THE ACTS OF THE MARTYR PHILIP OF HERACLEA IN THE
TIME OF THE PERSECUTION OF DIOCLETIAN

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PREFACE

Among the early Christian writings appear the acta, the accounts of martyrdoms. One of the most interesting of these is the Passio Sancti Philippi. It concerns the trial and execution of Philip, the bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, and his two assistants, Severus a priest and Hermes a deacon. The martyrdom took place during the great persecution of Diocletian.

While various martyrologies mention St. Philip of Heraclea, it was only in the seventeenth century that a manuscript of the Passio Sancti Philippi first came to light. Mabillon was the first to rediscover the account and included it in his Vetera Analecta published in 1675. Ruinart regarded the text as authentic and included the Passio in Acta Martyrum Sincera et Selecta which appeared in 1731. Toward the close of the nineteenth century Père Benjamin Bossue, a Bollandist, wrote an article on the martyrdom of St. Philip in the Acta Sanctorum. More recently, in 1915, Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri treated the account in an extensive article, and in 1953 his monumental study of the Passio Sancti
Philippi appeared in the Vatican's Studi e Testi series.

The account of St. Philip's martyrdom has not been translated into English. The purpose of this paper is to reconsider this account in its historical aspects and to give an English translation with notes which will clarify the text for the reader.

The Latin text for the Passio Sancti Philippi is that edited by Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri in Note agiografice, Fascicolo 90. References to other acta martyrum are taken from Knopf-Krüger, where possible; otherwise, from the Acta Sanctorum. The works of Père Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J., have been consulted on matters of hagiography.

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INTRODUCTION

The martyrdom of St. Philip of Heraclea and his two companions, Severus and Hermes, occurred in 303 A.D. at Adrianople in ancient Thrace. The tetrarchy with Diocletian at its head was at this time ruling the Roman empire. Edicts for the persecution of the Christians were coming from the imperial palace at Nicomedia, and it was as a result of these edicts that Philip, Severus, and Hermes were put to death.

Diocletian had become emperor in 285. Like so many of his predecessors, he was a Roman provincial of low birth who had risen through the military ranks and finally had achieved supreme command of the empire. He was a man of authority and cool determination, and he only made his decisions after mature reflection. His knowledge of men, understanding of the needs of state, and firm resolve to devote himself to the cares of government made him a leader. When he assumed control of the empire, he put aside the garb of the general and began to wear soft and costly robes, something no emperor had done for decades. He constructed
magnificent buildings and introduced into the court etiquette a lavish protocol. He made these changes, not because he was effeminate, but to enhance the imperial dignity and elevate the status of the emperor in the eyes of his subjects.

Diocletian's first concern upon receiving the *imperium* was to keep alive as emperor. So many of his predecessors had met violent deaths that it was quite possible that he would suffer the same fate. He realized that it was not too difficult for a general to be proclaimed emperor by his soldiers: they had simply to kill the emperor in power and install some general in his place. Diocletian, therefore, devised a plan to discourage this. He decided to appoint someone who would share his responsibilities and who would have his residence in the western part of the empire while he stayed at Nicomedia. This would deter others from seeking control since any usurper would have to dispatch two rulers in widely separated capitals instead of one. There were other practical considerations. With this arrangement Diocletian could give more attention to affairs of state, leaving to his appointee many of the problems connected with defense of the empire. Diocletian could thus retain
actual control of the empire.

His choice fell upon Maximian, an officer and friend, who was, like Diocletian, an Illyrian who had risen from the ranks. Maximian was a true product of his country: fierce, uncultured, and brutal, but still endowed with great strategical ability. The command of the frontiers, where expert leadership was necessary, could be safely entrusted to him. Meanwhile, the friendship of the two rulers and Maximian's respect for Diocletian's superior intellectual gifts would deter any thought he might have of usurpation.

In the summer of 285 Maximian was appointed Caesar while Diocletian retained the higher title of Augustus. In 286, however, with the crushing of the revolt in Gaul, Maximian was proclaimed Augustus by his soldiers; Diocletian recognized the title, no doubt reluctantly, but continued to retain effective control of legislation.

There were three perils which constantly threatened the empire: treason on the part of ambitious men, insurrections of the soldiers, and attacks from the outside. By the year 293 Diocletian realized that the two Augusti could not meet all the demands that were made on them without further
assistance. Accordingly, he decided to appoint two Caesars as assistants to the Augusti. In March, Galerius was created Caesar by Diocletian at Nicomedia; Constantius Chlorus was similarly elevated by Maximian at Milan. The empire was also divided among the rulers. Constantius Chlorus received Gaul and Britain; Maximian ruled over Italy and the northern frontier provinces together with Africa and Spain; Galerius was assigned the Balkans as far west as the Inn River; and Diocletian kept for himself the responsibility for the East including Egypt.

The tetrarchy was in effect a collegium, or board of rulers. When an Augustus abdicated, he chose a new Caesar, and the former Caesar became the Augustus. While the plan discouraged any attempts at seizing the power by any one man, it did not take into account the jealousies and personal ambitions of the men who formed the tetrarchy. As long as Diocletian was in command, affairs of state functioned smoothly, but with his abdication in 305, dissensions broke out among the rulers until Constantine finally took control of the empire in 313.

With the appointment of Constantius Chlorus qualities that had been unknown in more recent
emperors reappeared. He was a man of amiable character, elegant manners, cultivated intellect, and noble lineage.¹ Galerius, on the contrary, was much like Maximian: coarse and cruel by nature, but obedient and courageous. Diocletian's plan for governing the empire was now complete and he retained effective control until his serious illness in 304.

The Christians, who had not endured persecution for the twenty years prior to the accession of Diocletian, enjoyed peace for twenty more years. Many of the Christians attained high positions even in Diocletian's own court. The Christian community grew as the seed planted by the martyrs of the faith began to bear fruit. An attitude of complacency was beginning to envelop the Christians when a persecution was initiated against them in 303. It was to be the most thorough of the attacks against the early Church.

Persecution of the Christians had actually begun a few years before in the army when the soldiers were required to offer sacrifice to prove their allegiance. Galerius, who was an uncompromising

opponent of Christianity, had undoubtedly put pressure on Diocletian to rid the military of the Christians. Nevertheless, he realized that any action to be taken should be prudent and gradual since there had been no recent edicts against the Christians. Diocletian, on the other hand, desired peace within the empire and was reluctant to approve measures which would lead to bloodshed. Since normal military discipline revolved around pagan worship, pressure in the army would allow widespread but general action against the Christians.

In the winter of 302-303 Diocletian and Galerius were both in Nicomedia. Here, according to Lactantius, Galerius insisted upon the necessity of a rigorous persecution of the Christians. Audiences were cancelled as the two emperors discussed this problem. Finally, Diocletian agreed to present it to the oracle of Apollo at Miletus. He was a firm believer in the oracle and would abide by its answer. However, even after the reply came that the Christians were hostile to the gods, Diocletian persisted in his moderate policy. The Church was to be suppressed, but without bloodshed. Galerius, meanwhile, continued in his appeal that all Christians who did not sacrifice

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2Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 10ff.
should be burned.  

Historians have assigned various reasons for Diocletian's final approval of the persecution. Some contend that Galerius and the soothsayers, who were finding Christianity a real threat to their existence, put pressure on Diocletian. Other historians think that Diocletian's sincere belief in oracles and his realization that a polytheistic creed was suited to his dynastic scheme were the influential factors. Each Augustus and each Caesar at this time had his own protecting deity. Diocletian's selection of Jupiter as his patron emphasized his personal control of the tetrarchy. Christianity with its rigid monotheism and its refusal to conform to the demands of the imperial cult may have appeared to him as being in open opposition to the state. As we have seen, Diocletian did not at first trouble the Christians but he may have come to believe that he had underestimated their strength and thus began his persecution. Undoubtedly both subjective and objective factors influenced his decision.  

Lactantius, De mort. persec. 11.  

The first edict against the Christians was published on February 23, 303. It contained the following provisions: 1) Christian churches were to be destroyed, 2) all meetings of Christians for worship were forbidden, 3) the Scriptures, liturgical books, and artifacts of the churches were to be surrendered, and 4) Christians, including those of the higher classes, were deprived of their legal rights.\(^5\)

It was not long before a number of curious events took place. The imperial palace at Nicomedia was set afire. According to Lactanius, Galerius had ordered his men to do this with the intention of putting the blame on the Christians.\(^6\) Not long afterwards another fire occurred in the palace. Galerius, pretending to be afraid, departed from Nicomedia the same day. This had the desired effect on Diocletian. Left alone, he eyed everyone with suspicion. Finally, to allay his fears, he had recourse to torture and a large number of Christians were killed. Members of the imperial household were required to sacrifice or die. Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, was beheaded.\(^7\) Members

\(^5\)Eusebius, Historia ecclesiastica viii. 2.
\(^6\)Lactanius, De mort. persec. 14.
\(^7\)Eusebius, Hist. eccles. viii. 6.
of his flock soon followed. Diocletian then sent letters to the other emperors to act against the Christians. Maximian and Galerius were quick to comply since they were openly hostile towards them. Constantius Chlorus, however, simply destroyed a few churches in token compliance with Diocletian's request. The Christians in his territory hardly felt the persecution that raged in the rest of the empire.

The fires in the palace and the reports of unrest at Melitene and Syria encouraged the anti-Christian party at court, which was attributing these incidents to the Christians. Diocletian was soon convinced that the Christians were at fault. In March, 303, he issued a second edict ordering all the Christian clergy to be imprisoned. He hoped thereby to render the Church leaderless and hence less effective in retaining its members. But the immediate effect of the edict was an overflow of the prisons. To alleviate this situation he issued a third edict which

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8 Lactantius, De mort. persec. 15.
9 Lactantius, De mort. persec. 15.
10 Eusebius, Hist. eccles. viii. 6.
11 Baynes, XII, p. 667.
12 Eusebius, Hist. eccles. viii. 6.
required the clergy to sacrifice. If the clergy
complied, they were to be set free; if they refused,
they were to be tortured.\textsuperscript{13}

While the edicts did not decree the death
penalty for those who did not comply, it is not
surprising that a number of executions took place.
G. de Ste. Croix says in regard to the first edict:

It seems most likely that for such offenses [as
refusing to hand over the Scriptures or celebrating
religious rites] -- which the government might
reasonably have expected to be rare -- no specific
punishment was prescribed by the edict. The
public would naturally assume that the death
penalty was liable to be inflicted on any obstinate
recusant who openly defied the order of a governor
in such a matter.\textsuperscript{14}

There is no trace of lesser punishment for disobedi-
ence to the provisions of the edicts. This view is
further supported by reliable contemporary evidence of
executions of Christians who disobeyed the edicts.
The martyrdom of St. Philip and his companions must
have taken place in these circumstances.

In the final months of 303, Diocletian went to
Rome to celebrate his vicennalia, that is, his
twentieth year of rule. The long journey and the

\textsuperscript{13}Baynes, XII, p. 667.

\textsuperscript{14}G. de Ste. Croix, "Aspects of the Great
p. 78.
people's displeasure at the games, which lacked the sumptuousness they expected, angered the Augustus. In January, 304, he left for Ravenna. His health gradually declined and he contracted a serious disease. He finally arrived at Nicomedia at the end of the summer of 304.

While Diocletian was being delayed by illness on the journey to his capital, Galerius issued what came to be known as the fourth edict. It was patterned after the bloody decrees of Decius: all Christians were to sacrifice on penalty of death. Maximian concurred in the edict. The execution of its main provision began at once in all provinces except those ruled by Constantius Chlorus, who paid little heed to it. Galerius, because of his bold procedure, now became the most important ruler in the empire. Diocletian never regained his health. He abdicated in May, 305. Galerius then took control of the empire which proved to be the undoing of the tetrarchy.

The persecution which began in 303 soon struck the Christian community in Heraclea. This was a city located less than one hundred miles northwest of Nicomedia, Diocletian's capital. Bassus, the provincial

15Ibid., p. 77.
governor, was quick to put the first edict into effect. He had almost completed his term of office and did not wish his successor to report that he had not carried out the imperial edict. Accordingly, he ordered the local cathedral to be closed and Scriptures and sacred vessels confiscated. Philip, bishop of Heraclea, his priest Severus, and his deacon Hermes, were responsible for the care of these objects. Their actions at this time and their subsequent martyrdom are recorded in the Passio Sancti Philippi.

John Mabillon discovered the Passio after it had been lost for centuries. He held it to be authentic and edited it in the fourth volume of his Vetera Analecta published in 1675. Since that time other hagiographers including Tillemont, Ruinart, Benjamin Bossue, and Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri have included the Passio among the authentic acts of martyrdom. It appears on lists "qui paraissaient offrir les plus solides garanties d'authenticité."\(^{16}\)

The sincerity of the account, the internal evidence of the narrative which agrees with the history of this era, and the references to St. Philip in ancient

\(^{16}\) H. Leclercq, "Actes des martyrs," Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, I, Part I (1924), col. 408. The lists are those of
martyrologies prove its authenticity.

The Syriac Martyrology, the Martyrology of St. Jerome, and the Passio SS. Guriae et Samonae give a feast of St. Philip of Adrianople. This Philip should obviously be identified with Philip of Heraclea. The Roman Martyrology mentions that Philip suffered under Julian the Apostate. This error can be attributed to the edition of the Martyrology of Bede published in 1563. At this time there were no documents available giving the time of the martyrdom. In such cases the editors of this martyrology often assigned the martyrdom to the time of Julian. Apparently this is what happened here.

The Roman Martyrology which relied heavily on the 1563 edition of the Martyrology of Bede copied the error.

The historical value of the acta martyrum

E. Preuschen, G. Krüger, and J. Van den Gheyn.


varies considerably. Père Delehaye has divided them into six classes: 1) official written documents containing the interrogation of the martyrs,\textsuperscript{20} 2) accounts of reliable eyewitnesses or of well-informed contemporaries reporting the recollections of eyewitnesses, 3) acts of which the principal source is a document belonging to one of the first two classes, 4) historical romances based on a few real events and greatly elaborated by the author's imagination, 5) imaginative romances with no basis in fact, and 6) forgeries intended to deceive the reader.\textsuperscript{21} Delehaye placed the \textit{Passio Sancti Philippi} in the third class.\textsuperscript{22} Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri at the end of his lengthy research on the acts concluded that the \textit{Passio} is a historical narrative of the period of Diocletian substantially worthy of belief. He further maintains that the Latin text, based on a Greek original,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20}Early Christians were careful to keep these accounts as accurately as possible. They could consult the official court records as we see in Eusebius, \textit{Hist. eccles.} v. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{22}See F. Halkin's review of Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, \textit{Note agiografice, Fascicolo 99} ("Studi e Testi, No. 175") in \textit{Anal. Boll.}, LXXII (1954), p. 439.
\end{itemize}
is a rather free account which was written no later than the fifth or sixth century.  

An analysis of the text reveals some interesting facts and raises a number of problems, some of which are at present insoluble. The writer makes extensive use of poetic imagery. He refers to Philip as a helmsman, charioteer, and physician, all of which are appropriate to a bishop as the director of souls. When Philip leaves for Adrianople, the people are like babes taken from their milk. Severus left alone in prison is like a boat without a pilot or a sheep without a shepherd. Philip, Severus, and Hermes are compared to athletes in their martyrdom. The writer also borrows from Clement of Alexandria for appropriate imagery in one of Hermes' speeches.

Direct references to the Scriptures in the Passio do not always coincide with the Latin Vulgate. Four of the seven quotations differ from the Vulgate text. This would mean that the translator probably had at hand St. Jerome's version of the Bible and used


See Passio Sancti Philippi 11.
it in some instances but not in others.

There is also a tendency to parallel Philip's conduct with that of Christ. Like Christ, Philip's concern was with his disciples. When advised to flee, Philip refused and said that the will of heaven must be done. To Bassus' inquiry as to who was the head of the church at Heraclea, Philip replied: "I am the one whom you seek." When Hermes, like St. Peter, is impatient to act, Philip counsels submission to God's will. Philip endured the pains of martyrdom without complaint. The writer of the Passio does not, however, make a direct comparison between Philip and Christ.

The date of the martyrdom of SS. Philip, Severus, and Hermes presents a problem since there is no distinct reference to this in the Passio. From the

25See Passio 1.

26See Passio 2. The author of the Passio Sancti Polycarpi made a comparison between Christ and Polycarp in a similar situation: "For he [Polycarp] waited to be betrayed, as did also the Lord, that we also might be imitators of Him." Passio Sancti Polycarpi 1.


29See Passio 7.
time when Mabillon discovered a manuscript of the 
Passio until the late nineteenth century hagiographers 
disagreed as to whether the martyrdom occurred under 
Decius or Diocletian.30 At this time the appearance 
of several other codices and a greater knowledge of 
the persecutions made it possible to date the martyr­
dom in the persecution of Diocletian. Internal 
evidence in the Passio further dates it to late in 303 
or early in 304.

In the Passio, the governor Bassus orders the 
Christians to refrain from gathering and to hand over 
the sacred writings for public burning.31 Diocletian's 
first edict of February, 303 was the first one which 
required the burning of the Christians' writings.32 
Moreover, in the Passio we see that the clergy were the 
sole victims of the persecution. Other Christians 
administered to their needs in prison but were not 
themselves persecuted. The fourth edict of April, 
304, which required all Christians to sacrifice under

30See Benjamin Bossue, "De SS. Philippo, 
Episc. Heracleensi, Severo Presbytero, et Herme 
Diacono, MM.," Acta Sanctorum (Paris: Victor Palme, 
1869), LVII, pp. 541-43.

31See Passio 4.

32Eusebius, Hist. eccles. viii. 2.
pain of death, could not as yet have been in effect. The martyrdom of SS. Philip, Severus, and Hermes, therefore, must have occurred sometime between February 23, 303 and April, 304. The seven months spent in prison\textsuperscript{33} limits the earliest possible date of their martyrdom to September, 303. The Roman Martyrology gives as the day of their martyrdom October 22. Other martyrologies give October 22 as the date of the deaths of Philip and Hermes, and October 23 as that of Severus. Despite this discrepancy, October 22 or 23, 303, seems plausible since the martyrologies usually give the date of the dies natalis of the martyrs as observed by the Christians.

However, before the persecution begins, Philip mentions the approach of the dies epiphaniae.\textsuperscript{34} If these words are to be taken as referring to the feast of Epiphany, then they must refer to January 6, 304, which would be the first Epiphany after the publication of the first edict. If we add to this the seven months of imprisonment, the martyrdom would have taken place in late 304. But by then the fourth edict would have been in effect and the Christians would not have

\textsuperscript{33}See Passio 10.
\textsuperscript{34}See Passio 2.
been able to visit and take care of the martyrs.

As a solution to this difficulty, Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri suggests that dies epiphaniae was a synonym for parousia, or second coming of Christ. The translator, according to this theory, simply transliterated the Greek expression ἐπιφάνεια into Latin.35 The other references in Philip's speech to the final age of the world and the devil having power for a while support Franchi's conclusion. Since the early Christians were preoccupied with the return of the Saviour upon earth,36 Philip was simply alluding to this parousia in his speech.

The speeches in the Passio have been amplified to such an extent that G. de Ste. Croix does not use them as supporting evidence for the persecution of Diocletian.37 The rhetoric of several speeches seems to be studied and superfluous, quite different from the short and touching answers of the martyrs themselves. Later editors of the acta martyrum tended to

35See Franchi, pp. 56-57.


37De Ste. Croix, p. 81, n. 34.
elaborate the replies of the martyrs.38

Philip's speech to the people of Heraclea is an example of what happens to simple statements of the martyrs.39 Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri has studied this speech carefully40 and has reached the following conclusions: 1) the substance of Philip's speech can be reduced to a single paragraph, 2) the episode of the two virgins in Sicily is a gratuitous addition, 3) the principle source of the speech is Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus 4.53.2, and 4) that the writer made several errors in his description of the various fires given in the speech.

Hermes' speech to Justinus is another attempt at apologetics.41 Once again Clement of Alexandria provided a basis for part of the speech. This is in keeping with similar acts of the martyrs. H. Delehaye rightly notes that: "The hagiographer has not often gone to the trouble of composing the speech he puts into his hero's mouth; he finds it easier to copy

39See Passio 5.
41See Passio 11.
a few paragraphs or a chapter out of some suitable treatise."\(^{42}\)

Another problem presented by the *Passio Sancti Philippi* is the separation of Severus from Philip and Hermes. Severus is mentioned twice with the other two. He is described as one of Philip's disciples\(^{43}\) and he is present at the door of the church after the *stationarius* has sealed it.\(^{44}\) Later he is absent when the governor Bassus asks that he be presented.\(^{45}\) He reappears halfway through the narrative in a brief passage when he surrenders himself to those searching for him.\(^{46}\) Finally, left alone in prison he prays and is then conducted to his martyrdom.\(^{47}\) The story of Severus is thus separate from that of Philip and Hermes, who are always mentioned together. From this Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri concludes that one of two hypotheses must apply: either the story of Severus was inserted at a later date by the compiler of the

\(^{42}\) Delehaye, p. 70.

\(^{43}\) See *Passio* 1.

\(^{44}\) See *Passio* 3.

\(^{45}\) See *Passio* 4.

\(^{46}\) See *Passio* 9.

\(^{47}\) See *Passio* 12f.
tradition or the Latin translator, or the editor of the Passio, who lived some centuries after the events, wrote the history of Philip and Hermes from an excellent contemporary source, but the only knowledge which he had of Hermes was that his martyrdom occurred a day later. He thus had to use his imagination to fill out the story.\textsuperscript{48}

There is an insoluble difficulty regarding the time of Severus' death. At the end of chapter eleven of the Passio, Philip and Hermes go "rejoicing to the flames." Severus is then seen in prison, from whence he is taken to his martyrdom. In the same paragraph the author returns to the scene of Philip and Hermes on their way "to the flame." If the episode concerning Severus is taken out, the narrative proceeds logically. The martyrdom of Severus thus seems to be an insertion, but the place where it appears gives no clear indication as to when he was martyred. The introduction to this insertion would seem to indicate that he was martyred after Philip and Hermes. Later, however, it seems that he would have been put to death together with them. As we have already seen, the Roman Martyrology lists his feast on the same day as that of

\textsuperscript{48}Franchi, p. 109.
Philip and Hermes, but the ancient Syriac Martyrology and the Martyrology of St. Jerome celebrate his feast the day after Philip and Hermes' feast. These ancient references and the fact that a trial must be presupposed for Severus make the later date the more probable.

The treatment of traditores, those who handed over the Scriptures and sacred vessels, created a problem for the Church at this time. In Africa the official view was that traditio was an act of apostasy. At the Council of Arles in August, 314, traditio was treated as a religious crime and the clergy that had been delinquent in this regard were removed from office. In the eastern Church the matter does not seem to have been treated. It was not mentioned at the Council of Ancyra in the East. The action of Philip in allowing the sacred vessels to be seized and of Hermes in revealing the hiding place of the Scriptures was not subject to condemnation. The author of the Passio does not disapprove of their

49De Ste. Croix, p. 86.


51De Ste. Croix, p. 85.
actions but continues to treat them with respect and sympathy. Apparently in the eastern Church *tradicio* was to be avoided as far as possible, but the *traditor* was not subject to Church discipline if he could not reasonably avoid handing over the books or artifacts.

The account of the trial and death of these saints is written with great sincerity. While its style is simple, it is marred by awkward constructions and frequent Grecisms. This proves that the original text was written in Greek, and this would have been most probable since Greek was the language of the East when these martyrdoms occurred.52

Though the style of the *Passio* is uniform, it still produces many difficulties for the reader. As we have said, the author of the Latin text gives awkward renditions of the Greek. Exaggerations in the narrative parts and the extended speeches put into the mouths of the saints detract from the simplicity of the original statements. There is a considerable amount of redundancy, and the long sentences are heavy and often confused. Nevertheless, even though the style is far from perfect, the translator manages to

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52 For an analysis of the text showing proof of a Greek original see Franchi, pp. 55-65.
capture the reader's interest because of the incidents portrayed.
PASSIO S. PHILIPPI EPISCOPI ET MARTYRIS

I. Singulorum gesta sanctorum brevitate colligere diligentiae est et utilitatis insigne: dulcior enim labor est stricte omnia colligentis et minor legentis anxietas.⁵³

Beatus itaque Philippus diaconus primum, mox presbyter, aliquot laboribus probatus aeccliaeae et stipendiorum suorum devotione laudabilis, conscientiae bonis laetus et vitae honestate securus, consensu omnium tandem decus episcopale suscepit, nullo mirante, quod dignus, aliquantis stupentibus forte, quod serius. Statim apostoli Pauli praedicationis ornavit eloquium in epistula quae ad Timotheum scripta est, in qua inter

⁵³This first paragraph is lacking in many manuscripts and is not included in the Passio Sancti Philippi as it appears in the Acta Sanctorum, LVII, pp. 545-552. Pio Franchi de' Cavalleri notes that the style is similar to that of the rest of the work and thinks it may be the work of the compiler of the Latin version (see Franchi, p. 65). Perhaps the compiler thought it appropriate to borrow from II Machabees 2:26-28, 31: "We have taken care for those indeed that are willing to read, that it might be a pleasure of the mind . . . . "And as to ourselves indeed, in undertaking this work . . . . , we have taken in hand no easy task, yea rather a business full of watching and sweat. "But as they that prepare a feast, and seek to satisfy the will of others; for the sake of many we willingly undergo the labor."
THE PASSION OF SAINT PHILIP, BISHOP AND MARTYR

I. Collecting and editing the acts of each of the martyrs requires perseverance but it is well worth the effort, for the editor, who compiles the facts in one volume, enjoys his work and the reader does not have to trouble himself in searching for the information.53

Among the martyrs was the blessed Philip. After being a deacon for a short time, he was ordained a priest. After he had been proved in different labors for the Church and had won praise for the zeal he had shown in the performance of his duties, being found happy in the testimony of a good conscience and safe through the integrity of his life, he finally received the honor of the episcopacy with the approval of all. No one questioned his worthiness for the office, though some may have wondered why it had come so late. He immediately bore witness to the preaching of the apostle Paul in his letter to Timothy in which

"For to collect all that is to be known, to put the discourse in order, and curiously to discuss every particular point is the duty of the author of a history" (Douay version).

The English translation of the Passio in this and the following paragraph is largely a paraphrase of the Latin.
cetera illud adjectum est: "si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat." 54

Tunc discípulos suos Severum presbyterum et Hermen diaconum frequenti ad doctrinam disputationale confirmans, similes non solum animo, sed etiam passione sibi fecit, ut quos habuerat in gloriosi illius mysterii 55 traditione consortes, haberet etiam in confessione collegas.

Diligens itaque divina praecpta, talem gloriosissimus senex agebat aetatem, victimam se offerens Deo, in Adrianopolitana 56 civitate passurus. Qui, ut peritus et optimus gubernator fluctibus navem frequenter opponens, resistenti aliquotiens, aliquotiens et cedendo, omnem procellam moderatus magister excludit, aut quasi peritus auriga, nunc relaxando habenas, nunc retinaculva stricta cohibendo, nec plus iusto vagari equos patitur, nec segnes nimio

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55 Mysterium, in New Testament usage, signifies revelation embodied in Christ and His redemption which the Apostles were commissioned to impart. It is a free gift of God because humanity has need of it, and it requires a particular preparation on the part of those who receive it. See K. Prümm, "Mystères," Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, and Henri Cazelles (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1957), VI, cols. 184-225.
he states: "If anyone desires the episcopacy, he desires a good work."54

Philip strengthened his disciples, Severus a priest and Hermes a deacon, by frequent discussion on matters of faith. He made them like himself not only in mind but also in suffering, so that those whom he had had as his companions in the handing down of that glorious mystery,55 he should also have as companions in his martyrdom.

In loving the divine precepts, this glorious old man led an exemplary life, destined to suffer as a victim for God in the city of Adrianople.56 He, as a moderate teacher, overcame every storm like an experienced and proven helmsman who often sets his ship against the waves, sometimes by heading into them, sometimes by yielding to them. Just as the skillful charioteer, now by loosening the reins, now by pulling hard on the bits, neither allows the horses to stray more than they should nor permits those that are sluggish to hold back because of their excessive

56Adrianople, now called Edirne, is located in modern Turkey at the junction of the Maritsa and Tundzha rivers, four miles from the Greek border and one hundred thirty miles west-north-west of Istanbul. The city was named after Hadrian, who founded it about 125 A.D. See Leon E. Seltzer (ed.), The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World (Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 14.
torpore retineri, ad huius similitudinis modum beatus
Philippus populum cælesti gubernabat imperio et
eпископали amore servabat.

II. Sed cum durae persecutionis inmineret excidium,
non est mente turbatus, ac suadentibus multis ut a
civitate proficiscens poenam tantae crudelitatis
effugeret, exire detrectans, docuit haec expetenda esse
potius quam cavenda, dicens: "Compleatur cæleste
mandatum." Itaque de ecclesia non recedens et ad
tolerandi patientiam singulos fratres docta oratione
confirmans, huiuscemodi verba profudit: "Praedictum
iam, si creditis, fratres, tempus advenit: nutantis
saeculi extrema volvuntur: inminet pertinax diabolus
et, potestate paulisper accepta, servos Christi non
venit perdere, sed probare: epiphaniae dies sanctus
incumbit; quae res admonitionem nobis praestat ad
gloriam. Nullae ergo impiorum minae, nulla tormenta
vos terreant: nam et patientiae perferendi et mercedem
tolerandi doloris militibus suis Christus indulget;

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57 The city here referred to is Heraclea, now
called Marmara Eregli. It is a port on the Sea of
Marmara in European Turkey (ancient Thrace), located
approximately one hundred miles southeast of

58 With the approach of the persecution, Philip
strives to sustain the courage of the faithful through
sloth, so blessed Philip ruled his people justly and protected them with a bishop's love.

II. When the great destruction of a harsh persecution was near, Philip remained undisturbed. Though many advised him to depart from the extremely cruel penalties, he refused and taught that these things must be sought rather than avoided, saying: "Let heaven's bidding be done." And so he stayed at the church and strengthened all of the brethren to bear up patiently. In a learned discourse he spoke to them in the following fashion: "Brethren, if you have faith, the prophesied time is now at hand; the final moments of a declining age are now passing; the stubborn devil threatens and, with power received for a little while, he comes not to destroy the servants of Christ, but to test them; the holy day of revelation lies near; and this reminds us of our future glory. Therefore, let no threats or torments of ungodly men frighten you, for Christ grants to His soldiers the reward of patiently enduring and

his preaching. St. Cyprian of Carthage and St. Apollinaris of Egypt also did this. See H. Leclercq, "Actes des martyrs," col. 413.

59The problem of epiphaniae dies is discussed above on pages 18-19.
credo enim quod in cassum omnis illorum procedit intentio."

III. Haec adhuc beato Philippo disserente, Aristomachus stationarius civitatis advenit, ut praesidis iussu impressis cera signis aecclesiam clauderet Christianis: homo stultae persuasionis et frigidae, qui habitare omnipotentem Deum in parietibus magis quam in hominum corda credebat, Esaiae sancti dicta non retinens, qui dixit: "caelum mihi sedes est, terra vero scabellum pedum meorum. Quam domum mihi aedificabis?" Postera die stationarius ministeriis omnibus aecclesiae inventis atque signatis egrediebatur. Maerore tune omnes fratres instantem luctum atque angustias civitatis agnovimus. Beatus Philippus cum Severo et Herme et ceteris cogitabat intentius quid

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60 The stationarius was the military police officer in charge of a local post maintained for public security. See Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1953), p. 714. See also Franchi, p. 67.


62 Wax impressed with seals was normally used as a mark of authenticity for documents or to ensure their secrecy until opened by the proper person. Such wax seals could also be used for shutting
suffering pain. Indeed, I believe that what these
men intend will come to nought."

III. While blessed Philip was still preaching,
Aristomachus, the stationarius of the city, came up
to close the church to the Christians with wax and
seals as the governor had commanded. Aristomachus
was a man of blind and cold conviction who believed
that almighty God dwells within the walls of a temple
rather than in the hearts of men. He did not believe
the words of Isaias, who wrote: "The heaven is my
throne, the earth my footstool. What house will you
build for me?" The next day the stationarius
departed after all the furnishings of the church had
been found and sealed. Then all of us brethren recog­
nized with sorrow the imminent grief and distress of
the city. Blessed Philip together with Severus and

places against entrance until an authorised person
removed the seal. See Victor Chapot, "Signum,"
Dict. des antiq. grec. et rom., IV, Part II, p. 1330.

63 Isa. 66:1.

64 The appearance of the first person plural
might indicate that the original writer was an eye-
witness. Franchi cites an example from the Passio
Sancti Pionii in which the translator from Greek to
Latin suppressed the use of the first person in favor
of the third. Perhaps the original Greek writer of
the Passio Sancti Philippi also used the first person.
See Franchi, p. 68.
fieri necessitas ista mandaret, et dominici foribus innixus, a sede sibi credita non patiebatur abscedere. Futura tractabat ac meditabatur singulos in dolore, ut medici doctiores, inutile in aegris quodcumque resecando, auferunt putria, et quae adhuc aliquid prosperitatis habent medicamine malunt curare quam ferro, alia vero resecant dissoluta, ne ad tactum inutilis carnis ac rancidae vicina etiam, quae sanitate non indigent, corporis membra solvantur: itaque, ne vitientur incolumia, inciduntur infirma. Sic eo tempore beatus Philippus secernens ab optimis malos, hos ut meliores fieren cogebat imperio, illos ne mutarentur dulci hortabatur eloquio, medicinam aegris, incolumibus praebendo consilium.

IV. Postea, cum fratres in Heraclea ad dominicum convenissent, Philippum cum ceteris aecclesiae foribus adstantem praeses Bassus invenit. Qui cum iudicaturus

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65 This is the first time the city of Heraclea is designated by name. Had the compiler been writing for a larger audience, he would have included this significant detail earlier. That he did not shows that he wrote the account for the people of the area who would have known the fact in the first place. Such details in the narrative argue strongly for its authenticity.

66 The gathering of Christians was proscribed by the first edict of persecution. See Eusebius, Hist. eccles. viii. 2. See also Baynes, XII, p. 665.
Hermes and the rest thought more intently about what should be done in the present situation and, leaning upon the doors of the Lord's house, did not allow himself to depart from the see entrusted to him. He considered the things to come and took to heart the sorrows of each of the brethren, just as learned physicians take away what is corrupt by cutting off all that is superfluous from those who are sick and prefer to heal those parts which still have some soundness with medication rather than with the iron. Other weakened flesh they cut back, lest even being close to the touch of useless and rancid flesh, the sound members of the body should be infected. Therefore, the sick members of the body are cut out so that the healthy parts remain sound. Thus at that time blessed Philip separated the bad from the good. He compelled the former with the command to become better. The latter he exhorted in kind words to remain constant. In this way he gave medicine to the sick and provided advice for the healthy.

IV. Afterwards, when the brethren in Heraclea had gathered together at the Lord's house, the governor Bassus found Philip standing with the others at the doors of the church. When Bassus, who was to
solito more resedisset, inductis ad se omnibus, ait
Philippo et ceteris: "Quis ex vobis est Christianorum
magister aut doctor ecclesiae?"

Respondit Philippus: "Ego sum ille quem
quaeris."67

Ait Bassus: "Legem imperatorum68 audistis
iubentium nusquam colligere Christianos, prorsus ut in
toto orbe terrarum huius sectae homines aut ad
sacrificia convertantur aut pereant.69 Vasa ergo
quaecumque vobiscum sunt, aurea vel argentea vel
cuiuscumque metalli aut artis insignis, scripturas
etiam, per quae vel legitis vel docetis, obtutibus
nostrae potestatis ingerite,70 ne haec eadem, si
dubitandum putaveritis, post tormenta faciatis."71

Ad haec Philippus sanctus eloquitur: "Si te


68Reference is here made to the first edict. Under the Empire an edict had the force of law and was often designated by the name of its author. Since the edict of persecution came from the emperors, the governor naturally refers to it as legem imperatorum. See Édouard Cuq, "Lex," Dict. des antiq. grec. et rom., III, Part II, p. 1124.

69The first edict did not inflict the death penalty. Hence, pereant does not mean "to die" but simply means, in reference to the edict, that the Christians would no longer be allowed to practice their religion and would thus perish. The edict allowed two alternatives: the Christians could sacrifice to the pagan gods, or they could refuse to sacrifice but
pass judgment, had sat down in the accustomed manner and all had been led before him, he said to Philip and the rest: "Which one of you is the teacher of the Christians or the instructor of the church?"

Philip replied: "I am the one whom you seek."  

Bassus said: "You have heard the law of the emperors forbidding the Christians ever to assemble, so that the members of this sect throughout the whole world may either be converted to offering pagan sacrifices or die out. Therefore, whatever vessels you have here, whether of gold, of silver, or any metal whatever, or vessels of outstanding artistic value, writings also, which you use in reading or teaching, submit them all to the custody of our power, so that you will not do these same things after the tortures, if you think you should now hesitate."

To these words the saintly Philip said: "If, could not meet for worship. In either case, if the first edict would have been carried out, it would have meant the end of Christianity. See Franchi, p. 70.

The handing over of the Scriptures was decreed in the first edict. See Eusebius, Hist. eccles. viii. 2.

Torture was commonly used in Roman courts. Only citizens of the higher classes were exempt. But the first edict denied this immunity to all Christians. See Baynes, XII, p. 665.
nostra, ut dicis, tormenta delectant, paratus est animus
ad ferendum. Corpus ergo istud infirmum, cuius
potestatem habes, qua volueris crudelitate dilacera:
tantum ne quid tibi in anima mea potestatis adscribas.\textsuperscript{72}
Vasa vero ea quae postulas, quaecumque apud nos sunt,
mox accipe; facile enim nos, quia a vobis compellimus,
ista contemnimus; non enim pretioso metallo Deum
colimus, sed timore, nec ornatus aecclesiae Christo
plus potest placere quam cordis. Scripturas vero nec
accipere tibi nec dare mihi convenit."

Ad haec sancti martyris verba carnifices mox
praeses iussit adduci. Tunc ipsius naturae expers
atque humanitatis ignarus Mucapor ingreditur. Mox
Severum presbyterum intromitti praeses iussit. Qui cum
investigari facile non posset,\textsuperscript{73} Philippum adfligi
praecipit iniuriis. Sed cum diutino poenae adficeretur

\textsuperscript{72}The idea of the persecutors having power
over the body but not over the soul appears often in
the\textit{acta}. The martyr Asterius said: \textit{Age, quae potes.
Meum corpus in potestate habes, animam non habes.}
\textit{See Acta SS. Claudii, Asterii, et Sociorum 2.} The
Christians were undoubtedly aware of the words of
Scripture concerning those who could kill the body

\textsuperscript{73}This segment regarding Severus may be an
interpolation. The executioner had already been
brought in to torture Philip. Why should Severus
suddenly be summoned? The only possibility is that
the governor, at the sight of the executioner Mucapor,
had pity on Philip and asked that Severus be brought
as you say, our torments delight you, I am prepared in mind to endure them. Therefore, this weak body, over which you have power, tear to pieces by whatever cruelty you wish; only do not ascribe to yourself any power over my soul. Those vessels, indeed, which you demand, whatever are in our possession, now receive; for we despise such things easily because we are compelled by you. We do not worship God in precious metal, but in fear, and the splendor of the church cannot be more pleasing to Christ than that of the heart. As for the writings, it is not right for you to take, nor for me to surrender them to you."

At these words of the holy martyr, the governor at once commanded the executioners to appear. Mucapor then entered, a man devoid of nature itself and ignorant of human feeling. The governor at once commanded that the priest Severus be brought in. When Severus could not easily be found, he ordered Philip to be put to torture. But when the bishop had been cruelly treated for a long time, the saintly Hermes,

in as a last resort to avoid carrying out the torture. Since Severus could not be found, the governor had no choice but to torture Philip. Hermes, of course, was at hand but he had been tortured earlier (see below, p. 40) and had refused to reveal the place where the Scriptures were kept. However, on seeing his bishop beaten, he decided to show the hiding place.
incommodo, propter adsistens Hermes sanctus edixit: "Etsi omnes scripturas nostras, dure inquisitor, acceperis, ut nulla prorsus in orbe terrarum vestigia verae huius traditionis appareant, posteri tamen nostri, et paternae memoriae et suae animae consulentes, maiora voluminum scripta conficient et vehementius timorem qui inpendendus Christo sit edocebunt."

His dictis, diu antea verberatus, ingressus est ubi vasa omnia et scripturae latebant. Secutus est eum Publius adsessor^75 praesidis, homo furandi avidus et rapiendi ardore devinctus. Itaque cum vasa aliqua ab inventorium numero callidus occultator auferret, poenae inscius imminenti, contradicentem sibi, ne id auderet, Hermen fracta facie, effuso etiam aliquanto cruore, foedavit. Quibus cognitis Bassus et vultu eius aspecto, iratus est Publio et curari praecipit Hermen.76

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74 The problem regarding the handing over of the Scriptures has been discussed above on pages 23-24.

75 The adsessor was a legal adviser who assisted magistrates and judges in their judicial functions. Under the Late Empire each official had at least one adsessor who was appointed by the government. The adsessor through his counsel was influential in matters of law but he could not act as judge. The judge did not have to follow the advice of the adsessor, but the adsessor was responsible for the advice given. See G. Humbert, "Assessor," Dict. des antiqu. grec. et rom., I, pp. 474-75. See also Berger, p. 351.
who was standing nearby, spoke out: "Although you have taken all our writings, cruel investigator, for the sole purpose that no vestige of this true tradition may appear in the world, our children, considering the memory of their fathers and taking thought of their own souls, will write even more volumes and they will teach more zealously the fear which must be shown to Christ."

When he had said these words, Hermes, who had been flogged for a long time, entered the room where all the vessels and writings were hidden. Publius, the governor's assessor, followed. He was a man intent on theft and was enslaved with the desire of plunder. When the crafty concealer took a number of the vessels that had been found, unaware of the impending penalty he disfigured Hermes, beating him upon the face and even causing some blood to flow when Hermes reproached his audacity. When Bassus learned this and saw Hermes' face, he became angry with Publius and gave orders that Hermes should be treated for his wounds. He ordered the vessels

76Bassus has a basic sense of justice. He does not exceed his powers as a judge and does not permit others to mistreat the Christians. His wife was a Christian (see below, p. 64), which most probably had some bearing on his conduct.
Inventa vero vasa et scripturas omnes tradi iussit officio;\textsuperscript{77} Philippum et ceteros vallatos hinc inde custodibus ad forum praecepit adduci, ut et populum iuvaret expectaculum et videntes ceteros qui negassent terreret exemplo.

V. His itaque ad forum euntibus, praeses scripturas omnes militibus inposuit. Tunc ad palatium magna festinatione tendebat, cupiens nudare ecclesias omnibus qui essent ubique cultoribus; ipsud etiam dominici tectum devoluto omni tegularum fraudabatur ornatu.\textsuperscript{78}

Hi ipsi quoque, qui haec agebant, ne ad diruendum segniros essent cogebantur verbere. Bellum itaque domesticum et seditio subita fuit ac privata confusio\textsuperscript{79} . . . igne subposito, adstantibus etiam civibus peregrinisque collectis, scripturas omnes divinas in medium misit incendium. Tanta subito ad caelum flamma praecessit, ut stantes singulos formido

\textsuperscript{77}The word \textit{officium} refers to the authority of the governor and at the same time to his subordinates who carry out his orders. See H. Leclercq, "Officium," Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit., XII, Part II (1936), cols. 2018-22.

\textsuperscript{78}The Christians in Thrace must not have been persecuted for some time since they had built their churches in the open. Even at Nicomedia, the capital, "the Christian cathedral faced the imperial palace." Baynes, XII, p. 668.

\textsuperscript{79}The fifth chapter is confused and somewhat
and all the writings that had been found be handed over to his custody. He ordered Philip and the others, protected on both sides by guards, to be conducted to the forum, so that the display might please the people and frighten the rest looking on so that they might deny their faith.

While they were going to the forum, the governor placed all the writings in the hands of the soldiers. Then he proceeded in great haste to the palace, anxious to strip the churches of all worshippers, wherever they might be; even the roof of the Lord's house was removed, all the tiles being thrown down.

Those who were engaged in this task were urged on with a whip so that they would not delay in their work of destruction. Civil war, therefore, and sedition were unexpected and private disorder a fire having been placed underneath, while the citizens stood around and strangers gathered together, he cast all the divine writings into the midst of the fire. Suddenly so great a flame shot to the sky that all remained standing at a distance frightened at the unrelated up to this point. It is difficult to explain the inconsistencies, especially the incomplete sentence which seems to be out of place.
ab expectaculo tanti ignis arceret. Quidam vero circa beatum Philippum in foro sedebant, ubi venale quodcumque proponitur. Ad quos cum pervenisset hic nuntius, praesentibus exponebat dicens: "Viri qui Heracleam incolitis, Iudaei, pagani vel cuiusque religionis aut sectae, iam nunc extremiti temporis futura cognoscite, Paulo apostolo commonente, qui dixit: 'revelatur enim ira Dei de caelo super omnem impietatem et iniustitiam hominum.'80 Et in Sodomis ideo venit ira iusta propter iniustitias eorum, ut si Sodomorum timeant iudicium et iniustitiam fugiant et quaerentes qui sit qui hoc fecit iudicium, ad eum convertantur ex vanis lapidibus et sint salvi.

"Quare his, quibus per Orientem in Sodomis ignis apparuit, signum iudicii et indicium fuit irae caelestis. Ac ne in solo Oriente pius se ignis ostenderet, in Sicilia quoque atque in Italia visa est res digna miraculo. Ex Sodomis enim per angelos cum filiabus suis Loth sanctus expulsus est, quia immunis videbatur a crimine et longe a civitatis eius vitis abhorrebat. In Sicilia quoque aquarum copia divini

80 Rom. 1:18.
sight of so great a fire. Some, indeed, were sitting
around blessed Philip in the forum where all kinds of
things are offered for sale. When this news reached
them, Philip spoke to those present saying: "Men of
Heraclea, Jews, pagans, or of whatever religion or
sect, even now know what is to come in this last age,
which Paul the Apostle reminded us strongly of when
he said: 'For the anger of God is revealed from
heaven upon all the impiety and injustice of men.' 80
Just anger, therefore, fell upon the citizens of Sodom
because of their wickedness, so that if men come to
fear the punishment of the people of Sodom and flee
from sin and seek out who it is who passed this
judgment, they may be converted from the worship of
foolish stones to him and be saved.

"Accordingly the fire at Sodom which appeared
in the East was a sign of judgment and a proof of
heavenly wrath. And lest that holy fire show itself
in the East alone, a marvelous occurrence was seen
also in Sicily and in Italy. For saintly Lot with
his daughters was driven out of Sodom by angels,
because he was seen to be free from crime and because
he violently abhorred the vices of his city. Also in
Sicily the abundance of water contained in the
crateris alveo clausa dissiluit, et statim peccatorum ultrix e caelo flamma descendit. Ubi crematis omnibus duae tantum virgines poenae effugere discrimen, habentes in ipsa etiam trepidatione consilium. Patrem namque senectute et debilitate confectum piis manibus abstulerunt; quem dum eripere conarentur incendio, dulci onere tardatae, crepitantis flammæ corona circumdatae, necessitatem subito desperatae salutis habuerunt. Sed omnipotens Deus affectum tantae clementiae perire non passus est: filiabus patrem, patri et filias praesenti maiestatis suae favore concessit, ut possit intellegi illis omnibus, quos flamma consumpsit, non Deum defuisse, sed meritum.

"Statim itaque inmunis a poena via est facta virginibus et quo ire cupiebant sectus agger apparuit. Colludium quoddam ipsius videres incendii, sic se omnis ardoris anhelitus contrahebat, sic venientibus locum blandiens flamma faciebat, ut earum crederetur arbitrio cuncta vegetari. Tantum itaque sanctarum virginum meritum fuit, virtus tanta pietatis, ut ignem non sibi tantum, sed ipsi etiam loco, per quem evaserant,
hollow of the divine crater burst out, and immediately
a flame descended from the heavens to take vengeance
on sinners. When everything else burned, only two
virgins escaped the peril of punishment, having a plan
even in their very fear. In their arms they devotedly
carried their father weighed down with weakness and
old age. While they were trying to save him from the
flames, being slowed up by their sweet burden and
being surrounded by the flare of the roaring fire,
they were suddenly in desperate need of help. But
almighty God did not allow such a show of affection
to be in vain. Through the kindness of his majesty
he granted the father and the daughters to each other,
so that it might be known that not God, but merit, was
lacking to all those who perished in the flames.

"Immediately the perilous way was made safe
for the virgins and a separate ramp appeared where
they desired to go. One could see the fire playing in
such a way that the blasts of heat were lessening
and the flame was kindly giving way to the girls as
they walked along. Thus one might have believed that
everything was subject to their will. So great were
the merits of the saintly virgins, so great was their
piety, that not only they, but even the very place
merentur innoxium. Qui locus nullo tunc vastatus
ardore vocabulum sumpsit ex merito, Piorum enim adhuc
hodie nuncupatur, ut haec posteris probet non solum
lectione, sed nomine. Hic est ignis ille divinus,
iustus factorum omnium et optimus iudex, qui ad terram
defluens quodcumque inutile invenitur exurit. Hic
Herculem, dum incensos fieri deos putat, in amorem
expetendae mortis inpegit, qui infelix in Ygiae monte
combustus est; hic Aesculapium medicum in monte
Cynosuridos fulminatum consecrationem mereri a gentibus
fecit non aliqua potestate, sed poena proprio infelix
commendatur exitio. Minus, credo, putaretur valere si
viveret. Hic exussit eum quem Ephesini deum habere se
credunt: hic Romanae urbis et Capitolium incendit et
templum: hic Eliogabalum pari cremavit incendio, nec
in Alexandria Serapis pepercit hospitio, arsit namque
cum templo. Quis, rogo, ab his speret auxilium, qui se
through which they had escaped, deserved to be untouched by the fire. This place, which was not at that time destroyed by the fires, justly earned its name for still today it is called the "Place of the Pious." Thus it has preserved these events for posterity not only in written records but in its very name. This is that divine fire, the best and just judge of every deed, which flows down to earth and burns whatever is useless. It inspired Hercules, who thought that those who were burned alive became gods, with a longing for voluntary death. And he wretchedly perished in a fire on Mount Ygia. This fire brought it about that the physician Aesculapius being struck by lightning on Mount Cynosuridos deserved to be consecrated by the pagans, not because of any power which he possessed but because of his unfortunate death which has made him renowned. If he were alive, I think that he would be esteemed less highly. This fire consumed him whom the Ephesians believed to be their god; this fire burned both the Capitolium and the temple in the city of Rome; this fire burned with like flame Eliogabalus, nor at Alexandria did it spare the precinct of Serapis for it burned with the temple. Who, I ask, may hope for help from these who can

"Similiter Delficum Apollinis templum primum adfecit turbo nescio quis, post ignis incendit. Nulli hic ignis gratia intercedente colludit, sic probator iusti, ut est punitor iniusti. Itaque bonis non flamma, sed lux est."

VI. Dum haec longo sermone meditantur, viso Catafronio sacerdote et ministris ceteris infelices epulas et profana sacra portantibus, sic ad circumstantes se Hermes edixit: "Cenam istam, quam

81 The use of hypallage, the interchange in syntactic relationship between two terms, indicates that the writer is familiar with some elements of Latin style. On the other hand, the use of the infinitive to express purpose and similar corruptions show that he is far from the classical tradition.
neither make nor save themselves? The god is made by
his worshiper, and if it would suddenly catch fire in
the morning, it would be repaired at night by the
diligent care of a craftsman. Never will these gods
lack a name if either wood or stone is supplied for
those who make them. The temple of father Liber
burned freely at Athens since it was known that its
god had been consecrated by a stroke of lightning.
Minerva, although she was clad in armor, also burned;
for neither the Gorgon on her breast nor the splendor
of her well-wrought arms defended her; it would
have been better if this unfortunate deity attended
to her tasks.

"Likewise a whirlwind laid hold of the first
temple of Apollo at Delphi; afterwards it was
consumed by fire. This fire hurts no one if grace
intervenes; thus it is the discerner of the good
just as it is the avenger of the wicked. Hence, it is
not a flame but a light to the good."

VI. While they were reflecting upon the long
discourse, they caught sight of Catafronius the priest
and the rest of the ministers carrying the accursed
food and the pagan instruments. Hermes addressed
himself to those who were standing there: "It is
cernitis, diabolica invocatione pollutam nobis constat allatam." Cui Philippus ait: "Fiat illud quod Domino placet." His dictis forum praeses Bassus ingressus est cum multitutine diversi sexus et aetatis.

Tunc, ut se semper vulgus ostendit, alios tristes sanctorum poena faciebat, alios maior accendebat insania, ut dicerent servos Dei omnes ad sacrificium debere compelli; specialiter tamen Iudaeos iuxta scripturarum ordinem; dicit enim Spiritus Sanctus per prophetam: "sacrificaverunt daemoniis et non Deo." Tandem Philippum sic praeses interrogat dicens: "Immola victimas numini."

Respondit Philippus: "Quomodo possum lapides colere Christianus?"

Ait Bassus: "Dominis nostris sacrificia rite solvenda sunt."

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82 The general persecution contained in the fourth edict of April, 304 was not yet in effect. Hence, the demand of the crowd was ignored, and only the clergy were required to sacrifice.

obvious that that meal, which you see, contaminated by diabolical invocation is brought to us." To this Philip replied: "Let that be done which is pleasing to the Lord." When he had said this, Bassus the governor entered the forum with a crowd of young and old of both sexes.

Then, as always happens in a mob, some became sad at the sight of the saints' punishment; but others became aroused with a greater madness and said that all the servants of God should be forced to sacrifice.\(^3\) Foremost among these were the Jews\(^3\) according to the account of the Scriptures, for the Holy Spirit says through the prophet: "They sacrificed to the demons and not to God."\(^4\) Finally the governor questioned Philip saying: "Offer sacrifice to the deity."

Philip replied: "How can I a Christian worship stones?"

Bassus said: "The sacrifices to our lords must be duly carried out."

think the Jews have rejected Christ. In the speech of Severus (see below, pp. 86-90), Judaism is seen as the basis of Christianity since Christ was to come from the Jews.

\(^3\)Deut. 32:17.
Respondit Philippus: "Docti sumus parere maioribus et obsequium imperatoribus exhibere, non cultum."

Ait Bassus: "Civitatis saltim sacrificia Fortunae. Aspice quam pulchra, quam laeta est, quam ad obsequium suum omnem plebem libenter admittit."

Respondit Philippus: "Vobis debet placere, qui colitis; me vero non poterit ars hominis a caelesti honore subtrahere."

Ait Bassus: "Moveat te vel praesentis Herculis tam pulchrum ac tam inmane simulacrum."

Respondit Philippus: "Heu miseris et deflendis, qui Divinitatis sacrosanctum nomen ignorant! heu infelices vos, qui caelestia ad terrena transfertis et, veritatis ignari, inventis et facitis quos colatis! Quid aurum argentum aes ferrum vel plumbum? nonne ex terra et nutriuntur et constant? Ignoratis Christi nomen, quod nec comprehendere aestimatio nec quantum sit potest humana mens capere, et habere aliquid illa asseritis potestatis, quae faber oscitans aut violentus effecit. Si diligentius subito expressit effigiem, continuo simulacro illi et potestas adscribitur et nomen aptatur. Domuum vestrarum sive villarum
Philip replied: "We have been taught to obey our elders and to respect but not to worship the emperors."

Bassus said: "At least sacrifice to the Fortune of the city. See how fair and how happy she is, how she willingly admits all the people to her homage."

Philip replied: "She should please you who worship her; the handiwork of man, however, will not be able to draw me away from the honor due heaven."

Bassus said: "At least let this large and beautiful statue of Hercules here move you."

Philip replied: "O wretched and pitiable men, who do not know the most holy name of the Divinity. O you poor wretches, who bring heavenly things down to earth and, ignorant of the truth, worship what you have yourselves conceived and fashioned! What is gold, silver, bronze, iron, or lead? Are they not nourished and solidified in the earth? You do not know the name of Christ, incomprehensible and unfathomable to the human mind, but you claim that those things have some power which the yawning or drunken craftsman makes. If he diligently makes a more perfect statue, power is immediately ascribed, and a name is given to

VII. His cognitis Bassus, Philippi constantiam vehementer admirans, victus a primo ad Hermen se convertit iratus, dicens: "Vel tu sacrificium solve numinibus."

85 Many martyrs made replies similar to Philip's regarding gods made by hand. St. Domnina said: Nam dei vestri lapidei sunt et lignei facti hominum manibus (Acta SS. Claudii, Asterii, et Sociorum 4). St. Irenaeus said: Deos vero manu factos adorare non possum (Acta S. Irenaei 4). In the acts of St. Crispina, St. Montanus, St. Pollio,
it. All the structures of your homes or villas are gods. Everyday you make new objects of worship, and everyday you commit new sins, for when any wood is burned for domestic purposes, the body of your god is burned. What excuse can you plead in defense of this crime? You say: 'That wood was not god.' I will reply: 'But it could have been if it had pleased a sculptor.' Nor do you yet realize what darkness surrounds you. Parian marble is good: If it is carved, can it then be good Neptune? Ivory is good: Does Jupiter carved in it make that ivory more beautiful? Greedy artists invented these forms so that a countenance fit for any metal might bring a greater price, not because of any power but because of a greater value. All things, therefore, are from the earth, which we should trample upon, not adore. God made it for us to possess; it has begotten gods for you, as I see."85

VII. When he had heard this, Bassus marveled greatly at Philip's constancy. In defeat he turned from him to Hermes and said angrily: "At least you offer sacrifice to the divine spirits."

and St. Carpus the same type of reply is given in their interrogations.
Respondit Hermes: "Non sacrifico, Christianus sum."

Ait Bassus: "Cuius sis conditionis expone."

Respondit Hermes: "Decurio\textsuperscript{86} sum, et doctori meo in omnibus obsecundo."

Ait Bassus: "Si Philippus ad sacrificium fuerit adductus, sequeris auctorum?"

Respondit Hermes: "Nec ego sequar nec ille vincetur; par enim nobis et virtus et animus est."

Ait Bassus: "Traderis incendio, si in hoc furore permanseris."

Respondit Hermes: "Flammam mihi levis istius minaris ardoris, quae deficit paene antequam surgat, ignorans violentiam illius perennis incendii, quod sine remissione semper exaestuat et discipulos diaboli longa tabe consumit."	extsuperscript{87}

Ait Bassus: "Sacrifica vel dominis et imperatoribus nostris et dic: 'Valete principes magni.'"

\textsuperscript{86}A decurion is a member of the local senate or city council (see Franchi, p. 90). The decurions decided on matters involving interests of the community, functioned as a court of appeals on fines imposed by local officers, and appointed local magistrates. See Berger, pp. 426-27.

\textsuperscript{87}Interrogators constantly threatened the
Hermes replied: "I do not offer sacrifice; I am a Christian."

Bassus said: "Tell me what you are."
Hermes replied: "I am a decurion, and I obey my teacher in everything."

Bassus said: "If Philip is induced to offer sacrifice, will you follow his lead?"
Hermes replied: "No, I will not, nor will he yield, for we are both of the same mind and spirit."

Bassus said: "You will be handed over to the flames if you persist in this madness."

Hermes replied: "You are threatening me with a fire which burns but lightly and dies down almost before it takes hold, but you have no knowledge of the violence of that everlasting fire which forever seethes without remission and devours the devil's followers with prolonged wasting."

Bassus said: "At least sacrifice to our lords and emperors and say: 'Long live the great princes.'"

martyrs with fire, and the martyrs constantly replied that they would rather endure a short fire on earth than eternal fire in hell. St. Polycarp, one of the earliest martyrs, said: "You threaten me with a fire which burns an hour and then grows cold. You are ignorant of the future judgment and the eternal tortures of eternal fires for the wicked" (Passio S. Polycarpi 10).
Respondit Hermes: "Festinamus ad vitam."

Ait Bassus: "Sacrificate ergo, si quaeritis vitam, et horridas catenas ac saeva vitate tormenta."

Respondit Hermes: "Numquam nos, iudex impie, ad ista perduces: istae enim minae aliquid nobis ad fidem virtutis, non ad perfidiam timoris incutient."

Tunc Bassus truci vultu et oratione terribili recipi eos iussit in carcerem. Quibus pergentibus, protervi quidam ex adsistentibus viris impulsu crudelis dexterae Philippum solo saepe fundebant, ut ne illo quidem tempore, quo ibat ad carcerem, vacuus esset a poena.

Sed, quasi nihil passus sanctissimus senex erigebatur a terra laeto vultu, ut nec indignationem ostenderet nec dolorem. Stupor omnium corda pervaserat; mirabantur singuli tot acerba a sene contenta mente tolerari. Tum psalmum dicentes Domino, qui eos fecerat fortiores, laetos se dedere custodiis.

88 Lactantius uses almost the same expression: truci vultu ac voce terribili exclamabat (De mort. persec. 9). The authority of the judge demanded a serious expression and a stern voice in passing sentence. In the Passio S. Cassiani 1 appears the following: [Aurelianus Auricularius] multa et terribili eum [Cassianum] voce, quasi iudiciaria auctoritate ... deprivare tentabat.

89 There is abundant testimony in the acts of the martyrs on their cheerfulness. An example is
Hermes replied: "We are hastening to life."

Bassus said: "Then sacrifice, if you are looking for life, and avoid the terrible chains and savage tortures."

Hermes replied: "Wicked judge, you will never persuade us to do this, for your threats will fill us with courage and not accursed fear."

Then Bassus with a fierce frown and frightening words ordered them to be taken back to prison. While they were going there, a number of rude men standing along the road struck Philip to the ground repeatedly with sharp blows, so that not even while he was on his way to the prison did he escape punishment.

But as if he had suffered nothing, this holy old man kept rising from the ground with a smile so that he might show neither indignation nor sorrow. All were amazed and wondered that the old man calmly endured so many blows. Then reciting a psalm to the Lord who had strengthened them, Philip and Hermes joyously submitted to imprisonment. After a few days

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Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis 18: Inluxit dies victoriae illorum, et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum, quasi in caelum, hilares et vultu decori.
Paucis in carcere diebus effectis, divinae maiestatis auxilio Pancrati cuiusdam domus vicina complacuit, in qua sub custodiis recipierentur hospitio. In ea, ut diximus, commanentes multos ad se fratres certatim hinc inde venientes libenter exceptos divinae legis docebant sacra mysteria. Quae cum diabolus pervideret, dolens auferri a se omnes illorum vel traditione vel fabulis, denuo eos remitti fecit in carcerem. Erat vicinus theatro carcer, circulo camerae cohaerens et ad clausum undique theatrum ex carcere secretus ingressus. In ea spectaculi sede residentes suscipiebant confluentem ad se turbam. Tanta autem cupiditate currebatur a singulis, ut nec nox a salutatione cessaret.

Prostrati cotidie solo, Philippi vestigia sancta lambebant, scientes quantum in eo divini esset auxilli.

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90 Incarceration in a home under the surveillance of a guard was called custodia libera. The prisoner could receive visitors, enjoy whatever the house offered, and remain unchained. The other type of incarceration was custodia publica, confinement of a person in prison. See H. Leclercq, "Martyr," Dict. de arch. chret. et lit., X, Part II (1932), cols. 2388-89. See also Franchi, p. 92.

91 This passage regarding the location of the prison is not clear, and no logical explanation can be given from the details provided.
spent in prison, with God's help the neighboring house of a certain Pancratius was found acceptable and there they were kept in quarters under guard. Remaining in that house, as we have said, they gladly received many of the brethren, who strove to come to them from all sides, and they taught them the sacred mysteries of the divine law. When the devil saw this, he regretted that all of these were being taken away from him by their teaching and instruction. He finally brought it about that they were again sent back into prison. The prison was next to a theater, adjoining the circle of the vault. There was a secret entrance from the prison into the closed theater. They [Philip and Hermes] sitting in that section of the theater received the crowd flowing together toward them. The people rushed forward so eagerly that they continued their visits even during the night.

Daily prostrating themselves on the floor, they kissed the holy footprints of Philip, knowing how much divine help was in him.

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92 Visitors were not allowed in prisons by law, but access to the prisoners could be had by bribing the guards. See Franchi, p. 93.

93 Such signs of respect for the martyrs were not uncommon. For example, the Christians attempted to kiss the hands and feet of St. Polycarp. See Passio S. Polycarpi 12.
VIII. Dum haec aguntur, Basso praesidi annuus\textsuperscript{94} successor advenit Iustinus quidam et nomine\textsuperscript{95} et mente perversus, qui nesciret Deum vel intellegere vel timere. Haec res fratres vehementer adfecit; mitior enim fuerat Bassus et ratione sibi reddita vincebatur, eo quod uxor eius Deo aliquanto iam tempore serviebat. Tunc Zoilus magistratus\textsuperscript{96} illius\textsuperscript{97} civitatis, populo militibusque circumdatus, ad tribunal\textsuperscript{98} eum praesidis iussit adduci. Quo introducto, Iustinus ait: "Tu es episcopus christianus?"

Respondit Philippus: "Ego sum, negare non possum."

Justinus dixit: "Domini nostri iubere dignati sunt christianos omnes\textsuperscript{99} ad sacrificium, si noluerint sponte, necessitate compelli, negantes poena adfici.

\textsuperscript{94}Governors were reappointed or replaced annually. See Suetonius Aug. 47, and Tacitus Ann. 3. 58.

\textsuperscript{95}Franchi believes that the word nomine should read animo for two reasons: 1) the Greek form of the name Justinus cannot possibly contain any allusion to its Latin connotation; 2) such a change would result in a double zeugma with animo . . . perversus corresponding to nesciret Deum . . . intellegere and mente . . . perversus corresponding to nesciret Deum . . . timere. See Franchi, pp. 94-95.

\textsuperscript{96}The magistratus municipales were local
VIII. While this was happening, a certain Justinus, a man of evil name and mind who was that year the successor of the governor Bassus, arrived; he was incapable of understanding or fearing God. This proved to be a sore trial to the brethren, for Bassus had been more lenient and had yielded to reason because his wife for some time now had served God. Then Zoilus, a magistrate of that city, surrounded by the people and by soldiers, commanded that Philip be led to the tribunal of the governor. When Philip was brought in, Justinus said: "Are you a Christian bishop?"

Philip replied: "I am; I cannot deny it."

Justinus said: "Our lords have deigned to order all Christians be compelled to offer sacrifice. If they refuse to do so of their own accord, they are officials who had charge of the administration, of finances, and who exercised a certain amount of jurisdiction. They were elected by the local assemblies. See Berger, p. 572.

97 The use of the word illius instead of huius is a strong indication that the writer was from a city other than Heraclea.

98 The tribunal was a platform on which the presiding magistrate sat. See Berger, p. 742.

99 In practice, the first edict applied to the clergy. If the law affected the laity, then the Christians could not have carried Philip back to prison (see below, p. 68). They would have been subject to the same treatment as Philip.
Parce ergo aetati tuae, ne necesse habeas iuvenibus etiam non ferenda sufferre."

Respondit Philippus: "Vos accepta a similibus vobis hominibus praecptata servatis poenae brevis timore; quanto magis nos Dei iussis obtemperare debemus, qui merentibus tribuit sine remissione supplicium!"

Iustinus dixit: "Imperatoribus parere nos convenit."

Respondit Philippus: "Christianus sum, ideo hoc quod dicis facere non possum. Iussus es punire, non cogere."

Iustinus ait: "Nescis quae te tormenta circumstent."

Respondit Philippus: "Poteris torquere, non vincere; nam ad sacrificium me nemo perducet."

Iustinus ait: "Per mediam urbem trahere pedibus et, si vixeris, ad renovanda supplicia recipieris in carcerem."

Respondit Philippus: "Utinam velis confirmare

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100 The appeal to age has taken various forms. With Philip the appeal is made to consider his old age. With Maximilianus the appeal is made to his youth: Attende iuventutem tuam (Acta Maximiliani 2).

101 Philip's reply is similar to that of Hermes. See above, p. 58.
to be punished. Have regard for your years, otherwise you will have to endure what is not to be borne even by young men."

Philip replied: "You observe the precepts given by men like yourselves for fear of a short punishment; how much more we should obey the commands of God, who grants punishment without remission to those deserving it.""101

Justinus said: "It is fitting that we obey the emperors."

Philip replied: "I am a Christian; therefore I cannot do what you say. You have been commanded to punish us, not to compel us to sacrifice."

Justinus said: "You do not know what torments are waiting for you."

Philip replied: "You can torture, but you cannot overcome me, for no one will induce me to sacrifice."

Justinus said: "You will be dragged by the feet through the middle of the city and, if you live, you will be taken into prison to be tortured again."

Philip replied: "If you were only willing to carry out what you say and to fulfill your
quae dicis et satis facere impiae voluntati!" \( ^{102} \)

Tunc Iustinus trahi eum vinctis pedibus iussit. Qui acceptis tot silicium \( ^{103} \) offensione vulneribus et per singula corporis membra laceratus, rursus ad carcerem fratrum manibus reportatur.

IX. *Sed pala post ad modum seragarentium contulerunt.* \( ^{104} \) Grandi praeterea inquisitione et magnis agebatur excubiis, ut Severus presbyter inveniretur, qui se occultioribus latebris ab hac inquisitione subtraxerat. Quem cum investigare non possent, impulsu sancti Spiritus in medium ipse prorupit; nec enim diu latere poterat, quem passio ipsa poscebat. Cum ergo ad iudicium fuisset adductus, Iustinus ait: "Iam nunc moneo ne seducaris insania, qua doctor vester Philippus irritatus, poenam proprio furore sibi peperit; sed magis iussis imperatoriis obtempera. Parce corpori, vitam dilige et bona saeculi huius laetus amplectere."

Respondit Severus: "Me necesse est tenere quod

\( ^{102} \) Many of the early Christians earnestly desired martyrdom. St. Cyprian emphasized that they were not to offer themselves voluntarily (see Cyprian Epistula 81). However, once apprehended, they often expressed their desire for martyrdom.

\( ^{103} \) Silices are hard stones, often with irregular sides, set in the roadbed to form the surface of paved roads. See Victor Chapot, "Via,"
impious will!"\textsuperscript{102}

Then Justinus ordered him to be dragged with his feet bound. Philip, bruised on every part of his body from striking so many stones,\textsuperscript{103} was carried back to prison in the hands of his brethren.

\textbf{IX.} *But a little later they brought [*untranslable sentence]*.\textsuperscript{104} There was, besides, a great search which was continued through the night for Severus the priest who had fled from his pursuers to a more secret hiding place. When they could not find him, he rushed into their midst by an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, for he could no longer hide since he was being called to martyrdom. When he was brought before the judge, Justinus said: "I now warn you not to be deceived by that madness with which your teacher Philip was aroused and through which in his folly he deserved punishment; rather obey the imperial decrees. Spare your body, love life, and happily embrace the goods of this world."

Severus replied: "It is necessary that I hold fast to what I have learned and that I serve

\begin{flushleft}
\textit{Dict. des antiq. grec. et rom.}, V, p. 786.
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\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{104}This sentence is obviously corrupt. It has resisted all attempts to emendate and translate it. See Franchi, p. 97.
\end{flushright}
didici et in perpetuum servare quod colui."

Iustinus dixit: "Omnem et poenae et salutis rationem animo concipe, et intelleges sacrificium tibi istud obtandum."

Cumque ille nomen ipsud sacrificii iratus horreret, iussu praesidis etiam ipse receptus in carcerem est.

Tunc Herme exhibito Iustinus ait: "Hos, quos imperatoria constat neglexisse mandata, videbis cito quae poena conficiat. Ne ergo cruciatibus eorum etiam ipse iungaris, memor salutis propriae memorque filiorum,105 effuge mala omnia sacrificando numinibus."

Respondit Hermes: "Numquam hoc poteris impetrare, quod postulas: in hac fide crevi, hanc mihi ab ipsis cunabulis veritatem sanctus magister impressit, ab hac claudicare non possum nec aliqua ratione discedere.106 Tu ergo, praeses, quemadmodum vis lacera confitentem."

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105 The interrogators used every possible means of persuasion. Parents being questioned were often reminded of their children's welfare. Hermes simply ignored the reminder, but St. Agathonica in her interrogation admirably replied: Filii mei deum habent, qui eos custodit (Acta SS. Carpi, Papili, et Agathonicae 6).

106 Martyrs who had been reared in the faith
forever that which I adore."

Justinus said: "Weight the difference between suffering and a pleasant life, and you will understand that you should sacrifice."

And when Severus bristled angrily at the word "sacrifice," he also by the command of the governor was taken to prison.

Then Hermes was brought in and Justinus said: "You will soon see the punishment which befalls those who have neglected the imperial commands. Therefore, lest you suffer the same tortures as these, be mindful of your own safety and be mindful of your own children and flee from all these evils by sacrificing to the gods."

Hermes replied: "You will never be able to obtain what you demand. I have grown up in this faith; I have been impressed with this truth from the very cradle by my holy teacher; I am not able to waver from this truth nor to forsake it for any reason. Therefore, governor, torture me as you wish in my confession."

realized that this fact was all the more reason for their remaining constant. St. Crispina, for example, said: Hoc non feci aliquando ex quo nata sum, nec novi nec facio usquequo vixero (Acta S. Crispina 2).
Justinus ait: "Securum te facit ignorantia futuri mali, nam cum subiacueris poenae, paenitentia sera torqueberis."

Respondit Hermes: "Quamvis graves, dolores a te inpositos per angelos suos nobis, pro quo patimur, Christus inminuet."

X. Itaque cum Iustinus fidem eius firmissimam cognovisset, etiam ipsum recepit in carcerem. Duobus sane diebus iussit eos in hospitio custodiri, paululum a sua severitate discedens. Quem statim diabolus inflammat; iubet enim ut iterum mittantur in carcerem et septem continuos menses in illo custodiarum paedere conficiant.

Tunc Adrianopolim eos praeceptit adduci. Quibus egressentibus fratres maeror subito invasit, quippe qui tanti magistri doctrina fraudarentur et visu. Ut infantes vix dum adhuc cunabulis violenter abstracti, dulcibus nutricum uberibus inhaerentes, auferri sine lacrimis a grato sibi lacte non possunt, sic discipuli salubrem pastum perdere se credentes, solatia capiebant
Justinus said: "Ignorance of the impending evil makes you confident. But when you will have been subjected to punishment, you will be tormented by your late repentance."

Hermes replied: "Christ, for whom we suffer, through His angels will diminish the pains which you impose on us, however grievous they may be."

X. When Justinus had realized that the faith of Hermes was very firm, he also sent him back to prison. After two days he commanded that they be guarded in a private home, slackening somewhat in his severity. But the devil immediately inflamed him, for he commanded that they again be sent into prison and that they spend seven consecutive months in the filth of the guardhouse.

Then he ordered them to be taken to Adrianople. When they had left, sadness suddenly settled on the brethren who were deprived of the instruction and the sight of their great teacher. As infants just out of the cradle, when they are violently withdrawn, cleave to the sweet paps of their nurses and cannot be taken away without tears from the milk which they enjoy, so the disciples, believing that they had lost the life-giving food, took consolation in weeping because they
fletibus, quia remedia impetrare non poterant. Sed cum Adrianopolim pervenissent, in Symphori cuiusdam suburbano usque ad praesentiam praesidis servabantur. Tandem praeses advenit, statimque alio die publice in thermis residens, Philippum praecipit induci et ait illi: "Quid huc usque tractasti? nam dilatio ista ad mutandum tibi fuerat permissa consilium. Sacrifica ergo, si vis liber effugere."

Respondit Philippus: "Si in illo carcere, in quo huc usque permansimus, voluntate non necessitate perreximus, concessum nobis bene hoc tempus assignas; sin vero poena fuit potius quam voluntas, cur ad veniam tempus inputas, quo punisti? ego vero et iam dixi 'Christianus sum' et hoc quotienscumque interrogaveris, respondere curabo, nec simulacris umquam satis faciam, sed aeterno Deo quem coepi exhibebo famulatum."

Tunc praeses exspoliari eum iussit iratus. Cumque ei ipsa etiam linea corporis fuisset ablata, ait praeses: "Facis quae iussimus, an recusas?"

107 As a last resort the interrogator often gave the martyrs time for thought, a dilatio. Most martyrs who were offered or granted a dilatio told their judges that they were Christians and nothing would change them. St. Speratus hearing that he was given three days to reconsider simply replied: In retam iusta nulla est deliberatio (Acta Sanctorum Scillitanorum 11).
could find no other remedy. But when they arrived at
Adrianople, they were kept in the suburban villa of a
certain Symphorus until the arrival of the governor.
Finally the governor came. Immediately on the next
day publicly holding forth in the baths, he commanded
that Philip be led in and said to him: "Why do you
still drag this on? The delay was conceded so that
you might change your mind. Sacrifice, therefore,
if you wish to go free."

Philip replied: "If of our own will and not
of necessity we have stayed in that prison in which
we have remained until now, you rightly say that this
time was granted to us; but if it was punishment
rather than our will which kept us there, why do you
reckon the time when you punished us as pardon? I
have already said 'I am a Christian' and this I will
take care to reply as often as you will have questioned
me. And I will never sacrifice to images, but I will
show homage to the eternal God whom I have begun to
serve."

Then the governor angrily commanded that he
be stripped. When even the linen was removed from
his body, the governor said: "Will you do what we
order or do you refuse?"
Respondit Philippus: "Numquam me sacrificaturum iam ante testatus sum."

His Iustinus auditis, vergis praecedit eum verberari. Qui cum omnia contenta mente toleraret, stans super petram Christi robusta mole solidatam, ipsos quoque per quos poena mandabatur, exterruit. Erat incredibile miraculum, nam pars lineae, quae honestum pectus velabat, inlaesa permansit, illa vero quae dorsum tegebat, per partes rupta discesserat.108

Omnes artus virgarum ictibus vehementer incisi penetralia ipsa corporis atque intestina patefecerant. Securus tamen Christi perdurabat athleta; cuius animum Iustinus expavit et recipi eum iussit in carcerem. Tunc vocavit Hermen, cui cum minas iudex, consilium vero officium eius ostenderet, nec terreri metu potuit nec persuasione seduci. Diligebatur enim tam ab apparitoribus iudicis quam ab omnibus viris, nam magistratus ante iam fuerat et obsequis suis officium sibi praesidis obligarat. Qui occasione redhibendae gratiae pro eius salute trepidabant. Sed his omnibus

108 Only a few paragraphs above (see above, p. 74) Philip was stripped of his linen as was the Roman custom in scourging. Pio Franchi claims that the translator did not translate the Greek correctly; some think that the sentence Erat incredibile . . . discesserat is an interpolation. See Franchi, pp. 101-102.
Philip replied: "I have already testified that I will never sacrifice."

When Justinus heard this, he ordered him to be beaten with rods. When Philip, standing upon the firmly established rock of Christ, was patiently enduring all this, he even alarmed those through whom the scourging was being inflicted. An incredible marvel occurred for the part of his linen garment which covered his noble breast remained intact; but the linen which covered his back was ripped to pieces and torn away. All of his limbs were cut by the vicious blows of the rods; the very entrails of his body and his intestines were laid open. But nevertheless the athlete of Christ fearlessly endured the torture; Justinus became fearful of his life and ordered him to be taken back to prison. Then he called Hermes. He threatened, advised, and showed kindness to him, but he could not frighten or persuade him. Hermes was esteemed not only by the assistants of the judge but by all men for he had previously been a magistrate and by his service had won over to himself the governor's staff. When they had the opportunity to show gratitude, they trembled for his safety. But when these men had been conquered and
victis atque prostratis, quasi ad quendam portum quietis, refugit ad carcerem, ubi gaudium inane celebratum est. Agebant autem gratias Christo et tropaea gloriosa ex diaboli eversione referentes, principio passionis elati, maius robur ad futura tormenta capiebant. Beatus itaque Philippus, qui tactu ipso antea corporis habebatur semper delicatus ac mollis, nulla tunc sentiebat incommoda ope tectus angelica.

XI. Ecce pos triduum Iustinus praeses solitum iudicantibus tribunal ascendit et eos iussit adduci. Quibus exhibitis, ait Iustinus ad Philippum: "Cur tanta temeritate raptaris, ut salute contempta imperatoriis detrectes obedire mandatis?"

Respondit Philippus: "Ego non vitio temeritatis inflammar, sed Dei, qui fecit omnia, qui iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos, amore et timore compellor. Huius mandata praeterire non audeo. Imperatoribus vero per singulos annos parui et, cum iusta imperant, parere festino; praecipit enim scriptura divina 'reddi quae sunt Dei Deo et quae sunt caesaris caesari.'

109 Inculpabiliter itaque huc

laid low, he fled back to prison as if to a harbor of peace where he was welcomed with great joy. The confessors gave thanks to Christ having won a glorious victory over the devil. Encouraged by the beginning of their suffering, they were further strengthened for future tortures. Blessed Philip, who before in the mere touch of his body was always considered delicate and soft, now felt no distress since he was protected by the help of angels.

XI. After three days the governor Justinus ascended the tribunal reserved for judges and ordered them to be brought in. When they appeared, Justinus said to Philip: "Why are you taken up with such rashness that you refuse to obey the imperial mandates without regard for your own safety?"

Philip replied: "I am not inflamed with the vice of rashness but I am compelled by the love and fear of God who made all things and who will judge the living and the dead. I dare not disregard the mandates of this judge. I have obeyed the emperors year after year and when they command what is just, I hasten to obey; for Sacred Scripture bids that 'those things be rendered to God which are God's and to Caesar which are Caesar's." Until now I have
usque servivi iam superest ut, relictis saecularibus
blandimentis, caelestia festinum praeferre terrenis.
Repetita itaque saepius verba cognosce, quibus me
Christianum assero et diis vestris sacrificare
directo."

Tunc, relicto eo, Hermen Iustinus adloquitur:
"Si hunc senectus vicina iam morti cogit bona huius
lucis horrere, tu, sacrificando, prosperiora non
neglege."

Respondit Hermes: "Breviter tibi et his qui
adsistunt, o praeses, dilucideque monstrabo quod ex
vanitate miserabili facta est tibi odiosa pietas. Nam
unde est ut veritatem falsitas, innocentiam
malvolentia, postremo homo hominem festinet appetere?
quid enim simile homini Deus aliquando formavit? Sed
conatus est diabolus opus caeleste violare. Invenit
illa quae colitis et servos iuris sui sacrificando vos
fecit. Nam ut subito equi ferventes insania, non
obtemperantes lupatis, auriga contempto, relicito
salubri campo, mortis ignari ad praecipitia festinant,
ita vos ipsos praecipitastis insania et, praetermisso
served without blame; it only remains that leaving behind the vanities of the world I should hasten to prefer heavenly things to those which are of earth. Acknowledge my oft repeated words, whereby I have asserted that I am a Christian and I refuse to sacrifice to your gods."

Then turning from Philip, Justinus spoke to Hermes: "If old age, now close to death, compels him to shudder at the goods of this world, by sacrifice preserve for yourself what is more advantageous."

Hermes replied: "Briefly and clearly I will show you, governor, and those here present that wretched vanity has made piety hateful to you. For whence is it that falseness hastens to attack truth, that wickedness hastens to attack innocence, finally that man hastens to attack man? For what did God ever form like to man? But the devil tried to violate heaven's work. He invented those things which you worship and he made you the slaves of his law through sacrifices. For as horses suddenly burning with madness do not heed the bit, but despising the driver leave the safe field and unmindful of death rush to the precipice, so you have rushed headlong in your
Dei verbo, consilia diaboli scelestis tenuistis.

"Haec est itaque caelestis vera sententia, ut bonos et pios gloria, malos persequatur infamia, atque, ut illis merces, ita istis poena succedat." 110

Sic propheta Zacharias eloquitur dicens: 'increpet in te Dominus satanam, increpet in te qui elegit Hierusalem.' 111 Non ne hic est torris obustus, abstractus de flamma? quae ergo adhuc hominibus est cupidus, qui ad lignum obustum ac letiferum confugistis, cum quo pariter ardeatis? Licet brevissimum infirmae lucis circulum sic transigere, ut ad bona lucis aeternae veniamus, 112 vos autem, qui cum ingenti inlувie vestis et corporis, capillis sordidis ac dimissis, quibus tumulos et templas observatis et carceres, videmini mihi deos vestros non colere sed lugere et ante iudicium poenam iam sustinere peccati, quid haec videntes in caecitate consistitis nec ad liberatoris vestri auxilium convolatis? Canes dominum

110 The text edited by Franchi reads: Haec est itaque caelestis vera sententia, ut bonos et pios gloria, malos persequatur. Infamia atque, ut illis merces, ita istis poena succedat. The first sentence needs a subject for malos persequatur. By using infamia, which has no meaning in the second sentence, as the subject, the difficulties in both sentences are solved.

111 zach. 3:2.
madness and scorning the word of God you have clung fast to the wicked counsels of the devil.

"This then is heaven's true sentence, that glory follows the good and pious people, but disgrace follows the evil; and just as there is a reward for the former, so punishment follows the latter." So the prophet Zacharias spoke saying: 'Let the Lord rebuke you, Satan; let him who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you.' Is not he the burning firebrand taken from the flame? What do you men still desire, who have fled to the burning and deadly wood in order that you might be alike burned with it? It is permitted for us so to pass through the brief orbit of this weak light so as to come to the happiness of eternal light. But you most filthy in dress and body, with dirty and dishevelled hair, with which you attend the graves of the departed and the temples and prisons, seem to me not to worship your gods but to wail and to already endure the punishment of sin before the judgment. When you see this, why do you persevere in your blindness and not fly to the help of your

112St. Pollio also spoke of time and eternity in terms of light: Quia hac brevi melior est lux illa perpetua, et dulci or a sunt quae permanent, quam quae pereunt bona (Passio S. Pollionis 3).
odore vestigant, et, audito rectoris sibilo, equus, quem ignarus paulo ante proiecit, inquirit; praesepe agnito, bos cucurrit ad dominum et asinus stabulum possessoris invent. Israhel Dominum solus ignorat, iuxta quod lectum est: 'Israhel me non cognovit'; omnium dominum, nec timuerunt iudicium iusti. Alii per undam perierunt, sicut sub Noe; aliorum vero in solitudine genua sunt soluta; alios ignis exussit ideo quod praecepta nemo servabat."

Haec audiens Iustinus a beato Herme, iratus exclamat: "Tu sic loqueris, quasi me possis facere Christianum!"

Respondit Hermes: "Non te solum, sed circumstantes singulos opto fieri Christianos. Ceterum me sacrificaturum esse ne credas?"

Tunc praeses a fortissimis Dei victus athletis, communicato cum participibus et adsessore consilio,

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113 Isa. 1:3.

114 The writer has borrowed from Clement of Alexandria in this passage regarding the dog, horse, ox, and ass. Clement refers to them in the same order and with the same attendant circumstances, and follows with the quotation from Isaías. See Clemens Alexandrinus, Cohortatio ad Gentes 10 in Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1891), VIII, col. 203.

115 Hermes’ reply resembles St. Paul’s answer to Agrippa: Opto . . . non tantum te, sed etiam omnes,
Saviour? Dogs track down their master by scent, and when the whistle of the rider is heard, the horse looks for the one whom unwittingly he has recently tossed; when the ox sees the manger, it runs to its lord, and the ass finds its owner's stable. Israel alone does not know the Lord, as it is written: 'Israel did not know me,' the Lord of all, nor did they fear the judgment of the just Lord. Some perished in the waters as during the time of Noah; the knees of others were loosened in the wilderness; fire took the lives of others because no one kept the commandments.

Justinus hearing this from blessed Hermes angrily shouted: "You speak thus as if you can make me a Christian!"

Hermes replied: "Not only you but those standing around I would like to become Christians. Do you not believe that I would otherwise sacrifice?"

Then the governor defeated by God's brave athletes consulted his advisers and legal counsel qui audiunt hodie, fieri tales qualis et ego sum (Acts 26:29).

116 The participes are a group of advisers distinct from the adsessor. They had no professional status as the adsessor did, but the governors often sought their counsel in legal matters (see Franchi,
talem edidit saevo ore sententiam et ait: "Philippum et Herem, qui praeceptum Romani imperatoris negligentem alienos se ab ipsa etiam Romani nominis compellingione fecerunt, vivos iubemus incendi, ut ceteri facilius agnoscant quanto constet exitio imperialia contempsisse mandata." Tunc egressi ibant gaudentes ad flammam, quasi gregum principes gemini arietes omnipotenti Deo, quasi sanctum quoddam munus, oblati.

XII. Beatus autem Severus solus in carcere, quasi navis in pelago fluctuabat gubernatore deserta, aut quasi ovis relicta in solitudinem perdito pastore trepidabat. Gaudio tamen adtollebatur inmani, quod eos duci ad dulce et expetendum sibi passionis munus audierat. Tunc inflexis genibus orabat cum gemitu magno dicens ad Dominum: "Omnium fluctuantium qui

p. 106, n. 1). In Acts 25:12 appears the following: Tunc Festus cum concilio locutus respondit: Caesarem appellasti, ad Caesarem ibis.

117 The use of the adjective Romani with the word imperatoris is unusual. Franchi considers it an amplication. The use of the singular imperatoris instead of the plural is a lapsus on the part of the compiler or translator. It is the only instance the word appears in the singular in the Passio Sancti Philippi. See Franchi, pp. 107-108.

118 In the martyrdom of St. Fructuosus reference is also made to sheep without a shepherd:
and pronounced sentence with a cruel voice saying: "I command that Philip and Hermes, who have disregarded the decree of the Roman emperor and have deprived themselves even of the title of the Roman name, be burned alive so that others may more easily realize to what extent punishment is meted out for despising the imperial edicts." Then Philip and Hermes departed and went rejoicing to the fire, as if leaders of the flocks, twin rams offered to almighty God as a holy gift.

XII. Blessed Severus, however, alone in prison, was being tossed about like a ship at sea bereft of its pilot or was trembling like a lamb lost by its shepherd in the wilderness. However, he was greatly elated because he had heard that Philip and Hermes were being led to the sweet gift of martyrdom which he himself desired. Then kneeling he prayed with great sighs saying to the Lord: "Thou who art the tranquil port of all those who are tossed about by the


119F. Cabrol lists the speech that follows as a type of litany and includes it among ancient litany forms. See F. Cabrol, "Litanies," Dict. de arch. chrét. et de lit., IX, Part II (1930), col. 1543.
es portus placidus, spem desperantibus tribuens, 
salvator aegrorum, auxiliator egentium, dux caecorum, 
misericors in eos quos poena circumstat, fatigatorum 
murus, tenebrarum lumen, fundator terrae, ordinato 
pelagi et totius distributor elementi; cuius verbo 
caelo, astra et cuncta perfecta sunt; qui servasti Noe 
et Abrahae divitias obtulisti; qui liberasti Isaac et 
parasti pro eo victimam; qui cum Iacob exercitatus es 
palaestra dulcedinis et eduxisti Loth ex Sodomis, de 
terra maledicta; qui visus es Moysi et Iesu Nave
120 
prudentem fecisti; qui cum Ioseph iter habere dignatus 
es et eduxisti populum eius de terra Aegypti, ad terram 
repromissionis adducens; qui auxilio fuisti tribus 
pueris in camino, quos sancto maiestatis tuae rore 
perfusos flamma non attigit; qui leonum ora clausisti, 
vitam Daniheli et cibum tribuens; qui Ionam nec maris 
profundo nec morsu ceti crudelis exceptum laedi passus 
es aut perire; qui Judith armasti, qui liberasti 
Susannam a iudicibus injustis, qui Hester gloriam 
dedisti, qui Aman perire iussisti, qui eduxisti nos de

120 Iesu is derived from the Greek Ἰωσήφ and is the same as the Hebrew Josue. Nave is the spelling of Ecclesiastes 46:1 in the Vulgate for Nun, the father of Josue. Hence, Iesu Nave is Josue, the son of Nun and the successor of Moses. See John E. Steinmueller and Kathryn Sullivan (eds.), Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia, Old Testament (New York:
waves, the giver of hope to the desparing, the saviour of the sick, help of the needy, leader of the blind, Thou who art merciful to those threatened with punishment, support of the weary, light in the darkness, creator of the earth, ruler of the sea, and dispenser of every element, by whose word the heaven, the stars, and all things have been perfected; who saved Noah and offered riches to Abraham; who freed Isaac and prepared a victim in his place; who wrestled with Jacob in the palaestra of sweetness and led Lot out of Sodom from the cursed land; whom Moses saw and who gave prudence to Josue, son of Nun; who deigned to make a journey with Joseph and led forth his people from the land of Egypt, guiding them to the Promised Land; who was a help to the three boys in the furnace, whom you sprinkled with the saintly dew of thy majesty so that they were not touched by the flames; who closed the mouths of the lions, granting life and food to Daniel; who did not permit the captured Jonas to be harmed or to perish in the depths of the sea nor by the bite of the cruel whale; who armed Judith; who freed Susanna from the unjust judges; who gave glory to Esther; who ordered Aman to perish; who has led

tenebris ad lumen aeternum, pater domini nostri salvatoris Iesu Christi, qui es lumen invictum, qui donasti mihi signum crucis et Christi, ne indignum me censeas, domine, ab hac passione, quam mei obtinuere collegae; sed da mihi partem coronae, ut sim illis iunctus in gloria, quibus eram iunctus in carcere: habeam cum illis requiem, cum quibus nomen tuum venerabile confessus, tormenta iudicis saeva non timui."

XIII. Hac itaque oratione completa, tantum fidelia verba potuerunt, ut postero die id quod postulabat acciperet. Itaque et ipse, ut fortis athleta, cum illis cum quibus vixerat confessurus ingreditur, et voti compos non solum quae poscebat obtinuit, sed etiam cito quod quaerebat invent. Beatus vero Philippus manibus portabatur ad flammam; dolor enim pedum aliter eum ire non passus est. Quem tardo passu beatus sequebatur Hermes simili pedum dolore constrictus.

121God as the lumen invictum is in sharp contrast with one of the prominent Roman deities at this time, sol invictus, once known as Mithra. See Franz Cumont, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929), pp. 106, 136, and 188-191.

122Early Christians often use the metaphor of the athlete. It appears three times in this account (see above, pp. 76 and 84). St. Paul compared the life of a Christian to that of an athlete in I Cor. 9: 24-27. Athletes enjoyed high esteem among the people
us out of darkness to eternal light; who art the
father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; who art
the invincible light;\textsuperscript{121} who has given me the sign of
the cross and of Christ, may I not be found unworthy
by you, o Lord, of this martyrdom which my companions
have obtained; but give me a share in their crown that
I may be united with them in glory, with whom I was
joined in prison; may I have rest with them, with
whom I have confessed your name and have not feared
the cruel torments of the judge."

XIII. When he had finished this prayer, so great was
its efficacy that the next day his request was granted.
And so he, as a strong athlete,\textsuperscript{122} together with those
with whom he had lived, went forth as one about to
confess his faith, and having obtained his wish not
only did he receive what he asked, but he also quickly
found that which he sought. Blessed Philip was carried
to the fire for the pains prevented him from going in
any other way. Blessed Hermes, afflicted with similar
pains in the feet, followed him at a slow pace.

\footnotesize{(see Berger, p. 368), so the comparison is all the
more suitable. Martyrdom was similar to the certamen
of the athletes. St. Polycarp went forth to a
certamen as stated in the Latin version of his martyr-
dom: \textit{ad martyrii certamen accederet} (Passio S.
Polycarpi 12).}
Sed Hermes iter suum hoc sermone mulcebat, dicens Philippo: "Doctor optime, festinanter pergamus ad Dominum; nulla nos cura pedum sollicitet, quibus iam nullus eorum adfuturus est usus; cessatura sunt enim ministeria terrena cum ad caelestia fuerit regna perventum."

Tunc ad multitudinem quae sequebatur edicit: "Hoc me esse passurum, Deo ac domino iam ante annuntiante, cognoveram revelatione certissima, nam cum dulci sopore devinctus iacerem, columba mihi visa est123 niveo candore perlucida cubiculum illud ingressa, subito in medio capite consedisse; quae et inde descendens in pectus, escas mihi gratissimi cibi obtulit. Statim cognovi quod me Dominus vocare dignatus est et dignum habuit passione."124 Dum haec loquitur, ad locum illum, in quo poenae parabantur, adveniunt. Tunc ex more carnifices beati Philippi pedes humo usque ad genua texerunt. Religatas postergum manus clavis in fuste configunt.125

123Dreams are mentioned in several accounts of martyrdom. The Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis contains no less than five dreams. Two appear in the Passio SS. Mariani et Iacobi. The Acta SS. Montani, Lucii, et Sociorum has three references to dreams.

124Mazzocchi and Minasi thought that the escas gratissimi cibi was the Eucharist. Franchi
But Hermes made light of his journey with these words to Philip: "Good teacher, let us proceed quickly to the Lord; let no concern for our feet bother us since we will have no use for them hereafter; for earthly ministries will cease when we arrive at the heavenly kingdoms."

Then to the multitude which was following him he said: "I knew by a most certain revelation that I would suffer this since the Lord God foretold it to me. For when I was lying down overcome with a pleasant sleep, I saw a dove shining with snowy brightness enter my bedroom and suddenly settle on my forehead. And descending from thence to my breast, it offered me as refreshment a most delightful food. Immediately I knew that God deigned to call me and considered me worthy of martyrdom." While he was thus speaking, they reached the place where the punishments were being prepared. Then according to custom the executioners covered the feet of blessed Philip up to the knees with earth. They tied his hands behind him and nailed them to a stake.  

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125 From the text it is not clear whether the
Similiter et Hermes descendere iubetur in fossam. Qui fuste sustinens trepida hinc inde vestigia, risu nimio sic locutus est dicens: "Neque hic me, diabole, potes sustinere!" Et statim super pedes eius ministri congerunt terram.

Ante tamen quam supponeretur incendium, Hermes sanctus quemdam ex fratribus Christianis ibi stantem vocavit, Eulogium nomine, quem magna per dominum Iesum Christum adiuratione constrinxit, ut ad filium eius Philippum patris mandata perferret diceretque ei, ut redderet omnibus quae deberet. "Nam et mundi huius imperatoris similia sunt praecipta: praecipit enim singulos suo frui et, si quid ab aliis susceperint, sine contradictione redhibere. Reddat itaque singulis quae debentur, ne mihi aliquem scrupulum doloris incutiat." Haec autem dicebat de illis, quae a multis tute sibi credita redditurus acceperat. Addidit etiam hoc amore pietatis et ait: "Iuvenis es: debes victum labore tibi quaeerere ita ut patrem fecisse meministi,

nails were driven through Philip's hands or whether they were used for attaching the bindings to the stake. The latter seems to be more likely. The legs were covered to the knees with earth so that escape from the fire was impossible. Hence, nailing the hands would not be necessary. Furthermore, it was not customary to nail the hands to the stake in the criminal punishment of burning. See Franchi, pp. 113-115.
also ordered Hermes to step down into the ditch. As he supported his faltering steps with the help of the stake, he said with a broad smile: "Even here you cannot help me, devil." Immediately the servants gathered earth over his feet.

However, before the fire was kindled, saintly Hermes called on one of his Christian brethren standing there named Eulogius and enjoined him with a solemn oath through the Lord Jesus Christ that he carry the commands of a father to his son Philip and say to him that he should render to all what was their due: "For even the precepts of the emperor of this world are of the same type: for he has ordered all the people to make use of their own goods and if they have received anything from others, to return it without remiss. Let him, therefore, return to all what they are due, lest he inflict some painful worry upon me." In these words he was referring to those things which he had received from many for safekeeping with the intention of returning them. And out of a sense of filial devotion he went on to say: "You are a young man; you should so seek to support yourself by your labor just as you remember your father did,
quam scis cum omnibus bene esse versatum. Hac voce completa, ligatur et ipse postergum. Tunc a ministris flamma subponitur. Quibus ardentibus, quamdiu sermo duravit, gratiae reddabantur, et in ultima gratiarum "amen" dulce resonavit.

XIV. Sic beati martyres testimonium vitae implevere. Felices Christi discipuli, eius secuti vestigia, per quem illis fuit concessa victoria, comitati etiam doctrinam apostolorum et eorum martyrum qui apostolos sunt secuti. Quorum cum exutae a labe terrena animae ad caelestia regna properarent, extensae beati Philippi manus, ut in oratione fuerant, inveniuntur in corpore, et ipse ex sene iuvenis reparatus, in poena et in agone coronandus, quasi adversarium provocans repente conspicitur. Similiter et beatus Hermes facie florens et colore pretiosus, lividis paulisper auriculis quasi ex certamine quodam, post illud omnibus monstratur incendium. Tunc omnipotenti Deo gratiae omnium ore funduntur, qui dat gloriām in se sperantibus et coronam.

XV. His tamen diabolus contentus esse non potuit. Mox Iustino praesidi audaciam furoris mentis iniecit,

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126 This advice may be directed to Eulogius, but most commentators, including Franchi, believe it was directed to Hermes' son, Philip. See Franchi, p. 119.
whom you know was well esteemed by all." When he had finished speaking, his hands also were bound behind his back. Then the fire was enkindled by the attendants. While they were burning, as long as they could speak, they gave thanks and a sweet "Amen" sounded forth in a final token of gratitude.

XIV. Thus the blessed martyrs completed their testimony of life. Happy disciples of Christ, they followed in the footsteps of Him through whom they had obtained victory, and they also carried out the teaching of the apostles and of those martyrs who followed the apostles. When their souls had been stripped of earthly imperfection and they were hastening to the heavenly kingdom, the hands of blessed Philip were found as they had been in prayer, and he himself having regained his youth appeared about to be crowned in his punishment and agony, as if challenging the adversary. Likewise blessed Hermes, with radiant and glowing face and his ears slightly discolored as if coming from wrestling, was seen by all after the fire. Then all gave thanks to almighty God who gives glory and a crown to those who hope in him.

XV. With this, however, the devil could not be content. He soon aroused Justinus the governor to
ut fortia sanctorum corpora Hebro\textsuperscript{127} iuberet inmergi, ut quibus abstulerat iniusta persecutione vitam, ipsam etiam invideat sepulturam. Quod cum fuisset effectum, omnes Adrianopolitanae civitatis viri, quos Dei cultus urgebât, tanta crudelitate perspecta, apparant retia, navigia conscendunt, si cui piscanti eveniat sanctorum corpora grata captura. Quibus orantibus non negatur; nam mox inlaesae reliquiae involutae retibus extra-huntur.\textsuperscript{128} Tunc grata venatio et auro pretiosior et omni decore gemmarum duodecimo ab ea urbe lapide per tres dies celabatur in villa quae sermone patrio Getistyron, interpretatione vero Latinae linguæ Locus possessorum vocatur. Ea possessio et fontibus abundat et nemore, ornata messibus et vineis. Tunc omnibus Dei est probata maiestas, famulos eius latere non posse, quos etiam fluminum profunda restituunt, nec in trepidatione sentire poenam, sed festinare potius ad coronam. Amen.

\textsuperscript{127}The Hebrus River, now called the Maritsa, is in European Turkey (ancient Thrace) and passes Adrianople. See A. Van der Heyden and H. Scullard (eds.), Atlas of the Classical World (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1959), p. 204.

\textsuperscript{128}The early Christians venerated the relics of the saints and took great care to preserve them. While the account of St. Symphorosa's martyrdom is very dubious, we see that her body was also retrieved from a river: \textit{(Hadrianus imperator) iussit eam alligato ad}
haughty anger. He ordered the bodies of the brave saints to be sunk in the Hebrus River\textsuperscript{127} since he hated to think that those whom he had killed in an unjust persecution should even be buried. When this order had been carried out, all the men of Adrianople, who were zealous in the worship of God, on seeing such cruelty equipped themselves with nets and entered into boats so that they might drag the river for the precious bodies of the saints. Their prayers were answered, for soon the remains intact were caught in the nets and drawn out.\textsuperscript{128} Then their booty, more precious than gold and gems of any sort, was hidden for three days at the twelfth milestone from the city in a villa known in the language of that country as Getistyron, which may be interpreted in Latin as the \textit{Locus possessorum} [in English: "the Owners' Place"].

That property rich in fields and vineyards has numerous springs and woods. Then the majesty of God was shown to all in that his servants were not able to be hidden, whom even the depths of the river had restored. Neither had these servants felt fear in their trial, but instead had hastened to their crown. Amen.

\textbf{collum ingenti saxo in flumen praecipitari: cuius corpus colligens frater eius Eugenius . . . sepelivit (Passio SS. Symphorosae et VII Filiorum Martyrum 2).}
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