

VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH
TEXT SERIES

GENERAL EDITORS

Anthony Faulkes and Alison Finlay

VOLUME XVII

CLEMENS SAGA

THE LIFE OF ST CLEMENT OF ROME

CLEMENS SAGA
THE LIFE OF ST CLEMENT OF ROME

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

HELEN CARRON

VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

2005

© Helen Carron 2005

ISBN: 0 903521 67 9

Printed by Short Run Press Limited, Exeter

CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
I Saints' lives in Iceland	vii
II.1 Material from the <i>Recognitiones</i>	xi
II.2 Material from the Latin <i>Passio</i>	xviii
III Structure and style	xxi
IV Manuscripts	xxiii
V Date of the manuscript	xxiv
VI Normalisation of the text.....	xxv
Bibliography	xxvi
Text and translation	1
Index	54

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This edition originated from the work done for my University of London PhD thesis (1994) under the supervision of Peter Foote. I wish to thank Anthony Faulkes and Peter Foote for their generous advice and help with this edition, and also Alison Finlay for reading through the final version.

H. C. C.

INTRODUCTION

I *Saints' lives in Iceland*

St Clement (fl. c. 96), known as Clement of Rome, was bishop of Rome, generally considered to be third in the line of succession from St Peter after Linus and Cletus. His feast-day is the twenty-third of November. His life, *Clemens saga*, is among the earliest saints' lives translated into Icelandic.

Iceland was converted to Christianity at the beginning of the eleventh century. In this period the first saints' lives, initially in Latin, and some Norwegian translations of Latin texts, would have reached Iceland. To make the lives available to a wider audience than the educated clergy they were translated into the vernacular. This is thought to have taken place in the course of the twelfth century. The earliest surviving Icelandic manuscripts of vernacular saints' lives date from the beginning of the thirteenth century, whereas the earliest extant Norwegian manuscripts date from the end of the twelfth century. For example fragments of three translated saints' lives, *Blasíus saga*, *Mattheus saga* and *Plácidus saga*, are found in AM 655 IX 4to, which is considered to have been written c. 1150–1200 (Ólafur Halldórsson 1994, lxx; *Ordbog* 1989, 459), and thought by some scholars to be the oldest surviving Norwegian manuscript. Some early Norwegian manuscripts of saints' lives may have soon found their way to Iceland.

It is to this genre of literature known as saints' lives (in Icelandic *Heilagra manna sögur*) that *Clemens saga* belongs. Saints' lives are biographies of holy men and women. They were initially written in the language of the Church, Latin, and when the need arose they were subsequently translated into the vernaculars. Translated saints' lives are thought to have been among the earliest sagas written in Iceland. In a well-known passage in *Origins of Icelandic literature* Gabriel Turville-Petre (1953, 142) put forward the view that saints' lives influenced native written literature: 'In a word, the learned literature did not teach the Icelanders what to think or what to say, but it taught them how to say it.' This has been the subject of much debate. In a paper entitled 'Saints' lives and sagas' Peter Foote (1994, 73–88) took Gabriel Turville-Petre's statement as his main theme, considered it and suggested the following revised version: 'The learned literature by no means dictated the Icelanders' choice and treatment of subject matter, of what they said; but it taught them something about how to say it—also, about how not to say it'. It is difficult to substantiate what influence this genre of literature may have had on native saga writing, but it is unlikely that it would have been entirely without influence.

One area in which learned or religious texts like *Clemens saga* may have had some influence on other saga writing is in their depiction of the character of the ‘noble heathen’. For instance parallels can be drawn between the concept of the ‘noble heathen’ as described by Lars Lönnroth (1969, 1–29) and the characters of Faustinianus and his son Clement and other members of his family as portrayed in *Clemens saga*. The ‘noble heathen’ is a pagan hero whose nobility is innate and causes him or her to act in a manner one would expect of a Christian hero. Lönnroth draws examples of this concept from *Vatnsdæla saga*, e.g. the heathen Þorsteinn invokes the ‘creator of the sun’ and makes a promise to take care of a child who was left out to die in return for the healing of his brother Þórir (*ÍF* VIII, 97–98). The ‘noble heathen’ is both wise and virtuous. This is true of Clement’s father, Faustinianus. Faustinianus is wise, and is said to have followed Roman custom by worshipping carven images, but not wholeheartedly because he believed in the existence of one God (*Clemens saga* Ch. 2). He prays to the one God for guidance (Ch. 4). His wife Mathidia is highly virtuous, and in a similar way to Þorsteinn she invokes a sun-god, the pagan god Apollo (Ch. 2). Before he is converted to Christianity Clement reveals his inherent nobility by his generous reception of the Apostle Barnabas in Rome (Ch. 5).

According to Lönnroth the ‘noble heathen’ was an attempt to solve the dilemma of reconciling pagan tradition with the teachings of the church. He believes that it is possible that this concept was known very early to Icelanders through foreign literature, i.e. learned literature, as well as through theological doctrine. In support of this he refers to *Plácidus saga* (Life of St Eustace), the story of which shares similarities with that of St Clement (see Section II.1 below). Examples of Lönnroth’s concept can be found in Ch. VII of *Clemens saga*, which tells of Clement’s teaching, his attempts to convert the heathen, and his subsequent exile and martyrdom. Here an attempt is made to reconcile the differences between other faiths and Clement’s teaching. This is done by placing emphasis on the affection which both heathen men and Jews had for Clement. The point is made that Clement did not ridicule pagan religion, but tried to convert men to Christianity through rational arguments based on their own books. Through his methods many heathens were converted to Christianity, but this aroused the jealousy of a heathen named Publius Torquatianus, who incited discord and caused Clement to be accused of blaspheming the pagan gods, which resulted in his exile and martyrdom.

Martyrium S. Clementis (PG 2, cols 625–26) names nine pagan gods whom Clement is said to have blasphemed: Jove, Hercules, Venus, Vesta,

Minerva, Diana, Mercury, Saturn and Mars. The author of *Clemens saga* translates the names of these gods into their Icelandic equivalents for his readers, for example Jove/Jupiter becomes Þórr, Hercules becomes Óðinn. He lists fourteen gods in all: Þórr, Óðinn, Freyja, Freyr, Heimdallr, Loki, Hœnir, Baldr, Týr, Njörðr, Ullr, Frigg, Gefjun and Sif (see Section III below).

It is significant that there is no criticism of the heathens Clement converts, or of their former religion. The Prefect of Rome, Mamertus Julianus, who sends Clement into exile, is also portrayed as a 'noble heathen'. He is moved by Clement's declaration of his Christian faith, and blesses his journey into exile (*Clemens saga* Ch. 8). (On the subject of pagan sympathy see Faulkes 1983, 283–314.)

Within the genre of saints' lives in Icelandic there are different categories: lives of the Apostles, lives of holy men and holy women who were martyred for their faith, lives of confessors (*ODCC* 330: men or women who suffered for confessing their faith, but who were not martyred, e.g. St Martin of Tours, see *Heilagra manna sǫgur* 1877, I 554–74), lives of Fathers of the Church (*ODCC* 504: ecclesiastical authors of the past whose authority on doctrinal matters carried weight, e.g. St Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (c. 339–97; *ODCC* 42–43), and also Desert Fathers, e.g. St Anthony of Egypt (251?–356; *ODCC* 67–68); and lives of native saints, e.g. the life of the first Bishop of Hólar, Jón Qgmundarson (1106–21), *Jóns saga ins helga* (*ÍF* XV:2, 173–316; trans. Cormack 2000, 595–626).

Clemens saga fits into the second category, a life of a devout man who was martyred for his faith. St Clement met his death by drowning; he was pushed overboard from a boat with an anchor tied around his neck.

Saints' lives generally follow a defined structure which is composed of certain elements. The life of a saint who was martyred because of his or her faith is as a rule divided into three parts: the life itself, the martyrdom, and the saint's influence after death. The last includes miracles associated with the saint. In *Clemens saga* the saint's martyrdom is followed by the story of the miracle of the child who was left behind near the saint's coffin in the church under the sea and was discovered alive a year later. Among the elements commonly found in saints' lives are accounts of the saint's virtues, his or her conversion to Christianity, the testing of his or her faith by trials and tribulations and the miraculous state of his or her corpse after death. But *Clemens saga* is not typical. Although there is some account of Clement's early life before his conversion, it is sketchy, and instead the narrative is focused on the lives of members of his family and their trials and tribulations before they were converted to Christianity by St Peter.

Special emphasis is placed on the virtues of Clement's mother. Clement does not undergo any trials or tribulations relating to his faith until he approaches his martyrdom.

The number of manuscripts containing saints' lives which have survived attests to the popularity of this genre. Biographies of saints played an important role in the liturgy of the medieval Church. Extracts from them were included in Church service books, and lives might be read out on the appropriate saint's Feast Day in daily services or read as part of personal devotions. The lives extolled the virtues of a holy life. Veneration of the saints was a part of daily life, and both men and women had favourite saints to whom they would pray and whom they would ask to intercede on their behalf. Sturla Þórðarson's favourite saint was said to be the Apostle St Peter (*Sturlunga saga* 1946, II 236). The miracle of wounds which did not bleed was a powerful motif in saints' lives and was adopted from them into secular literature. It is used in *Svínfellinga saga*, one of the texts included in the compilation known as *Sturlunga saga*. After his description of the execution of Sæmundr Ormsson, the saga author notes that Sæmundr's corpse did not bleed (*Sturlunga saga* 1946, II 100). Similarly, in saints' lives, although a saint might be martyred by torture, his or her body would often remain unblemished. In *Njáls saga* Njáll is almost regarded as a saint when his face and body, after the burning of his homestead, are described by one of those who discovered him as *svá bjartr, at ek hefí engan dauðs manns líkama sét jafnbjartan*, 'so bright that I have seen no dead person's body as bright' (*ÍF* XII 343).

Two saga heroes, Þorgils skarði and Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, each choose to hear a saint's life read out aloud to them on the evenings before they meet their deaths. Þorgils skarði stays at a homestead at Hrafnagil overnight. From the various forms of entertainment offered to him during the evening he chooses to hear the life of St Thomas Becket. It is read out aloud to the assembled company, up to the point where Thomas was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral. In the night Þorgils is betrayed, and his enemies are admitted to the building in which he is sleeping. Þorgils is murdered, and one of the wounds he is said to have received is on the head, and thus similar to that suffered by St Thomas (*Sturlunga saga* 1946, II 218, 220–21). In *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* (1987, 41) Hrafn is unable to sleep the night before his death, and asks a man named Steingrímur to recite *Andreasdrápa*, a poem the surviving fragment of which is largely about the martyrdom of St Andrew.

Clemens saga tells the story of the life of Clement of Rome, how he and his family are converted to Christianity and become disciples of St Peter,

then how he succeeds St Peter as bishop of Rome, his subsequent martyrdom, and miracles associated with him before and after his martyrdom. The story is mainly told in the third person. It divides neatly into two sections, the first dealing with St Clement and his family, the second dealing with his martyrdom. The first section is ultimately derived from the text known as the *Recognitiones* (see Section II.1 below), the second from a Latin *Passio* (see Section II.2 below).

II.1 *Material from the Recognitiones*

The first section of *Clemens saga* is derived from the text known as the *Recognitiones* (Rehm 1965; translated in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 8 (1995), 75–211), one of the writings attributed to Clement of Rome which are now acknowledged not to be by him but to have had their origin in the fourth century. These writings, the so-called Pseudo-Clementines, survive in three forms: the *Recognitiones*, homilies, and epitomes. The homilies were written in Greek, the epitomes are extant in Greek and Arabic. The *Recognitiones* were translated from Greek into Latin by Tyrannius Rufinus (c. 345–410), presbyter of Aquileia, who was responsible for translating many Greek theological works into Latin (*ODCC* 1207–08). The name *Recognitiones* is derived from the scenes of recognition between Clement and the long-lost members of his family. The story is similar to that of the life of St Eustace. Both Eustace and Clement are separated from their families and believe them to be dead, and then a series of recognitions take place in which the family members recognise each other and are joyfully reunited. Eustace's wife, like Clement's mother Mathidia, is virtuous and upright and undergoes various tribulations before she is reunited with her husband and sons. Versions of the life of St Eustace are extant in Icelandic in both prose and verse, namely *Plácíðus saga* and *Plácíðus drápa*. The earliest manuscript of *Plácíðus saga*, one fragmentary leaf in AM 655 IX 4to, is considered to have been written between 1150 and 1200, possibly in Trondheim (*Plácíðus saga* 1998, lx). The verse life of St Eustace, *Plácíðus drápa*, is in AM 673b 4to, dated c. 1200. In his edition of *Plácíðus saga* (1988, xxi), John Tucker mentioned the possibility that the Clementine romance, i.e. the story of Clement and his family, may have served as the model for the writing of the Eustace legend.

The popularity of the story of St Clement and his family is attested by the number of lives of St Clement which were derived and adapted from the *Recognitiones* from the sixth century onwards. Among them, for example, is a sixth-century Latin work known as *Historia Certaminis*

Apostolici (Pseudo-Abdias 1560), derived from a work attributed to the fictional author, Abdias of Babylon, said to have been the first bishop of Babylon, appointed by St Simon and St Jude and among the seventy-two disciples of Christ. *Historia Certaminis Apostolici* was attributed to Abdias by W. Lazius in 1552. The work is now considered to have been compiled from earlier sources by two anonymous authors in sixth-century Gaul (*New Catholic Encyclopedia* 2003, I 13–14). It contains Clementine material derived from the *Recognitiones* and a *Passio*. This text was used in the fifteenth century by Boninus Mombritius in his *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*, c. 1480 (Mombritius 1978), and it was also used by Johann Albert Fabricius in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, 1703–19.

In his work *Die Legende von Sankt Clemens in den skandinavischen Ländern im Mittelalter* (1997) Dietrich Hofmann identified a number of Latin lives of St Clement. The oldest of them, entitled *Vita sancti Clementis*, is that by Johannes Diaconus Hymmonides and Bishop Gaudericus of Velletri (1968, 1–164; see Hofmann 1997, 18). It was written in the ninth century between 876 and 882 and dedicated by Gaudericus to Pope John VIII (872–82). This life has partially survived in an eleventh-century manuscript from Monte Cassino. The manuscript is defective and the second part, containing the end of *Vita sancti Clementis*, is lost. About the beginning of the twelfth century Leo Marsicanus (c. 1045–c. 1116), monk of Monte Cassino, and Gaudericus's successor as cardinal bishop of Ostia and Velletri, appears to have edited part of the *Vita sancti Clementis* (Hofmann 1997, 19). Leo's work is known by the title *De origine beati Clementis* (Johannes Diaconus Hymmonides and Bishop Gaudericus of Velletri 1968, 1–165, parallel with *Vita sancti Clementis*). Both these Latin lives stem from Rufinus's version of the *Recognitiones*.

In the twelfth century Honorius of Autun included the story of St Clement in *Speculum Ecclesiae* (PL 172, cols 1029–32), and in the next century Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190–1264) in his encyclopaedic work, *Speculum Historiale* (Book 9, Chs 23–37; Book 10, Chs 52–54; in *Speculum Maius* 4, 1591), included excerpts from the life of St Clement extracted from both the *Recognitiones* and the *Passio*. There is also a life of St Clement to be found in verse in the South English Legendary, the earliest version of which is thought to date from the late thirteenth century (*Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* 1999, 619). In the *Legenda Aurea* compiled by Jacob of Voragine c. 1255–66 there is a life of St Clement which is closer to the *Recognitiones* than to the Icelandic version (Jacobus de Voragine 1890, 777–88 and 1993, II 323–32). Mathias Tveitane (1985, 1069) thought that although the *Legenda Aurea* itself could not be a direct

source of the Icelandic version (it is too late), some connection between the source of the *Legenda Aurea* and the source of the Icelandic was conceivable.

Episodes from the story of St Clement which derive from the *Recognitiones* are also found in two redactions of the life of St Peter the Apostle, *Pétrs saga postola I* (*Postola sögur* 1874, 1–126) and *Pétrs saga postola II* (*Postola sögur* 1874, 159–201).

Pétrs saga II is thought to have been compiled in the twelfth century. This version was part of the thirteenth century codex AM 652 4to. Unfortunately AM 652 4to has only survived fragmentarily and none of the extant fragments are from *Pétrs saga*. For the full text of *Pétrs saga II* one has to rely on copies of AM 652 4to which were made in the seventeenth century when the codex was still complete, namely AM 630 4to and AM 659 a 4to. It was the former, AM 630 4to, which Unger used in his edition (designated *Pétrs saga IIA*). The text relating to St Clement is printed on pp. 172–79. A recension of *Pétrs saga II* is included fragmentarily in AM 645 4to (*Postola sögur* 1874, 201–11; Larsson 1885; for the text relating to *Clemens saga* see *Postola sögur* 1874, 203), which also contains *Clemens saga*. The fragment in AM 655 XII–XIII 4to (*Pétrs saga IIB*, *Postola sögur* 1874, 211–16) contains no Clementine material. *Pétrs saga I* is a younger redaction, probably compiled in the fourteenth century from various Latin sources, and is extant in three fourteenth-century manuscripts, Codex Scardensis (SÁM I), Stockholm perg. 19 4to and AM 239 4to (defective).

Pétrs saga IIA (AM 630 4to) shares only two episodes from the life of St Clement with *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga I*, the dispute between St Peter and Simon Magus in Caesarea and St Peter's meeting with Clement's mother. Only the latter has survived in AM 645 4to.

Of the two redactions of *Pétrs saga*, the account in *Pétrs saga I* of St Clement is the more comparable with that of *Clemens saga*. It tells the story of Clement and his family but does not include his martyrdom.

Various differences are to be found between the texts of *Clemens saga* and the two redactions of *Pétrs saga*. In *Pétrs saga I* Clement's story is arranged in a different order to that of *Clemens saga*. In *Clemens saga* the account begins with an introduction which sets the scene with Clement's family background, the story of his father, mother and uncle. This is then followed directly by the tale of Niceta, Aquila and Mathidia's shipwreck, and then Faustianus's reception of the news. In contrast *Pétrs saga I* places Faustianus's story at the time of his dispute with Clement in the presence of St Peter. The scene of recognition after this is followed in turn

by Mathidia's story and likewise that of her two sons, Clement's brothers, Niceta and Aquila (Faustus and Faustinus). In *Clemens saga* the account is mainly in the third person, but *Pétrs saga I* makes use of the first person, each character in turn, Faustinianus, Mathidia, Niceta and Aquila (Faustus and Faustinus), relating the misfortunes which befell him or her.

Among the other differences between the texts the following details in *Clemens saga* can be noted which are not found in the equivalent text of *Pétrs saga I*: in *Clemens saga* it is stated that Simon Magus was reared for ten years by Rakel, that he gave life to images made from wood or metal, and that he was able to change his form to that of a bird, snake, fish, deer etc., whereas in *Pétrs saga I* only two forms, sheep and goat, are identified.

There are also differences between the two texts in the introductory description of Simon Magus. In *Clemens saga* he claims that he is the sun, his mistress/wife the moon and the planets her handmaidens, and comments are added on the Latin words for the moon and the planets. There are no such comments in *Pétrs saga I*, and Simon's consort is described as a harlot from Tyre.

In the episode in which Clement's mother, Mathidia, arrives at the house of a female leper there is variation between the two saga texts. In *Pétrs saga I* the leper asks Mathidia why she has come to her house, and Mathidia answers. This is lacking in *Clemens saga*, but this could possibly be due to omission by a copyist.

The dispute between St Peter and Simon Magus is contained in Books II and III of the *Recognitiones*. The versions in *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga* are shortened. Moreover in comparison with both *Pétrs saga I* and II *Clemens saga* provides a severely abbreviated version of the dialogue between St Peter and Simon Magus. Peter's opening address beginning 'Let there be peace to all who are ready to believe the truth' takes up approximately twenty-seven lines in Unger's edition of *Pétrs saga I* (twenty-two lines in *Pétrs saga II*), but in *Clemens saga* this is reduced to a single line. Also Simon's reply to St Peter, twelve lines in *Pétrs saga I* (sixteen lines in *Pétrs saga II*), consists only of one sentence in *Clemens saga*, 'We don't need to accept peace from you'.

Moreover there are differences between the text in *Pétrs saga II* of the dispute between St Peter and Simon Magus and that to be found in *Pétrs saga I* and *Clemens saga*. In *Pétrs saga II* Zacheus is described as a leader of the city, not a bishop. In the *Pétrs saga II* text the reference to Simon having been given a sickle by his mother and sent to reap the corn is placed at the end of his list of skills, whereas in *Pétrs saga I* and *Clemens saga* it is at the beginning. *Pétrs saga II* also does not mention that he was

seen flying up into the air at the end of the dispute episode, whereas this is noted in both *Pétrs saga I* and *Clemens saga* (*Postola sögur* 1874, 53/7, *Clemens saga* 18/3–4).

There are also differences in detail between the accounts of the same episode in *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga I*. At the end of the dispute *Clemens saga* alone notes that ‘night fell and it began to get dark when Simon vanished’. In the same episode *Clemens saga* states that when St Peter and Simon Magus held their dispute Clement attended the meeting with a large following. At the corresponding point in the text of *Pétrs saga I* there is no reference to Clement’s presence. In *Pétrs saga I* it is stated that before the dispute, St Peter sent away men who had not been baptised, but those who had received baptism accompanied him to the meeting. Both sagas agree in relating that Clement was not baptised until after the dispute.

The other episode found in *Clemens saga* and shared by *Pétrs saga I* and II is that of St Peter’s meeting with Clement’s mother (the AM 645 4to text (*Postola sögur* 203) is more or less identical to that of *Pétrs saga IIA* (*Postola sögur* 179)). According to *Pétrs saga IIA* Peter lands on the island of Antaradus. Here there is confusion in the text between the island named Aradus and Antaradus on the mainland. St Peter is said to have come to a house in which he sees pillars made of glass and where he discovers a woman, Clement’s mother, begging for alms outside. The woman’s mistress is said to be paralytic. The version of the story related in *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga I* is different; in that version the island is Corfu, not Aradus or Antaradus, there is no house with glass pillars, Clement’s mother is said to have gone to meet St Peter herself, and her mistress is said to be suffering from leprosy.

There is one episode, the story of Simon Magus’s ex-disciple Marcellus and St Peter, which is present in the two redactions of *Pétrs saga* but omitted in *Clemens saga*. The story derives from the *Recognitiones*, but in the Latin text Simon’s disciple is unnamed, whereas in *Pétrs saga* he is named Marcellus. This is probably traditionally linked with the *Pseudo-Marcellus Passio* (Lipsius 1959, 118–77) which is one of the sources used in both redactions of *Pétrs saga*. It might be supposed that the omission of this episode in *Clemens saga* was because it was not directly relevant to the story of St Clement.

As well as differences between the Icelandic texts containing material relating to St Clement there are also significant differences between the Icelandic texts and their ultimate Latin source, the *Recognitiones*. The most obvious difference between the Icelandic and Latin texts is in length. Mattias Tveitane drew attention to the length of the *Recognitiones*

compared to the shorter text in *Clemens saga* (Tveitane 1985, 1069). Comparison between the Icelandic Clementine material and Rufinus's Latin translation of the *Recognitiones* shows that the Icelandic version is much shorter and related only to the bare bones of the *Recognitiones*. The lengthy theological and philosophical discussions of the *Recognitiones* are not included in the Icelandic texts.

Another main difference is that the Latin text is autobiographical—Clement tells his story in the first person—whereas the Icelandic accounts are mainly related in the third person.

Among other significant differences between the Icelandic and Latin texts the following can be noted. The version of the tale of Clement's mother, Mathidia, being shipwrecked off the island of Corfu in *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga I*, does not correspond to the text of the *Recognitiones*, where Mathidia is wrecked off an island named Aradus (Andaradus in *Pétrs saga postola II*; *Postola sögur* 1874, 179 and 203), and is given shelter by a poor woman who has lost her husband at sea. The woman becomes paralytic and Mathidia is forced to beg. The remainder of Mathidia's story in the *Recognitiones* corresponds to that in *Pétrs saga II* in which St Peter encounters Mathidia begging at the doors of a house. Both texts describe a building with columns. In the *Recognitiones* the building is a temple with *columnas viteas*, 'columns carved with vines', and in *Pétrs saga II* it is a house with columns made of glass, which correspond to the *columnas vitreas* of the Latin texts of Mombritius and Fabricius. In *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga I* Mathidia's story is very different from the Latin and the account in *Pétrs saga II*, and emphasises Mathidia's virtue. In these two accounts Mathidia is first taken in by a housewife after the shipwreck, given lodging and in return works as a seamstress, making and mending clothes. She becomes the unwilling object of attention from the young men who see her and admire her handiwork and beauty. As a result Mathidia mars her face by beating it with sharp stones and then covers her face with a fish skin to make her appearance repugnant. She also injures her hands so that she can no longer work. Eventually she has to leave her lodgings, is offered a home by a poor woman, and resorts to begging to support them both. This account appears to be peculiar to the Icelandic version.

The account of the dispute between Clement and his father Faustinianus differs in the Icelandic from the Latin. In the Icelandic St Peter first encounters Clement's father, Faustinianus, near a cliff on Cyprus. In the Latin St Peter, Clement and his brothers Niceta and Aquila bathe in the sea at Laodocia, then go to a secret place to pray and there they meet Faustinianus.

The Icelandic text turns the dispute with Faustinianus into one based on the seven liberal arts with Clement as Faustinianus's sole antagonist, whereas in the *Recognitiones* it is described as a philosophical dispute with Faustinianus which is carried on over several days and in which all three of Faustinianus's sons take part.

The version in *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga I* of the episode in which Clement's father Faustinianus encounters Simon Magus in Antioch also differs from the Latin. In the *Recognitiones* Faustinianus's friends in Antioch are named Appion and Anubion, but the Icelandic names one friend only, who is called Theophilus, and later reference is made to the consecration as a church by St Peter of a hall owned by Theophilus. In the Icelandic version the story appears to have been simplified by transferring Theophilus to the role of Faustinianus's friend. The Icelandic version also includes additional details which are not in the Latin, namely that St Peter advised Faustinianus to have two men ready to hold a shield in front of him for protection when he addressed the crowd in Antioch, and that when this came to pass Simon Magus had arrows shot at Faustinianus, who was protected by his shield.

There are other minor differences between the Icelandic and Latin texts. Faustinianus's brother is not named in the Latin text, but in the Icelandic he is called Bassus. In the reign of Nero there was a consul called Bassus, and this may possibly be the source of the name (see Cullmann 1962, 124). Clement's brothers, Niceta and Aquila, are twins according to the *Recognitiones*, but they are not described as such in the Icelandic text.

From the above comparison of *Clemens saga* and the two redactions of *Pétrs saga* the following can be established. The variants identified in the *Pétrs saga II* text are peculiar to the type of Latin text which are found in editions of the text called the *Historia Certaminis Apostolici*, attributed to Abdias of Babylon (see pp. xi–xii above). Moreover it may be noted that after the Clementine material both *Pétrs saga II* and the Abdias text relate the story of how St Peter cured a girl who was mad. This is not present in either *Clemens saga* or *Pétrs saga I*. It may also be observed that the *Pétrs saga II* version and that of Abdias share the peculiarity that neither text names Clement's mother.

The points shared by the *Pétrs saga II* text and Abdias's text indicate that the *Pétrs saga II* text is derived from a similar Latin text, of a type identified by Mattias Tveitane (1985, 1073) as an epitome with the traditional title *Virtutes Petri*, and an Incipit 'Surrexit quidam Simon Magus'. The details of St Peter's encounter with Clement's mother are closer to the *Recognitiones* than to the accounts in *Clemens saga* and

Pétrs saga I (see p. xvi above), and this shows that the text of *Pétrs saga* II had a different derivation, and provides evidence for the existence of two vernacular versions of part of the Clementine material in early thirteenth-century Iceland.

Clemens saga and *Pétrs saga* I tell the same version of the story of Clement and his family, the ultimate source of which is the *Recognitiones*. *Clemens saga* is not abridged save in the shortening of the dispute episode and the omission of the Marcellus episode, the latter superfluous to a life of St Clement. The comparison of the Clementine material in *Clemens saga* and *Pétrs saga* I indicates that both texts were ultimately derived from the same Latin source, which was based on a free adaptation of the *Recognitiones*, but were independently translated, and the material organised according to each compiler's needs. This Latin source is likely to have been compiled in the twelfth century.¹

II.2 *Material from the Latin Passio*

The second section of the saga deals with events leading up to and including the martyrdom of St Clement, plus a miracle which takes place after his death. The first part tells the story of a Christian woman named Theodora and her pagan husband Sisinnius. Sisinnius is converted to Christianity through the intervention of Pope Clement. Then follows the tale of Clement's exile, the miracle of the spring, his martyrdom when he is thrown overboard with an anchor tied round his neck, the miracle of his temple under the sea, and that of the child who falls asleep near the saint's coffin and is found alive there a year later.

The second section of *Clemens saga* is based on a Latin *Passio*. The tale of the miracle of St Clement's coffin under the sea was probably

¹ The above discussion is largely based on my unpublished thesis (Carron [1994]), and partly on the work of Dietrich Hofmann (1997, 72–108), who thought that a text similar to that found in Trinity College Oxford MS 60 was a source of *Clemens saga*, and that such a text was also the source of Johannes and Gaudericus's *Vita sancti Clementis*, which the author turned to for at least the end of the *Recognitiones* section of his saga (Hofmann 1997, 102). According to Widding 1963, 330, Chs 50–58 and 60–73 of *Pétrs saga* I are derived from a text of *Clemens saga*. In the same section of his work (1997, 72–108), Hofmann also discusses the differences to be found in the Icelandic text and possible reasons for them, and among other things raises the possibility that the compiler of *Clemens saga* had read the *Recognitiones* but did not recall all the details of the story well when he came to write *Clemens saga*. He also suggests the possibility of an oral tradition in which the story was passed down by word of mouth.

ultimately derived from the Greek text attributed to an imaginary Bishop Ephraim of Cherson which has the Latin title *De miraculo quod in puero factum est a S. Clemente sacro martyre* (printed in parallel Greek and Latin in *PG* 2, cols 633–46). Linking the sections derived from the *Recognitiones* and the *Passio* in *Clemens saga* there is a brief account of how St Peter installed Clement as his successor as bishop of Rome. This is ultimately derived from *Epistula Clementis ad Iacobum* (Rehm 1965, 375–87; translated in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 8 (1995), 218–22; *BHL* 6646; cf. p. 35, footnote, below), probably via an intermediate source. Hofmann (1997, 109) thought that the ‘book’ referred to in *Clemens saga* 34/10 could not have been the *Epistula* itself, for if it had been the compiler would have called it ‘letter’ rather than ‘book’.

Clemens saga is defective at the end, so the miracle of the sleeping child is incomplete. The text ends abruptly at the point where the parents of the child who fell asleep near the saint’s coffin ask their son how he was able to survive so long without food. The end of the miracle story, from the point where *Clemens saga* breaks off, is shorter in the *Epitome de gestis S. Petri* Chs 178–79 (*PG* 2, cols 602–03) than in the Ephraim text Chs 12–18 (*PG* 2, cols 642–46). Since *Clemens saga* is not a close translation of either text it is not possible to establish what form the ending would have taken in *Clemens saga*. In the *Epitome* the parents ask their son how he was saved, protected, watched over and his life preserved. He answers them telling them that there was a protector, bestower of life and nourisher in the church. His parents rejoice and quote Psalm 67:36 *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*, 68:35 ‘O God <thou art> terrible out of thy holy places’.

It also looks as though the beginning of the miracle story has been omitted in *Clemens saga*, possibly through an error in copying. The first mention of the child and his parents is at the point when the parents realise that their son is missing. In the *Epitome* a devout man, his wife and son accompany others to St Clement’s burial place. They reach the temple, leading the boy by the hand. The parents pray fervently inside while the boy is out of sight, and he is then forgotten and left behind at the burial place.

The *Passio* was ultimately derived from the work of the Byzantine hagiographer Simeon Metaphrastes (fl. c. 960), who compiled a collection of saints’ lives known as the ‘Menologion’. A parallel Greek and Latin text is printed in Cotelierius 1672, I 828–44, with Metaphrastes identified as the source. This text contains the story of Theodora and her husband Sisinnius and the exile and martyrdom of St Clement. Although reference is made in the text to the miracle of the sea receding and revealing the

marble temple with the saint's coffin, the miracle of the sleeping child left in St Clement's temple is not related. Cotelerius's text was reprinted in *PG 2* (1857), cols 617–32, and an edition of the *Passio* was published by F. X. Funk (1901, 28–45; revised edition by F. Diekamp 1913).

The Icelandic text combines the *Passio* and the miracle of the child who fell asleep in St Clement's temple. The source of this is likely to be an epitome similar to the two Greek epitomes of the *Recognitiones*, which add to their accounts of Clement's martyrdom the miracles of his temple under the sea and the sleeping child (*PG 2*, cols 469–604).

A version of the life of St Clement in an Old Swedish Legendary, which is based on the *Recognitiones*, similarly combines its text of the *Passio* with the miracle of the sleeping child (Hofmann 1997, 305–21). The Life of St Clement in Jacob of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (c. 1255–66) also includes the story of the temple under the sea and the miracle of the sleeping child, and the story is similar to that in Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria martyrium* (*Glory of the Martyrs*), i.e. a woman leaves her son behind by St Clement's church/temple, the sea covers the temple/church, and a year later when the sea recedes the woman returns and finds her son asleep where she left him.

Gregory became Bishop of Tours in 573. He is considered to have written his work on the martyrs towards the end of his life (Gregory of Tours 1988, 4). There are differences between the text attributed to Ephraim and that of Gregory (see Hofmann 1997, 137–38). Whereas both parents of the sleeping child are mentioned in the Ephraim text, the Greek epitome and *Clemens saga*, only the mother of the child is referred to in Gregory of Tours and the Old Swedish Legendary. *Clemens saga* and the Old Swedish Legendary mention that the child fell asleep at St Clement's temple, whereas Ephraim does not give this as the reason the child was left behind. In Gregory's version the child is discovered still asleep in the saint's temple a year later. A similar account based on Gregory of Tours's version is found in Ælfric's tenth-century *Natale Sancti Clementis* in his *Catholic Homilies* (Clemoes 1997, 501–02). In Ephraim and the version related in *Clemens saga* both parents return to the saint's temple, find their son alive, he runs to greet them and they rejoice.

There is no doubt that the version of this miracle in *Clemens saga* is closer to the Greek texts than to Gregory of Tours, but the Icelandic is not a direct translation of the Ephraim text. It is likely that the compiler of *Clemens saga* used a Latin translation of the Greek version, which was probably added to an epitome of the *Recognitiones*. Hofmann concluded that the author of *Clemens saga* used a Latin text which had made use of

the Greek version of the miracle, and suggested that it might have been the lost part of the life of Clement by Johannes and Gaudericus (Hofmann 1997, 144).

III Structure and Style

The saga is divided into two sections, the story of Clement and his family and an account of Clement's martyrdom, reflecting the two main sources used by the compiler, the *Recognitiones* and the *Passio* (see section II above).

There are indications that the compiler/translator adapted his sources with his audience in mind. It is likely that he supplied the genealogical details of St Clement's family and background details of Roman history contained in the introductory chapters to the saga as a parallel to the genealogical introductions common in Sagas of Icelanders. The genealogical and historical details do not derive from either of the two main sources. Dietrich Hofmann (1997, 60–71) investigated the introductory chapters, and compared them with both *Rómverja saga* and *Veraldar saga* and concluded that the author of *Clemens saga* knew *Rómverja saga* and had used it in his introduction, but that it was uncertain whether he also knew *Veraldar saga*.

There are other indications that the saga was adapted for an Icelandic audience. Icelandic equivalents are used for the names of the Roman gods, e.g. the Temple of Jupiter (*Templum Jovis*) is translated Þórshof (2/4), Venus becomes Freyja (44/10), but the planet Venus is translated *Friggjar stjarna* (10/6) and Mars becomes Týr (44/11). Fourteen gods are listed in Ch. VII though only nine appear in the Latin sources. Not all of the Latin counterparts to the Icelandic names can be identified. Tveitane (1985) compared the names of gods in various translated Icelandic texts and established that the following equivalents were often used: Óðinn for Hercules, Gefjun for Diana/Artemis (see *Páls saga postola* I, 223/16, and *Hauksbók* 241; also for Athene/Minerva, see *Trójumanna saga* 10, and Venus, see *Stjórni* 1862, 90), Týr for Mars (e.g. *Páls saga postola* II 249/9) but Freyr and Óðinn were also identified with Mars (Óðinn also with Mercury in the name for Wednesday), and Saturn with Njörðr and Freyr (cf. *Trójumanna saga* 1/3–5: *var sá maðr upp fæddr í ey þeiri í Jórslahafi er Krít heitir er Saturnus var kallaðr en vér kollum Frey*). Sif corresponds to Juno in *Hauksbók* and *Trójumanna saga* (also once to Thetis). The name of the god Apollo has not been changed in the text of *Clemens saga* (4/9), probably because there was no accepted Icelandic equivalent. Latin equivalents for the gods Heimdallr, Loki, Hœnir, Baldr and Ullr have not

been identified. The insults in Ch. 7 are reminiscent of those in the Eddic poem *Lokasenna*, and that to Freyja of Hjalti's 'blasphemy' in *Íslendinga-bók* Ch. 7 (*ÍF* I 15).

Often the compiler/translator takes the trouble to give the Latin word corresponding to the Icelandic he uses in his text, for example he notes that the Latin noun *planeta* corresponds to his Icelandic phrase *stjörnur þær fimm es lausar fara í lopti* (14/16). In the disputation between Clement and his father Faustinianus in Ch. V the subjects discussed are referred to by their Latin names followed by a definition of their meaning in Icelandic. In 2/11–12 explanation is included of the derivation of the names of the two months July and August, although this could have been taken from another source; a similar treatment is found in *Veraldar saga* 1944, 49 and 50. When reference is made to the island of Cyprus a note is added to explain that it is known to Northmen by the name *Kípr* (10/24).

The story of Clement and his family has been adapted from the first person of its ultimate Latin source text, and told mainly in the third person, with only a few episodes being related by the characters in first-person narration. In relating the misfortunes of the various members of Clement's family the writer departs from the normal Icelandic method of strictly chronological narrative.

Among the points of style that can be noted are the following. There are abrupt transitions from indirect to direct speech, e.g. 36/29–31, 38/20–21, a phenomenon found frequently in native saga writing or the 'popular' saga style. Word pairs are used on occasion to translate a single Latin word, for example *spakr maðr ok vitr* 44/30, *illa ok herfiliga* (for the Latin *misere*) 36/7. There is alliteration in the list of pagan gods, where verbs alliterate with the name of the gods (44/9–13). The alliterating word pair *happs ok heilsu* occurs in 32/6.

In his paper 'Learned style or saga style?' (1981) Jónas Kristjánsson examined the features of learned style identified by Nygaard (1896) that occur in the oldest surviving texts of saints' lives, including *Clemens saga*. Of the examples of learned style he listed, about the only one from *Clemens saga*, and then not a distinctive one, was the use of the present participle *unnandi* in 34/27, and he concluded that this saga showed almost no characteristics of learned style. It was written before it became the fashion to rewrite and expand existing translations in the florid style, and its style is more in keeping with the 'popular' style of native sagas than with the learned style of later translated texts.

IV Manuscripts

Clemens saga is extant almost complete in Icelandic in only one manuscript. It is one of a number of saints' lives contained in AM 645 4to (edited in diplomatic transcript by Ludwig Larsson (1885) and in facsimile by Anne Holtmark (1938); a normalised text of *Clemens saga* was edited by Carl Unger in *Postola sögur* 1874, 126–51 as an appendix to *Pétrs saga postola* I). AM 645 4to was written in the first half of the thirteenth century and now contains sixty-six folios, comprising two parts, an older (ff. 1–42), dated c. 1220, and a later (ff. 43–66), dated c. 1225–50 (*Ordbog* 1989, 458), which were originally parts of separate manuscripts later bound together in one volume. The older section of the manuscript contains *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups* (Book of the miracles of St Þorlákr, bishop of Skálholt 1178–93), *Clemens saga*, *Pétrs saga postola*, *Jakobs saga postola* (Life of St James the Greater), *Bartholomeus saga postola* (Life of St Bartholomew), *Mattheus saga postola* (Life of St Matthew), *Andreas saga postola* (Life of St Andrew). *Clemens saga* is on ff. 11v–24v. The later section includes a fragment of a different version of *Andreas saga* from that included in the older section, *Páls saga postola* (Life of St Paul), *Niðrstigningar saga* (Gospel of Nicodemus) and *Marteins saga biskups* (Life of St Martin of Tours).

The first three quires (ff. 1–24) are followed by a lacuna where it is believed that nine leaves have been lost (Larsson 1885, viii–x; Ólafur Halldórsson 1994, xiii). The end of *Clemens saga* and the beginning of *Pétrs saga postola* are missing.

There also survives a manuscript fragment in AM 655 XXVIII a 4to, f. 1, dated to the second half of the thirteenth century by Hreinn Benediktsson (1965, xlvi; transcription in Carron [1994]), containing the parts of the *Passio* section of *Clemens saga* corresponding to 38/27–42/34 and 44/4–50/4 in this edition. Comparison of the text of the fragment with the corresponding text of AM 645 4to reveals that the text in the fragment is shorter. For example:

En er allir svöruðu þeir er hiá vöru ok kvóðu amen þá lukusk þegar upp augu Sisinnius ok eyru. (*Clemens saga* 40/2–3)

En er allir svöruðu kvóðu amen þá lukusk upp augu Sisinnii ok eyru. (AM 655 XXVIII a 4to f. 1r)

Cumque omnes responderunt: Amen, aperti sunt oculi Sisinnii, itemque aures. (*Martyrium S. Clementis* Ch. 9, PG 2, col. 622)

En þá þóttusk þrælur hans draga Clemens páfa apr ok fram at strætum sicut Sisinnius bauþ þeim, herri þeira. En þar hlífði Guþ heilagur Clemens páfa ástvin sínum, ok drógu þeir eptir sér of stræti stokka ok steina. Ok svá sýndisk Sisinnio sem þrælum hans at þeir drægi þar Clemens páfa. En þeir inir sǫmu hlægismenn es eigi vissu hvat þeir gerðu ok hlógu svá at honum sem at bandingia. En Sisinnius kvazk bana skyldu honum sem galdramǫnnum. (*Clemens saga* 40/10–17)

En þrælarnir geyrðu svá sem þeim v[a]r boðit [at] því er þeim sýndisk ok þóttusk draga Clementem páfa út ok inn. En þar drógu þeir steinsulu eina. Svá sýndisk ok Sisinnio ok hló hann at honum sem at bandingia ok kvapusk bana mundu honum sem galdra mǫnnum. (AM 655 4to XXVIII A 1r)

Illi vero, quos jusserat Clementem constringere ac trahere, ipsi columnas adjacentes ligabant et trahebant; aliquando quidem ex interioribus ad exteriora, aliquando vero ab exterioribus ad interiora: hoc autem ipsi etiam Sisinnio videbatur, quod sanctum Clementem ligatum tenerent ac traherent. (*Martyrium S. Clementis* Ch. 10, PG 2, col. 623)

AM 655 XXVIII a 4to is closer to the Latin text than AM 645 4to, translating Latin *columnas* with *steinsulu* ‘stone column’ and lacking the alliterating word pair *stokka oc steina* found in AM 645 4to.

It is not possible to know whether the manuscript of which this fragment was once a part also included the story of St Clement and his family or just the *Passio* section, but it provides evidence that an abridged version of this section at least existed in the later thirteenth century.

V *Date of the manuscript*

In his edition of *Mattheus saga* Ólafur Halldórsson (1994, xxvii) showed that the first part of AM 645 4to could not have been written before 1200. This dating is based on the fact that the text of *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups*, which precedes *Clemens saga* in AM 645 4to, refers in Ch. 41 to the Alþingi (General Assembly) in the summer of 1199 at which Bishop Páll read aloud the miracles of Þorlákr and in Ch. 44 tells of a miracle which took place the second winter following Bishop Þorlákr’s translation on 20 July 1198, which places this event in the winter of 1199. Ólafur qualified this dating by pointing out that Ch. 43 of the *Jarteinabók* referred to a winter mass day for Bishop Þorlákr, which implies that there already existed a summer mass day on 20 July, which according to the annals was only adopted into the law at the Alþingi of 1237. Ólafur thought it possible that both summer and winter masses could have been celebrated by churches before the summer mass became established in law, so that the date 1237 cannot be used with any certainty as the *terminus post quem*.

Ludwig Larsson (1885, lxxxvi) dated AM 645 4to between 1225 and 1250, and the orthographical features imply a date of composition in the first half of the thirteenth century. Ólafur Halldórsson supported this with the following observations. The scribe uses both the forms *es* and *er*, the preposition *úr* is sometimes spelt *ýr*, *þ* is always written for both *ð* and *þ*, both *fyrir* and *yfir* are spelt with *i* rather than *y* and there is no overall consistency in distinguishing final *ð* and *t* in unstressed endings. *Ordbog* 1989, 458 dates the first part to c. 1220. If this is correct, the contents of the first part of the manuscript may have been translated in Iceland c. 1200, or even some time in the second half of the twelfth century. They would then be among the oldest sagas written in Iceland.

VI Normalisation of the text

A number of the orthographic features of the manuscript have been retained because they illustrate the scribal conventions of the time it was written and indicate the date of the manuscript, for example *ǫ* has been used for *u*-mutation of *á* (later the two merged as *á*), and *þ* has been retained for *ð* throughout.

Abbreviations have been silently expanded. Abbreviations of Latin words such as *non*, *sed*, *dominus* used as abbreviations for common Icelandic words have been translated; other Latin words have been retained. Roman numerals have been translated into Icelandic.

Punctuation and paragraphing have been introduced to make the text easier to read. Capitals are used for proper names. The chapter divisions used by Unger in his edition have been followed.

Pointed brackets < > indicate that words or letters accidentally omitted by a copyist have been supplied by the editor. Square brackets [] are used for words that can no longer be read because of the state of the manuscript, but which can be reasonably assumed to have been written by the scribe. Where text was legible when Ludwig Larsson made his diplomatic transcript of AM 645 4to square brackets have not been used.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Abdias, see Pseudo-Abdias.
- The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 8, 1995. Ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson.
- BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* 1898–99 (reprinted 1992). Ed. Socii Bollandiani. *Novum Supplementum* 1986. Ed. Henricus Fros.
- Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* 1999. Ed. D. Wallace.
- Carron, H. C. [1994.] 'A Critical Edition of Pétr's saga Postola I, based on the Codex Scardensis'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London.
- Clemoes, Peter, ed., 1997. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text* (Early English Text Society SS. 17).
- Cormack, Magaret, trans., 2000. 'Saga of Bishop Jón of Hólar'. In *Medieval Hagiography: an Anthology*. Ed. Thomas Head.
- Cotelerius, J. B. 1672. *SS. Patrum qui temporibus Apostolicis floruerunt*. 2 vols.
- Cullmann, Oscar 1962. *Peter, Disciple, Apostle, Martyr: A Historical and Theological Study*.
- Fabricius, Johann Albert 1703–19. *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*.
- Faulkes, Anthony 1983. 'Pagan Sympathy: Attitudes to Heathendom in the Prologue to *Snorra Edda*'. In *Edda: a Collection of Essays*. Ed. R. J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason, 283–314.
- Foote, Peter 1994. 'Saints' Lives and sagas'. In *Saints and Sagas: a Symposium*. Ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, 73–88.
- Funk, F. X. 1901. *Patres Apostolici* 2. Revised F. Diekamp 1913.
- Gregory of Tours 1988. *Glory of the Martyrs*. Trans. Raymond van Dam (Translated texts for historians, Latin series III).
- Hauksbók* 1892–96. Ed. Finnur Jónsson and Eiríkur Jónsson.
- Heilagra manna sögur* 1877. Ed. C. R. Unger. 2 vols.
- Hofmann, Dietrich 1997. *Die Legende von Sankt Clemens in den skandinavischen Ländern im Mittelalter*.
- Holtsmark, Anne, ed., 1938. *A Book of Miracles. MS No. 645 4to of the Arnamagnæan Collection in the University Library of Copenhagen* (Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi 12).
- Honorius of Autun 1854. *Speculum Ecclesiae*. In *PL* 172.
- Hrafn's saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* 1987. Ed. Guðrún P. Helgadóttir.
- Hreinn Benediktsson 1965. *Early Icelandic Script*.
- ÍF* = Íslenzkt fornrit I– , 1933– .
- Jacobus de Voragine 1890. *Legenda Aurea*. Ed. Th. Graesse.
- Jacobus de Voragine 1993. *The Golden Legend*. Trans. William Granger Ryan. 2 vols.
- Johannes Diaconus Hymmonides and Bishop Gaudericus of Velletri 1968. *Vita sancti Clementis I*. In *Excerpta ex Clementinis Recognitionibus a Tyrannio Rufino translatis*. Ed. Ioannes Orlandi.
- Jónas Kristjánsson 1981. 'Learned Style or Saga Style?'. In *Speculum Norroenum*. Ed. U. Dronke et al., 260–92.
- Larsson, Ludwig, ed., 1885. *Isländska handskriften no 645 4to i den Arnarnagnæanska Samlingen*.

- Lipsius, R. A., ed., 1959. 'Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli'. In *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* I. Ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, 118–77.
- Lönnroth, Lars 1969. 'The Noble Heathen: a Theme in the Sagas'. *Scandinavian Studies* 41, 1–29.
- Mombritius, Boninus 1978. *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*. 2 vols. *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 2003.
- Nygaard, M. 1896. 'Den lærde stil i den norrøne prosa'. In *Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C. R. Unger*, 153–70.
- ODCC = *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 1983. Ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone.
- Ólafur Halldórsson, ed., 1994. *Mattheus saga postula* (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, Rit 41).
- Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog. Registre* 1989. Udgivet af den Arnamagnæanske Kommission.
- PG* = Patrologia . . . Series Græca 1857–79. Ed. J. P. Migne.
- PL* = Patrologia . . . Series Latina 1844–64. Ed. J. P. Migne.
- Plácidus saga* 1998. Ed. John Tucker (Editiones Arnamagnæanæ B31).
- Postola sögur* 1874. Ed. C. R. Unger.
- Pseudo-Abdias 1560. *De historia certaminis Apostolici*.
- Pseudo-Marcellus, *Passio*. In Lipsius 1959.
- Rehm, B., ed., 1965. *Die Pseudoklementinen II. Rekognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*.
- Stjórn* 1862. Ed. C. R. Unger.
- Sturlunga saga* 1946. Ed. Jón Jóhannesson et al. 2 vols.
- Trójumanna saga* 1963. Ed. Jonna Louis-Jensen (Editiones Arnamagnæanæ A 8).
- Turville-Petre, Gabriel 1953. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*.
- Tveitane, Mattias 1985. 'Interpretatio norroena. Norrøne og antikke gudenavn i Clemens saga'. In *The Sixth International Saga Conference 28.7–2.8.1985. Workshop Papers II*, 1067–82.
- Veraldar saga* 1944. Ed. Jakob Benediktsson.
- Vincent of Beauvais 1591. *Speculum Maius*.
- Widding, O. et al., 1963. 'The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose. A handlist'. *Mediaeval Studies* 25, 294–337.

CLEMENS SAGA
THE LIFE OF ST CLEMENT

⟨CLEMENS SAGA⟩

I

Iulius hét inn fyrsti keiseri yfir öllum heimi ok af honum hafa allir Rómaborgarkonungar þat nafn tekit síþan. Iulius hét öþru namni Gaius.

3 Hann var fimm vetr einvaldi Rómaborgarveldis. Hann vögu þeir Brutus ok Cassius í Þórshofi í Rómaborg ok margir aðrir ríkismenn með þeim veittu áverk honum svát hann hafði alls hálfan þriþja tög sára á sér.

6 Systir Iulii hét Activa en hennar dóttir hét Octovia. Sonr Octov(i)e hét Octov(i)anus es öþru namni var kallaþr Augustus. Hann hafði veldi ifir öllum heimi næstr eptir Iulium ok af honum er síþan Augustus kallaþr

9 hvern ifirkonungr Rómaveldis. Augustus réþ fyrir Rómaborgarríki sex vetr ins sétta tegar. Hann setti friþ of allan heim ok á hans dögum var Christus natus í þenna heim. Af þessum keiserum tveim hafa namn tekit

12 bókmánaþir tveir Julius ok Augustus.

Systrungar Augusti vöru fratres þrír: Flavius es Clemens var kallaþr ok gøfgastr var allra Rómveria undir Augusto keisera, en annarr

15 Faustianus es frá mun verþa sagt, þriþi var Bassus es verstr var þeira bræþra. Systir þeira bræþra var Plautilla es léþi Páli postola höfu(þ)ðúks síns þá er hann var leiddr til höggs. Hennar geldingar vöru þeir Nereus

18 ok Achilleus es trú rétta tóku af kenningu Pétrs postola. Þá setti Plautilla til at þíona dóttur sinni er hét [Fla]via Domitilla ok af þeira orþum varþ Flavia kristin. En þeir vöru báþir þíndir fyrir Guþs sakar ok es messudagr

21 þeira viku eptir Crucis messu á várít.

II

Faustianus hafði veldi mikit undir Augustus keisera ok hann var settr höfþingi öldunga í Rómaborg ok hann hafði forráþ heraða es liggia í

24 nónd við Antiochia, Sýrlands höfuþborg. Kona hans hét Mathidia, rómversk at kyni. Hon var forkundliga væn at ifirlíti ok ráþvönd harþla ok vel viti borin, ok var iþin at blóta heiþin goþ. Maþr hennar var algerr

27 at sér at allri veraldarspekþ. Hann blótaþi skurgøþ at siþ Rómveria, en eigi af alhuga fyrir því at hann trúþi raunar einn vera almáttkan Guþ.

Þau Faustianus ok Mathidia öttu þriá sonu. Einn hét Faustus, annarr

30 Faustinus, inn þriþi var heitinn eptir föþurbróþur sínum ok hét Clemens.

THE LIFE OF ST CLEMENT

I

The first emperor over all the world was called Julius and all kings of Rome have since taken that name from him. Julius had Gaius as his other name. For five years he was sole ruler of the Roman Empire. Brutus and Cassius slew him in the Temple of Pórr in Rome and there were many other men of rank with them who inflicted wounds on him so that in all he had twenty-five wounds on his body. Julius's sister was called Activa and her daughter was called Octovia. Octovia's son was called Octovianus, who was called Augustus by his other name. He had authority over the whole world next after Julius and each supreme king of the Roman Empire has since been called Augustus after him. Augustus ruled over the Roman Empire for fifty-six years. He established peace throughout all the world and in his days Christ was born into this world. From these two emperors the two Latin months July and August have taken their names.

Three brothers were Augustus's cousins on his mother's side: Flavius, who was called Clement and was the noblest of all Romans under the Emperor Augustus, and the second was Faustinianus who will be told about later; the third was Bassus who was the worst of the brothers. The brothers' sister was Plautilla who lent the Apostle Paul her headscarf when he was taken to be beheaded. Nereus and Achilleus who received the true faith from the teaching of the Apostle Peter were her eunuchs. Plautilla appointed them to attend her daughter who was called Flavia Domitilla, and because of what they said Flavia became Christian. And they were both martyred for God's sake and their feastday is a week after Cross Mass in the spring.

II

Faustinianus held great authority under the Emperor Augustus and he was appointed leader of the senators in Rome and he had stewardship of districts which lie in the neighbourhood of Antioch, the capital city of Syria. His wife was called Mathidia, Roman by birth. She was extremely beautiful in appearance, and very upright and very intelligent, and was assiduous in worshipping heathen gods. Her husband was fully endowed with all worldly wisdom. He worshipped carven images in accordance with the Roman custom, but not wholeheartedly because he really believed in the existence of one almighty God.

Faustinianus and Mathidia had three sons. One was called Faustus, the second Faustinus, the third was named after his father's brother and called

En er þeir vóru komnir ór barnæsku þá tók Bassus föðurbróðir þeira at leggja girndarhug á Mathidiam móður þeira ok bróðurkonu sína, ok
 3 leitaði hann til þess með fiqlkyngi sinni ef hann mætti blekkia hana. En er hon fann vilia hans óhæfan við sik, alls hon var ráþvönd kona, þá leitaði hon sér ráþs hvé hon mætti stýra bazt undan illsku hans. Hon bió
 6 sik at þeim hætti sem hon var vön at búask þá er hon hafþisk at blótum ok gekk síþan á málstefnu við búanda sinn ok mælti við hann:

‘Mér hefir lengi verit áhyggia at hvat leggiask muni firir sonu okkra.
 9 Ek gekk of dag svá búin sem nú em ek í musteri sólargoþs es Apollo heitir ok aldregi mun liúga. Ek færþa þar fórnir sólargoþi ok fréttak at síþan hvat leggiask mundu firir sonu mína. En ek fekk þar þvílík svör:
 12 “Takþu sonu þína tvá, Faustum ok Faustinum, ok bú þá til farar ok far með þá til Sýrlands ok sel þá til fóstr(s) inum fróþustum spekingum. Þeir munu verþa gofgir kennimenn. En Clemens sonr þinn skal vera
 15 heima með feþr sínum til huggunar honum ok mun at honum vegr vera frændum hans ok ǫllum Rúmaborgar lýþ at eilífu.”’

Við þessi orþ varþ Faustinianus dapr harþla ok svaraþi af móþi miklum
 18 ok mælti:

‘Ef þat er Guþs firirhyggia at svá skyli verþa sem þú segir, þá má engi því hnekkia.’
 21 Síþan bió hann skip gott ok gekk þar á kona hans ok synir hans tveir inir ellri með fiárhlutum miklu(m) ok fǫruneyti vegligu.

III

Þeim fórsk vel unz þeir liþu umb Sikiley. Þau fóru í nónd við borg þá es
 24 Patera heitir ok Nicholas byskup var síþan natus í. Þar tók þau útsynningr steinóþr ok keyrþi of nótt at eyiu þeiri es Corpho heitir. Þar leysti skip allt í sundr undir þeim ok fiárhlutir allir ok menn nema
 27 Mathidia ok synir hennar. Þau ein hóþþu líf. Hon fylgþi skipsborþi nøkkveriu til lands ok gekk síþan á land upp. Hon kom of miþnætti til húss einnar auþigs manns konu ok var þar tekit vel við henni. Þeir Faustus
 30 ok Faustinus sótu á skipsflaki, ok es lýsa tók þá sǫ þeir fara í nónd sér víkingaskip. Þeir le(i)toþu sér ráþs sín á milli hvat tiltækiligast væri. Þá mælti Faustus við Faustinum bróður sinn:

33 ‘Þessir menn munu taka okkr ok selia mansali. Gefum vit okkr nǫmn ǫnnur en vit eigum áþr. Ek mu(n) nemnask Niceta, en þú skalt heita Aquila.’

Clement. And when they were grown out of childhood, then Bassus, their father's brother, began to lust after Mathidia their mother and his brother's wife, and he attempted to see whether he could seduce her with his sorcery. And when she noticed his unseemly feelings towards her, since she was an upright woman, she tried to think of ways by which she might best escape his wickedness. She made herself ready in the way in which she usually prepared herself when she engaged in worship and then went to talk with her husband and said to him:

'For a long time I have been concerned about what our sons' future will be. I went during the day, dressed as I am now, into the temple of the Sun God who is called Apollo and will never lie. I brought offerings there to the Sun God and afterwards I asked what the future would be for my sons. And I received there these answers: "Take your two sons, Faustus and Faustinus, and prepare them for a journey and go with them to Syria and hand them over to be brought up by the wisest philosophers. They will become distinguished teachers. But your son Clement must remain at home with his father as a consolation to him and he will bring honour to his kinsmen and all the people of Rome for ever."'

At these words Faustinianus became very unhappy and answered in great sadness and said:

'If it is God's intention that it should be as you say, then no one can prevent it.'

Then he made ready a good ship, and his wife and his two elder sons boarded it with much treasure and a magnificent retinue.

III

Their voyage went well until they passed round Sicily. They sailed close to the city which is called Patara and in which Bishop Nicholas was later born. There a violent southwesterly gale caught them and swept them during the night to the island called Corfu. There the whole ship broke up beneath them and all goods and people except Mathidia and her sons. They alone survived. She came to land with the help of a ship's plank and then walked up ashore. She came at midnight to the house of a wealthy man's wife and she was received well there. Faustus and Faustinus sat on a piece of the wreckage, and when it began to grow light then they saw a pirate ship sailing near them. They discussed between themselves what would be most practical for them to do. Then Faustus said to his brother Faustinus:

'These men will seize us and sell us as slaves. Let us give ourselves other names than we already have. I shall call myself Niceta, and you shall be called Aquila.'

Síþan gripu víkingar sveina þessa báða ok höfðu þá út of haf til Íórsalalands. Þeir seldu þá í síaborg þeiri es Cesarea heitir húsfreyiu 3 auþigri, ok hét sú Iusta ok var Gyþinga kyns. En húsfreyia sú lagði óst mikla á sveinana ok gerði þá sér at óskbörnum. Hon seldi þá til læringar Símoni inum fiq(1)kunga af Samaria es kraptr Guþs almáttigs lézk vera. 6 En er þeir höfðu numit allar íþróttir hans þá fundu þeir at hann loddí flærþ einni saman ok illsku. Þeir hliópuk á braut frá Símoni inum illa ok sóttu fund Pétrs postola. Hann tók við þeim vel ok kenndi þeim 9 kristinn dóm ok gerþusk þeir þá hans lærisveinar.

Mathidia hafði virþingar góþar af húsfreyiu þeiri es við henni hafði tekit. Hon var búin ítarliga fyrst þá er hon kom ór skipsbroti til húss 12 hennar, ok þóttisk húsfreyia þaþan af vita at hon myndi gofugmennni vera. Hon mælti of dag við hana:

‘Þat þykiumk ek siá á þér at þú munt kynstór kona vera. Þú ert alvæn 15 ifirliz, látuþ vel ok vitrmál harþla, enda er hannørþ á hvívetna því es þú tekr þínum høndum til at gera. Nú vil ek at þú gerir mér húsbúnuþ ok búir klæði es menn munu bera at høndum þér ok mun þér þat allt saman 18 verþa gott til fiár.’

Mathidia gerði sem hon var beþin. Þaþan frá böru menn at henni klæði mörq til gerþar. En hon gerði svá at hverium var vel at skapi þeim es 21 átti. Þat varþ of unga menn es só hana ok ásiónu hennar ok hannørþir á hverian veg vel gervar ok heyrþu orþalag hennar vitrligt at þeir loqþu á hana ástarhug mikinn. En hon veik undan at hafa þýþleik ne einn við 24 þá, en þeir kostgæfþu eigi at miþr at geta óst af henni. En þat varþ henni firir of dag at hon fór í fiqru ok tók steina hvassa ok barði þeim í andlit sér svát hon varþ ql blá ok blóþug of andlit. Síþan tók hon hinna þunna 27 eþa roþ af fiski ok þanþi of andlit sér ok gerði sik sem endimligsta á at siá. Hon meiddi ok hendr sínar meþ grióti at hon var til engrar sýslu fær þeirar es vanda skyldi. Síþan fór hon til herbergis síns ok lézk vera 30 orþin firir vanheilsu. En þat harmaþi húsfreyia hennar fyrst ákafliga ok gerði við hana vel ok miskunnsamliga of stundar sakar. En þaþan frá leiþ eigi langt unz hon lagði á við hana órækþ mikla ok gaf at henni 33 engi gaum.

Mathidia fann þat brátt at þá mátti ekki þar lengr vera við vanheilsu þá es hon hafði. Þá fór hon braut ór þorpi því ok gekk til sævar. Þá sá 36 hon hús lítit þat riúka. Þat lauk hon upp ok hitti þar konu eina fátækia es sat við glæþr ok kvaddi hon þá fyrri. Hon svaraði ok mælti:

Afterwards the pirates seized both these boys and carried them off over the sea to Palestine. They then sold them in the sea town which is called Cesarea to a rich lady, and she was called Justa and was of Jewish family. And this lady came to love the boys greatly and made them her adoptive children. For their education she handed them over to Simon the Mage of Samaria who claimed to be the power of Almighty God. And when they had learnt all his skills then they realised that he held fast to nothing but deceit and wickedness. They ran away from Simon the Evil and went to see the Apostle Peter. He welcomed them and taught them Christianity and they then became his disciples.

Mathidia was treated decently by the housewife who had taken her in. She was finely dressed at first when she came to her house from the shipwreck, and the housewife thought that she could tell from this that she must be a person of rank. She spoke to her one day:

‘I think that I can see from looking at you that you must be a high-born woman. You have a very fair appearance, are well-mannered and are extremely wise in speech, moreover there is skill in whatever you set your hands to do. Now I should like you to make me hangings for the house and make up cloth that people will bring to you and altogether this will make a good source of income for you.’

Mathidia did as she was asked. From then on people brought many clothes to her for sewing. And she sewed them so that everyone was very pleased who owned them. It happened with young men who saw her and her appearance and her fine work in every way well made, and heard her sensible way of speaking, that they fell deeply in love with her. And she avoided having any familiarity with them, but they strove none the less to win love from her. And she ended up going to the beach one day and picking up sharp stones and beating them on her face so that she was all blue and bloody in her face. Then she took a thin membrane or skin of a fish and stretched it across her face and made herself as outlandish as possible to look at. She also injured her hands with stones so that she was incapable of doing anything that required intricate work. Then she went to her room and said that she had fallen ill. And her housewife was extremely upset about her at first and treated her well and kindly for a while. But from then on it was not long before she began to neglect her badly and paid no heed to her.

Mathidia soon realised that she could no longer remain there in her poor state of health. Then she left that village and walked to the sea. Then she saw smoke rising a little from a house. She opened it and found a poor woman there who was sitting by the embers, and she greeted her first. She answered and said:

‘Vel þú komin, dróttning mín. Allt mitt skal þitt vera. Ertu húsfreyja en rúmverska, sú er komt ein á land þá er allt fǫruneyti þitt fǫrsk? Mikill harmr es þat er þú ert svá aum orþin. Vestu með mér svá lengi sem þú vill ok skaldu ein ǫllu ráða því es ek á.’

6 Peim orþum varþ Mathidia svá fegin at hon felldi tǫr. Síþan mælti hon við þá es firir bió:

‘Firir hví es þú komin í kot þetta?’

9 Hon svarði: ‘Firir nǫkkverium vetrum missta ek búanda míns svát vit ǫttum engi erfingia, en ek vilda ein vera firir mér eptir dag hans. Fór ek af því á braut ór borg ok bǫrluþumk hér firir. Nú á ek akr nekkvern ok fá þá sauði til atvinnu mér. Ek hefi nú fengit líkþró ok má ek nú ekki at hafask.’

12 Þá mælti Mathidia: ‘Ek mun vera hér ok hugga þik ok þjóna þér unz enn koma betri dagar ifir okkr.’

15 En frá þeim degi fór Mathidia of þorp ok borgir ok baþ firir þær matar ok burgusk þær þá við þat. Í þeim staþ hǫfþusk þær við lítils vant tuttugu vetr unz þær fingi miskunn af fundi ins helga Pétrs postola sem síþarr mun frá verþa sagt nakkvat.

IV

18 Nú skal þar til máls at taka es Faustinianus, faþir þeira brœþra Faustus ok Faustinus, þá er hann spurði tíþindi þessi at skip þat hafði farizk við Corpho es kona hans var á ok sǫnir, hann hugði at þau mundu ǫll þar tapazk hafa. Hann kunni því svá illa at hann lagþisk í rekkiu af ok þótti nær sem hann væri af viti ginginn í harmi sínum. Þá fór Bassus bróþir hans til fundar við hann ok lét megingóþvættliga, en illt bió undir. Hann

24 kvaddi bróþur sinn blíþliga ok mælti:

‘Sé ek bróþir at þú ert dapr harþla af mannamissi þeim es þú hyggsk fenginn hafa. En hitt er ráþ at huggask ok gerask staþramr við þótt þér þyki eigi allt at vilia þínum siálfs ganga. Kona þín hefir komit á land með miklu(m) fiárlutum ok es nú í austrhǫlfu heims langt á braut ýr Rúmveriaveldi. Hon es nú gefin einum þræli sínum þeim es lengi hefir

30 virkþamaþr hennar verit.’

Við þessi tíþendi varþ Faustinianus styggr miǫk ok mátti lengi eigi orþi upp koma. Hann settisk upp ok mælti:

33 ‘Hvat ætlar þú, bróþir, hver stiarna því mun valda með skǫpum er svá illa hefir snúizk skap konu minnar?’

‘Welcome, my mistress. Everything of mine shall be yours. Are you the Roman lady who came ashore alone when all your companions perished? It is a great sorrow that you have become so wretched. Stay with me as long as you wish, and you alone shall manage all that I have.’

At these words Mathidia was so happy that she shed tears. Then she said to the woman who dwelt there:

‘Why have you come to this cottage?’

She answered: ‘Some winters ago I lost my husband without our having any heirs, and I wanted to be on my own after his time. So I left the city and struggled to get along here. Now I own a field and these few sheep for my livelihood. I have now caught leprosy and I am now unable to do anything.’

Then Mathidia said: ‘I will stay here and comfort you and look after you until better days come for us again.’

And from that day Mathidia went throughout villages and towns and begged for food for them and they managed to survive on that. They lived in that place a little short of twenty years until they had the good fortune to meet the Blessed Apostle Peter about which something will be told later.

IV

Now we shall take up the story again at the point where Faustinianus, the father of the brothers Faustus and Faustinus, when he heard this news that the ship had been lost off Corfu which his wife and sons were aboard, he thought that they must all have perished there. He felt so distressed by this that he took to his bed and it seemed almost as if he had lost his reason in his sorrow. Then his brother Bassus went to see him and spoke very kindly, but there was evil behind it. He greeted his brother cheerfully and said:

‘I see, brother, that you are extremely sad on account of the bereavements which you believe you have suffered. But it is more sensible to be comforted and make yourself steadfast though it seems to you everything does not go according to your own wishes. Your wife has come ashore with much treasure and is now in the eastern part of the world far away from the Roman Empire. She is now wedded to one of her slaves who has been her favourite for a long time.’

At this news Faustinianus became very upset and for a long time was not able to utter a word. He sat up and said:

‘What do you think, brother, which star by destiny can be the cause that my wife’s disposition has changed so much for the worse?’

Bassus mælti: ‘Göngum vit í virkþahús þat es vit eigum ok allr stiornugangr es markaðr í.’

3 En er þeir vóru þangat komnir þá mælti Bassus: ‘Sér þú nú hér bróþir hversu stiornurnar ganga?’

Hann svaraði: ‘Víst sé ek.’

6 Bassus mælti: ‘Þikistu skilia mega hvar Friggjar stiarna mun staþit hafa á getnaþartíþ eða burþartíþ konu þinnar?’

9 Faustinianus mælti: ‘Ekki má ek ætlun á slíkt koma firir harmi þeim es ek hefik beþit.’

Þá mælti Bassus: ‘Þat þykiumk ek vita at á burþartíþ konu þinnar mun Friggjar stiarna staþit hafa í þeim staþ sem sól kómr upp þá er dagr
12 es skemstr. En sú kona es svá verþr borin má at öngum kosti ráþvönd vera ef hon verþr fulltíþa.’

Viþ þessi orþ varþ Faustinianus ókvæþi með öllu ok við þat es hann
15 dixit slíkt ok vildi hann ekki lengr ræþa við bróþur sinn. Hann tók at heita á inn eina Guþ at hann skyldi því skióta í hug honum es honum gegndi helzt hvat hann legþi firir sik þaþan frá. Þá minntisk hann á þat
18 at hann hafþi veldi ifir heruþum þeim es liggia við Anþekiu. Honum þótti ok þaþra glíkligast til at hann møndi nakkvat mega spyria til konu sinnar eða sona. Síþan bió hann skip mikít ok skrautligt harþla ok gekk
21 þar á skip ipse með fõruneyti miklu. Hann helt skipi því í Grikklandshaf ok horþþisk fyrst miök vænliga á á farlengþ hans, en hinn veg lauk þó at of nótt keyrþi skip þat í óþaveþri at biörgum nøkkverium í ey þeiri es
24 Ciprus heitir ok Norþmenn kalla Kíþr. Þá brotnaði skip þat allt í sundr ok týndusk fiárhlutir allir þeir es á skipinu vóru ok engi maþr komsk á land nema Faustinianus einn ok varþ honum við bana siálfan. En er
27 hann tók hvíld á landi ok lýsa tók þá kenndi hann hvar hann var kominn. Hann gekk í borg nøkkvera litla ok fekk hann þar góþar viðtökur, en engi maþr kenndi hann þar. Hann gekk þar í sýslu mikla ok gerþisk
30 hann þar varþmaþr í borg þeiri. Þá sýslu hafþi hann átián vetr eða litlu miþr unz þingat kom Petrus postoli ok kenndi honum trú rétta.

V

33 Á ári inu þriþia eptir þíning Dróttins ok á inu tífunda ári veldis Tiberii keisera þá kom Barnabas postoli af Iórsalalandi á skipi til Rúmaborgar ok fór of nótt í stiga upp í borgina. Ok tók hann þegar inn sama dag at bióþa trú rétta ok sanna es hann kom í borgina. En menn lögþu eigi

Bassus said: 'Let us go into the special room which we have and in which the whole course of the stars is marked.'

And when they had come there, then Bassus said: 'Do you see here now, brother, how the stars go?'

He answered: 'Indeed I see.'

Bassus said: 'Do you think you can work out where the star of Frigg will have been at the time of your wife's conception or birth?'

Faustinianus said: 'I cannot calculate such a thing because of the sorrow I have suffered.'

Then Bassus said: 'I feel certain that at the time of your wife's birth the star of Frigg must have been in the position where the sun rises when day is shortest. And the woman who is born thus can by no means be upright if she becomes adult.'

At these words Faustinianus became utterly speechless and because he said these things, then he would not talk further with his brother. He began to pray to the one God that he might put into his mind the best course for him to follow from then on. Then he remembered that he had authority over those regions which lie near Antioch. He also thought it most likely that he would be able to hear some news of his wife or his sons there. Then he prepared a large and very splendid ship and boarded the ship himself with a large company. He sailed the ship into the Ægean Sea and at first his voyage promised very well, but it ended otherwise, however, that the ship was driven during the night in a violent gale onto certain cliffs on the island which is called Ciprus and which the Northmen call Kípr. Then the ship broke up completely and all the goods that were on the ship were lost and no one got ashore except only Faustinianus, and he was close to death itself. And when he had had a rest on the shore and dawn broke he recognised where he had come. He walked to a certain small town and was made welcome there, but no one there knew him. He took on important work there and he became watchman in the town. He held that position for eighteen years or a little less until the Apostle Peter came there and taught him the true faith.

V

In the third year after the Passion of Christ and in the tenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, the Apostle Barnabas came by ship from Palestine to Rome and in the night climbed up a ladder into the city. And on the same day he got into the city he at once began to preach the right and true faith. But the men who listened did not have a high opinion of his

miklar virðingar á tölur hans þeir es til hlýddu. Þar kom fram maðr ungr ok búinn ítarliga með ríðerasveit mikla ok kvaddi sér hlióþs. En hann hóf svá mál sitt:

‘Hví verþr yþr þat firir Rómverium at gera í gegn borgarsíþ ok lögum órum ok taka eigi betr við ørendreka Guþs, þeim es boðar hiólþ ok heilsu öllum heimi at því er ek hygg?’

Þá gafsk hlióþ gott af alþýðu. Síþan laut sá inn ungi maðr Barnabe postola ok kvaddi hann á þessa lund:

‘Heilldu ok vel kominn sanctus postoli Guþs Domini nostri Jesu Christi! Segðu oss frá hingatkomu Christi í þenna heim ok frá burþ hans ok tóknum þeim es hann gerði ok frá kenningum, frá þíningu hans ok upprisu af dauða, frá uppsti(g)ning til himna ok frá tilkomu Sancti Spiritus es hann gaf postolum sínum. Ok svá vilium vér at þú segir oss frá annarri hingatkomu hans, þá er hann skal koma í enda veraldar at dæma of allt mannkyn ok láta hvern hafa þat es til gørir með Guþs miskunn.’

Þá tók Barnabas postoli at greiða þat mál allt sem hann var beiddr, ok hlýddi þá öll alþýða vel unz hann lauk kenningu sinni sem hann vildi. Síþan tók sá inn ungi maðr við honum í herbergi sínu ok fekk honum alla reiðu gnógliga ok boðaði þingat þeim mönnum öllum es heyra vildu orð Guþs.

Föðm dögum síþarr mælti sá inn ungi húsbúandi við Barnaban postola:

‘Ek vil segia þér deili á mér ok á kyni mínu. Ek heiti Clemens en faðir minn Faustianus, systrungr Augustus keisera. Ek varþveiti at forráði föður míns alla föðurleifþ mína ok emk nú hálfþrítøgr maðr at aldri. Nú vilia menn, sem þú sér ipse, eigi miök skipask við kenningar þínar ok má vera at sé af því at þér sé heldr annarstaðar ávøxtr at taka af kenningum þínum. Nú farðu í nafni Domini til Sýrlands ok er þú fiþr inn helga Pétr höfþingia postola þá berðu honum kveþiu mína rækiliga ok seg svá at á öþru ári mun ek koma til hans ef ek lifi, ok mun ek biþia at hann komi hingat í borg þessa. Þat þyki mér áræþiligt at Guþ mun hafa ætlat at senda sinn inn hæsta postola ok ørendreka í ina æztu höfuborg heimsins at snúa þeim lýþ til Guþs es þessa borg byggvir.’

Eptir þat lét Clemens búa farskost góþan til handa Barnabe postola ok fekk alla reiðu á skip þat þá er hann þurfti at hafa. Síþan leiddi Clemens Barnaban til skips ok bað honum vel farask ok fal sik með tötum undir bænir hans es þeir skilþusk. En skip þat er Barnabas postoli

speeches. A man came forward there, young and finely dressed, with a large company of mounted men, and called for a hearing. And he began his speech so:

‘Why does it come about for you Romans that you go against civility and our laws and do not receive God’s messenger better, who proclaims salvation and healing to all the world according to my view?’

Then there was complete silence from all the people. Afterwards the young man bowed down to the Apostle Barnabas and greeted him in this way:

‘Greetings and welcome, holy Apostle of our Lord God Jesus Christ! Tell us about the coming of Christ into this world and about his birth and the miracles which he did and about his teachings, about his Passion and Resurrection from death, about his Ascension into heaven and about the coming of the Holy Ghost which he gave to his Apostles. And we also wish you to tell us about his second coming, when he shall come at the end of the world to judge all mankind and let each man have what he deserves by God’s grace.’

Then the Apostle Barnabas began to expound everything that he was asked, and then all the people listened attentively until he finished his preaching as he wished. Then the young man received him into his lodging and provided him plentifully with everything he needed and invited everyone there who wished to hear the word of God.

A few days later the young master of the house spoke to the Apostle Barnabas:

‘I will tell you about myself and my family. I am called Clement, and my father Faustinianus, a cousin of the Emperor Augustus. I am looking after all my patrimony by my father’s authority and I am now twenty-five years old. Now people are unwilling, as you yourself see, to change their ways much at your teaching and it may be that it is because the fruit of your teaching is to be gathered elsewhere. Now go to Syria in the Lord’s name and when you find the Blessed Peter, leader of the Apostles, then give him my sincere greetings and say that next year I will come to him if I live, and I shall ask him to come here to this city. It seems likely to me that God will have intended to send his chief Apostle and messenger into the most important capital city of the world to turn the people to God who live in this city.’

After that Clement had a good vessel made ready for the Apostle Barnabas and provided all the equipment on the ship which he needed to have. Then Clement took Barnabas to the ship and bade him fare well and with tears commended himself to his prayers when they parted. And the ship that the Apostle Barnabas was on went with good speed until it halted

var á fór greitt unz þat nam staþar firir útan haf í borg þeiri es Cesarea heitir. Þar var Petrus postoli firir ok í húsum þess manns es Zacheus
 3 heitir ok þá hafði byskupdóm tekit ifir þeiri borg af Petro postola. Sá inn sami Zacheus es nefndr in evangelio til þess at hann gerði fögnuð Domino nostro í húsum sínum í borg þeiri es Iericho heitir.

6 En á öþru ári kom til þeinar borgar innar sömu af Rúmaborg Clemens, frændi Augusti k(e)isera ok sonr Faustianus ok Mathidie. Viþ honum tóku allir borgarmenn vel ok allra balt þeir es kristnir vóru. Þá minntisk
 9 Barnabas postoli á þat hversu vel Clemens hafði hans mólum tekit í Rúmaborg. Hann fylgði honum á fund Pétrs postola, en hann tók við honum feginsamliga vel. En föm dögum síþarr var þing fiqlmennt á
 12 stræti nær húsum þeim es Zacheus byskup átti. Í borginni var stöpull höt miök. Þar hafði herbergi í stöpli þeim Símon inn illi ok inn fiqlkungi ok vera lézk kraptr Guþs. Hann talþisk vera sólin ipsa, en konu sína
 15 kallaði hann tungl vera es kvenkenndu namni heitir luna á latínu tungu. Stiqrnur þær fimm es lausar fara í lopti ok planete heita at bókmáli, talði hann þær ambáttir vera konu sinnar. Símon inn illi hafði fyrst skírn
 18 tekit af Philippo es einn var af diáknum siau inum fyrstum. Síþan var hann bannsettr af postolum Domini Petro ok Iohanne firir þat at hann hugþisk at fékaupum myndu gera Helgan Anda. Vildi hann hans giptir
 21 fé kaupa ok við fé selia í gegn því es Dominus mælti við postola sína of Helgan Anda:

‘At vingiöf ok öst heilagri þögugþ ér Helgan Anda enda skuluþ ér
 24 félaust veita.’

En á nemndum degi kom Petrus postoli Guþs til þings ok gekk at þingstöþinni neþan frá síó. Þingat kom ok Clemens með mikla sveit, þá
 27 er undir Rúmveria vóru hallir. Þar kom ok Símon inn illi með sveit sína ok sat hann á ofanverðu stræti í nónd við stöpul sinn. Á þingi því reis upp Pétr postoli fyrstr allra manna ok kvaddi allan lýþ á þessa lund:

30 ‘Friþr sé yþr öllum es af öllu hiarta ok af öllum krapti elskip Dominum Guþ yþvarn.’

Þá svaraði Símon magus: ‘Eigi þurfum vér friþ af þér at þiggia.’

33 Þá mælti Petrus: ‘Fir hví máttu eigi heyra friþ boþaðan? Af synþum ok af löstum hlýzk iamnan sundrþyki ok bardagi en friþi fylgia allir kostir ok öll friþendi.’

the other side of the sea in the city which is called Caesarea. The Apostle Peter was there and in the dwelling of a man called Zacheus who had then taken over the bishopric of the city from the Apostle Peter. This same Zacheus is mentioned in the Gospel because he made our Lord welcome in his dwelling in the city which is called Jericho.

And the next year Clement, kinsman of the Emperor Augustus and son of Faustinianus and Mathidia, came to the same city from Rome. All the citizens received him well and best of all those who were Christians. Then the Apostle Barnabas called to mind how well Clement had received his sermons in Rome. He took him to see the Apostle Peter, and he welcomed him joyfully. And a few days later there was a crowded assembly in the street close to the house which Bishop Zacheus had. There was a very high tower in the city. Simon the Evil and the Mage had a room there in the tower and claimed that he was the power of God. He reckoned that he was the sun itself, and he maintained that his wife was the moon which is called *luna*, a feminine word in the Latin language. The five stars which move freely in the sky and which are called planets in Latin, he claimed that they were his wife's handmaidens. Simon the Evil had first received baptism from Philip, who was one of the first seven deacons. Afterwards he was excommunicated by the Lord's Apostles Peter and John because he thought that he was going to make a profit out of the Holy Ghost. He wanted to buy its gifts with money and to sell them for money, contrary to what the Lord said to his Apostles concerning the Holy Ghost:

'You received the Holy Ghost as a gift of friendship and holy love and moreover you shall bestow it without payment (cf. Acts 8:14-24).'

And on the appointed day God's Apostle Peter came to the assembly and walked to the assembly-place from down by the sea. Clement also came there with a large company of men, those who favoured the Romans. Simon the Evil also came there with his group and he sat in the upper part of the street near his tower. At this assembly the Apostle Peter got up before anyone else and greeted all the people in this way:

'Peace be with you all who with all your heart and with all your might love your Lord God.'

Then Simon Magus answered: 'We do not need to receive peace from you.'

Then Peter said: 'Why can you not hear peace proclaimed? Discord and battle are always the result of sins and vices but all virtues and benefits come with peace.'

Þá mælti Símon: 'Hitt es nú ráð at þú ger ónýtt mál mitt ef þú mátt
 3 nøkkveria flærþ finna í orðum mínum. Ek mun ok kosta at ónýta
 kenningar þínar es lokleysu einni loða saman, ok mun ek sýna hvat it
 sanna er <at> til þurftar ok til hiálpar sé allri alþýðu.'

Þá mælti Petrus: 'Færum vit fram ok þá mól okkur með hófsemi ok
 6 skapgæði.'

Símon svaraði: 'Enskis eru verþ mól þín ǫll.'

Þá kallaði sá inn illi karl Símon hótt með ǫllu ok mælti:

9 'Hlýþiþ mér allir menn þeir es hér eruþ komnir. Ek emk kraptr
 almáttigs skapera. Ek komk af hinnum ofan ok vask getinn í kvíþi konu
 þeiri es Rakel hét. Hon fæddi mik tíu vetr vandliga. En einn hvern dag
 12 seldi hon í hǫnd mér sigþ ok sendi hon mik til kornskurþar. Ek kom til
 aksins ok mælti ek við sigþinn: "Skerþu nú kornit." Hann skar akrinn
 eigi seinna en tíu menn. Mér es hlýþin ǫll skepna til þess es ek vil. Ek
 15 má fliúga í lopti í eldslíki. Ek geri svá at aldintré eþa akr rennr þar upp
 sem ek vil. Ek má fara í gegnum fiǫll hvars ek vil. At boþorþi mínu
 hlæia líkneski þau es ger eru ór tré eþa ór málmi ok hræask þau ok
 18 mæla ef ek býþ þat. Ek skipti ifirlitum mínum ef ek vil svát ek sýnumk
 stundum gamall maþr ok skeggiaþr miǫk ok hárr, en stundum fulltíþi
 maþr ok nakkvat skeggiaþr, en stundum sýnumk ek gransprettingr eþa
 21 yngri ok svá ungr ok stundum ungmenni. Stundum bregþ ek á mik
 kykvenda líki ýmissa, fogla eþa orma, fiska eþa dýra, nauta eþa hrossa,
 hrúta eþa hafra.'

24 Þá er Símon talþi slíkt firir lýþnum þá andsvaraði Petrus postoli:

'Sýnisk yþr eigi sem síá siálfr diǫfulsmaþr lýsi ifir fiǫlkyngi sinni ok
 flærþ í sínum orðum, en eigi of go<þ>dómi þeim es hann lézk hafa ok
 27 hann hefir þó at ǫngum kosti?'

Lýþrinn svaraði: 'At vísu sýnisk oss svá.'

Þá mælti Petrus við Símon: 'Hvílíkir munu þeir menn verþa es hverfa
 30 eptir þér?'

Símon svaraði: 'Svá sem ek em siálfr eilífr ok ódaupligr, svá munu
 ok allir mínir menn aldregi deya.'

33 Petrus mælti: 'Hvárt trúir þú upprisu dauþra manna?'

Símon svaraði: 'Eigi, eigi.'

Petrus mælti: 'Hví vildu liúga? Þat veit ek at þú hefir í vitum þínum
 36 lík barns þess es þú ipse banaþir ok gengr þú við þat til fréttar. En ór
 þeim inum litla bók veitir diǫfull þér andsvǫr of þá hluti es þú spyrr at.

Then Simon said: 'What you must do now is demonstrate the wrongness of my position if you can find any falsehood in my words. I shall also try to refute your teachings which consist of pure nonsense, and I shall show what the truth is which is to the profit and salvation of all people.'

Then Peter said: 'Let us then also present our cases with moderation and good nature.'

Simon answered 'All your words are worthless.'

Then this evil fellow Simon absolutely shouted out loud and said:

'All those men who have come here listen to me! I am the power of the Almighty Creator. I came down from heaven and I was conceived in the womb of a woman who was called Rakel. She reared me carefully for ten years. And one day she put a sickle in my hand and she sent me to reap corn. I came to the field and said to the sickle: "Now cut the corn!" It cut the field no slower than ten men. Every creature is obedient to me for whatever I wish. I can fly in the air in the form of fire. I make it so that fruit-trees or crops grow up where I wish. I can go through mountains wherever I wish. At my bidding those images laugh which are made of wood or metal and if I command it they move and speak. I change my appearance if I so wish so that sometimes I appear as an old man and very bearded and hoary, and sometimes as a full grown man and slightly bearded, and sometimes I appear as an adolescent or younger, and as young also sometimes as a child. Sometimes I put on the forms of various living creatures, birds or snakes, fish or wild animals, cattle or horses, rams or goats.'

When Simon had spoken these things before the people then the Apostle Peter answered:

'Does it not appear to you that this servant of the Devil is himself proclaiming his sorcery and deceit by his words, and not that divinity which he claimed to have and which he in no way has?'

The people answered: 'Certainly it seems so to us.'

Then Peter said to Simon: 'What will those men become who follow you?'

Simon answered: 'Just as I myself am eternal and immortal, so also all my men will never die.'

Peter said: 'Do you believe in the resurrection of the dead?'

Simon answered: 'No, no.'

Peter said: 'Why will you lie? I know this, that in your inner chamber you have the corpse of a child which you yourself killed and you go to it to ask about the future. And from that small body the devil gives you answers concerning the matters which you ask about. Let us now go who believe

Förum vér nú es á Christum trúum ok rannsøkum vit Símonar ok vitum hvat vér finnum þar.’

3 Þá er Petrus mælti þessi orð þá sýndisk mǫnnum sicut Símon flygi í lopt upp, enda hvarf hann allr hiá stöpli sínum. Þá var ok komit at nótt ok tók þá at myrkva miök es Símon hvarf. Þá mælti Petrus við allan lýþ:

6 ‘Nú megu þér síá at Símon vill eigi láta rannsaka vit sín. Fariþ ér nú í Guþs friði hverr í hús sitt ok komiþ til mín at morni árdegis. Þá skuluþ ér heyra formæli mitt ok þá mun lýsask firir yþr saþr Guþs kraptr til 9 hiálpar ǫndum yþrum ok líkǫmum ok heþan af mun eyþask átrúnuþr við Símon af því at menn megu allir vita með hvé mikil svik hann ferr.’

Annan dag eptir kom fiqlþi manna á fund Pétrs postola árdegis. En 12 þá var Símon horfinn ór borginni með allt sitt ok lengi síþan vissu menn ekki til hans í þeim heruþum. Þann dag talþi Petrus lengi firir lýþnum ok gerþi kunna allri alþýþu flærþ Símonar. Þá gaf hann ok heilsu mǫrgum 15 siúkum mǫnnum, þeir es þar kómu til hans. Þaþan kristnaþisk fiqlþi manna ok tók skírni í namni Domini. Ok þá var Clemens þar skírþr ok allt foruneyti hans, ok rézk hann til fylgiu við Pétr postola (ok baþ hann 18 Pétr postola) at hann skyldi fara til Rúmaborgar at boþa þar Guþs ǫrendi þeim mǫnnum es þar vildi heyra. En hann lézk fyrst mundu reka Guþs ǫrendi á Gyþingalandi sicut honum var boþit af Guþi, en loks lét hann 21 vǫn at hann mundi vitia Rúmaborgar á firirætlaþ(r)i tíþ af Guþi ok kallaþisk hann þar mǫndu enda líf sitt at Guþs vilia.

Síþan boþaþi Pétr postoli Guþs namn of Gyþingaland allt ok of Sýrland 24 ok of Grikklandseyiar ok þau heruþ es þar eru í nónd. En Clemens fylgþi honum hvar sem hann fór. Þeir Niceta ok Aquila, bræþr Clementis, vǫru þá iamnan í fylgiu með Petro, ok kǫnnuþusk þeir þó ekki við 27 Clementem í þann tíþ at þeir væri bræþr hans.

Svá bar at at skip þat es Petrus postoli var á kom við ey þá es Corpho heitir. Þá er þeir dvǫlþusk þar í einni hverri hǫfn, þá gengu þeir Niceta 30 ok Aquila of dag á land upp. Þeir kómu þar es leikstefna nøkkver var fiqlmenn ok tóku þeir at boþa þeim mǫnnum á fund Pétrs postola es heyra vildu Guþs orð eþa kenning helga eþa fá bót meina sinna, þeir es 33 þar væri vanheilir. Þar kom Mathidia at gangandi ok nemndisk ǫþru na(m)ni en hon átti. Hon mælti við þá Nicetam ok Aquilam:

in Christ and search Simon's inner chamber and see what we find there.'

When Peter had spoken these words then it seemed to people as if Simon flew up in the air, indeed he completely disappeared near his tower. Then also night had fallen and it began to grow very dark when Simon disappeared. Then Peter said to all the people:

'Now you can see that Simon does not want to have his inner chamber searched. Go now in God's peace each to his house and come to me early in the morning. Then you shall hear my preaching and then the true power of God will be revealed to you for the salvation of your souls and bodies and from now on belief in Simon will be destroyed because everyone will be able to see with what great deceit he behaves.'

The next day a multitude of people came early in the morning to see the Apostle Peter. But then Simon had disappeared from the town with all his belongings and for a long time afterwards men knew nothing of him in those regions. That day Peter preached for a long time before the people and he made Simon's deceit known to all the population. Then he also gave health to many sick people who came to him there. From then on many people became Christians and received baptism in the name of the Lord. And then Clement was baptised and all his companions and he became a follower of the Apostle Peter and he asked the Apostle Peter to go to Rome to preach God's message to those people who were willing to hear him there. But he said that he would first carry out God's mission in the land of the Jews as he was commanded by God, but he said he expected that he would in the end visit Rome at a time preordained by God and declared that there he would end his life in accordance with God's will.

Afterwards the Apostle Peter preached God's name throughout all the land of the Jews and throughout Syria and the Greek Islands and those districts which were round about. And Clement went with him wherever he went. Clement's brothers, Niceta and Aquila, were then always in Peter's company, and yet at that time they did not realise who Clement was, that they were his brothers.

It happened that the ship which the Apostle Peter was on called at the island which is called Corfu. While they were staying there in a certain harbour, then one day Niceta and Aquila went up ashore. They came to where there was a certain crowded games meeting and they began to call on those people to come to see the Apostle Peter who wanted to hear God's word or holy teaching or to receive a cure for their ailments, those there who were ill. Mathidia came walking up and called herself by another name than her own. She spoke to Niceta and Aquila:

‘Hvers vætti þit, hvárt mér mon at nøkkverri hiálp verða ef ek kómk á fund Pétrs postola?’

3 Þeir svöruðu: ‘Ef þú ert saþr þurfamaþr, enda vildu trúa á Iesum Christum, son Guþs, þá mundu víst miskunn fá af fundi hans sem allir þeir es at flærþlausu vilia hans kenningar heyra ok hafa.’

6 Annars dags kom Mathidia af tilvísun þeira á fund Pétrs postola ok fell til fóta honum ok baþ hann ólmusugiafar. Petrus mælti:

9 ‘Af hví þarftu at þiggia ólmusugiafar eigi óheillig kona nú at því es mér sýnisk?’

Hon svaraði: ‘Freyva mín es vanheil ok líkþrö, ok vinn ek til reiðu okkr báþum. Af því biþ ek þik ólmusugiafa.’

12 Petrus mælti: ‘Hvat skyldir þik til at vinna firir konu þeiri?’

Þá er Mathidia skyldi þat segia, þá komsk hon við ákafliga miök ok mátti öngu orði upp koma. Þá mælti Petrus postoli:

15 ‘Þat er ætlun mín at þú munt verit hafa kona göfug at metorþum ok auþig, en nú kóm þér í hug ævi þín in fyrri ok skammask þú nú válaþs þíns ok vesalþar er nú es ifir þik komin.’

18 Mathidia mælti: ‘Rétt ætlar þú nú, herri minn,’ kvaþ hon Mathidia við postolann.

Petrus mælti: ‘Komi hingat húsfreyia þín, ok sióm vér hvat síþan gerisk af.’

21 Þá var sýst til þess at húsfreyiu hennar var fylgt þingat til fundar við Pétr postola, ok var hon loþfirir föetr postolans. Þá mælti hann við þær báþar:

‘Viliþ it trúa á Guþ föþur almáttkan ok á son hans Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum ok á Helgan Anda?’

27 Þær svöruðu: ‘Víst monum vit trúa sem þú kennir.’

Síþan signdi Petrus ina siúku konu ok varþ hon þegar heil af líkþrö sinni. En því næst vöru þær skírþar báþar í namni Þrenningar. Þá fór sú kona es heilsuna hafði fengit til frændliþs síns með leyfi Pétrs postola. Mathidia tók at biþia at hon skyldi ná at fylgia Petro postola ok girndisk hon at heyra kenningar hans of daga, enda var henni þat veitt. Hon rézk þá í sveit með konum þeim helgum es vöru í förunauti Pétrs postola, en þeygi vissu menn of stundar sakar hver hon var.

33 En stundu síþarr kómu þeir Petrus ok Clemens skipi sínu við Kípr. Þar vöru þeir í höfn nøkkverri eigi allskamma stund. En þar gekk Petrus

‘What do you expect, will any benefit come to me if I come to see the Apostle Peter?’

They answered: ‘If you are truly in need, and moreover are willing to believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, then you will certainly receive grace through meeting him like all those who without deceit wish to hear and accept his teachings.’

The next day Mathidia went by their direction to see the Apostle Peter and fell at his feet and begged alms from him. Peter said:

‘Why do you, a woman who is not sick, as far as I can see, now need to receive gifts of alms?’

She answered: ‘My lady is ill and has leprosy, and I work to provide for us both. For that reason I am asking you for alms.’

Peter said: ‘Why should you have to work for this woman?’

When Mathidia had to explain this, then she was greatly affected and was lost for words. Then the Apostle Peter said:

‘It is my belief that you must have been a woman held in high regard and wealthy, and now you are recalling your former life and you are now ashamed of your wretchedness and the misery which has now come upon you.’

Mathidia said: ‘There you are right, my lord,’ said Mathidia to the Apostle.

Peter said: ‘Let your lady come here, and we shall see what happens then.’

Then this was done that her lady was brought there to see the Apostle Peter, and she was laid at the feet of the Apostle. Then he said to both of them:

‘Will you believe in God the Father Almighty and in his Son our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Holy Ghost?’

They answered: ‘We will indeed believe what you preach.’

Then Peter made the sign of the cross over the sick woman and immediately she was cured of her leprosy. And next they were both baptised in the name of the Trinity. Then the woman who had been cured went to her family with the Apostle Peter’s permission. Mathidia began to ask that she should be allowed to follow the Apostle Peter and she desired to hear his teachings daily, and moreover this was granted to her. She then joined the group of holy women who were in the Apostle Peter’s company, but yet for the time being people did not know at all who she was.

And some time later Peter and Clement brought their ship to Cyprus. They were there in a certain harbour for quite a long time. And the Apostle

postoli upp á land hvern dag ok baþsk þar firir lǫngum á biargi nøkkveru
 es nær var höfninni. Þar var ok vatnfall mikit einum megin hiá biargi
 3 því. Þar kom af landi ofan at gangandi karl gamall ok hæruskeggi. En
 hann stóþ þriá daga alla miök svá í sǫmum sporum, ok hlýddi til
 bænahalds postolans ok til formælis þess es hann veitti þeim mǫnnum
 6 es til hans kómu. Karl sá mælti ekki orþ á þeim þrim dǫgum, en at aptni
 ins þriþia dags, þá er hann biósk braut at ganga, þá mælti hann þessi orþ
 of Pétr postola ok of fǫruneyti hans:

9 ‘Þessir eru menn góþir ok staþfastir í skaphǫfnum sínum ok munu
 vera eigi vitrir at því [es mer vir]þisk.’

Þau orþ heyrþi Petrus ok mælti við sína menn: ‘Takiþ ér karl þann ok
 12 færþi mér!’

Þeir tóku karl þann síþan ok færþu honum. Þá mælti Petrus:

‘Hverr er þú firir þér, fóstri?’

15 Hann svaraþi: ‘Ek emk varþkarl einn fátækr ok rúmverskr at kyni.’

Petrus mælti: ‘Hvaþan af kallar <þú> oss menn góþa ok gefþasta ok
 þó óvitra?’

18 Karl ok svaraþi: ‘Því kalla ek yþr góþa ok gefþasta at ek heyrþa hvé
 lítillátliga ok hvé óhrapalliga ér mæltuzk firir við Guþ yþvarn. Þat má
 ek ok skilia af málsendum yþrum at ér elskiþ ráþvendi ok gæzku en ér
 21 hatiþ ódápþir ok illsku. En af því kalla ek yþr óvitra menn at mér virþisk
 svá sem ér kalliþ mann einn dauþan vera Guþ yþvarn ok trúiþ ér á hann
 sem á Guþ. En þat má hverr maþr vitr skilia at einn es Guþ omnipotens
 24 ok óbrigþligr.’

Petrus mælti: ‘Þú kallar oss óvitra menn firir því at vér trúum á mann
 dauþan. En ek kann þér þat segia at hvártki þú né annarr maþr má alvitr
 27 vera nema hann skili þat at sá inn sami maþr es þú kallar dauþan, ok vér
 trúum á, es bæþi maþr dauþligr ok Guþ lifandi omnipotens ok óbrigþligr.’

Karl mælti: ‘Hversu meguþ ér slíkt satt vinna ófróþir menn ok íþróttá-
 30 lausir?’

Petrus mælti: ‘Þat vil ek at þú dvelisk með oss nøkkveria stund of daga
 ok mon ek fá mann til af liþi mínu ok fǫruneyti at reyna íþróttir þínar.’

33 Karl mælti: ‘Gørþu svá, ef þú vill.’

Annan dag eptir lét Petrus Clementem koma til máls við karl þann
 firir því at hann þótti algerr at sér of allar íþróttir þær er Rúmverium
 36 vǫru tíþar at kunna. Þá tóku þeir Clemens ok karl sá inn gamli at kannask

Peter went ashore there each day and prayed there for a long time on a certain cliff which was close to the harbour. There was also a big river on one side by that cliff. An old man with a hoary beard came walking down there from inland. And he stood for three entire days almost on the same spot and listened to the Apostle's prayers and to the preaching which he gave to the people who came to him. The old man spoke not a word during those three days, but on the evening of the third day, when he started to go away, then he spoke these words about the Apostle Peter and his companions:

'These are good men and steadfast in their minds but cannot be wise, as it seems to me.'

Peter heard these words and spoke to his men: 'Take hold of that old man and bring him to me!'

They then took the old man and brought him to him. Then Peter said: 'What sort of person are you, grandfather?'

He answered: 'I am a poor watchman, and Roman by birth.'

Peter said: 'Why do you call us good men and steadfast and yet not wise?'

And the old man answered: 'I call you good and steadfast because I heard how humbly and how unhurriedly you have prayed to your God. I can also understand from your language that you love uprightness and kindness but you hate misdeeds and evil. But I say you are not wise men because it seems to me that you claim a dead man to be your God, and you believe in him as in God. But every wise man must realise that there is only one almighty and immutable God.'

Peter said: 'You claim that we are not wise men because we believe in a dead man. But I can tell you this, that neither you nor any other man can be fully wise unless he understands this, that this same man whom you call dead, and we believe in, is both a mortal man and the living almighty and immutable God.'

The old man said: 'How can you ignorant and uneducated men prove this?'

Peter said: 'I will have you stay with us for some time each day and I will get a man from among my followers and companions to test your educational accomplishments.'

The old man said: 'Do so, if you wish.'

The next day Peter had Clement come and talk with the old man, because he was thought perfect in all those educational accomplishments which it was usual for Romans to know. Then Clement and the old man began to

við of íþróttir. En svá reyndisk at hvárrtveggi kunni allar íþróttir þær er
 spekingar vóru vanir at kunna í þann tíð. Síðan lögðu þeir fram fyrir sik
 3 inn fyrsta dag íþrótt þá er grammatica heitir, ok kennir hon hvé réttlíga
 skal at hveriu orði kveða ok hvé ǫll orð hneigiask á latínu tungu. Þá
 íþrótt fóru þeir alla ifir inn fyrsta dag. Annan dag tóku þeir þá íþrótt at
 6 rannsaka er rhetorica heitir, hon kennir málsnild alla. Inn þriðja dag
 gekk fram dialectica es þrætur kann skilia. Inn fjórða dag fóru þeir ifir
 musicam es söngsíþrótt er. Inn fimta dag var kǫnnuð arithmetica es
 9 tǫlvísi alla greiðir. Inn sétta dag gekk fram geometria er kennir hvé
 mæla skal hæð eða dýpt, lengð eða breidd vel hvers hlutar. Svá kannþisk
 til at allar íþróttir þær kunni sá inn gamli karl nekkvi framarr en Clemens,
 12 ok kunnu þeir þó báðir vel. En [síþarst] tóku þeir at ræða of stiðrnuíþrótt
 es astronomia heitir. E[n þ]ó vildi inn gamli karl eyvit láta at leiðask at
 ræða of þá íþróttina. Þat fann Clemens ok mælti við hann:

15 ‘Hvárt er at þú kant verr þessa íþrótt en aþrar eða hví lætr þú þér hér
 svá fátt um finnask?’

Karl svaraði: ‘Þa íþrótt þóttumk ek bazt kunna, en þat hefir mér miðk
 18 brugþisk ok þykiumk ek nú mega ǫngu treystask of íþróttir mínar.’

Clemens mælti: ‘Í hví hefir þér þat mest brugþisk?’

Karl svaraði: ‘Þat tregar mik miðk at segia.’

21 Þá tók Clemens miðk at grafa þat mál við hann. Enda var þá Petrus
 postoli hiá málstefnu þeira, ok krafði hann at sá inn gamli maþr skyldi
 segia hvat ifir hann hafði gengit. En honum þótti svá mikit fyrir at rífa
 24 upp harm sinn allan þann es hann þóttisk beþit hafa, ok kom hann trautt
 orði upp. En þá mælti hann of síðir:

‘Ek átta mér konu góða ok ráðvanda at því es ek ætlaða, ok óttum vit
 27 okkr þriá sonu. En hon villtisk ǫll frá mér ok lagði hon illt fyrir sik. En
 bróðir minn sannaði þat fyrir mér af stiðrnuíþrótt at stiðrnugangr hafði
 sá verit á burþartíð hennar at eigi væri vǫn at hon mætti ráðvond vera til
 30 elli sinnar. Síðan hefi ek allr firirorþit mik, enda trúi ek nú ekki á
 stiðrnuíþróttina síðan.’

Petrus mælti: ‘Þat er villa mikil es þú ætlaðir at stiðrnugangr myndi
 33 ráða ráðvendi konu þinnar. Þat hygg ek at þú munt þat rétt hafa ætlat es
 þú hugðir konu þína góða konu vera ok ráðvanda. Segðu nú mér sannlíga
 alla athǫfn þína ok má vera at þat verði þér at nekkverri huggun.’

make their acquaintance with each other's accomplishments. And so it turned out that each of them had all the accomplishments which philosophers usually knew at that time. Then on the first day they demonstrated the art which is called grammar, and it teaches how one should pronounce each word correctly and how all words are declined in the Latin language. The first day they went over the whole of that subject. The second day they began to examine the art which is called rhetoric, it teaches every kind of eloquence. The third day it was the turn of logic which can resolve disputes. The fourth day they went over music which is the art of singing. The fifth day arithmetic was explored which deals with all matters of computation. The sixth day it was the turn of geometry which teaches how to measure the height or depth, length or breadth of almost everything. So it became evident that the old man knew all these arts somewhat better than Clement, and yet they both knew them well. And finally they began to discuss the subject of stars, which is called astronomy. But yet the old man would by no means be brought to discuss that subject. Clement noticed this and said to him:

'Is it because you know this subject worse than others, or why have you so little to say about it?'

The old man answered: 'I thought I knew this subject best, but it has failed me badly and I think I cannot now trust anything in my accomplishments.'

Clement said: 'How has it failed you most?'

The old man answered: 'It grieves me much to say.'

Then Clement began to probe into the matter with him. And moreover the Apostle Peter was then present at their discussion, and he begged that the old man should say what had happened to him. But he found it so hard to go over all the trouble he felt he had suffered that he could scarcely utter a word. And then at last he said:

'I had a good and upright woman for my wife, as I thought, and we had three sons. And she was led astray from me completely and she took to wicked ways. But my brother proved to me by astronomy that the course of the stars had been such at the time of her birth that there was no likelihood that she would stay upright till her old age. After that I entirely lost confidence, and moreover since then I now have no faith in astronomy.'

Peter said: 'It is a great error that you thought that the course of the stars would govern your wife's uprightness. I think this, that you thought right when you believed your wife to be a good and upright woman. Tell me now truly about all you have done and it may be that that will be some comfort to you.'

Pá mælti hann sá inn gamli karl: ‘Ek heiti Faustinianus en kona mín hét Mathidia, sonr minn es Clemens.’

- 3 Pá tók Clemens við at vakna ok at heilsa fǫður sínum ok varð þar fagnafundur mikill með þeim feðgum. En því næst kom þat upp at þar var Mathidia í fǫruneyti þeira Pétrs postola, ok þar vǫru synir þeira
6 Faustus ok Faustinus es þá kǫlluðusk Niceta ok Aquila. Pá verðr hvert þeira friðgina ǫðru fegit ok sǫgðusk sín á milli allt þat es ifir þau hafði gengit síðan er þau hǫfðu skilizk. En eftir þat talði Petrus postoli trú
9 firir Faustiniano ok beiddi at hann myndi skír taka. En hann svarði:

‘Ek vil trúa sicut þú kennir, en svá fremi vil ek skír taka es ek emk nekkvi fróðari at helgum ritningum en ek síá enn.’

- 12 Pá réðsk Faustinianus til fǫruneytis með Petro postola ok gerðisk honum svá hlýðinn ok svá hendilangr sem hann væri honum í barnǫesku til læringar seldr. Hann hafði þá virðing mikla af ǫllum mǫnnum þeim
15 es Petro fylgðu þótt hann bærisk ipse lítit á.

- Í þann tíð spurði Petrus postoli at Símon inn illi, es magus var kallaðr, villti þiǫp alla í Antiochia svát þeir trúðu hann at sǫnnu gǫð vera, en
18 þeir kǫstuðu niðr trú þeiri allri es Petrus hafði kennt þeim. Pá fýstisk Petrus at fara þingat, enda fór hann unz hann kom í borg þá á Íórsalalandi es Cesarea heitir. Þar hafði Cornelius hundraðshǫfðingi vald mikit, sá
21 er Petrus hafði skírðan. Hann veitti þar viðtekiu góða Petro postola ok hann fekk honum ríðerasveit mikla til fǫrunautis í Anþekiu. En er þeir nálgubusk þingat þá spurðu þeir at borgarmenninir ætluðu at banna Petro
24 inngöngu í borgina Anþekiu af firirtǫlum Símonar ins illa. Pá mælti Faustinianus við Petar postola:

- ‘Theophilus heitir maðr gǫfugr í Anþekiu. Hann hefir opt verit gestr minn í Rúmaborg. Ek hefi ok iamnan verit at herbergi í húsum hans þá
27 er ek hafðak veldi of heruðum þessum ok var vinátta okkur einka góð. Nú vil ek fara til fundar við hann ok mun ek taka herbergi at hans. En
30 þaðan af vætti ek at vit munum svá umb sýsla at þú munt ná inngöngu í borgina ok fǫruneyti þit.’

- Petrus mælti: ‘Farðu ef þú vill, en þó fýsi ek þik at þú takir áðr skír. Þá vætti ek at Símon myni ekki mega þér til meins gera þótt it finnizk,
33 en ella es mér vǫn at hann geri þér nekkvert ógagn eða geig.’

- Faustinianus mælti: ‘Ekki mein mon hann of gera. Þá vil ek skír taka er ek kǫm aprt til þín.’
36

Then the old man said: 'I am called Faustinianus and my wife was called Mathidia, my son is Clement.'

Then Clement began to realise and to greet his father and there was a joyful meeting between father and son. And next it turned out that Mathidia was there among the Apostle Peter's company, and their sons Faustus and Faustinus were there, who then were calling themselves Niceta and Aquila. Then each member of the family rejoiced in the other and talked between themselves of all that had happened to them since they had parted. And after that the Apostle Peter preached the Faith to Faustinianus and asked him to receive baptism. But he replied:

'I will believe whatever you teach, but I will accept baptism only when I am somewhat more learned in the Holy Scriptures than I am now.'

Then Faustinianus joined company with the Apostle Peter, and he became as obedient and as helpful as if he had been handed over to him to educate in his childhood. He then had great esteem from all the people who followed Peter, though he himself bore himself humbly.

At that time the Apostle Peter heard that Simon the Evil, who was called Magus, deceived all the people in Antioch so that they believed him to be truly a god, and they abandoned all the Faith which Peter had taught them. Then Peter became eager to go there, and moreover he travelled until he reached the city in Palestine which is called Cesarea. The centurion Cornelius, whom Peter had baptised, had great authority there. He gave the Apostle Peter a good reception and provided him with a large company of mounted soldiers to accompany him to Antioch. And when they drew near there then they heard that the citizens were going to prevent Peter entering the city of Antioch at the instigation of Simon the Evil. Then Faustinianus said to the Apostle Peter:

'There is a nobleman in Antioch called Theophilus. He has often been my guest in Rome. I have also always lodged in his house when I was in charge of these districts and our friendship was especially close. Now I will go to see him and I will take lodgings at his house. And after that I expect that the two of us will manage it so that you and your company will gain entry to the city.'

Peter said: 'Go if you wish, but yet I urge you to be baptised first. I hope then that Simon will not be able to do you any harm even if you meet each other, but otherwise I think it likely that he will do you some hurt or injury.'

Faustinianus said: 'He will do no harm. I am willing to be baptised when I return to you.'

Petrus mælti: ‘Verþi sem Guþ vill.’

Síþan fór Faustinianus til Anþekiu ok tók Theophilus vel við honum.

- 3 Hann hafði fá daga þar verit áþr hann gat snúit Theophilo frá öllum trúnaði við Símon ok tók hann upp trú rétta sicut Petrus postoli hafði kennt honum fyrr meirr.
- 6 Svá barsk at einn hvern dag at þeir Faustinianus ok Símon gengusk at móti á stræti ok sá hvárr þeira annan, en ekki mæltusk þeir við. Faustinianus þóttisk kenna blæ nekkvern á andliti sér es þeir gingusk at
- 9 móti svá sem orþit væri bleytu nøkkverri í andlit honum. En litlu síþarr kom hann í herbergi sitt ok hugþisk ekki hafa skipask at ifirlitum sínum. En hann var þó orþinn svá glíkr Símoni at ásiá at engi mátti maþr öþrum
- 12 glíkari vera en Faustinianus var Símoni, ok eigi kenndu menn hvárr þeira só. En þegar es hann kom í herbergi þá kallaði Th(e)ophilus ok mælti: ‘Dragstu út heþan diöfuls maþr! Engva dvöl skaltu hér hafa!’
- 15 Faustinianus mælti: ‘Hví kveþr þú mik svá hermiliga, húsþúandi?’ Theophilus mælti: ‘Ætlar þú at ek vita eigi hverr þú ert firir þér, Símon inn illi ok inn fiölkunngi?’
- 18 Faustinianus mælti: ‘Faustinianus em ek en eigi Símon inn illi.’ Theophilus mælti: ‘Annan máttu svá blekkia en eigi mik. Ek kenni þik fullgerla hverr þú ert.’
- 21 Faustinianus mælti: ‘Hyggþu at fatabúningi mínum ok klæþum, ok kenn mik þaþan af ef þú mátt mik eigi at ifirlitum kenna eþa ásiönu minni.’ Sem traupast mátti hann því til sanns koma firir Theophilo at hann væri
- 24 eigi Símon magus. En er þeir þóttusk síá báþir hvaþan af hann hafði mein fingit þá réþu þeir þat at hann fór á braut ör borginni sem skiötast ok á fund Pétrs postola. En er hann kom þar þá fell hann til fóta postolanum ok mælti:
- 27 ‘Veittu mér miskunn, herri minn,’ kvaþ Faustinianus, ‘ok lát mik hafa ifirlit mín, þau sem ek hafþa áþr Símon spillti ásiönu minni.’ Petrus postoli svaraði: ‘Ekki sýnisk mér brugþit vera ifirlitum þínum.
- 30 En þótt öþrum mönnum sýnisk brugþit vera ásiönu þinni þá er þér þat ekki mein.’ Faustinianus mælti: ‘Hverr maþr hyggr mik inn versta mann vera, sá
- 33 er mik sér.’ Petrus mælti: ‘Þat it sama skal Símoni verþa at miklu hlöegi es hann þykisk þér hafa til meins gert. Fylgþu nú ráþum mínum,’ kvaþ Petrus.

Peter said: 'Let it be as God wills!'

Then Faustinianus went to Antioch and Theophilus welcomed him. He had stayed there only a few days before he was able to turn Theophilus from all faith in Simon, and he adopted the true faith as the Apostle Peter had taught him formerly.

It happened thus one day that Faustinianus and Simon met each other in the street and each saw the other, but they did not speak to each other. Faustinianus thought he felt a puff of wind on his face when they met each other as though something wet was splashed on his face. And a little later he came into his lodging and thought that he had not changed in appearance. But he had, however, become so like Simon to look at that no man could be more like another than Faustinianus was to Simon, and people did not know which of them they were looking at. And when he went into his lodging, then Theophilus shouted and said:

'Get out of here, servant of the Devil! You shall not stay here!'

Faustinianus asked: 'Why do you greet me so angrily, landlord?'

Theophilus said: 'Do you think that I do not know what sort of person you are, Simon the Evil and the Mage?'

Faustinianus said: 'I am Faustinianus and not Simon the Evil.'

Theophilus said: 'You may impose upon another thus, but not me. I know full well who you are.'

Faustinianus said: 'Look at my apparel and clothes, and know me from those if you cannot recognise me from my appearance or countenance.'

Only with the greatest difficulty could he convince Theophilus that he was not Simon Magus. But when they both realised the source of the harm done to him, then they arranged it so that he went out of the city as fast as possible and to see the Apostle Peter. And when he came there he fell at the feet of the Apostle and said:

'Have mercy on me, my lord,' said Faustinianus, 'and let me have back my appearance, which I had before Simon corrupted my countenance.'

The Apostle Peter answered: 'It does not seem to me that your appearance has changed. And even if your appearance seems changed to other people, still that does you no harm.'

Faustinianus said 'Every man who sees me believes that I am the most evil man.'

Peter said: 'The very fact that Simon thinks he has done you harm shall bring great ridicule down on him. Follow my advice now,' said Peter.

‘Tak þú nú blezun af mér ok far síþan í Anþekiu ok í hús Theophili vinar þíns, ok lát þar ekki verþa vart við þik fyrr en þú gengr þar fram á
 3 stræti einn hvern dag þá er þar er fiqlmenni mikit. Þú skal þá kallask vera Símon magus. Þú skal teliask verþa skyldr til þess of sinn á hveriu ári at lýsa síþu þína ok atgiörvi firir alþýþu. Síþan skaltu segia á hǫnd
 6 þér fiqlkyngi ok allar flærþir illar þær er ek kann þér segia at Símon es saþr at. Þess vætti ek at Símon mon koma at heyra á orþ þín. Hann mon eigi mega standask tǫlu þína þessa. Hann mon ráþa til menn sína at
 9 skióta at þér eþa gera þér nekkvern geig [ef þeir megu]. Þú skal hafa áþr ráþna til tvá menn at halda firir þik skiöldum ok hlífa þér ef menn veita þér tilráþ. En ef þér verþa tilráþ veitt þá kostaðu at hverfa áþr á braut ór
 12 borginni sem skiótast ok kom síþan til mín.’

En eptir þessa tilskipun tók Faustinianus blezun af Petro ok fór síþan í Anþekiu ok háttaði ǫllu sicut Petrus bauþ honum. En er þar kom at
 15 hann stóþ á stræti ok talþisk Símon vera ok lýsti ifir ódáþum sínum ok endemum þá máttisk Símon magus þat eigi of standask. Hann lét skióta at honum ǫrum tvennum. En þar brugþu menn skiöldum við es til vǫru
 18 settir at hlífa Faustiniano. Þá kallaþi Faustinianus ok mælti:

‘Nú mon ek hætta þessi rœþu en þvísa næst mon ek sýnask meðal yþvar á stræti.’

21 Viþ þessi orþ hvarf hann á braut allr svát hann varþ hvergi litinn í borginni þaþan frá. En lýþr sá er áþr hafþi horft á hann litaðisk umb ok só þeir þá Símon standa á meðal sín. Þá tóku þeir at rækia hann ok
 24 mæltu við hann:

‘Nú vitum vér hverr svikari þú ert. Hefir þú nú ipse sagt eptir þér undr ok endemi þau es engu megu við iamnask.’

27 En er hann vildi ipse svara firir sik þá æstisk ǫll alþýþa á hendr honum ok kǫstuþu þeir at honum grióti ok trióm ok hvívetna es þeir mǫttu til fá. Í þeiri rimmu rǫku þeir borgarmenn Símon inn illa á braut ór Anþekiu
 30 svát hann efldisk þar ekki síþan of aldr.

Faustinianus kom brátt á fund Pétrs postola ok sagþi honum þau tíþendi es gerzk hǫfþu í Antiochia, ok lét hann þess vǫn at hann myndi þar fá
 33 góþar viðtǫkur. En síþan sendi Petrus postoli Nicetam ok Aquilam í Anþekiu at gera vart við at hann var þingat á fǫr. En er borgarlýþrinn vissi at Pétr postoli nólgaþisk þingat þá fóru allir inir gǫfgustu menn

‘Receive now my blessing and then go into Antioch and into the house of your friend Theophilus, and do not let anyone know you are there until you go out onto the street one day when there is a large crowd. You shall then claim to be Simon Magus. You shall declare yourself bound once each year to proclaim your practices and accomplishments to the people. Then you must confess to sorcery and all the evil deceits which I can tell you that Simon is guilty of. I expect that Simon will come and listen to your words. He will not be able to tolerate this speech of yours. He will get his men to shoot at you or do you some injury if they can. You must previously have arranged for two men to hold shields in front of you and to protect you if men attack you. And if you are attacked then try to get away from the city as fast as possible and then come to me.’

And after this instruction Faustinianus received Peter’s blessing and then went into Antioch and fixed everything just as Peter had told him to. And when it came about that he stood on the street and said that he was Simon and proclaimed his misdeeds and monstrous acts, then Simon Magus could not put up with that. He had two volleys of arrows shot at him. But men who were charged to protect Faustinianus warded them off with shields. Then Faustinianus shouted and said:

‘Now I will cease this talk and next I will appear among you in the street.’

With these words he disappeared completely so that he was never seen in the city from then on. And the crowd who had previously had their eyes on him looked around and then they saw Simon standing among them. They began then to reject him and said to him:

‘Now we know what a deceiver you are. You yourself have now informed on yourself of shameful deeds and monstrous acts which are unparalleled.’

But when he wanted to defend himself then all the people became furious with him and they threw at him stones and sticks and whatever they could get hold of. In the tumult the citizens drove Simon the Evil away out of Antioch so that he made no headway there ever after.

Faustinianus soon came to see the Apostle Peter and told him the news of what had happened in Antioch, and he said it was likely that he would have a good reception there. And then the Apostle Peter sent Niceta and Aquila into Antioch to make it known that he was on his way there. And when the citizens learnt that the Apostle Peter was approaching there, then all the most distinguished men went a long way out of the city to

langt á braut ór borginni á mót Petro ok gingu berfœttir ok í hárklaþum,
ok sýndu svá iþrun sína Petro postola firir þat es þeir höfðu horfit eptir
3 villu Símonar ins illa ok trúat á flærþir hans ok illsku.

Þá er Petrus kom í borgina þá dreif at honum alþýða manns ok vöru
þar bornir at honum siúkir menn ýmisligum sóttum hvaþan æva, þeir er
6 sér vættu happs ok heilsu af verþleikum postolans ok iarteinum hans.
Þá leit Petrus ifir fólk þat es til hans var komit ok þakkaði [Guði] t[rú]
þ[ei]ra [þá er hann sá algerva], es þá var komin í brióst þeim. Síþan
9 mælti Petrus postoli við lýþinn:

‘Pat meguþ ér síá at ek em maþr glíkr yþr at öllu øpli ok at óstyrkleik
líkama míns. Nú skuluþ ér eigi þat hyggia at ek mega gefa yþr heilsu af
12 krapti mínum. En ef ér iátíþ því at Iesus Christus, filius Domini lifanda,
gefr yþr heilsu ok trúíþ ér á hann af öllum hug, þá er vön at ér megíþ
miskunn fá í hans namni.’

Þá iátti allr lýþr Christo Domino ok lézk búinn vera at gera þat allt es
Petrus vildi bióþa. En í því bili kom liós mikit af himni ofan ifir allan
lýþ, enda fingi þá þeir menn allir bót meina sinna es siúkir höfðu verit.
18 Þá runnu krypplingar at fótum Petro postola ok öll alþýða lofaði nomen
Christi Domini. En þaþan frá fylgði svá mikill Guþs kraptr Petro postola
at á siau dögum inum næstum tóku tíu þúsundir manna skírn með fullri
21 trú til Guþs.

Eptir þat beiddi Theophilus inn kristnasti maþr í Antiochia Petar
postola at hann vígði höll gofugliga es hann átti til kirkiu, enda fór þat
24 fram. Í þeiri kirkiu var settr stóll Pétrs postola á þeim degi sem nú er
síþan haldin Pétrsmessa á vár, ok þá sǫng þar Pétr postoli fyrstr messu
allra manna at því er bækr segia. Á þeim degi fell Faustinianus til fóta
27 Pétrs postola firir allri alþýðu ok mælti þessi orþ:

‘Nú þykia mér Guþs orþ þau er þú hefir sagt í brióst mér vera búin til
at gera góþan ávǫxt. Nú fýsumk ek at taka skírn ok vil ek síþan vera
30 hluttakeri heilagrar þiónustu.’

Þá skírði Petrus Faustinianum ok þá tók hann ásiónu sína þá sem
hann hafði haft áþr Símon brygði ifirlitum hans. Á þeim degi talði Petrus
33 lengi firir lýþnum ok hóf þar mál sitt es Faustinianus var, ok gaf á honum
dœmi oþrum mǫnnum hvé hann var snúinn frá heiþnum dómi af mis-
kunn Guþs til algórrar trú ok til dýrligs lífs. En þaþan frá virði alþýða

meet Peter and walked barefoot and in hair shirts, and in this way showed their repentance to the Apostle Peter for having followed the heresy of Simon the Evil and believed in his deceits and wickedness.

When Peter entered the city, then all the people flocked to him and men sick with various diseases, who looked for good fortune and health from the merits of the Apostle and his miracles, were carried to him there from every direction. Then Peter looked over the people who had come to him and thanked God for their faith which he saw perfectly had then entered their breasts. Then the Apostle Peter spoke to the people:

‘You can see that I am a man like you in all my nature and in the infirmity of my body. Now you must not think that I can give you health by my own power. But if you acknowledge that Jesus Christ, the son of the living Lord, will give you health and you believe in him with all your mind, then it is likely that you may receive grace in his name.’

Then all the people acknowledged the Lord Christ and said that they were ready to do everything that Peter wished to command. And at that moment a great light came down from heaven over all the people, and moreover all those people who had been sick then received healing of their ailments. Then cripples ran to the feet of the Apostle Peter and all the people praised the name of the Lord Christ. And from then on such great power of God was in the Apostle Peter that in the following seven days ten thousand people were baptised with complete faith in God.

After that Theophilus, the most Christian person in Antioch, asked the Apostle Peter to consecrate a magnificent hall which he was using as a church, and moreover this took place. The throne of the Apostle Peter was set up in that church on the day which now is held as the feast day of St Peter in the spring, and then the Apostle Peter sang mass there the first of all men according to what books say. On that day Faustinianus fell down at the feet of the Apostle Peter before all the people and spoke these words:

‘Now the words of God which you have spoken and put into my breast seem to me to be ready to bear good fruit. Now I am eager to receive baptism and I wish afterwards to be a partaker of the Holy Sacrament.’

Then Peter baptised Faustinianus and he then recovered his countenance which he had had before Simon changed his appearance. On that day Peter preached for a long time to the people and began his sermon with Faustinianus, and made of him an example to other people how he was turned from heathendom by the grace of God to perfect faith and to a glorious life. And from then on the ordinary people regarded Faustinianus

3 Faustinianum sem engil Guþs ok margir menn þionuþu honum ekki miþr en Petro postola. Ævi hans lauksk meþ góþu ok konu hans ok suna í trú heilagri ok atferþ dýrligri at Guþs vilia.

VI

Petrus postoli helt siau vetr byskupstól í Anþekiu, en síþan kom hann til Rúmaborgar á þeim dögum er Claudius var keiseri ifir ۆllum heimi. Þar 6 var hann fyrstr páfi ok hafþi hann þat veldi hálfan þriþia tög vetra. Clemens fylgþi honum miۆk svá alla ævi þaþan frá er hann kom til fundar viþ Pétr postola, ok Clemens gerþi bók þá of farahag ok iarteinir 9 Pétrs postola es heitir It(erarium Petri, en þat þýþisk sem sé farabók Pétrs. Svá segir bók at á ofanverþum dögum Pétrs postola þá kom einn hvern dag fiۆlþi manna á fund Pétrs postola at heyra formæli hans ok 12 kenning. Þá reis Petrus upp á mannfundi þeim inum fiۆlmenna ok tók hann hۆnd Clemens ok mælti síþan:

‘Þat hefir Dominus vitrat mér at nú nólgask miۆk andlátstíþ mín. Nú 15 set ek þenna mann Clementem í stól minn at stýra ok at ráþa allri Rúmaborgar kristni, ok honum býþ ek at halda upp kenningum helgum ok boþorþum Guþs ۆllum eptir dag minn meþ veldi því es ek hefi tekit 18 af lærifeþr mínum ok Domino Iesu Christo at binda ok leysa allt þat es ek vil á himni ok á iorþu. Siá maþr hefir mér fylgt miۆk langa ævi vel ok trúliga, ok veit ek hann bazt til fallinn at sítia í stóli mínum firir trú 21 sakar ok vitrleiks ok gœzku.’

Þá setti hann Clementem í stól sinn ok lagþi hendr sínar í hۆfuþ honum meþ blezun heilagri þeiri at hann vígþi hann til byskups ok til páfa ifir 24 allri kristni. Þá minnti Petrus páfi Clemens á miۆk mōrgum orþum hversu hann sky(1)di halda byskupdóm, eþa hvé hann skildi stýra kristni þeiri es hann var þá ifir settr.

27 Þaþan frá leiþ eigi langt skeiþ unz Guþs unnandi Petrus postoli lét líf sitt firir ina háleitustu ۆst viþ inn almáttka Guþ sicut ipse Dominus hafþi vitrat honum. Inn fyrsti páfi af Petro vígþr ok til kōrinn var Linus ok var 30 hann litla stund. En annarr páfi var Cletus eptir Linum at forráþi Pétrs postola ok lifþi skamma stund. Inn þriþi páfi frá Petro var síá inn gōfgi Clemens, sonr Faustinianus ins mesta spekings, ok hann var sonr Math(1)die 33 innar kynstōrstu konu ok dásamliga ráþvandrar sicut fyrr var frá sagt.

as an angel of God and many men paid homage to him no less than to the Apostle Peter. His life and that of his wife and sons ended well in holy faith and in splendid conduct in accordance with God's will.

VI

The Apostle Peter held the bishop's see in Antioch for seven years, and then he came to Rome in the days when Claudius was emperor over the whole world. He was the first pope there and he had that authority for twenty-five years. Clement was with him almost all his life from the time when he went to see the Apostle Peter, and Clement wrote the book on the journeys and miracles of the Apostle Peter which is called 'Itinerarium Petri', and that means as it were 'Peter's book of travels'.* A book says that towards the end of the Apostle Peter's days a multitude of people came to see the Apostle Peter on a certain day to hear his preaching and teaching. Then Peter stood up at that crowded meeting and he took Clement's hand and then said:

'The Lord has revealed to me that the time of my death now draws very close. Now I set this man Clement in my throne to govern and to rule all the Church in Rome, and I command him to uphold all the holy teachings and commandments of God after my day with the authority which I have received from my Teacher and Lord Jesus Christ to bind and to loose whatever I will in Heaven and on Earth. This man has followed me well and faithfully for a very long time, and I know that he is best fitted to sit in my throne because of his faith and wisdom and goodness.'

Then he seated Clement in his throne and placed his hands on his head with the sacred benediction of consecrating him bishop and pope over the whole of Christendom. Then Pope Peter reminded Clement in very many words how he should carry out his episcopal duties, and how he should govern the Church which he was then put in charge of.

From then not a long time passed until the Apostle Peter, lover of God, lost his life on account of his sublime love for Almighty God as the Lord himself had revealed to him. The first pope consecrated by Peter and elected was Linus and he was pope for a little while. And the second pope after Linus under the guardianship of the Apostle Peter was Cletus and he lived for a short time. The third pope from Peter was the noble Clement, son of Faustinianus the very great philosopher, and he was the son of Mathidia, the most nobly born woman and wonderfully upright as was told above.

* Traditionally an alternative name for the *Recognitiones*. The 'book' quoted next is considered to be a source of the *Epistula Clementis ad Iacobum* (see p. xix above).

VII

En síá inn helgi ættarbætir, Clemens, glíkfí atferð sína ok kenningar
 helgar eptir Petro postola lærifeðr sínum, ok Clemens páfi hafði óst ok
 3 elsku mikla af Gyþingum ok heiðnum mǫnnum sicut af kristnu fólki.
 Heiðnir menn elskuðu Clemens af því at hann fældi eigi síð þeira, heldr
 sýndi hann þeim með mikilli skynsemi af þeira bókum síálfra hversu
 6 illa ok flærþsamliga þeir Þórr eða Óþinn eða aþrir æsir vǫru getnir, ok
 hversu illa ok herfíliga þeir lifðu ok dó síþan vesalliga heþan ór heimi,
 ok má þá af því at ǫngum sannǫndum goð kalla. Clemens páfi sagði svá
 9 heiðnum mǫnnum at þeir mǫndi þegar ǫþlask líkn ok miskunn af Guði
 es þeir hyrfi frá blótum ok allri goðgun við skurðgoð sín. En Gyþingar
 elskuðu Clemens páfa af því at hann lét vel of lǫgum þeira ok talði
 12 langfeðr þeira vera helga menn ok Guðs vini mikla, ok kvað eigi myndu
 aþra fyrr ǫþlask ok eignask inngǫngu himinríkis vistar ef þeir trýði því
 es helgir spámenn þeira hoðfu spát ok firirsagt of hingatkomu Christi
 15 Domini í heim þenna. En af heilagri vitru ok Guði gefinni ok hyggiligri
 ráþleitni teygði Clemens páfi Gyþinga ok heiðna menn til ásthúþar við
 inn almáttka Guð Fǫþur ok Son ok Helgan Anda þann er bæði er einn
 18 ok þrír, ok fekk svá umb rǫett við allan lýþ at sem sízt stygþisk hugr
 þeira við kenningar hans, ok svát ǫllum rynni sem mest ástarhugr til
 heilagrar misericordie eingetins sonar Guðs. En eigi hafði hann þessi
 21 blíþmæli firir þeim sǫkum við lýþinn at hann hræddisk ógnir manna né
 styriǫld firir því at Clemens boþaði þar namn Guðs ok trú rétta es hann
 vissi áþr mesta heiðni vera ok skurðgoðavillu.

24 Ok af hans kenningu snerisk til trú réttrar ágæt kona sú er Theodora
 hét ok kom opt til kirkiu ok þiǫnaði ástsamliga ok vel Guði almáttkum.
 En Sisinnius búandi hennar Theodoru var grimmr maþr ok heiðinn. En
 27 einn hvern dag gekk Sisinnius af forvitnis sǫkum eptir Theodoru konu
 sinni í ǫnnur kirkiudyrr. En er lærþir studdu bœn páfans ok kvǫðu amen
 þá varþ Sisinnius þegar bæði blindr ok daufr ok mælti svá við þiǫna
 30 sína at þeir skyldi taka í hendr honum ok leiþa hann á braut þaþan,
 ‘þvíat ek má nú hvártki síá né heyra.’

Þiǫnar hans ok þrælur leiddu hann of kirkiuna innan ok móttu eigi
 33 hitta út ok fundu eigi dyrr á kirkiunni. Þeir fóru svá opt í hring of kirkiuna
 innan unz þeir kómu þar of síþir es Theodora var kona hans á bœnum

VII

So this blessed ornament of his family, Clement, modelled his conduct and holy teachings on his teacher the Apostle Peter, and Pope Clement won affection and deep love from Jews and heathens as well as from Christian people. Heathens loved Clement because he did not mock their faith, but rather demonstrated to them very rationally out of their own books how evilly and deceitfully Þórr and Óðinn and other gods had been begotten, and how wickedly and wretchedly they lived and then died miserably out of this world, and therefore they cannot be called gods on any truthful grounds. Pope Clement told heathen men this, that they would gain comfort and grace from God as soon as they abandoned sacrifices and all worship of their carven images. And the Jews loved Pope Clement because he expressed approval of their laws and said that their ancestors were holy men and great friends of God, and said that others could not sooner obtain and gain entry to life in the Kingdom of Heaven if they would believe what their holy prophets had foretold and prophesied about the coming of the Lord Christ into this world. And with his holy and God-given wisdom and with his prudent efforts Pope Clement drew Jews and heathens to love of the Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who is both one and three, and managed to speak to all the people so that their hearts were offended by his teaching as little as possible, and so that the greatest possible love for the holy grace of God's only begotten son flowed into all of them. And he did not use these blandishments with the people because he feared men's threats or violence, for Clement preached the name of God and the true faith where he already knew the greatest heathendom and idolatry existed.

And from his teaching a woman of noble birth who was called Theodora turned to the true faith and came often to church and served Almighty God lovingly and well. But Sisinnius, the husband of this Theodora, was a fierce and heathen man. And one day out of curiosity Sisinnius followed his wife Theodora in by another church-door. And when the clergy endorsed the Pope's prayer and said Amen then Sisinnius at once became both blind and deaf, and spoke thus to his servants that they should take him by the hands and lead him away from there, 'because now I can neither see nor hear.'

His servants and slaves led him around inside the church but were not able to find their way out and found no doors in the church. Thus they went many times in a circle round the inside of the church until at last they came to where his wife Theodora was at her prayers. And when she

sínum. En er hon sá hvar þeir fóru með Sisinnium búanda hennar þá veik hon fyrst frá fundi þeira, ok ætlaði hon at Sisinnius mœndi síá
 3 nakkvat þvíat hann hóf upp augu sín sem heileygr maþr. En þó sendi hon mann eptir þeim at vita þat hvat þeim væri orþit til meins es þeir fóru svá ógreitt. En þeir svöruðu ok sögðu svá:

6 ‘Þá er Sisinnius dominus várr vildi síá þá hluti ok heyra es honum var eigi lofat, heiþnum manni ok trúlausum, þá týndi hann af því bæþi heyrn sinni ok sýn, ok megu nú allir síá þat at vér hittum eigi leiþ óra ór kirkju út.’

9 Theodora fell á kné til bænar sinnar þá er hon heyrði tíþendi þessi sögð ok baþ inn almáttka Guþ með tórum [at þeir] mætti ganga út ór kirkjuinni. Þá mælti Theodo[ra] við þrælana:

12 ‘Takiþ ér nú í hendr Sisinnio ok leiþiþ hann heim. En ek mon halda svá bæn minni sem oss gegni ǫllum bazt ok skynda þegar heim es tíþum es lokit.’

15 Sveinarnir tóku í hendr herra sínum Sisinnio sem Theodora bauþ þeim ok leiddu heim til hallar sinnar. En þeir fóru síþan aprt til fundar við Theodoru skyndiliga ok sögðu henni Sisinnium vera bæþi blindan ok
 18 daufan. Þá hvarf Theodora af nýiu til bænar sinnar ok baþ honum þrásamliga Guþ misericordie búanda sínum, ok fell honum til fóta Clemens páfa þegar er tíþum var lokit ok sagði búanda sinn vera bæþi
 21 blindan ok daufan, ‘þá er hann vildi forvitnask of hagi okkra.’

Þá felldi Clemens tór ok eggjaði þá menn alla es þar vóru at biþia firir Sisinnio at Guþ gæfi honum sýn ok heyrn, ok fór hann heim með
 24 Theodoru es bæn þeira var lokit ok hafði hann allt traust undir Guþi almáttkum. En hiú hans ǫll Sisinnius stóðu grátandi ifir honum, ok mátti hann ekki til síá eþa heyra es hiú hans heilsuþu Clemens páfa ok
 27 Theodoru. Þá hóf Clemens páfi upp augu sín til Domini ok baþ Sisinnio misericordie a Domino ok mælti á þessa lund:

‘Dominus meus Iesus Christus, þú er gaf(t) postola þínum Petari
 30 himinríkis lukla, lærifeþr mínum ok meistera, ok þú heilagr Guþ mæltir svá við hann at sá skal hverr leysask á iorþu frá ǫllum meinum ok ǫþlask eilífa miskunn af Guþi feþr firir þitt heilagt árnaþarorþ ok himinríkis vist
 33 er þú vill svá vera láta, en sá hverr bundinn ok fyrðæmþr ok Guþs flóttamaþr verþa er þitt atkvæþi es þat, bióþþu nú Dominus at upp lúkisk augu þessa manns ok eyru, þvíat þú mæltir svá: “Hverskis es ér biþiþ, trúiþ ér
 36 því, kristnir menn, at ér munuþ geta þat es ér biþiþ, ok mun svá verþa.”

saw where they were going with her husband Sisinnius, then she turned away at first from encountering them, and thought that Sisinnius must be able to see a bit because he raised his eyes like a man of normal sight. But nevertheless she sent a man after them to find out what harm had befallen them since they moved so awkwardly. And they answered and said thus:

‘When our Master Sisinnius wished to see and hear those things which were not permitted to him, being a heathen and an unbelieving man, then because of that he lost both his hearing and sight, and now all can see that we cannot find our way out of the church.’

Theodora fell to her knees in prayer when she heard about all this and with tears prayed to the Almighty God that they might get out of the church. Then Theodora said to the slaves:

‘Now take Sisinnius by the hands and lead him home. But I will go on praying as will be best for us all and hurry home as soon as the service is finished.’

The lads took their master Sisinnius by the hands as Theodora told them and led him home to his hall. They then hurried back to meet Theodora and told her that Sisinnius was both blind and deaf. Then Theodora turned again to her prayers and begged God persistently for grace for her husband, and fell at the feet of Pope Clement as soon as the service was finished and said her husband was both blind and deaf, ‘when he tried to pry into our affairs.’

Then Clement shed tears and urged all the people who were there to pray for Sisinnius that God would give him sight and hearing, and he went home with Theodora when their prayer had finished, and he had complete trust in Almighty God. And all Sisinnius’s household stood weeping over him, and he could neither see nor hear when his household greeted Pope Clement and Theodora. Then Pope Clement raised up his eyes to the Lord and prayed for the Lord’s grace for Sisinnius and spoke in this way:

‘My Lord Jesus Christ, you who gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to your Apostle Peter, my teacher and master, and you, holy God, said to him that everyone on earth shall be freed from all ills and obtain everlasting grace from God the Father through your holy intercession and a place in heaven when you wish to have it so, and everyone will be bound and condemned and become a fugitive from God when that is your verdict: now, Lord, command that the eyes and ears of this man be opened, for you have said thus: “Whatever you pray for, have faith, Christian men, that you will receive what you ask, and so shall it be (Matthew 21:22).”

En þetta heit þitt es víst satt ok hefir svá verit of allar veraldir veralda.’

En er allir svöruðu þeir er hiá vöru ok kvöðu amen þá lukusk þegar
3 upp augu Sisinnius ok eyru.

En er Sisinnius sá Clemens páfa standa hiá konu sinni þá villtisk hugr
hans miök af mikilli illsku ok afbrýði, ok ætlaði svá firir sér at Clemens
6 páfi hefði gervan hann mann blindan ok daufan af fiqlkyngi sinni. En af
[æði þeiri] ok heimsku es þá sló á hann Sisinnium, mælti hann við
þræla sína at þeir skyldi taka Clemens páfa ok binda hann ok draga
9 hann of ǰll stræti firir þá sök es hann fíflði konu hans ok tók sýn ok
heyrn frá honum með fiqlkyngi sinni, sagði Sisinnius. En þá þóttusk
þrælar hans draga Clemens páfa aptr ok fram at strætum sicut Sisinnius
12 baup þeim, herri þeira. En þar hlífði Guð heilagr Clemens páfa ástvin
sínnum, ok drógu þeir eptir sér of stræti stokka ok steina. Ok svá sýndisk
Sisinnio sem þrælum hans at þeir drægi þar Clemens páfa. En þeir inir
15 sömu hlægismenn es eigi vissu hvat þeir gerðu ok hlógu svá at honum
sem at bandingia. En Sisinnius kvazk bana skyldu honum sem galdra-
mönnum.

18 ‘Makliga dragið ér nú stokka ok steina,’ sagði Clemens páfi, ‘þvíat ér
hafði stinhiertu ok trúði á stokka ok steina.’

Þá veitti Clemens páfi blezun Theodoru ok fór heim síþan ok mælti
21 svá við hana at hon læti eigi af bæn sinni áþr Guð heilagr miskunnáði
Sisinnio búanda hennar. Ok þá vitraþisk henni Theodoru es hon var á
bæn sinni grátandi einn hverr gamall maþr gøfugligr miök at álitu ok
24 sagði henni svá:

‘Firir bænir þínar ok gæzku mun búandi þinn hiálpask, at þat sýnisk
es Póll bróþir minn dixit, “Helgask mun ótrúr maþr ok vándr af konu
27 sinni góþri ok trúri, ok vönd kona mun batna af sínum manni góþum ok
ráþvöndum.”’

En þá hvarf Pétr postoli braut frá henni. En Sisinnius kallaði þegar á
30 konu sína Theodoru es hann sá hana, at þat sannþisk es Pétr postoli
hafði sagt henni, sicut vön var at honum:

‘Biðu nú Dominum Deum tuum at hann biargi mér, þóat ek síá óverþr,
33 af sinni heilagri miskunn ok sé mér eigi reiþr, þvíat afbrýðis sökum gekk
ek eptir þér í kirkiu inn, ok tók ek þegar víti á mér þá er ek forvitnuþumk
of þat at síá þá hluti ok heyra es gerþusk í návistu Clemens páfa. Nú
36 biðu hann, þóat ek síá þess ómakligr, at hann komi til fundar við mik ok

And this your promise is certainly true and has been so through all ages of the world.'

And when all the people who were present answered and said Amen then Sisinnius's eyes and ears were immediately opened.

And when Sisinnius saw Pope Clement standing beside his wife, then his mind was much bewildered by intense malice and jealousy, and he thought to himself that Pope Clement had made him a blind and deaf man through his sorcery. And because of the madness and folly which then came over Sisinnius, he told his slaves that they should seize Pope Clement and bind him and drag him through all the streets because he had seduced his wife and taken his sight and hearing from him by his sorcery, said Sisinnius. And then his slaves thought that they were dragging Pope Clement back and forth through the streets as their master Sisinnius ordered them. But now Holy God protected his dear friend Pope Clement, and they were dragging stocks and stones behind them through the streets. And so it seemed to Sisinnius as it did to his slaves that they were dragging Pope Clement along there. But those same mockers who knew not what they were doing also laughed at him as if at a captive. And Sisinnius said that he would be put to death just like magicians.

'Fittingly do you now pull stocks and stones,' said Pope Clement, 'because you have hearts of stone and believe in stocks and stones.'

Then Pope Clement gave his blessing to Theodora and afterwards went home and told her that she should not cease her prayer until Holy God showed grace to her husband Sisinnius. And when she was at her prayers in tears a certain old man very noble in countenance appeared to Theodora and said to her:

'On account of your prayers and goodness your husband will be saved, so that it may be demonstrated as my brother Paul said: "A faithless and wicked man shall be sanctified by his good and faithful wife, and a wicked woman shall be made better through her good and upright husband (1 Corinthians 7:14)."'

And then the Apostle Peter disappeared from her. And Sisinnius called to his wife Theodora as soon as he saw her, so that what the Apostle Peter had told her became true, as was to be expected from him:

'Now ask the Lord your God that He may save me, though I am unworthy, by His holy grace, and not be angry with me, for it was because of jealousy I went after you into the church, and I was forthwith punished when I became desirous to see and hear the things that went on in Pope Clement's presence. Now beg him, though I do not deserve it, to come to see me and that I may know the true faith, for it

mega ek vita sanna trú, þvíat mér sýndisk svá ok þrælum mínum sem vér byndim páfann siálfan þá er vér drógum stokka ok steina eptir oss.’

- 3 Þá fór Th(e)odora skyndiliga eptir Clemens páfa ok dixit honum feginsamliga vitrun þessa ok tíþendi es Pétr postoli hafði sýnzkt henni, ok hún dixit [feginsögu þ]ar með at Sisinnius mœndi snúask frá villu
6 sinni sicut þegar gekk eptir, ‘ok sendi hann mik nú eptir þér at þú skyldir koma þangat til fundar hans.’

- En Clemens dvalði þá eigi ok fór feginn með henni. En Sisinnius tók
9 þá vegsamliga við honum sem makligt var es hann kom þingat. Clemens páfi talði þá fyrir honum trú rétta ok sanna ok hvat til andarheilsu skyldi vinna. En Sisinnius tók þá at styrkiask í trú réttri, ok fell hann til fóta
12 Clemen(s) páfa ok mælti síþan svá:

- ‘Þakkir gerek nú sonnum Guði,’ dixit Sisinnius, ‘ok almáttkum þeim es mik lét blindan verða ok daufan fyrir ótrú mína til þess at ek mega nú síá it
15 sanna ok heyra in réttu boðorð þau er ek hafða fyrir at skaupi haft. Ok es nú hreinsat hugskot mitt frá öllum sauri skurðgöðavillu, þvíat þat es diöfla leyni ok fylskni þeira skurðgöð þau er vér trúðum miök ok heimsliga á
18 hingat til, ok göfguðum af allri alúð es verr var. En þau tæla alla þá menn es þeim trúa. En ek skal nú trúa á Iesum Christum sannan Guð á himnum.’

- Þá fögnuðu allir kristnir menn es hugr hans skyldi svá vel skipazk
21 hafa á lítilli stundu. En Sisinnius tók þá skírn ok hiú hans vöru skírð at páskum. En þar var allt saman sextán mönnum færa en þrettán þusundir. Ok síá Sisinnius sneri síþan mörgum göfgum mönnum til réttrar trú af
24 orðum sínum ok góðum firirtöllum, ok þeim iarteinum es hann hafði af Guði þegnar ok af hans miskunn ok af kenningum Clemens páfa.

- Þá reiddisk blótmaðr sá er Publius Torquatianus heitir við þat at hann
27 sá ótal manna snúask frá skurðgöðablótum ok til átrúnaðar við eingetinn son Guðs Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Publius bar fé mikil á ríkismenn víða í heruðum ok bað þá gera ófrið mikinn kristnum mönnum.
30 Ok þá gerðusk þrætur miklar ok sundrþyki með Rómaborgar lýð of Clemens páfa, ok gekk liðit sveitum miök ok mæltu sumir menn svá:

- ‘Hvat hefir síá inn góði Guðs vinr Clemens illa gert eða hvat sé þat
33 góðra verka es eigi geri síá Guðs elskari ok ferr hverr maðr feginn frá hans fundi þótt hryggr komi til hans. Ok siúkir menn fara heilir frá Clemens páfa þeir es hans áströð sækia ok hafa síþan, ok taka þar bæði

seemed to me and to my slaves too that we had bound the Pope himself when we were dragging stocks and stones behind us.’

Then Theodora hurried for Pope Clement and joyfully told him this revelation and tidings when the Apostle Peter had appeared to her, and she related the glad news also that Sisinnius would turn from his false belief, as was immediately fulfilled, ‘and he has now sent me for you that you should come to see him there.’

And Clement did not delay and accompanied her joyfully. And Sisinnius then received him honourably as was fitting when he came there. Pope Clement explained to him about the correct and true faith and what he must do for his soul’s welfare. And Sisinnius then began to grow strong in the true faith, and he fell at Pope Clement’s feet, and then said as follows:

‘I now give thanks to the true and almighty God,’ said Sisinnius, ‘who made me become blind and deaf on account of my unbelief so that I can now see the truth and hear the right commandments which I had previously mocked. Now my mind is purged of all the filth of idolatry, because these are the hiding places of devils and their secret dens: the idols which we hitherto believed in greatly and foolishly and worshipped with all earnestness, which was worse. But they entrap all people who believe in them. And I shall now believe in Jesus Christ the true God in heaven.’

Then all the Christians rejoiced that his mind should have changed so much for the better in a short time. And Sisinnius then received baptism and his household was baptised at Easter. And there were altogether sixteen people fewer than thirteen thousand there. And this Sisinnius afterwards converted many men of rank to the true faith by his words and effective persuasion, and by the signs which he had received from God and from His grace and from the teachings of Pope Clement.

Then a heathen worshipper who was called Publius Torquatianus grew angry when he saw a countless number of people turn from idolatrous sacrifice and to belief in the only begotten Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ. Publius bribed with many valuable gifts men in authority far and wide in the localities and told them to make all-out war on Christians. And then serious quarrels and discord arose among the people of Rome about Pope Clement and people were all divided into parties and some men spoke in this way:

‘What has that good friend of God Clement done wrong or what kind of good deeds are there that this lover of God does not do?—and everyone goes from seeing him rejoicing, even though he came to him sad. And sick men leave Pope Clement healed who seek his friendly advice and afterwards take it, and there gain health in both soul and body. He does no

heilsu andar ok líkama. Engum gerir hann grand né geig, en hann dugir
 3 qllum þeim es hans ráþ elska ok farsælisk hverr maþr af honum.’

3 Aþrir sveitarmenn svöruðu ok sögðu svá:

‘Af fiqlkyngi einni gerir hann slíkt allt ok eyþir hann blót ór ok allri
 6 Þórr sé eigi goþ, fulltrúi várr ok inn sterksti áss áræþisfullr, ok er nær
 9 óhreinan anda. En þá ósæmþ ok óvirþing veitir hann Óþni
 12 órlausnafullum ok hvarfsemi at siá Clemens kallar hann fiánda ok
 15 óhreinan anda. En hann kveþr Freyiu portkonu verit hafa, fœlir hann
 18 Frey, en hrœpir Heimdall, lastar hann Loka með slægþ sína ok vélar ok
 kallar hann ok illan, hatar hann Hœni, þolvar hann Baldri, tefr hann Tý,
 níþir hann Niqrþ, illan segir hann Ull, flimtir hann Frigg, en hann geyr
 Gefiun, sekia dœmir hann Sif. Fir illsku sína kveþr hann svát orþi. Ok
 siá lagabriótr fœlir qll goþ ór ok lastar þau miqk ok gremr at oss, ok
 engi þeira ása má hann heyra vel látinn, hvártki Þór né Óþin. Qllum
 bindr hann þeim iamnan skiqlð upp goþum órum ok kallar qll óhœf
 með qllu, eþa hvárt heyrþu þér mann slíkt mæla fyrr? Blóti hann nú
 þegar í staþ eþa hafi bana ella. Nú er sá dómr várr allra of hann.’

VIII

Þá lét Mamertus Iulianus Rúmarborgar greifi leiþa Clemens páfa
 leyniliga til máls við sik ok tók svá til orþa at ‘allr Rúmaborgar lýþr
 21 segir þig lasta miqk goþ ór ok vera mann fiqlkungan ok véldan miqk af
 villu þeiri es þú gofgar Christum nekkvern, ókunnan mér, ok tekr þú
 24 niþr óskil þín qll ok dýrka in gofgu goþ ór.’

Sanctus Clemens svaraði vel ok hófsamliga orþum greifans:

‘Þess æski ek þér af tign þinni at þú megir <skilia> skynsemi rétta ok
 27 rœþþu heldr við mik of skynsemismál en of þrætur ókunna manna ok
 heimskra. Þræta ok sundrþyki allt hefisk ávalt af ógegnum mōnnum ok
 30 heimskum, ok má eigi til sanns ne eitt of fœra við þá. En í hlióþi skal
 spakr maþr ok vitr spyria ok hyggia þá at heilsu sinni, ok leita með
 skynsemi hugar þíns ins sanna Guþs þess es þú mátt allt traust við hafa.’

harm or injury to anyone, but he helps all those who value his counsel and everyone gets prosperity from him.'

Men of another party answered and said thus:

'He does all these things only by sorcery and he does away with our sacrifices and all the worship of our gods, and he dishonours our noble gods by saying that Þórr is not a god, our trusty patron and the strongest divinity, full of courage, and who is close at hand wherever he is worshipped. And he does this disgrace and dishonour to Óðinn who is always able to provide solutions and safety, that this Clement calls him a fiend and unclean spirit. And he declares that Freyja has been a harlot, he derides Freyr and slanders Heimdallr, he speaks ill of Loki and his cunning and tricks and says that he too is evil, he hates Hœnir, he curses Baldr, he hinders Týr, he libels Njörðr, he says that Ullr is evil, he ridicules Frigg, and he blasphemes Gefjun, he condemns Sif. He says these things because of his wickedness. And this law-breaker mocks all our gods and speaks much ill of them and makes them angry with us, and he cannot hear any of the gods spoken well of, neither Þórr nor Óðinn. He hangs up a similar shield* for each of these gods of ours and declares that they are all quite useless, but have you heard a man say such things before? Let him now sacrifice at once or else meet death. That is now the judgement of all of us on him.'

VIII

Then Mamertus Julianus, prefect of Rome, had Pope Clement brought in secret to speak with him and began to speak in this way, that 'all the people of Rome say that you speak much ill of our gods and that you are a man who is skilled in sorcery, and greatly deluded by false belief in that you worship a certain Christ, who is unknown to me, and you take up that new religion in defiance of our gods and contrary to our laws. Now abandon all your wrongful deeds and worship our noble gods.'

Blessed Clement answered the prefect's words politely and moderately: 'I wish this for you for the sake of your high rank that you may understand true wisdom and rather discuss rational matters with me than the disputes of ignorant and foolish people. All quarrelling and discord always originates from unreasonable and foolish people, and it is impossible to get them to see the truth of anything. But a wise and intelligent man must make quiet enquiry and then think of his salvation, and with your mind's understanding seek the true God on whom you can place complete trust.'

* This perhaps means that Clement hangs up a shield as a sign of his own ideals, as a mark of the gods' baseness, or as a challenge. There is no equivalent in either *Epitome de Gestis S. Petri* or *Martyrium S. Clementis* (PG 2).

Pá sendi Publius Torquatianus, eptir viðmæli þessi þeira Clemens ok Iulianus greifa, rit ok innsigli með sendimönnum sínum til Traiano
 3 keisera ok dixit svá at ‘mikit su[n]drþyki gerisk með Rómaborgar mönnum af kenningum Clemens páfa, ok spennr hann allt fólk ok allan landher frá allri dýrþ gopa váttra ok dregr í villu sína ok til átrúnaþar við
 6 Christum nekkvern, ok hann slæsk á it mesta ámæli við Þór eþa Óþin ok alla fællir hann þá æsi ok ǫll goþ ór.’

En Traianus keiseri sendi þau orþ at móti at Clemens skyldi blóta
 9 goþum þeira með sömþ fullri eþa fara á braut ella ýr Rómaborg of sæ nekkvern til útleþar ok í eyþimork. En Clemens páfi var heldr fúss til útleþar ok meinlæta en hann hræddisk við, þvíat af ǫst þeiri heilagri es
 12 hann unni almáttkum Guþi skein svá biart himinríkis sól í hiarta hans at hann var fúss til allra meinlæta þeira es Guþ heilagr vildi láta at hendi honum koma, þvíat hann vissi víst at Guþs miskunn mǫndi ávalt með
 15 honum vera í hverri mannaun ok þraut. En þá tók Clemens ok talþi með góþum vilia trú rétta ok sanna firir greifanum svát hann komsk við miok of síþir greifinn ok felldi tǫr ákafliga ok mælti svá við Clemens,
 18 þvíat Guþs mildi tæþi ávalt mǫlum páfans:

‘Guþ þinn,’ kvaþ greifinn, ‘sá er þú trúir á af ǫllum hug ok goþgar vel ok trúliga ok dýrkar miok í ǫllu lífi þínu ok athæfi, veri hann ávalt með
 21 þér ok efli hann þik til allra hluta ok farar þessar ok útleþar.’

Ok gaf greifinn honum skip gott ok þá reiþu alla es honum var mest þorf at hafa með sér til ífarar þeinar ok þaþ hann fara í miskunnarfri[þi]
 24 Guþs síns þess er hann trúþi á. En heiþnir menn móttu eigi vatni halda es Clemens páfi skyldi skiliask við þá. Svá var hann ǫllum mǫnnum hugþekr ok ástfólginn miok at hvert barn unni honum.

En síþan skipaþi Clemens skip þat es greifinn hafþi gefit honum. En honum varþ liþ auþfengt til farar með sér, sem vǫn var at, þvíat margir kristnir menn vildu giarna honum fylgia, sem þeir gerþu. Ok fórsk þeim allt
 30 it greizta unz þeir kómu í þann staþ es Certona heitir. En þar var liþ mikit firir meirr en tuttugu hundruþ kristinna manna ok í ánauþ þeiri at þeir telgþu griót, ok vǫru því þiáþir svá miok at þeir trúþu á Iesum Christum.
 33 En er Clemens páfi vissi þat at þeir vǫru af því landflótta ok útlagir gervir at þeir vildu eigi hafna ǫst við Christum Dominum ok trú réttri, þá huggaþi Clemens þá með kenningum sínum ok mælti svá við þá alla saman:

36 ‘Makliga lét Christus Dominus meus mik hingat fara til ýpvar at ek taka huggun með ýr af Guþi firir ór meinlæti.’

Then Publius Torquatianus sent, after this conversation between Clement and the prefect Julianus, letters and a seal by his messengers to the Emperor Trajan and said thus, that ‘much discord arises among the people of Rome as a result of Pope Clement’s teaching, and he is enticing all the population and all the people of the country away from all worship of our gods and draws them into his false doctrine and to belief in a certain Christ. And he has entered into the greatest abuse of Þórr and Óðinn and he mocks all the divinities and all our gods.’

And the Emperor Trajan sent these words in reply that Clement should sacrifice to their gods with full honour or else go away from Rome across some sea into exile and into the wilderness. But Pope Clement was more eager for exile and hardship than afraid of them, because through the sacred love which he had for almighty God, the sun of the Kingdom of Heaven shone so brightly in his heart that he was eager for all afflictions which Holy God wished to befall him, for he knew for certain that God’s grace would always be with him in every trial and labour. And then Clement went and declared with good will the right and true faith to the prefect so that the prefect was in the end deeply moved and shed tears fervently and said thus to Clement, for God’s grace always assisted the Pope’s words:

‘Your God,’ said the prefect, ‘whom you believe in with all your mind and worship well and faithfully and glorify greatly in all your life and works, may he always be with you and strengthen you for all things and for this journey and exile.’

And the prefect gave him a good ship and all the equipment which he would most need to have with him on this journey and told him to go in the peace and grace of his God in whom he believed. But the heathens could not hold back their tears when Pope Clement had to leave them. So endeared was he to all people and well beloved that every child was fond of him.

And then Clement got a crew for the ship which the prefect had given him. And it was easy for him to get people to go with him, as was to be expected, for many Christians were eager to accompany him, which they did. And their journey went extremely well until they reached the place which is called Certona. And a large host was there before them, more than two thousand Christian people, and employed as slaves to cut stones, and they were so harshly enslaved because they believed in Jesus Christ. And when Pope Clement knew that they had been exiled and banished because they would not abandon their love for the Lord Christ and the true faith, then Clement comforted them with his teaching and said thus to all of them together:

‘It is fitting that my Lord Christ allowed me to come hither to you that I may take comfort with you from God for our hardships.’

En þeir sögðu honum til sinna vandræða at þeir urðu sex mílur allar at bera vatn á baki sér, 'þvíat eigi getr nærr svá,' sögðu þeir.

- 3 'Biðium vér nú allir saman,' dixit Clemens páfi, 'at Dominus noster
Jesus Christus lúki upp brunn góðan firir íáterum sínum, sá er forþum
6 gaf Moisi vatn ór steini ok lýð sínum í eyðimörk, svát vér megim nú
fagna góðum giöfum hans ok iarteinum, þvíat hann mon veita oss
miskunn sem öllum es hann biðia nauðsynligr hluta með ástsamri trú.'

- En þá er þeir höfðu lokit bæn sinni þá litabisk Clemens umb ok sá
9 hann lamb standa til hægri handar sér á hóli einum, ok rétti lambit fót
sinn ok tafsaði honum, sicut þar væri vaz vön undir. Ok þá skilði Clemens
af krapti Heilags Anda at Guð omnipotens sýndi honum einum lamb
12 þat. En hann varþ þessi miskunn Guðs ok sýn feginn miök ok fór hann
þegar þangat sem Guð sýndi honum sitt tákn ok mælti svá við kristna
menn, at 'í þessum stað grafir er nú iorþina in nomine Patris ok Sonar
15 ok Anda Heilags.'

- En er þeir grófu þar iorþina miök langa stund ok fundu eigi þann stað
es lambit hafði tafsat, til þess at omnipotens Guð birti þat enn framarr
18 ok berligarr hversu miklu hæstan verþleik síá inn miskunnsamasti
Clemens páfi hafði við Guð á himnum, þá tók Clemen(s) páfi graftól í
hönd sér ok hió tysvar pálinum niðr undir fœtr lambinu. En þar spratt
21 þegar mikil ó upp ok fór rennandi, þvíat Guð dvalði eigi miskunn sína
þegar es þær inar helgu hendr ok inar lítillátu æstu Guð gíafar miskunn-
samligrar við sik. Ok lýsti Guð ifir því at af krapti ok verþleik ins helga
24 Clemens veitti hann mesta þessa ina dásamligstu ástgiöf við fólkit. Þá
urðu þeir allir fegnir iartein þessi es Guð hafði þeim veitta firir trú rétta,
ok sungu þeir hótt lof Guði almáttkum ok mæltu svá at 'rennandi ó
27 gleþr borg Guðs'. Ok þá drifu margir heraðsmenn þingat es þeir frágu
iarteinir þessar ok þeir só þessa ó renna ok upp spretta þar er þeir höfðu
ávalt vitat fyrr þurran stað. En þeim brá miök við þessi tíþendi ok vel es
30 þeir knáttu þar líta. En með því at Guð heilagr unni þeim mōnnum mikillar
farsælu sicut öllum öðrum þeim es með góþfýsi sóttu á fund Clemens
páfa, þvíat af hans orðum fýstisk síá allr mannabólkr [til lifanda Guðs]
33 es slíkar vingíafar gefr ok veitir af sinni heilagri miskunn, [tó]ku þar trú
ok skírn á þeim degi meirr en fimm hundruð manna. Ok svá vel efldisk
þar kristinn dómr at á þeim misserum var hálftr átti tōgr kirkna þar gōrr

And they told him their troubles, that they were forced to carry water on their backs for six miles in all, 'because there is none to be had closer,' they said.

'Let us now all pray together,' said Pope Clement, 'that our Lord Jesus Christ, who once gave water out of rock to Moses and his people in the wilderness, will open up a good spring for his confessors, so that we may now rejoice in his good gifts and miracles, for he will grant us grace, as to all who pray to him for necessary things with loving faith.'

And when they had finished their prayer, then Clement looked around and he saw a lamb standing to his right on a hillock, and the lamb stretched out its leg and tapped it, as if there were hope of finding water beneath it. And then Clement understood from the power of the Holy Ghost that Almighty God was revealing the lamb to him alone. And he was very joyful at this act of God's grace and this vision and he went at once to the place where God revealed his sign to him and said thus to the Christians that 'you must now dig the earth in this place in the name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost.'

And when they had dug the earth there for a very long time and had not found the place where the lamb had tapped, so that Almighty God might display still further and more clearly by how much this most compassionate Pope Clement had the highest merit in the eyes of God in heaven, then Pope Clement took a spade in his hand and dug the spade in twice under the feet of the lamb. And straightaway a great stream sprang up and went flowing there, for God did not delay his grace once those holy and humble hands had desired a gift of grace from him. And God made it known that it was mostly because of the power and merit of the Blessed Clement that he was giving this most marvellous gift of love to the people. Then they all rejoiced at this miracle that God had granted to them for their true faith, and they sang high praise to Almighty God and said thus that 'a flowing river gladdens the city of God' (Psalm 46:4 [45:5]). And then many men of the district thronged there when they heard of these miracles and they saw this river flowing and springing up there where they had previously always found a dry place. And they were amazed when they heard what had happened and delighted when they were able to see it. And because Holy God granted those men good fortune as he did to everyone else who went to see Pope Clement with good will, since through his words this entire host of men became desirous for the living God, who gives and bestows such gifts of friendship through his holy grace, more than five hundred men received Faith and baptism on that day. And the Christian faith prospered so well there that in that year

ok vígþar af kennimönnum, ok svá ǫll skurþgoþ brotin í þeim heruþum
ok ǫll hof eydd ok allir blótstallar brenndir. Ok þá hlógu kristnir menn at
3 ótru heiþinna manna ok blótum þeira.

En því næst kom sú saga firir Traianum keisera at ótal manna snerisk
til Christi frá blótum af kenningu Clemens páfa. Ok þá var dómandi sá
6 sendr þingat af hendi konung(s)ins es Aufidianus hét til þess at pína ok
vega marga kristna menn. En er greifinn fann þat ok reyndi at þeir vǫru
allir fúsir inir kristnu menn til písla ok bana firir Guþs sakar þá vægþi
9 hann mannfíqlþa þeim ok lét taka Clemens einn saman, en hann neyddi
aðra til blóta sem hann mátti mest. En er hann sá hug Clemens páfa
staþfastan í trú heilagri ok á þíonustu við Guþ á himnum, þá mælti hann
12 við þíóna sína ok þræla at þeir skyldi ferja Clemens páfa út á sió langt
frá landi ok binda mikit akkeri við háls honum ok sökka honum svá
niþr í sióvardiúp at eigi taki kris(t)nir menn at gofga hann sem goþ. En
15 síþan gripu þeir Gyþingar inn gofga Clemens páfa ok rǫru út frá landi
miðk langt. En síþan lofðu þeir hendr á Clemens ok bundu akkeri við
háls honum ok skutu þeim inum staþrama Guþs kappa utan borz, ok
18 galt hann svá þá ina helgu ond Guþi es fylgt hafþi þeim inum hreina
líkama es þeir hoþþu þá firir borþ lagþan.

En þá stóþu allir kristnir menn á sævarstrǫndu grátandi eptir es þeir
21 fœrþu Clemens páfa til bana, ok vǫru í inni mestu sorgmœþi hugar síns
es þeira ástvinr var tekinn ok numinn ór hǫndum þeim til meinlætis ok
ógurligs bana allt til þess unz lærisveinar hans Febus ok Cornelius
24 hugguþu lýþinn ok mæltu svá:

‘Biþium vér allir brœþr meþ einföldum hug,’ kvóþu þeir, ‘at Dominus
noster Iesus Christus sýni oss pínungarvát sinn Clemens páfa.’

27 Ok fellu þeir þar allir til iarþar ok bóþu lítillátliga Guþ at þeir knætti
síá líkama ins sæla Clemens páfa. En þá gerþusk þær iarteinir inar
hvarmiklu at særinn fell út frá landi of þriár mílur, ok þá gengu kristnir
30 þar eptir meþ lofi ins hæsta Guþs. Ok veitti Guþ heilagr lýþ sínum þurra
gotu unz þeir kómu at musteri miklu ok ítarligu harþla þvíat englar
Guþs hoþþu gert ýr marmaragrióti. Þeir gengu inn í musteri þat ok
33 dýrkuþu þann Guþ es þeim veitti [þat] firir verþleik ok dýrþ sanna
Clemens páfa ok firir bænr hans lærisveina at þ[eir] fundu þar líkama
Clemens páfa, ok lagþan í nýia steinþró ok akkeri þar hiá honum lagit

seventy-five churches were built there and consecrated by clerics, and also all idols were broken up in those localities and all temples destroyed and all heathen altars burnt. And then Christian men laughed at the unbelief of heathens and their worship.

And next the story reached the Emperor Trajan that countless people were turning to Christ from heathen rites as a result of Pope Clement's teaching. And then a judge who was called Aufidianus was sent there on behalf of the king in order to torture and kill many Christians. And when the prefect discovered and learnt from experience that all the Christians were ready to suffer torture and death for the sake of God, then he spared the multitude and had Clement alone seized, and he compelled others to sacrifice as best he could. And when he saw Pope Clement's mind was steadfast in the holy Faith and in the service of God in heaven, then he instructed his servants and slaves that they should carry Pope Clement out to sea far from land and tie a large anchor to his neck and sink him down into the depths of the sea so that Christians should not begin to worship him as a god. And then the Jews seized the noble Pope Clement and rowed out very far away from land. And then they laid hands on Clement and tied an anchor to his neck and threw the steadfast champion of God overboard, and so he yielded up to God the holy soul which had belonged to the pure body which they had then thrown overboard.

And then all the Christians stood behind on the sea-shore weeping when they took Pope Clement to his death, and were in the greatest distress of mind when their beloved friend was seized and taken out of their hands to the anguish of an awful death right until his disciples Febus and Cornelius comforted the people and said thus:

'Let all of us brothers pray with a single mind,' they said, 'that our Lord Jesus Christ may show us his martyr Pope Clement.'

And they all fell to the earth there and humbly asked God that they might see the body of the Blessed Pope Clement. And then the very great miracles took place that the sea receded three miles from the land, and then Christians walked out after it with praise of the highest God. And Holy God gave his people a dry path until they came to a large and very splendid temple which God's angels had built of marble. They went inside the temple and worshipped the God who granted them on account of the merit and true glory of Pope Clement and on account of the prayers of his disciples that they might find there the body of Pope Clement, and placed in a new stone coffin and an anchor laid down there beside him next to the

- niðr hiá altari. Ok þær rúnar fundusk á steinþró páfans at þeir tæki hann eigi á braut þáþan, því at svá myklu mest dýrþ (var) þessum inum ítarliga
- 3 Guþs vin veitt at greftri ok at þiönustu sanctorum engla almáttigs Guþs sem nú má heyra. Ok þær iarteinir gerask þar á hveriu ári of hótþ Clemens páfa at sær fellr út af landi ok veitir Guþ heilagr þar þurra götu
- 6 at ganga til Clemens viku alla í samt. Firir verþleik Clemens gefr Guþ þá miskunn mǫnnum til hiálpar sér at þeir dýrki þar Guþ í þeim staþ ok inn helga Clemens páfa.
- 9 En þá er menn hǫfþu lokit bæn sinni þar, þá létu menn aptr vannliga kirkiudyrr eptir sér ok fór hvern heim á leiþ til síns herbergis. En sær fell at landi hvínanda ok haf kolblátt meþ ǫllu eptir æþi sínu. En faþir
- 12 sveinsins þess es somnaþr var í Clemenskirkiu þá er aþrir menn fóru á braut þáþan ok móþir hans leitubu sonar síns á meþal kuþra manna sinna ok kunningia, þvíat þau sǫknuþu hans eigi fyrr en þá es þau vǫru
- 15 heim á fǫr komin, ok vættu þess ok vilnuþusk at hann mǫndi fylgt hafa nágrǫnnum þeira. En þau fundu hann eigi sem glíkligt var, þvíat sveinninn svaf fast eptir í musterinu þá er annat liþ fór á braut þáþan.
- 18 En faþir sveinsins ok móþir urþu harþla dǫpr við tíon sonar síns ok ætluþu þau þat firir sér at sær mǫndi sveinum hafa grandat í útanfǫr þeira, ok sǫkuþu sik of glǫep sinn ok athugaleysi es þau hǫfþu eigi gáþ
- 21 sunar síns. En at iamlenþ annars vetrar Clemensdag siálfan þá fell sær út frá landi at vanþa sínum ok gingu menn þurum fótum til Clemenskirkiu. Ok kómu þau hiú þar fyrst til musteris allra manna es sonar síns
- 24 þóttusk misst hafa. En þau urþu þá fegin es sonr þeira var lífs í Clemenskirkiu ok rann hann þegar á mót þeim meþ inum mesta fagnaþi ok inu mesta ástríki við bæþi þau fǫþur sinn ok móþur. En þau spurþu son sinn
- 27 at því hversu hann of mætti svá lengi fœzlulaust of lifa þar . . .

altar. And this writing was found on the Pope's stone coffin that they should not take him away from there, since by so much the greatest glory was granted to this splendid friend of God in his burial and in the service of holy angels of Almighty God as can now be heard. And these miracles take place there each year at the feast of Pope Clement that the sea flows out from the land and Holy God provides a dry path there all that week to walk to Clement's church. For the merit of Clement God gives this grace to men for their salvation that they may worship God and the holy Pope Clement there in that place.

And when men had finished their prayers there, then they carefully shut the church-doors after them, and each made his way back home to his dwelling. And the water and coal-black sea flowed hissing back to the land entirely in accordance with its nature. And the father of the boy who had fallen asleep in Clement's church when other people went away from there, and his mother, looked for their son among their friends and acquaintances, because they had not missed him until they were on their way home and expected and hoped that he would have gone with their neighbours. But naturally they did not find him, because the boy was fast asleep back in the temple when other people went away from there. And the boy's father and mother were very sad at the loss of their son and they imagined that the sea must have harmed the boy during their journey back, and they blamed themselves for their wickedness and carelessness in that they had not kept an eye on their son. And on the anniversary the following winter, on Clement's day itself, then the sea flowed out from the land as usual and people walked dry-shod to Clement's church. And the husband and wife who thought that they had lost their son arrived first at the temple before everyone else. And then they were joyful that their son was alive in Clement's church and he immediately ran towards them with the greatest joy and the greatest love for both his father and mother. And they asked their son about how he was able to survive there so long without food . . .*

* See Introduction, p. xix above.

INDEX

- Achilleus, a eunuch who served Plautilla and then her daughter Flavia Domitilla 2
- Activa, Julius Caesar's sister (actually called Julia; there appears to have been confusion with her daughter Atia, mother of Octavius, later Augustus) 2
- Anacletus see Cletus
- Antiochia/Anþekia (Antioch) 2, 10, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34
- Apollo, heathen god 4
- Aquila, assumed name of Faustinus, q.v.
- Aufidianus (described alternately as *dómandi* 'judge' and *greifinn* 'prefect'; in *Epítome de Gestis S. Petri* (PL 2, col. 595) he is referred to as *praeses* 'guardian, president, governor, sheriff') 50
- Augustus/Octavianus (Octavius/Octavianus), emperor (63 BC–AD 14; son of Atia, daughter of Julius Caesar's sister Julia) 2, 12, 14
- Baldr, heathen god 44
- Barnabas, Apostle 10, 12, 14
- Bassus, brother of Flavius Clemens and Faustinianus (the three brothers and their sister Plautilla are described as cousins of the Emperor Augustus), 2, 4, 8, 10
- Brutus (Marcus Junius Brutus, one of the leading conspirators who plotted Julius Caesar's assassination) 2
- Cassius (Gaius Cassius Longinus, one of the leading conspirators who plotted Julius Caesar's assassination) 2
- Certona (a place where St Clement was sent to exile, generally considered to be in the Crimea) 46
- Cesarea (Caesarea Stracionis, Palestine) 6, 14, 26
- Ciprus/Kípr (Cyprus) 10
- Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, 10 BC–AD 54), emperor 34
- Clemensdagr/Feast day of St Clement, 23 (24 or 25 in the Eastern Church) November 52
- Clemenskirkja (St Clement's church) 52
- Clement/Clemens, Saint, Bishop of Rome 2, 4, 12, 14, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52
- Clement/Flavius Clemens, brother of Faustinianus and Bassus 2
- Cletus/Anacletus, early bishop of Rome 34
- Cornelius, centurion (stationed at Caesarea, and baptised by St Peter; see Acts 10) 26
- Cornelius, disciple of St Clement 50
- Corpho (Corfu) 4, 8, 18
- Crucis messa á várit/Cross Mass in the spring (the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, 3 May) 2
- Faustinianus, brother of Clement/Flavius Clemens and Bassus 2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 14, [22, 24,] 26, 28, 30, 32, 34
- Faustinus/Aquila, son of Faustinianus 2, 4, 8, 18, 26, 30
- Faustus/Niceta, son of Faustinianus 2, 4, 8, 18, 26, 30
- Febus, disciple of St Clement 50

- Flavia Domitilla, daughter of Plautilla 2
 Flavius Clemens see Clement/Flavius Clemens
 Freyja/Venus, heathen goddess 44
 Freyr/Mars/Saturn(?), heathen god 44
 Frigg, heathen goddess, wife of Óðinn and mother of Baldr 10, 44
 Gaius see Julius Caesar
 Gefjun/Diana/Athene/Venus(?), heathen goddess 44
 Grikklandseyiar (Greek Islands) 18
 Grikklandshaf (Aegean Sea) 10
 Gyþingaland (Palestine) 18
 Gyþingar/Jews 6, 36, 50
 Heimdallr, heathen god 44
 Hœnir, heathen god 44
 Itinerarium Petri 34
 Jericho 14
 Jesus Christ/Christus 2, 12, 18, 20, 32, 34, 36, 38, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50; also Dróttinn 10
 Johannes, St John the Baptist 14
 Jórsalaland (Palestine) 6, 10, 26
 Julianus greifi see Mamertus Julianus
 Julius Caesar/Gaius Julius Caesar (b. 100 BC, assassinated on the Ides of March 44 after a conspiracy led by Brutus and Cassius) 2
 Justa, fostermother of Faustus/Niceta and Faustinus/Aquila 6
 Kípr (Cyprus) 10, 20
 Linus, Saint (first bishop of Rome after Peter and Paul) 34
 Loki, heathen god 44
 Mamertus Iulianus, prefect of Rome 44, 46
 Mathidia, wife of Faustinianus and mother of Clement 2, 4, 6, 8, 14, 18, 20, 26, 34
 Moises/Moses 48
 Nereus, a eunuch who served Plautilla, and then her daughter Flavia Domitilla 2
 Niceta, assumed name of Faustus, q.v.
 Nicholaus/Nicholas, Saint, bishop of Myra in Lycia 4
 Niqrðr/Saturn(?), heathen god 44
 Norþmenn 10
 Octovia/Octavia, daughter of Activa and mother of Octavianus Augustus (actually Octavius Augustus's mother was Atia, daughter of Julius Caesar's sister Julia, and Octavia was Octavius Augustus's sister) 2
 Octavianus/Octavianus see Augustus
 Óðinn/Odin/Hercules/Mars/Mercury? 36, 44, 46
 Páll/Paul, Saint and Apostle 2, 40
 Patera/Patara (Turkey), birthplace of St Nicholas, 4
 Pétr/Petarr/Petrus/Peter, Saint and Apostle 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42
 Pétrsmessa á vár, St Peter's day in the spring (22 February) 32
 Philippus/Philip the Evangelist (one of the seven men appointed as the Church's first deacons, see Acts 6:5) 14

- Plautilla, sister of the three brothers Flavius Clemens (known as Clement),
Faustinianus and Bassus 2
- Publius Torquatianus, a rich heathen 42, 46
- Rakel, mother of Simon magus 16
- Rúmaborg/Rome 2, 4, 10, 14, 18, 26, 34, 42, 44, 46
- Rúmverjar/rúmverskr/Roman(s) 2, 8, 12, 14, 22
- Samaria 6
- Sif/Juno, heathen goddess, wife of the god Þórr 44
- Sikiley (Sicily) 4
- Simon Magus 6, 14, 16, 18, 26, 28, 30, 32
- Sisinnius 36, 38, 40, 42
- Sýrland (Syria) 4, 12, 18
- Theodora, wife of Sisinnius 36, 38, 40, 42
- Theophilus 26, 28, 30, 32
- Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar, emperor AD 14–37 10
- Traianus Caesar/Trajan, Marcus Ulpius Traianus, emperor AD 98–117 46, 50
- Týr/Mars, heathen god 44
- Ullr, heathen god 44
- Zacheus, bishop of Caesarea (cf. Luke 19:5) 14
- Þórr/Thor/Jupiter, heathen god, son of Óðinn 36, 44, 46
- Þórshof/Temple of Jupiter 2