

INFANCY GOSPELS

UNDER this heading I have put together the narratives of the birth of the Virgin, and birth and childhood of our Lord.

The texts which may be called 'original' are two, the Book of James (Protevangelium), and the Gospel of Thomas.

The Book of James we have largely in its original form. The Gospel of Thomas seems to be the skeleton of the original, the stories retained, the speeches, which conveyed the doctrinal teaching of the book, almost entirely removed. It is in fact an expurgated edition.

All the other texts are variants and embroideries upon these: some contain details which probably are derived from the original text of the Gospel of Thomas.

BOOK OF JAMES, OR PROTEVANGELIUM

The latter of these names is a modern one: it was given to the book by Guillaume Postel, who in the sixteenth century introduced it to Europe.

Origen mentions the Book of James (and the Gospel of Peter) as stating that the 'brethren of the Lord' were sons of Joseph by a former wife. This is the first mention of it, and shows us that the book is as old as the second century. To collect later references to it is unnecessary.

It is generally agreed that the story of the death of Zacharias (chs. xxii-xxiv) does not properly belong to the text. Origen and other early writers give a different account of the cause of his death: it was, they say, because, after the Nativity, he still allowed Mary to take her place among the virgins in the Temple.

Difficulty is also caused by the sudden introduction of Joseph as the narrator in ch. xviii. 2 sqq. We cannot be sure whether this means that a fragment of a 'Joseph-apocryphon' has been introduced at this point; or, if so, how far it extends. We are sure, from a sentence of Clement of Alexandria,¹ that some story of a midwife being present at the Nativity was current in the second century.

We have the book in the original Greek and in several oriental versions, the oldest of which is the Syriac. But, oddly enough, there is no Latin version. The matter is found in an expanded and altered form in the 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', but we have yet to find an old Latin translation of the present text. Such a thing seems to have existed, for a book identifiable with ours is condemned in the Gelasian Decree.

In the early chapters the Old Testament is extensively drawn upon, and imitated; but the author is not familiar with Jewish life or usages.

The best recent edition of this book is a French one, by Amann. There is as yet no really critical edition of the text, in which all manu-

¹ *Strom.* vii. 93, 'for after she had brought forth some say that she was attended by a midwife, and was found to be a virgin'.

scripts and versions are made use of, I follow Tischendorf's in the main.

I. 1 In the histories of the twelve tribes of Israel *it is written* that there was *one* Ioacim, exceeding rich: and he offered his gifts twofold, saying: That which is of my superfluity shall be for the whole people, and that which is for my forgiveness shall be for the Lord, for a propitiation unto me.

2 Now the great day of the Lord drew nigh and the children of Israel offered their gifts. And Reuben stood over against him saying: It is not lawful for thee to offer thy gifts first, forasmuch as thou hast gotten no seed in Israel. 3 And Ioacim was sore grieved, and went unto *the record* of the twelve tribes of the people, saying: I will look upon *the record* of the twelve tribes of Israel, whether I only have not gotten seed in Israel. And he searched, and found *concerning* all the righteous that they had raised up seed in Israel. And he remembered the patriarch Abraham, how in the last days God gave him a son, even Isaac. 4 And Ioacim was sore grieved, and showed not himself to his wife, but betook himself into the wilderness, and pitched his tent there, and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying within himself: I will not go down either for meat or for drink until the Lord my God visit me, and my prayer shall be unto me meat and drink.

II. 1 Now his wife Anna lamented with two lamentations, and bewailed herself with two bewailings, saying: I will bewail my widowhood, and I will bewail my childlessness.

2 And the great day of the Lord drew nigh, and Judith her handmaid said *unto her*: How long humblest thou thy soul? The great day of the Lord hath come, and it is not lawful for thee to mourn: but take this headband, which the mistress of *my* work gave me, and it is not lawful for me to put it on, forasmuch as I am an handmaid, and it hath a mark of royalty. And Anna said: Get thee from me. Lo! I have done nothing (*or* I will not do so) and the Lord hath greatly humbled me: peradventure one gave it to thee in subtilty, and thou art come to make me partaker in thy sin. And Judith said: How shall I curse thee, seeing the Lord hath shut up thy womb, to give thee no fruit in Israel?

3 And Anna was sore grieved [and mourned with a great mourning because she was reproached by all the tribes of Israel. And coming to herself she said: What shall I do? I will pray with weeping unto the Lord my God that he visit me]. And she put off her mourning garments and cleansed (*or* adorned) her head and put on her bridal garments: and about the ninth hour she went down into the garden to walk there. And she saw a laurel-tree and sat down underneath it and besought the Lord saying: O God of our fathers, bless me, and hearken unto my prayer, as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and gavest her a son, even Isaac.

III. 1 And looking up to the heaven she espied a nest of sparrows in the laurel-tree, and made a lamentation within herself, saying: Woe unto me, who begat me? And what womb brought me forth, for I am become a curse before the children of Israel, and I am reproached, and they have mocked me forth out of the temple of the Lord? 2 Woe unto me, unto what am I likened? I am not likened unto the fowls of the heaven, for even the fowls of the heaven are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what am I likened? I am not likened unto the beasts of the earth, for even the beasts of the earth are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what am I likened? I am not likened unto these waters, for even these waters are fruitful before thee, O Lord. 3 Woe unto me, unto what am I likened? I am not likened unto this earth, for even this earth bringeth forth her fruits in due season and blesseth thee, O Lord.

IV. 1 And behold an angel of the Lord appeared, saying unto her: Anna, Anna, the Lord hath hearkened unto thy prayer, and thou shalt conceive and bear, and thy seed shall be spoken of in the whole world. And Anna said: As the Lord my God liveth, if I bring forth either male or female, I will bring it for a gift unto the Lord my God, and it shall be ministering unto him all the days of its life.

2 And behold there came two messengers saying unto her: Behold Ioacim thy husband cometh with his flocks: for an angel of the Lord came down unto him saying: Ioacim, Ioacim, the Lord God hath hearkened unto thy prayer. Get thee down hence, for behold thy wife Anna hath conceived. 3 And Ioacim gat him down and called his herdsmen saying: Bring me hither ten lambs without blemish and without spot, and they shall be for the Lord my God; and bring me twelve tender calves, and they shall be for the priests and for the assembly of the elders; and an hundred kids for the whole people.

4 And behold Ioacim came with his flocks, and Anna stood at the gate and saw Ioacim coming, and ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now know I that the Lord God hath greatly blessed me: for behold the widow is no more a widow, and she that was childless shall conceive. And Ioacim rested the first day in his house.

V. 1 And on the morrow he offered his gifts, saying in himself: If the Lord God be reconciled unto me, the plate *that is upon the forehead* of the priest will make it manifest unto me. And Ioacim offered his gifts and looked earnestly upon the plate of the priest when he went up unto the altar of the Lord, and he saw no sin in himself. And Ioacim said: Now know I that the Lord is become propitious unto me and hath forgiven all my sins. And he went down from the temple of the Lord justified, and went unto his house.

2 And her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said unto the midwife: What have I brought forth? And she said: A female. And Anna said: My soul is magnified this day, and she laid herself down. And when the days were fulfilled, Anna purified herself and gave suck to the child and called her name Mary.

VI. 1 And day by day the child waxed strong, and when she was six months old her mother stood her upon the ground to try if she would stand; and she walked seven steps and returned unto her bosom. And she caught her up, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt walk no more upon this ground, until I bring thee into the temple of the Lord. And she made a sanctuary in her bedchamber and suffered nothing common or unclean to pass through it. And she called for the daughters of the Hebrews that were undefiled, and they carried her hither and thither.

2 And the first year of the child was *fulfilled*, and Ioacim made a great feast and bade the priests and the scribes and the assembly of the elders and the whole people of Israel. And Ioacim brought the child to the priests, and they blessed her, saying: O God of our fathers, bless this child and give her a name renowned for ever among all generations. And all the people said: So be it, so be it. Amen. And he brought her to the high priests, and they blessed her, saying: O God of the high places, look upon this child, and bless her with the last blessing which hath no successor.

3 And her mother caught her up into the sanctuary of her bedchamber and gave her suck.

And Anna made a song unto the Lord God, saying:

I will sing an hymn unto the Lord my God, because he hath visited me and taken away from me the reproach of mine enemies, and the Lord hath given me a fruit of his righteousness, single and manifold before him. Who shall declare unto the sons of Reuben that Anna giveth suck? Hearken, hearken, ye twelve tribes of Israel, that Anna giveth suck. And she laid the child to rest in the bedchamber of her sanctuary, and went forth and ministered unto them. And when the feast was ended, they gat them down rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

VII. 1 And unto the child her months were added: and the child became two years old. And Ioacim said: Let us bring her up to the temple of the Lord that we may pay the promise which we promised; lest the Lord require it of us (*lit.* send unto us), and our gift become unacceptable. And Anna said: Let us wait until the third year, that the child may not long after her father or mother. And Ioacim said: Let us wait.

2 And the child became three years old, and Ioacim said: Call for the daughters of the Hebrews that are undefiled, and let them take every one a lamp, and let them be burning, that the child turn not backward and her heart be taken captive

away from the temple of the Lord. And they did so until they were gone up into the temple of the Lord.

And the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her and said: The Lord hath magnified thy name among all generations: in thee in the latter days shall the Lord make manifest his redemption unto the children of Israel. And he made her to sit upon the third step of the altar. And the Lord put grace upon her and she danced with her feet and all the house of Israel loved her.

VIII. 1 And her parents gat them down marvelling, and praising the Lord God because the child was not turned away backward.

And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as a dove that is nurtured: and she received food from the hand of an angel.

2 And when she was twelve years old, there was a council of the priests, saying: Behold Mary is become twelve years old in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her? lest she pollute the sanctuary of the Lord. And they said unto the high priest: Thou standest over the altar of the Lord. Enter in and pray concerning her: And whatsoever the Lord shall reveal to thee, that let us do.

3 And the high priest took the vestment with the twelve bells and went in unto the Holy of Holies and prayed concerning her. And lo, an angel of the Lord appeared saying unto him: Zacharias, Zacharias, go forth and assemble them that are widowers of the people, and let them bring every man a rod, and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be. And the heralds went forth over all the country round about Judaea, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all men ran thereto.

IX. 1 And Joseph cast down his adze and ran to meet them, and when they were gathered together they went to the high priest and took their rods *with them*. And he took the rods of them all and went into the temple and prayed. And when he had finished the prayer he took the rods and went forth and gave them back to them: and there was no sign upon them. But Joseph received the last rod: and lo, a dove came forth of the rod and flew upon the head of Joseph. And the priest said unto Joseph: Unto thee hath it fallen to take the virgin of the Lord and keep her for thyself. 2 And Joseph refused, saying: I have sons, and I am an old man, but she is a girl: lest I become a laughing-stock to the children of Israel. And the priest said unto Joseph: Fear the Lord thy God, and remember what things God did unto Dathan and Abiram and Korah, how the earth clave and they were swallowed up because of their gainsaying. And now fear thou, Joseph, lest it be so in thine house. And Joseph was afraid, and took her to keep her for himself. And Joseph said unto Mary: Lo, I have received thee out of the temple of the Lord: and now do I leave thee in my house, and I go away to build my buildings and I will come *again* unto thee. The Lord shall watch over thee.

X. 1 Now there was a council of the priests, and they said: Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said: Call unto me pure virgins of the tribe of David. And the officers departed and sought and found seven virgins. And the priests called to mind the child Mary, that she was of the tribe of David and was undefiled before God: and the officers went and fetched her. And they brought them into the temple of the Lord, and the priest said: Cast me lots, which *of you* shall weave the gold and the undefiled (the white) and the fine linen and the silk and the hyacinthine, and the scarlet and the true purple. And the lot of the true purple and the scarlet fell unto Mary, and she took them and went unto her house.

[And at that season Zacharias became dumb, and Samuel was in his stead until the time when Zacharias spake *again*.]

But Mary took the scarlet and began to spin it.

XI. 1 And she took the pitcher and went forth to fill it with water: and lo a voice saying: Hail, thou that art highly favoured; the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.

And she looked about her upon the right hand and upon the left, to see whence this voice should be: and being filled with trembling she went to her house and set down the pitcher, and took the purple and sat down upon her seat and drew out the thread.

2 And behold an angel of the Lord stood before her saying: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all things, and thou shalt conceive of his word. And she, when she heard it, questioned in herself, saying: Shall I *verily* conceive of the living God, and bring forth after the manner of all women? And the angel of the Lord said: Not so, Mary, for a power of the Lord shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Highest. And thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins. And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord is before him: be it unto me according to thy word.

XII. 1 And she made the purple and the scarlet and brought them unto the priest. And the priest blessed her and said: Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed among all generations of the earth. 2 And Mary rejoiced and went away unto Elizabeth her kinswoman: and she knocked at the door. And Elizabeth when she heard it cast down the scarlet (*al.* the wool) and ran to the door and opened it, and when she saw Mary she blessed her and said: Whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come unto me? for behold that which is in me leaped and blessed thee. And Mary forgot the mysteries which Gabriel the archangel had told her, and she looked up unto the heaven and said: Who am I, Lord, that all the generations of the earth do bless me? 3 And she abode three months with Elizabeth, and day by day her womb grew: and

Mary was afraid and departed unto her house and hid herself from the children of Israel. Now she was sixteen years old when these mysteries came to pass.

XIII. 1 Now it was the sixth month with her, and behold Joseph came from his building, and he entered into his house and found her great with child. And he smote his face, and cast himself down upon the ground on sackcloth and wept bitterly, saying: With what countenance shall I look unto the Lord my God? and what prayer shall I make concerning this maiden? for I received her out of the temple of the Lord my God a virgin, and have not kept her safe. Who is he that hath ensnared me? Who hath done this evil in mine house and hath defiled the virgin? Is not the story of Adam repeated in me? for as at the hour of his giving thanks the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her, so hath it befallen me also. 2 And Joseph arose from off the sackcloth and called Mary and said unto her: O thou that wast cared for by God, why hast thou done this? thou hast forgotten the Lord thy God. Why hast thou humbled thy soul, thou that wast nourished up in the Holy of Holies and didst receive food at the hand of an angel? 3 But she wept bitterly, saying: I am pure and I know not a man. And Joseph said unto her: Whence then is that which is in thy womb? and she said: As the Lord my God liveth, I know not whence it is come unto me.

XIV. 1 And Joseph was sore afraid and ceased from *speaking* unto her (or left her alone), and pondered what he should do with her. And Joseph said: If I hide her sin, I shall be found fighting against the law of the Lord: and if I manifest her unto the children of Israel, I fear lest that which is in her be the seed of an angel, and I shall be found delivering up innocent blood to the judgement of death. What then shall I do? I will let her go from me privily. And the night came upon him. 2 And behold an angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: Fear not this child, for that which is in her is of the Holy Ghost, and she shall bear a son and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. And Joseph arose from sleep and glorified the God of Israel which had shown this favour unto her: and he watched over her.

XV. 1 Now Annas the scribe came unto him and said to him: Wherefore didst thou not appear in our assembly? and Joseph said unto him: I was weary with the journey, and I rested the first day. And Annas turned him about and saw Mary great with child. 2 And he went hastily to the priest and said unto him: Joseph, to whom thou bearest witness [that he is righteous] hath sinned grievously. And the priest said: Wherein? And he said: The virgin whom he received out of the temple of the Lord, he hath defiled her, and married her by stealth (*lit.* stolen her marriage), and hath not declared it to the children of Israel.

And the priest answered and said: Hath Joseph done this? And Annas the scribe said: Send officers, and thou shalt find the virgin great with child. And the officers went and found as he had said, and they brought her together with Joseph unto the place of judgement. 3 And the priest said: Mary, wherefore hast thou done this, and wherefore hast thou humbled thy soul and forgotten the Lord thy God, thou that wast nurtured in the Holy of Holies and didst receive food at the hand of an angel and didst hear *the* hymns and didst dance before *the* Lord, wherefore hast thou done this?

But she wept bitterly, saying: As the Lord my God liveth I am pure before him and I know not a man. 4 And the priest said unto Joseph: Wherefore hast thou done this? And Joseph said: As the Lord my God liveth I am pure as concerning her. And the priest said: Bear no false witness but speak the truth: thou hast married her by stealth and hast not declared it unto the children of Israel, and hast not bowed thine head under the mighty hand that thy seed should be blessed. And Joseph held his peace.

XVI. 1 And the priest said: Restore the virgin whom thou didst receive out of the temple of the Lord. And Joseph was full of weeping. And the priest said: I will give you to drink of the water of the conviction of the Lord, and it will make manifest your sins before your eyes. 2 And the priest took thereof and made Joseph drink and sent him into the hill-country. And he returned whole. He made Mary also drink and sent her into the hill-country. And she returned whole. And all the people marvelled, because sin appeared not in them. 3 And the priest said: If the Lord God hath not made your sin manifest, neither do I condemn you. And he let them go. And Joseph took Mary and departed unto his house rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

XVII. 1 Now there went out a decree from Augustus the king that all that were in Bethlehem of Judaea should be recorded. And Joseph said: I will record my sons: but this child, what shall I do with her? how shall I record her? as my wife? *nay*, I am ashamed. Or as my daughter? but all the children of Israel know that she is not my daughter. This day of the Lord shall do as the Lord willeth. 2 And he saddled the she-ass, and set her upon it, and his son led it and Joseph followed after. And they drew near (unto Bethlehem) within three miles: and Joseph turned himself about and saw her of a sad countenance and said within himself: Peradventure that which is within her paineth her. And again Joseph turned himself about and saw her laughing, and said unto her: Mary, what aileth thee that I see thy face at one time laughing and at another time sad? And Mary said unto Joseph: It is because I behold two peoples with mine eyes, the one weeping and lamenting and the other rejoicing and exulting.

3 And they came to the midst of the way, and Mary said unto him: Take me down from the ass, for that which is within me presseth me, to come forth. And he took her down from the ass and said unto her: Whither shall I take thee to hide thy shame? for the place is desert.

XVIII. 1 And he found a cave there and brought her into it, and set his sons by her: and he went forth and sought for a midwife of the Hebrews in the country of Bethlehem.

2 Now I Joseph was walking, and I walked not. And I looked up to the air and saw the air in amazement. And I looked up unto the pole of the heaven and saw it standing still, and the fowls of the heaven without motion. And I looked upon the earth and saw a dish set, and workmen lying *by it*, and their hands were in the dish: and they that were chewing chewed not, and they that were lifting *the food* lifted it not, and they that put it to their mouth put it not thereto, but the faces of all of them were looking upward. And behold there were sheep being driven, and they went not forward but stood still; and the shepherd lifted his hand to smite them with his staff, and his hand remained up. And I looked upon the stream of the river and saw the mouths of the kids upon *the water* and they drank not. And of a sudden all things moved onward in their course.

XIX. 1 And behold a woman coming down from the hill-country, and she said to me: Man, whither goest thou? And I said: I seek a midwife of the Hebrews. And she answered and said unto me: Art thou of Israel? And I said unto her: Yea. And she said: And who is she that bringeth forth in the cave? And I said: She that is betrothed unto me. And she said to me: Is she not thy wife? And I said to her: It is Mary that was nurtured up in the temple of the Lord: and I received her to wife by lot: and she is not my wife, but she hath conception by the Holy Ghost.

And the midwife said unto him: Is this the truth? And Joseph said unto her: Come hither and see. And the midwife went with him.

2 And they stood in the place of the cave: and behold a bright cloud overshadowing the cave. And the midwife said: My soul is magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen marvellous things: for salvation is born unto Israel. And immediately the cloud withdrew itself out of the cave, and a great light appeared in the cave so that our eyes could not endure it. And by little and little that light withdrew itself until the young child appeared: and it went and took the breast of its mother Mary.

And the midwife cried aloud and said: Great unto me to-day is this day, in that I have seen this new sight. 3 And the midwife went forth of the cave and Salome met her. And she said to her: Salome, Salome, a new sight have I to tell thee. A virgin hath brought forth, which her nature alloweth not. And Salome said:

As the Lord my God liveth, if I make not trial and prove her nature I will not believe that a virgin hath brought forth.

XX. 1 And the midwife went in and said unto Mary: Order thyself, for *there is no small contention* arisen concerning thee.¹ And Salome made trial and cried out and said: Woe unto mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living God, and lo, my hand falleth away from me in fire. And she bowed her knees unto the Lord, saying: O God of my fathers, remember that I am the seed of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob: make me not a public example unto the children of Israel, but restore me unto the poor, for thou knowest, Lord, that in thy name did I perform my cures, and did receive my hire of thee. 3 And lo, an angel of the Lord appeared, saying unto her: Salome, Salome, the Lord hath hearkened to thee: bring thine hand near unto the young child and take him up, and there shall be unto thee salvation and joy. 4 And Salome came near and took him up, saying: I will do him worship, for a great king is born unto Israel. And behold immediately Salome was healed: and she went forth of the cave justified. And lo, a voice saying: Salome, Salome, tell none of the marvels which thou hast seen, until the child enter into Jerusalem.

XXI. 1 And behold, Joseph made him ready to go forth into Judaea. And there came a great tumult in Bethlehem of Judaea; for there came wise men, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him. 2 And when Herod heard it he was troubled and sent officers unto the wise men. And he sent for the high priests and examined them, saying: How is it written concerning the Christ, where he is born? They say unto him: In Bethlehem of Judaea: for so it is written. And he let them go. And he examined the wise men, saying unto them: What sign saw ye concerning the king that is born? And the wise men said: We saw a very great star shining among those stars and dimming them so that the stars appeared not: and thereby knew we that a king was born unto Israel, and we came to worship him. And Herod said: Go and seek for him, and if ye find him, tell me, that I also may come and worship him. 3 And the wise men went forth. And lo, the star which they saw in the east went before them until they entered into the cave: and it stood over the head of the cave. And the wise men saw the young child with Mary his mother: and they brought out of their scrip gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. 4 And being warned by the angel that they should not enter into Judaea, they went into their own country by another way.

¹ The italicized words are from the LXX Greek version of Isa. vii, which we render, 'Is it a small thing for you to weary men?' Immediately after is the prophecy, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive,' &c., which accounts for the employment of the phrase here.

XXII. 1 But when Herod perceived that he was mocked by the wise men, he was wroth, and sent murderers, saying unto them: Slay the children from two years old and under. 2 And when Mary heard that the children were being slain, she was afraid, and took the young child and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in an ox-manger.

3 But Elizabeth when she heard that they sought for John, took him and went up into the hill-country and looked about her where she should hide him: and there was no hiding-place. And Elizabeth groaned and said with a loud voice: O mountain of God, receive thou a mother with a child. For Elizabeth was not able to go up. And immediately the mountain clave asunder and took her in. And there was a light shining *away* for them: for an angel of the Lord was with them, keeping watch over them.

XXIII. 1 Now Herod sought for John, and sent officers to Zacharias, saying: Where hast thou hidden thy son? And he answered and said unto them: I am a minister of God and attend continually upon the temple of the Lord: I know not where my son is. 2 And the officers departed and told Herod all these things. And Herod was wroth and said: His son is to be king over Israel. And he sent unto him again, saying: Say the truth: where is thy son? for thou knowest that thy blood is under my hand. And the officers departed and told him all these things. 3 And Zacharias said: I am a martyr of God if thou sheddest my blood: for my spirit the Lord shall receive, because thou sheddest innocent blood in the fore-court of the temple of the Lord.

And about the dawning of the day Zacharias was slain. And the children of Israel knew not that he was slain.

XXIV. 1 But the priests entered in at the hour of the salutation, and the blessing of Zacharias met them not according to the manner. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias, to salute him with the prayer, and to glorify the Most High. 2 But as he delayed to come, they were all afraid: and one of them took courage and entered in: and he saw beside the altar congealed blood: and a voice saying: Zacharias hath been slain, and his blood shall not be wiped out until his avenger come. And when he heard that word he was afraid, and went forth and told the priests. 3 And they took courage and went in and saw that which was done: and the panels of the temple did wail: and they rent¹ *their clothes* from the top to the bottom. And his body they found not, but his blood they found turned into stone. And they feared, and went forth and told all the people that Zacharias was slain. And all the tribes of the people heard it, and they mourned for him and lamented him three days and three nights. And after the three days the priests took counsel whom they should set in his stead: and the lot came up upon Symeon. Now he it was which was warned by the Holy Ghost

¹ *al.* and (the panels) were split, &c. See Amos viii. 3 (lxx).

that he should not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.

XXV. 1 Now I, James, which wrote this history in Jerusalem, when there arose a tumult when Herod died, withdrew myself into the wilderness until the tumult ceased in Jerusalem.

Glorifying the Lord God which gave me the gift, and the wisdom to write this history.

2 And grace shall be with those that fear our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

GOSPEL OF THOMAS

GREEK TEXT A

The older testimonies about this book have been given already. I now present the three principal forms of it, as given by Tischendorf: two Greek texts, A and B, and one Latin.

The few Greek manuscripts are all late. The earliest authorities are a much abbreviated Syriac¹ version of which the manuscript is of the sixth century, and a Latin palimpsest at Vienna of the fifth or sixth century, which has never been deciphered in full.

The Latin version translated here is found in more manuscripts than the Greek; none of them, I think, is earlier than the thirteenth century.

The stories of Thomas the Israelite, the Philosopher, concerning the works of the Childhood of the Lord.

I. I, Thomas the Israelite, tell unto you, even all the brethren that are of the Gentiles, to make known unto you the works of the childhood of our Lord Jesus Christ and his mighty deeds, even all that he did when he was born in our land: whereof the beginning is thus:

II. 1 This little child Jesus when he was five years old was playing at the ford of a brook: and he gathered together the waters that flowed *there* into pools, and made them straightway clean, and commanded them by his word alone. 2 And having made soft clay, he fashioned thereof twelve sparrows. And it was the sabbath when he did these things (*or* made them). And there were also many other little children playing with him.

3 And a certain Jew when he saw what Jesus did, playing upon the sabbath day, departed straightway and told his father Joseph: Lo, thy child is at the brook, and he hath taken clay and fashioned twelve little birds, and hath polluted the sabbath day. 4 And Joseph came to the place and saw: and cried out to him, saying: Wherefore doest thou these things on the sabbath, which it is not lawful to do? But Jesus clapped his hands together and cried out to the sparrows and said to them: Go! and the sparrows took their flight and went away chirping. 5 And when the Jews saw it they were amazed, and departed and told their chief men that which they had seen Jesus do.

¹ Peeters is convinced that our Greek and Latin texts are all derived from Syriac.

III. 1 But the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph; and he took a branch of a willow and dispersed the waters which Jesus had gathered together. 2 And when Jesus saw what was done, he was wroth and said unto him: O evil, ungodly, and foolish one, what hurt did the pools and the waters do thee? behold, now also thou shalt be withered like a tree, and shalt not bear leaves, neither root, nor fruit. 3 And straightway that lad withered up wholly, but Jesus departed and went unto Joseph's house. But the parents of him that was withered took him up, bewailing his youth, and brought him to Joseph, and accused him 'for that thou hast such a child which doeth such deeds'.

IV. 1 After that again he went through the village, and a child ran and dashed against his shoulder. And Jesus was provoked and said unto him: Thou shalt not finish thy course (*lit.* go all thy way). And immediately he fell down and died. But certain when they saw what was done said: Whence was this young child born, for that every word of his is an accomplished work? And the parents of him that was dead came unto Joseph, and blamed him, saying: Thou that hast such a child canst not dwell with us in the village: or do thou teach him to bless and not to curse: for he slayeth our children.

V. 1 And Joseph called the young child apart and admonished him, saying: Wherefore doest thou such things, that these suffer and hate us and persecute us? But Jesus said: I know that these thy words are not thine: nevertheless for thy sake I will hold my peace: but they shall bear their punishment. And straightway they that accused him were smitten with blindness. 2 And they that saw it were sore afraid and perplexed, and said concerning him that every word which he spake, whether it were good or bad, was a deed, and became a marvel. And when they (he?) saw that Jesus had so done, Joseph arose and took hold upon his ear and wrung it sore. 3 And the young child was wroth and said unto him: It sufficeth thee (*or* them) to seek and not to find, and verily thou hast done unwisely: knowest thou not that I am thine? vex me not.

VI. 1 Now a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, stood there, and he heard in part when Jesus said these things to his father, and he marvelled greatly that being a young child he spake such matters. 2 And after a few days he came near unto Joseph and said unto him: Thou hast a wise child, and he hath understanding. Come, deliver him to me that he may learn letters. And I will teach him with the letters all knowledge, and that he salute all the elders and honour them as grandfathers and fathers, and love them of his own years. 3 And he told him all the letters from Alpha even to Omega clearly, with much questioning. But Jesus looked upon Zacchaeus the teacher and saith unto him: Thou that knowest not the Alpha

according to its nature, how canst thou teach others the Beta? thou hypocrite, first, if thou knowest it, teach the Alpha, and then will we believe thee concerning the Beta. Then began he to confound the mouth of the teacher concerning the first letter, and he could not prevail to answer him. 4 And in the hearing of many the young child saith to Zacchaeus: Hear, O teacher, the ordinance of the first letter and pay heed to this, how that it hath *[what follows is really unintelligible in this and in all the parallel texts: a literal version would run somewhat thus: how that it hath lines, and a middle mark, which thou seest, common to both, going apart; coming together, raised up on high, dancing (a corrupt word), of three signs, like in kind (a corrupt word), balanced, equal in measure]*: thou hast the rules of the Alpha.

VII. 1 Now when Zacchaeus the teacher heard such and so many allegories of the first letter spoken by the young child, he was perplexed at his answer and his instruction being so great, and said to them that were there: Woe is me, wretch that I am, I am confounded: I have brought shame to myself by drawing to me this young child. 2 Take him away, therefore, I beseech thee, my brother Joseph: I cannot endure the severity of his look, I cannot once make clear my (or his) word. This young child is not earthly born: this is one that can tame even fire: belike this is one begotten before the making of the world. What belly bare this, what womb nurtured it? I know not. Woe is me, O my friend, he putteth me from my sense, I cannot follow his understanding. I have deceived myself, thrice wretched man that I am: I strove to get me a disciple and I am found to have a master. 3 I think, O my friends, upon my shame, for that being old I have been overcome by a young child; and I am even ready to faint and to die because of the boy, for I am not able at this present hour to look him in the face. And when all men say that I have been overcome by a little child, what have I to say? and what can I tell concerning the lines of the first letter whereof he spake to me? I am ignorant, O my friends, for neither beginning nor end of it (or him) do I know. 4 Wherefore I beseech thee, my brother Joseph, take him away unto thine house: for he is somewhat great, whether god or angel or what I should call him, I know not.

VIII. 1 And as the Jews were counselling Zacchaeus, the young child laughed greatly and said: Now let those bear fruit that were barren (*Gr.* that are thine) and let them see that were blind in heart. I am come from above that I may curse them, and call them to the things that are above, even as he commanded which hath sent me for your sakes. 2 And when the young child ceased speaking, immediately all they were made whole which had come under his curse. And no man after that durst provoke him, lest he should curse him, and he should be maimed.

IX. 1 Now after certain days Jesus was playing in the upper story of a certain house, and one of the young children that played with him fell down from the house and died. And the other children when they saw it fled, and Jesus remained alone. 2 And the parents of him that was dead came and accused him that he had cast him down. (And Jesus said: I did not cast him down) but they reviled him still. 3 Then Jesus leaped down from the roof and stood by the body of the child and cried with a loud voice and said: Zeno (for so was his name called), arise and tell me, did I cast thee down? And straightway he arose and said: Nay, Lord, thou didst not cast me down, but didst raise me up. And when they saw it they were amazed: and the parents of the child glorified God for the sign which had come to pass, and worshipped Jesus.

X. 1 After a few days, a certain young man was cleaving wood in the neighbourhood (*MSS.* corner), and the axe fell and cut in sunder the sole of his foot, and losing much blood he was at the point to die. 2 And when there was a tumult and concourse, the young child Jesus also ran thither, and by force passed through the multitude, and took hold upon the foot of the young man that was smitten, and straightway it was healed. And he said unto the young man: Arise now and cleave the wood, and remember me. But when the multitude saw what was done they worshipped the young child, saying: Verily the spirit of God dwelleth in this young child.

XI. 1 Now when he was six years old, his mother sendeth him to draw water and bear it into the house, and gave him a pitcher: but in the press he struck it *against another* and the pitcher was broken. 2 But Jesus spread out the garment which was upon him and filled it with water and brought it to his mother. And when his mother saw what was done she kissed him; and she kept within herself the mysteries which she saw him do.

XII. 1 Again, in the time of sowing the young child went forth with his father to sow wheat in their land: and as his father sowed, the young child Jesus sowed also one corn of wheat. 2 And he reaped it and threshed it and made thereof an hundred measures (*cors*): and he called all the poor of the village unto the threshing-floor and gave them the wheat. And Joseph took the residue of the wheat. And he was eight years old when he wrought this sign.

XIII. 1 Now his father was a carpenter and made at that time ploughs and yokes. And there was required of him a bed by a certain rich man, that he should make it for him. And whereas one beam, that which is called the shifting one, was too short, and *Joseph* knew not what to do, the young child Jesus said to his father Joseph: Lay down the two pieces of wood and make them even at the end next unto thee (*MSS.* at the middle part).

And Joseph did as the young child said unto him. And Jesus stood at the other end and took hold upon the shorter beam and stretched it and made it equal with the other. And his father Joseph saw it and marvelled: and he embraced the young child and kissed him, saying: Happy am I for that God hath given me this young child.

XIV. 1 But when Joseph saw the understanding of the child, and his age, that it was coming to the full, he thought with himself again that he should not be ignorant of letters; and he took him and delivered him to another teacher. And the teacher said unto Joseph: First will I teach him the Greek letters, and after that the Hebrew. For the teacher knew the skill of the child and was afraid of him: notwithstanding he wrote the alphabet and *Jesus* pondered thereon a long time¹ and answered him not. 2 And Jesus said to him: If thou be indeed a teacher, and if thou knowest letters well, tell me the power of the Alpha, and then will I tell thee the power of the Beta. And the teacher was provoked and smote him on the head. And the young child was hurt and cursed him, and straightway he fainted and fell to the ground on his face. 3 And the child returned unto the house of Joseph: and Joseph was grieved and commanded his mother, saying: Let him not forth without the door, for all they die that provoke him to wrath.

XV. 1 And after some time yet another teacher which was a faithful friend of Joseph said to him: Bring the young child unto me to the school; peradventure I may be able by cockering him to teach him the letters. And Joseph said: If thou hast no fear, my brother, take him with thee. And he took him with him, in fear and much trouble of spirit, but the young child followed him gladly. 2 And going with boldness into the school he found a book lying upon the pulpit and he took it, and read not the letters that were therein, but opened his mouth and spake by the Holy Spirit, and taught the law to them that stood by. And a great multitude came together and stood there hearkening, and marvelled at the beauty of his teaching and the readiness of his words, in that being an infant he uttered such things. 3 But when Joseph heard it, he was afraid, and ran unto the school, thinking whether this teacher also were without skill (or smitten with infirmity): but the teacher said unto Joseph: Know, my brother, that I received this child for a disciple, but he is full of grace and wisdom; and now I beseech thee, brother, take him unto thine house. 4 And when the young child heard that, he smiled upon him and said: Forasmuch as thou hast said well, and hast borne right witness, for thy sake shall he also that was smitten be healed. And forthwith the other teacher was healed. And Joseph took the young child and departed unto his house.

XVI. 1 And Joseph sent his son James to bind fuel and carry

¹ Probably 'repeated it to him (Jesus) many times', as *Syr.*

it into his house. And the young child Jesus also followed him. And as James was gathering of faggots, a viper bit the hand of James. 2 And as he was sore afflicted and ready to perish, Jesus came near and breathed upon the bite, and straightway the pain ceased, and the serpent burst, and forthwith James continued whole.

XVII. 1 And after these things, in the neighbourhood of Joseph, a little child fell sick and died, and his mother wept sore. And Jesus heard that there was great mourning and trouble, and he ran quickly and found the child dead: and he touched his breast and said: I say unto thee, Child, die not, but live and be with thy mother. And straightway it looked up and laughed. And he said to the woman: Take him up and give him milk, and remember me. 2 And the multitude that stood by saw it and marvelled, and said: Of a truth this young child is either a god or an angel of God; for every word of his is a perfect work. And Jesus departed thence, and was playing with other children.

XVIII. 1 And after some time there was work of building. And there came a great tumult, and Jesus arose and went thither: and he saw a man lying dead, and took hold of his hand and said: Man, I say unto thee, arise and do thy work. And immediately he arose and worshipped him. 2 And when the multitude saw it, they were astonished, and said: This young child is from heaven: for he hath saved many souls from death, and hath power to save them all his life long.

XIX. 1 And when he was twelve years old his parents went according to the custom unto Jerusalem to the feast of the passover with their company: and after the passover they returned to go unto their house. And as they returned the child Jesus went back to Jerusalem; but his parents supposed that he was in their company. 2 And when they had gone a day's journey, they sought him among their kinsfolk, and when they found him not, they were troubled, and returned again to the city seeking him. And after the third day they found him in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors and hearing and asking them *questions*. And all men paid heed to him and marvelled how that being a young child he put to silence the elders and teachers of the people, expounding the heads of the law and the parables of the prophets. 3 And his mother Mary came near and said unto him: Child, wherefore hast thou so done unto us? behold we have sought thee sorrowing. And Jesus said unto them: Why seek ye me? know ye not that I must be in my Father's house? 4 But the scribes and Pharisees said: Art thou the mother of this child? and she said: I am. And they said unto her: Blessed art thou among women, because God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb. For such glory and such excellence and wisdom we have neither seen nor heard at any time.

5 And Jesus arose and followed his mother and was subject unto his parents: but his mother kept *in mind* all that came to pass. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and grace. Unto him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

GREEK TEXT B

The Writing of the holy Apostle Thomas concerning the conversation of the Lord in his childhood.

I. I, Thomas the Israelite, have thought it needful to make known unto all the brethren that are of the Gentiles the mighty works of childhood which our Lord Jesus Christ wrought when he was conversant in the body, and came unto the city of Nazareth in the fifth year of his age.

II. 1 On a certain day when there had fallen a shower of rain he went forth of the house where his mother was and played upon the ground where the waters were running: and he made pools, and the waters flowed down, and the pools were filled with water. Then saith he: I will that ye become clean and wholesome waters. And straightway they did so. 2 But a certain son of Annas the scribe passed by bearing a branch of willow, and he overthrew the pools with the branch, and the waters were poured out. And Jesus turned about and said unto him: O ungodly and disobedient one, what hurt have the pools done thee that thou hast emptied them? Thou shalt not finish thy course, and thou shalt be withered up even as the branch which thou hast in hand. 3 And he went on, and after a little he fell and gave up the ghost. And when the young children that played with him saw it, they marvelled and departed and told the father of him that was dead. And he ran and found the child dead, and went and accused Joseph.

III. 1 Now Jesus made of that clay twelve sparrows: and it was the sabbath day. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying: Behold, thy child playeth about the brook, and hath made sparrows of the clay, which is not lawful. 2 And he when he heard it went and said to the child: Wherefore doest thou so and profaneth the sabbath? But Jesus answered him not, but looked upon the sparrows and said: Go ye, take your flight, and remember me in your life. And at the word they took flight and went up into the air. And when Joseph saw it he was astonished.

IV. 1 And after certain days, as Jesus passed through the midst of the city, a certain child cast a stone at him and smote his shoulder. And Jesus said unto him: Thou shalt not finish thy course. And straightway he also fell down and died. And they that were there were amazed, saying: From whence is this child, that every word which he speaketh cometh a perfect

work? 2 But they also departed and accused Joseph, saying: Thou wilt not be able to dwell with us in this city: but if thou wilt, teach thy child to bless and not to curse: for verily he slayeth our children: and every thing that he saith becometh a perfect work.

V. And as Joseph sat upon his seat, the child stood before him; and he took hold upon his ear and pinched it sore. But Jesus looked upon him earnestly and said: It sufficeth thee.

VI. 1 And on the morrow he took him by the hand and led him to a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, and said unto him: Take this child, O master, and teach him letters. And the other said: Deliver him unto me, my brother, and I will teach him the scripture, and I will persuade him to bless all men and not to curse them. 2 And when Jesus heard that he laughed and said unto them: Ye speak that ye know, but I have knowledge more than you, for I am before the worlds. And I know when the fathers of your fathers were begotten, and I know how many are the years of your life. And every one that heard it was amazed. 3 And again saith Jesus unto them: Marvel ye because I said unto you that I know how many are the years of your life? Of a truth I know when the world was created. Behold, now ye believe me not: when ye shall see my cross, then will ye believe that I speak truth. And they were astonished when they heard all these things.

VII. 1 Now Zacchaeus wrote the alphabet in Hebrew, and saith unto him: Alpha. And the young child said: Alpha. And again the master said: Alpha, and the young child likewise. Then again the third time the master said: Alpha. Then Jesus looked upon the teacher and said: Thou that knowest not the Alpha, how canst thou teach another the Beta? And the child beginning at the Alpha said of his own accord the two and twenty letters. 2 And thereafter saith he: Hear, O master, the ordinance of the first letter, and know how many incomings and lines it hath, and marks, common, going apart, and coming together. And when Zacchaeus heard such designations of the one letter he was amazed and had nothing to answer; and turning about he said unto Joseph: My brother, this child is of a truth not earthly born: take him away therefore from me.

VIII. 1 And after these things one day Jesus was playing with other boys upon the top of an house of two stories. And one child was pushed down by another and thrown down to the ground and died. And the boys which were playing with him, when they saw it, fled, and Jesus was left alone standing upon the roof whence the boy was thrown down. 2 And when the parents of the boy that was dead heard of it they ran weeping, and when they found the boy lying dead upon the earth and Jesus standing alone, they supposed that the boy had been

thrown down by him, and they looked upon him and reviled him. 3 But Jesus, seeing that, leaped down straightway from the upper story and stood at the head of him that was dead and saith to him: Zeno, did I cast thee down? Arise and tell. For so was the boy called. And with the word the boy rose up and worshipped Jesus and said: Lord, thou didst not cast me down, but when I was dead thou didst make me alive.

IX. 1 And a few days after one of the neighbours was cleaving wood and did cut off the sole of his foot with the axe, and by loss of blood was at the point to die. 2 And much people ran together and Jesus came thither with them. 3 And he took hold on the foot of the young man that was smitten, and healed him forthwith, and saith unto him: Arise, cleave thy wood. And he arose and worshipped him, giving thanks, and cleft the wood. Likewise also all they that were there marvelled and gave thanks unto him.

X. Now when he was six years old, Mary his mother sent him to fetch water from the spring: and as he went his pitcher was broken. And he went to the spring and spread out his upper garment and drew water out of the spring and filled it and took it and brought back the water to his mother. And she, when she saw it, was amazed and embraced him and kissed him.

XI. 1 And when he came to the eighth year of his age Joseph was required by a certain rich man to build him a bed, for he was a carpenter. And he went forth into the field to gather wood, and Jesus also went with him. And he cut two beams of wood and wrought them with the axe, and set one beside the other and measured and found it too short; and when he saw that he was vexed and sought to find another. 2 But Jesus seeing it saith unto him: Set these two together so that the ends of both be even. And Joseph, though he was perplexed concerning this, what the child should mean, did that which was commanded. And he saith again unto him: Take firm hold of the short beam. And Joseph took hold on it, marvelling. Then Jesus also took hold of the other end and pulled the [other] end thereof and made it also equal to the other beam, and saith unto Joseph: Be no more vexed, but do thy work without hindrance. And he when he saw it was exceedingly amazed, and said within himself: Blessed am I for that God hath given me such a son. 3 And when they departed into the city Joseph told it to Mary, and she when she heard and saw the wonderful mighty works of her son rejoiced, glorifying him.

with the Father and the Holy Spirit now and for ever and world without end. Amen.

LATIN TEXT

Here beginneth a treatise of the Boyhood of Jesus according to Thomas.

I. *How Mary and Joseph fled with him into Egypt.*

When there was a tumult because search was made by Herod for our Lord Jesus Christ, that he might slay him, then said an angel unto Joseph: Take Mary and her child and flee into Egypt from the face of them that seek to slay him. Now Jesus was two years old when he entered into Egypt.

And as he walked through a sown field he put forth his hand and took of the ears and put them upon the fire and ground them and began to eat. [And he gave such favour unto that field that year by year when it was sown it yielded unto the lord of it so many measures of wheat as the number of the grains which he had taken from it.]

Now when they had entered into Egypt they took lodging in the house of a certain widow, and abode in the same place one year.

And Jesus became three years old. And seeing boys playing he began to play with them. And he took a dried fish and put it into a bason and commanded it to move to and fro, and it began to move. And again he said to the fish: Cast out thy salt that is in thee and go into the water. And it came to pass. But when the neighbours saw what was done they told it to the widow woman in whose house his mother Mary dwelt. And she when she heard it hastened and cast them out of her house.

II. *How a Master cast him out of the city.*

1 And as Jesus walked with Mary his mother through the midst of the market-place of the city, he looked about and saw a master teaching his pupils. And behold twelve sparrows which were quarrelling one with another fell from the wall into the lap of the master who taught the boys. And when Jesus saw it he laughed and stood still. 2 Now when that teacher saw him laughing, he said to his pupils in great anger: Go, bring him hither unto me. And when they had brought him, the master took hold on his ear and said: What sawest thou that thou didst laugh? And he said unto him: Master, see, my hand is full of corn, and I shewed it unto them, and scattered the corn, which they are carrying away † in danger ‡: for for this cause they fought with one another that they might partake of the corn. 3 And Jesus left not the place until it was accomplished.

And for this cause the master laboured to cast him out of the city together with his mother.

III. *How Jesus came out of Egypt.*

1 And behold, an angel of the Lord met with Mary and said unto her: Take the child and return into the land of the Jews: for they are dead which sought his life. So Mary arose with Jesus, and they went into the city Nazareth, which is in the inheritance of his (her?) father. 2 But when Joseph departed out of Egypt after the death of Herod, he took *Jesus* into the wilderness until there was quiet in Jerusalem from them that sought the life of the child.

And he gave thanks to God for that he had given him understanding, and because he had found grace before the Lord God. Amen.

or, And Mary arose with Jesus, and they went unto the city of Capernaum which is of Tiberias, unto the inheritance of her father. 2 But when Joseph heard that Jesus was come out of Egypt after the death of Herod, he took him, &c.

or, After these things an angel of the Lord came unto Joseph and unto Mary the mother of Jesus and said unto them: Take the child, return into the land of Israel, for they are dead that sought the life of the child. And they arose and went to Nazareth where Joseph possessed the goods of his father. 2 And when Jesus was seven years old, there was quiet in the realm of Herod from all them that sought the life of the child. And they returned unto Bethlehem and abode there.

IV. *What Jesus did in the city of Nazareth.*

It is a glorious *work* for Thomas the Israelite (Ismaelite) the apostle of the Lord to tell of the works of Jesus after he came out of Egypt unto Nazareth. Hear (understand) therefore all of you, beloved brethren, the signs which the Lord Jesus did when he was in the city of Nazareth: as it is said in the first chapter.

1 Now when Jesus was five years old there was a great rain upon the earth, and the child Jesus walked about therein. And the rain was very terrible: and he gathered the water together into a pool and commanded with a word that it should become clear: and forthwith it did so.

2 Again, he took of the clay which came of that pool and made thereof to the number of twelve sparrows. Now it was the sabbath day when Jesus did this among the children of the Hebrews: and the children of the Hebrews went and said unto Joseph his father: Lo, thy son was playing with us and he took clay and made sparrows which it was not right to do upon the sabbath, and he hath broken it. And Joseph went to the child Jesus, and said unto him: Wherefore hast thou done this which it was not right to do on the sabbath? But Jesus spread forth (opened) his hands and commanded the sparrows, saying: Go forth into the height and fly: ye shall not meet death at any

man's hands. And they flew and began to cry out and praise almighty God. But when the Jews saw what was done they marvelled and departed, proclaiming the signs which Jesus did.

3 But a Pharisee which was with Jesus took a branch of an olive tree and began to empty the pool which Jesus had made. And when Jesus saw it he was vexed and said to him: O thou of Sodom, ungodly and ignorant, what hurt did the fountain of water do thee, which I made? Lo, thou shalt become like a dry tree which hath neither roots nor leaf nor fruit. And straightway he was dried up and fell to the earth and died: but his parents carried him away dead and reviled Joseph, saying: Behold what thy son hath done: teach thou him to pray and not to blaspheme.

V. How the people of the city were grieved against Joseph because of that which Jesus did.

1 And after some days as Jesus walked with Joseph through the city, there ran one of the children and smote Jesus on the arms: but Jesus said unto him: So finish thou thy course. And immediately he fell to the earth and died. But they when they saw this wonder, cried out saying: From whence cometh this child? And they said unto Joseph: It is not right that such a child should be among us. And he departed and took him with him. And they said to him: Depart out of this place; and if thou must be with us, teach him to pray and not to blaspheme: for our sons are put to death *by him* (*lit. lose their senses*). 2 And Joseph called Jesus and began to admonish him, *saying*: Wherefore blasphemest thou? They that dwell in this place conceive hatred against us. But Jesus said: I know that these words are not mine but thine: yet for thy sake I will hold my peace: but let them see (? bear) their own foolishness. And straightway they that spake against Jesus were made blind, and as they walked to and fro they said: Every word that cometh out of his mouth hath fulfilment. 3 And when Joseph saw what Jesus had done he took hold on him by his ear in anger: but Jesus was vexed and said unto Joseph: It sufficeth thee to see me and not to touch me. For thou knowest not who I am, which if thou knewest, thou wouldest not grieve me. And albeit I am with thee now, yet was I made before thee.

VI. How Jesus was treated by the Master.

1 There was therefore a man named Zacheus who heard all that Jesus said unto Joseph, and he marvelled in himself and said: I have never beheld such a child that spake so. And he came near unto Joseph and said to him: Thou hast a wise child: deliver him to me to learn letters, and when he is learned in the study of the letters, I will teach him reverently that he become not foolish. Joseph answered and said unto him: No man is

able to teach him but God only. Think you that this young child will be the occasion unto us of little torment, my brother? [*There should be mention of a cross in this sentence. Syriac has, Thinkest thou that he is worthy to receive a little cross? See below.*]

2 But when Jesus heard Joseph saying these things, he said unto Zacheus: Verily, O master, all things that proceed out of my mouth are true. And I am before all men, and I am Lord, but ye are the children of strangers: for unto me is given the glory of them (*or of the worlds*) but unto you nothing is given: for I am before *all* worlds. And I know how many are the years of thy life, and when thou shalt raise that standard (*i. e. the cross*) whereof my father spake, *then shalt thou* understand that all things that proceed out of my mouth are true.

3 But the Jews which stood by and heard the words which Jesus spake, marvelled and said: *Now* have we seen such wonders and heard such words from this child, as we have never heard neither shall hear from any other man, neither from the chief priests nor the doctors nor the Pharisees. 4 Jesus answered and said unto them: Wherefore marvel ye? Do ye think it a thing incredible that I have told you the truth? I know when ye were born, and your fathers: and if I should say more unto you, I know when the world was created, and who sent me unto you.

When the Jews heard the word which the child spake, they were wroth because they were not able to answer *him*. And the child turned himself about and rejoiced and said: I spake unto you a proverb; but I know that ye are weak and know not any thing.

5 Now that master said unto Joseph: Bring him unto me and I will teach him letters. And Joseph took the child Jesus and brought him to the house [of a certain master] where other children also were taught. But the master began to teach him the letters with sweet speech, and wrote for him the first line which goeth from A unto T, and began to flatter him and to teach him (*and commanded him to say the letters:*) but the child held his peace. 6 Then that teacher smote the child on the head, and when the child received the blow, he said unto him: I ought to teach thee and not thou to teach me. I know the letters which thou wouldest teach me, and I know that ye are unto me as vessels out of which cometh nought but sound, and neither wisdom nor salvation of the soul. And beginning the line he spake all the letters from A even unto T fully with much quickness: and he looked upon the master and said: But thou knowest not how to interpret A and B: how wouldest thou teach others? Thou hypocrite, if thou knowest and canst tell me concerning A, then will I tell thee concerning B. But when the teacher began to expound concerning the first letter, he was not able to give any answer.

7 Then said Jesus unto Zacheus: Hearken unto me, O master, and understand the first letter. Give ear unto me, how that it hath two lines (*eight quite unintelligible descriptive phrases follow*).

8 Now when Zacheus saw that he so divided the first letter, he was confounded at such names, and at his teaching, and cried out and said: Woe is me, for I am confounded: I have hired shame unto myself by means of this child. And he said unto Joseph: I beseech thee earnestly, my brother, take him away from me: for I cannot look upon his face nor hear his mighty words. For this child is able to subdue the fire and to restrain the sea, for he was born before the worlds. What womb bare him or what manner of mother brought him up I know not. 10 O my friends, I am astray in my wits, I am mocked, wretched man that I am. I said that I had a disciple, but he is found to be my master. I cannot overcome my shame, for I am old, and I cannot find wherewithal to answer him, so that I am like to fall into heavy sickness and depart out of the world or go away from this city, for all men have seen my shame, that a child hath ensnared me. What can I answer any man, or what words can I speak, for he hath overcome me at the first letter! I am confounded, O ye my friends and acquaintances, and I can find neither first nor last to answer him. 11 And now I beseech thee, brother Joseph, remove him from me and take him unto thine house, for either he is a sorcerer or a god (Lord) or an angel, and what to say I know not.

12 And Jesus turned himself unto the Jews that were with Zacheus and said unto them: Now let all them that see not see, and let them understand which understand not, and let the deaf hear, and let them arise which have died by my means, and let me call them that are high unto that which is higher, even as he that sent me unto you hath commanded me. And when the child Jesus ceased speaking, all the afflicted were made whole, as many as had been afflicted at his word. And they durst not speak unto him.

VII. *How Jesus raised up a boy.*

1 Now on a day, when Jesus climbed up upon an house with the children, he began to play with them: but one of the boys fell down through the door out of the upper chamber and died straightway. And when the children saw it they fled all of them, but Jesus remained alone in the house. 2 And when the parents of the child which had died came they spake against Jesus saying: Of a truth thou madest him fall. But Jesus said: I never made him fall: nevertheless they accused him *still*. Jesus therefore came down from the house and stood over the dead child and cried with a loud voice, calling him by his name: Zeno, Zeno, arise and say if I made thee fall. And on a sudden

he arose and said: Nay, Lord. And when his parents saw this great miracle which Jesus did, they glorified God, and worshipped Jesus.

VIII. *How Jesus healed the foot of a boy.*

1 And after a few days a certain boy of that village was cleaving wood, and smote his foot. 2 And when much people came unto him, Jesus also came with them. And he touched the foot which was hurt, and forthwith it was made whole. And Jesus said unto him: Arise and cleave the wood and remember me. But when the multitude that were with him saw the signs which were done they worshipped Jesus and said: Of a truth we believe surely that thou art God.

IX. *How Jesus bare water in his cloak.*

1 And when Jesus was six years old, his mother sent him to draw water. And when Jesus was come unto the well there was much people there and they brake his pitcher. 2 But he took the cloak which he had upon him and filled it with water and brought it to Mary his mother. And when his mother saw the miracle that Jesus did she kissed him and said: Lord, hearken unto me and save my son.

X. *How Jesus sowed wheat.*

1 Now when it was seed-time, Joseph went forth to sow corn, and Jesus followed after him. And when Joseph began to sow, Jesus put forth his hand and took of the corn so much as he could hold in his hand, and scattered it. 2 Joseph therefore came at the time of harvest to reap his harvest. And Jesus also came and gathered the ears which he had sown, and they made an hundred measures of good corn: and he called the poor and the widows and fatherless and gave them the corn which he had gained, save that Joseph took a little thereof unto his house for a blessing [of Jesus].

XI. *How Jesus made a short beam even with a long one.*

1 And Jesus came to be eight years old. Now Joseph was a builder and wrought ploughs and yokes for oxen. And on a day a certain rich man said unto Joseph: Sir, make me a bed serviceable and comely. But Joseph was troubled because the beam which he had made ready for the work was short. 2 Jesus said unto him: Be not troubled, but take thou hold of this beam by the one end and I by the other, and let us draw it out. And so it came to pass, and forthwith Joseph found it serviceable for that which he desired. And he said unto Joseph: Behold, fashion that thou wilt. But Joseph when he saw what was done embraced him and said: Blessed am I for that God hath given me such a son.

XII. *How Jesus was delivered over to learn letters.*

1 And when Joseph saw that he had so great grace and that he increased in stature, he thought to deliver him over to learn letters. And he delivered him to another doctor that he should teach him. Then said that doctor unto Joseph: What manner of letters wouldest thou teach this child? Joseph answered and said: Teach him first the letters of the Gentiles and after that the Hebrew. Now the doctor knew that he was of an excellent understanding, and received him gladly. And when he had written for him the first line, that is to say A and B, he taught him for the space of some hours: but Jesus held his peace and answered nothing. 2 At the last Jesus said unto the master: If thou be verily a master, and indeed knowest the letters, tell me the power of A and I will tell thee the power of B. Then was the master filled with indignation and smote him on the head. But Jesus was wroth and cursed him, and on a sudden he fell down and died. 3 But Jesus returned unto his own home. And Joseph enjoined Mary his mother that she should not let him go out of the court of the house.

XIII. *How he was delivered unto another master.*

1 After many days there came another doctor which was a friend of Joseph and said unto him: Deliver him to me and I will teach him letters with much gentleness. And Joseph said unto him: If thou art able, take him and teach him, and it shall be done gladly. And when the doctor received *Jesus*, he went with fear and great *boldness* and took him rejoicing. 2 And when he was come unto the house of the doctor, he found a book lying in that place and took it and opened it, and read not those things which were written therein, but opened his mouth and spake by the Holy Ghost and taught the law: and all that stood by hearkened attentively, and the teacher sat by him and heard him gladly and entreated him to continue teaching. And much people gathered together and heard all the holy doctrine which he taught and the beloved words which proceeded out of his mouth, *marvelling* that he being a little child spake such things.

3 But when Joseph heard, he was afraid and ran unto the place where Jesus was; and the master said unto Joseph: Know, my brother, that I received thy child to teach him and instruct him, but he is filled with great grace and wisdom. *Therefore* behold now, take him unto thy house with joy, because the grace which he hath is given him of the Lord. 4 And when Jesus heard the master speak thus he was joyful and said: Lo, now thou hast well said, O master: for thy sake shall he rise again who was dead. And Joseph took him unto his own home.

XIV. *How Jesus made James whole of the bite of a serpent.*

Now Joseph sent James to gather straw, and Jesus followed after him. And as James gathered straw, a viper bit him and he fell to the earth as dead by means of the venom. But when Jesus saw that, he breathed upon his wound and forthwith James was made whole, and the viper died.

XV. *How Jesus raised up a boy.*

After a few days a child that was his neighbour died, and his mother mourned for him sore; and when Jesus heard, he went and stood over the child, and smote him on the breast and said: Child, I say unto thee, die not, but live. And immediately the child arose: and Jesus said unto the mother of the child: Take up thy son and give him suck, and remember me. 2 But the multitudes when they saw that miracle said: Of a truth this child is from heaven; for now hath he set free many souls from death and hath saved all them that hoped in him.

[A gap in all the Latin MSS. filled by the Greek text A, cap. 19, 1-3
Jesus and the doctors in the Temple.]

3 The Scribes and Pharisees said unto Mary: Art thou the mother of this child? and Mary said: Of a truth I am. And they said unto her: Blessed art thou among women, because God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb in that he hath given thee a child so glorious: for so great gifts of wisdom we have never seen nor heard in any.

4 And Jesus arose and followed his mother. But Mary kept in her heart all the great signs which Jesus wrought among the people, in healing many that were sick.

And Jesus increased in stature and wisdom, and all that saw him glorified God the Father Almighty: Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

All these things have I, Thomas the Israelite (Ismaelite), written and recorded for the Gentiles and for our brethren, and likewise many other things which Jesus did, which was born in the land of Juda. Behold, the house of Israel hath seen all these from the first even unto the last, even how great signs and wonders Jesus did among them, which were good exceedingly. And this is he which shall judge the world according to the will of his Father, immortal and invisible¹, as the holy Scripture declareth and as the prophets have testified of his works among all the peoples of Israel: for he is the Son of God throughout all the world. And unto him belongeth all glory and honour everlastingly, who liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen.

¹ The text is corrupt here: I have tried to mend it.

APPENDIX I

From the *Pistis Sophia*.

The Gnostic book called *Pistis Sophia* (see Introd.) contains a characteristic account of an incident of the Infancy. It may be compared with the Hymn of the Soul in the Acts of Thomas. The book in which it occurs is of the third century.

C. Schmidt's version, p. 77. Mary answered and said: . . . Thy Power prophesied through David: Grace and Truth are met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth hath flourished out of the earth, and Righteousness hath looked down from heaven. Thus did thy Power prophesy once concerning thee. When thou wast little, before the Spirit came upon thee, the Spirit came from the height whilst thou wast in a vineyard with Joseph, and came unto me in mine house in thy likeness, and I knew it not, and I thought that it was thou. And the Spirit said unto me: Where is Jesus my brother, that I may meet with him? And when it spake thus unto me, I was in perplexity, and thought that it was a phantom *come* to tempt me. I took it therefore and bound it to the foot of the bed that was in mine house, until I should go forth unto thee and Joseph in the field and find you in the vineyard, where Joseph was staking the vineyard. It came to pass then, that when thou heardest me tell the matter unto Joseph, thou understoodst the matter, and didst rejoice, and say: Where is he, that I may behold him? otherwise I will tarry for him in this place. And it came to pass, when Joseph heard thee speak these words, he was troubled: and we went together and entered into the house and found the Spirit bound to the bed. And we looked upon thee and upon it, and found that thou wert like unto him: and he that was bound to the bed was loosed, and embraced thee and kissed thee, and thou also kissedst him, and ye became one.

Mary goes on to expound the application of the passage she had quoted from the Psalm.

APPENDIX II

I. *Miracle of the Dyer.*

In a Paris manuscript (gr. 239) of the Gospel of Thomas a fragment of this story is contained in Greek (Tisch., p. 148 n.). It occurs in no other Greek or Latin manuscript of Thomas. But in the Milan Ambrosian MS. L. 58 *sup.*, edited in facsimile by Ceriani for Gibson Craig (1873, *Canonical Histories and Apocryphal Legends*), it occurs in Latin on p. 12, being the first miracle after the Return from Egypt. It is also told in the Arabic Gospel, ch. 38, and, at great length, in the Armenian (ch. xxi, Peeters, p. 232-46). Thilo quotes a Moham-medan version (p. 150), and shows that the tale was current in Persia. There seems little doubt that it stood in the completer texts of the

Gospel of Thomas. It is found in the mediaeval French and English Histories of the Infancy, and doubtless in other vernacular versions. I give a rendering from the Milan MS.

It came to pass on a day that the blessed Virgin Mary went unto the house of a certain neighbour of hers which was of the craft of a dyer. And the child Jesus, her glorious son, followed her as is the wont of boys to follow their mothers. Now while the Virgin Mary spake with the man unto whom she had come, the child Jesus went unto the place wherein that man was wont to practise his trade, and found there divers vessels containing several dyes; and likewise he found divers cloths belonging to many men, which those men had given to be dyed. All the which cloths the child took and wrapped them together and sunk all of them in a vessel wherein was only a black dye.

Now when this thing which he had done came to the knowledge of that man, he began to be sore vexed and to complain greatly against the mother of Jesus. And he said to his mother: Alas! behold what thy son hath done: he hath brought all my labour to nought. But know thou this for certain, that the child shall not be let go by me till the damage that he hath done be made good. But the mother of Jesus when she heard these things from the man began to say unto her son: My beloved son, what hast thou done? wherefore hast thou done this? for I hoped that I should have great joy of thee: for I know how I had thee (=received thee?). But thou, whereas thou oughtest to make *me* glad in all things, as thou hast done alway, now contrariwise makest *me* sad. The child Jesus answered his mother (and said: Wherein have I grieved thee?). The blessed virgin said unto him: See, thou hast destroyed all the labour of this man. But Jesus said unto her: How have I destroyed it? His mother answered and said unto him: Because, whereas he had the cloths from many men to give to each one of their cloths a several dye, thou hast made of all of them a dye of one colour. Now, therefore, I must amend that which thou hast done. But the beautiful child Jesus when he heard that came near to the vessel wherein he had cast the cloths, and according to the will of the master he drew thereout every cloth dyed of a several colour and gave them unto the man.

And when that man saw it, together with the mother of the Lord, he glorified the child, and they had him in great admiration. But the virgin, the mother of the Lord, embraced her son in her arms and kissed him, and so being filled with great joy returned to her house with Christ her son.

II. *Miracle of the Children in the Oven.*

This does not occur in known Greek or Latin texts, but is in the Arabic Gospel (ch. 40), the Syriac *History* (Budge), and also in the French and English mediaeval versions (in which the children are

changed into pigs). Most probably the occurrence in both East and West means that the story formed part of the text that lies behind all the versions. I quote Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's rendering of the Syriac (*History of the Virgin*, p. 76).

And it came to pass that Jesus went out one day and saw a company of children playing together, and he went after them, but they fled before him and went into a furnace (*al. cellar*). And Jesus came after them and stood by the door and said unto the women who were sitting there: Where are the children who came in here before me? And the women said unto Jesus: No children came here. Then Jesus said unto them: Then what are the beings that are inside the house? And the women said unto him: They are goats. And Jesus said unto them: Let the goats which are in the furnace go out to their shepherds. And there came forth from the furnace goats which leaped round about Jesus and skipped joyfully. And when the women had seen what had taken place, they wondered, and great fear laid hold upon them. Then the women rose up and did homage unto Jesus, and they made supplication unto him, saying: O Jesus, thou son of Mary, thou good shepherd of Israel, have compassion upon thine handmaidens; for thou didst come to heal and not to destroy. And Jesus answered and said unto them: Verily the children of Israel are like unto the black folk among the natives, for the black ones seize the outer side of the flock and harass their shepherd: even thus are the people of Israel. Then the women said unto him: Thy disciples could never hide themselves away from thee, and they could never harass thee, for they perform thy will and they fulfil thy commandments. [*Arab.* Lord, thou knowest all things and nothing is hid from thee. Now we pray thee and ask of thy goodness that thou wouldest restore unto these children thy servants their former state.] And Jesus gave the word of command and said unto the goats: Come, O ye children, my playfellows, and let us play together. And straightway whilst these women were looking on, they were changed from the similitude of goats and became children again. And they went after Jesus. And from that day the children were not able to flee from Jesus; and their parents admonished them saying: See that ye do everything that Jesus the son of Mary commandeth you to do.

III. *The Boy in the Tower.*

It is more doubtful whether this story belongs to the old stock. It occurs in the mediaeval vernaculars, and may probably be discovered in some Latin text at least. I quote one of the English metrical versions (MS. Harley 3954, ed. Horstmann, *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden*, 1878, p. 108). The spelling is slightly simplified.

1. 531. A Rygh man was in that cete (city)
 That to Jhesu had envye,
 Josep fader, Braudyn hyth he,
 Ouer his sone he made maystrye.
 He seyde: my sone, thou were me dere,
 Now thou dost ayen my wylle
 To ben with Jhesu, of hym to lere—
 Thou were wel betre to ben styll.
- For hys loue thou xalt (shalt) be kept
 In a tour of lym and stone,
 Hys loue thou xalt abyin (rue), Josep,
 Ne geynyt the no betre won.
 To the xal noman komyn ne lep:
 Ther myth thou cry & kalle alon
 That noman of the xal takyn kep,
 Ne for onys to her thi bon.
 I suere by God adonay
 Lyth ther thou xalt non haue:
 Lud thou cry wellaway,
 Non helpe geynyt the to craue.
- Jhesu, that hath the thus shent
 Out of presoun xal the not bryng
 Be (By) no maner of sharment (charm)
 That he kan of rede & synge.
 Josep seyde anon ryth:
 'Fader, thou myth done thi wyl,
 Jhesu is ful of mekyl myth,
 He wyl not suffre me to spyle.'
 Josep left in that prisoun,
 The dorys weryn lokyn faste;
 Ther lay Josep al alon,
 To hym kam Jhesu ryth in haste
- 'Josep, felaw,' qwath Jhesu,
 'For my loue thou lyst here,
 Thou xalt se more of my vertu,
 For so I wyl, my leue fere.'
 Jhesu fond a lytyl bore (hole)
 And bad Josep hys fynger take:
 Heyl & sond as he was core
 He kam out withoutyn wrake.
 Euer with Jhesu he wold be;
 Nothyng myth hym lette:
 Euer was Jhesu hym so fre,
 For hys felaw he hym fette.

In some versions the father, returning and finding the tower empty,
 is struck blind. The names in the English version, Joseph and

Braudyn, are probably the versifier's invention. Both the *Infancies* printed by Horstmann contain many such names, which do not occur elsewhere.

Other miracles which find a place in the vernacular versions or in the *Vita Rhythmica* (see p. 82) are: Jesus slides on a sunbeam, and other boys attempting this fall and are hurt, and cured; he hangs his pitcher on a sunbeam, other boys' pitchers are (similarly) broken and mended; he brings bitter herbs to Mary and sweetens them by putting flour in the pot; a lion carries off a shepherd's boy and is made to bring him back; he finds a hunter killed by a snake and raises him; he cures one who had swallowed a viper in his sleep.

THE LIBER DE INFANTIA, OR GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW

I do not propose to include a full version of this book in the present collection. Influential as it was in the later mediaeval period, all or nearly all the contents have already been given in the Protevangelium and Gospel of Thomas. But a full account and analysis will not be out of place.

It is a Latin compilation, possibly as old as the eighth or ninth century, though no manuscript earlier than the eleventh has been hitherto brought to light. It was used by Hrosvita, Abbess of Gandersheim, in her poems in the tenth century.

The two main sources are the Protevangelium and the Gospel of Thomas, but some few episodes are not to be found in either. These will be pointed out in the analysis.

By way of introducing it to the world under good auspices the compiler (probably) provided it with credentials in the shape of pretended letters to and from St. Jerome. These are also commonly found prefixed to the 'Story of the Birth of Mary' of which something will be said later. But as Dr. Amann, following Tischendorf, rightly says, the letters apply better to our present text than to the other. They allude to the 'Infancy of Christ', and the *Birth of Mary* stops short at the Nativity.

The letters run as follows:

To their most beloved brother Jerome the presbyter, Cromatius and Heliodorus, bishops, send greeting in the Lord.

We have found in *certain* apocryphal books the birth of the Virgin Mary and the infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherein noticing many passages contrary to our faith, we judge that the whole should be rejected, lest on the pretext of Christ we should afford triumph to antichrist. So while we were considering the matter, there came to us the holy men Parmenius and Virinus, who told us that your holiness had found a Hebrew book written by the hand of the most blessed evangelist Matthew, in which both the birth of the Virgin mother and the infancy of our Saviour were recorded. And therefore we entreat your

charity, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, and beg you to give it from the Hebrew to Latin ears, not so much in order to ascertain the wonderful works of Christ as to counteract the guile of heretics, who in order to establish their evil teaching have mingled their own lies with the wholesome nativity of Christ, so to disguise the bitterness of death under the sweetness of life. It will therefore be of the purest charity on your part either to hearken to us as brothers who beseech you, or to pay to us, as bishops who beg for it, that debt of charity which you shall think fit. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for us.

To the holy and most blessed lords Cromatius and Heliodorus, bishops, Jerome the little servant of Christ sends greeting in the Lord.

He who digs in earth which conceals gold does not at once snatch whatever the ragged trench may throw up: but before the stroke of the iron he wields brings up the shining mass, he ever and anon pauses in turning over the turfs, and feeds himself with hope, while as yet he is not enriched with gain. It is a heavy task that you lay upon me when I am ordered by your blessedness to do what not even Saint Matthew the apostle and evangelist would have to be written openly. For had it not been somewhat secret, he would no doubt have added it to the Gospel which he published. But in fact he composed this book to be locked up in Hebrew letters, and so far refrained from publishing it that even now the book, written in Hebrew letters with his own hand, is kept by *certain* religious men who have received it from their predecessors through a long course of time. Now whereas they have never delivered this book to any one to be translated, but have revealed its contents (text) at various times, it has come about that the book, published by a disciple of Manichaeus named Leucius (who also composed the Acts of the Apostles in false words), has afforded matter not for edification but destruction, and has been proved in a synod to be such that the ears of the church should properly be closed to it.

Now let there be an end to the bites of barking critics, for we are not adding this book to the canonical scriptures, but are translating the writing of an apostle and evangelist to unmask the deceit of heresy: and in so doing we are alike obeying the command of pious bishops and blocking the way of impious heretics. It is, then, the love of Christ to which we are rendering service, in the belief that they will help us with their prayers who by means of our compliance have been able to attain *the knowledge of* the holy infancy of our Saviour.

A third letter, ostensibly from St. Jerome to the same bishops, is prefixed sometimes to the story of the Birth of Mary.

You ask me to write you my opinion of a book which some have concerning the Birth of Saint Mary. So I would have you

know that much that is false is found in it. For a certain Seleucus (= Leucius *above*), who wrote the Passions of the Apostles, composed this book also. But just as he told the truth about their mighty deeds and the miracles done by them, but lied much concerning their doctrine, so here also he forged much that is untrue, of his own heart. On this account I shall be careful to translate it word for word as it is in the Hebrew, inasmuch as it appears that the holy evangelist Matthew composed this same book and prefixed it, concealed as it was in Hebrew letters, to his Gospel. The truth of this statement I leave to the author of the preface and the faith of the writer; for myself, while pronouncing it doubtful, I do not affirm that it is clearly false. This, however, I say boldly, that I believe none of the faithful will deny that, whether this story be true or invented by some one, great miracles preceded the holy birth of Mary, and yet greater ones followed upon it; and therefore this can be believed and read with intact faith and without peril to the soul, by those who believe that God is able to do such things. Finally, as far as my recollection serves me, following the sense, not the words, of the writer, and walking, now in the same path though not in the same footprints, now regaining the same road after some digressions, I shall so attempt (*or* temper) the style of the narrative, and shall not tell anything but what is either written therein or might reasonably have been written.

A document so full of contradictions can seldom have been put together! 'Seleucus composed the book—no, Matthew composed it; I shall translate it word for word—no, I shall follow the sense, not the words', and so forth.

Finally, some copies have a prologue attributing the writing not to Matthew but to James. Such a prologue was known to Hrosvita, who cites James as her authority. It is as follows:

I, James the son of Joseph, walking in the fear of God, have written all things that I saw with mine own eyes come to pass at the time of the birth of Saint Mary the virgin or of the Lord the Saviour: giving thanks to God who gave me understanding in the histories of his coming, showing forth the fulness of *time* unto the twelve tribes of Israel.

It is worthy of remark that the last sentence of this evidently late prologue contains the two expressions 'histories' and 'twelve tribes of Israel', which recall the opening words of the Protevangelium, but not of Ps.-Matthew. The clause 'giving thanks to God', &c., comes from Protev. xxv. 1.

ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW

In chs. i-xvii the Protevangelium is used, and is in all likelihood the sole source: but there are many omissions and amplifications.

I begins. In those days there was a man in Jerusalem, Joachim by name, of the tribe of Juda.

His whole care was his flocks. He offered double offerings. He divided his substance into three parts, one for the poor, one for the pious, the third for himself. God increased his wealth. This charity he had practised since he was 15 years old. At 20 he married Anna, daughter of Ysachar of his own tribe; they lived twenty years childless.

II. Ruben rejects his offering. He goes to the mountains to his flocks for five months.

Anna has no news of him. She complains to God.

She sees a sparrow's nest, and laments her childlessness, and vows if she has a child to dedicate it in the temple. An angel comes and promises her a daughter. In fear and sorrow she throws herself on her bed for a whole day and night. She reproaches her maid (not named) for not coming to her. The maid answers her sharply and she weeps yet more.

III. A youth—an angel—comes to Joachim in the wilderness and promises him a daughter and predicts her glory. Joachim makes an offering: is urged by his servants to return. The angel comes again in a vision. They set off and journey thirty days.

The angel comes to Anna and bids her meet Joachim at the Golden Gate of the Temple, which she does.

IV. Mary is born. At three years old she is taken to the temple and walks up fifteen steps.

V. Anna's thanksgiving.

VI. Mary's beauty and chastity and wisdom and devoutness described at length. She is fed daily by angels.

VII. Abiathar the priest offers many gifts that Mary may marry his son. She refuses, saying that she has vowed perpetual virginity.

VIII. When she was 14, a council was held and Israel was summoned to the temple on the third day. The high priest addressed them and said that since Solomon's time there had always been noble virgins brought up in the temple and married when they were of age. But Mary had vowed virginity and it must be ascertained who should take charge of her. Those who had no wives were to bring rods. There was no sign, so Abiathar went in and prayed, and an angel pointed out that one very small rod had not been returned to its owner. This was Joseph's. The dove appeared. Joseph resisted, but was overcome: he stipulated that some virgins should accompany Mary. Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Zahel were chosen. They cast

lots for the colours of the veil. Mary had the purple; the others were jealous and called her in sport 'Regina virginum'. An angel rebuked them and said it was a true prophecy. They were abashed and asked Mary to pray for them.

IX. Mary at the fountain addressed by an angel. On the next day as she wove he appeared again and completed the Annunciation.

X. Joseph returned from Capernaum and found Mary great with child. His lament. The virgins defended Mary, but Joseph lamented still.

XI. The angel reassured him, and he asked pardon of Mary.

XII. Rumour went forth, and Joseph and Mary were summoned by the priests. The water of jealousy administered by Abiathar. Joseph and Mary each went about the altar seven times and no sign appeared. All asked her pardon and took her home in triumph.

XIII. Caesar's decree. They went to Bethlehem. The two peoples—Jews and Gentiles—weeping and laughing. An angel made her dismount and enter a dark cave which began to shine. There Christ was born. Joseph was gone to find midwives and brought Zelomi and Salome. Zelomi believed, Salome was incredulous, and her hand withered and was healed by touching the swaddling cloth. The shepherds' vision. The star shone.

XIV. On the third day Mary left the cave and went to a stable and put the child in the manger, and the ox and ass adored him, fulfilling the prophecies of Isaiah and Habakkuk. There they stayed three days.

XV. On the sixth day they went to Bethlehem, kept the sabbath, and circumcised the child on the eighth day. The Presentation: Symeon and Anna.

XVI. After the second year came the magi: told as in the Gospel.

XVII. Massacre of the Innocents; the warning to flee into Egypt.

Here the use of the Protevangelium ends. It will be seen that it has been freely dealt with. Among the interesting things that have been left out is the standing still of all creation at the moment of the Birth. Nor is John the Baptist or Zacharias mentioned at all.

Chapters XVIII-XXIV deal with the Flight into Egypt and the sojourn there. They may or may not be translated from a written source: on the whole I think they are not. Some tell of fulfilments of prophecy, others may depend on local legend.

XVIII. They came to a cave and wished to rest there. Mary dismounted and sat with Jesus in her lap. There were three boys with Joseph and a girl with Mary. Suddenly a number of dragons came out of the cave, and all cried out in fear. Jesus got down from his mother's lap and stood before the dragons,

which worshipped him. Thus was fulfilled the word, 'Praise the Lord out of the earth, ye dragons and all deeps'. Jesus walked before them and bade them hurt no one. Mary was alarmed for him, but he said, 'Fear not, neither conceive that I am a child, for I always was and am a perfect man, and it is necessary that all the beasts of the forest should grow tame before me.'

XIX. In like manner lions and leopards adored him and accompanied them, showed them the way, and bowed their heads to Jesus. At first Mary was afraid, but Jesus smiled on her and reassured her. The lions never injured their oxen and asses or the sheep they had brought from Judaea. Wolves, too, came and were harmless. Thus was fulfilled the word, 'The wolves shall feed with the lambs, the lion and ox shall eat straw together.' They had with them two oxen and a cart to carry their necessities.

XX. On the third day Mary saw a palm and wished to rest under it. When she was seated there she saw fruit on it, and said to Joseph that she should like to have some. Joseph said he was surprised she should say that because the tree was so high: he himself was thinking more about water, of which they had very little left. Jesus sitting in Mary's lap with a joyful countenance bade the palm give his mother of its fruit. The tree bent as low as her feet and she gathered what she would. He bade it rise again, and give them of the water concealed below its roots. A spring came forth and all rejoiced and drank of it.

XXI. Next day when they left the place Jesus said to the palm: I give thee this privilege, that one of thy branches shall be taken by my angels and planted in my Father's garden. And henceforth all who win contests shall be told that they have won the palm of victory. An angel came and took a branch and flew away with it. All fell down in fear, but Jesus reassured them.

XXII. As they went, Joseph said that as it was hot they might go by the sea coast. But Jesus said he would shorten the way—and even as he spoke they began to see the hills and cities of Egypt.

They arrived at Hermopolis and entered a city called Sotinen, and had to lodge in a temple where were 365 gods.

XXIII. When Mary and the Child entered, all the idols fell, and Isaiah's word was fulfilled. 'Behold the Lord shall come upon a light cloud and enter into Egypt, and all the gods made by the hand of the Egyptians shall be moved before his face.'

XXIV. Affrodosius, governor of the city, heard of it and came with all his host. The priests thought he would punish those who had destroyed the gods: but when he saw them fallen he adored the child and said to those present that 'unless this were the God of our gods they would not have fallen. If we

do not adore him, as they have done, we are in danger of such destruction as fell upon Pharaoh who was drowned with all his army.'

Then all the people of the city believed in the Lord through Jesus Christ.

Here begins the second part—the Infancy proper of our Lord. The source is the Gospel of Thomas: sometimes a better text of that work than we have elsewhere is represented, but there is also a good deal of late amplification.

XXV. The angel bade Joseph return to Judaea.

XXVI. When Jesus was in Galilee at the beginning of his fourth year he was playing by the Jordan, and made seven pools. A boy spoilt them, and was struck dead. The parents complained. Joseph asked Mary to admonish Jesus. She begged him not to do such things, and he, not willing to grieve her, 'smote the back side of the dead boy with his foot and bade him rise: which he did, and Jesus went on with his pools'.

XXVII. He took clay from the pools and made twelve sparrows, on the sabbath. A Jew saw it and spoke to Joseph, who spoke to Jesus. Jesus clapped his hands and bade the sparrows fly away. All marvelled, and some went and told the chief priests and Pharisees.

XXVIII. The son of Annas the priest broke up the pools with a stick, and Jesus with a word withered him up.

XXIX. Joseph was afraid and took Jesus home. On the way a boy ran against Jesus and got on his shoulder, meaning to hurt him. Jesus said: 'Mayest thou not return whole from the way thou goest.' He fell dead. Complaints of the parents, as in *Thomas*. Joseph to Jesus: 'Why doest thou such things? Many are now complaining against thee and hate us on thy account, and we suffer injuries through thee.' Jesus: 'No son is wise whom his father hath not taught according to the knowledge of this age, and the curse of his father hurteth no man save them that do ill.' All reviled Jesus to Joseph and he was much afraid. 'Then Jesus took the dead boy by the ear and held him up by it in the sight of all, and they saw Jesus speaking to him as a father to his son. And his spirit returned unto him and he lived again, and all marvelled.'

In *Thomas* Joseph takes Jesus by the ear. Our compiler found this offensive and changed it. He also changed the speech of Jesus to Joseph and made it wholly pointless as far as I can see.

XXX. Master Zachyas spoke reproachfully to Joseph: 'You and Mary think more of your son than of the traditions of the elders.' *Joseph*: But who can teach him? if you can do so, we are very willing. Jesus overhearing said: What you say is well for ordinary people: I have no earthly father. When I am lifted up from the earth I will make all mention of your descent to

cease. I know when you were born and how long you have to live. All cried out in wonder: We have never heard the like. *Jesus*: Does this surprise you? I will tell you more. I have seen Abraham and spoken with him, and he has seen me. None could answer. *Jesus*: I have been among you with the children, and ye have not known me. I have spoken with you as with the wise and ye have not understood my voice, for ye are less than me, and of little faith.

XXXI. Zachyas said: Give him to me and I will take him to Levi who shall teach him letters. Levi bade him answer to Aleph: he was silent. Levi smote him with a rod of storax on the head. *Jesus*: Why smitest thou me? Know of a truth that he which is smitten teacheth the smiter more than he is taught of him. For I can teach thee the things that thou thyself sayest. But all these which speak and hear are blind like sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal wherein is no perception of those things that are signified by their sound. Further he said to Zachyas(?): Every letter from Aleph to Thau is discerned by the arrangement of it. Do thou then first say what Thau is, and I will tell thee what Aleph is. And again he said: They that know not Aleph, how can they tell Thau, hypocrites that they are? Say ye what Aleph is first and then will I believe you when ye say Beth. (I quote this to show how the text is conflated out of various earlier forms.) He said to the master: Let the master of the law say what the first letter is, or why it hath many triangles (eight adjectives follow). Levi was stupefied and then began to lament: Ought he to live on the earth? Nay, rather is he worthy to be hung on a great cross. He can put out fire and escape all torments by guile. I think he was born before the flood, before the deluge. What womb bare him? What mother gave him birth? What breasts suckled him? I fly before him, &c., &c.

Jesus smiled and said with command to all the children of Israel that stood and heard him: Let the unfruitful bear fruit, and the blind see, and the lame walk straight, and the poor enjoy good things, and the dead revive, and every one return into a restored state, and abide in him who is the root of life and of everlasting sweetness. All were healed who had fallen into evil infirmities. No one thereafter dared to say aught to him or hear aught of him.

(This speech is simplified from every trace of mystery.)

XXXII. At Nazareth the boy Zeno fell from the soler and was raised. Joseph, Mary, and *Jesus* went thence to Jericho.

XXXIII. *Jesus*' pitcher was broken by a child, and he brought water in his cloak.

XXXIV. He took a little corn out of his mother's barn and sowed it. When reaped it made three cors, which he gave away.

(Another manuscript has a form like that of the Latin *Thomas*.)

XXXV-XXXVI do not occur in *Thomas* nor in the manuscript just mentioned.

XXXV. There is a road from Jericho to Jordan, at the place where Israel crossed and the ark rested. Jesus, eight years old, went from Jericho to Jordan. On the way there was a vault (crypta), where was a lioness with whelps. He went in and sat there, and the whelps played about him: the older lions stood at a distance and adored him, wagging their tails. The people who saw it said that he or his parents must have sinned or he would not have delivered himself to the lions. Then he came forth and the lions went before him, and the whelps played before his feet. His parents and the people looked on. Jesus said: How much better than you are the beasts which know me and are tame, while men know me not.

XXXVI. Then he went over Jordan, whose waters were divided, with the lions: and told them in the hearing of all to go back home and hurt no one. And so they did.

XXXVII-XXXIX are again from *Thomas*.

XXXVII. A bed of six cubits was ordered of Joseph, and he told his lad to cut a beam of the right length, but he made it too short. Joseph was troubled. Jesus pulled it out to the right length.

(The change is made in order to free Joseph from the charge of stupidity.)

XXXVIII. He went to school the second time. 'Say Alpha,' *Jesus*: Tell thou me first what Beta is, and I will tell thee what Alpha is. The master smote him and died.

Joseph said to Mary: Know verily that my soul is sorrowful even unto death because of this boy. It may chance that any one may smite him in malice and he may die. Mary said: O man of God, believe not that this can happen, but believe surely that he who sent him to be born among men will keep him from all malice and in his name preserve him from evil.

XXXIX. For the third time they took him to school at the request of others, though they knew that it was not possible for a man to teach him. He entered the school, took the book from the master's hand, and taught—not what was written in it—like a torrent of water flowing from a living fountain. All marvelled, and the master adored him. Joseph ran thither in fear. The master said: You have given me no scholar but a teacher! Who can ascertain his words? Then was fulfilled the word: 'The river of God is full of water. Thou hast prepared their food, for thus is the preparation thereof.'

XL is not in *Thomas*.

XL. They removed to Capernaum. A rich man named Joseph fell ill and died. Jesus heard the mourning and said to Joseph: Why dost thou not do him a service since he is of thy name? *Joseph*: What can I do? *Jesus*: Take the kerchief that is on thy head and go and put it on his face and say: Christ save thee. He did so and said: Jesus save thee. The dead man was raised and asked who Jesus was.

XLI. They moved from Bethlehem to Capernaum (perhaps it should be vice versa). Joseph sent his eldest son James into the garden to gather herbs for pottage. Story of the viper as in *Thomas*.

XLII is a conclusion, not in *Thomas*.

When Joseph came to a feast with his sons James, Joseph, Juda, and Simeon, and his two daughters, Jesus and Mary came with her sister Mary of Cleophas, whom the Lord gave to her father Cleophas and her mother Anna because they had offered Mary the mother of Jesus to the Lord, and this other was given for their consolation and called by the same name. When they were together Jesus blessed and sanctified them, and was the first to eat and drink, for no one ventured even to sit down until he had done so, and all waited for him if he was not there. And his brethren watched him ever and feared him. And when he slept by day or by night the light of God shone always over him.

To whom be all praise and glory, world without end. Amen.

The real importance of Pseudo-Matthew lies not so much in the stories which it preserves, as in the fact that it was the principal vehicle by which they were known to the Middle Ages and the principal source of inspiration to the artists and poets of the centuries from the twelfth to the fifteenth. It is upon this text that the many vernacular versions for the most part depend; and by this that the pictures of the Rejection of Joachim's offering, his meeting with Anne at the Golden Gate, the Presentation of the Virgin, the Repose in Egypt, and the few that we have of the Infancy Miracles, are inspired.

THE GOSPEL OF THE BIRTH OF MARY,

as it was called by Hone, demands but a short notice. It is attributed to St. Jerome and finds a place in the editions among the spurious works that bear his name. It has passed almost bodily into the Golden Legend of James de Voragine, and so has exercised an influence on art and literature. But in itself it is, compared even with Pseudo-Matthew, a very poor production; being no more than an amplification of the earlier chapters of that work in more elegant Latin, and with all the detail blurred and smoothed down. No source has been employed by the writer but Pseudo-Matthew and the canonical Gospels. A brief analysis may be given.

- I. Mary was born at Nazareth. Her parents. Joachim's charity.
- II. At the dedication feast his offering is rejected by Isachar. He retires to his flocks.
- III. The angel appears to him and bids him return to Anne;
- IV. And to Anne and bids her meet him at the Golden Gate.
- V. They meet. Mary is born.
- VI. Her presentation in the Temple at three years old.
- VII. Her life there. At 14 years old it is agreed to summon the single men.

VIII. Joseph's rod. He takes her home with seven other virgins.

IX. The Annunciation: mostly from the Gospels.

X. Joseph's perplexity: the angel reassures him: Christ is born.

THE ARABIC GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY

Our present text of this book depends in the main upon a single Arabic manuscript, now lost, which was used by Sike, the first editor, in 1697. There are now known to be other manuscripts at Rome and Florence, but they have not been fully collated. The greater part of the book, however, is also embodied in a Syriac History of the Virgin which was edited and translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in 1899.

The Arabic Gospel is a late compilation, as has been shown most clearly by Father P. Peeters in his recent French edition (1914, *Évangiles apocryphes*, ii).

The book falls into several divisions:

I is a late note prefixed.

II-IX. The Nativity to the Flight into Egypt. The Protevangelium is the ultimate source of some parts of this.

X-XXV. Miracles in Egypt, some of which show influence of late local traditions.

XXVI-XXXV. Return to Nazareth. Miracles done there, which do not occur in other texts.

XXXVI-LIII. Further miracles, mostly derived from *Thomas*: ending with Jesus in the Temple.

LIV. Baptism of Jesus.

LV. Doxology.

A briefer analysis of this book will suffice than in the case of Pseudo-Matthew.

I. States that it is found in the book of Joseph the high-priest in the time of Christ, who some say is Caiaphas, that Jesus in the cradle proclaimed his Godhead.

II. The decree of Augustus in the year 300 (or 304) of the era of Alexander. The Birth in a cave. An old Hebrew woman comes as midwife. III. Her hands are withered (?) because of her unbelief, and she is healed. (There is a gap in the text.) IV. The Shepherds. The midwife praises God. V. The Circumcision. V, VI. The Presentation.

VII. The Magi. VIII. They bring back one of Jesus' swaddling cloths which is proof against fire, and is preserved with veneration. IX. The Flight.

X, XI. Arrival in Egypt. An idol announces the presence of a God, and falls. The demoniac son of a priest is healed. XII. Alarm of Joseph and Mary.

XIII. Robbers hear a noise of an approaching host and flee, leaving their captives. Joseph and Mary arrive, and the captives ask who is the king who is coming. Answer: 'He is coming on after us.'

XIV. A demoniac woman healed. XV. A dumb bride healed.

XVI. A woman oppressed by a demon-serpent relieved.

XVII. A leprous girl healed by water in which Jesus was washed.

XVIII. A leprous child healed in like manner. XIX. A husband and wife released from a spell. XX, XXI. The brother of two women, who had been changed into a mule, restored by having Jesus placed on his back (Peeters points out the identity of this miracle with one told of St. Macarius in the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius). XXII. The leprous girl of XVII married to the brother.

XXIII. The robbers Titus and Dumachus (the good and bad thieves of the Crucifixion) capture them. Titus redeems them: Jesus prophesies his end.¹

XXIV. At Matarieh in Egypt a spring bursts forth and balm originates from the sweat of Jesus. XXV. They lived three years at Misr (Cairo) and saw Pharaoh. Many miracles were done which are not written in the Gospel of the Infancy or in the complete Gospel (probably the Canonical Gospels are meant). These chapters are an Egyptian interpolation not earlier than the twelfth century.

XXVI. Return to Nazareth. XXVII. At Bethlehem a sick child healed. XXVIII. A child diseased in the eyes healed. XXIX. Two women, mothers of children. One child dies, the other, Cleopas, is healed. The mother of the dead throws Cleopas first into an oven, then into a well: he is uninjured: she herself falls into the well and is killed. XXX. One of two twin boys healed—the Bartholomew of the Gospels. XXXI. A leprous

¹ The meeting with the good thief is told in other places: in the B Recension (Greek) of the Acts of Pilate; and by Aelred of Rievaulx (de Vita Eremitica ad Sororem, xlvi: printed with St. Augustine's works, ed. Bened. I, App. 51: Migne P. L. xxxii). Aelred's form is thus:

Do not in thy meditation pass over the gifts of the Magi: nor leave him without company when he flees into Egypt. Think that to be true which is told, that he was captured by robbers in the way and saved by the kindness of a youth. This was, they say, the son of the chief of the robbers, and when he got possession of his prey, and found the child on his mother's breast, such splendour of majesty appeared in his lovely face that *the youth*, not doubting that he was more than man, inflamed with love embraced him and said: O most blessed of children, if ever there come a time for having mercy on me, then remember me and forget not this hour.

This they say was the robber who was crucified on Christ's right hand, and when the other blasphemed, said: Dost thou not fear God (*and the rest*), and turning to the Lord and beholding him in that majesty which he had seen in him as a child, and not forgetful of his pact, said: Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. So as an incentive of love I think it not useless to hold this belief, though I would not rashly affirm its truth.

woman healed. XXXII. A leprous bride healed. XXXIII, XXXIV. A woman haunted by a dragon freed by one of Christ's swaddling cloths. XXXV. Judas, a child possessed by the devil, smites Jesus, and the devil leaves him in the form of a dog.

XXXVI. Jesus (seven years old) makes figures of all sorts of animals of clay, and makes them walk, fly, and feed. XXXVII. The story of the Dyer Salem (see above). XXXVIII. Jesus lengthens or shortens beams which Joseph had cut wrongly: for he was not clever at his trade. XXXIX. A bed made for the king of Jerusalem pulled out to the right size. XL. The children in the oven (see above). XLI. In the month of Adar the boys make Jesus their king, and passers by have to stop and salute him. XLII. The parents of a child bitten by a snake come, and are stopped: Jesus goes with them to the snake's nest and makes it suck out the poison: it bursts: the child is healed: he was Simon Zelotes. XLIII. James bitten by the viper and healed. XLIV. Zeno falls from the house and is raised. XLV. Jesus brings water in his cloak.

XLVI. The pools and sparrows of clay. The son of Hanan spoils the pools and is palsied. XLVII. The child who ran against Jesus falls dead. XLVIII. Taught by Zacheus, who is confounded by his wisdom. XLIX. Taught by another master, who smites him and dies.

L. With the doctors at Jerusalem: questioned about the Law. LI. Questioned about astronomy. LII. And by a philosopher about philosophy: he answers all perfectly. LIII. Is found by Mary and Joseph. Returns with them. LIV. He lived in obscurity until his baptism. LV. Doxology.

The stories which this book has in common with *Thomas* are rather shortly told and do not help to solve difficulties in the older text. The long series of healings in Egypt and at Bethlehem is monotonous: for the most part the Virgin is the prominent figure in them. It is to her that the sufferers apply, and she gives them the water in which the child has been washed, or some of his linen, or allows them to touch him.

There is an echo of the story in ch. xli in a Western book, the *Vita Rhythmica* of the Virgin and Christ, a long Latin rhyming composition of the thirteenth century, edited by Vögtlin (Bibl. d. Litterar. Vereins in Stuttgart, no. 180, 1888). In ll. 2,564 sqq. it is said that the Egyptian boys crowned Jesus as king: and again in 2,612, after the return from Egypt, the boys made him their king and called him *domicellus*, 'young Lord'. The sources of this *Vita* are enumerated by the compiler, and are ostensibly Greek to a large extent—Germanus, Theophilus, Epiphanius, Ignatius are named, as well as the *Infantia Salvatoris*. With it should be read the Latin stories printed from a Giessen manuscript by O. Schade, Königsberg, 1876, *Narrationes de vita et conversatione B.V.M. &c.* They follow the text of the *Vita Rhythmica* closely.

THE ARMENIAN GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY

The only accessible edition of this is the excellent French one of P. Peeters in *Évangiles apocryphes*, ii, 1914 (*Textes et Documents*: Hemmer & Lejay). It is a very long text, occupying over 200 pages of print. Like the other secondary documents with which we have been dealing, it is ultimately dependent on the Protevangelium and the Gospel of Thomas, but the data of both are enormously amplified.

It comes into Armenian from Syriac, but the date of the Syriac book from which it was translated is open to question. An Infancy Gospel was brought into Armenia by Nestorian missionaries in 590. This cannot be the present text: on the other hand, an Armenian writer of the twelfth century mentions a book of the Infancy which may be ours.

I. 'Récit de Saint Jacques, frère du Seigneur.' Story of the birth of Mary. It begins abruptly with Joachim's retirement to the desert, and follows the Protevangelium with some omissions and many expansions. In III is a long digression about Zacharias. In IV the marriage: Joseph's protests are much lengthened. V has an immense dialogue between Gabriel and the Virgin. VI, another between the Virgin and Joseph. VII. The water of jealousy.

VIII. The decree of Augustus and the Nativity: the silence of creation is related. Joseph in his search for a midwife meets first Eve, who comes to see the promise of redemption fulfilled: then Salome, whose unbelief and cure are told of.

X. The Shepherds. XI. The Magi, Melkon, king of Persia, Gaspar, of India, Balthasar, of Arabia. This episode is very long. The Magi bring with them the testament which Adam delivered to Seth. XII. The Presentation. XIII. The Massacre of the Innocents.

XIV. The death of Zacharias and escape of John (*Protev.*).

XV. The Flight and Sojourn in Egypt. The fall of idols and temples is told at vast length. The Family dwell for a time with a prince called Eleazar (who appears under the name of Lazarus in Budge's *Syriac History*).

XVI. The beginning of the return. There is more destruction of temples and there are healings of children, and also the first of several scenes—protracted to great length—in which Jesus is accused of causing the death of a child and is summoned before a judge. Long dialogues take place, and finally the dead child is raised to exculpate Jesus; after which he sometimes dies again. XVIII. Continues these stories. XIX, XX. Jesus is sent at the suggestion of the King (of Bethlehem, Barjesus) to learn from Gamaliel, who is confounded by his wisdom: then follows the story of the throne made straight. XXI. The story of the dyer, Israel, at Tiberias. XXII. Another trial of Jesus. XXIII. Miracles (or tricks) wrought on children on a mountain. XXIV.

Cure of a leper at Emmaus, with a very long dialogue. XXV. They go to Nazareth. Jesus arbitrates between two brothers, Malachias and Micheas. XXVI. Cure of a man, Hiram. XXVII. Cure of an old man, Balthasar: long dialogue. XXVIII. Jesus arbitrates between two soldiers.

There is on the whole little of ancient flavour in the book, and it does not seem to preserve any details, which are not to be found elsewhere, of the old tradition. The diffuseness of the expansions reminds one of the Armenian version of 4 Esdras, which takes the most unwarrantable liberties with the text.

HISTORY OF JOSEPH THE CARPENTER, OR DEATH OF JOSEPH

This is an Egyptian book, not earlier than the fourth century in date, and very probably later: it exists in fragments in Sahidic, complete in Bohairic (the dialects of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively), and complete also in Arabic. A Latin version made in the fourteenth century from the Arabic exists, but has not been printed.

The object of the book is the glorification of St. Joseph and his feast-day: his cult, so popular in the West, was long confined to Egypt. The interest of it lies in a few reminiscences of earlier books, and in the picturesque and highly Egyptian descriptions of death. The lamentations of Joseph and his prayers find many parallels in the literature of Christian Egypt, and especially in the Coptic accounts of the death of the Virgin.

The order of the book is as follows (I use Forbes Robinson's and Peeters's versions):

Proem: 'This is the going forth from the body of our father Joseph the carpenter, the father of Christ according to flesh, whose life was 111 years.' It was told by Christ to the apostles on Mount Olivet, was written down by them, and laid up in the library at Jerusalem. The day of the death was the 26th of the month Epep.

I. Christ on Mount Olivet addresses the apostles: on the certainty of death and the justice of God, &c.

II. Joseph was of Bethlehem: he was a carpenter, and married and had four sons, Judas, Josetos (*Arab.* Justus), James, Simon, and two daughters, Lysia (*Arab.* Asia) and Lydia. His wife died, leaving James still young.

III. Mary was being brought up in the Temple till she was twelve years old. The priests decided to give her to a husband.

IV. The lot fell on Joseph. Mary brought up James and was called Mary of James. Two years passed.

V. 'I came and dwelt in her.' Joseph's perplexity. VI. Re-assured by Gabriel.

- VII. Decree of Caesar. The Birth 'by the tomb of Rachel'.
- VIII. Herod sought to slay me. The Flight: Salome was with us. A year in Egypt.
- IX. Return to Nazareth. Joseph worked at his trade.
- X. His health and strength were unimpaired: he lived to be 111.
- XI. Josetos and Symeon married. Joseph dwelt with James. I was subject to Mary and to him.
- XII. Joseph's death drew nigh. He went to the temple and prayed at the altar.
- XIII. His prayer to be saved from the terrors after death, 'the river of fire wherein all souls are purified before they see the glory of God'.
- XIV. He returned to Nazareth and fell ill. The dates of his life: he was 40 when he married, and was married forty-nine years: a year alone after his wife's death. Two years with Mary before the Nativity.
- XV. His strength gave way and he was troubled and uttered a lamentation (XVI) over all the parts of his body, for their several transgressions.
- XVII. I went to him. His greeting and address: he told of his doubt about Mary, and of another incident (a fusion of two stories in *Thomas*). The Sahidic tells it thus: I remember also the day that the horned serpent bit the lad on his foot and he died. His relations were gathered unto thee, wishing to take thee and deliver thee to Herod the lawless. And I found thee (*Boh*. Thy mercy found him), and thy godhead laid hold of him and he lived; and when thou didst raise him up to his parents there was great joy to them. But I requested thee, O my beloved son, saying: Be quiet in all things: and I took hold of thy right ear and pulled it. Thou didst answer, saying unto me: Unless thou wert my father according to the flesh, surely I would have warned thee because thou didst pull my right ear. (The Bohairic has slight variants, and the Arabic softens the incident by saying, 'I took hold of thy hand'.)
- XVIII. I wept. My mother asked if Joseph must die, and I told her that it must be so.
- XIX. I sat at his head, Mary at his feet. I felt his heart and found that the soul was in his throat.
- XX. Mary felt his feet and legs and found them cold as ice. The brethren and sisters were summoned. Lysia the eldest daughter ('who is the seller of purple', Sahidic: cf. Acts xvi. 14) lamented: so did all.
- XXI. I looked at the south of the door and saw Death, and Amente following with their satellites 'decani' armed with fire. Joseph saw them and feared. I rebuked them and they fled. Death hid himself behind the door. I prayed.
- XXII. Prayer for protection for the soul of Joseph 'until it cross the seven aeons of darkness'. 'Let the river of fire be as

water and the sea of demons cease vexing.' Address to the apostles on the terrors of death.

XXIII. When I had said Amen, my mother answering me in the language of the inhabitants of the heavens, Michael, Gabriel, and the choir of the angels came. Numbness and panting seized on Joseph. Death seeing me dared not enter. I arose and went outside and bade him go in and do his appointed work, but deal gently. Then Abbaton went in and took the soul, at sunrise on 26th Epep. Michael and Gabriel put the soul into a precious silken napkin and the angels took it away, singing. (The passage about Death (Abbaton) is only in Sahidic: the Bohairic shortens the section.)

XXIV. I sat down by the body and closed the eyes and mouth; and comforted Mary and the rest.

XXV. The people of Nazareth came and mourned till the ninth hour. Then I put all forth, anointed and washed the body. 'I prayed to my Father with heavenly prayers which I wrote with my own fingers on the tables of heaven before I took flesh in the holy Virgin Mary.' Angels came and shrouded the body.

XXVI. I blessed it from all corruption; pronounced blessings on all who celebrate his memory by good deeds or write the story of his death.

XXVII. The chief men of the place came to prepare the body, and found it already shrouded. The burial. I wept.

XXVIII. The lament of Jesus.

XXIX. The body was laid in the tomb beside Jacob his father.

XXX. We the apostles rejoiced to hear all this. We asked why Joseph should not have been exempted from death like Enoch and Elias.

XXXI. Jesus speaks of the inevitableness of death, and tells how Enoch and Elias still have to die, and are in trouble until their death is over. Antichrist will shed the blood of two men (*Arab.* four) like a cup of water, because of the reproaches they will heap upon him.

XXXII. We asked: Who are the two whom he will slay? Answer: Enoch and Elias. (*Arabic* has, 'Who are the Four whom he will slay? Answer: Enoch, Elias, Schila, and Tabitha.' Mr. W. E. Crum has shown that for Schila we ought to read Sibylla. This gives two men and two women. Nothing is known of stories in which the Sibyl is killed by Antichrist, but in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias, Tabitha figures prominently, withstanding Antichrist and being slain by him.)

The book ends with a doxology of the apostles.

COPTIC LIVES, ETC., OF THE VIRGIN

There are a number of Lives, Panegyrics, Discourses, &c., in Coptic, complete and fragmentary, which tell the story of the Virgin's birth. In Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* are:

I. A Sahidic fragment of a homily, perhaps attributed to Evodius of Antioch, disciple of the apostles.

This tells of Joakim—formerly called Cleopas—and Anna, and of the way in which they were taunted by the men and women they met when they went to Jerusalem, because they had no children: and of their grief in consequence. Each then had a vision of a white dove: it came and sat on Joakim's head, and on Anna's bosom. Anna had another vision with a prediction of Mary's birth. Mary was born on the 15th of Hathor. Zacharias was warned by an angel to tell Anna and Joakim to dedicate Mary in three years' time.

II A. (Sahidic.) Mary is brought to the Temple and lives there, fed by angels. Her chastity and sobriety of attire are described in terms which recur in other panegyrics, especially that of Demetrius: see below.

II B. The Annunciation. Decree of Augustus. Nativity. Before it, Mary's face is radiant and then troubled, but her vision of two peoples is not mentioned. Joseph goes to find a midwife.

There seem to be only rather faint memories of the Protevangelium in these fragments.

In Budge's *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1915, are some which bear on this subject, viz.

1. p. 626. The Twentieth Discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem.

In this Mary is represented as saying to Cyril: 'I was a child promised to God, and my parents dedicated me to Him before I came into the world. My parents . . . were of the tribe of Judah and house of David. My father was Joakim, which is being interpreted Kleopa. My mother was Anna . . . who was usually called Mariham. I am Mary Magdalene because the name of the village wherein I was born was Magdalia. My name is Mary of Cleopa. I am Mary of James the son of Joseph the carpenter.'

p. 631. We are told that in the village of Magdalia dwelt a rich and devout man David. A vision told him that the Redeemer should come out of his family. His wife Sara bore him a child whom the father called Joakim, and the mother Cleopa. He married Anna, daughter of Aminadab, David's brother. They were childless. After many days they went to the Temple, prayed for a child, and promised to dedicate it to God. A voice came, saying that their prayer was heard. Mary was born,

dedicated in the Temple at three years old, and brought up there till she was fifteen.

The reckless identification of the Virgin Mary with all the other Maries of the Gospels is characteristic of these Egyptian rhapsodies. In the Book of Bartholomew the appearance of Christ to Magdalene after the resurrection is turned into an appearance to his mother: and so too in another Coptic fragment on the Passion described later on.

2. Discourse by Demetrius of Antioch.

p. 653. There was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Joakim and he had a wife whose name was Susanna (*sic.* elsewhere in the discourse it is Anna). They were childless and prayed for a child. A man of light appeared and promised them a daughter whom they were to dedicate to God. She was born on 15th of Athor and dedicated. The description of her habits is almost identical with that in fragment II A of Robinson. When she was twelve the priests decided to commit her to the care of a man. The lot fell on Joseph. She sat in his house and weaved the veil of the Temple. Angels ministered to her in the form of doves or some other kind of holy bird. 'They flew about her in the place where she used to sit working at her handicraft, and they would alight upon the window of her room and they longed to hear her holy voice, which was sweet, and pretty, and holy.' We then read of the Annunciation and the salutation of Gabriel—of great length—the Visitation, Decree of Caesar, journey to Bethlehem. Joseph looked at Mary and saw her whole body shining, and that she was greatly moved, for the time of the birth drew nigh. A great star appeared and excited much comment. At dawn on the 29th of Khoiak, Mary asked Joseph to seek a woman to help her. He found one on the roof of her house, and asked if she knew a midwife. She said: 'Thou art Joseph the husband of Mary,' and came down, and put on her finest apparel. Before they reached the caravanserai the child was born. The woman's name was Salome. When they entered the house they saw the Child in the manger and the ox and ass protecting him. Salome worshipped him. She was the first who recognized the Christ, and she followed him everywhere throughout his life. 'I wish very much that I might describe unto you fully the life of that woman and her acts and deeds . . . ' but there is not time.¹

The story is continued with some few non-Biblical details to the Flight into Egypt, on p. 682. The killing of Zacharias is shortly told in agreement with the account in the Protevangelium.

3. The Discourse of Epiphanius.

This has very few points of contact with the Apocrypha. It

¹ There is, however, a Coptic text not yet printed in full, which does tell the whole story of Salome, and simply transfers to her a great part of the legend of Thais or of Mary the niece of the hermit Abraham.

is mentioned that Mary was working when the Annunciation took place.

4. The Discourse of Cyril of Alexandria.

In this the care of Mary for her child, and her intercourse with him, is rather prettily described. 'She used to take hold of his hand and lead him along the roads, saying, "My sweet son, walk a little way", in the same manner as all other babes are taught to walk. And he, Jesus, the very God, followed after her untroubled. He clung to her with his little fingers, he stopped from time to time, and he hung on to the skirts of Mary his mother, he upon whom the whole universe hangeth. He would lift up his eyes to her face . . . and she would catch him up to herself and lift him up in her arms, and walk along with him.'

At p. 721 is essentially the same description of the Virgin's habits that we have found in Robinson, II A, and Demetrius.

These documents on the whole show great negligence in the use of ancient sources and great licence on the part of the writers; and I think this is rather characteristic of the Christian literature of Egypt. When we come to the Passion-narratives and the Acts and Apocalypses we shall encounter some striking instances of the taking of liberties with texts.

A MODERN INFANCY GOSPEL

By way of a curiosity, and to dispel illusions that may perhaps be entertained, I add a short note on a modern forgery, 'The childhood of Christ—translated from the Latin by Henry Copley Greene, with original text of the manuscript at the monastery of St. Wolfgang. New York: Scott-Thaw Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1904.' This is the form in which some readers may have met the book. The original is: 'L'Évangile de la jeunesse de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ d'après S. Pierre,' Latin text and French version by Catulle Mendès: Paris, Armand Colin, 1894. All that we are told of the provenance of the Latin text is that it was 'found some years ago in the ancient abbey of St. Wolfgang in the Salzkammergut'. The opening words of the prologue attribute the work to St. Peter. It is a sentimentalized compilation from Protevangelium, Pseudo-Matthew, the Latin Thomas, and the Arabic Gospel. It claims to be at least mediaeval in date, but the claim is made null by the simple fact that the Latin contains many phrases from Sike's Latin version of the Arabic Gospel, which was written in 1697. Perhaps one specimen of the turn which is given to the original stories may be given. In the case of the boy who runs against Jesus, Jesus laments, saying, 'Non ploro quia malum mihi inflixum est, sed quia malum altero inflixurus sum. Euh! frater mi,' &c. He then puts his hand on the boy's forehead, saying, 'Quoniam pulsavisti, cade, et quoniam vitae in me currens offendisti, siste in morte'. (Because you have pushed me, fall; and because by running against me you have offended (or stumbled against) life, continue dead.) The boy dies and Jesus mourns for twelve days.

Presumably the Latin text as well as the French version may be regarded as the work of Catulle Mendès.