LITTLE, Donald Henry, 1934–
THE DEATH OF JAMES, THE BROTHER OF JESUS.
Rice University, Ph.D., 1971
Religion

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan
RICE UNIVERSITY

The Death of James, the Brother of Jesus

by

Donald H. Little

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Thesis Director's signature:

Houston, Texas

May, 1971
List of Abbreviations

ANF .......... Ante-Nicene Fathers
Ant. .......... Josephus Jewish Antiquities
Code .......... The Code of Maimonides, Book XIV:
The Book of the Judges
Ecc. Hist. ..... Eusebius Ecclesiastical History
II Apoc. Jas. .. II Apocalypse of James
JE ............. The Jewish Encyclopedia
LCL ............ Loeb Classical Library
LXX ............ Septuagint
N.T. .......... New Testament
N.T. Apoc. ... New Testament Apocrypha, ed. by
Hennecke-Scheelmelcher
O.T. .......... Old Testament
RE ............. Pauly's Realencyclopaedie der
klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. by George Wissowa
Rec. Cl. ...... Recognitions of Clement
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

INTRODUCTION ........................................ 1

I. THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DEATH OF JAMES,

THE BROTHER OF JESUS ................................. 5

Historical Evidence for the Death of James .......... 5

Josephus ............................................ 5

Clement ............................................ 12

Hegesippus ......................................... 14

Manichaean Psalm-Book .............................. 29

Recognitions of Clement (Pseudo-Clementine) ....... 31

The Death of James as Recorded in the II Apocalypse

of James ........................................... 35

Background of the II Apocalypse of James .......... 35

Contents of the II Apocalypse of James ............ 36

Comparison of the II Apocalypse of James and

Hegesippus ......................................... 40

Conclusions ......................................... 42

II. CAST FROM THE TEMPLE .......................... 44

Definition of Trial by Ordeal ......................... 44

Trial by Ordeal in Jewish Literature ................. 45

Hegesippus and Trial by Ordeal ....................... 51

Use of scripture quotation .......................... 51

Location of the pinnacle of the temple ............... 58

Reason for being on the Πεσώγον .................... 64

Summary ............................................ 67

Cast From the Temple Motif in the II Apocalypse of

James and Recognitions of Clement .................. 68

Conclusions ......................................... 70
CHAPTER

III. DEATH BY STONING ......................................... 71
   The Stoning Account in the II Apocalypse of James .......... 71
   Stoning Stories in Jewish and Christian Literature .......... 73
      Stoning incidents in the Old Testament ..................... 73
      Stoning incidents in the New Testament ..................... 76
      Stoning incident in Josephus .................................. 77
      Stoning incidents in Haggadic Literature .................... 77
      Stoning incidents in Christian legend ....................... 81
      Summary of stoning incidents ................................ 82
   Stoning Traditions Recorded in the Mishnah and the Talmud .... 83
      Procedure of stoning ......................................... 83
      Severity of stoning .......................................... 89
      Charges for which one could be stoned ....................... 91
   Comparison of the II Apocalypse of James with Traditional
      Material ...................................................... 93

IV. THE PRAYER .................................................. 98
   Prayers of Those Being Put to Death for Religious Reasons ... 98
   Motifs in Prayers of Those Being Put to Death for Religious
       Reasons .................................................. 118
   The Prayer in the II Apocalypse of James 62,12-63,29 .......... 127
   Source and Meaning of the Material in the II Apocalypse
      of James 62,12-63,29 ...................................... 133
   II Apocalypse of James and Parallels in Manichaean
       and Manichaean Literature ................................ 134
   Motifs in II Apocalypse of James 62,12-63,29 ................ 151
   Conclusions .................................................. 153

V. CONCLUSIONS ................................................ 154

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................... 160
INTRODUCTION

The traditions of James, the brother of Jesus, which have been preserved present two nearly opposite pictures of James. On the one hand, James is described in the canonical gospels of Matthew and Mark as a member of the family of Jesus\(^1\) who attempted to put an end to Jesus' public ministry;\(^2\) the author of the Gospel of John adds that James was an unbelieving member of the family.\(^3\) On the other hand, in Luke-Acts and in the writings of Paul, James is presented as a leading figure in the early Jerusalem church.\(^4\) This latter picture of James is supported

\(^1\) Matt. 13.55; Mark 6.3.


\(^3\) John 7.5.

\(^4\) Acts 1.14; 15,13-21; I Cor. 15.7; Gal. 1.18-19; 2.9.
by citations from Josephus, Eusebius, the Pseudo-Clementine literature, and the Gospel of the Hebrews.

In 1945/46, at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, Gnostic manuscripts were discovered which contained additional information about James, the brother of Jesus. Of the total collection, there were four documents which contained information about James. Three of the documents, The Apocryphon of James, and the I and II Apocalypse of James, deal extensively with the relationship of James and Jesus and with the role of James in the Early Church. Logion 12 of the Gospel of Thomas, the fourth document containing information about James, makes a specific statement concerning the importance of James in the Early Church.

Prior to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi documents, the basic information which was available concerning the death of James had been preserved in Josephus and in Eusebius' account of Hegesippus.

5. Josephus *Ant*. XX.200-201; Origen *Against Celsus* 47.
7. *Rec. Cl*. I.66-73; III.74-75; IV.35; *Epistle of Peter to James*; *Epistle of Clement to James*.
The purpose of this paper will be to incorporate the new information from the Nag Hammadi discovery with that which is already known concerning the death of James, the brother of Jesus. The new information from Nag Hammadi which relates to the death of James is located in the II Apocalypse of James. In the II Apocalypse of James, the martyrdom of James forms the basic framework into which the teaching traditions have been placed. The teachings gain authority by virtue of their being proclaimed by a martyr. A preliminary report by Alexander Böhmig\(^{11}\) has suggested that the author of the II Apocalypse of James used material from Hegesippus and from Jewish traditions as his source for the martyr death of James.

The procedure to be followed will be to examine all the available material relating with the death of James to determine what may have happened to James. Following the historical sketch, the motifs in the account of the death of James will be examined to determine the origin of the sources, as well as the possible interpretation and use of the material. The motifs to be examined will be the casting from the temple and its relation to a trial by ordeal, the process of stoning, and the prayer of James.

The value of this research will be to provide additional material from a tradition which has been little used in formulating Early Church history. A study of the Gnostic material will be essential if an objective view of early Christian history is to be obtained. In addition, information will be added concerning the background sources which helped formulate some of the Gnostic documents. The result of this research will help provide a little better idea of what was happening in some of the communities in the first few centuries after the birth of Jesus.
CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DEATH OF JAMES,
THE BROTHER OF JESUS

Prior to the discovery of the Gnostic manuscripts at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, three sources spoke specifically of the historical facts of the death of James, the brother of Jesus, while two other sources were related. The information was not the same. The purpose of this chapter will be to examine the historical evidence of the death of James and to compare the evidence with the material recorded in the II Apocalypse of James from Nag Hammadi.

I. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF THE DEATH OF JAMES

Josephus

The earliest source which speaks of the death of James, the brother of Jesus, is from the Jewish historian, Josephus, who died around A.D. 100.1 In his work, Jewish Antiquities XX.200, the following statement has been preserved:

And so he [Ananus] convened the judges of the Sanhedrin, and brought before them a man named James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ, and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law and delivered (παρέδωκε) them up to be stoned. ²

The broad context of the above statement is a discussion of the problems which Rome was having with the inhabitants of Jerusalem which led to the invasion of Jerusalem by Rome. Antiquities XX.197-203 speaks specifically of the action of the high priest Ananus, who was high priest for three months, and of his action when Albinus replaced Festus as procurator.

Ananus is described as "rash in temper and unusually daring . .. [who] followed the school of the Sadducees, who are indeed more heartless than any of the other Jews, . .. when they sit in judgment" (XX.199). He convened the judges of the Sanhedrin, brought James and others before them, condemned the accused, and delivered them up to be stoned (XX.200). "Those inhabitants of the city who were considered the most fair-minded" were offended by the action of Ananus. They sent their protest directly to King Agrippa so that Ananus' actions would be stopped (XX.201). Some went to meet Albinus, the new procurator who was on his way from Alexandria, to protest the activity of Ananus. Their

complaint was not about the way in which Ananus had treated James and the others, but that Ananus had dared to convene the Sanhedrin without the consent of Albinus (XX.202).

Albinus, who was angry with Ananus because of his action in convening the Sanhedrin, wrote a threatening letter to Ananus (XX.203). King Agrippa deposed Ananus from the high priesthood and replaced him with Jesus the son of Damnaeus (XX.203).

The material concerning James, the brother of Jesus, is nearly incidental to the whole section. Josephus' purpose in the section is to speak of Ananus' action as it relates to the trouble between Rome and Jerusalem and not to speak of the death of James. The protest of the people is against the action of Ananus in convening the Sanhedrin without the consent of Rome, not a protest of the death of James. Ananus was deposed because he convened the Sanhedrin, not because of the death of James.

Though there are no details of the death of James in the account by Josephus, it is most likely that James was executed. Josephus mentions only that James and others were delivered (παραδίσωμι) to be stoned.

---

Josephus uses the term "παρέδωκε" in *Jewish War* I.655. The context of the use of παρέδωκε in this section is that of a revolt led by two Jewish doctors of the law, Judas son of Sepphoraeus and Matthias son of Margolus, against the religious policies of King Herod (I.648). Herod was nearly seventy years old and quite ill (I.647) when the men began telling the Jewish people that Herod had erred in placing images in the temple and in placing the golden eagle above the gate to the temple (I.650). When a rumor spread that the king was dying, some young men let themselves down by ropes and began to chop off the golden eagle (I.651). About forty additional men were arrested as a result of the ensuing action (I.652). Herod was furious with the people and demanded that they be punished for the impiety (I.654). *Jewish War* I.655 then continues:

The people, apprehensive of wholesale prosecutions, besought him to confine the punishment to the instigators of the deed and to those who had been arrested in the perpetration of it, and to forgo his anger against the rest. The king grudgingly consented; those who had let themselves down from the roof together with the doctors he had burnt alive; the remainder of those arrested he handed over (παρέδωκεν) to his executioners.

It is most probable that both the young men in the revolt against Herod's policies and James and the "certain others" mentioned in

---

Antiquities XX.200 were executed. The references in Josephus' account to the Roman officials, Festus and Albinus, would suggest a date of approximately A.D. 62 for the incident.

There are two passages in Josephus which make reference to Jesus, Antiquities XXVIII.63, 64 and XX.200. Because of the references to Jesus, the authenticity of each passage has been called into question.

5Josephus also uses παραδίωμι to describe the handing over of the priestly garments from Aaron to Eleazar at Aaron's death (Ant. IV.83), and to describe the attitude of Joseph's brothers when they see Joseph coming to them "as if it had been an enemy, who by the will of God had been delivered (παραδόθεντος) into their hands" (Ant. II.20). Παραδίωμι is used in the sense of handing on and receiving tradition in Contra Apion I.60 and Ant. XIII.297.

6The date of A.D. 62 is suggested because of the reference in Ant. XX.199 that "upon learning of the death of Festus, Caesar sent Albinus to Judea as procurator," and to the reference in XX.200, "Ananus thought that he had a favorable opportunity because Festus was dead and Albinus was on the way." Thus, the death of James is dated during the time between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus.

Emil Schürer has raised a question concerning a Christian hand having influenced *Antiquities* XX.200. 7 Schürer argues that Origen 8 mentioned that Josephus considered God's punishment for the death of James to be the destruction of the temple and the fall of Jerusalem. Since no manuscript evidence of such a report exists today, Schürer concluded that there were manuscripts of Josephus in existence which contained Christian interpolations which failed to survive. 9 This would raise the possibility that other interpolations could still exist. Therefore, one must be cautious in regard to a reference which might be a Christian interpolation.

In a discussion of the passages in Josephus wherein reference is made to Jesus, Paul Winter argues that the phrase "the brother of Jesus, who was called the Christ" (*Antiquities* XX.200) is authentic. 10 He points out that the phrase "who was called the Christ (λεγόμενος χριστός)" would help to identify this Jesus from another Jesus, such as

---


8 *Contra Celsum* I.47; II.13.


Jesus the son of Gamala. Winter points out that *Antiquities* XX.203 says that Ananus was replaced as high priest by Jesus the son of Damnaeus (Ἰησοῦν τῶν τοῦ Δαμναίου). Apparently, Jesus was a common name and some identification was needed to distinguish the individuals involved. Winter concludes that if the reference were truly that of a Christian forger, the Christian most likely would not have been content to comment on Jesus in such a non-committal fashion, but would have been expected to make a more clear and more complete confessional statement about Jesus.

If a Christian had added the statement about James, one would also expect some additional remarks concerning the importance of James, such as a more detailed account of the death of James or an implication that James was martyred for his faith. The brief statement concerning the sentencing of James, a mention which is incidental to the main point of the section, with no further detail of his life or of his death and the absence of an elaborate confessional statement about Jesus, suggest that the incident recorded by Josephus in *Antiquities* XX.200 is

---

authentic. Thus, according to Josephus, in approximately A.D. 62, James, the brother of Jesus, was sentenced to be stoned.

**Clement**

A second account of the death of James is an account by Clement of Alexandria who died shortly after A.D. 215. The account is preserved by the fourth century church historian, Eusebius, in *Ecclesiastical History* II.1.4-5, and is reported to be a quotation from the seventh book of the *Hypotyposes*. Eusebius places the quotation of Clement in the context of a discussion of the events which follow the Ascension (*Ecc. History* II.2). The first section of the discussion speaks of Matthias who replaced Judas as one of the apostles, and of Stephen and his martyrdom (II.1.1). Eusebius then introduces James, the brother of the Lord (τὸν τοῦ

---


16 Much of the material of the *Hypotyposes* has been lost, except for that retained by Eusebius and three other fragments. From what has been recovered, it appears that the *Hypotyposes* was a commentary on selected parts of the Bible. See Eusebius *Ecc. Hist.* I, xlv.
Following some introductory remarks about James (II.1.2), Eusebius cites Clement twice at this point: first, he speaks of James' election as bishop of Jerusalem (II.1.3); second, he cites from the seventh book of the Hypotyposes which includes a reference to the death of James (II.4-5):

After the resurrection the Lord gave the tradition of knowledge to James the Just (τὸ δικαίω) and John and Peter, these gave it to the other Apostles and the other Apostles to the seventy, of whom Barnabas also was one. Now there were two Jameses, one James the Just (ὁ δίκαιος), who was thrown down from the pinnacle of the temple and beaten to death with a fuller's club, and the other he who was beheaded.

The tradition of the death of James, as it is preserved by Clement in Eusebius, is different from the account in Josephus. The tradition which Clement employs ascribes to James the title of "the Just" (ὁ δίκαιος). Josephus, Eusebius in Ecc. History II.1.2, and the references to James in Galatians 1.19 and Acts 12.7 refer to James as the brother of Jesus (τὸν Ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦν) or as the brother of the Lord (τὸν Ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου). The use of different titles could suggest that Clement and Josephus are referring to two different men. Josephus mentioned that James was delivered up to be stoned. Clement makes no mention of a stoning, but he does refer to a casting from the pinnacle of the temple and to a clubbing. About the only similarity in the two accounts is the name of James. However, Clement does indicate that
there was more than one prominent man called James and that some
distinction must be made among the various Jameses.

There is a possibility that two or more traditions are developing
around the same James. If a tradition could be located in which James
were called both ὁ δὲ εἶλεφος τοῦ μαρίου and ὁ δίκαιος and if the
tradition were to attempt to combine a stoning death with a casting down
from the temple and a clubbing, then it could be concluded that some
author ascribed a tradition like the one in Josephus and a tradition like
the one in Clement to the same man. Such a combination of titles and
traditions appears in the material which has been preserved by Eusebius
and ascribed to Hegesippus.

Hegesippus

A third account of the death of James is the account by Hegesippus
which has also been preserved by Eusebius. Hegesippus wrote five
books called Ὑπομνήματα (Memoirs) during the time that Fleutherus
was bishop of Rome (A.D. 174-189). Chronologically, Hegesippus


18 Hegesippus was a Christian of Jewish background who probably
lived around Palestine. Only fragments of his Memoirs remain which
make it difficult to determine whether the purpose of the Memoirs was
to be an ordered history of the early Christian church or if the Memoirs
were simply a collection of miscellaneous observations. Eusebius
claims that Hegesippus wrote his Memoirs to provide an "unerring
would precede Clement, but the possibility that Clement preserves a tradition which circulated independently of a stoning tradition and which could be older than a tradition which attempts to combine the stoning tradition with the tradition of a casting from the temple and a clubbing has caused the tradition which Clement preserved to be considered first.

A question has been raised by E. Schwartz concerning the accuracy of the manuscripts which Eusebius had of Hegesippus and of the accuracy of the manuscripts which are currently available of Eusebius. 19 Schwartz sees editorial hands at work in the incident of the death of James as it has been preserved for us by Hegesippus in Eusebius.

The manuscripts on which the text of Eusebius has been determined show the influence of two ancient versions. One version is an ancient Syrian work from about the fifth century, 20 and the other is a Latin


19 E. Schwartz, "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, IV (1903), 48-49.

translation made by Rufinus in A.D. 402. The earliest and best manuscripts of Eusebius already contain interpretations from these two sources. A major task is to attempt to determine what Hegesippus originally said, and what may have been added to Hegesippus either by Eusebius or by another hand.

Johannes Munck raises the question of the historical value of the material which has been ascribed to Hegesippus concerning the death of James. Munck concludes that the picture of James is "ambiguous and contradictory. Both the historical framework and the Jewish touches are wrong, so that we cannot help doubting whether Hegesippus is a source of any value at all." Munck points to a confused text for the argument which leads him to the above conclusion.

The account of the death of James as it is currently preserved by Hegesippus in Eusebius begins with a discussion of the person of James:

The charge of the Church passed to James the brother of the Lord (ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ισχίου), together with the Apostles. He was called the 'Just' (ὁ ἴκων) by all men from the Lord's time to

---

21 Ibid. 22 Schwartz, "Eusebius," p. 49.


24 Ibid., p. 116.
ours, since many are called James, but he was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or strong drink, nor did he eat flesh; no razor went upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not go to the baths.\textsuperscript{25}

This portion of the text presents no major textual problems. Munck points out that the title "the Just," which was given to James "by all men from the Lord's time to ours," was ascribed to only two people in the literature which has been preserved; namely, Jesus and Simon the son of Onias.\textsuperscript{26} Δίκαιος appears to be a title reserved for special individuals rather than a title ascribed to many. Δίκαιος as a title would have been ascribed to James by the time of the second century.

The description of James is such that he resembles the O.T. Nazarite.\textsuperscript{27} James is also described as being "holy from his mother's womb," a term related with a divine call.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{25}Eusebius \textit{Ecc. Hist.} II.23.4-5. This translation is based upon the Greek text of E. Schwartz; see Eusebius \textit{Ecc. Hist.} I. v.

\textsuperscript{26}Munck, \textit{Paul}, p. 116, note 2.

\textsuperscript{27}Schwartz, "Eusebius," p. 50. See Numbers 6.1-5; to the O.T. description is added the concept that James was a vegetarian, that he did not anoint himself with oil nor did he go to the baths. These additions would be consistent with a Nazarite vow. In the Song of the Angel to Zechariah concerning John the Baptist in Luke 1.14-17, John is described as one who will be a Nazarite, and as one who will be special "even from his mother's womb." James is portrayed in similar terms as the "forerunner" of Jesus.

\textsuperscript{28}Is. 40.1; Jeremiah 1.5; Luke 1.15; Gal. 1.15; Munck, \textit{Paul}, pp. 25-26.
A problem does develop when the text implies that James was a high priest or had special temple privileges.

He alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary (τούτῳ μόνῳ ἔξην εἰς τὰ ἁγια εἰσιέναι), for he did not wear wool but linen, and he used to enter alone into the temple (καὶ μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς τὸν ναὸν) and he was found kneeling and praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew hard like a camel's because of his constant worship of God, kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people. So from his excessive righteousness (τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ) he was called the Just and Oblias (ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὑβλίας), that is in Greek, 'Rampart of the people (περιοχή τοῦ λαοῦ) and righteousness,' as the prophets declare concerning him.²⁹

Both Munck and Schwartz see problems with the text resulting from a repetition of phrases and ideas.³⁰ The phrases "τούτῳ μόνῳ ἔξην εἰς τὰ ἁγια εἰσιέναι" and "μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς τὸν ναὸν" both express the thought that James alone was allowed to enter a portion of the temple. Schwartz questions whether Hegesippus would have used these two phrases so closely in his original work.³¹ There would be no need of repeating the thought that "he used to enter alone into the temple" after having just said, "He alone was allowed to enter the sanctuary." Schwartz believes the first statement ("He alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary") was not in the original text of

²⁹Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.6-7.
Hegesippus. The phrase "for he did not wear wool but linen" would then refer to the asceticism of James rather than to a priestly garment.  

There is also a repetition in the titles of James. In Ecc. History II.23.4, James is called δίκαιος while in II.23.7, he is called δίκαιος και ὑβλίας. In each section there is an attempt to explain why James is called what he is called. In Ecc. History II.23.4, James is called δίκαιος because "many are called James," while in II.23.7, he is called δίκαιος και ὑβλίας because of "his excessive righteousness." It is hard to reconcile how one man would make such similar statements in such a short space. If one eliminates δίκαιος from II.23.7, part of the problem is removed. But τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ still causes trouble.

Part of the solution may be in the use of "ὑβλίας". The title ὑβλίας has caused difficulty in interpretation and understanding because there is no Hebrew or Aramaic root from which one could get a transliteration into the Greek of ὑβλίας.  

The problem is compounded in that the text of Hegesippus which is preserved by Eusebius explains ὑβλίας with the words, "Rampart of the people" (περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ). The

32 Ibid.

33 Charles C. Torrey, "James the Just, and his Name 'Oblias,'" Journal of Biblical Literature, LXIII (1944), 96.
meaning of the term is commented upon, but no such Semitic word is known. C. C. Torrey suggests that the original passage by Eusebius read ΩΒΑΙΑΣ to ΩΒΑΙΑΣ. The difference in the reading would be the bottom stroke on the "Δ" which may have been omitted by a latter copiest who may not have known Hebrew or Aramaic and/or who may have been copying from a manuscript which was difficult to read at this point.

Torrey suggests that the reference is to the Obadiah of 1 Kings 18. 3-15. Obadiah was described as the guardian and protector of the prophets of Israel during the time of the persecution under Ahab and Jezebel. It is suggested that Obadiah was a fearless and devoted servant of Yahweh who protected God's people, namely the prophets. This description of Obadiah would be in keeping with the interpretation of the title "Rampart (περιοχή) of the people."

Klaus Baltzer and Helmut Köster agree with Torrey that ΩΒΑΙΑΣ should read ΩΒΑΙΑΣ. They point out, however, that in the LXX of Obadiah 1.1, the phrase "περιοχήν εἰς τὰ ζῶνη" is used in

---

34 Ibid. 35 Ibid. 36 Ibid., pp. 96-97.

37 Klaus Baltzer and Helmut Köster, "Die Bezeichnung des Jakobus als 'ΩΒΑΙΑΣ," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLVI (1955), 141.
reference to the prophet Obadiah. Thus, the prophet 'Αβδηας is referred to as περιοχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη in Obadiah 1.1, which is much like the reading περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ in Ecc. History II.23.7.

Torrey points out that the Hebrew meaning of Obadiah ('ης γι'} is "servant of Yahweh." The Semitic word for servant is גי; the name of the prophet in 1 Kings 18.3ff is transcribed in the LXX as 'Αβδηας. Torrey claims that גי, as a name, is transcribed as 'Ωβηδ in the LXX in Ruth 4.17, 21, 22. Thus, even though the LXX transcribes the ג with an Α in 1 Kings 18.3ff, it is possible to transcribe the ג with an Ω such as is done in Ruth 4.17ff.

Torrey and Baltzer and Köster conclude that ΩΒΑΙΑΣ should read ΩΒΑΙΑΣ. Torrey claims the reference would refer to Obadiah and his action as recorded in 1 Kings 18.3-15. Torrey states that the action of James was like that of Obadiah. James, as shepherd and bishop of the

38 Ibid., p. 142.
39 Ibid., p. 97. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (1958), p. 670, lists גי as meaning "serve a master as a slave." Koehler, Lexicon, p. 369, lists ג as being the second half of ה כ which is the name of Israel's God (Yahweh).
41 Josephus Ant. VIII.329-31, 335, refers to the same prophet of 1 Kings 18.3f as 'Ωβεδηας.
Early Church of Jerusalem where the members were harassed and under suspicion, used his reputation to protect his people.42

Baltzer and Köster claim that the reference to \( \omicron\bar\upsilon\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma\varsigma \) is to the prophet Obadiah of Obadiah 1.1 who is called "\( \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\omicron\chi\eta\nu \varepsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha \varepsilon\theta\nu\eta\cdot\)". Torrey, Baltzer and Köster all agree that \( \omicron\bar\upsilon\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma\varsigma \) comes from the Hebrew words which can mean "servant of Yahweh."43 James, as a servant of God, apparently became known as a rampart or fortress (\( \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\omicron\chi\eta\delta \)) for his people, and thus, would be regarded as the \( \delta\omicron\nu\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu\eta\) of his people.

Even if statements which appear repetitious are eliminated from the passage in Ecc. History II.23.6-7, a problem of interpretation still remains. One is still left with a picture of James entering into the temple area and seeking forgiveness for God's people. If one regards James as the Christian bishop of Jerusalem, his portrayal as having special access to the Jewish worship center, could appear unusual. Schwartz suggests that this section portrays James in a favorable light which shows his popularity and his holiness; Schwartz claims James is portrayed as the

42Torrey, "James," p. 98.

43Baltzer and Köster, "Jakobus als \( \omicron\bar\upsilon\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma\varsigma \)," p. 142, point out that in James 1.1, the author of the Epistle is referred to as \( \iota\kappa\mu\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \varepsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon \).
counter part of Jesus.\textsuperscript{44} Such a positive portrayal of James could be an attempt to counteract the picture of the brother of Jesus recorded in the Gospels which tends to portray the family of Jesus as opposing Jesus.\textsuperscript{45}

The following section of the text contains additional statements which suggest an editorial hand or hands.

Thus some of the seven sects (αἱ ῥεσεων) among the people, who were described before by me, inquired of him what was the 'gate of Jesus,' and he said that he was the Saviour. Owing to this some believed that Jesus was the Christ. The sects (αἱ ῥεσιν) mentioned above did not believe either in resurrection or in one who shall come to reward each according to his deeds, but as many as believed did so because of James.\textsuperscript{46}

The problem in this section is the manner in which all seven sects are treated. The way the text reads, it appears that there is a unified request from some members of the seven sects as well as a unified belief. The repetition of the term αἱ ῥεσιν opens the possibility that material has been added. It should also be noted that the description of the seven sects is like that of the Sadducees of the N.T.\textsuperscript{47}

Schwartz suggests one possibility which provides a consistent statement for the passage. He claims that the following section from the above quotation should be regarded as an addition:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{44} Schwartz, "Eusebius," p. 52.
\textsuperscript{45} Mark 3.21, 31-35; 6.3; John 7.5.
\textsuperscript{46} Eusebius \textit{Ecc. Hist.} II.23.8-9. \textsuperscript{47} Schwartz, "Eusebius," p. 54.
\end{flushright}
inquired of him what was the 'gate of Jesus,' and he said that he was the Savior. Owing to this some believed that Jesus was the Christ. The sects mentioned above . . .

Hegesippus' original passage probably read:

Thus some of the seven sects among the people did not believe either in resurrection or in one who shall come to reward each according to his deeds, but as many as believed did so because of James. 48

This statement is more consistent with Jewish belief, but still retains the importance of the person and work of James. The Jews who wish to retain the essential beliefs of Judaism would be those who would be opposing James.

The next section in Ecc. History, II.23.10-11, speaks further of the conversation between James and the people:

Now, since many even of the rulers believed, there was a tumult of the Jews and the Scribes and Pharisees saying that the whole people was in danger of looking for Jesus as the Christ. So they assembled and said to James, 'We beseech you (παρακαλοῦμέν σε) to restrain the people since they are straying after Jesus (ἐπίσχες τὸν λαόν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν ) as though he were the Messiah. We beseech you (παρακαλοῦμέν σε) to persuade concerning Jesus all who come for the day of the Passover (τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα ), for all obey you. For we and the whole people testify to you (ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμεν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς) that you are righteous and do not respect persons. So do you persuade the crowd not to err concerning Jesus (πείσον όν σὺ τὸν δρόμον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι ), for the whole people and we all obey you (καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμεθα σοι ). Therefore stand on the battlement of the

48 Ibid.
temple (τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ) that you may be clearly visible on high, and that your words may be audible to all the people, for because of the Passover (τὸ πάσχα) all the tribes, with the Gentiles also, have come together.

The reference that "many even of the rulers believed," raises the question that if many of the rulers of the Jews were Christian, why did they not attempt to stop the death of James. The reference to the Scribes and Pharisees as opposing the teaching of James is consistent with the opposition afforded Jesus, but is inconsistent with the theology of the denial of the resurrection and future life.

Schwartz sees four doublets in the conversation with James which suggest an editorial hand. The first doublet is the repetition of παρακαλοῦμέν σε; the second is the use of τὸν λαὸν ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν and τὸν ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανάσθαι; the third are the references to the day of the Passover (τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα and τὸ πάσχα); and the fourth are the phrases ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμεν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς and καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμεθα σοι. Schwartz would reconstruct the original conversation as follows:

We beseech you to restrain the people since they are straying after Jesus as though he were the Messiah for all obey you. For we and the whole people testify to you that you are righteous and do not respect persons. Therefore stand on the battlement of the

49Ibid., p. 55.
temple that you may be clearly visible on high and that your words may be audible to all the people, for because of the Passover all the tribes, with the Gentiles also have come together. 50

After James was placed on the pinnacle of the temple, he answered the questions of his opponents using the words which Jesus had used in his trial. 51 James was asked, "Oh, Just one, to whom we all owe obedience, since the people are straying after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the 'gate of Jesus'" (Ecc. History II.23.12).

James answered, "Why do you ask me concerning the Son of Man? He is sitting in heaven on the right hand of the great power, and he will come on the clouds of heaven" (II.23.13).

The opponents of James realized that their plan was not working and said, "We did wrong to provide Jesus with such testimony, but let us go up and throw him down that they may be afraid and not believe him" (II.23.14).

The text which has been preserved then proceeds to bring in a variety of elements. James was cast from the temple (II.23.16). Then a stoning scene is introduced (II.23.16) because the fall did not kill James. James' reaction was to pray. The words which James used were similar to those which Stephen prayed at his martyrdom (Acts 7.60)

50Ibid., p. 56. 51Mark 14.62.
and similar to those which Jesus recited at his crucifixion (Luke 23.34). Following his prayer, James was clubbed to death by a laundryman (II. 23.17). The text concludes by stating that James was buried by the temple and that the gravestone still remained. The fact that the gravestone still remained is questionable, since the temple would have been destroyed by the time Hegesippus had recorded the event.

The final observation in the account in *Ecc. History* is that following the death of James, Vespasian began at once to besiege them (II.23.18). If this is a reference to the attack of Vespasian upon the Jewish people, then it would be possible to suggest that a date of about A.D. 67/68 is being ascribed to the events of the tradition. If the reference is to an attack on Judea or Jerusalem, the suggested date would be approximately A.D. 68/69.\(^{52}\)

\(^{52}\)Weynand, "T. Flavius Vespasianus," RE, VI, Pt. II, describes Vespasian's activity in the Jewish War beginning in A.D. 67 (col. 2630) with the overthrow of Galilee (col. 2631). In the winter of A.D. 67/68, Vespasian was victorious in the Transjordan area (cols. 2632-33). In A.D. 68, Vespasian moved on Judea and onto Jerusalem, but when Nero died on June 9, 68, Vespasian returned to Rome leaving his son, Titus, to resume the attack on Jerusalem in A.D. 69 (col. 2633).

E. Salmon, *Roman World*, pp. 196-97, describes the dates and events of the Jerusalem invasion as beginning in A.D. 67 when C. Licinius Mucianus replaced Cestius as governor of Syria and entrusted the invasion into Judea to T. Flavius Vespasianus. In A.D. 67, Galilee was overrun, the time when Josephus surrendered at Jotapata and became Vespasian's friend. In A.D. 68, Vespasian overran Transjordanian Peraea and Samaria and moved into Judea. Nero died at
Schwartz regards the introduction of the stoning of James as an attempt to combine the report of Josephus with the traditions which Hegesippus knew. 53 Schwartz argues that the Clement material did not know of the stoning, and that one can remove the references to the stoning with no textual problems. 54

The tradition of the death of James which Hegesippus knew was probably similar to the tradition which Clement knew. The tradition in Hegesippus portrays James as an ascetic, as a holy man who is respected by the people, as one who speaks with the people from the temple, as one who is cast from the temple, and as one who is clubbed to death. In the tradition of Hegesippus there are clear references to James as a model of Jesus.

The tradition which Hegesippus used has been added to by other well-meaning scholars. Their attempts elaborate upon the person of James, though sometimes Jewish practice and tradition is violated. They attempt to combine all of the known legends of James into one

this time causing Vespasian to leave Jerusalem for Rome in quest of the Principate (A.D. 69). Vespasian's son, Titus, was in command of the army when Jerusalem fell in A.D. 70. See also Schürer, Jüdischen Volkes, I, 610-23; Brandon, Fall of Jerusalem, pp. 161-66; Meyer and Bauer, "Relatives of Jesus," p. 420.

53 Schwartz, "Eusebius," p. 56. 54 Ibid.
complete picture. Munck is correct when he urges one to use the account of Hegesippus recorded in Eusebius with care. Historical accuracy has not been attained, but rather the preservation of the combination of the legends of James.

Manichaean Psalm-Book

The Manichaean Psalm-Book records two instances of a tradition of the stoning of a "James." The Manichaean Psalm-Book, a Coptic work which was discovered in Egypt in 1930, contains two hundred eighty-nine numbered psalms which were used by the Manichees in their worship. Allberry dates the manuscript approximately A.D. 340.

In Psalms of Heracleides 192.8-9, it is stated, "A brother ... in (?) how much is James, his brother also, and he died beneath the storn of stone." The reference to "brother" in describing James causes


\[56\] Ibid., pp. xix-xxi.

\[57\] Ibid., p. xx. The date of A.D. 340 would be ascribed to the Coptic manuscript and not to the Syriac original. Allberry believes the Manichees came to Egypt in the third century, bringing their Syriac liturgical material with them. The date of A.D. 340, however, does not attempt to place a date on the tradition which is being reported.
one to believe the reference is to James, the brother of Jesus, but it could refer to the brother of John. The "storm of stone" is a reference to a tradition that James died by being stoned. There is no detailed account of the stoning or the stoning procedure. It seems clear that the Manichees knew of a tradition in which a "James" was killed by being stoned. There is no mention of his being cast from the temple roof.

There is another reference in the Manichaean Psalm-Book to a "James" being stoned. In Psalms of Sarakoton 142.25-26, it is stated, "And James also, he was stoned and killed. They all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm." The problem with this statement is that the context of the psalms refers to the death of the twelve apostles. Psalms of Sarakoton 142.22 makes reference to the two sons of Zebedee, while 142.23-24 speaks of the death of John. This would suggest that the reference in 142.25-26 is to James, the brother of John and a son of Zebedee. Acts 12.2 claims, however, that James, the brother of John, was killed by the sword of Herod.

It is apparent that the Manichees knew of a tradition in which a "James" was killed by being stoned. It is possible that they ascribed the death by stoning to the most prominent James they knew who may have been the brother of John. A combining of James the brother of
Jesus with James the brother of John appears to have taken place. Such a tradition may have caused Clement to write his words which makes a distinction between two Jameses.  

**Recognitions of Clement (Pseudo-Clementine)**

In the Recognitions of Clement there is an account of James being cast from the temple, but there is no reference to his being stoned or to his death. The Recognitions have been ascribed to Clement of Rome, who is the main character in the literature, but the real author is unknown.

The date of the Recognitions is also uncertain. The text has been preserved in Latin by Rufinius of Aquileia who died in A.D. 410. There is mention in the document of an extension of Roman influence which occurred during the reign of Caracalla in A.D. 211. It is most probable that the Recognitions were written sometime during the first half of the third century in Syria.

---


According to the *Recognitions*, Clement was born in Rome of an aristocratic family (I.1). He searched for peace of mind through the philosophers of Rome, but was dissatisfied (I.3). He searched many lands in the East and in Egypt (I.5-6), until he finally heard of Christ. He met Barnabas and Peter (I.7-12). Clement was instructed by Peter (I.15-16) and became his attendant (I.12). Clement accompanied Peter on a missionary journey. Peter confronted Simon Magus in his travels (I.20), and successfully debated with him. Peter's instruction to Clement began with the creation of the world (I.27), then touched the highlights of Jewish history, such as the flood (I.29), Abraham (I.32-33), the Exodus (I.35), the temple (I.37), and the prophets (I.40-41). Peter spoke of Jesus (I.43) and compared him with Adam, Moses, and the prophets (I.47-48). He told of Jewish opposition (I.53-60)—especially of the opposition of Caiphas, the High Priest (I.61-65).

It is in this context that the incident of James is recorded. In the scene portrayed by the *Recognitions*, James was brought forth before a multitude of people. He was to answer questions from the steps of the temple where he could be heard (I.66). Gamaliel, a spokesman for the people and who was also a friend of James, would pose the questions so that James would be able to make a confessional statement (I.66). Gamaliel assured James that he would be able to speak freely and that no physical harm would come to him (I.67).
During the course of the questioning, James was called upon to answer questions raised by the High Priest, Caiaphas, who had become suspicious of the way in which Gamaliel had been proceeding. Caiaphas raised two issues: (1) whether the concept that Jesus is the Christ could be drawn from the scriptures, and (2) which scriptures were to be regarded as authoritative (I.68). James answered that the books of the law would be the authoritative material. James pointed out how the prophets took their material from the books of the law. He cited from the book of Kings, but based his observations primarily on the law and on the sections of the prophets which could be traced back to the law (I.69). James "showed by most abundant proofs that Jesus is the Christ, and that in Him are fulfilled all the prophecies which relate to his humble advent" (I.69).

James also pointed out that baptism in water was necessary to receive remission of sins and to enter the kingdom of God (I.69). James' defense of the faith continued for seven days. The result of this witness was that "he persuaded all the people and the High Priest that they should hasten straightway to receive baptism" (I.69).

When some of the enemies of the Christians saw what was about to happen, they began to stir up trouble. The people, who had been on James' side, shouted so loudly that James could no longer be heard.
One individual raised his voice above the others to ask why the people
did not slay James and his followers. This same man picked up a fire-
brand from the altar and a riot ensued (I.70). The following statement
is a specific reference to the treatment which James received: "That
enemy attacked James, and threw him headlong from the top of the steps;
and supposing him to be dead, he cared not to inflict further violence
upon him" (I.70). James was taken home where he recovered from his
fall (I.70), though he "was still lame on one foot" (I.73). Consequently,
Peter was appointed to be the representative of the Early Church in
matters of doctrine.

The purpose of the Recognitions is not to glorify James, but
to show Peter in a favorable light. Nevertheless, we see an incident
in which James is cast down from the temple. In this account it is a
member of the Sadducee party, the High Priest, who charged and condemned
James, though the action of the crowd was significant. James was
regarded as being looked upon favorably by the people so that he could
speak to them from the temple. The teaching of James was important and
effective. James was cast from the temple by one man as a result of
a riot. He was injured by this fall, but he was not killed.
II. THE DEATH OF JAMES AS RECORDED IN
THE II APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

Background of the II Apocalypse of James

The II Apocalypse of James is one of about fifty-one tractates which is part of a collection of thirteen Codices or about one thousand four hundred pages discovered at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945/46. The II Apocalypse of James has been catalogued as the Fourth Tractate of the fifth Codex, pages forty-four to sixty-three. This tractate is from a library of Gnostic works, and could have been written from Egypt or Syria. Though it is impossible to identify the author, most likely he was a Gnostic.


66 van Unnik, Gnostic Writings, p. 9.

The date of the II Apocalypse of James is also difficult to determine. The manuscripts themselves were buried around A.D. 400.\(^{68}\)

This dating would apply only to the current manuscript and would not be an attempt to date any traditions which are contained in the present manuscript, or to date any manuscript of which the current manuscript may have been a copy. On this basis, it would be safe to say that the traditions of the manuscript could be no later than the fourth century A.D. In that the manuscript speaks of the death of James, that tradition would not precede A.D. 62.

Contents of the II Apocalypse of James

The document\(^{69}\) begins with an explanation that the words which are recorded are those of James the Just (\(\pi\alpha\iota\lambda\omicron\)\(^{70}\)) which he spoke while in Jerusalem (CG V 44,12-14). There is a note of urgency involved in the opening scene, as Theuda, the father of James, is asked to come

---


\(^{70}\) \(\pi\alpha\iota\lambda\omicron\) is a loan word from the Greek δίναιος.
quickly and to bring his wife (44.16-22). It is reported that there is an angry crowd in the vicinity of the temple (45.9-12), and that James was about to address the crowd from a high level at the temple (45.20-24). Specific mention is made that James was honored by all the people (45.25-26).

What follows in the II Apocalypse appears to be the address of James to the people. The fragmentary condition of the top and bottom of each page of the manuscript makes positive identification difficult. The next four pages (46-49) apparently contain the words of James about himself. In these words, James disclosed that he was the one who had received a revelation from the one who is complete and imperishable (46.6-8) and from the Father (47.7-27). James was thus above death (48.8-10); he was free from the ruling powers and could make others free (48.15-20); he was one who helps (48.20-24); he was called the beloved (49.8), the righteous one (49.9), the Son of the Father (49.10-11). James spoke what had been revealed to him (49.11-12).

Following these words, there is a scene in which Jesus appeared to James and spoke with him. The basic thrust of the conversation refers to the relationship between Jesus and James. Jesus called James, "Brother" (50.11-12). This surprised James, but Mary intervened and explained how James and Jesus were brothers. Mary stated
that she was the mother of both of them. As James had nursed at
Mary's breast, so had Jesus (50.18-21). James and Jesus were like
foster brothers (50.21-23). 71

Following this scene the words which Jesus spoke to James in
the revelation are recorded (51.6-57.11). Jesus called James to hear
and understand the revelation (51.15). Jesus explained that God was the
true Father of them both, though James also had an earthly father (51.19-
22). The true Father would give an inheritance to James (52.9-13).
Jesus explained that though there were lesser powers who had made
things, their creations were limited, while the inheritance from the
Father had no limit (53.1-29). The Father was the greatest power of
all the powers (54.1-28). It was from this powerful Father that James
had received the real revelation (55.1-5). Because James had received
the revelation, Jesus told James that he had special duties and respon-
sibilities. He was to share his revelation with others (55.6-22). The

71 In this document there is no attempt to speak of Mary as being
a perpetual virgin or of having no other children than Jesus. See the
discussion on the family of Jesus in Lightfoot, Galatians, pp. 252-91;
Meyer and Bauer, "Relatives of Jesus," pp. 418-32. The position
adopted in the II Apoc. Jas. would be more like the Helvidian position
rather than that of Epiphanius or Jerome. Since Jerome's thesis, "On
the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary Against Helvidius," was
written in A.D. 383, it is possible that the words of CG V 50.5-23 were
included to react against the Roman position. If the tradition of the II
Apoc. Jas. were prior to A.D. 383, it would reflect an attitude toward
both James and Mary which was different from that reflected by Jerome and
the Gospels (Mk. 3.31-32; 6.3; Matt. 12.46-47; 13.55; Luke 8.19-20;
John 7.5).
heavens would rejoice over James’ work (55.23-27), as would all who receive the revelation (56.1-14). Jesus then revealed to James information which even the inhabitants of heaven (angels) and the archons did not know (56.14-24). James was one of the few who would know all things (57.1-10).

When James embraced Jesus properly (57.12-18), Jesus departed leaving James filled with great joy (57.19). Hence, the authority for James’ teaching is shown to have come from God the Father through Jesus. There could be no greater authority for the words of James.

After Jesus departed, James addressed judges who were probably priests (57.20; 60.1-5). James claimed these judges had no mercy and no knowledge (57.22-58.1). A tribute to the one who had mercy and knowledge then follows (58.3-24).

James exhorted his judges to repent and to turn to God (59.1-6) who was merciful (59.6-8), patient (59.10-11), and a good father (59.11). Unless the judges would repent, they would die (59.12-15). Thus, they were to judge carefully (59.17-21) for they were dealing with the Righteous one who was God’s helper (59.21-24). James reported that he heard the temple music (60.1-5), but that God had closed the ears of the unbelieving judges so that they would not believe him (60.5-13). James then related that he was about to destroy the
very temple in which those judges placed so much of their trust (60.13-21), and which kept the people in ignorance (60.21-22).

This announcement caused a reaction on the part of the crowd (61.1-3) and on the part of the judges (61.3-5). The judges retired to deliberate the matter, then immediately imposed the death penalty by stoning (61.5-15). CG V 61.16-19 reflects the same thoughts which the Hegesippus tradition ascribed to Isaiah 3.10;\textsuperscript{72} namely, that the verdict was rendered to do away with the Just one, for he was of no worth. The priests in both accounts appealed to scripture as the basis of their action.

The judges found James on the pinnacle of the temple and cast him down (61.20-26). Apparently this did not kill him, so they stretched him out (62.1), dropped a large stone on him (62.3-4), kicked him and insulted him (62.5-7). Finally, they placed him in a pit and stoned him (62.7-12). James uttered a prayer (62.12-63.29) and then died (63.30). This concludes the II Apocalypse of James.

**Comparison of the II Apocalypse of James and Hegesippus**

It appears that the entire Apocalypse is structured around the death of James. The opening scene of the II Apocalypse of James is

\textsuperscript{72}Eusebius *Ecc. Hist.* II.23.15.
similar to the scene reported in Hegesippus in which James was invited
to speak to the crowds at the Passover in order to clarify some theological
issues. In both accounts James was a respected person who addressed
the crowd from a high position on the temple. In both narratives the
background of James was expanded to show his authority and his reputa-
tion: he was related with the temple; he was an effective teacher; he
was feared by the religious leaders; he was on trial; he was cast from
the temple. In both reports a scripture passage (such as Isaiah 3.10 or
Wisdom of Solomon 2.12) was used.

These similarities would suggest that the Gnostic author of the
II Apocalypse of James had used a source or a tradition which was
also used by Hegesippus who wished to oppose Gnosticism. Though
the teachings of James differ in Hegesippus and the II Apocalypse of
James, both authors agree in principle on the background of the death
of James.

Following the casting of James from the temple, however, the
accounts differ. Perhaps the tradition utilized by the author of the II
Apocalypse of James knew of the stoning of James, rather than the
clubbing. The author of the II Apocalypse elaborates upon the stoning
death of James and puts a prayer on his lips. It is in the II Apocalypse
of James that the traditions of the casting of James from the temple and
the stoning of James are brought together. No attempt is made to date
the incident.
III. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the above sources it is difficult to know exactly what happened. Josephus, the Jewish historian, reflects an account which was least influenced by Christian sources and is most likely to be most historically accurate. From his account it would appear that James was condemned to death by stoning in the year A.D. 62.

It is evident that there was more than one tradition of the account of the death of James in the Early Church. Clement reports a tradition in which James was clubbed to death. Hegesippus retains the idea that James was clubbed to death, but adds that James was cast from the temple. Hegesippus also includes material which honors the person and teaching of James, making him a model of Jesus.

The Manichaean Psalm-Book may reflect a tradition of the stoning of James, while the Clementine Recognitions reflect the tradition of the casting from the temple. In the Clementine Recognitions, the teachings of James surrounding the incidents of James' death begin to take on greater importance.

The II Apocalypse of James is based on the scene of the death of James. The teaching of James is quite important in this document. In the death scene, the II Apocalypse of James combines the tradition
of the casting of James from the temple with the tradition of the stoning. Included in the stoning death of James is a prayer which may be a martyr prayer, further honoring the person and the death of James.

A tradition appears to be developing about the death of James. Two different accounts of James' death were known. Along with an account of the death of James, information about his person and some of his teachings are included. A tradition of James being cast from the temple roof appears. Attempts are made to combine material and to increase the importance of the teaching of James by demonstrating that his revelation was directly from Jesus. Further, there is added the notion that the death of James was like that of a martyr, which, in turn, would provide additional authority to the teaching of James.
CHAPTER II

CAST FROM THE TEMPLE

In Hegesippus' account of the death of James, it was reported how the religious leaders reacted to James' testimony from the temple roof. They said, "We did wrong to provide Jesus with such testimony, let us go up and throw him [James] down that they [the people] may be afraid and not believe him." The religious leaders went to the temple and threw James down. Is what is implied by the report of this action that the casting down from the temple roof would cause the people to question the words of James? Is it possible that a trial by ordeal is being set forth—that if James failed the test, he would be judged guilty, and therefore, his words would be meaningless?

I. DEFINITION OF TRIAL BY ORDEAL

A trial by ordeal may be defined as an appeal for the intervention of a divine power in an issue which requires judgment. A person on trial or an issue which needed a decision was submitted for judgment

2 Ibid.
to the divine by men who were thereby, relieved of the responsibility.\textsuperscript{4} Thus, when something needed to be decided, the matter could be taken to the local priest who, in turn, would invoke the Deity to render a decision.

II. TRIAL BY ORDEAL IN EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE

Trial by ordeal was known in early Jewish literature. Six examples of trial by ordeal as found in early Jewish literature will be discussed in this section: (1) the dispute between the herdsmen of Abraham and Abimelech (Gen. 21); (2) the ordeal between Elijah and the priests of Baal (1 Kings 18.20-39); (3) Moses making the people drink water into which a pulverized Golden Calf had been placed (Exodus 32.20); (4) the story of Achan (Joshua 7); (5) Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3); and (6) Daniel in the lion's den (Daniel 6).

Dispute Between the Herdsmen of Abraham and Abimelech

The dispute between the herdsmen of Abraham and Abimelech was over a well of water which the servants of Abimelech had seized from Abraham. Jewish legend reports:

The herdsmen of Abraham and those of Abimelech had left their dispute about the well to decision by ordeal: the well was to belong to the party for whose sheep the waters would rise so that they

could drink of them. But the shepherds of Abimelech disregarded the agreement, and they wrested the well for their own use.  

The legend states specifically that the dispute was to have been settled by an ordeal. A sign would be given which would designate the proper owner of the well—a sign which would have been interpreted as having come from God. The text suggests that such a sign did occur, but the herdsmen of Abimelech did not regard the sign as a binding agreement.

Elijah and the Priests of Baal

In the account of Elijah and the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel, the igniting of a sacrifice by fire was to be the sign of the true god (1 Kings 18.20-39). Both Elijah and the priests of Baal would erect an altar, prepare a sacrificial bull, and place the bull on the altar; neither party would ignite the sacrifice. Each man would call upon his god to ignite the sacrifice with fire; the god who answered the request by igniting the sacrifice was to be considered to be the true god (1 Kings 18.24). In both the example of the rising water at the well and the igniting of the sacrifice on Mount Carmel, a miraculous act would be a sign of God’s decision.

---

5Louis Ginzberg (comp.), The Legends of the Jews, trans. Henrietta Szold (1913), I, 270. The legend is recorded in Bereshit Rabbah 54.2-5.
Moses and the Drinking Water

Jewish legend\(^6\) claims that when Moses descended Mount Sinai with the Torah, he discovered the Golden Calf, and destroyed the tablets on which the Torah was written. As a result, the oceans wanted to leave their beds and destroy the world. Moses desired to appease the waters, so he burned the Golden Calf, ground it into powder, and threw the powder into the water. However, the oceans were not satisfied. The oceans claimed that the world existed only because of faithful observance of the Torah, and that Israel had disobeyed. To appease the water, Moses cast all the sinners into the water. The oceans would still not abate. All of Israel had to drink of the water into which the Golden Calf had been placed to test their innocence.\(^7\)

Jewish legend explains that the drinking of the water was a form of capital punishment upon the Jewish people; all who were guilty, died. The legend mentions that this type of action was a forerunner to the "curse-bringing water" which adulterous women were required to drink. According to this legend, the guilty women died.\(^8\)


\(^8\)Ibid., III, 130. The Proevangilum of James 16.2 claims that
Story of Achan

The incident with Achan, recorded in Joshua 7.1-26, involved the casting of lots. The Israelites, under Joshua, had been victorious in the battle of Jericho, and had been instructed not to keep any of the riches of the city (Josh. 7.10-12). When Israel went forth to do battle with the city of Ai, they were defeated (7.2-5). Joshua knew immediately that something was wrong (7.6-9). He had all the tribes pass before him, and the tribe of Judah was selected (7.16). Then Joshua had all the families of Judah pass before him, and the family of the Zerahites was chosen (7.17). When the members of the family of the Zerahites were brought forth, Achan was selected and subsequently declared guilty (7.18-19). The stolen goods were recovered; Achan and his family were stoned (7.22-25). Israel was purified.

Mary was required to take this test when it was discovered by the priests that she was pregnant, yet not married. Mary passed the water test which was to prove she was telling the truth that she had not engaged in adulterous activity, and thus, that Joseph was not the father of her child.

Another Jewish legend (Ginzberg, Legends of Jews, IV, 63-64, reported in Pseudo-Jerome, 1 Sam. 7.6) mentions that Samuel gathered a group of people at Mizpah for prayer prior to the reign of Saul. In order to determine the faithful from the idolatrous, Samuel compelled all the people to drink water. The effect of the drinking of the water in this instance, was to prevent the idolators from opening their lips.
The biblical text does not explain how the tribe of Judah was chosen over against the other tribes. Some sign was given to Joshua to help him eliminate the innocent parties and to discover the guilty party; that is, probably some type of lot was used. A similar procedure was used in the Early Church when Matthias was chosen to take the place of Judas among the twelve (Acts 1.15-16).

**Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego**

The incident of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3.1-30) is another example of trial by ordeal. Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had ordered all his subjects to worship him only, but Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego would not do so (30.1-18). The king became angry and sentenced them to be burned to death (30.19). They were bound and cast into the furnace (30.20-23).

The three men were observed in the furnace with a fourth man who was identified as an angel of God (30.24-25). At the appointed time, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, were taken from the furnace (30.26). Not only were they unharmed, but their hair was not singed, their clothing was not scorched, and there was no smell of fire about them (30.27). This was interpreted to mean that the men had been falsely accused, and that they were innocent (30.28-30).
Daniel in the Lions' Den

The incident of Daniel and the lions (Daniel 6.1-24) arose when Daniel was a successful president of a district (6.1-3). Men accused Daniel of violating the king's edict that no one should pray to any god for thirty days; all were to worship the king (6.4-15). Daniel was placed in the den of lions with great care so that he could not escape (6.16-17). After the allotted time, Daniel was removed from the den of lions unhurt (6.19-23). Then Daniel's accusers were placed in the den, together with all their families. They were all devoured before they could reach the bottom of the pit (6.24). By this ordeal, Daniel was declared innocent, while his accusers were judged guilty. The God of Daniel was given credit for the decision (6.22-23).

Summary

Trial by ordeal was known in early Jewish literature. The guilt or innocence of a person or a group of persons was determined by what was considered to be an external supernatural force. In a trial by ordeal, the responsibility for the judgment would appear to rest on God;

---

9 Trial by ordeal was also known in Greek literature. In Sophocles Antigone 264-67, the guards claim they are ready to pass through fire and to handle red-hot iron in order to attest to their innocence.
this would absolve mortal men of the decision. Physical properties such as fire, water, and animals were used. The guilty party would be set apart due to an injury or a sign, while the innocent party would be unmarked.

III. HEGESIPPUS AND TRIAL BY ORDEAL

In the account of the death of James in Hegesippus, could the casting of James from the temple be interpreted as a trial by ordeal? In order to determine whether a trial by ordeal is intended by Hegesippus, it will be necessary to look closer at the account of the death of James as recorded in Ecclesiastical History.

Use of Scripture Quotation

In the text of Hegesippus, as it is preserved in Eusebius, there is a reference to a scripture passage which is attributed to Isaiah. James had spoken with the people and raised the ire of the Jewish clergy. The clergy responded by saying, "We did wrong to provide Jesus with such testimony, let us go up and throw him [James] down that they may be afraid and not believe him" (Ecc. History II.23.14). Then they cried out saying, "Oh, oh, even the just one erred." And they fulfilled the scripture written in Isaiah, "Let us take the just man for he is unprofitable to us. Yet they shall eat the fruit of their works" (II.23.15). The clergy went up and threw James down (II.23.16).
A question could be raised whether Hegesippus had reference
to a passage in Isaiah, or if some of this particular section in Hegesippus
could be of a later addition. It is possible that the original text of
Hegesippus read, "And they fulfilled the scripture, 'Let us take the just
man for he is unprofitable to us.' So they went up and threw down the
just."

The reason for suggesting the above as a possible reconstruction
of the original text is that there are two passages, Isaiah 3.10a and
Wisdom of Solomon 2.12a, to which the author may have had reference.

_Ecc. History_ II.23.15 states: ἀρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος
ημὲν ἔστιν;

The LXX of Isaiah 3.10a states: εἰπόντες Δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι
dύσχρηστος ημὲν ἔστιν.

Wisdom of Solomon 2.12a states: ἐνεδοκεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι
dύσχρηστος ημὲν ἔστιν.

Since the canon of the Jewish scriptures was not officially closed
until late first century, the scriptures which the Christian church received

---

10 E. Schwartz, in "Zu Eusebien Kirchengeschichte," _Zeitschrift
für die neuestamentliche Wissenschaft_, IV (1903), 48-61, does not include
a discussion of the passage in _Ecc. Hist._ II.23.15 as a part of his
reconstruction of the original text of Hegesippus.


12 Ibid., II, 347.
and used was not a closed canon.\textsuperscript{13} Writings which were not regarded as canonical by the Jewish scholars at Jamnia at the end of the first century could have been used as authoritative works by members of the Christian community. The collection of the writings of the LXX suggest that there was in circulation a group of writings which were used and read which were not influenced by the decision of the council at Jamnia. The Christian church, of course, would not have been bound by the decision of the Jewish scholars. For the Early Christian Church, both Isaiah and the Wisdom of Solomon could have been authoritative since it was the Christian church rather than the Jewish tradition which preserved the LXX.\textsuperscript{14}

Perhaps a later editor reading the Hegesippus account read the introductory phrase " καὶ ἐπληρωσαν τὴν γραφὴν." He may have recognized the passage as being from the LXX of Isaiah. He wrote into the text "τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰσαὰκ γεγραμμένην" and then included all of the Isaiah 3.10 passage in the text. The wording of the passages make it necessary to look more closely at the context of both Isaiah 3 and Wisdom of Solomon 2.

\textsuperscript{13}Albert C. Sundberg, \textit{The Old Testament of the Early Church} (1964), p. 82.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 88.
Isaiah 3. The context of Isaiah 3 speaks of the judgment of God. God would punish Israel by taking away the key rulers of the people (Isaiah 3.1-3) leaving the naive and inexperienced to rule (3.4). This action would result in open violence and civil unrest (3.5-6). The reason God would forsake Israel was because of Judah's brazen sinfulness and their rejection of God as leader of his people (3.7-12). In the midst of this final section Isaiah 3.10 states, "Tell the righteous that it shall be well with them, for they shall eat the fruit of their deeds." It states further that the righteous man will not have to worry in times of affliction, for his deeds would keep him in God's favor.

It is evident that there is a difference between a tradition which reads, "Tell the righteous that it shall be well with them," and one which reads, "Let us take the just man for he is unprofitable to us."

The Masoretic text of Isaiah 3.10a reads: קְרֵבָּן רִחְמְנוֹר כְּרוּצְיֵךְ. Koehler lists רִחְמְנוֹר as meaning "the righteous one," the key consonants being רִחְמְנוֹר. Koehler suggests that רִחְמְנוֹר comes from the consonants רִחְמְנוֹר and would have the meaning of "lying-in-wait."

---

17 Ibid., p. 793.
The difference in readings could be accounted for in that the author of the LXX translation had a copy of a manuscript which he read as, "יַנְיִי," whereas, the manuscript which was the basis for the official text read, "יַנְי̄י," the difference being "י נ" read for "י פ." The context of Isaiah 3.10 would favor the Masoretic reading which speaks of the just one being taken care of because of his deeds.

**Wisdom of Solomon.** The Wisdom of Solomon selection presents a situation which is closer to the events in the death of James than that of Isaiah. In Wisdom of Solomon 1.1-5, the author urges his readers to seek wisdom and follow righteousness. Lawless deeds and impious words would lead to spiritual death, but righteousness was immortal (1.6-16). The ungodly, by their words and deeds, made a covenant with death (1.16-2.1a). The ungodly argued that since life is brief and miserable, beginning by chance and ending in extinction (2.1b-5), life should be devoted to pleasure (2.6-9), to oppression of the poor (2.10-11), and to the persecution of the righteous Jew (2.12) whose life is a reproof to the ungodly (2.13-16). The ungodly desired to test the truth

---

of Judaism and the patience of the righteous man by torture (2.17-20).

The faith of the righteous Jew is described in Wisdom of Solomon 2.21-
5.23.

The significant section of Wisdom of Solomon is 2.12-20. It reads as follows:

2.12 Let us lie in wait for the righteous man (τὸν δίκαιον ),
because he is inconvenient to us and opposes our actions;
he reproaches us for sins against the law,
and accuses us of sins against our training.

13 He professes to have knowledge of God,
and calls himself a servant (παῖς Κυρίου ) of the Lord.

14 He became to us a reproof of our thoughts;
15 the very sight of him is a burden to us,
because his manner of life is unlike that of others,
and his ways are strange.

16 We are considered by him as something base,
and he avoids our ways as unclean;
he calls the last end of the righteous happy,
and boasts that God is his Father.

17 Let us see if his words are true,
and let us test what will happen at the end of his life;

18 for if the righteous man is God's son, he will help him,
and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries.

19 Let us test him with insult and torture,
that we may find out how gentle he is, and make
trial of his forbearance.

20 Let us condemn him to a shameful death,
for, according to what he says, he will be protected.

(R.S.V.)

These words better describe what happened to James than those in

Isaiah. In Wisdom of Solomon 2.12, the term "δίκαιος" reminds one of
James' title "δίκαιος."

The term "παῖς Κυρίου" (2.13) also reminds


one of a term which the Hegesippus tradition had ascribed to James, namely, "δῆλος." Πατάκια κυρίου can be translated as "servant of the Lord." It has been observed above that δῆλος, the transliteration of the Hebrew נִרְצָי , can also be translated as "servant of Yahweh." Thus, the two names which the Hegesippus tradition included in Ecc. History II.23.7 are contained in Wisdom of Solomon 2.12-13.

The unique life of the righteous man in Wisdom of Solomon 2.15 is comparable to the unique life of James described by Hegesippus. Wisdom of Solomon 2.17-19 speaks of a test to see if the words of the righteous one are true. The test will include insult and torture. Finally, the righteous man will be condemned to a shameful death.

In the account of the death of James in Hegesippus, James is accused of falsehood (Ecc. History II.23.15); he is cast from the temple (II.23.16); he is clubbed to death (II.23.17). A similar sequence of

---

20 See above, pp. 19-22.


22 See above, p. 21.

23 Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.4-6.
events is followed in the II Apocalypse of James, except that before he is stoned to death, James is also kicked and called "seducer" (CG V 62.5-12).

The parallel of the account of the death of James with the condemnation of the righteous man of Wisdom of Solomon, plus the titles of "the righteous one" (δικαίος) and "the servant of God" (παῖς ἡμῶν) appear such that Hegesippus could have had Wisdom of Solomon 2.12-20 in mind when he made reference to scripture. If this is true, then the casting from the temple could parallel the "test" of Wisdom of Solomon 2.17-18. Furthermore, this could mean that Hegesippus intended the casting from the temple to be interpreted as a trial by ordeal.

**Location of the Pinnacle of the Temple**

The location of the pinnacle of the temple will be significant in determining if the casting down of James from the temple could be associated with a trial by ordeal. If the location of the place from which James was cast were too close to the ground, there would be little reason to regard the casting down of James as significant.

**Location of the pinnacle in the account by Hegesippus.** In the account of the death of James by Hegesippus, James is asked to speak to the people from the battlement of the temple (τὸ περύγιον τοῦ
When he was cast down, the report says that "they [the priests] went up and threw down the Just." Apparently James was cast down from the same place from which he spoke. The location of that place would be elevated so that James could be heard, and high enough so that it is mentioned that the clergy went up to cast James down.

**Location of the pinnacle in the II Apocalypse of James.** In the II Apocalypse of James from Nag Hammadi, it is mentioned that when James began to teach, he sat down at his customary place which was elevated because he was honored by all the people. When James was about to be cast down, it is mentioned that they found him standing on the pinnacle of the temple ($\tau \nu \nu \nu^2$ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΡΠΕ). James evidently had moved. While teaching he was sitting; now he was found standing. The location of the casting from the temple is the same in the II Apocalypse of James and Hegesippus, however. In Lev. 11.9, 10 where the Coptic text has $\tau \nu \nu \nu$, the Septuagint has περύγιον. Thus, in the II Apocalypse of James, though James may not teach from the pinnacle (περύγιον) of the temple, he was cast off from it.

---

26 CG V 45.20-26.  
27 CG V 61.20-23.  
Location of the pinnacle in the Recognitions of Clement. It is reported in the Recognitions of Clement that when James was asked to speak he was standing on an elevation so that he could be seen by all the people. 29 James was cast headlong from the top of the flight of stairs and left for dead. 30 Neither the place of teaching nor the place from which James was cast down is identified as the πτερύγιον of the temple.

Location of the pinnacle in the temptation account of Jesus. The πτερύγιον of the temple was the scene of another trial or test. In the temptation of Jesus, Jesus was taken to the πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ and invited by Satan to cast himself down. 31 Satan assured him that if he were truly God's son, God would protect him. Though there is no attempt to identify the πτερύγιον of the temple, the nature of the temptation experience suggests an elevated place which would cause injury or death to any person who might be cast down.

Location of the pinnacle according to Josephus. Josephus describes the temple and its location in a manner which would fit the temptation of Jesus. 32 Josephus reports that the temple was located

32 Josephus Ant. XV.410-20.
near a ravine, and that the height of the porch of the temple coupled
with the depth of the ravine was an awesome sight. Josephus relates:

And it was a structure more noteworthy than any under the sun.
For while the depth of the ravine was great, and no one who bent
over to look into it from above could bear to look down to the bottom,
the height of the portico (στόα) standing over it was so very great
that if anyone looked down from its rooftop, combining the two
elevations, he would become dizzy and his vision would be unable
to reach the end of so measureless a depth. 33

Such a description allows for a dramatic test. However, it would have
been impractical for James to have been attempting to speak from such
a place if he intended to be heard. It is possible that a later tradition
placed James on such a height in order to demonstrate that he was
miraculously delivered from death.

Use of πτερύγιον. The term πτερύγιον is not always asso-
ciated with the temple. The term πτέρυξ means wing; πτερύγιον
can mean "little wing." 34 In the first chapter of the book of Leviticus,
there is a discussion of the offering of turtledoves or young pigeons.
In verse 17, the priest is directed to tear it wings (τῶν πτερύγων)
but not to divide it in two. The πτερύγιον of the temple could,
therefore, be understood to be a wing of the temple.

33 Ibid., IV.412.
34 Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon (1843; rev. 1940), p. 1547.
Πτερύγιον can also mean fin of a fish. In Lev. 11.9, 10, the Israelites are told they may eat of anything that has fins (πτερύγιον) or scales. The fin would be a projection of a fish or something that would be extended such as a wing of a bird or a wing of a building.

Furthermore, the term πτερύγιον is associated with clothing. In Numbers 15.38, tassels are translated in the LXX by πτερύγιον. Ruth 3.9 identifies skirt with πτερύγιον. In I Samuel 24.4, 5, David cut off Saul's skirt (πτερύγιον). Tassels could clearly be understood as projections; the edge or hem of a garment may not be quite so apparent. The use of πτερύγιον in the LXX suggests a wing or projection. The projection could go out or up. With this imagery in mind, the πτερύγιον of the temple could be a wing or a tower of the temple.

Summary. The precise location of the πτερύγιον is uncertain. From the above data three suggestions could be made: (1) the top of Solomon's Porch located on the east side of the court which would have been about thirty-seven and one-half feet high; (2) the top of the Royal Porch on the south side of the court of the Gentiles which would


have been at least fifty feet high;\textsuperscript{37} or (3) the top of the temple (ναός) proper.\textsuperscript{38} Had the third suggestion been intended, the term ναός rather than ιερός would probably have been used. A fall from either Solomon’s Porch or the Royal Porch into the court of the Gentiles would have been sufficiently high for a test, but would not preclude death. Had James been thrown down outside the temple area from the Royal Porch, he would have encountered the dizzying height described earlier by Josephus.\textsuperscript{39}

The tradition which Hegesippus reports suggests that James was not cast down onto the rocks outside the temple area, since the tradition claims that James was buried by the temple on the spot where he died having been clubbed to death by the laudryman. The account in the II Apocalypse of James suggests that James was cast into the temple area as it was necessary to drag him out of an area in order to stone him.\textsuperscript{40}

The πτερύγιον of the temple from which James was reported to have been cast down could have been either the Royal Porch or Solomon’s Porch. James would have fallen at least thirty-seven feet, and he would have landed in the court of the Gentiles. Either the Royal

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p. 44.
\textsuperscript{38} M’Neile, St. Matthew, p. 39; Plummer, St. Luke, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{39} Josephus Ant. XV.412.
\textsuperscript{40} CG V 62.1-2.
Porch or Solomon's Porch would have provided a platform for James' teaching. The thirty foot fall would have provided an excellent test for a trial by ordeal.

It is uncertain whether Hegesippus or anyone during the time of the second century would have known the exact dimensions of the temple and the temple area since the temple would have been destroyed during the first century A.D. However, Hegesippus' tradition suggests a consistency with what is known of the dimensions of the temple. His tradition would allow an elevated section from which James could be seen and heard. The elevation would appear to be such that the speaker could be easily heard and that the purpose of such an elevation was to speak to the people.

Reason for Being on the περίγραμμον

The fact that James was located on the περίγραμμον of the temple, and that Jesus was tested from the same location has raised the possibility that James' being cast from the temple was modeled on Jesus' temptation experience. This section will test that possibility.

and see what other possibilities may exist for having one teach from the temple roof, other than that of convenience.

About the only similarity in the experience of James and the experience of Jesus is that they stood on the same spot. The differences outweigh the similarities. Jesus was taken from the wilderness by Satan to the Holy City and the temple,\(^{42}\) while James lived in Jerusalem and was on the περάγλον of the temple of his own free will.\(^{43}\) Jesus confronted no people and did no teaching.\(^{44}\) James, on the other hand, was confronted by an angry crowd and his main purpose for being at the temple was to teach.\(^{45}\) There is no indication that Jesus was cast down from the temple;\(^{46}\) James was.\(^{47}\) According to the claims of Psalm 91, Jesus would not be harmed if he were to cast himself from the

---

\(^{42}\) Matt. 4.5; Luke 4.9.

\(^{43}\) Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.16; CG V 44.12-14; 45.23-26; 61.20-23. Rec. Cl. I.66, 70, indicate that James lived in Jerusalem and was on the temple steps of his own accord.

\(^{44}\) Matt. 4.5-7; Luke 4.9-12.

\(^{45}\) Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.8-17; CG V 46.6-60.24; Rec. Cl. I.69-70.

\(^{46}\) Matt. 4.5-7; Luke 4.9-12.

\(^{47}\) Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.15; CG V 61.25-26; Rec. Cl. I.70.
When James was cast from the temple, he was injured. There are too many differences for the story of James' being cast from the temple to have been modeled on the account of Jesus' temptation experience.

There is a Jewish tradition which may have influenced the concept of James' teaching from the temple roof. The passage would add a theological interpretation to the event. In the *Pesikta Rabbati*, Piska 36.2, it states:

Our Masters taught: When the King Messiah appears, he will come stand on the roof of the temple and will make a proclamation to Israel saying: Meek ones, the day of your redemption is come. And if you do not believe me, behold my light which rises upon you...

---

48 Matt. 5.6; Luke 4.10-11. *Babylonian Talmud*, Shebuoth 15b, calls Psalm 91 a psalm to be used against evil occurrences and is recommended to be used to avert the attacks of demons.

49 Eusebius *Ecc. Hist.* II.23.16; CG V 61.24-62.3; *Rec. Cl.* I.70, 73.

50 William G. Braude (trans. and intro.), *Pesikta Rabbati* (1968), II, 682. According to Braude, the final form of the *Pesikta Rabbati* is dated by scholars between the sixth century and the ninth century A.D. (pp. 2, 20-24). While most of the Piskas were authored in the third and fourth centuries A.D. (p. 3), Piskas 34-37 appear to have been written between the fifth to seventh centuries (p. 24). The traditions reported by the Piskas would date prior to the composition of the Piskas. Even though a Piska might date in the seventh century A.D., it is difficult to date with certainty the tradition which is reported, unless the name of the Rabbi was retained with the tradition. Piska 36.2 retains no name, but merely says, "Our Masters taught..." It is conceivable that the tradition of the Messiah speaking from the roof of the temple was known to Hegesippus, to the author of the *II Apocalypse* of James and to the author of the *Recognitions of Clement*. 
The picture of one teaching from a temple roof portrayed by the Pesikta Rabbati is similar to that recorded by Hegesippus, the II Apocalypse of James, and the Recognitions of Clement. This passage would help provide one explanation as to why James was on the temple roof. It would suggest that James was regarded as a Messianic figure in the community.

There is also the possibility that James was on the πτερύγιον of the temple simply for the convenience of being heard and seen. It is possible that neither the temptation story of Jesus nor the tradition of the Messiah speaking from the temple roof influenced the tradition of James being cast from the temple.

**Summary**

The account of the death of James in Hegesippus allows for a trial by ordeal. The scripture passage cited by Hegesippus could be a reference to Wisdom of Solomon 2.12 which alludes to a test of the words of the righteous man. The place from which James may have been thrown could have been from thirty-seven to fifty feet high, which would allow for an adequate test as far as the local clergy was concerned. James could have been on the πτερύγιον of the temple to be heard and seen. It is possible that the reporting of the event was influenced by a Jewish tradition, but not the tradition of the temptation of Jesus. In
Hegesippus' account of the death of James, the words, "Let us go up and throw him down that they may be afraid and not believe him,"⁵¹ suggest that James could have been subjected to a trial by ordeal. The order of events recorded by Hegesippus of James being cast from the temple and then being clubbed to death when the fall did not kill him would add evidence that the incident could refer to a trial by ordeal.

IV. CAST FROM THE TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE II APOCALYPSE OF JAMES AND RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT

This section will attempt to determine the relationship of the motif of the casting from the temple with the trial by ordeal as it has been used in the II Apocalypse of James and in the Recognitions of Clement.

II Apocalypse of James

In the II Apocalypse of James, the judges, after consultation, decided to stone James.⁵² Having reached the decision to stone James, their first act was to cast him down from the temple.⁵³ This order of events suggests that the casting from the temple was not a trial by

ordeal, but that it was the initial step in the stoning process. In announcing the verdict to stone James, the judges reflect the use of the same scripture passage as was recorded by Hegesippus. The judges stated, "Yes, we will kill this man, so that he will go forth from our midst, for he is of no worth." These words are similar to those quoted by Hegesippus, "Let us take the Just man for he is unprofitable to us." The way in which the author of the II Apocalypse transfers the order of events from the order of Hegesippus, indicates the possibility of a shift in emphasis upon the meaning of events. For Hegesippus, the casting from the temple could reflect a trial by ordeal which James failed to pass, at which time he was clubbed to death. The casting from the temple for the author of the II Apocalypse of James became the first act of the stoning process.

Recognitions of Clement

The casting from the temple steps in the Recognitions of Clement is not associated with the death of James, nor could it be considered to be a trial to test the truth of the words of James. In this account, while James was attempting to refute the High Priest, Caiphas, someone entered into the temple area and began to stir up the people. The man

---

54CG V 61.16-19. 55Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.15. 56Rec. Cl. I.70.
who stirred up the people was described as a madman who was set on murder. A riot ensued in which many were injured. Specific mention was made of the treatment of James. James was cast from the temple and became lame in one foot. As a result, James appointed Peter to carry on the work of the church.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The variety of interpretations of the casting from the temple suggests that there was a tradition of James being cast from the temple. For Hegesippus, it may have become a trial by ordeal prior to James' death. For the author of the II Apocalypse of James, it became the first step in the stoning process. For the author of the Recognitions of Clement, it became an explanation for the lameness of James and for the commission of Peter.

---

57 Ibid. 58 Ibid. 59 Ibid., I.73. 60 Ibid., I.72.
CHAPTER III

DEATH BY STONING

In the chapter dealing with the historical evidence for the death of James, it was observed that the death of James was associated with stoning.\(^1\) It was also noted that only in the account of the death of James recorded in the II Apocalypse of James are there any details of the stoning death.\(^2\) The purpose of this chapter will be: (1) to set forth the details of the stoning account in the II Apocalypse of James; (2) to examine other stoning incidents to determine if there is a pattern of events in them; (3) to examine Jewish tradition to determine what it says about stoning deaths; and (4) to relate the stoning incidents and Jewish tradition with the material from the II Apocalypse of James to determine if the author of the II Apocalypse of James used a known source for his material.

I. THE STONING ACCOUNT IN THE II APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

The text of the stoning of James as recorded in the II Apocalypse of James is as follows:\(^3\)

\(^1\)See above, pp. 6, 26, 29-30, 40.  \(^2\)See above, pp. 7, 30, 40-41.  \(^3\)CG V 61.12-62.12; translation by the author.
61.12 Then (ἐπεὶ ὅ) they all spoke
13 together: "Come
14 let us stone the Just one (δίκαιος)!
15 And they rose up
16 and said: "Yes, we will
17 kill this man, so that
18 he will go from our midst,
19 for (γάρ) he is of no worth."
20 They went and found him
21 standing on the pinnacle of
22 the temple at this firm
23 corner stone. And they voted
24 to cast him down from the heights,
25 and they threw him
26 down . . . .

62.1 they touched him, they dragged him,
  2 as they dragged him on the ground
  3 they stretched him out, they dropped
  4 a stone on his body.
  5 They kicked him with
  6 their feet and said:
  7 "Seducer." Again (πάλιν)
  8 they raised him up, for he was still living,
  9 they dug a grave, put him
down in it, they
covered him to his stomach, and
thus stoned him.

The above account of the stoning is rather precise and follows a
logical pattern. James was condemned to be stoned (61.12-15); he was
found on the pinnacle of the temple (61.20-23); he was cast down (61.
23-26). The first act of the stoning process, then, was to cast James
down from the pinnacle of the temple. At this point, the text becomes
fragmentary. Because James was not killed by the fall, he was dragged
someplace, perhaps outside the temple area or outside the city (62.1).
James was stretched out and a stone was dropped on his chest (62.3-4). The accusers kicked James and called him a "seducer" (62.5-7). Since James was still alive, he was placed in a pit, covered to the waist, and stoned (62.8-12).

It is apparent that James was not easy to kill. This could be interpreted to imply that James was regarded as a righteous man and lived in spite of the injustices against him. Or, it could mean that the author of the II Apocalypse of James was merely following a tradition which had followed the above procedure for death by stoning.

II. STONING STORIES IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

In order to determine if there are any patterns to be found in the events in a death by stoning, this section will examine several stoning incidents. The literature to be studied includes the Old Testament, the New Testament, Josephus, Jewish Haggadah literature, and Christian legend.

Stoning Incidents in the Old Testament

In the literature of the O.T., six instances of individuals being put to death by stoning are recorded. Little of the process of stoning is described, but the reason for the stoning is made clear.

---

4Jewish Haggadah literature will be studied in this section, while the Halakah literature (the Mishnah and the Talmud) will be studied in Section III.
Leviticus 24.10-23 indicates that the son of Shelomith, Zelophehad, had cursed and blasphemed God. For this reason, Zelophehad was taken out of the camp and the people stoned him.

Numbers 15.36 records the fate of an unknown man who was guilty of gathering sticks on the Sabbath. "All the congregation brought him outside the camp, and stoned him to death with stones."

Joshua 7.25 records the fate of Achan and his family after Achan had disobeyed orders by taking booty from the battle at Jericho. Joshua led Achan and his family to the valley of Achor (7.24). Achan was stoned; his family and possessions were burned or stoned. A great heap of stones was placed over the remains as a reminder to the people (7.26).

I Kings 21.13-15 relates how witnesses accused Naboth of cursing God and the king. Because of this charge Naboth was taken outside the city and stoned.

II Chronicles 24.21 records the death of the priest, Zechariah, who spoke the word of the Lord to King Joash. Joash did not like what he heard and conspired to have Zechariah killed. At the king's command Zechariah was stoned in the court house of the Lord. It should be noted that this stoning took place in the court; the previously mentioned stonings were reported to have occurred outside Israel's camp.
I Kings 12.6-20 cites the death of Adoram. Adoram, the task-master of King Rehoboam's forced labor, went to Israel to enforce Rehoboam's orders. The result was that "all Israel stoned him [Adoram] to death with stones." In this instance, specific charges were not made against Adoram before the stoning commenced.

Without providing specific examples, the O.T. records additional charges for which a man, woman, or animal could be stoned. Anyone who gave his children to Molech would be stoned, as would any man or woman who was a medium or a wizard. An ox was to be stoned if it gored a person to death. Furthermore, any creature (man or beast) who touched the forbidden area of Mount Sinai when Moses was to receive the Torah was to be stoned.

Information about the stoning procedure which is recorded in the O.T. is slight. Two observations can be made: (1) in most instances, the person was stoned outside the camp; and (2) all Israel participated in the event. There were many charges for which a person could be stoned. Cursing and blaspheming headed the list, but violating sabbath laws, disobeying specific commands from God, raising children to

---

5 I Kings 12.18; cf. II Chron. 10.18. 6 Lev. 20.2. 7 Lev. 20.27. 8 Ex. 21.28-32. 9 Ex. 19.12-13.
Molech, and practicing wizardry were all causes for which one could be stoned.

**Stoning Incidents in the New Testament**

The N.T. literature contains two examples of stoning; Acts 7 records the stoning of Stephen, while Acts 14.19 mentions that Paul was stoned.

Stephen was charged with blasphemy (Acts 6.11), a charge which the author of Acts claims was substantiated by false witnesses (6.13). The witnesses claimed that Stephen spoke against the temple and the law. The specific act of stoning is described in Acts 7.58: "Then they cast him out of the city and stoned him; and the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul." Stephen was taken out of the city to be stoned. Apparently, the witnesses identified themselves and actively participated in the stoning event.

The stoning of Paul occurred at Lystra (Acts 14.8-19). Jews from Antioch and Iconium stirred up the people. They stoned Paul, and believing him to be dead, dragged him out of the city (14.19). Evidently, the stoning action took place inside of the city.

Additional N.T. references relate that O.T. prophets were stoned, but give no names or details of the stoning process.  

\[\text{Acts 5.26 records}\]

\[\text{Matt. 21.35; 23.37; Luke 13.34; Heb. 11.37.}\]
that the captain of the guard at Jerusalem was afraid to arrest Peter and John because he was afraid of being stoned by the people.

**Stoning Incident in Josephus**

Josephus records the death of a certain Onias. Onias is described as a righteous man (δίκαιος ἁγίος) who prayed for peace at the time of a civil uprising. While he prayed, some "villains among the Jews who stood round him stoned him to death" (Antiquities XIV.24). This particular stoning is reported more as a spontaneous action by a few troublemakers rather than as a legal stoning.

**Stoning Incidents in Haggadic Literature**

Jewish legend adds one more facet to our picture of death by stoning. There are two references to those who were stoned who were later hanged from the gallows. The first instance is based on Leviticus 24.10-14. An Israelite woman's son and a man quarreled in the camp (24.10); the woman's son blasphemed the Name and cursed (24.11). The son was brought before Moses and placed in custody till the Lord would reveal to Moses what to do (24.12). Moses was told, "Bring out of the camp him who cursed, and let all who heard him lay their hands

---

upon his head, and let all the congregation stone him" (24.14). Leviticus 24.23 reports that the people brought forth the one who had cursed, took him out of the camp, and stoned him with stones as the Lord had commanded Moses.

Jewish legend speaks to this incident.¹² The son of the woman is given the name Zelophehad. On a Sabbath day Zelophehad tore trees out of the ground, though he had been warned not to break the Sabbath. The overseers, whom Moses had appointed to enforce the Sabbath rest, brought Zelophehad to the school where Moses, Aaron, and the leaders studied the Torah. Since Moses was uncertain concerning the manner of capital punishment for the offense of breaking the Sabbath, Zelophehad was kept in prison.

The sentence that Moses received from God was to execute Zelophehad in the presence of all the community by stoning him. This was accordingly done, and after the execution his corpse was for a short time suspended from the gallows.¹³

The main difference between the account in Leviticus 24 and in the legends which is of greatest concern in regard to the manner of

---

¹²Louis Ginsberg (comp.), *The Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold (1913), III, 240-41. The legends are taken from Sifre debe Rab 105, 113-14, 133; Sifre Zuta 103-105; Sifra 24.12; Shabbat 96b; Baba Batra 119b.

execution is mention of the fact that the corpse was suspended from the
gallows for a short time.

The second account from Jewish legend which mentions the
hanging on the gallows of those who had been stoned is based on an
incident recorded in Numbers 25.1-5. The biblical account tells us
that while Israel lived in Shittim the people began to play the harlot
with the daughters of Moab (25.1). The Moabite women invited the
Israelites to sacrifice to Baal of Peor and to bow down and worship this
god (25.2-3). Israel's God was angry and told Moses, "Take all the
chiefs of the people, and hang them in the sun before the Lord, that the
fierce anger of the Lord may turn away from Israel" (25.4). Moses told
the judges of Israel to slay all who had yoked himself to Baal of Peor
(25.5).

Jewish legend\textsuperscript{14} elaborates upon the first Israelites who
were lured by the Moabite women to worship Peor, the Moabite idol.
An older Moabite woman would entice an Israelite to buy a linen garment.
If he were interested she would invite him into her tent where a younger
woman who was richly adorned and perfumed would offer him a gift of
linen. Conversation and wine would follow during which time the

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., III, 381-83.
Moabite would point out that Terah was an ancestor of both the Moabites and the Israelites and that the two groups should not be alienated from one another. If the Israelite began to drink, his doom was sealed. Soon he became drunk and interested in his hostess who would agree to satisfy his desires only after he had first worshipped Peor. The act of worship consisted in complete baring of the body. The legends report that Israel at first was ashamed, but soon lost these feelings of shame and openly engaged in their worship activities.

As the problem became more severe, God caused a "cloud of glory" to spread over the camp. Those not marked by the "cloud of glory" were regarded as sinners. Eight thousand six hundred judges and executioners were appointed, each being ordered to execute two sinners.

These carried out Moses' command and stoned the sinners, whose corpses then hung upon the gallows for a few minutes. This was the legal punishment, for these sinners had not only committed whoredom with the women of Moab, but had worshipped the Moabite idol Peor; and idolatry is punishable with death by stoning. 15

The difference in the O.T. account and in Jewish legend which is of most concern is that the hanging referred to in Numbers 25.4 became related with a stoning death and a hanging from the gallows in Jewish legend.

15Ibid., III, 383. This section is based on material from Targum Yerushalmi, Rashi Numbers 25.4; Sanhedrin 34b; Yerushalmi 10, 28b; Sifre debe Rab 131.
A question could be raised as to when a tradition which spoke of a hanging from the gallows would have been known. It is difficult to date a tradition; however, it is possible to provide a date after which the tradition could not have arisen. For instance, the Sifra, which is based on the book of Leviticus and which was used to determine material for the legend of Zelophehad, was edited by Hiyya bar Abba.  

Hiyya bar Abba is reported to have been born in the middle of the second century A.D. Therefore, the legends which Hiyya edited must have been known by the beginning of the third century A.D.

**Stoning Incidents in Christian Legend**

Christian legend has preserved two additional facts concerning the events of a stoning: one is the use of a huge boulder placed on the chest; the other is the use of a pit in which the victim was buried to his waist. Unfortunately, it is impossible to date these traditions from the available material. It is, therefore, impossible to know when such a method would have been used or known to have been used.

---


In the *Acts of the Blessed Martyr St. Theopompus*, the victim was tied to stakes "then a huge boulder that eight men could scarce carry was laid upon his belly."\(^{18}\) It is indicated that the stone did not kill St. Theopompus.

The *History of St. Joseph* reports, "Then after removing the holy man to some little distance and binding his hands behind him, they dug a pit for him and buried him therein up to the middle."\(^{19}\) A snowstorm of stones followed, so that the saint was buried up to his head. When his accusers saw that he was still alive, one of the men was ordered to "take a stone . . . as big as he could wield and throw it down on him. So when this was done and his head crused by the weight of the stone, the saint thus gave up his precious soul to Christ."\(^{20}\)

**Summary of Stoning Incidents**

The following events could have been known prior to the beginning of the third century A.D.:

1. The event usually took place outside the camp or city.
2. The entire congregation participated in some phase of the stoning.
3. Witnesses also took part in the stoning ceremony.


4. Some of those who were stoned were hung on a gallows for a short period of time.

It is impossible to date with accuracy the following events:

1. Heavy stones were sometimes placed on the victim.
2. Some victims were bound, placed in a pit, and buried to their waist.

III. STONING TRADITIONS RECORDED IN

THE MISHNAH AND THE TALMUD

The section of the Mishnah and the Talmud entitled "Sanhedrin" includes a specific discussion of the following: (1) the procedure of stoning; (2) the severity of stoning; and (3) the charges for which one could be stoned. The purpose of this section will be to discuss these three features of stoning in light of the Jewish Halakah literature.

Procedure of Stoning

Place of stoning. Sanhedrin 6.1 of the Mishnah makes the observation that after the victim had been sentenced to death by stoning, he was taken outside the court so that the actual stoning could take

21 Herbert Danby (ed. and trans.), The Mishnah (1933), will be used for the text of the Mishnah unless otherwise stated; I. Epstein (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud, ch. 1-6 trans. by Jacob Schachter, ch. 7-11 trans. by H. Freedman (1935), will be used for the text of the Talmud.
place. The authors of the Babylonian Talmud sought to clarify what was meant by "outside the court." The argument is that there were three encampments. The first camp was described as the area where sacrifices occurred; the second camp was that of the Levites; the third camp was that of the rest of Israel. The stoning was to take place beyond the third encampment so that those in the first camp would not appear murderously inclined.

**New evidence.** While the one to be executed was led forth, a man with a towel stood at the door of the court. He was to signal the procession if any witness appeared to testify on behalf of the man who was to be stoned. If he signaled, everyone was brought back to the courtroom. The victim himself could request that the procession return to the courtroom if he believed he had new evidence. Should any new evidence acquit him, he was free.

---

22 Danby, Mishnah, p. 389.  
23 Sanhedrin 42b.  
24 Epstein, Talmud, p. 276.  
25 Ibid., p. 278.  
26 Ibid.  
27 Ibid., pp. 275-79. The Rabbis argued that Moses dwelt in the camp of the Levites or the second camp. He addressed the Israelites who lived in the third camp to bring forth the one to be executed. The execution would have taken place outside the third camp.  
28 Sanhedrin 6.1; Danby, Mishnah, p. 389. The discussion in the Talmud, pp. 279-80, and Sanhedrin 43a, revolves around the issue of who shall provide the equipment for the stoning and for the court messengers. The decision is that the community was responsible and
**Herald.** A herald preceded the condemned man out of the court. He announced the name of the condemned man, the name of the father of the condemned man, and the charges brought against him. The herald also proclaimed the names of the witnesses who testified against the condemned man. Then the herald asked that any further information in the case be brought forth. 29

**Confession.** When the condemned man was about fifteen to twenty feet from the place of stoning, he was asked to make a confession of all of his sins; especially of the sin which caused him to be stoned. This confession was important to the condemned man for "every one that makes his confession has a share in the world to come." 30 If the condemned man did not know how to make a confession he was instructed to say, "May my death be an atonement for all my sins." 31 If the

---

not the condemned man. *The Code of Maimonides, Book Fourteen: The Book of the Judges*, trans. Abraham M. Hershman (1949), XXXI.3, says: "The wine, the frankincense, the stone with which the culprit is stoned ... the flags which are waved in the case of those who are executed by order of the court, the horse which runs that he might be delivered from death—all these are provided out of public funds, but if any individual offers to donate them, his offer is accepted."


30 Sanhedrin 6.2; Danby, *Mishnah*, p. 390.

31 Sanhedrin 6.2; Danby, *Mishnah*, p. 390.
condemned man believed that he had been condemned by false testimony, to show his innocence \(32\) he would say, "Let my death be an atonement for all my sins excepting this sin." \(33\)

**Stripped.** Following this confession the condemned man was led to about six to eight feet from the place of stoning. There he was stripped of his clothing. There was some debate as to what this meant. The Mishnah reports two views. Rabbi Judah reported that a man was covered in front and a woman was covered in front and back. The sages reported that a man was to be naked when stoned, but that a woman was to be covered when stoned. \(34\)

The discussion in the Talmud focused on the dress of women. When a woman was six to eight feet from the place of stoning, the priest would seize the garment of the woman until he uncovered her bosom. If the bosom were beautiful he did not expose it. The priest was also empowered to unloose the hair of the young women unless this made them more beautiful. The reason given for keeping young women as

\(32\) Code XIII.1 claims that there is only one confession, "May my death be an atonement for all my sins," for both the guilty and the one who believes he has been falsely accused. Code XIII.2 states that after the confession, a cup of wine containing a grain of frankincense was given to the victim to cause a state of stupor.

\(33\) Sanhedrin 6.2; Danby, Mishnah, p. 390.

\(34\) Sanhedrin 6.3; Danby, Mishnah, p. 390.
unattractive as possible was so that the very young priests would not conceive a passion for her; lust would not cause the verdict to be changed. This suggests that perhaps the priests had a large voice as to whom was declared guilty or innocent, or that they could influence the decision of the court when it was to their advantage.

**Height.** The actual site of the stoning was to be at least twice the height of a man. The Talmud states that the height should include the height of the man so that three heights of the man were involved, or about thirteen to fifteen feet. It could not be much higher than that lest there be too much disfigurement of the body during the stoning process.

**Pushed down.** As the condemned man stood on this height, one of the witnesses who had accused the man pushed him by the hips so that he fell to the ground. If the man landed on his stomach, he was turned over on his back; if he were dead, the stoning was complete.

**Stone dropped.** If the man were not dead, then the second witness took a stone and dropped it on the chest of the victim. If this

35 Sanhedrin 45a; Epstein, *Talmud*, p. 294.
36 Sanhedrin 6.4; Danby, *Mishnah*, p. 390.
37 Sanhedrin 45a; Epstein, *Talmud*, pp. 295-96.
38 Sanhedrin 6.4; Danby, *Mishnah*, p. 390.
killed the man then the stoning was complete. \(^{39}\) According to the 
Talmud, the stone was specially prepared. It was so large that it took 
two men to lift it. It was the responsibility of the second witness to 
see that the stone came down upon the victim with force. \(^{40}\)

**Stoned by all Israel.** Should the condemned man still be alive, 
he was stoned by all Israel. This procedure followed the command given 
in Deuteronomy 17.7 that the hand of the witness was to be laid upon 
the victim first, then the hand of all the people. \(^{41}\)

**Hanged.** According to Rabbi Eliezer, as cited in the Mishnah, 
all who were stoned had to be hanged. Furthermore, Rabbi Eliezer 
reported that a man was hanged with his face toward the people; a woman 
was hanged with her face toward the gallows. On the other hand, the 
the sages said that only a man was to be hanged, and then, only if he 
were a blasphemer or an idolator. \(^{42}\)

The method of hanging was to place a beam into the ground and 
to have a piece of wood jutting out from it, or to have the beam leaning 
against the wall. The hands were tied together and hung on the wood 
which jutted from the beam. The person was not to be left hanging

\(^{39}\)Sanhedrin 6.4; Danby, Mishnah, p. 390. 
\(^{40}\)Sanhedrin 45b; Epstein, Talmud, p. 296. 
\(^{41}\)Sanhedrin 6.4; Danby, Mishnah, p. 390. 
\(^{42}\)Sanhedrin 6.4; Danby, Mishnah, p. 390.
overnight. The Talmud claims that the time of hanging was brief; no sooner did one man tie up the victim, than another let him down.

**Summary.** The process of stoning can be summarized as follows:

1. The stoning took place outside the city walls; whereas, the trial took place in the temple.

2. A herald preceded the procession announcing the name of the condemned, the charges, and the accusing witnesses.

3. The condemned man was to make a confession. This confession had an atoning effect and would assure the condemned a place in the world to come.

4. The condemned man was stripped naked.

5. The condemned man was cast down from a height at least twice his own height. If he died the stoning was complete.

6. If he were alive after being cast down, a large stone was dropped on his chest.

7. If he were still alive after having a large stone dropped on his chest, anyone could throw stones at him.

8. After he died, if he were a blasphemer or an idolator, he would be placed on public display for a brief time. The method of display would be by hanging.

**Severity of Stoning**

The Mishnah teaches that the court had the power to inflict four kinds of death penalties: stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling.

---

43 Sanhedrin 6.4; Danby, Mishnah, p. 390.
44 Sanhedrin 46b; Epstein, Talmud, p. 305.
45 Sanhedrin 7.1; Danby, Mishnah, p. 391.
The Talmud discusses the comparison of the severity of the forms of
death. Stoning was regarded as being more severe than burning because
it was by stoning that the blasphemer and the idolator were executed.
The severity involved in these charges is that they constituted an attack
upon the fundamental beliefs of Judaism.

Burning was also regarded as being severe as it was the punish-
ment of a priest's adulterous daughter; any other daughter would be
stoned rather than burned for the same offense. On the basis of this
evidence, Rabbi Simeon held that burning was more severe than stoning.
After burning the order of gravity was stoning, strangling, and behead-
ing. Rabbi Simeon appealed to the principle that the more severe form
of death took precedence over a lesser form. The traditional line of
reasoning was that because the case of the priest's adulterous daughter
is specifically mentioned, it was not the normal course of events, and
hence, stoning must be more severe than burning.

Moreover, stoning was regarded as more severe than death by
the sword. Death by the sword was the penalty for the inhabitants of

46Sanhedrin 49b-50a; Epstein, Talmud, pp. 332-33.
47Sanhedrin 7.1; Danby, Mishnah, p. 391.
48Sanhedrin 50b; Epstein, Talmud, pp. 338-39; see also Code XIV.4
which says, "Any person liable to two death penalties is punished by the
severer one."
49Sanhedrin 50a; Epstein, Talmud, p. 333; see also Code XIV.4,
"Death by stoning is a severer punishment than death by burning, that
by burning is severer than by beheading, death by beheading is severer
than by strangulation."
a seduced city—a city that had fallen into idolatry. The penalty for the one who led the city astray was death by stoning. Since the one who led the others astray had greater guilt than the ones led astray, stoning was regarded as a more severe form of death.  

Stoning was regarded as a more severe form of death than strangulation. Strangulation was the punishment for one who had killed their mother or father. If the one who killed the mother or father were a virgin daughter living with her father and mother, her punishment was stoning. Since this girl would have had a greater responsibility to her parents than a married daughter living away from home, it was concluded that stoning was more severe than strangulation.  

According to the opinion of the majority of the Rabbis, stoning was the most severe penalty that the court could inflict upon a person. The one who was stoned was regarded to have attacked the fundamental beliefs of Judaism.

Charges for which One Could be Stoned

The Mishnah includes a complete list of those charges for which one could be stoned. Sanhedrin 7.4 reads as follows:

50Sanhedrin 50a; Epstein, Talmud, p. 334.
51Sanhedrin 50a; Epstein, Talmud, pp. 334-35.
The following are stoned: He who commits incest with his mother, his father's wife, or his daughter-in-law; he who sexually abuses a male or beast; a woman who commits bestiality with a beast; a blasphemer; an idolator; he who gives his seed to Molech; a necromancer or a wizard; one who desecrates the Sabbath; he who curses his father or mother; he who commits adultery with a betrothed maiden; he who incites [individuals to idolatry]; he who seduces [a whole town to idolatry]; a sorcerer; and a wayward and rebellious son.\textsuperscript{52}

Since the author of the II Apocalypse of James reports a tradition that James was stoned,\textsuperscript{53} it is possible that the charge against James could appear in the above list, especially if the author of the II Apocalypse of James knew the Rabbinic material or knew the tradition from which the material was taken. The author of the II Apocalypse of James reports that James was kicked and was called "seducer."\textsuperscript{54} This may also provide a clue to the charges by which James was condemned. That which catches the eye is the charge "He who seduces a whole town to idolatry."\textsuperscript{55}

Sanhedrin 7.10 comments on the charge that those who cause others to go astray are stoned. An individual may lead another individual astray to idolatry, or he may lead many people astray.\textsuperscript{56} The Talmud

\textsuperscript{52}Translation by H. Freedman in Epstein, Talmud, p. 359.
\textsuperscript{53}CG V 61.13-62.12.
\textsuperscript{54}CG V 62.5-7.
\textsuperscript{55}Sanhedrin 7.4; Danby, Mishnah, p. 392.
\textsuperscript{56}Sanhedrin 7.10; Danby, Mishnah, p. 393.
comments that if a layman led another layman astray, the layman who did
the leading was stoned. If a prophet led a layman astray, then the
prophet was strangled. If a prophet led a community astray, the prophet
was stoned. No explanations are given for the variations in punish-
ment. The statement, "If a prophet led a community astray, the prophet
was stoned," applies the closest to the image of James which is portrayed
by the author of the II Apocalypse of James.

It is only in relation to leading others to idolatry that the term
"seducer" appears with the punishment of stoning. If the traditions
behind the Mishnah and the Talmud were followed by the author of the
II Apocalypse of James, it could be concluded: (1) that the charge
against James was that he led the town astray, and (2) that James was
regarded as a prophet.

IV. COMPARISON OF THE II APOCALYPSE OF JAMES
WITH TRADITIONAL MATERIAL

In this section an attempt will be made to compare the material
recorded in the II Apocalypse of James with the material from the
traditions associated with Judaism and early Christianity. An attempt
will be made to determine the sources which may have influenced the

57 Sanhedrin 67a; Epstein, Talmud, p. 455.
author of the II Apocalypse of James or the tradition which the author
used in regard to the stoning death of James.

The order of events in the stoning of James in the II Apocalypse
of James was as follows:

1. James was condemned.
2. James was cast from the temple.
3. James was dragged away, possibly outside the city walls.
4. James was stretched out and a large stone was dropped on
   his chest.
5. James was kicked and called a "seducer."
6. James was placed in a pit and covered to the waist.
7. James was stoned by all parties.

The order of events recorded in the Old Testament, Jewish
Haggadic literature, and Christian literature would be as follows:

1. The person was condemned.
2. The person was taken outside the camp or city.
3. Witnesses participated in the stoning.
4. Heavy stones were used on some occasions.
5. Sometimes the person was placed in a pit and covered to the
   waist.
6. The person could be stoned by all Israel.
7. Some persons were hanged from the gallows after being stoned.

The points of comparison between the two accounts would be:

(1) the condemnation; (2) the possibility of being taken outside the
city walls; (4) the use of a huge stone; (5) the placing of the condemned
man in a pit and covering him to the waist; and (6) the participation of all parties in the stoning.

There is no mention in the Old Testament, Jewish Haggadic, or Christian literature of anyone being cast down, kicked, or insulted. There is no mention in the II Apocalypse of James that witnesses took part in the stoning, or that James was hanged after he was stoned. It should also be mentioned that no single stoning incident in Jewish-Christian literature contains all seven features. It is possible that the tradition which contributed to the description of the stoning death of James in the II Apocalypse of James could have been gathered from a variety of sources and combined into one source.

The order of events for stoning as recorded in the Mishnah and the Talmud is as follows:

1. The person was condemned.
2. A procession took the victim outside the city walls.
3. The condemned man made a confession.
4. The condemned man was stripped naked.
5. The condemned man was cast down.
6. A huge stone was dropped on the chest of the condemned man.
7. The condemned man was stoned by all parties.
8. An idolator or blasphemer was hanged after being stoned.

The order of the events in the II Apocalypse of James and in the material of the Mishnah and the Talmud is a bit different. The casting
down occurs prior to the procession from the city in the II Apocalypse of James. It is possible that the author of the II Apocalypse of James wished to take advantage of the tradition of the casting from the temple. He used this tradition, not as a trial by ordeal, but as a part of the stoning process.

The points of comparison between the material in the II Apocalypse of James and the material from the Mishnah and the Talmud are: (1) James was condemned; (2) James was taken from the temple area, perhaps in a procession; (4) James was probably stripped which would account for his being placed in a pit and being covered to his waist; (5) James was cast down from the temple; (6) a huge stone was dropped on James' chest; and (7) all parties stoned James.

The differences between the two accounts relate with the same problem; namely, the charge against James. The II Apocalypse of James does not mention that James was hanged after being stoned. Since hanging would apply only to idolators and blasphemers, it might not apply to James. The II Apocalypse of James does mention that James was kicked and called "seducer." According to the Mishnah and the Talmud, this treatment would be afforded a prophet who has led a town astray.

58 See above, pp. 68-69.
The tradition which the author of the II Apocalypse of James used was like the tradition which has been preserved in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The tradition was modified to enable the casting from the temple to be an act of stoning and not a separate act or a trial by ordeal. It is possible that this traditional material provided a model from which the author of the II Apocalypse of James constructed his account of the stoning death of James. It is possible to see similarities with the stoning deaths recorded in Jewish and Christian tradition and with the account recorded in the II Apocalypse of James. However, the single tradition which influenced the author of the II Apocalypse of James the most would be like the tradition preserved in the Mishnah and the Talmud.
CHAPTER IV
THE PRAYER

The account of the stoning death of James in the II Apocalypse of James contains a prayer which James uttered at the time he was being stoned.\(^1\) The author of the II Apocalypse of James has portrayed James as a martyr. Is it possible that he intended this prayer to be a martyr prayer? In this chapter twelve prayers will be examined which were prayed by people who were being put to death for religious purposes in order to determine if there is any kind of a model developing for a martyr prayer. The prayer in the II Apocalypse of James will be examined and an attempt will be made to determine the source of the tradition which comprised the material in the II Apocalypse of James 62.12-63.29.

I. PRAYERS OF THOSE BEING PUT TO DEATH FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS

Before discussing the content of the twelve prayers it will be necessary to define the criteria used to determine which prayers would be included. Four criteria were used: (1) an external force was applied in the death of the individual; (2) the reason for the death was regarded

\(^1\) CG V 62.12-63.29.
as religious by the one being put to death; (3) the final words of the
individual being put to death were addressed to a divine being; \(^2\) and
(4) the final words of the martyred one were preserved. To determine
if a pattern were present prior to the authorship of the II Apocalypse of
James, the prayers to be considered are from incidents prior to A.D.
400. Using these criteria, it was possible to find twelve prayers in
early Jewish and Christian literature which might be used.

**Prayer of Eleazar**

The first prayer to be discussed is the prayer of Eleazar
recorded in the Fourth Book of the Maccabees. This work could have

\(^2\)This criterion excludes those individuals who were being put
to death for religious purposes who addressed their words to those who
were putting them to death (II Macc. 7.9, 14, 16-19; IV Macc. 9.1-9,
15, 30-32; 10.10-11, 18-21; 11.12, 20-27; 12.10-19; Martyrdom of
Isaiah 5.9-10), and those who addressed their words to other people
in the hope of encouraging them in their death or life (Tractate
"Mourning" 8.12; II Macc. 6.30-31; IV Macc. 9.22-24).
been written sometime during the first century before or after the birth of Christ from Alexandria, Egypt. The author of the work is unknown.

The death and prayer of Eleazar are recorded in the fifth and sixth chapters of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees. Eleazar, a priest (IV Macc. 6.5), was commanded by the emperor Antiochus to break the law by eating the flesh of a swine (5.1-3). Eleazar refused and was beaten (6.1-9). He was beaten so mercilessly that some of the king's courtiers begged him to pretend to obey (6.12-15). Eleazar chided these people (6.16-23). He was then condemned to be burned to death (6.24). As Eleazar was about to die, he prayed:

Thou, O God, knowest that though I might save myself I am dying by fiery torments for thy Law. Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls (6.27-29).

With these words, Eleazar died.

---


5 Eusebius ascribes the authorship of this book to Flavius Josephus (Ecc. Hist. III,10.6) while both Charles and Kautzsch believe the work to be that of an unknown Jew; see Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 656-57, and Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, p. 150.
Prayer of Jesus of Nazareth

The material for consideration is a number of statements addressed to God by Jesus of Nazareth in the Passion Narratives. Dibelius makes the observation that the Lucan text best portrays Jesus in the role of the martyr. The Gospel of Luke was most likely written between A.D. 70 and 90, at a place outside of Palestine. The name of the author is uncertain, but he was probably a Gentile Christian.

The setting for Jesus' prayer is the crucifixion. Jesus was condemned by the Jewish court for confessing to be the Son of God (Luke 22.70-71). He was brought before the Roman court on the charge of being a king (23.3), but Pilate would not condemn him (23.4). Jesus was sent to Herod who also found him innocent (23.6-16). Pilate finally gave in to the Jews and delivered Jesus over to them to be crucified (23.25). He was crucified with criminals (23.33). At this point,

---

8 Martin Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums (1966), pp. 202-203. Jesus prayed for the executioners, promised one that he would share in the blessed fate of the martyr, and died with an expression of reliance on God on his lips.


10 Ibid., pp. 102-105.
according to some of the better manuscripts, Jesus prayed, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do" (23.34). The soldiers (Luke 23.36) and one of the criminals who was being crucified (23.39) mocked Jesus. Another criminal defended Jesus (23.40-42). Jesus promised that the criminal would share the blessed fate which Jesus would have. Jesus said, "Truly, I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise" (23.43).

The day began to get dark (23.44) and the curtain of the temple was reported to have been torn in two (23.45) when Jesus prayed, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (23.46). When he had prayed this, he breathed his last.

Prayer of Stephen

The third prayer to be considered is from the material about Stephen recorded in Acts 6 and 7. The author of the book of Acts was probably the same Gentile Christian who wrote the Gospel of Luke.

11 Manuscripts B, D, W, Θ, the most important of the Syriac manuscripts and the Sahidic manuscripts omit this phrase from verse 34. ℣*, C, the Koine manuscripts include it.

12 This prayer is a citation from the LXX, Psalm 30.6 (31.5).

13 Feine-Behm-Kümmel, N.T., p. 132.
The bock of Acts was probably written after the Gospel of Luke, and hence, sometime between A.D. 80 and 100.\footnote{Ibid., p. 133.}

Stephen was accused of speaking against the temple and the law (Acts 6.13). He was brought before the High Priest to answer the charges (7.1). In his defense Stephen spoke about the following: Abraham and the covenant (7.2-8); the patriarchs (7.9); the life of the Israelites in Egypt (7.9-19); Moses (7.20-34); the Exodus and the giving of the law (7.35-38); the disobedience of the Israelites (7.39-43); the tabernacle (7.44); and finally, the temple (7.47). Stephen then accused his hearers of murdering the righteous one (δἰκαλος) whom God sent (7.52), and of failing to keep the law (7.53). This enraged the people who took Stephen out of the city and stoned him (7.58). As Stephen was being stoned he uttered two statements: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (7.59) and "Lord, do not hold this sin against them" (7.60). When he had said this, he died.

The two statements of Stephen are nearly identical in meaning to two of the statements ascribed to Jesus by the author of Luke and may suggest a pattern which is being employed by the author of Luke-Acts in regard to a martyr-type death.
Prayer of Polycarp

The fourth prayer is recorded in the Martyrdom of Polycarp. Polycarp was martyred in A.D. 155 or 156.\textsuperscript{15} Section 22 of the Martyrdom of Polycarp implies that the basic account of the martyrdom was written by Gaius, a disciple of Polycarp (22.2). Pionius, who lived in the fourth century A.D.,\textsuperscript{16} is reported to have preserved the current account of the Martyrdom of Polycarp (22.3).

The account of the martyrdom of Polycarp is contained in sections 1 to 20. These sections are reported to be a letter sent from the church in Smyrna to the church in Philomelium because the Christians in the area of Philomelium were concerned about events in Smyrna and what had happened to Polycarp (20.1). The martyrdom account discusses the arrest of Polycarp: how the officials had sought him (3.2); how Polycarp had fled to the country (5); how his whereabouts were made known (6); and the arrival of the police (7.1). Polycarp was taken to the arena and examined (8-9). He confessed to be a Christian (10). Polycarp was asked to change his mind or suffer death (11). When he refused to


\textsuperscript{16}Martyrdom of Polycarp, p. 309.
change his mind, he was sentenced to be burned to death (12). It was immediately before the fire was ignited that Polycarp uttered his final prayer (14).

O Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved and blessed Child, Jesus Christ, through whom we have received full knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole family of the righteous, who live before thee! I bless thee, that Thou has granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the Resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. And may I, today, be received among them before Thee, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou, the God who lies not and is truth, hast prepared beforehand, and shown forth and fulfilled. For this reason I also praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the everlasting and heavenly High Priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved child, through whom be glory to Thee with him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come. Amen. 17

Having prayed this prayer, Polycarp died.

Prayer of James in Eusebius' Account of Hegesippus

The fifth prayer comes from Hegesippus' account of the martyrdom of James. 18 Hegesippus wrote his account around A.D. 174-189. 19

According to the text of Hegesippus preserved by Eusebius, James had been given the opportunity to address the Jewish people at Passover from the "battlement of the temple" (Ecc. History II.23.11). James' words

17 Ibid., pp. 330-33. 18 Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.16-17.
19 See above, p. 14.
were so effective that the crowd began to believe that Jesus was the Christ. This angered the Jewish leaders and they cast James down from the temple roof (II.23.16). The fall did not kill James so the people began to stone him. As he was being stoned he prayed, "I beseech thee, O Lord, God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (II.23.16). This prayer of James is the same as the one ascribed to Jesus in Luke 23.34 and similar to the one ascribed to Stephen in Acts 7.60. After James prayed, he died by being clubbed with a laundryman's club (II.23.17).

**Prayer of Peter**

The sixth prayer to be discussed is recorded in *The Acts of Peter* which was composed around A.D. 180-210 from either Rome or Asia Minor.  

20 *The Acts of Peter* is one of five *Acts* in a collection entitled *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*. These *Apocryphal Acts* were used by the Manichaeans.  

21 There is evidence in the Psalms of Sarakoton


142.17-143.14 of the *Manichaean Psalmbook* that the author of the *Psalmbook* knew some traditions of certain deeds of Peter, Andrew, John, Thomas and Paul. Though it is impossible to know exactly whether the author of the *Psalmbook* used one collection of *Apocryphal Acts*, whether he had the manuscripts as they are known today, or whether he had manuscripts at all, he knew and used similar material as that recorded in manuscripts like *The Acts of Peter*. The basic structure of each of the *Apocryphal Acts* is similar. Included in each are three sections: (1) the propagation of the gospel; (2) the words and deeds of the apostle; and (3) the martyrdom of the apostle.

In the account of the martyrdom of Peter, Peter is portrayed as preaching (*Acts of Peter 30*) and healing (*31*). He also did magical works such as causing a magician who is flying in the air to fall to the ground breaking his leg in three places. (*32*) While in Rome, Peter met four of the concubines of the prefect Agrippa. Peter preached a doctrine of purity which caused the concubines to have no more relations with Agrippa. Other women heard the message of purity and decided not to sleep with their husbands (*34*). The husbands became angry with Peter

---


and threatened his life (35). Peter decided to leave Rome (35). While leaving Rome Peter saw the Lord entering Rome to be crucified again (35).

After this experience Peter returned to Rome (36) and requested to be crucified head downward because of the descent of Jesus into the world (37-38). Peter was granted this request. While hanging on the cross, he uttered his final prayer (39).

In the first section of the prayer of Peter, a three-fold expression of thanksgiving was uttered. Peter thanked God, not with a physical thanks that was audible, but with a voice which was known in silence. That silent voice was the Holy Spirit which dwelled in Peter and made intercession for him. Peter confessed in the prayer that God could be known only by the Spirit. After the invocation of the Holy Spirit and the expression of thanksgiving, Peter concluded with these words:

We ask then, for that which thou hast promised to give us, O Jesus undefiled; we praise thee, we give thanks to thee and confess thee, and being yet men without strength we glorify thee; for thou art God alone and no other, to whom be glory both now and for all eternity. Amen.\(^\text{24}\)

After this prayer, he gave up his spirit.

Prayer of Andrew

The seventh prayer is also from the collection of The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in The Acts of Andrew. The Acts of Andrew could date from the middle of the second century or from the middle of the third century. It is possible that this work originated in Greece by an unknown author who was influenced by Hellenistic philosophy and perhaps by the theology of Tatian.

In the account of the martyrdom of Andrew in The Acts of Andrew, Andrew was in prison. While in prison, Maximilla came to him for advice concerning her marriage relationship with her husband. Andrew advised her to be pure and not to give herself to her husband. Maximilla's husband, Procounsel Aegerates, did not like the advice.


26 James, Apocryphal N.T., p. 337.


28 Hennecke-Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., II, 394-95.

29 Ibid., II, 409-412.
and plotted to kill Andrew.\textsuperscript{31} Andrew was scourged and sentenced to be crucified. Special orders were given not to break his legs.\textsuperscript{32} On the way to the place of execution, Andrew was released from the captivity of the soldiers by a man named Stratocles. Andrew encouraged Stratocles to remain faithful. Andrew continued on to the place of execution even though the soldiers reported back to Aegeates.\textsuperscript{33} The soldiers returned, tied Andrew to a cross, and left him there to suffer.\textsuperscript{34} Andrew remained on the cross for two days. He continued to teach all who would listen.\textsuperscript{35} The hearers were converted and demanded the release of Andrew.\textsuperscript{36} Aegeates came to the place of execution and was about to release him when Andrew prayed:

\begin{quote}
Do not permit, Lord, that Andrew who has been bound to thy cross, should be set free. Do not give me up, who am on thy mystery, to the shameless devil. O Jesus Christ, let not thy adversary loose me who hang on thy grace. Father, let this little one no longer humiliate him who has known thy greatness. Jesus Christ, whom I have seen, whom I have, whom I love, in whom I am and will be, receive me in peace into thy eternal tabernacles, that through my exodus the many who are akin in nature to me may enter to thee and may rest in thy majesty.\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

When Andrew prayed this, he died.

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 414.  
\item\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 417.  
\item\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 418-19.  
\item\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 419-20.  
\item\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 420-21.  
\item\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 421-22.  
\item\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 422.
\end{footnotes}
Prayers of Thomas

There are two prayers recorded in The Acts of Thomas. This phenomena occurs due to the textual variants between the Greek and the Syriac texts. Though The Acts of Thomas probably were written originally in Syriac, a Greek text is also in existence. The Greek text probably is closer to the original writing as the available Syriac manuscripts show many catholicizing revisions.

The prayer in the Greek manuscript which is recorded at about section 167 repeats a hymn which is used earlier in the writing in sections 144 to 148. The prayer in the Syriac manuscript is a shorter prayer, but contains many of the elements of the elements of the hymn used as the prayer in the Greek manuscripts.

38 Ibid., II, 428; Klijn, Thomas, p. 7. James, Apocryphal N.T., p. 364, argues from an original Greek text early translated in Syriac.


The basic content of *The Acts of Thomas* from both the Syriac and the Greek manuscripts is the same. Thomas was sent to India to minister (*Acts of Thomas* 1-3). While in India he advised a young maiden who was about to be married to remain pure and not to engage in sexual intercourse (11-12). The husband of the bride was not upset (15). However, the father of the bride, who was the king, sought to put Thomas to death (16). Thomas escaped.

In the second act, Thomas was employed as a carpenter (*Acts of Thomas* 17). He was asked to build a palace for King Gundaphorus (17). The king sent money to Thomas who, in turn, gave it to the poor and did acts of charity (18-19). When the king discovered what Thomas had done with his money he placed Thomas in prison (21). The king's brother, Gad, died and was transported to heaven (22). Gad saw the palace of the king in heaven and reported it to Gundaphorus (23). The king was grateful to Thomas and released him (24).

In all there are thirteen "acts" of Thomas recorded prior to the section on the martyrdom. In these acts Thomas caused the death of a demonic serpent (Acts of Thomas 20-38); he conversed with talking asses (39-41, 68-81); he cast out demons who molested women (42-50, 62-67); he healed a young man who partook of the eucharist while in a sinful condition (51-52); he raised young women from the dead (53-61, 75-81); he baptized (119-21, 132, 157); and he preached that all sexual intercourse should be avoided (12, 28, 31, 43, 51, 79, 84, 88, 126). Husbands did not like this advice (90-106, 115, 138). Therefore, Thomas was imprisoned (107, 138, 141) and tortured (140).

After Thomas was in prison for a while the prison guards became fearful of him and asked the king to release him (162). Misdæus, the king, summoned Thomas (163). Misdæus was impressed with Thomas, but plotted to put him to death because he feared the people (164). The soldiers led Thomas, but some of the bystanders attempted to free him (165). The soldiers persisted and came to the place where Thomas was to be killed (165). Thomas addressed the crowd to believe in Jesus and then prayed:

My Lord and my God, and hope and redeemer and leader and guide in all the lands, be thou with all who serve thee, and lead me today, since I come to thee! Let none take my soul, which I have committed unto thee. Let not the tax-collectors see me, and let not the exactors lay false charge against me. Let not the serpent see me, and let not the children of the dragon hiss me. Behold,
Lord, I have fulfilled thy work and accomplished thy command. I have become a slave; therefore today do I receive freedom. Do thou now give it to me (completely)! But this I say not as one doubting, but that they may hear who ought to hear (167).43

After this prayer four soldiers smote him and he died.

The Greek manuscripts of The Acts of Thomas repeat the prayer from sections 144 to 148, while the Syrian manuscripts use the prayer from section 167. Section 144 to 148 begins with the Lord's prayer. Following is an address to God who had provided life from childhood and who had showed Thomas that he was God's property. Thomas prayed, "Be thou with me unto the end." Then follows a lengthy section in which Thomas showed he had been a faithful disciple. He had been free from women; he praised God for God's revelation; he helped the poor and needy, the stranger and slave, the despised, the prisoner, the hungry and thirsty, the naked and weary. Thomas prayed that his trust in God be completed, that his labors be not in vain, and that the devil not snatch him away (145). Thomas returned to his faithful deeds. He spoke of how he had faithfully fulfilled Jesus commands; how he had been a faithful watchman; how he had worked in the field of harvest; how he had traded his "mina" for gain; how he made no excuse in service; and how he had raised the dead (146-47).

43 This follows the Syrian manuscripts and is cited by Hennecke-Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., II, 529-30.
In the final section of the prayer Thomas asked that the powers and dominions not perceive and capture him, and that false witnesses not speak against him in his ascension. He asked that Jesus accompany him for the evil powers feared Jesus. He concluded with:

Grant me now, Lord, that in quietness I may pass by, and in joy and peace cross over and stand before the judge. And let not the devil look upon me; let his eyes be blinded by thy light which thou has made to dwell in me. Stop up his mouth, for he has nothing against me (148). \(^{44}\)

Prayer of Philip

The tenth prayer is from another of the Apocryphal Acts, The Acts of Philip. The Acts of Philip follows the form and style of The Acts of Thomas. \(^{45}\) As with The Acts of Thomas, both Greek and Syriac manuscripts of The Acts of Philip have been preserved. \(^{46}\) The Acts of Philip could have been written during the end of the fourth century, but was more likely to have been written in the fifth century. \(^{47}\)

There are fifteen major sections in The Acts of Philip prior to the section on the martyrdom. Philip raised the dead to life (1-4, 80-85);
he healed (22, 25, 37, 40-43); he calmed the sea (30-34); he spoke to animals (96); he slew serpents (106); he pronounced magic curses (17,

\(^{44}\) Ibid., II, 521. \(^{45}\) James, Apocryphal N.T., p. 439.

\(^{46}\) Ibid. \(^{47}\) Hennecke-Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., II, 577.
23, 28); he baptized (5, 29, 36, 63, 86); and he taught that wives should separate from their husbands (45, 56). He was regarded as a philosopher (6-12) and was taken to trial before the High Priest (13-19).

Philip's final arrest was due to the fact that he convinced the wife of the Procounsell to lead a chaste and sober life apart from her husband (114-20). Philip was scourged (121) and hanged upside down (125). Philip cursed his tormentors and seven thousand men were swallowed up by the earth (133). Jesus rebuked Philip for his action and told Philip he would be martyred (135-37). Philip's friends attempted to take Philip from his cross, but Philip would not allow them (140). Philip asked to be buried in papyrus rather than linen since Jesus had been buried in linen (143).

And he prayed the Lord to receive him and protect him against all enemies. 'Let not their dark air cover me, that I may pass the waters of fire and all the abyss. Clothe me in thy glorious robe and thy seal of light that ever shineth, until I have passed by all the rulers of the world and the evil dragon that opposeth us' (144). 48

Having said this, he died (145).

Prayers of St. Carpus and St. Agathonice

The final two prayers to be discussed are ascribed to St. Carpus and St. Agathonice who were reported to have been martyred either in the

48 James, Apocryphal N.T., p. 450.
persecution of A.D. 170 or in the persecution of A.D. 250. Carpus
is reported to have been the bishop at Gurdos in Lydia, Asia Minor,
while little is known of Agathonice.

In these martyrdom accounts Carpus and Agathonice were ordered
by the emperor to sacrifice to the gods; both refused. Carpus was
tortured and fastened to a stake. As the fire began to reach him, he
prayed, "Blessed art thou, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, for having
allowed me, a sinner to have this part with thee." After he had said
this, he died.

Agathonice was stripped before she was fastened to the stake.
The crowd shouted that her condemnation was unjust. Nevertheless,
the fire was ignited. Agathonice prayed three times, "Help me, Lord
Jesus Christ, for I must bear this for you." After this prayer, she
died.

---

49 Donald Attwater, *Martyrs, from St. Stephen to John Tung*
(1958), p. 12. The text for the martyrdom is recorded in *Analecta
Bollandiana* (1940), lvi, 142-76.


Summary

It should be noted that each prayer was prayed immediately prior to death. In other words, the final act of the one being put to death was an act of prayer. In spite of his supposed physical condition he was able to pray.

Thus, there are five characteristics common to each of the above twelve prayers: (1) the prayer was prayed by one who was being put to death by an external force; (2) the reasons for the death were regarded as being religious on the part of the one being put to death; (3) the final words were addressed to God in the form of a prayer; (4) the final words were preserved in some fashion; and (5) the final words occurred just before death. No additional teaching, conversation, or action is described.

II. MOTIFS IN PRAYERS OF THOSE BEING PUT TO DEATH FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS

It is possible to extract certain motifs from the prayers discussed above in Section I. Seven motifs or petitions will be considered more fully in this section. These seven motifs appear to include the major items in the prayers. The seven motifs appear from the context of the prayers rather than from any formally established criteria. They are:
(1) the petition to receive the spirit of the martyr; (2) the petition for protection from the demonic powers during the ascent of the soul; (3) the petition explaining the faithful acts of the martyr; (4) the petition of thanksgiving by the martyr; (5) the petition that the martyr may suffer martyrdom; (6) the petition that the martyr's death may be beneficial to others; and (7) the petition that the persecutors be forgiven.

_Receive My Spirit_

The motif which occurs in the majority of the prayers is the petition of the one being put to death that his spirit be received by the Deity. Of the twelve prayers considered in the previous section, seven include some form of this petition. The five prayers which omit this petition are the prayer of James in Eusebius' account of Hegesippus, the prayer of Peter recorded in _The Acts of Peter_, the prayer of Thomas recorded in the Greek text of _The Acts of Thomas_, the prayer of St. Carpus, and the prayer of St. Agathonice.

The fact that the petition is missing from Eusebius' account of Hegesippus could suggest that no formal prayer which included this petition was known at that time. The fact that the petition is omitted from the Greek text of _The Acts of Thomas_, but is included in the Syriac text, might suggest that a formal petition of this type was in the process of development. The author of the Syriac manuscript may have made the
observation that a petition such as "Receive my Spirit" was missing from the prayer as preserved in the Greek manuscripts, but was present in other prayers which were prayed prior to death. Such a prayer could have been constructed for the Syriac manuscript in order to rectify the omission, and hence make the martyrdom of Thomas conform in style with existing martyrdom stories of the day.

Those prayers which include the petition "receive my spirit" convey the basic message in several different ways:

1. Eleazar prayed "... take my soul." 53
2. Jesus prayed, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit." 54
4. Polycarp prayed, "... may I, today, be received among them [saints] before thee." 56
5. Andrew prayed, "Receive me in peace into thy eternal tabernacles." 57
6. Thomas prayed, "... lead me today, since I come to thee ... therefore today do I receive freedom. Do thou now give it to me <completely>." 58
7. Philip prayed that the Lord would receive him. 59

59 Acts of Philip 144; James, Apocryphal N.T., p. 450.
Protect Me from all Enemies

The second motif, "protect me from all enemies," is closely allied with the first petition. The first motif was a basic plea that God would take the soul to be with him or that God would receive the soul. The second motif asks God to protect the soul so that it could make a safe journey through the dangers it may encounter. This motif occurs in three of the prayers, all from The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. 60

The first prayer which contains a petition for protection is the prayer of Thomas in the Greek manuscript of The Acts of Thomas:

Let not the powers and dominions perceive, and let them form no plan concerning me. Let not the tax-gatherers and the exactors busy themselves with me. Let not the base and wicked mock at me. And when I am borne upward, let them not venture to stand before me.... Grant me now, Lord, that in quietness I may pass by, and in joy and peace cross over and stand before the judge. And let not the devil look upon me; let his eyes be blinded by thy light which thou hast made to dwell in me. Stop up his mouth for he has nothing against me. 61

The martyr prayer of Thomas in the Syriac manuscript of The Acts of Thomas is the second prayer which contains a petition for protection:

60 As noted above, p. 106, these Acts were used by Gnostic groups, and thus reflect Gnostic eschatology. The ascent of the soul through evil powers is a part of this eschatology. See Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion (1958), pp. 44-46; R. McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem (1958), pp. 215-17.

Let none take my soul, which I have committed unto thee. Let not the tax-collectors see me, and let not the exactors lay false charge against me. Let not the serpent see me, and let not the children of the dragon hiss me. 62

The fact that these two prayers use identical terms ("tax-collectors" and "exactors") and parallel terms ("devil," "serpent," and "children of the dragon") may be further evidence that the author of the Syriac manuscript used the Greek prayer as a model.

The third prayer in which a petition for protection occurs is the prayer of Philip. "And he prayed the Lord to . . . protect him against all enemies." He concluded with the words, ",... until I have passed by all the rulers of the world and the evil dragon that opposeth us." 63

I Have Fulfilled Thy Work

In order to complete the discussion of the two prayers in The Acts of Thomas, a motif which is unique to the prayers of Thomas will be considered. This motif expresses the concept that the one who prayed had been a faithful disciple of God and awaited the award of the faithful.

In the prayer of Thomas in the Greek manuscript, Thomas showed how he had been faithful to fourteen of Jesus' commands recorded in the


63 Acts of Philip 144; James, Apocryphal N.T., p. 450.
Gospels and in Ephesians. Moreover, Thomas spoke of his healings and his raising of the dead "that I may receive the crown of victory and the power of Christ be perfected in me."  

The martyr prayer of Thomas in the Syriac manuscript contains a statement that could serve as a summation of the prayer in the Greek manuscript:

Behold, Lord, I have fulfilled thy work and accomplished thy command. I have become a slave; therefore today do I receive freedom. Do thou now give it to me <completely>.  

Thus, it may be observed that one motif is unique to the prayers in The Acts of Thomas ("I have fulfilled thy work"), while another motif ("Protect me from all my enemies") is shared with The Acts of Philip. The statement similar to "receive my spirit" is clearer in the Syriac prayer of Thomas than in the Greek prayer. The Syriac prayer is shorter but it contains all of the basic elements which the Greek prayer contains.

---


67 It has been observed that The Acts of Philip were modeled upon The Acts of Thomas; see above, p. 115.
It appears possible that the prayer in the Syriac manuscript is a summation of the longer prayer of the Greek manuscripts. The editor of the Syriac version could have attempted to make the prayer a more complete martyr prayer, rather than a more general type of hymn or psalm.

Thanks Be to God

Three prayers include a petition of thanksgiving. It should be noted that a petition of thanksgiving would not be unique to a prayer which a dying man would pray, but would be a type of petition which nearly all formal prayers would include. In the first example, Polycarp prayed:

I bless thee, that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit . . . . For this reason also I praise thee for all things, I bless thee, I glorify thee. . . .

In the second prayer Peter began with an expression of thanksgiving which became an invocation for the Holy Spirit to plead for Peter. Peter concluded his prayer, as did Polycarp, with a note of praise:

. . . we praise thee, we give thanks to thee and confess thee, and yet being men without strength we glorify thee; for thou art God alone and no other, to whom be glory both now and for all eternity.\(^\text{69}\)

\(^{68}\) Martyrdom of Polycarp 14.2-3.

In the third prayer St. Carpus said, "Blessed art thou, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, for having allowed me, a sinner to have this part with thee." 70

Do Not Let Them Free Me

Closely related to a petition of thanksgiving is the petition that the martyr be allowed to be martyred. Two prayers include this motif. One appears almost as a fearful cry that the martyr possibly may not be martyred. Andrew prayed when he was about to be cut down from his cross, "Do not permit, Lord, that Andrew who has been bound to thy cross should be set free. Do not give me up . . . ." 71

The second prayer appears more as a plea for strength for the ordeal. St. Agathonice prayed three times, "Help me, Lord Jesus Christ, for I must bear this for you." 72

May My Death Help Others

Two of the martyrs prayed that their death might be beneficial for others or that others might share in their fate of a blessed reward with God. 73 Eleazar prayed, "Be merciful unto thy people, and let our

70Attwater, Martyrs, p. 14.
73Cf. Luke 23.43, "Today you will be with me in paradise."
punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls."74 Andrew prayed, "... that through my exodus the many who are akin (in nature) to me may enter to thee and may rest in thy majesty."75

Father, Forgive Them

The motif of forgiveness for those who are executing the martyrs is found in two, possibly three, prayers. Stephen prayed, "Lord, do not hold this sin against them."76 James prayed, "I beseech thee, O Lord, God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."77 The third possibility is the prayer of Jesus in Luke 23.34, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." These words were not recorded as Jesus' last words, and hence, would not be considered to be his final prayer under the criteria previously established.

Summary

The basic concepts of the twelve prayers can be placed under the above seven motifs. The motif which was most consistent was "receive my spirit." Apart from this motif, the content of the prayers

74 IV Macc. 6.28-29.
75 Acts of Andrew, N.T. Apoc., II, 422.
76 Acts 7.60. 77 Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.16.
is variable; no single motif is found in all of the prayers, nor does any one prayer contain all seven motifs. This would suggest that though a formal type of martyr prayer may have been developing, there is no clear-cut pattern to be discerned in the above prayers which would have been in existence prior to the writing of the II Apocalypse of James. It is not evident from the existing material of this time that if a prayer were to be considered to be a martyr prayer that it must contain certain petitions.

III. THE PRAYER IN THE II APOCALYPSE OF JAMES 62.12 - 63.29

In this section the five characteristics which were common to the twelve prayers will be applied to the words of James in the II Apocalypse of James 62.12-63.29. The five characteristics were: (1) the prayer was prayed by one who was being put to death by an external force; (2) the reasons for the death were regarded as religious on the part of the martyred one; (3) the final words were addressed to God in the form of a prayer; (4) the final words were preserved in some manner; and (5) the final words occurred immediately prior to the death of the martyr with no additional teaching, conversation, or action described.

Context of the Prayer

The II Apocalypse of James 45.9-26 speaks of an aroused crowd which was angry with James. James spoke to the crowd from an elevated
level which showed that he was honored by the people. He used words which he had spoken many times before. Such a scene is reminiscent of the scene in *Ecc. History* II.22.10-11 and *Clementine Recognitions* Book 1, chapter 66, where James was asked to speak to many people from an elevated height.

It is the teaching of James which comprises the majority of the material in the II Apocallypse of James. CG V 46.6-8 introduces some of James' teaching with the words that James had received a revelation from the one who is complete (\( \Pi \Pi \Lambda \Pi \sigma \mu \rho \omega \Pi \mu \delta \) ) and imperishable (\( \Delta \Phi \Delta \rho \Pi \epsilon \chi \lambda \) ). Because of the revelation from this one, James was rich in Gnosis (\( \Gamma \Pi \mu \omega [\epsilon] \) ) (47.7-8). He spoke of himself as being the first who was begotten (\( \Delta \Pi \rho \sigma \Pi \mu \lambda \omega \gamma \) ) (49.5-6), as the beloved (\( \Delta \Pi \rho \sigma \Pi \mu \lambda \omega \gamma \mu \rho \eta \) ) (49.8), as the righteous one (\( \Delta \Pi \rho \sigma \Pi \mu \lambda \omega \gamma \mu \rho \eta \) ) (49.9), and as the son of the father (\( \Delta \Pi \rho \sigma \Pi \mu \lambda \omega \gamma \mu \rho \eta \) ) (49.10-11).

In CG V 50.5-23 a revelation scene with Jesus, James, and Mary is described. Jesus greeted James by calling him "brother" (\( \chi \Delta [\epsilon] \Pi \lambda \epsilon \) ) (50.11-12). James was surprised at being called brother, but Mary explained that she was their common mother in that both had been nourished by the same mother. James and Jesus were step-brothers (lit: milk brothers) (\( \Pi \epsilon \lambda \omega \eta \) ) (50.23).
James reported the words of Jesus which he had heard in the revelation scene. This became a call to James to listen and to understand (ωτημ αυτο ειμη). James learned how God was his father (51.19-22) and how he would receive an inheritance from the father (52.11-13). James was told that the message was to be entrusted to him (52.13-18). James learned of the plans of the lesser powers who did injustices (53.1-21). The true Father was more powerful; the lesser powers deluded themselves. A small child would be a source of revelation (55.2-3), as would James and the Spirit of Power (55.4-6). If James received and used the revelation, others would be able to open the good door (ειμην μηπο ετνανοι) (55.6-7), to enter, and to receive the reward which was theirs (55.10-14). James would show them the way. In doing this, James would be admired above all powers and the heavens would praise James and his work (55.23-25). James received a kiss and an embrace as he received the revelation which even the heavenly powers had not received (56.14-24). When James properly put forth his hand and embraced Jesus, he received the revelation (57.4-19).

James reported the content of this scene to those who were judging him. He contrasted the activity of the judges (57.20-58.1) who were impatient, empty, and had no knowledge, with the activity of Jesus (58.2-26). Jesus was unseen by the powers because he was present in
the creation process (58.2-6). He was life (58.6-7), light (58.7-8),
the one who perfected all creatures (58.8-13), the Holy Spirit (58.14),
the invisible one who descended upon the earth (58.15-17). His will
was accomplished (58.18-20). James saw Jesus at a time when Jesus
had divested himself of his power (58.20-22).

James turned his attention to the religious leaders and to the
temple. He exhorted the leaders to repent and to receive the freedom
which came from the Holy Spirit and which gave power (59.1-6). God
would be merciful and would not judge harshly; he was not an angry God,
but a good father (59.6-11). The limitations of the leaders were
mentioned in that they judged themselves and remained in captivity.
Unless they repented, they would die and have no reward (59.12-17).
Furthermore, James exhorted them to search after silence and to be aware
that it was God himself who came to the temple (59.17-21). James
reported again that he himself was the righteous one (ΠΙΔΙΚΔΙΟΣ)
who did not condemn. James was not the Lord, but the Lord's helper
(59.21-24).

Following the above words of James, a hymn to the works of
Jesus is recorded (59.24-60.24). Though this part of the manuscript
is fragmentary, it is possible to determine that criticism against the
temple and what goes on in the temple is involved. Reference is made
to the trumpet, the reed flutes, and the stringed instruments of the
house (i.e., temple) (60.1-5). It is mentioned that the ears of the
priests were closed so that they did not heed the words of James or
Jesus.\textsuperscript{78} The hearts of the priests were hardened (60.5-13). Though
the temple had been given to the people by God, it could be pulled
down to the destruction and mockery of the ignorant ones (i.e., religious
leaders) (60.13-22).

Following these words, the martyrdom of James is reported. The
people and the crowd were stirred up and were not in agreement (61.1-5).
There was a lengthy debate on the part of the religious leaders which
culminated in the decision to stone James (61.5-15). James was cast
from the temple (61.15-26) and then stoned (62.1-12). CG V 62.5-8
indicates that James was stoned because he was "leading the people
astray." Hence, the death of James was related with religious reasons.

CG V 62.12-15 which reads, "He stretched forth his hand and
spoke this prayer which he was accustomed to speak," suggests that
the final prayer of James was not expressly composed as a martyr prayer.
It could have been an older piece of tradition which had been inserted
at this point.\textsuperscript{79} The prayer reads as follows:

\textsuperscript{78}It is difficult to tell whether James or Jesus is being referred to.

\textsuperscript{79}Alexander Böhlig, "Zum Martyrium des Jacobus," Novum Testamentum, V (1962), 211; Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labid, Koptisch-
Gnostische Apocalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi (1963), p. 64.
62.16 My God and my Father,
17 who has saved me from
18 this dead hope (έλπίς)
19 who has made me alive by
20 a mystery (μυστήριον) of his will,
21 you caused to be prolonged for me
22 the days of this world (κόσμος),
23 but the day of your
24 lig[ht let it not] forsake [me]
25 . . . . . . .
63.1 help (βοήθεια). Release me from your
2 dwelling [place]. Let not your
3 grace forsake me, but (ἀλλά)
4 may your grace be pure.
5 Save me from a
6 putrid death! Bring me forth living
7 from the grave: For your
8 grace, eros (ἐρως) is alive in me
9 to work a work of
10 a fullness (πλήρωμα). Save me from
11 a sinful flesh (σάρξ)! For I
12 trusted in you with all my power.
13 For you are the Life of life. Save me
14 from the humiliating
15 enemy! You have given me into the hands
16 of a rigorous judge
17 through sin. Forgive me
18 all these debts of mine of all the
19 days! For I am alive
20 in you; your grace is alive
21 in me. I have denied (ἀφεθήσας)
22 all, but you I have revealed.
23 Save me from a putrid
24 affliction (σκέψις): Now then (δὲ) is the time
25 and the hour. Send
26 the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα): [. . . .
27 a salvation [. . . .
28 the light [. . . .
29 in power [. . . . 80

CG V 63.30 concludes with the words, "When he had said this, he died."

Summary

The prayer of James in the II Apocalypse of James contains the five characteristics common to the twelve prayers discussed in Section I. (1) The prayer was prayed by one who was being put to death by an external force (CG V 61.2-62.12). (2) The reason for James' death was regarded as religious (62.5-8). (3) James' final words were addressed to God in the form of a prayer (62.16). (4) James' last words were preserved (62.16-63.29). (5) James' final words occurred immediately prior to his death (63.30).

IV. SOURCE AND MEANING OF THE MATERIAL IN THE II APOCALYPSE OF JAMES 62.12 - 63.29

In the previous section it was observed that the material of CG V 62.17-63.29 was a prayer; that it was one which James "was accustomed to speak;" and that it could have been an older piece of tradition inserted at this point. Could the material have come from a formal setting? Since the occasion of this prayer was the death of James, could the material originally have been associated with death, with funeral rites, or with a concept of the return of the soul to the
Father? If either of these suppositions are correct, that the prayer is from a more formal collection or that it is associated with death, then there should be other sources which provide parallel terms and parallel thoughts. The purpose of this section will be to compare key terms and thoughts in the II Apocalypse of James with parallel terms and thoughts as they are recorded in Manichaean\(^{81}\) and Mandaean\(^{82}\) literature in order to determine the source of the material recorded in the II Apocalypse of James and to shed light on the meaning of the material in the II Apocalypse of James. Furthermore, the II Apocalypse of James will be examined in light of the motifs discussed in Section II of this chapter.

II Apocalypse of James and Parallels in Mandaean and Manichaean Literature

The Manichaean Psalm-Book contains two sections which are important for this discussion, the Psalms to Jesus\(^{83}\) and the Psalms of

---


\(^{82}\) E.S. Drower (ed. and trans.), *The Canonical Frayerbook of the Mandaean* (1959).

\(^{83}\) The Psalms to Jesus constitute pp. 49-97 of Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*. 
Thomas. It is the "Psalms to Jesus, to whom the soul appeals for protection in the hour of persecution and death." Of the Psalms of Thomas, Säve-Söderberg says, "Several of the Psalms of Thomas, as well as for example, the Psalms to Jesus, were in all probability used at a cultic ceremony corresponding to the Mandaean deathmass."

The section of the *Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* which will be helpful is the Masiqta. The Masiqta is a "commemorative sacrament for the benefit of the dead . . . . The word means 'raising up' or 'resurrection.'"

By using these three sources (the Manichaean Psalms to Jesus and Psalms of Thomas and the Mandaean Masiqta) an attempt will be

---


87 The Masiqta constitute Psalms 32 to 72 in Drower, *Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*.

made to compare key thoughts and terms in the II Apocalypse of James
and parallel terms and thoughts as they are represented in the Mandaean
and Manichaean liturgical forms which deal with death or with the ascent
of the soul at death.

CG V 62.16-24 and parallels. CG V 62.16-24 reads:

62.16  My God and my Father,
17  who has saved me from
18  this dead hope (ελπίς)
19  who has made me alive by
20  a mystery of his will,
21  you caused to be prolonged for me
22  the days of this world (μόσμος)
23  but the days of your
24  lighten [let it not] forsake [me]

CG V 62.16-24 contains an address to God (16) together with two
statements which speak of the activity of God (17-18 and 19-20). CG V
62.21-24 speaks of the activity of God, but it is more concerned with
a contrast between the days of life in this world and life in the light
world with God. 89

Hope. 90  The first term to be discussed is "hope."

CG V 62.18 speaks of a "dead hope." The references to hope in the
Psalms to Jesus section of the Manichaean Psalm-Book speak of hope

89 Böhlig, "Zum Martyrium," p. 212; Böhlig, Koptisch-Gnostische
Apocalypsen, p. 65.

90 The Coptic ΕΛΠΙΣ is from the Greek loan word ελπίς.
in a positive sense. For example, Psalms to Jesus 51.17-18 speaks of God's hope (ελπίς) and how the Psalmist made himself strong by that hope.91 The LXX of Isaiah makes reference to ελπίς ονηρά.92 The negative concept of ελπίς, which is evidenced in CG V 62.18 and the LXX of Isaiah, is not found in the Psalms to Jesus, the Psalms of Thomas, or the Masoret Psalms. The fact that the term is in the LXX of Isaiah demonstrates that the notion was in Jewish literature. The use of "dead hope" in the II Apocalypse of James suggests a contrast between that from which one is saved and the glories of his new life.

World.93 CG V 62.21-22, "You caused the days of this world (κόσμος) to be prolonged for me," would also have negative overtones. In the Manichaean literature the κόσμος is described as profitless (Ps. Jesus 71.17), evil (Ps. Jesus 85.26-27), and the enemy of the soul (Ps. Jesus 75.22-23). The κόσμος is the place where the σώμα resides (Ps. Jesus 75.16-17), but the place from which the soul desires to depart (Ps. Thomas 223.23). There is no real life in the κόσμος; the κόσμος hates the Gnostic and the Gnostic hates the κόσμος.

91Ps. Jesus 52.22 speaks of hanging on the hope (ελπίς) of Jesus, the new God. Ps. Jesus 85.25-26 speaks of the knowledge of the hope (ελπίς) which called the psalmist to God. See also Ps. Jesus 83.18; 88.23.
92Is. 28.19; 30.32; 47.10.
93The Coptic KOCMOC is from the Greek loan word κόσμος.
(Ps. Thomas 223.23). The Gnostic desired to leave the evil \( \kappa\sigma\mu\omega\s\) (Ps. Jesus 85.26-27).

In addition, \( \kappa\sigma\mu\omega\s \) is contrasted with light, both in CG V 62.21-24 and in the Manichaean literature. Psalms to Jesus 69.17-19 says, "The ... \( \kappa\sigma\mu\omega\s \) I have put behind me, I greet you, O Gods, O angels of glory, that dwell in the land of light." The term "land of light" occurs nine times;\(^{94}\) "place of light" occurs seven times;\(^{95}\) "city of Light" occurs two times.\(^{96}\) Other terms used include "gates of light,"\(^{97}\) "new aeon of light,"\(^{98}\) and "robe of light."\(^{99}\) Furthermore, Jesus is called "Light" or "Light of the faithful."\(^{100}\) The desire of the Gnostic is to dwell in "the land of light,"\(^{101}\) not in the \( \kappa\sigma\mu\omega\s \).

Forsake me not. The concept of not being forsaken is common in the Manichaean literature. It occurs at least twenty times in

\(^{94}\) Ps. Jesus 69.17-19; 85.17-18; 95.28-29; Ps. Thomas 213.11-13, 19; 219.18-19; 221.10; 225.15-16; 226.13-14.

\(^{95}\) Mandaean Psalms 33-34, 45, 54, 66, 68, 71.

\(^{96}\) Ps. Jesus 70.20-23; 85.12.  


\(^{98}\) Ps. Jesus 54.5-6.  

\(^{99}\) Ps. Jesus 50.25.

\(^{100}\) Ps. Jesus 61.12-13; 62.6; 66.15, 19-20; 87.16-19.

\(^{101}\) Ps. Jesus 69.17-19; 70.20-23; 81.23-24; 85.17-18; 95.28-29.
the literature under consideration. The petition is usually addressed to Jesus. The Psalmist asks not to be forsaken in the midst of the wild beasts, in the desert of this ἔρημος, in tribulation. In the II Apocalypse of James, the specific instances include not being forsaken in the day of light, and not being forsaken by God's grace.

Summary of CG V 62.16-24. The first portion of the prayer (62.16-24) contains an address to God (16) plus four statements. Two of the statements contain a negative concept (17-18 and 21-22) and two contain a positive concept (19-20 and 23-24). The negative statements speak of death and the place of death; the positive statements speak of life and the place of life. Unfortunately, the manuscript becomes fragmentary at this point.

CG V 63.1-4 and parallels. The second portion of the II Apocalypse of James to be discussed begins with page sixty-three of the manuscript. CG V 63.1-4 reads:

---

102 Ps. Jesus 51.4, 7; 61.12-13, 19; 62.19-20; 66.20-21; 87.16-19, 21, 23, 24-25, 28-29, 31-32; 91.20-21, 24, 27; 92.7, 13.
103 Ps. Jesus 66.20-21.
104 Ps. Jesus 87.16-19.
105 Ps. Jesus 91.20-21.
107 CG V 63.2-3.
63.1 help (βοηθείν). Release me from your
2 dwelling [place]: Let not your
3 grace forsake me, but
4 may your grace be pure.

Help or deliver me. One word, [βοηθοί] from the Greek
loan word βοηθείν, concludes a statement which began on the previous
page. It is impossible to know the context of the term, but it would be
related with help or deliverance. βοηθείν is used three times in the
Manichaean literature, all beseeching Jesus to come and help one in
distress. 108

Release me. βοηθείν is related with the next phrase
in the Apocalypse, "Release me from your dwelling [place]" (63.1-2).
In light of the statements in 62.17-24, this statement appears inconsis-
tent as it stands. One would expect the petition to read, "Release me
from my dwelling place," or "Release me from this dwelling place."
The Coptic text reads, "ΒΟΛΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΑΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΚ[ΜΑ ΝΟΟ]ΕΙΛΕ"
"Release me from my dwelling place" would cause a change from ΜΠΕΚΜΑ
to ΜΠΙΜΑ, while "Release me from this dwelling place" would cause
a change from ΜΠΕΚΜΑ to ΜΠΙΔΙΜΑ. Neither textual change
could be easily explained. The dwelling place of the one praying
this section would be the κόσμος which was noted to be evil and bad.

108 Ps. Jesus 57.25; 75.22-23; 96.9.
It was the desire of the Gnostic to leave this place and go to the dwelling place of the gods which would have been the light kingdom—the place from which the Gnostic originated.

In the Manichaean literature, the parallels support the notion of a release from the κόσμος. The Psalms of Thomas claim: "Therefore release me from these things (of the κόσμος) and from others" (227.7). The Psalms to Jesus contain the petition, "Lo the time has drawn near, may I return to my habitations" (the place from which the Gnostic came, that is, the light kingdom) (59.27-28).

It would be possible to retain the reading, "Release me from your dwelling place," if dwelling place became the place from which God would act to effect the release. The petitioner might be saying, "From the place in which you dwell bring about my release."

There is the possibility that the reference to the dwelling place is neither to the dwelling place of the gods nor to the κόσμος, but to the σάρξ. The implication of the reference would then be that the one who prays desires to be released from his flesh which God had fashioned to contain the soul. Μητεκμαίνοντε ουκ οικεῖα would be understood as the place which God fashioned for the soul, rather than the place in which God dwells.

The Mandaean Psalms speak of a deliverer who will release the spirit and soul from the body (49) so that the soul may ascend to dwell
in the place of light (67). The redeemer loosed the captives from their
sins and trespasses so that release from the body was made possible (48).
The one who was praying may have been pleading, "Release my soul from
your dwelling place which you fashioned, i.e., my flesh." If this is a
correct understanding of the phrase, the notion of receiving the soul of
the martyr could be present.

Grace. CG V 63.2-4 is another statement in which the
first half of the statement expresses a thought in negatives, while the
second half of the statement expresses the same thought in positive
terms: "Let not your grace forsake me, but may your grace be pure.
(The term "forsake" which is used again in this statement is a common
term in the literature under consideration.)\textsuperscript{109} The term "grace" is
used on three occasions in the II Apocalypse of James: "pure grace"
should attend the one who prays (63.4); grace is identified with love
(ἐρωτ) (63.8); and grace is that which gives life to the one who prays
(63.19-21).

The parallel literature from the Psalms to Jesus describes an
"unspeakable grace" (63.19-20) which came upon the one who prayed
and mentions the necessity of grace in one's life (49.22). Mandaean
Psalm 60 speaks of the "Great Life" which "dwells in those who love

\textsuperscript{109} See above, pp. 138-39.
him." Those who are filled with this life will dwell in the place of light, the everlasting abode.

**Summary of CG V 63.1-4.** The second portion of the prayer which is under discussion concerns a plea for help or deliverance (63.1). The one who prayed asked to be released from the dwelling place of the κόσμος or from his flesh (σῶμα) or that God would effect his release from God's dwelling place (1-2). He beseeched God that His grace would be present in a pure form (2-4), so that the deliverance might be accomplished.

**CG V 63.5-24 and parallels.** The third portion of the prayer in the II Apocalypse of James to be discussed is CG V 63.5-24 which reads:

63.5    Save me from a
6    putrid death! Bring me forth living
7    from the grave! For your
8    grace, eros (ἔρως) is alive in me
9    to work a work of
10    a fullness. Save me from
11    a sinful flesh (σῶμα)! For I
12    trusted in you with all my power.
13    For you are the Life of life. Save me
14    from the humiliating
15    enemy! You have given me into the hands
16    of a rigorous judge
17    through sin. Forgive me
18    all these debts of mine of all the
19    days! For I am alive
20    in you; your grace is alive
21    in me. I have denied
22    all, but you I have revealed.
23    Save me from putrid
24    affliction (ΘΛΩψίς).
Save me. The phrase "save me" is repeated four times in the above account. The phrase is used at least sixteen times in the parallel literature. In the parallel literature, its normal function is a general plea for help and salvation with no specific danger in mind. The one exception to this is Mandaean Psalm 58 which asks for protection from this world of the wicked and from the watch-houses (purgatories).

Save me from death. CG V 63.5-6 says, "Save me from a putrid death." Immediately following this negative statement is a positive statement which says, "Bring me forth living from the grave! For your grace, eros (ἔρως) is alive in me to work a work of fullness" (63.6-10). If the positive statement illuminates the negative statement, then the petition is a request for life based on God's perfecting grace.

Save me from flesh. CG V 63.10-13 says, "Save me from a sinful flesh. For I trusted in you with all my power. For you are the Life of life." The term "flesh" is a derogatory term in the parallel passages, just as it is in the II Apocalypse of James. The flesh binds

---

110 CG V 63.5, 10, 13, 23.

111 Ps. Jesus 59.22-23; 75.11; 76.27; 88.24, 26, 28, 30; 89.5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19; 91.17-18; Mandaean Psalm 58.
the real person and is to be hated; the flesh is a punishment and is related with a burning fire; it is a deadly lure which must be transcended. The one who prayed in the II Apocalypse of James, prayed for deliverance from the "flesh," for to be in the flesh would have been an imprisoning death for him. Again he prayed for life, placing his trust in God who is the Life of life.

Save me from the enemy. CG V 63.13-15 says, "Save me from the humiliating enemy." That which follows includes a petition for the forgiveness of sins and a statement about the reason for the deliverance. CG V 63.15-17 sounds almost like a word of complaint: "You have given me into the hands of a rigorous judge through sin." If the one who prayed remained in his sin, he would be captured by the judge and returned to his life in the flesh.

The Psalms to Jesus speak about such a judge: "There is a judge beyond the body and one will be able to hide from him when he searches out the deeds that each has done and rewards them according to their deserts." What is needed is forgiveness from sin so that the judge

\[112\]Ps. Jesus 64.10-11.  \[113\]Ps. Jesus 85.29.
\[114\]Ps. Jesus 86.31-32.  \[115\]Ps. Jesus 75.25.
\[116\]Ps. Jesus 52.18-19.  \[117\]Ps. Jesus 64.18-19; 70.29-31.
\[118\]Ps. Jesus 40.14-16; see also Ps. Jesus 62.10; 82.7-8.
does not capture the soul. CG V 63.17-19 says, "Forgive me all these debts of mine of all the days!" The Psalms to Jesus and the Mandaean Psalms echo the necessity of forgiveness of sin if salvation is to be achieved. Psalms to Jesus 53.29 states, "For who can be saved without remission of sins?" The Mandaean Psalms stress that whoever dwells in the land of light shall have had his sins removed. Save me from the humiliating enemy is probably another reference to death and living in the μόσος and in the flesh. Forgiveness from God is that which will free.

**Save me from affliction.** CG V 63.19-22 speaks of the reasons for being delivered: "For I am alive in you; your grace is alive in me. I have denied all, but you I have revealed." The one who prayed this prayer relied upon the grace of God, but made the point that he had been faithful.

Again, the Psalms to Jesus demonstrate that the Manichaean literature parallels the literature in the II Apocalypse of James. The two best parallels are Psalms to Jesus 63.28-29, "I have despised the world so as to give life unto my soul; the things of the flesh I have

---

119 See also Ps. Jesus 40.23-25, 27; 58.17; 84.13.

120 Mandaean Psalms 33, 35, 43, 70.
forsaken, the things of the Spirit I have been in accord with them, "121 and Psalms to Jesus 49.17-19, "I have confessed thee indeed because of this hour, I endured the mockery of all men; for I heard that he who shall deny thee--thou dost forget him in his afflictions (ὡλυτίζεις)."122 The use of Psalms to Jesus 40 suggests that this fourth "save me" οἰράσε in the II Apocalypse may be a conclusion or a summary to this section rather than the beginning of a new section. CG V 63.23-24 reads, "Save me from a putrid affliction (ὡλυτίζεις)."

Summary of CG V 63.5-24. The entire section from 63.5-24 appears to be speaking of a deliverance from the life in the κόσμος or flesh which would be death, and deliverance from any force which might cause the soul to be imprisoned in the κόσμος or flesh. Deliverance rests on God's grace and forgiveness though it is made clear that the one who prays has been faithful.

CG V 63.24-29 and parallels. The final portion of the prayer in the II Apocalypse of James is fragmentary. No conclusive decisions can be drawn, but there is sufficient text to indicate that a new section is developing. Sufficient parallel material can be produced to support this contention. The text reads:

121 See also Ps. Jesus 84.27; 87.26; 94.22; Mandaean Psalm 35.
122 See also Ps. Jesus 67.1; Mandaean Psalm 35.
Now then is the time and the hour. Send the Holy Spirit [. . . . .]
a salvation [. . . . .]
the light [. . . . .]
in power [. . . . .]

**Hour of need.** The concept that "now is the time and the hour" has at least twelve parallels in the Manichaean and Mandaean literature. The term "hour of need" is related with death in the Psalms to Jesus: "Now I call unto thee: Saviour, come to me in the hour of need. O my prayers and my fasts, this is the moment of my death: I have need of you."  

The hour of need is also related with forsaking the world and being faithful in Psalms to Jesus 57.23-25: "I have forsaken the world (κόσμος) and its error, I have [loved my] Savior, prayed, fasted, given alms . . . [from] my youth up, because of the hour of need." In this important hour of need, the one who prayed called for the Holy Spirit (CG V 63.25-26). The terms "salvation," "light," and "power" are associated with this section of the prayer.

---

123 CG V 63.24-25.

124 Ps. Jesus 49.6-8, 17; 50.14-17; 51.27-28; 57.23-25; 59.27-28; 65.29; 67.17; 84.9-10; 93.2-3; Mandaean Psalm 35.

125 Ps. Jesus 50.15-17. 126 Cf. CG V 63.21-22.

127 CG V 63.27-29.
Summary of the usage of terms in the II Apocalypse of James and in parallel literature. On the basis of the above material, it can be concluded that the material from the prayer in CG V 62.16-63.29 has numerous parallels in the Manichaean and the Mandaean death literature.

There are also differences such as was seen in the use of ἐλπίς. There is no one Psalm from the Manichaean or the Mandaean literature which parallels the material in the II Apocalypse of James exactly, in terms or in interpretation. However, the suggestion is that there are sufficient parallel terms and interpretations to conclude that the material in CG V 62.16-63.29 came from the same background which produced the material recorded in the Psalms to Jesus, the Psalms of Thomas, and the Masiqta.

It can also be suggested that there is a certain form and style to the prayer in the II Apocalypse of James. W. R. Murdock has constructed the following form:

My God and my Father
Who has saved me from this dead hope,
Who has made me alive by a mystery of his will,
You caused the days of this world to be prolonged for me,
But the day of your light, let it not forsake me.

---

Release me from your dwelling place.
Let not your grace forsake me,
But may your grace be pure!
Save me from a putrid death!
Bring me forth living from the grave!
For your grace, eros, is alive in me to work a work of fullness.
Save me from a sinful flesh!
For I trusted in you with all my power.
For you are the Life of life.
Save me from the humiliating enemy!
You have given me into the hands of a rigorous judge through sin.
Forgive me all these debts of mine of all the days!
For I am alive in you; in me your grace is alive.
I have denied all, but you I have revealed.
Save me from a putrid affliction.
Now then is the time and the hour.
Send the Holy Spirit
[... ] a salvation [... ]
The light [... ] in power [... ]

This style appears to be more in line with the concepts in the prayer than the reconstruction by Böhlig.

---

129 The author prefers Böhlig's interpretation of this phrase to mean the "body." See Böhlig, "Zum Martyrium," p. 211; Böhlig, Koptisch-Gnostisch Apocalypsen, p. 85.

130 See Böhlig, "Zum Martyrium," p. 211; Böhlig, Koptisch-Gnostisch Apocalypsen, pp. 64-65. Böhlig sees the term "save me" (Να ἔχετε) in CG V 63.5, 10, 13, 23, as introducing four different concepts; that one be saved from death, the flesh, the judge, and the fates. The analysis on pp. 144-47, suggests that these terms are more closely allied with salvation from death and are essentially repeating the same thought.
Motifs in II Apocalypse of James 62.16-63.29

That which remains for this section to determine is whether the prayer in CG V 62.16-63.29 contains any of the seven motifs isolated previously in the twelve prayers recorded for martyrs. Because of the fragmentary condition of the manuscript of the II Apocalypse of James, some of the prayer has been lost. In the material of the prayer which has been preserved three motifs appear.

Although there is no specific petition, "Lord, receive my spirit," the petition, "Release me from your dwelling place [that is, the body]" would come close to this petition. The petition for protection from the demonic powers which might capture the ascending soul can be seen in the petition for forgiveness of sin so that the rigorous judge would not get hold of the soul. The petition explaining the faithful acts of the martyr is seen in the words, "I have denied all, but you I have revealed."

There is no evidence in the prayer of a thanksgiving for martyrdom, of a desire to suffer martyrdom, of a desire that the death of the martyr may be beneficial, or of a wish that the persecutors would be forgiven.

---

In comparing the prayer of James in the II Apocalypse of James with the twelve prayers discussed in Section I of this chapter, the prayer in the II Apocalypse of James would be most like the prayer in the Greek manuscript of The Acts of Thomas. Both prayers appear to be taken from material which was used on other occasions rather than being a specific construction for use as a prayer for the one being martyred. In the Greek manuscript of Thomas it was noted how the prayer in section repeated a hymn recorded in sections 144 to 148. 134 The prayer in the II Apocalypse of James was introduced by the words that this was a prayer which James was accustomed to speak (CG V 62.15). In both prayers the motifs of the soul receiving protection through the spheres 135 and of the faithful activity of the martyr are included. 136 Neither the II Apocalypse of James nor the Greek manuscript of Thomas has a specific reference to receiving the spirit of the departed, though CG V 63.1-2 may refer to this. Neither prayer records a thanksgiving for martyrdom, a desire to suffer martyrdom, a desire that the death of the martyr may be beneficial, or a wish that the persecutors would be forgiven.

---

134 See above, p. 111.
136 Acts of Thomas 147; CG V 63.22.
V. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the evidence of this chapter one can conclude the following:

1. There was no apparent pattern to which a martyr prayer was to conform. Therefore, on the basis of form, one could not predict the content of a martyr prayer.

2. Of the seven motifs which were observed in the twelve prayers of those put to death for religious reasons, only two, possibly three, motifs were recorded in the II Apocalypse of James.

3. The parallel literature from the Manichaean and the Mandaean literature suggests that the prayer from the II Apocalypse of James might have come from a similar tradition.

4. The prayer in the II Apocalypse of James appears to have a formal structure.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this investigation have demonstrated that there is a tradition from the Nag Hammadi documents which regards James, the brother of Jesus, as an important figure in the Early Church. The author of the II Apocalypse of James, one of the Nag Hammadi documents, uses the death of James as a setting for his document\(^1\) and concludes his account of the death of James with a formal prayer\(^2\) which may have been regarded as a martyr prayer.

The basic sequence of the death of James as recorded in the II Apocalypse of James combines an account in which James was cast from the temple roof with an account in which James was stoned to death. The author of the II Apocalypse of James used an account similar to that preserved by Hegesippus in Eusebius. Furthermore, the author expanded the stoning death as recorded in Hegesippus so that it nearly coincides with a Jewish stoning tradition preserved in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The author of the II Apocalypse of James also used material similar to that used in Manichaean and Mandaean death literature.

\(^1\)See above, pp. 3, 36-40. \(^2\)See above, p. 131.
The tradition reported in the II Apocalypse of James suggests that there may have been a legitimate claim to power on the part of James, the brother of Jesus, in the Early Church. This claim may have been challenged by the Roman tradition which advocated that Peter was the leader of the Early Church. Perhaps a power struggle may have arisen. It is possible that James was the original successor of Jesus in the Early Church. A community which was later regarded as heretical by the "orthodox" communities could have claimed support for their theology by appealing to James and his teachings. In order to counteract the "heretical" teaching, the "orthodox" group could have set forth their own theology and their own eyewitness to the Jesus events. As they did this, they discovered it was to their advantage to discredit the other pretender, James, as much as they could. Eventually, Roman tradition denied that Jesus had any brothers or sisters. The Roman tradition in the Synoptic Gospels of Matthew and Mark portrays the family of Jesus in a bad light.³ Luke applies a few correctives to the scene.⁴ It is possible that the discussion of the "beloved disciple" in the Gospel of John and the actions of the "beloved" with Peter

³Matt. 12.46-50; Mark 3.21, 31-35.
reflects the same power struggle mentioned above. The evidence preserved by the author of Luke, Hegesippus, Paul, and the author of John, who were probably not Gnostic, plus the evidence of the Gnostic work, the II Apocalypse of James, suggests that James was a prominent figure in Early Church history.

It is possible to see how some of the tradition of the death of James has developed with time. In Josephus' account of the death of James, a direct statement was made that James was handed over to be stoned in A.D. 62 under the direction of Ananus. Hegesippus, who wrote about one hundred years later, included information of the person of James and of the events surrounding his death. Hegesippus stated that James was cast down from the temple roof. The author of the II Apocalypse of James utilized the information of the casting from the temple roof and combined it with the tradition of the stoning of James.

---


6 I Cor. 15.7; Gal. 1.18-19; 2.9.

7 See above, pp. 6-12; see also Josephus Ant. XX.200.

8 See above, pp. 16-26; see also Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.4-18.

9 See above, p. 26; see also Eusebius Ecc. Hist. II.23.16.

10 See above, p. 40.
Moreover, the author of the II Apocalypse of James added a prayer to the account of the death of James. The II Apocalypse of James portrays James as a respected leader and provides detail concerning his life, death and teachings.

Our investigation has shown that the II Apocalypse of James contains a variety of traditions. The references to James, Jesus and Mary demonstrate that it has had Christian influence; the similarity to the Hegesippus account also suggests Christian influence; the detail of the stoning death and its comparison with the stoning procedures in the Mishnah and the Talmud indicate a Jewish influence; the comparison of the prayer with Mandaean and Manichaean literature suggests a specifically Gnostic influence.

Work with the Gnostic documents and with the II Apocalypse of James in particular is only beginning. The historical problem of the Early Church stands to gain by further study. The titles which are

---

11 See above, pp. 40, 127f.
12 See above, pp. 37-38; see also CG V 44.10-13; 50.11-23.
13 See above, pp. 40-41.
14 See above, pp. 71-73; 83-96.
15 See above, pp. 133-149.
ascribed to James, the brother of Jesus, in the Nag Hammadi documents is one area to be examined. By examining each title and comparing it with its Jewish background and Christian usage, it is possible that one might discover many of the titles ascribed to James were Messianic titles which were also ascribed to Jesus. This would add further evidence of how the Gnostic community regarded James.

An examination of the relation of James with the other disciples and of James' role at Jerusalem would shed light on the problem of the rivalry between James and Peter and on the position of James in the Early Church. A new tradition has been discovered and needs to be examined.

The II Apocalypse of James also contains information about the family of Jesus and would add to the discussion which was current in the fourth century in the Roman tradition concerning the perpetual virginity of Mary. This could also add to the theory of a rivalry between the Roman and the Eastern tradition. It is evident that the teachings contained in the II Apocalypse of James need to be examined in light of the known Gnostic teachings with the purpose of comparing correct concepts, changing incorrect concepts, and adding new concepts.

\[16\] See above, p. 38: footnote 71.
The investigation into the death of James in light of the discovery at Nag Hammadi can lead to new insights and can be the springboard to a "live" issue.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. TEXTS AND VERSIONS


B. SECONDARY LITERATURE


Barnard, L.W. "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa During the First Two Centuries A.D.," Vigiliae Christianae, XXII (1968), 161-75.


______._ "Textes gnostiques. Remarques à propos de Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam" Le Museon, LXXVIII (1965), 71-98.


Torrey, Charles C. "James the Just, and his Name 'Oblias,'" Journal of Biblical Literature, LXIII (1944), 93-98.


