΑ ΗΑΤ̄ΡΟ ΠΕΠ̄Π̄Δ Π̄ ΤΕ†ΥΧΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΡΕ Π̄Κ[ΕC]ΕΠΕ Π̄ΗΕ†ΥΧΗ [5]4
 [] ΤΟΥ [] ΟΥΟΗ [] Π̄ΕΧΑC []
 Ε . . . ΕΧ [. . .] ΕΚΩΤΕ [] . Π̄Π̄Δ ΗΖ̄Π̄ΤΗΥΤ̄Π̄: [Π̄ΤΑ]Π̄ΤΡΕΦΟΥΩΖ̄ Ζ̄Π̄
 ΤΒΕΙ[ΣΑΡ]Ξ̄ Ζ̄Π̄ Π̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Π̄Π̄ΔΓΓΕ[ΛΟC]: Π̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΑΥ†[Ρ]ΕΥ[† Τ]ΕΓΗΩCΙC
 ΗΑΛΛΗ Η[Π] ΝΕ†[Π̄]Ε[Η]ΑΔ Ζ̄Π̄[Α Χ]Ε ΝΕΥΡ̄ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΟ[Υ] Π̄ΒΙ Η[Ε]ΡΩΟΥ
 Π̄Π̄ΕΧΑC Η[Π̄] ΔΗΠ̄ΤΕ:

ΙΟΥΔΑΣ [ΔΕ] Π̄ΕΧΑΔ Η[Π̄]Π̄ΙΤ̄ ΧΕ ΕΥΗΔΡ [ΟΥ] ΔΕ Π̄ΒΙ Π̄ΓΕ<Π̄>Α ΕΤ̄Π̄ΗΑΥ:
 ΠΕΧΑΔ Π̄ΒΙ Π̄ΙΤ̄ ΧΕ ΔΑΗΦC †ΧΩ Π̄ΗC ΗΠ̄Τ̄Π̄ ΧΕ ΗCΙΟΥ ΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟ[Α] ΕΧ̄Π̄
 ΗΑΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ζ̄ΟΤΑΗ ΔΕ ΕΦΦΑΗΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Π̄ΝΕΦΟΥΕΩ Π̄ΤΑΥΤΟΥΟΥ ΗΑΔ
 Π̄ΒΙ ΣΑΚΛΑC Φ̄Π̄Η Π̄ΒΙ Π̄ΕΥΖΟΥΕΓ Π̄CΙΟΥ Π̄ Π̄ΓΕΝΕΑ: ΑΥΩ Π̄ΝΗΤΑΥΧΟΥΟΥ
 Π̄CΕΧΟΚΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ: ΤΟΤΕ ΣΕΝΑΠΟΡΗΕΥΕ Ζ̄Π̄ ΠΑΡΑΗ ΑΥΩ Π̄CΕΝΟΥΟΥ[Τ]
 Π̄ΝΕΥΦΗΡΕ 55 ΑΥΩ Η[ΣΕ] ΑΥΩ Η[] [. . .] ΗΥ
 [] (about 3 lines missing) [. . .] ΗΠ . [. . .] ΕΒΟ[Α Ζ̄Π̄Η . [. . .] [. . .] Ζ̄Π̄ΖΑΛ
 Π̄CΑΚΛΑC [.] Τ̄ΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΡ̄ ΗΦ̄ΒΕ [ΟΗ Ζ̄Π̄] Π̄ΑΡΑΗ ΑΥΩ (ΑΥΩ) Φ̄ΗΑΡ Ε[ΡΟ Π̄ΒΙ]
 Π̄ΚΕCΙΟΥ ΕΧ̄Π̄ Π̄ΝΕΖ̄Π̄Π̄Τ[ΦΩΗ]ΤΕ ΗΑΩ(Η)

20 ΦΩΠ[Ε ± . . .] *Kasser et al.*: ΦΩΠ[Ε ΗΑΚ] *coni. Nagel*

21 Ζ̄Π̄ ΟΥΗΠ̄ *ms.*: *secl. Kasser et al.*

Then Saklas said to his angels, 'Let us create a human being after the likeness and after the image.'³⁰ And they molded Adam and his wife Eve, who in the cloud is called 'Zoe.'³¹ For by this name all generations greet him; and each of them calls her with their own names. Now, Saklas did not **53** command . . . except . . . the generations . . . this . . . And the ruler said to him, 'Your life shall belong . . .'³² and your children for a time.'³³

The Dialogue Resumed: The Destiny of Humankind and Judas

Then Judas said to Jesus, "What is the longest that the human being will live?" Jesus said, "Why are you surprised that Adam, along with his generation, received his time numerically, considering that³⁴ he received his kingdom commensurably with his ruler?"

Judas said to Jesus, "Does the human spirit die?" Jesus said, "It is like this. God ordered Michael³⁵ to grant the spirits of people to them as a loan, while they serve. But the Great One ordered Gabriel to grant spirits to the great generation with no king—the spirit along with the soul.³⁶ For this reason, the rest of the souls **54** . . . light . . . chaos . . . around . . . spirit within you,³⁷ which you have made to dwell in this flesh from³⁸ the generations of angels. But God caused knowledge to be granted to Adam and those with him, so that the kings of chaos and the underworld might not rule over them."

Judas said to Jesus, "So what will those generations do?" Jesus said, "Truly I say to you,³⁹ the stars bring to completion all of them. And when Saklas completes his span of time that was allotted to him, their first star will come with the generations, and they will bring to fulfillment what has been said. Then they will fornicate in my name and slaughter their children,⁴⁰ **55** and they will . . . and . . .'⁴¹ from . . . servants of Saklas . . . all . . . committing sins in my name.⁴² And your star will rule over the thirteenth aeon.'⁴³

30. Cf. Gen. 1:27.

31. Cf. Gen. 3:20.

32. Probably "to you."

33. Cf. Gen. 3:22.

34. Lit. "in the place where"; but see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939) 154a–b.

35. Cf. Dan 10:31, 21; 12, 1.

36. Cf. supra, 43.

37. Plural.

38. Or: "among."

39. Plural.

40. Cf. supra, 38–39.

41. Possibly "and they will sleep with men, and they . . ."

42. "From . . . name"; recently restored by Wurst, "Gospel of Judas."

43. Cf. supra, 44, 46.

ἡἸΗΣΩΣ ΔΕ ΑΔ[ΙΣΩΒ]Ε ΠΙΣΙ ἸΗΣ[Χ] ΔΙ Π[ΕΧ]ΑΔ Π[Ι]ΔΙ ἸΟΥΔΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΣΔΩ [ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ
ΚΩΒΕ ΠΣΩΗ:] ΑΔΟΥΩ[ΩΠ ΠΙΣΙ ἸΗΣ ΠΕΧΑΔ Χ]Ε ΒΕΙΣΩ[ΒΕ ΠΣΩΤ]Η Δ[Η: ΔΑ]Δ
[Π]ΣΑ ΤΕΠΛΑΗΗ ἸΗΣΙΟΥ Χ[Ε] ΠΕΙΣΟΟΥ ΠΣΙΟΥ ΠΛΑΗΑ ΗΠ ΠΕΒΙ[ΟΥ
ΠΠΟΛΕΗΙΣΤΗΣ ΔΥΩ ΗΔΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΤΑΚΟ ΗΠ ΗΕΥΚΤΙΣΑ:

ἸΟΥΔΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΠΙΠΣ ΧΕ ΩΤ ΕΥΗΑΡ ΟΥ ΠΙΣ ΗΕΠΤΑΥΧΩΚΗ ΩΠ ΠΕΚΡΑΗ:
ΠΕΧΑΔ ΠΙΣ ΠΣ ΧΕ ΔΑΗΘΩΣ ΤΧΩ ΗΗΟ[ΙΣ ΗΑΚ] ΧΕ ΠΕΒΙΧΩΚΗ 56 [2Π]
ΠΑΡΑΗ [] ΗΗ [] Π [. . .] (about 3 lines missing)
[. . .] [. . .] [ΤΧΩ Π]ΗΟΣ ΗΗΤΠ ΧΕ [. . .] . . . [. . .] ΔΙΧ Η[Ρ]ΩΗΕ
ΕΩ [. . .] ΗΟΥ [. . .] . ΒΕ ΕΡΟΙ: ΔΑΗΘΩΣ [ΤΧΩ Π]ΗΟΣ ΗΑΚ' ἸΟΥΔΑ ΧΕ
Η[ΕΤΤ]ΔΛΕ ΘΥΣΙΑ ΕΩΡΑΙ ΗΣΑΚΑΔ[ΙΣ] ΟΥΤ [] ΧΕ ΗΩ []
ΧΠ Π [] ΡΟΥ . [. . .] [] 2ΩΒ ΗΗ Ε[Υ]ΩΟΥ ΗΤΟΚ
ΔΕ ΚΗΑΡ ΩΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΡΩΗΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡ ΦΟΡΕ ΠΗΟΒΙ ΚΗΑΡ ΘΥΣΙΑΣΕ
ΠΗΟΔ ΗΔΗ ΑΠΕΚΤΑΠ ΧΙΣΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΚΩΗΤ ΑΠΗΟΥΩ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΚΣΙΟΥ ΑΔΧΩΒΕ ΑΥΩ
ΠΕΚΩΗΤ Δ[. . .] ΤΕ

5[7] ΔΑΗΘΩΣ ΤΧΩ ΠΗΟΣ ΗΑΚ ΧΕ] ΗΕΚΩΔΕΟ[Υ] Ω
Π[. . .] [] ΩΠΠΕ [] . . . Ο [] Ω
[] ΗΕ: [] ΑΩ Δ]ΩΗ []
ΟΟΥ [] . [. . .] [. . .] [] ΠΑΡ[ΧΩΗ] ΕΔΩΩΤΕ²² ΕΒΟΛ: ΔΥΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΟΗΑΧΙΣΕ
ΠΙΣ Π[Υ]ΠΟΣ: ΗΤΗΟΣ ΗΓΕΗΕΑ Π[Δ]ΛΑΗ ΧΕ ΩΔ ΤΕΩΠ ΠΤΠΕ ΗΠ [Π]ΚΑΩ ΗΠ
ΗΔΓΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΩΟ[Π Π]ΙΣ ΤΓΕΗΕΔ ΕΤΠΗΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΠΠΗ ΗΔΩΗ: ΕΙΣ ΩΗΗΤΕ ΑΥΧΕ
ΩΩ[Β] ΗΗ ΕΡΟΚ ΟΙ ΕΙΑΤΚ ΕΩΡΑΒΙ ΗΚ[Η]ΔΥ ΕΤΣΗΠ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΟΗ ΕΤΠΩΗΤΕ: ΑΥΩ
ΠΣΙΟΥ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΣΙΟΥ ΕΤΟ ΠΠΡΟΗΓΟΥΗΕΗΟΣ ΠΤΟΔ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΣΙΟΥ
ἸΟΥΔΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΔΦΑΤΩ ΕΩΡΑΒΙ ΑΦΗΑΥ ΕΤΣΗΠΕ ΠΟΥΟΗ ΑΥΩ ΑΔΦΩΚ ΕΩΩΗ
ΕΡΟΣ ΗΕΤΑΩΕΡΑΤΟΥ Ω ΠΕΣΗΤ: ΑΥΣΩΤΗ ΕΥΣΗΗ ΕΣΗΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΠ ΤΣΗΠΕ
Ε[Ι]ΣΧΩ ΠΗΟΣ 58 Χ[Ε] Τ]ΗΟΣ ΗΓΕ[Η]ΕΑ ΩΠΩΗ
ΠΙΣ . [] . [. . .] ΑΥΩ Δ [] Π . . .
[] ΗΑΥ [] ΩΩ [] 2Π
[] Π []

22 ΕΔΩΩΤΕ *Kasser et al.*: ΕΔΕΩΩΤΕ *add. Nagel*

After that Jesus laughed. Judas said, "Teacher, why are you laughing at us?" Jesus answered and said, "I am not laughing at you, but rather at the error of the stars, that these six stars wander about with these five warriors,⁴⁴ and they all will be destroyed together with their creations."

And Judas said to Jesus, "So what will those who have been baptized in your name do?" Jesus said, "Truly I say to you, this baptism 56 . . . in my name . . . I say to you, . . . human hand . . . to me. Truly I say to you, Judas, those who offer sacrifices to Saklas . . . everything that is evil. But you will surpass them all, for you will sacrifice the human being that bears me.⁴⁵

Already your horn has been exalted,⁴⁶
and your wrath has been kindled,⁴⁷
and your star has passed through,⁴⁸
and your heart has become . . .

57 Truly I say to you, your last . . . become . . . grieve⁴⁹ . . . the ruler being destroyed.⁵⁰ And then the image⁵¹ of the great generation of Adam will be exalted, for before the heaven, the earth, and the angels there exists that generation from the aeons.⁵² Look, you have been told everything. Lift up your eyes and see the cloud and the light in it, and the stars that surround it. And the star that leads the way is your star."

So Judas lifted up his eyes and saw the luminous cloud. And he⁵³ entered it. Those standing on the ground heard a voice coming from the cloud, saying,⁵⁴ 58 ". . . the great generation . . . image . . . and . . .

44. Cf. supra, 51–52; cf. Rev. 12:5–7.

45. Scholars are divided over the meaning of this phrase: either "the fleshly body" that "clothes" Jesus' spiritual self or his "human substrate," viz., his humanity; see Nagel, "Das Evangelium," 265–70. Cf. also Gos. Phil. (NHC II.3 pp. 54,31–55,5).

46. Cf. Ps. 74:11; 88:18; 148:18 LXX.

47. Cf. Ps. 2:12 LXX; or "your wrath has come to full," for which cf. Jer. 6:11.

48. For the meaning of the verb, viz., "passing through" in an upward or downward direction (Gr. *diabainein*), see F. Siegert, *Nag-Hammadi-Register* (1982) 178.

49. Cf. supra, 35, 46.

50. Or: "The ruler shall be destroyed."

51. Or: "the model."

52. Or: "from eternity."

53. "He," i.e., Judas, or possibly Jesus.

54. Cf. Mark 9:7.

αὐτῶν [δε] ἡδὲ ἡ[ε]γάρχιερευς χε ἴτα[.] βοκ' [εσο]γῆ ἐγκαταλῆνα
 ἡτεῖπ[ρο]ς εὐχῆ: ἡεογῆ ῥοεῖνε δε ἡ[η]αγ ἡνεγρανηδεγς ε[γ]παρτηρει
 χε εὐεδιαστ[ε] ἡνοῖ ῥῥαῖ ῥῆ τεπροσε[γ]χη ἡεγῥ ῥῶτε γαρ ῥητῆ ἡπλαδς
 πε χε ἡεῖτοτοτογ τηρογ ῥῶς προφητης αγω αγτ πεγογοῖ εἶογλας
 πεχαγ ἡαῖ: χε εκρ ογ ἡτοκ ἡπεεῖνα ἡτοκ πε πηαθητης ἡῖῆ ἡτοῖ δε
 αῖογωφῆ ἡαγ κατα πεγογωφε τογλας δε αῖχι ἡῖῥῥονητ αῖπαρλλιου
 ἡ[η]οῖ ἡαγ

πεγαγγελιον
 ἡῖογλας

Gospel Frame: Judas's Betrayal of Jesus

And their high priests murmured, for he had entered the guest room⁵⁵ for his prayer. Some scribes were there watching closely in order to arrest him during the prayer, for they were afraid of the people, since he was regarded by all as a prophet.⁵⁶ They approached Judas and said to him, "What are you doing here? You are Jesus' disciple."⁵⁷ He answered them as they wished.

And Judas received some money and handed him over to them.⁵⁸

The Gospel of Judas

55. Cf. Mark 14:14; Luke 22:11.

56. Cf. Matt. 21:46; Luke 22:2.

57. Cf. Matt. 26:14–15a; Mark 14:10; Luke 22:3–4; cf. also John 13:26–30.

58. Cf. Matt. 26:15b–16; 27:3; Mark 14:11; Luke 22:5–6.

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Jesus' Correspondence with Abgar

The apocryphal correspondence between Jesus and Abgar Uchama (= “the Black”), king of Edessa in eastern Syria (4 BCE–7 CE and 13–50 CE), is first mentioned in Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 1.13.5). Eusebius claims to have found the letters in the archives of Edessa and to have translated them literally from their original Syriac into Greek. The first is a short letter from the king, acknowledging Jesus’ miracle-working powers and asking him to come to Edessa to heal him of his illness and, at the same time, to escape the animosity of the Jews in his homeland. In his reply, Jesus blesses Abgar for “believing without seeing” (an allusion to John 20:29), but informs the king that he cannot come because he needs to fulfill his mission, that is, by being crucified. After his ascension, however, he will send an apostle to heal the king.

This is the first instance of an apocryphal letter written in Jesus’ name (for a later example, see the Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea). He is never said to have written anything in our earliest Gospels, apart from an episode in the apocryphal story of the woman taken in adultery, found in later manuscripts of John 7:53–8:11.

These two letters lie at the heart of a widely known legend about Abgar, ruler of Edessa. According to the story, known from both Eusebius and a Syriac source called the *Doctrina Addai*, after Jesus’ death, his apostle, and brother, Judas Thomas sent a colleague Addai (named Thaddaeus by Eusebius), who heals Abgar and converts the city of Edessa to the Christian faith. There are grounds for thinking, however, that the fuller legendary narrative was composed after the apocryphal correspondence itself was known and circulated, and that it is roughly based on the correspondence, or on storytellers’ “knowledge” of a similar correspondence. For one thing, there is a basic inconsistency between the letter and the legend: the former indicates that Jesus will send an apostle to Abgar, the latter indicates that his disciple Judas Thomas does so. Moreover, we have a historical account from the end of the fourth century of the pilgrim Egeria who goes to Edessa and reports what she finds there. She

knows about the correspondence, but betrays no firm knowledge of the legend (*Peregrinatio Egeriae* 17–19).

Finally, we know that the correspondence did circulate independently in a separate manuscript tradition. In fact, citizens of Edessa in later times considered the correspondence significant for its magical powers, as containing a letter from the Son of God himself. According to later tradition it was brought forward in times of war, miraculously scattering the armies laying siege to the city (thus *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, 18). Eventually a copy of the correspondence was affixed to the city gates to ward off its enemies. This miraculous character of the correspondence was based in no small measure on the last line of Jesus' letter, which is not found in Eusebius's account but is present both in the surviving Greek fragments of the letter and in the account found in the *Doctrina Addai*, where Jesus assures Abgar that "Your city will be blessed, and the enemy will no longer prevail over it." This line itself can still be found in inscriptions, ostraca, and amulets (Drijvers, 1991).

The legend as a whole was in wide circulation: it is preserved in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, and Slavonic. H. J. W. Drijvers (1991) makes a complex but convincing argument that it was generated at the end of the third century among the proto-orthodox minority of Christians in eastern Syria, to counter the religious claims of the Manichaeans for Mani, the founder of their religion.

If the letters are earlier than the full legend, they may have arisen some time in the early part of the third century, possibly in Syriac. Eusebius and the surviving Greek fragments of the *Doctrina Addai* appear to represent two different Greek translations of the correspondence. The translation here is of Eusebius (from the edition of Schwartz), which is the earlier version. Schwartz based his edition on the following witnesses:

- A—eleventh-century ms
- T—eleventh-century ms
- E—eleventh-century ms
- R—twelfth-century ms
- B—eleventh- to twelfth-century ms
- D—eleventh- to twelfth-century ms
- L—Latin translation of Rufinus
- S—Syriac version

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Jesus' Correspondence
with Abgar

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΣΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΑΒΓΑΡΟΥ
ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΩΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΦΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΔΙ'
ΑΝΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ

Ἄβγαρος Οὐχαμα τοπάρχης Ἰησοῦ σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων χαίρειν. ἤκουσται μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἰαμάτων, ὡς ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινομένων. ὡς γὰρ λόγος, τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρῖζεις, καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο, ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα. διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γράψας ἐδεήθην σου σκυληναίᾳ πρὸς με καὶ τὸ πάθος, ὃ ἔχω, θεραπεῦσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι¹ καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαί σε. πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοί ἐστι καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις.

ΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΑΝΑΝΙΟΥ
ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ ΑΒΓΑΡΩΙ

Μακάριος εἶ² πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοί, μὴ ἑορακῶς με. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἑορακώτας με μὴ πιστεύειν³ ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἑορακώτες με αὐτοὶ πιστεύωσι καὶ ζήσονται. περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα δι' ἃ ἀπεστάλην ἐνταῦθα πληρῶσαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι οὕτως ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα ἰάσηταί σου τὸ πάθος καὶ ζωῆν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παράσχηται.

1 Ἰουδαῖοι A B R D; οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι T E M

2 εἶ A T E R L; ο B D M Σ

3 πιστεύωσιν A T E R Σ Λ; πιστεύειν B D M

Jesus' Correspondence with Abgar (Eusebius, E.H. I, 13)

*Copy of the Letter Written by the Ruler Abgar to Jesus,
and Sent by Him to Jerusalem through His Courier Ananias*

The Ruler Abgar Uchama,¹ to Jesus the good Savior who has appeared in the region of Jerusalem, greetings. I have heard about you and your healings, which you perform without medications or herbs. As the report indicates, you make the blind see again and the lame walk, you cleanse lepers, you cast out unclean spirits and demons, you heal the chronically sick, and you raise the dead. Having heard all these things about you, I have concluded one of two things: either you are God and do these things having descended from heaven, or you do them as the Son of God. For this reason now I am writing you, asking that you take the trouble to come to me and heal my illness.² For I have also heard that the Jews are murmuring against you and wish to harm you.³ My city is very small and esteemed, and it can accommodate us both.

The Reply Sent by Jesus to the Ruler Abgar through the Courier Ananias

Blessed are you who have believed in me without seeing me.⁴ For it is written about me that those who see me will not believe in me, and that those who do not see me will believe and live.⁵ But concerning your request for me to come to you: I must accomplish everything I was sent here to do, and after accomplishing them ascend to the One who sent me. After I have ascended I will send you one of my disciples to heal your illness and to provide life both to you and to those who are with you.

1. Uchama is a Syriac word that means "black." It is often used in texts to refer to people with African roots. Some manuscripts omit the word.

2. Cf. 2 Kings 5:1–19.

3. Cf. John 6:41.

4. Cf. John 20:29.

5. Cf. Isa. 6:9; Matt. 13:14–17; John 9:39; 12:39–40.

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The Gospel of Nicodemus (The Acts of Pilate) A

Scholars have long debated whether any of the earliest Gospel accounts of Jesus' life and death were devoted exclusively to his passion. Source critics in the nineteenth century posited written accounts behind the passion narratives of Mark and of John. More recently, some scholars have seen a distinctive passion narrative lying behind the Gospel of Peter (see Crossan). When we move into later periods of Christianity there can be no doubt about the matter. The Gospel of Nicodemus, also known as the Acts of Pilate, is preserved in multiple textual forms in the surviving manuscripts. But we have it as a complete text, from beginning to end, and it is a text that deals exclusively with the events surrounding Jesus' trial, death, and resurrection.

The textual forms of this Gospel are so variegated that it is best to present two different versions of it, neatly classified by Tischendorf—who is, remarkably, the most recent scholar to attempt anything like a critical edition of the Greek text (1853)—as the Acts of Pilate A and the Acts of Pilate B. The first sixteen chapters of the latter overlap with the former, with considerable textual variation; but then come an additional eleven chapters that relate the famous account of Jesus' descent to Hades (the “harrowing of hell” tradition), not found in A. Given the vast differences between these two textual forms, we will deal with them separately here—at present considering form A and in the next chapter setting out portions of form B.

One of the complications of this writing is knowing even what to call it. Ancient Christian sources mention an account of Jesus' passion told from the perspective of the Roman prefect of Judea, Pontius Pilate. In our earliest reference (ca. 160 CE), Justin Martyr refers to “the Acts drawn up under Pontius Pilate” (*First Apol.* 35.9; see also 48.3). Two centuries later the heresiologist Epiphanius refers to an Acts of Pilate and indicates that it could be used to establish the date of Jesus' crucifixion on the eighth day before the Kalends of April (March 25) (*Panarion* 50.1). Other references to an alleged Acts of Pilate clearly do not refer to our present work. Tertullian, for example, is the first author to mention some

kind of official correspondence between the governor Pilate and the emperor Tiberius (*Apol.* 21.24). This refers not to this work but, possibly, to the Pilate correspondence dealt with later in this collection. A century later Eusebius indicates that a *pagan* composition known as the Acts of Pilate was promulgated during the reign of Maximinus Daia (311–12), as part of the official opposition to the Christian religion (*Ecll. Hist.* 1.9.3–4; 9.5.1; 9.7.1). This too cannot be this book, which is anything but anti-Christian.

These references show that several works were known (or thought) to be in circulation called the Acts of Pilate. There is some question, however, whether that is the most appropriate title for this work, for it deals with much more than Pilate's view of the passion. Nor does it claim to be written by Pilate, or even from his perspective. Moreover, whereas Pilate is one of the leading figures in the first half of the account, he virtually disappears from view in the second half. A number of our manuscripts begin with a prologue that indicates that the account was written by Jesus' Jewish follower Nicodemus. For this reason, it is perhaps best to give the book the title found throughout the medieval manuscript tradition, and call it the Gospel of Nicodemus.

Whatever one calls the text, it is very difficult to assign a date to it. There is no certainty that Justin actually knew a Gospel comparable to the one that lies before us, although he may have heard of the existence of one. If Epiphanius knew our text (what little he says about it corresponds to what we have here), then it must have been written by the middle of the fourth century. But given the extensive variation in the textual tradition of the text, it is also possible that there were multiple forms of the tradition circulating in different times and places. And so some scholars date the composition of this work not until the fifth or sixth centuries (Elliott), others put it in the middle of the fourth century (Klauck), and yet others, somewhat optimistically, place it all the way back in the second century (Scheidweiler). Possibly Zbigniew Izydorczyk (1997) is the most judicious in suggesting that the composition lying at the foundation of our surviving manuscripts was created in the fourth century, based on traditions in circulation already some two hundred years earlier.

The book was originally written in Greek, though it claims to have been composed in Hebrew. This claim serves an apologetic purpose, providing the account with the kind of antiquity and authenticity required of an eyewitness testimony (from Palestine) to the last hours of Jesus' life.

No one reading the account, however, will have any doubts about its legendary character. In simplest terms, the Gospel presents creative literary expansions of the accounts of Jesus' trial, death, and resurrection found in the four Gospels of the New Testament. Each of the canonical Gospels comes to prominence in different portions of the narrative: Matthew and John, for example, in the trial scene, Luke in the crucifixion, and Mark in the "Great Commission" to the

disciples following the resurrection (at least the last twelve verses of Mark from later manuscripts, which were not original to Mark's text).

The author used different methods for expanding the canonical accounts. Sometimes he provided imaginative details to their narratives, for example, in the discussions between Jesus and Pilate (from John), the dream of Pilate's wife (from Matthew), or the guard posted at the tomb (also from Matthew). At other times, and far more obviously, he added entire stories to underscore his overarching points, for example, in the wonderful and well-known account of the Roman standards bowing to worship Jesus and in Joseph of Arimathea's imprisonment and miraculous escape.

Taken together these narratives establish Jesus' divine character, Pilate's innocence in his execution, and the Jews' ultimate culpability. In terms of Jesus' character, from beginning to end the account marshals testimony that he was in fact divine, as witnessed by Pilate's courier, the Roman (and then Jewish) standard bearers, the twelve Jews who knew the details of his birth, Nicodemus before Pilate, Pilate himself, those healed by Jesus who come forward as witnesses, Joseph of Arimathea, the guards at the tomb, three Galilean Jews (Phineas, Adas, Angaius), and so on. The motif of Pilate's innocence is carried beyond even the later Gospels of the New Testament, where he three times declares Jesus innocent (Luke) or washes his hands of Jesus' blood (Matthew). Here he repeatedly declares Jesus' innocence and urges the Jews to try him according to their own law. Since Pilate is a witness to Jesus' divine character here, of course, someone else must be at fault for his fate. The Jewish leaders and people come off especially poorly in the text as those who are out for blood. Three times the people are said to have cried out the horrible words of Matthew 27:25, "His blood be upon us and our children." But in the end, not even the Jewish leaders can deny Jesus' divine character: after the resurrection the evidence is too overwhelming even for them.

There may have been several motives behind the composition of this account. Some scholars have argued that it satisfies the natural Christian curiosity to know more about what happened at Jesus' death and its aftermath (Elliott). This is certainly true, but it is also important to recognize that the new details in the account are not simply innocent expansions; they serve clear theological and ideological purposes, with respect, for example, to the divinity of Christ and the hateful rejection of the Jews. The account also serves to provide firsthand (by Nicodemus) and "official" (by Pilate) testimony to what actually happened at Jesus' passion.

At the same time, there may have been something even more concrete lying behind the composition of this account. On the one hand, it may be that a later Christian read about some such "Acts of Pilate" in the writings of Justin or others, and decided to compose just such a narrative (Elliott). But it is also possible

that with the publication of a pagan version of Pilate's account under Maximinus a Christian decided to write a "counter" version, a Christian narrative of what Pilate *really* said and did leading up to Jesus' death.

This would explain part of the composition—the first half—but probably not the entire work, since, as pointed out, the second half is not told from Pilate's perspective. And so it may be that different portions of this work came into existence at different times, and possibly for different reasons, so that the final product embodies a range of emphases and functions.

In any event, once it was written, this account proved to be enormously popular—nearly as influential on Christian understandings of Jesus' passion as was the Protevangelium for understanding Jesus' birth. It survives in over 500 manuscripts in a number of ancient languages (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Aramaic, Armenian, Georgian, Old Slavonic) and in most of the major vernaculars of medieval western Europe (High German, Low German, Dutch, Old French, Italian, Old English, Middle English, Norse, Welsh, Cornish, and so on). Its greatest impact was in the Latin-speaking world, as documented above all by the thorough analyses of Izydorczyk (the vernaculars are translations from the Latin). There still survive 424 Latin manuscripts; twelve others known in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have now been lost. The extant witnesses break down into three major textual families, but there has so far been no systematic attempt to draw up a stemma or to produce a definitive edition.

There has been far less work done on the Greek tradition and, as indicated, no modern critical edition exists, though one is under way for the *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* (Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne). In lieu of such an edition, Tischendorf's "A" text, based on eight manuscripts of the twelfth through sixteenth centuries, continues to be used, as here.

Even the few manuscripts used by Tischendorf are highly variant. In our apparatus we have noted only those variants that are of special interest or significance. For an older discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Tischendorf's edition, pp. liv–lxxvii. Tischendorf's eight manuscripts are the following:

- A—thirteenth century
- B—twelfth century
- C—fourteenth century
- D—fifteenth century
- E—fifteenth century
- F—eleventh to twelfth century
- G—fifteenth century
- H—fifteenth century

There are also Coptic and Latin witnesses to the text.

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EVANGELIUM NICODEMI (GESTA PILATI) A

ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ
ΠΡΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ¹

Πρόλογος

Εγὼ Ἀνανίας προτέκτωρ² ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τυγχάνων, νομομαθῆς, ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐπέγνω τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστει προσελθόν, καταξιωθείς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος· ἐρευνήσας δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον πραχθέντα ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ κατέθεντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ταῦτα εὗρον τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, καὶ θεοῦ εὐδοκίᾳ μεθερμήνευσα γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν πάντων τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Φλαβίου Θεοδοσίου, ἔτους ἑπτακαιδεκάτου, καὶ Φλαβίου Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ ἕκτον, ἐν ἰνδικτιῶνι θ'.

Πάντες οὖν ὅσοι ἀναγινώσκετε καὶ μεταβάλλετε εἰς ἕτερα βιβλία, μνημονεύετε μου καὶ εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα ἱλεός μοι γένηται ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἰλάσῃται ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου ἃς ἤμαρτον εἰς αὐτόν.

Εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτῶν. ἀμήν.³

Ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ⁴ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἐν ἔτει ἔννεακαιδεκάτῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, τῇ πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων, ἧτις ἐστὶν εἰκάς πέμπτη Μαρτίου, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ρούφου καὶ Ρουβελλίωνος, ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Καϊάφα.

Ὅσα μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ πάθος τοῦ κυρίου ἱστορήσας Νικόδημος παρέδωκεν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰουδαίοις, συντάξεν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Νικόδημος γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκοῖς.

I

Συμβούλιον γὰρ ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Σήμες καὶ Δαθαῆς καὶ Γαμαλιήλ, Ἰούδας, Λευῖς καὶ Νεφθαλεῖμ, Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἰάειρος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς Πιλάτον κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ἰησοῦ περὶ πολλῶν πράξεων, λέγοντες· τοῦτον οἶδαμεν ὄντα υἱὸν Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος ἀπὸ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα, καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ βασίλευ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σάββατα βεβηλοῖ, καὶ τὸν πάτριον νόμον ἡμῶν βούλεται καταλύσαι. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος·

1 Title So FH: for numerous other titles, see Tischendorf's apparatus, ad loc. p. 210.

2 προτεκτωρ conj. Birch: mss read προτικτωρ

3 Εγὼ . . . ἀμήν (i.e., the opening portion of the prologue) C: om. A D E F G H I (B lacunose)

4 πεντεκαιδεκατω C G I: οκτωκαιδεκατω D E: δεκατω A

The Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate) A

Public Records about Our Lord Jesus Christ, Composed under Pontius Pilate

Prologue

I, Ananias, a member of the procurator's bodyguard, well versed in the law, came to know our Lord Jesus Christ from the divine Scriptures, coming to him by faith and being deemed worthy of holy baptism. I searched out the public records composed at that time, in the days of our master Jesus Christ, which the Jews set down under Pontius Pilate. These public records I found written in Hebrew, and with God's good pleasure I have translated them into Greek, so that all who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ might know them. This I did in the seventeenth year of the reign of emperor Flavius Theodosius, the sixth year of Flavius Valentinianus, in the ninth indiction.¹

All you who read these records and who copy them into other books, remember me and pray for me, that God may be merciful to me and have mercy on the sins I have committed against him.

Peace be to those who read and those who hear, along with their households. Amen.

These things took place in the fifteenth year of the rule of Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, and in the nineteenth year of the rule of Herod, king of Galilee, eight days before the Kalends of April—that is, on the twenty-fifth of March, during the consulate of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred second Olympiad, when Joseph Caiaphas was the high priest of the Jews.

Nicodemus related all the things that happened after the crucifixion and suffering of our Lord and delivered them over to the high priests and the other Jews. The same Nicodemus compiled these writings in the Hebrew tongue.

The Jewish Leaders Accuse Jesus

1

1 The chief priests and scribes called a meeting of the council—Annas, Caiaphas, Semes, Dathaes, Gamalial, Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Jairus, and the other Jews—and they came to Pilate, accusing Jesus of many deeds: “We know that this one is the son of the carpenter Joseph and was born from Mary; yet he calls himself a son of God and a king. Moreover, he profanes the Sabbath and wants to destroy our ancestral law.” Pilate responded, “What

1. I.e., 424–25 CE.

καὶ τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ πράττει καὶ βούλεται καταλύσαι; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· νόμον ἔχομεν ἐν σαββάτῳ μὴ θεραπεύσαι τινα· οὗτος δὲ χωλοὺς καὶ κυρτοὺς ξηροὺς τε καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικούς κωφοὺς καὶ δαιμονιζομένους ἐθεράπευσεν ἐν σαββάτῳ ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ποίων κακῶν πράξεων; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· γόης ἐστίν, καὶ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια, ἀλλ' ἐν θεῷ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ.⁵

2 Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἀξιούμεν τὸ σὸν μέγεθος ὥστε αὐτὸν παραστήναι τῷ βήματί σου καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει· εἰπατέ μοι ὅτι πῶς δύναμαι ἐγὼ ἡγεμῶν ὧν βασιλέα ἐξετάσαι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἡμεῖς οὐ λέγομεν βασιλέα αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγει.⁶ προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν κούρσωρα λέγει αὐτῷ· μετὰ ἐπιεικείας ἀχθῆτω ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ἐκβάς δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ καθάπλωμα τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤπλωσεν χαμαὶ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· κύριε, ὧδε περιπάτησον καὶ εἰσελθε, ὅτι καλεῖ σε ὁ ἡγεμῶν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ κούρσωρ, κατέκραζαν τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγοντες· διατί ὑπὸ πραικωνος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκέλευσας εἰσελθεῖν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ κούρσωρος; καὶ γὰρ ὁ κούρσωρ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν προσεκύνησε, καὶ τὸ φακεώλιον αὐτοῦ ἤπλωσε χαμαὶ καὶ ὡς βασιλέα αὐτὸν περιπατήσαι πεποιήκην.

3 Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος μετακαλεσάμενος τὸν κούρσωρα λέγει αὐτῷ· τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας, καὶ ἤπλωσας τὸ φακεώλιόν σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπατήσαι πεποιήκας τὸν Ἰησοῦν; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κούρσωρ· κύριε ἡγεμῶν, ὅτε με ἀπέστειλας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἶδον αὐτὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ ὄνου, καὶ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων κλάδους κατεῖχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκραζον, ἄλλοι δὲ ὑπεστρώννουν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν λέγοντες· σῶσον δὴ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

4 Κράζουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες πρὸς τὸν κούρσωρα· οἱ μὲν παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐβραῖστί ἔκραζον, πόθεν δὲ σοὶ τὸ ἐλληνιστί;⁷ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ κούρσωρ· ἠρώτησά τινα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ εἶπα· τί ἐστὶν ὃ κράζουσιν ἐβραῖστί; κάκεινός μοι ἐρμήνευσεν. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· πῶς δὲ ἔκραζον ἐβραῖστί; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὠσαννά μεμβρομῆ βαρουχαμμᾶ ἄδοναί. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· καὶ τὸ ὠσαννά καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τί ἐρμηνεύεται; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σῶσον δὴ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· εἰ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε τὰς φωνὰς τὰς παρὰ τῶν παίδων λεχθείσας, τί

5 ἀλλ' ἐν θεῷ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ A (C): *sed in virtute (nomine dei)* Coptic and Latin witnesses: *om.* G E^{vid}

6 ἀλλ' αὐτος ἑαυτον λεγει: *om.* D Coptic

7 ποθεν δε σοι το ελληνιστι (B) F: συ δε ποθεν εμαθες και ερμηνευεις αυτα ελληνιστι A: ποθεν δε συ Ελλην υπαρχων ιδες (*sic*) το εβραισθη C (E)

does he do, and what does he want to destroy?" The Jews replied, "We have a law that no one may be healed on the Sabbath. But this one has performed evil deeds by healing the lame and crippled, the withered and the blind, the paralyzed, mute, and demon possessed on the Sabbath." Pilate said to them, "Then what are his evil deeds?" They replied, "He is a magician, and by Beelzeboul, the ruler of the demons, he casts out demons, and they all are subject to him." Pilate responded to them, "No one can cast out demons by an unclean spirit, but only by the god Asclepius."

The Roman Standards Worship Jesus

2 The Jews said to Pilate, "We ask your greatness to bring him before your judgment seat and put him on trial." Pilate called out to them and said, "Tell me, how can I, a mere governor, interrogate a king?" They replied, "We do not say he is a king; that is what he calls himself." So Pilate summoned his courier and told him, "Have Jesus brought in gently." The courier went out; and when he recognized who he was, he worshiped him. He then took his handkerchief and spread it out on the ground, and said to him, "Lord, walk here and enter, for the governor is calling you." When the Jews saw what the courier did, they cried out against Pilate, "Why did you not command him to be brought in by a herald, instead of the courier? For once the courier saw him, he worshiped him; and he spread his kerchief on the ground and had him walk in as a king."

3 Pilate called the courier back in and asked him, "Why did you do this, spreading your kerchief on the ground and having Jesus walk on it?" The courier replied, "Lord governor, when you sent me to Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw this one sitting on a donkey, and the children of the Hebrews were holding branches in their hands and crying out; and others were spreading their garments out and saying, 'Now save us, you who dwell in the heights. Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord.'"²

4 The Jews cried out to the courier, "The children of the Hebrews were crying out in Hebrew; how do you know what they said in Greek?" The courier answered them, "I asked one of the Jews, 'What are they crying out in Hebrew?' And that one interpreted for me." Pilate said to them, "What were they crying out in Hebrew?" The Jews answered, "Hosanna, membrome barouchamma adonai."³ Pilate said to them, "And the Hosanna, and the rest, what does it mean?" The Jews replied, "Now save us, you who dwell in the heights. Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord." Pilate said to them, "If you testify that this is what the voices of the children said, what has

2. Cf. Matt. 21:1-9; Mark 11:1-10; Luke 19:28-38; John 12:12-16.

3. Ps. 118:26.

ἤμαρτεν ὁ κούρσωρ; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπησαν.⁸ λέγει ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῷ κούρσωρι· ἔξελθε καὶ οἶψ' βούλει τρόπῳ εἰσάγαγε αὐτόν. ἐκβάς δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ ἐποίησεν τὸ σχῆμα τὸ πρῶτον καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· κύριε, εἴσελθε· ὁ ἡγεμὼν σε καλεῖ.

5 Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν σιγνοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰ σίγνα, ἐκάμφθησαν αἱ προτομαὶ τῶν σίγνων καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ σχῆμα τῶν σίγνων, τὸ πῶς ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, περισσῶς ἔκραζον κατὰ τῶν σιγνοφόρων. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· οὐ θαυμάζετε πῶς⁹ ἐκάμφθησαν αἱ προτομαὶ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς Πιλάτον· ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν πῶς ἔκαμψαν οἱ σιγνοφόροι καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοὺς σιγνοφόρους λέγει αὐτοῖς· τί οὕτως ἐποίησατε; λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἡμεῖς ἄνδρες Ἕλληνές ἐσμεν καὶ ἱερόδουλοι, καὶ πῶς εἶχαμεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ; καὶ γὰρ κατεχόντων ἡμῶν τὰς προτομάς ἐαυταῖς ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ.

6 Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τοῖς ἀρχισυναγώγαις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τοῦ λαοῦ· ἐκλέξασθε ὑμεῖς ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς καὶ κραταιοὺς, καὶ αὐτοὶ κατάσχωσιν τὰ σίγνα, καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ ἐαυτοῖς¹⁰ κάμπτονται. ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄνδρας δώδεκα κραταιοὺς καὶ δυνατοὺς, ἀνά ἕξ ἐποίησαν κατασχεῖν τὰ σίγνα, καὶ ἐστάθησαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. καὶ λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ κούρσωρι· ἔκβαλε αὐτόν ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου, καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτόν πάλιν οἶψ' βούλει τρόπῳ. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ὁ κούρσωρ. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς πρῶην κατέχοντας τὰς προτομάς¹¹ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὅμοσα κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας¹² Καίσαρος, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ καμφθῶσιν τὰ σίγνα εἰσιόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀποτεμῶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκ δευτέρου εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ κούρσωρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ πολλὰ παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἵνα ἐπιβῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ φακεωλίου αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπέβη καὶ εἰσῆλθεν. εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν πάλιν τὰ σίγνα καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

2

1 Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἰδὼν ἔμφοβος γενόμενος ἐζήτησεν ἀναστήναι ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμουμένου ἀναστήναι, ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψεν πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσα· μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ δικαίῳ τούτῳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον δι' αὐτόν νυκτός. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας λέγει

8 εσιωπησαν· *add.* μη δυναμενοι τω πιλατω υπερ τουτου αποκριθηναι A

9 πως A C D: *add.* εαντας (B) E

10 εαντους (B) C E: αυται A: *om.* D

11 τους πρῶην κατεχοντας τας προτομας B (E): τους Ιουδαιους τους κατεχοντας τας προτομας A: τους κατεχοντας τας προτομας και τους πρωτους των Ιουδαιων C

12 της σωτηριας A C: *om.* B

the courier done wrong?” They gave him no reply. The governor said to the courier, “Go out and bring him in however you like.” The courier went out and did the same as before, saying to Jesus, “Lord, enter, for the governor is calling you.”

5 As Jesus entered, while the standard bearers were holding the standards, the images at the tops of the standards bowed forward and worshiped Jesus. When the Jews saw how the images on the standards bowed and worshiped Jesus, they cried out loudly against the standard bearers. Pilate said to the Jews: “Aren’t you amazed at how the images bowed down and worshiped Jesus?” The Jews replied to Pilate, “We saw how the standard bearers bowed and worshiped him.” The governor summoned the standard bearers and said to them, “Why did you do this?” They replied to Pilate, “We are Greek men and temple slaves. How could we worship him? While we were holding the images they bowed down by themselves and worshiped him.”

6 Pilate said to the synagogue leaders and the elders of the people, “Select strong and powerful men, and let them hold the standards; then we will see if they bow down by themselves.” The elders of the Jews took twelve powerful and strong men, six to hold each standard, and they stationed them before the governor’s judgment seat. Pilate said to the courier, “Take him outside the praetorium and bring him in again, however you like.” And Jesus and the courier went outside the praetorium. Pilate then summoned the men who earlier held the images and said to them, “I swear by the salvation of Caesar, if the standards do not bow down when Jesus comes in, I will chop off your heads.” The governor ordered Jesus to enter for the second time. And the courier did the same as before, strongly urging Jesus to walk upon his kerchief. He did so and entered. When he entered, again the standards bowed down and worshiped Jesus.

The Dispute Over Jesus’ Character

2

1 When Pilate saw this happen, he was terrified, and tried to get up from his judgment seat. As he was still thinking about getting up, his wife sent word to him, “Have nothing to do with this righteous man; for I suffered many things throughout the night because of him.”⁴ Pilate called together all the Jews and

4. Cf. Matt. 27:19.

αὐτοῖς· οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ γυνή μου θεοσεβής ἐστίν καὶ μᾶλλον ἰουδαΐζει σὺν ὑμῖν. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ναί, οἴδαμεν. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ἰδοὺ ἔπεμψεν ἡ γυνὴ μου λέγουσα· μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ δικαίῳ τούτῳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον δι' αὐτὸν νυκτός, ἀποκριθέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· μὴ οὐκ εἵπαμέν σοι ὅτι γόης¹³ ἐστίν;¹⁴ ἰδοὺ ὄνειροπόλημα ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκά σου.

2 Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ· τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; οὐδὲν λαλεῖς;¹⁵ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔφη· εἰ μὴ εἶχον ἐξουσίαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐλαλοῦσαν· εἷς γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ λαλεῖν ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ πονηρά· αὐτοὶ ὄψονται.

3 Ἀποκριθέντες δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγουσιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· τί ἡμεῖς ὀψόμεθα; πρῶτον ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννησαι· δεύτερον ὅτι ἡ σὴ γένεσις ἐν Βηθλεὲμ νηπίων ἀναίρεσις γέγονεν· τρίτον ὅτι ὁ πατήρ σου Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου Μαριάμ ἔφυγον εἰς Αἴγυπτον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὸν παρρησίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ.

4 Λέγουσιν τινες τῶν ἐστηκότων εὐλαβεῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· ἡμεῖς οὐ λέγομεν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐκ πορνείας, ἀλλὰ οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἐμνηστεύσατο ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὴν Μαρίαν, καὶ οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς λέγοντας εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐκ πορνείας· οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής, ὅτι ὄρμαστρα γέγοναν, καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σύνεθνοι ὑμῶν. λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας· ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κράζομεν καὶ οὐ πιστευόμεθα¹⁶ ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννηται· οὗτοι προσήλυτοί εἰσιν καὶ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφην λέγει αὐτοῖς· τί ἐστιν προσήλυτοι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἑλλήνων τέκνα ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ νῦν γεγόνασιν Ἰουδαῖοι. λέγουσιν οἱ εἰπόντες ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας, Λάζαρος, Ἀστέριος, Ἀντώνιος, Ἰάκωβος, Ἀμνῆς, Ζηρᾶς, Σαμουήλ, Ἰσαάκ, Φινεές, Κρίσπος, Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἰούδας· ἡμεῖς προσήλυτοι οὐ γεγενήμεθα, ἀλλὰ τέκνα Ἰουδαίων ἐσμέν καὶ ἀληθειαν λαλοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὄρμαστρα Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας παραγεγόναμεν.

5 Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς δώδεκα ἄνδρας τούτους τοὺς εἰπόντας ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας, λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας Καίσαρος, εἰ ἀληθῆ εἰσίν ἃ εἶπατε, ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας; λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν μὴ ὀμνῆναι, ὅτι ἁμαρτία ἐστίν.¹⁷ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁμόσουςιν κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας Καίσαρος ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν καθὼς εἶπαμεν, καὶ ἔνοχοι ἐσμεν θανάτου. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφην· οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα; λέγουσιν Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας

13 γοῆς BCE: πλανος A: μαγος D

14 ἐστίν A B: *add.* καὶ ἐν Βεελζεβουλ ἀρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβαλλεῖ τα δαιμονία καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται (C D E)

15 τί οὗτοι σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν· οὐδὲν λαλεῖς (B C E): οὐκ ἀκουεῖς τοιοῦτοι σε καταμαρτυροῦσιν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινῆ λογὸν D: τί σου λαλεῖς ὑπερ ὧν σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν A

16 καὶ οὐ πιστευόμεθα B: καὶ οὐ πιστευεῖς (A) C E: *om.* Latin

17 ὅτι ἁμαρτία ἐστίν B Latin Coptic: *om.* A C E

said to them, "You know that my wife is a God-fearer and prefers to practice Judaism with you." They replied, "Yes, we know." Pilate said to them, "Just now my wife has sent word to me, 'Have nothing to do with this righteous man; for I suffered many things through the night because of him.'" The Jews replied to Pilate, "Did we not tell you that he is a magician? See, he has sent a bad dream to your wife."

2 Pilate summoned Jesus and said to him, "Why do these people speak out against you? Do you have nothing to say?" Jesus replied, "If they had no authority, they would not speak. For each of them has authority over his own mouth, to speak what is good and what is evil. Let them see to it themselves."

3 The Jewish elders replied to Jesus: "What is it we will see? First, that you were born from an act of fornication; second, that your birth led to the destruction of the infants in Bethlehem; third, that your father Joseph and mother Mary fled to Egypt because they were afraid to face the people."

4 Some of the pious Jews who were standing there said, "We do not say that he was born from fornication; rather, we know that Joseph was espoused to Mary, so that he was not born from fornication." Pilate said to the Jews who had said that he was born from fornication, "You have not spoken the truth, for they had a betrothal ceremony, as these, your fellow countrymen, have said." Annas and Caiaphas said to Pilate, "All of us—the entire multitude—have cried out that he was born from fornication and we are not believed. These others are proselytes and his disciples." Pilate summoned Annas and Caiaphas and said to them, "What are proselytes?" They replied, "They were born as children of Greeks, and now have become Jews." Those who said that he was not born from fornication—Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Annas, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phineas, Crispus, Agrippus, and Judas—said, "We were not born as proselytes, but we are children of Jews and we speak the truth, for we were even there for the betrothal ceremony of Joseph and Mary."

5 Pilate summoned the twelve men who said that he was not born from fornication, and said to them, "I adjure you by the salvation of Caesar: is what you say the truth, that he was not born from fornication?" They replied to Pilate, "We are bound by law not to swear an oath, because it is a sin. But if these others will swear by the salvation of Caesar that it is not just as we have said, then we will deserve to die." Pilate said to Annas and Caiaphas, "Do you have no reply to make to these things?" Annas and Caiaphas replied to

πρὸς Πιλᾶτον· οἱ δώδεκα οὗτοι πιστεύονται ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας· ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κράζομεν ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννηται καὶ γόης ἐστὶν καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ οὐ πιστευόμεθα.

6 Καὶ κελεύει ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐξελεθῆν ἐκτὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν εἰπόντων ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκέλευσε χωρισθῆναι· καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλᾶτος· ποίῳ λόγῳ θέλουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι; λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλᾶτῳ· ζῆλον ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἐν σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει. λέγει ὁ Πιλᾶτος· περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου θέλουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ναί.

3

1 Καὶ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν ἥλιον ὅτι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὕρισκω ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ.¹⁸ ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ εἶπαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι· εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακοποιός, οὐκ ἂν σοι παρεδώκαμεν αὐτόν. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πιλᾶτος· λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν. εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλᾶτῳ· ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα. εἶπεν ὁ Πιλᾶτος· ὑμῖν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἐμοί;

2 Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ὁ Πιλᾶτος καὶ ἐφώνησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλᾶτῳ· ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ σὺ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἢ ἄλλοι σοι εἶπον περὶ ἐμοῦ; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλᾶτος πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· μήτι ἀγάθ' Ἰουδαῖός εἰμι; τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς παρέδωκάν σε ἐμοί· τί ἐποίησας; ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς· ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ, οὐκ ὕπηρεται ἂν οἱ ἐμοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίσις· νυνὶ δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν. εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλᾶτος· οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σὺ; ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι ἐγώ· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ γεγέννημαι καὶ ἐλήλυθα, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούσῃ μου τῆς φωνῆς. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλᾶτος· τί ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀλήθεια ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. λέγει Πιλᾶτος· ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν; λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλᾶτῳ· ὁρᾷς, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες πῶς κρίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ γῆς.

¹⁸ τουτω: *add.* και τι βουλευσθε αυτον αποκτανθηναι A

Pilate, "These twelve are believed when they say that he was not born from fornication; yet we, the entire multitude, are crying out that he was born of fornication and that he is a magician and that he calls himself a Son of God and a king. Yet we are not believed."

6 Pilate ordered the entire multitude to leave, except for the twelve men who said that he was not born from fornication; and he ordered Jesus to be set aside. He then said to them, "Why do these people want to kill him?" They replied to Pilate, "They are filled with religious zeal, because he heals on the Sabbath." Pilate said, "They want to kill him for doing a good deed?" They replied, "Yes."

Pilate, Jesus, and His Jewish Accusers

3

1 Pilate was filled with anger and went outside the praetorium and said to them, "The sun is my witness that I find nothing to charge this man with."⁵ The Jews replied to the governor, "If he were not an evildoer, we would not have handed him over to you."⁶ Pilate said, "Take him yourselves and judge him according to your law." The Jews said to Pilate, "We are not allowed to kill anyone."⁷ Pilate replied, "God has told you not to kill anyone, but I am supposed to do so?"

2 Pilate again entered the praetorium and called Jesus to speak to him privately, and he said, "Are you the king of the Jews?" Jesus replied to Pilate, "Do you say this yourself, or have others told you about me?" Pilate responded to Jesus, "I am not a Jew am I? Your nation and the chief priests have handed you over to me. What have you done?" Jesus replied, "My kingdom is not from this world. For if my kingdom were from this world, my servants would have put up a fight, so that I would not be handed over to the Jews. But now my kingdom is not from here." Pilate replied to him, "So you are a king!" Jesus answered him, "It is you who say I am a king. This is why I was born and have come, that everyone who is from the truth might hear my voice." Pilate said to him, "What is truth?"⁸ Jesus replied to him, "Truth is from heaven." Pilate said, "Is there no truth on earth?" Jesus said to Pilate, "You see how those who speak the truth are judged by those who have authority on earth."

5. Cf. Luke 23:4, 14, 22; John 18:38; 19:4, 6.

6. Cf. John 18:30.

7. Cf. John 18:31.

8. Cf. John 18:33–38.

4

1 Καὶ καταλείπων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔσω τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· οὗτος εἶπεν· δύναμαι τὸν ναὸν τούτων καταλύσαι καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομησάμενος αὐτόν. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· ποῖον ναόν; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὃν οἰκοδόμησεν ὁ Σολομών ἐν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξ ἔτεσιν, οὗτος δὲ λέγει λύειν καὶ οἰκοδομῆν αὐτὸν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

2 Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ λευίτας εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λαθραίως· μὴ οὕτως ποιήσατε· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κατηγορήσατε αὐτοῦ ἄξιον θανάτου· ἢ γὰρ κατηγορία ὑμῶν περὶ θεραπείας ἐστὶν καὶ βεβηλώσεως σαββάτου. λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται· κατὰ Καίσαρος ἐάν τις βλασφημήσῃ, ἄξιος θανάτου ἐστὶν ἢ οὐ; λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· ἄξιός ἐστιν θανάτου. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· εἰ εἰς Καίσαρα ἐάν τις βλασφημήσῃ, ἄξιός ἐστιν θανάτου, οὗτος δὲ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐβλασφήμησεν.

3 Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξελεθεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἕξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ· τί ποιήσω σοι; λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ὡς ἐδόθη σοι. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· πῶς ἐδόθη; λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται προεκήρυξαν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου μου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. παριστορήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἀκούσαντες λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· τί πλεῖον ἔχεις ἀκούσαι τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης; λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· εἰ οὗτος ὁ λόγος βλάσφημός ἐστιν, περὶ τῆς βλασφημίας¹⁹ λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἀπαγάγετε εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν περιέχει, ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἐάν ἀμαρτήσῃ, ἄξιός ἐστιν λαμβάνειν τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν,²⁰ ὃ δὲ εἰς θεὸν βλασφημῶν, λιθοβολία λιθοβολεῖσθαι αὐτόν.

4 Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· λάβετε αὐτόν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἶψ' βούλεσθε τρόπον ἀμύνασθε αὐτόν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιος σταυρωθῆναι.

5 Περιβλεψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰς τοὺς περιεστῶτας ὄχλους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, θεωρεῖ πολλοὺς δακρύοντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λέγει·²¹ οὐ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος βούλεται αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν.²² λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων· διὰ τοῦτο ἤλθαμεν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· ἵνατί ἀποθάνῃ; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὅτι εἶπεν αὐτόν υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα.

¹⁹ περὶ τῆς βλασφημίας B C: *om.* A E Latin

²⁰ μίαν A B: *add.* πληγας C E

²¹ λεγει A B C: *add.* μα τον ηλιον E

²² ου . . . αποθανειν B (C) E Latin: βουλεσθε και υμεις αποκτανθηαι αυτον· οι δε ειπον, ου βουλομεθα, οτι αιτιαν ουχ ευρισκομεν A

4

1 Leaving Jesus inside the praetorium, Pilate went out to the Jews and said to them, "I find nothing to charge him with."⁹ The Jews replied to him, "This one has said, 'I can destroy this temple and build it in three days.'"¹⁰ Pilate replied, "What temple?" The Jews said, "The temple that Solomon built in forty-six years. But this man says he can destroy it and build it in three days." Pilate said to them, "I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man. You see to it yourselves." The Jews replied, "His blood be upon us and our children."¹¹

2 Pilate summoned the elders, priests, and Levites and said to them privately, "Do not do this; for none of your charges against him deserves death. Your charges have only to do with healing and profaning the Sabbath." The elders, priests, and Levites replied, "If anyone blasphemes against Caesar, is he worthy of death or not?" Pilate answered, "He is worthy of death." The Jews replied to Pilate, "So—anyone who blasphemes against Caesar is worthy of death. But this one has blasphemed against God!"

3 The governor ordered the Jews to leave the praetorium, and he summoned Jesus and said to him, "What should I do with you?" Jesus answered Pilate, "Do as it has been given to you." Pilate said, "How has it been given?" Jesus replied, "Moses and the prophets preached ahead of time about my death and resurrection." The Jews inquired about what was said, and when they heard they said to Pilate, "What greater blasphemy do you need to hear?" Pilate said to the Jews, "If what he has said is a blasphemy, seize him yourselves for the blasphemy, take him to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law."¹² The Jews said to Pilate, "Our law stipulates that if a person sins against another person, he is to receive the forty lashes minus one; but the one who blasphemes against God is to be stoned."

4 Pilate said to them, "Take him yourselves and punish him in whatever way you see fit." The Jews replied to Pilate, "We want him crucified." Pilate said, "He does not deserve to be crucified."

5 When the governor looked around at the crowd of Jews standing there, he saw that many of them were weeping, and he said, "Not everyone in the crowd wants him to die." The elders of the Jews replied, "This is why we, the entire crowd, came—that he might die." Pilate said to the Jews, "Why should he die?" The Jews answered, "Because he said that he was a Son of God and a king."¹³

9. Cf. John 18:38.

10. Cf. Matt. 26:61; Mark 14:58.

11. Cf. Matt. 27:24–25.

12. Cf. John 18:31.

13. Cf. John 19:7.

5

1 Νικόδημος δέ τις ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος ἔσθη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ λέγει· ἀξιῶ, εὐσεβή, κέλευσόν μοι εἰπεῖν ὀλίγους λόγους.²³ λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· εἰπέ. λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ἐγὼ εἶπον τοῖς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ λευίταις καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· τί ζητεῖτε μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος πολλὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖ καὶ παράδοξα, ἃ οὐδεὶς ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ ποιήσει. ἄφετε αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ βούλεσθέ τι πονηρὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ· εἰ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστὶν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ποιεῖ, σταθήσονται, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, καταλυθήσονται. καὶ γὰρ Μωυσῆς ἀποσταλεῖς παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐποίησεν σημεῖα πολλά, ἃ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου. καὶ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἄνδρες θεράποντες Φαραὼ Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς, καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ σημεῖα οὐκ ὀλίγα ἃ ἐποίησε Μωυσῆς, καὶ εἶχον αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς θεοὺς, τὸν Ἰαννῆν καὶ τὸν Ἰαμβρῆν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ θεοῦ, ἀπώλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ νῦν ἄφετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον τούτον· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄξιος θανάτου.

2 Λέγουσιν τῷ Νικοδήμῳ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σὺ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένου καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖς. λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Νικόδημος· μὴ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ; οὐ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀξιωματος τούτου; ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐμβριμούμενοι καὶ τρίζοντες τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου. λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος· τί τοὺς ὀδόντας τρίζετε κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν ἀκούσαντες;²⁴ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Νικοδήμῳ· τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ λάβης καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ. λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν, λάβω καθὼς εἶπατε.

6

1 Εἷς δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραπηδήσας ἡξίου τὸν ἡγεμόνα λόγον εἰπεῖν. λέγει ὁ ἡγεμὼν· εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπεῖν, εἰπέ. ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος ἔφη· ἐγὼ τριάκοντα ὀκτῶ ἔτη ἐν κλίνῃ κατεκεῖμην ἐν ὀδύνῃ πόνων· καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολλοὶ δαιμονιζόμενοι καὶ ποικίλαις νόσοις κατακεῖμενοι ἐθεραπεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τινες νεανίσκοι κατελεήσαντές με ἐβάστασάν με μετὰ τῆς κλίνης καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με πρὸς αὐτόν.²⁵ καὶ ἰδὼν με ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ λόγον εἶπέν μοι· ἄρδν σου τὸν κράββατον καὶ περιπάτει.²⁶ καὶ ἦρα τὸν κράββατόν μου καὶ περιεπάτησα.²⁷ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἐρώτησον αὐτὸν ποία ἡμέρα ἦν ὅτε ἐθεραπεύθη. λέγει ὁ θεραπευθεὶς· ἐν

23 ὀλίγους λόγους A B (D) Latin: καθαρους λογους (C) E

24 κατ' αὐτου αληθειαν ακουσαντες E: κατα του την αληθειαν ειποντος D: κατ' αὐτου· αληθειαν γαρ λεγει A: κατ' αὐτου B: κατα του Νικοδημου C

25 εβαστασαν με μετα της κλινης και απηγαγον με προς αὐτον (A E C): μετα της κλινης μου προσηνεγκαν με αὐτω B

26 περιπατει B E: *add.* και παραρχημα ιαθην A C (Latin): *add.* και συν τω λογω αὐτου ευθεως ηγερθην D

27 καὶ περιεπατησα A B C E: και απηλθον υγιης εις τον οικον μου δοξαζων τον θεον D

Nicodemus Gives His Testimony

5

1 A certain Jewish man named Nicodemus stood before the governor and said, "I ask you, most pious one, give the word and I will say a few things." Pilate said to him, "Speak." Nicodemus said, "I said to the elders, priests, Levites, and all the crowd of the Jews in the synagogue, 'What are you seeking from this man? This man does many signs and wonders, unlike anyone has done before or ever will do. Let him go, and do not plot any evil against him. If the signs he does are from God, they will stand on their own; but if they are human, they will come to naught.¹⁴ For Moses was also sent from God to Egypt and did many signs, as God told him to do before Pharaoh, the King of Egypt. Jannes and Jambres were also there, Pharaoh's servants; they themselves performed many of the signs that Moses did, so that the Egyptians considered them to be gods, this Jannes and Jambres. Since, however, the signs they did were not from God, they were destroyed—both they and those who believed in them. So now, let this man go; he is not worthy of death.'"

2 The Jews said to Nicodemus, "You have become his disciple and are trying to mount a defense for him." Nicodemus replied to them, "Has the governor also become his disciple? And is he trying to mount a defense for him? Did Caesar not appoint him to his position?" The Jews became incensed and were gnashing their teeth at Nicodemus. Pilate said to them, "Why are you gnashing your teeth against him, now that you have heard the truth?" The Jews said to Nicodemus, "May you receive his truth and share his fate." Nicodemus replied, "Yes indeed! May I receive it, just as you have said."

Other Witnesses Speak on Jesus' Behalf

6

1 One of the Jews ran up and asked the governor if he could say a word. The governor said, "If you want to say something, speak." And the Jew said, "For thirty-eight years I was confined to my pallet, in great pain. Jesus came and healed many demon possessed and those laid low by various illnesses. Several young men took pity on me and carried me, with my pallet, and brought me to him. When he saw me, he had compassion on me and said a word to me: 'Take your cot and walk.' And I took my cot and walked."¹⁵ The Jews said to Pilate, "Ask him on which day he was healed." The one who was healed said, "On

14. Cf. Acts 5:38–39.

15. Cf. Matt. 9:1–8; Mark 2:1–12; Luke 5:17–26; John 5:1–7.

σαββάτω. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· μὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐδιδάξαμεν ὅτι ἐν σαββάτῳ
θεραπεύει καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλει;

2 Καὶ ἄλλος Ἰουδαῖος παραπηδήσας λέγει· ἐγὼ τυφλὸς ἐγεννήθην, φωνὴν
ἤκουον καὶ πρόσωπον οὐκ ἔβλεπον· καὶ παράγοντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἔκραξα φωνῇ
μεγάλῃ· ἐλέησόν με, υἱὲ Δαυίδ. καὶ ἠλέησέν με καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, καὶ ἀνέβλεψα παραχρῆμα. καὶ ἄλλος Ἰουδαῖος
παραπηδήσας εἶπεν· κυριὸς ἤμην, καὶ ὤρθωσέ με λόγῳ. καὶ ἄλλος εἶπεν·
λεπρὸς ἐγενόμην, καὶ ἐθεράπευσέν με λόγῳ.

7

Καὶ γυνὴ τις, ὄνομα Βερνίκη,²⁸ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν κράζουσα²⁹ εἶπεν· αἰμορροοῦσα
ἤμην, καὶ ἡσάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐστάλη μου ἡ ῥυτίς
τοῦ αἵματος ἢ δι' ἑτῶν δώδεκα. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· νόμον ἔχομεν γυναῖκα
εἰς μαρτυρίαν μὴ ὑπάγειν.

8

Καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τινες πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἔκραζον λέγοντες· οὗτος
ὁ ἄνθρωπος προφήτης ἐστίν, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσονται. λέγει ὁ
Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς εἰπόντας αὐτῷ ὅτι τὰ δαιμόνια αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσονται· διατί
καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν αὐτῷ; λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· οὐκ
οἶδαμεν. ἄλλοι δὲ εἶπον ὅτι τὸν Λάζαρον τεθνηκότα ἠγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου
τετραήμερον. ἔντρομος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
Ἰουδαίων· τί θέλετε ἐκχέειν αἷμα ἀθῶον;

9

1 Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Νικόδημον καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα ἄνδρας τοὺς εἰπόντας
ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας, λέγει αὐτοῖς· τί ποιήσω, ὅτι στάσις γίνεται ἐν
τῷ λαῷ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδαμεν· αὐτοὶ ὄφονται. πάλιν ὁ Πιλάτος
προσκαλεσάμενος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει· οἴδατε ὅτι συνήθεια ὑμῖν
ἐστὶν κατὰ ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἓνα ἀπολύειν ὑμῖν δέσμιον. ἔχω ἓνα καταδικὸν
δέσμιον ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ φονεὴν λεγόμενον Βαραββᾶν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν στήκοντα
κατενώπιον ὑμῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ὃν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ.³⁰ τίνα
θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν; οἱ δὲ κράζουσιν· Βαραββᾶν. λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· τί οὖν ποιήσω
Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σταυρωθήτω. τινὲς δὲ

²⁸ ὄνομα Βερνίκη A (C) Latin Coptic: *om.* B D

²⁹ ἀπο μακροθεν κραζουσα (A) B C: απομακριζουσα και ως μονον ησατο του
κρασπεδου του ιματιου αυτου, ευθως εστη η ρυτις του αιματος μου D

³⁰ και τουτον . . . αυτω B C Coptic: τουτον ουν τον ισταμενον ενωπιον υμων Ιησουν
βουλομαι απολυσαι δια το μη ευρισκειν με αιτιαν εν αυτω D

the Sabbath.” The Jews said, “Is this not what we taught, that he heals and casts out demons on the Sabbath?”

2 Another Jew ran up and said, “I was born blind, able to hear a voice but not to see a face. When Jesus was passing by I cried out in a loud voice, ‘Have mercy on me, Son of David.’ He had mercy on me and laid his hands on my eyes. Suddenly I could see clearly.”¹⁶ Another Jew ran up and said, “I had a crooked back, and he straightened me with a word.” And another said, “I became a leper, and he healed me with a word.”

7

A certain woman named Bernice cried out from the distance, “I had a flow of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and the flow of blood I had for twelve years was stopped.”¹⁷ The Jews said, “We have a law that a woman may not serve as a witness.”

8

Others, a crowd of both men and women, began crying out, “This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him.” Pilate said to those who told him that the demons were subject to him, “Why then are your teachers not subject to him?” They replied to Pilate, “We do not know.” Others said that he had raised Lazarus from the tomb after four days. The governor trembled and said to the entire crowd of the Jews, “Why do you want to shed innocent blood?”

Pilate Is Compelled to Condemn Jesus

9

1 He summoned Nicodemus and the twelve men who had said that he was not born from fornication, and he said to them, “What should I do? The people are starting a riot.” They replied to him, “We don’t know; they will see to it themselves.” Again Pilate summoned the entire crowd of the Jews and said, “You know that you have a custom that one prisoner be released to you at the Feast of Unleavened Bread. I have a condemned murderer in prison, named Barabbas, and this Jesus who is standing before you, against whom I have found nothing to charge. Which one do you want me to release for you?” They cried out, “Barabbas.” Pilate said, “What then shall I do with Jesus, who is called the Christ?” The Jews replied, “Let him be crucified.”¹⁸ Some of

16. Cf. Matt. 20:29–34; Mark 10:46–52; Luke 18:35–43.

17. Cf. Matt. 9:20–21; Mark 5:25–29; Luke 8:42–46.

18. Cf. Matt. 27:15–23; Mark 15:6–14; Luke 23:17–23; John 18:39–40.

τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπεκρίθησαν· οὐκ εἶ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐάν τοῦτον ἀπολύσεις,³¹ ὅτι εἶπεν ἐαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα· θέλεις οὖν τοῦτον βασιλέα καὶ οὐ Καίσαρα.

2 Θυμωθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· αἰεὶ στασιαστὸν τὸ ἔθνος ὑμῶν,³² καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ὑμῶν ἀντιλέγετε. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ποίους εὐεργέταις; λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· ὡς ἀκούω, ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἀπὸ δουλείας σκληρᾶς ἐξήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ἔσωσεν ὑμᾶς ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διέθρεψεν ὑμᾶς μάννα καὶ ὀρτυγομήτραν³³ ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκ πέτρας ὕδωρ ἐπότισεν ὑμᾶς, καὶ νόμον ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν·³⁴ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅλοις παρωργίσατε τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐζητήσατε μόσχον χωνευτόν. καὶ παρωζύνατε τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐζήτησεν ἀποκτεῖναι ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἐλιτάνευσεν Μωϋσῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐθανατώθητε. καὶ νῦν καταγγέλλετέ μου ὅτι βασιλέα μισῶ.³⁵

3 Ἀναστάς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐζήτηε ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ κρᾶζουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες· ἡμεῖς βασιλέα οἶδαμεν τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάγοι προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν δῶρα ὡς βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρώδης παρὰ τῶν μάγων ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη, ἐζήτησεν τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν. γνοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ πατήρ Ἰωσήφ παρέλαβεν αὐτόν καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ἀπώλεσεν τοὺς παῖδας τῶν Ἑβραίων τοὺς γεννηθέντας ἐν Βηθλεέμ.

4 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐφοβήθη. καὶ κατασιγήσας ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς ὄχλους, ὅτι ἔκραζον, λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὥστε οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ἐζητεῖ Ἡρώδης; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ναί, οὗτός ἐστιν. καὶ λαβὼν ὕδωρ ὁ Πιλάτος ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου λέγων· ἄθῳός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε. πάλιν κρᾶζουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

5 Τότε ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν βῆλον ἐλκυσθῆναι τοῦ βήματος οὗ ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν κατήλεγε σε ὡς βασιλέα· διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεφηνάμην πρῶτον φραγελλοῦσθαί σε διὰ τὸν θεσμόν τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων,³⁶ καὶ τότε ἀναρτᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ ὅπου ἐπιτάσθης· καὶ Δυσμαῖς καὶ Γέστας οἱ δύο κακούργοι συσταυρωθήτωσάν σοι.³⁷

31 εαν τουντον απολυσεις B Latin: εαν μη σταυρωσης αυτον A: om. C

32 υμων B: add. και καταρατον A: εστιν C

33 ορτυγομητραν A C Coptic Latin: add. και νομον B

34 και εκ . . . υμιν C (Latin) Coptic: om. A B

35 οτι βασιλεα μισω D Latin: οτι αλλον βασιλεα θελω B: οτι τον βασιλεα Ιησουν ζητω A

36 δια τον . . . βασιλεων B: δια των θεσμων των ασεβων βασιλεων C: δια τον θεσμον τον βασιλικον A: *propter statuta priorum principum* Latin: *propter leges celsorum regum* Coptic

37 και Δυσμας . . . σοι A: και δυο κακουργοι συν αυτω C: και δυο κακουργοι συν αυτω ο εις λεγομενος Δυσμας και ο ετερος Γεστας B: *una cum Dema et Cysta duobus latronibus, qui tecum comprehensi fuerunt* Coptic

the Jews then answered, "You are no friend of Caesar if you release this one, because he called himself a son of God and a king.¹⁹ You, therefore, want this one to be king instead of Caesar."

2 Pilate became angry and said to the Jews, "Your nation is always causing riots, and you oppose those who are your own benefactors." The Jews replied, "What benefactors?" Pilate said to them, "I have heard how your God delivered you from harsh slavery in the land of Egypt and saved you through the sea, as if on dry land; and in the wilderness he nourished you with manna and gave you quail; and from a rock he provided you with water to drink and he gave you his law. And in spite of all this, you enraged your God and sought after a molten calf. You provoked your God to anger and he sought to kill you. But Moses interceded for you, so that you were not put to death. And now you charge me with hating the king."

3 He rose up from his judgment seat and was trying to leave. But the Jews cried out, "We know Caesar is our king—not Jesus. For even the magi brought him gifts from the east as for a king. When Herod heard from the magi that a king had been born, he tried to kill him. But when his father Joseph learned of it, he took him and his mother, and they fled to Egypt. When Herod found out, he murdered the Hebrew children that had been born in Bethlehem."²⁰

4 When Pilate heard these words, he became afraid. Pilate silenced the crowds, because they were crying out, and said to them, "So this is the one sought by Herod?" The Jews replied, "Yes, he is the one." Then Pilate took water and washed his hands before the sun and said, "I am innocent of the blood of this righteous one. See to it yourselves." Again the Jews cried out, "His blood be upon us and our children."²¹

5 Then Pilate ordered the curtain be drawn before the judgment seat on which he sat, and he said to Jesus, "Your nation has convicted you for being a king. For this reason I pronounce sentence: first you will be flogged according to the decree of the pious kings; and then you will be hanged on the cross in the garden where you were seized. And let the two criminals Dysmas and Gestas be crucified with you."

19. Cf. John 19:12.

20. Cf. Matt. 2:1–18.

21. Cf. Matt. 27:24–25.

10

1 Καὶ ἐξήλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου, καὶ οἱ δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἀπῆλθαν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον,³⁸ ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον, καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν· ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς δύο κακοῦργους ἐκρέμασαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιούσιν. καὶ διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται. καὶ ἴστατο ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν αὐτόν. καὶ ἐξεμυκτήριζον αὐτόν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σὺν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες· ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, σωσάτω ἑαυτόν.³⁹ εἰ υἱὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ οὗτος, καταβάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ.⁴⁰ ἐνέπαιζον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται προσερχόμενοι καὶ ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς προσφέροντες αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔλεγον· σὺ εἶ⁴¹ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σῶσον σεαυτόν.⁴²

Ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος μετὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν εἰς τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆσαι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ ἑβραϊκοῖς, καθὼς εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

2 Εἷς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων ἔφη αὐτῷ λέγων· εἰ σὺ εἶ Χριστός, σῶσον σεαυτόν καὶ ἡμᾶς. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Δυσμᾶς ἐπέτιμα αὐτῷ λέγων· οὐδὲν φοβῆ σὺ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ; καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν δικαίως· ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν· οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν. καὶ ἔλεγεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· μνήσθητί μου, κύριε,⁴³ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ εἶ.⁴⁴

11

1 Ἦν δὲ ὥσει ὄρα ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, τοῦ ἡλίου σκοτισθέντος, καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον. καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· πατήρ, βαδδὰχ ἐφκιδ ρουέλ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται· εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνευμά μου. καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα.⁴⁵ ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος τὸ γενόμενον ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεὸν λέγων ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν. καὶ πάντες οἱ παραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην, θεωροῦντες τὰ γενόμενα, τύπτοντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον.

38 τοπον B: *add.* του κρανιου A

39 σωσατω εαυτον B Latin: και εαυτον ου δυναται σωσαι A C

40 σταυρου B: *add.* και πιστευσομεν εις αυτον A (C)

41 συ ει B· ει συ ει A C Latin

42 σεαυτον A C Coptic: *add.* και λαβων Λογγινοσ ο στρατιωτησ λογγην ενυξεν αυτου την πλευραν, και εξηλθεν αιμα και υδωρ (B) Latin

43 κυριε A: *add.* σταν ελθησ B C Coptic

44 εν . . . ει B: εση εν τω παραδεισω A C Latin Coptic

45 παρεδωκε το πνευμα C: εξεπνευσεν A: εκοιμηθη B: *emisit spiritum* Latin: *exspiravit* Coptic

The Crucifixion of Jesus

10

Jesus went out from the praetorium, along with the two criminals. When they came to the place, they stripped him of his clothes and put a linen cloth on him. Then they placed a crown of thorns around his head. So too they hanged the criminals. But Jesus said, "Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing."²² The soldiers divided his clothes, and the people stood by watching him. The chief priests and the leaders with them began mocking him: "He saved others; let him save himself. If he is the Son of God, let him descend from the cross."²³ The soldiers also ridiculed him, approaching him, offering him vinegar mixed with gall, and saying, "You are the king of the Jews: save yourself!" After the sentence, Pilate commanded that the charge against him be inscribed as a title in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, just as the Jews had said: "This is the king of the Jews."²⁴

2 But one of the criminals being hanged said to him, "If you are the Christ, save yourself and us." But Dysmas responded and rebuked him, "Don't you fear God at all? You are under the same judgment. We deserve our fate, for we are being fairly punished for the things we did. But this one did nothing wrong." Then he said to Jesus, "Remember me, Lord, in your kingdom." Jesus said to him, "Yes indeed, I tell you, today you will be with me in paradise."²⁵

11

1 It was about the sixth hour, and darkness came over the land until the ninth hour, with the sun being darkened. And the curtain of the temple was ripped in half. Then Jesus cried out with a great voice: "Father, baddach ephkid rouel," which means, "Into your hands I hand over my spirit." Once he said this, he handed over his spirit. When the centurion saw what had happened, he glorified God and said, "This man was righteous." All the crowds who had come to this sight, seeing what had happened, turned away beating their breasts.²⁶

22. Luke 23:34.

23. Cf. Matt. 27:38-43; Mark 15:27-32; Luke 23:35-38.

24. Cf. Matt. 27:37; Mark 15:26; Luke 23:38; John 19:17-22.

25. Cf. Luke 23:39-43.

26. Cf. Luke 23:44-48.

2 Ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος ἀνένεγκεν τῷ ἡγεμόνι τὰ γενόμενα. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἔθεωρήσατε τὰ γενόμενα; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν· ἔκλειψις ἡλίου γέγονεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός.⁴⁶

3 Εἰστήκεισαν δὲ οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ συνελθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁρῶσαι ταῦτα. ἀνὴρ δὲ τις, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ, βουλευτὴς ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας πόλεως ὑπάρχων, προσδεχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. καὶ καθελὼν αὐτὸ ἐνετύλιξεν ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ, καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημεῖῳ λαξευτῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω ἦν κείμενος.

12

1 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἠτήσατο ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα τοὺς εἰπόντας ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ τὸν Νικόδημον καὶ ἄλλους ἐτέρους πολλούς, οἵτινες παραπηδήσαντες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐφανέρωσαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντων δὲ ἀποκρυβέντων μόνος ὁ Νικόδημος ὥφθη αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἄρχων ἦν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Νικόδημος· πῶς εἰσῆλθατε εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σὺ πῶς εἰσῆλθες εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν; ὅτι συνίστωρ αὐτοῦ εἶ, καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι. λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ παρεκβάς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ, διότι ἠτησάμην τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; ἰδοὺ ἐν τῷ καινῷ μου μνημεῖῳ ἔθηκα αὐτόν, ἐντυλίξας αὐτόν ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ, καὶ ἐπεκύλισα λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ σπηλαίου. καὶ οὐ καλῶς ἐπράξατε κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι οὐ μετεμελήθητε σταυρώσαντες αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῃ αὐτόν ἐκεντήσατε. κρατήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτόν ἀσφαλισθῆναι μέχρι τῆς μιᾶς τοῦ σαββάτου, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· γίνωσκε ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ πρᾶξαι τι κατὰ σοῦ, ὅτι σάββατον διαφάνει· γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲ ταφῆς καταξιώθησι, ἀλλὰ δώσωμεν τὰς σάρκας σου τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.⁴⁷ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰωσήφ· οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοῦ ὑπερηφάνου ἐστὶν Γολιάθ, ὃς ὠνειδίσειν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Δαυὶδ. εἶπεν γάρ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· ἐμοὶ ἐκδικήσις, κἀγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος. καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀκρόβυστος τῆ σαρκὶ καὶ περιτεμνόμενος τῆ καρδίᾳ λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ κατέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου⁴⁸ λέγων· ἀθῶός εἰμι ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε. καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Πιλάτῳ εἶπατε· τὸ αἶμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν. καὶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι μήποτε φθάσει ἡ ὄργη

46 κατα το ειωθος B C: *add.* εφη αυτοις ο Πιλατος· μιρωτατοι, ουτως εις παντα αληθευετε· εγω οιδα ουκ αλλοτε ποτε τουτο γενομενον ει μη εν σεληνης γεννα. το γαρ πασχα υμων τη χθες ημερα εφαγετε τη τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατη του μηνος, και λεγατε οτι εκλειψις ηλιου εγενετο A

47 ουρανου A C: *add.* και τοις θηριοις της γης παραδωσωμεν B Latin Coptic

48 ηλιου B C Coptic Latin: λαου A

2 The centurion reported what had happened to the governor. When the governor and his wife heard, they were deeply grieved, and they ate and drank nothing that day. Pilate sent for the Jews and said to them, "Have you seen what happened?" They replied, "It is just a natural eclipse of the sun."

3 Jesus' acquaintances stood off at a distance, along with the women who accompanied him from Galilee, who saw these things. But a certain man, named Joseph, a member of the council from the city of Arimathea, who was anticipating the kingdom of God, approached Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. He took him down, wrapped him in a clean linen cloth, and placed him in a stone-hewn tomb, where no one had ever been placed.²⁷

The Jewish Leaders Confront Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea

12

1 When the Jews heard that Joseph had asked for the body of Jesus, they began looking for him, and for the twelve who had said that Jesus was not born from fornication, and for Nicodemus and many others who had run up to Pilate to reveal the good deeds he had done. But since all the others were in hiding, Nicodemus alone appeared to them, because he was a ruler among the Jews. Nicodemus said to them, "How is it that you have come into the synagogue?" And the Jews responded: "How is it that *you* have come into the synagogue? For you sympathize with him and will share his fate in the world to come." Nicodemus replied, "Yes indeed!" So too Joseph stepped forward and said to them, "Why were you aggravated with me for asking for the body of Jesus? See, I have placed him in my new tomb, after wrapping him in a clean linen cloth; and I rolled the stone before the door of the cave. You did not behave well, opposing the righteous one. You crucified him with no remorse and even pierced him with a spear."

The Jews seized Joseph and ordered that he be locked away until the first day of the week. They said to him, "You know that we cannot do anything against you because of the hour, since the Sabbath is dawning; but know also that you will not even be granted a burial, but we will give your flesh over to the birds of the sky." Joseph replied to them, "This is how the haughty Goliath spoke, who reproached the living God and the holy David. For God spoke through the prophet: 'Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, says the Lord.'²⁸ Now the one who is uncircumcised in the flesh but circumcised in heart has taken water to wash his hands before the sun, saying, 'I am innocent of the blood of this righteous one; see to it yourselves!' And you replied to Pilate, 'His blood be upon us and our children.'²⁹ Now I am afraid that the wrath of

27. Cf. Matt. 27:57–60; Mark 15:42–46; Luke 23:50–53; John 19:28–42.

28. Cf. Deut. 32:35; Rom. 12:19.

29. Cf. Matt. 27:24–25.

κυρίου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, καθὼς εἶπατε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐπικράνησαν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκλεισαν εἰς οἶκον ὅπου οὐκ ἦν θυρίς, καὶ παραφύλακες παρέμειναν τῇ θύρᾳ· καὶ ἐσφράγισαν τὴν θύραν ὅπου ἦν ἐγκεκλεισμένος Ἰωσήφ.

2 Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ ὅρον ὥρισαν οἱ ἀρχισυναγῶγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται ὥστε πάντας εὐρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου. καὶ ὀρθρίσαντες ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἐβουλεύσαντο ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν. καθεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι μετὰ ἀτιμίας πολλῆς, καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν θύραν οὐχ εὗρον αὐτόν. καὶ ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαός, καὶ ἔκθαμβοι ἐγένοντο ὅτι τὰς σφραγίδας εὗρον ἐσφραγισμένας, καὶ ὅτι τὴν κλειδὸν εἶχεν ὁ Καϊάφας, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς λαλήσαντας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

13

1 Ἐπι δὲ αὐτῶν καθεζομένων ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ καὶ θαυμαζόντων διὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἔρχονται τινες τῆς κουστωδίας, οὓς ἠτήσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου τηρεῖν τὸν τάφον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν λέγοντες τοῖς ἀρχισυναγῶγοις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς λευῖταις τὰ γεγονότα· τὸ πῶς ἐγένετο σεισμός μέγας, καὶ εἶδομεν ἄγγελον καταβάντα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔλαμψεν ὡσεὶ χιῶν καὶ ὡς ἀστραπή,⁴⁹ καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλὰ φοβηθέντες ἐκειμεθα ὡσεὶ νεκροί. καὶ ἠκούσαμεν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἀγγέλου λαλοῦντος ταῖς γυναῖξιν, αἵτινες παρέμενον τῷ τάφῳ, ὅτι μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὑμεῖς· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον. οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἠγέρθη καθὼς εἶπατε· δεῦτε ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο ὁ κύριος, καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ.⁵⁰

2 Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ποίαις γυναῖξιν ἐλάλει; λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· οὐκ οἶδαμεν ποῖαι ἦσαν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ποία ὄρα ἦν; λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· μέσης νυκτός.⁵¹ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ διατί οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε τὰς γυναῖκας; λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· ὡς νεκροὶ ἐγενόμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου, μὴ ἐλπίζοντες ἰδεῖν τὸ φῶς τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ πῶς εἶχομεν κρατῆσαι αὐτάς; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ζῆ κύριος, οὐ πιστεύομεν ὑμῖν. λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· τὸσαῦτα σημεῖα εἶδετε εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε,

49 καὶ ἐλαμψεν . . . ἀστραπή A: ἦν δὲ ἡ ἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπή, καὶ τὸ ἐνδύμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιῶν (B) C Latin

50 καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ A: καὶ ἴδου προαγεῖ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὤψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν (B) C Latin (Coptic)

51 λέγουσιν . . . νυκτός B Latin Coptic: om. A C

the Lord may come upon you and your children, just as you have said.” The Jews were deeply embittered when they heard these words and they attacked Joseph, seized him, and locked him in a house with no window, setting guards at the door. They then sealed the door where Joseph was locked in.

2 On the Sabbath the leaders of the synagogue, priests, and Levites decreed that everyone should come to the synagogue on the first day of the week. Rising early, the entire crowd in the synagogue planned how they should kill Joseph. When the council was seated they ordered him to be brought in with great disgrace. But when they opened the door they did not find him. The entire crowd was amazed and astonished, because they found the seals still sealed, and Caiaphas had the key. They no longer dared to lay a hand on any of those who had spoken on behalf of Jesus before Pilate.

The Guard at the Tomb

13

1 While they were still sitting in the synagogue amazed about Joseph, there appeared some of the guards whom the Jews had requested from Pilate to guard Jesus' tomb, to keep his disciples from coming to steal him away. They reported to the leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites what had happened: “There was a great earthquake and we saw an angel descending from heaven; he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the cave and sat on it. He was shining like snow, like lightning. We were terrified and lay on the ground like corpses.³⁰ We then heard the voice of the angel speaking to the women who were waiting at the tomb: ‘Do not fear. I know that you are looking for Jesus, who has been crucified. He is not here. He has been raised, just as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. Now, go quickly and tell his disciples that he has been raised from the dead, and he is in Galilee.’”³¹

2 The Jews asked, “Which women was he speaking to?” The guards replied, “We don't know which ones they were.” The Jews said, “What time was it?” The guards replied, “It was the middle of the night.” The Jews said, “Why did you not seize the women?” The guards replied, “We became like corpses out of fear; we lost all hope of seeing the light of day. How could we have seized them?” The Jews replied, “As the Lord lives, we do not believe you.” The guards said to the Jews, “You did not believe when you saw all

30. Cf. Matt. 28:2–4.

31. Cf. Matt. 28:5–7.

καὶ ἡμῖν πῶς ἔχετε πιστεῦσαι; καὶ γὰρ καλῶς ὠμόσατε ὅτι ζῆ κύριος,⁵² καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ζῆ.⁵³ πάλιν λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τὸν αἰτησάμενον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐνεκλείσατε αὐτόν, σφραγίσαντες τὴν θύραν, καὶ ἀνοίξαντες οὐχ εὔρατε αὐτόν. δότε οὖν ὑμεῖς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δώσομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὁ Ἰωσήφ εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν. λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη, καθὼς ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ ἀγγέλου, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ.⁵⁴

3 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα, λέγοντες· μήποτε ἀκουσθῆ ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ πάντες κλιθῶσιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατεβάλλοντο ἀργύρια ἱκανὰ καὶ ἔδωκαν τοῖς στρατιώταις λέγοντες· εἶπατε ὅτι ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων ἦλθαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς καὶ ἐκλεψαν αὐτόν. καὶ ἐὰν ἀκουσθῆ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἡμεῖς πείσωμεν αὐτόν καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους ποιήσωμεν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἶπον ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν.⁵⁵

14

1 Φινεὲς δὲ τις ἱερεὺς⁵⁶ καὶ Ἀδᾶς διδάσκαλος καὶ Ἀγγαῖος λευίτης κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐξηγήσαντο τοῖς ἀρχισυναγῶγαις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς λευίταις ὅτι εἶδομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καθεζόμενον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Μαμίλχ, καὶ ἔλεγεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε πάση τῇ κτίσει· ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσουσιν· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς, ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν, κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πῖωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψει, ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν. ἔτι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

2 Λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ λευῖται·⁵⁷ δότε δόξαν τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ δότε αὐτῷ ἐξομολόγησιν εἰ ταῦτα ἠκούσατε καὶ ἴδετε ἅπερ ἐξηγήσασθε. λέγουσιν οἱ ἐξηγησάμενοι· ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἴδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθατε

52 ζῆ κυριος A B Latin Coptic: *add.* ου πιστευομεν υμιν C

53 καὶ . . . ζῆ A Latin: *om.* B C

54 καὶ . . . Γαλιλαια A: καὶ ὁ Ἰησους εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαιαν ἐστιν καθὼς ἠκουσαμεν τοῦ ἀγγελου τοῦ ἀποκυλισαντος τὸν λιθον ὅτι προαγει υμας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαιαν B (C)

55 ἐδιδάχθησαν A: *add.* καὶ διεφημισθη ὁ λογος ουτος παρα Ἰουδαιοις μεχρι της σημερον (B) C E (G)

56 τις ἱερευς A B C E: ὁ ἀρχιερευς G

57 οἱ πρεσβυτεροι . . . λευιται (B) C: οἱ Ἰουδαιοι A^{vid} E G

those signs happen to that man; how would you be able to believe us? You were right to swear ‘As the Lord lives’—for he is indeed alive!” Then the guards said, “We heard that you locked up the one who asked for the body of Jesus, and sealed the door, but then did not find him when you opened it. You produce Joseph and we will produce Jesus.” The Jews replied, “Joseph has returned to his city.” The guards replied to the Jews, “And Jesus has arisen, just as we heard the angel say, and he is in Galilee.”

3 The Jews were terrified when they heard these words, and said, “What if word gets out and everyone turns to Jesus?” The Jews formed a plan and pooled sums of money to give to the soldiers. They told them, “Say this: ‘We fell asleep and his disciples came at night and stole him.’ If this report reaches the governor, we will persuade him and keep you blameless.”³² They took the money and spoke as they were instructed.

Phineas, Adas, and Angaius Witness to the Resurrection

14

1 But a certain priest Phineas, a teacher Adas, and Angaius, a Levite, came down from Galilee to Jerusalem and reported to the leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites, “We have seen Jesus and his disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamilch; and he was telling his disciples, ‘Go into all the world and preach to all creation. The one who believes and is baptized will be saved, but the one who disbelieves will be condemned. These signs will accompany those who believe: they will cast out demons in my name; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up snakes; and if they drink anything poisonous, it will not harm them; they will lay their hands on the sick and they will become well.’³³ While Jesus was speaking to his disciples we saw him taken up into heaven.”

2 The elders, priests, and Levites said, “Give glory to the God of Israel and confess to him: did you hear and see these things you have described?” Those who described them replied, “As the Lord lives, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we heard these things and saw him taken up into heaven.” The elders, priests, and Levites said to them, “Is this why you came,

32. Cf. Matt. 28:12–14.

33. Cf. Mark 16:15–18.

εὐαγγελισασθαι ἡμῖν, ἢ ἤλθατε εὐχὴν δοῦναι τῷ θεῷ; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν· εὐχὴν δοῦναι τῷ θεῷ. λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται⁵⁸ πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ εὐχὴν ἤλθατε δοῦναι τῷ θεῷ, εἰς τί οὖν ἡ φλυαρία αὐτῆ ἦν ἐφλυαρῆσατε ἀπέναντι παντός τοῦ λαοῦ; λέγει Φινεὲς ἱερεὺς καὶ Ἀδᾶς διδάσκαλος καὶ Ἀγγαῖος λευίτης πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχισυναγώγους καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ λευίτας· εἰ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι οὐς ἐλαλήσαμεν καὶ ἴδομεν ἁμαρτία ἐστίν, ἰδοὺ ἐσμεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν· κατὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν ποιήσατε ἡμῖν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν νόμον ὥρμισαν αὐτούς μηδενὶ ἐξηγησασθαι ἔτι τοὺς λόγους τούτους, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ ἐξέβαλαν αὐτούς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δεδωκότες αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀργύρια καὶ ἄνδρας τρεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπεκατέστησαν αὐτούς ἔως τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

3 Πορευθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκειῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχισυναγῶγοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, ἀποκλείσαντες τὴν πύλην, καὶ ἐκόπτοντο κοπετόν μέγαν λέγοντες· ὅτι θορυβεῖσθε, τί κλαίετε; ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδωκαν χρυσίον ἱκανὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ τάφου καὶ ἐδίδασξαν αὐτούς εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄγγελος καταβάς ἀπεκύλισε τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἶπον· ἔστω ὅτι ἔκλεψαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα· ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διατρίβει ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ; οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκριθῆναι μόλις ποτὲ εἶπον· οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ἀκροβύστοις πιστεῦσαι.

15

1 Ἀνέστη δὲ ὁ Νικόδημος καὶ ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου λέγων· ὀρθῶς λαλεῖτε, οὐκ ἄγνοεῖτε, λαὸς κυρίου, τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ὅτι αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεὸν εἰσιν καὶ ἄνδρες εὐπορίας, μισοῦντες πλεονεξίαν, ἄνδρες εἰρήνης· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξηγήσαντο μετὰ ὄρκου ὅτι εἶδαμεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Μαμίλχ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἐδίδασκεν ὅσα ἠκούσατε παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι εἶδαμεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἠρώτησεν αὐτούς τὸ ποῖω σχήματι ἀνελήφθη, καὶ γὰρ καθὼς ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς τὸ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν βιβλίον,⁵⁹ ὅτι καὶ Ἥλιος ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἔρριψεν Ἥλιος τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐλισσαίου, καὶ ἔρριψεν Ἐλισσαῖος τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ ἐπέρασεν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱεριχώ, καὶ ὑπήνησαν αὐτῷ τὰ τέκνα τῶν προφητῶν καὶ εἶπαν· Ἐλισσαῖε, ποῦ ὁ κύριός σου Ἥλιος; καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς Ἐλισσαῖον· μὴ πνεῦμα ἤρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐφ' ἐν τῶν ὁρέων; ἀλλὰ λάβομεν τοὺς παῖδας ἡμῶν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ζητήσωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἔπεισαν τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον, καὶ ἀπήλθεν

⁵⁸ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . λευῖται B: οἱ ἰουδαῖοι A C E

⁵⁹ τοῦ ἁγίων γραφῶν βιβλίον (B): τοῦ ἁγίων βιβλίον C: το ἀποκρυφον βιβλίον E: om. A

to preach to us? Or did you come to pray to God?" They replied, "To pray to God." The elders, chief priests, and Levites responded to them, "If you came to pray to God, why are you speaking such nonsense in the presence of all the people?" Phineas the priest, Adas the teacher, and Angaius the Levite said to the leaders of the synagogue, priests, and Levites, "If what we have said and seen is in error, see, we are standing before you: do to us as you see fit." And they took the book of the Law and put them under oath to describe none of these matters to anyone. Then they gave them food and drink, and cast them out of the city, after giving them money and three men to accompany them. They sent them back to Galilee, and they set out in peace.

3 Once those men set out to Galilee, the chief priests, leaders of the synagogue, and elders in the synagogue gathered together, shut the gate, and began to mourn greatly: "Why has this sign happened in Israel?" But Annas and Caiaphas said, "Why are you disturbed? Why do you weep? Don't you know that his disciples gave a sum of gold to the guards at the tomb and instructed them to say that an angel descended from heaven and rolled the stone away from the door of the tomb?" But the priests and elders replied, "Even if his disciples stole the body, how did his soul return to the body, so that he is spending time in Galilee?" And they could scarcely make any answer, but said "We are not allowed to believe those who are uncircumcised."

The Search for Jesus

15

1 Nicodemus rose up and stood before the council and said, "What you have said is right. You know full well, people of the Lord, that these men who came down from Galilee fear God and are men of high standing who hate greed; they are peaceful men. They themselves have explained under oath that 'We saw Jesus on the mountain of Mamilch with his disciples,' and that he taught them everything that you heard from them, and that 'we have seen him being taken up into heaven.' Yet no one asked them in what form he was taken up. For just as the book of the holy Scriptures teaches us, Elijah was also taken up into heaven and Elisha called out with a great voice; then Elijah cast his sheepskin cloak upon Elisha. And Elisha cast his cloak upon the Jordan, then crossed over the river and came into Jericho. The children of the prophets came to him and said, 'Elisha, where is your master Elijah?' And he said that he had been taken up into heaven. They replied to Elisha, 'Is it possible that a spirit has seized him and cast him onto one of the mountains? Let us go out with our servants and look for him.' And they persuaded Elisha and he went

μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἡμέρας⁶⁰ καὶ οὐχ εὔρον αὐτόν, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἀνελήφθη. καὶ νῦν ἀκούσατέ μου, καὶ ἀποστείλωμεν ἐν παντὶ ὀρίῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἴδωμεν μήπως ἀπὸ πνεύματος ἀνελήφθη ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ῥέριπται ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν ὁρέων. καὶ ἤρρεσαν πᾶσιν ὁ λόγος οὗτος. καὶ ἀπέστειλαν ἐν παντὶ ὀρίῳ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐζήτησαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ οὐχ εὔρον αὐτόν· εὔρον δὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἰς Ἀριμαθαίαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν κρατῆσαι αὐτόν.

2 Καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς λευίταις ὅτι περιήλομεν ἐν παντὶ ὀρίῳ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ οὐχ εὔρομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν· τὸν δὲ Ἰωσήφ εὔρομεν εἰς Ἀριμαθαίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται ποίῳ τρόπῳ συντύχωσιν τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ἔλαβον τόμον χάρτου καὶ ἔγραψαν τῷ Ἰωσήφ τάδε.

Εἰρήνη σοι.⁶¹ οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰς σέ, καὶ ἠυξάμεθα τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ καταζητώσαι σε ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου καὶ πρὸς τὰ τέκνα σου, ὅτι ἐλυπήθημεν ἅπαντες· ἀνοίξαντες γὰρ τὴν θύραν οὐχ εὔρομεν σε. καὶ οἶδαμεν ὅτι βουλὴν κακὴν ἐβουλεύσαμεθα κατὰ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος ἀντελάβετό σου, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διεσκέδασεν τὴν βουλὴν ἡμῶν τὴν κατὰ σοῦ, τίμιε πάτερ Ἰωσήφ.

3 Καὶ ἐξελέξαντο ἀπὸ παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐπτὰ ἄνδρας φίλους τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, οὓς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐγνώριζεν, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται· βλέπετε· εἰ δεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῶν ἀναγνῶ, οἶδατε ὅτι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐλεύσεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀναγνῶ, οἶδατε ὅτι κεκάκωται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ εὐλόγησαντες τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ἄνδρες πρὸς Ἰωσήφ, καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν· εἰρήνη σοι.⁶² καὶ εἶπεν· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ. οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ δεξάμενος ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀνέγνω καὶ περιεπτύξατο τὴν ἐπιστολὴν,⁶³ καὶ εὐλόγησεν τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπεν· εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεός, ὃς ἐλυτρώσατο τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἐκχέειν αὐτοὺς αἷμα ἀθῶον· καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος, ὃς ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκέπασεν με ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ. καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς τράπεζαν,⁶⁴ καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον, καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐκεῖ.

4 Καὶ ὀρθρίσαντες ἠύξαντο· καὶ ἐπέσαξεν Ἰωσήφ τὴν ὄνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Ἰερουσαλήμ. καὶ ὑπήντησαν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῷ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἔκραζον· εἰρήνη εἰσόδῳ σου. καὶ εἶπεν

60 τρεις ημερας (B) C: *add.* και τρεις νυκτας A

61 σοι A E: *add.* και παντα οσα σοι (B) C

62 ειρηνη σοι E: *om.* A: *add.* και παντα οσα σοι (B) C

63 ανεγνω . . . επιστολην B C: ανεγνω αυτην E: *om.* A

64 εσκεπασεν . . . τραπεζαν B C E: σκεπασας με υπο τας πτερυγας αυτου παρεθηκε μοι τραπεζαν A

with them. They looked for him for three days without finding him, and so knew that he had been taken up.³⁴ So now listen to me: let us send forth to every mountain of Israel to see whether Christ has been taken up by a spirit and cast onto one of the mountains." This idea was pleasing to everyone. They sent forth to every mountain of Israel to look for Jesus, but they did not find him. They did, however, find Joseph in Arimathea. But no one dared to seize him.

Joseph of Arimathea Is Found and Summoned

2 They reported to the elders, priests, and Levites: "We passed through every mountain in Israel and we did not find Jesus. But we did find Joseph in Arimathea." When they heard about Joseph, they rejoiced and gave glory to the God of Israel. The leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites considered how they should deal with Joseph, and they took a roll of papyrus and wrote to Joseph as follows: "Peace be with you. We know that we sinned against God and against you, and we pray to the God of Israel that you think it worthwhile to come to your fathers and your children; for we are all deeply grieved. For we opened the door and did not find you. We know that we devised an evil plot against you, but the Lord helped you, and the Lord himself thwarted our plan against you, O honored father Joseph."

3 Then they chose seven men from all of Israel who were friends of Joseph, whom Joseph himself knew. The leaders of the synagogue, priests, and Levites said to them, "See now: if he receives our letter and reads it, you will know that he will come with you to us. But if he does not read it, you will know that he holds a grudge against us. If so, greet him in peace and return to us." They then blessed the men and sent them out. The men came to Joseph and bowed down before him, and said to him, "Peace be with you." He replied, "Peace be with you and with all the people of Israel." They handed him the letter, which he read and then rolled it up, blessing God: "Blessed be the Lord God, who delivered Israel from shedding innocent blood. And blessed be the Lord who sent his angel and protected me under his wings." He then laid out a table for them, and they ate and drank, and slept there.

4 They rose early in the morning and prayed. Then Joseph saddled his donkey and went out with the men, and they came to the holy city Jerusalem. All the crowd met Joseph and cried out, "Peace on your arrival!" He replied

34. Cf. 2 Kings 2:1–18.

πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαόν· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν πᾶς ὁ λαός, καὶ ἠϋξάντο ὁ λαὸς σὺν τῷ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐξίσταντο ἐπὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν Νικόδημος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφην καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς λευίτας εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ εὐφράνθησαν τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες σὺν τῷ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἕκαστος ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἔμεινεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Νικοδήμου.

5 Τῇ δὲ ἑπαύριον, ἧτις ἦν παρασκευή,⁶⁵ ὀρθρίσαντες οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται εἰς τὸν οἶκον Νικοδήμου, ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Νικόδημος καὶ εἶπεν· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. καὶ εἶπαν· εἰρήνη σοὶ καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐκαθέστη ἅπαν τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐκάθισε μέσον Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφης· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν λαλῆσαι αὐτῷ ῥῆμα. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· τί ὅτι ἐκεκλήκατέ με· διανεύουσιν δὲ τῷ Νικοδήμῳ λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ. ἀνοίξας δὲ Νικόδημος τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν τῷ Ἰωσήφ· πάτερ,⁶⁶ οἶδας ὅτι οἱ τίμιοι διδάσκαλοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται ζητοῦσιν παρά σου μαθεῖν ῥῆμα. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· ἐρωτήσατε. καὶ λαβόντες τὸν νόμον Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφης ὥρκισαν τὸν Ἰωσήφ λέγοντες· δὸς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ ἐξομολόγησιν. ὅτι ὁ Ἄχαρ ὀρκισθεὶς παρά τοῦ προφήτου Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐπίωρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῷ πάντα, καὶ οὐκ ἔκρυπεν αὐτῷ ῥῆμα· καὶ σὺ οὖν μὴ κρύψῃς ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἕως ῥήματος. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· οὐ κρύψω ἀφ' ὑμῶν ῥῆμα ἔν. καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν· λύπη ἐλυπήθημεν ὅτι ἠτήσω τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐνετύλιξας αὐτὸ σινδόνι καθαρᾷ καὶ ἔθηκας αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἠσφαλισάμεθά σε ἐν οἴκῳ ὅπου θυρὶς οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κλεῖδας καὶ σφραγίδας ἐπέθηκαμεν εἰς τὰς θύρας, καὶ παραφύλακες ἐτήρουν ὅπου ἦς κεκλεισμένοις. καὶ τῇ μῇ τοῦ σαββάτου ἀνοίξαντες οὐχ εὑράμεν σε, καὶ ἐλυπήθημεν σφόδρα· καὶ ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν κυρίου μέχρι τῆς ἐχθῆς. καὶ νῦν ἀναγγέλιον ἡμῖν τί γέγονας.

6 Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ ὧραν δεκάτην ἀπεκλείσατέ με, καὶ ἔμεινα τὸ σάββατον πλήρης. καὶ μεσουσῆς νυκτός, στήκοντός μου καὶ εὐχομένου, ὁ οἶκος ὅπου ἐνεκλείσατέ με ἐκρεμάσθη ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γωνιῶν, καὶ εἶδον ὡς ἀστραπὴν φωτός εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου. καὶ ἔμφοβος γενόμενος ἔπεσα χαμαί. καὶ ἐπελάβετό μου τῆς χειρός τις⁶⁷ καὶ ἐξέβαλέν με ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου ἤμην πεπτωκώς, καὶ ἰκμάς ὕδατος ἐξεχύθη ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς μου μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν μου, καὶ ὁσμη μύρου ἦλθεν περὶ τοὺς μυκτῆράς μου. καὶ ἐκμάζας μου τὸ πρόσωπον κατεφίλησέν με καὶ εἶπέν μοι· μὴ φοβοῦ, Ἰωσήφ· ἀνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἶδε τίς ἐστίν ὁ λαλῶν σοι. καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἶδον τὸν Ἰησοῦν· καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος ἐδόκουν φάντασμα εἶναι, καὶ τὰ προστάγματα ἔλεγον· καὶ αὐτὸς

65 ἧτις ἦν παρασκευη E: ἧτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν A: om. B

66 πάτερ E: κυριε μου, πάτερ Ἰωσήφ A: τιμει παντος του λαου B: om. C

67 τις E: αγγελος (B): om. C

to all the people, "May peace be with you." And all the people kissed him. The people prayed with Joseph and they were astonished at his appearance. Nicodemus welcomed him into his house and made a great feast, and he invited Annas and Caiaphas, along with the elders, priests, and Levites to his house. They rejoiced while eating and drinking with Joseph, and after singing a hymn each went away to his own house. But Joseph stayed in the house of Nicodemus.

Joseph of Arimathea Testifies before the Jewish Leaders

5 On the next day, which was the day of preparation, the leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites rose early and went to the house of Nicodemus. Nicodemus met them and said, "May peace be with you." They replied, "May peace be with you and with Joseph, and with all your house and with all the house of Joseph." Then he brought them into his house. When the entire Council was seated, Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas. No one dared say a word to him. So Joseph said, "Why have you called me?" They motioned to Nicodemus to speak to Joseph. Nicodemus opened his mouth and said to Joseph, "Father, you know that the revered teachers, and priests, and Levites are seeking to learn something from you." Joseph replied, "Go ahead and ask." Annas and Caiaphas then took the book of the Law and placed Joseph under an oath, saying, "Give glory to the God of Israel and make a confession to him. For also when Achar was placed under an oath by the prophet Joshua, he did not violate his oath but reported to him everything, and hid from him not a word. You too, do not hide from us a single word." Joseph replied, "I will not hide one word from you." They said to him, "We were greatly grieved because you asked for the body of Jesus and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth and placed it in a tomb. That is why we shut you up in a house with no window, and locked and sealed the door, and guards were watching where you were shut in. When we opened it up on the first day of the week and did not find you, we were exceedingly grieved. And amazement fell on all the people of the Lord until yesterday. Now, tell us what happened."

6 Joseph said, "On the day of preparation, around the tenth hour, you locked me in, and I stayed there the entire Sabbath. In the middle of the night, while I was standing in prayer, the house I was locked in was raised by its four corners, and I saw something like a flash of lightning with my eyes. Full of fear, I fell to the ground. Someone took me by the hand and brought me out from the place I had fallen. A mist of water poured out from my head to my feet; and a scent like myrrh reached my nose. He wiped off my face, kissed me, and said, 'Do not fear, Joseph. Open your eyes and see who is talking to you.' When I looked up, I saw Jesus. I was trembling and began to think it was a phantom; so I began reciting the commandments. But he was

συνέλεγέν μοι. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι φάντασμα, ἐὰν συναντήσῃ τινὶ καὶ ἀκούσῃ τῶν προσταγμάτων, φυγὴ φεύγει, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι συνέλεγέν μοι, εἶπον αὐτῷ· ῥάββι Ἥλῖα. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· οὐκ εἰμὶ Ἥλῖας, καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· τίς εἶ, κύριε; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς, οὐ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡτήσω παρὰ Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐνέδυσάς με σινδόνι καθαρᾷ καὶ σουδάριον ἐπέθηκας ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, καὶ ἔθηκάς με ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ σου τῷ καινῷ, καὶ ἐκύλισας λίθον μέγαν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ σπηλαίου. καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαλοῦντί μοι· δεῖξόν μοι τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔθηκά σε. καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔθηκα αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ σινδόνιον ἔκειτο ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σουδάριον τὸ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπέγνων ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν. καὶ ἐπελάβετό μου τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἔστησέν με τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων μέσον τοῦ οἴκου μου, καὶ ἀπήγαγέν με εἰς τὴν κλίνην μου καὶ εἶπέν μοι· εἰρήνη σοι. καὶ κατεφίλησέν με καὶ εἶπέν μοι· ἕως τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ πορεύομαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

16

1 Καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ νεκροὶ καὶ ἔπесαν χαμαί, καὶ ἐνήστευσαν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. καὶ παρεκάλεσεν ὁ Νικοδήμῃος σὺν τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὸν Ἄνναν καὶ τὸν Καϊάφην, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς λευῖτας λέγοντες· ἀνάστητε καὶ στήτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν, καὶ γεύσασθε ἄρτον καὶ ἐνισχύσατε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐριον σάββατον κυρίου ἐστίν. καὶ ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἠῤῥξαντο τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον, καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.

2 Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ ἐκάθισαν οἱ διδάσκαλοι ἡμῶν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ λευῖται συνζητοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ λέγοντες· τίς αὕτη ἡ ὄργῃ ἢ φθάσασα εἰς ἡμᾶς; ὅτι οἶδαμεν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα. λέγει Λευὶς διδάσκαλος· τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ οἶδα φοβουμένους τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς μὴ ἀποστερούντας καὶ τὰς δεκάτας ἀποδιδόντας τρεῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. καὶ ὅτε ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὸν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὀλοκαυτώματα ἔδωκαν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν αὐτόν ὁ μέγας διδάσκαλος Συμεὼν εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν· νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δούλον σου, δέσποτα, κατὰ τὸ ῥημά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, ὃ ἠτόιμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν, φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ ἠλόγησεν αὐτοὺς Συμεὼν, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Μαριὰμ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ· εὐαγγελίζομαι σοι περὶ τοῦ παιδιοῦ τούτου. καὶ εἶπεν Μαρία· ἀγαθόν, κύριέ μου; καὶ εἶπεν Συμεὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν· ἀγαθόν· ἰδοὺ οὗτος κεῖται εἰς πῶσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον· καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία, ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί.

speaking with me. Now, as you well know, if a phantom meets someone and hears the commandments, he flees straight off. But when I saw that he was speaking with me I said, 'Rabbi Elijah!' He replied to me, 'I am not Elijah.' I said to him, 'Who are you, Lord?' He said to me, 'I am Jesus, whose body you requested from Pilate. You clothed me in a clean linen cloth and placed a cloth upon my face, and laid me in your new cave, and rolled a great stone across the mouth of the cave.' So I said to the one speaking with me, 'Show me the place where I laid you.' He brought me out and showed me the place where I had laid him, and the linen cloth was lying in it, as was the cloth that had been on his face. Then I knew that it was Jesus. He took my hand and put me inside my own house, while the doors were still locked. He brought me to my bed and said, 'May peace be with you.' Then he kissed me and said to me, 'Do not leave your house for forty days; for see, I am going to my brothers in Galilee.'"

Levi Testifies

16

1 When the leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites heard these words from Joseph, they became like corpses and fell to the ground; and they ate nothing until the ninth hour. Then Nicodemus, along with Joseph, exhorted Annas and Caiaphas, the priests, and the Levites, "Rise up and stand on your feet. Eat some bread and strengthen your souls, for tomorrow is the Sabbath of the Lord." They arose and prayed to God, and ate and drank. Then each one went away to his own home.

2 On the Sabbath our teachers, the priests, and the Levites were sitting and discussing with one another, "What is this wrath that has come upon us? For we know his father and mother." Levi the teacher said, "I know that his parents fear God; they do not refrain from prayer and they pay their tithes three times a year. When Jesus was born, his parents brought him to this place, and they gave sacrifices and whole burnt offerings to God. When the great teacher Simeon took him in his arms, he said, 'Now release your slave in peace, O Master, according to your word. For my eyes have seen your salvation, which you prepared before all the people, a light of revelation for the nations and a glory for your people Israel.' Simeon blessed them and said to Mary, his mother, 'I tell you the good news about your son.' Mary replied, 'Is it good, my lord?' Simon said to her, 'It is good. See, this one is appointed for the falling and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign that will be disputed. And a sword will pass through your own soul, so that the thoughts out of many hearts might be revealed.'"³⁵

35. Cf. Luke 2:28–35.

3 Λέγουσιν τῷ διδασκάλῳ Λευίς· ταῦτα σὺ πῶς οἶδας; λέγει αὐτοῖς Λευίς· οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔμαθον τὸν νόμον; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ συνέδριον· τὸν πατέρα σου θέλομεν ἰδεῖν. καὶ μετεστείλαντο τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐρωτήσαντες αὐτόν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε τῷ υἱῷ μου; ὁ μακάριος⁶⁸ καὶ δικαίος Συμεὼν αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξεν αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον. λέγει τὸ συνέδριον· ῥάββι Λευί, ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας; καὶ εἶπεν· ἀληθὲς ἐστίν.⁶⁹ καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς οἱ ἀρχισυναγῶγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται· δευτε ἀποστείλωμεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐλθόντας καὶ ἐξηγησαμένους περὶ τῆς διδασχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπωσιν ἡμῖν πῶς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα. καὶ συνήρουν ὁ λόγος οὗτος πᾶσιν. καὶ ἀπέστειλαν⁷⁰ τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἤδη ἀπελθόντας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτούς· εἶπατε ῥάββι Ἀδᾶ καὶ ῥάββι Φινεὲς καὶ ῥάββι Ἀγγαίῳ· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσι σὺν ὑμῖν. ἐπιζητήσεως πολλῆς γενομένης ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀπεστάλημεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ καλέσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

4 Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ εὗρον αὐτοὺς καθεζομένους καὶ μελετοῦντας τὸν νόμον, καὶ ἠσπάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ εἶπαν· εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν. οἱ δὲ πάλιν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτούς· τί ὅτι ἤλθατε; καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀποσταλέντες· καλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς τὸ συνέδριον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες ὅτι ζητοῦνται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἠῦξαντο τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἀνεκλίθησαν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον, καὶ ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

5 Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐκαθέσθη τὸ συνέδριον ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, καὶ ἐπερώτησαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· ὄντως εἶδατε τὸν Ἰησοῦν καθεζόμενον εἰς τὸ ὄρος Μαμίλχ, διδάσκοντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἕνδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶδατε αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα; καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἄνδρες· ὡς ἴδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα, οὕτως καὶ εἴπαμεν.⁷¹

6 Λέγει Ἄνας· ἄρατε αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἴδομεν εἰ συμφωνεῖ ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν. καὶ ἦσαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. καὶ καλοῦσιν πρῶτον τὸν Ἀδᾶ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· πῶς ἴδες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀναληφθέντα; λέγει Ἀδᾶς· ἔτι καθεζομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Μαμίλχ καὶ διδάσκοντος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶδαμεν νεφέλην ἐπισκιάσανσαν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἡ νεφέλη⁷² εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔκειντο ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ καλοῦσιν Φινεὲς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ ἠρώτησαν καὶ αὐτὸν λέγοντες· πῶς ἴδες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀναληφθέντα; καὶ αὐτὸς

68 μακαριος B E: μεγας C

69 καὶ εἶπεν· ἀληθὲς ἐστίν (C) E: om. B

70 ἀπεστειλαν B E: add. προς C

71 καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν . . . εἴπαμεν C E: om. B Coptic

72 καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἡ νεφέλη B: καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπῆρθη ἡ νεφέλη C: καὶ εὐθεὶς ἦλθεν ἡ νεφέλη καὶ ἦρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνελήφθη E

3 They responded to the teacher, Levi: "How do you know these things?" Levi replied to them, "Do you not know that I learned the law from him?" The council said to him, "We want to see your father." So they sent for his father. When they questioned him, he said to them: "Why have you not believed my son? The blessed and righteous Simeon himself taught him the law." The council said, "Rabbi Levi, are you speaking the truth?" Levi replied, "It is the truth." And the leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites said to one another, "Come, let us send to Galilee to the three men who came and described his teaching and his ascension, and they will tell us how they saw him taken up." This word was pleasing to everyone. So they sent the three men who had already gone to Galilee with them, and they said to them, "Say to Rabbi Adas, Rabbi Phineas, and Rabbi Angaius, 'May peace be to you and to all who are with you. Because a great dispute has occurred in the council, we have been sent to you to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.'"

Adas, Phineas, and Angaius Testify Again

4 The men went to Galilee and found them sitting and studying the law. They greeted them in peace. The men who were in Galilee said to those who had come to them, "May peace be with all Israel." And they replied, "May peace be with you." Then they said to them, "Why have you come?" Those who were sent said, "The council is calling you to come to the holy city Jerusalem." When the men heard that they were being sought by the council, they prayed to God, and then reclined for a meal with the men, and ate and drank. Then they arose and went in peace to Jerusalem.

5 On the next day the council was seated in the synagogue, and they questioned them, "Did you really see Jesus seated on the mountain Mamilch, teaching his eleven disciples? And did you see him being taken up?" The men answered them, "We saw him taken up, as we have told you."

6 Annas said, "Separate them from one another and let us see if their accounts agree." They separated them from one another and first called Adas. They said to him, "How did you see Jesus being taken up?" Adas responded, "While he was sitting on the mountain Mamilch, teaching his disciples, we saw a cloud overshadow both him and his disciples. The cloud then took him up to heaven, and his disciples lay flat on the ground." They called Phineas, the priest, and asked him also, "How did you see Jesus being taken up?" He

εἶπεν ὡσαύτως, ἠρώτησαν δὲ πάλιν τὸν Ἀγγαῖον· καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὡσαύτως, καὶ εἶπαν τὸ συνέδριον· ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως περιέχει· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο ἢ τριῶν σταθῆσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. λέγει ὁ Βουθὲμ διδάσκαλος· γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ περιεπάτει Ἐνώχ σὺν τῷ θεῷ,⁷³ καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ὅτι ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός. Ἰάειρος διδάσκαλος εἶπεν· καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωϋσέως θάνατον ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶδαμεν· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου· καὶ ἀπέθανεν Μωϋσῆς ἐκ στόματος κυρίου, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω ἀνὴρ τὴν ταφήν αὐτοῦ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, καὶ ῥαββὶ Λευὶς εἶπεν· τί ὅτι ῥαββὶ Συμεὼν εἶπεν, ὡς εἶδεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν· ἰδοὺ οὗτος κείται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον; καὶ ῥαββὶ Ἰσαὰκ εἶπεν· γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς προπορεύεται ἔμπροσθέν σου τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσῃ ὁδῷ ἀγαθῇ, ὅτι τὸ ὄνομά μου κέκληται ἐν αὐτῇ.

7 Τότε Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας εἶπαν· ὀρθῶς εἶπατε τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως, ὅτι τοῦ Ἐνώχ θάνατον οὐδεὶς εἶδεν καὶ Μωϋσῆ⁷⁴ θάνατον οὐδεὶς ὠνόμασεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λόγον ἔδωκεν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· καὶ ὅτι εἶδαμεν αὐτὸν ῥαπίσματα λαβόντα καὶ ἔμπτύσματα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι ἐφραγελλώθη καὶ ἀπόφασιν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ Πιλάτου, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρανίου ἐσταυρώθη καὶ δύο λησταὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ὄξος ἐπότισαν αὐτὸν μετὰ χολῆς, καὶ ὅτι λόγχη τὴν πλευράν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέντησεν Λογγίνος ὁ στρατιώτης, καὶ ὅτι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἠτήσατο Ἰωσήφ ὁ τίμιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅτι καθὼς λέγει ἀνέστη, καὶ καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ τρεῖς διδάσκαλοι· εἶδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ ῥαββὶ Λευὶς εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας τὰ λεχθέντα παρὰ τοῦ ῥαββὶ Συμεὼν, καὶ ὅτι εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ οὗτος κείται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον.

Καὶ εἶπαν πάντες οἱ διδάσκαλοι πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαὸν κυρίου· εἰ παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, γινώσκοντες γνώσεσθε, οἶκος Ἰακώβ, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμάμενος. καὶ ἑτέρα γραφὴ διδάσκει· θεοὶ οἵτινες τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐποίησαντο, ἀπολούνται. καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λεῦϊται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· εἰ ἕως τοῦ Σώμμου τοῦ λεγομένου Ἰωβὴλ τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ,⁷⁵ γινώσχετε ὅτι

73 καὶ περιεπάτει Ἐνώχ σὺν τῷ θεῷ (E); καὶ μετετεθῆ Ἐνώχ C G; οὐκ εὐρίσκειτο Ἐνώχ B

74 Μωϋση B; καὶ τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλίου E; καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλία G

75 εἰ ἕως τοῦ Σωμμου τοῦ λεγομένου Ἰωβηλ τὸ μνημοσυνον αὐτου G Coptic; καὶ ἴσως τοῦ λεγομένου Ἰουιλ τὸ μνημοσυνον αὐτου C; εἰ ἐν τοσούτῳ μετὰ τοῦ λεγομένου Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὸ μνημοσυνον αὐτου ἐστὶ E

gave them a similar response. Then they asked Angaius, and he also gave a similar response. The council said, "The law of Moses indicates, 'Every word will be established from the mouths of two or three people.'"³⁶ Bouthem the teacher said, "It is written in the law, 'Enoch walked with God, and he was no longer, for God took him.'"³⁷ Jairus the teacher said, "And we have heard of the death of the holy Moses, but we have not seen him. For it is written in the law of the Lord, 'Moses died by the mouth of the Lord, and no one has known where his tomb is to this day.'"³⁸ Rabbi Levi said, "Why is it that the Rabbi Simeon said, when he saw Jesus, 'See, this one is appointed for the falling and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign that will be disputed'?"³⁹ Rabbi Isaac said, "It is written in the law, 'See, I am sending my messenger before you; he will precede you to guard you in every good path, for my name has been called in it.'"⁴⁰

The Jewish Leaders Themselves Testify

7 Then Annas and Caiaphas said, "You have rightly said that it is written in the law of Moses that no one saw the death of Enoch and no one named the death of Moses. But Jesus made a defense before Pilate; and we have seen that he received blows and was spit in the face; and that the soldiers placed a crown of thorns on him; and that he was scourged and received a sentence from Pilate; and that he was crucified on the place of the skull, along with two brigands; and that he was given vinegar with gall to drink, and that Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear, and that our honored father Joseph requested his body; and that, as he now says, he has been raised; and that, as the three teachers have said, 'We saw him being taken up to heaven'; and that Rabbi Levi spoke bearing witness to what was said by Rabbi Simeon, 'See, this one is appointed for the falling and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign that will be disputed.'"

All the teachers said to the entire people, "If what has happened has come from the Lord, and it is a marvel in our eyes, you should know for certain, O house of Jacob, that it is written: 'Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree.'⁴¹ And another scripture teaches, 'The gods who did not make heaven and earth will be destroyed.'⁴² The priests and Levites then said to one another, "If his remembrance extends until the year⁴³ which is called Jubilee, know that he

36. Deut. 19:15.

37. Gen. 5:24.

38. Deut. 34:5–6.

39. Luke 2:34.

40. Exod. 23:20–21.

41. Deut. 21:23.

42. Jer. 10:11.

43. Greek: *sōmmou*; possibly corrupt, or possibly a form of the Hebrew term *šannah* for "year."

ἐπικρατεῖ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἐγείρει ἑαυτῷ λαὸν καινόν. τότε παρήγγειλαν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται παντὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες· ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ὃς ποίημα χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου προσκυνήσει, καὶ ἐπικατάρατος ἀνὴρ ὃς κτίσματα παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα προσκυνήσει. καὶ εἶπεν πᾶς ὁ λαός· ἀμήν ἀμήν.

8 Καὶ ὑμνησεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ εἶπεν· εὐλογητὸς κύριος, ὃς ἔδωκεν κατάπαυσιν τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν· οὐκ ἔπεσεν ῥῆμα ἐν ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥήματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὅσα ἐλάλησεν Μωϋσῆ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ. εἶη κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν καθὼς ἦν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν· μὴ ἀπολέση ἡμᾶς. καὶ μὴ ἀπολέση ἡμᾶς⁷⁶ τοῦ κλίνει καρδίαν ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, τοῦ πορευθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐνετείλατο τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν. καὶ ἔσται κύριος εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· καὶ ἔσται κύριος εἷς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἓν, κύριος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν.⁷⁷ αὐτὸς σώσει ἡμᾶς. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοίός σοι, κύριε· μέγας εἶ σύ, κύριε, καὶ μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου. ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου ἴασαι ἡμᾶς, κύριε, καὶ ἰαθησόμεθα· σώσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε, καὶ σωθησόμεθα· ὅτι μερίς καὶ κληρονομία σου ἐσμέν. καὶ οὐκ ἔάσει κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ὅτι ἤρξατο κύριος τοῦ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἅπαντες ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξα⁷⁸ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

⁷⁶ μη απολεση ημας. και μη απολεση ημας G: μη απολεση ημας F: και μη απολεση ημας C: μη εγκαταλιπης ημας κυριε, και μη απωση ημας E (Coptic)

⁷⁷ κυριος βασιλευς ημων F G H Coptic: κυριος ο θεος εις, βασιλευς ημων C (E)

⁷⁸ αυτου η δοξα F H: αυτω πρεπει δοξα και το κρατος G: αυτω πρεπει πασα δοξα τιμη και προσκυνησις· μεγαλοσυνη τε και μεγαλοπρεπεια τω πατρι και τω υιω και τω αγιω πνευματι C

will prevail forever and will raise a new people for himself.” Then the leaders of the synagogue, the priests, and the Levites proclaimed to all Israel, “Cursed is that man who worships what is made by human hands, and cursed is the man who worships creatures alongside the one who created them.” And all the people replied, “Yes indeed!”

8 And all the people sang a hymn to the Lord and said, “Blessed is the Lord, who gave rest to the people of Israel, according to everything that he has said. Not one word failed of all the good words he spoke to Moses, his slave. May the Lord our God be with us just as he was with our fathers. May he not destroy us. May he not destroy us so that we might incline our hearts to him, to walk along all his paths and to keep his commandments and the decrees that he commanded our fathers. The Lord will be king over all the earth in that day; and the Lord will be one and his name will be one, the Lord our king. He will save us. There is no one like you, O Lord. You are great, O Lord, and great is your name. Heal us by your power, O Lord, and we will be healed. Save us, O Lord, and we will be saved. We are your portion and inheritance. The Lord will not forsake his people, on account of his great name; for the Lord has begun to make us his people.”

When all had sung this hymn, each one returned to his home, glorifying God—for his glory is forever and ever. Amen.

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The Gospel of Nicodemus (The Acts of Pilate) B

(Including the Descent into Hades)

The narrative preserved in Tischendorf's "B" text of the Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate) is a later reworking of the A text, and includes an entirely new narrative, in eleven chapters, of the "Descent into Hades." This account became the basis of much of the later speculation concerning the "harrowing of hell." As an entire narrative, the Gospel of Nicodemus B deals with Jesus' trial before Pilate, his crucifixion, resurrection (and its "proofs" in his resurrection appearances), and a postresurrection recollection of what occurred during the days of his death, when he set free the captives of Satan in Hades.

This alternative version of the Gospel of Nicodemus shows how fluid and utterly malleable these traditions were. There was no fixed text; rather, the stories were told and retold, written and rewritten, over the centuries. This makes it difficult—well nigh impossible—to speak about an "original" form of these traditions. We have Latin attestation of the extended narrative (the "B" text) dating from the ninth century; and in fact recent scholarship (Gounelle) has argued that the Greek B text, found in about thirty manuscripts, represents a translation *back* into Greek from the Latin. In any event, the long addition of the Descent into Hades appears to have reached some kind of written form sometime in the fifth or sixth centuries (Klauck; cf. Gounelle [sixth century, in Latin]).

The reasons for the creation of Greek B were much the same as those for the older form A (see introduction there): to proclaim the divinity of Christ, the innocence of Pilate, and the culpability of the Jews. But the descent to Hades embodies still other concerns. Most obviously, it provides a narrative elaboration of the terse statement of 1 Peter 3:19, which indicates that after his death Christ "went and made a proclamation to the spirits who were in prison."

This elaboration came in response to questions that had long tantalized Christians familiar with the traditions of Jesus' death and resurrection. If Jesus

died on Friday, but was not raised until Sunday, what was he doing during the interim? And if his death brings salvation—what about those who died before his appearance on earth? Do they too receive salvation? When, and how? Taken together, these questions led to stories of Jesus' journey to the realm of the dead, to "lead captivity captive" (Eph. 4:8). The account of the Descent in the Gospel of Nicodemus B is our oldest surviving record of these stories.

Like Nicodemus A, however, it was not written purely to answer speculative questions, as it too contains clear theological teachings, for example, explaining why the Son of God had to become human (in order to dupe Satan and so bring salvation to the dead), and to exalt his incomparable divine character, as again attested by a string of impeccable witnesses: the two sons of Symeon now raised from the dead and a number of occupants of Hades (John the Baptist, Abraham, Isaiah, Seth, David)—not to mention Satan and Hades itself.

Since the first sixteen chapters of Nicodemus B repeat material in Nicodemus A, although often in highly variant form, they will not be reproduced in full here. Instead, simply to give a sense of how malleable the tradition was over time, even in written form, we have provided just the end of the account, from the report of the Roman guard of what happened at the resurrection to the account of the three Jewish witnesses from Galilee to Jesus' ascension (where Greek A ends; in both A and B this is chs. 13–16). Then will be given, in toto, the new material of chapters 17–27, which recount the Descent.

The text here is reproduced from Tischendorf Greek B, which is based on four manuscripts (three for chs. 13–16; two of which, along with another, give the Descent in 17–27). These manuscripts all date from the fourteenth century and later. In our apparatus we have noted only those variants that are of special interest (i.e., for interpretation). For a discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Tischendorf's edition, pp. lxiii–lxiv. The manuscripts Tischendorf used in establishing the text are as follows:

A—seventeenth century

B—fifteenth century

C—fifteenth century (for the "Acts of Pilate" section, chs. 13–16)

C—fourteenth century (for the "Descent to Hades" section)

Bibliography

See the bibliography given for Gospel of Nicodemus A.

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EVANGELIUM NICODEMI (ACTA PILATI) B

13

1 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ παραγεγόμενος εἷς στρατιώτης ἐκ τῶν τηρούντων τὸν τάφον εἶπεν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· μάθετε ὅτι ἀνέστη ὁ Ἰησοῦς. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· πῶς; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· σεισμὸς ἐγένετο πρῶτον· εἶτα ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀστραπηφόρος ἐλθὼν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐκύλισε τὸν λίθον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ ἐγενόμεθα πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται ὡς νεκροί, καὶ οὔτε φυγεῖν ἐδυνάμεθα οὔτε λαλῆσαι. ἠκούσαμεν δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου λέγοντος πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐλθούσας ἐκεῖσε τὸν τάφον ἰδεῖν ὅτι μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὑμεῖς· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε. οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἀνέστη, καθὼς προεῖπεν ὑμῖν. κύψατε καὶ ἴδατε τὸν τάφον, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. πορευθήτε δὲ καὶ εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ πορευέσθωσαν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐρήσουσι. διὰ τοῦτο λέγω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ τοῦτο πρότερον.

2 Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας· ποῖα ἦσαν αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλθούσαι εἰς τὸ μνήμα, καὶ διατί οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε αὐτάς; λέγουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται· ἐκ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῆς θεωρίας μόνης τοῦ ἀγγέλου οὔτε λαλεῖν οὔτε σαλεύειν ἐδυνάμεθα. εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ζῆ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι οὐδὲν πιστεύομεν ὅσον λέγετε. λέγουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται· τὸσαῦτα θαύματα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἄρτι μέλλετε πιστεῦναι ἡμῖν; ἀληθῶς λέγετε ὅτι ζῆ ὁ θεός, καὶ ὄντως ἀληθῶς ζῆ ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε. πλὴν ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἶχετε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ κεκλεισμένον· εἶτα ἀνοίξαντες τὰς θύρας οὐχ εὔρατε αὐτόν. δότε οὖν ὑμεῖς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ οὕτω δώσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς φυγόντα εὐρήσατε αὐτόν εἰς Ἀρμαθίαν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. λέγουσι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται· ἀπέλθατε καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ εὐρήσατε τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καθὼς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπε ταῖς γυναῖξιν.

3 Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι φοβηθέντες εἶπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· ὁράτε ἵνα μηδενὶ τούτων τὸν λόγον εἶπητε καὶ πάντες πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. οὗ χάριν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀργύρια πολλά. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται εἶπον· φοβούμεθα μήπως ἀκούσῃ ὁ Πιλάτος ὅτι ἐλάβομεν ἡμεῖς ἀργύρια, καὶ φονεύσει ἡμᾶς. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον· λάβετε ταῦτα, καὶ ἐγγυώμεθα ἡμεῖς ἵνα δώσομεν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἀπολογίαὴν ἀντὶ ὑμῶν· μόνον εἶπατε ὅτι ἐκοιμάσθε, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕπον ὑμῶν ἦλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔκλεψαν αὐτόν ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος.¹

1 καὶ εἰς . . . μνήματος A: om. B

Gospel of Nicodemus B and the Descent of Christ to Hades
The Gospel of Nicodemus

Not given: chapters 1–12.

The Report of the Guard at the Tomb

13

1 Then one of the soldiers who had been guarding the tomb arrived in the synagogue and said, “You should know that Jesus has arisen.” The Jews said, “How?” He replied, “First there was an earthquake. Then an angel of the Lord, flashing like lightning, came from heaven, rolled the stone away from the crypt, and sat on it. Struck by fear before him, all of us soldiers became like corpses; we could neither flee nor speak. But we heard the angel speaking with the women who had come there to see the tomb: ‘Do not fear! I know that you are looking for Jesus. He is not here, but he has risen, just as he told you in advance. Stoop down and look into the tomb where they laid his body. Go and tell his disciples that he has been raised from the dead. They should go to Galilee, for they will find him there. This is why I am speaking with you first.’”¹

2 The Jews said to the soldiers, “Who were the women who came to the grave? And why did you not seize them?” The soldiers said, “We were terrified just by the appearance of the angel, and were able neither to speak nor to move.”² The Jews said, “As the God of Israel lives, we do not believe anything you are saying.” The soldiers replied, “Jesus did such amazing deeds, and you did not believe; how would you be about to believe us now? You speak the truth when you say ‘As God lives,’ for truly indeed, the one you crucified lives. But we have heard that you were holding Joseph, locked in prison. Then when you opened the doors, you did not find him. So then, you give us Joseph and we will give you Jesus.” The Jews said, “Joseph has fled from prison; you will find him in his own land of Arimathea.” The soldiers replied, “And if you go to Galilee you will find Jesus, just as the angel said to the women.”

3 Frightened by these words, the Jews said to the soldiers, “See that you report this to no one else, or everyone will believe in Jesus.” To this end they gave them a large sum of money. But the soldiers said, “We are afraid that Pilate will hear that we took money and will execute us.” The Jews replied, “Take it, and we promise to defend you before Pilate. Just say that you fell asleep, and while you slept Jesus’ disciples came and stole him from the grave.”

1. Cf. Matt. 28:1–7.

2. Cf. Matt. 28:4.

ἔλαβον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἀργύρια, καὶ εἶπον καθὼς παρηγγέλθησαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ὁ τοιοῦτος ψευδῆς λόγος λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

14

1 Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας ἦλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἄνθρωποι τρεῖς· ὁ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦν ἱερεὺς ὀνόματι Φινεές, ὁ ἕτερος λευίτης ὀνόματι Ἀγγαῖος, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στρατιώτης ὀνόματι Ἀδᾶς. οὗτοι ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, εἶδομεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἕνδεκα μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, διδάσκοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγοντα· πορεύθητε εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ κηρύξτε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ὅστις πιστεύσει καὶ βαπτισθῆ ἰσθῆσεται, ὅστις δὲ οὐ πιστεύσει κατακριθήσεται. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ ἐθεωροῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἐπέκεινα.

2 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους τρεῖς· δότε δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ μετανοήσατε ἐφ' οἷς καταψεύδεσθε. ἀπεκρίθησαν οὗτοι· ζῆ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, τοῦ Ἀβραάμ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, οὐ ψευδόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὑμῖν λέγομεν. τότε εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ ἔφερον τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ἐξόρκισεν αὐτούς, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀργύρια ἀπέστειλεν αὐτούς εἰς τόπον ἕτερον, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ² ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κηρύξωσιν.

3 Τῶν τοιούτων οὖν λόγων ἀκουσθέντων εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν συνήχη ὁ ὄχλος ἐν τῷ ναῷ, καὶ ἐγένετο μεγάλη στάσις. ἔλεγον γὰρ πολλοὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καθὼς ἀκούομεν, καὶ διατὶ ἐσταυρώσατε αὐτόν; ὁ δὲ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας εἶπον· μὴ πιστεύετε, Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, μηδὲ πιστεύετε ὅτι εἶδον αὐτὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάντα ἄγγελον. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐδώκαμεν ἀργύρια πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσι τοιοῦτους λόγους, καὶ οὕτως ἔδωκαν καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς ἀργύρια ἵνα λέγωσιν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν.

15

1 Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ὦ παῖδες τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν. ὁ προφήτης Ἥλιος ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ πυρίνου ἄρματος, καὶ οὐδὲν

2 Χριστοῦ Α: Κυρίου Β

Then the soldiers took the money and said what they were ordered to say. And to this day this false account is given by the Jews.³

Phineas, Angaius, and Adas Witness to the Resurrection

14

1 After a few days three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem. One of them was a priest named Phineas, another was a Levite named Angaius, and the other was a soldier named Adas. These came to the chief priests and said to them and to the people: "We saw Jesus, the one you crucified, in Galilee with his eleven disciples, on the Mount of Olives; he was teaching them and saying, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel. Whoever will believe and be baptized will be saved; but whoever will not believe will be condemned.'⁴ When he said these things he went up into heaven. We ourselves saw this from afar, as did many others of the five hundred."⁵

2 When the chief priests and the Jews heard these things, they said to these three men, "Give glory to the God of Israel and retract these false words." They answered, "As the God of our fathers lives, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we are not speaking falsely; we have told you the truth." Then the high priest spoke, and they brought the ancient book of the Hebrews from the temple; and he made them swear an oath. He then gave them money as well, and sent them to another place, to keep them from preaching the resurrection of Christ in Jerusalem.

3 When all the people heard these various accounts, a crowd gathered in the temple, and there was a great disturbance. Many of them were saying, "Jesus has risen from the dead, just as we have heard. So why did you crucify him?" But Annas and Caiaphas said, "O Jews, do not believe everything the soldiers are saying, nor believe that they saw an angel coming down from heaven, for we gave the soldiers money to keep them from telling these things to anyone. So too Jesus' disciples also gave them money to say that Jesus rose from the dead."

Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea with the Jewish Leaders

15

1 Nicodemus said, "O children of the Jerusalemites! The prophet Elijah went up to the heights of heaven with a fiery chariot;⁶ and so, it would be nothing

3. Cf. Matt. 28:11–15.

4. Cf. Mark 16:15–16.

5. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:6.

6. 2 Kings 2:1–18.

ἄπιστον εἶ και ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη· προτύπως γὰρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας ἦν, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη, μὴ ἀπιστήσητε. ἐγὼ οὖν λέγω και συμβουλευόμεαι ὅτι πρέπει ἵνα ἀποστείλωμεν στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐκεῖ ὅπου μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὅτι εἶδον αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅπως γυρεύσωσι και³ εὔρωσιν αὐτόν, και οὕτως ἵνα ζητήσωμεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συγχώρησιν εἰς τὸ κακὸν ὅπερ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε. ἤρσεν οὗτος ὁ λόγος, και ἐξελέξαντο στρατιώτας και ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. και τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν οὐχ εὔρον, εὔρον δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀριμαθίαν τὸν Ἰωσήφ.

2 Ἐπιστραφέντων οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν γνωρίσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὅτι Ἰωσήφ εὔρεθη, συήγαγον τὸν λαὸν και εἶπον· τί ποιήσωμεν τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἔλθειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς; συμβουλευσάμενοι οὖν ἔγραψαν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν οὕτως· πάτερ Ἰωσήφ, εἰρήνη σοὶ και παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου και τοῖς φίλοις σου. ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐπαίσαμεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν και πρὸς σὲ τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλοῦμέν σε ἵνα ἔλθῃς ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς παῖδάς σου. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐθανυμάσαμεν πῶς ἐφυγες ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς, και ἀληθῶς λέγομεν ὅτι κακὴν βουλὴν εἴχομεν κατὰ σοῦ· ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἀδίκως ἐβουλευόμεθα κατὰ σοῦ, ἐλυτρώσατό σε ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν. ἀλλ' ἔρχου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, σὺ γὰρ εἶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν ἡ τιμὴ.

3 Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ἀριμαθίαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπτά, φίλων τοῦ Ἰωσήφ· οἵτινες ἀπελθόντες και εὑρόντες αὐτὸν και προσαγορεύσαντες ἐντίμως, ὡς παρηγγέλθησαν, ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. και οὗτος δεξάμενος ταύτην και ἀναγνούς ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεόν, και κατηπάσατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, και τραπέζης ἐπιτεθείσης ἦσθι και ἔπινε μετ' αὐτῶν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας και τῆς νυκτός.

4 Τῇ ἐπαύριον δὲ ἐπορεύθη μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. και ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ και κατηπάσαντο αὐτόν. ὑπεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ὁ Νικόδημος. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσκαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ὁ τε Ἄννας και Καϊάφας οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς εἶπον αὐτῷ· δὸς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, και εἰπέ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκήδευσας, και ἐν τούτῳ ἐκρατήσαμέν σε και κατεκλείσαμεν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ. εἶτα ζητήσαντες ἐκβαλεῖν σε πρὸς τὸ φονεῦσθαι οὐχ εὔρομεν, και ἐθανυμάσαμεν και ἐφοβήθημεν πολλὰ· πλὴν ἐδεόμεθα τοῦ θεοῦ εὔρεῖν και ἐρωτήσαί σε. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀληθές.

5 Ἐφη πρὸς αὐτούς ὁ Ἰωσήφ· κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῆς παρσκευῆς, ὅτε με ἐν φυλακῇ κατηφαίσατε, ἔπεσον εἰς προσευχὴν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός και δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ σαββάτου. και τοῦ μεσονυκτίου ὀρῶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς φυλακῆς ὅτι ἐσίκωσαν αὐτὸν ἄγγελοι τέσσαρες, ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων γονιῶν κατέχοντες αὐτόν. και εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡς ἀστραπή, και ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν γῆν. κρατήσας οὖν με τῆς χειρὸς ἡγείρε λέγων· μὴ φοβοῦ, Ἰωσήφ. εἶτα περιλαβὼν κατεφίλησέ με και λέγει· ἐπιστράφου και ἴδε τίς εἰμι. στραφεὶς οὖν και ἰδὼν εἶπον· κύριε, οὐκ οἶδα τίς εἶ. λέγει ἐκεῖνος· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς, ὃν προεχθὲς ἐκήδευσας. λέγω πρὸς αὐτόν· δεῖξόν μοι τὸν τάφον, και

incredible if Jesus also arose. For the prophet Elijah was a foreshadowing of Jesus. So, when you hear that Jesus arose, do not disbelieve it. I give this advice: it would be fitting for us to send soldiers to Galilee, where the men testify that they saw him with his disciples; they can wander around and find him; and then we can ask his forgiveness for the evil you did against him." This idea was pleasing to them; they selected soldiers and sent them to Galilee. They did not find Jesus, however; but they did find Joseph, in Arimathea.

2 When the soldiers returned, the chief priests learned that Joseph had been found; they gathered the people and asked, "What can we do to induce Joseph to come to us?" After talking it over, they wrote him a letter, which read as follows: "Father Joseph: may peace be with you, with all your house, and with your friends. We know that we sinned against God and against you, his slave. For this reason we ask you to come here to us, your servants. For we were greatly astonished that you managed to flee from prison; and we speak the truth when we say that we were planning to do you harm. But God saw that our plot against you was unjust; and so he rescued you from our hand. But come to us, for you are the honor of our people."

3 The Jews sent this letter to Arimathea with seven soldiers who were friends of Joseph. When they came and found him, they greeted him honorably, as they were instructed, and gave him the letter. When he took it and read it, he gave glory to God and embraced the soldiers. And he prepared a table and ate and drank with them the entire day and night.

4 On the next day he went with them to Jerusalem. The people came out to meet him and embraced him. Nicodemus welcomed him in his house. The following day the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas summoned him to the temple and said to him, "Give glory to the God of Israel and tell us the truth. For we know that you provided a burial for Jesus, and that is why we arrested you and locked you in prison. When we tried to bring you out to execute you, we did not find you, and we were astonished and terrified. But we prayed to God that we could find you for questioning. And so, tell us the truth."

5 Joseph said to them, "On the evening of the day of preparation, when you secured me in prison, I fell on my face in prayer through the entire night and the entire day of the Sabbath. In the middle of the night I saw that four angels had raised the house of the prison, holding it by its four corners. And Jesus entered like a flash of lightning. I fell to the ground out of fear. He grabbed me by the hand and raised me up, saying, 'Do not fear, Joseph.' Then putting his arms around me he kissed me and said, 'Turn around and see who I am.' When I turned and saw him I said, 'Lord, I do not know who you are.' He said, 'I am Jesus, whom you buried yesterday.' I said to him, 'Show me the

τότε πιστεύσω. λαβὼν οὖν με τῆς χειρὸς ἀπήγαγεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ὄντι ἠνεωγμένῳ. καὶ ἰδὼν ἐγὼ τὴν σινδόνα καὶ τὸ σουδάριον καὶ γνωρίσας εἶπον· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, καὶ προσεκύνησα αὐτόν. εἶτα λαβὼν με τῆς χειρὸς, ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἄριμαθίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, καὶ λέγει μοι· κάθου ἐνταῦθα ἕως ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπάγω εἰς τοὺς μαθητάς μου, ἵνα πληροφορήσω αὐτοὺς κηρύττειν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν.

16

1 Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἔκραξαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πρὸς τὸν λαόν· ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶχε καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· πῶς μέλλομεν πιστεύσαι ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός; ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ τῶν Λευιτῶν εἰς καὶ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ οἶδα τὴν γενεάν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀνθρώπους εὐγενεῖς, δουλευτάς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλους καὶ λαμβάνοντας δεκάτας ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὅτι ἐδέξατο αὐτόν ὅτε ἦν βρέφος καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δούλόν σου, δέσποτα.

2 Εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· εὕρωμεν δὴ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἰδόντας αὐτόν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὡς ἂν ἐρωτήσωμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ μάθωμεν ἀκριβέστερον τὴν ἀλήθειαν. εὗρον καὶ ἔφερον αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, καὶ ἐξόρκισαν αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οἱ δὲ εἶπον· ζῆ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι εἶδομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν ζῶντα καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνοντα.

3 Τότε ὁ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας διεχώρισαν τοὺς τρεῖς ἕνα καὶ ἕνα, καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἕνα. ὁμοφώνησαν οὖν καὶ εἶπον καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἕνα λόγον. ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς λέγοντες· ἡ γραφὴ ἡμῶν λέγει ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθῆσεται. ὁ οὖν Ἰωσήφ ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι ἐκήδευσεν καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτόν μετὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου, καὶ πῶς ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἠγέρθη.

tomb and then I will believe.' He took me by the hand and led me to the tomb, which stood open. When I saw the linen cloth and the head cloth, I recognized him and said, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord.' And I worshiped him. Then he took me by the hand, with angels following us, and led me to my house in Arimathea; and he said to me, 'Sit here for forty days; for I am going to my disciples, to give them the confidence to preach my resurrection.'"

Other Witnesses to Jesus

16

1 When Joseph said these things the chief priests cried out to the people, "We know that Jesus had both a father and mother; how then are we to believe that he is the Christ?" One of the Levites responded, "I know Jesus' family. They are noble people, great slaves of God who obtain tithes from the Jewish people. I also know that the old man Simeon received him when he was a child and said to him, 'Now release your slave, O Master.'"⁷

2 The Jews said, "Let us find the three men who saw him on the Mount of Olives, so that we can question them and learn more accurately the truth." They found them and brought them before the multitude, and put them under oath to speak the truth. And they said, "As the God of Israel lives, we saw Jesus alive, on the Mount of Olives, and going up into heaven."

3 Then Annas and Caiaphas separated the three men from one another and questioned each one individually. And they agreed with one another and all three gave the same account. The chief priests responded, "Our Scripture says that every word given by two or three witnesses will be established."⁸ Joseph therefore admits that he buried and entombed him with the help of Nicodemus; and he states that it is true that he was raised."

7. Cf. Luke 2:29.

8. Deut. 19:15.

DESCENSUS CHRISTI AD INFEROS

17

1 Λέγει Ἰωσήφ· καὶ τί θαυμάζετε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἠγέρθη; οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦτο θαυμαστόν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν ἐστιν ὅτι οὐκ ἠγέρθη μόνος, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀλλήλους πολλοὺς νεκροὺς ἤγειρεν, οἵτινες ἐνεφανίσθησαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρὸς πολλοὺς, καὶ εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐ γινώσκετε, τέως τὸν Συμεῶν, ὅστις ἐδέξατο τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τοὺς δύο αὐτοῦ υἱούς,¹ οὓς ἀνέστησεν, τέως αὐτοὺς γινώσκετε. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐθάψαμεν αὐτοὺς πρὸ ὀλίγου· νῦν δὲ οἱ μὲν τάφοι αὐτῶν ὀρώνται ἠνεωγμένοι κενοί, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσι ζῶντες καὶ διατρίβοντες ἐν τῇ Ἀριμαθίᾳ. ἀπέστειλαν οὖν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ εὔρον τὰ μνημεῖα αὐτῶν ἠνεωγμένα κενά. λέγει ὁ Ἰωσήφ· ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἀριμαθίαν καὶ εὐρήσωμεν αὐτούς.

2 Τότε ἠγέρθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὁ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Νικοδῆμος καὶ Γαμαλιήλ καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀριμαθίαν, καὶ εὔρον οὓς ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἔλεγεν. ἐποίησαν οὖν προσευχὴν καὶ ἠπάσαντο ἀλλήλους· εἶτα ἦλθον μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἔφερον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, καὶ ἠσφαλίσαντο τὰς θύρας, καὶ ἔθηκαν εἰς μέσον τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς· θέλομεν ἵνα ὁμόσητε εἰς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἀδωναΐ, καὶ οὕτως ἵνα εἴπητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πῶς ἀνέστητε καὶ τίς ὑμᾶς ἀνέστησεν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

3 Τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀναστάντες ἄνθρωποι ἐποίησαν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς· δότε ἡμῖν χάριτίνην καὶ μέλαν καὶ κάλαμον. ἔφερον οὖν ταῦτα. καὶ καθίσαντες ἔγραψαν² οὕτως.

18

1 Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ κόσμου, δὸς ἡμῖν χάριν ἵνα διηγησώμεθα τὴν ἀνάστασίν σου καὶ θαυμασίᾳ σου, ἃ ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ ἐποίησας. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἦμεν ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος κεκοιμημένων. ἐν ᾧρα δὲ μεσονυκτίου εἰς τὰ σκοτεινά ἐκεῖνα ἀνέτειλεν ὡσπερ φῶς ἡλίου καὶ ἔλαμψεν, καὶ ἐφωτίσθημεν πάντες καὶ εἶδομεν ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθύς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἐνάθεις, καὶ χαρὰς ὁμοῦ πλησθέντες εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους· τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ μεγάλου φωτισμοῦ ἐστίν. ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας ἐκεῖ παρὼν εἶπε· τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· περὶ οὗ προεφήτευσεν ἔτι ζῶν λέγων· γῆ Ζαβουλῶν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλεὶμ, ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθημένος ἐν σκότει ἴδε φῶς μέγα.

1 υἱους A: *add.* καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀδελφούς B

2 καθίσαντες ἐγραψαν A: καθίσας εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγραψεν B

The Descent of Christ to Hell

The Sons of Simeon Come to Jerusalem

17

1 Joseph said, "And why are you amazed that Jesus has been raised? This is not amazing. What is amazing is that he was not raised alone, but that he raised many other dead, who have appeared to many people in Jerusalem. Even if you do not know the others, for some time you have known Simeon, who received Jesus, and his two sons, whom he raised. For we buried them a short while ago. But now their tombs can be seen to be opened and empty, and they are alive and living in Arimathea." And so they dispatched some people who found their crypts open and empty. Joseph said, "We should go to Arimathea and find them."

2 Then the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, along with Joseph, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and others with them rose up and went off to Arimathea, and they found the ones Joseph had mentioned. And so they prayed and greeted one another; then they came with them to Jerusalem and brought them into the synagogue; they secured the doors, and placed the ancient book of the Jews in their midst. The chief priests said to them, "We want you to swear an oath to the God of Israel, Adonai, and so speak the truth about how you arose and who raised you from the dead."

3 When those who had arisen heard this they made the sign of the cross on their faces and said to the chief priests, "Give us paper, ink, and pen." They brought these things. When they sat down, they wrote as follows:

Witnesses to Christ in Hades

18

1 O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the world, give us grace that we may describe your resurrection and the amazing deeds you performed in Hades. We then were in Hades with all those who had fallen asleep from the beginning. But when it was middle of the night, into that darkness there arose as it were the light of the sun, and it shone and enlightened everyone; and we saw one another. Immediately our father Abraham was united with the patriarchs and the prophets. At once filled with joy, they said to one another, "This light is from the great enlightening." The prophet Isaiah who was there said, "This is the light from the Father and from the Son and from the Holy Spirit, about which I prophesied while still living: 'O land of Zebulon and land of Naphtali, the people who sit in darkness, see a great light!'"¹

1. Isa. 9:1-2.

2 Εἴτα ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἕτερος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀσκητῆς, καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πατριάρχαι· τίς εἶ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰωάννης, τὸ τέλος τῶν προφητῶν, ὃς ἐποίησα τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐθείας, καὶ ἐκήρυξα τῷ λαῷ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἐμέ ἦλθε, καὶ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν εἶπον πρὸς τὸν λαόν· ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. καὶ μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς μου ἐβάπτισα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, καὶ εἶδον ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον, καὶ ἤκουσα καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οὕτω λέγοντος· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ἠυδόκησα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέστειλέ με καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα κηρύξω πῶς ἔρχεται ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὧδε, ἵνα ὅστις πιστεύσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν σωθῆσεται, ὅστις δὲ οὐ πιστεύσει εἰς αὐτὸν κατακριθῆσεται. διὰ τοῦτο λέγω πρὸς ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς, καθὼς ἴδητε αὐτόν, ἵνα προσκυνήσητε πάντες, ὅτι νῦν μόνον ἐστὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ τῆς μετανοίας καιρὸς ὑπὲρ οὐ προσεκυνήσατε εἰς τὸν ἄνω μάταιον κόσμον τοῖς εἰδώλοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμαρτήκατε· ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ καιρῷ τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.

19

Τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοίνυν διδάσκοντος οὕτως τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ, ἀκούσας καὶ ὁ πρωτόπλαστος καὶ προπάτωρ Ἀδὰμ λέγει πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Σῆθ· υἱέ μου, θέλω ἵνα εἴπῃς τοῖς προπάτορσι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς προφήταις, ὅτε ἔπεσον ἵνα ἀποθνήσκω, ποῦ σε ἀπέστειλα. ὁ δὲ Σῆθ ἔφη· προφῆται καὶ πατριάρχαι, ἀκούσατε. ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ Ἀδὰμ ὁ πρωτόπλαστος πεσὼν ποτε εἰς τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπέστειλέ με ποιήσασθαι δέησιν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐγγιστα τῆς πύλης τοῦ παραδείσου, ὡς ἂν ὀδηγήσῃ με δι' ἀγγέλου πρὸς τὸ δένδρον τῆς ἐλεμοσύνης³ καὶ ἐπάρω ἔλαιον καὶ ἀλείψω τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἀναστή ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησα. καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐλθὼν ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγει μοι· τί Σῆθ αἰτεῖς; ἔλαιον αἰτεῖς τὸ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἀνίσταν, ἢ τὸ δένδρον τὸ ῥέον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλαιον διὰ τὴν τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀσθένειαν; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεθῆναι νυνί. ἅπιθι οὖν καὶ εἰπέ τῷ πατρί σου ὅτι μετὰ τὸ συντελεσθῆναι ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕτη πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια, τότε κατέλθῃ ἐν τῇ γῆ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσας, κάκεινος ἀλείψει αὐτὸν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ πλυνεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀπὸ πάσης νόσου ἰαθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ πατριάρχαι καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἐχαίροντο μεγάλως.

3 ἐλεμοσύνης A C: *add.* τουτεστι το ελεος του ελαιου

2 Then there came into their midst another figure from the wilderness, an ascetic. The patriarchs said to him, "Who are you?" He replied, "I am John, the last of the prophets, who made straight the paths of the Son of God and who proclaimed to the people a repentance for the forgiveness of sins.² The Son of God came to me and when I saw him from a distance I said to the people, 'See the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.'³ With my hand I baptized him in the Jordan River, and I also saw the Holy Spirit like a dove coming upon him. And I heard also the voice of God the Father speaking thus, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.'⁴ For this reason he has sent me to you, that I might preach how the unique Son of God is coming here, that whoever puts faith in him will be saved, but whoever will not believe in him will be condemned. For this reason I say to all of you, when you have seen him, you should worship him, all of you; for now alone do you have the occasion to repent for having worshiped the idols in the futile world above, and for having sinned. This will be impossible at some other time."

19

1 While John was teaching these things to those in Hades, Adam the first to be formed, and father of all, heard and spoke to his son Seth: "My son, I want you to tell the forefathers of the human race and the prophets where I sent you when I had fallen down and was about to die." Seth said, "Prophets and patriarchs, listen. My own father Adam, the first formed, when he had fallen to the point of death, sent me to make a petition to God, near the gate of paradise, that he might guide me through an angel to the tree of mercy, that I might take away some oil and anoint my father, that he might rise up from his sickness. And I did what he asked. After my prayer an angel of the Lord came and said to me, 'Seth, what are you asking? Are you asking for the oil that can raise the sick or the tree from which this oil flows, because of the sickness of your father? You will not be able to find this now. Go away and tell your father that five thousand five hundred years after the creation of this world, the unique Son of God will descend to earth, having become human, and he will anoint him with this oil. He will then arise; and he will wash him in water and the Holy Spirit—both him and those who descend from him. Then he will be healed from all illness. But this is not possible now.'"

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

2. Cf. Matt. 3:3; Mark 1:3–4; Luke 3:3–4.

3. John 1:29.

4. Matt. 3:16–17.

1 Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων ὄντων χαρᾷ ἦλθεν ὁ σατάν ὁ κληρονόμος τοῦ σκότους· καὶ λέγει τῷ ἄδῃ· παμφάγε καὶ ἀκόρεστε, ἄκουσόν μου τοὺς λόγους· ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων τις Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, ὀνομάζων ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ· οὗτος δὲ ὢν ἄνθρωπος, ἀπὸ συνεργείας ἡμετέρας ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. καὶ νῦν αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἔσο ἡτοιμασμένος ὅπως ὧδε κατασφαλισόμεν αὐτόν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, καὶ ἤκουσα καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι περιλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου. ἐποίησέ μοι καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐν τῷ ἄνωθεν κόσμῳ τοῖς βροτοῖς συναναστρεφόμενος. ὅπου γὰρ ἠῦρισκε τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους, ἐδίωκεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὄσους ἀνθρώπους ἐποίουν ἐγὼ κυλλοὺς τυφλοὺς χωλοὺς λεπρούς, καὶ εἶ τι τοιοῦτον, διὰ λόγου μόνου ἰάτο αὐτούς· καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτοιμάσας εἰς τὸ ταφῆναι, καὶ τούτους διὰ λόγου μόνου πάλιν ἀνεζώωσε.

2 Λέγει ὁ ἄδης· καὶ τοσοῦτὸν ἐστὶν οὗτος δυνατὸς ὥστε διὰ λόγου μόνου ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα; ἢ τοιοῦτῳ ὄντι δύνασαι σὺ ἀντιστῆναι αὐτῷ; ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοιοῦτῳ ὄντι οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἀντιστῆναι δυνήσεται. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ὅτι ἤκουσας αὐτοῦ φοβουμένου τὸν θάνατον, παίζων σε καὶ γελῶν ἔφη τοῦτο, θέλων ἵνα σε ἀρπάσῃ ἐν χειρὶ δυνατῇ. καὶ οὐαὶ οὐαὶ σοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα. λέγει ὁ σατάν· παμφάγε καὶ ἀκόρεστε ἄδῃ, τοσοῦτον ἐφοβήθης ἀκούσας περὶ τοῦ κοινού ἡμῶν ἐχθροῦ; ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφοβήθην, ἀλλ' ἐνήργησα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπότισαν αὐτόν καὶ χολῆν μετὰ ὄξους, ἐτοιμάσθητι οὖν ὅπως ἐλθόντα κρατήσης αὐτὸν ἰσχυρά.

3 Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἄδης· κληρονόμο τοῦ σκότους, υἱὲ τῆς ἀπωλείας, διάβολε, νῦν μοι εἶπας ὅτι πολλοὺς οὖς σὺ ἐτοιμάσας εἰς τὸ ταφῆναι, λόγῳ μόνῳ τούτους αὐτὸς ἀνεζώωσε· καὶ εἰ ἐτέρους τῆς ταφῆς ἠλευθέρωσε, πῶς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει παρ' ἡμῶν κρατηθήσεται; ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου κατέπιόν τινα νεκρὸν ὀνόματι Λάζαρον, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τις ἐκ τῶν ζώντων διὰ λόγου μόνου βίᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἐγκάτων μου τοῦτον ἀνέσπασεν. οἶμαι δὲ εἶναι αὐτόν ὃν σὺ φῆς. εἰ οὖν ἐκεῖνον ἐνθάδε δεξόμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ πῶς καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κινδυνεύσωμεν· πάντας γὰρ οὖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος κατέπιον, ἰδοὺ ταρασσομένους κατανοῶ, καὶ ἀλγῶ τὴν κοιλίαν μου. καὶ σημεῖον οὐκ ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ ὁ προαναρπασθεὶς Λάζαρος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ὡς νεκρός, ἀλλ' ὡς αἰετὸς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξεπέτασεν· οὕτω γὰρ συντόμως ἡ γῆ αὐτὸν ἔξω ἔρριψε. διὸ καὶ ὀρκίζω καὶ σὲ εἰς τὰς σὰς χάριτας καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐμάς, μὴ ἀγάγῃς αὐτόν ἐνταῦθα. οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀναστήσαι νεκροὺς ὧδε παραγίνεταί. καὶ τοῦτό σοι λέγω, μὰ τὸ σκότος ὃ ἔχομεν, εἰ ὧδε ἀγάγῃς αὐτόν, οὐδεὶς μοι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐναπολειφθήσεται.

Satan Speaks with Hades

20

1 While all of them were filled with such joy, Satan, the heir of darkness, came and said to Hades, "O all-devouring and insatiable one, listen to my words. There is a certain one named Jesus from the nation of the Jews, who calls himself the Son of God. But this one is a human, and because of our joint efforts the Jews crucified him. Now that he has died, be prepared so that we can keep him securely here. For I know that he is human, as I heard him saying 'My soul is deeply grieved unto death.'⁵ Still, he did much mischief against me in the world above, while living with the mortals. For when he found my slaves, he persecuted them, and everyone that I made crippled, blind, lame, leprous, or any such thing, he healed through a word alone. And when I prepared many for their burial, through a word alone he also brought them back to life."

2 Hades said, "Is this one so powerful that he did these things through a word alone? Can you oppose him, if he is so great? It seems to me that no one can oppose him, he is so great. But if you say that you heard him fearing death, he said this to mock and deride you, wanting to seize you by his powerful hand. Woe, woe to you for all ages to come." Satan replied, "O all-devouring and insatiable Hades, are you so frightened by hearing about our common enemy? I did not fear him, but I empowered the Jews, and they crucified him, and they also gave him gall mixed with vinegar to drink.⁶ And so be prepared to seize him forcefully when he comes."

3 Hades answered, "O heir of darkness, son of destruction, Devil, just now you told me that when you prepared many for their burial, by a word alone he brought them back to life again. If he set others free from the grave, in what way and by what power will he be seized by us? Not long ago I devoured a certain dead man named Lazarus, and soon afterwards someone from the living forcefully dragged him from my intestines through a word alone.⁷ I suppose this was the one about whom you are speaking. If then we receive that one here, I am afraid that we might somehow be in danger with all the others. For see, I can sense that all those whom I devoured from the beginning are stirred up, and I am pained in my belly. It does not seem to me to be a good sign that Lazarus was previously snatched from me. For he flew out from me not like a corpse but like an eagle, so quickly did the earth cast him forth. For this reason I adjure you, for both your benefit and mine, do not bring him here. For I think he is coming here to raise all the dead. And this I tell you, by the darkness we enjoy, if you lead him here, none of the dead will be left to me."

5. Cf. Matt. 26:38; Mark 14:34.

6. Cf. Matt. 27:34.

7. Cf. John 11:1-44.

21

Ἴ Τοιαῦτα τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ τοῦ ἄδου λεγόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο φωνὴ μεγάλη ὡσπερ βροντὴ λέγουσα· ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. ἀκούσας ὁ ἄδης λέγει τῷ σατανᾶ· ἐξελθε, εἰ δυνατὸς εἶ, καὶ ἀντίστηθι αὐτῷ. ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ἔξω ὁ σατάν. εἶτα λέγει ὁ ἄδης τοῖς δαίμοσιν αὐτοῦ· ἀσφαλίσασθε καλῶς καὶ ἰσχυρῶς τὰς πύλας τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ τοὺς μοχλοὺς τοὺς σιδηροῦς, καὶ τὰ κλειθρά μου κατέχετε, καὶ σκοπεῖτε πάντα ἰστάμενοι ὄρθιοι· ἐὰν γὰρ εἰσέλθῃ αὐτὸς ὄδε, οὐαὶ ἡμᾶς λήψεται.

2 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ προπάτορες ἤρξαντο πάντες ὑβρίζειν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· παμφάγε καὶ ἀκόρεστε, ἄνοιξον ὅπως εἰσέλθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. λέγει Δαυὶδ ὁ προφήτης· οὐκ οἶδας, τυφλέ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐγὼ ζῶν τὴν τοιαύτην φωνὴν, τὸ ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, προεφήτευσα; Ἡσαΐας εἶπεν· ἐγὼ τοῦτο προοῖδὼν ὑφ' ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔγραψα· ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις, καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται οἱ ἐν τῇ γῆ. καὶ· ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου ἄδῃ τὸ νίκος;

3 Ἦλθεν οὖν πάλιν φωνὴ· ἄρατε πύλας λέγουσα. ἀκούσας ὁ ἄδης ἐκ δευτέρου τὴν φωνὴν ἀπεκρίθη ὡς δῆθεν μὴ γινώσκων καὶ λέγει· τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; λέγουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ δεσπότου· κύριος κραταῖος καὶ δυνατός, κύριος δυνατός ἐν πολέμῳ. καὶ εὐθέως ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτῳ αἱ χαλκαὶ πύλαι συνετρίβησαν καὶ οἱ σιδηροὶ μοχλοὶ συνεθλάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ δεδεμένοι πάντες νεκροὶ ἐλύθησαν τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πάντα τὰ σκοτεινὰ τοῦ ἄδου ἐφωτίσθησαν.

22

Ἴ Εὐθύς ἐβόησεν ὁ ἄδης· ἐνίκηθημεν, οὐαὶ ἡμῖν. ἀλλὰ τίς εἶ ὁ ἔχων τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν; καὶ ποῖος εἶ ὁ χωρὶς ἀμαρτίας ὄδε ἐλθὼν, ὁ μικρὸς ὀρώμενος καὶ μεγάλα δυνάμενος, ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ ὑψηλός, ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ δεσπότης, ὁ στρατιώτης καὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ζώντων ἐξουσιάζων; ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλώθης καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἐτέθης, καὶ ἄρτι ἐγένου ἐλεύθερος καὶ κατέλυσας πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν. ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περὶ οὗ ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀρχιστρατῆρής σατάν ὅτι διὰ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου μέλλεις κληρονομησαὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον;

Christ Comes to Hades

21

1 While Satan and Hades were saying such things to one another, a great voice like thunder was heard, saying, "O you rulers, lift the gates! Ancient gates, rise up, and the King of glory will enter."⁸ When Hades heard this he said to Satan, "Go out, if you are able, and oppose him." Satan then went out. Then Hades said to his demons, "Make the bronze gates and the iron bars fully and strongly secure,⁹ and hold my deadbolts fast. Stand upright and keep watch. For if that one comes in here, disaster will overtake us."

2 When the forefathers heard these things they all began to malign him, saying, "O all-devouring and insatiable one, open up that the King of glory may come in." David the prophet said, "Do you not know, O blind one, that while I was still living in the world I prophesied this very call: 'O you rulers, lift the gates!'"¹⁰ Isaiah said, "I saw this in advance and wrote through the Holy Spirit, 'The dead will arise and those in their tombs will be raised, and those in the earth will rejoice.'¹¹ And also, 'O death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?'"¹¹

3 And then a voice came again, saying "Lift up the gates." When Hades heard the voice the second time, he answered as if he did not know, and said, "Who is this King of glory?" The angels of the Master said, "He is a Lord who is mighty and powerful, a Lord powerful in war."¹² And immediately then at this word the bronze gates were crushed and the iron bars were smashed, and all the dead who were bound were released from their bonds, and we along with them. And the King of glory came in, as a human; and all the dark places of Hades were enlightened.

22

1 Immediately Hades cried out, "We have been defeated. Woe to us! But who are you who has such authority and power? What sort of being are you who comes here without sin, you who seem small yet has power to do great things, the one who is humble yet exalted, the slave and the master, the soldier and the king, the one who has authority over the dead and the living? You were nailed to the cross and placed in the grave, and now you have become free and have destroyed all our power. Are you then Jesus, whom the chief ruler Satan told us is about to inherit the entire earth through the cross and death?"

8. Cf. Ps. 24:7.

9. Cf. Isa. 45:1-2; Ps. 106:16.

10. Isa. 26:19.

11. Cf. Isa. 25:8; Hos. 13:14; 1 Cor. 15:55.

12. Ps. 24:8.

2 Τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης κρατήσας ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς τὸν ἀρχισατράπην σατὰν καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις εἶπε· σιδηροῖς καταδεσμήσατε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. εἶτα παραδοὺς τοῦτον τῷ ἄδῃ ἔφη· λαβὼν αὐτὸν κάτεχε ἀσφαλῶς ἄχρι τῆς δευτέρας μου παρουσίας.

23

Καὶ ὁ ἄδης παραλαβὼν τὸν σατανᾶν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· Βεελζεβούλ, κληρονόμο τοῦ πυρός⁴ καὶ τῆς κολάσεως, ἐχθρὲ τῶν ἁγίων, διὰ ποίαν ἀνάγκην ὠκονόμησας σταυρωθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα τῆς δόξης εἰς τὸ ἐλθεῖν ὧδε καὶ ἐκδῦσαι ἡμᾶς; ἐπιστράφου καὶ ἴδε ὅτι οὐδεὶς νεκρὸς ἐν ἐμοὶ κατελείφθη, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐκέρδησας διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως, διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντα ἀπώλεσας; καὶ πᾶσά σου ἡ χαρὰ μετηνέχθη εἰς λύπην· καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς δόξης θέλων θανάτωσας, σεαυτὸν ἐθανάτωσας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ παρέλαβόν σε ὥστε κατέχειν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐν πείρᾳ μαθήσῃ ὅσα κακὰ πρὸς σὲ διαπράξομαι. ὦ ἀρχιδιάβολε, ἡ τοῦ θανάτου ἀρχή, ἡ ρίζα τῆς ἀμαρτίας, τὸ τέλος παντὸς κακοῦ, τί κακὸν εὐρών εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐγύρευσας τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτοῦ; πῶς ἐτόλμησας τοσοῦτον κακὸν ποιῆσαι; πῶς τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ σκότει τούτῳ καταγαγεῖν ἐμελέτησας, δι' οὗ πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος θανόντας ἐστερήθης;

24

1 Οὕτω τοῦ ἄδου διαλεγομένου τῷ σατανᾷ ἠπλωσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καὶ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἤγειρε τὸν προπάτορα Ἀδάμ. εἶτα στραφεὶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔφη· δεῦρο μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ὅσοι διὰ τοῦ ξύλου οὗ ἤψατο οὗτος ἐθανατώθητε· πάλιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς διὰ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντας ἐγὼ ἰδοὺ ἀνίσταίν. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξέβαλεν ἅπαντας ἔξω, καὶ ὁ προπάτωρ Ἀδάμ θυμηδίας ἔμπλεως ὀφθείς· εὐχαριστῶ τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ σου κύριε, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἀνήγαγές με ἐξ ἄδου κατωπάτου. οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι εἶπον· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σου Χριστέ, σωτῆρ τοῦ κόσμου, ὅτι ἀνήγαγες ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν.

2 Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντων εὐλόγησας ὁ σωτῆρ τὸν Ἀδάμ κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἐν τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πατριάρχας καὶ προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ προπάτορας,⁵ καὶ τούτους λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου ἀνέθορε. πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔψαλλον οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες ἀκολουθοῦντες αὐτῷ λέγοντες· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· ἀλληλουῖα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἁγίων πάντων.

4 πυρός B: σκοτους A: σκοτου C

5 πατριάρχας καὶ προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ προπατορας B: πατριάρχας καὶ προφήτας καὶ προπατορας C: τους προπατορας A

2 Then the King of glory seized the chief ruler, Satan, by the head and handed him over to the angels, and said, "Bind his hands, feet, neck, and mouth with iron." Then he handed him over to Hades and said, "Take him and hold him fast until my second coming."

23

1 Hades took Satan and said to him, "O Beelzeboul, heir of fire and torment, enemy of the saints, why were you compelled to arrange for the King of glory to be crucified, so that he could come and strip us of our power? Turn and see: none of the dead is left in me. But everything you gained through the tree of knowledge you have lost through the tree of the cross. All your joy has turned to grief. Wanting to kill the King of glory, you have killed yourself. For since I have received you to hold you fast, you will learn by experience all the evil things I am about to do to you. O chief devil, the beginning of death, the root of sin, the goal of all evil, what evil did you find against Jesus that moved you to destroy him? How could you dare to do such an evil thing? How could you think to bring such a man in this darkness, through whom you have been deprived of all those who have died since the beginning?"

The Release of the Captives in Hades

24

1 While Hades was talking with Satan in this way, the King of glory stretched out his right hand to grasp and raise up Adam, the father of all. Then he also turned to the others and said, "Come with me all you who experienced death through the tree that this one touched; for now see, I am raising all of you up through the tree of the cross." After saying this, he sent all of them out; and the father of all, Adam, appeared, filled with joy, and said, "I thank your magnificence, O Lord, because you led me forth from the lowest depths of Hades."¹³ So too all the prophets and saints said, "We give you thanks, O Christ, Savior of the world, because you led our lives forth from corruption."¹⁴

2 When they said these things, the Savior blessed Adam by making the sign of the cross on his forehead. He then did the same for all the patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and ancestors; then taking them he sprang up from Hades. And as he went, the holy fathers followed him singing a hymn, saying "Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord. Hallelujah! To him be the glory of all the saints."¹⁵

13. Cf. Ps. 86:13.

14. Cf. Ps. 16:10.

15. Cf. Pss. 118:26; 149:9.

25

Πορευόμενος οὖν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον κρατῶν τὸν προπάτορα Ἀδὰμ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς παραδέδωκε τούτον τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ καὶ πάντας τοὺς δικαίους. εἰσερχομένων οὖν αὐτῶν τὴν θύραν τοῦ παραδείσου συνήνησαν αὐτοῖς δύο πρεσβῦται ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς οὓς οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες εἶπον· τίνας ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς, οἵτινες θάνατον οὐκ εἶδετε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ οὐ κατήλθετε, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς οἰκεῖτε εἰς τὸν παράδεισον; εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἐνώχ ὁ εὐαρεστήσας θεῷ καὶ ὤδε μετατεθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν Ἥλιος ὁ Θεσβίτης, οἱ καὶ μέλλομεν ζῆσαι μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· τότε δὲ μέλλομεν ἀποσταλῆναι παρὰ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντιστήναι τῷ ἀντιχρίστῳ καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἐν νεφέλαις ἀρπαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ὑπάντησιν.

26

Ταῦτα τούτων λεγόντων ἦλθεν ἕτερος ταπεινὸς ἄνθρωπος, βαστάζων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ καὶ σταυρόν· πρὸς ὃν ἐφῆσαν οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες· τίς εἶ σὺ ὁ θεωρῶν ἔχων ληστοῦ, καὶ τίς ὃν ἐπιφέρεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων σταυρόν; ἀπεκρίθη οὗτος· ἐγὼ καθὼς ὑμεῖς φατέ ληστής ἦν καὶ κλέπτης ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κρατήσαντές με οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι σταυροῦ θανάτῳ παραδεδώκασιν ἅμα τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. ἐπὶ σταυροῦ τοίνυν κρεμαμένου αὐτοῦ, ἰδὼν τὰ γεγόμενα σημεῖα ἐπίστευσα εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ παρεκάλεσα αὐτόν καὶ εἶπον· κύριε, ὅτε βασιλεύσεις, μὴ μου ἐπιλάθῃ. καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπέν μοι ὅτι ἀμὴν ἀμὴν σήμερον λέγω σοι, μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. βαστάζων οὖν τὸν σταυρόν μου ἦλθον εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ εὐρῶν τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος ἠδὲ με ἀπέστειλεν· ἄγαγόν με τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς Ἐδέν. καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἡ φλογίνη ρομφαία τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἠνοιξέ μοι, καὶ εἰσῆλθον. εἰτά φησι πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος· περίμεινον μικρόν, ὅτι ἔρχεται καὶ ὁ προπάτωρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων Ἀδὰμ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων, ἵνα εἰσέλθωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐντός. καὶ νῦν ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς ἦλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν ὑμῶν.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἐβόησαν μεγάλη φωνὴ πάντες· μέγας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ μεγάλη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ.

The Saints Arrive in Paradise

25

And then, going into paradise, while holding the father of all, Adam, by the hand, he delivered him over to the archangel Michael, along with all the righteous. While they were entering the door of paradise, two elderly people met them. The holy fathers said to them, "Who are you, who have not seen death and have not descended into Hades, but live in your bodies and souls in paradise?" One of them answered, "I am Enoch, the one who was pleasing to God, and I was transported here by him. And this is Elijah the Thesbite. We will continue to live until the completion of the age. Then we will be sent by God to oppose the Antichrist, and be killed by him. Then after three days we will arise and be snatched up in the clouds for a meeting with the Lord."¹⁶

26

While they were saying these things, another, humble person came, bearing a cross on his shoulders. The holy fathers said to him, "Who are you, who has the appearance of a robber; and what is the cross you are carrying on your shoulders?" That one answered, "Just as you have said, I was a robber and thief in the world, and for this reason the Jews seized me and handed me over to death on a cross, along with our Lord Jesus Christ. And so, while he was hanging on the cross, I saw the signs that happened and believed in him; and I urged him, saying, 'Lord, when you rule as king, do not forget me.' And he immediately replied, 'Truly, truly I say to you today, you will be with me in paradise.'¹⁷ And so, bearing my cross I came into paradise, and when I found the archangel Michael I said to him, 'Our Lord Jesus, who has been crucified, sent me here. Lead me, therefore, to the gate of Eden.' When the flaming sword saw the sign of the cross, it opened up for me, and I entered. Then the archangel said to me, 'Stay here for a little while, because the forefather of the human race, Adam, is coming as well, along with the righteous, that they too might enter in.' And now when I saw you I came to meet you."

When the saints heard these words they all cried out with a loud voice, "Great is our Lord, and magnificent is his strength."

16. Cf. Rev. 11:3–14; 1 Thess. 4:17.

17. Cf. Luke 23:42–43.

Ταῦτα πάντα εἶδομεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ δύο ἀυτάδελφοι, οἱ καὶ ἀπεστάλημεν παρὰ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐτάχθημεν κηρῶσαι τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν, πρότερον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ καὶ βαπτισθῆναι. ὅπου καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἀναστάντων νεκρῶν· εἶπα καὶ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦλθομεν καὶ ἐτελέσαμεν τὸ πάσχα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, νῦν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐνταῦθα διάγειν ἀπερχόμεθα. καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία⁶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἶη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Ταῦτα γράψαντες καὶ ἀσφαλίσάμενοι τὰ βιβλία, ἔδωκαν τὰ ἡμίση τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῷ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῷ Νικοδήμῳ· καὶ αὐτοὶ παραντίκα ἐγένοντο ἄφαντοι, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,⁷ ἀμήν.

6 ἡ κοῖνωνα *conj.* Tischendorf: *om.* A B C

7 Χριστοῦ C: *add.* ω ἡ δοξα εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων B: *add.* αὐτῷ δοξα πρέπει νυν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας A

The Sons of Simeon

27

We saw and heard all these things, we two brothers. We also were sent by the archangel Michael and were appointed to proclaim the resurrection of the Lord, but first to go to the Jordan to be baptized. We went there and were baptized along with others who had been raised from the dead. Then also we came to Jerusalem and completed the Passover of the resurrection. But since we are not able to tarry here long, we are leaving. May the love of God the Father and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.¹⁸

When they wrote these things and sealed the books, they gave half to the chief priests and half to Joseph and Nicodemus. They then immediately became invisible, to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

18. Cf. 2 Cor. 13:13.

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The Report of Pontius Pilate

(Anaphora Pilati)

The “Report” of Pontius Pilate to the emperor Tiberius (the “Anaphora Pilati”) relates the events of Jesus’ trial, death, and resurrection from the perspective of the Roman governor. We learn that despite his many divine deeds, Jesus was condemned by the Jews, who compelled Pilate to have him crucified. But in the presence of many supernatural signs, Jesus was raised from the dead, leading to the damnation of his Jewish opponents. The obvious motives behind the account are to celebrate Jesus’ miraculous character, to exonerate Pilate for his death, and in so doing to inculcate the Jews.

The first half of the document is largely devoted to an account, delivered by Pilate himself, of the wondrous deeds Jesus performed during his public ministry. These should have convinced anyone with eyes to see and ears to hear of Jesus’ divine character. But the “whole multitude of the Jews” was hardened to these signs, and so they turned Jesus over to Pilate without being able to “convict him of a single crime.” The earthly deeds of Jesus are surpassed only by the miracles that transpired at his death and resurrection, which take up most of the second half of the narrative (there is only a terse account of the trial and crucifixion themselves). Some of the tales scattered throughout the text are summaries of biblical narratives; others provide creative expansions: Lazarus, for example, came forth from the grave after he “was already undergoing corruption by the worms that had sprouted from his ulcers” (Par. 1).

We do not have a critical text of the Report of Pilate. Tischendorf presented two different forms of the text, each based on five manuscripts, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. His “B” text is the more coherent and interesting of the two, with fewer secondary accretions. It is the one provided and translated here. A third form of the text was discovered by G. F. Abbott in a very late (eighteenth-century) manuscript. This appears to be

a still later version that supplements the accounts of the earlier ones, especially by detailing the gory deaths of Jesus' Jewish opponents.

It is impossible to date the Report with any confidence. Some scholars (Scheidweiler; Elliott) have seen it as an expansion of the Letter of Pilate to Claudius (see introduction there). Already by the end of the second century some such letter was thought to exist, as evidenced in Tertullian's *Apology*: "Pilate, who was himself already a Christian with respect to his most innermost conviction, made a report of everything that happened to Christ for Tiberius, the emperor at the time" (*Apol.* 21.24). Still, it is doubtful that the surviving Report is the one referred to by Tertullian—if in fact he really knew of an actual document. In the form presented here, the Report may well derive from a later period, possibly the fourth or fifth century.

The manuscript tradition of the Report of Pilate is highly variant. In our apparatus we have noted only those variants that are of special interest (e.g., for interpretation), drawing on information in Tischendorf's edition. For a discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Tischendorf pp. lxxviii–lxxix. His text was based on the following witnesses:

- A—fourteenth century
- B—n.d.
- C—twelfth century
- D—n.d.
- E—n.d.

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ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ

ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΠΕΜΦΘΕΙΣΑ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΩΙ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ¹

Κρατίστῳ σεβαστῷ φοβερῷ θειοτάτῳ² Αὐγούστῳ³ Πιλᾶτος Πόντιος ὁ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν διέπων ἀρχὴν.

1 Μηνῦσαι κέχρημαι πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν διὰ τῆσδέ μου τῆς γραφῆς⁴ τρόμῳ πολλῶ καὶ φόβῳ συνεχόμενος, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, τὴν τῶν ἐνισταμένων καιρῶν ροπήν, καθὼς τὸ τούτων τέλος ὑπέδειξε. Ταύτην γὰρ διέποντός μου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ὧ δέσποτα, κατὰ πρόσταξιν τῆς σῆς γαληνότητος, ἣτις ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν πόλεων μία καλουμένη Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἐν ἣ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνου καθίδρυται, συναχθὲν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδεδώκασι μοι ἄνθρωπὸν τινα λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄπειρα ἐγκλήματα φέροντες κατ' αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν δὲ ἐν τινι λόγῳ ἐλέγξει αὐτόν. μία δὲ αἴρεσις ἦν αὐτοῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ,⁵ ὅτι τὸ σάββατον ἔλεγεν μὴ εἶναι ὀρθὴν τούτων σχολήν.⁶ πολλὰς δὲ ἰάσεις ἐπέτελει ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος· τυφλοὺς ἐποίησεν βλέπειν, λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρισεν, νεκροὺς ἤγειρε, παραλυτικούς ἰάσατο, μὴ δυναμένους τὸ σύνολον κινεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἔχοντας φωνὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀστέων ἀρμονίαν, καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν τε καὶ τρέχειν, ῥήματα μόνῳ ἐπιτρέψας.⁷ ἄλλο τε δυνατότερον πρᾶγμα ἐποίησεν, ὅπερ ἦν ξενὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμῶν⁸ νεκρὸν τινα Λάζαρον τετραήμερον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστησεν, λόγῳ μόνῳ κελεύσας ἐγερθῆναι τὸν τεθνεῶτα, διεφθαρμένον ἤδη ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλκογενήτων σκαλῆκων· καὶ τὸ δυσῶδες ἐκεῖνο σῶμα τὸ κείμενον ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἐκέλευσεν τρέχειν, καὶ ὡς ἐκ παστοῦ νυμφίος ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἐξῆλθεν εὐωδίας πλείστης πεπληρωμένος.⁹

2 Καὶ τινὰς ἀφειδῶς δαιμονιζομένους καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἔχοντας ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ σαρκοφαγοῦντας τῶν ἰδίων μελῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀγρίοις θηρίοις συναναστρεφομένους οἰκῆτορας κατέστησεν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις, καὶ διὰ λόγου σώφρονος αὐτοὺς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ

1 Αναφορά . . . Ρωμην (A B): Αναφορά Πιλᾶτου πεμφθεῖσα ἐν Ρώμῃ πρὸς Τιβεριὸν Καίσαρα· περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρᾶχθεντα C: Ἐπιστολὴ Ποντίου Πιλᾶτου πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα Τιβεριὸν περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ D

2 θειοτάτῳ A C: αυτοκράτορι θειοτάτῳ B: *om.* D

3 Αὐγούστῳ A B: Τιβεριῷ Αὐγούστῳ C: Τιβεριῷ Καίσαρι D

4 γραφῆς A B D: ἀναφοράς C (E)

5 μια . . . κατ' αὐτοῦ A C: *om.* B

6 ἐλεγεν . . . σχολήν A B: εἶπε λέγων μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὀρθὴν σχολήν C

7 μὴ δυναμένους . . . ἐπιτρέψας A B: *om.* C

8 ἄλλο . . . ἡμῶν A B: *om.* C

9 νεκρὸν . . . πεπληρωμένος (A B): καὶ τινα ἀνθρώπων ὀνοματι Λάζαρον τεθνεῶτα τετραήμερον ἤγειρεν, κελεύσας τὸν νεκρὸν ἐγερθῆναι ἐκ ταφῆς ὡσερ νυμφίον ἐκ παστοῦ C

The Report of Pontius Pilate
Governor of Judea, Sent to Tiberius Caesar in Rome
(Anaphora Pilati)

To the most excellent, revered, awe-inspiring, and divine Emperor, from Pontius Pilate, who administers the rule in the East.

(1) Although I have been constrained by great trembling and fear, most excellent king, I have undertaken to reveal to your piety, through this my writing, the present state of affairs, as their outcome has shown. According to your most gentle directives, O master, I was administering my province, which includes one of the cities of the East, called Jerusalem, where the temple of the Jewish people is built. The entire multitude of the Jews gathered together and handed over to me a certain man named Jesus, bringing endless charges against him. They were not able to convict him of a single crime. But they held one false teaching against him: he claimed that the Sabbath day was not a proper rest for them.

The Miracles of Jesus

Now that man performed many healings as well as good works. He made the blind see, he cleansed lepers, he raised the dead, he healed paralytics—who were not able to move at all, having only their voice and their bones intact. But he gave them the power both to walk and to run, relying on his word alone. He did an even more powerful deed, which not even our own gods can do. He raised from the dead a certain man named Lazarus, who had been dead for four days. It was by his word alone that he commanded the dead man to be raised, even though his body was already undergoing corruption by the worms that had sprouted from his ulcers. And he commanded that stinking body lying in the grave to move quickly; and it came forth from the tomb as if from a bridal chamber, filled with the powerful smell of perfume.¹

(2) And there were others who were mercilessly possessed by demons, who made their homes in wilderness areas and ate the flesh of their own limbs, living with reptiles and the wild beasts. These he restored to their own homes, as city-dwellers; and through a word he made them reasonable, and those who

1. Cf. John 11:1–44.

συνετούς και ἐνδόξους γενέσθαι παρεσκευάσεν τοὺς ὑπὸ ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων ἐνοχλουμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς δαίμονας ἐν ἀγέλῃ χοίρων ἐκπέμψας εἰς θάλασσαν ἀπέπνιξεν.

3 Ἄλλον πάλιν τινὰ ξηρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐν λύπαις ζῶντα καὶ μηδὲ ἡμισυ σώματος ἔχοντα ὑγιᾶς λόγῳ μόνῳ παρέστησεν ὑγιῆ.

4 Καὶ γυναῖκα αἰμορροοῦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνους πολλοῖς, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ρύσεως τοῦ αἵματος πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ὀστέων ἁρμονίαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑέλου δίκην διαυγάζειν, καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἰατροὶ ἀνεπίστως αὐτὴν ἀπειπάμενοι οὐκ ἐκαθαίρουν· οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δῆπου τις σωτηρίας ἐλπίς· ποτὲ γ' οὖν παρερχομένου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ¹⁰ ἦψατο ὀπισθεν τοῦ κρασπέδου τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀνεπληρώθη ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς, καὶ γέγονεν ὑγιᾶς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἤρξατο δρομαίως τρέχειν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς πόλιν Πανεάδα.

5 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως εἶχον· κατεμήνυον δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκτελεῖν ταῦτα ἐν σαββάτῳ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐς σεβόμεθα μείζονα κατενόησα θαυμάσια παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγνονά.

6 Τοῦτον οὖν Ἡρώδης καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας παραδεδωκάσι μοι σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐτάσαι αὐτόν. καὶ πολλῶν στάσις κινήσαντων κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐκέλευσα σταυρωθῆναι.¹¹

7 Ἦνίκα δὲ ἐσταυρώθη, σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῦ ἡλίου κρυβέντος τελείως καὶ τοῦ πόλου σκοτεινοῦ φαινομένου ἡμέρας οὔσης, ὥστε ἄστρα φανῆναι ἀλλ' ὅμως τὴν τηλαυγότητα ἐσκοτισμένην ἔχειν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ ὑμετέρα οἶμα εὐσέβεια ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἦσαν λύχνους ἀπὸ ἕκτης ὥρας ἕως ὀψίας, σελήνη δὲ ὡς αἷμα οὖσα ὅλην τὴν νύκτα οὐ διέλαμπε, καίτοι γε παμπληθοῦς αὐτῆς τυγχανούσης.¹² τὰ ἄστρα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων θρήνον ἐποίουον περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν γενομένην παρανομίαν.¹³

8 Μιᾶ δὲ τῶν σαββάτων περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ ἥλιος ὤφθη οἶος οὐδέποτε ἔλαμψεν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐφαιδρύνθη. καὶ ὡς ἀστραπαὶ χειμῶνος ἐπέρχονται, οὕτως ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ τινες κοσμήσεως στολῆς καὶ δόξης ἀνεκδιηγῆτου ὑπάρχοντες ἐφαίνοντο ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, καὶ πλήθος ἀναρίθμητον ἀγγέλων κραζόντων καὶ λεγόντων· δόξα!¹⁴ ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῶ

10 Ἰησοῦ C: *add.* συμβαλουσα δια της επισκεψεως αυτου A (B επισκιασεως αυτον)

11 καὶ πολλῶν . . . σταυρωθῆναι C: πολλὴν στάσιν κινήσαντες κατ' ἐμοῦ περὶ ὧν κατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ φραγελλώσας αὐτὸν οὐδεμίαν εὐρον αἰτίαν περὶ ὧν ἔλεγον κατ' αὐτοῦ. λοιπὸν οὖν παρεδῶκα τούτον πάλιν αὐτοῖς (A B D^{msd})

12 τυγχανούσης B C: *add.* καὶ ὁλος ὁ κοσμος εσαλευετο υπο ἀνεκδιηγῆτων σημειων καὶ ἐμελλεν πασα ἡ κτισις υπο τῶν καταχθονιῶν καταπινεσθαι· ὠσαντως δὲ καὶ ὁπερ εἶχον ἁγιασμα τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτῶν σχισθῆναι ἀπο ἀνωθεν ἕως κατω. βροντῆ δὲ πάλιν καὶ ἤχος μέγας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν σαλευθῆναι καὶ τρέμειν A (D)

13 τὰ ἀστρα . . . παρανομίαν A B: ἤρξαντο δὲ γινεσθαι σεισμοι ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐπαγῆσαν οἱ ἥλοι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς ποδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἕως ἑσπερας C

14 δόξα B C: ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἀνεστή θεὸς ὧν. καὶ φῶν ἠκουετο ὡσπερ μεγεθος βροντῶν λεγουσα δόξα A

had been troubled by unclean spirits he turned into intelligent and honorable people; and he cast the demons in them into a herd of swine, and drowned them in the sea.²

(3) And there was another man who had a withered hand; he lived in pain, with not even half of his body healthy; but he restored him to health with a word alone.³

(4) There was also a woman who had experienced a flow of blood for many years; this discharge of blood was so severe that her entire skeletal frame was visible and was as transparent as glass. No doctor could heal her; she was written off as a hopeless case. For she indeed had no hope of finding a cure. But once Jesus was passing by she touched the hem of his garments from behind, and at that very instant the vigor of her body was restored, and she became well, as if she had nothing wrong with her. And she began to run at full speed back to her city, Paneas.⁴

Jesus' Trial and Crucifixion

(5) So these are the things that have happened. But the Jews informed me that Jesus accomplished these deeds on the Sabbath. For my part, I know that the gods we worship have never performed such astounding feats as his.

(6) Still, Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas, and Caiaphas, along with all the people, handed this man over to me for questioning. And because many stirred up a rebellion against me, I ordered him to be crucified.

(7) But when he was crucified, a darkness came over all the earth; the sun was completely hidden from view and the vault of the sky was darkened, while it was still day, so that the stars appeared, even though their brilliance was obscured. I am sure that even you were not unaware of this, O pious one, because throughout the world people lit lamps from noon until evening. The moon appeared as blood and did not shine all night long, even though it was completely full. The stars and the Orion were in mourning over the Jews, because of the lawless deed they had done.

The Miracles at the Resurrection

(8) Then on the first day of the week, around three in the morning, the sun appeared, shining like never before, and the entire sky was brightened. Several exalted men appeared in the air, like lightning that strikes in winter, wearing dazzling garments full of indescribable glory; and a multitude of angels without number cried out and said, "Glory be to God in the highest, and on

2. Cf. Matt. 8:28–34; Mark 5:1–20; Luke 8:26–39.

3. Cf. Matt. 12:9–14; Mark 3:1–6; Luke 6:6–11.

4. Cf. Matt. 9:20–22; Mark 5:24–34; Luke 8:42–48.

καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· ἀνέλθατε ἐξ ἄδου, οἱ δεδουλωμένοι ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις τοῦ ἄδου. ἐκ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ἐσαλεύοντο καὶ πέτραι διερρήγγυντο¹⁵ καὶ χάσματα ἐγένοντο μεγάλα ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀβύσσου φανῆναι.

9 Ὡφθησαν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ νεκροὶ ἀναστάντες, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐωρακότες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον ὅτι εἶδομεν Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας τοὺς προτετελευτηκότας πρὸ δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν, καὶ Νῶε εἶδομεν ἐν σώματι φανερώς,¹⁶ καὶ περιπάτει πᾶν πλῆθος καὶ ἀνύμνει τὸν θεὸν μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης λέγων Ὁ ἀναστάς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντας τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐξωποίησεν, καὶ τὸν ἄδην συλήσας ἐνέκρωσε.¹⁷

10 Πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν νύκταν ἐκείνην, ᾧ δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, τὸ φῶς οὐκ ἐπαύετο. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον καὶ κατεποντίσθησαν καὶ κατεπόθησαν τοῖς χάσμασιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ, ὥστε μὴδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν φανῆναι· ἐκείνους δὲ λέγω παθεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντας, μία δὲ συναγωγὴ κατελείφθη ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἐπεὶ πᾶσαι αἱ συναγωγαὶ ἐκεῖναι αἱ γενόμεναι κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατεποντίσθησαν.

11 Τῷ οὖν φόβῳ ἐν ἐκστάσει γενόμενος καὶ πολλῷ τρόμῳ συσχεθεὶς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν ἐπιτάξας γράψαι τὰ πραχθέντα παρ' αὐτῶν πάντων ἀνήγαγον τῷ σῶ κράτει.

15 εκ δε . . . διερρηγγυντο A C: φοβος δε και εκστασις γεγονεν οιος ουδεποτε γεγονεν· σεισμοι εγενοντο ουκ ολιγοι B

16 και Νωε . . . φανερωσ A B: om. C D

17 και περιπατει . . . ενεκρωσε (A B): ους καγω ιδον εν σωματι περιπατουντας ωστε δεσποτα θεωρησαι με τινα νεκρον αρχαιοτατον οιον ουδεποτε τεθεακα C

earth peace and good will among all.⁵ Come up from Hades, you who have been enslaved in the nether world of Hades.” And at the sound of their voice, all the mountains and hills were shaken and the rocks were split apart and great chasms formed in the earth, so that even the realms of the abyss could be seen.⁶

(9) At that fearful moment there appeared the dead who had been raised,⁷ as the Jews themselves observed, saying “We have seen Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, who died more than two thousand five hundred years ago. And we clearly saw Noah in the body.” And the entire multitude walked and sang a hymn to God with a great voice: “The one who is risen from the dead, the Lord our God, has made all the dead alive; despoiling Hades, he has put it to death.”

(10) The light did not cease that entire night, O King, my master. And many of the Jews died, being engulfed and swallowed up in the chasms in that night, so that their bodies could no longer be found. I mean to say that those Jews who spoke against Jesus suffered. But one synagogue was left in Jerusalem, since all the synagogues that opposed Jesus were engulfed.

(11) Paralyzed with fear and overwhelmed with trembling, at that very hour I ordered the things done by all of them to be recorded, and have reported them to your Majesty.

5. Cf. Luke 2:14.

6. Cf. Matt. 27:51.

7. Cf. Matt. 27:52.

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The Handing Over of Pilate

(Paradosis Pilati)

The Handing Over of Pilate is a fictitious account of Pilate being recalled to Rome and censured by the emperor Tiberius for his role in having the divine man, Jesus, crucified. Pilate pays the ultimate price for his heinous behavior by being beheaded—but only after he has repented of his deed and turned to Christ for salvation.

The narrative is closely related to the Report of Pontius Pilate: it refers back to the account, given there, of the darkness and earthquake at Jesus' crucifixion; the same five Jewish leaders are named as culpable in Jesus' death; and the emperor refers to the "report" itself, when he speaks of Jesus as "one who was so righteous and did such good signs, as you yourself indicated in your report" (= anaphora—the title of the "Report"). The two documents are stylistically different, however, and were probably written by different authors (Gounelle).

The Handing Over is closely tied to other Pilate literature as well. The aim is to magnify the character of Christ and to malign the Jews responsible for his death. As in the Acts of Pilate (the Gospel of Nicodemus), Jesus is revered by Roman divinities: here it is not the standards bearing the image of the divine Caesar that bow down to him; it is the gods in the temple of Caesar who fall at the mention of his name, turning to dust.

Ultimately it is not Pilate but the hateful Jews who bear ultimate responsibility for Jesus' death. Both Pilate and his wife become believers. Traditions of Pilate's conversion were already in circulation by the late second century, as evidenced in the *Apology* of Tertullian, who indicates that "Pilate, who was already a Christian with respect to his most inner conviction, made a report of everything that happened" (*Apol.* 21.24). This reverence for Pilate could be found in various churches of the East; in the Coptic church Pilate was eventually recognized as a Christian saint. The Handing Over of Pilate seems to be leaning in that direction, as Pilate hears a voice from heaven: "All the races and

families of the nations will bless you, because under your rule everything spoken about me by the prophets was fulfilled. You yourself will appear as my witness at my second coming, when I judge the twelve tribes of Israel and those who do not confess my name." (10) At Pilate's death an angel receives his head, presumably to carry it up into heaven.

On these grounds it may be that the text was written somewhere in the eastern part of the empire. As with so much apocryphal literature, the text is riddled with historical problems (not just Pilate's alleged conversion): the author, for example, appears to confuse the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus in 70 CE with a (nonexistent) decree from Tiberius forty years earlier, allegedly ordering the governor of Syria to lay the nation waste.

The following text is from Tischendorf's edition, which is based on five manuscripts, all of which also contain an account of the Report. The earliest of these manuscripts is from the twelfth century. Like the Report, this account may have originated some time in the fourth or fifth century.

The tradition of the text is highly variant. In our apparatus we have noted only those variants that are of special interest (i.e., for interpretation). For fuller discussion, see Constantine von Tischendorf, pp. lxxix–lxxx; the following apparatus has been constructed from Tischendorf's edition. The following are the manuscripts he used:

- A—fourteenth century
- B—fifteenth century
- C—twelfth century
- D—fourteenth century
- E—twelfth century

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ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΣ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ

1 Φθασάντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τῷ Καίσαρι, οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐστῶτων ἐκεῖ, ἅπαντες ἔκθαμβοι ἐγένοντο ὅτι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πιλάτου παρανομίαν τὸ σκότος καὶ ὁ σεισμός ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην. καὶ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκπέμψας στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν δέσμιον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν Πιλάτον.¹

2 Καὶ ἀχθέντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἀκούσας ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅτι παρέστη ὁ Πιλάτος, ἐκαθέσθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν προόδῳ στήναι τὸν Πιλάτον. καὶ φησὶν ὁ Καῖσαρ πρὸς αὐτόν·² τί τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησας, δυσσεβέστατε, ἑωρακῶς τηλικαῦτα σημεῖα εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον; κακὴν πρᾶξιν τολμήσας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὤλεσας.

3 Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἔφη· αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ἀνάιτιος τούτων τυγχάνω, οἱ δὲ προπετεῖς καὶ αἰτιοὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστί. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔφη· καὶ τίνες οὗτοι; λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Ἡρώδης, Ἀρχέλαος, Φίλιππος, Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας, καὶ ἅπαν τὸ πλήθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. λέγει ὁ Καῖσαρ· τίνος ἔνεκεν τῆ βουλῆ ἐκείνων σὺ ἐξηκολούθησας; καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει· στασιαστὸν καὶ ἀνυπότακτόν ἐστιν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν, μὴ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ σφ' κράτει. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπεν· ἅμα παρέδωκάν σοι αὐτόν, ὄφειλες ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ποιῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ ἐκπέμψαι πρὸς μέ, καὶ μὴ πεισθῆναι αὐτοῖς σταυρῶσαι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα δίκαιον ὄντα καὶ τοιαῦτα σημεῖα ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντα, ὡς σὺ εἶπας διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀναφοράς· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων σημείων φανερός ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.³

4 Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὀνομάσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἅπαν τὸ πλήθος τῶν θεῶν⁴ συνέπεσαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ κονιορτός, ἔνθα ἐκαθέζετο ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ παρεστηκῶς τῷ Καίσαρι πάντες ἔντρομοι⁵ γεγόνασιν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ῥήματος ῥῆσιν καὶ πτώσιν τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντες φόβῳ συσχεθέντες ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, θαυμάζοντες τὸ γεγονός. ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ

1 Πιλατον A B C: *add.* ἐν Ῥωμῇ E: *add.* καὶ κατακεκρυμμενον ἀχθῆναι αὐτον ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει D

2 αὐτον A B C D: *add.* λέγε καταρατε καὶ δυσσεβεστατε συ εἰ Πιλατος ο καὶ ηγεμων ανατολικην επεχων αρχην· ο δε Πιλατος εφη ναι δεσποτα αυτοκρατωρ εγω εἰμι ο δουλος της υμετερας γαλινητοτης· εγω εἰμι Πιλατος ο Ποντιος ο απο Αμασιας πολεως της Ποντου διοικησεως· καὶ ο Καισαρ εἰπεν E

3 ἐκ γὰρ . . . Ἰουδαίων B· μελλοντος αὐτου σταυρουσθαι· ουτος γὰρ ἐστιν ο Χριστος ο βασιλευς των Ἰουδαίων A C D· καὶ μελλοντος αὐτου σταυρουσθαι εγραψας ἐν τιτῳ καὶ προσηλωσας ἐν τῷ ξυλω του σταυρου ουτος ἐστιν Ἰησους ο Χριστος ο βασιλευς των Ἰουδαίων· παντως βουλομενος κακα επαξει κατα του κρατους μου τουτο εποιησας E

4 των θεων A E: των ειδωλων ητοι των θεων (B) C D

5 παντες ἐντρομοι (A) C D: καὶ παντες οἱ της συγκλητου αὐτου αμα τῷ Καισαρι ἐντρομοι B

The Handing Over of Pilate
(Paradosis Pilati)

(1) When the letter arrived in the city of Rome and was read to Caesar, with a large crowd standing by, everyone became amazed that the darkness and the earthquake had struck the whole world because of the lawless deed of Pilate. Caesar was filled with anger and sent soldiers with orders to bring Pilate as a prisoner.

(2) When Pilate was brought to the city of Rome and Caesar heard that he was there, he sat in the temple of the gods before the entire senate, with all the people and all the multitude of his armed forces, and he ordered Pilate to stand in the entrance. Caesar then said to him, "How could you dare to do such things, you most impious man, after seeing such great signs accompanying that man? By daring to do this wicked deed you have destroyed the entire world."

(3) Pilate replied, "Sovereign King, I am innocent of these things; it is the multitude of the Jews who are reckless and guilty." Caesar asked, "Who are they?" Pilate said, "Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas, and Caiaphas, and the entire multitude of the Jews." Caesar said, "Why did you do what they wanted?" Pilate replied, "Their nation is rebellious and unruly, and refuses to be subject to your power." Caesar said, "The moment they handed him over to you, you should have kept him safe and sent him on to me, instead of being persuaded by them to crucify such a righteous man, who also did such good signs, as you yourself indicated in your report. For it was clear from such signs that Jesus was the Christ, the King of the Jews."

(4) When Caesar said these things and spoke the name of Christ, the entire multitude of the gods fell down and turned to dust, where Caesar was sitting with the senate. And all the people who were standing there near Caesar were shaking because of the word he spoke and the falling of their gods, so that each one went home overtaken by fear, amazed at what had happened. Caesar

μετὰ ἀσφαλείας φυλάττεσθαι τὸν Πιλάτον, ὅπως γνῶ τὸ ἀληθὲς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

5 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον καθίσας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ καπετωλίῳ μετὰ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπειρᾶτο πάλιν ἐρωτᾶν τὸν Πιλάτον· καὶ φησὶν ὁ Καῖσαρ· λέγε τὸ ἀληθές, δυσσεβέστατε, ὅτι διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀσεβοῦς πράξεως ἧς ἐπεχειρήσας κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐδείχθη τῶν κακῶν σου ἔργων ἢ πράξις, τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς πτώσει ὑποβληθῆναι. λέγε οὖν· τίς ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ σταυρωθεὶς, ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας ἀπόλεσεν; Πιλάτος ἔφη· καὶ μὴν τὰ ὑπομνήματα αὐτοῦ ἀληθῆ εἰσὶν· καὶ γὰρ⁶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἐπέισθην ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὅτι μείζων ὑπῆρχεν πάντων ὧν σεβόμεθα θεῶν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔφη· τίνας οὖν ἔνεκεν τοιαύτην τόλμην καὶ πρᾶξιν ἐπήνεγκας κατ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀγνοῶν τοῦτον, ἢ πάντως κακὸν τι βουλόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας; ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἔφη· διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν καὶ στάσιν τῶν ἀνόμων καὶ ἀθέων⁷ Ἰουδαίων τούτο ἐποίησα.

6 Θυμοῦ δὲ πλησθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ συμβούλιον ἐποίησεν μετὰ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ κελεύει δόγμα γραφῆναι κατὰ τῶν⁸ Ἰουδαίων οὕτως· Λικιανῶ τῷ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἐπέχοντι χώρας χαίρειν. Τὴν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς γενομένην τόλμην παρὰ τῶν τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκούντων καὶ τὰς περὶξ πόλεις Ἰουδαίων παράνομόν τε πρᾶξιν ἔγνω, ὡς θεὸν τινα λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν Πιλάτον κατηνάγκασαν σταυρῶσαι, διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου αὐτῶν πλημμελήματος δι' οὗ ὁ κόσμος σκοπισθεὶς εἰς ἀπώλειαν εἴλκετο. θέλησεν οὖν σπουδαίως ἅμα πλήθους στρατιωτῶν παραγενέσθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐκθέσθαι διὰ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος. πειθαρχῶν κινήσαι κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν διασποραῖς αὐτοὺς θέμενος ἐν πάσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καταδούλωσον αὐτούς, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης ἐκδιώξας ὀλιγοστὸν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν δεῖξον, ἐφ' ἅπασι μὴ ὀφθῆναι ἔτι τοῦτο, πονηρίας μεστοὶ τυγχάνοντες.

7 Καὶ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου φθάσαντος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ χώρᾳ, Λικιανὸς πειθαρχήσας τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ δόγματος ἐν ἀναλώσει πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐποίησεν, τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν ἔθνων δουλεύειν παρέσχεν,⁹ ὥστε γνωσθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι ταῦτα τὰ γεγεννημένα παρὰ Λικιανοῦ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἀρέσαι αὐτῷ.

8 Καὶ πάλιν ἔθετο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐρωτήσιν ποιῆσαι τοῦ Πιλάτου, καὶ κελεύει ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι ὀνόματι Ἀλβίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πιλάτου ἀποτεμῆναι, φήσας· καθὼς οὕτως χεῖρας ἐπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν δίκαιον τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν,¹⁰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως πεσεῖται τῆς σωτηρίας ἀποτευξόμενος.

9 Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ηὔξατο σιωπῇ λέγων· κύριε, μὴ συναπολέσης με μετὰ τῶν πονηρῶν Ἑβραίων, ὅτι ἐγὼ χεῖρας κατὰ σοῦ οὐκ

6 καὶ μὴν . . . γὰρ (A B C) D: τα ὑπομνήματα αὐτου δεσποτα αυτοκρατωρ ατινα απεστειλα τη μετερα θειοτητη, αληθη τυχανουσιν· και γαρ E

7 ανομων και αθεων A C D: αθεων E: om. B

8 κατα των A B: add. αθεων C D

9 παρεσχεν A E: add. εως σημερον ημερας (B) D

10 επι τον . . . Χριστον A E: κατα του Ιησου E: κατα του θεου D

ordered Pilate to be kept securely under guard, so that he could learn the truth about Jesus.

(5) On the next day when Caesar sat in the capitol with the entire senate, he again tried to question Pilate. Caesar said, "Speak the truth, you impious man; for through your profane act against Jesus, even here your wicked deed was revealed, as the gods were cast down. And so, speak: who is that one who was crucified, that his name has destroyed all the gods?" Pilate said, "Yes indeed, the accounts about him are true. For I myself was persuaded by his works that he is greater than all the gods we worship." Caesar replied, "Then why did you perform such an audacious act against him, knowing well who he was? Or were you indeed plotting to harm my kingdom?" But Pilate replied, "I did this because of the anarchy and rebelliousness of the lawless and godless Jews."

(6) Filled with anger, Caesar took council with the entire senate and all his armed forces and he ordered a decree to be written against the Jews, as follows: "To Licianus, who rules supreme in the eastern region, greetings. I have learned of the rash and lawless deed performed recently by the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the surrounding cities of the Judeans, how they compelled Pilate to crucify a certain god, who was called Jesus. Through this sinful act of theirs, the world was darkened and dragged towards its destruction. Seek, therefore, to go there in haste with a large army and take them captive, authorized with this decree. Be obedient and move against them; send them into dispersion and enslave them among all the nations. Banish them from all of Judea and make their nation of no account, so that it can no longer be seen at all, since it is so full of wickedness."

(7) When this decree arrived in the eastern region, Licianus obeyed it out of fear and laid waste the entire nation of the Jews. And he took those who survived in Judea and sent them into dispersion among the nations, to serve as slaves. Everything Licianus did against the Jews in the eastern region was made known to Caesar, and it pleased him.

(8) Once again Caesar decided to interrogate Pilate; and he ordered a commander named Albius to behead him, saying, "Just as this one laid hands on the righteous man named Christ, so too he will fall and miss any chance of deliverance."

(9) When Pilate went off to the place of execution, he began to pray silently, "Lord, do not destroy me with the wicked Hebrews; for I could not have lifted

εἶχον ἐπενεγκεῖν εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι στάσιν κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐπήγαγον· ἀλλὰ σὺ γινώσκεις ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἔπραξα. μὴ οὖν ἀπολέσης με τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ μου ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἀμνησικακήσον ἐπ' ἐμοί,¹¹ κύριε, καὶ τῇ δούλῃ σου Πρόκλα τῇ ἰσταμένη μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ τοῦ θανάτου μου, ἣν ἀνέδειξας προφητεύειν ὅτι εἶχες σταυρῶ προσηλωθῆναι. μὴ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ ταύτῃ καταδικάσης, ἀλλὰ συγχώρησον ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν μερίδι τῶν δικαίων σου συγκαταρίθμησον ἡμᾶς.

10 Καὶ ἰδοὺ τελέσαντος τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ Πιλάτου ἦλθεν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· μακαριοῦσίν σε πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ καὶ αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνων, ὅτι ἐπὶ σοῦ ἐπληρώθησαν ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν εἰρημένα περὶ ἐμοῦ· καὶ σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς μάρτυς μου ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μου παρουσίᾳ ὀφθῆναι ἔχεις, ὅταν μέλλω κρίναι τὰς δώδεκα φύλας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογήσαντας τῷ ὀνόματί μου.¹² Καὶ ἐξετίναξεν τὴν κεφαλὴν Πιλάτου ὁ πρέφεκτος, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐδέξατο αὐτήν. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Πρόκλα τὸν ἄγγελον ἐρχόμενον καὶ δεχόμενον τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, χαρᾶς πλησθεῖσα καὶ αὐτὴ παραυτὰ ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐτάφη μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς.

¹¹ ἀμνησικακήσον ἐπ' ἐμοί A (E): ἐλεησον με B

¹² τας δωδεκα . . . ονοματι μου A (B): ζωντας και νεκρους και τας δωδεκα φυλας τας μη ὁμολογησασας μηδε πιστευσασας εις το ονομα μου E

my hand against you if it were not for the nation of godless Jews, as they were starting a rebellion against me. But you know that I acted out of ignorance. Do not, therefore, destroy me for this sin I committed, and remember no wickedness against me, Lord, or against your slave Procla who is standing with me here in this the hour of my death. For you appointed her to prophesy that you were to be nailed to a cross. Do not hold her, too, accountable for my sin, but forgive us both, and number us among your righteous ones.”

(10) And behold! When Pilate finished his prayer, a voice came from heaven: “All the races and families of the nations will bless you, because under your rule everything spoken about me by the prophets was fulfilled. You yourself will appear as my witness at my second coming, when I judge the twelve tribes of Israel and those who do not confess my name.” Then the executioner¹ severed Pilate’s head, and behold! An angel of the Lord took it. When Procla his wife saw the angel coming and taking his head, she was filled with joy and immediately gave up her spirit. And she was buried with her husband.

1. Or: commander; literally: prefect.

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The Letter of Pilate to Claudius

The letter allegedly written by Pontius Pilate to the emperor Claudius comes to us in several textual forms (see Dubois and Gounelle). A Latin version accompanies the Latin accounts of the “Descent to Hades” from the Acts of Pilate / Gospel of Nicodemus. In Greek it is quoted in Pseudo-Marcellus, The Passion of Peter and Paul. We have it in yet different forms in Armenian and Syriac. The form presented here comes to us from the fifth-century Acts of Peter and Paul (chs. 40–42). It has probably been incorporated from an earlier source (contra Dubois and Gounelle)

The letter is cited in the following context in the Acts. Years after Jesus’ death, the apostle Simon Peter and the heretic Simon Magus appear before the emperor Nero. When the emperor hears about Christ, he asks Peter how he can learn more about him. Peter tells him to retrieve the letter sent by Pilate years earlier to the emperor Claudius, and to have it read out. He does so, and then the text of the letter is reproduced.

It is not clear what to make of the anachronistic reference to Claudius as the emperor at the time of Jesus’ death (rather than Tiberius; Claudius would not assume the throne for another decade). The author of this letter, living so long after the fact, may simply not have known the facts of Roman imperial history. It is also possible that this was originally a letter that Pilate allegedly sent to Tiberius (comparable to the Report of Pilate), and that a later author/editor, possibly even the author of the fifth-century Acts in which the text is found, altered the name of the addressee (for unknown reasons). In the opinion of Dubois and Gounelle, the letter was originally composed as part of the (Latin) Passion of Peter and Paul; in that context—set in the time of Nero—the letter was more naturally placed in the reign of Nero’s immediate predecessor, Claudius. In any event, we do learn of a letter sent by Pilate to the reigning emperor explaining Jesus’ death already in Tertullian (*Apol.* 21.24) and later in Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 2.2). The letter we now have appears to be later than Tertullian. Possibly it was composed because some such letter was believed once to have existed.

The themes of this letter resonate with other works found in the Pilate cycle. Pilate himself was not responsible for Jesus' death; the stiff-necked and godless Jews were. In this instance the theme is heightened: Pilate does not crucify Jesus to placate the Jewish leaders; they do the foul deed themselves. At the same time, the account differentiates between the Jewish people, who believed in Jesus, and the Jewish leaders, who hated him.

The letter may have been written any time between Tertullian at the very end of the second century and its incorporation in the fifth-century Acts of Peter and Paul. If it served as the basis for the Report of Pilate, as some scholars have contended (Scheidweiler; Elliott), then it may be situated in an earlier part of this period.

We have taken the text from the edition of the Acts of Peter and Paul by R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet.

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ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ

Πόντιος Πιλάτος Κλαυδίῳ χαίρειν. Ἐναγχος συνέβη, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐγύμνωσα· οἱ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ φθόνον ἑαυτοῦς τε καὶ τοὺς μετέπειτα ἰδίαις δειναῖς κρίσεσιν ἐτιμωρήσαντο. ἀμέλει ἐπαγγελίας ἔχοντες οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ὅτι πέμψει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ὅστις εἰκότως βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν λεχθείη, τοῦτον ἐπηγγείλατο διὰ παρθένου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀποστεῖλαι. οὗτος τοίνυν ἐμοῦ ἡγεμονεύοντος ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

Καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν τυφλοὺς φωταγωγοῦντα, λεπρούς καθαρίζοντα, παραλυτικούς θεραπεύοντα, δαίμονας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φυγαδεύοντα, νεκροὺς ἐγείροντα, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτιμῶντα, ἐπὶ κυμάτων θαλάσσης πεζεύοντα καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια, καὶ πάντα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντα. φθόνῳ οὖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ κινούμενοι ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν, καὶ ἄλλα ἀντ' ἄλλων καταψευσάμενοι ἔλεγον μάγον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν πράττειν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ πιστεῦσας ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν μεμαστιγμένον παρέδωκα αὐτὸν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ταφέντος αὐτοῦ φύλακας κατέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μου φυλαττόντων αὐτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξεκαύθη ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηρία, ὥστε δοῦναι ἀργύρια τοῖς στρατιώταις λέγοντες· εἶπατε ὅτι οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἔκλεψαν. ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια σιωπήσαι τὸ γεγονός οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν· κάκεῖνοι γὰρ ἀναστάντα μεμαρτυρήκασιν ἑωρακένας καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀργύρια εἰληφέναι. ταῦτα δὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνήγαγον τῷ κράτει σου, ἵνα μὴ τις ἄλλος ψεύσῃται καὶ ὑπολάβῃς πιστεῦσαι ταῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ψευδολογίαις.

The Letter of Pilate to Claudius

Pontius Pilate, to Claudius. Greetings.

I myself have uncovered what has just now happened. For the Jews, out of envy, have brought vengeance both on themselves and on those who come after them by their terrible acts of judgment. Indeed their ancestors had the promises that God would send them his holy one from heaven, who would rightly be called their king; he promised to send this one to earth through a virgin. And now this one has come to Judea, during my governorship.

They saw that he brought light to the eyes of the blind, that he cleansed lepers, healed paralytics, drove demons out from people, raised the dead, rebuked the winds, walked on the waves of the sea, and did many other miracles; and that all the people of the Jews called him the son of God. For this reason the chief priests were moved by envy to seize him and deliver him over to me; and they told lie upon lie, saying that he was a magician and that he acted contrary to their law.

Since I believed their accusations, I delivered him over to their will, after having him flogged. And they crucified him. Then when he was buried they set guards over him.¹ But while my soldiers were guarding him, on the third day he arose. The wickedness of the Jews was set aflame by this, so that they gave money to the soldiers, telling them to say that his disciples had stolen his body.² But when they took the money they were not able to keep what had happened a secret. For they themselves testified that they saw him raised, and that they had taken money from the Jews. That is why I have reported these things to your Majesty, in case someone else lies about it and you be led to believe the false reports told by the Jews.

1. Cf. Matt. 27:62–66.

2. Cf. Matt. 28:11–15.

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The Letter of Pilate to Herod

This fictitious letter from Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea, to Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, is principally concerned with showing how he, Pilate, along with his wife, Procla, and the soldier Longinus, who was responsible for stabbing Jesus with a spear on the cross, all converted to become followers of Christ after the resurrection. One might expect the letter to have close connections with the Letter of Herod to Pilate (see later), but in fact, despite the titles and the appearance of some of the same names (Herod, Pilate, Longinus), the letters have almost nothing to do with one another and stand at odds in their views. Nowhere is this more clear than in their respective accounts of Longinus. In the Letter of Herod, he is subject to cruel and eternal torment as an unbeliever; in the Letter of Pilate he converts to become a blessed devotee of Jesus after being confronted by him, personally, after the resurrection. It may be that the two letters were combined in the textual tradition simply because of their comparable titles. In any event, this text shares more with the Handing Over of Pilate, where also Pilate and his wife, Procla, are portrayed as Christian converts—a theme, at least with respect to Pilate, that can be found in Christian sources as early as Tertullian (*Apol.* 21.24).

The text is provided by Montague R. James, on the basis of the same fifteenth-century manuscript that he used for the Letter of Herod to Pilate. It too is found in a Syriac manuscript of the fifth or sixth century; James hypothesized that both letters were composed, originally, some two hundred years before that.

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ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΔΗΝ

Πιλᾶτος ἡγεμὼν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἡρώδῃ τετράρχῃ χαίρειν.

Οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ὑπό σου πεισθεὶς ἐτέλεσα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ προσήγαγον Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν· ὡς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀπήγγειλάν μοι, καὶ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς πέπεισμαι εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀποστέλλειν· καὶ ἐωράκασιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει· καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς διδάγμασιν ἐνεφάνισεν ἑαυτὸν πλείοσιν πεντακοσίοις ἀνθρώποις θεοσεβέσιν, οἳ καὶ μαρτυροῦντες περὶ τούτου παρήγαγον, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζοντες, ἀλλὰ περισσὸν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ αἰώνιον βασιλείαν καταγγέλλοντες· ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις διδάγμασιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀγαλλιᾶν. Πρόκλα γὰρ ἡ ἐμὴ γαμετή, πιστεύσασα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁράμασιν οἷς αὐτῇ ἐφανερώθη, ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι διὰ τὴν σὴν συμβουλίαν εἰς τὸ σταυρῶσαι, καταλιπούσά με μετὰ δέκα στρατιωτῶν καὶ Λογγίνου τοῦ πιστοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου ὡς ἐν μεγάλῳ θεάματι ἐπορευῆθη θεάσασθαι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον ἐν χώρᾳ ἐργασίμῃ, πολλοῦ ὄχλου περιεστώτος, καὶ διδάσκοντα τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ πατρός, ὥστε θαυμάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐξίστασθαι, εἰ ὁ παθὼν καὶ σταυρωθεὶς οὗτος ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν. διατηρούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κατανοούντων αὐτόν, συνιδὼν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς <καὶ> εἶπεν· Ἔτι ἀπιστεῖτε μοι, Πρόκλα καὶ Λογγίνε; οὐχὶ σὺ ὁ τηρῶν μου τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον; καὶ σὺ δέ, γυνή, μετεπέμψω τῷ ἀνδρὶ σου περὶ ἐμοῦ; . . . τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθήκην ἣν διέθετο ὁ πατήρ· πᾶσαν οὖν σάρκα ἀπολωλυῖαν διὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ θανάτου ὃν οἴδατε ζωοποιήσω ἐγὼ ὁ ὑψωθείς καὶ πολλὰ παθών· καὶ νῦν οὖν ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐκ ἀπολείται πᾶσα σὰρξ πιστεύουσα εἰς τὸν πατέρα θεὸν καὶ εἰς ἐμέ· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔλυσα τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τὸν πολυκέφαλον δράκοντα ἐξεκέντησα· καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ παρουσίᾳ μου ὡς ἔχει ἕκαστος σώματι καὶ νῶ ἐγερθεὶς εὐλογεῖ τὸν πατέρα μου τοῦ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντος. ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἀκούσασα ἡ γυνὴ μου Πρόκλα καὶ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος Λογγίνος ὁ πιστευθεὶς τηρήσαι τὸ πάθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ συνπορευθέντες μετ' αὐτῆς, κλαίοντες καὶ λυπούμενοι, ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλάν μοι ταῦτα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀπήγγειλα

The Letter of Pilate to Herod

Pilate, governor of Jerusalem, to Herod the tetrarch, greetings.

Persuaded by you, I did a terrible thing on that day the Jews brought to me Jesus, the one who is called the Christ. They, along with the centurion, reported to me how he was crucified and arose from the dead on the third day. But I myself was persuaded to send messengers to Galilee. They saw him in the same flesh and in the same appearance; and he revealed himself in the same voice and with the same teachings to more than five hundred godly people,¹ who as witnesses brought forth their testimony about this, expressing no doubts in the matter but preaching extensively the resurrection and declaring the eternal kingdom—so that the heavens and the earth appeared to rejoice at his holy teachings.

My own wife, Procla, came to believe because of the visions in which he appeared to her when I was about to hand him over to be crucified because of your advice. She left me, taking ten soldiers with her and Longinus, the faithful centurion, and went to catch sight of him—as if going to a great spectacle. They saw him seated in a plowed field, with a great crowd surrounding him; he was teaching the mighty works of the Father, so that all were amazed and astounded at how this one who suffered and was crucified was raised from the dead.

While everyone was watching and observing him, he became aware of their presence and spoke to them: “Do you still not believe in me, Procla and Longinus? Are you not the one who watched over my suffering and tomb? And you, woman, did you send a message to your husband about me?”²

...³ the covenant of God that the Father made. Through my own death, which you have perceived, I will bring to life every fleshly being that has perished—I the one who was lifted up and suffered many things. Now, therefore, listen: every fleshly being who believes in God the Father and in me will not perish. For I have set loose the birth pangs of death and have slain the many-headed dragon. In my second coming that is about to occur, everyone will be raised in the body and mind that they now have, to praise my Father—I who was crucified under Pontius Pilate.”

When he said these things, my wife, Procla, heard them, along with the centurion Longinus, who had been entrusted to watch over the suffering of Jesus, and the soldiers who accompanied them. They all came, weeping and grieving, to proclaim these things to me. Once I heard them, I proclaimed

1. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:6.

2. Cf. Matt. 27:19.

3. There is no lacuna here in the manuscript, but some amount of text has obviously dropped out.

τοῖς μεγάλοις μου ταξεώταις καὶ συνστρατιώταις· οἱ δὲ λυπούμενοι καὶ κλαίοντες καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὸ κακὸν ὃ ἔπραξαν εἰς αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς γυναικὸς μου ἐγκεῖμαι ἐπὶ νηστεία καὶ χαμευνία· καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος ἤγειρέν με καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἀτενίσας εἰς αὐτόν εἶδον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἔχον τοὺς μώλωπας· καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους μου τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λέγων· Μακαριοῦσί σε πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ καὶ αἱ πατριαί, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ σου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβήσεται καὶ καθεσθήσεται ἐν ὑψίστοις· καὶ γνώσονται πάντες φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ μέλλων κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

them to my chief officers and fellow soldiers. And they were grieving and weeping throughout the day, trying to explain away the evil they had done to him. I myself was wrapped up in the pain of my wife, while we fasted, cast on the ground. . . .⁴

And the Lord came and raised my wife and me from the ground. Gazing at him I saw his body, still with its scars. He placed his hands on my shoulders and said, "All generations and nations will bless you, because in your time the son of man died and arose, and he will ascend into heaven and sit in the highest places. And all the tribes of earth will know that I am the one who is about to judge the living and the dead, in the final day."

4. A significant portion of the text appears to be missing here (cf. the Syriac version), although there is no lacuna in the manuscript.

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The Letter of Herod to Pilate

This apocryphon is allegedly a letter written by Herod Antipas—known from the Gospels for having beheaded John the Baptist—to Pontius Pilate, soon after the death of Jesus. In it Herod affirms the divine principle that “each will receive his due” for the evil deeds he has done. In his case, his actions toward John are reciprocated in the grisly death of his stepdaughter, Herodia, who literally loses her head in a flood. Herod too is faced with God’s judgment; as he writes, “already worms are coming up from my mouth.” Here the author of the text appears to confuse Herod the tetrarch of Galilee with Herod Agrippa, who according to the book of Acts was eaten by worms and died (Acts 12). So too, the soldier Longinus, who stuck a spear in Jesus’ side on the cross, meets a grisly fate, condemned to be torn apart by a lion every night, only to have his body restored during the day in preparation for another night’s agony—much like Prometheus of Greek legend.

There are clear connections between this text and the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Report of Pilate, and the Handing Over of Pilate: here the Roman governor Pilate is portrayed in a positive light, representing the Gentiles who will receive the future kingdom, as opposed to the Jews, represented by Herod, who have been rejected by God.

The earliest attestation of the letter is a Syriac version of the sixth or seventh century, although the original language was Greek. The Greek text was published by Montague R. James on the basis of a fifteenth-century manuscript from Paris, which gives as well the Report and the Handing Over of Pilate.

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ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΝ

Ἡρώδης τετράρχης Γαλιλαίων Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν.

Οὐκ ἐν μικρῷ πένθει κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὧν ἐγὼ σοι γράφω, ὡς καὶ σὺ ἀκούσας πάντως ἐν λύπῃ γενήσῃ· ἦν γὰρ ἐπόθουν Ἡρωδιάδα τὴν θυγατέρα μου παίζουσα ἀπάλετο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, πεπληρωμένου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· ἄφνω γὰρ ἐπληθύνθη τὸ ὕδωρ ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐδράξατο ἡ μητὴρ αὐτῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ ληφθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἀπετιμήθη ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς παιδός, ὥστε μόνην τὴν κεφαλὴν κρατεῖν τὴν γυναῖκά μου· καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς ἔλαβεν τὸ ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὴν γυναῖκά μου κρατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κλαίουσαν, καὶ¹ εἶναι ὅλον τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐν πένθει ἀκαταπαύστῳ. κἀγὼ δὲ ἐν πολλῇ περιστάσει κακῶν ἐγκείμει, ἀκούσας περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅτι ἐξουδένωσας αὐτόν, καὶ θέλων ἔλθειν καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν μόνον καὶ προσπεσεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκούσαί τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ κακὰ ἔπραξα εἰς αὐτόν καὶ εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπολαμβάνω τὰ ἄζια δικαίως· πολλὴν γὰρ ῥύσιν αἵματος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τέκνων ἄλλοτριῶν ὁ πατήρ μου ἐποίησεν διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν· κἀγὼ δὲ πάλιν τὸν τούτου βαπτιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἀπεκεφάλισα. δίκαια τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι ἕκαστος ὡς ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ ἀπολήφεται. ἐπεὶ οὖν πάλιν δύνασαι τὸν ἄνδρα θεάσασθαι Ἰησοῦν, νῦν ἀγωνίσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ πρесеβύσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λόγον· ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐδόθη ἡ βασιλεία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κατὰ τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ τὸν Χριστόν. καὶ Λεσβώναξ δὲ ὁ υἱός μου ἐπὶ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ βίου ἐστὶν ἀνάγκη, νόσῳ μαρानτικῇ συνεχόμενος ἡμέρας πολλάς· κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς πειρασμῷ ὑδρωπικῷ κείμενος ἀρρωστῶ μεγάλως, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ στόματός μου σκώληκες ἐξέρχονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ μου τὸν εὐώνυμον ὀφθαλμὸν διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου μου πένθος ἀπώλετο. δίκαια τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸν δίκαιον ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξεμυκτηρίσαμεν. οὐκ ἔστιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰρήνη, λέγει κύριος, θάνατος ἤδη λήφεται τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι χεῖρας ἀδίκως ἐπέβαλον ἐπὶ τὸν δίκαιον Ἰησοῦν. ταῦτα τῇ τῶν αἰῶνων συντελείᾳ πεπλήρωται, ὥστε εἶναι τὰ ἔθνη κληρονόμα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας, τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκβλήθηνα ἔξω, διότι οὐκ ἐτηρήσαμεν τὰ πρὸς κύριον, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, διὸ νῦν ἀναζῶσαι τὴν ὀσφύν σου· ἀνάλαβε τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μεμνημένος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σου· καὶ ὑμῶν ἔσται ἡ βασιλεία· ἡμεῖς γὰρ κατωρησάμεθα τοῦ δικαίου. εἰ δέ τις ἐστὶν ἐντευξις, ὦ Πιλάτος, ἐπεὶ ὁμοχρόνιοι ἐγενάμεθα, θάψον μου τὸν οἶκον ἐπιμελῶς· δικαιότερον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σου ἐνταφιασθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἷς μετ' ὀλίγον

¹ ὥστε . . . καὶ *conj. James*: καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς μου κρατῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ κλεουσα καὶ *ms*.

The Letter of Herod to Pilate

Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, to Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea, greetings.

I am in profound grief, as the divine Scriptures say, over the things I write you. Surely you too will grieve when you hear what has happened. My beloved daughter Herodia was killed while playing by the water, when it flooded over the bank of the river. For suddenly the water rose up to her neck, and her mother grabbed her by the head to keep her from being swept away by the water. The head of the child was severed, so that my wife held only the head, while the water took the rest of her body. And so my wife held her head on her knees, weeping, and all my household fell into incessant grief.

I too am enmeshed in many misfortunes, having heard about Jesus that you have destroyed him—when I was wishing to come and see him alone, and to fall before him, and to hear a word from him, since I did so many evil things against him and against John the Baptist. And see, I am receiving my just deserts. For my father created a great outpouring of blood on the earth from other people's children because of Jesus.¹ Then I myself cut off the head of John, who baptized him.² Righteous are the judgments of God, for each will be repaid in accordance with his thoughts. Since therefore you are able to see the man Jesus again, this time exert yourself for me and speak a word with him as my representative. For the kingdom has been given to you Gentiles, according to the prophets and Christ. Even my son Lesbonax is near the end of his life in agony, overcome with a wasting illness now for many days. I myself am gravely ill, beset by dropsy, so that worms are coming out of my mouth. Even my wife has become blind in her left eye, on account of the grief that has befallen my household. Righteous are the judgments of God, for which we have mocked the righteous eye.

"There is no peace for the priests," says the Lord. Death will soon overtake the priests and the ruling council of the children of Israel, because they unjustly laid hands on the righteous Jesus. These things will be fulfilled in the culmination of the age, so that the Gentiles will become heirs of the kingdom of God, but the children of light will be cast out, because we did not keep the commandments of the Lord nor those of his Son.

So now, gird your loins. Take up your righteousness night and day, remembering Jesus, with your wife. And the kingdom will be yours. For we have treated the righteous one with disrespect.

But if I can make a petition, O Pilate, since we have been contemporaries: bury the members of my household with care. For it is better for us to be buried by you than by the priests, who will soon fall under the judgment

1. Cf. Matt. 2:16–18.

2. Cf. Matt. 14:1–12; Mark 6:14–29; Luke 3:19–20; 9:7–9.

κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς Ἰησοῦ ἡ κρίσις ἀπόκειται. ἔρρωσο. ἔπεμψά σοι τὰ ἐνώτια τῆς γυναικός μου καὶ τὸ δακτύλιον τὸ ἐμόν. διαμνημονευθεῖς ποτε ἀποδώσεις μοι εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου σκώληκες ἀναβαίνουνσιν καὶ τὸ κοσμικὸν κρίμα ἀπολαμβάνω· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ κρίμα φοβοῦμαι πλέον· ἐν διπλῷ γὰρ μέλλει μοι ἐφίστασθαι τὰ κριτήρια θεοῦ ζώντος. δραπετεύομεν γὰρ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ, ὀλιγοχρόνιοι ὄντες ἐνταῦθα· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος κρίσις καὶ ἀναπόδοσις τῶν πεπραγμένων.

περὶ δὲ Λογγίνου τοῦ νύξαντος τὴν πλευρὰν Ἰησοῦ λόγῃ· αὐτὴ ὥρα ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπιλαβόμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἤρεν αὐτὸν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς ἔρημον τόπον, καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν πέρα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ ἔτεινεν αὐτὸν χαμαὶ ἐπ' ὄψει· καὶ ἐτάγη λέων ἐξέρχεσθαι κατ' ὄψιν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἄχρι πρωΐας· καὶ τὴν πρωΐαν ἀπῆλθεν² ὁ λέων, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληροῦτο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔχει ἕως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐξέθετο Νικόδημος καὶ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθίας ὁ αἰτησάμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

2 ἀπῆλθεν conj. *James*: εχῶν ms.

of Jesus, in accordance with the Scriptures. Farewell. I am sending you my wife's earrings and my own signet ring. If you are ever remembered in the last day, you will give them back to me. For already worms are coming up from my mouth and I am receiving my judgment in this world.³ But I fear the judgment that will be there even more. For the judgments of the living God are about to come upon me in double measure. For we flee in the present life, being here only for a short time. But in that place is eternal judgment and retribution for the things we have done.

Now concerning Longinus, the one who stuck the side of Jesus with a spear:⁴ at this hour an angel of the Lord took him by his head and carried him across the Jordan to a wilderness place, and brought him further into the cave, and stretched him out on the ground in full view. And a lion was assigned to come forth at night and to destroy his body until dawn. The lion went away at dawn, and his body again became whole. This is the punishment he receives until the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.

These records were set down by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, the one who asked for the body of the Lord Jesus Christ. To him be the glory and the power, together with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

3. Cf. Acts 12:20–23. The author of this letter apparently confuses Herod Antipas (tetrarch of Galilee in the days of Jesus) with Herod Agrippa, referred to in Acts.

4. Cf. John 19:34.

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The Letter of Tiberius to Pilate

This letter was allegedly written by the emperor Tiberius to Pontius Pilate in response to an earlier communication from the governor of Judea. But Pilate's earlier letter cannot be identified with any of the documents that we now have: it cannot have been the Report of Pilate, since, unlike this document, the latter portrays Pilate in a favorable light. Moreover, the Handing Over of Pilate, closely connected with the Report, has an entirely different account of Pilate's death from the one presented here. Nor do any of the other writings connected with Pilate answer to this one, as here Tiberius refers to Pilate's claim that Christ "is greater even than the gods we worship." This is comparable to a line found in the Handing Over of Pilate, but there the statement is delivered at Pilate's trial, not in his letter. And no such line is found in the Letter of Pilate to Claudius, which may, in an earlier form, have been addressed to Tiberius (there is, however, a similar line in the Report). As a result, we may never know whether there was a companion letter to this reply of Tiberius or if the allusion is simply part of the fictional framework of the reply.¹

As it stands, the current document is more than simply a letter, it is also a description of what happened in its aftermath: the grisly deaths of all those responsible for the death of Jesus. In the letter itself the emperor lashes out at Pilate for his impious act: "Even if you did not receive him as a god, at least you should have sympathized with him as a physician." He sends, then, for Pilate and the others who were responsible for the heinous crime of Christ's death: Archelaus, Philip, Annas, Caiaphas, and all the leaders of the Jews (not Herod, however, as in the Report of Pilate). Moreover, Tiberius orders the devastation of Judea by his courier Rahab, who carries out the order with a vengeance: all other Jewish men are slaughtered (not exiled, as in the Handing Over of Pilate) and the women raped.

1. There is a Latin letter of Pilate to Tiberius that Tischendorf, following Fabricius, prints from late manuscripts; it may be that this apocryphon was created to fill the gap created by the reference to an earlier correspondence in the letter of Tiberius to Pilate.

The account concludes with descriptions of the vile deaths of the opponents of God, including Pilate's own death not by beheading (as in the Handing Over) but inadvertently by Caesar's own hand.

Since Pilate appears here as a criminal rather than a saint, some scholars (e.g., Elliott) have contended that the book must have been written somewhere in the West rather than the East. The text is not found in Tischendorf, but is provided by James, based on the earlier editions of Birch and Fleck. On linguistic grounds, Gounelle thinks it cannot be dated much before the eleventh century.

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ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΝ

Τὰ ἀντιγραφέντα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου καὶ πεμφθέντα πρὸς Πιλᾶτον Πόντιον τὴν ἀνατολικὴν ἐπέχοντα ἀρχήν· γράψας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν καὶ στείλας αὐτὴν μετὰ κουρσῶρος Ραάβ, δούς αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιωτάς τὸν ἀριθμὸν δισχιλίους.

Ἐπειδὴ περ βιαῖον καὶ ἀδικίας μεστὸν γέμοντα κατεψηφίσω θάνατον Ἰησοῦ τὸν Ναζωραίου καὶ πρὸ καταδίκης εἰς θάνατον τοῦτον παρέδωκας τοῖς ἀπλήστοις καὶ μεμνόνισιν Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ οὐ συνεπάθησας τούτῳ δικαίῳ ἀλλὰ κάλαμον βάψας καὶ ἀπόφασιν δυστήνην ἐκδούς, καὶ φραγελλώσας αὐτὸν παρέδωκας ἐπὶ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἀναίτιως, καὶ δῶρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἔλαβες, καὶ τῇ μὲν γλώττῃ τούτῳ συνεπάθησας, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ τοῦτον παρέδωκας τοῖς παρανόμοις Ἰουδαίοις, δέσμιος ἀχθήσῃ μοι, ἵνα ὑπεραπολογήσῃ καὶ λόγον ἀνταποδώσῃ μοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἧς ἀναίτιως εἰς θάνατον παρέδωκας. ἀλλ' ὦ τῆς σῆς ἀναιδείας καὶ πωρώσεως. ἐγὼ ὁ ἐξ ἀκοῆς τοῦτον ἀκούων παθαίνομαι τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα συγκόπτομαι· γυνὴ γάρ τις πρὸς με ἐλήλυθε, μαθήτρια τούτου λέγουσα εἶναι, ἧτις ἐστὶν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ, ἀφ' ἧς μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι ἐπτά δαιμόνια ἐκβεβλήκει, μαρτυροῦσα τοῦτον ἰάματα μέγιστα ἐπιτελεῖν· τυφλοὺς ἐποίησε βλέπειν, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, καὶ κωφοὺς ἀκούειν, λεπρὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἑμαρτύρει αὕτη, ὅτι λόγῳ μόνῳ τὰς ἰάσεις ἐπετέλει. πῶς παρεχώρησας ἀναίτιως τοῦτον σταυρωθῆναι; καὶ εἰ ὡς θεὸν οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, κἂν ὡς ἱατρῷ τούτῳ συνεπαθῆσατε. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δολερᾶς γραφῆς σου τῆς πρὸς με ἐλθούσης καταψηφίσω σου τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὡς γραφούσης ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ σεβόμεθα μείζων ὑπῆρχεν. πῶς παρέδωκας αὐτὸν εἰς θάνατον; ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σὺ ἀδίκως τοῦτον κατέκρινας καὶ εἰς θάνατον παρέδωκας, καὶ γὰρ σε δικαίως εἰς θάνατον παραδώσω· οὐ μόνον δέ σε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς συμβούλους σου καὶ συμμύστας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θανάτου εἴληφας.

Δοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς γραμματοδιακομισταῖς τὰ γράμματα καὶ δι' ἐγγράφου κελεύσεως ἀπόφασιν Αὐγούστου τούτοις ἐδόθη, ἵνα ἅπαν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ξίφει ἀναιρήσῃσι καὶ δέσμιον τὸν Πιλᾶτον καὶ κατακεκριμένον ἀχθῆναι ἐν Ρώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους, τοὺς τότε τοπάρχας, Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τοῦ ἐχθίστου Ἡρώδου υἱόν, καὶ τὸν συμμύστην αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἀρχιερεῖς, τὸν τε Καϊάφαν καὶ τὸν τούτον πενθερὸν Ἄνναν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Ἀπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥαχαάβ μετὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, κατὰ τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἄρρεν γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ξίφει ὑπερηκόντισε, τὰς δὲ βεβήλους αὐτῶν γυναῖκας τὰ ἔθνη ἐξεπορνεύσαντο, <καὶ> ἀνεφύη καὶ ἐξανέστη σπέρμα μυσαρὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Σατανᾶ. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ τὸν τε Πιλᾶτον, Ἀρχελάον τε καὶ Φίλιππον, Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφαν

The Letter of Tiberius to Pilate

This is the reply of Caesar Augustus, sent to Pilate Pontius, who holds the rule in the eastern part of the kingdom. He also wrote his judicial decision and sent it with the courier Rahab, to whom he gave two thousand soldiers as well.

“Because you condemned Jesus of Nazareth to a violent death that was completely unjust, and before condemning him to death you handed him over to the insatiably furious Jews, and you showed no sympathy for this righteous man, but dipping your pen you delivered a disastrous judicial decision, and having him flogged you handed him over to be crucified, without cause, and you received gifts for condemning him to death, sympathizing with him in what you said, but in your heart handing him over to the lawless Jews—for all this you will be brought to me as a prisoner to defend yourself and render to me an account of what you have done, on behalf of this one whom you handed over to death without cause. Oh your shamelessness and hardness! When I heard about this in a report, I was moved in my soul and cut to the core. For a certain woman has come to me, calling herself a disciple of this man; she is Mary Magdalene, from whom others testify that he had cast out seven demons.¹ She has testified that this one performed great healings: he made the blind see, the lame walk, and the deaf hear; he cleansed lepers and, to put it simply, as she herself testified, he performed these healings by a word alone.

How could you permit him to be crucified without cause? Even if you did not receive him as a god, at least you should have sympathized with him as a physician. But even from your own treacherous writing that has come to me you have pronounced your penalty, since you write that he is greater even than the gods that we worship. How could you deliver him over to death? But just as you condemned this one unjustly and delivered him to death, I in turn will deliver you to death justly. And not only you, but also all your councillors and companions, from whom you received the gifts for his death.”

As he gave the letter to the letter carriers, Augustus’s judicial sentence was also given them in a written order, that they were to kill the entire race of the Jews with the sword, and that Pilate was to be brought to Rome as a condemned prisoner, along with the leaders of the Jews, those who were then the rulers of the region, Archelaus, the son of the despised Herod, and his companion Philip, and those who were their chief priests, both Caiaphas and his father-in-law, Annas, and all the leaders of the Jews.

When Rahab went forth with the soldiers, he did as he was commanded, and slew the entire male race of the Jews with the sword, and the Gentiles sexually defiled their profane wives; and the loathsome posterity of their father, Satan, came to life and rose up. The courier took Pilate, Archelaus,

1. Cf. Luke 8:2; Mark 16:9.

καὶ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, δεσμίους ἦγεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ἔτυχεν δὲ τοὺτους διερχομένους ἐν νήσῳ τινὶ Κρήτῃ ἐπονομαζομένη τὸν Καϊάφαν δυστήνως καὶ βιαιῶς τὸν βίον ἀπορρήξαι· καὶ λαβόντων δὲ τοῦτον ἵνα καταχάσωσιν, οὐδὲ τὸ σύνολον τοῦτον ἢ γῆ κατεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦτον ἀπέρριπτεν. ἰδὼν δὲ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, ἄφαντες λίθους οικειαῖς χερσίν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔβαλον καὶ οὕτως κατέχωσαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσώρμισαν.

Ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαιοῖς ἀναξίν, ὡς ὅτι ἐὰν κατάδικος τις ἦν θανάτῳ καὶ ἐθεάσατο τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῶν, ἐρρύετο τῆς καταδίκης, ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῦ μὴ θεάσασθαι τὸν Πιλάτον, ἵνα μὴ ῥυσθῆ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου· ἀλλὰ κελεύσει τούτου ἐν ἄντρῳ τινὶ τοῦτον ἀνέκτισαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ἔασαν.

Τὸν δὲ Ἄνναν ἐν δέρματι βοῶς ἐνετύλιξαν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς βύρσης ξηρανθείσης, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκπιασθεῖς, τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξήλθον, καὶ βιαιῶς τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπέρρηξεν. τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους ἅπαντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκδότους παρέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον· καὶ τούτους ἀπέκτειναν τῷ ξίφει· Ἀρχέλαον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἐχθίστου Ἡρώδου υἱόν, καὶ τούτου συμμύστην Φίλιππον προσέταξεν ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι.

Μιᾷ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξεληθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν δορκάδα τινα ἐδίωκεν· ἢ δὲ δορκὰς ἐλθοῦσα ἐν τῇ ὀπῇ τοῦ ἀντροῦ ἵστατο. ἔμελλεν δὲ τὸν Πιλάτον ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλωθῆναι· καὶ ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ μέλλον προέκοψε ὁ Πιλάτος θεάσασθαι τὸν ἄνακτα, καὶ ἢ δορκὰς κατέναντι τούτου στάσα, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ βέλος βαλὼν ἐν τῷ τόξῳ του τὴν δορκάδα καταβαλεῖν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς τὸ βέλος εἰσελθὼν τὸν Πιλάτον ἀνήρησεν. πάντες δὲ πιστεύοντες Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν σωτήρα δότε δόξαν καὶ μεγαλωσύνην αὐτῷ· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἢ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

and also Philip, Annas, and Caiaphas, and all the leaders of the Jews, and led them as prisoners to Rome. But it came about that while they were passing through a certain island named Crete, Caiaphas was miserably and violently severed from life. When they took him in order to bury him, the ground would not receive him at all, but cast him out. Seeing this, the entire multitude took stones with their own hands and cast them on him, and so buried him. But the others came to anchor near Rome.

Now there was a custom among the ancient rulers that if someone was condemned to death but should happen to see their face, he would be spared from his condemnation. And so Caesar ordered that Pilate not see him, so that he might not be saved from death. Because of this command, they bricked him up in a certain cave, and left him there.

But they rolled Annas up in the skin of an ox, and as the leather dried out under the sun, he was pressed tightly in it, so that his intestines came out through his mouth, and it violently tore away his wretched life. All the other Jews who were given over to him he delivered to death. They killed these by the sword. But Archelaus, son of the despised Herod, and his companion Philip, he ordered to be impaled.

One day the king went out to hunt and was pursuing a certain deer. The deer came to the opening of the cave and stood there. Now Pilate was about to be killed by the hand of Caesar. That the inevitable might be fulfilled, Pilate moved forward to see the ruler, while the deer was standing in front of him. Caesar placed an arrow on his bow to shoot the deer, and the arrow passed through the opening and killed Pilate.

All who believe in Christ, our true God and savior, give him glory and greatness. For to him is due the glory, honor, and worship, with his Father who is without beginning, and the Spirit who is of his same nature, now and always, even unto the ages. Amen.

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The Vengeance of the Savior (Vindicta Salvatoris)

The Vengeance of the Savior (*Vindicta Salvatoris*) is normally included in the Pilate cycle—the Gospels dealing with the fate of Pilate after the crucifixion of Jesus—even though Pilate plays only a minor role in the account. The narrative does tell of his imprisonment and condemnation, but it is more especially concerned with the fate of the Jewish people, who are condemned for their role in the death of Jesus and inflicted with horrible punishments, including the violent destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman rulers Titus and Vespasian (who are not understood to be related; Titus, moreover, is portrayed, anachronistically, as a client king of the emperor Tiberius). The framework for the story is provided by two accounts of Roman rulers, the king Titus and the emperor Tiberius, who are healed from horrible inflictions by the power of Christ after his death and resurrection (cf. the Abgar legend). Titus, a king in Libya, north (!) of Judah, learns of the miraculous ministry of Jesus, and of the horrific actions of the Jews against him, from a Roman envoy Nathan, who has just visited Palestine and is now returning to Rome. Titus is deeply moved and offended by what the Jewish people have done in executing their own savior, and he threatens violent reprisals against them. As soon as he utters his dire condemnations he is immediately healed: the cancer that has long disfigured his face falls away and he is restored to pure health. Converted and baptized, he and his colleague Vespasian launch a violent assault on the Jews in their homeland until they destroy Jerusalem and slaughter the opposition. News of the events is taken back to Rome by a special envoy, Volosianus, who brings with him a follower of Christ, Veronica, who has with her an image of Jesus' face on a sacred cloth. Once they arrive in Rome they meet with Tiberius, who is told of Christ's miraculous life and the destruction of his enemies, the Jews. He is then shown the image of Christ's face and as he worships it, he is cleansed of his leprosy. He too then comes to believe in Christ and is baptized, along with his household, bringing the story to an end.

Among the sources that have influenced this narrative are the Acts of Pilate (the Gospel of Nicodemus), the Abgar legend, and an early medieval tale

(seventh or eighth century) known as the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*—the latter of which is taken over and significantly expanded in the *Vindicta*. Although the earliest manuscript of the *Vindicta* is from the ninth century, E. von Dobschütz has made a plausible argument that it was composed in the beginning of the eighth century.

The manuscript tradition of the *Vindicta* is highly complex and the issues surrounding it have not yet been unraveled. Izydorczyk has identified sixty manuscripts of the Gospel, one third of them also containing the Gospel of Nicodemus (in Besson, Bressard-Dandre, and Izydorczyk). Tischendorf based his edition on two manuscripts (M and V), one of the fourteenth and one of the fifteenth centuries, but noted variations in the tradition supplied by an Old English version based on an earlier form of the text. Since his day the actual manuscript from which this version was made has been discovered and has been analyzed by Cross: MS Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202 (O), of the ninth century. The Saint-Omer manuscript is not only the oldest surviving manuscript of the narrative, it is of obvious significance because of its role in bringing the story of the *Vindicta* into the English language. For that reason, and in view of the fact that we continue to lack a critical edition, we have provided here the text and a translation of the Saint-Omer manuscript; we have not standardized its typical Vulgar Latin “deviations” from the classical or late-classical norm. For a comprehensive list of these deviations, the reader should consult Elliott.

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VINDICTA SALVATORIS

*INCIPIT PASSIO DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI
QUOMODO IN IUDEA PASSUS FUIT*

§1 In diebus illis Tyberii caesaris teth<r>archa sub Puntio Pilato traditus fuit a Iudeis, celatus a Tyberio. In diebus illis erat quidam homo nomine Tyrus, regulus Tyberii in regnum Aquitanię in ciuitatem Libiæ, que dicitur Burdigala, et erat insanus in narem dextram habens cancrum faciem delaceratam usque ad oculum.

§2 Exiuit quidam homo de Iudaea cui nomen Nathan, filius Naum, erat enim de Ismahelitis, pergens de terra in terram, de mare in mare, de terminis terre usque ad orbem terrarum. Missus est a Tyberio imperatore ad portandam sibi pactam in urbem Rome. Erat ipse Tyberius çesar insanus ulceribus sanus¹ plenus de fimbrię,² id est, ramus de lepra nonus.

§3 Voluitque Nathan pergere in Roma. Insufflauit uentus septentrion, que dicitur hauster, et imperauit nauigium illius et deduxit ad portas Libię ciuitatis. Viditque eum Tyrus nauigium uenientem et cognouit que de Iudęa erat, admirans,³ omnes dicentes: “Numquam talia uidimus aliquando.”

§4 Iussit eum Tyrus ad se uenire et interrogauit quidnam esset et ille dixit: “Ego sum Nathan, filium Nau, de regno Grecorum,⁴ subditus in Iudaea, sub Puntio Pilato. Missus fui ut uenirem ad Tyberium in urbe Roma ad portandam pactam eius de Iudaeam. Inruit uentus ualidus in mare et deduxit me in loco isto, et nescio ubi sum.”

§5 At ille Tyrus dixit: “Si aliquando potuisses inuenire aliquam rem aut pigmentarium⁵ aut herbarum nomina ad sanandum uulnus meum quod in faciem meum habeo, statim restituam te ante Tyberio.”

§6 Iusiurando dixit illi Nathan, “Non enim ego possum inuenire, domine mi, quod mihi denuntias. Si enim fuisses in Iudaea, ibi enim inuenisses hominem, electum prophetam, cui nomen dicitur Iesus Christus. Ipse enim

1 sanus *O*: sane *prop.* *Cross*

2 de fimbrię *O*: febribus *MV*: febrī *prop.* *Cross*: siringii *coni.* *Besson et al.*

3 admirans *O*: admirantes *prop.* *Cross*

4 de regno Grecorum *O*: de genere Imaelitarum *MV*

5 pigmentarium *O*: pigmentorum *MV*

The Vengeance of the Savior

Here begins the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, how he suffered in Judea.

Conversion and Baptism of Tyrus-Titus

1. In the days of the emperor Tiberius under the tetrarch Pontius Pilate,¹ he was delivered by the Jews, unbeknownst to Tiberius. In those days, there was a certain man, Tyrus by name,² a court official of Tiberius in the kingdom of Aquitania, for a city of Libia which is called Burdigala;³ he was ill, having a cancer on his right nostril and his face mangled up to the eye.

2. A certain man whose name was Nathan, son of Naum, left Judea, for he was an Ishmaelite, going from land to land, from sea to sea, from the limits of the earth to the edge of the world. He was sent by the emperor Tiberius to bring a tribute to the city of Rome. The emperor Tiberius himself was ill with ulcers, very full of scars, which is the ninth kind of leprosy.⁴

3. And Nathan wanted to go to Rome. The north wind, which is called "auster,"⁵ blew and directed his ship, and brought it to the gates of the city of Libia. Tyrus saw him and the ship coming and recognized in amazement that it was from Judea as everyone was saying: "We have never seen something like this, ever!"

4. Tyrus bid him to come to him and asked who he was; and he said: "I am Nathan, son of Nau, from the kingdom of the Greeks,⁶ a subject of Pontius Pilate in Judea. I have been sent to Tiberius in the city of Rome to bring his tribute from Judea. A strong wind raged on the sea and brought me to this place, and I do not know where I am."

5. Now Tyrus said to him: "If you had ever been able to find anything, either an ointment or the names of herbs that would cure the wound on my face, I would deliver you at once before Tiberius."

6. Nathan declared to him with an oath, "My lord, I really cannot find what you request of me. To be sure, had you been in Judea you would have found there a man, a chosen prophet, whose name is Jesus Christ. Indeed, he shall

1. The title "tetrarch" is not applicable to Pontius Pilate, who was a governor (*ἡγεμών, praeses*) according to Matt. 27:2 and a prefect according to an inscription discovered in Caesarea. Tischendorf follows the reading in M: Herode tetrarcha sub Pontio Pilato, "while Herod was tetrarch under Pontius Pilate."

2. Tyrus's name is later changed into Titus, following his baptism in §10.

3. Latin for Bordeaux. The Old English version has "the city called Lybie (Libie, Libia)," possibly Latin for the city of Albi in Southern France.

4. For Tiberius's disease see Tac. Ann. 4.57.3, and Suet. Tib. 58.3.

5. "(H)auster" is, in fact, the south wind blowing from the shores of Africa.

6. M and V have "from the race of I(sh)maelites."

saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum, qui, uerbo suo, leprosus mundabat, cecos inluminabat, mortuos suscitabat, et alia multa signa et uirtutes faciebat in conspectu discipulorum suorum que non sunt scripta in libro nostro. Lazarum quatruiduanum de monumento suscitauit; puellam in domo patris sui mortuam similiter suscitauit; mulierem in templo in adulterio deprehensam, iam iudicatam in damnatione lapidantium mortis, misericorditer liberauit. Item aliam mulierem fluxum sanguinis paciencem .XII. annis, nomine Veroneica, que accessit retro ad eum et tetigit fimbriam uestimenti eius, statim eam sanauit; et de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quinque milia hominum satiauit.

§7 Ista omnia et alia multa ante passionem impleuit, quem adprehenderunt Iudei et principes sacerdotum, inuidia commoti; flagellauerunt eum et petierunt a Pilato ut interficerent eum, quem suspenderunt in ligno et dederunt ei uinum cum felle myxtum bibere. Ipse uero emisit in cruce spiritum et ad infernum descendit, et inde sanctos, quos tenebat, liberauit, et genus humanum uisitauit adque saluauit. Corpus uero illius Ioseph, uir iustus, sepeliuit. Et Iudaei custodes ne resurgeret uigilantes miserunt, quem nos uidimus et testificati sumus, sicut ipse antea predixerat, ipsa carne in qua natus, in ipsa passus, in ipsa sepultus, in ipsa per dies duos in sepulchro iacuit, in ipsa die tertia sicut uerus Deus et uerus homo a mortuis resurrexit, in ipsa per dies .XL. apparuit discipulis suis, et ad celos, nobis uidentibus, cum uirtute et potestate magna ascendit, dicens: 'Viri Galilei quid admiramini aspicientes in caelum? Sic ueniet quemadmodum uidisti me euntem in caelum.'

§8 Creditur statim Tyrus in Christo et omnis domus eius tota, dixitque in uerbis suis: "Vae tibi Tyberii, ulceratus a lepra circumdatus ad scandalum qui

make his people healed of their sins,⁷ who by his word cleansed the leprous, restored sight to the blind, raised the dead,⁸ and performed many other signs and miracles in the presence of his disciples which are not written in our book.⁹ He raised Lazarus from the tomb on the fourth day;¹⁰ likewise, he raised a dead girl in the house of her father;¹¹ he mercifully freed in the temple a woman caught in adultery, who was already sentenced to death by stoning.¹² In like manner, he immediately healed another woman suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years, Veronica by name, who came up behind him and touched the fringe of his garment;¹³ and with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men.¹⁴

7. He fulfilled all these and many other things before his passion, when the Jews and the leaders of priests, stirred by envy,¹⁵ arrested and flogged him, requesting from Pilate that they might kill him. They then hanged him on the tree and gave him wine mixed with vinegar¹⁶ to drink. But he gave up his spirit on the cross and descended to hell, and freed the saints detained there, and visited and saved the human race. Joseph, a just man, buried his body. And the Jews sent guards to watch lest he rise again.¹⁷ We have seen him and witnessed him, just as he had himself foretold, in that very flesh in which he was born, in which he suffered, in which he was buried, in which he lay two days in the tomb, in which on the third day he rose from the dead as true God and true man, and in which for forty days he appeared to his disciples¹⁸ and then, in our sight, ascended to the heavens with great might and power,¹⁹ saying: "Men of Galilee, why are you amazed, looking up to heaven? So will he come as you saw him go into heaven."²⁰

8. Immediately Tyrus and the whole of his entire household believed in Christ, and he said in his own words: "Woe to you Tiberius, covered with ulcers and seized by leprosy for the scandal you caused. For you had sent your

7. Cf. Matt. 1:21.

8. Cf. Matt. 11:5; Luke 7:22.

9. Cf. John 20:30.

10. Cf. John 11:11-17.

11. Cf. Matt. 9:18-19, 23-36; Mark 5:22-24, 38-43; Luke 8:49-56.

12. Cf. John 8:1-11.

13. Cf. Matt. 9:20-22; Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-48; the hemorrhagic woman is also called "Veronica" in the Gospel of Nicodemus 6:3.

14. Cf. Matt. 14:13-21; Mark 6:10-44; Luke 9:12-17; John 6:5-13.

15. Cf. Matt. 27:18; Mark 15:10.

16. Cf. Matt. 27:34.

17. Cf. Matt. 27:62-66; 28:11-15.

18. Cf. Acts 1:3.

19. Cf. Acts 1:9.

20. Cf. Acts 1:11, where it was "two men in white robes," and not Jesus, who said these words.

misisti regibus tuis in terram natiuitatis domini mei, qui occiderunt regem, liberatorem et gubernatorem omni populo et non dimiserunt ei licentiam a nobis uenire ut curaret te a lepra et nobis curaret a uulnera. Ideo si fuisset in faciem eius et cognouissemus eum, uindicassemus eum ultione pessima et inimicos eius occidere et corpora illorum in lignum aridum deberemus suspendere quia tulerunt dominum nostrum quem non fuerunt oculi nostri digni uidere.”

§9 Et cum hoc dixisset cecidit uulnus de faciem eius, qui uocatur cancrus, et restituta est caro eius sicut caro pueri paruuli, quem deuorata fuerat ab eo, et ecce factus est sanus, et clamauit uoce magna dicens: “Ecce ipse est iudex uerus, rex magnus, et Deus iustus, quia numquam illum nec uidi nec credidi et modo audiui nomen eius et sanus factus sum.” Et prostratus ipse Tyrus in terra ad dominum cum lacrimis orauit dicens: “Domine Deus omnipotens, rex regum et dominantium dominus, permitte me ire in terram natiuitatis tue ut possim inimicis tuis uidere et nomina et corpora et omnia illorum delere et mortem tuam uindicare ut non remaneat de eos quicquam nisi⁶ in manus meas traditi fuit.”⁷

§10 Et cum hoc dixisset uocauit ad se Nathan et dixit ei: “Quomodo uidisti eos baptizare⁸ qui credebant in Christo? Veni et baptiza me ut creda in eum in toto corde meo, quem ego numquam uidi, et saluum me fecit, Iesus Christus, dominus noster.” Tunc Nathan baptizauit eum in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti et inposuit illi nomen de Tyro Titum, qui cognominatus est “pius.” Tunc Titus misit nuntios suos ad Vespasianum ut paratus ueniret ad prelium.

§11 Tunc Vespasianus cum .VII. milia uirorum occurrit ei in accursum eius. Cum uenisset autem in Libie ciuitatis interrogauit Titum quidnam esset sermo per quem fecerat ei uenire ad se. Ille autem dixit: “Quare non consideras in corde tuo ut credas in Deum patrem omnipotentem quomodo natus est Iesus Christus in Iudaea in Bethleem Iudae, ciuitatem Dauid, ad saluandum genus humanum, et quomodo flagellauerunt et occiderunt eum per inuidiam Iudaei, et quomodo tertia die resurrexit a mortu⁹is, et uiderunt discipuli sui in ea carnem in quam¹⁰ antea fuerat, et post resurrectionem eius .XL. dies apparuit discipulis suis. Et postea, uidentibus illis, ad caelos cum potestate magna, ut Deus uerus et homo uerus, ascendit. Et nos modo eius discipulus¹¹

6 nisi O: si *prop. Cross* (cf. *infra*, §13)

7 fuit O: sunt *prop. Cross*

8 baptizare O: baptizari *prop. Cross*

9 ciuitatis O: ciuitatem *prop. Cross*

10 carnem in quam O: carne in qua *prop. Cross*

11 discipulus O: discipuli *prop. Cross*

kings²¹ into the land of my Lord's birth, who killed the king, the liberator and ruler of all the people, and did not allow him to come from us to cure you from leprosy and us from sores. So if we had been before his face and known him, we would have avenged him with the greatest vengeance, and we would be obliged to kill his enemies and hang their bodies on a dry tree, because they took our Lord, whom our eyes were not worthy to see."

9. As soon as he said this, the sore called "cancer" fell from his face, and his flesh that had been eaten up by it was restored like the flesh of a small boy. And behold, he became healthy and cried out with a loud voice, saying: "Lo, he is the true judge, the great king and the just God, for I have never seen him nor believed, and now I have just heard his name and become healthy." And prostrate on the ground Tyrus himself prayed to the Lord with tears, saying: "Lord God almighty, king of kings and lord of lords, allow me to go into the land of your nativity to see your enemies and destroy their names and bodies and all that belongs to them, and avenge your death, so that nothing remains of them except those delivered into my hands."²²

10. When he said this, he summoned Nathan and said to him: "In what way did you see those who believed in Christ give baptism? Come and baptize me so that I may believe in all my heart in him whom I never saw and who made me healthy, Jesus Christ, our Lord." Then Nathan baptized him in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,²³ and changed his name from Tyrus to Titus, who was surnamed "pious." Then Titus sent his messengers to Vespasian that he come prepared for the battle.

The Siege and Fall of Jerusalem

11. Vespasian hastened to meet him with seven thousand men. When he had come to the city of Libia, he asked Titus what was the reason he had sent for him. And he said, "Why do you not consider in your heart so that you believe in God the almighty Father, and see how Jesus Christ was born in Judea, in Bethlehem of Judah, the city of David,²⁴ to save the human race; how the Jews flogged and killed him out of jealousy; how he rose on the third day from the dead, and his disciples saw on that day the very flesh²⁵ in which he had been before; how, after his resurrection, he appeared to his disciples for forty days; and how afterwards, before their eyes, he ascended to the heavens with great power as true God and true man. And we now wish to become his disciples;

21. As the subsequent chapters make it clear (12–17, 19, 29–30), Tiberius's "kings" are Herod, Archelaus, Caiaphas, and Pilate.

22. Cf. Cross's conjecture: "once they have been delivered into my hands."

23. Cf. Matt. 28:19.

24. Cf. Matt. 2:5–6.

25. Cf. Cross's proposal: "and his disciples saw <him> in the same flesh. . ."

uolumus fieri; eamus et uindicemus et deleamus inimicos eius de terra uiuentium et cognoscant quia non est similis illi in terra.”

§12 Consilium aut initum, exierunt de ciuitate Libia,¹² que dicitur Burdigala, ascenderuntque in nauem et descenderunt in Hierosolimam, circumdederunt enim regnum illius et ceperunt eos mittere in perditione. Cum audissent ergo ita reges terre illius esse, turbati sunt ualde et timuerunt usque ad mortem. Tunc Herodes rex turbatus est, et omnis Hierosolima cum illo, et dixit ad Archalau filio suo.¹³ “Fili mi, accipe regnum nostrum, diiudica illum, et cum alios reges qui circa te sunt, accipe consilium ut possitis liberare de inimicis uestris quia uolunt nos delere et regno nostro.”¹⁴ Ipse uero Herodes amputauit lanceam suam et fixit in terram et iactauit se super et mortuus est.

§13 Archalaus ergo, filius eius, uenit ad alios reges feceruntque sibi inuicem conuiuium et concluderunt se in Hierosolimam cum omnibus optimatibus qui fuerant cum eis et non remansit ex eis quicquam nisi infra ciuitatem ibique steterunt septem annorum numero.

§14 Creuit aut Tyto et Vespasiano sapientia ut regnum illius cirdassent¹⁵ et ita fecerunt. Impletis autem octo annis ingressa est famis in terra illa et ceperunt omnes pro necessitate panis terram comedere.

§15 Milites ergo, qui fuerunt de octo regiones, fecerunt sibi consilium intra se malignam dicentes: “Nos enim morituri sumus; uidete, quid faciet nobis Deus. Quid prodest uita nostra quia uenerunt Romani et tulerunt regnum nostrum et locum et gentem? Melius enim nobis est ut nosmetipsos interficiamus et non dicant hii quod illi nos occidissent et fecissent super nos uictoriam.” Tunc exemerunt gladios suos, et interfecerunt se et mortui sunt quasi undecim milia, et inruit fetor illius in ciuitate illa.

§16 Et timuerunt reges usque ad mortem et non potuerunt ullomodo eadere a furore illius nec poterant eos sepelire neque foras eicerunt, dixeruntque intra se: “Quid faciemus?” intra se gementes et stridentes quod Christum tradidissent ad mortem et morte dignos morituros esse. “Declinamus capita nostra et tradamus clauas istius ciuitatis ad Romanos quia iam morituri samus.” Et exierunt in muris dicentes: “Tradamus domino nostro Tito et Vespasiano clauas ipsius ciuitatis quas uobis Deus dedit desuper. Nobis enim

12 Libia O: Libiae prop. Cross

13 ad Archalau filio suo O: ad Archalaum filium suum prop. Cross

14 regno nostro O: regnum nostrum prop. Cross

15 cirdassent O: circumdedissent prop. Cross

let us go and take revenge and destroy his enemies from the land of the living, and let them know that he has no equal on earth.”

12. Once the plan was made, they left the city of Libia, which is called Burdigala, and went aboard ship and descended to Jerusalem: they besieged that kingdom and began to destroy them. When the kings of that land heard that this was happening, they were greatly disturbed and frightened to death. King Herod became disturbed, and all Jerusalem with him,²⁶ and he said to his son Archelaus:²⁷ “My son, accept our kingdom, judge over it, and take counsel with other neighboring kings in order to free it from your enemies, for they want to destroy both us and our kingdom.” Herod himself broke off his spear, fixed it in the ground, and threw himself over it and died.

13. Archelaus, his son, then came to other kings, and they convened together and shut themselves in Jerusalem with all the nobles who were with them. And they all remained within the city²⁸ and stayed there for seven years.

14. Titus and Vespasian, in their turn, came up with a wise plan that they might surround the kingdom, and they did so. After eight years had passed, famine came into that land, and they all began to eat the earth for want of bread.²⁹

15. The soldiers, therefore, who were from eight regions,³⁰ made together an ominous decision, saying: “Truly we are going to die; see what God is doing to us. What use is our life? The Romans have come and taken our kingdom, place, and people. Indeed, it is better for us to kill ourselves to prevent them from saying that they killed us and gained a victory over us.” Then they pulled out their swords and killed themselves and died, about eleven thousand of them; and their stench rushed into the city.³¹

16. The kings were frightened to death and could in no way escape from the furor of that event. Neither were they able to bury the bodies nor did they throw them outside, saying among themselves, “What should we do?” They groaned among themselves and cried out that, because they had delivered Christ to death, they would also die, and deserved so. “Let us bow our heads and hand over the keys of this city to the Romans because we are soon to die.” And they went out on the walls, saying: “Let us hand over the keys of this city to our lords Titus and to Vespasian, which God has given to you from above.

26. Cf. Matt. 2:3.

27. Anachronisms in the passage are blatant: Herod the Great died in 4 BCE, and his son Archelaus was exiled to Gaul in 7 CE. In M and V, it was Archelaus who, being greatly disturbed, asked his unnamed son to rule the kingdom and thereupon committed suicide.

28. Literally, “nothing at all remained of them except those within the city.” For the construction see also *supra*, §9.

29. Cf. Josephus, B.J. 6.3.

30. M and V have “from four kings.”

31. The fall of Jerusalem is confused with that of Massada, on which see Josephus, B.J. 6.3.

notum fuit antea regnum istum amplius non esse nostrum sed uobis datum est per Messiam, quod uos dicitis Christum.”

§17 Ita uenerunt in manu Tito et Vespasiano et tradiderunt se et omnis terra Iudaea¹⁶ et dixerunt eis: “Iudicate nobis quomodo mori debemus quia Christum ad morte tradidimus.” Et cum hoc dixissent, adprehenderunt eos et ligauerunt. Et ex parte lapidauerunt, et ex parte in lignum aridum suspenderunt capud¹⁷ uero deorsum, et ex parte lanceauerunt, et ex parte alios tradiderunt in uenditione, parteque ex eis diuiserunt in quattuor partes sicut et ille fecerunt de tunica Iesu. Et dederunt intra se Titus et Vespasianus de Iudeis qui remanserunt .XXX. pro uno denario sicut et illi dederunt pro Christo .XXX. argenteos, et, accipientes omnem terram illam, miserunt inquisitionem ubi uultum domini potuissent inuenire.

§18 Inueneruntque mulierem cui nomen erat Veronice er inuenerunt uultum domini cum ea. Et adprehenderunt Pilato et miserunt eum in scrinio ferreo in Damasco in carcere et custodes ante portam carceris quattuor quaternionibus militum.

§19 Miseruntque nuntios ad Tyberium imperatorem in urbem Rome ut transmisset Volosianum in Iudæa, et ut sciret omnia que gesta fuerant in Iudaea de Iesum quod imperator nulla antea audierat. Tunc Tyberius dixit: “Volosiane, ueni et accipe omnia stipendia quo necesse est in mare, et descende in Iudaea et perquire unum de discipulis Iesum,¹⁸ ut, in nomine domini Dei sui, ueniat ad me et curet uulnera mea, que ego forte patior. Et mitte super reges in eos iudicium sicut et illi miserunt super Christum et destrue eos usque ad mortem. Et si enim adduxeris hominem qui me curet a uulnera, credam in Iesum filium Dei; ero baptizatus in nomine suo.” Et ait Volosianus ad eum: “Domine mi, si inuenero talem hominem qualem habeo ei mercedem promittere?” Tunc Tyberius dixit: “Rex erit post unde est.”

§20 Tunc Volosianus perrexit in itinere unius diei, cumque uenisset ad portum maris quod dicitur Licostratus descendensque in nauem, leuauit uela sua cum gubernatores suos, direxit nauigio, anno autem et die septimo, descendens in Iudaea et uenit in Hierusalem. Iussitque uenire omnes ad se qui nouerant Christum et interrogauit eis omnia que gesta fuerant de eo.

16 omnis terra Iudaea O: omnem terram Iudaeae *prop. Cross*

17 capud O: capite *prop. Cross*

18 Iesum O: Iesu *prop. Cross*

For we knew beforehand that this kingdom was no longer ours, but was given to you through the Messiah, whom you call Christ.”

17. Thus they came under the sway of Titus and Vespasian and handed over themselves, as well as all the land of Judea, and said to them, “Judge for us how we ought to die because we delivered Christ to death.” When they said this, they seized and bound them. Some of them they stoned and some they hanged on a dry tree, head down; some they speared and others they handed over for sale; and some among them they divided into four parts just as they had done with the tunic of Jesus.³² And Titus and Vespasian gave to one another, from the Jews who remained, thirty for one denarius, just as these gave thirty silver pieces for Christ,³³ and, taking possession of all their land, they sent out an inquiry as to where they could find a portrait of Christ.

18. They found a woman whose name was Veronica, and found the face of the Lord with her. And they seized Pilate and put him in an iron cage in prison in Damascus, and before the door of the prison they placed as guards four squads of four soldiers.³⁴

Tiberius Sends Volosianus to Judea

19. They sent envoys to the emperor Tiberius in the city of Rome to send over Volosianus into Judea and to learn everything that had happened in Judea concerning Jesus, for the emperor had heard none of these things beforehand. Then Tiberius said, “Volosianus, come and take all supplies that are necessary at sea, and go down into Judea and ask of one of the disciples of Jesus, in the name of the Lord his God, to come to me and cure my wounds from which I suffer greatly. Moreover, pass judgment on the kings among them as they also passed judgment on Christ, and destroy them. If indeed you bring here a man who may cure my wounds, I will believe in Jesus, the son of God, and be baptized in his name.” Volosianus said to him, “My lord, if I find such a man, what reward should I promise him?” Then Tiberius said, “Thereafter he will be the king of his own land.”

20. Then Volosianus went on a one-day journey and, when he arrived at the seaport called Licostratus,³⁵ he boarded a ship, hoisted the sails with his steersmen, and set the ship on course. After a year and seven days, he descended into Judea and came to Jerusalem. He ordered that everyone who had known Christ come to him, and he asked them everything that had happened concerning him.

32. Cf. John 19:23–24; cf. Matt. 27:35, Mark 15:24, Luke 23:34.

33. Cf. Matt. 26:14–15.

34. Cf. Acts 12:4.

35. Cf. John 19:13.

§ 21 Venit autem Ioseph ab Arimathia et Nichodimus cum ea; omnia que de eo sciebant dixerunt ei. Et dixit Nichodimus: “Ego uidi eum et scio quia ille est saluator mundi.” Ioseph autem dixit ad eum: “Ego deposui eum de cruce et posui eum in monumento quod excideram in petra et custodiui eum usque in diem tertium, et inclinaui capiti meo ut uidissem eum, et nihil ibi de eo inueni. Sed uidi duos angelos in albis, sedentes unum ad capud et unum ad pedes, et interrogauerunt me quem querebam. Ego enim dixi: ‘Iesum crucifixum.’ Illi autem dixerunt: ‘Ite in Galileam, ibi e`u`m uidebitis sicut predixit uobis.’ Postea autem uidi eum in carne quam antea habuerat, et dedit mihi manducare et bibere manibus suis, et manifestauit se discipulis suis et cenauit cum eis, et fregit manibus suis panem, et dedit eis dicens: ‘Hęc sunt uerba que locutus sum uobis cum adhuc essem uobiscum.’ Et ego credo quod ipse redemptor meus uiuit, et in nouissimo die de terra surrecturus sim, et in carne mea uidebo ipsum Deum saluatorem meum.” Venit autem et Symeon et dixit ei: “Ego autem infantem eum uidi et noui, et in templo eum suscepi, et in cruce adorau, et post corpore resurrexit. Postea enim agnou i eum et uidi illum ascendentem in caelum et sedentem ad dexteram Dei patris. Et ego scio uero quia ipse est Deus uerus et per suam uoluntatem homo perfectus.”

§22 Venit autem Veronix femina et dixit ei: “Ego tetigi fimbriam uestimenti eius in turbam, que ab annis .XII. fluxum paciebar et statim sana fui manifeste, et ego credo quod ipse Deus uiuit in aeternum.”

§23 Dixitque Volosianus Pilato: “Quare interfecisti filium Dei?” Pilatus dixit: “Gens sua et pontifices mihi tradiderunt illum.” Volosianus iratus dixit: “Viuit

Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and Simeon Give Testimony on Jesus

21. Joseph, however, came from Arimathea and Nicodemus with him; they told him everything they knew about him. Nicodemus said, "I saw him and I know that he is the savior of the world."³⁶ Joseph, in his turn, said to him, "I took him down from the cross and placed him in a tomb that I had hewn in the rock,³⁷ and I guarded him until the third day and bowed my head to see him,³⁸ and I found nothing of him there. But I saw two angels in white, who were sitting, one at the head and one at the feet,³⁹ and they asked me whom I was looking for.⁴⁰ And of truth, I said, 'Jesus, crucified.' But they said, 'Go to Galilee, there you will find him just as he foretold you.'⁴¹ Afterwards I saw him in the flesh he had before, and he gave me something to eat and drink from his hands. And he revealed himself to his disciples and dined with them, and he broke bread with his hands and gave to them, saying, 'These are the words that I spoke to you while I was still with you.'⁴² And I believe that my redeemer himself lives, and that I will rise from the earth on the last day, and that in my flesh I will see God himself, my Savior."⁴³ But Simeon came, too, and said to him, "For my part, I saw and knew him as an infant and held him in the temple,⁴⁴ and I worshiped him on the cross and thereafter he arose in his body. For I recognized him afterwards, and I saw him ascend to heaven and sitting on the right hand of God the Father. And I truly know that he is true God and perfect human being of his own will."

Volosianus Obtains Jesus' Portrait from Veronica and Returns to Rome

22. But the woman Veronica came and said to him, "I touched the hem of his garment in the crowd, I who had suffered from a flow of blood for twelve years, and immediately I was completely cured, and I believe that he himself lives as God in eternity."⁴⁵

23. Volosianus said to Pilate, "Why did you kill the son of God?" Pilate said, "His people and the priests handed him over to me." Volosianus said angrily,

36. Cf. John 4:42.

37. Cf. Luke 23:53; Matt. 27:60.

38. Cf. John 20:5; 20:11.

39. Cf. John 20:12.

40. Cf. John 20:15.

41. Cf. Matt. 28:5, 7, 10; Mark 16:7.

42. Cf. Luke 24:44.

43. Cf. Job 19:25–26.

44. Cf. Luke 2:25–28.

45. Cf. Matt. 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:43–48.

ipse Deus, morte morieris tu, et non uiues quia occidisti uirum perfectum sine culpa.” Et iterum, iussit eum mitti in scrinio ferreo et in carcerem poni.

§24 Et inquisiuit mulierem nomine Veronice uultum domini. Illa negans dixit se non habere. Tunc ille misit eam in tortorium donec redderet uultum domini. Illa coacta dixit: “Ego enim habeo incluso in cu[bit]u¹⁹ meo ubi cotidie adoro dominum meum.” Volosianus dixit: “Redde mihi eum et ego adorabo eum.” Tunc Venonix reddidit uultum domini. Volosianus autem ut uidit eum, prostratus cecidit in terra et, recta mente, adorauit eum. Tunc surgens cum tremore magno adprehendit eum, et inuoluit illud in pallio purpurato et desuper contexto de auro, et misit in uasculo aureo et sigillauit eum anulo suo et iusiurando dixit: “Viuit dominus et uiuit anima mea; non uidebo uultum domini mei usque dum uidebo domino meo Tyberio.”²⁰

§25 Et cum hoc dixisset, iussit omnes obtimates suos uenire, et dixit eis qui erant in Iudaea: “Ego uobis adfirmo rem magnam²¹ quod non dimittam uobis²² antequam uos ducam ante dominum meum Tyberium et nuntietis ei omnia que mihi testificastis.” Iussitque Pilatum punire morte turpissima. Ille autem adprehendit uultum domini, et omnes discipulis suis²³ et stipendia eius, eadem die ascenderunt in nauem.

§ 26 Veronix autem dereliquit omnia pro Christi nomine et secuta est eum, simulque cum eis ascendit in nauem. Tunc Volosianus dixit: “Mulier, quem queris?” Illa enim dixit: “Ego enim quero dominum meum quem dominus dedit mihi, non meis meritis sed sua clementia, quem tu contra legem abstulisti mihi sicut et Iudei tulerunt Christum de mundo quem non uidisti tu nec gens tua. Et ego quale mala merita sum, redde mihi dominum meum, et si non reddideris mihi non dimittam eum usque dum uideam ubi posuerunt eum. Et ego adorabo eum et seruiam ei usque dum uiua sum quia ipse, redemptor meus, uiuit et in nouissimo die uidebo Deum saluatorem meum.” Flebant enim uiri eius, filii et filie, uicini et omnis qui nouerant eam. Tunc Veronix dixit: “Filię Hierusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super uos, et super filias uestras flete; numquam enim audistis Deum dicentem, qui dereliquerit omnia pro Christi nomine, centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam possidebit.”

§ 27 Tunc Volosianus iussit omnes gubernatores remigia dirigere, et eleuauit uela sua in nomine domini Dei sui. Dimisit Titum et Vespasianum

19 cu[bit]u *suppl. Cross*: in sindone munda *MV*

20 domino meo Tyberio *O*: dominum meum Tyberium *prop. Cross*

21 rem magnam *coni. Besson et al.*: regi magnam *O*: regi magno *prop. Cross*

22 uobis *O*: vos *prop. Cross*

23 discipulis suis *O*: discipulos suos *prop. Cross*

“He himself lives as god; you will certainly die; you will not live because you killed a perfect human being without guilt.” And again he ordered him to be sent into the iron cage and thrown in prison.

24. And he asked the woman, Veronica by name, for the portrait of Jesus. She refused, saying that she did not have it. Then he sent her into the torture chamber until she would hand over the portrait of the Lord. She said under constraint, “I have it indeed, locked in my chamber, where I worship my Lord every day.” Volosianus said, “Give it over to me, and I will worship it.” Then Veronica handed over the portrait of the Lord. As soon as he saw it, Volosianus fell flat on the ground and worshiped it with upright mind. Then, rising with great trembling, he took it and wrapped it in a purple cover embroidered with gold and placed it in a golden vessel, sealed it with his ring, and said with a vow, “The Lord lives and my soul lives; I will not see the face of my Lord until I see my lord Tiberius!”

25. When he said this, he ordered all his nobles to come and he said to those who were in Judea, “I declare to you a great thing: I will not release you before I take you before my lord Tiberius and you declare to him all that you have witnessed to me.” He ordered that they punish Pilate with the most ignominious death. And he took the portrait of the Lord, along with all his disciples and his supplies, and they went aboard the ship the same day.

26. Veronica also abandoned everything for the name of Christ and followed him, and went aboard the ship along with them. Then Volosianus said, “Woman, whom are you seeking?”⁴⁶ And she said, “In truth, I am looking for (the image of) my Lord that the Lord gave to me, not for my merits but out his mercy, and which you have taken away from me against the law—just as the Jews had taken Christ, whom neither you nor your people have seen, from the world. Even though I have deserved ill, hand back to me my Lord! And if you do not hand him back to me, I will not release him until I see where they have laid him down. And I will worship him and serve him as long as I live because my redeemer himself lives, and on the last day I shall see God, my savior.”⁴⁷ Now all of her men⁴⁸ began to weep, her sons and daughters, neighbors and all who knew her. Then Veronica said, “Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me but for yourselves, and weep for your daughters.”⁴⁹ For have you never heard God saying, ‘Everyone who has left everything for the name of Christ will receive a hundredfold and will possess eternal life?’⁵⁰

27. Then Volosianus bid all his sailors to ply their oars and he hoisted his sails in the name of his Lord God. And he sent Titus and Vespasian to Judea and

46. Cf. John 20:15.

47. Cf. Job 19:25–26.

48. P has: “her husband.”

49. Cf. Luke 23:28.

50. Cf. Matt. 19:29.

in Iudeam, direxit itinere suo in mare. Dum sit nauigium suum in Tibrum et introiuit in ciuitatem, que dicitur Lateranis, misit nuntios suos a Tyberio.

§28 Tunc Tyberius, cum audisset, iussit eum uenire ad se: “Volosiane, quid enim inuenisti in Iudaeam de Iesum Christum aut de discipulis suis, indica mihi omnia. Vnus uero ex discipulis eius pariter tecum ueniat et ego, in nomine domini Dei sui, ueniam et adorabo eum, et mittat manum suam, in nomine domini Dei sui, super me et curet uulnera mea, et dabo illi regnum ubi natus est.”

§29 Tunc Volosianus dixit: “Domine mi, omnia que ego inueni modo uidebis, et cum salute et sanitate eris. Ego inueni Titum et Vespasianum, fideles tuos, timentes Deum. Inueni reges tuos pessimos et malignos, caesarem suspensum, Caifan lapidatum, Archalau lapidatum, Pilatum ligatum et in scrinio ferreo obligatum in Damasco in carcerem positum. Ideo quia Iudæi Iesum Christum cum lanceis et faucibus²⁴ et lanternis suffocauerunt, et occiderunt nostrum lumen qui inluminauit genus humanum, et saluauit eum et non dederunt ei licentiam a nobis uenire. Ideo Titus et Vespasianus, fideles tui, eos morte turpissima et a plurima²⁵ multitudinem Iudæorum interfecerunt. Et uenerunt fideles Dei, Ioseph ab Arimathia et Nichodemus cum eo, petierunt corpus Iesu et deposuerunt de cruce et sepelierunt eum in sepulchro nouo. Ipse uero Iesus tertia die resurrexit a mortuis et manifestauit se Iesus discipulis suis in eadem carnem quam antea habuerat, et uiderunt eum discipuli sui ascendentem in caelum. Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Iesus ante passionem suam; mortuos suscitauit, leprosos mundauit, cecos inluminauit, paraliticos curauit, demones effugauit, surdos²⁶ auditum dedit, mutus²⁷ loqui; Lazarum quatruiduanum de monumento suscitauit; puellam in domo patris sui adolescentem in brachio matris suæ; mulierem .XII. annis fluxum patientem que retro fimbriam uestimenti eius tetigit, statim eam sanauit.”

§30 “Ipse misit angelum suum et intrauit in Tytum et Vespasianum, quia noueramus digni, et iussit illos descendere in Iudæam ut iudicarent mortem eius, et ita fecerunt. Descenderuntque in Iudæam et

24 faucibus O: facibus aut falcibus prop. Cross

25 a plurima O: plurimam prop. Cross

26 surdos O: surdis prop. Cross

27 mutus O: mutis prop. Cross

steered his course on the sea. When his ship was in the Tiber, he entered the city called Lateran and sent his messengers to Tiberius.

Volosianus Gives Report to Tiberius

28. When he had heard, Tiberius ordered him to come to him: “Volosianus, what indeed have you found in Judea about Jesus Christ and his disciples? Tell me everything! But let one of his disciples come with you as well and, in the name of his Lord God, I will come and worship him; and let him place his hand over me, in the name of his Lord God, and cure my wounds, and I will give him the kingdom where he was born.”

29. Then Volosianus said, “My Lord, you will now see everything I found, and you will gain your health and salvation. I found Titus and Vespasian, your faithful ones, fearing God. I found your worst and wicked kings: the emperor hanged,⁵¹ Caiphaz stoned, Archelaus stoned, and Pilate tied up and fastened in an iron cage, and thrown into prison in Damascus. Thus because the Jews stifled Jesus Christ with spears, torches, and lanterns⁵² and killed our light that illuminated and saved the human race, and because they did not grant him freedom to come to us, for this reason Titus and Vespasian, your faithful ones, killed them with the foulest death, a great host of Jews. And God’s faithful people, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus with him, came and asked for the body of Jesus and took him down from the cross and buried him in a new tomb.⁵³ But Jesus himself rose on the third day from the dead and revealed himself to his disciples in the same flesh which he had beforehand; and his disciples saw him ascend into heaven. To be sure, Jesus performed many other signs prior to his passion. He raised the dead, cleansed the lepers, bestowed sight on the blind, cured paralytics, cast out demons, gave hearing to the deaf, made the mute speak.⁵⁴ He raised Lazarus from the tomb on the fourth day⁵⁵ and the young girl in the house of her father in the arms of her mother;⁵⁶ and the woman suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years, who touched the hem of his garment from behind, he immediately cured.⁵⁷

30. He himself sent his angel, and he entered into Titus and Vespasian because we knew them to be worthy,⁵⁸ and he ordered them to go into Judea to avenge his death, and they did so. And they went down to Judea and arrived

51. P identifies this “emperor” with Herod.

52. Cf. John 18:3.

53. Cf. John 19:38–42.

54. Cf. Matt. 11:5, 15:30–31; Mark 7:37; Luke 7:22.

55. Cf. John 11:11–17.

56. Cf. Matt. 9:18–19, 23–36; Mark 5:22–24, 38–43; Luke 8:49–56.

57. Cf. Matt. 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:43–48.

58. P has: “because we were not worthy”.

uenerunt in Hierosolimam, adprehenderunt reges tuos et miserunt eos in iudicio, ita dicentes:

§31 'Quomodo fecerunt de Christo, ita et nos faciamus illos. Suspenderunt dominum nostrum in lignum uiride, et nos suspendemus eos in arido; occiderunt illum sine culpa, et nos occidamus illos morte turpissima; acceperunt tunicam eius et fecerunt de ea partes .IIII., et nos scindamus eos in quattuor partes et damus carnes illorum bestiis terre et uolatilibus caeli; uendiderunt Christum .XXX. argenteos, et nos damus pro uno argenteo .XXX. ex illis et deleantur nomina illorum de terra.' Et ita fecerunt sicut dixerunt.

§32 Postea enim miserunt inquisitionem de uultum domini et inuenerunt mulierem nomine Veronice quae²⁸ pinxerat eum habens. Ego enim habeo hic uultum domini et mulierem cum eo."

§33 Tunc dixit Tyberius: "Ego multum desiderans uolo uidere eum et adorare et custodire illum." Tunc Volosianus expandit eum pallium ubi erat uultus domini, et uidit eum Tyberius et adorauit illum. Statimque cecidit lepra eius de eo et mundata est caro eius sicut caro pueri paruuli.

§35 Credidit ille et baptizatus est et omnis domus eius tota.

In dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, cui est honor et gloria et imperium et laus, in secula seculorum. Amen.

28 quae *prop. Cross*: qui *O*

in Jerusalem, and seized your kings and sent them to judgment, saying as follows:

31. 'Just as they did with Christ, so also let us do to them. They hanged our Lord on a green tree, and we will hang them on a dry one.⁵⁹ They killed him without fault, and so let us kill them with the most ignominious death. They took his tunic and made four parts out of it,⁶⁰ and so let us rend them into four parts and give their bodies to the beasts on earth and birds in heaven.⁶¹ They sold Christ for thirty silver pieces,⁶² and we give thirty of them for one silver piece. And let their names be erased from the earth.' And they did just as they said.

32. Afterward they sent a search for a portrait of the Lord and found a woman, Veronica by name, who had it because she had painted it.⁶³ Now, I have here the portrait of the Lord and the woman with it."

The Healing and Baptism of Tiberius

33. Then Tiberius said, "With great desire I wish to see it and worship and guard it." Then Volosianus spread out that cover in which was the portrait of the Lord, and Tiberius saw it and worshiped it. And at once his leprosy fell from him and his flesh was cleansed like the flesh of a small child.

35.⁶⁴ He believed and was baptized with his entire household into our Lord Jesus, to whom be honor and glory and rule and praise forever and ever. Amen.⁶⁵

59. Cf. Luke 23:31.

60. Cf. John 19:23–24; cf. Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34.

61. Cf. 1 Sam. 17:44–46.

62. Cf. Matt. 26:14–15.

63. Cf. the text of O, "who had him who painted it," implying that Jesus was the author of his own portrait.

64. Ch. 34 is wanting in O.

65. The end of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* is abridged in O; other redactions and their manuscript witnesses contain longer and more elaborate narratives.

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*The Death of Pilate
Who Condemned Jesus
(Mars Pilati)*

The Death of Pilate is an intriguing account of Pilate's ignominious fate after he had Jesus crucified. The ailing emperor Tiberius learns that Jesus is able to heal him, but discovers that Pilate has already had him executed. The emperor is eventually cured by the supernatural image of Jesus' face on the cloth of Veronica, but he is filled with wrath over Pilate's unjust action, and orders him to be imprisoned and executed. Pilate ends his own life in prison, but his corpse continues to defile everything it touches.

Tischendorf based his text of the account on a fourteenth-century manuscript from Milan (Ambrosienne L 58 Sup¹). What Tischendorf did not realize is that the manuscript is simply an abstract taken from the famous *Golden Legend* of Jacob of Voragine (edited between 1252 and 1260). Only at the beginning and the end of the account has the scribe of the Milan manuscript modified the *Legend's* narrative of Pilate (ch. 51). Starting with the words of Veronica, the texts are virtually identical.

This was first recognized and convincingly demonstrated by E. von Dobschütz in 1899. But Dobschütz also pointed out that Jacob of Voragine had utilized an earlier source for his account—a fuller life of Pilate, drawn from a Latin narrative called the *Historia Apocrypha*. This text describes, among other things, the horrible fates of all those closely involved with the death of Jesus: Judas Iscariot, “the Jews,” and Pilate himself (basing its stories on earlier sources, starting with those of the New Testament).

The Death of Pilate, then, represents only the final portion of this longer tale that had been taken over by Jacob of Voragine. The *Historia Apocrypha* was evidently produced in the eleventh–twelfth centuries; according to J.-N. Pérès, it reflects the concerns of the Christian crusades, especially the importance of Christ's enemies and their just punishments. J. Knapé in turn has argued that

the author of the *Historia* utilized the *Vindicta Salvatoris* and, for the suicide of Pilate, the account found in Rufinus's Latin translation of the *Church History* of Eusebius.

We have taken the text from the edition of Tischendorf.

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MORS PILATI QUI IESUM CONDEMNAVIT

Cum autem Tiberius Caesar Romanorum imperator gravi morbo teneretur, et intelligens quia Ierosolymis esset quidam medicus, nomine Iesus, qui omnes infirmitates solo verbo curat, nesciens quod Iudaei et Pilatus eum occidissent praecipit cuidam suo familiari nomine Volusianus: Vade citius quam potes trans partes marinas, dicesque Pilato meo servitori et amico ut hunc medicum mihi mittat qui me pristinae sanitati restituat. Qui Volusianus audito praecepto imperatoris statim discessit, et ventus est ad Pilatum sicut praeceptum est ei. Et narrans eidem Pilato ea quae sibi a Tiberio Caesare commissa fuerant, dicens: Tiberius Caesar imperator Romanorum, tui dominus, audito quod in civitate ista est medicus qui solo verbo sanat infirmitates, rogat te vehementer ut eum sibi mittere debeas pro sua infirmitate curanda. Audiens haec Pilatus territus est valde, sciens quod per invidiam eum occidi fecerat. Respondit Pilatus eidem nuntio sic dicens: Hic homo erat malefactor et homo qui trahebat ad se totum populum; sic habito consilio sapientum civitatis eum crucificari feci.

Qui nuntius rediens ad eius hospitium obviatus est cuidam mulieri nomine Veronica, quae fuerat familiaris Iesu, dicens: O mulier, medicus quidam qui in hac civitate erat, qui solo verbo aegros sanabat, cur occiserunt eum Iudaei? At illa coepit flere dicens: Heu me, domine, deus meus et dominus meus, quem Pilatus pro invidia tradidit, condemnavit et crucifigi praecipit. Tunc ille nimis dolens ait: Vehementer doleo quia id pro quo dominus meus miserat explere non valeo. Cui Veronica: Dominus meus cum praedicando circuiret, et ego eius praesentia nimis invita carerem, volui mihi depingi imaginem, ut dum eius privarer praesentia, saltem mihi praestaret solatium imaginis suae figura.¹ Cumque linteam pictori deferrem pingendum, dominus meus mihi

¹ figura *Tischendorf*: figura cui refert *cod.*

The Death of Pilate Who Condemned Jesus

Tiberius's Illness and the Mission of Volusianus

Now when Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, was seized with a grievous illness and found that there was at Jerusalem a certain physician, Jesus by name, who cured all diseases by his word alone, not knowing that the Jews and Pilate had killed him, he ordered one of his attendants, Volusianus by name: "Go overseas as quickly as possible and tell my servant and friend Pilate to send me this physician to restore me to my previous health." Volusianus, on hearing the emperor's order, departed at once and came to Pilate as he was commanded. And he told the same Pilate what Tiberius Caesar had committed to him, saying, "Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, your lord, having heard that there is a physician in this city who cures diseases by his word alone, earnestly requests that you duly send this man to him to cure his disease." Pilate was greatly abashed on hearing this, for he knew that he had slain him through envy.¹ Pilate answered the envoy: "This man was a criminal² and a man who attracted to himself all the people;³ so, after taking counsel with the city's sages, I had him crucified."

Volusianus Encounters Veronica

Returning to his lodging, the envoy met a certain woman, Veronica⁴ by name, who had been well acquainted with Jesus, and he said, "O woman, there was a certain physician in this city, who cured the sick by his word alone—why have the Jews slain him?" She began to weep, saying, "Ah, wretched me,⁵ my lord, it was my God and my Lord⁶ whom Pilate through envy delivered up,⁷ condemned, and commanded to be crucified!" Then he said, grieving excessively, "I grieve immensely because I cannot do what my lord has sent me to do." Veronica replied to him, "When my Lord went about preaching and I was, very much against my will, deprived of his presence, I wished to have his image painted for me, that when I was deprived of his presence, at least the figure of his image might give me some solace. As I was taking a linen-cloth to the painter to paint it, my Lord met me and inquired where I

1. Cf. Matt. 27:18, Mark 15:10.

2. John 18:30, 23:32.

3. Cf. Luke 23:2–5.

4. For Veronica, see *Vindicta Salvatoris* 6, 18, 22–26, 32.

5. Starting with Veronica's response, the text follows almost verbatim that of the Golden Legend, ch. 51 (*De passione Christi*), 218–55, ed. Maggioni 1:350–52.

6. John 20:28.

7. John 19:16; cf. Luke 23:25.

obviavit et quo tenderem requisivit. Cui cum viae causam aperuissem, a me petiit pannum, et ipsum mihi venerabilis suae faciei² reddidit insignitum imagine. Ergo huius aspectum si dominus tuus devote intuebitur, continuo sanitatis beneficio potietur. Cui ille: Est huiusmodi imago auro vel argento comparabilis? Cui illa: Non, sed pio affectu devotionis. Tecum igitur proficiscar et videndum Caesari imaginem deferam, et revertar.

Venit igitur Volusianus cum Veronica Romam dixitque Tiberio imperatori: Iesum diu a te desideratum Pilatus et Iudaei iniustae morti tradiderunt et per invidiam crucis patibulo affixerunt. Venit igitur mecum matrona quaedam ipsius Iesu imaginem deferens, quam si devote prospexeris, mox sanitatis tuae beneficium obtinebis. Caesar igitur pannis sericis viam sterni fecit et imaginem sibi praecepit praesentari; qui mox ut eam fuit intuitus, salutem est pristinam assecutus.

Pontius igitur Pilatus imperio Caesaris capitur et Romam perducitur. Audiens Caesar Pilatum Romam advenisse, nimio contra eum furore repletus est et eum ad se adduci fecit. Pilatus autem tunicam Iesu inconsutilem secum detulit, quam indutam coram imperatore portavit. Mox ut imperator eum vidit, omnem iram deposuit et ei protinus assurrexit, nec dure sibi in aliquo loqui praevaluit; et in eius absentia qui videbatur tam terribilis et ferus, nunc in eius praesentia invenitur quodammodo mansuetus. Cumque eum licentiasset, mox contra eum terribiliter exardescit, se miserum clamitans quia ei furorem sui pectoris minime ostendisset. Statimque eum revocari fecit iurans et contestans quia filius mortis est et nefas³ est eum vivere super terram. Qui cum eum vidit, continuo eum salutavit et omnem animi ferocitatem abiecit. Mirabantur omnes, mirabatur et ipse, quia sic contra Pilatum dum abesset exardesceret, et dum praesens esset nil ei loqui posset aspere. Tandem divino nutu vel forte alicuius Christiani suasu ipsum illa tunica expoliari fecit, et contra eum pristinam ferocitatem animi mox resumpsit. Cumque de hoc imperator plurimum admiraretur, dictum est sibi quod illa tunica fuisset domini Iesu.

2 venerabilis suae faciei *Tischendorf*: venerabili sua facie *cod.*

3 nefas *Tischendorf*: fas *cod.*

was heading. When I disclosed to him the reason for my journey, he asked me for the kerchief and handed it back to me printed with the image of his venerable face. Therefore, if your lord will devoutly behold the sight of this, he will immediately obtain the benefit of health.” Then he asked, “Can an image of this sort be bought with gold or silver?” She replied, “No, but with a pious affection of devotion. I will therefore go with you and bring the image for Caesar to see, and then return.”

The Healing of Tiberius

So Volusianus arrived with Veronica in Rome and said to Tiberius the emperor, “This Jesus, whom you have long desired, Pilate and the Jews delivered to an unjust death and through envy fastened to the wood of the cross. Therefore, a certain matron is come with me bringing the image of the same Jesus. If you devoutly behold it, you will soon obtain the benefit of your health.” So Caesar had the path spread with cloths of silk and ordered that the image be presented to him. As soon as he looked upon it, he regained his previous health.

Pilate Taken Prisoner to Rome

Then Pontius Pilate was taken prisoner by command of Caesar and brought to Rome. Caesar, hearing that Pilate had arrived in Rome, was filled with exceeding wrath against him and had him brought to him. But Pilate carried with him the seamless tunic of Jesus,⁸ which he put on and wore before the emperor. As soon as the emperor saw him, he laid aside all his ire and instantly rose to him, unable to speak harshly to him about anything. And the one who seemed so terrible and cruel in his absence, now appeared somewhat gentle in his presence. As soon as he had dismissed him, he grew terribly inflamed against him, declaring himself wretched because he had not at all expressed to him the wrath of his mind. Straightaway he had him recalled, swearing and protesting that he was a child of death and too abominable to live on earth. But when he saw him, he immediately greeted him and laid aside all the fury of his soul. Everyone was astonished, as he was himself, that he was so inflamed against Pilate while he was absent, yet could say nothing harsh to him when present. Finally, either by divine intervention or perhaps by the persuasion of a certain Christian, he had Pilate stripped of that tunic and soon resumed against him the previous fury of mind. Since the emperor was very much astonished about this, he was told that the tunic had belonged to the Lord Jesus.

8. John 19:23.

Tunc imperator eum in carcerem recipi iussit, donec sapientum consilio deliberaret quid de eo fieri oporteret. Post autem paucos dies data est igitur in Pilatum sententia ut morte turpissima damnaretur. Audiens hoc Pilatus cultello proprio se necavit, et tali morte vitam finivit.

Cognita Caesar morte Pilati dixit: Vere mortuus est morte turpissima, cui manus propria non pepercit. Moli igitur ingenti alligatur et in Tiberim fluvium immergitur. Spiritus vero maligni et sordidi corpori maligno et sordido congaudentes omnes in aquis movebantur, et fulgura et tempestates, tonitrua et grandines in aere terribiliter gerebant, ita ut cuncti timore horribili tenerentur. Quapropter Romani ipsum a Tiberis fluvio extrahentes, derisionis causa ipsum in Viennam deportaverunt et Rhodani fluvio immerserunt: Vienna enim dicitur quasi via gehennae, quia erat tunc locus maledictionis. Sed ibi nequam spiritus affuerunt, ibidem eadem operantes. Homines ergo illi tantam infestationem daemonum non⁴ sustinentes vas illud maledictionis a se removerunt et illud sepeliendum Losaniae territorio commiserunt. Qui cum nimis praefatis⁵ infestationibus gravarentur, ipsum a se removerunt et in quodam puteo montibus circumsepto immerserunt, ubi adhuc relatione quorundam quaedam diabolicae machinationes ebullire dicuntur.

4 non add. *Tischendorf*

5 nimis praefatis *Tischendorf*: nimiis praefactis *cod.*

The Condemnation and Suicide of Pilate

Then the emperor ordered him to be put in prison until he should take counsel with the wise men⁹ as to what should be done with him. After a few days sentence was thus given against Pilate that he should be condemned to a most shameful death.¹⁰ Hearing this, Pilate slew himself with his own dagger and by such a death ended his life.

The Fate of Pilate's Corpse

When Pilate's death was made known, Caesar said, "Truly he has died of a most shameful death; his own hand has not spared him." He was then fastened to a huge millstone and sunk into the Tiber River. But the wicked and foul spirits, rejoicing in his wicked and foul body, all moved in the water¹¹ and produced in the air dreadful lightning and tempests, and thunder and hail, so that everyone was seized with terrible fear. For this reason, the Romans pulled the body out of the Tiber, and in derision took it away to Vienne and sunk it in the river Rhône; for Vienne, as it were, means 'Way of Gehenna' (*via gehennae*), because it was then a place of malediction.¹² But evil spirits were present there, doing the same things in that place, too. Now the people there, unable to bear such a great onslaught of demons, put that vessel of malediction¹³ away from them and sent it to be buried in the territory of Losania.¹⁴ But since these people were exceedingly wearied by the aforementioned onslaughts, they put it away from them and sunk it in a certain pool surrounded by mountains, where even now, according to some reports, certain diabolical contrivances are said to boil up.

9. Cf. Matt. 26:3–5, Mark 14:1–2, Luke 22:1–2.

10. Cf. Wis. 2:20.

11. This sentence is an abridged version of the account given in the Golden Legend, ch. 51, 250, ed. Maggioni 1:352.

12. This fanciful etymology is probably derived from Vigenna, the Latin name for the river Vienne in the Poitou-Charentes region.

13. Cf. Acts 9:15, where Paul is called "the vessel of election."

14. Latin for Lausanne.

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The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea

This apocryphon provides an alternative version of the passion narrative, emphasizing the betrayal of Judas and the events that transpired both at the crucifixion and after the resurrection. Particular attention is paid to one of the two robbers crucified with Jesus—a man named Demas—who is vividly portrayed as having entered paradise after his repentance on the cross. The account is told in the first person, much like the Gospel of Peter, only now by Joseph of Arimathea. This legendary expansion sometimes supplements and sometimes contradicts the canonical Gospels, on which it is partially based.

The first half of the narrative focuses on Judas's false accusations leading to Jesus' arrest. We are told that in exchange for thirty pieces "of gold" (!) Judas charges that Jesus had plundered the law of Moses from the Temple, when in fact it was the robber Demas who had done so. Here is a not-so-subtle statement that Jesus died for the sin of another. In contrast to the canonical narratives, there is a particularly full account of both robbers, Gestas, who is violent, wicked, and godless, and Demas, a Robin Hood figure who steals from the rich but behaves kindly to the poor. Demas repents of his sins on the cross and receives the gift of paradise, becoming, at the end of the story, a powerful ruler in the world beyond.

Included in the narrative is a remarkable account in which Jesus writes a letter of recommendation for Demas from the cross, addressed to the cherubim and powers in charge of paradise; he later receives a letter back from them in response.

The account of Joseph's arrest, imprisonment, and escape from prison appears to be dependent on the Gospel of Nicodemus, expanded here with yet more legendary detail.

The anti-Jewish character of the account is consistent with other works in the so-called Pilate cycle, with which this account is generally included because of its emphasis on Joseph of Arimathea. The author speaks of the "murderous Jews who wage war against God" (1.1) and indicates that they crucified him

because they were ignorant of God" (1.1). At the end he states his anti-Jewish reason for writing: "When I had seen these things I wrote them down, so that all may believe in the crucified Jesus Christ, our Lord, and no longer serve the law of Moses" (5.4).

Tischendorf edited the text from four manuscripts, one of the twelfth century, one of the fourteenth, and two of the fifteenth. The narrative does not appear to have been written early in the Christian tradition; it could date any time after the circulation of the Gospel of Nicodemus (fourth or fifth century?) up to its own earliest attestation in the twelfth century, possibly earlier in that period than later (Frey and Outtier).

In our apparatus we have noted only those variants that are of special interest (i.e., for interpretation). For a discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Tischendorf, pp. lxxxi–lxxxii. The following are the manuscripts that Tischendorf used to establish the text:

- A—twelfth century
- B—fifteenth century
- C—fourteenth century
- D—fifteenth century

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ΥΦΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΙΩΣΗΦ

ΥΦΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΑΡΙΜΑΘΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ·
ΕΝ ΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΟ ΛΗΣΤΩΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΣ ΕΜΦΕΡΕΙ.

I

1 Ἐγὼ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας ὁ αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Πιλάτου τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ πρὸς ταφὴν καὶ ἐν δεσμῶ πιεζόμενος παρὰ τῶν φονέων καὶ θεομάχων¹ Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, οἵτινες καὶ τὸν νόμον κατέχοντες αὐτῷ τῷ Μωυσῇ πρόξενον γεγονασιν θλίψεως, τὸν δὲ νομοθέτην παροργίσαντες καὶ μὴ ἐπεγνωκότες τὸν θεὸν² ἐσταύρωσαν καὶ εὐδηλον ἔθεντο τοῖς ἐγνωκῶσι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σταυρωθῆναι, πρὸ ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν τοῦ παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, τῷ ἡγεμόνι Πιλάτῳ παρεπέμφθησαν δύο λησταὶ ἀπὸ Ἰερικῶ κατακριθέντες, ὧν ἡ αἰτία ἦν αὕτη.

2 Ὁ πρῶτος, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Γέστας, ὁδοιποροῦντας ἐν φόρῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄλλους δὲ γυμνώσει ὑπέβαλεν, γυναῖκας δὲ ἐκ τῶν σφυρῶν κατα κεφαλῆς κρεμνῶν τοὺς μασθοὺς ἐξέκοπτεν, νηπίων μελῶν αἱμοπότης ὑπῆρχεν, θεὸν μὴ ἐγνωκῶς πάποτε, νόμοις μὴ ἀκολουθῶν, βίαιος τυγχάνων ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις.

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰτία τοιαύτη ἦν. Δημῶς ἐκαλεῖτο, Γαλιλαῖος μὲν ἦν τῷ γένει, πανδοχεῖον δὲ εἶχεν· πλουσίων πειρατηριοὶς ἐκέχρητο, πτωχοῖς δὲ εὐέποιε· κλέπτης μὲν ὡς Τωβίτ, νεκροὺς γὰρ πτωχοῦς ἔθαπτεν. ληστεύειν ἐπεχειρεῖ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος, αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ συλήσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα θυγατέρα γυμνώσας, ιερὰτιδα ὑπάρχουσαν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος, αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Σολομῶντος παρατεθεῖσαν μυστικὴν παρακαταθήκην τῷ τόπῳ ἀφελόμενος. τοιαῦται ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῦ αἱ πράξεις.

3 Συνελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα τρίτης, ὀψίας οὔσης. οὐκ ἦν δὲ τῷ Καϊάφῃ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάσχα, ἀλλὰ πένθος ἦν αὐτοῖς μέγα, ὡς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ληστοῦ σύλησιν γεναμένην ἐν τῷ ἁγιάσματι· καὶ καλέσαντες Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην³ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἀπὸ ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ Καϊάφα τοῦ ιερέως ἦν. οὐκ ἦν δὲ μαθητῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ δόλῳ προετρέψαντο αὐτὸν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἵνα ἀκολουθήσει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· οὐχ ἵνα πειθαρχήσει τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις σημείοις οὐδὲ ἵνα ὁμολογήσει αὐτόν,⁴ ἀλλ' ἵνα

1 θεομαχων A C D: θεοκτωνων B

2 και μη επγνωκοτες τον θεον A C D: μη εγνωκοτες οτι θεον B

3 Ιουδαν τον Ισκαριωτην A B: οι Ιουδαιοι τον Σκαριωτην C

4 ουδε ινα ομολογησει αυτον A C: η ομολογησει αυτον θεον B

The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea

The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea, Who Asked for the Body of the Lord.
In Which also are Related the Charges Brought against the Two Robbers.

I

(1) I am Joseph of Arimathea, the one who asked Pilate for the body of the Lord Jesus for burial.¹ For this reason I was shackled and imprisoned by the murderous Jews who wage war against God; even though they cling to the law, they have caused affliction for Moses himself. After infuriating the lawgiver, and being ignorant of God, they crucified him, revealing to those who know him that it was the Son of God who was crucified. Seven days before Christ suffered, two condemned robbers were sent to the governor Pilate from Jericho. The charge against them was as follows.

The Two Robbers

(2) The first, named Gestas, used to murder travelers with the sword and he stripped others naked; he hung women head downwards from their ankles and cut off their breasts; he drank blood from the limbs of infants. He never knew God, did not follow his laws, and showed his violent character from the beginning in deeds such as these.

The charge against the other was this. He was called Demas and was a Galilean by race, the owner of an inn. He used to despoil the rich, but he behaved well toward the poor. He was a thief like Tobit, for he used to bury the poor who died. He tried to rob the multitude of the Judeans by carrying off the law itself in Jerusalem, stripping naked the daughter of Caiaphas who was the priestess of the sanctuary, and removing the mysterious deposit of Solomon that had been entrusted to that place. Such were his deeds.

Judas Arranges the Betrayal

(3) Now Jesus also was arrested three days before the Passover, when it was evening. But there was no Passover for Caiaphas and the multitude of the Jews, but great mourning instead, because of the plundering of the sanctuary by the robber. They called Judas Iscariot and spoke to him, for he was the son of the brother of Caiaphas, the priest. Now he was not openly a disciple of Jesus, but all the multitude of the Jews had persuaded him by stealth to follow Jesus—not that he might adhere to the signs that he did or confess him, but

1. Cf. Matt. 27:57–58; Mark 15:42–43; Luke 23:50–52; John 19:38.

παραδώσει αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς, ψευδὲς ῥήμα αὐτοῦ θέλων καταλαβέσθαι, δόματα δεδωκότες αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀνδραγαθήματος ἀνά διδραγμαῖον χρυσοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ἦν δὲ καὶ δύο ἔτη ποιήσας μετὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὡς φησιν εἰς τῶν μαθητῶν καλούμενος Ἰωάννης.

4 Καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ κρατηθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ Ἰούδας· Δεῦτε συμβούλιον θάμεθα, ὅτι περ οὐκ ἐσύλησεν ὁ ληστής τὸν νόμον ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγχω αὐτόν. τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ῥημάτων ῥηθέντων εἰσὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν Νικόδημος ὁ κατέχων τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ ἀγιάσματος, καὶ ἔφη πᾶσιν· Μὴ τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα διαπράξασθε. ἦν γὰρ ἀληθής⁵ ὁ Νικόδημος ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Καϊάφα θυγάτηρ ὀνόματι Σάρρα κραυγάζασα ἔφη· Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔφη ἐπὶ πάντων κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου τούτου· Δύναμαι καταλύσαι τὸν ναὸν τούτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγείραι αὐτόν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι αὐτῇ· Πίστιν ἔχεις παρά πάντας ἡμᾶς· εἶχον γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς προφήτην. καὶ διὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου γενομένου ἐκρατήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

2

1 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τετράδος, εἰσήνεγκαν αὐτὸν ὄρα ἐνάτη εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα. καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας· Εἰπέ ἡμῖν, τίνας ἔνεκεν τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν ἐσύλησας, καὶ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἀπεκήρυξας; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο. πάλιν δὲ ἐκ δευτέρου παρόντος καὶ τοῦ πλήθους λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Τὸ ἅγιον ὁ ἔκτισε Σολομὼν ἐν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν, διὰ τί σὺ βούλη ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ καταλύσαι; καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ἦν γὰρ τῆς συναγωγῆς τὸ ἅγιον σεσυλημένον διὰ τοῦ ληστοῦ.⁶

2 Ὅψις δὲ τελεσθεῖσας τῆς τετράδος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐζήτηι τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Καϊάφα πυρὶ ἐναλῶσαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἀπόλειαν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τὸ πῶς τὸ πάσχα ποιῆσαι. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνη·⁷ Ἐπιμείνατε τέκνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον ἀπολέσωμεν, καὶ ὁ νόμος εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ ἡ ἅγια ἐπιτελουμένη ἐπιτελεῖται. λαθραῖως δὲ ἔδωκαν Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας χρυσοῖον ἱκανὸν Ἰούδα τῷ Ἰσκαριῶτῃ, λέγοντες· Εἰπέ, καθὼς προεῖπες ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐγὼ οἶδα τὸν νόμον κλαπένα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως εἰς αὐτόν τὸ ἔγκλημα τραπῆ καὶ μὴ εἰς τὴν κόρην αὐτὴν τὴν ἄμειπτον.⁸ καὶ ταῦτα συνταξάμενος ὁ Ἰούδας εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μὴ πάντες τὸ πλῆθος γινώσκῃτε ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπεδιδάχθην τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρᾶξαι· ἀλλὰ ἀπολύσατε τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ γὰρ πείθω τὸ πλῆθος ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει. καὶ δόλωσεν ἀπέλυσαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

5 ἦν γὰρ ἀληθής A C: εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀνθρώπον· οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἠκούσεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εὐπροσδεκτὸς B

6 ληστοῦ A C: *add.* τὸν νόμον μὴ ἔχουσα B

7 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνη A C: ὁ δὲ Καϊάφας εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν λαόν B

8 ἀμειπτον A B: ἀμώμητον C

that he might hand him over to them, as he wanted to catch him speaking a false word. They gave gifts to him for this brave deed, paying him two pieces of gold every day. So he spent two years with Jesus, as one of his disciples named John says.

(4) On the third day before Jesus was arrested Judas said to the Jews, "Come, let us hold a council: for it was not the robber who plundered the law, but Jesus himself. And I am bringing the charge." But when these words were spoken, Nicodemus entered our midst. He is the one who holds the keys to the sanctuary. He said to all, "Do no such deed!" For Nicodemus held to the truth more than the entire multitude of the Jews. The daughter of Caiaphas, named Sara, cried out: "But he himself spoke before all the people against this sanctuary, saying 'I am able to destroy this temple and raise it in three days.'"² The Jews replied to her, "All of us believe you"—for they considered her to be a prophet. And so, once they held their council, Jesus was arrested.

Jesus Put on Trial

2

(1) At three o'clock on the next day, the fourth day of the week, they brought him into the courtyard of Caiaphas. Annas and Caiaphas said to him, "Tell us, why did you carry off our law? And why have you preached against the promises of Moses and the prophets?" But Jesus made no answer. Again a second time, when the multitude was also present, they said to him, "Why do you want to destroy in a single moment the sanctuary that Solomon constructed in forty-six years?" Again Jesus made no answer to these things—for the sanctuary of the synagogue had been plundered by the robber.

(2) When the evening of the fourth day had come to an end, the entire multitude began looking for the daughter of Caiaphas, to burn her at the stake because of the destruction of the law, since they would not be able to celebrate the Passover. But she said to them, "Wait, children; let us destroy Jesus: then the law will be found and the holy feast can certainly be observed." Annas and Caiaphas secretly gave Judas Iscariot a large sum of gold and told him, "Say what you told us before: 'I know that the law was stolen by Jesus.' Then the accusation will be leveled at him rather than this innocent young girl." Judas agreed with the plan and said to them, "We do not want the entire multitude to know that you instructed me to level this charge against Jesus. But release Jesus and I will persuade the multitude that this is how it happened." So they released Jesus by stealth.

2. Cf. Matt. 26:61; Mark 14:48.

3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἅγιασμα διαφανούσης ἡμέρας πέμπτης λέγει πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαόν· Τί θέλετέ μοι δοῦναι, καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν παραδώσω τὸν καθαιρέτην τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν συλήτην; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ἐὰν παραδώσης ἡμῖν αὐτόν, δώσωμέν σοι τριάκοντα ἀργύρια χρυσοῦ. οὐκ ᾔδει δὲ ὁ λαὸς ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγει ὁ Ἰούδας· ὁμολογοῦν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰκανοὶ εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ. καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἰούδας τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια χρυσοῦ.

4 Καὶ ἐξελθὼν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ εὕρισκει τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ. μελλούσης δὲ ὀψίας γενέσθαι λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ Ἰούδας· Βοήθειαν στρατιωτῶν δότε μοι μετὰ μαχαίρων καὶ ξύλων, καὶ γὰρ παραδώσω ὑμῖν αὐτόν. ἔδωκαν οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπηρετάς ἐπὶ τὸ πιάσαι αὐτόν. πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰούδας· Ὅν ἂν ἐγὼ φιλήσω, κρατήσατε αὐτόν· αὐτὸς γὰρ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ἐσύλησεν. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ Ἰησοῦ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν λέγων· Χαῖρε ῥαββί, ὀψίας οὔσης τῆς πέμπτης. καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς Καϊάφαν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, λέγοντος τοῦ Ἰούδα⁹ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν νόμον συλήσας καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας. ἄδικον δὲ ἐξέτασιν ἐδίδουν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες· Διὰ τί ταῦτα ἐποίησας; καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο.

Ὁ δὲ Νικόδημος καὶ γὰρ Ἰωσήφ ἰδόντες τὴν κάθεδρον τῶν λοιμῶν ἀπέστημεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, μὴ θελήσαντες τῇ βουλῇ τῶν ἀσεβῶν συναπολέσθαι.

3

1 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα δεινὰ διαπραξάμενοι κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ, παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι διαφανούσης τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ τὸ σταυρῶσαι αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου συνῆλθον πάντες, ἐξετάσεως οὖν γενομένης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν Πιλάτος ὁ ἡγεμὼν μετὰ δύο ληστῶν τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλωθῆναι. προσηλώθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ¹⁰ ἅμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν ὁ Γέστας, ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ ὁ Δημᾶς.

2 Καὶ ἤρξατο βοᾶν ὁ ἐξ εὐωνύμων λέγων τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Ἴδε πόσα κακὰ ἔδρασα ἐν τῇ γῇ· καὶ εἰ ἔγνων ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ σὲ εἶχον ἀναλώσαι. τί δὲ λέγεις ἐαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ, καὶ βοηθήσαι ἐαυτῷ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ οὐ δύνασαι; ἢ πῶς ἄλλω εὐχομένῳ σὺ δύνασαι βοηθῆσαι παρασχέιν; εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, κάτελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἵνα σοι πιστεύσω· νῦν δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπὸν σε ὀρώ ἀλλ' ὡς θῆρα ἄγριον συναπολλύμενόν μοι. καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἤρξατο λέγειν

9 καὶ κρατήσαντες . . . Ἰουδα A C: καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀπηγαγόντες πρὸς Καϊάφαν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς λεγόντες B

10 προσηλωθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ *conj.* Tischendorf: προσηλωθεντων δὲ αὐτων (A) C: κρεμασθεντων δὲ αὐτων B

Judas Betrays Judas

(3) Judas came in to the sanctuary at dawn on the fifth day, and said to all the people, "What do you want to give me if I hand over to you the destroyer of the law and the plunderer of the prophets?" The Jews said to him, "If you hand him over to us, we will give you thirty pieces of gold." But the people did not know that Judas was speaking about Jesus, for many of them held that he was the Son of God. Judas took the thirty pieces of gold.³

(4) He went out at ten o'clock in the morning, and at eleven he found Jesus walking on the street. When it was nearly evening, Judas told the Jews, "Give me a contingent of soldiers with swords and clubs, and I will hand him over to you." And so they gave him servants in order to apprehend him. And while they were heading out, Judas said to them, "The one I kiss—arrest him!⁴ For he is the one who plundered the law and the prophets." He then came up to Jesus and kissed him, saying, "Greetings, Rabbi." This was during the evening of the fifth day. They arrested him and handed him over to Caiaphas and the chief priests, while Judas told them, "This is the one who plundered the law and the prophets." They then subjected Jesus to an unfair interrogation, asking him, "Why did you do these things?" Yet he gave no answer.

But Nicodemus and I, Joseph, seeing the "seat of the pestilent" stood apart from them, not wanting to perish "in the council of the impious."⁵

Jesus and the Robbers Are Crucified

3(1) They did many other terrible things to Jesus that night, and handed him over to the governor Pilate as the day of Preparation was dawning,⁶ so that he might crucify him. And all of them gathered together for this purpose. After the trial was over, the governor Pilate ordered him to be nailed to the cross, along with two robbers. And so they were nailed up together with Jesus, Gestas to his left and Demas to his right.

(2) The one on his left began to cry out, saying to Jesus, "See how many evil deeds I have done on the earth! If I had known that you were the king, I would have tried to kill you as well. But why do you call yourself the Son of God, when you cannot even help yourself in your time of need? How can you help someone else who prays to you? If you are the Christ, come down from the cross, that I might believe in you.⁷ But now I see you not as a human, but as a wild beast, destroyed along with me." And he began to say many other

3. Cf. Matt. 26:15; Mark 14:11; Luke 22:5.

4. Cf. Matt. 26:48; Mark 14:44.

5. Cf. Psalm 1:1.

6. Cf. John 19:14.

7. Cf. Luke 23:34.

κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, βλασφημῶν καὶ τρίζων τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτόν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ παγίδι τοῦ διαβόλου ἐζωργημένος ἦν ὁ ληστής.

3 Ὁ δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν ληστής, ᾧ ὄνομα Δημᾶς, ἰδὼν τὴν θεϊκὴν χάριν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ οὕτως ἐβόα· Οἶδά σε, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὅτι υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἶ· Χριστόν σε ὀρῶ ὑπὸ μυρίων μυριάδων ἀγγέλων προσκυνούμενον. συγχώρησόν μοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου ἃς ἔπραξα· μὴ ἐν ἐξετάσει μου ποιήσεις τὰ ἄστρα ἐλθεῖν κατ' ἐμοῦ ἢ τὴν σελήνην, ὅταν μέλλῃς κρίναι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ ἔπραττον τὰς κακὰς μου βουλάς· μὴ κινήσεις τὸν ἥλιον τὸν νῦν σκοτιζόμενον διὰ σὲ εἰπεῖν τὰ κακὰ τῆς καρδίας μου· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν δῶρον δύναμαί σοι παρασχεῖν. ἤδη ὁ θάνατος φθάνει με τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν μου· σοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξιλασμός·¹¹ ῥῦσαι με,¹² δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, τῆς φοβεράς σου κρίσεως· μὴ δῶς ἐξουσίαν τῷ ἐχθρῷ καταπιεῖν με καὶ κληρονόμον γενέσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς μου ὡς τοῦ ἐξ εὐνοῦμων κρεμαμένου· θεωρῶ γὰρ πῶς ὁ διάβολος χαίρων τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει, αἱ δὲ σάρκες αὐτοῦ ἀφανεῖς γίνονται. μὴ καὶ εἰς τὴν μερίδα τῶν Ἰουδαίων προστάξεις με ἀπελθεῖν· βλέπω γὰρ Μωυσήν καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας ἐν κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ ὑπάρχοντας καὶ τὸν διάβολον ἐπιχαιρόμενον ἐπ' αὐτῶν. πρὸ τοῦ οὖν, δέσποτα, τὸ πνεῦμά μου¹³ ἐξελθεῖν κέλευσον ἐξαλειφθῆναι μου τὰς ἀμαρτίας, καὶ μνησθητί μου τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ ὑψίστου μέλλεις κρίναι τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· πολλὴν γὰρ κόλασιν ἠτοίμασας τῷ κόσμῳ σου δι' ἐαυτόν.

4 Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ ληστοῦ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, Δημᾶ, ὅτι σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας, οἱ παῖδες Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Μωσέως, ἐκβλήθησονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. σὺ δὲ μόνος οἰκήσεις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἕως τῆς δευτέρας μου παρουσίας, ὅτε μέλλω κρίνειν τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογήσαντας τῷ ὀνόματί μου. εἶπεν δὲ τῷ ληστῇ· Ἀπελθὼν εἰπὲ τοῖς Χερουβὶμ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, τοῖς τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν στρέφουσιν, τοῖς φυλάττουσιν τὸν παράδεισον ἐξ οὗ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ὁ πρωτόπλαστος ἐν παραδείσῳ ἐγένετο καὶ παρέβη καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν· οὐδεὶς δὲ τῶν πρώτων ὄψεται τὸν παράδεισον ἕως μέλλω ἐκ δευτέρου ἔρχεσθαι κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς— γράψας οὕτως· Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ κατελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὑψωμάτων τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς ἀχωρίστως καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸ σαρκωθῆναι καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλωθῆναι, ἵνα σώσω τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὄνπερ ἔπλασα, ταῖς ἀρχαγγελικαῖς μου δυνάμεσιν, τοῖς τοῦ παραδείσου πυλωροῖς, τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου ὑπηρεταῖς· Θέλω καὶ κελεύω εἰσελθεῖν τὸν συνσταυρούμενόν μοι, ἄφεςιν ἀμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν δι' ἐμέ, καὶ

11 σου δε ἐστιν ὁ ἐξιλασμος A (C): ουδεις ἐστιν ἐξιλαστος B

12 ρυσαι με A C: ος ρυσεται με B

13 πνευμα μου A B: κριμα σου C

things against Jesus, blaspheming and grinding his teeth against him. For the robber was caught in the snare of the devil.

(3) But the robber on his right, named Demas, when he saw Jesus' divine grace, cried out, "I know you, Jesus Christ—you are the Son of God! I see you worshiped as Christ by a myriad of myriads of angels. Forgive my sins that I committed. At my trial, do not allow the stars or moon to come against me when you are about to judge the entire earth, for I carried out my evil plans at night. And the sun that has grown dark because of you, do not move it to speak the evil doings of my heart. For I can offer you no gift for the forgiveness of my sins. Death is already coming upon me for my sins. But expiation belongs to you. Save me from your fearful judgment, Master of all. Do not give the enemy authority to devour me and to inherit my soul, like that of the one hanging to your left. For I see how the devil rejoices, taking his soul, and his fleshly parts are disappearing. Do not order me to depart to the portion allotted to the Jews, for I see Moses and the patriarchs in great weeping, while the devil rejoices over them. And so, before my spirit departs, Master, command my sins to be wiped away and remember me, the sinner, in your kingdom, when upon the great throne of the Most High you shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, for you have prepared a great punishment for your world, for your own sake."⁸

(4) When the robber had said these things, Jesus said to him, "Truly, truly I say to you, Demas, today you will be with me in paradise.⁹ But the sons of the kingdom, the children of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses will be cast into the outer darkness. In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.¹⁰ But you alone will dwell in paradise until my second coming, when I am about to judge those who do not confess my name." And he said to the robber, "Go and speak to the Cherubim and the powers, to those who turn the flaming sword, who have been guarding paradise from the time that Adam, the first formed, was in paradise and transgressed, and did not guard my commandments, whom I cast out from there. None of those who lived before will see paradise until I come a second time to judge the living and the dead." Then he wrote to them as follows: "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came down from the heights of heaven, who came forth from the womb of the invisible God without separating from him, who came down into the world so as to be made flesh and to be nailed to the cross, so that I might save Adam, the very one whom I made, to my archangelic powers, the gatekeepers of paradise, servants of my Father: I wish and order that the one who was crucified with me should enter, that he should receive forgiveness of sins on my account, and

8. Cf. Luke 23:40–42.

9. Cf. Luke 23:43.

10. Cf. Matt. 8:11–12.

ἄφθαρτον σῶμα ἡμφιεσμένον εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ οἰκῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐνθα οὐδεὶς πώποτε δύναται οἰκῆσαι.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ τούτων ῥηθέντων παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρασκευῆς ὥρα ἐνάτη.¹⁴ καὶ σκότος δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ σεισμοῦ μεγάλου γενηθέντος τὸ ἅγίασμα συνέπεσεν καὶ τὸ περὺγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

4

1 Ἦτιησάμην δὲ ἐγὼ Ἰωσήφ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔθηκα αὐτὸ ἐν μνήματι καινῷ ὅπου οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος. τοῦ δὲ ληστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη τὸ σῶμα· τοῦ δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων ὡσπερ δράκοντος ἰδέα, οὕτως ἦν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἠησάμην τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι, ζήλω θυμοῦ φερόμενοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐνέκλεισάν με εἰς φυλακὴν, ὅπου βία ἦν τοῖς κακῶς διαπράττουσι. ἦν δὲ τοῦτό μοι γενόμενον ὀψίας οὔσης σαββάτω, ᾧ παρανομοῦν ἦν τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν. καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν τῷ σαββάτῳ δεινὰς θλίψεις ὑπέμεινεν.

2 Καὶ δὴ ὀψίας γενομένης τῆς μιᾶς τῶν σαββάτων, ὥρα ε΄ τῆς νυκτός, ἔρχεται πρὸς μὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ¹⁵ μετὰ τοῦ ληστοῦ τοῦ συνσταυρωθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. καὶ φῶς ἰκανὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι· καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη ὁ οἶκος ἐκ τεσσάρων γωνιῶν, καὶ ἐλύθη ὁ τόπος, καγὰ ἐξῆλθον. ἐγνώρισα οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρῶτον, καὶ πάλιν τὸν ληστὴν γράμματα κομίζοντα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ὀδευόντων ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ φῶς μέγα ἔλαμψεν ὅπερ οὐκ ἔφερον ἢ κτίσις· ἦν δὲ καὶ εὐωδία μεγάλη τοῦ ληστοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.

3 Καθεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ ἀνέγνω οὕτως· Τὰ χερουβιμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα κελευθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς θεότητος φυλάττειν τὸν τοῦ παραδείσου κῆπον διὰ τοῦ συνσταυρωθέντος τῆ σῆ οἰκονομία ληστοῦ τοῦτο δηλοῦμεν. Τὸν τύπον ἰδόντες τῶν ἡλῶν τοῦ συνσταυρωθέντος σοὶ ληστοῦ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων τὸ φέγγος τῆς σῆς θεότητος, τὸ πῦρ ἐσβέσθη μὲν, μὴ δυνάμενον φέρειν τὴν φαῦσιν τοῦ τύπου, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν φόβῳ μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι ἐπιτήξαμεν· ἠκούσαμεν γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης κτίσεως ἀπὸ ὕψους ἐνδημήσαντα εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς διὰ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδάμ. τὸν σταυρὸν γὰρ θεασάμενοι τὸν ἄχραντον

¹⁴ ἐνάτη A C: ἐκτη B

¹⁵ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ B: τῆ νυκτὶ A: *om.* C

that putting on an immortal body he should enter paradise and dwell there, where no one at any time has been able to dwell.”

And behold, when these words were spoken, Jesus handed over his spirit, on the day of Preparation at three o'clock. Darkness came over all the earth; and a large earthquake struck, causing the sanctuary to fall, along with the pinnacle of the Temple.¹¹

Joseph Is Imprisoned and Freed

4

(1) I, Joseph, requested the body of Jesus and placed it in a new tomb where no one had ever yet been laid. But the body of the robber to his right could not be found; the one on his left had the appearance of a dragon—that is what his body looked like.

Because I requested Jesus' body for burial, the Jews were borne away by zealous anger and locked me in prison, where force is used against those who have done evil deeds. This happened to me when it was evening on the Sabbath, when our nation was violating the law. And behold, our nation itself endured terrible afflictions on that Sabbath.

(2) When it became late on the first day of the week, at around eleven at night, Jesus came to me in prison with the robber who had been crucified on his right side, whom he had sent into paradise. There was much light in the building. And the house was suspended by its four corners, and the place was destroyed; so I went out. I recognized Jesus first, and afterwards the robber who was bringing a letter to Jesus. While we were making our way in Galilee a great light shone, more than the creation could bear, and a great sweet aroma from paradise exuded from the robber.

The Letter of the Cherubim

(3) When Jesus sat in a certain place, he read out from the letter, as follows: “We the Cherubim and the Six-Winged Creatures who were commanded by your divinity to guard the garden of paradise are declaring this through the robber who was crucified with you according to your plan. When we saw the mark of the nails on the robber crucified with you and the splendor of your divine being in the letter that was sent, the fire that is here was extinguished, as it could not bear the brightness of the mark; and we were terrified, overcome with great fear—for we heard that the maker of heaven, earth, and all creation moved his dwelling from the heights to the lowest regions of the earth, on account of Adam, the first formed. For when we saw the undefiled

11. Cf. Matt. 27:51.

διὰ τοῦ ληστοῦ ἀστράπτοντα, ἑπταπλάσιον τὸ φέγγος τοῦ ἡλίου ἀποστίλβοντος, τρόμος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καταχθονίων βρασμὸν ἐσχηκότας, καὶ φωνὴ μεγάλη οἱ λειτουργοὶ τοῦ ἄδου ἅμα ἡμῖν λέγοντες· Ἄγιος ἄγιος ἄγιος ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὢν ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις βοῆν ἀνέπεμπον· Κύριε, ἐφανερώθης ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς χαρὰν παρέχων τῶν αἰώνων τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα θανάτου ῥυσάμενος.¹⁶

5

1 Ταῦτα ἐγὼ θεασάμενος πορευόμενος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῦ ληστοῦ, μετεμορφώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὡς τὸ πρότερον πρὶν σταυρωθῆναι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἦν διὰ παντός φῶς.¹⁷ αἰεὶ δὲ ἄγγελιοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνελάλει μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ἐποίησα δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ληστής.

2 Καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων μεσαζόντων ἔρχεται ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸν ληστὴν ἐθεασάμεθα¹⁸ τὸ τί ἐγένετο. ἠρώτησεν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἰησοῦν· Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησάς με ὀφθῆναι αὐτῷ; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη. προσπεσὼν δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπεν· Κύριε, οἶδα ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐφίλησάς με, καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἀποκαλύπτεις μοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἀπόκρυφα τί ἐπιζητεῖς; ἀκμὴν ἀσύνητος εἶ; οὐχ ὀρᾷς τὴν εὐωδίαν τοῦ παραδείσου πλήσασαν τὸν τόπον; οὐ γινώσκεις τίς ἦν; ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ληστής κληρονόμος ἔτυχεν τοῦ παραδείσου· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν μόνου¹⁹ ἕως οὗ φθάσει ἡ μεγάλη ἡμέρα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ἄξιόν με ποιήσον ὅπως θεάσομαι αὐτόν.

3 Καὶ ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὄφθη ὁ ληστής ἄφων· καὶ ἔκθαμβος γενόμενος ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. οὐκ ἦν δὲ τῆ πρώτη ἰδέα ὁ ληστής τῆ πρὶν ἔλθειν τὸν Ἰωάννην, ἀλλ' ἦν ὡσπερ βασιλεὺς ἐν πολλῇ δυνάμει, τὸν σταυρὸν ἠμφισεμένος. καὶ φωνὴ πλήθους πολλῶν ἐπέμπετο· Ἦλθες εἰς τὸν ἠτοιμασμένον σοι τόπον τοῦ παραδείσου· ἐτάγημεν ὑπηρετεῖν σοι παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός σε ἕως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας. καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης γενομένης καὶ ὁ ληστής κατὰ Ἰωσήφ ἀφανεῖς ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ εὐρέθη ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου· οὐκέτι δὲ ἴδον τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐγὼ ἐωρακῶς συνεγραψάμην ἵνα πάντες²⁰ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς τὸν σταυρωθέντα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν κύριον²¹ ἡμῶν καὶ μηκέτι λειτουργοῦσιν

16 καθεσθεντος . . . ρυσάμενος (all of section 3) A C: *om.* B

17 φως A C: *add.* και ουκετι νυξ εγενετο B

18 εθεασαμεθα A B: εθεασαμην C

19 εστιν μονου A C: μονος εστιν εν τω παραδεισω B

20 παντες B: *om.* A C D

21 κυριον A C D: θεον B

cross shining like lightning through the robber, its light seven times brighter than the shining sun, trembling overtook us, while we held fast the upheavals of the netherworld. With a great cry, the ministers of Hades, together with us, cried out, 'Holy, holy, holy, the one who is in the beginning, in the highest places.' And the powers sent forth a cry, 'O Lord, you have appeared in heaven and on earth, and provided joy to the ages, having saved your own creation from death.'"

Jesus, Joseph, the Robber, and John in Galilee

5

(1) When I had seen these things I proceeded into Galilee with Jesus and the robber; and Jesus was transformed so that he no longer appeared as he did before he was crucified, but was entirely light. Angels were constantly ministering to him, and Jesus was speaking with them. I spent three days with him; but none of his disciples was with him, except the robber alone.

(2) When the Feast of Unleavened Bread was half over, his disciple John came; and we could no longer see what the robber was like. John asked Jesus, "Who is this? For you have not allowed me to appear to him." Jesus gave him no answer. Then he fell before him and said, "Lord, I know that you loved me from the beginning. Why do you not reveal this man to me?" Jesus said to him, "Why do you seek after what is hidden? Are you still ignorant? Do you not recognize the sweet smell of paradise that fills the place? Do you not know who this was? The robber from the cross has become the heir of paradise. Truly, truly I tell you, it is his alone until the great day arrives." John replied, "Make me worthy to see him."

(3) While John was still speaking, the robber suddenly appeared. Greatly astonished, John fell to the ground. But the robber did not appear as he did at first, before John had come; he looked like a king in great power, and he was wearing the cross. The voice of a great multitude came forth, "You have come to the place of paradise that has been prepared for you. We have been appointed by the one who sent you, to serve you until the great day." When this voice spoke, both the robber and I, Joseph, became invisible, and I was found to be in my own house, but I no longer saw Jesus.

(4) When I had seen these things I wrote them down, so that all may believe in the crucified Jesus Christ, our Lord, and no longer serve the law

τῷ νόμῳ Μωσέως, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσωσιν τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασιν, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύσαντες ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσωμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εὐρεθῶμεν· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα κράτος αἴνος καὶ μεγαλοσύνη²² εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

²² ὅτι αὐτῷ . . . μεγαλοσυνη (A C) D: χαριτι και φιλανθρωπια του δεσποτου και παντων ημων Ιησου Χριστου του θεου ημων· αὐτῷ η δοξα B

of Moses, but may believe in the signs and wonders that occurred through him—that by believing we might inherit eternal life and be found in the kingdom of heaven. For to him are due glory, power, praise, and greatness unto all the ages. Amen.

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The Gospel according to Mary

We have no record of a Gospel according to Mary (Magdalene) from the early church (but see the lost Greater Questions of Mary cited by Epiphanius). The text was, in fact, unknown until its discovery at the end of the nineteenth century. Despite the sensational nature of the find, the text was not widely known for many decades: its first publication did not come until 1955. This stands in marked contrast to the treatment accorded other Gospels discovered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the Gospel of Peter, Papyrus Egerton 2, or even the Fayûm Fragment. Some of these are of less inherent intrigue than the Gospel of Mary, but they all were published almost immediately upon discovery. Whether the relative lack of scholarly interest in the Gospel of Mary was related to the fact that this was a Gospel allegedly by, or about, a woman disciple, the circumstance that it embodied a relatively complex Gnostic cosmology rather than a more straightforward narrative, or something else, is hard to determine.

It is clear, in any event, that the publication of the text was hopelessly delayed by a string of unfortunate and highly regrettable circumstances. The manuscript containing the Gospel was purchased by a German scholar, Carl Reinhardt, in Cairo in January 1896. The seller of the book, whose identity is no longer known, informed Reinhardt that the book had been discovered by a peasant in the niche of a wall, a claim that is today discredited (King). The manuscript is a papyrus codex, written in Coptic, with its leather and papyrus cover still in place; the pages measure 12.7 × 10.5 cm; it is dated to the fifth century. It contains four texts: the Gospel of Mary, the Apocryphon of John, the Sophia of Jesus Christ, and the Act of Peter (a separate work from the better known Acts of Peter).

Reinhardt brought the manuscript back to Berlin and deposited it in the Egyptian Museum. Because it was recognized as containing Gnostic texts, it was given the name Codex Berolinensis Gnosticus, and provided with the designation BG 8502. The German Coptologist Carl Schmidt prepared a critical edition

of the text, along with a German translation, completing his work in 1912. Unfortunately, when the edition was in production at the Prießen Press, a water main burst, destroying all the pages. Schmidt had no choice but to begin afresh, but he was hindered by the First World War and its aftermath. He died in 1938 without having completed the project.

Walter Till took over where Schmidt had left off, and completed the edition by 1943. But now the Second World War made publication, for the moment, impossible. Not long after the war, news of the discovery of the Coptic documents at Nag Hammadi infiltrated the scholarly community, and Till decided to delay publication in case one or more other copies of the work should turn up in the Nag Hammadi library. When it turned out that this was not the case, Till finally published his edition in 1955—a lifetime after the discovery had first been made.

In the meantime, a small fragment of the Gospel in Greek—the original language of the text—had been discovered and published. P.Ryl. 473 was acquired by the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, in 1917. It probably was among the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus. This was a solitary papyrus leaf, written on both sides, measuring 8.7 x 10 cm, and containing portions of chapters 9–10 of the corresponding Coptic text, with some notable variants. The fragment dates to the third century, possibly the early third century; it was published in 1938 by Colin H. Roberts (and was utilized by Till).

Years later another Oxyrhynchus papyrus appeared. P.Oxy. 3525 was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt, probably in the early part of the twentieth century, but was not published until 1983 by P. J. Parsons. It too is from the third century, but it comes from a roll rather than a codex; it is written in a cursive script, that is, a documentary rather than a literary hand. Measuring 11.7 x 11.4 cm, it contains portions of 4:1–7:3 of the Coptic text.

It is in some ways unfortunate that neither Greek fragment gives us a portion of the text not also preserved in the Coptic of BG 8502, for that longer version is missing the opening six pages of the text (pp. 1–6) and four pages of the middle (pp. 11–14)—so that with all the surviving witnesses taken into account, we are still missing over half of the original (which took up just over eighteen pages in BG 8502).

The Coptic text thus begins *in media res*, with Jesus responding to a question from the disciples about whether “matter [will be] destroyed or not.” Jesus’ reply shows the Gnostic orientation of the text from the outset. All things, including especially this material world, will be dissolved into their primal elements. Matter itself is evil, or at least susceptible of evil, in this text; its comingling with spirit is termed “adultery” and is what leads to “sin.” But all things, Jesus indicates, will return to their original state.

After delivering several exhortations to his disciples, Jesus departs. Immediately forgetting what Jesus has just taught them—that this material world

is not what ultimately matters—the male disciples are overcome with fear that they may share Jesus' fate and also be executed. Mary (presumably Mary Magdalene—the Coptic text calls her Mariham, the Greek MARRIAMĒ; neither spelling was normally used for Jesus' mother [Klauck]) then appears and comforts them. Peter asks her, as the one “the Savior loved . . . more than the other women” (10) to tell them, the male disciples, the revelation Jesus had given to her alone. She complies by beginning to describe a vision that she had of Jesus, but that is where the second major lacuna of four pages occurs.

When the text resumes Mary is in the middle of a Gnostic discourse describing the ascent of the soul back to its heavenly, spiritual, home, by escaping the “powers” of the heavenly spheres separating this world from the divine world above. These powers, in fact, are emblematic of the material trappings of the body, its desires, ignorance, and passions. Escaping this material prison of the body is to find eternal rest at last.

When Mary has finished relating this revelation a dispute breaks out among the male disciples, who wonder if it is possible that Jesus would reveal his truths to a woman. Andrew and Peter in particular doubt it, Peter somewhat hypocritically, given the circumstance that he was the one who asked Mary to tell them about her secret revelation in the first place. The apostle Levi finally intervenes, upbraiding Peter for his anger and his mistreatment of Mary, and pointing out that the Savior “knows her perfectly. That is why he has loved her more than us” (18). He urges them to go forth to preach the gospel, which they then do.

It is difficult to assign a precise date to the composition of the Gospel. It certainly must have been written prior to the early third century, the date of the Rylands fragment. Its Gnostic orientation suggests that it could not be earlier than the beginning of the second century, and so scholars have settled on a variety of dates within that range, either early in the second century (King) or late (Klauck).

We have taken the text from the edition of A. Pasquier, used with permission.

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ΠΕΥΔΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΝΗ
(BG 8502, 1)

7 [.] [±8] . . φ[γ]λη δε παουφ[δ]ηη χη ηηον πεχε π̄σ̄ωρ χε φυςις ηη
πασαη ηη κτιςις ηη ευφωη 2η ηεγερηγ ηηηηαγ αγω οη ευηακωλ εβολ
ετουηοηηε ηηηη ηηοογ χε τεφυςις ηθγλη εςκωλ εβολ εηα τεσφυςις
ογδαε πετε ογη ηααχε ηηοη εσωτη ηαρεφσωτη

πεχε πετρος ηαη χε 2ωε ακταηοη ε2ωβ ηηη χω ηηκεογα εροη ογ πε
πηοβε ηηκοσχοε

πεχε π̄σ̄ωρ χε ηη ηοβε φωη αλα ητωτη ηετρε ηηηοβε ετετ̄ηερε
ηηετ̄ηε η̄τ̄φυςις ηηηηηηοεικ ετ̄ογ̄ηογτε εροε χε ηηοβε ετρε πᾱι αηει
η̄ηη παγαθ̄ο(η) 2η τετ̄ηηηε φα ηα φυςις ηη εηακαθ̄εστα ηηοε ε2ογ(η)
ετεσχοηηε ετ̄ι αηογω2 ετοτ̄η πεχαη χε ετρε πᾱι τετ̄ηωω(η)ε αγω
τετ̄ηηογ χε τ[. . .] 8 η̄ηεταρ̄[α]η[α]τα ηηωτη η̄ετ̄[ρ]ηοη ηαρεφ̄ηοει [αθ̄]
γλη [χη]ε ογπαθ̄οε εηηταη ηηαγ η̄ηεηε εαηει εβολ 2η ογπαρ̄αφυςις
τοτε φαρεογταρ̄αηη φωπε 2η ησωηα ηηηη ετρε πᾱι λ̄χοε ηηηη χε φωπε
ετετ̄ηηηη η̄ηηη αγω ετετ̄ηο ηηαττωτ̄ ετετ̄ηηηη ηεη̄ ηηα2ρ̄ηη ηηε ηηε
ητεφυςις πετε ογη ηααχε ηηοη εσωτη ηαρεφσωτη

ηταρεφχε ηᾱι η̄ηη ηηακαρ̄ιοε αηαεπαζε ηηοογ ηηηογ εαηω ηηο̄ε χε
ογεηηηηη ηηηη ταεηηηηηη χποε ηηηη αρε2 ηη̄τ̄ρε ααγ ρ̄παηα ηηωτη
εαηω ηηοε χε εηε 2ηηε ηηε̄εα η̄ εηε 2ηηε ηηεεηα ηωηηε γαρ ηηηωηε
εαηωη ηηετ̄ηογηη ογε2 ηηγτη η̄εωα ηετωηηε η̄εωα εηηαδ̄η̄ηηηη κωκ δε
η̄τετ̄ηηαφε οεηφ ηηεγαγγεληοη η̄ηηηηερο ηη̄ρ̄ 9 κα αγ η̄2οροε ε2ρᾱι
παρ̄α πεητᾱιτωφ̄ηηηη ογδε ηη̄ρ̄ηη ηοηοε η̄θε ηηηηοηοεηηεε ηηηποτε
η̄εαηα2τε ηηωτη η̄ηηηη ηταρεφχε ηᾱι αηκωκ

The Gospel according to Mary
(BG 8502,1)

The Nature of Matter and Sin

7 . . . Will matter then be destroyed or not?" The Savior said, "Every nature, everything fashioned, and all creation exist together in one another, and they will dissolve again into their own root. For the nature of matter dissolves into what belongs to its own nature. The one who has ears to listen had better listen!"¹

Peter said to him, "Since you have taught us everything, tell us also this thing. What is the sin of the world?"

The Savior said, "Sin does not exist; rather, it is you who produce sin when you do what is in accordance with the nature of adultery, which is called 'sin.'² For this reason, the good has come among you, to those of every nature, in order to restore each to its own root." He then continued by saying, "For this reason you are sick and are dying, because you love 8 that which deceives you. The one who understands should understand. Matter has given birth to a passion that has no resemblance, for it has come forth in a way contrary to nature. A disturbance then occurs in the entire body. This is why I told you, 'Be content at heart.'³ And if you remain discontent, surely you should be content in the presence of each and every image of nature. The one who has ears to listen had better listen!"

Jesus' Final Words and Departure

When the blessed one had said these things, he greeted them all, saying, "Peace be to you, may my peace be born to you.⁴ Be on guard so that no one leads you astray by saying, 'Look here' or 'Look over there.' For the Son of Man is within you.⁵ Follow him! Those who seek him will find him. Go, then, and preach the gospel of the kingdom.⁶ Do not 9 lay down any rules beyond what I have set for you, nor set forth any law like the lawgiver, or else you may be ruled by it."⁷ When he said these things, he departed.

1. Matt. 11:15; Mark 4:9.

2. Cf. Gos. Phil. (NHC II.3) 61, 10–12: "Every union that has occurred between those unlike each other is adultery."

3. Cf. Luke 24:38; John 14:27.

4. Cf. Luke 24:37; John 14:27; 20:19, 21, 26.

5. Luke 17:21, 24.

6. Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 24:14.

7. Cf. Matt. 28:20. The Savior seems to condemn here the Mosaic law and its divine legislator.

ΠΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΡ̄ΛΥΠΕΙ ΔΥΡΙΝΕ Π̄ΠΩΔ ΕΥΧΩ ΝΗΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΗΔΩ Π̄ΖΕ ΕΝΗΔΩΚ
 ΨΔ ΗΖΕΘΗΟΣ Π̄Τ̄Π̄ΤΑΨΕ ΟΒΙΩ Π̄ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΗΤΗΠ̄ΤΕΡΟ ΗΠΩ'Η'ΡΕ ΗΠΡΩΝΕ
 ΕΨΧΕ ΠΕΤ̄Π̄ΝΑΥ Π̄ΠΟΥ'Τ̄ΣΟ ΕΡΟQ ΗΔΩ Π̄ΖΕ ΔΙΟΝ ΕΥΝΑ'Τ̄ΣΟ ΕΡΟΝ

ΤΟΤΕ ΔΗΔΡΙΖΔΗ ΤΩΟΥΗ ΔΣΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΗΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΝΗΕΣ'Σ'ΗΝΥ ΧΕ
 ΗΠ̄Ρ̄ΡΙΝΕ ΔΥΩ ΗΠ̄Ρ̄ΛΥΠΕΙ ΟΥΔΕ Π̄Π̄Ρ̄Ζ̄ΗΤ ΣΗΔΥ ΤΕQΧΑΡΙC ΓΑΡ ΗΔΩΨΠΕ ΗΠ̄ΝΗΤ̄Π̄
 ΤΗΡ'Τ'Η ΔΥΩ ΗC̄Ρ̄ΚΕΠΑΖΕ ΝΗΩΤ̄Π̄ ΝΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΗΑΡ̄Π̄CΗΟΥ ΕΤΕQΠ̄Π̄Τ̄ΗΟC ΧΕ
 ΔQ̄C̄T̄T̄Π̄ ΔQ̄ΔΔΗ Π̄Ρ̄ΩΝΕ

ΗΤΑΡΕ ΗΑΡΙΖΔΗ ΧΕ ΗΑΙ ΔCΚΤΕ ΠΕΥ'ΖΗΤ [Ε'Ζ]ΟΥΗ ΕΠΑΔ'ΑΘΟΝ ΔΥΩ
 ΔΥ'Ρ̄ΔΡΧΕ[CΘΑΙ] Η'Ρ̄ΓΥΗ[Η]ΑΖΕ ΖΑ ΠΡΑ ΗΠ̄ΨΑ[Χ]Ε ΗΠ̄[CΩ]Ρ̄

10 ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΗΝΑΡΙΖΔΗ ΧΕ ΤCΩΝΕ Τ̄Π̄CΟΟΥΗ ΧΕ ΝΕΡΕ Π̄CΩΡ̄
 ΟΥΑΨΕ ΗΖΟΥΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΚΕCΕΒΕΠΕ ΗC̄Ζ̄ΙΝΕ ΧΩ ΝΑΗ ΗΠ̄ΨΑΧΕ Π̄Π̄CΩΡ̄ ΕΤΕΒΕΡΕ
 ΗΠΕΥΗΒΕΥΕ ΗΑΙ ΕΤΕCΟΟΥΗ Π̄ΝΟΟΥ Π̄ΝΑΗΟΝ ΔΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΗΠ̄Π̄CΟΤΗ'ΟΥ

ΑCΟΥΨΩΨ̄ ΗC̄Ι ΗΑΡΙΖΔΗ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΘΗΠ ΕΡΩΤ̄Π̄ Τ̄ΗΑΤΑΝΑ ΤΗΥΤ̄Π̄ ΕΡΟQ ΔΥΩ
 ΔCΑΡΧΕΙ Π̄ΧΩ ΗΔΥ Π̄ΗΕΨΑΧΕ ΧΕ ΔΗΟΚ² ΠΕΧΑΣ ΔΗΔΥ ΕΠ̄C̄C̄ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΝΑ
 ΔΥΩ ΔΕΙΧΟΟC ΗΔΥ ΧΕ Π̄C̄C̄ Δ̄ΗΔΥ ΕΡΟΚ Π̄ΠΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΝΑ ΔCΟΥΨΩΨ̄
 ΠΕΧΑQ ΗΑΙ ΧΕ ΗΑΙΑΤΕ ΧΕ Π̄ΤΕΚΗ ΔΗ ΕΡΕΠΔΥ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΠΗΑ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΗΟΥC
 Π̄ΗΔΥ ΕQΠ̄ΗΔΥ ΗC̄Ι ΠΕΖΟ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΗΔΥ ΧΕ Π̄C̄C̄ Τ̄ΕΠ̄ΟΥ ΠΕΤΗΔΥ ΕΦΟΡΟΝΑ ΕQΠ̄ΔΥ
 ΕΡΟQ Q̄Π̄'ΤΕ'ΥΧΗ <η>³ ΠΕΠ̄Π̄Δ ΔCΟΥΨΩΨ̄ Π̄C̄Ι Π̄CΩΡ̄ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΕQΠ̄ΔΥ ΔΗ Ζ̄Π̄
 ΤΕ'ΥΧΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΠ̄Π̄Δ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΗΟΥC ΕΤΨ[ΟΠ] ΖΗ ΤΕΥΗΝΤΕ ΗΠΕΥCΗΔΥ Π̄Τ̄Q[Q
 ΠΕΤ]ΗΔΥ ΕΦΟΡΟΝΑ ΔΥ[Ω] Π̄Τ̄OQ Π̄|ΕΤ . . .]

[Pages 11–14 are missing]

15 ΝΗΟQ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΧΕ ΤΕΠ̄ΘΥΝΑ ΧΕ Π̄Π̄ΗΔΥ ΕΡΟ ΕΡΕΒΗΚ ΕΠ̄Τ̄Π̄ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ
 Τ̄ΗΔΥ ΕΡΟ ΕΡΕΒΗΚ ΕΤΠΕ ΠΩC ΔΕ ΤΕΧΙ CΟΔ ΕΡΕΠΗ' ΕΡΟΕΙ ΔCΟΥΨΩΨ̄ ΗC̄Ι
 ΤΕ'ΥΧΗ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ Δ̄ΗΔΥ ΕΡΟ Π̄ΠΕΠΔΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΗΠΕΒΗΝΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΝΕΕΨΩΡΟΠ

2 ΔΗΟΚ Till Schenke: Δ̄ΗΟΚ cod.

3 Q̄Π̄'ΤΕ'ΥΧΗ <η> Till Schenke: η ΤΕ'ΥΧΗ ΖΗ cod.

Mary Comforts the Apostles

But they were distressed and wept greatly, saying, "How can we go to the gentiles and preach⁸ the gospel of the kingdom of the Son of Man? If they did not spare him, how will they spare us?"

Then Mary arose and greeted them all, saying to her brothers, "Do not weep or grieve or be of two minds,⁹ for his grace will be with all of you and will protect you. Rather, let us praise his greatness, for he has prepared us and made us human beings."

When Mary said these things, she turned their hearts toward the good, and they began to discuss the Savior's words.

Peter Bids Mary to Teach

10 Peter said to Mary, "Sister, we know that the Savior loved you more than the other women.¹⁰ Tell us the words of the Savior that you remember, which you know and we do not, since we did not hear them."¹¹

Mary Recounts Her Vision

Mary replied, "What is hidden from you I will tell you." And she began speaking these words to them. "I," she said, "saw the Lord in a vision and said to him, 'Lord, I saw you in a vision today.' He answered me, 'You are blessed, because you do not falter at seeing me. For where the mind is, there is the treasure.'¹² I said to him, 'Now, Lord, does the one who sees a vision see it with the soul or with the spirit?' The Savior replied, 'He does not see it with the soul or with the spirit; but the mind that is between the two is what sees the vision, and it is that which . . .'"

The Ascent of the Soul

. . . **15** it.¹³ And Desire said, 'I did not see you descending, but now I see you ascending. So why are you lying, since you belong to me!' The soul replied, 'I saw you. You did not see me, nor did you recognize me. You possessed me as

8. Cf. Matt. 28:19–20.

9. Cf. Matt. 28:17.

10. Gos. Phil. (NHC II.3) 63,30–64,9.

11. Cf. John 20:18.

12. Cf. Matt. 6:21; Luke 12:34.

13. Or: "him." Mary's report on the Savior teaching resumes after a long lacuna with a description of the heavenly ascent of the soul. The name of the first authority, which is lost in the lacuna, is most likely "Darkness"; cf. the list of the seven forms of the fourth authority later.

ηε η̄ρ̄β̄σ̄ω λ̄ω η̄πε̄σο̄ϋ̄ωη̄τ̄ η̄τ̄αρ̄ε̄ς̄χ̄ε̄ η̄λ̄ῑ ᾱς̄κ̄ω̄κ̄ ε̄ς̄τ̄ε̄λ̄η̄λ̄ η̄ρ̄ο̄ϋ̄ο̄ >
 πᾱλ̄η̄ λ̄ᾱβ̄ῑ ε̄τ̄η̄ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ω̄νη̄τ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ε̄ξ̄ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ιᾱ τ̄ε̄τ̄ο̄γ̄η̄'ο̄ϋ̄τ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ χ̄ε̄
 τ̄η̄η̄τ̄ᾱτ̄σ̄ο̄ϋ̄η̄ [ᾱς̄]̄ρ̄ε̄ξ̄ε̄τ̄ᾱξ̄ε̄ η̄τ̄ε̄ϋ̄γ̄χ̄η̄ ε̄ς̄χ̄[ω̄ η̄]̄η̄ο̄ς̄ χ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ε̄ν̄η̄κ̄ ε̄τ̄ω̄η̄
 ρ̄η̄ [ο̄]ϋ̄τ̄ο̄η̄η̄ρ̄ιᾱ λ̄γ̄η̄ᾱξ̄τ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ο̄ λ̄γ̄[α]̄η̄ᾱξ̄τ̄ε̄ λ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ο̄ η̄η̄ρ̄κ̄ρ̄η̄ε̄ λ̄γ̄[ω̄] η̄ε̄χ̄ε̄
 τ̄ε̄ϋ̄γ̄χ̄η̄ χ̄ε̄ λ̄ρ̄ο̄ ε̄ρ̄ε̄κ̄ρ̄η̄η̄ε̄ η̄η̄ο̄ῑ ε̄η̄η̄κ̄ρ̄η̄ε̄ λ̄γ̄ε̄η̄ᾱξ̄τ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ο̄ῑ ε̄η̄η̄ᾱη̄ᾱξ̄τ̄ε̄
 η̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄η̄τ̄ ᾱη̄ο̄κ̄ λ̄ε̄ λ̄ῑς̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ ε̄γ̄ω̄λ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ η̄η̄τ̄η̄ρ̄ϋ̄ ε̄ῑτ̄ε̄ η̄λ̄ η̄κ̄ᾱξ̄ [1]6
 ε̄ῑτ̄ε̄ η̄λ̄ τ̄η̄[ε̄]

η̄τ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄ τ̄ε̄ϋ̄γ̄χ̄η̄ ο̄ϋ̄ω̄ς̄ϋ̄ η̄τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ω̄νη̄τ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ε̄ξ̄ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ιᾱ ᾱς̄κ̄ω̄κ̄ ε̄η̄ς̄ᾱ η̄η̄τ̄ε̄
 λ̄γ̄ω̄ ᾱς̄η̄ᾱγ̄ ε̄τ̄η̄ᾱξ̄τ̄ο̄ε̄ η̄η̄ε̄ξ̄ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ιᾱ ᾱς̄ρ̄ς̄ᾱω̄ϋ̄ε̄ η̄η̄η̄ο̄ρ̄φ̄η̄ τ̄ω̄ρ̄η̄ η̄η̄ο̄ρ̄φ̄η̄ η̄ε̄
 η̄κ̄ᾱκ̄ε̄ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ς̄η̄τ̄ε̄ τ̄ε̄η̄ε̄ϋ̄η̄ᾱ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ω̄νη̄τ̄ε̄ τ̄η̄η̄τ̄ᾱτ̄σ̄ο̄ϋ̄η̄ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ϋ̄τ̄ο̄ε̄ η̄ε̄
 η̄κ̄ω̄ξ̄ η̄η̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ϋ̄τ̄ε̄ τ̄ε̄ τ̄η̄η̄τ̄ε̄ρ̄ο̄ η̄τ̄ς̄ᾱρ̄ξ̄ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ς̄ο̄ε̄ τ̄ε̄ τ̄η̄η̄τ̄ς̄ᾱη̄η̄
 η̄ς̄ε̄β̄η̄ η̄ς̄ᾱρ̄ξ̄ τ̄η̄ε̄ρ̄ς̄ᾱω̄ϋ̄ε̄ τ̄ε̄ τ̄ς̄ο̄φ̄ιᾱ [η̄]ρ̄ε̄ϋ̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ η̄λ̄ῑ η̄ε̄ τ̄ς̄ᾱω̄ϋ̄ε̄
 η̄η̄ε̄[ξ̄]ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ιᾱ η̄τ̄ε̄ τ̄ο̄ρ̄η̄ ε̄γ̄ω̄η̄ε̄ η̄τ̄ε̄ϋ̄γ̄χ̄η̄ χ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ε̄ν̄η̄ϋ̄ χ̄η̄ τ̄ω̄η̄ τ̄ρ̄ᾱτ̄ρ̄ω̄η̄ε̄
 η̄ ε̄ρ̄ε̄ν̄η̄κ̄ ε̄τ̄ω̄η̄ τ̄ο̄γ̄ᾱς̄ϋ̄η̄ᾱ ᾱς̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄ϋ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ᾱ τ̄ε̄ϋ̄γ̄χ̄η̄ η̄ε̄χ̄ᾱς̄ χ̄ε̄ η̄ε̄τ̄ε̄η̄ᾱξ̄τ̄ε̄
 η̄η̄ο̄ῑ λ̄γ̄κ̄ο̄ς̄η̄ς̄ λ̄γ̄ω̄ η̄ε̄τ̄κ̄τ̄ο̄ η̄η̄ο̄ῑ λ̄γ̄ο̄ϋ̄ο̄ς̄ϋ̄ϋ̄ λ̄γ̄ω̄ τ̄ᾱε̄η̄ε̄ϋ̄η̄ᾱ ᾱς̄κ̄ω̄κ̄
 ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ λ̄γ̄ω̄ τ̄η̄η̄τ̄ᾱτ̄σ̄ο̄ϋ̄(η̄) ᾱς̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ 'ρ̄η̄' ο̄ϋ̄κ̄ο̄ς̄η̄ο̄ς̄ η̄τ̄ᾱγ̄β̄ο̄λ̄τ̄' ε̄ 17^βο̄λ̄ ρ̄η̄η̄
 ο̄ϋ̄κ̄ο̄ς̄η̄ο̄ς̄ [ᾱγ̄]ω̄ ρ̄η̄ ο̄ϋ̄τ̄γ̄π̄ο̄ς̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ρ̄η̄ ο̄ϋ̄τ̄γ̄π̄ο̄ς̄ ε̄τ̄η̄η̄ς̄ᾱ η̄η̄τ̄ε̄ λ̄γ̄ω̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄ρ̄ε̄
 η̄τ̄ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ ε̄τ̄ω̄ο̄ο̄η̄ η̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ ο̄ϋ̄ο̄ῑω̄ χ̄η̄ η̄η̄η̄ᾱγ̄ ε̄ε̄η̄η̄ᾱχ̄η̄ η̄τ̄ᾱη̄ᾱη̄ᾱγ̄ς̄ῑς̄ η̄η̄ε̄χ̄ρ̄ο̄η̄ο̄ς̄
 η̄η̄κ̄ᾱη̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ η̄η̄τ̄ᾱγ̄ω̄η̄ ρ̄η̄η̄ ο̄ϋ̄κ̄ᾱρ̄ω̄ϋ̄

η̄τ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄ η̄ᾱρ̄ῑρ̄ᾱη̄ χ̄ε̄ η̄λ̄ῑ ᾱς̄κ̄ᾱ ρ̄ω̄ς̄ ρ̄ω̄ς̄τ̄ε̄ η̄τ̄ᾱη̄ς̄ω̄ρ̄ ω̄ᾱχ̄ε̄ η̄η̄η̄ᾱς̄ ω̄ᾱ
 η̄ε̄β̄η̄ᾱ ᾱϋ̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄ϋ̄ε̄ λ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ᾱ η̄η̄δ̄ρ̄ε̄ᾱς̄ η̄ε̄χ̄ᾱϋ̄ η̄η̄ε̄ς̄η̄η̄ϋ̄ χ̄ε̄ ᾱχ̄η̄ η̄ε̄τ̄ε̄τ̄η̄χ̄ω̄
 η̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ ρ̄ᾱ η̄η̄ε̄η̄τ̄ᾱς̄χ̄[ο̄]ϋ̄ο̄ϋ̄ ᾱη̄ο̄κ̄ η̄ε̄η̄ η̄ρ̄η̄ς̄τ̄ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ ᾱη̄ χ̄ε̄ λ̄η̄ς̄ω̄ρ̄ χ̄ε̄ η̄λ̄ῑ
 ε̄ω̄ϋ̄ε̄ η̄ς̄ω̄ο̄ο̄ϋ̄ε̄ γ̄ᾱρ̄ ρ̄η̄κ̄ε̄η̄ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ η̄ε̄ ᾱρ̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄ϋ̄ε̄ η̄ᾱ η̄ε̄τ̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ η̄ε̄χ̄ᾱϋ̄ ρ̄ᾱ η̄η̄ᾱ
 η̄η̄ε̄ε̄ρ̄ῑβ̄η̄ϋ̄ε̄ η̄τ̄ε̄ε̄η̄η̄η̄ε̄ λ̄ᾱχ̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ο̄ϋ̄ ε̄τ̄ε̄ η̄ς̄ω̄ρ̄ χ̄ε̄ η̄η̄τ̄η̄ ᾱϋ̄ω̄ᾱχ̄ε̄ η̄η̄ ο̄ϋ̄ς̄ρ̄η̄η̄ε̄
 η̄χ̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄η̄ ρ̄η̄ ο̄ϋ̄ω̄η̄⁴ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ᾱη̄ ε̄η̄η̄ᾱκ̄τ̄ο̄η̄ ρ̄ω̄η̄ η̄η̄τ̄η̄ς̄ω̄τ̄η̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄η̄ η̄ς̄ω̄ς̄
 η̄η̄τ̄<α>⁵ϋ̄ς̄ο̄τ̄ο̄η̄ς̄ η̄ρ̄ο̄ϋ̄ο̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄η̄

18 τ̄ο̄τ̄ε̄ ᾱη̄η̄ᾱρ̄ῑρ̄ᾱη̄ ρ̄η̄ε̄ η̄ε̄χ̄ᾱς̄ η̄η̄ε̄τ̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ <χ̄ε>⁶ η̄ᾱς̄ο̄η̄ η̄ε̄τ̄ρ̄ε̄ ρ̄η̄ε̄
 ε̄κ̄η̄ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ ε̄ο̄ϋ̄ ε̄κ̄η̄ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ χ̄ε̄ η̄η̄τ̄ᾱη̄ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ο̄ϋ̄ η̄ᾱγ̄ᾱλ̄ᾱτ̄ ρ̄η̄ η̄ᾱρ̄η̄τ̄

4 ρ̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄η̄² *cod.*, i.e. ρ̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄η̄²

5 η̄η̄τ̄<α>ϋ̄ Till-Schenke: η̄η̄τ̄ο̄ϋ̄ *cod.*

6 η̄ε̄τ̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ <χ̄ε> Till-Schenke: η̄ε̄τ̄ρ̄ο̄ς̄ *cod.*

a garment,¹⁴ and you did not know me.’ When she said these things, she left, rejoicing greatly.

Again, she came to the third authority, which is called Ignorance. [It] examined the soul, saying, ‘Where are you going? You have been ruled by wickedness. Surely you have been ruled, so do not judge!’ And the soul said, ‘Why do you judge me, when I have not judged? I was ruled, without having ruled. I was not known, but I myself have come to know that all is being dissolved, both the things of earth **16** and those of heaven.’

When the soul had brought to naught the third authority, she ascended and saw the fourth authority. It took seven forms: the first form is Darkness; the second, Desire; the third, Ignorance, the fourth is the Envy of Death; the fifth is the Kingdom of the Flesh; the sixth is the Foolish Wisdom of the Flesh;¹⁵ the seventh is the Wrathful Wisdom. These are the seven authorities of Wrath. They queried the soul, ‘Where are you coming from, slayer of humans, and where are you going, destroyer of realms?’ The soul replied, ‘What has ruled me has been slain, and what has surrounded me has been destroyed, and my desire has been brought to an end, and my ignorance has died. In a world, I was set free **17** through another world, and in an image, through a superior image. The bond of forgetfulness is temporary; from now on, I shall receive repose in silence for the duration of the time of the age.’”

The Apostles Dispute Mary’s Authority

When Mary said these things, she fell silent, as though the Savior had spoken to her up to this point. Now Andrew¹⁶ responded and said to his brothers, “Say what you will about what she has said, but I do not believe that the Savior said these things. For these teachings are strange thoughts indeed.”¹⁷ Peter replied and spoke about these things as follows. He asked them about the Savior, “Did he really speak with a woman secretly from us, not openly? Should we turn about, too, and all listen to her? Did he choose her over us?”¹⁸

18 Then Mary wept and said to Peter, “My brother Peter, what are you thinking? Do you think that I have thought up these things alone in my heart

14. The clause is ambiguous, as it may mean both “I [i.e., the soul] served you as a garment” (Wilson and MacRae) and “You [i.e., Desire] possessed me as my garment” (cf. Till). The second translation seems more likely; cf. Numenius, test. 47 Leemans: “For in each of the spheres below heaven it (i.e. the soul) is clothed with an ethereal envelope, so that through the spheres it is gradually reconciled to its association with this garb. And so it passes by as many deaths as it does spheres, and comes to what on earth is called life.”

15. Cf. 1 Cor. 1:19–20, 26; 2 Cor. 1:12.

16. On Andrew, see Matt. 10:2; Mark 1:16–18; 3:18; Luke 6:14; John 1:35–42, 44; Acts 1:13.

17. Cf. Luke 24:10–11.

18. Cf. Gos. Thom. 114.

Η ΕΒΙΧΙ ΚΟΛ ΕΠ̄ΣΩΡ̄ ΔΑΦΟΥΩΦ̄ Π̄ΙΣΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΠΕΧΑΔ̄ ΗΠΕΤΡΟ΄Σ΄ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΧΙΗ
 ΕΝΕΖ ΚΩΟΠ ΗΡΕΦΗΟΥΔΣ ΤΗΔΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΤΕΠΟΥ ΕΚΡ̄ΓΥΗΝΑΖΕ ΕΖΗ ΤΕΣΖ̄ΗΝΕ Π̄ΘΕ
 Π̄ΗΝΑΗΤΙΚΕΙΝΕΝΟΣ ΕΨΧΕ ΔΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΔΕ ΔΑΣ ΗΔΞ̄ΙΟΣ Π̄ΤΚ ΗΙΗ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΚ ΕΠΟΧΣ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΠΑΗΤΩ΄Σ΄ ΕΡΕΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΟΟΥΗ Π̄ΗΟΣ ΔΟΦΑΛΩΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΑΦΟΥΩΦ̄
 Π̄ΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΗ ΗΔΔΛΟΗ ΗΔΡ̄ΨΗΠΕ Π̄Τ̄Π̄Τ̄ Ζ̄ΨΩΗ ΗΠΡΩΗΕ ΗΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΗΤ̄ΪΧΠΟΥ ΗΔΗ
 ΚΑΤΑ Θ̄Ε Π̄ΤΑΔΖΩΗ ΕΤΟΟΤ̄Π̄ Π̄Τ̄Π̄ΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΨΩ ΗΠΕΥΔΓΓΕΛΙΟΗ ΕΗΚΩ ΔΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΗΚΕΖΟΡΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΕΝΟΗΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΠ̄ΣΩΡ̄ ΧΟΟΟΥ Π̄ΤΕΡΕ [Ι]9 [ΛΕ]Υ[ΕΙ ΔΕ
 ΧΕ ΗΔ̄ΑΪ ΔΥΩ ΔΥΡ̄ΑΡΧΕΙ Π̄ΚΩΚ [ΕΤΡΕΥΤ]ΔΗΟ Π̄ΣΕΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΨΩ

Π[Ε]ΥΔΓΓΕΛΙΟΗ

ΚΑΤΑ

ΗΔΡ̄ΙΖΔΗΗ

or that I am telling lies about the Savior?” Levi¹⁹ responded and said to Peter, “Peter, you are always angry. Now I see you disputing with this woman like the adversaries. If the Savior made her worthy, who are you then, for your part, to cast her aside? Surely the Savior knows her full well. That is why he has loved her more than us. Let us rather be ashamed, and put on the perfect human²⁰ and bring it forth for ourselves, just as he commanded us; and let us preach the Gospel, laying down no rule or law other than what the Savior has spoken.” When **19** Levi said these things, they began to go out to teach and proclaim.

The Gospel according to Mary

19. On Levi, see Matt. 9:9; Mark 2:14.

20. Cf. Gal. 3:27; Eph. 4:13; Col. 1:28; Jas. 3:2.

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΙΑΜΜΗΝ

P. Oxy. 3525

- 3 . . . οὐδ' ἐνομο[θέτησα ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης
 4
 5 τ]αῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξ[ῆλθεν. οἱ δὲ ἐλυπήθησαν
 δακρύνοντες πολλὰ καὶ] λέγοντες· πῶς π[ορευώμεθα πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη
 κηρύσσοντες τὸ εὐα]γγέλιον τῆς βα[σιλείας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀν(θρώπου); εἰ
 γὰρ μὴδ' ἐκείνου ἐφέ[ισα]γο, πῶς ἡμῶν ἀφ[έξονται; τότε ἀναστᾶσα Μαρι-
 10 ἀμμη καὶ ἀσπαζομένη] αὐτοὺς κατεφίλησε [πάντας καὶ λέγει· ἀδελφοί,
 μὴ δακρύετε, μὴ λυπ]εῖσθε μὴδὲ διστάζετε. ἡ [γὰρ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἔσται
 μ]εθ' ὑμῶν σκέπouσα ὑμᾶς. μᾶλλον εὐχαρι[στῶμεν τῇ μεγαλει-
 ότ]ητι αὐτ(οῦ), ὅτι σπυγήρηκεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀν(θρώπου)ς πεποιήκεν. ταῦτα
 εἰπούσα
 Μαριά]μμη μετέστρεψεν τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν ἐ[π' ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἤρξαν συν-
 ζη]τ[εῖ]ν περὶ τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος. λέγει Πέτρος
 15 πρὸς Μαριάμμη· ἀδέλφη, οἶδαμεν ὅτι πολλὰ ἄηγαπήθης ὑπὸ τοῦ
 σωτῆρος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλη γυνή. εἶπον οὖν ἡμῖν ὅσους σὺ γινώσκεις
 λόγο]υς τοῦ σωτῆρος, οὓς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. ὑπέ[λαβε Μαριάμμη λέγου-
 σα· ὅσα] ὑμᾶς λανθάνει καὶ ἀπομνημονεύω ἀπα[γγελω ὑμῖν. καὶ ἤρχεν αὐ-
 τοῖς τοῦ]τῶν τῶν λόγ[ων]· ἐμ[οῦ] ποτε ἐν ὁράματι ἰδ[ούσης τὸν κύριον
 20 εἶπον·] κύριε, σήμερόν σε εἶδον.] ὑπέλαβε λέγ[ων· μακαρία εἰ σύ . . .

The Gospel according to Mary
Greek Fragments

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 3525

- 3 . . . nor have I set forth any law like the lawgiver

- 5 When he said these things, he departed. But they were distressed,
weeping greatly and saying, "How can we go to the nations
preaching¹ the gospel of the kingdom² of the Son of Man? If
indeed they did not spare him, how will they spare us?" Then Mary
arose and, greeting them, kissed each one and said, "Brothers,
- 10 do not weep nor grieve nor be of two minds.³ For his grace will be
with you, watching over you. Rather, let us give thanks to his greatness,
for he has joined us together and made us human beings." Having said this,
Mary turned their mind over to the good, and they began to
discuss with one another the sayings of the Savior. Peter said
- 15 to Mary, "Sister, we know that you were greatly loved by the
Savior, as no other woman.⁴ Tell us, therefore, whatever you know of
the words of the Savior, which we have not heard."⁵ Mary replied, saying,
"Whatever is hidden from you and I remember, I will proclaim to you."
She began with these words to them: "One time when I saw the Lord in a vision,
- 20 I said, 'Lord, today I saw you.' He replied, saying, 'Blessed are you . . .'"

1. Cf. Matt. 28:19–20.

2. Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 24:14.

3. Cf. Matt. 28:17.

4. Gos. Philip (NHC II.3) 63, 30–64, 9.

5. Cf. John 20:18.

P. Ryl. 463 recto

κα

- τὸ λοιπὸν δρόμου και[ρο]ῦ χρόνου
 αἰῶνος ἀνάπαυσιν ἐ[ν] σιγῇ· ταῦ-
 τ[α] εἰποῦσα ἡ Μαριάμμη ἐσιώπη-
 σε[ν] ὡς τοῦ σωτῆρος μέχρι ᾧδε
 5 εἰρηκότος. Ἄνδρέας λέγε[ι· ἀ]δελ-
 φοί, τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ πε-
 ρὶ τῶν λαληθέντων; ἐγὼ μὲν
 γὰρ οὐ πιστεύω ταῦτα <τ[ὸ]ν σ[ω-]
 τῆρα εἰρηκένα· ἐδόκει γ[ὰρ] ἔτε-]
 10 ρογνωμονεῖν τῇ ἐκ[ε]ίνου δια-]
 νοίᾳ. περὶ τοιούτ[ω]ν πρα[γμά-]
 των ἐξεταζόμενος <λέγει Πέτρος·> ὁ σω[τήρ]
 λάθρα γγγ[α]ικὶ ἐλάλει καὶ <οὐ> φ[α-]
 νερῶς ἵνα πάντες ἀκούσῃ[μεν];]
 15 [μὴ ἀ]ξιολογωτέραγ ἡ[μ]ῶν [αὐτήν]
 [ἀποδείξει ἡθ]ε[λε; . . .]

Papyrus Rylands 463 recto

21

("... I will receive,)

- 1 for the remaining course of the appointed time
of the age, repose in silence." Having
said these things, Mary fell silent,
as though the Savior had spoken up to
5 this point. Andrew¹ said, "Brothers,
what do you think about
that which has been said? I for one
do not believe that the Savior
said these things; for they seem
10 different from what he himself taught."²
Pondering these matters,
(Peter said,) "Did the Savior
speak secretly to a woman and not
openly, that we all might hear?
15 That she was more worthy than us,
is this what he wished to show?"³ . . .

1. On Andrew, see Matt. 10:2; Mark 1:16–18; 3:18; Luke 6:14; John 1:35–42, 44; Acts 1:13.

2. Cf. Luke 24:10–11.

3. Cf. Gos. Thom. 114.

P. Ryl. 463 verso

κβ

τοῦ σωτήρος; Λευε[ι]ς λέγει Πέτρω·
 Πέτρε, ἀ[εῖ] σο[ι] τὸ ὄργιλον παράκει-
 ται· καὶ ἄρρι οὕτως συνζητεῖ[ς] τῇ
 γυναικὶ ὡς ἀντικείμενος ἀψῆ.

- 5 εἰ ὁ σωτή[ρ] ἀξίαν αὐτὴν ἠγήσατο,
 σὺ τίς εἶ ἐξουθενῶν αὐτήν; πάν-
 τως γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἰδὼς αὐτὴν ἄσ-
 φ[αλ]ῶ[ς] ἠγάπησεν· μάλλ[ο]ν αἰσχυ(v-)
 θῶ[μεν] καὶ ἐνδυσάμενο[ι] τὸν
 10 τ[έλειο]ν ἄν(θρωπ)ον, ἐκεῖνο τὸ προσταχ-
 θ[έν] ἡμῖν π[ο]ιήσωμεν· κηρύξω-
 μεν τὸ εὐαγγ[έ]λιον, μηδὲν ὀ[ρ]ίζον-
 τ[ες] μηδὲ νομοθετ[ο]ῦντες ὡς εἰ-
 π[εν] ὁ φωτήρ. [ταῦ]τα εἰπὼν ὁ Λευ-
 15 [εῖς μὲ]ν ἀπ[ε]λθὼν ἦρχεν κη[ρ]ύσ-
 [σειν τὸ εὐαγγέλι]ον.

[εὐαγγέλιον

κατὰ

Μαριάμην]

Papyrus Rylands 463 verso

22

...

- 1 of the Savior?" Levi¹ said to Peter,
"Peter, you are always prone to anger.
And now you are disputing with
this woman as if you were her adversary.
5 If the Savior considered her worthy,
who are you to despise her?
For surely he knew her,
and loved her dearly. Let us rather
be ashamed and, clothed with the
10 perfect human,² do what
we have been commanded. Let us
preach the gospel, setting no rules
nor establishing any laws, as
the Savior said. Having said these things,
15 Levi left and began to
preach the gospel.

The Gospel
according to
Mary.

1. On Levi, see Matt. 9:9; Mark 2:14.

2. Cf. Gal 3:27; Eph 4:13; Col 1:28; Jas 3:2.

The Greater Questions of Mary

Some books from the ancient world have come down to us in manuscript form, but are never mentioned in the writings of the church fathers (e.g., the Letter to Diognetus in the Apostolic Fathers). Others were previously known *only* from writings of church fathers, but were then rediscovered in modern times (e.g., the recently discovered Gospel of Judas). Yet others are mentioned by church fathers but have never been discovered. This is the case with this apocryphon, “The Greater Questions of Mary” (i.e., of Mary Magdalene).

One of the “great questions” for scholars is whether such a book ever existed. It is mentioned only once in ancient literature, in a highly charged polemical context by Epiphanius of Salamis, a heresiologist prone to exaggeration and fabrication, who was incautious at best in his attacks against heretical sects in his book the *Panarion* (= “Medicine Chest”; in it Epiphanius supplies the “antidotes” for the “snake-bites of heresy”).

The most notorious of the groups that Epiphanius attacks were known by a variety of names, including the “Phibionites.” According to Epiphanius—our sole source of information about the group—these Gnostic believers engaged in nocturnal sex rituals that involved indiscriminate sex, coitus interruptus, and the consumption of semen and menstrual blood, all in a bizarre act of Christian worship (a sacred eucharist). Moreover, they allegedly possessed apostolic books that supported their outrageous rituals, including one known as the “Greater Questions of Mary” (*Panarion* 26.8).

Epiphanius claims to have had access to this and the other Phibionite books. But this one he actually quotes. If the quotation does indeed go back to an actual document, as opposed to Epiphanius’s fertile imagination, it is no wonder that the book never survived, as it recounts an episode in which Jesus himself engages in a sex act before a very bewildered Mary Magdalene.

For the Gnostic Phibionites, this text, and their corresponding rituals, related to their doctrinal views that humans represent divine sparks entrapped in human bodies, which need to escape. Human procreation perpetuates this state

of entrapment, by providing an endless supply of bodies as prisons for the sparks of the divine. The “solution” to the problem, then, was to engage in nonprocreative sex, as shown to Mary Magdalene by the Savior himself, one odd night on a mountaintop.

We have taken the text from the edition of Frank Williams.

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The Greater Questions of Mary

ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐρωτήσεσι Μαρίας καλουμέναις μεγάλαις (εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ μικραὶ αὐτοῖς πεπλασμέναι) ὑποτίθενται αὐτὸν αὐτῇ ἀποκαλύπτειν, παραλαβόντα αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐνθάμενον καὶ ἐκβαλόντα ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ ἀρξάμενον αὐτῇ ἐγκαταμίγνυσθαι, καὶ οὕτως δῆθεν τὴν ἀπόρροιαν αὐτοῦ μεταλαβόντα δεῖξαι ὅτι “δεῖ οὕτως ποιεῖν, ἵνα ζήσωμεν”, καὶ ὡς τῆς Μαρίας ταραχθείσης καὶ πεσοῦσης χαμαὶ αὐτὸν πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐγείραντα εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ “ἵνα τί ἐδίστασας, ὀλιγόπιστε;”

The Greater Questions of Mary

For in the book called *The Greater Questions of Mary* (they have also forged one called the *Lesser*), they indicate that he [Jesus] gave a revelation to her [Mary]. Taking her to the mountain he prayed and then extracted a woman from his side and began having sexual intercourse with her; then he gathered his semen in his hand, explaining that “This is what we must do in order to live.” When Mary became disturbed and fell to the ground, he again raised her and said to her, “Why do you doubt, you of little faith?”¹

1. Cf. Matt. 14:31.