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
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THE LIFE OF ST CLEMENT OF ROME

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
2005
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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, lxv; 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 *Vatnsdœla saga*, e.g. the heathen Pórsteinn 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 Pórir (*IF* 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 Pórsteinn 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 blasphemying 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 Öðinn. He lists fourteen gods in all: Þórr, Öðinn, Freyja, Freyr, Heimdallr, Loki, Hœnir, Baldr, Þýr, 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 sögur 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 Ógmundarson (1106–21), Jóns saga ins helga (IF 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 Pórðarson’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 Órmsson, 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 hefi engan dauðs manns líkama sét jafnbjartan, ‘so bright that I have seen no dead person’s body as bright’ (IF XII 343).

Two saga heroes, Þorgils skárði 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 skárði stays at a homestead at Hrafnaðgil 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 Hrafnss saga Sveinbjarnarsonar (1987, 41) Hrafn is unable to sleep the night before his death, and asks a man named Steingrimr 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 *Plácidus saga* and *Plácidus drápa*. The earliest manuscript of *Plácidus saga*, one fragmentary leaf in AM 655 IX 4to, is considered to have been written between 1150 and 1200, possibly in Trondheim (*Plácidus saga* 1998, lx). The verse life of St Eustace, *Plácidus drápa*, is in AM 673b 4to, dated c. 1200. In his edition of *Plácidus 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, 1 13–14). It contains Clementine material derived from the Recognitiones and a Passio. This text was used in the fifteenth century by Boninus Mombrutius in his Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum, c. 1480 (Mombrutius 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, Pétris
saga postola I (Postola sögur 1874, 1–126) and Pétris saga postola II
(Postola sögur 1874, 159–201).

Pétris 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 Pétris saga. For the full text of Pétris 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 Pétris saga IIA). The text relating to St Clement
is printed on pp. 172–79. A recension of Pétris 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 (Pétris
saga IIB, Postola sögur 1874, 211–16) contains no Clementine material.
Pétris 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).

Pétris saga IIA (AM 630 4to) shares only two episodes from the life of St
Clement with Clemens saga and Pétris 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 Pétris saga, the account in Pétris 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 Pétris saga. In Pétris 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 Faustinianus’s reception of the news. In contrast Pétris saga I
places Faustinianus’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 I 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 Pétr's 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 Pétr's 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 Pétr's saga I there is no reference to Clement’s presence. In Pétr's 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 Pétr's 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 Pétr's saga IIA (Postola sögur 179)). According to Pétr's 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 Pétr's 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 Pétr's saga but omitted in Clemens saga. The story derives from the Recognitiones, but in the Latin text Simon’s disciple is unnamed, whereas in Pétr's 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 Pétr's 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 Mombritus 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 Recognitioes 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 Recognitioes 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 Recognitioes, 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 Recognitioes than to the accounts in Clemens saga and
Clemens saga

Pétr s 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.  

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 Cotelerius 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 martyrum* (*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 Recognitones 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 Dórhof (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 Haukbók 241; also for Athene/Minerva, see Trójumanna saga 10, and Venus, see Stjórn 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 heiri í Jórsalahafr er Krit heitir er Saturnus var kallaðr en vér köllum Frey). Sif corresponds to Juno in Haukbók 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, Hoenir, 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 *Íslendingabók* Ch. 7 *(IF 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 þar fimn 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 ma›r 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 Holtsmark (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*). 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 Porráks biskups* (Book of the miracles of St Porrakr, 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), *Niðrthingar 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, vii–ix; Ölafur Halldórsson 1994, xii). 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, xlii; 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 svöruflu fleir er hiá vörur ok kvöflu amen flá lukusk flegar upp augu Sisinnius ok eyru. (*Clemens saga* 40/2–3)

En er allir svöruflu kvöflu amen flá lukusk upp augu Sisinnius 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 þrálar hans draga Clemens páfa apr̄ ok fram at strætum sicut
Sisinnius baþþ þeim, herri þeira. En þar hlífþi Guþ heilagr Clemens páfa ástvin
simum, ok drógu þeir eþir sér of stræti stokka ok steina. Ok svá sýndisk Sisinnio
sem þrásum hans at þeir dreghi þar Clemens páfa. En þeir inir sögnu hvílegismenn
es eigi vissu hvat þeir gerðu ok hlógu svá at honum sem at bandingia. En
Sisinnius kvazk bana skyldu honum sem galдраþnumnum. (Clemens saga
40/10–17)

En þrálaþir geyrðu svá sem þeim v[a]r bøðít [at] þvi 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 kvaþsk bana
mundu honum sem galdra þnumnum. (AM 655 4to XXVIII a 1r)

Illi vero, quos jussurat 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 Porláks 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 Porlárkr and in Ch. 44 tells of a miracle which
took place the second winter following Bishop Porlákr’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 Porlákr, 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 *þ* has been used for *u*-mutation of *á* (later the two merged as *â*), 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.
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I
Iulius hét inn fyrsti keiseri yfir öllum heimi ok af honum hafa allir Rúmaborgarkonungar þat nafn tekit síðan. Iulius hét öðru namni Gaius.

Hann var fimn vetr einvaldi Rúmaborgarveldis. Hann vógu þeir Brutos ok Cassius í Pórhofu í Rúmaborg ok margir aðrir ríkisvöldin með þeim veittu áverk honum svát hann hafði alls hálfan þröppia teg sára á sér.


II
Faustinianus hafþi veldi mikít undir Augustus keiserana ok hann var settr hófþingi öldunga í Rúmaborg ok hann hafþi forræð heraþa es líggia í nónd víð Antiokia, Sýrlands höfðborg. Kona hans hét Mathidia, rúmversk at kyni. Hon var forskuliga væn at ifirliti ok rætvönd hærþla ok vel viti borin, ok var íþin at blóta heïpin göð. Maðr hennar var algær at sér at allri veraldarspekþ. Hann blótaþi skurgøþ at súþ Rúmveria, en eigi af allhuga firir því at hann trúþi raunar einn vera almáttkan Guþ.

Pau Faustinianus ok Mathidia òttu þríþa sonu. Einn hét Faustus, annarr Faustinus, inn þröppi var heitinn eptir þóforbróþur sinum ok hét Clemens.

20 Flavio 24 Antiocho
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 Jupiter 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 Octavianus, 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
Clemens saga

En er þeir vörð kommir ór barnesku þá tók Bassus foþurbróðir þeira at leggia gírnðarhug á Mathidiem mópur þeira ok bróðurkonu sína, ok leitaði hann til þess með þjólkynge sinni ef hann mætti blekka hana. En er hon fann vilia hans öhefang við sík, alls hon var rápýnd kona, þá leitaði hon sér ráðs hvé hon mætti styra bæt undan íllsku hans. Hon bió sík at þeim hætti sem hon var von at búask þá er hon haðþisk at blótum ok gekk síðan á málstefnu við þuanda sinn ok mælti við hann:

‘Mér hefir lengi verit ýhýggja at hvat leggiask muni firir sonu okkra.

Ek gekk of dag svá búin sem nú em ek í musteri sólargoþ es Apollo heitir ok aldregi mun liúga. Ek þerþa þar fórnir sólargoþi ok fréttak at síðan hvat leggiask mundu firir sonu mín. En ek fekk þar þvílk svór:

‘Takþu sonu þína tvá, Faustum ok Faustinum, ok bú þá til farar ok far með þá til Sýrlands ok sel þá til fóstr(þ) ínum fróþustum spekingum. Þeir munu verþa göggir kennimenn. En Clemens sonr þínn skal vera heima með þeir sínum til hugnum honum ok mun at honum vegr vera frændum hans ok þllum Rúmaborgar líþ þat eillifu.’

Við þessi orþ varþ Faustinianus dapar harþla ok svaraþi af mópi mikllum ok mælti:

‘Ef þat er Guþs fírirhyggja at svá skyli verþa þum þá segir, þá má engi því hekkia.’

Síðan bió hann skip gott ok gekk þar á konu hans ok synir hans tveir inir ellri með fíárhlutum mikluð miður ok þruneyti vegligu.

III

Þeim fóruk vel unz þeir líþu umb Síkiley. Þau fóru í nónd við borg þá es Patera heitir ok Nicholaus byskup var sísðan natus í. Þar tók þau útsynningar steinþorð ok keyrþi of nót út eyí þeiri es Corpho heitir. Þar leysti skip allt í sund undir þeim ok fíárhlutur allir ok menn nema Mathidia ok synir hennar. Þau ein hófþu líþ. Hon fylgði skipsborþi nökkveriu til lands ok gekk síðan á land upp. Hon kom of míþnætti til húss einnar auþigs mans kona ok var þar tek þel við henni. Þeir Faustus ok Faustinus súðu á skipsflaki, ok es líþa tók þá sóþ þeir fara í nónd sér vikingaskip. Þeir le(þ)þu sér ráðs sín á milli hvat tiltektligast væri. Þá mælti Faustus við Faustinum bróður sinn:

‘Pessir menn munu taka okkr ok selia mansali. Gefum rit okkr nómum ðnum en rit eigum áþr. Ek mu(n) nemmask Niceta, en þú skalt heita Aquila.’

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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 Patera 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.’
Síflan gripu víkingar sveina þessa báða ok hófðu þá út of haf til lórsalalands. Þeir seldu þá í síáborg þeiri es Cesarea heitir húsfreyiu auðigri, ok hét sú Iusta ok var Gyþinga kyns. En húsfreyia sú laðgj öst mikla á sveinana ok gerði þá sér at óskbørnum. Hon seldi þá til læriningar Símoni inum fióð(í)kunga af Samaria es kraþtr Guþs almáttigs lézk vera.

En er þeir hófðu numít allar þróttir hans þá fundu þeir at hann lodd líflær einni saman ok illsku. Þeir hliðpusk á braut frá Símoni inum illa ok sóttu fund Pétrs postola. Hann tók við þeim vel ok kenndi þeim kristinn dóm ok gerðusk þeir þá hans læriseinar.

Mathidia haði virþingar góðar af húsfreyiu þeiri es við henni haði tekít. Hon var búin þatarliga fyrst þá er hon kom ór skipsbroti til húss hennar, ok þóttisk húsfreyia þaþan af vita at hon myndi góþugmenni vera. Hon mælti of dag við hana:

‘Þat þykiumk ek siá á þér at þú munt kynstór kona vera. Þú ert alvæn íflríz, látufl vel ok viðmál harþla, enda er hannþor þá hvívetna þvi es þu tekr þínun þöndum til at gera. Nú vil ek at þú gerir mér húsþúnþ of þú gerir þær lífl í sveyna ok herf þær þennr þat all saman verþa gott til fiár.’

Mathidia gerði sem hon var þeþin. Paþan frá bóru menn at henni klaþi mórg til gerþar. Þeir gerði svá at hverium var vel at skapi þeim es adti. Pat varþ of unga menn es so sú hana ok asiónu hennar ok hannþor þá hverian veg vel gervar ok heyþu orþalag hennar viþligt at þeir logþu á hana ástarhug mikinn. En hon veik undan at hafa þýþleik ne einni viþ þá, en þeir kostgeflu eigi at miþr at geta öst of henni. En þat varþ henni firir of dag at hon fir f iþróur ok tók steina hvassa ok barþi þeim í andlit sér sútn hon varþ ðil blá ok blóþug of andlit. Síflan tók hon hinu þunna eþa roþ af þiski ok þanþi of andlit sér of gerþi sík sem endímstiga á at siá. Hon meiddi ok hendr sínar meþ griþi at hon var til engrar sýslu fór þeirar es vanda skyldi. Síflan fór hon til herbergis sínis ok lëzk vera orþin firir vanheilsu. En þat hærmái húsfreyia hennar fyrst Ækafliga ok gerði við hana vel ok miskunnsamliga of stundar sakar. En þaþan frá leiþ eigi langt unz hon laðþi á við hana órœk mikla ok gaf at henni engi gaum.

Mathidia fann þat brátt at þá máttí ekki þar lendr vera viþ vanheilsu þá es hon haþi. Pá fór hon braut ór þorpi því ok gekk til sævar. Pá sá hon húþ lítir þat riuka. Pat lauk hon upp ok hitti þar konu eina fátæktia es sat viþ gtilþr or kvæddi hon þá fyrri. Hon svarþi 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 þá komin, dróttning mín. Allt mitt skal þitt vera. Ertu húsfreyja en rúmverska, sú er komt ein á land þá er allt þróuneyti þitt fórk? Mikill harmr es þat er þá eft svá aum orðin. Vestu með mér svá lengi sem þú vill ok skaldu ein öllu rúða því es ek á.'

Peim orðum varþ Mathidia svá fegin at hon felldi tór. Síðan mælti hon viþ þá es fírir bió:

‘Fir hví es þú komin í kot þetta?’

Hon svaraþ: ‘Firir nekkverium vetrum missta ek báanda mínsvat vit þúttum engi erfinga, en ek vilda ein vera fírir mér eptir dag hans. Fór ek af því á braut ór borg ok borlúþumk hér fíririr. Nú á ek akr nekkvern ok fá þá saupi til atvinnu mér. Ek hefi nú fengit líþþrók mál ek nú ekki at hafask.’

Pá mælti Mathidia: ‘Ek mun vera hér ok hugga þik ok þíona þér unz enn koma betri dagar ífir okkr.’

En frá þeim degi fór Mathidia of þorp ok borgir ok bæðir fírir þær matar ok burgusk þær þá viþ þat. Í þeim staþ þróþusk þær viþ litís vaþt tuttugu vetr unz þær fíngu miskunn af fundi ins helga Pétrss postola sem síþarr mun frá verþa sagt nakkvat.

IV

Nú skal þar til máls at taka es Faustinianus, fáþir þeira bróþpra Faustus ok Faustinus, þá er hann spurf þíhindi þessi at skip þat hafþi farízk viþ Corpho es kona hans var á ok sönnir, hann húþi at þau mundu þíl þar tapazk hafa. Hann kunni því svá illa at hann laþisk í rekkju af ok þotti nær sem hann væri af viþ gíningi í harmi sínum. Þá fór Bassus bróþir hans til fundar viþ hann ok lét megingóþvættliga, en íll bió undir. Hann kvaddi bróþur sinn bliþliga ok mæltni:

‘Sé ek bróþir at þú eft dapr hárþla af mannamissi þeim es þú hyggsk fenginn hafa. En hitt er ráþ at huggask ok gerask staþramr viþ þót þer þyki eigi allt at vília þínum sílfs ganga. Kona þín hefur komit á land meþ mikluð(m) fjárhlutum ok es nú í austrþölflu heims langt á braut yr Rúmverialevið. Hon es nú gefin einum þraeli sínum þeim es lengi hefur virkþamaþæ hennar verít.’

Viþ þessi þíhindi varþ Faustinianus styggr miðok ok mátí lengi eigi orþi upp koma. Hann settisk upp ok mælti:

‘Hvat æxtlar þú, bróþir, hver stíarna því mun valda meþ skóppum er svá illa hefur núþzk skap konu minnar?’

15 vart
‘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 stjórnnugangr es markaþr í.’

En er þeir vörð þangat komnir þá mælti Bassus: ‘Sér þá nú hér bróþir hversu stjórnurnar gango?’

Hann svaraþi: ‘Vist sé ek.’

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

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

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

Víþ þessi orþ varþ Faustinianus ókvæði meþ ôllu ok víþ þat es hann dixit slikt ok vildi hann ekki lengr roþa víþ bróþur sinn. Hann tók at heita á inn eina Guþ at hann skylldi því skiþta í hug honum es honum gegndi helzt hvat hann legþi firir síc þaþan frá. Pá minntisk hann á þat at hann haþþi veldi íþir herþum þeim es liggia víþ Anþekiu. Honum pótti ok þapr ía glikigast til at hann möndi nakkvat mega spyría til konu sinnar eþa sona. Síþan biþ hann skip mikíþ ok skraþtigð harþla ok gekk þar á skip íþse meþ þruneyti miklu. Hann helt skipi því í Grikklandshaf ok horþþisk fyøst miþk vænliga á á farþengþ hans, en hinn veg lauk þó at of nótþ keþþi skip þat í ûþaveþþri at biþþrgum nokkverium í ey þeirri es

Ciprus heitir ok Norþmenn kalla Kíþur. Pá broþnaþi skip þat allt í sundr ok týndusk fjørþlutur allir þeir es á skipinu vörð þek engi maþþr komsk á land nema Faustinianus einn ok varþ honum víþ þana siþålan. En er hann tók hvþld á landi ok lýþa tóþ þá kenndi hann hvar hann var kominn.

Hann gekk í borg nokkvera liþta ok fekk hann þar göþar viþþþkur, en engi maþþr kenndi hann þar. Hann gekk þar í sýþlu mikla ok gerþisk hann þar varþmaþþr í borg þeiri. Pá sýþlu haþþi hann áþáþn vetr eþa liþtu miþþr unz þingat kom Petrus postoli ok kenndi honum trú rþtta.

V

Á ári inu þriþia eptir píning Dróttins ok á inu tíunda ári veldis Tiberii keisera þá kom Barnabas postoli af Íórsalandi á skipi til Rúmborgar ok fór of nótþ í stíga upp í borgina. Ok tók hann þegar inn sama dag at biþþa trú rþtta ok sanna es hann kom í borgina. En menn lþgþu 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
Clemens saga

miklar virþingar á þöll hans þeir es til hlýðdu. Þar kom fram maþr ungr ok búinn ítarliga meþ rþapasveit mikla ok kvaddi sér hlíoþ. En hann hóf svá mál sitt:

‘Hví verþr yrþ þat firir Rúmverium at gera í gegn þögðarsþok þogum órum ok taka eigi betr viþ og þere dreka Guþs, þeim es boþar hlóþ ok heilsu þllum heimi at því er ek hygg?’

Pá gafsk hlíoþ gott af alþþu. Síþan laut só inn ungi maþr Barnabe postola ok kvaddi hann á þessa lund:

‘Heilldu ok vel kominn sanctus postoli Guþs Domini nostri Jesu Christi! Segþu oss frá hingatkomu Christi í þenna heim ok frá burt hans ok tóknum þeim es hann gerþi ok frá kenningum, frá þinningu hans ok upprisu af dauþa, frá uppsti(g)ning til himna ok frá tilkomu Sancti Spiritus es hann gaf postolum sínnum. Ok svá vílium vér at þú segir oss frá annari hingatkomu hans, þá er hann skal koma í enda veraldr at dœma of allt mannkyn ok láta hvern hafa þat es til gørir meþ Guþs miskunn.’

Pá tók Barnabas postoli at greiþa þat mál allt sem hann var beiddr, ok hlýðdi þá þoll alþþa vel unz hann lauk kenningu sinni sem hann vildi. Síþan tók só inn ungi maþr viþ honum í herbergi sínu ok fekk honum alla reþu gnógliga ok boþaþi þingat þeim møþnum þllum es heyra vildu orþ Guþs.

Fóm dógum síþarr mælti só inn ungi huþþaþandi viþ Barnaban postola:

‘Ek vil segia þer deli á mér ok á kyni mínu. Ek heiti Clemens en faþir minn Faustinianus, systrungr Augustus keisera. Ek varþeiti at forþþi þofþur mins alla þofþurleifþ mins ok emk nú hálþþritþgr maþr at aldri. Nú viþa menn, sem þú sér ipse, eigi miþq skipask viþ kenningar þinár ok má vera at sê af því at þér sê heldr annarstaþar áþþoþtr at taka af kenningum þinum. Nú farþu í nafni Domini til Sýrlands ok er þú þúþr inn helga Pétur þofþingia postola þu berþu honum kveþþu mína reþligna ok seg svá at á þþrú ári mun ek koma til hans ef ek lifi, mun ek num þihja at hann komi hingat í borg þessa. Pat þyki már áþþhíligt at Guþ mun hafa atþlat at þenda þinn inn þæsta postola ok þere dreka í ina øztu þþfuþþborg heimsins at snúa þeim lýþ til Guþs es þessa borg byggvir.’

Eptir þat lét Clemens búa farþkost göþan til handa Barnabe postola ok fekk alla reþu á skip þat þá er hann þurfti at hafa. Síþan leiþi Clemens Barnan til skips ok baþ honum vel farask ok fæ sík meþ þþrum undir boþin 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 staðar firir útan haf í borg þeiri es Cesarea heitir. Þar var Petrus postoli firir ok í húsnum þess manns þeir es Zacheus heitir ok þa hafþi byskupdóm tekít ífir þeiri borg af Petro postola. Sá inn sami Zacheus es nefndr í evangelio til þess at hann gerði fognuð Domino nostro í húsnum sínum í borg þeiri es Jericho heitir.

En á þrú ári kom til þeirrar borgar innar sónu af Rúmaborg Clemens, fræandi Augusti kísera ok sonr Faustinianus ok Mathidie. Víþ þonum tóku allir borgarmenn vel ok allra bæzt þeir es kristnír vörðu. Þá minnisk Barnabas postoli á þat hversu vel Clemens hafþi hans móðum tekít í Rúmaborg. Hann fylgði honum á fund Pétrs postola, en hann tók víþ honum fégnasamliga vel. En fóm dógu síbarr var þing fiðmennt á streiti nær húsnum þeim es Zacheus byskup átti. Í borginni var stopull hór mókk. Þar hafþi herbergi í stopli þeim Símon inn illi ok inn fóiðkungi ok vera lézk kraptr Guðs. Hann talþisk vera sólin ipsa, en konu sína kallaði hann tungl vera es kvenkenndu namni heitir luna á latinum tungu. Stjórnur þær fimm es lausar fara í lopti ok planete heita at bókmálí, talþi hann þar ambáttir vera konu sinnar, Símon inn illi hafþi fyrst skíð tekít af Philippo es einn var af diáknunum sónu ínum fyrstum. Síþan var hann hannsettr af postolum Domini Petro ok Iohanne firir þat at hann havgásk at fékaumum myndu gera Helgan Anda. Vildi hann hans góptir fé kaupa ok víþ fé selia í gegn því es Dominus mælti víþ postola sína of Helgan Anda:

'At vingjóf ok þost heilagri þóguþ ér Helgan Anda enda skuluð ér félaust veita.'

En á nemendum degi kom Petrus postoli Guðs til þings ok gekk at þingstóðinni nesn frá sío. Þingat kom ok Clemens með mikla sveit, þá er undir Rúmveria vörðu hallir. Þar kom ok Símon inn illi með sveit sína ok sat hann á ofanverðu stræti í nónd víþ stopul sinn. Á þingi því reis upp Pétr postoli fyrst allra manna ok kvaddi allan lýþ á þessa lund:

'Friðr sé ýþr óllum es af óllum hiarta ok af óllum kraptr elskþi Dominum Guð þývarn.'

Pá svararlí Símon magús: 'Eigi þurfum vér frið af þer at þiggia.'

Pá mælti Petrus: 'Fir hví mátu eigi heyra frið bðaþan? Af synþum ok af lósum hlýþ kíman sundrþyki ok bardagi en friði fylgia allir kostir ok óll friðend.'
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.’
Pá mælti Símon: ‘Hitt es nú ráð at þú ger ónýtt mál mitt ef þú mátt nokkveria flærð finna í orðum mínum. Ek mun ok kosta at ónýta kennigar þínar es lokleysu einni loða saman, ok mun ek sýna hvat it sanna er (at) til þurfar ok til hiálap sé allri alþýðu.’

Pá mælti Petrus: ‘Færum vit fram ok þá mól okkur meþ hófsemi ok skapgœfli.’

Símon svaraþi: ‘Enskis eru verþ mól þín þíll.’
Pá kallaþi sá inn ílli karl Símon hótt meþ þíll ok mælti:

‘Hlæjfl mér allir menn þeir es hér eruþ konnir. Ek emk kraptr almáttigs skapera. Ek komk af himnum ofan ok vask getinn í kvíþi konu þeiri es Rakel hét. Hon fœddi mik tíu vetr vandliga. En einn hvern dag setti hon í hönd mér sigþ ok sendi hon mik til kornskurþar. Ek kom til akrins ok mælta ek viþ sigþinn: “Skerþu nú kornit.” Hann skar akrinn eigi seinnna en tíu menn. Mér es hlæjfl þíll skepta til þess es ek vil. Ek má flúga í lopti í eidslíki. Ek geri svá at aldintré eþa akr rennr þar upp sem ek vil. Ek má fáru í gegnum fíufl hvars ek vil. At þoþorþi mínu hlæia lagneski þau es ger eru ör trú eþa ör málimi ok hrœraþk þau ok mæla ef ek býþ þat. Ek skipþi ifirlitum mínum ef ek vil svát ek sýnum stundum gamall maþr ok skeggjaþr miþk ok hárri, en stundum fullþiþi maþr ok nakkvat skeggjaþr, en stundum sýnumk ek gransprettingr eþa 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.’

Pá er Símon talþi slíkt firir lýþnum þá andsvaraþi Petrus postoli:
‘Sýnisk yfr eigi sem siá siálfri diofursmaþr lýsi ifir földkyngi sinni ok flærð í sínum orðum, en eigi of goþþdömi þeim es hann lézk hafa ok hann hefir þó at öngum kosti?’
Lýþrin svaraþi: ‘At vísu sýnisk oss svá.’
Pá mælti Petrus viþ Símon: ‘Hvílikir munu þeir menn verþa es hverfa eptir þér?’
Símon svaraþi: ‘Svá sem ek em siálfir eilfr ok ódauplirgr, svá munu ok allir mínir menn aldregi deyia.’

Petrus mælti: ‘Hvárt trúir þú upprisu dauþra manna?’
Símon svaraþi: ‘Eigi, eigi.’
Petrus mælti: ‘Hví vildu liþuga? Pat veit ek at þú hefir í vitum þínun lík barns þess es þú ípsu banaþir ok gengr þú viþ þat til fréttar. En ór þeim inum lítlu bük veitir diofull þér andsvor of þá hluti es þú spyrat.’
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
Pá er Petrus mælti þessi orð þá sýndisk mönnum sicut Simon flygi í lopt upp, enda hvaðvannallí allr hí, stóppli sínum. Pá var ok komið at nótta orð þá at myrkva miðk þeim Símon hvarf. Pá mælti Petrus við allan lýð:

‘Nú megu þér siá at Símon vill eigi láta rannsaka vítt sín. Farið eð nú í Guðs friði hvæt í hús sitt ok konið til mín at morni árdegis. Pá skuldu þér heyrta forméli mið ok þá mun lýsask firir yrfr sáþr Guðs kraptr til híaþpar þondum yrðum ok liðnum ok hæftan af mun eyðask áturúnu því Símon af því at menn megu allir víta með hvé mikil svík hann fá.’

Annan dag eptir kom fíoðli manna á fund Pétrs postola árdegis. En þá var Símon horfjárn ör bondinni með allt sitt ok lengi síðan vissu menn ekki til hans í þeim herðum. Pánn dag talþi Petrus lengi firir lýnum ok gerði kunna allri alþýðu flioð Símonar. Pá gaf hann ok heiðum mörnum stúkum mönnum, þeir er þar kömu til hans. Þaþan kristnafisk fíoðli manna ok þók skírn í þanní Domini. Ok þá var Clemens þar skiráþr ok allt foruneyti hans, ok rékt hann til fylgi við Pétr postola (ok þá hann Pétr postola) at hann skyldi fara til Rúmaborgar at bôða þar Guðs örendi þeim mönnum es þar vildi heyrta. En hann léizk fyrst mundu reka Guðs örendi á Gyþingalandi sicut honum var bôþt af Guði, en loks látt hann von at hann mundi vitia Rúmaborgar at firírætlað(r)i tíð af Guði ok kallaþisk hann þar móðnu enda líf sitt at Guðs víla.

Síðan bôðaþi Pétr postoli Guðs namn of Gyþingalandi allt ok of Sýurland ok of Grikklandseyjar ok þau herðu es þar eru í nónd. En Clemens fylgí honum hvir sem hann fóru. Þeir Niceta ok Aquila, broðr Clementís, vór þá ímanna í fylgiu með Petro, ok kunnðusk þeir þó ekki við Clementem í þann tíð at þeir varri broðr hans.

Svá bar at at skip þat es Petrus postoli var á kom við ey þá es Corpho heitir. Pá er þeir dróðlusk þar í einni hverri höfn, þá gengu þeir Niceta ok Aquila of dag á fand upp. Þeir kömu þur þeir es leiðstefna nokkrver var fíoðmenn ok toku þeir at bôða þeim mönnum á fund Pétrs postola es heyrta vildu Guðs orð eða kenning helga eða fá bót meina sinna, þeir er þar verri vanheilir. Þar kom Mathidia at gangandi ok nemðisk þóru nað(n)ir en hon átti. Hon mælti við þá Nicetam ok Aquílum:

14 kunna] + flærð 17–18 words supplied by Unger  26 kunnðisk
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:
Clemens saga

‘Hvers vetti þit, hvárt mér mon at nokkverri hiálp verða ef ek kómk á fund Pétris postola?’

3 Peir svóruðu: ‘Ef þú eft salþ þurfamaþr, enda vildu trúu á Iesum Christum, son Guþs, þá mundu víst miskunn fá af fundi hans sem allir þeir es at flærþlausu vilja hans kenningar heyra ok hafa.’

6 Annars dags kom Mathidia af tilvísun þeira á fund Pétris postola ok fel til fóta honum ok baþ hann þómsugiafar. Petrus mælti:

‘Af því þarfutu at þiggja þómsugiafar eigi öheiligg kona nú at því es mér sýnisk?’

Hon svaraði: ‘Freyva mín es vanheil ok líkþró, ok vinn ek til reþþu okkr báþum. Af því bíþ ek þik þómsugiafa.’

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

Pá er Mathidia skyldi þat segia, þá komsk hon viþ ákafliga miþk ok mátti óngu orþi upp koma. Pá mælti Petrus postoli:

‘Pá er ætlun mín at þú munt verit hafa kona goðfug at meterþum ok auþig, en nú komr þér í hug áví þín í fyrri ok skammask þú nú válaþs þíns ok vesalþar er nú es ífir þik komin.’

12 Mathidia mælti: ‘Rétt ætlar þú nú, herri míninn,’ kvaþ hon Mathidia viþ postolann.

15 Petrus mælti: ‘Komi hingat húsfreyia þín, ok siþm vör hvat síþan gerisk af.’

18 Pá var sýst til þess at húsfreyiu hennar var fylgt þingat til fundar viþ Pétr postola, ok var hon løgþ firir feþr postolans. Pá mælti hann viþ þær báþar:

‘Viliþ it trúu á Guþ foþur almáttkan ok á son hans Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum ok á HelGAN Anda?’

21 Þær svóruðu: ‘Víst monum vit trúu sem þú kennir.’


Mathidia tók at bipia 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 meþ konum þeim helgum es vörú í fórurauti Pétr postola, en þeygi vissu menn of stundar sakar hver hon var.

En stundu síþaþr kómu þeir Petrus ok Clemens skipi sínu viþ Kípr.

33 Þar vörú þeir í hoþn nokkverri eigi allskamma stund. En þar gekk Petrus

36 Petres
‘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
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postoli upp á land hvern dag ok baðsk þar firir lónum á biargi nøkkveru es ner var ðofninni. Þar var ok vatnfell mikit einum megin hiá biargi því. Þar kom af landi ofan at gangandi karl gamall ok hæruskeggi. En hann stóð þriði daga alla miðk svá í sømum sporum, ok hlyðdi til þonahalds postolans ok til formælis þess es hann veitti þeim mœnum es til hans kómú. Karl sá mølti ekki orð á þeim þrim dagum, en at aptni ins þriðia dags, þa er hann biðsk braut at ganga, þá mølti hann þessi orð of Pétr postola ok of þuruneyti hans:

‘Pessir eru menn góðir ok staðfastir í skaphofnum sínum ok munu vera eigi vitir at því [es meir virþisk.]

Pau orð heyriði Petrus ok mølti við sína menn: ‘Takið ér karl þann ok færið mér!’

Þeir tóku karl þann síðan ok færu honum. Þá mølti Petrus:

‘Hvern er þú firir þér, fóstri?’

Hann svaraði: ‘Ek emk varþkarl einn fátekr ok rúmverskr at kyni.’

Petrus mølti: ‘Hvaðan af kallar þú oss menn góða ok géðasta ok þó óvitra?’

Karl ok svaraði: ‘Því kalla ek ýþr góða ok géðasta at ek heyriþa hvé lítillítliga ok hvé óhrapalliga ér møltuzk firir við Guþ ylþvar. Þat má ek ok skilia af málsendum ýþrum at ér elsþðr rþpvedi og goþku en ér hatþÞ ódþðr ok íllsku. En af því kalla ek ýþr óvitra menn at mér þirþisk svá sem ér kalliþ mann einn dauþan vera Guþ ylþvar ok trúþ ér á hann sem á Guþ. Þá þat má hvern maþr vitr skilia at eínn es Guþ omnipotens ok óbrigþligr.’

Petrus mølti: ‘Þú kallar oss óvitra menn firir því at vèr trúum ámann dauþan. En ek kann þér þat segia at hvártki þú né annarr maþr má alvítr vera nema hann skili þat at þá inn sami maþr es þú kallið dauþan, ok vèr trúum á, es þe þé maþr dauþlígr ok Guþ lifandi omnipotens ok óbrigþligr.’

Karl mølti: ‘Hversu meguþ ér slikt satt vinna ófróðir menn ok íþrótt–lausir?’

Petrus mølti: ‘Þat vil ek at þú dvelisk meþ oss nêkkeria stund of daga ok mon ek fá mann til af líþi mínu ok þuruneyti at reyna íþróttir þínar.’

Karl mølti: ‘Gæþþu svá, ef þú vill.’

Annan dag eptir létt Petrus Clementem koma til máls við karl þann firir því at hann þótti algerti at sér of allar íþróttir þær er Rúmverium vóru tíðar 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
víð of íþróttir. En svá reyndisk at hvártveggí kunni allar íþróttir þær er spekingar vóru vanir at kunna í þann tíð. Síðan þóðu þeir fram firir sik inn fyrsta dag íþrótt þá er grammatica heitir, ok kennir hon hvé réttliga skal at hverriu orði kveþa ok hvé óll orð hneigiask á latínu tungu. Pá íþrótt fóru þeir alla ifir inn fyrsta dag. Annan dag tóku þeir þá íþrótt at ramsaka er rhetorica heitir, hon kennir málsnild allí. Inn þripa dag gekk fram dialectica es þætur kann skilia. Inn fiorþa dag fóru þeir efir musicam es söngþrótt er. Inn fimta dag var kunnug ærthetica es tölvisi alla greiþir. Inn sétta dag gekk fram geometria er kennir hvé mæla skal heþ eþa dýpt, lengþ eþa breidd vel hvers hlutar. Svá kannafisk til at allar íþróttir þær kunni sá inn gamli karl nekkvi framarr en Clemens, ok kunnu þeir þó báþir vel. En [síflarst] tóku þeir at rœfla of stiþrunþrótt es astronoua heitir. Er[þ]jó vildi inn gamli karl eyvit láta at leifask at rœþa of þá íþróttina. Pat fann Clemens ok mælti víð hann:

‘Hvárt er at þú kant verr þessa íþrótt en aflrar eþa hví lætr flú flér hér svá fátt um finnask?’

Karl svarafli: ‘Þa íþrótt þóttumk ek bæzt kunna, en þat hefir mér miþk brugþízk ok þykiumk ek nú mega þengu treystask of íþróttir mínar.’

Clemens mælti: ‘Í hví hefir flér mest brugþízk?’

Karl svarafli: ‘Þat tregar mik miþg at segia.’

Pá tók Clemens miþk at grafa þat mál víð hann. Enda var þá Petrus postoli hiá málstefnu þeira, ok kraþþi hann at sá inn gamli mær skylti segia hvat ífí hann haþþi gengit. En honum þáttí svá miþit firir at rifía upp harm sinn allan þann es hann þóttisk beþit hafa, ok kom hann trautt orþi upp. En þá mælti hann of síþir;

‘Ek áta mér konu göþa ok r þvanda at því es ek æþlþa, ok þþum vit okkr þriði sonu. En hon viltisk ðll frá mér ok lagþi hon íltt firir sík. En þróþir mín nannaþ þat firir mér af stiþrunþrótt at stiþrunugangi haþþi sá verit á þurþartþ þennar at eigi væri vón at hon mætti r þvand vera til elli sinnar. Síðan hefi ek allir fírirþóþit mik, enda trúi ek nú ekki á stiþrunþróttina síþan.’

Petrus mælti: ‘Þat er villi mikil es þú æþlþir at stiþrunugangr myndi r þa r þvendi konu þinnar. Pat hygg ek at þú munt þat rétt hafa æþlat es þú hugþir konu þína göþa konu vera ok r þvanda. Segþu nú mér mæltiga alla athóþn þína ok má vera at þat verþ þer at nekkverþi huggun.’

6 rethorica 12–13 word and letters supplied by Unger 13 astronoua . . . af 15 þau 24 boþit
They made 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 konu mín hét Mathidia, sonn minn es Clemens.’

Pá tók Clemens við at vakna ok at heilsa foður sínum ok vorð þar fagnafundr mikill með þeim feðgum. En því næst kom þat upp at þar var Mathidia í þóruneyti þeira Pétrus postola, ok þar vóru synir þeira

Faustus ok Faustinus es þá kölluðuska Niceta ok Aquila. Pá verðr hvert þeira friðgina öðru fegit ok söggusk sínu á milli allt þat es ifir þau hafði gengit síðan er þau hofðu skilizk. En eptir þat talþi Petrus postoli trú firir Faustiniano ok beiddi at hann myndi skírn taka. En hann svaraþi:

‘Ek vil trúu sicut þú kennir, en svá fremi vil ek skírn taka es ek emk nekkvi fróþari at helgum ritningum en ek síá enn.’

Pá réþsk Faustinianus til þóruneytis með Petro postola ok gerþisk honum svá hlyðinn ok svá hendilangr sem hann væri honum í barneeskú til læringar seldr. Hann hafði þá virþing mikla af Óllum munnar þeim es Petro fylgðu þótt hann hefrisk íspe lítiþ á.


‘Theophilus heitr maþr gofugr í Anþekiú. Hann hefir opt verit gestr minn í Rúmaborg. Ek hefi ok ínamn verit at herbergi í húsum hans þá er ek hafþak veldi of heruþum þessum ok var vinátta okkur einka göþ. Nú vil ek fara til fundar viþ hann ok mun ek taka herbergi at hans. En þaþan af vætti ek at viti munum svá umb sýsla at þú munt ná inngongu í borgina ok þóruneyti þit.’

Petrus mælti: ‘Farþu ef þú vill, en þó fýsi ek þik at þú takir áþr skírn.

Pá vætti ek at Símon myni ekki mega þér til meins gera þótt it fínnizk, en ella es mér vón at hann geri þér nekkvert ógagn eþa geig.’

Faustinianus mælti: ‘Ekki mein mon hann of gera. Pá vil ek skírn taka er ek kom aprtr til þín.’

7 friðgina] Unger emends to feðgina ‘parents’ 21 göþar 27 ínamn
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.’
Síflan fór Faustinianus til Anþekiu ok tók Theophilus frá Óllum trúnaþi þvíp Símon ok tók hann upp trú rétta sicut Petrus postoli hafþi kennt honum fyr r meir.

Svá barsk at einn hvern dag at þeir Faustinianus ok Símon gengusk at móti á streiti ok sá hvárr þeira annan, en ekki mæltusk þeir þvip. Faustinianus þöttisk kenna blæ nekkvorn á andliti sér es þeir gengusk at móti svá sem orpit væri bleytu nokkvverri í andlít 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 ásið at engi mätti mæþr þýrum glikari vera en Faustinianus var Símoni, ok eigi kenndu menn hvám þeira só. En þegar es hann kom í herbergi þá kallaþi Th(e)ophilus ok mælti: ‘Dragstu út heþan diþfuls maþr! Engva dvþl skaltu hér hafa!’

Faustinianus mælti: ‘Hví kveþr þú mik svá hermiliga, húsþandi?’
Theophilus mælti: ‘Ætlar þú at ek vita eigi hverr þú ert firir þér, Símon inn illi ok inn fiþkunngi?’

Faustinianus mælti: ‘Faustinianus em ek en eigi Símon inn illi.’
Theophilus mælti: ‘Annan máttu svá blekkia en eigi mik. Ek kenna þik fullgerla hvern þú ert.’
Faustinianus mælti: ‘Hyggþu at fatabúningi mínun ok klæþum, ok kenn mik þaþan af ef þú mätt mik eigi at ifirlitum kenna eþa ásiónu minni.’

Sem trauþast mätti hann því til sanns koma firir Theophilo at hann væri eigi Símoni, magus. En er þeir þöttusk siá þáþir hválþan af hann hafþi mein fingit þá þéþu þeir þat at hann för í braut òr borginni sem skióstast ok á fund Pétrs postola. En er hann kom þar þá fell hann til fótþ postulanum ok mælti:

‘Veittu mér miskunn, herri minn,’ kvaþ Faustinianus, ‘ok láþ mik hafa ifirlit mín, þau sem ek hafþa þþr Símon spíllti ásiónu minni.’
Petrus postoli svaraþi: ‘Ekki sýnisk mér brugþit vera ifirlitum þín um. En þótt þýrum mœþnum sýnisk brugþit vera ásiónu þínni þá er þér þat ekki mein.’
Faustinianus mælti: ‘Hvarr maþr hyggþr mik inn versta mann vera, sá er mik sér.’
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.
Clemens saga

‘Tak þú nú blezun af mér ok far sǐfan í Anþekiu ok í hús Theophili vinar þíns, ok lát þar ekki verða varf þip fyrr en þú gengr þar fram á stræti einn hvern dag þá er þar er fiðlmenni mikit. Pú skal þá kallask vera Símon magus. Pú skal teliausk verða skylldir til þess of sinn á hverri ári at lýsa sǐpu þína ok atgiörvi firir allþýðu. Sǐfan skaltu segia á þönd þér fiðlyngi ok allar flærðir Íllar þær er ek kann þér segia at Símon es saþr at. Pess vatði ek at Símon mon koma at heyra á orþ þín. Hann mon egi mega standask þölu þína þessa. Hann mon ráþa til menn sínar at skíðta at þer eþa gera þer nekkvern geig [ef þer megu]. Pú skal hafa áþr ráþna til tvá menn at halda firir þik skíðldum ok hlífa þer ef menn veita þer tilræþ. En ef þer verða tilræþ veitt þá kostaþu at hverfa áþr á braut ör borginni sem skíðast ok kom sǐfan til mín.’

En eptir þessa tilskipun tók Faustinianus blezun af Petro ok fór sǐfan í Anþekiu ok háltaþi þilu sicut Petrus bauþ honum. En er þar kom at hann stöþ á stræti ok talþisk Símon vera ok lýsti ifir óðþum sínun ok endemum þá máttisk Símon magus þat egi of standask. Hann lét skíðta at honum orþum tvennum. En þar brugðu menn skíðldum viþ es til vör settir at hlífa Faustiniano. Þá kallaþ Faustinianus ok mælti:

‘Nú mon ek haþta þessi reþþu en þvíþa næst mon ek sýnask meþal yþvar á stræti.’

Viþ þessi orþ hvarf hann á braut allr svát hann varþ hvergi liþinn í borginni þaþan frá. En lýþr sá er áþr haþþi horÞt á hann liþþisk umb ok sö þeir þá Símon standa á meþal síþ. Pú tóku þeir at rakia hann ok mæltu viþ hann:

‘Nú vitum vðr hverr svikari þú ert. Hefir þú nú íþpe sagt eptir þer undr ok endemi þau es engu megu viþ íamnask.’

En er hann vildi íþpe svara firir sík þá ðestisk þil alþýþþa á hendr honum ok þostaþu þeir at honum griþþi ok trþþi ok hvíþþna es þeir möþti til fá. Í þeir ríþmu rþþku þeir borgarmenn Símon inn illa á braut ör Anþekiu svát hann efþdisk þar ekki sǐfan of aldþ.

Faustinianus kom brátt á fund Pétrs postola ok sáþhi honum þau þÝendi es gerþk hoþþu í Antiochía, ok lét hann þess vöþ at hann myndi þar fá góþar viþþþurk. En sǐfan sendi Petrus postoli Nicetam ok Aquilam í Anþekiu at gera varf viþ at hann var þingat á þor. En er borgarlyþþrin vissi at Péþr postoli nóþgaþisk þingat þá fóru allir inir gogþustu 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 in-
formed on yourself of shameful deeds and monstrous acts which are un-
paralleled.’

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 mótt Petro ok gingu berfættir ok í hárkleþum, ok sénu svá íþrun sína Petro postola firir þat es þeir høþu horfit eptir villu Þímonar ins illa ok trúat á flærþir hans ok illsku.

Pá er Petrus kom í borgina þá dreif at honum allþýþa manns ok vóru þar bornir at honum siþkir menn þýmisligum söttum hvaþan æva, þeir er sér vettu happs ok heilsu af verþleikum postolans ok iarteinum hans. Pá leiæ Petrus ífr fólk þat es til hans var komit ok þakkaþi [Guþþ] t[rú] þ[eirþa [þa er hann sá algervaj], es þa var komin í brioþ þeim. Siþan mælti Petrus postoli viþ lýþinn:

‘Þat meguþ ér siþ at ek em mær glíkr yþr at öllu øþli ok at óstyrkleik líkama míns. Nú skuluþ ér eigi þat hyggia at ek mega gefa yþr heilsu af krapþi mínun. En ef ér íaþþ því at Þesus Christus, fílius Domini lifanda, gefr yþr heilsu ok trúþ þr ér á hann af öllum hug, þa er vón at ér megiþ miskunn fá í hans namni.’

Pá íaþþ allr lýþþr Christo Domino ok léþk búnan vera at gera þat allt es Petrus vildi biþþa. En í því bili kom liöþ mikit af himni ofan ífr allan lýþ, enda fungu þa þeir menn allir bót meina sinna es siþkir høþu verit.

Pá runnu krypplingar at fótom Petro postola ok öll allþýþa lofaþi nomen Christi Domini. En þaþan frá fylgþi svá mikill Guþþs krapþr Petro postola at á siau ðögum inum næstum tóku tíu þúsundir manna skírn meþ fullri trú til Guþþs.

Eptir þat beiddi Theophilus inn kristnaþi mær í Antiochia Petar postola at hann viþgi þöll göfugliga es hann áttì til kirkju, enda for þat fram. Í þeirí kirkju var settir stöll Pétrs postola á þeim degi sem n ú er siþan haldin Pétarmaþa á vár, ok þa söng þar Pétr postoli fystr messu allra manna at því er bórk segia. Á þeim degi fell Faustinianus til fóta Pétrs postola firir allrí allþýþu ok mælti þessi orþ:

‘Nú þykiæ mér Guþþs orþ þau er þu hefr sagt í brioþ mér vera bún til at gera gólþan avþxt. Nú fýsumk ek at taka skírn ok vil ek siþan vera hluttakeri heilagrar þjónustu.’

Pá skýþiæ Petrus Faustinianum ok þa tók hann ásíonu sína þa sem hann hàþi haft áþþr Þímon bryþþi ifrlíþum hans. Á þeim degi talþi Petrus lengi firir lýþnum ok hóf þar mál sitt es Faustinianus var, ok gaf á honum dæmí oþrum mønnum hvé hann var snúinn frá heiþnum dôme af mis-kunn Guþþs til algørrar trú ok til dýrligs lífs. En þaþan frá virþi allþýþa

7–8 words supplied by Unger
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
Faustinianum sem engil Guþs ok margir menn þiónuþu honum ekki miþr en Petro postola. Ævi hans lauðsk með göðu ok konu hans ok suna í trú heilagri ok atferþ dýrligrí at Guþs vilia.

VI

Petrus postoli helt siau vetr byskupstól í Anþekiu, en sían kom hann til Rúmaborgar á þeim dógum er Claudius var keiseri ifir þllum heimi. Þar var hann fyrstr páfi ok hafiþi hann þat veldi hálfaþ þriþia þög vetra. Clemens fylgþi honum miþk svá alla ævi þaþan frá er hann kom til fundar viþ Petr postola, ok Clemens gerþi bók þá of farahag ok iartearinn Pétrs postola es heitir It(in)erarium Petri, en þat þýþisk sem sé farabók Pétrs. Svá segir bók at á ofanverþum dógum Pétrs postola þá kom einn hvern dag fiþþi manna á fund Pétrs postola at heyra formæli hans ok kenning. Þá reis Petrus upp á mannfundi þeim inum fiþlmenna ok tók hann hónd Clemens ok mælti sían:

‘Þat hefir Dominus vitrat mér at nú nólgask miþk andlátstíþ mín. Nú set ek þenna mann Clementem í stól minn at stýra ok at ráþa allri Rúmaborgar kristni, ok honum þýþ ek at haldu upp kenningum helgum ok boþorþum Guþs þllum epitir dag minn með veldi því es ek hefi tekit af heriþfr mínun ok Domino Iesu Christo at binda ok leysa allt þat es ek vil á himni ok á íorþu. Siá maþr hefir mér fylgt miþk langa ævi vel ok trúliga, ok veit ek hann bæzt til fallinn at sitia í stólí mínun firir trú sakar ok viþrleiks ok geþzk.’

Þá setti hann Clementem í stólí sinn ok lagði hendr sínar í hþþþ þonum með blezun heilagri þeiri at hann vígþi hann til byskups ok til þáfa ifir allri kristni. Pá minnti Petrus páfi Clemens á miþk mórgum orþum hversu hann sky(1)di hálfa byskupdóm, eþa hvé hann skildi stýra kristni þeiri es hann var þá ifir settir.

Þaþan frá leþþ eigi langt skeiþ unz Guþs unnandi Petrus postoli lét líf sitt firir ina hálæitustu òst viþ inn almáttka Guþ sicut ipse Dominus hafiþi vitrat honum. Inn fyrsti páfi af Petro víþþr ok til korín var Linus ok var hann litla stund. Ën annarr páfi var Cletus epitir Linum at forráþi Pétrs postola ok liþþi skamma stund. Ín þriþi þáþi frá Petro var siþ inn göþgi Clemens, sonr Faustinianus ins mesta spekings, ok hann var sonr Mathíþ innar kynsterstu konu ok dásamliga ráþvandrar sicut fyrr var frá sagt.

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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 Recognitones. 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, glíkþi atferþ sína ok kenningar helgar eptir Petro postola lærifÞr sínum, ok Clemens páfi haflÞi Þst ok elsku mikla af Gýþingum ok heifhnum mønnnum sicut af kristnu fólkí. Heifhnr menn elsíku Cromens af því at hann fjöldi eigi síþ þeira, heldr sýndi hann þeim meþ mikillí skyneðmi af þeira bókum síálfra hversu illa ok færðsamlíta þeir Pórr eþa Óþinn eþa aþrir æsir vóru getnir, ok hversu illa ok herfílga þeir liþu ok dó síþan vesallíga hefan ór heimí, ok má þá af því at óngum sannþondum goþ kalla. Clemens páfi sagði svá heifhnum mønnnum at þeir móndi þegar þðlask líkn ok miskunn af Guþi es þeir hyrfr frá blótum ok allri goþgun viþ skurþgoþ sín. En Gýþingar elsíku Cromens þáfa af því at hann léþ vel of þogum þeira ok talþi langfeþr þeira vera helga mønn ok Gúþs vini mikla, ok kvaþ eigi myndu aþra fyr þðlask ok eignask innþongu himinrikís vistar ef þeir trýþi því es helgir spámenn þeira hoþþu spáþ ok firirþagt af hingatkómu Christí Domini í heim þenna. En af heilagri vitru ok Guþi gefnini ok hyggílígi ræðleitni tegþi Cromens páfi Gýþinga ok heiþna mønn til ásthúðar viþ inn almáttka Guþ Fþþur ok Son ok Helgan Anda þann er bæþi er einn ok þrír, ok fekk svá umb þrett viþ allan líþ at sem síþt styþþsk hugar þeira viþ kenningar hans, ok svá þþllum rynni sem mest ástþharþur til heilagrar misericordie eingetins sonar Guþs. En eigi haþþi hann þessi blÝþmati firir þeim søkum viþ líþinn at hann hræðdisk ógír manna ný starþjöld firir því at Cromens bóþþu þar nam Guþs ok trú þétta es hann vissi aþr mesta heiþni vera ok skurþgoþavíllu.

Ok af hans kenningu snerisk til trú rþtrar ágæt konu sú er Theodora hét ok kom opt til kirkiu ok þíonaþi ástþamlíta ok vel Guþs almáttkm. En Sisinnius þýnþi hannar Theodoru var grimmr maþr ok heiþinn. En einn hvern dag gikk Sisinnius af forþvinnis søkum eptir Theodorus konu sinni í Þnnur kirkiuþyrr. En er læþþir studdu þen þañfans ok kvóþu amen þþ varþ Sisinnius þegar bæþi blindr ok dauþr ok maþli svá viþ þíona sínar at þeir skyldi taka í hendr honum ok leiþa hann á braut þaþan, þþvat ek má nú hvártki síá ný heyrþa.’

Þíonaþi hans ok þþlæar leiddu hann af kirkiuina innan ok móttu eigi húta út ok fundu eigi dyrr á kirkiuinni. Peir fóru svá opt í hring af kirkiuina innan unz þeir kómu þar of síþir es Theodora var konu hans á bœnum

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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 Óírr and Óínn 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
sínnum. En er hon sá hvar þeir fóru með Sisinnium þúanda hennar þá veik hon fyrst frá fundi þeira, ok ætlaði hon at Sisinnius möndi siá nakkvat þvíat hann hóf upp augu sín sem heileygr maþr. En þó sendi hon mann eptir þeim at vita þat hvat þeim væri orðit til meins es þeir fóru svá ógreitt. En þeir svörðu ok sogðu svá:

‘Pá er Sisinnius dominus vör vildi siá þá hluti ok heyra es honum var eigi lofat, heilþnum manni ok trúlausum, þá týndi hann af því beþi heyrn sinni ok sýn, ok megu nú allir siá þat at vér hitnum eigi leiþ óra ör kirkju út.’

Theodora fell á kné til boðar sinnar þá er hon heyrþi tíþendi þessi sogð ok baþ inn almáttka Guþ með týrum [at þeir] maþti ganga út ör kirkjunn. Pá mælti Theodó[ra] viþ þrælana:

‘Takiþ ér nú í hendr Sisinnio ok leipþ hann heim. En ek mon halda svá bœn minni sem oss gegni þllum bæzt ok skynda þegar heim es þíþum es lokit.’

Sveinarnir tóku í hendr herra sínum Sisinnio sem Theodora baþ þeim ok leiddu heim til hallar sinnar. En þeir fóru síþan aþtr til fundar viþ Theodoru skynðiliga ok sogðu henni Sisinnium vera beþi blíand ok daufan. Pá hvarf Theodora af nýju til boðar sinnar ok baþ honum þrásamliga Guþ misericordie þúanda sínnum, ok fell honum til fótta Clemens þáþa þegar er þíþum var lokit ok sagaþi þúanda sín vera beþi blíand ok daufan, þá er hann vildi forvitnask of hagi okkra.’

Pá fellti Clemens þór ok eggiaþi þá menn alla es þar vör at bíþia firir Sisinnio at Guþ gæfi honum sýn ok heyrn, ok fór hann heim meþ Theodoru es bœn þeira var lokit ok haþi hann allt traust undir Guþi almáttkum. En hiú hans Ól Sisinnius stótþu gráþandi ífir honum, ok mætti hann ekki til siá eþa heyra es hiú hans heilsuþu Clemens þáþa ok Theodoru. Pá hóf Clemens þáþi 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 þínnum Petari himinríkis lukla, heriþfeþr mínnum ok meistera, ok þú heilagr Guþ maþtir svá viþ hann at sá skal hvern leyssask á þorþu frá þllum meinum ok óþlask elíifá miskunn af Guþi feþr firir þitt heilagt ámaþaronþ ok himinríkis vist er þú vill svá vera láta, en sá hvern bundinn ok fyrdumþr ok Guþs flóttmaþr verþa er þitt atkvæþi es þat, bíþþu nú Dominus at upp lúkisk augu þessa manss ok eyru, þvíat þú maþtir svá: “Hverskis es ér bíþþ, trúþ ér því, kristin men, at ér munþu geta þat es ér bíþþ, ok mun svá verþa.”

10 words supplied by Unger 29 ert gaf
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 vóst satt ok hefir svá verit of allar veraldir veralda.

En er allir svörupu þeir er hið vörú ok kvöðu amen þá lukusk þegar upp augu Sisinnius ok eyru.

En er Sisinnius sá Clemens páfa standa hið konu sinni þá viltisk hugr hans miðk af mikilli illsku ok afbrýpi, ok ætlaþi svá firir sér at Clemens þá hefþi gervan hann mann blindan ok daufan af fiðlkyngi sinni. En af [þeim þeim] ok heimsku es þá sló á hann Sisinnium, malti hann við þrála sína at þeir skyldi taka Clemens páfa ok binda hann ok draga hann of þill stræti firir þá sôk es hann fíflbi konu hans ok tók sýn ok heyrn frá honum mep fiðlkyngi sinni, sagði Sisinnius. En þá þóttusk þrálar hans draga Clemens páfa aptr ok fram at strætum sicþt Sisinnius baþ þeim, herri þeira. En þar hlífþi Guþ heilagr Clemens páfa ástvin sínum, ok drógu þeir eptir sér of stræti stokka ok steina. Ok svá sýndisk Sisinnio sem þrállum hans at þeir droegi þar Clemens páfa. En þeir inir þómu hlégismenn es eigi vissu hvat þeir gerþu ok hlógu svá at honum sem at bandingia. En Sisinnius kvazk bana skyldu honum sem galdramonnum.

‘Makliga dragifl ér nú stokka ok steina,’ sagði Clemens páfi, ‘þvíat ér haþþi steinhóþtuk or trúþi á stokka ok steina.’

Pá veitti Clemens páfi blezun Theodoru ok fór heim síþan ok malti svá við hana at hon þætti eigi af þeim sinni áþþ Guþ heilagr miskunnalþi Sisinnio þúanda hennar. Ok þá viðþrís henni Theodoru es hon var á þeim sinni gráþandi einn hveir gáþall maþr gofuglís miðk at áliti ok sagði henni svá:

‘Firir þeim þinar ok geþku mun búandi þinn hiðlask, at þat sýnik es Póll bróþir minn dixit, “Helgask mun ótrúr maþr ok vándr af konu sinni góþri ok trúri, ok vónd konu mun batna af sínum manni góþum ok råþvöndum.”’

En þá hvarf Pétr postoli braut frá henni. En Sisinnius kallaþi þegar á konu sína Theodoru es hann sá hana, at þat sannaþisk es Pétr postoli haþþi sagt henni, sicut vón var at honum:

‘Bíþþu nú Dominum Deum tuum at hann biargi mér, þóat ek síþi óveþþr, af sinni heilagr miskunn ok sé mér eigi reþþr, þvíat afbrýpis sôkum gekk ek eptir þer i kirkui in, ok tók ek þegar viti á mér þá er er forvítuþjumk of þat at síþi þá hluti ok heyra es gerþusk í návistu Clemens páfa. Nú bíþþu hann, þóat ek síþi þess ómáklir, at hann komi til fundar við mik ok

7 words supplied from Unger’s edition
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
Clemens saga

megna ek vita sanna trú, þvíat mér síndisk svá ok þrállum mínun sem vör byndim þafan síðlan þá er vör drógum stokka ok steina eptir oss.’

Pá fór Th(e)odora skynildíega eptir Clemens páfa ok dixit honum feginsamliga vitrun þessa ok tíðendi es Pétr postoli hafþ sýnzk henni, ok hún dixit [feginsogu þ]ar með at Sisinnius mônði snúask frá villu

sinni sicut þegar gekk eptir, ’ók sendi hann mik nú eptir þér at þú skyldir koma þangs til fundar hans.’

En Clemens dvalþi þá eigi ok fór feginn með henni. En Sisinnius tók þá vegsamliga við honum sem makligt var es hann kom þingat. Clemens páfí talþi þá firir honum trú rétta ok sanna ok hvat til andarheiðu skyldi vinna. En Sisinnius tók þá at styrikask í trú rétttri, ok fell hann til fóta

Clemen(s) páfa ok múlti síðan svá:

’Pákkrir gerek nú sönum Guþi,’ dixit Sisinnius, ’ók almáttkum þeim es mik lét blindan verþa ok daufan firir ötrú mína til þess at ek mega nú siþ ít sanna ok heyra in réttu boþorþ þau er ek hafþa fyrr at skaupi haft. Ok es nú

hreinsat hugskot mitt frá þollum sauri skurþgöþavillu, þvíat þat es diþfla leyni ok fylskni þeira skurþgöþ þau er vör trúþum miþök ok heimsliga á

hingat til, ok göþgúþum af allri alþþ es verr var. En þau tæla alla þá menn es þeim trúía. En ek skal nú trúía á Iesum Christum sannan Guþ á hinnum.’

Pá fógrnuþ allir kristinn menn es hugr hans skyldi svá vel skipazk hafa á lítilli stundu. En Sisinnius tók þá skírn ok hiú hans vóru skíþ þat páskkum. En þar var allt samen sextan mónum föra en þrettan þusundir. Ok siá Sisinnius snéri síþan þorgum göþum mónum til réttarr trú af orþum sínum ok göþum fiirþóllum, ok þeim iarteinum es hann hafþ af Guþi þegnar ok af hans miskunnok af kenningum Clemens páfa.

Pá reiddisk blótmaþr sá er Publius Torquatianus heitir viþ þat at hann

sá ótal manna snúask frá skurþgöþablótum ok til átrúnaþar viþ eingetinn son Guþs Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Publius bar fé mikil á ríksmenn viþa í herþum ok baþ þa gera fíþþið mikinn kristnum mónum.

Ok þa gerþþuk þætrur miklar ok sundrþyki meþ Rúmaborgar lýþ of Clemens páfa, ok gekk liþþit sveitum miþök ok mæltu sumir menn svá:

’Hvat hefþir siá inn göþi Guþs vinr Clemens illa gert eþla hvat sé þat göþra verka es eigi geri siá Guþs elsksi or farr hvern meþr feginn frá hans fundi þótt hrygg komi til hans. Ok siúkír menn fara heilir frá Clemens páfa þeir es hans ástrþp seekja ok hafa síþan, ok taka þar baþþ

5 word and letter supplied by Unger 22 þars
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 òllum þeim es hans ráþ elska ok farsælisk hverr maþr af honum.’

Af fiðlkynghi einnir gerir hann slikt allt ok eyþir hann blót ór ok allri dýrþ goþa várra, ok ðösemir hann svá in goþgu [goþ ór at] hann segir at þórr sé eigi goþ, fulltrúi várr ok inn sterksti áss áraþpisfullr, ok er nær hvars sem hann es blótinn. En þá ðösemþ ok óvýþing veitir hann Þöni örlausnaþfullum ok hvarþsemi at síá Clemens kallar hann fiánda ok ðöreinan anda. En hann kveþr Freyiu portkonu verit hafa, feirir hann Frey, en hreþir Heimdall, lastar hann Loka meþ sleþþ sína ok vélar ok kallar hann ok illan, hatar hann Heþni, þölvar hann Baldri, teþr hann Þý, níþir hann Niðþ, illan segir hann Úll, flimþir hann Frigg, en hann geýr Gefþum, sekia ðœermir hann Síþ. Fir íllsku sína kveþþr hann svát orþi. Ok síá lagabriþtr feirir ðoll goþ ór ok lastar þau miþok ok greþr at ðoss, ok engi þeirra ása má hann heýra vel láþinn, hváþþt þó r nè Þþin. Òllum bindr hann þeim íamnan skþld upp goþum órum ok kallar ðoll ðöþþ meþ ðoll, eþa hváþþt heýþþu þer mann slikt mela fyþr? Blóti hann nú þegar í staþ eþa hafi bana ella. Nú er sá dómur várr allra af hann.’

VIII

Pá lét Mamertus Iulianus Rúmarborgar greifíi leþpa Clemens páfa leyniliga til máþ viþ sík ok tók svá til orþa at ’allr Rúmarborgar líþþr segir þig lasta miþok goþ ór ok vera manþ fiðlkungan ok veldan miþok af villu þeiri es þu goþgar Christum nekkvær, ókuþna mér, ok tekþ þú upp nýþreþtni þá í gegn goþum órum ok í móþ lþgum órum. Nú legþþu níþ þiskil þin þoll ok dýrþka in goþgu goþ ór.’

Sanctus Clemens svarafli vel ok höþþamliga þœrum greifans:

’Þess esski ek þer af tign þinni at þu meþr (þþilia) skýþsemi réttta ok reþþu helðr viþ miþ of skýþsemismál en of þþatur ókuþna manna ok heimskra. Præta ok sundþþyki allt heþþk ávat af óþegnum mþþnum ok heimskum, ok má eþi til sanns ne eitt of seþa viþ þá. En í hliþþi skal spakr maþr ok viþr spyrþa ok hyggia þá at heýþþu sinni, ok leita meþ skýþsemi hugar þíns ins sanna Guþþ þess es þu máþt allt traþt viþ hafa.’

5 words supplied by Unger  26 word supplied by Larsson
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 Heimdalr, 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 Njóðr, he says that Úlfr 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).
Clemens saga

Pá sendi Publius Torquatianus, eptir viðmæli þessi þeira Clemens ok Iulianus greifa, rit ok innisgili með sendimönnum sínum til Traiano keisera ok dixit svá at ‘mikit su[ñ]drflyki gerisk með Rúmaborgar mónnum af kenningum Clemens páfa, ok spenr hann allt fólk ok allan landhver frá allri dyðar gøpa várra ok dregri í villu sína ok til átriðaþar við Christum nekkvern, ok hann slæsk á ít mesta ámæli við Pór eða Øðin ok alla feelir hann þá æsi ok øll goð þór.’

En Traianus keiseri sendi þau orþ at móti at Clemens skyldi blóta göðum þeira með semþ fulri eða fara á braut ella þý Rúmaborg of sé nekkvern til útlegraðar ok í eyðimork. En Clemens páfi var heldr fúss til útlegraðar með meðal eða henn hraðdisk við, þvát af óst þeirri heilagri es hann unni almáttkum Guþi skein svá biart himinnrikís sól í hiarta hans at hann var fúss til allra meindæta þeira es Guþ heilagr vildi láta at hendi honum koma, þvát hann vissi vist at Guþs miskunn móndi ávatl með honum vera í hverri mannaun ok þráut. En þá tök Clemens ok talþi með göðum vilja trúða ok sanna firir greifanum svát hann komsk við miðok of siþir greifinn ok fellti tór ákafliga ok mæli svá við Clemens, þvát Guþs mildi teþi ávatl móðum þáfins:

‘Guþ þinn,’ kvafl greifinn, ‘sá er þú trúir á af öllum hug ok goðgar veð ok trúliga ok dyrkar miðok í öllu lifi þínu ok akæfi, veri hann ávatl meþ þér ok eflí hann þjök til allra hluta ok farar þessar ok útlegraðar.’

Ok gaf greifinn honum skip gott ok þá reîþu alla es honum var mest þórf at hafa meþ sér til ífarar þeirar ok baþ hann fara í miskunnarþríþi Guþs síns þess er hann trúþi á. En heîþir menn móttu eigi vatni halda es Clemens páfi skyldi skiliask við þá. Svá var hann öllum mónnum hugðekr ok ástfólginn miðok at hvert barn unni honum.

En síþan skipaþi Clemens skip þat es greifinn haþi gefið honum. En honum varþ þíþ aupfengt til farar meþ sér, sem vón var at, þvát margir kristnir menn víldu giarna honum fylgia, sem þeir gerþu. Ok fórk þeim allt it greîþta unþ þeirri kómu í þann staþ es Certona heîþir. En þar var líþ mikit firir meirr en ettutgu hundruþ kristinna manna ok í ánaþ þeirri at þeir telgu gríót, ok vörð því þíaþir svá miðok at þeir trúþu á þeim Christum.

En er Clemens páfi vissi þat at þeir vörðu at því landflóttu ok úttalgir gervir at þeir víldu eigi hafna óst við Christum Domínum ok trú réttu, þá huggaþi Clemens þá meþ kenningum sínum ok mæli svá við þá alla saman:

‘Makliga lét Christus Dominus meus mik hingat fara til þývar at ek taka huggun meþ ýþr 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 Óinn and Órr 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.’
Clemens saga

En þeir sögðu honum til sinna vandrafra á þeir urðu sex miður allar at bera vatn á baki sér, ’þvíat eigi getr nærr svá,’ sögðu þeir.

3 ’Bíþium vérer nú allir saman,’ dixit Clemens páfi, ’at Dominus noster Jesus Christus lükki upp brunn gólpanfirir íþerum sínum, sá er forþum gaf Moisi vatn ór steini ok lýþ sínum í eyþimórð, svát vérer megim nú fagna gólþum göðum hans ok iarteinum, þvíat hann mon veita oss miskunn sem öllum es hann bíþia naúþsynliga hluta með ástamari trú.’

En þá er þeir höfðu lokit þen sínni þá líttahisk Clemens umb ok sí hann lamb standa til hegri handar sér á höli einum, ok rétti lambit fót sínn ok tafsaði honum, sicut þar væri vaz vón undir. Øk þá skilpti Clemens af krapti Heilags Anda at Guþ omnipotens síndi honum einum lamb þat. En hann varþ þessi miskunn Guþs ok sýn feginn miðk ok fór hann þegar þangat sem Guþ síndi honum sitt tákni ok mælti svá við kristna menn, at ’í þessum staf grafið er nú írþina in nomine Patris ok Sonar ok Anda Heilags.’

En er þeir grófu þar írþina miðk langa stund ok fundu eigi þann staþ es lambit hafti tafsat, til þess at omnipotens Guþ birti þat enn framarr ok berligarr hversu miklu Íæstan verþleik sína ínn miskunnsamasti Clemens páfi hafti við Guþ á himnum, þá tók Clemen(Þ) páfi graftol í hond sér ok hiði tysvar pálinum niþr undir fletr lambinu. Ðen þar spratt þegar mikil þ upp ok fór renndandi, þvíat Guþ dvalþi eigi miskunn sína þegar es þær inar helgu hendr ok inar lítillátu æstu Guþ giafar miskunn-samligrar við sík. Øk lísti Guþ ifir því at af krapti ok verþleik ins helga Clemens veitti hann mesta þessa ina dásamliðstu ástgjöf við fólkt. Pá urðu þeir allir fegnir iartein þessi es Guþ hafti þeim veitta firir trú rétt, ok sunu þeir hött lof Guþi almáttkum ok múttu svá at ’renndandi þ gleþr borg Guþs’. Ók þá drífu margir heralþsmenn þingat es þeir frágu iarteinir þessar ok þeir sóþ þessa þ renna ok upp spretta þar er þeir höfðu ávalt viðr þurran staþ. En þeim brá miðk við þessi típandi ok vel es þeir knátti þar líta. Ón með því at Guþ heilagr unni þeim mönum mikillar farsælu sicut öllum þorum þeim es meþ göþfýsi sótta á fund Clemens páfa, þvíat af hans orþum fýstisk sía allr mannabólkr [til lífanda Guþs] es síðkar vingiafar geþr ok veitar af sinni heilagri miskunn, [tóþku þar trú ok skím þeim degi meirr en fimmi hundruf manna. Ök svá vel eflisk þar kristinn dómr at á þeim misserum var hálfr áttí togr kirkna þar gør

32–33 words supplied by Unger 34 in
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 víðar af kennimönnum, ok svá öll skurðgöp brotin í þeim heruðum
ok öll hof eydd ok allir blótstallar brenddir. Ok þá hlógu kristnir menn at
óturu heiðinna manna ok blótum þeira.

En því næst kom söu saga firir Traianum keisera at ótal manna snérisk
til Christi frá blótum af kenningu Clemens páfa. Ok þá var dómdandi só
sendr þingat af hendi konung(þ)ins es Ausidianus hét til þess at pína ok
vega marga kristna menn. En er greifinn fann þat ok reyndi at þeir vörur
allir fúðir inir kristnu menn til písla ok bana firir Guðs sakar þá vægni
hann mannfjölp þeim ok lét taka Clemens eina saman, en hann neyddi
aðra til blótum sem hann mátti mest. En er hann sóu hug Clemens páfa
staðfastan í trú heilagri ok á þjónustu vîþ Guð á himnum, þá mælti hann
vîþ þíona sýna ok þæla at þeir skyldi feria Clemens páfa út á síó langt
frá landi ok binda mikit akkeri vîþ háls honum ok sökkva honum svá
nîþr í síóvardúpur at eigi taki kris(t)inir menn at goðga hann sem goð.
En síþan gripu þeir Gyðingar inn goðga Clemens páfa ok røru út frá landi
miðk langt. En síþan logðu þeir hendr á Clemens ok bundu akkeri vîþ
háls honum ok skutu þeim inum staðrama Guðs koppa útan borz, ok
galt hann sóu þá ína helgu þod Guði es fylgt hafþ þeim inum hreina
líkama es þeir hofþu þá firir börþ lagþan.

En þá sóþu allir kristnir menn á sævarströndu gráünandi eptir es þeir
farþu Clemens páfa til bana, ok vörur í inni mestu sorgmeð þugar síns
es þeira ástvir var tekinn ok numinn ór hóndum þeim til meinlaðis ok
ógurliga bana allt til þess unz lærissveinar hans Febus ok Cornelius
huggðu lýðinn ok mæltu svá:

‘Bíþium vör allir bræþ með einfjoldum hug,’ kvóðu þeir, ‘at Dominus
noster Iesus Christus sýni oss píningarvátt sinn Clemens páfa.’

Ok felðu þeir þar allir til íarþar ok þöþu líttillátt Guð at þeir knætti
síða líkama ins sæla Clemens páfa. En þá gerþusk þær tarteinir ínar
hvarmislíku at serinn fell út frá landi of þráir millur, ok þá gengu kristnir
þar eptir með löfi ins hæsta Guðs. Ok veitti Guð heilar líþ sínum þarra
gotu unz þeir kömu at musteri miklu ok ýrallugu harþla þvíat englar
Guðs hofþu gert ýr marmaragriót. Þeir gengu inn í musteri þat ok
dýrkjumþ þann Guð es þeim veitti [þat] firir verþlek ok dýrþ sanna
Clemens páfa ok firir benir hans lærissveina at þeir fundu þar líkama
Clemens páfa, ok læþan í nýja steinþrø ok akkeri þar híþ honum lagðit

6 Ausidianus  33–34 words supplied by Unger
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
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nýfr hiá altari. Ok þær rúnar fundusk á steinþró páfans at þeir tóki hann eigi á braut þaðan, því at svá myklu mest dýrá (var) þessum inum ítarliga

Guðs vin veitt at greftri ok at þjónustu sanctorum engla almáttigs Guðs sem ný má heyra. Ok þær íarteinir gerask þar á hveriu ári of hött þ Clemens páfa at sær fellr út af landi ok veitir Guð heilagr þar þurra götu at ganga til Clemens viku alla í samt. Firir verþleik Clemens geir Guð þá miskunn mçonnum til hiðlar sér at þeir dýrki þar Guð í þeim stað ok inn helga Clemens páfa.

En þá er menn höfðu lokit bœn sinni þar, þá létu menn aprt vannliga kirkjudyrr eptir sér ok fór hverr heim á leifl til síns herbergis. En sær fell at landi hvínda ok haf kolblátt með þu un eptir þeim sínu. En faþir sveinsins þess es somnaþr var í Clemenskirkju þá er aþprir menn föru á braut þaðan ok móþir hans leituðu sonar síns á meþal kuþra manna sinna ok kunningia, þvíat þau söknuðu hans eigi fyrr en þá es þau vóru heim á þor konin, ok vóttu þess ok vínuþusk at hann móndi fylgt hafa nágrönnum þeira. En þau fundu hann eigi sem glíkligt var, þvíat sveinninns svaf fast eptir í musterinu þá er annat líþ fór á braut þaðan.

En faþir sveinsins ok móþir urþu háþla døppr viþ tión sonar síns ok ætluðu þau þat firir sér at þer móndi sveinninum hafa grandat í útanfør þeira, ok söknuðu sík of gleyp sinn ok athugaleysi es þau höfðu eigi gáþ sunar síns. En at íamlengþ annars vetrar Clemensdag siþán þá fell sær út frá landi at vanþa sínum ok gingu menn þurrum fórum til Clemenskirkju. Ok kómu þau hiú þar fyrst til mustéris allra manna es sonar síns þóttusk misst hafa. En þau urþu þá fegín es sonr þeira var lífs í Clemenskirkju ok rann hann þegar á móð þeim meþ inum mesta fagnþiði ok ínu mesta ástéiki viþ bæþi þau fýþur sinn ok móþur. En þau spyrþu son sinn at því hversu hann of mætti svá lengi foæzlulaust of lífa þar . . .
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 . . .*
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