

THE PASSION OF SAINT ONESIMUS OF COLOSSAE¹

BHG 1376y, 1377c.

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Onesimus of Colossae, the runaway Phrygian slave converted to Christianity by St. Paul, is one of the more intriguing characters depicted in the New Testament and yet, for the most part, has remained an enigma to historical inquiry. For, although the general course of his turbulent early life can be reconstructed from Paul's Letter to Philemon (ca. 60),² little is known about his later years and still less con-

1. The following abbreviations have been used in this article:

- AASS = *Acta Sanctorum...collegit* J. Bollandus cet., Jan I (Antwerp: 1643)—Nov. IV (Brussels: 1925).
BHG = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*³, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels: 1957) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 8a].
Ehrhard = A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: 1937-1952) [*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 50-52].
PG = *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris: 1857-1866).
PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris: 1907—).
PW = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (Stuttgart: 1893-).

2. Basic studies on Onesimus and the Letter to Philemon include: M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*. 3d ed. (Tübingen: 1953); L. Jang, *Der Philemonbrief im Zusammenhang mit dem theologischen Denken des Apostels Paulus*, [Unpublished Dissertation] (Bonn: 1964); J. B. Lightfoot *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 4th ed. (London: 1892); E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon*. 13th ed. (Göttingen: 1964); E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, trans. W. Poehlmann and R. Karris (Philadelphia: 1971); C. F. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London: 1957); and M. R. Vincent, *The Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon*, 5th ed. (Edinburgh: 1955).

cerning the circumstances of his death.³ Nonetheless, Onesimus did figure prominently in the ecclesiastical and hagiographical traditions of early Christianity,⁴ while his *cultus* seems to have enjoyed some prominence during the Middle Ages.⁵ The text presented here, entitled "Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ὀνησίμου μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου,"⁶ represents one-such hagiographical tradition, that of Onesimus' martyrdom in the city of Puteoli under the prefect Tertullus.⁷

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Onesimus was the slave of Philemon, an earlier convert of Paul⁸ and a prominent member of the Christian community at Colossae.⁹ It appears that Onesimus wronged his master in some way¹⁰ and subsequently fled to Rome where he met Paul.¹¹ Under Paul's influence

3. What evidence does remain is contradictory and of limited historical value. Much of the confusion surrounding Onesimus' later life can be attributed to the popularity of the name Ὀνήσιμος (meaning «useful, beneficial») among later Christians. See BHG 2:155 and PW 17B:468.

4. A convenient survey of these traditions can be found in AASS, Feb. II (1735): 855-859.

5. It is not surprising that St. Onesimus, as a celebrated New Testament figure and patron of servants and slaves, was venerated in many areas of Europe and the Near East. Such veneration was especially strong in Byzantium. Constantinople itself possessed two churches dedicated to the Saint, as well as a most cherished relic: the hand of Onesimus. See Anthony of Novgorod, *Le Livre du pèlerin* = B. de Khitrowo, trans., *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva: 1889), p. 106; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae* 1.26 (17) = A. Vogt, ed. and trans., *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: Le Livre des Cérémonies*, 2 vols. in 4 (Paris: 1935-1940), 1A: 93; and J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople: Recueil d'études, d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris: 1951), p. 108.

6. See BHG 2:155 (1376y, 1377c).

7. Onesimus' martyrdom at Puteoli is commemorated by the Eastern Churches on 15 February.

8. Philem. 19.

9. Philem. 5, 7.

10. Onesimus probably stole from Philemon, though Paul tactfully refrains from stating this. (Philem. 18: εἰ δέ τι ἠδίκησέν σε ἢ ὀφείλει, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα.)

11. The Letter to Philemon itself gives no hint about the site of Onesimus' encounter with Paul. The traditional view that Onesimus fled to Rome remains the most viable alternative and is supported by Lightfoot (pp. 310-311), Moule (pp. 24-25), and Vincent (pp. 161-162). Cf. Dibelius/Greeven (pp. 52, 102) and Lohmeyer (p. 172) who opt for Caesarea; and Jang (p. 7) and Lohse (pp. 165-167, 188) who propose Ephesus.

and instruction Onesimus became a Christian¹² and entered into a close relationship with the Apostle.¹³ Paul eventually decided that a reconciliation of Onesimus and Philemon was necessary.¹⁴ Since Tychicus¹⁵ was preparing to journey to Colossae and Laodicea bearing letters from Paul, Onesimus was placed in his charge. Paul also supplied Onesimus with the Letter to Philemon, in which he related the circumstances of Onesimus' conversion, praised his noble Christian zeal and fidelity, and entreated Philemon to receive his former slave with compassion.¹⁶ Although the result of Paul's appeal is unknown, the tradition that Philemon not only forgave but also emancipated his slave is believable.¹⁷ More doubtful and contradictory are those¹⁸ which identify Onesimus as bishop of Beroea in Macedonia,¹⁹ itinerant preacher in Spain,²⁰ bishop of Ephesus at the time of Ignatius' «martyrdom» journey,²¹ martyr

12. Philem. 10.

13. Philem. 10-13, 16, 17. Cf. Col. 4:9.

14. Legal, as well as moral considerations may have prompted Paul's decision. See P. Coleman-Norton, «The Apostle Paul and the Roman Law of Slavery,» in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Thomson* (Princeton: 1951), pp. 155-177; E. Goodenough, «Paul and Onesimus,» *Harvard Theological Review* 22 (1929), pp. 181-183; M. Roberti, *La lettera di S. Paolo a Filemone e la condizione giuridica dello schiavo fuggitivo* (Milan: 1933); and P. Verdam, «St Paul et un serf fugitif (Étude sur l' épître à Philémon et le droit),» in *Symbolae ad Jus et Historiam Antiquitatis Pertinentes Julio Christiano van Oven Dedicatae* (Leiden: 1946), pp. 211-230.

15. Tychicus was a close associate of Paul and a well-known Christian native of Asia Minor. Cf. Acts 20:4, Eph. 6:21, Col. 4:7, 2 Tim. 4:12 and Tit. 3:12.

16. How long a time elapsed between Onesimus' flight from Colossae and his reunion with Philemon cannot be determined, since *πρὸς ὄραον* (Philem. 15) is a relative expression of time.

17. *Canones apostolorum* 82=F.X. Funk, ed., *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2 vols. (Paderborn: 1905), I: 589-590; Theodoret of Cyrrihus, *Interpretatio epistulae ad Philemonem*, vers. 14=PG 82:876; Jerome, *Epistula ad Theophilum* 6= J. Labourt, ed. and trans., *Saint Jérôme: Lettres*, 8 vols. (Paris: 1949-1963), 4:118.

18. See note 4 above.

19. *Constitutiones apostolorum* 7.46=Funk, op. cit., 1:453-454.

20. *Acta SS. Xanthippae, Polyxenae et Rebeccae* = M.R. James, ed., *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, England: 1893 [*Texts and Studies* II, 3], 1: 58-85. Cf. BHG 2:316 (1877). Also, see AASS, Sept. VI (1867): 535-536.

21. Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*, 16 Feb. = H. Quentin, *Les martyrologues historiques du moyen âge* (Paris: 1908), pp. 595-596; Usuard of Paris, *Martyrologium*, 16 Feb. = J. Dubois, *Le martyrologe d' Usuard* (Brussels: 1965) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 40], pp. 181-182; *Martyrologium Romanum*, 16 Feb. = *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris* (Brussels: 1940), p. 65.

at Colossae under Nero,²² martyr at Rome under Trajan,²³ and martyr at Puteoli under Domitian(?).²⁴

II. EVOLUTION OF THE PUTEOLI TRADITION

Our earliest reference to Onesimus' martyrdom comes from the deacon Euthalius (fl. ca. 400),²⁵ who in his prologue to the Pauline epistles states: ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ μάρτυς Χριστοῦ γεγένηται ὁ μακάριος Ὀνήσιμος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἐπὶ Τερτύλλου τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἐπαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν διέποντος, τῇ τῶν σκελῶν κλάσει τὴν ψῆφον ὑπομείνας τοῦ μαρτυρίου.²⁶ It should be noted that this account is by no means historically secure. Evidence for a prefect of Rome (*praefectus urbi*) named Tertullus is lacking,²⁷ and only Euthalius among numerous patristic sources reports that Onesimus was martyred.²⁸ Thus, in the absence of firm historical documentation, the statement of Euthalius must be accepted with caution.

The following excerpt from the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* for 15 February (which faithfully abbreviates the extant *Passio*) demonstrates the dependence of the Puteoli tradition upon this

22. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 23 Nov. = *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels: 1902), cols. 247-248. Properly speaking, this tradition belongs to Philemon, Apphia and Archippus, since Onesimus is mentioned in few of the extant texts, and then only in the title. Cf. BHG 3:11 (2039, 2040).

23. See note 21 above.

24. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 15 Feb. = *Propylaeum... Novembris*, cols. 465-467. Although none of the accounts within the Puteoli tradition (including the *Passio* presented here) provide an actual chronological setting for this martyrdom, the assertion by George Cedrenus (*Historiarum compendium* = PG 121:469) and Nicephorus Callistus (*Historia ecclesiastica* 3.11=PG 145:920) that Onesimus was martyred under Domitian may derive from a common source.

25. On Euthalius and his work, see L. C. Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*, [Unpublished Dissertation] (New Haven, Conn.: 1970).

26. PG 85:705. Cf. Willard, op. cit., pp. 19, 202. This statement is found in a slightly altered form in the Euthalian *argumentum* to the Letter to Philemon (PG 85:788) and in the writings of Oecumenius of Tricca (PG 119:261).

27. See G. Vitucci, *Ricerche sulla Praefectura Urbi in età imperiale (sec. i, ii iii)* (Rome: 1956), pp. 115-117 (late first and early second centuries).

28. Nor does the name Onesimus appear in early Christian calendars and martyrologies, such as the *Depositio episcoporum* and the *Depositio martyrum* (ca. 354) of the Roman Chronographer, the *Breviarium syriacum* (ca. 400), and the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (ca. 450). Note that the Latin tradition of Ado and Usuard ultimately derives from Euthalius, while Onesimus' connection with the Colossae tradition is tenuous at best.

Euthalian account: ... καὶ [Ὁνήσιμος] μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ [i. e. Παύλου] τελείωσιν συλληφθεὶς προσήχθη Τερτύλλῳ τῷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐπάρχῳ· καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ποτιόλοις ἐκπέμπεται· ἔνθα παραγενόμενος ὁ Τέρτυλλος τὸν Ὁνήσιμον ἐπιμένοντα τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστει πρῶτον μὲν ῥάβδοις τύπτει σφοδρῶς, εἶτα τὰ σκέλη καταθραύει, καὶ τῆς προσκαίρου ζωῆς μεθιστᾷ.²⁹ In both texts Onesimus' death is said to have resulted from his legs being broken and Tertullus is described as prefect of Rome. Also, it can be seen that the two texts differ significantly only in their geographical setting for Onesimus' execution. The question then arises: why the difference in setting?

The answer is found in the *acta* of SS. Alphius, Philadelphus and Cyrinus,³⁰ where the martyrdom of another Onesimus (Onesimus Leontinis) at Puteoli is reported. According to this source, the brothers Alphius, Philadelphus and Cyrinus, having been instructed in the Christian faith by Onesimus Leontinis, were arrested with him in the persecution of Valerian (258-260), brought to Rome and there tortured. From Rome they were conducted to Puteoli where Onesimus was executed at the order of the prefect Diomedes.³¹ The three brothers were subsequently transferred to Sicily where they were again tortured and finally martyred under Tertullus, the governor of Sicily. It is not difficult to see how this «Leontinian» tradition might be identified with that of Euthalius and how a medieval hagiographer intent upon composing a fitting homage to Onesimus of Colossae could have incorporated elements of both into his work. The *Passion of St. Onesimus* clearly reflects such a conflation of traditions.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXT

The original text of the *Passio* was composed sometime between 700 and 850.³² Although the work is attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea

29. *Propylaeum...Novembris*, cols. 465-467.

30. AASS, May II (1738): 772-788. Cf. BHG 1:19 (57). Also, see AASS, July VII (1749): 175-176.

31. *Acta SS. Alphii, Philadelphi et Cyrini* 10.

32. The *Passio S. Onesimi* itself provides us with no information in this regard. However, since the *Acta SS. Alphii, Philadelphi et Cyrini* was written around 700 (AASS, May II, p. 502) and the earliest manuscript containing the *Passio* (K) may well date from the ninth century (Ehrhard: 3:734), a general chronological setting for the composition of this text can be established.

in one of the manuscripts (P), the author is unknown.³³ In the late eleventh or the twelfth century this martyrdom account, which by now had found its way into the *synaxaria* and *menologia* of the Near Eastern churches³⁴ and the Byzantine imperial court,³⁵ was revised and "updated" by an anonymous editor.³⁶ The alterations involved were for the most part cosmetic³⁷ and unlike those which characterized the *Onesimus passiones* of the imperial menologies.³⁸

The *Passio S. Onesimi*, in its original and revised versions, is preserved in the following manuscripts:³⁹

33. See line 4, P (var.): συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. Eusebius does mention Onesimus, bishop of Ephesus, in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (3.36), and this might have prompted the scribe of P to assign the *Passio* to him.

34. See R. P. Bedjan, ed., *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum (Syriace)*, 7 vols. (Paris: 1890-1897), 4:18-31 [Syriac translation of the *Passio S. Onesimi*, BHG 1376y]; G. Bayan, ed. and trans., *Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel*, PO 21: 50-51; R. Basset, ed. and trans., *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, PO 11:839-841; I. Forget, ed. and trans., *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium: Scriptores Arabici*, 12:506-507; and E. A. Budge, trans., *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopic Church*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, England: 1928), 2: 645-646. Also, see P. Peeters, ed. and trans., «Le martyrologe de Rabban Sliba», *Analecta Bollandiana* 27 (1908), p. 175; F. Nau, ed. and trans., *Un martyrologe et douze ménologies syriaques*, PO 10:72, 74, 119; G. Garitte, ed. and trans., *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34, Xe siècle* (Brussels: 1958) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 30], p. 50; M. de Fenoyl, ed. and trans., *Le Sanctoral copte* (Beirut: 1960), p. 125; and H. F. Wüstenfeld, ed. and trans., *Heiligen-Kalendar der coptischen Christen* (Gotha: 1879), p. 310.

35. See V. Latyshev, ed., *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1911-1912), 1:79-83 (BHG 1377d); and K. Doukakis, ed., *Μέγας Συναξαριστής πάντων τῶν ἁγίων...*, 12 vols. (Athens: 1889-1897), 2:258-261 (BHG 1377). These two menologies (which have been designated «A» and «B», respectively) were composed for the Emperor Michael IV (1034-1041). Also, see PG 117:313 for the *Menologium Basilii II* (ca. 1000).

36. Since imperial menologies «A» and «B» are clearly based upon the original text of the *Passio S. Onesimi* and our earliest manuscripts for the «revised» version of the *Passio* (AL) are twelfth century, it is likely that the revisions in question date from the late eleventh or the twelfth century.

37. These revisions consist of simple changes in word order, the elimination of superfluous words and phrases, the clarification of difficult or corrupt passages, and the replacement of archaic or exotic vocabulary by more common words.

38. See note 35 above.

39. In addition to those manuscripts listed below, which have been used for the present edition, four other codices should be mentioned. Three of these have no independent value, while the last is missing. They are:

Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus 92 (saec. xvi), fols. 170v-175r.

Original Version of the Text

- K — Athonensis Cutlumusii 38 (saec. ix/x),⁴⁰ fols. 186r-190v.
 H — Hierosolymitanus sancti Sepulchri 1 (saec. x), in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate,⁴¹ fols. 106v-110v.
 P — Parisinus graecus 1452 (saec. x),⁴² fols. 128v-131v.
 V — Vindobonensis historicus graecus 3 (saec. xi, xv),⁴³ fols. 145v-150r.

Revised Version of the Text

- A — Atheniensis 989 (saec. xii),⁴⁴ fols. 20r-24r.

Athonensis Xeropotami 135 (saec. xvi), fols. 249r-253r.

Athonensis Iberorum 423 (saec. xvi), fols. 63r-66r.

Constantinopolitanus monasterii sanctae Trinitatis Chalcensis 95 (saec. x/xi), formerly in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, now missing, fols. 55v-57r.

See Ehrhard 1: 571, 3:48-50, 3:53-54, and 1:573-575.

40. S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, England: 1895-1900), 1:278; Ehrhard 3:734-735.

41. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδικῶν*, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1891-1915), 1:1-8; Ehrhard 1:567-570.

42. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1886-1888), 2:46-47; H. Omont, et al., *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae nationalis Parisiensis* (Brussels: 1896) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 5], pp. 118-121; F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* (Brussels: 1968) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 44], pp. 161-162; Ehrhard 1:577-580.

43. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Vienna: 1961), 1:2-4; C. Van de Vorst and H. Delehay, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae Belgii Angliae* (Brussels: 1913) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 13], pp. 38-42; Ehrhard 1: 570-573. The greater portion of this codex, fols. 1r-136v and 152r-393v, has been dated to the eleventh century. The section 137r-151v, which contains the text in question, is a later addition by an anonymous scribe and has been dated to the fifteenth century. Since the break in the codex occurs in the midst of a selection, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀὔξεντιοῦ (fols. 121v-145v), this fifteenth century «addition» was probably prompted by damage to the eleventh century folios 137r-151v. Thus, the surviving Onesimus text appears to be a direct copy from the original eleventh century account.

44. J. and A. Sakkellion, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐθνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens: 1892), pp. 177-178; Ehrhard 2:644-645. Cf. BHG 2:155 (1377c).

L — Londiniensis Musei Britannici additionalis 36589 (saec. xii),⁴⁵ fols. 121v-124r.

M — Meteoris Barlaami 150 (saec. xvi),⁴⁶ fols. 141r-144v.

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The *Passion of St. Onesimus* belongs to the literary genre of *les passions épiques*⁴⁷ and as such, exhibits both the strengths and weaknesses of historical fiction as written by medieval hagiographers. The story itself lacks the simple vitality and vivid realism of the authentic *acta martyrum*,⁴⁸ while betraying all too clearly the historical ignorance and rhetorical excesses of its author. Onesimus, the humble slave and disciple of Paul, is transformed into an abstract model of Christian piety. In similar fashion, the prefect Tertullus becomes the insane and bloodthirsty representative of paganism. The author's colorless portrayal of Onesimus' comrades, Papias and Romulus,⁴⁹ and his unrealistic depiction of the martyr's interrogation and torture also detract from the story's effectiveness. Even so, the *Passio* offers much of interest to the reader. The author's use of Pauline imagery should be noted,⁵⁰ as should the appearance of various hagiographical motifs (*topoi*) common to *les passions épiques*.⁵¹ Apparent inconsistencies in the story line, which point to an imperfect union of the Euthalian and

45. M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum: Fonds Sloane, Additional, Egerton, Cottonian et Stowe* (Paris: 1952), pp. 63-64; C. Van de Vorst and H. Delehayé, op. cit., pp. 273-275; H. Delehayé, «Notes sur un manuscrit grec du musée britannique», *Analecta Bollandiana* 25 (1906), pp. 495-502; Ehrhard 3: 78-80.

46. Ehrhard 3:83-84.

47. See the discussion by H. Delehayé in *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels: 1921) [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 13b], pp. 236-315.

48. Principal editions of the historical *acta martyrum* include: O. von Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta* (Berlin: 1902); G. Lazzati, *Gli sviluppi della letteratura sui martiri nei primi quattro secoli* (Turin: 1956); H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: 1972); and R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Martyrerakten*, 4th ed. by G. Ruhbach (Tübingen: 1965).

49. Indeed, one of these characters eventually drops out of the narrative. See line 191.

50. The more extensive of these borrowings have been cited in the critical apparatus.

51. For example, Onesimus converts the wife of a prominent pagan (in this case, Tertullus' brother) and consequently is accused of both adultery and sorcery. Cf. *Passio S. Eugeniae* 24; *Passio S. Marcelli* 17; *Passio S. Polychronii* 3. Also, see Justin Martyr, *II Apologia* 2 and Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.17.

Leontinian traditions, likewise merit special attention.⁵² However, the outstanding feature of the martyrdom account is the discourse and exhortation by Onesimus during his initial interrogation in Rome. After confessing his Christian faith before Tertullus, Onesimus launches into an impressive and lengthy denunciation of the lurking evils of his contemporary world.⁵³ The use made of simile, metaphor and personification in this section is particularly striking. Onesimus devotes a great part of his discourse to a condemnation of Roman paganism and makes a number of allusions to various Roman cults and cult practices. No doubt, the author drew much of his material for this "idolatry" section from the apologetic writings of the Greek Fathers, especially Athanasius and Clement. Onesimus concludes his eloquent defense by calling upon Tertullus to abandon his idols and sinful ways, and to follow the precepts of the Christian God.

IV. NOTES ON THE EDITION

The following edition of the *Passio S. Onesimi* is based upon the manuscripts KHPV, which represent the earliest version of the text. The critical apparatus consists of three parts and contains:

1. references to quoted biblical sources.
2. variants found in KHPV.
3. variants found in ALM.

Whenever possible, I have followed the general scheme of punctuation found in the manuscripts. Modern spelling has been adopted, which has involved the tacit correction of obvious itacisms and of accentual errors (particularly in enclitics), the division of words, and the addition of the iota subscript.

52. The most obvious of these concerns the intended geographical setting for the narrative. The introductory statements designate Rome as the site of Onesimus' triumph over the forces of evil. However, it is Puteoli which emerges as the culminating scene of this confrontation, with Tertullus once again presiding over the interrogation and torture.

53. The subject of worldly evils was popular in the writings of early Christian apologists and theologians, and served as admirable «filler» material for the medieval hagiographer. The discourse attributed to Onesimus in this text concerns the evils of adultery, covetousness, sorcery, arrogance, envy, revilement, hypocrisy, smallmindedness, wrath, drunkenness, idolatry and insolence. Cf. Mt. 15:19-20; Rom. 1:29-31; Gal. 5:19-21; Col. 3:5, 8; *Didache* 5.1; *Barnabas* 20.1; and *Constitutiones apostolorum* 7.18.

ΑΘΛΗΣΙΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΥ
 ΜΑΘΗΤΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ

- 5 1. Χαίρει καὶ γένος οἰκετικὸν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωριζόμενον, ὅταν τῇ
 πίστει τὰ κέντρα τοῦ διαβόλου συντρίψαν τὸν ἀποστάνα τοῦ δεσπότη
 πονηρὸν οἰκέτην, ψευδώνυμον δυναστείαν περιβεβλημένον διελέγξῃ.
 Ἐλευθέρῳ γὰρ τρόπῳ τὸ τῆς δουλείας κατηφές τις ὑπεκκλίνας, δεσπότης
 εὐρίσκειται τοῦ φιλοτυράννου καὶ ἀλάστορος δαίμονος, περιζωσάμενος
 10 κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον τὴν ὁσφὴν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν
 θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Τοιοῦτον γάρ τι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην γέγονεν

9/11 περιζωσάμενος - δικαιοσύνης] Eph. 6:14.

- 1 ἄθλησις] μαρτύριον KH, μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ (i. e. Φεβρουαρίῳ) ἐ'
 praemittunt KHPV.
 2 ἁγίου] + καὶ ἐνδόξου KP.
 2 ἀποστόλου] μάρτυρος K, < H.
 2 Ὀνησίμου] + τοῦ ἀποστόλου K.
 3 μαθητοῦ] + γεγονότος P.
 4 τοῦ ἁγίου] < P.
 4 τοῦ ἀποστόλου] + κύριε εὐλόγησον K, + εὐλόγησον κύριε H,
 + συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου P,
 τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων V.
 5 οἰκετικὸν] ἰκετικὸν V.
 7 πονηρὸν] πονηροῦ H.
 7 οἰκέτην] ἰκέτην V.
 8 ὑπεκκλίνας] ὑποκλίνας KHV.
 9 περιζωσάμενος] ~ post ἀληθείᾳ K, περιεζωσμένος HV.

-
- 1 ἄθλησις] μαρτύριον ALM, τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ (i.e. Φεβρουαρίῳ) ἐ'
 praemittit M.
 2 ἀποστόλου] < A.
 4 τοῦ ἁγίου] ἁγίου A, + ἀποστόλου M.
 4 τοῦ ἀποστόλου] < AL, εὐλόγησον M.
 5 οἰκετικὸν] οἰκετῶν ALM.
 6/7 δεσπότη πονηρὸν] πονηροῦ δεσπότη ALM.
 9 περιζωσάμενος] περιεζωσμένος ALM.
 11 γάρ] < ALM.

ἦτις πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων εἶναι πεπίστευται τοῦ μὲν Σατανᾶ πλατυτέραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λύσσαν κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεκτείναντος, τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς
 15 γνησίοις τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰς ἀφανεῖς αὐτοῦ χάριτας ἐφαπλώσαντος. Τὰ γὰρ πολύτροπα τῶν δαιμόνων μηχανήματα ποικίλαις ταῖς οὐρανίαις ἐπικουρίαις ἀνήλισκε καὶ ἰσχυρότερον τὸν λογισμόν τῶν παρ' αὐτῶ δραμόντων τῆς τῶν ἀπειλούντων ἐποίει μανίας· νῦν μὲν πνευματικὴν
 20 ξυνορίδα χάριτος ἀποστολικῆς ἀφθάρτοις στεφάνοις κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἀναδήσας, αἰθίς δὲ τοὺς κορυφαίους τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην συγκλήτου τροφῆς καὶ πλοῦτου ἀποστήσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν κρειπτόνων ἐπιθυμίαν κατασκευάσας.

2. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ γένος οἰκετικὸν ἔδει τῆς τῶν φθοροποιῶν δαιμόνων τυρανίδος ἐπικρατῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ δὲ πρὸς δοῦλον ἀγαθὸν σύνδουλος

12	εἶναι] < KH.
12/13	πεπίστευται] + καὶ V.
14	δὲ] < H.
15	τὰς] < P.
15	ἀφανεῖς] ἐμφανεῖς K, ἀσυμφανῶς ~ post οἰκετῶν V.
15	ἐφαπλώσαντος] ὑφαπλώσαντος K.
16	ποικίλαις] ποικίλως V.
16	οὐρανίαις] οὐρανόθεν P.
17	ἀνήλισκε] ἀναλίσκων K, ἀνήλισκον H.
17	καὶ] < KH.
17/18	τῶν - δραμόντων] τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶ δραμόντας KH.
18	μανίας] + καὶ V.
20/21	τῆς - συγκλήτου] τὴν κατὰ Ῥώμην σύγκλητον H.
21	ἀποστήσαι] καταπατῆσαι K, ἀπατῆσαι H.
23	γένος] γένους HV.
23	οἰκετικὸν] οἰκετικοῦ V.
24	ἐπικρατῆσαι] i. m. V.

12	τῶν - εἶναι] κατὰ τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι πόλεων ALM.
13	πλατυτέραν] ~ post ἑαυτοῦ ALM.
15	αὐτοῦ] ~ post γνησίοις ALM.
16	οὐρανίαις] οὐρανόθεν ALM.
17	ἀνήλισκε] ἀνήλισκον ALM.
17	καὶ] < ALM.
17	ἰσχυρότερον] ἰσχυροτέρους γὰρ M.
17/18	τῶν - δραμόντων] τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶ δραμόντας ALM.
20/21	τῆς - συγκλήτου] τὴν κατὰ Ῥώμην σύγκλητον ALM.
21	ἀποστήσαι] ἀπατῆσαι AL, καταπατῆσαι M.
23	φθοροποιῶν] < ALM.
24	τυρανίδος] ~ post ἐπικρατῆσαι ALM.

- 25 ὑπεραίρειν δόξῃ, μάτην τῆς ἀλαζονείας εἰς ὕψος ἐπαιρομένης, ἀγεται
 ὁ μακάριος Ὀνήσιμος ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι τῆς Ῥώμης· Τερτύλλου τὸ τηρι-
 καῦτα τὴν ἔπαρχον ἐξουσίαν διακατέχοντος, ὃς κοινὴν μὲν τινα κατὰ τοῦ
 γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν μανίαν ἐνεδέδυτο, τυραννικῶ προστάγματι
 30 πρὸς τὸ διώκειν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐξεγειρόμενος. Ἴδιαν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ δι-
 καίου τούτου διπλασιάσας τὴν ἔχθραν, ἐγύμνασε τὰ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἤκον-
 τα διασύρειν εἰς πρόγον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θείαις τε καὶ σὴφροσι διδασκαλίαις
 τὴν γυναικα τοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ τυγχάνειν εἰς ἐγκρατείας ἐξε-
 παιδεύειν ἦθη καὶ γνώσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς τε καὶ ζωοποιοῦ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν
 35 πίστεως τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτῆς ἐναπετίθετο, γόητα μὲν τὸν ὄσιον ἀπεκάλει,
 μοιχὸν δὲ τὸν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς σωφροσύνης σὴφροσι τῷ λογισμῷ ἀνακη-
 ρύττοντα.

3. Αὐτὸς γάρ, οὗτός ἐστιν Ὀνήσιμος, ὁ ταῖς ἀποστολικαῖς μαρ-

25	ἐπαιρομένης] ἐπαιρόμενος K.
28	τυραννικῶ] + τῷ P.
29	δὲ] < V.
30	ἐγύμνασε] ἐγύμναζε PV.
31	γάρ] < K.
31	θείαις - διδασκαλίαις] θείας τε καὶ σὴφροσι διδασκαλίας H.
32	τοῦ] τὸ K.
32	αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ K, αὐτὸν H.
32/33	ἐξεπαιδεύειν] ἐπαιδεύειν K.
33	γνώσιν] γνώσεως P.
34	πίστεως] + εἰς τὰ K.
34	τῆ ψυχῆ] τῆς ψυχῆς KH.
34	ἐναπετίθετο] ἐναπέθετο HV.
35	τοὺς] τοῦ H.
37	ἐστιν] < H.
37/38	Ὀνήσιμος - οὗτος] < K.

25	δόξῃ] δόξαν ALM.
25	ἐπαιρομένης] ἐπαιρόμενος A, ἐπαιρόμενον LM.
26	τῆς] < ALM.
27	κοινὴν] καινὴν ALM.
29	ἐξεγειρόμενος] ἐξεγειρομένους L, < M.
31	θείαις - διδασκαλίαις] θείας τε καὶ σὴφροσι διδασκαλίας ~ post τυγχάνειν AL, ~ post τυγχάνειν M.
32	εἰς ἐγκρατείας] ~ post ἐξεπαιδεύειν ALM.
32/33	ἐξεπαιδεύειν] ἐξεπαιδεύειν LM.
34	ἐναπετίθετο] ἐναπέθετο ALM.
34	ἀπεκάλει] ἀποκαλῶν ALM.
35	σωφροσύνης] πίστεως ALM.
35	σὴφροσι - λογισμῶ] < ALM.

- τυρίαις ώραϊζόμενος· οὗτος ὁ τὴν θεολόγον καὶ ἀληθῆ γλώτταν Παύλου
 προσαναπεισας τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν γράμματι πρὸς Φιλήμονα
 40 τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ ἀναδέξασθαι· οὗτος ὁ δουλικῆς ἀνάγκης κατηφῆ
 ταπεινότητα εὐσεβείας τρόπῳ καὶ πράξεως ἀγαθαῖς πολιτείαις εἰς
 γνώμην ἐλευθέραν ἐξεγείρας· οὗτος ὁ τὴν ἄκαρπον τοῦ βίου καθημε-
 ρινὴν ἀπάτην πατήσας καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διακονίαις ὄλον
 45 ἐαντὸν εἰς ὕψος εὐσεβείας ἀνατείνας, καθὼς τὰ πρὸς Φιλήμονα γράμματα
 Παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, ὃν ἐγὼ ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς
 δεσμοῖς μου, Ὁνήσιμον, τὸν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον νῦν δέ σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ
 εὐχρηστον, ὃν ἔπεμψα. Σὺ δὲ αὐτόν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγγνα προσ-
 λαβοῦ ὃν ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἐμαντὸν κατέχειν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονῆ
 50 ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης οὐδὲν
 ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ᾗ ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ὡς
 κατὰ ἐκούσιον. Τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὄραν, ἵνα αἰώνιον
 αὐτὸν ἀπέχῃς, οὐκέτι ὡς δοῦλον ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ δοῦλον, ἀδελφὸν ἀγα-
 πητόν, μάλιστα ἐμοί, πόσω δὲ μᾶλλον σοὶ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ.

46/54 παρακαλῶ - κυρίῳ] Philem. 10-16 (cuius textus aliquot locis differt).

- 38 τὴν] < K.
 39 ὑπὲρ] < H.
 39 γράμματι] + τῷ PV.
 40 ὁ] < H.
 40/41 κατηφῆ ταπεινότητα] κατηφεῖ ταπεινότητι KH.
 43 πατήσας] ἀπατήσας KHV.
 43 ταῖς - διακονίαις] τὰς περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διακονίας K.
 48 ἔπεμψα] ἀνέπεμψα V.
 48 σὺ] σοὶ K.
 52 ἐχωρίσθη] + σου PV.
 53 ἀλλ' - δοῦλον] i. m. V.
 53 ὡς²] < K.

- 38 γλώτταν] ~ post Παύλου ALM.
 40 ὁ] < AL.
 42 ἐλευθέραν] ἐλευθερίας ALM.
 44 ἀνατείνας] ἀνατείλας ALM.
 48 σὺ] σοὶ A.
 48 τοῦτ' ἔστι] < LM.
 48/49 προσλαβοῦ] ~ post αὐτόν ALM.
 52 αἰώνιον] αἰωνίως LM.
 53 ἀπέχῃς] ἔχῃς ALM.
 53 ὑπὲρ δοῦλον] < LM.

- 55 και τὰ τούτων ἐξῆς. Ἦρκει μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τοσοῦτων ἐπαίνων ἐρχόμενά τὸν θησαυρὸν τῶν Ὀνησίμω προσόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνακαλύψαι. Οὐ γὰρ κλάκος λόγοι καὶ ψευδηγόρου τινὸς αἱ μαρτυρίαι, ἀλλὰ κήρυκος ἀληθείας ἀποστολικὴν παράταξιν ἀναδεξαμένον. Τὸν αὐτὸν γοῦν καὶ τέκνον καὶ ἀδελφὸν ὀνομάζει τῇ μὲν κλήσει τοῦ τέκνου τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν 60 ἀγάπης τὸ μέγεθος ἐπιδεικνύμενος, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφότητος τὴν ἴσην αὐτῷ τιμὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν παρησίας ἀποφυλλάττων. Ὁ γὰρ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τὰ δεσμὰ κομφίσας καὶ φαιδρύνας τὸ κατηφές τῇ συνουσίᾳ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς διακονίαις τοῦ σώματος ἐπικουφίσας τοὺς πόνους, πῶς οὐχὶ τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐφοδίοις πεφορτισμένος εἰς τοιοῦτον τέλος 65 τῆς ἀφθάρτου δωρεᾶς συντρέχειν ἔμελλεν;

4. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ λαμπρῶς ἀλευράμενον, νηστεία δὲ καὶ προσευχῇ τὸ σῶμα ἐθίσαντα, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ στάδιον τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανόν κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφανῶς ἀναδήσῃται· προσαχθέντα τὸ τηρικαῦτα πρὸ τοῦ βήματος

-
- 55 τὰ] τὰς V.
 56 τῶν] τὸν K, τῷ H.
 56 προσόντων] προσόντα τῶν KH.
 57 ψευδηγόρου] ψευδηγόροι V.
 58 γοῦν] οὖν K.
 60 ἐπιδεικνύμενος] < KH.
 62/63 τῇ - πόνους] συνουσίᾳ προσκλαύσας (προσέκλαυσας H) σωματικαῖς διακονίαις τοῦ σώματος ἐπικουφισθείσας τοῖς πόνους KH.

-
- 55 καὶ²] < ALM.
 55 ἐπαίνων] < LM.
 56 τῶν] τῷ ALM.
 56 προσόντων] προσόντα τῶν ALM.
 57 γὰρ] < ALM.
 57 τινὸς] ~ post κλάκος ALM.
 60 ἐπιδεικνύμενος] < ALM.
 62/63 τῇ² - πόνους] καὶ (ταῖς M) συνουσίαις τοῦ σώματος καὶ προσκλαύσας σωματικαῖς διακονίαις ἐπικουφισθείς τοῖς πόνους ALM.
 64 ἐφοδίοις] ἐφόδοις ALM.
 66 τὸν] < ALM.
 66/160 λαμπρῶς - εἰς] < L.
 67 ἐθίσαντα] κατατήξαντα AM.
 67 κατὰ] < AM.
 68 στέφανον] + ἐν τούτῳ AM.

- 70 Τερτύλλου, ἅμα Ῥωμύλῳ συνεργῶ καὶ Παπία πνευματικῶ συστρατιώτῃ ἀρετῇ τε συμπνεούσῃ τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ <ἀγάπη τῇ ὀλιχωτάτῃ>, ἐρωτᾷ Τέρτυλλος· «Τίς λέγῃ»; Ῥαπεκρίνατο· «Ὁνήσιμος». Ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· «Ποίας εἶ τύχης»; Ῥαπεκρίνατο· «Πάλαί μὲν οἰκέτης ὡς εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπου, νῦν δὲ δοῦλος ἐγγνώμων ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότου καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ». Ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· «Καὶ τίς ἢ πρόφασις τῆς ἀφ' ἐτέρας εἰς ἐτέραν δεσποτείαν εὐχεροῦς μεταστάσεως»; Ῥαπεκρίνατο· «Γνώσις ἀληθείας καὶ μῖσος εἰδωλολατρείας». Ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· «Πόσον τιμῆματος μετέστης εἰς τὴν οὕτω καινοπρεπῆ τῆς δεσποτείας πρόφασιν»; Ῥαπεκρίνατο· «Ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς αἵματι τιμίῳ τὴν φθορὰν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνησάμενος, εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν μετέστησεν· καθὼς γέγραπται, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαροῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμόμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ». Ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· «Ποίαν ταύτην ματαίαν ἀναστροφήν αἱ παρ' ὑμῶν γραφαὶ καταγγέλλουσιν»; Ῥαπεκρίνατο· «Ἐπὶ πραγμάτων ἀνόμους, καταμήνησον».
5. Ῥαπεκρίνατο· «Μοιχείαν, τὴν ἐπ' ὀλιγαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἰς

81/83 εἰδότες - Χριστοῦ] I Pet. 1:18-19.

- 70 Ῥωμύλῳ] Ῥωμύλου H.
 70 πνευματικῶ] + καὶ V.
 71 < ἀγάπη τῇ ὀλιχωτάτῃ>] secundum AM, ἀγάπη τῇ ὀλιχωτέρα K, HPV incerta.
 72 Ῥαπεκρίνατο] + Χριστιανὸς V.
 72 ὁ] < P.
 81 εἰδότες] ἰδόντες KH.
 82 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν V.
-

- 70 πνευματικῶ] + καὶ AM.
 72 Ῥαπεκρίνατο] + Χριστιανὸς A.
 73 ἀπεκρίνατο] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος A, + ἐκεῖνος M.
 75/77 ὁ - εἰδωλολατρείας] < AM.
 79 ὁ - παῖς] < M.
 79 ὁ] + πιστὸς A.
 81 εἰδότες] ἰδόντες δὲ AM.
 82 τιμίῳ] + αὐτοῦ M.
 83 ἀμνοῦ] < AM.
 83 εἶπεν] + καὶ AM.

- ἄπειρον κολάσεως τοὺς αὐτῆς ἐργάτας ἐκτρέφουσαν. Πλεονεξίαν, τὴν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ καλῷ κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον δπλιζομένην. Γοητείαν, τὴν δαιμόνων σύνοικον καὶ φαντασίας εὐρέτιν καὶ ὄξαν οἶσαν ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνεικάστου. Ἀλαζονείαν, τὴν διὰ κενῆς ἔννοιαν εἰς ἄμετρον τύφον κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπηρμένην. Φθόνον, τὴν καὶ Κᾶιν σὺν ἑτέροις πολλοῖς ἀδελφοκτόνον διδάξαντα καὶ τὸν τοῖς αὐτὸν κεκτημένοις ὀλεθρίους ἐννοίας κατασπείροντα. Κακολογίαν, τὴν ἀχαλίνωτον γλῶτταν καθάπερ νέφος τὴν χλεύην κατὰ πάντων ἐπεκτείνουσαν. Ὑπόκρισιν, τὴν ἀληθείας ἐχθρὰν καὶ διαβόλου φίλην καὶ νωθρὰν πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ προκαλύμματι κεκρυμμένην. Μικροψυχίαν, τὴν πεπλανημένην ἔννοιαν παρεισφύρουσαν δι' ἧς, οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν Εὐδαν ὁ πονηρὸς ὑπεσκέλισεν. Ὁργήν, τὴν λοιδορίας εὐρέτιν, πληγῶν δὲ κακῶν ἐργάτιν καὶ τραυμάτων αὐτουργὸν καὶ φόνου μητέρα. Μέθην, τὴν ἀσελγείας σύνοικον ἠθονῆς ἀδελφῆν· αἰσχρολογίας εὐρέτιν ἀγαθῆς ἐννοίας ἀλλοτριαν τὴν ἀπρεπῆ καὶ σχήματι καὶ φθέγματι καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν εὐπρέπειαν καταλλάττουσαν· ἐπὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων, τὸν τῆς ὑλώδους συστάσεως λάκκον καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν εἰρημένων. Εἰδωλολατρειαν, τὴν πορνείας ὑπόθεσιν· τὴν τῆς ἀγνωσίας τοῦ

87	αὐτῆς] αὐτὴν H.
88	ἐπ'] ὑπ' K.
89	φαντασίας] φαντασίαν K.
90	ἔννοιαν] ἐννοίας PV.
91	καὶ] < V.
92	ὀλεθρίους] + καὶ H
93	κατασπείροντα] ἐγκατασπείραντα K, κατασπείραντα V.
95	καὶ ¹ - νωθρὰν] < P.
96	παρεισφύρουσαν] παρεκφύρουσαν P.
99	σύνοικον] + καὶ V.
99	ἀδελφῆν] + καὶ V.
101	καταλλάττουσαν] καταλύουσαν V.

87	κολάσεως] κόλασιν AM.
87	ἐργάτας] ἐραστάς M.
89	εὐρέτιν] ἀρετὴν A.
92	ὀλεθρίους] ὀλεθρίους A, ὀλεθρίας M.
92	ἐννοίας] ἐννοίας M.
93	κατασπείροντα] κατασπείραντα A.
95	νωθρὰν] νωθρῶν AM.
95	φιλίαν] φίλην M.
99	ἀσελγείας] ἀσελγεία A.
100	τὴν] < AM.
102	τούτων] < AM.

- ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ διδάσκαλον· τὴν ἀλογίας εὐρέτιν· τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πῆρῳσι·
 105 τὴν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας δημιουργὸν καὶ κοσμιότητος ἀλλοτριαν· τὴν τῷ
 δεσπότῃ τῶν ὄλων ἀπομαχομένην καὶ ὄρους θεοσεβείας ἐκκόπτειν ἐπι-
 χειροῦσαν· τὸν ὁδηγὸν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος ὑπηρέτην· τὸ
 δέλεαρ τῶν κακῶν· τὴν ἀρετῆς ἐναντίαν· τὴν φεύγουσαν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ
 110 κηρύττουσαν ἀπώλειαν καὶ περὶ γῆν καὶ τάρταρον τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῖς εἰς
 αὐτὴν βλέπουσι προτείνουσαν· τὴν αἱμάτων φίλην· τὴν φθόνου ἀρχηγόν·
 τὴν ἀγνοία θεϊκῆ τούς εὐχερεῖς τὸν τρόπον παγιδεύουσαν· τὴν σκότους
 μὲν καὶ σκιᾶς γνησίαν πρόξενον, φωτεινῆς δὲ χάριτος ἀλλοτριαν· τὴν
 βρόχοις ἀσέμνου πράξεως τούς αὐτῇ δουλεύοντας περισφίγγουσαν· τὴν
 115 αἰσχρολογίας καὶ βλασφήμου φθέγγματος ὑπόθεσιν· τὴν κενοδοξίαν ἀλεί-
 φουσαν τοὺς αὐτῇ προστετηκότας· τὴν ὀρχήσεως ἐργάτιν· τὴν σαρκι-
 κῆς ἐπιθυμίας πρόξενον· τὴν πολιὰν πρεσβύτου καὶ γέροντος ἀτιμάζου-

104	ἀληθινοῦ] ~ post Θεοῦ KH.
104	διδάσκαλον] διδάγματος KH.
108	φεύγουσαν] + τὴν V.
109	κηρύττουσαν] + τὴν V.
110	αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν H.
110	φίλην] + καὶ V.
110	τὴν ²] τοῦ V.
113	ἀσέμνου] ἀθέσμων K, ἄσεμνον H.
113	πράξεως] πράξεων K.
113	τούς] τοῖς H.
113	αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν H.
114	κενοδοξίαν] κενοδοξία P.
115	τούς] τοῖς P.
115	τὴν ²] + καὶ H.

104	ἀληθινοῦ] ~ post Θεοῦ A.
104	διδάσκαλον] διδάγματος A, διδαχὴν M.
104	τὴν ¹] τῆς M.
104	τὴν ²] < M.
105	τὴν ¹ - ἀλλοτριαν] < M.
110	αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν AM.
110	προτείνουσαν] προτείνων AM.
111	ἀγνοία θεϊκῆ] ἀγνοίας θεϊκῆς AM.
111	τούς] < AM.
112	καὶ σκιᾶς] κακίαν A, κακίας M.
112	γνησίαν] ~ post πρόξενον A.
113	ἀσέμνου] ἀσέμων AM.
113/147	τὴν - ἐννοίας] < M.
115	αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν A.
115	τὴν ²] καὶ A.

- σαν· τὴν πρὸς ἀλλὸν ἀσχημονοῦντα ἄλλεσθαι τὸν καθιστάμενον τῷ χρό-
 νῳ παρακελεύουσαν· τὴν τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθενίας ἐκκόπτουσιν διὰ τῆς
 120 ἀσέμνου τῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς τριχῶν ἐκλύσεως· τὴν θέατρον ποιοῦσαν
 τὰς ἐν οἴκῳ σεμνῶς εἰς αἰδοῦς λόγον ἀνατεθείσας· τὴν σιδήρῳ καὶ ξίφει
 τὰς ἐαυτῆς ἑορτὰς καταμίξασαν· τὴν ζώων ἀκαθαρσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐξ αἰ-
 μάτων προσχύσει τὸ ἕρπυιόμενον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσελγείας καταγγέλλου-
 σαν· τὴν τὰ σεμνῶς περιεσταλμένα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀσέμνως ἐπι-
 μέσης πόλεως δημοσιεύουσιν· τὴν ἀνακαλύπτουσιν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνην
 125 καὶ γυναιξίν, ἃ μὴ θέμις ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· τὴν ἀποτέμνουσιν ἄρρενος
 φύσιν εἰς τὴν θηλυμόρφου δαίμονος θεραπείαν· τὴν τὰς οἰκειὰς τελετὰς
 ἐκ φόνων καὶ μοιχείας καὶ παιδεραστίας ἀναδείξασαν· τὴν δίκην σκάφους
 ἐν τρικυμῖα τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίας εἰς διαφόρους τρόπους ῥιπί-
 ζουσιν· νῦν μὲν ἰοβόλων ἕρπετῶν ζώων ἀπογεύεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῆς μύστας
 130 προτρεπομένην, νῦν δὲ σέβεσθαι τὰ διασπώμενα παρὰ τῶν διασπών-
 των ἐκδιδάσκουσιν· τὴν ἄλλοις ἰχθῶν ἀναγορεύουσιν, ἄλλους δὲ κατε-
 σθίειν τοὺς ἐτέρων θεοὺς προτρεπομένην· τὴν βοῦν θύουσιν καὶ βοῦσι

117/118	πρὸς - παρακελεύουσιν] < K.
120	εἰς αἰδοῦς] εἰσόδους K, εἰσόδους H.
121	ἀκαθαρσίαις] ἀκαθαρσίαν V.
121	καὶ] < KH.
122	τῆς] τὴν περὶ K.
122	ἀσελγείας] ἀσελγείαν KH.
123	περιεσταλμένα] περιεσταλμένος H.
123	μέρη] περὶ KH.
127	καὶ παιδεραστίας] < K.
128/129	ῥιπίζουσιν] ῥαπίζουσιν H.
129	ἀπογεύεσθαι] γεύεσθαι P.
132	ἐτέρων] ἐτέρῳ P.

117	ἄλλεσθαι] ἄλλεται A.
117/118	χρόνῳ] + ἀτιμᾶσθαι A.
118	παρακελεύουσιν] παρασκευάζουσιν A.
118	ἐκκόπτουσιν] ἐγκόπτουσιν A.
119/120	τὴν - ἀνατεθείσας] < A.
121	καταμίξασαν] κατακομίζουσιν A.
121	ἀκαθαρσίαις] ἀκαθαρσίας A.
121	καὶ] < A.
123	περιεσταλμένα] περιεσταλμένας A.
123	μέρη] περὶ A.
125/129	τὴν - ῥιπίζουσιν] < A.
129	ἕρπετῶν] + καὶ A.
130/131	διασπώντων] ἀδιαπτῶτων A.
131/132	κατεσθίειν] + δὴ A.

προσάγουσαν ὀλοκαυτώματα· τὴν προβάτῳ πρόβατον ἐπιθύουσαν καὶ
 τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ θῦμα παρασκευάζουσαν· τὴν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον
 135 ἀποσφάττουσαν καὶ σφαγὴν ὑπὲρ ὑγείας ἐργαζομένην· τὴν τοῖς ἀψύχοις
 τὰ ψυχικὰ πρὸς θυσίαν προσφέρουσαν καὶ λίθῳ γλυφέντι τὸν κατ' εἰ-
 κόνα Θεοῦ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον ἐναποσφάττουσαν· τὴν τὰ ὑπαρῶτερα
 τῶν ζώων καὶ μοχθηρὰ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀλόγοις ἀπάταις θεοποιήσασαν.
 Ὑβρῶν, τὴν αἰσχρουργὸν καὶ μυῖαν· τὴν ἐκ σκώληκος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς
 140 γενέσεως ἔχουσαν.

6. Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ κρομμύῳ τὸ θεϊκὸν ἀξίωμα προσή-
 ψεν ἢ εἰδωλολατρεία ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην ταῖς ἀπάταις
 μεταβαίνουσα ποικίλως, ὅπως ὑπερβολῇ τυφλότητος τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἀνοίας καταγάγῃ εἰς ἄδην; Οὕτω καὶ λίθον τιμᾶσθαι ὡς θεὸν πε-
 145 ποίηκε καὶ ξύλον τὸ μὲν τι σέβειν καὶ τοῖς βεβήλοις τῶν νόμων νενομο-
 θέτηκε, τὸ δὲ καίειν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ διηγόρευσεν, εἰς ἔλεγχον προφανῆ τὰς
 τῶν ὑπακουόντων αὐτῇ δυσσεβεῖς ἐννοίας. Ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν διὰ το-
 σοῦτων ἀποπημάτων χωροῦσαν ἄθεον εἰδωλολατρείαν ἐκφυγῶν καὶ τὰς

136/137 τὸν - ἄνθρωπον] cf. Gen. 1:26, 27.

133 προσάγουσαν] προσάγουσιν H.
 134 καὶ] < K.
 134 ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνθρώπων H.
 138 μοχθηρὰ] μοχθηρὰν H.
 140 γενέσεως] γεννήσεως KH.
 144 εἰς ἄδην] < KH.
 144 λίθον] λίθῳ H.
 145 ξύλου] ξύλον V.
 146 εἰσέλεγχον] εἰσέλειχον V.
 148 ἐκφυγῶν] ἔφυγον KH.

133 ὀλοκαυτώματα] ~ post βουσι A.
 134 ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνθρώπων A.
 135 ὑγείας] ἀργίας A.
 136 πρὸς θυσίαν] < A.
 139 ἐκ] ἐν A.
 144 εἰς ἄδην] < A.
 144 λίθον] λίθῳ A.
 144 τιμᾶσθαι] < A.
 144 θεὸν] θεῶ A.
 145 ξύλου] ξύλα A.
 146 τὰς] τοὺς A.
 147 ἐννοίας] + μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀνοίας A.
 148 χωροῦσαν ἄθεον] χωροῦσαν ἄνωθεν AM.

- δορυφόρους αὐτῆς κακίας γενναίῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καταπατήσας, ἐκ ζάλης
 150 ὥσπερ θαλάττης εἰς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κατήντηκα λιμένα, ἀγκύραις τὸ
 σκάφος τοῦ σώματός μου τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἰς τὰ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ βέβαια
 προσαναπαύσας, πολιτεία ἀμέμπτῳ πίστει τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὄντα Θεὸν καὶ
 ἀγάπῃ τῇ περὶ τὸν πλησίον. Τούτων γὰρ τῶν συναμφοτέρων τῆς οὐρα-
 νίου πειθόμεθα διδασκαλίας τὴν σύμπασαν γνώμην ἐνηγκαλίσθαι. Διὸ
 155 δὴ καὶ σε προτρέπομαι, Τέρτυλλε, φιλαδελφίας θεσμὸν <καὶ χρηστό-
 τητος> βουλόμενος ἐπεκτείνειν· ἀφεῖναι μὲν ταῦτα τὰ πρόσκαιρα τῆς
 φαντασίας ἡδύσματα δίκην ὄνειρατος θάττον παρατρέχοντα τὴν αἴ-
 σθησιν· δραμεῖν δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ τάχει τῆς ἐννοίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων ἐπό-
 πτην καὶ δημιουργὸν Θεόν· καὶ λῦσαι τὴν πλάνην καὶ τῇ πίστει σωθῆναι

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- 149 γενναίῳ τῷ λογισμῷ] < K.
 150 /153 ἀγκύραις - πλησίον] < H.
 151 τῆς] < K.
 151 εἰς τὰ] < K.
 152 ἀμέμπτῳ] < K.
 152 τὸν] s. l. V.
 152 ὄντα] < K.
 153 περὶ] πρὸς K.
 154 πειθόμεθα] < KH.
 154 ἐνηγκαλίσθαι] ἐνηγκάλισμαι K, ἐναγκαλισασθαι V.
 155 /156 <καὶ χρηστότητος>] secundum P, καὶ μέχρι σου K, κέχρησο HV.
 156 τὰ] < HP.
 157 ἡδύσματα δίκην] < H.
 158 /159 ἐπόπτην] καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων δεσπότην K, ἐπιστάνα δεσπότην H.
 159 λῦσαι] + μὲν V.
 159 καί²] < V.
 159 πίστει] + δὲ V.

-
- 150 ὥσπερ] + ἐκ AM.
 151 τῆς] < AM.
 151 εἰς τὰ] < AM.
 151 βεβαία] βεβαίαν A.
 152 ἀμέμπτῳ] < AM
 153 γὰρ τῶν] < A.
 154 πειθόμεθα] < AM.
 154 /155 διδασκαλίας - δὴ] i. m. M.
 154 ἐνηγκαλίσθαι] ἐνηγκάλισμαι AM.
 155 θεσμὸν] θεσμῷ M.
 155 /156 <καὶ χρηστότητος>] κέχρησο AM.
 156 ταῦτα] ~ post πρόσκαιρα AM.
 157 ὄνειρατος] ὄνειρων A.

160 καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν, Οὐ γὰρ θανάτου τοῦ πταίσαντος τέρεται Θεός· μετάνοια δὲ τῶν προσιόντων ἀπαλείφει τὰ προλαβόντα τολμήματα».

7. Ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· «Ἐοικας οὐ μόνον τῷ τῶν βασανιστηρίων φόβῳ συνεχόμενος περὶ τὸ θύειν οὐκ ἐλλυθῆναι βούλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
165 καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σαντοῦ καθέλκειν ἀπάτην». Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· «Ἀπάτην νοσεῖ καὶ πάθει τέτρωται τὴν ψυχὴν προφανῶς, ὃ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ὕλην καὶ πολὺ κατωτέρα ἀυτοῦ φύσεως ὡς κρείττονα θεραπεύων παρέκ τοῦ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐνηγκαλισμένου δεσπότη· ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου παράγει
170 πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον χάριν ἐαντὸν ἀνατείνας τῷ τῶν αἰώνων δεσπότη Θεῷ τὸ λειπόμενόν σου τοῦ βίου τούτου μέρος δουλεῦσαι μὴ κατοκνήσης».

160 εἰς - ἐλθεῖν] I Tim. 2:4, II Tim. 3:7.

160 ἀληθείας] ~ post ἐπίγνωσιν H.
160 ἐλθεῖν] + θελῆσαι P.
161 Θεός] < KH.
161 προσιόντων] προσόντων KH.
163/164 βασανιστηρίων] βασάνων HV.
165 ἀπάτην¹] < H.
165/174 Ὁνήσιμος - προστάγμασιν] < V.
165 Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν] ~ post προφανῶς H.
165/166 ἀπάτην²] ἀπάτη K.
166 ὃ] ὅστις K, < H.
167 τῆς] τὴν H.
167 αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ KH.
167 ὡς] < H.
168 τοῦ] + τῆς H.
168/169 ἐνηγκαλισμένου] ἐνηγκαλισμένος H.
170 δεσπότη] + καὶ K.
171 δουλεῦσαι] + καὶ H.

160 ἀληθείας] ~ post ἐπίγνωσιν ALM.
161 Θεός] < ALM.
162 προλαβόντα τολμήματα] πταίσματα ALM.
167/178 θεραπεύων] θεραπείαν ALM.
168/169 ἐνηγκαλισμένου] ἐνηγκαλισμένον AL.
169 δεσπότη] + οἰόμενος M.
171 μέρος] τέλος ALM.

Ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· «Τὰ μὲν ἀπαλώτερα τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ σοι ζημάτων θρασύτερόν σε περὶ τὴν παρρησίαν εἰργάσατο· στρέβλαις δὲ λοιπὸν βασάνων ἀλγυνόμενος δουλεύειν ἀναγκασθήσει βασιλικοῖς προστάγμασιν». Ὁ ἰσχυρὸς εἶπεν· «Οὔτε σου πειθῶν δὲ λόγος, ἀλλότριε τῆς ἀληθείας, εἰ καὶ τὸ πείθειν σὺν ἑαυτῷ φέρει, οὔτε σου τοσοῦτον ἰσχύει τὰ βασανιστήρια, κἂν φοβερὰ παρασκευάζῃς, ὡς μὴ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν προσκαρτερεῖν διὰ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ μοι προσαγομένων καὶ ἐπιρρῶσαι τούτων τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γυμνασθέντων». Ὁ μὲν ἔπαρχος τὸν μακάριον Ὁνήσιμον ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φρουρᾷ ζοφῶδει καὶ ταῖς παρατενούσαις τῶν βασάνων τὴν ἀληθῆνα κακώσεσι παραδοθῆναι κελεύει, ὅπως τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰκισμῶν ἢ προσαγωγή τὴν τούτων πίστιν εἰς ἀθεότητα μεταστήσῃ. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκεῖνος, ὡσπερ ἤδη τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τροφὴν ἐνηγκαλισμένος, πλέον τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν γεγε-

172	μὲν] < K.
173	σε] < KH.
173	περὶ] παρὰ K.
176	πείθειν] πάθειν H.
176	οὔτε] οὔδε KH.
177	παρασκευάζῃς] παρασκευάσης K.
177/178	ὡς - διὰ] < H.
178	προσκαρτερεῖν] + καὶ P.
178	διὰ] < K.
178	προσαγομένων] προσαγορευομένων H.
178/179	ἐπιρρῶσαι] ἐπερρῶσθαι P, < V.
179	τοσοῦτον] τσαῦτα KH.
181	κακώσεσι] < KH.

173	σε] < ALM.
173	λοιπὸν] < ALM.
174	βασιλικοῖς] + ὑπείκειν LM.
174	προστάγμασιν] + ὑπείκων A.
175	ὁ] < AL.
175	ἀληθείας] βασιλείας LM.
176	οὔτε] οὔδε ALM.
176	σου] < ALM.
177	παρασκευάζῃς] + αὐτὰ LM.
177	μὴ] < ALM.
178	διὰ] < ALM.
179	τοσοῦτον] τσαῦτα ALM.
181	κακώσεσι] < ALM.
184	παραδείσῳ] + διαγωγὴν καὶ LM.

- 185 νημένοις ἐγεγήθει, καθάπερ ὕλη χρυσοῦ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ καύσεως δοκι-
 μωτέρα πρὸς κάθαρσιν ἑαυτῆς γινομένη.
8. Τῆς τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν κακοπαθείας ἐφ' ὅλαις ὀκτωκαί-
 δεκα ἡμέραις παραταθείσης, ὁ μὲν ἕξωθεν περιρρέων δῆμος τὸν μακά-
 ριον πρὸς θεοσεβῆ μᾶλλον ἐπερρώνητο πίστιν. Τέρτυλλος δὲ τὸ γενό-
 190 μενον ἀναστεῖλαι σπουδάζων, ἐπὶ σχήματι φιλανθρωπίας τούτους τῆς
 πόλεως ἐκδιώκει. Ὀνήσιμος δὲ σὺν <Παπίᾳ> τῷ γενναίῳ περὶ τὴν θεο-
 σέβειαν συστρατιώτῃ Ποτιόλους καταλαβόν, τὴν ζωοποιὸν χάριν τοῖς
 προστυγχάνουσι κηρύττων οὐκ ἐπαύετο. Πλειόνων γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν
 195 ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ καὶ πρὸς ἄμετρον ὀργῆς ἰδέαν ὡς εἰκὸς παρὰ τοῦ
 δαίμονος ὀπλίζεται. Οἱ δὲ τῆς τούτου δορυφορίας τὴν ἄθεον φροντίδα
 διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες, ξύλοις τὰς τῶν ἁγίων χεῖρας μετὰ τῆς ἐπὶ νώτου
 στρεβλώσεως προσέπηξαν καὶ τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι τοὺς ὄσιους τῷ λυσ-
 σῶντι τὸν φόνον ἐπὶ βήματος προσήγαγον. Τέρτυλλος δὲ ταῖς ἰοβόλοις
 200 τοῦ διαβόλου μανίαις ἐγκεκλισμένος, ἠρώτα καὶ πάλιν πικρῶ βλέμ-

185/186 καθάπερ - γινομένη] cf. Prov. 17:3, Sap. 3:6, I Pet. 1:7, Apos.
 1:15.

194 εἰς - ἐλθόντων] I Tim. 2:4, II Tim. 3:7.

186 ἑαυτῆς γινομένη] ἑαυτοῖς γινομένοις V.
 188 παραταθείσης] παρατείνας H.
 188 περιρρέων] παραρρέων KH.
 188/189 μακάριον] μακαρισμόν KH.
 191 <Παπίᾳ>] supplevi, KHPV incerta.
 198 προσέπηξαν] προσέπηξαν V.
 198/199 λυσσῶντι] λυσσόντων P.
 199 φόνον] φόβον H.

186 κάθαρσιν] καθαίρεσιν ALM.
 188 παραταθείσης] παρατείνας ALM.
 188 περιρρέων] παραρρέων ALM.
 189 πίστιν] ~ post θεοσεβῆ ALM.
 190 τούτους] τοὺς AL.
 191 <Παπίᾳ>] Ῥωμύλῳ ALM.
 198 τοῦτον] < ALM.
 193/194 τὸν τρόπον] ~ post ἀληθείας ALM.
 195 ἰδέαν] < ALM.
 200 καὶ] < ALM.

- ματι καταπλήττει τον μακάριον οιδόμενος· «Καὶ τί παθών», φησίν, «πυρός καὶ σιδήρου ἄξιε, τὴν ἐμὴν φιλανθρωπίαν εἰς ἄμετρον παρρησίαν ἐταμεύσω, κακὸν κακῶ ὡς ἔοικεν ἐπισυνάψας εἰς ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτεῖναι τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ λοιπὸν τιμωρίαν»; Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· «Ἐγὼ δέ σε
 205 λοιπὸν καὶ λίαν προσεδόκων τῶν κρειττόνων ἐραστὴν γεγενημένον, καὶ μοι τοῦ διδάσκειν παρακεχωρηκέναι τὴν ἄδειαν, ἵνα διὰ πάντων ἡ χάρις δραμοῦσα ἀκωλύτως μηδένα τῶν πιστευσάντων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς ἄμωρον καταστήσῃ». Ταῦτα τὰ τετραὰ ὁ Τέρτυλλος πρὸς χλεῦνην δεξάμενος ῥήματα, ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἰσχυρῶς κατατείνεσθαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
 210 μακαρίου προσέτατε καὶ παχείαις ῥάβδων αἰκίαις τύπτεσθαι τὸν γενναῖον τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθλητῆν.
9. Πολλῆς τοίνυν ἐπὶ τοῖς γινόμενοις παρατρεχούσης τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν μὲν ξύλον αἷμα καὶ σάρκα ομοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀνασπώντων, τῆς δὲ θεοσεβοῦς ψυχῆς ἐκείνης πλέον νευρουμένης ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς
 215 προσδοκωμένων ἀγαθῶν εὐθυμίας, Τέρτυλλος ἠπειλεῖ τὴν κατὰ μέλος τοῦ

201	μακάριον] + Ὁνήσιμον V.
201	καὶ] κατὰ KH.
202	ἄμετρον] + ἑαυτῶ P, + σεαυτῶ V.
204	σε ²] σοι KH.
205	προσεδόκων] προσεδόκουν H.
209	δεξάμενος] + τὰ H.
210	προσέτατε] προσέταξε P.
210	τύπτεσθαι] H incertum, αἰκίζειν PV.
211	ἀθλητῆν] ἀγωνιστῆν K.
214	δὲ] < H, ~ post θεοσεβοῦς P.
215	προσδοκωμένων] προσδοκουμένων H.

201	καταπλήττειν] καταπλήττων A.
201	οιδόμενος] ~ post καταπλήττειν LM.
201	καὶ] κατὰ ALM.
204	ἐπιτεῖναι τὴν] ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν (i.m. M) LM.
204	σε ²] σοι ALM.
205	προσεδόκων] προσεδόκουν ALM.
210	τύπτεσθαι] ὀχλεῖν ALM.
211	τῆς θεοσεβείας] < LM.
211	ἀθλητῆν] + ἐπιχειρεῖ LM.
214	δὲ] < AL.
215	μέλος] μέρος ALM.

σώματος αὐτοῦ τομήν, εἰ μὴ βουληθεῖη θῦσαι. Ὁ δὲ δύσμαχος ἐκεῖ-
 νος καὶ δυσάλωτος ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ Ὁνήσιμος, καθάπερ τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν τὸν
 ἕαντοῦ λογισμὸν ταῖς βασάνοις ἀντιστήσας, ἄτρεπτον εἶχε τὴν γνώμην,
 οὐδ' ὄλωσ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ὑποκλίνας. Τέλος γοῦν
 220 διὰ πάντων ὑπτίων ἀνατραπέντα, Τέρτυλλος κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν τὸν μα-
 κάριον ἀναιρεθῆναι κελεύει καὶ τὸν μὲν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον οὗτος
 ὁ μακάριος Ὁνήσιμος εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κομίζεται
 τῇ πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Μαρτίων.

10. Γυνὴ δέ τις βασιλικοῦ γένους ἔχουσα λαμπρότητα, θήκην ἐξ
 225 ἀργύρου κατασκευάσασα, τὸ λείψανον ἐναπέθετο τοῦ μάρτυρος, μισθὸν

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- 217 ἐπ' - Ὁνήσιμος] < H.
 219/221 τέλος - κελεύει] τέλος γοῦν παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ταῖς βασάνοις
 διερωγῶτος ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Τέρτυλλος ὑπτίων
 ἀνατραπέντα τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς αὐτοῦ
 κατεαγγῆναι κελεύει V.
 220 ὑπτίων] + ὄν H.
 221 μὲν] < V.
 221 στέφανον] + τελειωθεὶς V.
 221 οὗτος] ~ post μακάριος K, οὕτως ~ post καὶ V.
 223 δεκαπέντε] ἐ' H, πέντε καὶ δεκάτῃ P.
 225 ἐναπέθετο] ~ post μάρτυρος P.

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- 216 αὐτοῦ] ~ post μέλος LM.
 216/217 δύσμαχος - δυσάλωτος] μακαριώτατος καὶ φιλοχριστότατος ALM.
 217 ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ] < ALM.
 218 τὴν γνώμην] τὸ φρόνημα ALM.
 219 ἐπὶ - ἀπειλαῖς] < ALM.
 219 γοῦν] γὰρ ALM.
 222 τοῦ] < ALM.
 223 πρὸ] πρὸς ALM.
 223 δεκαπέντε] πεντεκαίδεκα ALM.
 223 Μαρτίων] Φεβρουαρίῳ ALM.
 224 ἔχουσα λαμπρότητα] ὑπάρχουσα λαμπροτάτην ALM.

ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἅγιον μνήμης αἰώνων ἀγαθῶν ἐαυτῇ πορίζουσα· ὧν γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα κράτος τιμὴ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

226 ἀγαθῶν] + θησαυρὸν K.

226 ἐαυτῇ] αὐτῇ HV.

226/229 ὧν - αἰώνων] ἥς ταῖς πρεσβείαις αὐτοῦ διαφυλαχθεῖμεν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἰκεσίαις τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ εὐαρεστησάντων τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ὃ πρέπει δόξα τιμὴ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων K, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων H, < P.

229 ἀμήν] <P.

226/229 ὧν - αἰώνων] ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος καὶ μάρτυς Ὁνήσιμος μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ ἐ' βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν < M) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ALM.