

### *The Acts of John<sup>1</sup>*

The beginning of the Acts of John is lost. The numbering of the chapters beginning with c. 18 goes back to Maximilian Bonnet's edition (Aa II 1, 1898; reprinted 1959), which set two later texts before the fragments of the ancient Acts of John: first, as cc. 1-14, in two recensions, the 'Acts of John in Rome', which came into being as an independent narrative not before the 4th century (new edition with introduction and French translation in Junod/Kaestli 835-886); and second, as cc. 14 (second recension) - 17\* (Bonnet 159.24-30; 160.8-36), a transitional passage between the narrative of the Patmos exile from the later Acts of John of ps.-Prochorus (cf. below, pp. 429ff.) and the 'Metastasis' (cc. 106-115) of the ancient Acts of John.

It must remain an open question whether the lost beginning of the document, in correspondence with the apostle's personal reminiscences in c. 113, went back as far as his call by Christ. In any case it must have reported on his journey - probably from Jerusalem - to Miletus, and his sojourn there, and of the persons named in c. 18 at least. Demonius and the wife of Marcellus must have been mentioned. It is not inconceivable that the apostle's departure for Asia Minor was related in the context of a report about an assignment of mission areas.<sup>2</sup> Probably the narrator, who frequently speaks in the 'we'-style, introduced himself at the beginning of the document, presumably under the name of Leucius, a fictitious disciple of John (see above, pp. 92ff.).

#### From Miletus to Ephesus

18. Now John was hastening to Ephesus, prompted by a vision; so that Demonius and his kinsman Aristodemus and a very wealthy (man named) Cleobius and the wife of Marcellus prevailed upon him with some difficulty to remain for one day at Miletus and rested with him. And when they departed very early in the morning and some four miles of their journey were already accomplished, a voice came from heaven in the hearing of us all, saying 'John, you shall give glory to your Lord in Ephesus, (glory) of which you shall know, both you and all your brothers that are with you and some of those in that place who shall believe through you.' Then John joyfully considered with himself what was to happen at Ephesus, saying, 'Lord, behold I go according to thy will. Thy will be done.'

#### First Stay in Ephesus (Chapters 19-55)

##### Raising of Cleopatra and Lycomedes

19. And as we approached the city Lycomedes met us, a wealthy man who was praetor of the Ephesians; and he fell at John's feet and entreated him, saying 'Is your name John? The God whom you preach has sent you to help my wife who has been paralysed for the past seven days and is lying there unable to be cured. But glorify your God by healing her, and have pity upon

us. For while I was considering with myself what conclusion to draw \*from this\* someone came to me and said. "Lycomedes, enough of this thought which besets you, for it is harmful. Do not submit to it! For I have had compassion on my servant Cleopatra and have sent from Miletus a man named John, who will raise her up and restore her to you in good health." Do not delay then, servant of God who has revealed you to me; come quickly to my wife, who is only just breathing.' Then John went at once, and the brothers who were with him, and Lycomedes, from the gate to his house. But Cleobius said to his servants, 'Go to my kinsman Callippus and let him give you a comfortable lodging - for I am coming there with his son - so that we may find everything convenient.'

20. But when Lycomedes came with John into the house in which the woman was lying, he grasped his feet again and said 'See, my Lord, this faded beauty; look at her youth; look at the famous flower(-like grace) of my poor wife, at which all Ephesus was amazed! Wretched man, I am the victim of envy. I am humbled, my enemies' eye has fallen upon me! I have never wronged anyone, although I could have injured many, for I had just this in view and was on my guard, so as not to see any evil or misfortune like this. What use then, Cleopatra, was my care? What have I gained by being known as a pious man until today? I suffer worse than an impious (man) seeing you, Cleopatra, lying there so. The sun in its course shall no more see me, if you \*are no longer (my) companion\*<sup>3</sup>. I will go before you, Cleopatra, and despatch myself from life. I will not spare my vigorous health, though it be still youthful. I will defend myself before Justice,<sup>4</sup> as one that has served (her) justly, for it is permissible to indict her for judging unjustly. I will call her to account when I come (before her) a (mere) phantom of life. I will say to her "You have done violence to my light (of life) by tearing away Cleopatra; you have made me a dead man by bringing this upon me; you have forced me to anger Providence by cutting off my joy."

21. And Lycomedes still speaking to Cleopatra approached her bed and lamented with a loud voice.

But John pulled him away and said, 'Cease from these lamentations and from these unfitting words of yours. It is not proper to mistrust him who appeared to you. Know that you will receive your consort again. Stand then with us, who have come on her behalf, and pray to the God whom you saw manifesting me through dreams. What is it, then, Lycomedes? You too must wake up and open your soul. Cast off this heavy sleep of yours! Call on the Lord, entreat him for your consort and he will revive her.' But he fell upon the ground and lamented with all his soul.<sup>5</sup>

John therefore said with tears, 'Alas for the fresh betrayal of my vision! Alas for the fresh temptation that is prepared for me! Alas for the fresh contrivance of him that is contriving against me! The voice from heaven that came to me on the way, did it intend this for me? Did it forewarn me of this

that must happen here, \*betraying\* me to this great crowd of citizens because of Lycomedes? The man lies there lifeless, and I know very well that they will not let me leave the house alive. Why tarriest thou, Lord? Why hast thou withdrawn from us thy gracious promise? No, Lord, I pray thee; do not let him exult who delights in the misfortunes of others; do not let him dance who is always deriding us! But let thy holy name and thy mercy make haste! Raise up the two dead who (have brought enmity) against me!

22. And while John was crying aloud the city of the Ephesians came running together to the house of Lycomedes, (supposing him) dead. But John, seeing the great crowd that had come together, said to the Lord, 'Now is the time of refreshment<sup>6</sup> and of confidence in thee, O Christ. Now is the time for us who are sick to have help from thee, O physician that healest for nothing. Keep thou my entrance to this place free from derision. I pray thee, Jesus, help this great multitude to come to thee who art Lord of the universe. Look at the affliction, look at those who lie here! Do thou prepare, even from those gathered here, holy vessels for thy service, when they have seen thy gracious gift. For thou thyself hast said, O Christ, "Ask, and it shall be given you."<sup>7</sup> We therefore ask of thee, O King, not gold or silver, not substance or possessions, nor any of the perishable things upon earth, but two souls, through whom thou shalt convert <those who shall believe> to thy way (and) to thy teaching, to thy confidence, to thine excellent promise; for some of them shall be saved when they learn thy power through the resurrection of (these) who are lifeless. So now thyself grant hope in thee. I am going, then, to Cleopatra and say, "Arise in the name of Jesus Christ."

23. And he went to her and touched her face and said 'Cleopatra, he speaks to thee, whom every ruler fears, and every creature, power, abyss and all darkness, and unsmiling death, the height of heaven and the circles of hell, the resurrection of the dead and the sight of the blind, the whole power of the prince of this world and the pride of its ruler: Arise (he says), and be not an excuse for many who wish to disbelieve, and an affliction to souls that are able to hope and be saved.' And Cleopatra cried out at once with a loud voice, 'I arise, Master, save thou thy Cleopatra.'

And when she had arisen after seven days, the city of the Ephesians was stirred at that amazing sight.

But Cleopatra asked after her husband Lycomedes. But John said to her, 'Cleopatra, keep your soul unmoved and unwavering, and then you shall have Lycomedes your husband standing here with you, <...> if indeed you are not disturbed nor shaken by what has happened, but have come to believe in my God, who through me shall give him back to you) alive. Come then with me to your other bedroom, and you shall see him dead (indeed), but rising again through the power of my God.' 24. And when Cleopatra came with John into her bedroom and saw Lycomedes dead on her account she lost her voice, and

ground her teeth and bit her tongue, and closed her eyes, raining down tears; and she quietly attended to the Apostle.

But John had pity upon Cleopatra when he saw her neither raging nor distraught, and called upon the perfect and condescending mercy, and said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, thou seest (her) distress, thou seest (her) need, thou seest Cleopatra crying out her soul in silence; for she contains within her the intolerable raging (of her sorrow). My soul foretells, Lord; I know that for Lycomedes' sake she will follow him to death.' And she quietly said to John, 'That is in my mind, Master, and nothing else.' Then the Apostle went up to the couch on which Lycomedes lay, and taking Cleopatra's hand he said, 'Cleopatra, because of the crowd that is present, and because of your relatives who have come here also, speak with a loud voice to your husband and say, "Rise up and glorify the name of God, since to the dead he gives (back) the dead." And she went near and spoke to her husband as she was instructed, and immediately raised him up. And he arose and fell to the ground and kissed John's feet; but he lifted him up and said 'It is not my feet, man, that you should kiss, but those of God in whose power you both have been raised up.'

25. But Lycomedes said to John, 'I beg and entreat you in God's name through whom you raised us up, to stay with us, both you and your companions <...> Likewise Cleopatra grasped his feet and said the same. But John said to them, 'Tomorrow I will be with you.' And they said to him again, 'There is no hope for us in your God, but we shall have been raised in vain, if you do not stay with us.' And Cleobius together with Aristodemus and also Demonius in distress of soul said to John, 'Let us stay with them, that they may stay free of offence before the Lord.' And he remained there with the brethren.

### The Portrait of John

26. Then there came together a great gathering of people because of John. And while he was addressing those who were present Lycomedes, who had a friend who was a skilful painter, went running to him and said, 'You see how I have hurried to come to you: come quickly to my house and paint the man whom I show you without his knowing it.' And the painter, giving someone the necessary implements and colours, said to Lycomedes, 'Show me the man and for the rest have no anxiety.' Then Lycomedes pointed out John to the painter, and brought him near and shut him up in a room from which the Apostle of Christ could be seen. <And Lycomedes> was with the blessed man, feasting upon the faith and the knowledge of our God, and rejoiced even more because he was going to have him in a portrait.

27. So on the first day the painter drew his outline and went away; but on the next day he painted him in with his colours, and so delivered the portrait to Lycomedes, to his great joy; and he <took it>, put it in his bedroom and put

garlands on it; so that when John later noticed (something), he said to him, 'My dear child, what is it you are doing when you come from the bath into your bedroom alone? Am I not to pray with you and with the other brethren? Or are you hiding (something) from us?' And saying this and joking with him he went into the bedroom; and he saw there a portrait of an old man crowned with garlands, and lamps beside it and altars in front. And he called him and said, 'Lycomedes, what does this portrait mean to you? Is it one of your gods that is painted here? Why, I see you are still living as a pagan!' And Lycomedes answered him 'He alone is my God who raised me up from death with my wife. But if besides that God we may call our earthly benefactors gods, you are the one painted in the portrait, whom I crown and love and reverence, as having become a good guide to me.'

28. Then John, who had never beheld his own face, said to him, 'You are teasing me, child; am I such in form? By your Lord, how can you persuade me that the portrait is like me?' And Lycomedes brought him a mirror, and when he had seen himself in the mirror and gazed at the portrait, he said, 'As the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, the portrait is like me; yet not like me, my child, but like my image in the flesh; for if this painter who has copied this face of mine wants to put me in a picture, \*let him break away\* <from> colours such as are given to me now, \*from boards, from outline and drapery\* (?), from shape <and> form, from age and youth, and from all that is visible.

29. But do you be a good painter for me, Lycomedes. You have colours which he gives you through me, that is, Jesus, who paints us all for himself, who knows the shapes and forms and figures and dispositions and types of our souls. And these are the colours which I tell you to paint with: faith in God, knowledge (*gnosis*), reverence, kindness, fellowship, mildness, goodness, brotherly love, purity, sincerity, tranquility, fearlessness, cheerfulness, dignity and the whole band of colours which portray your soul and already raise up your members that were cast down and level those that were lifted up, <...> which cure your bruises and heal your wounds and arrange your tangled hair and wash your face and instruct your eyes and cleanse your heart and purge your belly and cut off that which is below it; in brief, when a full blend and mixture of such colours has come together into your soul it will present it to our Lord Jesus Christ indelible, well-polished and firmly shaped. But what you have now done is childish and imperfect; you have drawn a dead likeness of a dead man <...>.'

#### Healing of the Old Women

30. Then he commanded Verus, the brother who attended him, to bring the old women (that were) in the whole of Ephesus, and he and Cleopatra and Lycomedes made preparations to care for them. So Verus came and said to

him: 'John, out of the old women over sixty that are here, I have found only four in good bodily health; of the rest, some are paralytic, others deaf, some arthritic and others sick with divers diseases.' And John on hearing this kept silence for a long time; then he rubbed his face and said, 'Oh, what slackness among the people of Ephesus! What a collapse, what weakness towards God! O devil, what a mockery you have made all this time of the faithful at Ephesus! Jesus, who gives me grace and the gift of confidence in him, says to me now in silence, "Send for the old women who are sick, and be with them in the theatre and through me heal them; for there are some of those who come to this spectacle whom I will convert through such healings as have been beneficial."'

31. Now when the whole crowd had come together to Lycomedes on John's account, he dismissed them all, saying, 'Come tomorrow into the theatre, all you who wish to see the power of God!' And on the next day the crowds came together into the theatre while it was still night, so that the proconsul heard of it and came quickly and took his seat with all the people. And a certain Andronicus who was praetor, and was the leading citizen of Ephesus at that time, spread the story that John had promised what was impossible and incredible. 'But if he can do any such thing as I hear', he said, 'let him come naked into the public theatre, when it is open, holding nothing in his hands; neither let him name that magical name which I have heard him pronounce.'

32. So when John heard this and was disturbed by these words, he commanded the old women to be brought into the theatre. And when they were all brought into the midst, some lying on beds and others in a torpor, and when the city had come running together, a great silence ensued; then John opened his mouth and began to say,

33. 'Men of Ephesus, you must first know why I am visiting your city <...>, or what is this great confidence of mine towards you, \* (which is) so great that it is evident to you all in this general assembly. I have been sent, then, on no human mission, nor on a useless journey; nor am I a merchant that makes bargains or exchanges; but Jesus Christ, whom I preach, in his mercy and goodness is converting you all, you who are held fast in unbelief and enslaved by shameful desires; and through me he wills to deliver you from your error; and by his power I will convict even your praetor's disbelief, by raising up these women who are lying before you - you see what a state and what sicknesses they are in. And this is not possible for me now <...> if they \*perish\* (?) <...>, and will be removed by healings (?)'.

34. But this I wish first to sow in your ears, that you take heed for your souls, which is the reason for my coming to you <...>. Do not expect that this time is eternal, which is (the time of) the yoke, nor lay up treasures on earth, where everything withers away <...>. Do not think, if children come to you, to rest in them; and do not try for their sakes to rob and to swindle. <...> Do not be grieved, you who are poor, if you have not (the means) to serve your pleasures;

for even those who have them, when they fall ill, pronounce (you) happy. And do not rejoice in possessing much wealth, you who are rich; for by possessing these things you provide for yourselves a constant distress if you lose them, and again \*while you have them\* you are afraid that someone may attack you because of them.

35. But you who are proud of your handsome figure and give haughty looks, you shall see the end of this promise in the grave. And you who delight in adultery, be sure that law and nature alike take vengeance on you, and conscience before these. And you, adulterous woman, who rebel against the law, you know not where you will end. You who give nothing to the needy, although you have money put away, when you depart from this body and are burning in fire, begging for mercy, will have no one to pity you. And you, hot-tempered and savage man, be sure that you are living like the brute beasts. And you, drunkard and trouble-maker, must learn that you are out of your senses when you are enslaved to a shameful and filthy desire.

36. You who delight in gold and ivory and jewels, do you see your loved (possessions) when night comes on? And you who give way to soft clothing, and then depart from life, will these things be useful in the place where you are going? And \*let\* the murderer \*know\* that the punishment he has earned awaits him in double measure after he leaves this (world). So also the poisoner, sorcerer, robber, swindler, and sodomite, the thief and all of this band, guided by your deeds you shall come to unquenchable fire<sup>10</sup> and utter darkness and the pit of torments and eternal doom. So, men of Ephesus, change your ways; for you know this also, that kings, rulers, tyrants, boasters and warmongers shall go naked from this world and come to eternal misery and torment.

So saying, John healed all (their) diseases through the power of God.

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The summary statement of the last sentence of c. 36 covers the disappearance of a considerable section. It must have concluded the story of the healing of the old women. Moreover a fairly lengthy narrative concerned with Drusiana and Andronicus can be inferred to have stood in this lost section. Andronicus is mentioned for the first time in c. 31, where he figures as an unbeliever; he appears next in c. 37, but now as a loyal disciple of John. The lost section, therefore, must have told of his conversion, and indeed in a fairly lengthy narrative, as a number of surviving indications show. A prayer by Drusiana in c. 82 contains some personal reminiscences, including in what is evidently meant to be chronological order: 1) Christ allowed her to see signs and wonders; 2) he made her a partaker of his name; 3) he revealed himself to her as one of many forms, and had mercy on her in manifold ways; 4) he protected her from violence from her consort Andronicus; 5) he made the latter become a brother to her; 6) he has kept her pure since then; 7) he raised her from death through John; 8) he caused Callimachus to undergo a change of heart; 9) he gave to Drusiana the true rest. Points 6-9 in this list relate to the immediate context of c. 82,

the story of Drusiana and Callimachus (cc. 63-86), but points 1-5 must refer to something further back. Additional light falls on point 4 through a reference in c. 63. Callimachus, who is seeking to ensnare Drusiana in carnal love, is told by his friends: 'It is impossible for you to win this woman, for she has long ago separated even from her husband for the sake of piety. Are you the only one who does not know that Andronicus, who formerly was not the god-fearing man he is now, shut her into a sepulchre, saying "Either I must have you as the wife whom I had before, or you must die!" And . . . she chose to die, rather than commit that abominable act.' This can be supplemented by three allusions in the Manichean Psalm-book which can be traced back to the Acts of John. In one of the 'Psalms of Heracleides' it is said: 'A [woman] that loves her master is Drusiana, the lover of God, shut up for fourteen days, seeking her apostle',<sup>11</sup> and in one of the 'pilgrim psalms': 'Even so the blessed Drusiana, she too endured the like, imprisoned fourteen days, like her master, her apostle';<sup>12</sup> a few lines earlier it was said of John that he was 'imprisoned fourteen days, that he might die of hunger'.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the 'preaching of the Gospel' in the Acts of John (cc. 87-105) starts with a narrative in which Drusiana says: 'The Lord appeared to me in the tomb like John, and as a young man' (c. 87), a statement which cannot be related to the events in the Drusiana-Callimachus story, which also took place in a sepulchre, but can be linked very well with point 3 of the reminiscences in c. 82. Finally, at the close of the 'preaching of the Gospel' John speaks of God as the one who hears all, 'and now also myself and Drusiana, being the God of those who are imprisoned' (c. 103).

From this we may deduce the following narrative complex, no longer extant: impressed by John's preaching and its powerful signs, Drusiana is converted and turns herself completely to sexual continence, so that she denies herself to her husband Andronicus. He finally shuts her up in a sepulchre, in order to compel her to give up this vow of chastity or leave her to die, and evidently at the same time brings about the imprisonment of John also, with the intention of letting him starve to death. The deliverance of both is brought about in miraculous fashion, after Drusiana at least has experienced an appearance of Christ both in the form of the apostle and in that of a young man. The conversion of Andronicus appears to have taken place in the same context, and he now as Drusiana's 'brother' turns to a life of abstinence in the same way as she does.<sup>14</sup> The 'preaching of the Gospel', which twice refers back to this complex, was then attached directly to it. The numbering as cc. 87-105 comes from M. Bonnet's edition, in which it was erroneously placed after the Drusiana-Callimachus story (cc. 63-86). Despite the necessary alteration in the order of the text, this numbering has been preserved on practical grounds, as already in the third and fourth German editions of this work and the earlier editions of its English translation as well as in the Junod/Kaestli edition.

#### John's Preaching of the Gospel (cc. 87-105)<sup>15</sup>

##### Introduction to the Preaching

87. Now those that were present enquired the cause, and were especially perplexed, because Drusiana had said, 'The Lord appeared to me in the tomb like John and as a young man.' So since they were perplexed and in some ways

not yet established in the faith, John \*took\* it patiently and said, (88) 'Men and brethren, you have experienced nothing strange or incredible in your perception of the <Lord>, since even we whom he chose to be his apostles have suffered many temptations; and I cannot <either> speak or write to you the things which I have seen and heard. Yet now I must adapt myself to your hearing and according to each man's capacity I will impart to you those things of which you can be hearers, that you may see the glory which surrounds him, which was and is both now and evermore.'

#### The Christ of many forms

For when he had chosen Peter and Andrew, who were brothers, he came to me and to my brother James, saying "I need you; come to me!"<sup>16</sup> And my brother <when he heard> this said: "John, what does he want, this child on the shore who called us?" And I said, "Which child?" And he answered me, "The one who is beckoning to us." And I replied: "Because of the long watch we have kept at sea, you are not seeing well, brother James. Do you not see the man standing there who is handsome, fair and cheerful-looking?" But he said to me, "I do not see that man, my brother. But let us go, and we shall see what this means." And when we had brought the boat \*to land\* we saw how he also helped us to beach the boat. 89. And as we left the place, wishing to follow him, he appeared to me again as rather bald-<headed> but with a thick flowing beard, but to James as a young man whose beard was just beginning. So we were both puzzled about the meaning of what we had seen. Then as we followed him we became gradually <more> perplexed as we considered the matter.

But then there appeared to me a yet more amazing sight; I tried to see him as he was, and I never saw his eyes closing, but always open. But he sometimes appeared to me as a small man with no good looks, and also as wholly looking up to heaven (?). And he had another strange (property); when I reclined at table he would take me to his breast,<sup>17</sup> and I held <him> to me; and sometimes his breast felt to me smooth and soft, but sometimes hard like rock; so that I was perplexed in my (mind) and said: "What does <\*> this mean?" And as I thought about it, he . . .

90. Another time he took me and James and Peter to the mountain where he used to pray, and we saw <on> him a light<sup>18</sup> such that a man who uses mortal speech cannot describe what it was like. Again he took us three likewise up the mountain, saying "Come with me." And again we went; and we saw him at a distance praying. Then I, since he loved me,<sup>19</sup> went quietly up to him, as if he [.] could not see, and stood looking [.] at his hinder parts; and I saw him not dressed in clothes at all, but stripped of those <which> we (usually) saw (upon him), and not like a man at all. (And I saw that) his feet [.] were whiter than snow, so that the ground there was lit up by his feet; and that his head stretched

up to heaven, so that I was afraid and cried out; and he, turning about, appeared as a small man and caught hold of my beard and pulled it and said to me, "John, do not be faithless, but believing,<sup>20</sup> and not inquisitive." And I said to him, "Why, Lord, what have I done?" But I tell you, my brethren, that I suffered such pain for thirty days in the place where he touched my beard, that I said to him, "Lord, if your playful tug has caused such pain, what (would it be) if you had dealt me a blow?" And he said to me, "Let it be your (concern) from now on not to tempt him that cannot be tempted."

91. But Peter and James were vexed as I spoke with the Lord, and beckoned me to come to them, leaving the Lord alone. And I went, and they both said to me "The old man who spoke with the Lord on the (mountain-) top, who was he? For we heard them both speaking." And when I considered his abundant grace and his unity within many faces and his unceasing wisdom that looks after us, I said, "You shall learn this from him if you ask him."

92. And again when we - that is, all his disciples - were sleeping in one house at Gennesaret, I wrapped myself in my cloak and watched by myself (to see) what he was doing. And first I heard him say, "John, go to sleep." Then I pretended to sleep; and I saw another like him [.] and I heard him also saying to my Lord, "Jesus, the men you have chosen still disbelieve you." And my Lord said to him, "You are right; for they are men."

93. I will tell you another glory, brethren; sometimes when I meant to touch him I encountered a material, solid body; but at other times again when I felt him, his substance was immaterial and incorporeal, and as if it did not exist at all.

And if ever he were invited by one of the Pharisees and went (where) he was invited,<sup>21</sup> we went with him; and each one of us received one appointed loaf from those who invited us, and he also would take one; but he would bless his and divide it among us; and every man was satisfied by that little (piece),<sup>22</sup> and our own loaves were kept intact, so that those who had invited him were amazed.

And I often wished, as I walked with him, to see if his footprint appeared on the ground - for I saw him raising himself from the earth - and I never saw it. And (the following) too I tell you, my brethren, so as to encourage your faith in him - for his miracles and wonderful works must not be told for the moment, for they are unspeakable and, perhaps, can neither be uttered nor heard:

#### The Hymn of Christ<sup>23</sup>

94. Before he was arrested<sup>24</sup> by the lawless Jews, whose lawgiver is the lawless serpent, he assembled us all and said, "Before I am delivered to them,<sup>25</sup> let us sing a hymn to the Father, and so go to meet<sup>26</sup> what lies before (us)." So he told us to form a circle, holding one another's hands, and himself stood in the middle and said, "Answer Amen to me." So he began to sing a hymn and to say,<sup>27</sup>

"Glory be to thee, Father."  
And we circled round him and answered him, "Amen."  
"Glory be to thee, Logos:  
Glory be to thee, Grace." - "Amen."  
"Glory be to thee, Spirit:  
Glory be to thee, Holy One:  
Glory be to thy Glory." - "Amen."  
"We praise thee, Father:  
We thank thee, Light:  
In whom darkness dwelleth not."<sup>28</sup> - "Amen."

"And why we give thanks, I tell you:  
"I will be saved,<sup>28a</sup>  
And I will save." - "Amen."  
"I will be loosed,  
And I will loose." - "Amen."  
"I will be wounded,  
And I will wound." - "Amen."  
"I will be born,  
And I will bear." - "Amen."  
"I will eat,  
And I will be eaten." - "Amen."  
"I will hear,  
And I will be heard." - "Amen."  
"I will be thought,  
Being wholly thought." - "Amen."  
"I will be washed,  
And I will wash." - "Amen."

Grace dances.  
"I will pipe,  
Dance, all of you." - "Amen."  
"I will mourn,  
Beat you all your breasts (κόπτεσθαι)<sup>29</sup> - "Amen".  
"(The) one Ogdoad  
sings praises with us." - "Amen."  
"The twelfth number  
dances on high." - "Amen."  
"To the All  
it belongs to dance in the height(?)" - "Amen."  
"He who does not dance  
does not know what happens." - "Amen."

"I will flee,  
and I will remain." - "Amen."  
"I will adorn (χορμεῖν),  
and I will be adorned." - "Amen."  
"I will be united,  
and I will unite." - "Amen."  
"I have no house,  
and I have houses." - "Amen."  
"I have no place,  
and I have places." - "Amen."  
"I have no temple  
and I have temples." - "Amen."  
"I am a lamp to you (sing.)  
who see me." - "Amen."  
"I am a mirror to you  
who know me." - "Amen."  
"I am a door<sup>30</sup> to you  
<who> knock on me." - "Amen."  
"I am a way<sup>31</sup> to you  
<the> traveller." - "Amen."

Now if you follow  
my dance,  
see yourself  
in Me who am speaking,  
and when you have seen what I do,  
keep silence about my mysteries.  
You who dance, consider  
what I do, for yours is  
this passion of Man  
which I am to suffer.  
For you could by no means  
have understood what you suffer  
unless to you as Logos  
I had been sent by the Father.  
You who saw what I do  
saw (me) as suffering,  
and seeing it you did not stay  
but were wholly moved.  
Being moved towards wisdom (?)  
you have me as a support (*lit.* couch);  
rest in me.

Who I am, you shall know  
when I go forth.

What I now am seen to be,  
that I am not;

What I am you shall see  
when you come.

If you knew how to suffer  
you would be able not to suffer.

Learn how to suffer

and you shall be able not to suffer

What you do not know

I myself will teach you.

I am your God,

not (the God) of the traitor.

I will that holy souls

be made in harmony with me.

Understand the word

of wisdom!

Say again to me,

Glory be to thee, Father

Glory be to thee, Logos,

Glory be to thee, [.] Spirit." - "Amen."

"As for me,

\*if you would\* understand \*what I was\*:

By the Logos I [.] made a jest (παιζέειν) of everything  
and was not \*made a jest\*<sup>32</sup> at all.

I exulted: (*lit.* leaped)

but do you understand the whole,

and when you have understood it, say,

Glory be to thee, Father." - "Amen."

#### Revelation of the Mystery of the Cross

97. After the Lord had so danced with us, my beloved, he went out. And we, like men amazed or fast asleep, fled one this way and another that. And so I saw him suffer, and did not wait by his suffering, but fled to the Mount of Olives and wept at what had come to pass. And when he was hung (upon the Cross) on the Friday<sup>33</sup> at the sixth hour of the day,<sup>34</sup> there came a darkness over the whole earth.<sup>35</sup> And my Lord stood in the middle of the cave and giving light to me said: "John, for the people below in Jerusalem I am being crucified and pierced with lances and reeds<sup>36</sup> and given vinegar and gall to drink.<sup>37</sup> But to you I am speaking, and listen to what I speak.<sup>38</sup> I put into your mind to come up to

this mountain so that you may hear what a disciple should learn from his teacher and a man from God."

98.<sup>39</sup> And when he had said this he showed me a Cross of Light brought to a fixed shape, and around the Cross a great crowd, which had no single form; and in it (the Cross) was one form and the same likeness. And I saw the Lord himself above the Cross, having no shape but only a kind of voice; yet not that voice which we knew, but one that was sweet and gentle and truly (the voice) of God, which said to me, "John, there must (be) one man (to) hear these things from me; for I need one who is ready to hear. This Cross of Light is sometimes called Logos<sup>40</sup> by me for your sakes, sometimes mind, sometimes Christ, sometimes a door,<sup>41</sup> sometimes a way,<sup>42</sup> sometimes bread,<sup>43</sup> sometimes seed,<sup>44</sup> sometimes resurrection,<sup>45</sup> sometimes Son, sometimes Father, sometimes Spirit, sometimes life,<sup>46</sup> sometimes truth,<sup>47</sup> sometimes faith, sometimes grace;<sup>48</sup> and so (it is called) for men's sake.

But what it truly is, as known in itself and spoken to you, (is this): it is the delimitation of all things and the strong uplifting of what is firmly fixed out of what is unstable, and the harmony of wisdom. Now when wisdom is in harmony, there are those of the right and of the left, powers, authorities, principalities [and] demons, activities, threatenings, passions, calumnies, Satan and the inferior root from which <the> nature of transient things proceeded.

99. This Cross then, which has made all things stable through the Logos and separated off what is transitory and inferior, and then has poured itself (?) into everything, is not that wooden Cross which you will see when you go down from here; nor am I the (man) who is on the Cross, (I) whom now you do not see but only hear (my) voice. I was taken to be what I am not, I who am not what for the many I am; but what they will say of me is mean and unworthy of me. Since then the place of rest is neither (to be) seen nor told, much more shall I, the Lord of this (place), be neither seen <nor told>.

100. The multitude around the Cross that is <not> of one form is the inferior nature. As for those whom you see in the Cross, if they do not have a single form, not every member of him who came down has yet been gathered together. But when human nature is taken up, and the race that comes to me and obeys<sup>49</sup> my voice, then he who now hears me shall be united with it and shall no longer be what he now is, but (shall be) above \*them\* (?) as I am now. For so long as you do not call yourself mine, I am not what I was; but if you hear me, you also who hear shall be as I am, and I shall be what I was, when [...] Therefore ignore the many and despise those who are outside the mystery; for you must know that I am wholly with the Father, and the Father with me.<sup>50</sup>

101. So then I have suffered none of those things which they will say of me; even that suffering which I showed to you and to the rest in my dance, I will that it be called a mystery. For what you are you see, I have shown it to you; but what I am is known to me alone and to no one else. So let me have what

is mine; what is yours you must see through me; but to see me truly is, as I said, not possible, except for what you are able to know, being a kinsman. You hear that I suffered, yet I suffered not; and that I suffered not, yet I did suffer; and that I was pierced,<sup>51</sup> yet I was not lashed; that I was hanged, yet I was not hanged; that blood flowed from me,<sup>52</sup> yet it did not flow; and, in a word, that what they say of me, I did not endure, but what they do not say, those things I did suffer. Now what these are, I secretly show you; for I know that you will understand. You must know me, then, as the \*torment\* of the Logos, the piercing of the Logos, the blood of the Logos, the wounding of the Logos, the hanging of the Logos, the suffering of the Logos, the fastening of the Logos, the death of the Logos. And so I speak, having made room for the man. The first then (that) you must know (is) the Logos; then you shall know the Lord, and thirdly the man, and what he has suffered."

102. When he had said these things to me, and others which I know not how to say as he wills, he was taken up,<sup>53</sup> without any of the multitude seeing him. And going down I laughed at them all when they told me what they had said about him; and I held this one thing fast in my (mind), that the Lord had performed everything as a symbol and a dispensation for the conversion and salvation of man.

#### Concluding Admonitions

103. Now, my brothers, since we have seen the grace of the Lord and his affection towards us, let us worship him, since we have obtained mercy from him; not with (our) fingers, nor with (our) mouths nor with (our) tongue nor with any bodily organ at all, but with the disposition of our soul [ . . . ]. And let us watch, since he is at hand even now in prisons for our sakes, and in tombs, in bonds and dungeons, in reproaches and insults, by sea and on dry land, in torments, condemnations, conspiracies, plots and punishments; in a word, he is with all of us, and with the sufferers he suffers himself. Brethren, if he is called upon by any of us he does not hold out against hearing us, but being everywhere he hears us all, and now also myself and Drusiana, being the God of those who are imprisoned, \*bringing\* us help through his own compassion.

104. You therefore, beloved, (must) also be persuaded, that it is not a man that I exhort you to worship, but God unchangeable, God invincible, God who is higher than all authority and all power and older and stronger than all angels and (all) that are called (\*) creatures and all aeons. So if you hold fast to this and are built up in this, you shall possess your soul indestructible."

105. And when John had delivered these things to the brethren, he went out with Andronicus to walk. And Drusiana followed at a distance with all <the brethren> to see the things performed by him and to hear his word at all times in the Lord.<sup>54</sup>

Between c. 105 and c. 37 there is a gap the extent and content of which cannot be determined. Junod/Kaestli (91f.) think that the narratives of which the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 850 has preserved remains (see above, p. 157f.), and possibly also the episode known from the Irish John story, the transformation of hay into gold (see above p. 161), could have had their place here. But the latter could be assigned at least as well to the travel report which has disappeared between c. 57 and c. 58.

#### Destruction of the Temple of Artemis and Conversion of the Ephesians

37. Now the brothers from Miletus said to John, 'We have remained a long time in Ephesus; if you agree, let us go to Smyrna. For already we hear that the great works of God have arrived there also.' And Andronicus said to them, 'When our teacher wishes, then let us go.' But John said, 'Let us first go into the Temple of Artemis; for perhaps if we are seen (there), the servants of the Lord will be found there also.'

38. Now two days later there was the dedication-festival of the idol-temple. So while everyone was wearing white, John alone put on black clothing and went up to the temple;<sup>55</sup> and they seized him and tried to kill him. But John said, 'You are mad to lay hands on me, men, a servant of the only God.' And he went up on a high platform, and said to them,

39. 'Men of Ephesus, you are liable to behave like the sea; every river at its outfall, every spring that flows down, the rains and incessant waves and stormy torrents, are all made salt by the bitter brine that is in it. You likewise have remained to this day unchanged (in your attitude) towards the true religion, and are being corrupted by your ancient rituals. How many miracles (and) cures of diseases have you seen (performed) through me? And yet you are blinded in your hearts, and cannot recover your sight. What is it then, men of Ephesus? I have ventured to come up now into this very idol-temple of yours. I will convict you of being utterly godless and dead as regards human reasoning. See, here I stand. You all say that you have Artemis as your goddess [..]; pray to her, then, that I, and I alone, may die; or if you cannot do this, then I alone will call upon my own God and because of your unbelief I will put you all to death.'

40. But since they had long experience of him and had seen dead men raised (by him), they cried out, 'Do not destroy us like that, we implore you, John; we know that you can do it!' And John said to them, 'If you do not wish to die, then your religion must be convicted; and why convicted? - so that you may abandon your ancient error. For now is the time! Either you must be converted by my God, or I myself will die at the hands of your goddess; for I will pray in your presence and entreat my God that you may find mercy.'

41. So saying he uttered this prayer: 'O God, who art God above all that are called gods; yet rejected till this day in the city of the Ephesians; who didst put me in mind to come to this place, of which I never thought; who dost convict every form of worship, by converting (men) to thee; at whose name every idol takes flight, and every demon, <every> power and every unclean nature; now let the demon that is here take flight at thy name, the deceiver of this great multitude; and show thy mercy in this place, for they have been led astray.'

42. And while John was saying this, of a sudden the altar of Artemis split into many pieces, and all the offerings laid up in the temple suddenly fell to the floor and \*its glory\*<sup>46</sup> was shattered, and so were more than seven images; and half the temple fell down, so that the priest was killed at one stroke as \*the pillar\*<sup>47</sup> came down. Then the assembled Ephesians cried out, '(There is but) one God, (the God) of John! (There is but) one God who has mercy upon us; for thou alone art God! We are converted, now that we have seen thy marvellous works! Have mercy upon us, O God, according to thy will, and save us from our great error!' And some of them lay on their faces and made supplication, others bent their knees and prayed; some tore their clothes and wept, and others tried to take flight.

43. But John stretched out his hands and with uplifted heart said to the Lord, 'Glory be to thee, my Jesus, the only God of truth, for thou dost gain thy servants by elaborate means.' And having said this he said to the people, 'Rise up from the ground, men of Ephesus, and pray to my God, and acknowledge his invisible power that is openly seen, and the wonderful works that were done before your eyes. Artemis should have helped herself; her servant should have been helped by her, and not have died. Where is the power of the demon (i.e. the goddess)? Where are her sacrifices? Where are her dedication-festivals? - her feasts? - her garlands? Where is all that sorcery and the witchcraft that is sister to it?'

44. And the people rising from the ground went running and threw down the rest of the idol temple, crying out, 'The God of John (is the) only (God) we know; from now on we worship him, since he has had mercy upon us!' And as John came down from that place a great crowd took hold of him, saying, 'Help us, John; stand by us, for we perish in vain. You see our purpose; you see the people following after you, hanging in hope upon your God. We have seen the way which we followed in error (as a false way), \*since we have lost (him)\*; we have seen that our gods were set up in vain; we have seen their great and shameful derision. But let us, we beg you, come to your house and receive help without hindrance. Accept us, for we are desperate!'

45. But John said to them, 'Friends, you must believe that it was on your account that I remained at Ephesus, although I was eager to go to Smyrna and the other cities, that the servants of Christ who are there may be converted to him. But since I would have departed without being fully at ease about you,

I have waited, praying to my God, and asked him that I should leave Ephesus (only) when I have confirmed you (in the faith); and now I see that this has happened, and indeed is still happening, I will not leave you until I have weaned you like children from the nurse's milk and set you upon a solid rock.'

### Raising of the Priest of Artemis

46. So John remained with them and received them [...] in the house of Andronicus. And one of those who were assembled there laid down the dead body of the priest of Artemis before the door [...], for he was his kinsman, and came in quickly with the rest, telling no one. Therefore, John, after he had addressed the brethren, and after the prayer and the thanksgiving (eucharist), and [...] when he had laid hands on each of those who were assembled, said in the Spirit, 'One of those present, led to this house by faith in God, has laid down the priest of Artemis before the door and has come in; <and> in the longing of his soul he has put the concern for himself first, reasoning thus with himself; "It is better that I should take thought for the living than for my dead kinsman; for I know that if I turn to the Lord and save my own soul, John will not refuse even to raise up the dead." And John rising from <his> place went where the priest's kinsman, who had thought this, came in; and he took him by the hand, and said, 'Had you these thoughts when you came in to me, my son?' And he, overcome with trembling and fright, said, 'Yes, my Lord', and threw himself at his feet. And John (said), 'Our Lord is Jesus Christ, and he will show his power on your dead kinsman by raising him again.'

47. And he made the young man rise and took his hand and said, 'It is no great matter for a man who has power over great mysteries to be still concerned with small things. Or is it any great matter if bodily sicknesses are cured? ... And still holding the young man by the hand he said, 'I tell you, my son, go and raise up the dead man yourself, saying nothing but only this: "John, the servant of God, says to you, Arise!" And the young man went to his kinsman and said just this, while a great crowd of people were with him, and came in to John bringing him alive.

And when John saw the man who was raised up, he said, 'Now that you have risen, you are not really living, nor are you a partner and heir to the true life; will you belong to him by whose name and power you were raised up? So now, believe, and you shall live for all eternity.' And then and there he believed on the Lord Jesus, and from that time kept company with John.

### Conversion of a Parricide

48. On the next day John saw in a dream that he was to walk three miles outside the gates, and he did not ignore it, but rose up at dawn and started with

the brothers along the road. And (there was) a countryman who was warned by his father not to take to himself the wife of his fellow-labourer, since he threatened to kill him; (but) the young man could not put up with his father's warning, but kicked him and left him speechless. But when John saw what had happened, he said to the Lord, 'Lord, was it because of this that you told me to come here today?'

49. But the young man, seeing (his) sudden death and fearing arrest, took out the sickle that was in his belt and began running towards his cottage; but John met him and said, 'Stand still, you ruthless demon, and tell me where you are running with (that) bloodthirsty sickle.' And the young man in his confusion let his weapon fall to the ground and said to him, 'I have committed a monstrous and inhuman act, and know that I will be arrested, so I resolved to do something worse and more cruel to myself, and to die at once. My father was always urging me to live a chaste and honourable life, yet I could not put up with his reproofs, but kicked him to death. And when I saw what had happened I was hurrying to the woman for whom I murdered my father, and I meant to kill her and her husband and last of all myself. I could not bear the woman's husband to see me suffer the death-penalty.'

50. Then John said to him, 'I will not go away and leave you in danger, or I shall give place to him who would laugh and scoff at you. No, come with me and show me where your father is lying. And if I raise him up for you, will you keep away from the woman who has become (so) dangerous to you?' And the young man said, 'If you raise me up my father himself alive and I see him whole and \*continuing\* (?) in life, I will keep away (from her) in future.'

51. And as he said this, they came to the place where the old man lay dead, and there were a number of passers-by standing by the place. And John said to the young man, 'You wretch, did you not even spare your father's old age?' But he wept and tore his hair and said he was sorry for it. And John the servant of the Lord said, '(Lord,) who didst show me today that I was to come to this place, who knewest that this would happen, whom nothing that is done in this life can escape, who dost grant me every (kind of) cure and healing by thy will; grant even now that this old man may live, seeing that his murderer has become his own judge. And do thou alone, Lord, spare him, though he did not spare his father, who gave him counsel for the best.'

52. With these words he went to the old man and said, 'My Lord will not be slack to extend his good pity and his condescending heart even to you; rise up and give glory to God for the timely miracle.'<sup>38</sup> And the old man said, 'I arise, my Lord.' And he arose. And seating himself he said, 'I was released from a terrible life (in which) I suffered many grievous insults from my son, and his lack of affection, and you called me back, servant (*lit.* man) of the living God - for what purpose?' <And John answered him, 'If> you are arising to this same (life), you should rather be dead; but rouse yourself to a better (one)!> And

he took him and brought him into the city and proclaimed the grace of God to him, so that before they reached the gate the old man believed.

53. But when the young man saw the unexpected resurrection of his father and his own deliverance, he took <the> sickle and took off his private parts; and he ran to the house where he kept his adulteress and threw them down before her, and said, 'For your sake I became my father's murderer, and of you two, and of myself. There you have the pattern and cause of this! As for me, God has had mercy on me and shown me his power.'

54. And he went and told John before the brethren what he had done. But John said to him, 'Young man, the one who tempted you to kill your father and commit adultery with another man's wife, he has also made you take off the unruly (members) as if this were a virtuous act. But you should not have destroyed the place (of your temptation), but the thought which showed its temper through those members; for it is not those organs which are harmful to man, but the unseen springs through which every shameful emotion is stirred up and comes to light. So, my son, if you repent of this fault and recognise the devices of Satan, you have God to help you in everything that your soul requires.' And the young man kept quiet, repenting of his former sins that he might obtain pardon from the goodness of God; and he would not separate from John.

### The Call to Smyrna

55. Now while he was doing these things in the city of the Ephesians, the people of Smyrna sent messengers to him, saying, 'We hear that the God whom you preach is bountiful, and has charged you not to show favour by staying in one place. Since then you are the preacher of such a God, come over to Smyrna and to the other cities, so that we may come to know of your God and knowing him may set our hopes on him.'

\* \* \*

### Travel report (cc.56-61)

While c. 55 reports the urgent call which reached John from Smyrna, the episode in c. 56f., transmitted without any connection with other passages from the ancient Acts of John, leads to the beginning of his stay in Smyrna. Accordingly an intervening passage is missing, which must have narrated at least the departure from Ephesus to Smyrna.

### Healing of the sons of Antipatros

56. So departing from Ephesus we came to the city of Smyrna. The whole city came together on learning that John was there; and a man named Antipatros, prominent among the Smyrneans, came up to John saying:

'Servant of God, I hear that you have done many good deeds and great miracles in Ephesus. Look, I give you ten thousand gold pieces. I have two twin sons who at the moment of their birth were smitten by a demon, and to this day suffer terribly - they are now thirty-four years old. In one hour they both collapse, at one time seized in the bath, at another while walking, often again at table, and sometimes again in the public assembly of the city. You will see yourself that they are men of goodly size, but wasted by the illness that comes upon them every day. I beg you, help my old age. For I am considering imposing a resolve upon myself; when they were babes, they suffered in moderation, but now that they are grown men they have attracted demons also more full-grown. So have pity on me and on them.' John said to him: 'My physician takes no reward in money, but when he heals for nothing he reaps the souls of those who are healed, in exchange for the diseases. What then are you willing (to give), Antipatros, in exchange for your children? Offer your own soul to God, and you shall have your children healthy by the power of Christ.' And Antipatros said: 'No one have you overlooked until now, do not (neglect) my sons. For <with the consent> of all my kinsfolk I am of a mind, because of the derision (we have experienced), to put them to death by poison. But do you who come as a faithful physician, appointed for them by God, shine upon them and help them.' 57. Thus entreated, John said to the Lord: 'Thou who dost ever comfort the humble<sup>59</sup> and art called to aid, who dost never \*need\*<sup>60</sup> to be summoned, for you are yourself present before we begin, let the unclean spirits be driven out from the sons of Antipatros!' And immediately they came out from them. But John ordered that the young men should come; and when their father saw them in good health he fell down and did obeisance to John. [And after instructing them in the things concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, he baptised them].<sup>61</sup> And John enjoined Antipatros to give money to those who were in need and sent them away praising and blessing God.

\* \* \*

Between c. 57 and c. 58 a fairly long account of a journey by the apostle through various cities of the province of Asia must be missing. In c. 55 he is called not only to Smyrna but also 'to the other cities', and according to the superscription handed down at c. 58 he begins his return journey to Ephesus from Laodicea. The sequence of the stopping-places, Ephesus, Smyrna . . . and Laodicea, may suggest the conjecture that it was a matter of a report of a journey through the seven churches of the Apocalypse of John (Rev. 1:11; 2f.).<sup>62</sup> It is also not out of the question that the episode of the transforming of hay into gold, transmitted by the Irish John-story (see above, p. 161), belonged to this travel narrative. Finally, among the persons named in c. 59 Aristobula, who according to the Manichean Psalm-book appears to have played an important role in the Acts of John (see above, p. 89), Aristippus, Xenophon and the 'virtuous prostitute' must have been introduced in this report.

## Departure for Ephesus

(Two manuscripts have the heading: From Laodicea to Ephesus the second time)

58. Now when some considerable time had gone by, and none of the brethren had ever been distressed by John, they were distressed at that time because he had said, 'Brethren, it is now time for me to go to Ephesus; for so I have agreed with those who live there, so that they do not grow slack through having no one to encourage them all this time; and you all must set your minds upon God, who does not desert us.' When the brethren heard this from him they were grieved, because he was parting from them. But John said, 'Even if I am parting from you, yet Christ Jesus is with you always; and if you love him purely, you shall possess continually the fellowship (that comes) from him; for where he is loved, he first (loves) those who love him.' 59. And when he had said this and bidden farewell to them, and had left large sums of money with the brethren for distribution, he set out for Ephesus, to all the brethren's grief and lamentation.

Now there were with him those who were also with him on his journey from Ephesus, Andronicus and Drusiana and the household of Lycomedes and of Cleobius. Also there followed him Aristobula, who had learnt that her husband Tertullus had died on the way,<sup>63</sup> and Aristippus together with Xenophon, and the virtuous prostitute and several others, whom he continually charged to (follow) the Lord Jesus Christ and who would not be parted from him.

## The Obedient Bugs

60. And on the first day we arrived at a lonely inn; and while we were trying to find a bed for John we saw a curious thing. There was one bed there lying somewhere not made up; so we spread the cloaks which we were wearing over it, and begged him to lie down on it and take his ease, while all the rest of us slept on the floor. But when he lay down he was troubled by the numerous bugs; and as they became more and more troublesome to him, and it was already midnight, he said to them in the hearing of us all, 'I tell you, you bugs, to behave yourselves, one and all; you must leave your home for tonight and be quiet in one place and keep your distance from the servants of God.' And while we laughed and went on talking, John went to sleep; but we talked quietly and did not disturb him.

61. Now as the day was breaking I got up first, and Verus and Andronicus with me; and we saw by the door of the room a mass of bugs collected; and as we were astounded at the great number of them, and all the brethren had woken up because of them, John went on sleeping. And when he woke up we explained to him what we had seen. And he sat up in the bed and looked at them and said to the bugs 'Since you have behaved yourselves and avoided my

punishment go (back) to your own place.' And when he had said this and had got up from the bed, the bugs came running from the door towards the bed and climbed up its legs and disappeared into the joints. Then John said again, 'This creature listened to a man's voice and kept to itself and was quiet and obedient; but we who hear the voice of God disobey his commandments and are irresponsible; how long will this go on?'

#### Second Stay in Ephesus (cc. 62-86, 105-115)

##### Arrival in Ephesus

62. After this we came to Ephesus; and the brethren in that place, learning that John had arrived after all this time, came running to the house of Andronicus, where he was staying, and grasped his feet and laid his hands on their faces and kissed them. And they stretched out their own hands and kissed them, if they touched \* <him>\*, because they had at least touched his clothes.

##### Drusiana and Callimachus<sup>64</sup>

63. And while great love and unsurpassed joy prevailed among the brethren, a certain man, an emissary of Satan, fell in love with Drusiana when he saw her, although he knew that she was the wife of Andronicus. And several people said to him, 'It is impossible for you to win this woman, for she has long ago separated even from her husband for the sake of piety. Are you the only one who does not know that Andronicus, who formerly was not the god-fearing man he is now, shut her into a sepulchre, saying "Either I must have you as the wife whom I had before, or you must die!" And she chose to die and not to share with him his ample wealth; she chose to be put to death rather than commit that abominable act. If then she would not consent to union with her lord and husband, but even persuaded him to be of the same mind as herself, will she agree with you who wish to become her lover? Leave off (this) madness, which has no rest in you! Leave off (this) project which you cannot fulfil! Why do you inflame your desire, thinking you can do what you venture?'

64. But his intimate friends could not persuade him with these words, but he had the effrontery to send to her. And having abandoned his attempts on her, lest he should be exposed to many an insult, he spent his life in despair. After two days Drusiana took to her bed with a fever resulting from despondency, saying: 'I wish I had never come to my native town, that I might not have become a stumbling-block to a man uninstructed in religion! If he were a man \*filled with <God's> word\*, he would not have come to such a pitch of wantonness. So, Lord, since I have been partly to blame for the wounding of an ignorant soul, release me from this bondage and remove me to thee at once!'

And in the presence of John, though he was not fully aware of (the truth of) the matter, Drusiana departed this life, having no joy at all but rather distress because of the spiritual hurt of that man.

65. But Andronicus, troubled with secret sorrow, grieved in his heart and also lamented openly, so that John often quietened him and said to him, 'Drusiana has gone to a better hope out of this unjust life.' And Andronicus answered him, 'Yes, I am convinced (of it), Father John, and have no doubt about faith in my God; and above all I insist that she departed this life in purity.'

66. And when she was brought out (for burying), John took hold of Andronicus; and when he had learned the reason (for what had happened), he grieved (even) more than Andronicus; and he kept quiet, troubled by the machinations of the adversary, and sat (still) for a little. Then, when the brothers had collected to hear what speech he would make about the departed, he began to say,

67. 'When the pilot in his voyage, together with the sailors and the ship herself, arrives in a calm and sheltered haven, then he may say that he is safe. And the farmer who has laid the seed in the earth and has laboured long to cultivate and guard it, may rest from his labours only when he lays up the seed increased many times in his storehouses. The man who enters for a race in the arena should triumph only when he brings back the prize. The man who puts in for a boxing-match should boast only when he gets his crowns. And (so are) all such contests and skills (acknowledged) when they do not fail in the end, but prove to be equal to what they promised.

68. The same I think is the case with the faith which each one of us practises; its truth is decided when it persists unaltered even to the end of life. For many hindrances assail and cause disturbances to the thoughts of men: anxiety, children, parents, reputation, poverty, flattery, youth, beauty, vanity, desire, wealth, anger, presumption, indolence, envy, jealousy, negligence, violence, lust, deceit, money, pretence, and all such other hindrances as there are in this life; just as the pilot sailing on a calm passage is opposed by the onset of contrary winds and a great storm and surge (that comes) out of the calm, and the farmer by untimely cold and mildew and the (pests) that creep out of the earth, and athletes by narrowly failing and craftsmen by falling short (in their crafts).

69. But the man of faith before all else must take thought for his ending and learn how it is to meet him, whether vigilant (?)<sup>65</sup> and sober and unhindered, or disturbed and courting worldly things and held fast by desires. So again one can praise the grace of a body (only) when it is wholly stripped and the greatness of a general (only) when he fulfils the whole promise of the war, and the excellence of a doctor (only) when he has succeeded in every cure, and a soul as <full> of faith and worthy of God (only) when it has performed what agrees with (its) promise; one cannot (praise the soul) which began (well) but slipped down into all the things of this life and fell away; nor the sluggish soul, which made an effort to follow better (examples), but then was reduced to

transitory (pursuits); nor that which desired temporal things rather than the eternal, nor that which exchanged the enduring for the impermanent, nor that which respected what deserves no respect, nor that which esteemed deeds worthy of reprobation, nor that which takes pledges from Satan, nor that which received the serpent into its house, nor that which laughed at what is no laughing matter, nor that which suffers reproach for God's sake and then does not allow itself to be exposed to shame,<sup>66</sup> nor that which consents with its lips but does not show it in practice. But (we must praise the soul) which has had the constancy not to be paralysed by filthy pleasure, not to yield to indolence, not to be ensnared by love of money, not to be betrayed by the vigour of the body and by anger.'

70. And while John was addressing yet more words to the brethren, to teach them to despise transitory things, Drusiana's lover, inflamed by the fiercest lust and by the influence of the many-formed Satan, bribed the steward of Andronicus, an acquisitive man, with a great sum of money; and he opened Drusiana's grave and gave (him) leave to perform the forbidden thing upon (her) dead body. Having not succeeded with her while she was alive, he still persisted with her body after her death, and said, 'If you would not consent to union with me when alive, I will dishonour your corpse now you are dead.' With this design, when he had arranged for his wicked deed through the abominable steward, he burst into the tomb with him; and when they had opened the door they began to strip the grave-clothes from the corpse, saying, 'Miserable Drusiana, what have you gained? Could you not have done this while you were alive? It need not have distressed you, if you had done it willingly.'

71. And when only her undergarment<sup>67</sup> remained about her nakedness, a serpent appeared from somewhere and despatched the steward with a single bite; so it killed him; but it did not bite the young man, but wound itself round his feet, hissing terribly; and when he fell, the serpent mounted (his body) and sat upon him.

72. Now on the next day John came with Andronicus and the brethren to the sepulchre at dawn, it being now the third day<sup>68</sup> (from) Drusiana's (death), so that we might break bread there. And at first when we came the keys could not be found when they were looked for; and John said to Andronicus, 'It is right that they should be lost; for Drusiana is not in the sepulchre. Still, let us go on, that you may not be neglectful, and the doors will open of themselves, just as the Lord has granted us many other things.'

73. And when we came to the place, at John's command the doors came open, and \*we saw\* by the grave of Drusiana a handsome young man who was smiling. And when he saw him John cried out and said, 'Have you come before us here also, beautiful one? And for what reason?' And he heard a voice saying to him, 'For the sake of Drusiana, whom I will now raise up - for but a short time (only) have I found her mine - and for the sake of the man who has expired by her grave.' And when the beautiful one had said this to John he went up to heaven in the sight of us all.

But when John turned to the other side of the sepulchre he saw a young man, a prominent citizen of Ephesus, Callimachus, and a huge serpent lying asleep upon him, and Andronicus' steward, Fortunatus, (lying) dead. And when he saw them both he stood perplexed, saying to the brethren: 'What is the meaning of this sight? Or why did not the Lord reveal to me what happened here, for he has never neglected me?'

74. And when Andronicus saw them (lying) dead he sprang up and went to Drusiana's grave; and seeing her only in her undergarment, he said to John, 'I understand what has happened, John, blessed servant of God; this Callimachus was in love with my sister; and since he never gained her, though he often ventured upon it, he bribed this accursed steward of mine with a great sum of money, intending perhaps, as now we can see, to execute by means of him the tragedy which he had plotted; for indeed Callimachus avowed this to many and said, "Even if she would not consort with me when living, she shall be violated when she is dead!" And perhaps, John, the beautiful one resolved that her (mortal) remains should not be dishonoured, and this is why the men who ventured on this are (lying) dead. And may it not be that the voice which said to you, "Raise up Drusiana - for but a short time have I known her my own" was foretelling this? For she departed this life in distress, thinking she had become a stumbling-block. But I believe him who said that this is one of the men who were led astray; for you have been bidden to raise him up; as for the other, I know that he is unworthy of salvation. But I make you this one request: raise up Callimachus first, and he will confess to us what has happened.'

75. So John looked at the dead body and said to the venomous reptile, 'Remove from him who shall be a servant of Jesus Christ!' Then he stood up and made this prayer: 'O God, whose name is rightly glorified by us; God, who subduest every harmful influence; God, whose will is performed and who hearest us always; may thy bounty be performed on this young man; and if any dispensation is to be made through him, declare it to us when he is raised up.' And at once the young man arose; and for a whole hour he kept silence.

76. But when he came to his senses, John asked him the meaning of his entry into the sepulchre; and when he heard from him what Andronicus had told him, that he had been in love with Drusiana, John asked him again: 'Did you succeed with your abominable design of dishonouring a corpse full of holiness?' And he answered him, 'How could I then accomplish this, when this dreadful creature struck down Fortunatus with one bite before my eyes? - and rightly so, for he encouraged me in this madness when I had already ceased from this great insanity - and it checked me with fright, and put me in the state in which you saw me before I arose. And I will tell you something else yet more marvellous, which undid me even more and made me a corpse; when my soul gave way to madness and the uncontrollable sickness was troubling me, and I had already stripped off the grave-clothes in which she was clothed, and then

had come out of the grave and laid them down as you see, I returned to my detestable work; and I saw a handsome young man covering her with his cloak. And from his face rays of light shone out on to her face. And he also spoke to me and said "Callimachus, die that you may live!" Now who he was I did not know, servant of God; but now that you have come, I know for certain that he is an angel of God; and I understand this in truth, that the true God is proclaimed by you, and of this I am convinced. But I beg you, do not be slow to deliver me from this calamity and dreadful crime, and present me to your God as a man who was deceived with a shameful and foul deceit. Would that it were given to you to open my breast and show my thoughts! For henceforth this lies upon my soul, a great pain, that once I cherished thoughts which I should not have had, and tempted by an evil disposition brought upon myself the greatest sorrow. So begging your help I clasp your feet, that I may become good [...] like you, since (otherwise) it is impossible for me to belong to God. And nothing lies upon my mind more than this, to have confidence towards your God as a true and genuine son. I entreat you therefore, I wish to become one of those who set their hopes on Christ, so that the voice may prove true that said to me here, "Die, that you may live!" That voice has indeed accomplished its effect; for that man is dead, that faithless, lawless, godless man; and I have been raised at your hands, and will be faithful and Godfearing, knowing the truth, which I beg you may be shown me by you.'

77. And John seized with great gladness and contemplating the whole spectacle of man's salvation said, 'Ah, what is thy power, Lord Jesu Christ, I know not, for I am amazed at thy great compassion and infinite forbearance. O, what greatness came down into bondage! O inexpressible freedom, reduced to slavery by us! O ineffable nobility, taken into captivity! O incomprehensible glory, who art also our advocate! The only king, yet subjected to us; who hast kept even the lifeless frame from dishonour; who hast convicted in this young man the whole unbridled state, and not allowed it to go to the limit; who hast muzzled the demon raging within him, and had pity on the man who was out of his senses! Deliverer of the man who was stained with blood, corrector of him that was entombed; who didst not send away him who scattered his fortune, nor turn thy face from him when he repented! Father who hast shown pity and compassion on the man who neglected himself! We glorify thee and praise and bless and give thanks for thy great goodness and forbearance, holy Jesu; for thou alone art God and no other. To whom is the power beyond all conspiracy, now and for all eternity. Amen.'

78. So saying John took Callimachus and kissed him and said, 'Glory be to our God, my child, Jesus Christ who has pitied you, and counted me worthy to glorify his power, and counted you also worthy by a way that comes from him to desist from that madness and frenzy of yours, and has summoned you to his own rest and renewal of life.'

78. But when Andronicus saw that Callimachus was raised from the dead a believer, he and all the brethren entreated John to raise up Drusiana also, and said, 'John, let Drusiana rise up and spend happily that short space <of life> which she gave up through distress about Callimachus, when she thought she had become a temptation to him; and when the Lord wills he shall take her to himself.' And John made no delay, but went to her grave and took Drusiana's hand and said, 'I call upon thee who art God alone, the exceeding great, the unutterable, the everlasting; to whom every power of principalities is subject; to whom every authority bows; before whom every pride is humbled and is still; before whom every presumption falls down and keeps silence; whom the demons hear and tremble;<sup>69</sup> whom all creation perceives and keeps its bounds; whom flesh does not know and blood does not understand: let thy name be glorified by us, and raise up Drusiana, that Callimachus may be further strengthened <in thee>, who providest what to men is unattainable and impossible, and to thee alone is possible, even salvation and resurrection; and that Drusiana may now be at peace, since now that the young man is converted she has no more with her the least hindrance in her hastening towards thee.'

80. And after these words John said: 'Drusiana, arise.' And she arose at once and came out of the grave; and seeing herself clad only in her undergarment, she was perplexed about what had happened; but when she had learnt the whole truth from Andronicus, while John lay upon his face and Callimachus with (uplifted) voice and with tears gave praise to God, she also rejoiced and gave praise in like manner.

81. Now when she had dressed herself she turned and saw Fortunatus lying, and said to John, 'Father, let this man arise also, for all that he strove to become my betrayer.' And when Callimachus heard her say this, he said, 'No, Drusiana, I beg you; for the voice which I heard took no thought of him, but made mention only of you; and I saw and believed. For if he had been good, no doubt God would have pitied him and raised him up through the blessed John. He made it known then that the man had come to a bad end. And John said to him 'My son, we have not learned to return evil for evil.'<sup>70</sup> For God also, though we have done much ill and nothing well towards him, has given us not retribution but repentance; and although we knew not his name, he did not forsake but had mercy on us; and though we blasphemed, he did not punish but pitied us; and though we disbelieved, he bore no grudge; and though we persecuted his brethren, he made no (such) return; and though we ventured many abominable and terrible deeds, he did not repel us, but moved us to repentance and restraint of wickedness and so called us to himself, as (he has called) you too, my son Callimachus, and without insisting on your former misdeeds he has made you his servant to serve his mercy. If then you will not allow <me> to raise up Fortunatus, it is a task for Drusiana.'

82. And she made no delay, but rejoicing in spirit and in gladness of soul she went up to the body of Fortunatus and said, 'O God of (all) ages, Jesus Christ, God of truth, who sufferedst me to see wonders and signs and didst grant me to become partaker of thy name, who didst reveal thyself to me with thy many-formed countenance and hadst mercy on me in every way; who by thy great goodness didst protect me when I suffered violence from my former consort Andronicus; who gavest me thy servant Andronicus as my brother; who hast kept me, thine handmaid, pure until this day; who hast raised me up when I was dead through thy servant John,<sup>71</sup> and when I was raised hast shown me the man who fell (as now) unfallen; who hast given me perfect rest in thee, and relieved me of the secret madness; whom I have loved and embraced; I entreat thee, Jesus Christ, do not refuse thy Drusiana's petition that Fortunatus should rise again, for all that he strove to become my betrayer.'

83. And she grasped the dead man's hand, and said, 'Rise up, Fortunatus, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, even though you are in the highest degree an enemy of the handmaid of God.' And Fortunatus rose up, and saw John in the sepulchre and Andronicus and Drusiana, now raised from the dead, and Callimachus, now a believer, and the rest of the brethren glorifying God; and he said, 'O, what end is there to the powers of these terrible men! I did not want to be resurrected, but would rather be dead, so as not to see them.' And with these words he ran away and left the sepulchre.

84. And John, seeing that the soul of Fortunatus was inflexible towards the good, said: 'O nature without natural inclination for the better! What a spring of the soul that persists in defilement! What essence of corruption full of darkness! What a death, dancing among those that are yours! What a barren tree that is full of fire! What a stump that has a demon for reason! What a branch (lit. wood) that brings forth coals of fire for fruit! What matter, consorting with the \*madness of matter\*<sup>72</sup> and neighbourhood to unbelief! You have convinced (us) who you are; you are convicted for ever with your children. The power of praising better things you do not know; for you do not possess it. Therefore as your way is, so is your root and nature. Be removed then, from those who hope in the Lord; from their thoughts, from their mind, from their souls, from their bodies, from their action, their life, their behaviour, their way of life, their practice, their counsel, from their resurrection to God, from their fragrance in which you can have <no> share, from their fasting, from their prayers, from their holy bath, from their Eucharist, from the nourishment of their flesh, from their drink, from their clothing, from their love-feast (ἀγάπη), from their care for the dead, from their continence, from their justice; from all these, most wicked Satan, enemy of God, shall Jesus Christ our God remove you and those who are like you and follow your ways.'

85. And when he had said this John prayed, and taking bread brought it into the sepulchre to break and said, 'We glorify thy name that converteth us from

error and pitiless deceit; we glorify thee who hast shown before our eyes what we have seen; we testify to thy goodness, in various ways appearing; we praise thy gracious name, O Lord, <which> has convicted those that are convicted by thee; we thank thee, Lord Jesus Christ, that we confide in <...>, which is unchanging; we thank thee who hadst need <...> of (our) nature that is being saved; we thank thee that hast given us this unwavering <faith> that thou alone art <God> both now and for ever; we thy servants, that are assembled and gathered with (good) cause, give thanks to thee, O holy one.'

86. And when he had made this prayer and glorified (God) he gave to all the brethren the Lord's Eucharist, and went out of the sepulchre. And he came to the house of Andronicus, and said to the brethren, 'My brethren, some spirit within me has foretold that Fortunatus must shortly turn black and die from the bite of the serpent; but let someone go quickly and learn if this be true.' Then one of the young men ran and found him now swollen up and the blackness spreading and reaching his heart. And he came and told John that he had been dead three hours. And John said, 'Devil, thou hast thy son.' [For cc. 87-105 see above, pp. 179ff.]

# The Departure (Metastasis: c.106-115)

## John's Last Act of Worship

106. The blessed John therefore kept company with the brethren rejoicing in the Lord. And on the next day, as it was a Sunday and all the brethren were assembled, he began to say to them, 'My brethren and fellow-servants, joint-heirs and partners with me in the kingdom of the Lord, you know God, how many great works he has granted you through me, how many wonders, how many signs, how many healings, what gifts of grace, (what) teachings, directions, refreshments, services, glories, manifestations of faith, acts of fellowship, graces, gifts, which you have seen with your eyes are given you by him, (though) they are not seen with these eyes nor heard with these ears. Therefore be firmly settled in him, remembering him in all you do, understanding the mystery of (God's) providence that has been accomplished for men, why the Lord has performed it. The Lord himself entreats you through me, my brethren, and makes request, desiring to continue free from distress, free from insult, and from disloyalty, and from injury; for he knows the insult that comes from you, he knows that dishonour, he knows that disloyalty, he knows even injury when you do not obey his holy commandments.

107. So let not your gracious God be grieved, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the pure, the undefiled, the immaterial, the only, the one, the unchanging, the sincere, the guileless, the patient, the one that is higher and loftier than every name we can utter or conceive, the God Jesus Christ. Let him rejoice with you because you behave honourably, let him be glad because you

live purely, let him be refreshed because your ways are sober, let him be easy because you live strictly, let him be pleased at your fellowship, let him laugh because you are chaste, let him be merry because you love him. I give you this charge, my brethren, because I am now hastening towards the task that is prepared for me, which is already being perfected by the Lord. For what else could I have to say to you? You have the pledges of your God, you have the securities of his goodness, you have his presence that is inescapable. If, then, you sin no longer, he forgives you what you did in ignorance; but if when you have known him and found mercy with him you resort again to such (deeds), then both your former (sins) will be laid to your charge, and you shall have no part nor mercy in him.'

108. And after speaking these words to them he made this prayer: 'O Jesus, who hast woven this crown with thy weaving, who hast united these many flowers into thine unfading flower, who hast sown these words of thine; thou only protector of thy servants, and physician who healest for nothing; only benefactor, free of arrogance, only merciful and lover of men, only saviour and righteous one; who ever art and dwellest in all and art everywhere present, encompassing all things and filling all things, God, Jesus, Christ, Lord; with thy gifts and thy mercy protect those that hope in thee, who exactly knowest all the devices and the malice of him that is everywhere our adversary, which he contriveth against us; do thou only, O Lord, assist thy servants by thy visitation.'

109. And he asked for bread, and gave thanks with these words: 'What praise or what offering or what thanksgiving shall we name as we break this bread, but thee alone, Jesu? We glorify thy name of Father which was spoken by thee; we glorify thy name of Son which was spoken by thee. We glorify thine entering of the door;<sup>73</sup> we glorify thy Resurrection<sup>74</sup> that is shown us through thee; we glorify thy Way;<sup>75</sup> we glorify thy Seed,<sup>76</sup> the Word,<sup>77</sup> Grace, Faith, the Salt,<sup>78</sup> the inexpressible Pearl,<sup>79</sup> the Treasure,<sup>80</sup> the Plough,<sup>81</sup> the Net,<sup>82</sup> the Greatness, the Diadem, him that for our sakes was called the Son of Man, the truth,<sup>83</sup> repose, knowledge, power, commandment, confidence, liberty and refuge in thee. For thou alone, O Lord, art the root of immortality<sup>84</sup> and the fount of incorruption and the seat of the aeons, who art called all these things on our account, that calling on thee through them we may know thy greatness, which at the present is invisible to us, but visible only to the pure \*as it is portrayed\* in thy man only.'

110. And he broke the bread and gave it to us, praying over each of the brethren that he would be worthy of the Lord's grace and of the most holy Eucharist. And he partook of it himself and said, 'May there be for me also a part with you', and, 'Peace be with you, my beloved.' After this he said to Verus, 'Take two brethren with baskets and spades, and follow me.' And Verus without delay did what was ordered by John the servant of God.

## The Death of John

111. So the blessed John came out of the house and walked outside the gates, having told the greater number that they should leave him; and when he came to a tomb of a brother of ours,<sup>85</sup> he said to the young men, 'Dig, my sons'. And they dug. And he was more insistent with them, and said, 'The digging must go deeper.' And while they were digging he spoke to them the word and encouraged those that had come from the house with him, edifying them and preparing them for the greatness of God and praying for each one of us.

And when the young men had finished the trench as he desired, while we knew nothing (of his intention) he took off the outer clothes which he had on and laid them like a mattress in the bottom of the trench; and standing in his undergarment<sup>86</sup> only he lifted up his hands and prayed thus: 112. 'O thou that didst choose us for the apostolate among the Gentiles; O God who has sent us into (all) the world; who hast shown thyself through thine apostles; who hast never rested, but dost always save those who can be saved; who hast revealed thyself through all nature; who hast proclaimed thyself even among beasts; who hast made even the lonely and embittered soul (grow) tame and quiet; who hast given thyself to it when it thirsted for thy words; who hast speedily appeared to it when it was dying; who hast shown thyself to it as a law when sunk into lawlessness; who hast revealed thyself to it when it was already overcome by Satan; who hast overcome its adversary when it took refuge with thee; who hast given to it thine hand and aroused it from the works of Hades; who hast not suffered it to conform to the body; who hast shown it its own enemy; who hast made knowledge of thee pure, God, Lord, Jesus; Father of beings beyond the heavens, God of those that are in the heavens; Law of the ethereal beings and Path of those in the air; Guardian of beings upon earth, and Terror of those beneath the earth; receive also the soul of thy John which, it may be, is approved by thee.

113. 'Thou who hast kept me also till this present hour pure for thyself and untouched by union with a woman; who when I wished to marry in my youth didst appear to me and say: "John, I need thee"; who when I was about to marry didst prepare for me a bodily sickness; who, though disobeyed, on the third occasion when I wished to marry didst prevent me, and then at the third hour of the day didst say to me upon the sea, "John, if thou wert not mine, I should have allowed thee to marry"; who didst blind me for two years, letting me be grieved and entreat thee; who in the third year didst open the eyes of my understanding and didst give me (back) my eyes that are seen; who when I regained my sight didst disclose to me the repugnance even of looking closely at a woman; who hast saved me from the temporal vision and guided me into that which endureth for ever; who hast rid me of the foul madness that is in the flesh; who hast snatched me from bitter death and presented me only to thee;

who hast silenced the secret disease of my soul and cut off the open deed; who hast weakened and expelled the rebellious (enemy) within me; who hast made my love for thee unsullied; who hast ruled my course to thee unbroken; who hast given me faith in thee undoubting; who hast instructed my knowledge of thee with purity; who givest to each man's works their due reward; who hast inspired my soul to have no possession more precious than thee. So now that I have fulfilled the charge which I was entrusted by thee,<sup>87</sup> Lord Jesus, count me worthy of thy rest and grant me my end in thee, which is inexpressible and unutterable salvation.

114. 'And as I come to thee let the fire retreat and the darkness be overcome, let chaos be enfeebled, the furnace grow dim and Gehenna be quenched; let angels be put to shame and demons be afraid, let the rulers be shattered and the powers fall; let the places on the right hand stand fast and those on the left be removed; let the devil be silenced, let Satan be derided, let his wrath be burned out, let his madness be calmed, let his vengeance be disgraced, let his assault be distressed, let his children be wounded and all his root rejected. And grant me to finish my way to thee preserved from violence and insult, receiving what thou hast promised to them that have lived purely and loved thee alone.'

115. And having sealed himself in every part, standing thus, he said '(Be) thou with me, Lord Jesus Christ'; and he lay down in the trench where he had spread out his clothes; and he said to us, 'Peace (be) with you, my brethren',<sup>88</sup> and gave up his spirit rejoicing.

The Metastasis<sup>89</sup> was subsequently expanded. According to a branch of text-form δ, represented by two manuscripts (RZ), and text-form β (with similar treatment in ps.-Prochorus: Zahn, p. 164.12f.) the apostle's body could not be found on the next day (RZ) or after three days (β; in ps.-Prochorus evidently already on the same day); 'for', RZ add, 'it was removed through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ'. The expansion in text-form γ is more elaborate: the apostle dismisses the brethren, and when they return on the next day they find only his sandals and see the earth pouring out, on which remembering the words of Jesus in Jn. 21:22 they return giving praise. This conclusion, which is also presupposed by Ephraim of Antioch (see above, p. 155), without the detail of the sandals left behind, combines two mutually conflicting traditions, both derived from Jn. 21:22; the one says that John did not die but was transported, while according to the other, reported in detail by Augustine (*in Joh. tract.* 124.2, ed. Willems, CChrSL 36, 681f. 28-37), he is indeed lying in the grave, but is not dead but asleep, so that the earth is shaken by his breathing and dust pours out (further witnesses in Junod/Kaestli, *Histoire*, 116, note 20). The revision of the Metastasis legend in the so-called Passio Iohannis of Melito of Laodicea (PG 5, col. 1250C) makes the empty tomb produce manna, and for Ephraim of Antioch also (in office 527-545) it is a holy substance which pours out from the burial place (in Photius, *Bibl.*, cod. 229, ed. Henry IV, 141.4-7). In the 6th century this 'manna', regarded as having miraculous effect, was already the subject of a wide-ranging trade in relics (cf. Gregory of Tours, *in Glor. Mart.* 29, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH.SSrerMer

I 2,<sup>3</sup>1969, 55). Yet in the time of their bishop Chromatius (c. 387-407) the church of Aquileia apparently already possessed such dust as a relic (Chromatius of Aquileia, *Sermo* XXI 4, ed. R. Étaix/J. Lemarié, CChrSL 9A, 99.89-93). As an institutionalised miracle, it was in the course of time restricted to the apostle's commemoration day – in the East September 26 – and the sepulchral area in the church of St John was structurally adapted for its unfolding (cf. J. Hörmann, *Das Johannesgrab: Forschungen in Ephesos IV* 3, published by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna 1951, 179-185); its gushing from the alleged tomb of John remained of significance for the Ephesian cult of John down to the Turkish conquest of the city in 1304 (cf. ps.-John Chrysostom, *in Laudem s. Joh. Apost.*, PG 61, col. 719 and *in s. Joh. Theol.* IV, Junod/Kaestli 415; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Hypomn. in Joh. Apost.* VII, PG 116, col. 704f.; compilation on John transmitted in a Georgian redaction by Euthymius Hagiorites: Michel van Esbroeck, 'Les Acta Iohannis traduits par Euthyme l'Hagiorite', *Bedi Karlisa* 33, 1975, 73-109, esp. 109, c. 199 of van Esbroeck's division; Ramón Muntaner [Chronicle c. 206, trans. by Lady Goodenough II, London 1921, 499f.] presents a particularly vivid portrayal from the period immediately before the Turkish conquest).

## Notes

## The Acts of John (text)

1. For the following translation those of Schimmelpfeng, James, Festugière and Junod/Kaestli were consulted with advantage. All passages where there is a deviation from the text of Junod/Kaestli are enclosed within \*; (\*) indicates an omission as compared with this text. Angled brackets <> mark an expansion, square brackets [] an omission against the wording of the manuscripts. Assumed lacunae in the text transmitted are indicated by < . . . >. Explanatory additions in the translation stand in round brackets (). Conjectures marked by asterisks for which there are no notes are from the apparatus in the Junod/Kaestli edition. Instead of constant single references, a general reference to their Introduction, Commentary and Notes may be given here for all problems of form or substance in the text. The sub-headings in the translation derive from the translator.
2. Cf. ATh 1; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 'Les scènes d'attribution des champs de mission et de départ de l'apôtre dans les Actes apocryphes', in: François Bovon et al., *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres*, Geneva 1981, 249-264.
3. προσομιλουμένης is read instead of προσομιλουντος of the MSS.
4. Dike: Righteousness personified (as a goddess).
5. In what follows it is presupposed that Lycomedes is dead.
6. Cf. Acts 3:20.
7. Cf. Mt. 7:7; Lk. 11:9.
8. Reading with Festugière (I.3, note 17): <ἀπὸ> χειμάτων τῶν δεδομένων μοι (MSS σου) νῦν ἀποστέλλω αὐτόν (MSS ἀποστέλλω αὐτόν, Junod/Kaestli ἀποστέλλω αὐτόν).
9. Cf. 2 Cor. 7:4.
10. Cf. Mk. 9:43.
11. A *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, ed. C.R.C. Allberry, 1938, 192.33-193.1 (cf. above, p. 97, note 34).
12. Allberry 143.11f.
13. *Ibid.* 142.24.
14. Virginia Burrus ('Chastity as Autonomy. Women in the Stories of the Apocryphal Acts',

*Semeia* 38, 1986, 101-117) has attempted to find a pre-literary *Sitz im Leben* in a specific early Christian women's milieu for such conversion stories in the apocryphal Acts; but see the criticism of J.-D. Kaestli, ib. 119-131.

15. Superscription in MS C (see above, p. 170, note 54), which contains only the 'Preaching of the Gospel': 'Wonderful report of the deeds and of the vision which the holy John the theologian beheld from our Lord Jesus Christ; how he appeared in the beginning \*to Peter\* and \*James\* and in which he recounts the mystery of the Cross.'

16. Cf. Mk. 1:16-20; Mt. 4:18-22.

17. Cf. Jn. 13:23, 25.

18. Cf. Mk. 9:2f.; Mt. 17:1f.; Lk. 9:28f..

19. Cf. Jn. 20:2.

20. Cf. Jn. 20:27.

21. Cf. Lk. 7:36; 11:37; 14:1.

22. Cf. Mk. 6:35-44; Mt. 14:15-21; Lk. 9:12-17; Jn. 6:5-13; Mk. 8:1-10; Mt. 15:32-39.

23. Junod/Kaestli (621-627) think of a possible liturgical *Sitz im Leben* for this so-called 'dance-hymn' in a gnostic initiation ritual; see further on the structure and function of the passage A.J. Dewey, 'Hymn', with the pertinent comments by J.-D. Kaestli. In the 20th century this text has frequently attracted practitioners in the arts: in 1917 the English composer Gustav Holst (1874-1934) set it to music in an English version as the 'Hymn of Jesus' (Op. 37; cf. Imogen Holst, *The Music of Gustav Holst*, Oxford 1968, 47-51); the French authoress Marguerite Yourcenar (1903-1987) in her novel *L'oeuvre au noir* (1968; ET *The Abyss*, c. 1976) drew freely upon it to characterise the milieu of occult esoteric circles in the 16th century; the Spanish film director Luis Buñuel (1900-1983) drew upon it, admittedly only according to Augustine (Ep. 237), in his film *La Voie Lactée (The Milky Way, 1969)*, which is critical of the Christian Church, for the representation of a Priscillianist mystery festival (text: *L'Avant-Scène du Cinéma* 94/95, July/Sept. 1969, 29f.).

24. Cf. Lk. 22:54; Jn. 18:12.

25. Cf. Jn. 18:36.

26. Cf. Mk. 14:26; Mt. 26:30.

27. Some fragments of the hymn are quoted by Augustine in Ep. 237. 5-9 (see above, pp. 154, 168 note 29) and may be collected here; the numbers following them in brackets give the context of quotation in Goldbacher IV, CSEL 57:

I will save, and I will be saved (530.17)

I will loose, and I will be loosed (529.3 and 29)

I will be born (531.4)

I will sing, dance all of you (531.7 and 9)

I will lament, beat you all yourselves (531.12)

I will adorn, and I will be adorned (531.13f.)

I am a lamp to you who see me (531.18)

I am a door to you who knock on me (531.20f.)

You who see what I do, keep silence about my works (531.26)

By the Word I mocked at all things, and I was not mocked at all (532.17f.)

28. Cf. 1 Jn. 1:5.

28a. The word "will" in this and the following verses has its full significance; "it is my will to be saved; not simply "I shall be saved." - G. C. S.

29. Cf. Mt. 11:17; Lk. 7:32.

30. Cf. Jn. 10:9.

31. Cf. Jn. 14:6.

32. MS  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\nu$  (Junod/Kaestli  $\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\chi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\nu$ : 'was put to shame' or 'was in disgrace');

Augustine, Ep. 237.9: *sum lusus* ( $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\chi\theta\eta\nu$ ).

33. According to the manuscript tradition of the Council of Nicaea 787  $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\tau\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omega$ , in

which the Syriac '*rubia*', 'day of preparation, Friday', may lie concealed.

34. Cf. Jn. 19:14 (on Friday about the sixth hour Pilate presented Jesus to the Jews); for the gnostic Marcus of the school of Valentinus, according to Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* I 14.6, ed. Adelin Rousseau/Louis Doutreleau (SC 264), Paris 1979, 224f.), the sixth hour of the day was by divine dispensation the hour of the Crucifixion. On a different punctuation however the words 'at the sixth hour' could also be related to the onset of the darkness, as in the Synoptic passion story (Mk. 15:33; Mt. 27:45; Lk. 23:44; cf. Gos. Pet. 15).

35. Cf. Mk. 15:33; Mt. 27:45; Lk. 23:44.

36. Cf. Mk. 15:19; Jn. 19:34; Gos. Pet. 9; Second Treatise of the Great Seth (NHC VII 2) 56.8f. (ed. and trans. M. Krause in F. Altheim/R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer* II, 1973, 121; Eng. trans. in NHLLE 1988, 365).

37. Cf. Ephraem Syrus, Diatessaron Commentary XX 27, tr. Louis Leloir (SC 121), Paris 1966, 362 ('... and they gave him vinegar and gall to drink'); Gos. Pet. 16 ('give him to drink gall with vinegar'); but cf. also Barn. 7.3 ('... he was given vinegar and gall to drink', according to Helmut Koester [*Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65, 1957, 149-152] from Christian school-tradition); Second Treatise of the Great Seth (NHC VII 2) 56.6f. (see note 36) ('... who drank the gall and the vinegar').

38. For the motif of the apparent crucifixion cf. the gnostic Apocalypse of Peter (NHC VII 3) 81.15-21, ed. and trans. M. Krause/Victor Girsig, *Christentum am Roten Meer* II (as note 36) 175 ('He whom you see on the cross, glad and laughing, is the living Jesus. But he into whose hands and feet they drive the nails is his fleshly part, the substitute'; see below, p. 708; Eng. trans. in NHLLE 1988, 377); Second Treatise of the Great Seth (as note 36) 55.30-56.13 (the subject of the sufferings in the passion story is [in each case?] someone other than the Saviour, and those who crucify him actually nail 'their man' to the cross); the gnostic Basilides according to Irenaeus (I 24.4 ed. Rousseau/Doutreleau [SC 264] 328: the crucified is not Jesus but Simon of Cyrene). The motif was also taken up later by Mohammed: Koran, Sura 4, 156f. (in a series of charges against the Jews): 'They said (in boast) "We killed Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, the Apostle of God"; - but they killed him not nor crucified him, but so it was made to appear to them' (tr. A. Yusuf Ali, 1977, p. 230).

39. For cc. 98-101 the German translation by Alexander Böhlig, 'Zur Vorstellung vom Lichtkreuz in Gnostizismus und Manichäismus', in *Gnosis* (FS Hans Jonas), 1978, 473-491, was also consulted.

40. Jn. 1:1.

41. Jn. 10:9.

42. Jn. 14:6.

43. Jn. 6:33, 35, 48.

44. Mk. 4:26; Lk. 8:5.

45. Jn. 11:25.

46. Jn. 11:25; 14:6.

47. Jn. 14:6.

48. Cf. Jn. 1:14, 17.

49. Cf. Jn. 10:16.

50. Cf. Jn. 10:38; 14:10f.

51. The wording of the Greek text evidently has Jn. 19:34 in view; but originally it was rather the scourging of Jesus that was meant (Mk. 15:15; Mt. 27:26; Jn. 19:1); cf. Schäferdiek, 'Herkunft' 252f.

52. Cf. Jn. 19:34.

53. Cf. Gos. Pet. 19.

54. Here the text from MS C closes with: 'now and for ever and from everlasting to everlasting. Amen'.

55. The author evidently envisages the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, wrongly, as an elevated

sanctuary, to which he makes the apostle 'go up' (cf. also c. 39: 'I have come up'). Actually it lay on the low ground north-east of the city. It ranked as one of the seven wonders of the world. In 268/9 it was devastated in a raid by the Goths, and thereafter only partly restored. From the beginning of the 5th century it finally fell into ruin (Anton Bammer, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos*, Graz 1984; Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, Cambridge 1979, 86f.).

56. MSS τὸ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, 'what seemed good to him', for which Festugière (16 note 26) suggests ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ, interpreting δόξα (radiance, glory) as the cultic image. Junod/Kaestli (222, note 42.1) conjecture τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν, 'their (= the votive offerings) bow (as an attribute of Artemis)'.

57. MSS τοῦ στρουμῶνος (lexically not attested); Junod/Kaestli (223, note 42.2) suggest τοῦ στρίμωνος in a meaning likewise not attested (cross-beam). The homily for St John's day (BHG<sup>3</sup> 927), dependent on the Acts of John and attributed to John Chrysostom, has the priest killed ὑπὸ τοῦ κίονος, by the column or pillar (PG 61, 720), hence the above translation presupposes τοῦ στρουτοῦ, a suggestion also made independent of the homily by G.C. Stead ('Conjectures on the Acts of John', JTS 32, 1981, 152-153 at p. 153).

58. MSS τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑσπέρῳ γενηνιμένῳ ἔργῳ, corrected to ἐπὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ by J.B. Bauer, *Die Korruptel Acta Johannis* 52, *Vig. Chr.* 44 (1990) 295-7.

59. Cf. 2 Cor. 7:6.

60. MSS διαμίνος, corrected to δεόμενος by Eric Junod/Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 'Un fragment inédit des Actes de Jean: la guérison des fils d'Antipatros à Smyrne', *Museum Helveticum* 31, 1974, 96-104, (at 104 note 41). In their edition they propose the correction διαμίνος, which however appears difficult in view of the durative significance of διαμένειν ('remain', but taken by Junod/Kaestli in the sense of 'await, expect').

61. This sentence in comparison with the ancient Acts of John is undoubtedly secondary.

62. So Theodor Zahn, 'Die Wanderungen des Apostels Johannes', *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 10, 1899, 191-218; id., *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neustamentlichen Kanons* VI, 1900, 197-199. The decisive rejection of this conjecture by Junod/Kaestli (93f.) hangs together with a misunderstanding of the functional significance of the narrative framework of the Acts of John for their conception as a whole.

63. Junod/Kaestli (95) understand 'way' here as a metaphor for Christianity; Aristobula has accordingly learned that her husband Terullus has died as a Christian, i.e. after being converted. In view of the order of resurrection from death and conversion which is characteristic for the Acts of John, a conversion leading to a speedy blissful end is for them not a very likely motif.

64. In the 10th century the episode of Drusiana and Callimachus was made into a drama, *Resuscitatio Drusianae et Calimachi*, after the Latin version of the *Virtutes Johannis*, by Roswitha of Gandersheim (*Hrotsvite opera*, ed. Helene Homeyer, 1970, 283-297).

65. The translation follows the *Virtutes Johannis (vigilantem)*; διεγρηγς in the Greek *Vorlage* (with attempts at correction in two MSS) cannot be explained.

66. Text μὴ ἀλογουμένην. Junod/Kaestli (263) suggest the deletion of μὴ. Festugière (22): '... qui n'en conçoit pas de bonie'. For ἀλογουέσθαι as describing the condition of being ashamed cf. Bultmann, TDNT I, 189-191.

67. The Greek τὸ διχοτόσιον (literally something doubly equipped with tassels or fringes) evidently means a garment worn directly on the body by both sexes, of the nature of which nothing is otherwise known. The term occurs only in the Acts of John (cc. 71; 74; 80 for Drusiana; c. 111 for John) and in the *Periplus maris Erythraei* (c. 6, ed. Hjalmar Frisk, *Le périple de la mer érythrée* [Göteborgs högskolas Årsskrift XXXIII], Gothenburg 1927, 23, 26), the date of which is disputed (the suggestions range between the middle of the 1st and the first half of the 3rd century; cf. Walter Raunig, 'Die Versuche einer Datierung des Periplus maris Erythraei', *Mitteilungen der anthropolog. Gesellschaft in Wien* 100, 1970, 231-241), but which is probably best placed in the middle of the 1st century (cf. G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1983, 70f.).

68. On the 'third day' as the conventional date for a cultic commemoration of the dead, see Franz Joseph Dölger, 'IXΘYC II. *Der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religionen und im Christentum*, 1922, 555-569.

69. Cf. Jas. 2:19.

70. Cf. Rom. 12:17; 1 Thess. 5:15; 1 Pet. 3:9.

71. The clause 'who hast raised me up ...' seems to be an abbreviation of the original text, which is still partly legible in the palimpsest MS H (Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Monastery of the Holy Trinity [Chalki] 102): '... who when I was dead didst take me <to myself> because of my affliction; who when I was separated from the body didst say (to me): "For <a short time> you are mine, Drusiana"; who <didst bestow> on John the grace to raise <me> up again, that I <...> the short time ...'.

72. The translation follows the reading ὑμῶν αὐτοῦ of the palimpsest H (against ὑμῶν αὐτοῦ of the other witnesses).

73. Cf. Jn. 10:9.

74. Cf. Jn. 11:25.

75. Cf. Jn. 14:6.

76. Cf. Mk. 4:26.

77. Cf. Jn. 1:1.

78. Cf. Mk. 9:50; Mt. 5:13; Lk. 14:34.

79. Cf. Mt. 13:45f.

80. Cf. Mt. 13:44.

81. Cf. Lk. 9:62.

82. Cf. Mt. 13:47.

83. Cf. Jn. 14:6.

84. Cf. Wisd. 15:3.

85. This evidently presupposes a burial place of John, displayed in Ephesus, as an element of the Ephesian John-legend which is polemically taken up in the Acts, although scarcely in a way to show independent knowledge of the place (cf. also the erroneous ideas of the Acts of John regarding the location of the temple of Artemis, see above, p. 207, note 55). Indeed there was apparently still no unanimous tradition about this burial-place down to the 4th century. Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 264/5) had knowledge of two tombs in Ephesus, which were both described as the grave of John (ap. Euseb., *HE* VII.25.16, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS 9.2, 696.18f.); at the beginning of the 4th century Eusebius accepted his statement as still correct 'even now' (*HE* III.39.6, Schwartz GCS 9.1, 288.6f.). Even in 392 Jerome writes that there were people who spoke of two tombs of John in Ephesus (*de Vir. Ill.* 9, ed. W. Herding, 1924, 15.19-22). But in his time that tradition was certainly already definitive which located the apostle's grave in a burial ground on the hill now called Ayasuluk, north-east of the city, above the temple of Artemis. Here, probably in the Constantinian period, a Martyrium was built, which the pilgrim Egeria in the late 4th century would gladly have visited (*Itinerarium Egeriae* 233.10, ed. A. Franceschini/R. Weber [CChrSL 175], Turnhout 1965, 67.49-53); a large cruciform three-aisle basilica was erected on the site, apparently about 400, and finally in the time of Justinian (527-565) this was replaced by an even more imposing and magnificent building; cf. *Forschungen in Ephesos*, published by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, IV 3, Die Johanneskirche, Vienna 1951; Wilhelm Alzinger, 'Ephesos B (archäol.)' in PWRE, Supplementband XII, 1970, cols. 1588-1704, esp. 1681-1684; Marcel Restle, 'Ephesos', in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* II, 1971, 164-207, esp. 180-192.

86. Cf. above, p. 208, note 67.

87. Cf. 1 Cor. 9:17.

88. Cf. Jn. 20:19; 21:26.

89. On the formation of tradition and legend about John's end, cf. Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 'Le rôle des textes bibliques dans la genèse et le développement des légendes apocryphes: le cas du sort final de l'apôtre Jean', *Augustinianum* 23, 1983, 319-336.