

# **GNOSE ET MANICHÉISME**

**ENTRE LES OASIS D'ÉGYPTE ET LA ROUTE DE LA SOIE**

**HOMMAGE À JEAN-DANIEL DUBOIS**

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SCIENCES RELIGIEUSES

VOLUME

176

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Sous la direction de Anna VAN DEN KERCHOVE  
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D/2017/0095/34

ISBN 978-2-503-56763-1

e-ISBN 978-2-503-56764-8

10.1484/M.BEHE-EB.5.109918

Printed on acid-free paper.

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## THE TROYES REDACTION OF THE *EVANGELIUM NICODEMI* AND ITS VERNACULAR LEGACY

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At the close of the Middle Ages, the apocryphon known as the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (EN) enjoyed tremendous popularity. It circulated not only in a variety of Latin versions and redactions that had evolved over a millennium of scribal transmission, but also in numerous vernacular translations that were rapidly asserting themselves throughout Europe. Those translations ranged from close renditions, scrupulously reproducing the underlying source text, to more creative and even innovative treatments involving varying degrees of translatorial licence. Determining the scope of that licence, however, often poses a challenge because the Latin textual tradition was remarkably heterogeneous. What appears to be an unusual detail, a unique turn of phrase, an altered perspective, or a changed dialogue in a vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus* may be indicative of an innovative intervention by a translator or of slavish imitation of an innovative Latin model. The only way to determine the nature of a translator's verbal, narrative, or theological originality is to identify the specific manuscript, or at least a narrow strand within the broad manuscript tradition, which served as the translator's inspiration.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This has already been achieved in several cases. Besides the Old English prose translation, which has been linked to a specific Latin manuscript (J. E. CROSS [ed.], *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nicodemus and The Avenging of the Saviour*, Cambridge 1996), translations that have been associated with narrow strands of EN's Latin tradition include Konrad von Heimesfurt's *Urstende* and High German translations B and G (W. HOFFMANN, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German Literature of the Middle Ages," in Z. IZYDORCZYK [ed.], *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, Tempe [AZ] 1997, pp. 289, 315–316); the Byelorussian and Czech renditions of the Bohemian Redaction (Z. IZYDORCZYK, "The Bohemian Redaction of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in Medieval Slavic Vernaculars," *Studia Ceranea* 4 [2014],

## The Troyes Redaction

We should like to contribute to this process of identifying Latin sources of vernacular *Gospels of Nicodemus* by drawing attention to a relatively small group of Latin manuscripts preserving a highly idiosyncratic but apparently very productive version of *EN*, the Troyes Redaction (TR) that underlies not one but several late medieval and early modern translations. Renditions of that redaction can be found in Catalan, French, English, Dutch, Low German, High German, Swedish, Norse, and Welsh. Named after the current location of its earliest, late twelfth-century manuscript, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes MS 1636 (*Census* 362),<sup>2</sup> TR is a hybrid version that conflates two distinct text-types attested since the ninth century: Latin A (LatA) and Latin C (LatC).<sup>3</sup> LatA, disseminated throughout Europe, survives in hundreds of codices; LatC, apparently of Iberian origin, is known in only seven.<sup>4</sup>

## Relationship to LatA and LatC

As found in the Troyes MS, TR preserves many textual modifications characteristic of LatC but absent from LatA; for instance, both TR and LatC mention that Pilate's cursor was named Romanus, that the imperial standards were crowned with gilded images of emperors, that Pilate's wife, Procula, built many synagogues, that Jesus took a meal with Lazarus after he raised him from the dead, and that the Jews admitted to Pilate that Jesus was indeed the Son of God. TR and LatC share also many specific readings, especially in the account of the trial of Jesus, where LatC diverges considerably from LatA. However, in the accounts of Joseph of Arimathea and the three rabbis, TR tends to agree with LatA rather than with LatC, albeit not consistently; and in the *Descensus ad inferos*, TR, like LatA, has a fuller text than LatC, which abridges many passages. TR introduces also a fair number of its own, unique modifications, such as the conclusion of the Prologue, which states

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pp. 49–64); and one of the Polish translations preserved in the codex of Laurence of Łask (Z. IZDORCZYK – W. WYDRA, *A Gospel of Nicodemus Preserved in Poland*, Turnhout 1997).

2. Throughout this paper, *Census* numbers refer to the numbers assigned to the manuscripts of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in Z. IZDORCZYK, *The Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census*, Toronto 1993.
3. For a brief description of these text-types, see Z. IZDORCZYK, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages,” in Id., *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 47–53. LatA is best known from H. C. KIM's edition of the *codex Einsidlensis*, *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvatoris*, Toronto 1973. LatC has not yet been edited, except for chap. 28, which is included in an eclectic edition by C. VON TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia apocrypha*, Leipzig 1876<sup>2</sup> (1853<sup>1</sup>), pp. 409–412; see also below p. 616–617.
4. For a list of LatC manuscripts, see Z. IZDORCZYK, “The Unfamiliar *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” *Manuscripta* 33 (1989), pp. 169–191, and Id., “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 52 and note 34.

that the apocryphon was translated from Hebrew into Latin at the command of emperor Theodosius (see below, p. 588, ll. 12–13); or the dramatic description of Jesus' entry into hell in the company of his angels (see below, p. 610, ll. 30–31); or the Jewish leaders' admission, after they have heard the story from Leucius and Carinus, that all signs "Ihesum Dei filium esse testantur" (see below, p. 615, l. 39).

## Origin

It is not known exactly when or where TR was composed. The Troyes MS was copied in the late twelfth century, which gives a reasonable *terminus ante quem*. The LatA text on which the redaction is based has not been identified, but the readings corresponding to LatC are occasionally close to those found in Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional MS Alcobaça CCLXXXV/419, fol. 175<sup>vb</sup>–187<sup>vb</sup> (*Census* 141), written in the second half of the twelfth century at the Cistercian monastery at Alcobaça, Portugal. For example, only the Alcobaça MS amplifies Pilate's question based on Matthew 27:17 ("Quem vultis dimittam vobis") into "Uultis ut dimittam uobis homicidam illum dignum morte aut dimittam uobis Ihesum inculpabilem et indignum morte?" (fol. 180<sup>ra</sup>), and the same amplification occurs in the Troyes text as well (see below, p. 595, ll. 32–34).

In the Middle Ages, the Troyes MS was owned by the Cistercian abbey at Clairvaux (dioc. Langres<sup>5</sup>), where one could also find copies of LatA, such as the still extant Médiathèque du Grand Troyes MS 1876 (*Census* 363) of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Such fragmentary evidence is not sufficient to postulate a definite link between the Cistercian order and TR, but it might provide a starting point for future investigation of the redaction's origin.

## Latin manuscripts

At present, we are aware of seventeen extant manuscripts of TR.<sup>6</sup> They include (in approximate chronological order):

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|----------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Census</i> 362 | Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes MS 1636, fol. 90 <sup>r</sup> –104 <sup>v</sup> (late 12 <sup>th</sup> c.; owned by Clairvaux [OCist], dioc. Langres) |
| 2. <i>Census</i> 248 | Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 128 (39 A.T.L.), fol. 1 <sup>r</sup> –28 <sup>r</sup> (early 14 <sup>th</sup> c., possibly 1310)                      |



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5. One of the seven copies of LatC, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 4977, fol. 227<sup>ra</sup>–232<sup>th</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> c.; *Census* 264), was owned by the Cathedral library at Langres.
6. Fourteen of these manuscripts were signaled in Z. IZYDORCZYK, "The Latin Source of an Old French Gospel of Nicodemus," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 25 (1995), p. 267; the manuscripts marked with \* have been identified only recently.



3. *Census* 109      Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek MS I 247, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–16<sup>v</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> c.; owned by Marc Meibom, †1711)
4. *Census* 47      Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 500, fol. 110<sup>rb</sup>–116<sup>va</sup> (14–15<sup>th</sup> c.; written in Prague; owned by the Bridgettines, Elbing [Elbląg], dioc. Frombork, and later by Mary Pernham)
5. *Census* 65      Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles MS 61, fol. 87<sup>r</sup>–90<sup>v</sup> (14–15<sup>th</sup> c.; owned by Notre-Dame, Mont-Dieu [OCart], dioc. Reims)
6. *Census* 19      Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz MS Theol. lat. fol. 688, fol. 300<sup>ra</sup>–309<sup>va</sup> (1419; written near Erfurt; owned by St. Martin, Heiligenstadt [OCan; later SJ], dioc. Mainz)
7. *Census* 20      Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz MS Theol. lat. fol. 690, fol. 210<sup>vb</sup>–222<sup>ra</sup> (1431; written by Matthäus Then; owned by St. Martin, Heiligenstadt [OCan; SJ], dioc. Mainz)
8. *Census* 404      Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 38.8 Aug. 2<sup>o</sup>, fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>–11<sup>va</sup> (first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.; donated by Petrus Schullinchusen to Domstift St. Blasius, Braunschweig, dioc. Hildesheim/Halberstadt)
9. *Census* 350      Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS HB I 119, fol. 49<sup>va</sup>–56<sup>vb</sup> (1450–1452; written in a German area; owned by Zwiefalten [OSB], dioc. Konstanz); lacks Tischendorf's chap. 28
10. Not in *Census*      \*Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek Inc. 31, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>–28<sup>v</sup>, bound with Thomas de Kempis, *Imitatio Christi*, Strasbourg, 1489 (mid-15<sup>th</sup> c.)
11. *Census* 56      Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.10 (James 1422), fol. 76<sup>va</sup>–84<sup>vb</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.; written and owned in England)
12. *Census* 62      Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Lat. 117, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–22<sup>r</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.; written and owned in France)
13. *Census* 104      \*Halle/Saale, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen MS P 7, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>–41<sup>v</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.; owned by Lüchtenhof, Hildesheim [Brothers of Common Life, later OFM Capuc])
14. *Census* 289      Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS n.a.lat. 1755, fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>–10<sup>va</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.)
15. *Census* 406      Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 83 Gud. lat. 2<sup>o</sup>, fol. 266<sup>va</sup>–269<sup>va</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.); only chap. 1–11
16. *Census* 408      Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 297 Helmst., fol. 131<sup>ra</sup>–137<sup>va</sup> (second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.; owned by St. Blasius, Northeim near Hannover [OSB], dioc. Mainz)
17. Not in *Census*      \*Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria MS A.III.2, fol. 315<sup>v</sup>–330<sup>r</sup>, (dated 1491–1500; written by Teramo Riccio; owned by Federico Spinola di Biagio)

The twelfth-century Troyes MS is by far the oldest; two manuscripts have been dated to the fourteenth century (*Census* 109 and 248) and two to the fourteenth or fifteenth (*Census* 47 and 65); the remaining twelve belong to the fifteenth century. Geographically, the manuscripts of known provenance span most of north-central Europe, from England (*Census* 56)<sup>7</sup> to France (*Census* 62, 65, 362) to Germany (*Census* 19, 20, 104, 350, 404, 408) to Bohemia (*Census* 47); one manuscript stems from southern Europe (Genoa). The majority of extant manuscripts come from the German-speaking countries.

Manuscripts of French origin tend to preserve the longest text, closely related to the Troyes exemplar (*Census* 248 may have been copied directly from it). Two German manuscripts (*Census* 104 and Paderborn) as well as the one from Italy (Genoa) also carry the full text. However, manuscripts from the German areas frequently abridge the text, reducing the number of biblical citations and foreshortening the final discussions in the temple between Pilate and the Jewish leaders (chap. 28).

Some textual details of TR migrated also to manuscripts that otherwise belong to tradition LatA. For example, a fifteenth-century copy in Winchester College Library, MS 41 (*Census* 402), concludes the prologue with the characteristic reference to Theodosius having *EN* translated into Latin and knows the name of Pilate's cursor (fol. 136<sup>v</sup>), but lacks most other details of TR. Similarly, one of the three copies of *EN* in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Reg. lat. 1037 (*Census* 378) mentions that the standards were crowned with images of emperors (fol. 111<sup>v</sup>) but has few other features of TR. Poitiers, Médiathèque François-Mitterrand MS 425 (*Census* 293), fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–16<sup>r</sup>, follows TR up to chap. 2, and then reverts to the more usual text-type LatA. Other manuscripts, such as the closely related Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS 1494 (*Census* 126), fol. 288<sup>r</sup>, and Graz, Universitätsbibliothek MS 628 (*Census* 95), fol. 122<sup>ra-b</sup>, add to a LatA text a more or less abbreviated version of the final chapter of the TR (or LatC), narrating the exchange between Pilate and the Jewish leaders (chap. 28).

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7. The presence of TR in England is further confirmed by an entry in a fifteenth-century catalogue of books at Peterborough Abbey, which lists:

B. xii.

Gesta Salvatoris que inuenit Theodosius magnus Imp. in Jerusalem in Pretorio Poncii Pilati in codicibus puplicis a B. Ambrosio Doronensi Ep. Conscripta.

De i<sup>i</sup>bus fratribus cum Domino resuscitatis testimonium ei perhibentibus.

*Confessio Judeorum coram Pilato de Domino Jhesu*

Ep. Pilati ad Imperatorem de Jhesu [our emphasis]

(M. R. JAMES, *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library*, Oxford 1926, p. 67). The catalogue's reference to the Jews' report to Pilate indicates, most likely, the presence of chap. 28, inherited by TR from LatC.

## Latin printed editions

Although not widely disseminated in manuscripts, the Latin TR did eventually find its way into print. Its complete text, fairly close to that of the Troyes MS except for the absence of the final chronology from Adam to Christ, was first issued by the Leipzig printer Melchior Lotter in 1499.<sup>8</sup> The title page reads:

Euangelium Nicodemi / domini nostri ihesu cristi discipuli. de / eiusdem passione. In lege et prophetis fun/datum ex antiquissimis libris extractum / bene correctum et nouiter impressum.

Exactly the same text was re-issued, under the identical title but with some changes in layout, by Poul Raeff in Copenhagen in 1514. However, Raeff supplied the chronology missing from Lotter's print and concluded the text with an exhortation to the Jews. In 1516, Lotter printed his text again, changing only the title page.

Two decades later, in 1538, Guillelmus Montanus published an amplified version of LatA that included also chap. 28 from the TR,<sup>9</sup> complete with the chronology from Adam to Christ; this was reprinted by Vivantius Gaultherot in Paris in 1545. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Montanus's text was used by Iohannes Basilius Herold in his collection of the *Oxthodoxographa*, which Johann Jacob Grynaeus re-published fourteen years later.<sup>10</sup> Through those last two editions, reprinted and corrected into the nineteenth century by several generations of scholars, chap. 28 of TR became part of the scholarly tradition of *EN* and was incorporated into the influential editions by J. C. Thilo<sup>11</sup> and Constantinus von Tischendorf.

## Vernacular translations

However, the significance of TR lies not only—or chiefly—in its Latin or scholarly legacy but also—and perhaps more importantly—in its strong presence in vernacular religious literature and culture. It served as a source for several late medieval and early modern translators who rendered it into

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8. On the early editions of *EN*, see Z. IZYDORCZYK, "The Earliest Printed Editions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Their Manuscript Sources," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), pp. 121–132.
  9. That this chapter was taken from a copy of TR rather than directly from its ultimate source, LatC, is evident from the textual agreements between the Montanus's edition and the TR against LatC.
  10. J. B. HEROLD (ed.), *Orthodoxographa theologiae sacrosanctae ac syncerioris fidei doctores numero LXXVI...*, Basel 1555, pp. 9–24; J. J. GRYNAEUS (ed.), *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa, hoc est, theologiae sacrosanctae ac syncerioris fidei Doctores, numero circiter LXXXV...*, vol. 2, Basel 1569, pp. 643–659.
  11. J. C. THILO (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1832, pp. 487–795.

their local languages and dialects. Some of these translations proved extraordinarily successful and continued to influence popular religious culture well into the nineteenth century. The following offers a brief chronological survey of those translations.

### Old Norse

The oldest extant vernacular translation of the Latin TR is an Old Norse adaptation of the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*, which already in the Middle Ages circulated under the rubric *Niðrstigningar saga* (“The Story of the Descent”).<sup>12</sup>

*Niðrstigningar saga* survives in its entirety in one medieval manuscript, Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling MS AM 645 4to, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>v</sup> (circa 1220), and in one post-medieval codex Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands MS JS 405 8vo, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup> (circa 1780–1791). A third manuscript, Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling MS AM 623 4to, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>v</sup> (circa 1325), and two single leaves, MS AM 233a fol., fol. 28<sup>r-v</sup> (circa 1350–1360) and MS AM 238 fol. V, fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup> (circa 1400–1500), transmit fragments of varying sizes. The presence in all five witnesses of the same textual interpolation, which relates the entrapment of Satan on the cross in Jerusalem, indicates that all five copies must have ultimately descended from a common archetype.<sup>13</sup> Yet, despite their common origin, the manuscripts reveal traces of heavy textual contamination and stemmatic corruption. On the one hand, MSS AM 645 4to, AM 623 4to, AM 233a fol., and JS 405 8vo all transmit the same older redaction which shares several important readings (though never verbatim) with the Latin TR: the characteristic prologue mentioning Theodosius as the promoter of the (Latin) apocryphon,<sup>14</sup> Christ’s shattering of the gates of Hell,<sup>15</sup> a host of angels attending him,<sup>16</sup> the astonishment among

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12. The text was edited by C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur. Fortællinger og legender om hellige mænd og kvinder*, vol. 2, Christiana 1877, pp. 1–20. A new semi-diplomatic edition, including a discussion of the underlying Latin sources and an overview of its theological background, is being prepared by D. BULLITTA, *Niðrstigningar saga: Sources, Transmission and Theology of the Old Norse Descent into Hell*, for the University of Toronto Press.

13. The interpolation is found in C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 5, ll. 3–11 (AM 645 4to). Its ultimate source is possibly one of Augustine’s sermons on the Feast of the Ascension, *De Quadragesima Ascensionis Domini* (Sermo 265/D), which may have been known in Iceland through the exegetical writings of Peter Lombard (†1164). For further details, see D. BULLITTA, “*Crux Christi muscipula fuit diabolus*: Un sermone agostiniano dietro la cattura di Satana nella *Niðrstigningar saga*,” in C. FALLUOMINI (ed.), *Intorno alle saghe norrene. XIV Seminario avanzato in Filologia germanica*, Alessandria 2014, pp. 129–154, especially pp. 141–148.

14. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 8, ll. 32–35. Cf. p. 588, ll. 12–13 below.

15. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 6, ll. 2–3. Cf. p. 610, ll. 26–29 below.

16. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 5, l. 2. Cf. p. 610, ll. 27–31 below.

the inhabitants of Hell at his sight,<sup>17</sup> and the physical binding of Satan.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the readings of MS AM 238 fol. V seem to have been carefully emended on the basis of LatA. Despite the brevity of the text in MS AM 238 fol. V, evidence of such a revision can be found in the presence of details typical of LatA that differ from TR, as for instance the description of Hell as a single persona rather than as an infernal legion of devils,<sup>19</sup> or the placement of the souls of the dead in Hell rather than in Satan, as suggested by the Latin TR.<sup>20</sup>

Two of the four interpolations in *Niðrstigningar saga*, which show the knowledge of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* (circa 1158–1159)<sup>21</sup> and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (circa 1170),<sup>22</sup> along with the reliance on the Latin TR, point towards the last quarter of the twelfth century as the date of the Icelandic text. An exemplar of the Latin TR may have been brought to Iceland from Northern France at that time, and its translation and adaptation into the vernacular (with considerable editorial intervention) may have been undertaken soon after, possibly during the very first years of the thirteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

### Old French

The complete text of TR was translated into French in the thirteenth century, and this translation is extant in at least three manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 1850, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>v</sup> (13<sup>th</sup> c.); Oxford, Queen's College MS 305, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>r</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.); and Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 525,

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17. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 6, l. 9. Cf. p. 611, ll. 3–4 below.

18. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 6, ll. 21–22. Cf. p. 611, ll. 29–30 below.

19. Thus, for example, H. C. KIM, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. 21.2, ll. 1–2, “dixit ad Inferum” and MS AM 238 V fol. “þa er helvite heyrdi þess ord” (C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 20, ll. 12–13) contrast with MS AM 645 4to, “þa mæltu þeir sva við ðær illar vætir” (C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 5, l. 19) and “cum uoce increpationis dixerunt ad demones” (see below, p. 609, ll. 31–32).

20. “[T]u mihi dixisti quia ipse est qui mortuos a me traxit” (H. C. KIM, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. 20.3, ll. 1–2) is reflected in the younger redaction in MS AM 238 fol., “Þu sagdir mier, at þessi er sa sialfur, er dauda menn dro fra mer” (C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 19, ll. 13–14), whereas the older redaction in MS AM 645 4to, which reads “En þat vitom ver at hann hevir menn marga dauða af ðer teket” (C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 3, ll. 26–27), is clearly derived from “Vt michi dixisti ipse est qui mortuos a te tulit” (see p. 609, ll. 1–2 below).

21. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 5, ll. 3–11.

22. C. R. UNGER, *Heilagra manna sögur*, p. 2, ll. 32–36.

23. For a more precise dating of the text, see D. BULLITTA, “*Crux Christi muscipula fuit diabolo*,” pp. 146–149. M. MÁR LÁRUSSEN, “Um Niðrstigningsögu,” *Skirnir* 129 (1955), p. 167, suggested the beginning of the twelfth century as the date of composition, but he did not present any conclusive evidence.

fol. 178<sup>r</sup>–184<sup>v</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>24</sup> Its dependence on TR was demonstrated almost two decades ago.<sup>25</sup> It is a fairly comprehensive rendering of the Latin redaction, extending from the characteristic prologue to chap. 28, but with occasional omissions of minor details. It does not mention, for instance, that the Magi came from Persia (chap. 8.1) or that Christ ascended in a cloud (chap. 14.1).<sup>26</sup> Exactly the same text is embedded in a French prose romance called *Livre d'Artus*, a sequel to the *Roman de Merlin*, extant in Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 337, fol. 251<sup>b</sup>–290<sup>c</sup> (13<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>27</sup> Despite spelling differences, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the *Livre d'Artus* is very close to that in the Paris manuscript, reproducing even some of the same omissions (for example, both omit part of the measurements of the ark in chap. 28).<sup>28</sup>

Echoes of TR (or of LatC) may be found also in the so-called long version of the French *Gospel of Nicodemus*, or *Évangile de Gamaliel*, which mentions the name of Pilate's cursor, Romanus, and alludes to the standards being crowned with imperial images.<sup>29</sup> The same details were already present in the

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24. The text from the Paris manuscript was published by B. LINDSTRÖM, *A Late Middle English Version of the Gospel of Nicodemus*, Uppsala 1974, pp. 44–128 (text C).

25. Z. IZDORCZYK, "The Latin Source," printed numerous parallels between the Latin TR and the French translation.

26. See below, p. 596, l. 25, and p. 601, ll. 31–32.

27. Edited by H. OSKAR SOMMER, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, vol. 7, *Supplement: Le Livre d'Artus*, Washington 1913, pp. 247–260. For a brief discussion, see R. O'GORMAN, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the Vernacular Literature of Medieval France," in Z. IZDORCZYK, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 108–109; and L. LANSARD, "Inférences auctoriales et oscillations génériques à l'œuvre dans quelques réécritures en langue vernaculaire et en prose de l'Évangile de Nicodème," in H. CHARPENTIER – V. FASSEUR (ed.), *Les Genres au Moyen Âge : la question de l'hétérogénéité, Méthode. Revue de littérature française et comparée semestrielle* 17 (2010), pp. 151–152. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* incorporated into another romance, the *Roman de Perceforest*, represents a different translation project from a different Latin version of the apocryphon. R. O'GORMAN, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus*," p. 110, seems to suggest that the *Roman de Perceforest* carries the same "variant recension of the short version," but this is not the case; cf. *La tresselegante ... Histoire du ... Roy Perceforest*, vol. 6 (1531), chap. 66, fol. 117<sup>v</sup>–121<sup>v</sup> (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Rar. 2221–6; accessible online at <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10860889-2>).

28. *Livre d'Artus*: "fai larche du testament en la longuesce de .ij. cotes & demi. & de ce entendons nos..." (H. OSKAR SOMMER, *The Vulgate Version*, p. 260); Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 1850: "Fé l'Arche del Testament en la longuesce de deus cotes et demi entendons nos..." (B. LINDSTRÖM, *A Late Middle English Gospel*, p. 128); cf. p. 617, ll. 4–6, below.

29. See, for example, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book & Manuscript Library Codex 662, fol. 47<sup>r-v</sup> (accessible online at <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/2487448>). No modern edition of the French *Évangile de Gamaliel* has yet been published; the Occitan texts have been published by C. P. HERSHON – P. T. RICKETTS, "La Tradition occitane de l'Évangile de Gamaliel: Éditions et commentaires," in *La France Latine. Revue d'études d'Oc*, n. s. 144 (2007), pp. 132–327.

Occitan source from which the French text was rendered.<sup>30</sup> In other sections, however, the Évangile de Gamaliel shows reflexes of a different Latin text-type, LatB.<sup>31</sup>

### Old Catalan

An Old Catalan translation of TR, or at least its paraphrase, is embedded in the verse Passion narrative beginning “E la mira car tot era ensems,” extant in MS 1029 of the Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> The poem is broad in scope, covering the events from the trial of Jesus to the Last Judgment. The material from *EN* is inserted at several points in the narrative and includes the accounts of Joseph of Arimathea, the three rabbis from Galilee, and the Descent into Hell. The poem incorporates also a brief summary of chap. 28, which, as Izquierdo notes, is typical of LatC. However, chap. 28 is also a typical feature of TR, and, in fact, the poem translates certain passages which are absent from all known manuscripts of LatC but present in the manuscripts of TR. For example, LatC abridges chap. 14.3–15.2, and does not mention Annas and Caiaphas’s attempt to reassure the Jewish leaders after the testimony of the three rabbis from Galilee, or Nicodemus’ advice to search for Jesus in the mountains, or the Jewish council’s deliberation on how to approach Joseph. The poem, however, gives a fair amount of attention to those episodes (ll. 921–978), so it was most likely inspired by TR. None of the extant Latin manuscripts of TR has been localized to Catalonia, but it appears that the redaction was indeed read and adapted there.

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30. On the Occitan origin of the work, see L. LANSARD, “L’Évangile de Gamaliel : une mise en prose ?”, in M. C. TIMELLI – B. FERRARI – A. SCHOYSMAN (eds), *Mettre en prose aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Turnhout 2010, p. 170.

31. J. IZQUIERDO, “The Gospel of Nicodemus in Medieval Catalan and Occitan Literature,” in Z. IZYDORCZYK, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 159–163.

32. The text was transcribed by E. MOLINÉ i BRASÉS (ed.), “Passió, mort, resurrecció i aparicions de N. S. Jesucrist”, *Estudis universitaris Catalans* 3 (1909), pp. 65–74, 155–159, 260–264, 344–350, 459–463 and 542–546; 4 (1910), pp. 99–109 and 499–508. For a discussion of the poem, see J. IZQUIERDO, “‘Emperò piadosament se creu per los feels’: la tradició occitano-catalana medieval de l’apòcrif ‘Evangelium Nicodemi,’” in L. BADIA – A. SOLER (eds), *Intellectuals i escriptors a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, Barcelona 1994, pp. 17–48, and Id., “The Gospel of Nicodemus,” pp. 145–151.



Middle English

The Troyes Redaction is also well attested in medieval English. It was rendered into Middle English verse in the 14<sup>th</sup> c., and the poem is now referred to as the *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>33</sup> It survives in four manuscripts: London, British Library MSS Cotton Galba E.IX, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>–66<sup>v</sup>; Harley 4196, fol. 206<sup>r</sup>–215<sup>r</sup>; Addit. 32578, fol. 116<sup>v</sup>–140<sup>v</sup>; and London, Sion College MS Arc.L.40.2/E.25, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>. Each of these texts is marked by some idiosyncratic readings, but, ultimately, they are all descended from the same original. The original poem was an adaptation rather than a literal translation of TR; while it transmitted the entire apocryphon, it usually abridged the Latin text and, on occasion, added details, such as an account of the flagellation (vv. 601–612). Scholars have noted the similarity between the French prose translation mentioned above and the *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*,<sup>34</sup> but a close comparison of the two against the Latin text of the Troyes manuscript reveals that the poem must have been rendered directly from Latin rather than via French as it contains details absent from the French text.<sup>35</sup>

Indebted to the French version of TR is the Middle English prose *Gospel of Nicodemus* in London, British Library MS Harley 149, a holograph from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>36</sup> This ME translation was apparently rendered from two French exemplars, one of LatA and the other of TR. The translator began by relying mostly on LatA and inserting only occasional phrases from TR. Thus, he mentions, for example, that Alexander to whom Pilate sent the cursor was “prince of the Jewes,” (“le prince de gieus” in Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 1850), a detail missing from LatA; and he mentions that Pilate’s wife built many synagogues, another detail from TR. Gradually, however, the proportion of readings from LatA and the TR changes, and in later sections, the translator relies more heavily on TR.<sup>37</sup>

The same French TR served as a source for another English translator, the one responsible for *Nycodemus gospell* printed as a chapbook by Julian Notary in 1507.<sup>38</sup> According to Hugh Shields, the French source was very

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33. The *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus* was edited by W. H. HULME, *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and the Gospel of Nicodemus*, Oxford 1907. For a discussion of the poem, see C. W. MARX, “The Gospel of Nicodemus in Old and Middle English,” in Z. IZYDORCZYK, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 236–239.

34. Cf. C. W. MARX, “The Gospel of Nicodemus,” p. 237.

35. Z. Izydorczyk intends to publish this study in the near future.

36. Edited by B. LINDSTRÖM, *A Late Middle English Version*; on the French source-texts, see pp. 11–16. Cf. also C. W. MARX, “The Gospel of Nicodemus,” pp. 253–254.

37. B. LINDSTRÖM, *A Late Middle English Version*, p. 15.

38. On Notary’s printing, see C. W. MARX, “Julian Notary, Wynkyn de Worde, and the Earliest Printed Texts of the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 69 (1994), p. 2; H. SHIELDS, “Bishop Turpin and the Source of Nycodemus gospell,” *English Studies* 53 (1972), p. 500.



close to, but not identical with, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 1850. The English text attributes the French translation to “bysshop Turpyn,” but this has been shown to be a result of paleographical confusion.<sup>39</sup> Notary’s chapbook was reissued several times in the first half of the sixteenth century by Wynkyn de Worde (1509, 1511, 1512, 1518, 1532) and John Skot (1529, 1537). While making small changes to the wording and illustrations, all those later printings transmit essentially the same text.<sup>40</sup> About a century later, the same English translation, slightly modernized and prefaced by John Warrin, was re-issued by Jean Cousturier of Roen (ca. 1635 and in 1646).<sup>41</sup> It was then reprinted numerous times in the eighteenth century<sup>42</sup> and became the most popular form of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in England during the early modern period.

### Old Swedish

The Old Swedish translation of the Latin TR is preserved in three manuscripts produced at Vadstena Abbey: Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket MS A 110, pp. 559–597 (*circa* 1400);<sup>43</sup> Stockholm, Riksarkivet MS Skokloster 3 4to, pp. 34–75 (*circa* 1470–1500);<sup>44</sup> and Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket MS A 3, pp. 13–19 and 72–80 (*circa* 1500).<sup>45</sup>

All textual features of TR are reflected in the Old Swedish translation. Thus, it includes a comment that the translation from the original Hebrew into Latin was commissioned by Emperor Theodosius,<sup>46</sup> an allusion to Acts 3:11–26 in Nicodemus’s defense of Jesus,<sup>47</sup> and two additional quota-

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39. H. SHIELDS, “Bishop Turpin,” p. 501.

40. C. W. MARX, “Julian Notary,” pp. 1–25.

41. C. W. MARX, “John Warin’s Book: National Library of Wales MS 5006,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 6 (2003), pp. 93–107.

42. For the eighteenth-century editions, see the English Short Title Catalogue, accessible online at [http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file\\_name=login-bl-estc](http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc)

43. The text is edited by G. E. KLEMMING (ed.), *Klosterläsning. Järteckensbok, Apostola gerningar, Helga manna leverne, Legender, [och] Nichodemi Evangelium efter gammal handskrift*, Stockholm 1877–1878, pp. 377–419.

44. Readings from this manuscript are printed by G. E. KLEMMING (ed.), *Svenska medeltidens biblearbeten. Efter gamla handskrifter*, vol. 2, Stockholm 1853, pp. 373–411.

45. The entire codex has been edited by J. CARLQUIST (ed.), *Wars Herra Pino bok. Vadstenasystrarnas bordsläsningar enligt Cod. Holm. A 3*, Uppsala 2006.

46. G. E. KLEMMING, *Klosterläsning*, p. 377, ll. 1–15. Cf. p. 588, ll. 12–13 below.

47. G. E. KLEMMING, *Klosterläsning*, p. 386, ll. 31–32 and p. 387, ll. 1–8. Cf. p. 594, ll. 14–21 below.

tions from the Gospel of Matthew, one reporting Christ's words before the Sanhedrin (Matthew 27:25),<sup>48</sup> and the other reporting additional events that occurred in Jerusalem after Christ's death (Matthew 27:51–54).<sup>49</sup>

The now-lost Latin exemplar of TR from which the Old Swedish translation was compiled may have been brought to the library at Vadstena from Prague. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the abbey cultivated contacts with scholars at the University of Prague and exchanged monks, objects of art, and manuscripts with the capital of Bohemia.<sup>50</sup>

### *Middle Low German*

The Middle Low German translation of TR, probably rendered from Latin, was disseminated also in Limbourg and Ripuarian areas. It survives in four manuscripts: Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei MS theol. 2<sup>o</sup> 83, fol. 134<sup>r</sup>–145<sup>r</sup> (mid-15<sup>th</sup> c.); Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek MS theol. germ. fol. 9, fol. 103<sup>r</sup>–120<sup>r</sup> (1475); The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 133 E 6, fol. 237<sup>r</sup>–269<sup>v</sup> (*circa* 1470; in Limbourg dialect); and Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek MS 1848, fol. 197<sup>v</sup>–237<sup>r</sup> (*circa* 1500; in Ripuarian dialect).<sup>51</sup> According to Hoffmann, the Low German manuscripts preserve the best text. The translation reflects most of the idiosyncrasies of the Latin TR, from the characteristic reference to Theodosius in the prologue to chap. 28. Masser noted many of those peculiarities in the footnotes to his edition, pointing out their divergence from Tischendorf's Latin text and their similarity to the readings of the Old Swedish *Gospel of Nicodemus* (also a version of TR). In his introduction, Masser also draws attention to one unusual error in the Low German text: a transformation of the three rabbis from Galilee into four, which resulted from

48. G. E. KLEMMING, *Klosterläsning*, p. 385, ll. 1–9. Cf. p. 593, ll. 11–16 below.

49. G. E. KLEMMING, *Klosterläsning*, p. 393, ll. 13–26. Cf. p. 598, ll. 25–33 below.

50. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 500 (*Census* 47) is a theological miscellany compiled in Prague between 1390–1410 (N. MORGAN – S. PANAYOTOVA [ed.], *Illuminated Manuscripts in Cambridge*, vol. 2, *The Frankish Kingdoms, the Low Countries, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria*, London-Turnhout 2009, p. 247); it contains works of theologians active in Prague in the second half of the fourteenth century and the Latin text of TR. The same manuscript includes also an excerpt from Saint Birgitta's (†1373) *Revelationes* (fol. 85<sup>r</sup>–105<sup>v</sup>) on the life of Christ and Mary. Birgitta was the founder of Vadstena Abbey and her successful canonization owed much to the theologians of Prague University. For further details, see D. BULLITTA, "The Old Swedish *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Library of Vadstena Abbey: Provenance and Fruition," *Scandinavian Studies* 86 (2014), pp. 268–307.

51. Edited by A. MASSER, *Das ewangelium Nicodemi van deme lidende vnsers heren Ihesu Christi. Zwei mittelniederdeutsche Fassungen*, Berlin 1978, pp. 30–60; chap. 1.1–5.2 were also printed by H. VOLLMER, "Das *Evangelium Nicodemi* in deutscher Prosa," in *Neue Texte zur Bibelverdeutschung des Mittelalters*, Potsdam 1936, pp. 205–216. For manuscripts, see W. J. HOFFMANN, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Dutch and Low German Literatures of the Middle Ages," in Z. IZYDORCZYK, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 348–349.

a misunderstanding of their names and titles.<sup>52</sup> A similar error occurs in one of the Latin manuscripts of TR, *Census* 19, which refers to the rabbis as “isti quattuor” (fol. 304<sup>ra</sup>, l. 14) and which, like the Low German text, implies that the ark Moses was instructed to build should be “in longitudine cubitorum quinque & semi” (fol. 309<sup>va</sup>, l. 8); “in der lenghe vif vademe vnde eyne haluen.”<sup>53</sup> The Latin model of the Low German translation may have been similar to *Census* 19 although definitely not identical with it because the latter frequently abbreviates the text given in full in the Low German translation.

### Middle Dutch

One of the four prose *Gospels of Nicodemus* in medieval Dutch, designated by Hoffmann as D, is also derived from TR.<sup>54</sup> A partial text of this translation, in North-West Dutch, survives in Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit MS BPL 61, fol. 163<sup>ra</sup>–169<sup>rb</sup> (ca. 1490); a full text is found in Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek MS 224, fol. 143<sup>r</sup>–174<sup>r</sup>, copied at Fischbach near Kaiserslautern circa 1529 by Gertrud von Büren.<sup>55</sup> Although the latter manuscript is written in Rhenish Franconian (a dialect of High German), it preserves the same text as the Leiden manuscript and was clearly copied from a Dutch antigraph, as shown by its redundant use of Dutch loanwords or double translations.

Translation D exhibits all the characteristic readings of TR, from emperor Theodosius having the apocryphon translated into Latin,<sup>56</sup> to Christ’s words before the Sanhedrin (Matthew 27:25) incorporated in one of the Jewish invectives.<sup>57</sup> It should also be noted that the Dutch text shares some unique readings with the Latin text in the Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische

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52. A. MASSER, *Dat ewangelium Nicodemi*, p. 24.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

54. See W. J. HOFFMANN, “The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Dutch,” pp. 347–348. This translation of TR remains unedited.

55. K. GRAF, “Adventskalender 2011: Türchen XXIII - Schrieb Gertrud von Büren im westpfälzischen Kloster Fischbach?,” <http://archiv.twoday.net/?day=20111223> (accessed 2 July, 2015).

56. “Das geschach in dem Jare der regnacen des keyzers von rom der thybyrius hieß von xc vnd des koninges herodes [...] Das Nicodemus beschriebe die hystorien von der passien vnsers lieben herren yn hebreyscher sproche aver Theodosius der große keyser dede dernach die hystorien vß dem hebreyschen in das latyn ziehen vnd uber setzen,” Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek MS, fol. 143<sup>r</sup>, ll. 3–17. Cf. p. 588, ll. 4–13 below.

57. “[L]ieber herre versteent vns wol der wieder blasphymyret den keyser gelestert hat [...] Ich sagte uch die vor ware ir warden den sone gottes sehen sytzem [149] zu der rechten synes vatters,” Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek MS, fol. 148<sup>r</sup>, l. 16 to 149<sup>r</sup>, l. 1. Cf. p. 593, ll. 10–16 below.

Bibliothek Inc. 31. For instance, in chap. 1.1, both have the Jews suggest that all elements are subject to Jesus,<sup>58</sup> and in chap. 28.2, both mention Noah's ark (Genesis 6:14).<sup>59</sup>

The Dutch version of TR (translation D) left an enduring legacy. It was incorporated piecemeal into the Dutch Passion treatise entitled *Dat Lyden ende die Passie Ons Heren Jhesu Christi*, which survives in nine manuscripts and in numerous printed editions issued well into the early modern period.<sup>60</sup> As in England, TR became the best known form of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the Netherlands in the age of print.

### *Early New High German*

The Troyes Redaction does not seem to have been rendered into High German during the Middle Ages, even though its Latin manuscripts were certainly available in Germany in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, it did provide a model for the German *editio princeps* of the apocryphon.<sup>61</sup> The earliest surviving printings of that text belong to the early sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> The text is very close to Melchior Lotter's 1499 and 1516 Latin printings<sup>63</sup> and shares with them a number of peculiarities, such as the change of the name "Vellionis" to "Nestionis" in the prologue, or the change in the name of one of the righteous Jews from "Asterius" to "Iustus" / "Justinus,"<sup>64</sup> or the absence of the chronology from Adam to Christ usually concluding chap. 28. According to Thilo, the German text was, in fact, translated from Lotter's print.<sup>65</sup>

This version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* became the standard text for German printers in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was usually entitled *Euangelium Nicodemi* / *auss dem Latein ins Teütsch gebracht* / *In welchem vil hüpscher*

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58. "[S]ie antworten. Er ist bese vnd synen wercke sint dufelsche wan er in dem namen des fursten der dufelen Belzebocks verdyrbet vnd vß wyrkket die andern dufel vnd alle ellemente," Linz, Bundestaatliche Studienbibliothek MS 224, fol. 143<sup>v</sup>, ll. 17–21; "[D]icunt ei. Maleficus est et in principe demoniorum Beelzebub eicit demonia et omnia elementa illi subiecta sunt," Paderborn manuscript, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>, ll. 17–19. Cf. p. 588, ll. 26–27 below.

59. "[W]an got von Israhel sprach auch zu Noe. Mache eyn archen des testamentes," Linz, Bundestaatliche Studienbibliothek MS 224, fol. 173<sup>v</sup>, ll. 14–15; "[F]orsitan iste est deus Israel qui dixit ad Noe fac tibi archam de lignis leuigatis," Paderborn manuscript, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>, ll. 16–18. Cf. p. 617, ll. 4–5 below.

60. On the manuscripts and printings of *Dat Lyden*, see W. J. HOFFMANN, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Dutch," pp. 350–356.

61. Edited by A. MASSER – M. SILLER (eds), *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in spätmittelalterlicher deutscher Prosa*, Heidelberg 1987, pp. 568–592.

62. On the edition dated 1496, see A. MASSER – M. SILLER (eds), *Das Evangelium Nicodemi*, p. 107.

63. The 1499 edition is accessible online; see urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-143357. On both printings, see Z. IZYDORCZYK, "The Earliest Printed Editions."

64. A. MASSER – M. SILLER, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi*, p. 471.

65. J. C. THILO, *Codex apocryphus*, p. CXXIII.

puncten / die die andern Euangelisten nit setzen / begriffen werden (doch inen nit wider) fast nutzlich zulesen.<sup>66</sup> Eventually, it even crossed the Atlantic and was printed by Michael Müller in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1748, under the title *Die Beschreibung Des Evangeliums Nicodemi*. By his own admission, Müller used as his printer-copy the edition issued in Marburg in 1561 by Andreas Kolb.<sup>67</sup>

### Welsh

In Welsh, TR arrived rather late. According to David N. Klausner, it was translated from Wynkyn de Worde's 1509 English printing. Its only manuscript was copied by Iolo Morganwg between 1775 and 1825.<sup>68</sup>

### A note on the text

A thorough critical edition of the Troyes Redaction would require prior exhaustive studies of the two textual traditions, LatA and LatC, that gave rise to it. Since such studies are still in progress and may take several years to complete, we have decided to present here a transcript of the earliest and most complete manuscript of the redaction, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes MS 1636 (*Census* 362). It is a parchment codex of 124 folios, containing a collection of saints' lives, written mostly in the 13<sup>th</sup> century; *EN* is somewhat earlier and belongs to the late 12<sup>th</sup> century. In the Middle Ages, the manuscript was owned by the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux and was noted in the catalogues of Pierre de Virey (1472) and Mathurin de Cagney (*circa* 1521).<sup>69</sup>

We are presenting the text as corrected by a hand similar to that of the original scribe. The text contains occasional misunderstandings, misspellings, and omissions, so the corrector (*corr.*) added (*add.*, *add. in marg.*, *add. s.*

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66. [Augsburg, 1525], VD16 B 5287; accessible online at <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10997902-3>. Occasionally, however, printers used other titles as well; for example, the edition printed apparently by Johann Schönsperger around 1520 is entitled *Warhafftige Hystoria des leidens vnd vrstend Jesu Christi vnsers herren vnd eynigen seligmachers Von Nicodemo beschriben...*; accessible online at <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10165557-8>.

67. See Z. IZYDORCZYK – C. FILLMORE-HANDLON, "The Modern Life of an Ancient Text: the Gospel of Nicodemus in Manitoba," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 115.

68. D. N. KLAUSNER, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in the Literature of Medieval Wales," in Z. IZYDORCZYK, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 406–407.

69. The Troyes MS is described in M. HARMAND, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, Quarto Series, vol. 2, Paris 1855, pp. 690–692; see also A. VERNET, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1, Paris 1979, p. 249, n° 1461, and p. 482, n° 813a.

l.), deleted (*del.*), and respelled words as required by sense, and in the process improved the text's readability. All those corrections are identified as such in the footnotes, as are the original readings before the corrections.

In some two dozen cases where the text still appears defective, we have intervened by adding or, less frequently, deleting characters as necessary, especially if other manuscripts of TR carry more acceptable readings. We have marked all our additions and replacements with < >. However, if non-standard, non-classical readings were attested also in other manuscripts of TR, we have assumed that they must have been acceptable to scribes and allowed them to stand.

In the footnotes, we occasionally invoke readings from other manuscripts of TR and LatC. Our intention is not to give a systematic or comprehensive account of the textual scope of TR but only to offer some parallels to the wording (or spelling) of the Troyes MS or to our occasional emendations. TR manuscripts are referred to by their *Census* numbers superscribed after "TR". The following LatC manuscripts are mentioned in the notes:

- Census* 12    Barcelona, Archivio de la Corona de Aragón MS Ripoll 106,  
fol. 122<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>r</sup> (second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> c.)
- Census* 141    Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional MS Alcobaça CCLXXXV/419,  
fol. 175<sup>vb</sup>–187<sup>vb</sup> (second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.)
- Census* 177    Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS O 35 Sup., fol. 65<sup>v</sup>–85<sup>r</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- Census* 257    Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 3214, fol. 132<sup>vb</sup>–139<sup>va</sup>  
(14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- Census* 262    Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 3628, fol. 109<sup>r</sup>–122<sup>r</sup>  
(15<sup>th</sup> c.)
- Census* 264    Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 4977, fol. 227<sup>ra</sup>–232<sup>rb</sup>  
(14<sup>th</sup> c.)

They are referred to by their *Census* number superscribed after "LatC."  
We have expanded all abbreviations and italicized all supplied characters.



**EVANGELIUM NICODEMI FROM MÉDIATHÈQUE  
DU GRAND TROYES MS 1636 (CENSUS 362)**

- 1 [90<sup>r</sup>] Hic incipiunt Gesta Saluatoris scripta a sancto Nichodemo.  
Incipit.

5 Prol. Factum est in anno nonagesimo imperii Tyberii Cesaris,  
anno nonagesimo principatus eius, octauo kalendas Aprilis quod  
est uicesima prima die mensis Martii, consulatu filii Uellionis, anno  
quarto ducentesimo secundo Olimpiadis, sub principatu sacerdotum  
Iudeorum Ioseph, Anne, et Cayphe. Post crucem et passionem domini  
10 nostri Ihesu Christi hystoriatus est Nichodemus acta Saluatoris ad  
principes sacerdotum et reliquos Iudeorum. Ipse Nichodemus scripsit  
litteris hebraicis, Theodosius autem magnus imperator fecit ea  
transferri de hebreo in latinum.

- 15 1.1 Annas et Cayphas, Symeon et Datan, Gamaliel et Iudas, Leui  
et Neptalim, Alexander et Iairus et reliqui Iudeorum uenerunt ad  
Pilatum aduersus Ihesum, accusantes eum de multis accusationibus  
malis, dicentes: "Istum nouimus Ioseph fabri filium de Maria natum  
et dicit se esse Dei filium et regem. Non solum hoc, sed et sabbatum  
20 traditum nobis in requiem uiolat et paternam legem nostram uult  
dissoluere." Dicit eis Pilatus: "Que sunt acta eius que agit et quomodo  
uult dissoluere legem uestram?" Dixerunt Iudei: "In lege habemus  
in sabbato<sup>70</sup> nichil agere. Iste autem claudos et surdos, curuos et  
paraliticos, cecos et leprosos et demoniacos curauit in sabbato de  
25 malis actionibus suis." Dicit eis Pilatus: "Quare de malis actionibus?"  
Dicunt ei: "Maleficus est et in principe demoniorum Beelzebub eicit  
demonia et omnia illi subiecta sunt." Dicit eis Pilatus: "Ista que  
dixistis..., <sup>71</sup> non in principe demoniorum Beelzebub eicit demonia  
sed in Dei uirtute signa uirtutum facit, et in saluatione generis  
30 humani curat infirmitates, et de bonis actionibus accusatis eum.

1.2 Dicunt Iudei: "Rogamus magnitudinem tuam ut eum iubeas  
adstare ante tribunal et audiamus eum." Aduocans autem Pilatus  
cursorem nomine Romanum dixit ei: "Cum moderatione introducatur

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70. sabbato: corr.; sabbata MS.

71. ista que dixistis: *anacoluthon*; similiter TR<sup>19,248</sup> et LatC<sup>12,262,264</sup>; iste quem dicitis et similia  
LatC<sup>141,177,257</sup>.



- 1 Ihesus.” Cursor uero [90<sup>v</sup>] exiens adorauit Ihesum, et fascialem quem tenebat in manu sua expandit super terram dicens: “Domine super hoc ambula et ingredere. Uocat enim te preses.” Hoc cum uidissent Iudei dixerunt Pilato: “Qvare sub uoce preconia non introduxit  
5 Ihesum cursor, sed uidens eum adorauit et super fascialem suum ambulare eum fecit?”

- 1.3 Aduocans Pilatus cursorem dixit ei: “Quare hoc fecisti?” Respondit cursor et ait: “Quando me misisti ad Alexandrum principem  
10 Iudeorum, istum Ihesum uidi sedentem super pullum asine, intrantem in Iherusalem. Et uidi quosdam extendentes uestimenta sua in terra et desuper ambulantem istum Ihesum. Vidi et aliam multitudinem Iudeorum tenentem ramos oliuarum. Vidi et aliam multitudinem puerorum precedentem et<sup>72</sup> consequentem, una uoce clamantem  
15 et dicentem, ‘Osanna in excelsis,’ quod interpretatur ‘salua igitur, benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini’.”

- 1.4 Clamauerunt Iudei dicentes aduersus cursorem: “Pueri quidem Hebreorum hebraice clamauerunt. Unde tu, cum sis gentilis Grecus,  
20 nosti hebraicum?” Dixit eis cursor: “Interrogaui quendam Hebreum et ipse dixit michi.” Respondens Pilatus dixit Iudeis: “Quomodo interpretatur ‘osanna?’” Dixerunt Iudei: “O domine saluum me fac<sup>73</sup>, siue o domine salua.” Igitur dixit Pilatus Iudeis: “Vos ipsi testamini uerba filiorum uestrorum. Quid igitur peccauit cursor? Sine causa  
25 culpatis eum.” Dixit Pilatus cursori: “Eice Ihesum foras et iterum introduc eum quo uis ordine.” Exiens uero cursor, educto Ihesu foras, dixit ei sicut prius: “Domine ingredere quia uocat te preses.”

- 1.5 Ingressus est Ihesus in pretorio et, tenentibus signiferis signa,  
30 curuata sunt capita signorum habentia ymagines imperatorum auro pictas. Videntes autem Iudei signorum signa, quomodo curuata sunt capita signorum et adorauerunt Ihesum, magis clamabant aduersus signiferos. Videns hec Pilatus dixit ad Iudeos: “Num<sup>74</sup> admiramini quomodo curuata sunt capita signorum habentia ymagines  
35 imperatorum, tenentibus signiferis hastas eorum rectas? Quare ergo contra eos sine causa clamatis?” Dixerunt Iudei ad Pilatum: “Nos [91<sup>r</sup>] uidimus quomodo se incuruauerunt signiferi et adorauerunt Ihesum.” Aduocans uero Pilatus signiferos dixit eis: “Quare sic

72. et. add. s. l.

73. fac. add. s. l.

74. Num: nū MS (item in cap. 2.1, 2.2, 11.2); sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>; non TR<sup>19,109</sup>, LatA, LatC; nonne TR<sup>62</sup>.



1 fecistis?” Dicunt ei: “Nos uiri pagani sumus et<sup>75</sup> templorum serui. *Et quomodo habuimus adorare eum? Etenim nobis tenentibus signa curuauerunt se et adorauerunt eum.*”

5 1.6 Dixit Pilatus ad archisinag<sup>76</sup> et seniores plebis ipsorum: “Eligite uos uiros potentes et fortes et ipsi teneant signa, et uideamus si ex se curuentur.” Hoc facto, iussit Pilatus ut firmiter tenerent signa dicens ad illos: “Per salutem cesaris, si flexi fuerint hostiles signorum intrante Ihesu, male erit uobis.” Tunc dixit Pilatus cursori: “E<sup>77</sup>  
10 Ihesum foras pretorium<sup>78</sup> et introduce eum quali uis ordine.” Et exiit foras pretorium Ihesus. Et aduocans Pilatus eos qui tenebant signa iurauit eis iterum per salutem cesaris quia “si flexa fuerint signa precipiam capita uestra.” Et iussit preses ingredi Ihesum. Et fecit cursor eodem modo sicut prius, et multum deprecatus est eum cursor  
15 ut ambularet super fascialem suam. Et fecit sic et ingressus est. Et incuruata sunt capita signorum et adorauerunt iterum Ihesum.

2.1 Pilatus uero uidens hoc, timor apprehendit eum et cepit exurgere de sede sua. Matrona namque ipsius Pilati, nomine Procula, misit ad  
20 eum dicens: “Nichil tibi sit cum homine isto iustissimo. Multum enim afflicta sum nocte ista propter eum. Et in hoc cognoui quia homo iustus est.” Pilatus autem hec audiens dixit Iudeis omnibus: “Vos nostis quia uxor mea pagana est et multas synagogas uestras edificauit. Ipsa michi nuntiauit quia cognouit Ihesum hominem iustum esse  
25 et propter eum multum afflicta est nocte ista.” Respondentes Iudei dixerunt Pilato: “Num tibi diximus quia maleficus est? Per malos demones afflixit uxorem tuam.”

2.2 Pilatus autem aduocans Ihesum dixit ei: “Num audis quid  
30 aduersus te testantur omnes Iudei et nichil eis respondes?” Dixit Ihesus Pilato: “Vnusquisque potestatem habet ore suo loqui mala siue bona. Ipsi uidebunt.”

2.3 Respondentes Iudei dixerunt ad Ihesum: “Quid est<sup>79</sup> quod nos  
35 uidebimus? Nos omnes scimus quia [91<sup>v</sup>] ex fornicatione natus es. Et propter natiuitatem tuam fecit Herodes in Belleem infantium occisionem, et in omnibus finibus eius occidit paruulos ab imatu et

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75. et: corr.; in MS.

76. archisinag<sup>76</sup>: archisinagos MS.

77. E<sup>77</sup>: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109,248</sup>; Ecce MS.

78. Post pretorium del. Ihesus.

79. Quid est: corr.; Quidem MS.

- 1    *infra. Et parentes tui Ioseph et Maria propter metum Herodis<sup>80</sup> regis*  
fugerunt in Egyptum te ipsum infantem portantes. Defuncto autem  
Herode, perduxerunt te in ciuitatem Nazareth.” Hoc audiens Pilatus  
dixit eis: “Ergo iste est Ihesus quem Herodes persecutus est, occidere  
5    eum uolens?” Responderunt Iudei: “Iste est.” Tunc ualde pertimuit  
Pilatus.

- 2.4 Dicunt quidam de astantibus benigni ex Iudeis: “Nos non  
dicimus eum esse natum ex fornic<at>ione<sup>81</sup> sed scimus quoniam  
10    desponsata est Maria Ioseph, et non est natus de fornicatione<sup>82</sup>.” Dixit  
Pilatus ad Iudeos qui dicebant eum natum esse ex fornicatione: “Hic  
sermo uester non est uerus quoniam desponsata fuit Maria Ioseph  
sicut isti dicunt ex gente uestra.” Dixerunt Pilato Annas<sup>83</sup> et Cayphas  
et omnis m<u>ltitudo<sup>84</sup> clamans quia “de fornicatione natus est et  
15    maleficus est. Isti autem<sup>85</sup> proseliti sunt et discipuli eius.” Aduocans  
Pilatus Annam et Caypham dixit eis: “Quid sunt proseliti?” Dicunt  
ei: “Paganorum filii sunt et nunc facti sunt Iudei. Propter hoc dicunt  
de Ihesu quia non est natus ex fornicatione.” Responderunt uiri illi,  
id est, Laza, Asterius, Antonius, Iacob et Zeras<sup>86</sup> et Samuel, Ysaac  
20    et Finees, Crispus et Agrippa, Amenus et Iudas: “Nos proseliti  
non sumus sed filii Iudeorum et ueritatem loquimur. Etenim in  
desponsatione Marie interfuimus.”

- 2.5 Alloquens uero Pilatus xii uiros qui hec dicebant dixit eis:  
25    “Adiuro uos per salutem cesaris ut, si natus est ex fornicatione<sup>87</sup>,  
coram omnibus iurando affirmetis.” Dixerunt illi Pilato: “Legem  
habemus non iurare quia peccatum est, sed ipsi iurent per salutem  
cesaris quia, si non est sicut diximus, rei sumus mortis.” Dicunt  
Annas et Cayphas ad Pilatum: “Duodecim isti creduntur qui dicunt  
30    eum non esse natum de fornicatione<sup>88</sup>. Et nos omnes dicimus quia  
maleficus est et dicit se esse Dei filium et regem, et non credimus.”

80. Herodis: *corr.*; Herodes MS.

81. fornic<at>ione: fornitione MS.

82. fornicatione: *corr.*; fornitione MS.

83. Annas: *corr.*; Annos MS.

84. m<u>ltitudo: mltitudo MS.

85. *Post autem del. proseliti sunt.*

86. Zeras: *corr.*; eras MS.

87. fornicatione: *corr.*; fornitione MS.

88. fornicatione: *corr.*; fornitione MS.



- 1 2.6 Iussit *ergo* Pilatus omnem populum exire foras absque xii uiris  
qui dicebant eum non esse natum ex fornicatione. Et Ihesum iussit  
segregari semotim. Et dixit eis Pilatus: “Qua ratione uolunt eum  
occidere?” Dicunt ei: “Zelo<sup>89</sup> habent quoniam in sabbato cu[92]rat.”  
5 Dicit eis Pilatus: “Propter bona opera uolunt eum occidere?”

- 3.1 Tunc Pilatus furore repletus exiit foras pretorium et dixit  
omnibus Iudeis: “Testes habeo quoniam nec unam culpam inueni in  
homine isto.” Responderunt Iudei et dixerunt presidi: “Si non esset  
10 iste maleficus, non eum tradidissemus tibi.” Dixit eis Pilatus: “Tollite  
eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum de culpis eius quas  
nostis.” Dixerunt Iudei Pilato: “Nobis non licet occidere hominem.”  
Dicit eis Pilatus: “Vobis non dixit Deus ‘licet occidere’ sed michi?”

- 15 3.2 Ingressus iterum Pilatus in pretorium uocauit Ihesum<sup>90</sup> solum  
et dixit ei: “Tu es rex Iudeorum?” Respondit Ihesus Pilato et dixit:  
“Ex te hoc dicis<sup>91</sup> an alii hoc tibi dixerunt?” Dixit Pilatus ad Ihesum:  
“Nonquid<sup>92</sup> ego Iudeus sum<sup>93</sup> ut hec dicam tibi? Sed gens tua et  
principes sacerdotum tradiderunt te michi. Sed quod eis malum fecisti  
20 ignoro. Si uero rex Iudeorum es, dic michi.” Respondit Ihesus Pilato:  
“Regnum meum non est de hoc seculo. Si regnum meum esset de  
hoc mundo, ministri mei resisterent ut non tradendus essem<sup>94</sup> Iudeis.  
Nunc uero regnum meum non est hinc.” Dicit ei Pilatus: “Ergo rex  
es tu?” Respondit Ihesus: “Tu dicis quoniam rex sum ego. Et ad hoc  
25 natus sum et ad hoc ueni ut clarificem mundum. Qui est ex ueritate  
audit uocem meam.” Dicit ei Pilatus: “Ergo in terris ueritas non est?”  
Dicit ei Ihesus: “Intende ueritatem dicentis in terram<sup>95</sup>, quomodo  
iudicatur ab his qui in terris habitant.”

- 30 4.1 Audiens hec Pilatus, relinquens Ihesum in pretorio, exiens foras  
dixit Iudeis: “Iam dixi uobis, testem habeo solem et celum quia nec  
unam culpam inuenio in eum.” Respondentes Iudei dixerunt: “Non est  
magna culpa quia dixit de templo nostro, ‘Possum eum<sup>96</sup> destruere et  
in triduo reedificare quod edificatum est in xl et vii annis?’” Dicit eis

89. Zelo: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109,248</sup>; zelum LatA et LatC.

90. Ihesum: add. in marg.

91. dicis: add. s. l.

92. Nonquid: pro Numquid.

93. sum: add. s. l.

94. tradendus essem: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>; traderer TR<sup>19,109,62</sup>.

95. terram: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>.

96. eum: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>.

- 1 Pilatus: “*Quale templum?*” Dicunt Iudei: “*Quod Salomon edificauit  
in xl et vii annis. Et iste dicit se eum<sup>97</sup> dissoluere<sup>98</sup> et reedificare  
in tribus diebus.*” Dicit eis Pilatus: “*Innocens ego sum a sanguine  
hominis istius. Uos uideritis. Quid in eo uultis facere?*” Repleti Iudei  
5 furore una uoce exclamauerunt dicentes: “*Sanguis eius super nos et  
super filios nostros.*”

- 4.2 Aduocans Pilatus seniores et plebis sacerdotes [92<sup>v</sup>] et leuitas  
dixit eis secrete: “*Nolite sic facere. Non enim dignus est morte de  
10 curatione infirmorum neque de hac uiolatione sabbati.*” Dixerunt Iudei  
Pilato: “*Intende iudex bone. Si quis contra cesarem blasphemauerit,  
dignus est morte. Quanto magis iste qui aduersus deum blasphemat  
dicens se filium Dei esse. Et coniurantes eum si ‘tu es filius Dei’ non  
negauit. Sed adhuc insuper blasphemans dixit nobis, ‘Amodo uidebitis  
15 filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram uirtutis Dei et uenientem in  
nubibus celi.’*”

- 4.3 Hec audiens Pilatus duxit semotim Ihesum dicens ad eum:  
“*Quid faciam tibi nescio.*” Dixit Ihesus Pilato: “*Sicut datum est michi  
20 et tibi.*” Dicit ei Pilatus: “*Quomodo datum?*” Dicit ei Ihesus: “*Moyeses  
et prophete predicauerunt de mea passione et de mea resurrectione.*”  
Audiens hec Pilatus omnia uerba Ihesu nuntiauit Iudeis. Statim omnes  
Iudei dixerunt Pilato: “*Quid amplius uis ob hoc audire blasphemias  
istas?*” Dixit Pilatus Iudeis: “*Si iste sermo blasphemia est tollite eum  
25 uos et producite ad uestram synagogam et secundum uestram legem  
eum iudicate.*” Responderunt Iudei Pilato: “*Lex nostra continet ut si  
aliquis homo in hominem peccet, dignus sit accipere xl una minus.  
Qui uero in Deum blasphemauerit, lapidibus obruatur. (4.4) Et quia  
iste Ihesus super omnem blasphemauit, dicens se ad dexteram diuine  
30 maiestatis sedere in celis et uenturum se in nubibus celi, propter hoc  
uolumus ut crucifigatur.*” Haudiens Pilatus dixit Iudeis: “*Non est  
bonum quod uultis facere.*”

- 4.5 Et respiciens super omnem multitudinem Iudeorum, uidens  
35 plurimos eorum lacrimantes et in celo respicientes dixit ad principes  
et seniores: “*Ego uideo quia non minima multitudo uult Ihesum  
mori.*” Respondentes principes dixerunt Pilato: “*Iudex, propterea  
uenimus omnes ut moriatur.*” Dixit eis Pilatus: “*Qua causa morietur?*”  
Dixerunt Iudei: “*Quia dicit se esse filium Dei et regem.*”

97. eum: *corr.*; esse MS, TR<sup>248</sup>.

98. dissoluere: *corr.*; dissouere MS, TR<sup>248</sup>.

- 1      5.1 Nichodemus autem quidam uir iudaicus stetit ante presidem et  
dixit ei: “Ego locutus sum sacerdotibus et leuitis et omnibus Iudeis  
dicens: ‘Quid queritis male agere cum Ihesu? Homo iste multa  
signa facit diuina et gloriosa que nullus patrum nostrorum fecisse  
5      scribitur<sup>99</sup>. Dimittite illum et [93] nolite aliquod inferre ei malum.  
Si ex Deo sunt signa et miracula que facit, stabunt permansura  
post finem eius. Si uero ex Deo non sunt, sed per aliqua carmina  
malignorum, dissoluentur. Quia et Moyses myssus a Deo signa in  
Egypto fecit que dixit ei facere Deus, ante pharaonem regem Egypti.  
10      Et erant ibi curantes medici Iamnes et Mambres et fecerunt ipsa signa  
que fecit Moyses. Et habuerunt eos Egyptii sicut deos. Et quoniam  
signa que fecerunt non erant ex Deo, et ipsi perierunt et signa que  
fecerunt et qui eis crediderunt. Et nunc dimittite hominem istum,  
non enim est dignus morte. Forsan et iste Ihesus uenit missus a Deo  
15      propheta nobis<sup>100</sup> sicut dixit Moyses patribus nostris, ‘Prophetam  
suscitabit dominus Deus nobis de gente nostra.’ Et forsan iste est  
Ihesus de quo hoc dicitur, ‘Si iste a Deo missus est, ad saluationem  
credentium et ad exterminationem non credentium uenit.’” Sicut  
Deus ad Moysen dixit, ‘Si quis non audierit prophetam illum et ea  
20      que loquetur in nomine meo respuerit, exterminabitur de populo suo.’  
Hec dixi principibus sacerdotum.”

- 5.2 Hec verba Nichodemi audientes Iudei ante Pilatum dixerunt ad  
Nichodemum: “Idcirco hoc dicis quia discipulus es Ihesu et pro ipso  
25      loqueris.” Dicit Iudeis Nichodemus: “Numquid et dominus iste iudex  
discipulus factus est Ihesu qui pro ipso loquitur? Numquid non iste est  
constitutus preses a cesare?” Et hec<sup>101</sup> audientes Iudei erant frementes  
et dicentes ad Nichodemum: “Veritatem Ihesu accipies et portionem  
cum ipso habeas.” Eleuans manus suas in celum Nichodemus dixit  
30      Iudeis: “Veritatem Ihesu accipiam. Amen. Et portionem cum ipso  
habeam. Amen. Sicut uos dixistis fiat. Amen.”

- 6.1 Statim alius ex Iudeis stans ante Pilatum dixit: “Ego xxxviii annis  
iacebam in lectum<sup>102</sup>, cotidie in periculum<sup>103</sup> mortis manens. Et  
35      ueniens ad me dominus Ihesus misertus est mei et dixit michi: ‘Tolle  
grabatum tuum et ambula.’ Audiens uerbum eius sanatus sum et  
portaui lectum meum et ambulau i sanus in domo mea.”

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99. scribitur: *corr.*; sic etiam TR<sup>62</sup>; scribetur MS.

100. *Post nobis del.* de gente.

101. *hec: add. s. l.*

102. *lectum: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>.*

103. *periculum: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>.*

1       6.2 Et ecce alius ex Iudeis stans ante Pilatum dixit: “Ego cecus natus  
sum. Et transeunte domino Ihesu clamaui: ‘Miserere mei, domine fili  
Dauid.’ Et misertus est mei et posuit [93<sup>v</sup>] manum suam super oculos  
meos et statim uidi.” Et ecce alius stans ante Pilatum dixit: “Ego  
5   leprosus eram, et uerbo suo dominus Ihesus curauit me.”

6.3 Et ecce mulier quedam stans ante Pilatum dixit: “Ego sanguine  
fluens eram xii annis et tangens fimbriam uestimenti domini Ihesu  
sanata sum a fluxu sanguinis mei.”

10

6.4 Et alia multitudo clamabat de multis saluationibus et  
curationibus et infirmitatibus eorum dicens: “Magnus propheta et  
saluator est dominus Ihesus.” Hec omnia audiens Pilatus dixit Iudeis:  
“Quare patres uestri et omnes principes sacerdotum tales curationes  
15 non fecerunt?” At illi nichil responderunt. Et alii ex Iudeis clamantes  
Pilato dixerunt: “Miraculum diuinum fecit Ihesus. Lazarum mortuum  
quatriduanum, fasciis inuolutum, de monumento uerbo uirtutis sue  
suscitauit, et ante nos omnes presentauit eum uiuum sororibus suis, et  
recumbere fecit secum ad mensam.” Hec audiens Pilatus perterritus  
20 pauore exclamauit uoce magna ad omnem multitudinem Iudeorum  
dicens: “Quid est hoc quod sine causa uultis effundere sanguinem  
innocentem, Ihesum benefactorem uestrum<sup>104?</sup>”

7.1 Exurgens uero Pilatus de sede sua traxit Nichodemum semotim  
25 cum illis xii uiris qui dixerunt non esse natum de fornicatione  
Ihesum, et dixit eis Pilatus: “Quid faciam, dicite michi, quoniam  
magna sedicio est in populo.” Respondentes illi dixerunt Pilato:  
“Nos nescimus. Cum eis non consentimus. Ipsi uidebunt in animas  
suas. Iudicet illos dominus iusto iudicio suo.” Et conuersus Pilatus  
30 ad Iudeos dixit: “Scitis quia consuetudo est per diem azimorum<sup>105</sup>  
dimittere uobis unum uinctum. Habeo enim insignem uinctum  
in carcere homicidam<sup>106</sup>, Barrabam nomine. Uultis ut dimittam  
uobis homicidam illum dignum morte aut dimittam uobis Ihesum  
inculpabilem et indignum morte?” Dixerunt principes sacerdotum et  
35 seniores ad Pilatum: “Barrabam dimitte nobis.” Respondens Pilatus  
dixit eis: “Quid uultis facere de Ihesu qui dicitur Christus?” Dixerunt



104. Ihesum benefactorem uestrum: sic MS, TR<sup>248</sup>, LatC177; cf. (interficites / occidere) Ihesum  
benefactorem uestrum TR<sup>19,62</sup>; Ihesu benefactoris uestri TR<sup>109</sup> et LatC<sup>141,257</sup>.

105. azimorum: corr.; atimorum MS.

106. homicidam: corr.; hominum MS.

1 Iudei: “Crucifigatur! crucifigatur! Si hoc non feceris et dimiseris sic eum, non es amicus cesaris quia blasphemauit dicens se filium Dei esse et regem.”

5 7.2 Hec audiens Pilatus cum ira magna dixit Iudeis: “[94] Semper gens uestra a principio sediciosa fuit, et qui uobis profuerunt contrarii eis fuistis interfectores de tormentis uestris<sup>107</sup>.” Respondentes Iudei dixerunt: “Qui sunt qui profuerunt nobis?” Dicit eis Pilatus: “Primus Deus uester qui profuit uobis, et liberauit uos de iugo Egyptiorum, et  
10 demersit eos in profundum maris, et uos per medium aque maris sicut per aridam terram transduxit. Et in heremo cibauit uos manna sine labore. Paut et de coturnicibus et de petra arida potauit uos aqua, et legis precepta dedit uobis. In his omnibus beneficiis irritastis<sup>108</sup> ipsi Deum uestrum, et fecistis uobis uitulum fusilem ut haberetis uobis  
15 in deum. Et exacerbastis<sup>109</sup> dominum Deum uestrum et uoluit uos ex toto perdere. Sed Moyses, dux uester, deprecatus est eum pro uobis ut non ex toto periretis. Et nunc<sup>110</sup> clamatis ad me quia regem meum odio et non sum eius amicus nisi tradidero<sup>111</sup> uobis istum Ihesum qui multos ex uobis curauit ex morbis eorum, qui rex uester est et nichil  
20 mali fecit.”

8.1 Hec audientes Iudei, ira et furore repleti, uehementer exclamauerunt dicentes: “Nos regem habemus Tyberium cesarem, imperatorem Romanorum. Ihesum autem regem esse nescimus, quem  
25 Persarum reges inquirentes in Bethleem et de ipso interrogantes et dicentes: ‘Ubi est qui natus est rex Iudeorum?’ optulerunt ei munera. Hec audiens rex Herodes, quia magi eum regem Iudeorum requirebant, uolens occidere eum, occidit multa milia paruulorum qui nati erant in Bethleem. Iam ante prediximus tibi iudex bone.”

30 8.2 Audiens hec uerba Pilatus iussit silentium fieri in populo et dixit: “Ergo hic est quem querebat Herodes?” Dicunt ei: “Hic est.” Accipiens autem Pilatus aquam lauit manus suas coram populo dicens: “Innocens ego sum a sanguine istius iusti. Uos uideritis.”  
35 Respondentes Iudei dixerunt: “Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros.”

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107. interfectores de tormentis uestris: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>; cf. interfectores de diuersis tormentis LatC<sup>141</sup>.

108. irritastis: corr.; irritatis MS.

109. exacerbastis: corr.; exacerbatis MS.

110. nunc: add. in marg.

111. tradidero: corr.; tradideo MS.



1       9 Hec audiens Pilatus iussit uenire multitudinem magnam militum  
ante tribunal suum, et dictauit sententiam aduersus Ihesum dicens:  
“Gens tua comprobabit te ut regem. Propterea precipio primum  
flagellari eum secundum statuta priorum principum, deinde leuari  
5 eum in cruce in eo loco ubi tentus esset, et duos malignos cum eo  
quorum nomina sunt hec: Dimas et Gestas.”

10.1 Et exiens Ihesus de pretorio uenit foras et duo latrones cum  
eo. Et cum uenis[94<sup>v</sup>]sent ad locum, milites expoliauerunt Ihesum  
10 uestimenta sua, et precinxerunt eum linteo, et clamide coccinea  
induerunt eum. Et de spinis<sup>112</sup> coronauerunt eum, et arundine capud  
eius percutiebant, et deridentes illudebant eum. Et suspendentes eum  
in ligno inter duos latrones — Dimam a dextris, Gestam a sinistris  
— et poculum aceto et felle mixtum in spongia plena per arundinem  
15 posuerunt ad os eius ut biberet. Ad<sup>113</sup> Ihesus sustinebat patienter  
mala et respiciens in celum exclamauit: “Pater mi, pater mi, dimitte  
illis quia nesciunt quid faciunt.” Milites autem mittentes sortem  
super uestimenta eius tulerunt partes suas. Et multitudo Iudeorum et  
principes sacerdotum et omnes Iudei clamabant dicentes ad Ihesum:  
20 “Alios saluos fecisti, teipsum saluare non potes? Si filius Dei es,  
descende de cruce et<sup>114</sup> credemus tibi.” Ipsi etiam milites deludebant  
eum dicentes: “Si tu es rex Iudeorum libera te ipsum.” Principes autem  
sacerdotum compellebant Longinum militem rogantes eum ut lancea  
latus eius perforaret. Quod cum fecisset, continuo exiuit sanguis et  
25 aqua. Iussit autem Pilatus pro sententia quam recitauerat de morte  
Ihesu et pro eo quod dixerat Iudeis “hic est Ihesus rex Iudeorum”  
titulum scribi super capud eius. Et erat scriptum litteris hebraicis,  
latinis et grecis, et posuit super capud eius titulum scriptum: “Hic est  
Ihesus Christus rex Iudeorum.”

30  
10.2 Vnus autem ex latronibus qui erat a sinistris Ihesu, Gestas  
nomine, dixit: “Si tu es filius Dei uiui, libera te et nos.” Respondens  
autem Dimas, qui erat a dextris, increpans eum dixit: “Ex his uerbis  
tuis apparet quia non times Deum quapropter in dampnatione  
35 perpetua eris. Nos enim digna factis nostris recepimus. Hic autem  
nichil mali fecit et inmerito punitur.” Et postquam Dimas dixit hunc



112. de spinis: sic etiam TR<sup>109,248</sup> (cf. cap. 16.3.2 spinis coronatus); corona de spinis TR<sup>62</sup>, LatC<sup>141</sup>.

113. Ad: sic MS, TR<sup>248</sup>; at TR<sup>109</sup>; et TR<sup>62</sup>.

114. Post et del. de.



1 sermonem, respexit ad Ihesum et dixit: “Domine Ihesu, memento mei dum ueneris in regnum tuum.” Et ait illi Ihesus: “Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradyso.”

5 11.1 Erat autem quasi hora sexta diei. Et tenebre facte sunt super uniuersam terram usque ad horam nonam. Sol autem obscuratus est et uelum templi scissum est in duas partes per medium, a summo usque deorsum. Et uisus est angelus domini hoc fecisse per rumfe[95] am igneam. Et uox eius audita est dicens: “Testis ego sum passionis Ihesu.” Statimque post hec exclamauit Ihesus uoce magna dicens: “Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.” Et hec dicens emisit spiritum. Videns autem centurio qui super militum officio erat glorificauit eum dicens: “Vere homo iste iustus erat quod in signis creaturarum bene demonstratur.” Similiter et omnes populi circumstantes, considerantes signa uirtutum, percutientes pectora sua reuertebantur.

20 11.2 Centurio autem retulit presidi que facta sunt. Audiens autem hec preses contristatus est nimis et non manducauit neque bibit in illa die. Conuocans autem Pilatus Iudeos dixit illis: “Num ammiramini signa uirtutum que facta sunt in passione Ihesu quia obscuratus est sol et fuscata est dies?” Dixerunt Iudei Pilato: “Ecclipsis factus es<t><sup>115</sup> solis secundum consuetudinem<sup>116</sup> eius.”

25 11.3.1 Respondens Pilatus dixit eis: “Nonne et uelum templi<sup>117</sup> ecclipsis factum est quod coram omnibus scissum<sup>118</sup> est? Et aperta sunt sepulcra mortuorum, et, sicut nuntiatum est michi, a mortuis plures resurrexerunt et uisi sunt in corporibus in ciuitate nostra Iherusalem. Interrogate centurionem et eos qui cum eo erant officiales qui custodiebant Ihesum.” Et perducti ante Iudeos testificati sunt dicentes: “Vere nos uidimus in morte Ihesu terre motum et mugitum terre quasi loquentem audiuiimus. Et nos uidimus<sup>119</sup> homines resurrexisse. Et ideo credimus quia uere filius Dei erat iste Ihesus. Stabant autem omnes noti eius a longe et mulieres que secute eum erant a Galilea uidentes hec omnia. Et ecce uir quidam nomine Ioseph agens curam in familia Pilati, uir bonus et iustus, non fuit consentiens

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115. es<t>: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>, es MS.

116. consuetudinem: corr.; consutudinem MS.

117. uelum templi: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,248</sup>; cf. Nonne et templi facta est heclipsis quia in duas partes scissum est? LatC<sup>141</sup>.

118. scissum: sic etiam TR<sup>62</sup>, LatC<sup>141</sup>; scissimum MS, TR<sup>248</sup>; cisimum TR<sup>19</sup>.

119. Post uidimus del. uos.

1 accusationibus et uoluntatibus Iudeorum, ab Arimathia ciuitate Iudee.  
Et ipse expectans erat regnum Dei. Hic uenit ad Pilatum et petiit ab  
eo corpus Ihesu.

5 11.3.2 Et deponens eum de cruce inuoluit eum in sindone munda  
et posuit eum in monumentum suum nouum in quo nullus unquam  
positus fuerat.

12.1 Iudei autem querebant occidere ipsum Ioseph cum xii uiris qui  
10 pro Ihesu locuti fuerant ante Pilatum, similiter et Nichodemum et  
omnes eos qui a Ihesu sanati fuerant, qui steterant<sup>120</sup> coram Pilato  
et opera Ihesu bona manifestauerant. Omnibus autem se occul[95<sup>v</sup>]  
tantibus solus Nichodemus se illis ostendit<sup>121</sup> quia princeps Iudeorum  
erat. Non post multos dies, cum facta esset magna congregatio  
15 Iudeorum in templo, ostendit se illis dicens: “Quomodo ingressi estis  
in templum domini cum manus<sup>122</sup> uestre sanguine plene sint quia  
Ihesum Christum, iustum hominem, crucifixistis?” Tunc Annas et  
Cayphas, Symeon et Datan, Gamaliel et Iudas, Leui et Neptalim et  
ceteri omnes Iudei responderunt una uoce clamantes et dicentes<sup>123</sup>  
20 ad Nichodemum: “Et tu quomodo ingressus es nobiscum qui Christo  
consentiens eras? Pax illius sit tecum in futuro seculo.” Et respondens  
Nichodemus dixit: “Amen. Et dicite uos ‘Amen.’ Pax Ihesu Christi  
sit mecum et nunc et in futuro.” Et responderunt dicentes: “Amen.”  
Et cum hoc dixisset Nichodemus, superuenit Ioseph de Arimathia  
25 ciuitate dicens ad illos: “Qvare contristati estis aduersum me quia  
peti a Pilato corpus Ihesu? Ecce in monumento meo nouo posui  
eum et inuolui eum in sindone munda et apposui lapidem ad hostium  
spelunce. At uos non bene egistis aduersum eum quia eum inmerito  
crucifixistis. Nec solum hoc sed et lancea latus eius percussistis.”

30 12.2 Hoc audientes Iudei apprehenderrunt Ioseph et iusserunt eum  
custodiri<sup>124</sup> ante diem sabbati usque ad unum diem sabbatorum. Et  
dixerunt ei<sup>125</sup>: “Agnosce quia hora nona<sup>126</sup> competens erat aliquid fieri  
aduersum te quia sabbatum illucescebat. Scimus namque quia nec  
35 sepultura dignus es sed dabimus carnes tuas deuorandas bestiis terre



120. steterant: *corr.*; steterunt MS.

121. ostendit: *add. in marg.*

122. manus: *iteravit in marg.*

123. dicentes: *dicentes MS.*

124. custodiri: *del. r et iterum scr. s. l.*

125. ei: *add. s. l.*

126. nona: *sic etiam TR*<sup>62,109,248</sup>.

- 1 *et uolatilibus celi. Respondit Ioseph et dixit eis: "Iste sermo similis est uerbo superbi Golie qui imputauit<sup>127</sup> Deo uiuo aduersus sanctum Dauid. Dicit autem propheta, 'Michi uindictam et ego retribuam, dicit dominus.' Uos enim, quando Pilatus lauit manus suas dicens,*
- 5 *'Mundus ego sum a sanguine huius iusti' protinus respondistis, 'Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros.' Et amodo cognoscite quia ueniet ira Dei super uos et super genus uestrum et super filios sicut uos ipsi dixistis."*
- 10 12.3 Audientes autem Iudei sermones istos exacerbati sunt animo nimis et incluserunt eum in cubiculo carceris ubi non erant fenestre. Signauerunt autem hostium cubiculi super clauem et posuerunt custodes.
- 15 13.1 Tunc Annas et [96<sup>r</sup>] Cayphas consilium habuerunt cum sacerdotibus et leuitis ut congregarentur omnes post diem sabbati quatinus cogitarent qua morte occiderent Ioseph. Et cum congregati fuissent omnes in die dominica, tollentes signaculum, mittentes clauem aperuerunt ostium sed non inuenerunt Ioseph in cubiculo ubi
- 20 eum recluserunt.
- 13.2 Hec omnibus admirantibus ecce quidam de militibus, qui sepulchrum domini custodiebant, intrantes in synagogam dixerunt quia Ihesus non erat in monumento, "et nobis custodientibus
- 25 sepulchrum factus est terre motus et uidimus angelum Dei de celo descendentem et quomodo reuoluit lapidem de monumento et sedit super eum. Et aspectus eius erat sicut fulgur et uestimenta eius sicut nix. Et pre timore eius facti sumus sicut mortui. Et audiuius angelum dicentem ad mulieres que uenerant ad sepulchrum eius, 'Nolite timere. Scio quia Ihesum qui crucifixus est queritis sed non est<sup>128</sup> hic quia surrexit sicut predixit. Uenite et uidete locum ubi positus erat. Et cito euntes dicite discipulis eius quia surrexit a mortuis et precedet eos in Galilea sicut dixit eis. Et ibi eum uidebunt'."
- 30
- 35 13.3 Ad hoc obstupefacti principes sacerdotum dixerunt militibus: "Viuit ergo Ihesus? Non credimus uobis." Dixerunt milites: "Tanta miracula fecit Ihesus que uos uidistis et audistis et tamen non credidistis. Et quomodo nunc nobis credituri estis? Vos bene dixistis quia uiuit dominus Ihesus Christus quem uos absque ratione

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127. *imputauit: sic etiam* TR<sup>62,109,248</sup>; *imperauit* TR<sup>19</sup>.

128. *est: add. in marg.*

1 crucifixistis. Nos audiui<sup>129</sup> *quia* uos inclusistis in cubiculo Ioseph  
qui corpus Ihesu sepeliuit, signantes super clauem et posuistis<sup>129</sup>  
custodes. Et aperientes ostium non inuenistis eum. Reddite ergo  
uos Ioseph quem in cubiculo inclusistis et custodes posuistis, et nos  
5 reddemus Ihesum quem in sepulchro custodiui<sup>130</sup>.” Respondentes  
Iudei<sup>130</sup> dixerunt militibus: “Nos dabimus Ioseph. Date uos Ihesum.  
Ioseph enim in ciuitate sua Arimathia est.” Respondentes milites  
dixerunt: “Si Ioseph in Arimathia est, Ihesus in Galilea est sicut  
audiui<sup>130</sup> ab angelo dicente mulieribus *quia* ‘surrexit a mortuis et  
10 precedet uos in Galilea.’”

13.4 Hec audientes Iudei timuerunt dicentes intra semetipsos:  
“Nequaquam<sup>131</sup> audiantur sermones istorum et omnes credant in  
Ihesum.” Et congregantes pecuniam multam [96<sup>v</sup>] dederunt militibus  
15 dicentes: “Dicite *quia* uobis dormientibus uenerunt discipuli eius  
nocte et furati sunt corpus eius. Et si auditum fuerit hoc<sup>132</sup> a preside  
Pilato, nos securos uos faciemus loquentes *pro* uobis.” Milites autem  
accipientes pecuniam fecerunt sicut moniti sunt a Iudeis, et diffamatus  
est omnibus sermo eorum.

20 14.1 Quidam autem sacerdotes quorum nomina sunt Finees et  
Abbas preceptor et leui nomine Aggeus, isti tres uenerunt de Galilea  
in Iherusalem<sup>133</sup> et dixerunt principibus sacerdotum et omnibus qui  
erant in synagoga<sup>134</sup> quia “Ihesum quem crucifixistis uidimus cum  
25 xii discipulis suis loquentem et sedentem in medio eorum. Et in monte  
Oliueti uidimus eum sermocinantem eis et dicentem, ‘Euntes per  
mundum uniuersum predicate meum euangelium omnibus gentibus,  
baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et qui  
crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, saluus<sup>135</sup> erit. Qui uero non crediderit,  
30 condempnabitur.’ Et cum hec locutus fuisset discipulis suis, uidimus  
eum ascendentem in celum in nube.”

14.2 Hec audientes principes sacerdotum et seniores et leuite  
dixerunt tribus uiris illis: “Date gloriam Deo Israel et date ei  
35 confessionem, si uera sunt hec que dicitis uos uidisse et audisse.”



129. Post posuistis erasit aliquid.

130. Post Respondentes erasit aliquid et add. Iudei in marg.

131. Nequaquam: sic etiam LatC<sup>12</sup>; Numquam TR<sup>62</sup>; Nequando TR<sup>109,248</sup>.

132. hoc: add. in marg.

133. Iherusalem: del. Ihesum et corr. in marg.

134. synagoga: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>.

135. saluus: del. salu<sup>9</sup> et scr. saluu<sup>9</sup> in marg.

1 Respondentes illi tres quasi ex vno ore dixerunt: “Uiuit dominus Deus  
patrum nostrorum, Deus Abraham et Deus Ysaac et Deus Iacob, quia  
uidimus Ihesum loquentem cum discipulis suis et ascendentem in  
celum. Et hec miracula que de Ihesu uidimus si tacuerimus, peccatum  
5 habemus.” Statim exurgentes principes sacerdotum et tenentes legem  
domini coniurauerunt eos dicentes: “Per legem domini adiuramus uos  
ut nemini annuntietis uerba que nobiscum locuti estis de Ihesu.” Et  
dederunt eis pecuniam multam et miserunt cum eis uiros ut deducerent  
eos in regionibus suis et nullo modo starent in Iherusalem.

10  
14.3 Et congregati sunt omnes Iudei et fecerunt inter se  
lamentationem magnam dicentes: “Quid est hoc signum quod factum  
est in Israel?” Annas quidem et Caypas consolantes eos dixerunt:  
“Numquid militibus qui custodierunt sepulchrum Ihesu debemus  
15 credere? Ipsi dixerunt nobis quoniam angelus reuoluit lapidem de  
monumento. Forsitan hec discipuli eius dixere[97]runt eis et dederunt  
eis pecunias multas ut hec dicerent, et tulerunt corpus eius. Hoc  
scitote quia non est bonum credere alienigenis ullum uerbum, quia et  
de nobis acceperunt ipsi pecuniam et secundum quod docuimus eos  
20 ita omnibus dixerunt. Aut nobis habuerunt tenere fidem aut discipulis  
Ihesu.”

15.1 Exurgens autem Nichodemus dixit omnibus: “Recte loquimini  
filii Israel. Vos audistis omnia que locuti sunt tres uiri illi iurantes per  
25 legem domini et dicentes, ‘Vidimus Ihesum loquentem cum discipulis  
suis et super montem Oliueti aspeximus eum ascendentem in celum.’  
Et docet nos scriptura quia beatus Helyas propheta assumptus est in  
celum. Et interrogatus Eliseus eius discipulus a filiis prophetarum,  
‘Ubi est pater noster Helyas?’ dixit eis, “In celum assumptus est.’ Qui  
30 dixerunt, ‘Forsitan spiritus rapuit illum et posuit in montibus Israel.  
Sed eligamus ex nobis uiros qui circueant montes Israel quia forsitan  
inuenient eum.’ Et fecerunt sic. Et quesierunt eum tribus diebus  
et non inuenerunt eum. Et nunc audite me filii Israel, et mittamus  
uiros in montibus Israel ne forte spiritus rapuerit Ihesum. Et forsitan  
35 inueniemus eum et agemus penitentiam.” Et placuit omni populo  
Iudeorum consilium Nichodemi. Et miserunt uiros in montibus qui  
querentes non inuenerunt eum.

15.2 Et reuersi dixerunt Iudeis: “Circueuntibus nobis omnes  
40 partes non inuenimus Ihesum sed inuenimus Ioseph in ciuitate sua  
Arimathia.” Hec audientes principes sacerdotum omnes gauisi sunt et  
glorificauerunt deum Israel quia inuentus est Ioseph quem incluserunt  
in cubiculo et non inuenerunt. Et facientes congregationem magnam

1 dixerunt: “Quomodo poterimus adducere ad nos Ioseph *et* cum eo loqui?” Et tollentes thomum carte scripserunt ad Ioseph dicentes: “Pax tibi *et* omnibus qui tecum sunt. Scimus quia peccauimus in Deum *et* in te. Dignare ergo uenire ad nos quia nos erga te grauiter  
5 peccasse confitemur. Ualde enim admiramur de assumptione uestra. Scimus quia malignum consilium cogitauimus aduersum te, *et* dominus suscepit te *et* liberauit<sup>136</sup> te de maligno consilio nostro. Pax tibi, domine Ioseph, honorabilis *et* dilectus ab omni plebe.”

10 15.3 Et elegerunt vii uiros amicos Ioseph *et* dixerunt eis: “Dum perueneritis<sup>137</sup> ad Ioseph saluta<t>e<sup>138</sup> eum in pace dantes ei epistolam.” Recesserunt legati, *et* cum peruenissent ad Ioseph salutauerunt eum pacifice [97<sup>v</sup>] *et* dederunt ei epistolam. Cum autem legisset epistolam Ioseph dixit: “Benedictus dominus Deus qui  
15 liberauit nos ut non effunderetur sanguis noster. Benedictus Deus qui protexit me sub alis suis.” Et osculatus est Ioseph uiros illos *et* suscepit eos in domum suam.

20 15.4 Alia autem die ascendens equitaturam ambulauit cum illis, *et* uenerunt in Iherusalem. Cum hec<sup>139</sup> audissent omnes Iudei occurrerunt obuiam ei exclamantes *et* dicentes: “Pax in introitu tuo pater Ioseph.” Quibus respondens Ioseph ait: “Pax domini sit omni populo eius.” Tunc osculati sunt eum omnes. *Et* suscepit eum Nichodemus in domum suam faciens grandem apparatus.

25 15.5 Alia autem die parasceue Annas *et* Cayphas *et* Nichodemus dixerunt ad Ioseph in templo domini: “Da confessionem domino Deo Israel in templo eius *et* manifesta nobis omnia que interrogatus fueris a nobis. Tu enim optime ueritatem nosti quia corpus Ihesu sepelisti. *Et*  
30 nos includentes te in cubiculum non te inuenimus. *Et* ammirati sumus nimis *et* pavor nos comprehendit usque te suscepimus presentem. Sed nunc coram omnibus nobis manifesta quid de te factum est.”

35 15.6 Respondens Ioseph dixit eis: “Quando me reclusistis in die parasceuen ad uesperum, cum starem in oratione die sabbati, media nocte suspensa est domus a iiii<sup>or</sup> angulis. *Et* eleuans capud uidi Ihesum sicut fulgorem lucis splendentem, *et* pre timore cecidi in terram. Tunc ille apprehendens manum meam eleuauit me de terra

136. liberauit: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>; liberauerit MS.

137. perueneritis: corr.; ueneritis MS.

138. saluta<t>e: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109,248</sup>; salutare MS.

139. hec: add. in marg.

- 1 *et rore*<sup>140</sup> *aque perfudit me. Et extergens faciem meam osculatus est me et dixit michi, 'Mundus es frater Ioseph per aquam fidei tue, et dimissa sunt tibi omnia peccata tua. Noli timere amice mi. Respice in me et uide quia ego sum.'* Et respexi *et dixi, 'Raboni? Domine mi, Helya?'* Et dixit michi, 'Non sum ego Helyas *sed* ego sum Christus cuius corpus tu honorifice sepelisti.' Et dixi ad eum, 'Ostende michi monumentum<sup>141</sup> ubi posui te.' Et tenens manum meam deduxit me in locum ubi posui eum, *et ostendit michi sindonem et fascialem in quo capud eius inuolui. Mox cognoui quia Ihesus esset et adoraui eum*
- 10 *et dixi, 'Benedictus es domine Deus qui uenisti ad nos in nomine domini et uisitasti et protexisti et saluasti nos.'* Et tenens manum dexteram meam perduxit me in A<ri>ma[98]<sup>142</sup> thia<sup>142</sup> ciuitate mea. Et induxit me in domo mea ianuis clausis *et dixit michi, 'Pax tibi, et usque in quadragesima die non ex eas de domo tua quia magnam*
- 15 *persecutionem facient Iudei fidelibus meis. Ego enim uado ad discipulos meos ut uideant me, et loquar eis pro mundi salute.'* Et his dictis recessit a me."

- 16.1.1 Cum hec omnia audissent principes sacerdotum *et ceteri*
- 20 *sacerdotes et leuite, stupefacti sunt et ex nimio timore ceciderunt in facies suas.*

- 16.1.2 Et exclamantes dixerunt: "Quid est hoc signum quod factum est in Israel? Milites custodientes sepulchrum Ihesu angelum
- 25 *se uidisse testantur, dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus et in Galilea uidebitur. Et nos omnes scimus quia Ihesus homo erat, et patrem et m<a>trem*<sup>143</sup> *eius cognoscimus, Ioseph uidelicet et Mariam. Quid ad hec dicemus?"* Tunc quidem Leuis nomine dixit ad Iudeos: "Ego cognoui cognationem Ihesu. Semper enim eram cum timentibus
- 30 *Deum et cum illis indesinenter or<ationes>*<sup>144</sup> *et hostias in templo offerebam Deo Israel. Et quando suscepit eum magnus sacerdos Symeon, tenens eum in manibus suis dixit ad eum, 'Nunc dimittis seruum tuum, domine, secundum uerbum tuum in pace, quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare tuum quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum,*
- 35 *lumen ad reuelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tue Israel.'* Similiter ipse Symeon benedixit matrem Ihesu *et dixit ei, 'Annuntio*

140. rore: *corr.*; sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109,248</sup>; ore MS.

141. monumentum: momumentum *corr.*

142. A<ri>mathia: Amathia MS.

143. m<a>trem: *illeg.* MS.

144. or<ationes>: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>; *illeg.* MS.



- 1 tibi de puero isto: hic positus est in ruinam et in resurrectionem, et in  
signum contradictionis. Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius ut  
reuelentur ex<sup>145</sup> multis cordibus cogitationes<sup>146</sup>.”
- 5 16.2.1 Tunc dixerunt omnes Iudei: “Mittamus ad illos tres uiros  
qui dixerunt se uidisse eum cum discipulis loquentem in montem<sup>147</sup>  
Oliueti.” Hoc facto, uenientes [16.2.3] interrogati dixerunt: “Viuit  
Deus Israel quia manifeste uidimus Ihesum coram discipulis suis  
ascendentem in celum.”
- 10 [16.3.1] 16.3.2 Tunc Annas et Cayphas dixerunt: “Lex nostra continet  
quia in ore duorum uel trium testium stabit omne uerbum. Sed quid  
dicemus? Beatus Enoch complacuit Deo et translatus est in celum.  
Et beati Moysis<sup>148</sup> sepultura non inuenitur. Ihesus autem traditus  
15 est nobis a Pilato, qui flagellatus, sputatus, spinis coronatus, postea  
crucifixus est, et lancea percussus. Et corpus eius pater uenerabilis  
Ioseph sepeliuit in monumento nouo, qui modo testificatur uidisse se  
eum [98<sup>v</sup>] uiuum. Et tres uiri illi testificati sunt quod uiderunt eum  
cum discipulis suis in monte Oliueti et ascendentem in celum.”
- 20 17.1 <Exurgens autem Ioseph dixit principibus sacerdotum Anne et  
Cayphe><sup>149</sup>: “Vere plus ammirandum est quia non solum resurrexit  
a mortuis sed et<sup>150</sup> multos alios mortuos de monumentis suis  
resuscitauit quia multi visi sunt uiui in Iherusalem quos vos increduli  
25 non uidistis. Audite me nunc quia omnes scimus beatum Symeonem  
sacerdotem magnum et sanctum fuisse, qui suscepit infantem Ihesum  
in manibus suis in templo. Ipse enim Symeon habuit duos filios, fratres  
germanos, Garinum et Leucinum, et nos omnes morti et sepulture  
eorum affuimus. Ite ergo et uidete monumenta eorum. Ego enim uere  
30 scio quia non sunt ibi corpora eorum sed resurrexerunt. Et ecce sunt  
in ciuitate mea Arimathia. Simul quidem sunt in orationibus cum  
nemine loquentes sed sunt ut mortui silentes. Set venite, eamus ad  
eos cum omni honore et moderatione et perducamus eos nobiscum in  
templum. Et postquam coniurauerimus eos, forsitan loquentur nobis  
35 de resurrectione Ihesu et quomodo illos suscitauit a mortuis.”



145. ex: corr.; et MS.

146. cogitationes: corr.; cogitiones MS.

147. montem: sic etiam TR<sup>19,248</sup>.

148. Moysis: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>.

149. <Exurgens — Cayphe>: sic etiam TR<sup>62</sup>; om. MS.

150. er: add. s. l.



- 1     17.2 *Hec omnes audientes gauisi sunt. Et euntes ad monumenta*  
*duorum fratrum non inuenerunt corpora eorum. Statim pergentes in*  
*Arimathia ciuitate, que xl miliaris distat a Iherusalem, inuenerunt*  
*eos ibi f<i>xis*<sup>151</sup> *in terra genibus orationi uacantes*<sup>152</sup>. *Et osculantes*  
5 *eos cum magna ueneratione et timore Dei perduxerunt eos in*  
*Iherusalem in synagogam. Et clausis ianuis, tollentes legem domini,*  
*posuerunt eam in manibus eorum coniurantes eos “per Deum Israel*  
*et per Deum Adonay, qui per legem et prophetas loquutus est patribus*  
*nostris, si ipsum esse creditis Ihesum qui uos a mortuis resuscitauit,*  
10 *dicite nobis quomodo resurrexistis.”*

- 17.3 *Hanc coniurationem audientes Garinus et Leucinus*  
*contremuerunt corpore et turbati gemuerunt corde. Et simul*  
*respicientes in celum fecerunt signaculum crucis digitis*<sup>153</sup> *suis*  
15 *in linguas suas. Et statim locuti sunt simul dicentes: “Date nobis*  
*singulos thomos carte et scribemus quod uidimus et audiuius.” Et*  
*dederunt eis. Qui sedentes scripserunt singuli sic dicentes:*

- 18.1 *Domine Ihesu Christe Deus, uere resurrectio mortuorum, uita*  
20 *uiuentium, permitte nobis loqui diuine maiestatis tue misteria que*  
*per mortem tue crucis fecisti, quia per te coniurati sumus loqui de*  
*te. Tu enim iussisti seruis tuis per Michaellem archangelum [99<sup>o</sup>]*  
*neminem*<sup>154</sup> *referre tue diuine maiestatis secreta que in inferis fecisti.*  
25 *Nos dum essemus cum omnibus patribus nostris positi in profunda*  
*caligine tenebrarum, subito facta est in aureo solis lumine quedam*  
*regalis lux illustrans super nos. Statimque generis humani pater*  
*Adam cum omnibus patriarchis et prophetis exultauerunt in gaudio*  
*dicentes: “Lux ista actor luminis sempiterni est, qui nobis promisit*  
*transmittere coeternum lumen suum.” Et exclamauit Ysaias et dixit:*  
30 *“Hic est lux patris, filius Dei, sicut predixi cum essem in terris*  
*uiuus*<sup>155</sup>, *‘Terra Zabulon et terra Neptalim trans Iordanem maritima.*  
*Populus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam, et qui sunt in*  
*regione umbre mortis lux orta est eis. Et nunc aduenit et illuxit nobis*  
*in morte sedentibus’.”*

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151. f<i>xis: sic etiam TR<sup>62,109,248</sup>, fexis MS.

152. uacantes: corr.; sic etiam TR<sup>19,109,248</sup>, uocantes MS.

153. digitis: corr.; digittis MS.

154. neminem: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>, nemini TR<sup>62</sup>.

155. uiuus: corr.; uiuis MS.

1 18.2 Et cum exu<l>taremus<sup>156</sup> omnes in lumine quod superilluxit  
nobis superuenit genitor noster Symeon qui exultans dixit: “Glorificate  
dominum Ihesum Christum, filium Dei uiui, quia ego eum suscepi  
infantem natum in manibus meis in templo<sup>157</sup>, et compulsus Spiritu  
5 Sancto dixi ad eum, ‘Viderunt oculi mei salutare t<uum><sup>158</sup>, domine,  
quod parasti in conspectu omnium populorum.’” Hec audiens omnis  
multitudo sanctorum exultauerunt in domino.

10 18.3 Et post hec superuenit quidam quasi heremicola et interrogatus  
ab omnibus quis esset respondit<sup>159</sup>: “Ego sum Iohannes, uox et  
propheta altissimi, qui preiui ante faciem aduentus eius preparare  
uias eius et dare scientiam salutis plebi eius in remissionem  
peccatorum. Et uidens eum uenientem ad me, Spiritu Sancto cogente,  
dixi, ‘Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi.’ Et baptizau  
15 eum in flumine Iordanis et uidi Spiritum Sanctum descendentem  
super eum in specie columbe, et audiui uocem de celis dicentem, ‘Hic  
est filius meus dilectus in quo michi bene complacui.’ Et nunc ueni  
ante faciem eius et descendi annuntiare uobis quia in proximo est  
qui uisitabit uos, ipse Dei filius ex alto ueniens sedentibus nobis in  
20 tenebris et umbra mortis.”

19.1 Et cum hec audisset prothoplaustus Adam, pater noster, quia  
in Iordane baptizatus esset, exclamauit ad filium suum Seth et dixit:  
“Enarra filiis tuis patriarchis et prophetis omnia que a Michael  
25 archangelo audisti quando te transmisi ad portas paradisi ut<sup>160</sup>  
deprecareris dominum ut mitteret michi angelum suum et daret  
tibi oleum de arbore misericordie unde perungeres corpus meum  
cum essem infirmus.” Tunc appropinquans [99<sup>v</sup>] Seth patriarchis et  
prophetis dixit: “Ego cum orarem dominum ad portas paradysi, ecce  
30 angelus Dei Michael apparuit michi dicens, ‘Ego missus sum ad te  
a Deo. Ego enim constitutus sum super corpus humanum. Tibi dico,  
noli laborare lacrimis orando pro patre oleum ligni misericordie ut  
pervngas patrem tuum Adam pro dolore corporis sui, quia nullo modo  
poteris ex eo accipere nisi in nouissimis diebus temporum, quando  
35 completa fuerint quinque milia et quingenti anni. Tunc ueniet super  
terram amantissimus Dei filius Christus resuscitare corpus Ade et  
sanctorum corpora. Et ipse ueniens in Iordanis aqua baptizabitur. Et

156. exu<l>taremus: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>; exutaremus corr.; extaremus MS.

157. in templo: add. s. l.

158. t<uum>: ti MS.

159. respondit: corr.; respondet MS.

160. ut: add. s. l.

- 1 cum egressus fuerit de Iordane, tunc de oleo misericordie sue unget  
omnes credentes in se. Et erit oleum illud misericordie in generatione  
que nascenda est ex aqua et spiritu in uitam eternam. Tunc descendet  
5 Dei filius in inferno et introducet patrem tuum Adam in paradyso ad  
arborem misericordie’.”

19.2 Omnia hec audientes patriarche et prophete exultatione magna  
gausi sunt.

- 10 20.1 Et cum exultarent omnes sancti, ecce Sathan princeps mortis  
et tartari magister dixit ad preparatorem inferorum: “Prepara temet  
ipsum et suscipe Ihesum qui gloriatur filium Dei esse Christum, et  
homo est timens mortem et dicens, ‘Tristis est anima mea usque ad  
mortem.’ Et multa aduersatus<sup>161</sup> est michi male faciens. Et multos  
15 quos ego cecos, claudos, curuos, leprosos, et uexatos feci, ipse uerbo  
suo sanauit, et quos ego mortuos ad te perduxit, ipse ad se<sup>162</sup> uiuos  
traxit.”

- 20.2 Respondens Inferus dixit ad principem Sathan: “Quis iste  
20 est tam uerbo potens cum sit homo timens mortem? Omnes enim  
potentes in terra mea potestate subiecti tenentur, quos tua potentia  
uinctos ad me perduxisti. Si ergo potens es tu, qualis est homo ille  
Ihesus qui timens mortem potentiam tuam aduersatur? Si tantum<sup>163</sup>  
potens<sup>164</sup> est in humanitate, uere dico tibi in diuinitate quia potentie  
25 eius nemo poterit resistere. Et si dicit se mortem timere, capere te  
uult, et ue tibi erit in sempiternum. Respondens Sathan dixit Infero:  
“Quid timuisti suscipere illum Ihesum aduersarium meum et tuum?  
Ego enim temptaui illum, et populum meum antiquum iudaicum  
zelo<sup>165</sup> excitaui et ira aduersus eum. Cum lancea eos exacuau<sup>166</sup> ad  
30 percussionem eius. Et lignum preparaui ad cru[100]cifigendum eum,  
et aculeos ad conficiendum eum, et in siti eius acetum et fel miscui. Et  
in proximo est mors eius ut perducam eum subiectum<sup>167</sup> michi et tibi.”

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161. aduersatus: *corr.*; aduersatos MS.

162. se: *corr.*; te MS.

163. tantum: *sic etiam* TR<sup>62</sup>; tam TR<sup>19</sup>; talis LatA, LatC.

164. potens: *add. in marg.*

165. zelo: *corr.*; celo MS.

166. Cum lancea eos exacuau: *sic etiam* TR<sup>248</sup>, et lanceam ad latus eius exacuau TR<sup>119</sup>; lancea  
exacui TR<sup>109</sup>; *om.* TR<sup>62</sup>.

167. subiectum: subiectum MS.

1     20.3 Respondit ei Inferus: “Vt michi dixisti, ip<s>e<sup>168</sup> est qui  
mortuos a te<sup>169</sup> tulit. Quis ergo iste est qui solo uerbo suo talia potest  
fac<er>e<sup>170</sup>? Forsitan iste est qui Lazarum quadriduanum fetentem  
et dissolutum, quem ego tenebam mortuum, ipse uiuum<sup>171</sup> reddidit per  
5     uerbum imperii sui.” Respondens Sathan ait: “Ipse est ille Ihesus.”  
Hec audiens Inferus dixit ad eum: “Coniuro te per uirtutes tuas et  
meas ne perducas eum ad me. Ego enim quando audiui inperium  
uerbi eius, contremui perterritus pauore, et omnia impia officia  
mea simul mecum conturbata sunt. Nec ipsum Lazarum tenere  
10     potuimus sed excutiens se quasi aquila super omnem agilitatem et<sup>172</sup>  
celeritatem surrexit et exiuit de nostris uinculis. Et ipsa terra que  
tenebat corpus Lazari mortuum statim reddidit et sic factus est uiuus.  
Putas ergo retinere dominum qui seruum suum nobis inuitis uirtute  
sua inmo<sup>173</sup> uerbo solo abstulit. Scias absque dubio [100<sup>v</sup>] quia si huc  
15     eum perduxeris qui hec facere potuit imperio uerbi sui, qui sic potens  
est in humanitate et saluator humani generis, dico tibi princeps  
Sathana quod omnes qui sunt hic in incredulitate carceris clausi, in  
uinculis peccatorum constricti, ab eo soluentur et<sup>174</sup> ad uitam eternam  
perducentur.”

20

21.1 Et cum hec ad inuicem loquerentur, facta est uox ut tonitruum  
clamor scilicet spiritalis: “Tollite portas, princeps, uestras et  
eleuamini porte eternales, et introibit rex glorie.” Hec audiens  
princeps Inferi dixit ad principem Sathan: “Recede<sup>175</sup> a me. Exi de  
25     sedibus meis foras. Si fortis es preliator, pugna cum Ihesu rege glorie.  
[101<sup>r</sup>] Num tibi dixi, ‘Quid tibi cum illo?’ ” Et eiecit Inferus Sathan de  
sedibus suis. Et dixit ad sua impia officia: “Claudite portas crudeles  
ereas et uectes ferreos subponite, et fortiter resistite ne captiuemini  
in perpetua captiuitate.”

30

21.2 Hec audien<s><sup>176</sup> omnis multitudo sanctorum cum uoce  
increpationis dixerunt ad demones: “Aperite miseri portas uestras  
et introibit rex glorie.” Mox exclamauit Dauid dicens: “Nonne cum

168. ip<s>e: ipe MS.

169. a te: add. s. l.

170. fac<er>e: face MS.

171. uiuum: add. in marg.

172. et: et et MS.

173. inmo: cf. immo TR<sup>248</sup>; ymo TR<sup>62</sup>.

174. et: add. s. l.

175. Post Recede erasit aliquid.

176. audien<s>: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109,248</sup>; audi<sup>e</sup>nen... MS.



- 1 essem uiuus in terris predixi uobis hec omnia? Quia ‘hec est dies  
quam fecit dominus. Exultemus ergo et letemur in ea. Confiteantur  
domino misericordie eius et mirabilia eius filiis hominum, quia  
5 contriuit portas ereas, et uectes ferreos con<f>regit<sup>177</sup>. Suscepit eos  
de uia iniquitatis eo<rum><sup>178</sup>.’ Et post hec similiter Ysaia dixit  
ad omnes sanctos: “Nonne ego cum in terris essem predixi uobis,  
‘Exurgent mortui et resurgent qui in monumentis iacent et exultabunt  
qui in terris sunt, quoniam quicumque est ad dominum<sup>179</sup> sanitas est  
10 illi’? Et iterum dixi, ‘Mors vbi est aculeus tuus? Vbi est, Inferne,  
uictoria tua?’ ”

- 21.3 Hec audientes omnes sancti ab Ysaia dixerunt ad Infernum:  
“Aperi portas tuas. Nunc enim uictus et inpotens <in> teneb<ris>  
eris<sup>180</sup>.” Et facta est iterum uox magna ut tonitruum dicens: “Tollite  
15 portas, principes, uestras et eleuamini porte eternelles, et introibit  
rex glorie.” Videns autem hec Inferus, quia duabus uicibus hec  
clamauissent, quasi ignorans dixit: “Quis est iste rex glorie?”  
Respondit Dauid ad Inferum: “Ista uerba clamoris bene cognosco  
quoniam<sup>181</sup> ego ea predixi. Et nunc que postea dixi dicam tibi,  
20 ‘Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in prelio ipse est rex  
glorie. Et ipse dominus de celo in terris prospexit ut audiret gemitus  
compeditorum et solueret filios interemptorum.’ Et nunc spurcissime  
et fetosissime<sup>182</sup>, aperi portas tuas et intrabit dominus noster Ihesus  
Christus rex glorie.”

- 25 22.1 Hec dicente Dauid ad Inferum, ecce desideratus omnibus  
gentibus filius Dei Christus, rex glorie, superuenit in forma hominis.  
Et eternas tenebras splendore uultus sui illustrauit, et omnes porte  
infernales et uectes et sere in accessu eius confracte sunt, et omnia  
30 locum illi et uiam dederunt. Videntes autem omnes sancti saluatorem  
Ihesum uenientem cum angelis suis, ex nimio gaudio obstupefacti,  
non ausi sunt exclamare, sed leto corde [101<sup>v</sup>] cum silentio dixerunt:  
“Aduenisti redemptor noster, domine Ihesu Christe, rex glorie, et  
liberasti nos a iugo impiorum et saluasti nos.” Tunc introiens Christus  
35 ad eos uincula quibus erant colligati dirupit et omnium dolorum et  
anxietatum quas prius habuerant immunes esse iussit. Hec uidens

177. con<f>regit: congregit MS.

178. eo<rum>: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,248</sup>, eos MS.

179. quicumque est ad dominum: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,248</sup>.

180. <in> teneb<ris> eris: sic etiam TR<sup>19,109</sup>, tenebris TR<sup>248</sup>, teneb<sup>e</sup>ris MS.

181. quoniam: del. quem et corr. in marg.

182. fetosissime: sic etiam TR<sup>109,248</sup>, fetidissime TR<sup>19</sup>.

- 1 Inferus<sup>183</sup> et mors et impia officia eorum cum crudelibus ministris suis expauerunt quia tanti luminis claritatem uiderunt in propriis regnis. Et uidentes Christum repente in sedibus suis descendisse, perterriti et confusi exclamauerunt: “Victi sumus a te, o Ihesu. Quisnam es tu, o homo, qui ad Deum petitionem tuam dirigis in confusionem nostram? Quis es tu qui sine uirtutis tue dampno et absque maiestatis tue corruptione potestatem nostram condempnas? Quis es tu qui<sup>184</sup> tam magnus et tam paruus apparuisti, humilis et excelsus, miles et imperator, in forma hominis preliator et rex glorie, mortuus et uiuus?
- 10 Quem crux portauit occisum, mortuus in sepulcro iacuisti et ad nos uiuus descendisti. Et in morte tua omnis contremuit creatura et uniuersa elementa dederunt signa. Et nunc factus es inter mortuos liber et legiones nostras perturbas. Quis es tu qui illos, qui originali peccato astricti tenebantur, absoluis et ad pristinam libertatem reuocas? Quis es<sup>185</sup> tu qui peccatorum tenebris excecatos diuino splendore<sup>186</sup> illuminas?” Similiter et tartari legiones eodem percusse tremore una uoce clamabant dicentes: “Vnde es tu, o Ihesu, tam fortis homo et splendidus<sup>187</sup> maiestate, tam preclarus sine macula et mundus a crimine. Ille enim mundus terrenus, qui nobis subiectus fuit semper
- 20 usque nunc et nostris usibus tributa persoluebat, numquam nobis talem hominem transmisit, numquam talia munera inferis destinauit contraria. Quis ergo es tu qui sic intrepidus nostros fines ingressus es, et non solum supplicia nostra non ueris sed insuper omnes de nostris uinculis abstulisti? Forsitan tu es ille Ihesus de quo princeps
- 25 noster Sathan dicebat quod per tue mortem crucis totius mundi potestatem accepturus esses.”

- 22.2 Tunc rex glorie Christus dominus maiestatis sue potentia conculcans mortem et comprehendens Sathan principem tradidit eum
- 30 in Inferi potest<sup>at></sup>e<sup>188</sup> colligatum et attraxit Adam ad suam diuinam claritatem.

- 23.1 Tunc Inferus suscipiens Sathan cum nimia increpatione dixit ad eum: “O princeps perditionis et dux exterminationis, tricabite
- 35 Beel[102]zebul, derisio angelorum Dei, sputum iustorum, quid hoc



183. Inferus: *corr.*; inferos MS.

184. qui: *add. in marg.*

185. es: *sic etiam* TR<sup>19,248</sup>, est MS.

186. splendore: *corr.*; spendore MS.

187. splendidus: *corr.*; spendidus MS.

188. potest<sup>at></sup>e: *sic etiam* TR<sup>19,62,109</sup>, potestatem TR<sup>19,62,109</sup>, poteste MS.

- 1     facere uoluisti? Ha<sup>189</sup>, qualia nobis spolia in morte Ihesu promisisti!  
Ignorasti, canis insipiens, quid egisti. Ecce iam iste Ihesus diuinitatis  
sue fulgore fulgauit<sup>190</sup> omnes tenebras mortis et ima carceris claustra  
confregit, et eiecit captiuos, soluit uinctos, et omnes qui sub nostris  
5     solebant suspirare tormentis insultant nobis, et deprecationibus suis  
ad Ihesum expugnant imperia nostra et regna nostra uincunt. Et  
amplius iam non est apud nos genus humanum. Insuper et fortiter  
nobis comminantur qui numquam potuerunt erga nos superbire nec  
aliquando leti fuerunt, et modo ammirabili exultatione peruenerunt  
10    in laude Ihesu. O princeps omnium malorum, pater impiorum, et  
refuga male Sathan, quid hec facere uoluisti? Ihesum crucifigere  
ausus fuisti. Ecce qui a principio usque nunc fuerunt desperati a  
salute et uita, modo nullus eorum solitos proferre mugitus auditur nec  
aliquis resonat<sup>191</sup> gemitus nec in alicuius illorum facie lacrimarum  
15    uestigium inuenitur. O impie<sup>192</sup> Sathan, possessor clauarum<sup>193</sup>, illas  
tuas diuitias, quas acquisieras per lignum preuaricationis et paradysi  
amissionem, nunc per lignum crucis perdidisti, et periit omnis leticia  
tua. Dum istum Ihesum Christum regem glorie suspendisti, aduersum  
me et aduersum te egisti. Amodo agnosce quanta tormenta eterna  
20    et supplicia infinita passurus eris in mea custodia in sempiternum.  
O actor mortis, pessime Sathan et origo superbie, debueras primum  
istius Ihesu causam requirere si esset dignus morte. Et si in eo  
causam mortis non inuenisses, dimitteres eum. Sed quia mortis in  
eo culpam non cognouisti quare sine ratione illum occidere ausus  
25    fuisti? Sed ad quid dominum Deum Ihesum, regem glorie sanctum,  
et ad nostram regionem innocentem et iustum huc perduxisti? Scis  
quid egisti, omnia perdidisti. Soli remanemus in infinita captiuitate.”

- 23.2 Et cum hec loqueretur Inferus ad Sathan, rex glorie Christus  
30    dixit ad Inferum: “Erit Sathan princeps sub potestate tua in perpetua  
secula in loco Ade et in loco filiorum eius et sanctorum meorum.”

- 24.1 Et extendens dominus manum suam dixit: “Venite ad me  
sancti Dei omnes qui habetis ymaginem meam et similitudinem  
35    meam. Qui per lignum et diabolum ad mortem dampna[102<sup>v</sup>]ti fuistis,  
modo uide<t>e<sup>194</sup> per lignum dyabolum cum morte dampnatum. Et

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189. Ha: sic etiam TR<sup>109,248</sup>; Ac TR<sup>62</sup>; O TR<sup>19</sup>.

190. fulgauit: sic etiam TR<sup>248</sup>; fugauit TR<sup>19,62,109</sup>.

191. resonat: corr.; resonet MS.

192. impie: corr.; inpie MS.

193. clauarum: sic etiam TR<sup>62,248</sup>; clauium TR<sup>19</sup>; inferorum TR<sup>109</sup>.

194. uide<t>e: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109,248</sup>; uidere MS.



- 1 statim omnes sancti sub manu domini adunati sunt. Tenens autem dominus manum dexteram Ade dixit ad eum: “Pax mea tecum sit<sup>195</sup>, cum omnibus filiis tuis, iustis et sanctis meis.” Adam autem genibus domini aduolutus, lacrimabili eum deprecatione obsecra<n>s,<sup>196</sup>
- 5 uoce magna dixit: “Exaltabo te domine quoniam suscepisti me nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. Domine Deus meus, clamaui ad te, sanasti me. Domine deduxisti ab inferis animam meam, saluasti me a descendentibus in lacum. Psallite domino sancti eius et confitemini memorie sanctitatis eius, quoniam ira in indignatione eius et uita in uoluntate eius.” Similiter omnes sancti ad pedes domini aduoluti una
- 10 uoce dicebant: “Aduenisti rede<m>ptor<sup>197</sup> mundi sicut per legem et prophetas tuos predixisti. Redemisti<sup>198</sup> nos per crucem tuam, et per mortem crucis ad nos descendisti ut ab inferis et a morte eriperes nos. Sicut posuisti, domine, titulum glorie tue in celum et sicut erexisti
- 15 crucem tuam in terram, titulum redemptionis, ita pone, domine, in infernum signum uictorie tue ne mors dominetur amplius.”

- 24.2 Et extendens dominus manum suam fecit signum crucis super Adam et super omnes sanctos suos. Et tenens manum dexteram
- 20 Ade ascendit ab inferis ad superos, et omnes sancti secuti sunt eum. Tunc sanctus Dauid fortiter clamauit dicens: “Cantate domino canticum nouum quia mirabilia fecit. Saluabit sibi dexteram eius et brachium sanctum eius. Notum fecit dominus salutare suum, in conspectu gentium reuelauit iustitiam suam.” Et omnis multitudo
- 25 sanctorum responderunt dicentes: “Hec gloria est omnibus sanctis eius. Alleluia.”

- 24.3 Et post hec clamauit Abacuch propheta dicens: “Existi in salutem populi tui ad liberandos electos tuos.” Et omnes sancti responderunt
- 30 dicentes: “Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini, Deus dominus, et illuxit nobis.” Similiter Micheas propheta clamauit dicens: “Quis Deus sicut tu, domine, auferens iniquitates et transgrediens peccata, et nunc<sup>199</sup> quaciens in testimonio iram tuam, quoniam uoluntarius et magne misericordie es. Ipse auertis<sup>200</sup> faciem tuam a peccatis
- 35 nostris et misereris omnium nostrum et absoluis omnes iniquitates nostras sicut iurasti patribus nostris in diebus pristinis.” Et omnes



195. sit: *add. s. l.*

196. obsecra<n>s: *sic etiam* TR<sup>19,248</sup>; obsecras MS.

197. rede<m>ptor: redeptor MS.

198. Redemisti: *corr.*; remisti MS.

199. nunc quaciens: *sic etiam* TR<sup>248</sup>; *cf.* modo quatiens TR<sup>62</sup>; nunc continens (-nens) LatA

200. auertis: *sic etiam* TR<sup>62</sup>; auerteris TR<sup>248</sup>.



1 sancti responderunt dicentes: “Hic est Deus noster in eternum et in  
seculum seculi, et ipse reget nos in secula.” Sic et omnes prophete de  
suis predictis laudibus sacra referentes et in alto cantantes “Alleluia,”  
sequebantur dominum.

5

25 [103<sup>r</sup>] Dominus autem deducens prothoplaustum Adam per  
manum tradidit eum Michaeli archangelo. Et omnes sancti secuti  
sunt Michaellem archangelum, qui introduxit omnes in paradyso  
in gloria eterna. Et occurrerunt eis obuam duo uiri uetustissimi.  
10 Interrogati autem a sanctis: “Qui estis uos qui nobiscum in inferis  
mortui nundum<sup>201</sup> fuistis et in paradyso in corpore collocati estis?”  
Respondens unus ex illis dixit: “Ego sum Enoch qui uerbo domini  
translatus sum hic. Iste autem qui mecum est Helyas Tesbites est,  
qui in curru igneo assumptus est hic. Et usque nunc non gustauimus  
15 mortem sed in aduentu Anti-Christi reseruati sumus preliari cum eo  
diuinis signis et prodigiis. Et ab eo occidemur in Iherusalem, et post  
tres dies et dimidium iterum uiui in nubibus resurgemus.”

26 Et cum hec loquerentur sanctus Enoch et Helyas, ecce superuenit  
20 alius uir miserrimus portans in humeris suis signum crucis. Videntes  
autem sancti omnes dixerunt ad eum: “Quis es tu amice quia uisio  
tua latronis est?” Dixit: “Verum dixistis quia latro fui ego, omnia  
mala faciens super terram. Sed Iudei crucifixerunt me cum Ihesu. Et  
uidi omnia que facta sunt per mortem Ihesu et credidi eum creatorem  
25 omnium esse creaturarum et regem omnipotentem. Et deprecatus sum  
eum dicens, ‘Memento mei domine quando ueneris in regnum tuum.’  
Et statim suscipiens deprecationem meam dixit michi, ‘Amen dico  
tibi quia hodie mecum eris in paradyso.’ Et dedit michi istud signum  
crucis dicens, ‘Hoc portans ambula in paradysum. Et si non dimiserit  
30 te ingredi angelus<sup>202</sup> custos paradyssi, ostende illi signum istud et dices  
quia “Christus filius Dei qui nunc crucifixus est transmisit me ad te  
huc.”’ Cum autem ita fecissem et hec dixissem ad angelum custodem  
paradyssi, statim aperiens introduxit me in paradysum et collocauit  
me in loco delectationis paradyssi dicens, ‘Modicum sustine et iam  
35 ingredietur tecum tocius humani generis pater Adam cum omnibus  
filiis suis sanctis et iustis et amicis domini pro quibus ipse crucifixus  
est.’” Hec uerba latronis audientes omnes sancti patriarche et  
prophete una uoce dixerunt: “Benedictus dominus omnipotens, pater

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201. nundum: pro nondum

202. angelus: corr.; angelos MS.

1    *eternorum spirituum, pater misericordiarum, qui talem gratiam  
peccatoribus suis dedit et in gloria paradysi reduxit nos, in pasqua  
delectationis et in uitam eternam. Amen.*"

5    27.1 Hec sunt diuina et sacra mysteria que uidimus et audiui-  
ego Garinus et Letutius frater meus. Sed amplius non sumus permissi  
narrare [103<sup>v</sup>] uobis secreta misteria domini, quia contestans Michael  
archangelus dixit nobis: "Euntes cum fratribus uestris in Iherusalem  
in orationibus eritis laudantes et glorificantes resurrectionem  
10 Ihesu Christi qui uos a mortuis secum resuscitauit. Et cum nemine  
loquimini sed eritis quasi muti usque dum ueniat hora ut permittat  
uobis ipse dominus referre sue diuinitatis misteria. Nobis autem iussit  
Michael archangelus ambulare trans Iordanem in locum optimum ubi  
sunt multi qui nobiscum resurrexerunt in testimonium resurrectionis  
15 Christi domini, quia tantum tres dies permissi sumus celebrare in  
Iherusalem pascha domini cum parentibus nostris adhuc uiuentibus.  
Et nos iam baptizati sumus in Iordanis flumine, accipientes singuli  
stolas albas, et post tres dies in quibus celebrauimus pascha rapti sunt  
in nubibus omnes qui nobiscum surrexerunt, et perducti sunt trans  
20 Iordanem, et usque nunc a nemine uisi sunt. Nobis autem dictum est  
a Michael archangelo quatinus in Armathia ciuitate orationibus  
perseueraremus.

25    27.2 Hec sunt que nobis iussit dominus referre uobis. Et date illi  
laudem et confessionem, et agite penitentiam ut ipse misereatur  
uestri. Pax uobis ab ipso domino Ihesu Christo, saluatore omnium  
nostrum. Amen.

30    27.3 Et postquam compleuerunt omnia scribes in singulis thomis  
carte surrexerunt. Garinus autem thomum carte quem scripsit dedit  
in manus Anne et Cayphe et Gamalielis. Similiter et Leucius quod  
scripsit dedit Nichodemo et Ioseph. Et subito transfigurati sunt et non  
sunt<sup>203</sup> uisi amplius ab eis. Scripta autem eorum inuenta sunt equalia,  
nichil minus aut maius una littera sola in uno quam in alio.

35

27.4 Iudei ergo, postquam hec scripta legerunt et intellexerunt,  
turbati et confusi inter se ad<sup>204</sup> inuicem dixerunt: "Vere ista omnia a  
Deo facta sunt. Et benedictus dominus in secula seculorum. Amen.  
Et hec omnia Ihesum Dei filium esse testantur quod absit a nobis."

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203. sunt: *add. in marg.*

204. *Post ad del. in.*

- 1     28.1 Post hec exierunt omnes de synagoga templi cum magna  
sollicitudine et tremore percucientes pectora sua, et abierunt  
unusquisque ad propria. Hec omnia que dicta sunt et facta a Iudeis  
in synagoga eorum Ioseph et Nichodemus anuntiauerunt presidi  
5 Pylato, qui scripsit omnia que gesta erant de Ihesu et que dixerunt  
de eo Iudei. Et posuit omnia miracula hec in codicibus<sup>205</sup> publicis  
pretorii sui. Post hec ingressus [104<sup>r</sup>] Pilatus templum Iudeorum  
congregauit omnes principes sacerdotum et gramaticos et scribas et  
legis doctores. Et ingressus est cum eis in sacrarium templi. Et iussit  
10 ut omnes ianue clauderentur et dixit eis: “Auditum habemus quia  
quandam magnam bibliotecam habetis in sanctum templum istud.  
Propter hoc rogo uos ut ante nos presentetur.” Et cum deportassent  
illam bibliotecam magnam a quatuor ministris, auro et<sup>206</sup> gemmis  
preciosis ornatam, dixit Pilatus ad omnes: “Coniuro uos per Deum  
15 patrem uestrum<sup>207</sup>, qui fecit templum edificari, ut uerum michi non  
taceatis. Vos nostis omnia que scripta sunt in istam bibliotecam<sup>208</sup>.  
Sed nunc dicite si uos in scripturis inuenistis istum Ihesum quem  
crucifixistis esse Dei filium uenturum pro salute generis humani. Et  
in quantis annis temporum debuisset uenire manifestate michi.” Ita  
20 coniurati Annas et Cayphas iusserunt exire de sacrario ceteros omnes  
qui cum illis erant.

- 28.2 Et ipsi clausuerunt omnes ianuas templi et sacrarii et dixerunt  
ad Pilatum: “Coniurati sumus a te, iudex bone, per edificatorem  
25 templi istius ueritatem et rationem manifestam tibi facere. Postquam  
crucifiximus Ihesum ignorantes Dei filium esse, putantes per  
aliquod carmen facere eum uirtutes, fecimus synagogam magnam  
in templum istud. Et conferentes ad inuicem signa uirtutum que  
fecerat Ihesus, multos ex genere nostro testes inuenimus dicentes  
30 Ihesum post passionem mortis uiuum se uidisse, loquentem cum  
discipulis suis audisse, et altitudinem celi penetrantem uidisse. Et  
duos testes quos Ihesus secum a mortuis resuscitauit uidimus, qui  
multa mirabilia que fecit Ihesus in mortuis annuntiauerunt nobis,  
que in manibus nostris scripta habemus. Nostra est consuetudo  
35 quod omni anno ante nostram synagogam aperientes istam sanctam  
bibliotecam, testimonium Dei exquirimus. Et inuenimus in primum  
librum de Septuaginta ubi locutus est Michael archangelus ad tertium

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205. codicibus: *del. cordibus et corr. in marg.*

206. et: *add. s. l.*

207. patrem uestrum: *sic etiam* TR<sup>62,248</sup>; patrum uestrorum Lat<sup>C141</sup>.

208. istam bibliotecam: *sic etiam* TR<sup>248</sup>; ista biblioteca TR<sup>62,109</sup>.

- 1 filium Ade, primi hominis, <de><sup>209</sup> *quinque milibus et quingentis*  
annis in quibus uenturus esset de celis delectissimus<sup>210</sup> Dei filius  
Christus. Et adhuc considerabimus quia forsitan iste est Deus Israel,  
qui dixit ad Moysen, 'Fac tibi archam testamenti in longitudinem  
5 cubitorum duorum et semi, in [104<sup>v</sup>] altitudinem cubiti unius et semi,  
in latitudinem cubiti unius et semi. In his *quinque* cubitis et semi  
intelleximus, et cognouimus in fabricam arche Ueteris Testamenti,  
quia in *quinque* milibus annorum et semi uenturus esset Ihesus  
Christus in archa corporis. Et sic scripture nostre testantur ipsum  
10 Dei filium esse et dominum et regem Israel. Quia post passionem eius  
nos principes sacerdotum, admirantes signa que propter eum fiebant,  
aperuimus bibliotecam istam exquirentes omnes generationes usque  
ad generationem Ioseph et Marie matris Ihesu ex semine Daud esse.  
Computantes inuenimus ea que fecit dominus et quando fecit celum  
15 et terram et primum hominem. <Ab><sup>211</sup> Adam usque ad diluuium  
anni duo milia ducenti et duodecim, et a diluio usque ad Abraham  
anni<sup>212</sup> nongenti<sup>213</sup> duodecim, et de Abraham usque ad Moysem  
anni *quadringenti triginta*, et de Moyse usque ad Daud regem  
anni *quingenti decem*, et a Daud rege usque ad transmigratiōem  
20 Babilonis anni *quingenti*, et de transmigratiōe Babylonis usque ad  
incarnatiōem Christi anni *quadringenti*. Et fiunt simul anni *quinque*  
milia et semi. Explicit.



209. <de>: sic etiam TR<sup>62</sup>, LatC<sup>141,257</sup>; om. MS.

210. delectissimus: dilectissimus TR<sup>62,248</sup>.

211. <Ab>: sic etiam TR<sup>19,62,109</sup>; om. MS.

212. Post anni erasit aliquid.

213. Post nongenti del. decem.

