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DOCUMENTS

THE ACTS OF TITUS AND THE ACTS OF PAUL.

IN my first series of *Apocrypha Anecdota* (1893, p. 55) I drew attention to a possible source of information with regard to the *Acta Pauli*, namely the Acts of Titus ascribed to Zenas 'the lawyer'. What I wrote then may as well be quoted by way of preface to the present article.

'The fullest form of this book known to me is an epitome contained in *Cod. Par. Gr.* 548, f. 192-196, which I read, but did not copy, in 1890. The Menaea give a much shorter analysis, and this latter was the only material accessible to Lipsius (iii 401). Among the facts not given in the Menaea are these: that Paul when preaching at Damascus cast a devil out of Aphphia, the wife of the governor¹ (another noble matron, be it noted); that Titus accompanied Paul on the first missionary journey, and that at Ephesus Paul fought (ἐθηριομάχησεν) with a lion. In this last clause undoubted use of the Acts of Paul is made; and it is surely a most probable conjecture—if not something more—that the cure of Aphphia (who has no connexion with Titus) was described in the lost book as well. After this incident at Ephesus, the story takes us to Crete, and from that point is either pure fiction or (founded on) local legend.'

Within the last few weeks I have had an opportunity (kindly procured for me by M. Omont) of examining the Paris MS above mentioned, and of copying out the portion of the text which precedes the Cretan matter. This text I now present for the edification of students of the *Acta Pauli*. There can be no doubt that it is in part drawn from that work and that it throws some fragmentary light upon the earlier episodes. It has also, as I think, the most destructive effect upon the conjectures which I advanced in a late number of the JOURNAL².

The manuscript, I will just note, is of the eleventh century and is written in a fine sloping minuscule with semi-uncial headings.

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κε τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Τίτου ἐπισκόπου γενομένου Κρήτης πόλεως Γορτύνης μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου.

¹ As will be seen, those words 'the governor' are not warranted by the Greek text.

² *J. T. S.* January 1905, p. 244.

Ζηνᾶς ὁ νομικὸς οὐτινος μέμνηται ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος οὗτος συνέγραψεν τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντας οὕτως. Τίτος ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἐκ Μινῶος¹ τοῦ βασιλέως Κρήτης κατήγγεν τὸ γένος· ποθὼν δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν² λοιπῶν φι/193/λοσόφων ποιήματά τε καὶ δράματα³ εἰκοσαετῆς γεροντὸς ἀκούει φωνῆς λεγούσης οὕτως· Τίτε, ἐντεῦθεν (σε δεῖ) ἐκδημῆσαι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου σῶσαι, οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσῃ⁴ σε ἡ παιδεία αὕτη. Ἔτι τε βουλόμενος τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκοῦσαι φωνῆς, ᾗδαι γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐξ ἀγαλμάτων διὰ φωνῆς διδομένας πλάνας, ἐπισχὼν ἔτι⁵ ἐνναετῇ χρόνον, δι' ὁράματος προσε-τάχθη τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων βίβλον ἀναγνῶναι· ὃς καὶ λαβὼν τὴν Ἡσαίου βίβλον εὗρεν οὕτως περιέχουσαν· Ἐγκαινίσεσθε πρὸς με νῆσοι πολλαί. Ἰσραὴλ σώζεται ὑπὸ κυρίου σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Ὁ οὖν ἀνθύπατος Κρήτης ὁ καὶ θεῖος τοῦ ἁγίου Τίτου ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ σωτήριον γέννησιν τε καὶ βάπτισιν καὶ τὰς θαυματουργίας αὐς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐτέροις τόποις ἐτέλει, συμβούλιον ποιήσας μετὰ τῶν πρώτων Κρήτης, ἀπέστειλεν Τίτον μεθ' ἐτέρων τινῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὡς λόγον ἔχοντα ἀκοῦσαί τε καὶ λαλῆσαι καὶ διδάξαι τὰ ἅπερ μέλλει θεάσασθαι. Ὅστις παραγενόμενος καὶ θεασάμενος καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν πάντα τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἐθεάσατο· εἰδὲν τε καὶ τὰ σωτήρια τοῦ δεσπότη παῖθι, τὴν ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν θείαν ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς θεῖους ἀποστόλους ἐπιδημίαν· καὶ ἐπίστευσεν καὶ συνηριθμήθη τοῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ τοῖς τρισχιλίοις τοῖς πιστεύ/193 ὁ/σασιν τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ τῆς τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου διδασκαλίας, καθὼς καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι Ἑβραῖοι καὶ Ἄραβες· πρόθυμός τε ὑπῆρχεν καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι αἰεὶ. μετὰ δὲ ἔτη τρία προστετέθησαν τῇ πίστει ἄνδρες πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ μετὰ ἔτη δύο τοῦ χωλοῦ⁶ θεραπευθέντος ὑπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου διώκονται οἱ ἀποστολοι καὶ παραγγέλλονται τὸ μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ καὶ βουλομένων τῶν ἱερέων ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτοὺς Γαμαλίηλ ὁ νομοδιδάσκαλος διεκώλυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν βουλήν. Ἑπταετοῦς δὲ γεγονότος χρόνου Στέφανος ἐλιθάσθη· ὅθεν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον τελοῦνται εἰς Δαμασκόν, ἦγουν ἡ τύφλωσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάβλεψις· καὶ κηρύττει πρῶτον τὸν λόγον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Δαμασκῷ, καὶ Ἀφφίαν γυναῖκα Χρυσίππου δαιμονῶσαν ὁ Παῦλος ἰάσατο· καὶ ἔχων νηστείαν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὸ εἶδωλον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κατέβαλεν⁷. εἶτα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγίνεται καὶ αὖθις εἰς Καισάρειαν· καὶ χειροτονεῖται Τίτος ὁ ἅγιος παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ἀποστέλλεται μετὰ Παύλου διδάσκειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν οὓς ἂν Παῦλος δοκιμάσῃ· καταλαβόντες δὲ Ἀντιόχειαν εὗρον Βαρνάβαν τὸν υἱὸν Παγχαρέως ὃν ἡγείρειν ὁ Παῦλος. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης ἀνείλεν Ἰακωβὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἔρχονται εἰς Σελεύκειαν καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Σαλαμίνην καὶ Πάφον· καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἀν/194/τιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας⁸, καὶ εἰς Ἰκόνιον εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ὀνησιφόρου ὧτινι προεῖπεν ὁ Τίτος τὰ κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον,

¹ μνησος.² τον.³ δραμματα.⁴ οφελησει.⁵ ετη.⁶ χολου.⁷ κατέβαλεν.⁸ Πισσιδίας.

ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ προπορευόμενος Παύλου κατὰ πόλιν· κακεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην. Οὗτός τε ὁ θεσπέσιος Τίτος ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει¹ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Παύλῳ ἐκήρυττεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπέμενεν τε διωγμοὺς καὶ μαστίγας· ἀλλ' ἐφώτιζον² ἄμφω τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀπίστων ποιοῦντες σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καθὼς ἐμφέρεται ἅπαντα ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων. Ἐν Φιλίπποις ὄντος τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου καὶ φρουρουμένου, σεισμοῦ γενομένου ἐν τοῖς ἐγγάστοις³ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ὑπάρχοντος ἀπελύθη.

Ὅτι τινὲς μὲν γράφουσιν Τίτου Ἰούστου ἄλλοι δὲ Τίτου πιστοῦ.

Ῥουστίλλου τοίνυν τοῦ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γαμβροῦ ὑπάρχοντος Τίτου δεύτερον διανύσαντος χρόνον εἰς τὴν τῆς Κρήτης ἐπαρχίαν παρεγένετο ἐν αὐτῇ Παῦλος καὶ Τίτος, ὄντινα θεσπέσιον Τίτον ἰδὼν⁴ ὁ ἄρχων τεταπεινωμένον δακρύων ἠνάγκαζεν μένειν σὺν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ ὁσιος Τίτος οὐκ ἐπέισθη αὐτῷ. συνεβούλευεν δὲ αὐτῷ Ῥούστιλλος μὴ λαλεῖν κατὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὧτινι ὁ ἅγιος Τίτος ἐξέθετο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰπὼν ὅτι Εἰ πεισθῆς μοι⁵ δοξασθήσῃ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥώμῃ. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τεθηγκότος ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον καὶ εὐξάμενος ἤγειρεν αὐτόν. Τριμνηαῖον οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖ δι/194 β/ατρίψαντες (sic), πολλὰ τιμήσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Ῥούστιλλος ἀπέστειλεν⁶ καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπατος ἀνηγορεύθη· ὅθεν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς λογομαχίαις καὶ μόνον ἐχρῶντο⁷ μὴ τολμῶντες ἕτερόν τι δρᾶσαι πρὸς τοὺς καταγγέλλοντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ συγγενῇ εἶναι Τίτον τοῦ Ῥουστίλλου.

Ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου ἐπίστευσαν χιλιάδες δώδεκα· ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐθριομάχησεν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέοντι βληθείς.

Τὴν οὖν δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν Κορινθίων Τίτος καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Ἐραστος ἀπεκόμισαν.

Τίτος⁸ καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Λουκᾶς συμπαραμείναντες Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος τελειώσεως αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὑπέστρεψαν ἐν Ἑλλάδι· καὶ συνεστήσαντο ἐκεῖ τὸν Λουκᾶν· Τίτος δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος ἀπῆλθον ἐν Κολασσαῖς, καὶ αὖθις Τιμόθεος ἀπῆει εἰς Ἐφεσον καὶ Τίτος τὴν Κρήτην κατέλαβεν.

We need not dwell much upon the course of events recorded in these Acts before the moment of Paul's conversion. Titus, like Eutropius of Sintes, Martial of Limoges, Ursinus of Bourges, and others, is represented as having witnessed the events of our Lord's ministry and passion: probably he was thought of as one of the Greeks who desired to see Jesus (John xii). The events of the early chapters of the canonical Acts are briefly narrated, with a chronology whose source I do not know. Between Pentecost and the conversion of the 5,000, three years are said to have elapsed, and then (as it seems) two more before the healing of the lame man and the persecution of the Apostles, which is entirely out of harmony with the canonical narrative. After seven years (more?)

¹ ἐκαστῇ πόλει.

² ἐφώτιζεν.

³ ἐγγάστοις.

⁴ εἰδὼν.

⁵ μοι.

⁶ ἀπέστειλεν.

⁷ ἐχρῶντο

⁸ Τίτος (*passim*).

comes the stoning of Stephen, and then the conversion of Paul. We now approach the more interesting part of our text: a new source begins to be used. Paul 'preached the word of Christ first in Damascus and healed Aphphias the wife of Chrysippus, who was possessed of a devil: and, fasting for seven days, he cast down the idol of Apollo'. Then he went to Jerusalem, and thence to Caesarea (Acts ix 26, 30). Titus was ordained by the Apostles and commissioned to teach and ordain with Paul. 'They went to Antioch and there found Barnabas the son of Panchares, whom Paul raised.' Herod killed James the brother of John with the sword. Then follows the first Missionary Journey. They went to Seleucia, Cyprus, Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, 'and to Iconium to the house of Onesiphorus whom Titus informed beforehand concerning Paul, since he (Titus) was Paul's precursor in every city'. Thence to Lystra and Derbe. Here a sentence of general import to the effect that Titus was Paul's partner in preaching and suffering, and that both enlightened the unbelievers by signs and wonders as is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. At this point we see evident signs that our text is an epitome of a larger one. Two detached sentences occur, one—somewhat corrupt—mentions Paul's deliverance at Philippi by the earthquakes. The other refers to the reading *Τιτίου* or *Τίτου* *Ἰούστου* in Acts xviii 7. 'Some write *Τίτου Ἰούστου*, others *Τίτου πιστοῦ*.' This latter reading (*πιστοῦ*) does not seem to be found in any other authority.

The collocation of the two sentences seems to shew that the original text contained some survey of the events of Acts xvi–xviii.

We now revert to the Cretan legend. Paul and Titus come to Crete and are well received by the governor Rustillus (Rutilius?) 'who is the uncle of Titus'. Paul raises his son. After three months he sends them away and himself goes to Rome, where, in accordance with a prediction of Titus, he attains honour, and is made consul. The Jews, it is obscurely said, are unable to do more than dispute verbally with the Apostles. They are afraid of attempting violent measures because of Titus's connexion with Rustillus. On their departure from Crete the two Apostles went to Asia, and to Ephesus. The visit to Crete must therefore be placed either at Acts xviii 22, 23, or at xix 1. At Ephesus twelve thousand people were converted by Paul's teaching; and he was exposed to a lion in the amphitheatre.

After this the epitomizer's hand reappears. In two short paragraphs we are told that the second Epistle to the Corinthians (*of* the Corinthians, says the text, but the meaning seems to me evident) was brought by Titus, Timothy, and Erastus; then that Titus, Timothy, and Luke remained with Paul until his martyrdom under Nero: that they then returned to Greece where Luke was established, and that Timothy

departed to Ephesus, and Titus to Crete. The portion of the Acts which I have not transcribed tells of the welcome accorded to him there, of the destruction of idols and erection of Christian churches, and of the long episcopate and peaceful death of the hero at an advanced age. Some details in it may very probably be of interest to investigators of the Christian antiquities of Crete, but I satisfied myself that for the elucidation of the Acts of Paul nothing further could be gained from it.

It is undeniable, however, that the text here printed has several points of contact with these Acts. Let us take in their order the statements concerning Paul which may, broadly speaking, be termed apocryphal.

1. 'Paul preached the word of Christ first in Damascus, and healed Aphphia, the wife of Chrysippus, who was vexed with a demon, and, keeping a fast for seven days, he cast down the idol of Apollo.'

In the Acts of Paul (Schmidt, p. 62) there is a fragmentary episode, headed 'When he was gone out of Sidon and would go to Tyrus': which relates a cure of a demoniac. The names of the people concerned are Chrysippus and *Αμφιον*. This is evidently the original of our sentence. The Coptic translator has corrupted the name of *Ἀφφία*.

Similarly in the pages immediately preceding (Schmidt, 58-62) there is the story of an occurrence at Sidon where Paul and others are shut up in the temple of Apollo. Paul fasts for *three* days and eventually the image of the god and part of the temple fall.

2. 'Then he goes to Jerusalem and then to Caesarea and the holy Titus is ordained by the Apostles and sent forth with Paul to teach and ordain whomsoever Paul should approve, and arriving at Antioch they found Barnabas the son of Panchares whom Paul raised.'

The first extant episode in the Acts of Paul (p. 24 &c.) tells of the raising of the (nameless) son of Anchares and Phila at Antioch. The Coptic translator has, I suppose, mistaken the initial Π of *Παγχάρης* for the Coptic article. In the name Barnabas, given to the son, I scent a confusion. In Acts xi 25 Barnabas the Levite went out to Tarsus to seek Saul *καὶ εὐρὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν*. Does it not seem probable that the epitomizer of the Acts of Titus had before him a mention of the arrival of Barnabas to join the party and that the son of Panchares was nameless, as he is in the Acts of Paul?

3. '(They came) to Iconium to the house of Onesiphorus whom Titus informed beforehand of what concerned Paul since he (Titus) was the one who preceded Paul in every city.'

This is clearly dependent on the Acts of Paul and Thecla (Schmidt, p. 28: Lipsius § 2, p. 237) *διηγέσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ Τίτος ποταπὸς ἐστὶν τῇ εἰδέᾳ ὁ Παῦλος*. The other clause saying that Titus was Paul's har-

binger is either from another part of the Acts of Paul or is the author's own invention.

4. 'And having gone forth from Crete they came into Asia, and in Ephesus at the teaching of the holy Paul twelve thousand believed : here also the Apostle fought with beasts, being cast to a lion.'

There is a reference to the episode preserved by Nicephorus Callisti and alluded to by Hippolytus (see Schmidt, p. 111). The statement that twelve thousand believed is new. It may have been suggested by the words of Acts xix γ ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες ὥσεὶ δώδεκα.

5. 'Titus and Timothy and Luke remained with Paul the Apostle until his consummation under Nero.'

In the *Martyrium Pauli* (the last section of the Acts) Titus and Luke are mentioned as awaiting Paul in Rome, and as praying at his tomb after his martyrdom (Lipsius, pp. 104, 117 : Schmidt, p. 88).

These are the passages in which it is possible to trace a direct connexion between the Acts of Titus and those of Paul. They at least centre on the proper form of two names Ἀφφία and Παγχάρης. Do they give us any further help?

In the first place it is very plain that the order of events in the two texts is discrepant. The succession of episodes in the Coptic Acts of Paul is as follows :

- 1 Antioch. Son of Anchares.
- 2 Iconium. Thecla.
- 3 Myra. Hermocrates.
- 4 Sidon. Temple of Apollo.
- 5 Tyre. Chrysippus.

In the Acts of Titus :

- 1 Damascus (?). Chrysippus and Aphphia.
- 2 (?). Idol of Apollo.
- 3 Antioch. Son of Panchares.
- 4 Iconium (Crete).
- 5 Ephesus. Fight with lion.

The main difference is that the events which the old Acts place at Sidon and Tyre after the visits to Iconium and Myra are placed by the Acts of Titus before the present opening of the old Acts, and are located apparently at Damascus.

With regard to the diversity of *place*, we must remember that we are dealing with the work of an epitomizer and that he may very easily have omitted the names Sidon and Tyre : with regard to the difference of order in time, there seems to be no ground whatever for preferring the order of the later document, and we must allow, I think, that Pseudo-Zenas has in these respects disfigured and corrupted his original source.

I am inclined, however, to believe that he must have found pretty frequent mention of Titus in the Acts of Paul: otherwise I see no good reason why he should have consulted that work at all in writing the life of Titus. It may very well even have been the case that there was some mention in the Acts of Paul, of the visit to Crete, and of the governor Rustillus, and of the raising of his son. I would note that there is something of a coincidence between the two writers in this portion. Rustillus counselled Titus not to speak against the gods of the Greeks. At Ephesus, the governor Hieronymus said that Paul's words were good but that the present was not the right time for them (Schmidt, p. 111).

Whatever else the Acts of Titus may be made to contribute to the elucidation of the Acts of Paul, one thing is quite clear—that they exclude the possibility of such a theory as that which I put forward (with all reservation) in a recent number of the JOURNAL. The Acts of Paul were *not* a sequel to the canonical Acts, but a supplementary narrative running parallel thereto. From this conclusion I do not see any way of escape. It is not to me conceivable that the author of the Acts of Titus, using, as we see he does, the Acts of Paul, should have taken passages from them and intercalated them into the narrative of the canonical Acts. That he or his epitomizer might disturb their order I can understand: that he should transplant *all* his known episodes to such an extent as my former hypothesis required is more than I can believe.

Nevertheless I am not sorry that I went so far as I did in formulating the theory. Possibilities of this kind are worth considering, if only because they lead to closer study of the documents concerned, and to the searching out of fresh evidence.

It is at least interesting to find a fairly late Catholic writer (for I suppose we must think of Pseudo-Zenas as belonging to the age of Pseudo-Paulines and the author of the Acts of Barnabas) using the text of the Acts of Paul. The discovery tends to confirm me in my belief that the Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena contain some touches drawn from those Acts—and not only from the Thecla-episode.

Cannot some one find for us a complete text of the Acts of Titus? At present the Paris copy is the only one that I have encountered. In most of the collections of Lives of Saints for August the encomium of Andrew of Crete (who uses Pseudo-Zenas to a slight extent) has replaced the older text. This encomium immediately follows the Acts in the Paris MS.

In his interesting supplement to the first edition of the Acts (pp. xxi-xxv) Dr Schmidt reprints an English version by E. J. Goodspeed of the Ethiopic *Epistle of Pelagia* à propos of the 'fabula baptizati

leonis'. It might, I think, be worth the while of readers who are looking into this problem to consult the Life of Paul in *The Contendings of the Apostles* translated from the Ethiopic by Dr E. A. Wallis Budge. They will find matter of the same kind in great plenty ; and the document—which I reviewed in this JOURNAL on its publication¹—deserves attention from its possible connexion in parts with the older Acts. The two volumes—text and translation—were published in 1899 and 1901 respectively by Henry Frowde. I repeat these particulars here, because so far I have not noticed that foreign scholars have made use of the book.

M. R. JAMES.

¹ *J. T. S.* vol. iii p. 286.