The Dossier on Stephen, the First Martyr*

François Bovon
Harvard Divinity School

E lui vedea chinarsi, per la morte
che l'aggravava già, inver' la terra
ma de li occhi facea sempre al ciel porte,

orando a l'alto Sire, in tanta guerra,
che perdonasse a' suoi persecutori,
con quello aspetto che pietà diserra.
—Dante, *Purgatorio* XV, 109–14[1]

Today, New Testament scholars interpret the book of Acts and its account of the Hellenists—Stephen's martyrdom in particular[2]—while historians of Christianity study the cult of Saint Stephen and the healing power of his

*I would like to thank Caroline Kelly, Brent Landau, and Taylor Petrey who helped in the paper preparation. I am grateful to the staff of Andover-Harvard Theological Library, particularly Michelle Gauthier, Gloria J. Korsman, and Renata Kalnins. I thank also Eugene McGarry for his excellent work as copyeditor of this paper. The most important abbreviations used in this paper are: BHG (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*; see nn. 92–93, below); BHL (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Society of the Bollandists; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1900–1901; for the *Novum Supplementum*, see n. 142, below); BHO (*Bibliographia Hagiographica Orientalis*; see n. 151, below); EMML (Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota). For the other abbreviations, see Patrick H. Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). Because they belong to the dossier on Stephen, the first martyr, and may be useful to some readers, I include articles and books even if I was not able to read them. In some bibliographical references the readers will find numbers printed in superscript: these numbers indicate the position that a document devoted to Stephen occupies in a manuscript or a book.

[1]"And I saw him sink down, for already Death / was weighing upon him, toward the earth, / but he made of his eyes gates open to heaven, / praying to the Lord above, in such torment, / to pardon those who were persecuting him, / with that look which unlocks compassion." Dante, *Purgatorio* (trans. W. S. Merwin; New York: Knopf, 2000) 149.

[2]See Acts 6–8.

HTR 96:3 (2003) 279–315

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

relics.[3] In contrast to the situation in earlier scholarship, there is, alas, little dialogue between the two groups, because the first does not investigate the reception of the book of Acts,[4] and the second does not bridge the gap between the time of the New Testament and the fourth century, when the cult of the saint begins to be well attested. My long-term intention is to establish links between the two scholarly fields and to consider Stephen's career in the New Testament and his role in the life of the church as two phases of a continuous history. This paper, an expression of my short-term intention, fulfills two preliminary tasks: to present the modern research on the hagiography of the first martyr and to collect the ancient material on Stephen. As far as I can judge, such a file or "dossier" on Stephen, the first martyr, does not exist.

Bibliography

a) One begins this investigation by reading Bible dictionaries, particularly the *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*. The author of the article "Stephen," Father F.-M. Abel, a Dominican, was a member of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. The reader, who may know that the church of the school, Saint-Étienne, was built on the remains of the old basilica founded in the fifth century C.E. by the empress Eudocia, will rejoice to read one of the rare specialists able to write both a biblical and hagiographical account of the first martyr.[5] But Abel wrote long ago. Second, one looks at dictionaries on the saints, the most important being the Italian *Bibliotheca sanctorum* which presents the several hagiographical texts and the cult of Saint Stephen.[6] Third, one reads works on

[3]Particularly in the eyes of Augustine; see *De civitate Dei*, 22.8; also p. 290, below.

[4]Even in the German collection *Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, whose intention is to respect the *Wirkungsgeschichte*, Rudolf Pesch's commentary on the book of Acts presents only one reference to a Christian text influenced by Luke's account of Stephen's martyrdom, the story of the martyrs of Lyon preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.5; see Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte. 1.Teilband (Apg 1–12)* (2d ed.; EKK 5.1; Solothurn: Benzinger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1995) 267.

[5]F.-M. Abel, "Étienne (saint)," *DBS* 2 (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1934) 1132–46. Abel is probably wrong when he does not distinguish the church built by Eudocia and the martyrium founded by Melany the Young (col. 1140).

[6]Gian Domenico Gordini and Mariella Liverani, "Stefano, protomartire, santo," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* XI (Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense; Roma: Città Nuova, 1968) 1376–92; see also Hiltgart L. Keller, *Reclams Lexikon der Heiligen und der biblischen Gestalten: Legende und Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst* (2d ed., Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1970) 469–70; *Butler's Lives of the Saints: December* (rev. Kathleen Jones; new full edition; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press; Turnbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1999) 204–6. Some general dictionaries are also useful: for example, Giovanni Rinaldi, A. Pietro Frutaz, Witold Wehr, and Antonino Romero, "Stefano, santo," *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 11 (Vatican City: Ente per l'Enciclopedia Cattolica e per il Libro Cattolico, 1953) 1298–1304; Jean-Paul Audet, "Étienne," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1960) 1477–81.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Christian iconography, particularly the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* which contains a bibliography, a catalog of the several types of representations, a list of the attributes of the saint, and a description of the major iconographic cycles, biblical and nonbiblical.[7]

Among these different reference works, the most important for our subject is an older one, published in 1922, the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.[8] Written by Henry Leclercq, the article "Étienne (Martyre et sépulture de saint)" is divided into three parts: the first (§§1–10) is devoted to the biblical account (Acts 6–8); the second (§§11–32) to the hagiographical sources; and the third (§§33–75) to the archaeological problems. The second section is particularly useful, for it presents many Latin, Greek, and Syriac texts on Stephen and even offers a French translation of recension A of the Latin *Revelatio*, written in Greek by the priest Lucian and translated into Latin by Avitus of Braga (according to Leclercq, recension A is to be preferred to recension B).

b) In the Bible, the role of the Hellenists, Stephen's speech, and Stephen's martyrdom are first mentioned in the book of the Acts of the Apostles. Several new commentaries and monographs on this book offer a rich bibliography on these items.[9] Several articles and monographs have been devoted to the Hellenists, starting with Martin Hengel's important contribution.[10]

[7]See G. Nitz, "Stephan, Erzmart.," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 8 (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1976) 395–403; see also Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (3 vols.; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955–1959) 3:444–56.

[8]Henri Leclercq, "Étienne (Martyre et sépulture de saint)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 5.1 (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1922) 624–71.

[9]In addition to Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, see Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte übersetzt und erklärt* (KEK 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 223–57; C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994–1998) 1:318–88; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998) 354–98. Several monographs should be mentioned: Rudolf Schumacher, *Der Diakon Stephanus* (NTAbh 3.4; Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1910); Benjamin Wisner Bacon, *The Gospel of the Hellenists* (New York: Holt, 1933); Marcel Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church* (London: Longmans, 1958); Johannes Bihler, *Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte* (Münchener Theologische Studien 1.16; Munich: Hueber, 1963); M. H. Scharlemann, *Stephen: A Singular Saint* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968); John Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech: A Literary and Redactional Study of Acts 7:2–53* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976); Delbert Leroy Wiens, *Stephen's Sermon and the Structure of Luke-Acts* (N. Richland Hills, Tex.: Bibal, 1995); Alan Watson, *The Trial of Stephen: The First Christian Martyr* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1996). Among the articles, see François Bovon, "La figure de Moïse dans l'œuvre de Luc," in *La figure de Moïse* (ed. Robert Martin-Achard; Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Genève 1; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1978) 47–65; Étienne Nodet, "James, the Brother of Jesus, was never a Christian," in *Le judéo-christianisme dans tous ses états. Actes du colloque de Jérusalem, 6–10 juillet 1998* (ed. Simon C. Mimouni with F. Stanley Jones; LD hors série; Paris: Cerf, 2001) 75–85, esp. 83–85; N. H. Taylor, "Stephen, the Temple, and Early Christian Eschatology," *RB* 110 (2003) 62–85.

[10]See Martin Hengel, "Zwischen Jesus und Paulus. Die 'Hellenisten', die 'Sieben' und Stephanus

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

c) Early Christian apocryphal literature seldom mentions the first martyr. The *Decretum Gelasianum*, however, mentions a book to be rejected: *Revelatio quae appellatur Stephani, apocrypha.*[11] A century ago, P. von Winterfeld identified this proscribed book with the story written in Palestine by the priest Lucian in 415 C.E.[12] Lucian's document indeed bears the title *Revelatio* and tells the story of the miraculous discovery of Stephen's relics. Winterfeld's identification has been generally accepted. The author of the *Decretum* was probably writing in Gaul during the sixth century, at a time when narratives about the miraculous discoveries of efficacious relics were popular; it is not clear why the author of the *Decretum* rejected Lucian's narrative. Winterfield's identification has not, however, been sufficient to excite the interest of specialists in apocryphal literature. Only Montague Rhodes James, Mario Erbetta, and Maurice Geerard have shown some interest in that text.[13]

d) Christian writers may have preserved early traditions on the first martyr, but no scholarly inquiry has been undertaken to recover them.[14]

e) References to the cult of Saint Stephen: The date of 415 C.E. marks the discovery of Stephen's relics by the priest Lucian. But the cult of St. Stephen was in existence earlier. Sermons which predate the *Revelatio* were preached in his honor by, for example, Gregory of Nyssa. It is true, however, that the discovery of the first martyr's tomb and the scattering of his relics, particularly in the West, favored his cult. The reader finds references to the numerous texts in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Gaelic, and Slavonic in the several *Bibliothecae hagiographicae*.[15] For the one hundredth anniversary of the first publication of their periodical *Analecta Bollandiana,* the Bollandists pub-

---

(Apg 6,1–15; 7,54–8,3)," *ZTK* 72 (1975) 151–206. English translation in Martin Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); see more recently Craig C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

[11]Erwin Preuschen, *Analecta. Kürzere Texte zur Geschichte der alten Kirche und des Kanons* (2 vols.; 2d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1909–1910; repr., Frankfurt: Minerva, 1968) 2:60 (26th title).

[12]P. von Winterfeld, "Revelatio sancti Stephani," *ZNW* 3 (1902) 358.

[13]See Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) 564–68; Mario Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento, III, Lettere e Apocalissi* (Torino: Marietti, 1969) 397–408; Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1992) 186, nos. 300–3.

[14]I will indicate some patristic references in the next pages. Particularly enigmatic is the position of Stephen in the second and third centuries. From the second half of the fourth century onward we find sermons and *encomia* on Stephen. The title of P. Camillo M. Menchini's book, *Il Discorso di S. Stefano Protomartire nella Letteratura e Predicazione Cristiana primitiva* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum "Angelicum" de Urbe, 1951) misled me. Actually it does not present, as I had hoped, a history of the interpretation of Acts 7 in the first centuries C.E., but interprets the biblical passage in the context of the literature of the first century C.E.

[15]See BHG 1648–1665; BHL 7848–7890; BHO 1086–1097. For the Gaelic and Slavonic stories on Stephen, see p. 312 n. 188, and pp. 312–13 nn. 191 and 192, below.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

lished an "inventaire hagiographiques des tomes 1 à 100 (1882–1982)." Under the heading "Stephanus diaconus protomartyr" the editors indicate numerous articles published between those dates.[16] These papers open unexpected doors and present other bibliographical references.

Particularly interesting is an article by Hippolyte Delehaye.[17] The famous Bollandist explains how Augustine requested those who had been cured by Stephen's relics to write down their spiritual and physical experiences. It was the hope of the bishop of Hippo that such stories would constitute a harmonious counterpart to the miracle stories of the Gospels. Some of these narratives, called *libelli*, have been preserved and form an exceptional testimony to popular literature. Working on the Latin side, another Bollandist, Baudoin de Gaiffier, unveils a strange legend.[18] In the Middle Ages people believed that the devil had stolen Stephen when he was a baby, leaving a demonic creature in his place. Also of interest is a study by Michel Berger. The author describes frescoes in a church in southern Italy, in Soleto, between Lecce and Otranto in Puglia.[19] The presence of a crucifixion in a cycle devoted to Stephen remains enigmatic, but Berger explains convincingly that the fresco coincides with a legend related to Stephen. According to that story, Stephen's adversaries first tried to crucify the saint. Only when this effort failed did they decide to stone him. It is interesting to note that the fresco can be considered as an early witness to a written legend preserved only in Slavonic and Georgian versions;[20] in Greek, only in revised forms.[21]

Reading E. D. Hunt brings other surprises. One learns that the conversion of the entire island of Minorca, south of Spain, was the result of the presence of Stephen's relics.[22] A contemporary witness to these events, Sever of Minorca, the first bishop

[16]See *Analecta Bollandiana. Inventaire hagiographique des tomes 1 à 100 (1882–1982)* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1983) 397.

[17]Hippolyte Delehaye, "Les premiers 'libelli miraculorum,'" *AnBoll* 29 (1910) 427–34. See also his larger study, "Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints," *AnBoll* 43 (1925) 5–85 and 305–25, esp. 74–85.

[18]Baudoin de Gaiffier, "Le diable voleur d'enfants. A propos de la naissance des saints Étienne, Laurent et Barthélemy," in *Homenaige a Antoni Rubió i Lluch* (Miscel-lània d'Estudis literaris, històrics i lingüistics, 2; Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmés, 1936) 1–26; reprinted in Baudoin de Gaiffier, *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Subsidia hagiographica 43; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1967) 169–84; see p. 304 n. 143, below.

[19]Michel Berger, "Un inédit italo-grec de la passion légendaire de saint Étienne: les peintures murales de l'Église Santo Stefano à Soleto en terre d'Otrante," in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo: Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 apr.–4 magg. 1969)* (Padova: Antenore, 1973) 1377–88.

[20]For these versions, see pp. 311–12, below.

[21]The Greek *Passio* (BHG 1649) survives in several recensions. BHG 1649d is the recension that best matches the motifs presented in the fresco. Berger insists particularly on the links between the fresco and a manuscript of the recension BHG 1649h; see below, pp. 298–99.

[22]E. D. Hunt, "St. Stephen in Minorca: An Episode in Jewish-Christian Relations in the Early 5th Century A.D.," *JTS* n.s. 33 (1982) 106–23.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the island, wrote the whole story.[23] Such an event shows the prodigious success of the cult of Saint Stephen in the first half of the fifth century C.E., and also the presence of anti-Semitism in the development of this cult: unlike Jesus, the Protomartyr did not succumb to a Roman persecution, but to the opposition of the Jewish people in Jerusalem. Finally, Elizabeth A. Clark's article convinces us of the political dimension of the cult of the relics.[24] She shows how two women of the highest society, Melania the Younger and the empress Eudocia, competed for the construction of sacred spaces devoted to the remains of the Protomartyr. The first, Melania, built two structures on the Mount of Olives: an oratory in a female monastery around 431–432, then around 438 a small *martyrium* inside the colonnade of the Church of the Holy Ascension, connected to a monastery for men. She seems to have deposited on the Mount some relics of the saint. The second, Eudocia, built a basilica outside the city walls, north of the gate of Neapolis. This church seems to have been built in two stages, since there was a *depositio* of Stephen's relics as early as 438 or 439, and an official dedication of the building in 460.[25]

■ Stephen in the Book of Acts

Several aspects of Acts 6–8 have drawn the attention of scholars.[26] First, the story of the tension in the Jerusalem church has been particularly noted. It is clear today, for the majority of scholars, that a quarrel existed between opposing and distinct Christian groups of Jewish origin: the Twelve, who spoke Aramaic and respected the Jerusalem Temple, and the Seven, who spoke Greek and presented a liberal understanding of the Mosaic law and opposed the sacrificial function of the Temple.[27] New Testament scholars have generally not accepted the suggestion of a connection between the Hellenists and the Dead Sea Scrolls community.[28]

Second, the long speech delivered by Stephen has been the object of numerous partial or global interpretations. A proposed connection to Samaritan theology has not convinced many scholars. The hypothesis of the redactional aspect of the speech, strongly advocated a generation ago, has been revised. Today, scholars consider that the speech in its present form is the work of Luke, the "redactor," or better

[23]See the critical edition by Josep Amengual i Batle, *Els orígens del cristianisme a les Balears i el seu desenvolupament a l'època musulmana* (2 vols.; Majorca: Moll, 1991–1992) 2:10–65.

[24]Elizabeth A. Clark, "Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The Partisans of Melania and Eudocia," *Church History* 51 (1982) 141–56.

[25]See also Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Histoire; Paris: Cerf, 1985) 265–67.

[26]See François Bovon, *Luc le théologien: vingt-cinq ans de recherches (1950–1975)* (2d ed.; Le Monde de la Bible; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988) 365–69, 391–92.

[27]See the bibliography at p. 281 n. 9, above.

[28]Oscar Cullmann has been a strong advocate of this hypothesis; see Oscar Cullmann, *Der johanneische Kreis: Sein Platz im Spätjudentum, in der Jüngerschaft Jesu und im Urchristentum: Zum Ursprung des Johannesevangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1975).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the author, of Acts. Luke, however, was a historian skillful enough to reconstruct what may have been Stephen's speech. That is the reason that the speech is so different from Peter's sermons in Acts. Just as Luke was able to introduce the notion, central for the historical Paul, of God's righteousness in Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:38–39), so he developed in Stephen's sermon (Acts 7) certain theological concerns valued by the Hellenists. Even if the text is difficult in Acts 7:42–50, it clearly attacks the Jerusalem temple and its cult.

The third aspect of Acts 6–8 that has kept scholars' attention is the martyrdom itself. The Lucan narrative hesitates between a real trial and mob action. This tension probably reflects a difference of opinion between the tradition favoring the idea of a mob action, and the Lucan redaction favoring the idea of a trial.[29] Scholars have also been intrigued by the fact that Christ appears to the dying martyr as the Son of Man, and that he appears in a standing position.[30]

What strikes the reader of contemporary scholarship on Acts[31] is the lack of interest in the reception or transmission of the Stephen stories in the ancient church. A knowledge of any traditions preserved by the Christian writers would be a welcome aid in understanding and evaluating the biblical narratives of Acts 6–8.

The Cult of Saint Stephen

Origin and Date of the Feast

There are indications, as I have said, that the cult of Saint Stephen predates the discovery of his relics in 415 C.E.[32] In his funerary homily for Basil of Caesarea, who died 1 January 379, Gregory of Nyssa mentions some feasts between Christmas and the New Year: Saint Stephen, Saint Peter, Saint James, Saint John, and Saint Paul.[33] The Syriac Menologion, which is probably a short version of the Greek martyrologion from Asia Minor and dates from the end of the fourth

[29]See Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (12th ed.; KEK, 3. Abt.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) 246–47.

[30]See C. K. Barrett, "Stephen and the Son of Man," in *Apophoreta* (FS Ernst Haenchen) (ed. W. Eltester and F. H. Kettler; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964) 32–38.

[31]A branch of recent scholarship has taken a renewed interest in the relationship between the New Testament text and the historical facts in order to preserve as much historicity as possible; see Samuel Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History* (WUNT 123; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); more precisely, Colin J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. Conrad H. Gempf; WUNT 49; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), and Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998) 251–78. I owe thanks to Christopher R. Matthews for these references.

[32]See Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien: Étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (5th ed.; Paris: Fontemoing, 1909) 271–73.

[33]*In Basilium fratrem*, ed. O. Lendle in *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones: Pars II* (ed. Günter Heil et al.; Gregorii Nysseni Opera 10.1; Leiden: Brill, 1990) 110–12; PG 46:789.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

century,[34] indicates the date of 26 December for the feast of Saint Stephen. The *Apostolic Constitutions* also mention the feast of the saint, without, however, mentioning the exact date; but, as they were written in the fourth century, they confirm the longevity of the cult.[35] The Armenians and the Latins are other witnesses to the date of 26 December.[36] Because they introduced a feast honoring Jesus' parents on 26 December, the Byzantines moved the celebration of the feast of Saint Stephen to 27 December,[37] but this was not the original tradition.

Other days important in the cult of Saint Stephen were the days of the discovery of his relics and of the several translations of his remains. Four different translations occurred over the centuries: the first, following immediately upon the discovery of the relics, was from Caphar Gamala, where the tomb was located, to Jerusalem; the second, from the church on Mount Zion to the new basilica built by the empress Eudocia; the third, from Jerusalem to Constantinople,[38] and the fourth, according to other stories, from Constantinople to Rome.[39] There are disagreements among the Greek, Latin, Coptic, Chaldaic, and other churches concerning the proper dates for celebrating these different translations. There are also disagreements among scholars! The second and third days of August are mentioned, but these dates probably emerged out of confusion with the feast of another Stephen, bishop of Rome in the third century C.E.[40]

Places of Worship

We do not know whether there was a shrine devoted to Stephen at Caphar Gamala, but as just noted, Stephen's relics were placed first in the church on Mount Zion, on the Western hill of Jerusalem. Subsequently, devotions were practiced in the small *martyrium* built by Melania on the Mount of Olives and, most importantly, in the new basilica built by Eudocia, supposedly on the spot of the martyrdom.

[34]The Syriac Menologion was published by W. Wright, "An Ancient Syrian Martyrology," *Journal of Sacred Literature* NS 8 (1865–1866) 45–56 and 423–32. The manuscript is extremely old, bearing the date 412 C.E. The date of 26 September is confirmed by the homily by Asterius of Amasea, mentioned below, p. 289 n. 61.

[35]*Apost. Const.* 8.33.9; Stephen is also mentioned *Apost. Const.* 2.49.3, 5.8.1, 6.30.10, 8.18.2, and 8.46.16; see Marcel Metzger, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, III (SC 336; Paris: Cerf, 1987) 243.

[36]See Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 272, who also mentions the Nestorians as witnesses.

[37]See Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Oratio VIII in ss. apostolos Petrum et Paulum*, 6 (PG 87:3, 3361); *Menologion Syriac-Jacobite* (ed. F. Nau; PO 10, 11).

[38]For this translation see Hippolyte Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," *AnBoll* 49 (1931) 27–29.

[39]For this translation see R. Lechat, "Catalogus Bibliothecae Audomaropolitanae," *AnBoll* 49 (1931) 112–16. The translation from Constantinople to Rome dates to the end of the sixth century C.E., during the pontificate of Pelagus II.

[40]See Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," 23–30, who opposes C. Erbes, "Das syrische Martyrologium und der Weihnachtsfestkreis," *ZKG* 26 (1905) 1–58, esp. 40–45.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

As we will see, there were vigorous debates a century ago concerning the place of stoning because of disagreement among the ancient sources.

The *Revelatio* of Stephen's relics provoked a fulgurant interest in the Protomartyr. The fact that Paul Orosius and Avitus brought some of his relics to the West encouraged this enthusiasm: North Africa became a land where Stephen was venerated, and places like Uzalis, Carthage, and Hippo became famous for the miracles performed by the holy martyr. The same was true of the Mediterranean island of Minorca; of Rome, where Stephen has been connected to Saint Laurence;[41] and of Ancona, where Augustine knew that an elbow of the saint was preserved.[42] Ravenna, Naples, and Milan also had their churches dedicated to Saint Stephen. The same can be said of Spain, France,[43] and England.[44] The cathedral of Besançon was proud to possess an arm of Stephen.[45] Also in the East the memory of Stephen was preserved, and the *Chronicle of Edessa* mentions the presence of a church dedicated to Stephen in that city.[46] Constantinople counted three churches in Stephen's honor, one of them located in the imperial palace. The index of Delehaye's famous book, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, contains many references for the name "Stephanus," more indeed than for any other saint, and the Protomartyr is mentioned on the first page of the book![47]

Stephen in the Christian Literature of the First Centuries

Very much present in the book of Acts, Stephen is totally absent from the rest of the New Testament.[48] His absence in the Pauline corpus is particularly surprising. Not only the account in Acts 7:58—whose truth is, of course, debatable—that Saul (alias Paul) was present during Stephen's martyrdom, but also the theological affinity between the two men should have urged the apostle to the nations to find

[41]Santo Stefano Rotondo is a circular church of the fifth century C.E., but it is not certain that it was devoted to Stephen from the beginning; its shape is influenced by the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (an allusion to Stephen as an imitator of Christ?); it is built over a mithraeum (Mithras's birth, like that of Jesus, was celebrated on 25 December, and Stephen's feast on the next day, 26 December). See Peter Steiner, *Santo Stefano Rotondo auf dem Caelius in Rom* (Bozen: Athesia, 1991) 12.

[42]See Augustinus, *Sermo* 322.2 (PL 38:1445); see Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," 24.

[43]For France, see Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 1.34 (PL 71:734–37).

[44]See *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 205.

[45]See Joseph Lemarié, "*Oratio ad sanctum Stephanum*," *Studi medievali*, 3d series, 19 (1978) 370 n. 60; see p. 305, below.

[46]See L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik mit dem Syrischen Text und einer Übersetzung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1892) 106.

[47]Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (2d ed.; Subsidia hagiographica 20; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1933).

[48]According to Bihler (*Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte*, 242), there was no tradition on Stephen in the early church. The direction of my paper contradicts Bihler's unsubstantiated thesis.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

strength in his memory of Stephen. Although my investigation is not complete, a few soundings reveal the same silence regarding Stephen in the second century C.E. The so-called Apostolic Fathers, the apologists, Justin Martyr, the early Christian Apocrypha, and the Nag Hammadi documents do not mention the first martyr at all. One should not forget Chrysostom's strange remark that in his time many Christians ignored the book of Acts.[49]

In the second century C.E., I know of only three allusions to the first martyr. According to members of the sect of the Nicolaites, their patronymic hero was a companion of Stephen, one of the seven Hellenists elected to the service of the tables (Acts 6:5).[50] The heroism of Stephen facing violent death became a model for the martyrs of Lyon and Vienna. Like the Protomartyr, they found the spiritual energy to pray for their executioners.[51] Irenaeus of Lyon underlines the harmony of the first Christian preaching. He mentions Stephen in this context and, respectful of Acts—of which he was one of the first advocates—he says that Stephen was chosen by the apostles, became the first deacon, preached about the Law, saw the divine glory, and reached perfection through his death as a martyr.[52] It is clear that Irenaeus's knowledge does not exceed the data found in the book of Acts and that he is not a witness to any noncanonical traditions concerning the first martyr.

A little later, searching for biblical examples of patience, Tertullian mentions the prophet Isaiah and the martyr Stephen side by side.[53] A reading of the *Biblia patristica* and several indices may help us to find other traces of Stephen in the third century C.E.[54] I must add that few are the modern works that treat the history of interpretation of the book of Acts in the first centuries.[55]

The situation changes in the fourth century C.E. In Syria, Aphrahat mentions Stephen as a martyr after Jesus and before the apostles in his *Demonstrations*.[56] Ephrem, Aphrahat's younger fellow countryman, wrote a commentary on the book of Acts. It is preserved in an Armenian translation and in the fragments of an Arme-

[49]*Hom.* 1.1 (PG 60:13)

[50]The information comes from Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 3.2.1.

[51]See the account of their martyrdom preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.5.

[52]Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.12.10; 3.12.13; 4.15.1.

[53]Tertullian, *De patientia* 14.1.

[54]Stephen does not appear in the most ancient Christian apocryphal texts. Another Stephen is the bishop of Corinth who, with some presbyters, writes a letter to Paul and receives from him the so-called third Epistle to the Corinthians in the *Acts of Paul* 10.2–6; see François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* 1 (La Pléiade 442; Paris: Gallimard) 1162–66.

[55]See Werner Bieder, *Die Apostelgeschichte in der Historie: Ein Beitrag zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Missionsbuches der Kirche* (Zürich: EVZ-Verlag, 1960); François Bovon, *De vocatione gentium: Histoire de l'interprétation d'Act. 10,1–11,18 dans les six premiers siècles* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese 8; Tübingen: Mohr, 1967) 1–22.

[56]Aphrahat, *Dem.* 21.23 (PS 1:937); see Aphrahat, *Les exposés*, II (trans. Marie-Joseph Pierre; SC 359; Paris: Cerf, 1989) 839.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

nian *catena*.[57] Concerning Stephen, Ephrem simply explains the text of Acts. Only two short remarks suggest that the author has some extracanonical information: he says, first, that Stephen was feared because of his knowledge; and second, that he was a close friend of Gamaliel. Added together, these two remarks suggest that Ephrem knew a form of the noncanonical stories concerning Stephen.[58] There the Protomartyr is close to Gamaliel and his persecution originates in a christological speech which he delivers, manifesting his wide knowledge.

We know that Didymus the Blind, the Alexandrian theologian, wrote a commentary on Acts. The book has been lost, but fragments are preserved in the *catenae*.[59] From the same period we possess several sermons in honor of Stephen. Two sermons by Gregory of Nyssa exist (BHG 1654 and 1655), the first accessible in the critical edition by Otto Lendle.[60] Such *encomia*, or praises, underline of course the faith and the virtue of the saint. On the historical or narrative level, they seem to build exclusively on the biblical text. The same is true of a homily by Asterius of Amasea (BHG 1656).[61] Euthalius, who lived probably in the fourth century C.E., says that the apostles appointed Stephen and the rest of the Seven only a few days after the Ascension (PG 85:708).[62]

Progressing into the fifth century C.E. in the East, I was eager to read a homily by Hesychius of Jerusalem (BHG 1657b).[63] Was he not the bishop of the city in which Stephen's martyrdom took place? Was he or was he not in possession of noncanonical, perhaps nonwritten local traditions? My subsequent disappointment was understandable: Hadrian's transformation of the Jewish capital into a Greek city

[57]See Frederick C. Conybeare, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity I: The Acts of the Apostles*, 3 (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake; London: Macmillan, 1926) 373–409; Bovon, *De vocatione gentium,* 2–5.

[58]Concerning these legends, see pp. 294–300, below.

[59]Seven fragments are attributed to Didymus in the chapters devoted to Acts 6:1–8:4 of the *catena* edited by J. A. Cramer, *In Acta SS. Apostolorum*, vol. 3 of *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum,* III (Oxford: Typographeus Academicus, 1844) 98–133; Bovon, *De vocatione gentium*, 5–6.

[60]For BHG 1654 see Otto Lendle, *Gregorius Nyssenus: Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem. Griechischer Text, eingeleitet und herausgegeben mit apparatus criticus und Übersetzung* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

[61]Asterius of Amasea, *Homilia* 12, *Laudatio sancti protomartyris Stephani*, PG 40:337–52 and Cornelius Datema, *Asterius of Amasea: Homilies I–XIV* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) 157–74. The attribution to Asterius (late fourth–early fifth century C.E.) is not entirely certain. Adolf Bretz (*Studien und Texte zu Asterios von Amasea* [TU 40.1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914] 10–11, 71–75) gives arguments for its authenticity, even though the manuscript tradition attributes the *Laudatio* either to Proclus or to Gregory of Nyssa, never to Asterios. Bretz shows well the dependence of this text on Gregory's first sermon (BHG 1654).

[62]See Erbes, "Der Weihnachtsfestkreis," 43.

[63]It was first edited by Paul Devos, "Le panégyrique de saint Étienne par Hésychius de Jérusalem," *AnBoll* 86 (1968) 151–72; then by Michel Aubineau, *Les Homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem* (2 vols.; Subsidia Hagiographica 59; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978–1980) 1: 289–350.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in retaliation for the second revolt (132–135 C.E.) must have erased the local oral memories. If there was some Christian continuity, it must not have been in Jerusalem itself. Hesychius applies a rich rhetoric of praise to Stephen: he is a "crown," as his name literally signifies, as well as a "lamp," a "column," and, because of his martyrdom and his similarity to Christ, a "lamb." Nevertheless, Hesychius presents a portrait of Stephen which owes its traits exclusively to Scripture: this "martyr from our hometown" was a deacon appointed to the service of the tables, a teacher, a miracle worker, and a slandered witness.

From the same century we possess homilies on the book of Acts, particularly the series delivered by John Chrysostom.[64] Several other homilies attributed to John Chrysostom are probably not authentic (BHG 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, and 1662).[65] One of those, published by Michel Aubineau, could be from Proclus (fifth century C.E.).[66] Probably from the second half of the fifth century C.E., a few short fragments from a commentary by an author called Ammonios are preserved in the *catenae*.[67] Later Sophronius of Jerusalem, who died in 638 C.E., preached on our saint in a sermon devoted to Peter and Paul.[68]

Turning to the West, we find in the fifth century C.E., following the discovery and the circulation of Stephen's relics, a proliferation of sermons. Augustine preached several times on the first martyr. We have the *Sermones* 314–19 on Stephen and the *Sermones* 320–24 on the miracles performed by the presence of the relics. As mentioned before, Augustine encouraged those of his parishioners who were healed by the power of the relics to tell their stories. Such *libelli* are known indirectly, but at least one of them is preserved in one of Augustine's sermons.[69] Inscriptions in North Africa also witness the success of the cult of Saint Stephen.[70] Two books have been compiled from accounts of miracles performed by Stephen's physical remains and spiritual presence: *De miraculis*

[64]*Hom. Act.* 15.1–18.5, PG 60:119–50. This printed Greek text is not the best. The better text of these homilies, which is rougher, has yet to be published, but it has been translated by H. Browne, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Acts of the Apostles* (LFC 33, 35; Oxford: J. Parker, 1851–1852) 207–20; see Bovon, *De vocatione gentium*, 6–12.

[65]PG 59:501–8, 699–702; PG 63:929–32, 931–34 and 933–34.

[66]Michel Aubineau, "Ps.-Chrysostome, *in S. Stephanum* (PG 63:933–34): Proclus de Constantinople, l'impératrice Pulchérie et saint Étienne," in *Fructus Centesimus: Mélanges offerts à Gerard J. M. Bartelink* (ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen et al.; Instrumenta Patristica 19; Steenbrugge: Abbaye de Saint-André, 1989) 1–16.

[67]*Fragmenta in Acta apostolorum* 6–7 (PG 85:1529). On this work see Bovon, *De vocatione gentium*, 12–14.

[68]Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Oratio VIII in SS. apostolos Petrum et Paulum* 6 (PG 87:3, 3355–64).

[69]*Sermo* 322, PL 38:1443–45.

[70]See Paul Monceaux, *Martyrs et reliques*, vol. 4 of *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907) inscriptions 228, 229, 245, 274, 303, and 306; see Clark, "Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen," 142 n. 17.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

sancti Stephani.[71] The matter of the contemporary miracles was so important for Augustine that he devoted many pages to the topic in *De civitate Dei*.[72] Two anonymous sermons have been published.[73] Sermons by Peter Chrysologus, preaching in the first half of the fifth century, and Fulgentius Ruspensis, active around 500, are also preserved.[74] A sermon attributed to Maximus of Turin (late fourth–early fifth century) is now considered to be the work of Caesarius of Arles (first half of the sixth century).[75] Writing at the end of the fifth century his *De viris illustribus*, a follow-up to Jerome's work, Gennadius of Marseille mentions Stephen.[76] Pseudo-Prosper's *Liber de promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* 4.6.9, to be attributed to Quodvultdeus, mentions in passing a female monastery in Carthage which possesses relics of Saint Stephen.[77] The *Revelatio* of the priest Lucian in 415 C.E. soon influenced the works of the preachers and writers of the fifth century. In the first half of the sixth century, a Roman deacon, Arator, had the idea of transposing the book of Acts into poetry. His *De Actibus*

[71]BHL 7860–7861; see Delehaye, "Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints," 81–85. On the evolution in Augustine's thinking concerning relics and miracles, see Tarcisius J. van Bavel, "The Cult of the Martyrs in St. Augustine: Theology versus Popular Religion?," in *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective: Memorial Louis Reekmans* (ed. M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun; BETL 117; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1995) 351–61; C. Mayer, "'Attende Stephanum conservum tuum' (*Serm.* 317,2,3): Sinn und Wert der Martyrerverehrung nach den Stephanuspredigten Augustins," in *Fructus Centesimus: Mélanges offerts à J. M. Bartelink*, 217–37. I thank AnneMarie Luijendijk, who drew my attention to these two publications.

[72]Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22.8.

[73]See Joseph Lemarié, "Le pontifical d'Hugues de Salin," *Studi Medievali*, 3d series, 19 (1978) 370–73; Raymond Étaix and Bernard de Vregille, "Le 'libellus' bisontin du XI[e] siècle pour les fêtes de saint Étienne," *AnBoll* 100 (1982) 600–5

[74]Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 154 (CCSL 24B:958–60): The preacher explains the meaning of "Stephanus" as *corona* and says that the saint has earned his name. Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Sermo* 3 (PL 65:729–32, and CCSL 91A:905–9): The preacher compares and contrasts Jesus, born 25 December (yesterday), and Stephen, born 26 December (today). Stephen suffered from Paul among his executioners, but prayed for him. The martyr was under the stones while the future apostle was under the victim's prayers. See also the sermon attributed by the manuscript tradition to Faustus of Riez, *De revelatione corporis beati Stephani*, first published under the name of Faustus as *Sermo* 28 (CSEL 21:334–37), then reprinted in PLS 3:534–37, and finally published in Eusebius "Gallicanus," *Sermones extravagantes* (ed. F. Glorie; CCSL 101B; Turnhout: Brepols, 1971) 821–24.

[75]Published as Maximus's *Homilia* 64 in PL 57:379–84; edited now as *Sermo* 219 of Caesarius (CCSL 104:867–70).

[76]Gennadius of Marseille, *De scriptoribus ecclestiasticis* 39 (PL 58:1081), on Paul Orosius, who brought Stephen's relics to the West; ibid. 47 (PL 58:1085), on Avitus, who translated Lucianus's revelation into Latin and wrote a cover letter: See Ernest Cushing Richardson, *Hieronymus, Liber de viris inlustribus; Gennadius, Liber de viris inlustribus* (TU 14.1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896) 76 [§40 here is §39 in PL 58] and 78 [§48 here is §47 in PL 58].

[77]PL 51:842; critical edition and translation: Quodvultdeus, *Livre des promesses et des prédictions de Dieu* (ed. René Braun; 2 vols.; SC 101–102; Paris: Cerf, 1964) 2:606–7; critical edition with full apparatus: *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi episcopo tributa* (ed. René Braun; CCSL 60; Turnhout: Brepols, 1976) 196.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

apostolorum 1.586–623 is devoted to Acts 6–8.[78] We conclude this survey of the Christian literature on Stephen at the end of the sixth century and mention finally Cassiodorus's *Complexiones Actuum apostolorum*.[79]

Stephen in the Visual Arts

One should distinguish three types of representation: first, the portraits of Stephen; second, the narrative cycles; and third, the miraculous image.

The Portraits of the Protomartyr

In the Christian art of Byzantium and the Middle Ages, Stephen is represented as a young and beautiful man, as a deacon wearing amice, alb, stole, and dalmatic. In the oldest representations, however, he wears only the garment of the deacon of late antiquity: a tunic whose upper part is white. Thus is Stephen depicted in one of the oldest representations, a mosaic of San Lorenzo in Rome (the basilica and the mosaic date from the sixth century C.E.). While he carries the palm of the martyr and the book of the gospel in the first centuries, he later will be represented with a stone on his head, a symbol of his fate. Six other companions are sometimes represented at his side. Particularly in the West (in Rome especially) he is paired with another deacon and martyr: Saint Laurence, in, for example, the church of San Vincenzo al Volturno (ninth century C.E.).[80]

The Narrative Cycles

In the crypt of the Church of Saint-Germain in Auxerre (Burgundy, France), we find the oldest biblical cycle of the first martyr, dating from the middle of the ninth century C.E. Three scenes are represented: the dispute with the Jews, the arrest, and the stoning.[81] The same three scenes are also present later in the Gothic period, particularly at the cathedral of Chartres.[82] In his scholarly article, Nitz indicates other examples.[83]

Particularly on stained glass windows, the story of Stephen, both before and after his martyrdom, was supplemented with episodes happening before or after the biblical narrative. The expanded account includes, of course, the discovery of the relics. Because this event was celebrated as a special feast day, the tendency arose to detach its representation from that of the biblical narrative and to create

[78]Arator, *De Actibus apostolorum* 1.586–623 (CSEL 72:47–49).

[79]Cassiodorus, *Complexiones Actuum apostolorum* 15–16 (PL 70:1386).

[80]See Nitz, "Stephan, Erzmart."; Gordini and Liverani, "Stefano, protomartire, santo"; and Rinaldi, Frutaz, Wehr, and Romero, "Stefano, santo," 1302–4 for some representations.

[81]See Nitz, "Stephan, Erzmart.," 398.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Ibid. 398–99.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

for it an independent cycle. As examples of this development, Nitz enumerates the windows of the French cathedrals of Le Mans, Chartres, Bourges, Rouen, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Sens.[84] Although Byzantine artists concentrated their energies on producing a physical portrait of Stephen, we have noted the narrative cycle of Soleto, which illustrates the strange episode of an unsuccessful crucifixion of the saint.[85] As is the case with the scenes of the discovery, it is also in the West that we find the most illustrations of Stephen's youth. His kidnapping as a boy by the devil and the miraculous transformation of wine into blood at his parents' house during a banquet are among the many legendary representations of his childhood. Among other depictions, Nitz mentions the forty-three frescoes of the oratory in Lentate sul Seveso (Lombardy, Italy) from the second half of the fourteenth century C.E.[86] Interesting is the development of a legend in England and Scandinavia that portrays Stephen as a servant of King Herod. This legend connects Stephen with the Christmas story, and the roles of the magi are transposed to him. The young servant sees the star in the sky, announces its meaning to the king during a banquet, and hears the boiling cock shouting from the pan, "Christus natus est."[87]

The Miraculous Veil

Stories about the divine origin of icons are not uncommon. Some Greek monasteries claim to possess an icon of the Virgin Mary that arrived by sea or appeared in a bush. In other cases, there is the belief that a venerated icon was painted by Christ, an angel, or the Virgin Mary. It is due to the research of Ernst von Dobschütz that I know of the following legend: Relics of Saint Stephen were brought to the West, and some of them found a home in the town of Uzalis. But a demon was terrifying the inhabitants of the place, who in their panic took refuge near the holy remains of the Protomartyr. This decision forced the unhappy demon to withdraw. On the next day, a subdeacon of Uzalis named Sennodus met on the road a stranger who gave him a veil (*velum*) on which the victory of Stephen was depicted in various colors. The saint, bearing a cross on his shoulder, was represented in the act of flooring the demon. The faithful inhabitants of Uzalis were certain that an angel had painted the picture on the scarf.[88]

[84]Ibid. 399–400.

[85]See p. 263, above.

[86]Nitz, "Stephen, Erzmart.," 400.

[87]Ibid. On legends including the boiling cock see Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Livre du coq," *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* II (ed. Pierre Geoltrain and Jean-Daniel Kaestli; La Pléiade; Paris: Gallimard, forthcoming).

[88]The story is preserved in a work written by a local clerk commissioned by Evodius, the bishop of Uzalis: *De miraculis sancti Stephani protomartyris*, 2.4 (PL 41:850–51); see Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (TU 18; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899) 35–37, 89–90, 115*–17*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Revelatio, Passio, Translatio, and *Sermones* in Greek

There is hesitation among scholars concerning the original language of some documents concerning Stephen, just as there is uncertainty concerning the original form of the texts. Some have suggested, for example, that the Latin recension A of the *Revelatio*, also known as the *Inventio*, is closer to the original than the Greek. Others have underlined the value of the Syriac version of the same text. For practical reasons I will examine first, the Greek; second, the Latin; and third, the Oriental documents. By way of introduction to this difficult textual situation I will present two remarks by earlier scholars, indicate two useful bibliographical references, and finally mention the most valuable tools.

First, I reproduce the quotations concerning the difficulty of the task. Speaking of several hagiographical texts on Stephen, N. Franco wrote in 1914 that "la confusione è ancora più grande!"[89] While Hippolyte Delehaye said in 1931, "Il existe un certain nombre de récits relatifs à l'invention et à diverses translations des reliques de S. Étienne. Malheureusement aucun d'eux n'a été l'objet d'une édition critique."[90] These remarks remain true even if there has been some progress in the last seventy years, including the edition of the two Latin forms of the *Revelatio* by E. Vanderlinden.[91] Second, two bibliographical references deserve mention: François Nau, "Sur les mots ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ et ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ et sur plusieurs textes grecs relatifs à saint Étienne," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 11 (1906) 198–216; and Robert Devreesse, "Une collection hiérosolymitaine au Sinai," *RB* 47 (1938) 555–58. Third, the reference tools for the Greek texts must be noted: A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (3 vols.; TU 50–52; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927–1952); and the third edition of François Halkin's *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (= BHG),[92] along with the useful additions in his *Novum Auctarium*.[93]

By giving top billing to the *Revelatio*, the Bollandists suggested that this document was the oldest one. I, however, do not accept the chronology that their ordering implies. It may, in fact, be true that the story is older. In their work of distinguishing three documents, however, the Bollandists were correct: the *Revelatio* (BHG 1648), the *Passio* (BHG 1649), and the *Translatio* from Jerusalem to Constantinople, including or not Bishop Metrophanes's homily (BHG 1650). The problem is that for each of these units there are several recensions: three for the *Revelatio*,

[89]N. Franco, "L'Apocalisse del Prete Luciano di Kaphar Gamala et la versione di Avito," *Roma e l'Oriente* 8 (1914) 292.

[90]Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," 25.

[91]See p. 304, below.

[92]François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (3 vols.; 3d ed.; Subsidia hagiographica 8a; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957) 1:247–53 (nos. 1648–65).

[93]François Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica 65; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984) 193–95 (nos. 1648–65).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

around twelve for the *Passio*, and at least two for the *Translatio*. What makes the matter still more complicated is the fact that there are very few good editions of those texts. The good news is that among the witnesses of those documents, there are several very old manuscripts, among them even some uncial manuscripts, an unusual situation for hagiographical or apocryphal literature.[94]

a) Revelatio

BHG 1648x

The oldest form is preserved in a manuscript written in uncial letters but damaged, the *Sinaiticus gr.* 493 (8th–9th c.). I have seen the manuscript, possess a microfilm of it, and hope to publish it. It is also preserved in a manuscript from Rome, *Angel. gr.* 108 (12th c., the first of two texts on Stephen in that manuscript).

BHG 1648y

This form of the story has been published by N. Franco in an edition criticized by Hippolyte Delehaye.[95] Franco used the following manuscripts: *Vaticanus gr.* 866, 1216, 1633, and 1641. The legend is also preserved in ms. S. Sabba 18.[96]

BHG 1648z

So far this unedited recension is known from only one manuscript, *Parisinus gr.* 1179 (11th c.). This document has the peculiarity of reproducing together both the *Revelatio* and the *Passio*.[97]

b) Passio

According to the BHG and its *Novum Auctarium,* there are twelve different forms of the *Passio* (BHG 1649 and 1649a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, s, t, x). I shall enumerate all of them. The reader will easily find in the BHG the *incipit* and the *desinit* of these texts.

BHG 1649

Two editions of this document exist; the first by Constantin Ch. Doukakis, *Μέγας συναξαριστὴς πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καθ' ἅπαντα τὸν μῆνα αὐγούστου ἑορταζόμε-*

[94]See *Sinaiticus gr.* 493 of the eighth–ninth century C.E. for the *Revelatio* (BHG 1648x); *Sinaiticus* ΜΓ 46 (from the 1975 discovery) of the ninth–tenth century C.E. for the *Encomium* by Greogory of Nyssa (BHG 1654); and *Scorialensis* Φ. III. 20 (M. 236) of the ninth century C.E. for one form of the *Passio* (BHG 1649).

[95]See Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," 25. On Franco, see p. 294 n. 89, above.

[96]See n. 99, below.

[97]See Nau, "Sur les mots ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ et ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ," 204–213; François Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* (Subsidia hagiographica 44; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1968) 129[19].

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

νον (Athens: Kollaraki and Triantaphyllou, 1894) 28–45; the second by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας* (5 vols.; St. Petersburg, 1898) 5:28–53.[98] It is difficult to find out which were the manuscripts used by Doukakis; however, we know that Papadopoulos-Kerameus edited S. Sabba 224 (14th c.), a manuscript he called A, and that he mentioned the variant readings of another manuscript he called B (it is S. Sabba 18, the second part of which is apparently from the 10th c.).[99]

Actually, more ancient and more valuable manuscripts are available, such as the *Scorialensis* Φ III.20 (9th c.),[100] the *Vaticanus gr.* 1671 (10th c.), and the *Parisinus gr.* 881 (10th c.). I am following Papadopoulos-Kerameus's division into paragraphs: even if it has not been clearly recognized, the text published by this scholar includes the content of the three documents I have enumerated (BHG 1648, 1649 and 1650). In §§1–2 it gives one form of the *Passio* (BHG 1649), which begins by following the canonical account in Acts. This version identifies Stephen's coffin as a γλωσσόκομος, a term present in practically all the forms of the noncanonical passion narratives, and records the transliterated Syriac or Hebrew inscription on it: Χιλιήλ, meaning "crown," which is the meaning of Στέφανος in Greek. Then Gamaliel is presented as the one who asks the apostles for permission to give Stephen a decent burial. Nicodemus, who is a cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Gamaliel, is baptized by the apostles Peter and John. This action enrages the high priests and the Pharisees, who would like to kill the new convert. But Nicodemus escapes, thanks to Gamaliel's mediation. The wise man rescues Nicodemus, who was lying half dead, and takes care of him. Later Nicodemus will die as a good Christian and be buried beside Stephen. Strangely—due to the influence of the *Revelatio* story—a priest by the name of Lucian appears. He seems to be a contemporary of Gamaliel and Nicodemus! But his mention may be just a parenthesis, meaning: This is the same village in which Lucian was *later* the priest.

[98]See also pp. 418–20 of this volume. On pp. 54–69, this scholar published the document BHG 1651, the translation of the relics from Jerusalem to Constantinople; and on pp. 70–73, the document BHG 1664, a *Laudatio* in honor of Stephen.

[99]For a description of these two manuscripts, S. Sabba 18 and S. Sabba 224, see Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων* (5 vols.; Saint Petersburg, 1891–1915) 2:29–34 and 337–39. The text of S. Sabbas 18, however, is not BHG 1649, but BHG 1648y; see Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 193 (BHG 1648y). In his edition, Papadopoulos makes some corrections to his catalogue: in S. Sabba 18 the manuscript includes 404 folios in parchment and 15 in paper; the text concerning Stephen, the last of the collection, starts at f. 406 and ends abruptly at f. 419. One last folio is missing. It can be supplied by another manuscript of the same library, S. Sabba 209.

[100]See H. D. [= Hippolyte Delehaye], "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum regii monasterii Scorialensis," *AnBoll* 28 (1909) 356–57.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

From §3 to §9 (beginning), the text tells then the story of the discovery of Stephen's relics (BHG 1648) and from §9 (end) to §15, the text tells the story of the *Translatio* (BHG 1650), completing the whole matter with Bishop Metrophanis's sermon on the arrival of the relics in Constantinople (§16).

BHG 1649a

This recension is still unedited. It is preserved in at least two manuscripts, *Scorialensis gr.* 264 (Y II.9)(12th c.), and *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.* 455 (rescripto). This rescension is an excerpt from the canonical account of Stephen's passion (Acts 6:8–7:5).[101]

BHG 1649b

This recension was edited by Andrzej Strus[102] from two manuscripts preserved in the Vatican Library (*Vaticanus gr.* 2048 [= Basilianus 87], 11th c., and *Vaticanus gr.* 1631 [= Cryptoferratensis 17], 12th c.) There are three other witnesses to this text: *Vaticanus gr.* 2072 [= Basilianus 111] (11th c.); *Vaticanus gr.* 1986 [= Basilianus 25](12th–13th c.); and Milan, *Ambrosianus* 259 [D 92 sup] (12th–13th c.).[103] What is original in this version is an encounter between Stephen and Herod. The manuscript from Milan is the only one which contains at the end of the text a chronological indication: "From the passion of the Lord and his ascension till the stoning of Saint Stephen, the first martyr, there are seven years."[104]

BHG 1649c

Three manuscripts transmit this version of the story, including the *Vaticanus gr.* 679 (11th c.), of which Bertrand Bouvier and this author prepared an edition.[105]

[101]Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:159–63, refers to E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1848) 197–99, and Hippolyte Delehaye, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Regii Monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis," *AnBoll* 28 (1909) 359–62. See also Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial,* II (Madrid: Helénica, 1965) 116–20; and Sever Voicu and Jacques Noret, "Le palimpseste italo-grec Vatic. Barberinianus Gr. 455," *AnBoll* 89 (1971) 333. What is readable of the BHG 1649a in *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.* 455, a palimpsest (actually a double palimpsest), are only a few verses of the canonical book of Acts.

[102]Andrezej Strus, "Una *haggada* familiare sulla passione e morte di S. Stefano Protomartire," *Salesianum* 60 (1998) 81–96.

[103]See "Ad catalogum codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Vaticanae supplementum," *AnBoll* 21 (1902) 18^{13} and 19^{6}; E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Hoepli, 1906; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1978) 1:284–91; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, $1:303^{19}$ and 324^{18}; François Halkin, "Suppléments ambrosiens à la *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*," *AnBoll* 72 (1954) 330.

[104]François Halkin, "Suppléments ambrosiens," 330.

[105]It will be presented in a *Festschrift* in honor of Eckhard Plümacher; see Hagiographi Bollandiani and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae vaticanae* (Subsidia hagiographica 7; Brussels, 1899) 22^{27}.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

We know of the existence of two other manuscripts, but when we recently visited Mount Athos, we did not receive permission to see these two witnesses: Athos, Lavra 459 (Δ 83) (12th–13th c.), written by the monk Germanos; and, probably a copy of the preceding, Athos, Lavra 1560 (Λ 70), dated 1655–1656 and written by the monk Antonios.[106] The story starts with the christological dispute between Stephen and the Jewish leaders, continues according to the canonical Acts, and ends with the inhumation in Gamaliel's estate in Caphar Gamala.

BHG 1649d

This recension has been published by S. Dolgov and, another time, by Andrzej Strus from *Scorial gr.* 314 (y II.6) (12th c.);[107] it is also preserved in the *Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr.* 387 (11th–12th c.), the *Atheniensis* 1027 (12th c.) and in manuscript 28 of the monastery of Kosinitza (also 12th c.).[108] It contains the episode of the unsuccessful attempt to crucify Stephen.

BHG 1649e

This is a still unedited version of Stephen's passion narrative. It is preserved in the manuscript *Rom. Angelic. gr.* 108 (B 2.2), ff. 261^{r}–264^{v}. Ehrhard classifies it under the rubric *Translatio* because it is connected with the second of August, but according to Halkin it is both a *Passio* and a *Translatio*.[109] Only a reading of the manuscript will solve the problem.

BHG1649f

This is also a recension which remains unedited. It is preserved in the following three manuscripts: Thessaloniki, Blatadon 7 (44) (11th–12th c.), Athos, Lavra 327 (Γ 87) (11th c.), and Argyrokastro 6 (17th c.).[110]

[106]S. Eustratiadis, *Συμπλήρωμα ἁγιορειτικῶν καταλόγων Βατοπεδίου καὶ Λαύρας. Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά* (Ἁγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 4; Paris-Chennevières-sur-Marne: Libraire ancienne Honoré Champion, 1930) 71; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 2:487[7] and 2:487[8]

[107]S. Dolgov, "Revelatio Stephani," *Trudy XV. arheol. sezda*, 2 (Moscow, 1916) 34–45; I am fortunate enough to have found this article at Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.); Andrzej Strus, "La Passione di santo Stefano in due manoscritti greci," *Salesianum* 58 (1996) 21–25 and 42–61. See Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, 272–73; de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, II, 200–2; Delehaye, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum regii monasterii Scorialensis," *AnBoll* 28 (1909) 372[19]; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:247[22].

[108]See Hagiographi Bollandiani and de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae vaticanae*, 275[9]; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:156[31], 2:88; Strus, "La Passione di santo Stefano in due manoscritti greci," 22 n. 9. On the situation of the manuscripts of the Monastery of Kosinitza (Darma, Greece) since the first World War, see Marcel Richard and Jean-Marie Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs* (3d ed.; CC; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995) 260–65 (nos. 887–908).

[109]See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:298–391, esp. 301[53]; Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 248 (BHG 1649e); P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and G. Muccio, "Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 4 (1896) 144–50.

[110]See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:185[14] and 211[3]; Eustratiadis, *Συμπλήρωμα*, 71;

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

BHG1649g

This document is preserved in *Parisinus gr.* 1179, a manuscript of great interest, as we have seen.[111] It is presented as a *Passio* and *Revelatio* or *Inventio* by Halkin in the *Novum Auctarium* of the BHG.[112] But it seems also to include the *Translatio*. As Nau remarks, "l'auteur de cette rédaction semble s'être proposé de réunir ensemble tous les récits relatifs à saint Étienne."[113]

BHG 1649h

Two manuscripts at least contain this recension: Meteors 563 (11th c.);[114] and Milan, *Ambrosianus* 262 (D 107 sup.) (14th c.), a manuscript originating in Korfu.[115] Berger mentions this manuscript in his article and even prints photographs of fol. 132^{v}–133^{r} as examples.[116] This document was published by Andrzej Strus in 1996 from the Milan manuscript.[117]

BHG 1649s

By this call number the Bollandists designate a shorter version of Stephen's passion as it is preserved in a synaxarion.[118] It is still unpublished and is known with different beginnings from the following manuscripts: *Parisinus gr.* 1592 (12th c.); *Parisinus gr.* 1571 (dated 1253); Cambridge Univ. Dd IV 42 (13th c.);[119] *Sinaiticus gr.* 577 (15th–16th c.); *Sinaiticus gr.* 593 (14th c.).[120]

BHG 1649t

This number refers to the synaxarion of the church of Constantinople, first edited in the *Menaea* at the date 27 December,[121] and subsequently by Hippolyte

---

Sophronios Eustratiadis, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαοὺς Μοναστήρι) ἀποκειμενων κωδίκων* (Thessaloniki: Pantelis and Xenophontidou, 1918, 19–22 and 44–45; N. A. Bees,"Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Ἀργυροκάστρου," *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ ἀρχείου* 4 (1951–1952 [published in 1952–1953]) 146[21]; the location of the manuscripts from Argyrokastro after World War II is unknown; Bees, who saw them during the war, writes that no. 6 has a lacuna in the middle of the martyrdom of Stephen.

[111]See p. 295, above.

[112]See Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 193 (BHG 1649g).

[113]Nau, "Sur les mots ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ et ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ," 212.

[114]See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 3:795[6]; N. Bees, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων* (Athens: Kleisiouni, 1967) 1:586[6]; Berger, "Un inédit italo-grec de la passion légendaire de saint Étienne," 1387 n. 2.

[115]See Martini and Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 1: 292–94; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 3:178[11].

[116]Berger, "Un inédit italo-grec de la passion légendaire de saint Étienne," 1379–80.

[117]Andrzej Strus, "La Passione di santo Stefano in due manoscritti greci," 21–41.

[118]See Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 193 (BHG 1649s).

[119]On this Cambridge manuscript see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 3:724, n. 1.

[120]As the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai is not of easy access, I give here the indications of the folios: *Sinaiticus gr.* 577, f. 520^{r}–521^{r}; *Sinaiticus gr.* 593, f. 143^{r}–144^{r}.

[121] *Μηναῖον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου κτλ* (12 vols.; Venice, 1591–1603); see BHG, p. XVI and BHG *Novum Auctarium*, p. 193.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Delehaye.[122] The form edited by Delehaye contains the following story in three parts: 1) The noncanonical contest over Christology and Stephen's victorious first speech; the location of the Saint on a height, common to the several forms of the *Passio*, is mentioned. 2) Stephen's martyrdom, according to the canonical account in Acts; Stephen's second speech, however, is not reproduced, and the recension directs the reader to consult Acts for the second speech. 3) The noncanonical episodes of the funeral and burial. The coffin (γλωσσόκομος περσαίας) is mentioned as well as the leadership of Gamaliel; Nicodemus, the cousin of Gamaliel, and his son, here called Abelbous, also appear. A eucharist is also mentioned, and takes place in the neighborhood of the Constantiana. This location is the setting of the end of the *Translatio* to Constantinople, the Constantiana being the place, close to the capital, where the mules refused to go further and where the relics of the saint found their last rest; but here the story of the translation itself is not told.

BHG 1649x

This single folio from a manuscript from Patmos is for me a completely unknown quantity. According to Halkin's *Novum Auctarium*,[123] building on Ehrhard's information, it should be a short narrative concerning Stephen's birth and education followed by the mention of a miracle. The manuscript Patmos 272 is composed of several codices; fol. 178–88 constitute the remains of an eleventh–twelfth century manuscript; it contains three texts, of which the third one (fol. 187^{rv}) is on Stephen, but the manuscript breaks off before the end.[124]

c) Translatio

BHG 1650

By this number the BHG designates the story of the translation of Stephen's relics to Constantinople. Halkin, the editor of the BHG and of the catalogue of the hagiographical manuscripts from Paris, writes[125] that part of this story was published in the eighteenth century by A. Banduri[126] and adds a series of references to Greek manuscripts containing this document: *Parisinus gr.* 548 (10th or 11th c.). *Parisinus gr.* 721 (11th c.), *Parisinus gr.* 1470 (890 C.E.), *Parisinus gr.* 1586 (12th c.), *Parisinus*

[122]Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris; Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1902) 349–50. The reader should not forget to read in Delehaye's edition the apparatus where other collections are indicated.

[123]Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 194.

[124]I am relying here on Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:256, n. 1.

[125]Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 249 (BHG 1650); idem, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique*, 33, 55, 173, 218, 288.

[126]A. Banduri, *Imperium Orientale* (Paris: Coignard, 1711) 646–47. In the *Novum Auctarium*, 194 (BHG 1650), Halkin writes that what Banduri has published is the acephalous codex *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 241, and that the reader ought also to look at the second edition of Banduri's work (Venice,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

suppl. gr. 241 (10th c.); *Vaticanus gr.* 1216 (11th–12th c.). Ehrhard mentions also the following manuscripts: *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.* 547; Milan, *Ambrosianus gr.* 405 (G 23 sup.); Messina, San Salvatore 63; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate 135–36.[127]

I may be wrong, but, after reading the *incipit* and the *desinit* indicated in the BHG, I believe that this text, complete, has already been published and is hidden in Papadopoulos-Kerameus's[128] and Doukakis's[129] editions (BHG 1649). Both of these editions tell the story of the wife of Alexander. Alexander had taken care of Stephen's tomb and wished to be buried beside the saint. At Alexander's death this wish was honored, but after eight years his widow wishes to return to Constantinople accompanied by the remains of her husband. An official imperial document helps her to convince the bishop of Jerusalem. She then departs with the coffin of Alexander, but on the way to the capital by earth and sea, the presence of the remains triggers numerous miracles. The Hebrew inscription on the coffin is then deciphered and everybody realizes that these are the relics of Saint Stephen. Divinely inspired, mules refuse to carry the relics into the city, and the relics remain at a place located ἐν Κωνσταντιαναῖς.

BHG 1650b

An old codex, the *Vaticanus gr.* 455 (9th–10th or 10th–11th c.), contains another version of the same story and, because of its age, should be given serious consideration.[130]

BHG 1651, 1651b, 1651c, 1651d, 1651e

Attributed to Nicetas the Paphlagonian or Michael Psellos, a rewriting of the *Translatio* has been preserved in several recensions, probably five. The first recension has been published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in the pages following his edition of BHG 1649.[131] Information concerning the other recensions is given by Halkin.[132]

1729) 487–88. See also Nau, "Sur les mots ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ et ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ," 201; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:677, n. 1; Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," 27; Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 194.

[127]See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 2:157, n. 1; 188; 191.

[128]Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 40–48.

[129]Doukakis, Μέγας συναξαριστής, 37–41.

[130]See Hagiographi Bollandiani and de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae vaticanae*, 4–5; R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticanae graeci. Tomus II: Codices 330–603* (Vatican, 1937) 210–15; and Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 2:116[48].

[131]Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 54–69; see also 418–20.

[132]Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 249–50 (BHG 1651b, 1651c, 1651d); Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 194 (BHG 1651c, 1651d, 1651e); see also Delehaye, "Quelques dates du martyrologe hiéronymien," 27–29; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 1:232[14] and n. 3 (for BHG 1651b); B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt* (2 vols.; St. Petersburg: n.p.,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

d) Sermones

BHG 1652–1665

The Bollandists designate with these numbers numerous praises and sermons devoted to the first martyr in late antiquity and in the Byzantine period.[133] I have mentioned the most ancient ones under the rubric, "Stephen in the Christian Literature of the First Centuries."[134] These documents, the work of famous preachers and writers like Gregory of Nyssa or John Chrysostom, were important for the survival and renewal of Stephen's memory in those centuries. They may help in particular to answer the question of noncanonical traditions preserved in the patristic and Byzantine literature. It may indeed be that a preacher like Proclus or Nicetas had read in addition to the narratives of Acts 6–8 some noncanonical, hagiographical, or apocryphal stories.[135]

Revelatio, *Passio*, and *Translatio* in Latin

The numerous Latin texts related to Stephen can be divided into two large categories: a) those dealing with the saint's life and death, and b) those telling the stories of his relics. To these two categories correspond also the dates of two celebrations in the West: 26 December, the celebration of the Protomartyr himself, and 3 August, commemorating the translation of his relics to Constantinople.

a) On Stephen's Life and Death

There were different ways of remembering the fate of the first martyr. The easiest way was to recall faithfully the canonical account in Acts (6:8–8:3). The biblical quotations preserved by the Latin Fathers, the traces of the Old Latin versions, and the many manuscripts of the Vulgate are witnesses to this veneration.[136] A second way was to repeat more or less freely not the text of Acts, but the story it contains.

1911–1912) 2:238–41 (for BHG 1651c); Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 861–64 (edition of BHG 1651e).

[133]See Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 250–53 (BHG 1652–1665); Halkin, *Novum Auctarium*, 194–95 (BHG 1654–16s65).

[134]See pp. 287–90, above.

[135]I have tried to show the importance of Byzantine sermons for the knowledge of lost apocryphal writings in "Byzantine Witnesses for the Apocryphal Acts," in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies* (ed. François Bovon, Ann Graham Brock, and Christopher R. Matthews; Religions of the World; Cambridge, Mass.: Center for the Study of World Religions, 1999) 87–98.

[136]See BHL 7848; to my knowledge the remains of the old Latin versions of the book of Acts have not yet been critically edited by the Vetus Latina Institute from Beuron (Germany); regarding the manuscripts containing an old Latin text, see Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *Initiation à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament* (2d ed.; Paris: Cerf, 1986) 50–54; for the Vulgate see *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (ed. Robert Weber et al.; 3d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983) 1707–10.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The most ambitious went so far as to put the whole book of Acts into poetry. The Roman archdeacon Arator alternates between brief prose summaries of Acts and longer poetic renderings. One of Arator's intentions is to praise the apostles, particularly Peter (the work is dedicated to Pope Vigil).[137]

Once the cult of the saint had been established and the date of 26 December fixed, the third way was to preach on the feast day of Saint Stephen. I have mentioned several Latin preachers, from Italy, Africa, and Gaul.[138]

The fourth way, once the book of Acts had been canonized, was to comment on the story of the Hellenist Stephen. Compared with the Greek and the Syrian worlds, Latin Christianity was slow to provide commentaries on the second part of Luke's work. The names of Cassiodorus and the Venerable Bede should be mentioned here.[139]

The fifth way, and the most relevant for my purposes, was to develop the New Testament narratives by writing additional stories. One of them should be mentioned here. It concerns Stephen's birth and youth.[140] This additional story, often called the *Vita fabulosa*,[141] can be compared with the enterprise of Matthew and Luke: like the two evangelists, the authors of Stephen's infancy narrative felt compelled to mention the origin of their hero and to add the episode to a narrative related to his ministry and passion.[142]

Like John the Baptist's father and mother, Stephen's parents, whose home was in Cana of Galilea, were childless. Their prayer for a child is heard and Perpetua, the mother, gives birth to Stephen. An angel commands her to name her son Stephen. During the celebration of the boy's birth, the devil steals the baby and substitutes in his place a small demon. Taken away to the kingdom

[137]BHL 7849m; CPL 1504; Arator, *De Actibus apostolorum* 1.586–623 (CSEL 72) 47–49; K. Thraede, "Arator: Nachtrag zum *RAC*," *JAC* 4 (1961) 187–96; Bovon, *De vocatione gentium*, 14–18; Richard Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles: A Baptismal Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

[138]See pp. 290–92, above.

[139]On Cassiodorus, see p. 292 n. 79, above; his commentary dates approximately to 580 C.E.; Bovon, *De vocatione gentium*, 18–20; the Venerable Bede, *Super Acta apostolorum expositio* (PL 92:956–60); idem, *Liber retractationis in Actus apostolorum* (PL 92:1012–15); Bede lived ca. 672–735 C.E.

[140]I have already mentioned this story, which influenced Christian art; see p. 293, above.

[141]This legend was famous in the south of Europe throughout the Middle Ages. On the development of the legend in England and the Scandinavian countries, see p. 293, above.

[142]BHL 7849. I do not understand why a new form of the same legend is classified BHL 7848g and not BHL 7849b in the *Novum Supplementum* of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (ed. Henry Fros; SH 70; Brussels: Bollandistes, 1986). BHL 7849 refers to manuscript 17 of the monastery of Monte Cassino; BHL 7848g to Venice, Marciana, VI.51 (158); see the introduction and the edition by de Gaiffier, "Le diable voleur d'enfants: A propos de la naissance des saints Étienne, Laurent et Barthélemy," 169–84; see p. 283, above.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of Troy, the small Stephen is saved by a doe. The bishop of the place, Julianus, following a divine order, welcomes the child, gives him the name Nathanael and ensures for him a good education. An angel then orders the boy to go home and, directed by the angel, Stephen crosses the sea and reaches his family's home. At his arrival, Stephen exorcizes the demon and is recognized by his parents. He then becomes a student of Gamaliel, meets with his fellow student, Paul, and learns about Jesus through Philip (the author identifies Stephen with Nathanael and uses the Gospel of John, particularly John 1:43–52). Later, commissioned by an angel, Stephen evangelizes four "cities," Cirenensia, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia. The whole story occurs before Jesus' passion and resurrection. Only the last two lines of the document mention Stephen's ministry as deacon after Easter and his martyrdom.[143]

I do not know of any Latin equivalent to the Greek martyrdom story and its various recensions (BHG 1649–1649x).[144]

b) On Stephen's Relics

As we have seen, the cult of Saint Stephen blossomed in the West. It is not surprising, therefore, that we have no less than thirteen different texts related to his cult and the story of his relics. The most famous, in its no less famous two recensions, is the story of the discovery of his relics by Lucianus the priest of Caphar Gamala in Palestine and their removal to Jerusalem (BHG 1648x, y, z), translated into Latin by Avitus (BHL 7850–7856h).[145]

Second, we have the Latin version of the translation of Stephen's relics to Constantinople (BHG 1650): BHL 7857–7858. Third, we have a text originally composed in Latin, the story of Stephen's relics at Minorca as told by the bishop Severus (BHL 7859).[146] The text is interesting because it is written by the bishop of Minorca and because it shows how the relics, in the middle of the fifth century C.E., were able to convert a whole island, although not without developing strong anti-Jewish feelings in the population.

Fourth, there are stories of the arrival and powerful effect of some of Stephen's relics in Africa. Evodius, bishop of Uzalis, ordered the writing of the *Miracula* that occurred in his town of Uzalis (BHL 7860–7862), and Augustine of Hippo relates

[143]I give here a summary of the text edited by de Gaiffier, "Le diable voleur d'enfants: A propos de la naissance des saints Étienne, Laurent et Barthélemy," 181–84; see p. 283 n. 18, above.

[144]The *Novum Supplementum* of the BHL mentions two other apparently short documents, one on Stephens's homeland (BHL 7848d) and one on Stephen's origin (BHL 7848f). I have not seen them.

[145]See p. 295, above; see the critical edition by E. Vanderlinden, "*Revelatio Sancti Stephani* (BHL 7850–56)," *Revue des études byzantines* 4 (1946) 178–217; see also François Nau, "Note sur quelques mss. latins de l'invention du corps de saint Étienne," *ROC* 2.2 (1907) 441–44.

[146]See the critical edition and translation into Catalan by Amengual i Batle, *Els orígens del cristiame a les balears*; see pp. 283–84, above.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

other stories in *De civitate Dei* and in several sermons (BHL 7863–7872m).[147] Later, Gregory of Tours would also enumerate miracles attributed to the presence of Saint Stephen's relics (BHL 7886–7889). The numerous translations of some relics and their thaumaturgic power are recounted in numerous later pieces. Thus we read of the translation of relics to Rome (BHL 7878–7885),[148] to Venice (BHL 7891–7893), and to Cluny (BHL 7894); of the translation of an arm to Besançon (BHL 7873–7877),[149] of some blood to Tours (BHL 7890), and of a hand to Germany (BHL 7895). There is even a story of an *inventio* ("discovery") of the bodies of Saints Stephen and Laurence in Rome (BHL 4788), in addition to many summaries of the several stories.[150]

■ *Revelatio, Passio, Translatio,* and *Sermones* in Oriental and Other Languages

There are stories about Stephen, the first martyr, in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Gaelic, and Slavonic. References to many but not all of these documents are given in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* and in the *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*.[151]

a) Syriac (BHO 1087)

This text is the Syriac version of the *Revelatio* received by the priest Lucian from Caphar Gamala. It was edited by Paulus Bedjan in his *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*[152] and is also included in the *Historia ecclesiastica* composed by Zachary of Mitylini.[153] As it is preserved in a very old manuscript (6th–7th c.), Nau attributed

[147]See pp. 290–91, above.

[148]See the edition by Angelo Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* (10 vols.; Rome: Collegium Urbanum, 1839–1844) 4:285–88; and its complement by R. Lechat, "Catalogus Bibliothecae Audomaropolitanae: II. Translatio S. Stephani Protomartyris Constantinopoli Romam," *AnBoll* 49 (1931) 112–16.

[149]See p. 287 n. 45, above.

[150]See the list of such summaries in BHL, p. 1140. The *Golden Legend* tells at one place the story of Stephen's martyrdom, at another place the story of the revelation of his relics, their several translations, and the miracles they had the power to accomplish (relying explicitly, for this last point, on Augustine's testimony); see Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée traduite du latin d'après les plus anciens manuscrits* (ed. Teodor de Wyzewa; Paris: Perrin, 1929) 45–49 and 394–98. I have not seen as yet Bernard de Vregille, "La prière à saint Étienne de l'archevêque Hugues de Salins," in *La tradition vive. Mélanges d'histoire des textes en l'honneur de Louis Holtz* (ed. Pierre Lardet; Bibliologia 20; Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

[151]See socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Subsidia Hagiographica 10; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes; 1910) 238–40 (BHO 1086–1097); Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, 186 (nos. 300–3).

[152]Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* (7 vols.; Paris and Leipzig: Harrasssowitz, 1890–1897; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1968) 3:188–99. In his "Avant-Propos," p. VI, Bedjan says that his edition of the story of the discovery of Stephen's relics is based on a manuscript from what was at that time known as the Royal Library in Berlin, Sachau 222.

[153]Zachary of Mitylini, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.8 in *Anecdota Syriaca* (ed. Jan Pieter Nicolaas

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

a great significance to this version.[154] Leclercq did not accept the priority given by Nau to the Syriac over the Latin or the Greek.[155] The whole story of the composition of Lucian's *Revelatio* has been written with wit and competence by the Bollandist Peeters.[156]

b) Syriac Metric* Laudationes *(BHO 1094 and 1097)

A Syriac document, published by Paul Bedjan (BHO 1094), attributes to James of Sarug a metric *Laudatio* in honor of Stephen.[157] The *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* mentions another metric *Laudatio* attributed to Narsai (BHO 1097).[158]

c) Christo-Palestinian (BHO 1087b)

A Christo-Palestinian fragment of the *Revelatio* has been discovered in a palimpsest preserved in the treasury of the mosque of the Omayads in Damascus. It was edited by Friedrich Schulthess.[159] It should not to be confused with the Syriac version mentioned above (BHO 1087).

d) The Coptic Life of Saint Stephen (BHO 1086 and a new document)

In an important article, J. Horn helps scholars to clarify the situation and to distinguish the different Coptic documents related to the Protomartyr.[160] There is first a life of Stephen, preserved in Sahidic (with some Fayyumic forms) in a dated manuscript (894/895 C.E.) at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and published by Yassā 'Abd Al-Masiḥ in 1957.[161] A fragment of this text, from a codex of the White Monastery, had been published by Ignazio Guidi (BHO

Land; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1862–1875, repr. in 2 vols.; Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1989) 3:76–84 (2.1:76–84 in the reprint).

[154]Nau, "Sur les mots ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ et ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ," 210.

[155]Leclercq, art. "Étienne," 640–41.

[156]Paul Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Subsidia hagiographica 26; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1950) 53–58.

[157]Paul Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis* (5 vols.; Paris and Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1905–1910) 3:710–23.

[158]A. Mingana, *Narsai doctoris Syri homiliae et carmina* (2 vols.; Mosul: Typis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1905) 1:90–99.

[159]Friedrich Schulthess, "Christlich-Palästinische Fragmente aus der Omajjaden-Moschee zu Damaskus," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, n.s. 8.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905) 102–6; see Alain Desreumaux, "Les œuvres de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne en araméen christo-palestinien," *Bulletin de l'Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* 9 (1999) 9–14.

[160]Jürgen Horn, "Der erste Märtyrer: Zu einem Topos der koptischen Märtyrerliteratur (mit zwei Anhängen)," in *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients* (ed. Guntram Koch; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982) 31–55.

[161]Pierpont Morgan 577; Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ, "A Coptic Apocryphon of Saint Stephen the Archdeacon," *Le Muséon* 70 (1957) 329–47.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1086).[162] It is a "merkwürdige Schöpfung der koptischen Literatur."[163] The best way to present the text is to quote its editor: "The Coptic text contains: 1) A short exhortation by Saint Stephen. 2) His marriage and the birth of a daughter. 3) His retirement to a mountain. 4) The appearance of the Holy Virgin Mary to him, commanding him to go and see his daughter and to encourage her to accept her death willingly. 5) The conversion of three robbers by him. 6) His election as one of the Seven Deacons and Stewards."[164]

e) The Coptic Encomium *of a Bishop of Jerusalem (BHO 1093 and other documents)*

Other fragments related to Stephen have been published by Guidi, Walter Ewing Crum, and Henri Munier.[165] Horn and Enzo Lucchesi have tried to establish the sequence of the fragments.[166] Further research will determine whether they belong to the same text, an *encomium* on Philip, or whether they derive from different versions of the same story. They do not seem to have any equivalents in other languages. Here is the content of Guidi's fragment (BHO 1093) as Françoise Morard helped me to understand it: A man robs Saint Stephen's *martyrium* and, falling sick, begs for healing in this very *martyrium*. The Protomartyr appears to him in the middle of the night and reproaches him for his bad conduct. The man promises to convert and not to renege. After healing him, Stephen returns to heaven while the healed man then tells his story. The fragment ends with a praise of the first martyr, with whom Peter and John are associated. After a lacuna there is a prayer of thanksgiving to Peter, who has the keys of the kingdom, then to John, who is praised for his virginity, and finally to Stephen, the archdeacon. It seems to be a vision by a man named Isaiah who encourages other people to join in the prayer. Munier's first folio tells on the recto of a brother who praises angels and saints, then Stephen. The verso tells how an archimandrite by the name of Isaiah invites the people to sing the praises of Stephen and John, the one who remains a virgin. The second and the third folios tell the following story: a man steals gold and silver from Saint Stephen's *martyrium*. On his way home, he meets the saint

[162]Ignazio Guidi, "Frammenti Copti, N^{0} 122," in *Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei*, serie 4, Rendiconti 3 (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1887, 1° semestre) 47–50; it agrees with Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ, "A Coptic Apocryphon," 341, line 11–344, line 1.

[163]Horn, "Der erste Märtyrer," 50.

[164]Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ, "A Coptic Apocryphon," 329.

[165]Guidi, "Frammenti Copti, N^{0} 123," 50–52 (this is BHO 1093); Walter Ewing Crum, *Coptic Monuments, CG N^{o} 8018* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1902; repr., Osnabrück: Zeller, 1975) 8–9; Henri Munier, *Manuscrits Coptes: N^{o} 9234* (Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1916) 31–36.

[166]Horn, "Der erste Märtyrer," 52–55; Enzo Lucchesi, "A propos d'un Enkomion copte sur Étienne le Protomartyr," *AnBoll* 101 (1983) 421–22.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in the guise of a cavalryman who forces him to confess his sin and threatens to denounce him. The robber offers to share the loot, but Stephen forces him to return to the *martyrium*. There, if we understand the text properly, Stephen hangs the robber upside down and beats him till he confesses his faults. The robber finally confesses and promises not to relapse. The robber's scream alerts the people around him, who, rushing up to the spot, see him but not Stephen, who remains invisible to them. Because the robber finally repents, Stephen forgives him and liberates him. In a happy ending, the reader sees the man telling his story to the people surrounding him, and learns that he henceforth served the church as a custodian of the saint's *martyrium* until his death. The document ends, like the other one, with an invitation to other people to praise Saint Stephen. The fourth folio has lacunae, but it must have contained a praise addressed to Saint Stephen and the mention of some miraculous healings. As we see, these texts, which have never before been translated, reflect various levels of literary interdependence; sometimes identical passages even appear in different manuscripts.

f) The Coptic Synaxarion

Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, this synaxarion is dated the fifteenth of the month of Tut, namely 12 September, the feast of the translation of the relics of Saint Stephen first, following Lucian's story, from Caphar Gamala to Jerusalem, and subsequently from Jerusalem to Constantinople.[167] In the first list of the seventy disciples edited by Anton Baumstark, it is the stoning that is dated the fifteenth day of Tut, while the miraculous discovery of the relics is dated the first day of Tubeh, namely 27 December.[168]

g) The Arabic Life of Saint Stephen

This story, published by Yassā ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ and Antoine Khater, was not yet known to the Bollandists, the first editors of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*. It is edited from the manuscript 15 *Hist.* of the Library of the Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary, known as the Ḳasriyat ar-Rîhân in Ḳasr aš-Šamʿ in Old Cairo. Yassā ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ had prepared a translation of the work; at his death, Antoine Khater prepared the critical edition in memory of the deceased. He also discovered two other manuscripts,[169]

[167]Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium, das ist Heiligen-Kalendar der koptischen Christen aus dem Arabischen übersetzt* (Gotha: Perthes, 1879) 28–29.

[168]Anton Baumstark, "Abûl-l-Barakâts nichtgriechisches Verzeichnis der 70 Jünger," *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901) 240–75, esp. 264–67. Baumstark considers that this list is ultimately of Syrian origin; he published also a second Arabic list (*Oriens Christianus* 2 [1902] 312–43, esp. 320–21), also translated from the Coptic, but of Greek origin; in this second list only the stoning is mentioned, and it is also dated the fifteenth of the month of Tut. See Erbes, "Der Weihnachtsfestkreis," 44, n. 1.

[169]A manuscript preserved in the Library of the Church of Saint Barbara in Ḳasr aš-Šamʿ and a manuscript preserved in the Library of the Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary in Harât Zuwailah in Cairo.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

prepared their collation, and integrated their major variant readings in the apparatus of the text translated by Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ.[170]

h) The Stories in Ethiopic

The famous *Contendings of the Apostles*[171] mentions Stephen a few times[172] but does not contain a chapter on his martyrdom or any other stories about his life, death, or his relics. The *Contendings* is indeed a collection of stories related to the Twelve and the evangelists. Stephen was not one of these. The *Ethiopic Synaxarium*, on the contrary, contain two stories related to Stephen.[173] In the fifth month of the year, Ṭerr (from 9 January to 7 February), on the first day of the month, the martyrdom of Stephen is celebrated. The story that is told on that occasion, according to the *Synaxarium,* does not exceed the New Testament narrative in the book of Acts.[174] The second story is narrated in the first month, Maskaram (from 11 September to 10 October), on the fifteenth day of the month.[175] This is the date of the celebration of the translation of Stephen's relics from Palestine to Constantinople, but the story begins with the discovery of his relics by the priest Lucianus (see BHG 1648 and 1650). The *Ethiopic Synaxarium*, compiled probably between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries C.E., progressively replaced an older hagiographic compilation, the so-called *Gadla Samā'tāt*, *Acts (or Spiritual Combat) of the Martyrs*, dating probably from the thirteenth century C.E. The same two stories about Stephen exist also in this more ancient collection.

In a recent book, Alessandro Bausi studies this oldest hagiographic collection[176] and establishes a list of manuscripts of the *Gadla Samā'tāt*, several of which contain the stories of Stephen.[177] Bausi establishes criteria for deciding

[170]See the foreword by Khater at the beginning of the article.

[171]See Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles (Maṣḥafa Gadla Ḥawāryāt) being the Ethiopic Version of the Histories of the Lives, Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and Evangelists* (2 vols.; London: Frowde, 1899–1901; repr., Amsterdam: APA-Philo, 1976).

[172]See Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, 2:576 (index).

[173]See Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (4 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928; repr., 2 vols.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1976). See the more recent edition by Gérard Colin, *Le Synaxaire éthiopien: mois de Maskaram* (PO 43:3 = no. 195) 414–17 (= 96–99 of the issue 195), and idem, *Le Synaxaire éthiopien: mois de Ṭerr* (PO 45:1 = no. 201) 8–11.

[174]See Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 1:434–35 in the reprinted work.

[175]See ibid., 1:52–54.

[176]Alessandro Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla Samā'tāt* (Supplement to no. 92 of the Annali 60–61 [2000–2001]; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2002). I am grateful to Pierluigi Piovanelli, who drew my attention to this valuable book, and to the author, who sent me a copy of his work.

[177]See Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla Samā'tāt*, 18 n. 71 (thirteen witnesses of the martyrdom) and 12 n. 47 (seven witnesses of the discovery and translation of the relics, among them several witnesses of the martyrdom). Before reading Bausi I had found that the following manuscripts contained the two stories related to Stephen: London, British Museum,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

whether a hagiographical document has been translated into Ethiopic from the Arabic (the solution commonly adopted by contemporary scholars) or from the Greek (the solution endorsed by earlier scholars). In the case of Stephen, it is probable that there have been two recensions, one influenced by the Greek, the other by the Arabic. In the majority of the manuscripts of the *Gadla Samā'tāt*, contrary to the *Synaxarium*—and this difference has to be explained—Stephen's martyrdom is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the month of Maskaram and the discovery of the relics is celebrated on the first day of the month of Ṭerr. In some manuscripts, however, the two texts are copied one after the other and assigned the date of 15 Maskaram.

In a letter of 24 October 2002, Pierluigi Piovanelli mentions also some Ethiopic poems on Stephen.[178]

i) The Armenian Revelatio *(BHO 1088)*

Manuscript 2 of the Library of the Mekhitarists from Vienna is a codex in paper of the fifteenth century. It has been edited and translated into Latin by B.-Ch. Munier.[179] This is a witness to a longer text, the so-called version B, of the *Revelatio* or *Inventio* written by the priest Lucian of Caphar Gamala. Its editor has compared this Armenian version with the Greek and the Latin texts.

j) The Armenian Laudationes *(BHO 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1095 and 1096)*

The BHO indicate with these numbers a series of panegyrics in honor of the Protomartyr. As is common in the Armenian literature, many of them are translations from the Greek or the Syriac, as the names of their attributed authors make clear: Gregory the Thaumarturge (BHO 1089), Athanasius of Alexandria (BHO 1090 and 1091, two forms of the same homily), and John Chrysostom (BHO 1092) for the Greek; and Ephrem the Syrian (BHO 1095 and 1096, two forms of the same speech) for the Syriac. I was not able to look for the original-language sources that lie behind the Armenian *Laudationes*, but can report the Bollandists' opinion: BHO 1089 reflects an original by a pseudo-Gregory the Thaumaturge.[180]

Orient. 686 (CCLVII, fourth and thirtieth documents, in William Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1847* [London: British Museum, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, 1877] 166, 167); Orient. 687–88 (CCLVIII, fourth and thirty-seventh documents, in Wright, *Catalogue*, 169); Orient. 689 (CCLIII, third and thirty-second documents, in Wright, *Catalogue*, 159, 161).

[178]See M. Chaîne, "Répertoire des Salam et Malke'e contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des Bibliothèques d'Europe," *ROC* 2.8 (1913) 183–203 and 337–57 (Stephen is mentioned in nos. 43, 253, and 316).

[179]B.-Ch. Mercier, "L'invention des reliques de saint Étienne: Édition et traduction de la recension arménienne inédite," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 30 (1946) 341–69.

[180]Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, 239 (BHO 1089).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Other texts on Stephen exist in Armenian. Bernard Outtier mentioned to me a *Laudatio* or *Encomium* under the name of Gregory of Nyssa (BGH 1654?);[181] another one—otherwise unknown—under the name of Basil of Caesarea;[182] and still another one under the name of Proclus (BHG 1657).[183] Valentina Calzolari Bouvier communicated to me what she found in 1992 in the unpublished catalogues of the *djarentirs*, the selected speeches, in the Matenadaran, the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts at Erevan: a *Martyrdom of Stephen* (M 955 [14th c.]); a *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen the First Martyr* (M 992 [dated 1651]); and a *Feast of the First Martyr of Christ, Saint Stephen* (M 4822 [dated 1491]).

k) The Georgian Revelatio *and* Passio

According to Michel van Esbroeck, two Georgian documents, both related to Saint Stephen, are closely related in the manuscript tradition: a passion narrative and an account of the discovery of the relics.[184] The passion was edited twice, once by A. Shanidze and once by I. Imnaishvili.[185] Van Esbroeck did us the favor of translating it into French.[186] Similar in places to the Greek *Passio* (BHG 1649 in its different forms), the text mentions the dispute among the Jewish groups about the person of Christ, the intervention of Stephen, Paul's opposition to this Christian witness, the appearance of Stephen before Pilate and then before the Roman officer Claudius, a christological speech by the Protomartyr (different from that found in Acts 7), an unsuccessful attempt to decapitate the saint, the stoning and martyrdom (following the narrative of Acts), the secret burial carried out by Gamaliel, and the baptism of Pilate and his wife. Finally, Pilate is granted a vision of the victorious Stephen in heaven. The Georgian version of the *Inventio* or *Revelatio* (BHG 1648y), and of the *Translatio* (close to BHG 1650–1651), as well as a *Laudatio*, preserved in the acephalous Georgian manuscript 11 (Tsagardi 80) from the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, have been edited by Nikolai Marr.[187]

[181]*Parisinus arm.* 110 and *Parisinus arm.* 118.

[182]*Parisinus arm.* 110 and *Parisinus arm.* 118; see Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* II (CC; Turnhout: Brepols, 1974) no. 2981.

[183]*Parisinus arm.* 118 and *Parisinus arm.* 120.

[184]Michel van Esbroeck, "Jean II de Jérusalem et les cultes de s. Étienne, de la Sainte-Sion et de la Croix," *AnBoll* 102 (1984) 99–127.

[185]A. Shanidze, *Sinuri Mravalthavi 864 clisa* (Tbilissi: Tbilissi Stalinis saxelobis saxelmcipo universitetis gamomcemlob, 1959) 59–62, from the manuscript from Mount Sinai dated 864 C.E.; I. Imnaishvili, *K'art'uli enis istoriuli k'restomat'ia*, 1 (Tbilissi: Gamomc'emloba "Ganat'leba," 1970) 244–47, from the manuscript mravalthavi de Svanethi A-19. I owe these indications to van Esbroeck, "Jean II de Jérusalem," 101 nn. 14–15. The last lines of this document, according to the manuscript from the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, had been published before by Nikolai Marr, *Le Synaxaire géorgien: rédaction ancienne de l'union arméno-géorgienne, publié et traduit d'après le manuscrit du couvent Iviron du Mont Athos* (PO 19:5; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1926) 657.

[186]Van Esbroeck, "Jean II de Jérusalem," 101–5.

[187]See Marr, *Le Synaxaire géorgien.*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

l) The Gaelic Texts on Stephen

In his valuable little book, Martin McNamara mentions two documents related to Stephen in the Irish tradition: the famous *Leabhar Breac* contains first, a short Gaelic homily on John 16:33b ("In the world you face persecution. But take courage, I have conquered the world"), and ending with the Latin text of Acts 6:8–8:2; and second, the Gaelic version of the *Revelatio* by Lucianus, the priest from Caphar Gamala.[188] In his translation from Gaelic into English, Robert Atkinson erred in stating that Stephen was crucified. As Professor John Duffy confirmed for me, the Gaelic verb indicates that Stephen was stoned.

m) The Slavonic Version of the Passio

Aurelio de Santos Otero does not include texts related to Stephen in his work on the apocryphal literature in Slavonic.[189] But there is some material, as an old article makes clear.[190] Its author, Ivan Franko, has found two Slavonic manuscripts in Lemberg, the second of which was once the property of the monastery of Zamostj. The manuscripts are of South Russian origin and belong to the turn of the seventeenth century C.E. Franko edited them[191] and then, in the aforementioned article, published a German translation accompanied by some comments. It is a *Passio* and not a *Revelatio*, and each manuscript presents another recension of this text. The most visible difference is that in the longer recension Pilate is present, while he is absent in the shorter recension. The shorter text is also the result of an orthodox revision. Common to the two forms is a narrative not far from the Greek *Passio* (BHG 1649 in its several forms) and the Georgian narrative. It includes the following elements, with which we are by now familiar: during a dispute among Jewish scholars Stephen gives a christological speech from an elevated location; he faces the hostility of Paul, who comes to the Jews' assistance; he is preserved from

[188]*Leabhar Breac*, pp. 34a and 34b–35; see Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975) 82; Robert Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from the Leabhar Breac* (Todd Lectures Series 2; Dublin: [Royal Irish] Academy, 1887) 81–82, 324–25 (text and English translation of the short homily); 82–86, 325–29 (text and English translation of the discovery of the relics). The text of the discovery follows sometimes recension A, sometimes recension B of the Latin text (BHL 7850–7856h) and has an ending different from both of them.

[189]Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen* (2 vols.; Patristische Texte und Studien 20 and 23; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978–1981).

[190]Ivan Franko, "Beiträge aus dem Kirchenslavischen zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, III, Revelatio sancti Stephani," *ZNW* 7 (1906) 151–71.

[191]I have the following reference, but am unable to check it: Ivan Franko, *Monumenta linguae nec non litterarum ukraino-russicarum*, vol. 3 (L'viv, 1902) 28–33 and 256–58. Both Franko ("Beiträge aus dem Kirchenslavischen") and Andrzej Strus ("L'origine de l'Apocryphe grec de la Passion de s. Étienne: A propos d'un texte de deux manuscrits récemment publiés," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 112 [1998] 18–57, esp. 24–31) are intrigued by the presence of Pilate in the different texts and versions.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

crucifixion by an angel, but is tortured with molten lead; he suffers martyrdom; and he is buried by Gamaliel. What the second manuscript tells of Pilate is similar to what is found in the Georgian, and, to some extent, in some of the Greek recensions of the *Passio*. In parallel to his edition of BHG 1649d, S. Dolgov has edited a Slavonic version of Stephen's passion, according to the manuscript ПГ, n. 46 of the Imperial Public Library, ff. 80–83 (12th c.). In the apparatus he compares it with the Serbian manuscript 105 of the Khlydov Library, ff. 25–32 (15th c.) and the edited version of the thirteenth edition of the Makariev Menaea.[192]

Topography and Archaeology

Recension A of the Latin *Revelatio* places the location of Stephen's stoning on the north side of Jerusalem, and this location pleased Father Lagrange. Recension B places it in a vague spot, "going toward Cedar," and this imprecision pleased Father Vailhé. Such differences were the cause of a huge controversy around the year 1900. At stake was the spiritual authority of the church of Saint-Étienne in Jerusalem. The Roman Catholic Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith had granted indulgences in that location not only because Saint Stephen was the patron saint of the church and of the Dominican convent attached to it, but because the convent with its church was believed to be built on the very site of Stephen's stoning. One should know that this convent was and is, even today, the seat of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française. Two famous professors of that school, the Dominican fathers Marie-Joseph Lagrange[193] and Félix-Marie Abel,[194] were certain that they had found below the modern church archaeological remains from the fifth-century C.E. Christian basilica built in honor of the first martyr by the empress Eudocia on the north side of the city. One must remember also that after the discovery of the relics in 415 C.E. by Lucian, the priest of Caphar Gamala, the remains were first placed by John, the second bishop of Jerusalem, in the church recently built on Mount Zion, on the site or on the side of the small one mentioned by Epiphanius in his book *De mensuris et ponderibus*.[195] Those relics were then

[192]See S. Dolgov, "Revelatio Stephani." I thank Ekaterina S. Sokolova, a master's student at Harvard Divinity School, who helped me understand Dolgov's introduction and comments in Russian. Dolgov wonders if the Slavonic version is not the translation of a Greek form of the text, older than the ones he knew. He claims also for the large success of stories related to Stephen in the Slavonic world.

[193]Marie-Joseph Lagrange, *Saint Étienne et son sanctuaire à Jérusalem* (Paris: Picard, 1894); see p. 314 n. 196, below.

[194]Félix-Marie Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (2 vols.; EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1952) 2:335–37; Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire* (2 vols.; Paris: Gabalda, 1912–1926) 2:743–65.

[195]Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 14 (PG 43:260–61); see Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide: from Earliest Times to 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 105–6.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

moved to the new basilica built by the empress Eudocia. The patriarch Cyril of Alexandria was invited to dedicate the new building in 438. Actually, the building was probably not finished at that time. Eudocia, present for the dedication, left the city then for some years. When she fell into disgrace at the court in Constantinople some years later, she returned to Jerusalem. She would take charge of the building again around 455, either finishing the monument or adding a larger building to the previous one. Whatever the circumstances of its construction, it seems clear that the actual church of Saint-Étienne is located on the ruins of Eudocia's basilica. In 1904, Lagrange wrote approvingly in the first volume of the newly created *Revue Biblique* that there is now an agreement among archaeologists on that question. In that paper he adds, also full of confidence, that the bishop of Jerusalem and the imperial power of the early fifth century C.E. were certainly well informed and therefore chose the right place to build the great basilica. For this was the "lieu ordinaire des exécutions."[196] These scholars were not disturbed by the mention of a *martyrium* built by Melanie the Younger in honor of Saint Stephen on the Mount of Olives. What she built was a little monument to contain some relics following the discovery in 415 C.E.

The conviction of the Dominicans was not shared by everyone. R. P. Barnabé d'Alsace in particular underlined the contradiction between two sources, the *Life of Peter the Iberian* and the *Life of Saint Melanie the Younger*.[197] While the *Life of Melanie* remains silent on the location of the basilica, the *Life of Peter* refers to a location outside the north gates of the city. Instead of that location, Father Barnabé d'Alsace[198] maintained the view that was traditional in that time among pilgrims: Stephen had been stoned in the valley of Jehoshaphat. But this opinion appeared to be founded on a more recent tradition with no historical foundation.[199] Another medieval document, the *City of Jerusalem*, was introduced into the discussion. It also contradicts the theory of the Dominicans because it places the "moustier de Monseigneur Saint Estevenes," i.e., the monastery of Saint Stephen, on the right side of the road going to Jerusalem, while the ruins are on the left side of

[196]Marie-Joseph Lagrange, "Bulletin: Pays bibliques. Le lieu du martyre de saint Étienne," *RB* 1 (1904) 465–74, at 467; see idem, "Une tradition biblique à Jérusalem: saint Étienne," *RB* 3 (1894) 452–81; idem, review of Rampolla del Tindaro, *Santa Melania Guniore Senatrice romana*, in *RB* 3 (1906) 300–3; idem, "Le sanctuaire de la lapidation de saint Étienne à Jerusalem," *ROC* 2.2 (1907) 414–28; 2.3 (1908) 1–19; see also p. 313 n. 193, above.

[197]See now on these two sources Clark, "Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The Partisans of Melania and Eudocia."

[198]See Barnabé d'Alsace, *Le tombeau de la Vierge à Jérusalem* (Jerusalem: Imprimerie des Franciscains, 1903) 290–97; see also Barnabé Meistermann [= d'Alsace], *Nouveau Guide de Terre Sainte* (Paris: Picard, 1907) 154–57 and 181.

[199]See Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969) 176.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press

that road.[200] Pouring oil on the fire, an Orthodox deacon, Polycrate Louvaris,[201] claimed in 1906 to have discovered at Gethsemane part of an inscription in honor of Saint Stephen. That discovery also contradicted the thesis of the Dominicans. His opinion was endorsed by a Greek architect, C. Spyridonidis,[202] and taken for fact by Siméon Vailhé, who was happy to contradict the Dominicans.[203] But soon after, in 1907, another Dominican, Hugues Vincent, showed conclusively that this opinion was false when he discovered in Beer-sheba the other part of the inscription.[204] It thus became clear that the inscription had nothing to do with Gethsemane but rather belonged to another city. The Bollandist Paul Peeters would summarize the situation in 1908.[205]

Four conclusions can be drawn from this archaeological and ecclesiastical melodrama: 1) The location of the Eudocia basilica is certain: it is the place where today stands the church of Saint-Étienne. On that point the Dominicans were correct. 2) This confident identification of the location of the Eudocia basilica does not yet mean that the historical location of Stephen's stoning has been discovered. On that point the Dominicans were wrong. 3) The other locations—on Mount Zion, the Mount of Olives, or in the Valley of Jehoshaphat—can be ruled out as the site of Stephen's stoning. 4) Denominational and ecclesiastical rivalries have inflamed the debate, pitting Franciscans against Dominicans, secular priests against religious orders, and Orthodox against Roman Catholics. These tensions have not been productive from a scholarly point of view.[206]

[200]See socii Bollandiani, "Bulletin des publications hagiographiques," *AnBoll* 14 (1895) 118. On p. 117, n. 2, the authors say that in a lecture given in the monastery Saint-Étienne at Jerusalem, Dom Jean Marta, professor at the Latin Seminary, identified Caphar Gamala with the village of Jemmala, located seven leagues northwest of Jerusalem.

[201]See Polycrate Louvaris, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου," *Νέα Σιών* 4 (1906) 247–49.

[202]See C. K. Spyridonidis, "The Church of St. Stephen," *PEQ* 35 (1907) 137–39.

[203]Siméon Vailhé, "Les monastères et les églises Saint-Étienne à Jérusalem," *Échos d'Orient* 8 (1905) 78–86; see also idem, "Les Églises de Saint-Étienne à Jérusalem," *ROC* 2.2 (1907) 70–89.

[204]See Hugues Vincent, "A propos d'une inscription relative à saint Étienne," *RB* 4 (1907) 276–77; idem, "Chronique: Encore l'inscription de Saint Étienne à Gethsémani," *RB* 4 (1907) 607–11.

[205]See Paul Peeters, "Le Sanctuaire de la Lapidation de S. Etienne," *AnBoll* 27 (1908) 359–68.

[206]In his *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Napoli, 1742) 2:193 and 4:474, Sixtus Senensis (1520–1569) says that the Manicheans, according to Serapion of Thmuis, probably in his work against the Manicheans, had high esteem for the *Apocalypse of Stephen*. This information, however is not found in Serapion's treatise published in 1931: Serapion of Thmuis, *Against the Manichees* (ed. Robert Pierce Casey; HTS 15; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931). See Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, III, 398; James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 564–65.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816003000452 Published online by Cambridge University Press