

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

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS, OR ACTS OF PILATE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROLOGUE

(Absent from some manuscripts and versions).

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

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

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

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

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

I

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

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

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

Pilate saith unto them: By what evil deeds?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

IV

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

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

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

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

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

V

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

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

VI

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

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

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

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

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

VII

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

VIII

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

IX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

X

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

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

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

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

XI

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

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

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

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

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

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

XII

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

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

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

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

XIII

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

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

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

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

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

XIV

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

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

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

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

XV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *om. Latt., Arm.*

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

XVI

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

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

¹ *om. Latt.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And they went every man to his house praising God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then Annas and Caiaphas separated the three by one and

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

This leads on to the opening words of Part II:

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

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

ACTS OF PILATE

PART I. RECENSION B OF THE GREEK

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

The title runs thus:

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

In two copies there is this prologue:

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

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

Cap. i begins:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rest of the story is as we know it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ACTS OF PILATE

PART II. THE DESCENT INTO HELL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

I (XVII)

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

Greek.

I (XVII)

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

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

Latin B.

I (XVII)

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

Greek.

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

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

Latin B.

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

II (XVIII)

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

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

Greek.

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

II (XVIII)

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

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

Latin B.

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

II (XVIII)

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

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

Latin A.

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

Greek.

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

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

Latin B.

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

III (XIX)

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

Latin A.

III (XIX)

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

Greek.

III (XIX)

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

Latin B.

IV (XX)

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

IV (XX)

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

Greek.

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

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

IV (XX)

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

Latin B.

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

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

V (XXI)

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

Latin A.

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

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

Greek.

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

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

Latin B.

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

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

Latin A.

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

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

VI (XXII)

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

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

¹ So the Latin Psalter has it.

Latin A.

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

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

Latin A.

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

V (XXI)

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

Greek.

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

V (XXI)

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

Latin B.

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

VII (XXIII)

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

Greek.

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

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

Latin B.

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

VIII (XXIV)

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

Latin A.

VI (XXII)

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

Greek.

VI (XXII)

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

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

Latin B.

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

Latin A.

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

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

VII (XXIII)

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

Greek.

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

VII (XXIII)

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

Latin B.

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

Latin A.

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

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

VIII (XXIV)

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

Greek.

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

VIII (XXIV)

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

Latin B.

IX (XXV)

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

Latin A.

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

Latin A.

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

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

Greek.

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

Latin B.

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

X (XXVI)

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

IX (XXV)

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

Greek.

IX (XXV)

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

Latin A.

X (XXVI)

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

Greek.

X (XXVI)

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

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

Latin A.

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

XI (XXVII)

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

Greek.

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

XI (XXVII)

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

Latin B.

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

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

Greek.

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

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

To the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Latin B.

XI (XXVII)

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

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

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

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

XII (XXVIII)

This chapter is not found in the majority of copies.

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

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

Latin A.

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

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

Latin A.

XIII (XXIX)

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

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

Pontius Pilate unto Claudius, greeting.

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

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