"Generation 4"

ID	Edn	Gen	Slant	L1	L2	Links	Text & Notes	Translation
*Acts of Peter & Andrew	Lipsius 1891	4	O?	E			Supplement to the Acts of Andrew. Peter as the leader of the Apostles 1 — Έγένετο ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ανδρέας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρωποφάγων, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἥρπασεν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτον ἀπήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ ὅρει οὖ ἦν Πέτρος καὶ Ματθείας καὶ Άλέξανδρος καθεζόμενοιτὸτε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, τί σοι γέγονεν ἀδελφὲ Άνδρέα; ἆρά γε ἔσπειρας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῆ χώρα τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων ἢ οὕ; λέγει αὐτῷ Άνδρέας, ναί, πάτερ Πέτρε, δι' εὐχῶν σου, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κακά μοι ἔδειξαν οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, ἀνδρίζου ἐν κυρὶῳ, ἀδελφὲ Άνδρέα, καὶ δεῦρο ἀναπάυσαι ἐκ τοῦ κόπου	1 – When Andrew the apostle of Christ, left the city of the man-eaters, behold a luminous cloud seized him and carried him away to the mountain where Peter and Matthias and Alexander and Rufus were sitting Then Peter said to him, "What happened to you brother Andrew? Did you really sow the word of truth in the land of the man-eaters or not?" Andrew said to him, "Yes, father Peter, by your prayers, but the men of that city showed me a great deal of evil." Peter said to him, "Be courageous in the Lord, brother Andrew, and come here to rest from your labour.5 – When the farmer returned with the bread and looked up to see the entire

			σου. 5 – Ἐλθών δὲ ὁ γεωργὸς μετὰ τῶν ἄρτων καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἶδε πἀντα τὸν ἀγρὸν πλήρης στάχυας, ἔθηκε δὲ τοὺς ἄρτους ἐν τῆ γῆ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλωνπροσεκύνησεν αὐτοὺς λέγων, Δεσπόται μου, ἆρα θεοί ἐστε; ὡς θεοὺς γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ. Λέγει αὐτῷ Πέτρος, Ἀνάστα ἄνθρωπε, οὐ γὰρ ἐσμεν θεοί, ἀλλά ἀπόστολοι ἐσμεν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ. ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐσμεν δώδεκα, καὶ παρέδωκεν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰς διδασκαλίας ἵνα ταύτας διδάξωμεν τοῦς ἀνθρώπους, ὅπως ρυσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσουσιν. Σταθεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος λέγει, Ἀγαπήσας κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου. μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης. παίδευσόν σου τὰ τέκνα ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ, καὶ ζήσεις καλὴν ζωὴν καὶ ἔρχῃ εἰς τὴν δόξαν	field full of corn, he set down the bread on the ground at the feet of the apostles and began to worship them saying, "My lords, are you then gods? For I see you as gods." Peter said to him, "Get up man, for we are not gods but we are apostles of the good God. He chose us and there are twelve of us; and he passed on to us good teachings in order that we might teach these things to people, so that being rescued from death they might inherit eternal life." Standing by him Peter said, "Love the lord your God with your whole soul and heart. Do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not bear false witness. Educate your children in the fear of the God and seek the good life and enter into his glory."
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						αὐτοῦ.17 – ἀναβλέψας ὁ Πέτρος εἶδεν κάμηλον ἐρχομένην, εἶπεν δὲ ἐνεχθῆναι αὐτήν. τότε ἔπηξεν τὴν ῥαφίδαν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ κράξας φωνῆ μεγάλη εἶπεν, Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου κελεύω σοι κάμηλε ἵνα εἰσέλθης διὰ τρυμαλιᾶς τῆς ῥαφίδος. Τότε ἡ τρύπη τῆς ῥαφίδος ἠνοίχθη ὡς πύλη καὶ διπηλθεν δι' αὐτῆς ὁ κάμηλος.	17 – Peter, looking up, saw the camel coming and he told them to bring it. Then he thrust the needle into the earth and cried out with a great voice, "In the name of Jesus Christ, crucified under Pontius Pilate, I command you, camel, enter through the eye of the needle." Then the eye of the needle opened like a gate and the camel passed through it.
Acts of Philip	Bonnet 1903	4	О	S	Page 117	Fragmentary traditions: 142.34-37 – Πᾶς ὃς ἐὰν ἐμβλέψη γυναικὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμήση αὐτὴν ἐν τῆ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν μοιχείαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρος ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ παντὸς τόπου ἐν ῷ ὑπῆρχεν γυνή (recensio—with minor variants). 3.1.1-3 – ἡνίκα δὲ Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος	142.34-37 – Every man who looked upon a woman and desired her in his heart fulfilled adultery. And because of this our brother Peter fled from every place in which there was a woman. 3.1.1-3 – When Philip, apostle of Christ, went to the ruler of the Parthians, behold he even found in a certain city Peter, the

					κατῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Παρθίας, καὶ ἰδοὺ εὖρεν κατά τινα πόλιν τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον Πέτρον μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μαθητῶν καὶ γυναικῶν τινων. 8.1.4-7 – ὁ δὲ κλῆρος ἔφθασεν ἀπελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, Ἰωάννην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Θωμᾶν εἰς τὴν Παρθίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, Ματθαῖον εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Βαρθολομαῖον εἰς τὴν Αυκαονίαν, Ἀνδρέαν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν, Σίμωνα	apostle of Christ, together with others of the disciples with him and certain women. 8.1.4-7 – The lot determined sending Peter to Rome, John to Asia, Thomas to Parthia and India, Matthew to every region of the Jews, Bartholomew to Lycaonia, Andrew to Achaea, Simon
Ambrose (339- 97)	4	О	R		Hymn on the Apostles – trinis celebratur viis festum sacrorum martyrum (Klauser 1956:22n25). Cf. Ambrose <i>Sermones</i> 10.1 on S. Prassede.	Hymn on the Apostles – on three roads is celebrated the feast of the holy martyrs
Apocalypse of Paul	4	О	Е		Preserved in Latin, Greek, Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian. 51 (end) – not in the Greek or Latin manuscripts.	51 – And while they were talking, Christ appeared from the chariot of the cherubim and spoke greetings to Peter, John,

						and especially Paul. He promised blessings to those who should write or read the Apocalypse, and curses on those who should deride it. Peter and Paul should end their course on the fifth of Epiphi (29 June). (M.R. James summary)
Arnobius of Sicca (d. ca. 330)	Migne PL	4	O	R	Adv. Gentes 2.12 enim currum Simo et quadrigas ignea difflatas, et nomin Christo evanuisse. inquam, fidentem et ab eisdem metu proditum, pondere praecipitatum suo jacuisse perfractis deinde perlatum E cruciatibus, et pud defessum, ex altis culminis se rursum praecipitasse fasti	they had seen the chariot of Simon Magus, and his fiery car, blown into pieces by the mouth of Peter, and vanish when Christ was named. They had seen him, I say, trusting in false gods, and abandoned by them in their terror, borne down headlong by his own weight, lie prostrate with his legs broken; and then, when he had been carried to

Catacomb of S. Balbina	4	О	R	Wilpert 1903 pl. 249.1 late 4thcent., badly worn
Catacomb of S. Commodilla	4	О	R	Wilpert 1891 pl. 158-159 Peter & traditio clavium (tradition of the keys)
Catacomb of S. Domitilla	4	О	R	4th cent. pictures of S Peter. Wilpert 1903 with Paul W. pl 179.1, cf pl. 154 (C4th 1st 1/2); with Christ + Paul W. pl.182.2 (face invisible c.AD 348)?; W. pl.153.2 (c4th 1st 1/2), W. pl.127.1 (C4th 2nd 1/2), W. pl.248+W. pl.182.1 (C4th 2nd 1/2)
Catacomb of SS Gordiano & Epimaco (Via Latina)	4	О	R	With Christ + Paul (Ferrua 1960 pl 118; cf. Testini 1963; Ferrua 1990 fig 105
Catacomb of SS Peter & Marcellinus	4	О	R	Late C 3 rd : Picture of S Peter holding scroll of the Law. Wilpert 1903 pl. 94 (cf. pl 93). Late C4th: Wilpert pl 254 (cf. pl 252).
Catacomb of S Pretestato	4	О	R	With Pope Liberius + Paul, with Christ + Paul. Wilpert 1903 pl. 251 face invisible (late C4th)

Cyprian (d.258)	Weber & Bévenot 1972 (ad Quir.), Diercks 1996 (ep.); Migne (Unit. Eccl.)	4	O	RA		Page 103n; 146n; 198	Ep. 59.14 – Post ista adhuc insuper pseudoepiscopo sibi ab haereticis constituto, nauigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram adque ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est. Ep. 73.7 – Manifestum est autem ubi et per quos remissa peccatorum dari posit, quae in baptismo scilicet datur. Nam Petro primum dominus, super quem aedificauit ecclesiam et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit, potestatem istam dedit ut id solueretur in terries quod ille soluisset. Et post resurrectionem quoque ad apostolos loquitur dicensVnde intellegimus non nisi in ecclesia praepositis in euangelica lege ac dominica ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare et remissam peccatorum dare. (Cf. 74.16 which is linked with John 20). Note, however: Cyprian is quite	things as these, moreover, they still dare—a false bishop having been appointed for them by heretics — to set sail and to bear letters from schismatic and profane persons to the throne of Peter [Rome] and to the chief church whence priestly unity takes its source" (ANF 54.14) Ep. 73.7 — But it is manifest where and by whom remission of sins can be given; to wit, that which is given in baptism. For first of all the Lord gave that power to Peter, upon whom He built the Church, and whence He appointed and showed the source of unity—the power, namely, that whatsoever he loosed on earth should be loosed in heaven. And after the resurrection, also, He speaks to the apostles Whence we perceive that only they who are set over
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	clear that mere episcopal succession is no guarantee against heresy (see Ep. 74.14). Ep. 71.3 – Nam nec Petrus quem primum dominus elegit et super quem aedificauit ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, uindicauit sibi aliquid insolenter aut adroganter adsumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere et obtemperari a nouellis et posteris sibi potius oportere, nec despexit Paulum quod ecclesiae prius persecutor fuisset, sed consilium ueritatis admisit et rationi legitimae quam Paulus uindicabat facile consensit,	the Church and established in the Gospel law, and in the ordinance of the Lord, are allowed to baptize and to give remission of sins (ANF 72.7) Ep. 71.3 – For neither did Peter, whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom He built His Church, when Paul disputed with him afterwards about circumcision, claim anything to himself insolently, nor arrogantly assume anything; so as to say that he held the primacy, and that he ought rather to be obeyed by novices and those lately come. Nor did he despise Paul because he had
	uindicabat facile consensit, documentum scilicet nobis et	Paul because he had previously been a
	concordiae et patientiae tribuens.	persecutor of the Church, but admitted the counsel of truth, and easily yielded to
	ad Quirin. 3.36 – De hoc ipso in epistula Petri ad Ponticos: Sit in muliere non exterior ornamenti (cf	the lawful reason which Paul asserted, furnishing thus an illustration to us

	Unit. Eccl. 4 – Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, "Ego tibi dico," inquit, "quia tu es Petrus, ei super hand petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meamEt tibi dabo claves rlave regni caelorum"Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam pareia potestatem tribuat et dicat, "Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos: accipite Siritum sanctum; si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi, si cujus tenueritis tenebantur"Hoc errant utique et caeteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis.	ch of concord and of cience (ANF 70.3) Quirin. 3.36 – About a same thing in Peter's ter to the people of contus: in a woman there could be no outward comment Ait. Eccl. 4 – The Lord cake to Peter, saying, "I wunto thee, that thou art ter; and upon this rock I ll build my Church, and a gates of hell shall not evail against it. And I ll give unto thee the keys the kingdom of heaven" And although to all the costles, after His currection, He gives an anal power, and says, "As a Father hath sent me, cen so send I you: Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose ever sins ye remit, they all be remitted unto him; if whose soever sins ye ain, they shall be ained;" Assuredly the tof the apostles were
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							also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership both of honour and power. (ANF)
Damasus (304- 84)	La Piana 1920	4	O	R	Pages 123, 162 Cf. <i>RP</i> pp. 66, 115	Inscription at S. Sebastiano – Hic abitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes, / nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris. / Discipulos oriens misit quod sponte fatemur, / sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti / aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum – / Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives. / Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes	You must know that formerly saints dwelled here and their names, should you inquire, are Peter and Paul. The east sent these disciples as we freely confess: by the virtue of their blood [i.e. martyrdom] they followed Christ through the stars and reached the curve of heaven and reigned with the saints. Rome merited the privilege to defend them as its citizens. Damasus relates this as your praise, O new stars [i.e. Peter and Paul]. (modified from La Piana)
Decretum Gelasianum (C5 th /6 th)	von Dobschütz 1912	4	О	R		3.1-2 – sancta tamen Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis ceteris ecclesiis praelata est, sed evangelica voce domini et salvatoris nostri primatum obtenuit: 'tu es Petrus'	3.1-3 – however the holy Roman church is given first place by the rest of the churches without a synodical decision, but from the voice of the Lord our saviour in the gospel

	inquiens 'et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferni non praevalebunt adversus eam; et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quaecumque ligaveris super terram erunt ligata et in caelo et quaecumque solveris super terram erunt soluta et in caelo'. Addita est etiam societas beatissimi Pauli apostoli 'vas electionis', qui non diverso, sicut heresei garriunt, sed uno tempore uno eodemque die gloriosa morte cum Petro in urbe Roma sub Caesare Nerone agonizans coronatus est Est ergo prima Petri apostoli sedes Romana ecclesia Secunda autem sedes apud Alexandriam beati Petri nomine a Marco eius discipulo atque evangelista consecrata est, ipseque in Aegypto directus a Petro apostolo verbum veritatis praedicavit et	obtained primacy: 'You are Peter,' he said, 'and upon this rock I shall build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to you I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you shall bind upon Earth shall be bound also in heaven and whatever you release upon Earth shall also be released in heaven'. For additionally there is also the presence of the blessed apostle Paul, 'the chosen vessel', who not in opposition, as the heresies jabber, but at the same time and on the same day was crowned in glorious death with Peter in the city of Rome suffering under Nero CaesarTherefore first is the seat at the Roman church of the apostle PeterHowever the second place was given in the name of blessed Peter to
	a Petro apostolo verbum	place was given in the

					apud Antiochiam bea apostoli Petri habetur honorabilis, eo quod i priusquam Romae vei habitavit et illic primi nomen Christianorum novellae gentis exortu	down the word of truth directed by Peter the apostle in Egypt and gloriously consummated [his life] in martyrdom.
Doctrina Addai	Howard 1981	4	O	S	Preserved in Syriac. 'the Epistles of Paul, Simon Peter sent us ficity of Rome, and the the twelve Apostles, v John, the son of Zebe sent us from Ephesus (5th cent?)	from the e Acts of which edee, Simon [Peter], one of the disciples, was in the city of Rome, and she saw the signs and wonders, and

			a h N N J J f f r r h t t t t t t t t t t t t t t t t t	were joined unto Simon, and held Him in great monour. (Philips trans.) When she was entering ferusalem, the city went forth to meet her, and they received her with great monour, as that which is due to the queen, the mistress of the great country of the Romans. But James, who was made director and ruler in the church which was built for us there, when he mad heard for what purpose she had gone there, arose and went to her. And he entered into her presence where she was dwelling, in the royal great palace of king Herod. When she saw mim, she received him with great joy, as also she had simon Peter. He also showed her cures and mighty works as did Simon Philips trans.) And when the queen went up from Jerusalem to the city of Rome, every city which she entered pressed
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			to see the sight of her daughter. And when she had entered Rome, she recounted before the Emperor Claudius those things which had happened; and when the Emperor heard, he commanded that all the Jews should go forth from the country of Italy. In all that country this deed was spoken of by many, and also before Simon Peter this was recounted (Philips trans.) But the Law, and the Prophets, and the Gospel, which ye read every day before the people, and the Epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome (Philips trans.)
			Palut himself went to Antioch, and received the hand of the priesthood from Serapion, Bishop of Antioch. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, himself also received the hand from Zephyrinus, Bishop of the

						city of Rome, from the succession of the hand of the priesthood of Simon Cephas, which he received from our Lord (Philips trans.)
Epistle of Ps Titus	de Bruyne 1925	4	O	S	83-93 – Praesentis scriptura intuere et proba[t] tibi gesta Cum hortulanus quidam habuerit filiam virginem quae cum una esset patri, peti <i>t orari pro illa a[d] petro; qui cum petierit, apostulus rursus ei dicit praestiturum dominum quod aptum essit animae eius. Statim puella iacuit mortuaSed ille senes diffidus et nesciens quantum sit caelestis [et] gratia, ignorat scilicet beneficia divina, rogavit Petrum suscitari sibi unicam filiam. Ut autem suscitaretur, non post multos denique dies sicut hodie, inruit homo uinctus fidelis in domum ein senis conmorari perdiditque puellam et ambo nusquam conparuerunt.</i>	note of the happening about which the following account informs us: A peasant had a girl who was a virgin. She was also his only daughter, and therefore he besought Peter to offer a prayer for her. After he had prayed, the apostle said to the father that the Lord would bestow upon her what was expedient for her soul. Immediately the girl fell down deadBut this distrustful old man, failing to recognize the worth of the heavenly grace, i.e. the divine blessing, besought Peter again that his only

						man who passed himself off as a believer [reading finctus for vinctus] came into the house of the old man to stay with him, and seduced the girl, and the two of them never appeared again. (trans. Schneemelcher)
Epiphanius (315-403)	4	O	R	Pages 46n; 88n; 122	Pan. 27.6.6 (GCS 1:309) – ἐν Ῥώμη γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἶτα Λίνος εἶτα Κλῆτος εἶτα Κλήμης, σύγχρονος ὢν Πέτρου καὶ Παῦλος ἐν τῆ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆ. καὶ μηδεὶς θαυμαζέτω ὅτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξαντο ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὄντος τούτου συγχρόνου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου· καὶ οὖτος γὰρ σύγχρονος γίνεται τῶν ἀποστόλων. εἴτ' οὖν ἔτι περιόντων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Πέτρου λαμβάνει τὴν χειροθεσίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	Pan. 27.6.6 – Now in Rome the apostles Peter and Paul themselves were the first bishops, then Linus, then Cletus, then Clement who was a contemporary of Peter and Paul and whom Paul remembers in his letter to the Romans [sic: read Philippians]. And let no one be amazed that others before him received the office of bishop from the apostles even though he [Clement] was a contemporary of Peter and Paul. For this man too was a contemporary of the apostles. Therefore while they were yet present he

καὶ παραιτησάμενος received the laying on of ήργει...πλην άλλα καὶ ούτως hands for the office of ηδύνατο ἔτι περιόντων τῶν bishop by Peter and when ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ took it up as requested... Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, Nevertheless while the έπισκόπους ἄλλους apostles were still present (I καθίστασθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς mean those around Peter ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς and Paul), he was unable to άλλας πατρίδας στέλλεσθαι appoint other bishops τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ because the apostles were Χριστοῦ κήρυγμα, μὴ often away in other δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν countries on a journey for Ρωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ the message of Christ, and έπισκόπου είναι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ the city of the Romans Παῦλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Σπανίαν could not be without a άφικνεῖται, Πέτρος δὲ bishop. For Paul reached πολλάκις Πόντον τε καὶ Spain while Peter often Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο. visited Pontus and Bithynia. Pan. 28.2.5-6 (GCS 1:315)-**Pan. 28.2.5-6** – Therefore οὖτος οὖν παρεκίνει περὶ τοῦ when Peter had gone up to Πέτρου ἀνελθόντος εἰς Jerusalem [after the Ίερουσαλήμ τὰ πλήθη τῶν Cornelius episode] this man [Cerinthus] provoked the έκ περιτομῆς λέγων ὅτι "εἰσῆλθε πρὸς ἄνδρας crowds of the circumcised άκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας". saying "he went to έποίησε δὲ τοῦτο Κήρινθος uncircumcised men.' And πρὶν ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κηρῦξαι τὸ Cerinthus did this before αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα καὶ ἐμπεσεῖν his message was preached είς τὸ περισσότερον τῆς in Asia and he fell into the αὐτοῦ ἀπωλείας βάραθρον.

	(On Cerinthus' oppositon to	abundant pit of his
	Paul cf. 28.4.1, 28.5.2,	destruction.
	28.6.1, 3-5)	Pan. 30.13.2-3 – (see
	Pan. 30.13.2-3 (GCS	Gospel of Ebionites above)
	1:349)– (see Gospel of Ebionites above) Pan. 30.15.1-4 (GCS 1:352)– Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ βίβλοις, δῆθεν ταῖς Περιόδοις καλουμέναις Πέτρου ταῖς διὰ Κλήμεντος	Pan. 30.15.1-4 – And they also use some other books, especially the so-called Circuits of Peter written by Clement. Some things in this they corrupt, while a few other things they allow
	γραφείσαις, νοθεύσαντες μέν τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς, ὀλίγα δὲ ἀληθινὰ ἐάσαντες ἐν ταῖς οὖν Περιόδοις τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μετήνεγκαν, καταψευσάμενοι Πέτρου	as true So they changed everything in the Circuits in their own interest, lying about Peter in many places, for example that he was immersed daily for
	κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους, ὡς αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτιζομένου ἀγνισμοῦ ἔνεκεν, καθάπερ καὶ οὖτοι ἐμψύχων τε τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρεῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἐδωδῆς τῆς ἀπὸ σαρκῶν πεποιημένης λέγουσιν,	purification, just as they are. Also they say that he kept away from living things and meat, as they do, and from all other food made of flesh, since Ebion himself and the Ebionites avoid these things entirely.
	κεποιημενης λεγουσίν, έπειδήπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐβίων καὶ Ἐβιωνῖται παντελῶς τούτων ἀπέχονται. (cf. 30.21.1)	Pan. 30.18.1-2 – So this Ebion himself sustained the message in Asia and Rome; but they have the roots of their thorny offshoots

					Pan. 51.17.6 (GCS 2:273) – ή μὲν γὰρ συνάντησις τῷ Ανδρέα πρώτῳ γεγένηται, μικροτέρῳ ὄντι τοῦ Πέτρου τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας· ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν, ὅτε ἡ τελεία αὐτοῖς ἀπόταξις γεγένηται, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου γέγονεν καὶ ἐξελέξατο τὸν Πέτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν.	Peter to be chief of his disciples.
Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 263-339)	4	O	R	Page 117	Ευκ. ΕΗ 2.17.1; 18.8 – ὃν καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρῳ, τοῖς ἐκεῖσε τότε κηρύττοντιοὖτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γάϊον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαΐου θεοστυγίας αὐτῷ γραφέντα, ἃ μετὰ ἤθους καὶ εἰρωνείας Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπὶ πάσης λέγεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτου κατὰ Κλαύδιον διελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐν βιβλιοθήκαις ἀναθέσεως θαυμασθέντας αὐτοῦ καταξιωθῆναι τοὺς λόγους. (De Animalibus dates after	Eus. EH 2.17.1; 18.8 – It is also said that Philo in the reign of Claudius became acquainted at Rome with Peter, who was then preaching there And he [Philo] is said to have read in the presence of the whole Roman Senate during the reign of Claudius the work which he had written, when he came to Rome under Caius, concerning Caius' hatred of the gods, and to which, with ironical reference to its character, he had given the title <i>On the Virtues</i> . And his discourses were so much

					AD 47; Schenck 2005, 14). Eus. EH 3.36.2 – Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατὰ ᾿Αντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος (cf. Eus. Chronicon for AD 68; ed. Helm, 186; cf. 194- 95) Eusebius Chronicon (p. 179). Petrus apostolus cum primus Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset, Romam mittitur.	admired as to be deemed worthy of a place in the libraries. (ANF) Eus. EH 3.36.2 – Ignatius, who was chosen bishop of Antioch, second in succession to Peter (ANF) Eus. Chronicon (p. 179) – Peter the apostle, after he had first established the Antiochene church, was sent to Rome.
House of Prisca (C4 th)	4	O	R		Church of S. Prisca, Aventine Hill. First house in which Peter stayed in Rome. Acta Sanctorum Jan 2 (18th):184-87 – sub ea est sacellum, cuius ara ea esse existimatur, quam S. Petrus Apostolus dedicauit, vbi & SS. Aquilæ & Priscillæ, ac Priscæ Virginis condita fuere corpora. (NB Prisca Virgo distinguished from Prisca & Aquila. A late tradition; Closa Farrés 2001, 140)	Acta Sanctorum Jan 2 (18th):184-87 – Beneath it is a shrine, the altar of which is supposed to be that which Saint Peter the apostle dedicated, where also the bodies of Saints Aquila and Priscilla as well as the virgin Prisca were interred.
'House of Pudens'	4	О	R	Page 162	Apparent Domus Ecclesia at S. Pudenziana (=Ecclesia	

						Pudentiana), oldest church in Rome: present church is C4th, but built on previous house. Pope Pius I is credited with the establishing of oratory. <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> May 4:299; <i>Liber Pontificalis</i> . Note 2 Tim 4.21. Daughters Pudentiana and Praxedes (NB church of S. Prassede nearby). Cf. Ambrose <i>Sermones</i> 10.1; Closa Farrés 2001:140. S. Pudenziana apse mosaic dates to 390.	
Jerome (c.347-420)	Migne	4	O	R	Page 39n, 56, 64, 106n Cf. <i>RP</i> pp. 114-115	Vir. Ill. 1 (MPL 23:607) – Simon Petrus, filius Joannis, provinciae Galileae, e vico Bethsaida, frater Andreae apostoli, et princeps Apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis Ecclesiae, et praedicationem dispersionis eorum qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, et Bithynia, secundo Claudii imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem magum, Romam pergit,	Vir. Ill. 1 – Simon Peter the son of John, from the village of Bethsaida in the province of Galilee, brother of Andrew the apostle, and himself chief of the apostles, after having been bishop of the church of Antioch and having preached to the Dispersion — the believers in circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia— pushed on to Rome in the second year

		ibique viginti quinque annis Cathedram Sacerdotalem tenuit, usque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id est, decimum quartum. A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso, et in sublime pedibus elevatis: asserens se indignum qui sic crucifigeretur ut Dominus suus. Scripsit duas Epistolas, quae Catholicae nominantur: quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam. Sed et Evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor ejus et interpres fuit, hujus dicitur. Libri autem, e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Praedicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur. Sepultus Romae in Vaticano, juxta viam Triumphalem, totius orbis veneratione celebratur. ("Official" Peter	of Claudius to overthrow Simon Magus, and held the sacerdotal chair there for twenty-five years until the last, that is the fourteenth, year of Nero. At his hands he received the crown of martyrdom being nailed to the cross with his head towards the ground and his feet raised on high, asserting that he was unworthy to be crucified in the same manner as his Lord. He wrote two epistles which are called Catholic, the second of which, on account of its difference from the first in style, is considered by many not to be by him. Then too the Gospel according to Mark, who was his disciple and interpreter, is ascribed to him. On the other hand, the books, of which one is entitled his Acts, another his Gospel, a third his Preaching, a fourth his Revelation, a fifth his Judgment are rejected as
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						tradition of the late 4th cent. Confidant of Damasus!) Vir. Ill. 5 (MPL 23:) – Hic ergo quarto decimo Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus Ramae, pro Christo capite truncatur, sepultusque est in cia Ostiensi, anno post passionem Domini tricesimo septimo	apocryphal. Buried at Rome in the Vatican near the triumphal way he is venerated by the whole world. (ANF) Vir. Ill. 5 – He [Paul] then, in the fourteenth year of Nero on the same day with Peter, was beheaded at Rome for Christ's sake and was buried in the Ostian way, the thirty-seventh year after our Lord's passion. (modified from ANF which reads "twenty-seventh year")
John Malalas (ca. 491-578)	Schenk von Stauffenberg 1931; Dindorf 1831	4	O	S	Page 56-57 Cf. <i>RP</i> 88n59	Chron. 10.242.10-22 – μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν ἄγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης, κηρύξαντα ἐκεῖ πρῶτον τὸν λόγον ἐν τῆ ῥύμη τῆ πλησίον τοῦ Πανθέου τῆ καλουμένη τῶν Σίγγωνος ἄμα Βαρνάβα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐξελθεῖν, ὁ Πέτρος ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ Ἀντιοχεία παρεγένετο καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐδίδασκε. καὶ ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ἐνθρονίσας, πεισθεὶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων	Chron. 10.242.10-22 – After Saint Paul left Antioch the Great, where together with Barnabas he first preached the Word in the street near the Pantheon called 'Singon', he went out to Cilicia. Peter arrived from Jerusalem at the same Antioch and he began to teach the Word. And taking his seat there, he persuaded those from the Jews to become Christians. He did

1		1 1		1
			γενομένοις χριστιανοῖς, τοὺς	not receive or love
			έξ έθνῶν πιστοὺς οὐκ	believers from the Gentiles
			έδέξατο οὔτε ἠγάπα, ἀλλ'	but permitting them in this
			οὕτως ἐάσας αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν	fashion he departed from
			έκεῖθεν. ὁ δὲ ἄγιος Παῦλος	there. But after this Saint
			μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλθὼν ἐν	Paul came into Antioch the
			Αντιοχεία τῆ μεγάλη, καὶ	Great and when he learned
			μαθών ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου	these things about Saint
			Πέτρου, πανταχοῦ τὸ	Peter, he removed the
			σκάνδαλον περιείλε καὶ	obstacle everywhere and he
			πάντας ἴσως ἐδέξατο καὶ	received and loved
			ήγάπα, προτρεπόμενος	everyone equally and
			ἄπαντας, καθώς	instructed everyone, just as
			συνεγράψαντο ταῦτα οί	the most wise Clement and
			σοφώτατοι Κλήμης καὶ	Tatian the chronographers
			Τατιανός οί χρονογράφοι.	wrote.
			3 75 11 1	246.22 – After ten years,
			246.22 – μετὰ ἔτη δέκα	Euodios became patriarch
			πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν ἄγιον	when he received the
			Πέτρον τὸν ἀπόστολον τὴν	ordination as first bishop of
			χειροτονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	Antioch the Great, the city
			τῆς Ἀντιοχέων μεγάλης	of Syria, after Saint Peter
			(247.) πόλεως τῆς Συρίας	the apostle.
			ἔλαβεν Εὔοδος γενόμενος	252.8-13 – But when Saint
			πατριάρχης.	Peter the apostle heard the
			252.8-13 – ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ	information about him
			ἄγιος Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος	[Simon Magus], he went up
			περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνήρχετο ἐν τῆ	to Rome. Now, while he
			Ῥώμη. ἐν τῷ δὲ ἀνιέναι	was going to Rome, passing
			αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ	thorugh Antioch the Great,
			διερχομένου αὐτοῦ δι'	it happened that Euodios
1			_1	<u> </u>

Aντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης συνέβη τελευτήσεια Εύοδον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην Αντιοχείας· καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ σχήμα τῆς μεγάλης Τγόττιος, τοὺ ἀγίου Πέτρου τοὺ ἀποστόλου χειροτονήσαντος. 252.22I - Καταφθάσαντος δὲ τοὺ ἀγίου Πέτρου τοὺ ἀποστόλου τὴν Ῥθμην καὶ μαθόντος ποὺ μένει Σίμων ὁ μάγος, ἀπίδε πὸς αντός κατέμεινε· καὶ ηὖρεν ἐκεῖ κίνα μέγαν ἐν τῷ πολεῶνι πομιενικόν, ὅπου κατέμεινε· Σίμων ο μάγος, ἀπλοῦνι κρατήσας οὖν ὁ Πέτρος τὴν ἄλυσιν τοὺ κυνός ἔλοσεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸ, Ανελθε πολς Σίνων ακαὶ εἶπε ἀὐτὸ ἀνθροπίνη φωνή, Πέτρος ὁ δοῦλος τοὺ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑγίστου ἀνελθεῖν θέλει. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κύων ἀνάλθεν εὐθέως δρομαίως (The account of Simon The hishop and patriarch of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position of bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position of bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position of bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position of bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position of bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position of bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch died. And Ignatius received the position bishop of Antioch the Gishop of Antioch deviced the position. He position of the pos
[Peter]. And when Saint

	Μαgus and Peter's conflict ends at 255.20) 255.21-256.15 – Άκούσας δὲ Νέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἐφονεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου ὁ Σίμων, ἡγανάκτησε· καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν συσχεθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ἢ μόνον ἐκρατήθη ὁ ἄγιος Πέτρος, ἐπέδωκε τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ῥώμης Λίνῳ ὀνόματι, μαθητῆ αὐτοῦ· Ὁ δὲ ἄγιος Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐμαρτύρησε σταυρωθεὶς κατακέφαλα, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλου ὁρκώσαντος τοῦτο τὸν ἔπαρχον ὅτι Μὴ ὡς ὁ κύριός μου σταυρωθῶ. καὶ ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἄγιος Πέτρος ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Απρωνιανοῦ καὶ Καπίτωνος. 256.4-9 – ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἄγιος Πέτρος γέρων ὑπῆρχε τῆ ἡλικία διμοιριαῖος, ἀναφάλας, κονδόθριξ, ὁλοπόλιος τὴν κάραν καὶ τὸ γένειον, λευκός, ὑπόχλωρος, οἰνοπαὴς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, εὐπώγων, μακρόρινος, σύνοφρυς, ἀνακαθήμενος,	Peter was captured by himself, he gave the cloak of the bishop's office of Rome to his disciple called Linus But Saint Peter the apostle was martyred by being crucified upside down: the same apostle had implored the commanding officer, "Let me not be crucified in the same way as my Lord." And Saint Peter died during the consulate of Apronianus and Capito. 256.4-9— St Peter was an old man, in stature of average height, with receding short hair, both hair and beard completely grey, fair but rather sallow skin, with wine-coloured eyes, a good beard, a big nose and eyebrows that met; he was upright in posture, prudent, irritable, changeable, timid; he spoke by the Holy Spirit and he was a miracle-worker.
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					φρόνιμος, ὀξύχολο εὐμετάβλητος, δεώ φθεγγόμενος ὑπὸ τ ἀγίου καὶ θαυματο	αλός, πνεύματος	
Lactantius (250-325)	Migne	4	O	R	Inst. 4.21 – sed et aperuit illis omnia. Petrus et Paulus Re praedieaverunt, et praedicatio in mem scripta permansit; multa alia mira, tur hoc futurum esse de post breve tempus. Deus regnem, qui es Judaeos, et civitate solo adaequaret ipse fame sitique confe obsideret. Tum for corporibus suorum vescerentur, et con se invicemItaquillorum obitum, cu Nero interemisset, Judaeorum nomen Vespasianus extinate fecitque omnia qua futura praedixeram Mort. 2.1-6 – Extra temporibus Tiberii up sctiptum legimu	a, quae Romae t ea emoriam ; in qua cum um etiam dixerunt, ut s immitteret i expugnaret tes eorum psos autem recios ore ut m onsumerent ue post eum eos t, n et gentem nxit, uae illi nt. tremis rii Caesaris,	Inst. 4.21 – But He also opened to them all things which were about to happen, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome; and this preaching being written for the sake of remembrance, became permanent, in which they both declared other wonderful things, and also said that it was about to come to pass, that after a short time God would send against them a king who would subdue. The word properly signifies to take by storm the Jews, and level their cities to the ground, and besiege the people themselves, worn out with hunger and thirst. Then it should come to pass that they should feed on the bodies of their own children, and consume one

		Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judaeis cruciatus est, post diem decimum Kalendarum Aprilium [=23 March], duobus Geminis consulibus: cum resurrexisset die tertio, congregavit discuplos, quos metus comprehensionis ejus in fugam verteratEt inde discipuli, qui tunc errant undecim assumptis in locum Judae proditoris Mattia et Paulo, dispersi sont per omnem lettam, ad Evangelium praedicandum, sicut illis magister Dominus imperaveratCumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit; et editis quibusdam miraculiset primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci affixit, et Paulum interfecit.	another And so, after their [Peter and Paul's] decease, when Nero had put them to death, Vespasian destroyed the name and nation of the Jews, and did all things which they had foretold as about to come to pass. (ANF) Mort. 2.1-6 — In the latter days of the Emperor Tiberius, in the consulship of Ruberius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, and on the tenth of the kalends of April, as I find it written, Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews. After He had risen again on the third day, He gathered together His apostles, whom fear, at the time of His being laid hold on, had put to flight His apostles were at that time eleven in number, to whom were added Matthias, in the room of the traitor Judas, and afterwards Paul. Then were they dispersed throughout all the earth to preach the Gospel, as the
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						Lord their Master had commanded them And while Nero reigned, the Apostle Peter came to Rome, and, through the power of God committed unto him, wrought certain miracles He [Nero] it was who first persecuted the servants of God; he crucified Peter, and slew Paul. (ANF)
Liber Pontificalis (c.530)	Duchesne 1 p.54, 125, 150	4	O	R	hic memoriam beati Petri construxit et composuit [dum presbiter factus fuisset a beato Petro] ubi episcopi reconderentur. [Second redaction adds: ubi tamen et ipse sepultus est, iuxta corpus beati Petri]. Duchesne 1:118 – qui sepultus est via Aurelia, in templum Apollinis, iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, iuxta palatium Neronianum, in Vaticanum, iuxta territorium Triumphalem, III kal. Iul. Duchesne 1:150	Duchesne 1:54 (Anacletus)— He built and adorned the sepulchral monument of the blessed Peter, forasmuch as he had been made priest by the blessed Peter, and other places of sepulchre for the burial of bishops [There he himself likewise was buried near the body of the blessed Peter, July 13.] (trans. Loomis 1916) Duchesne 1:118 — he was buried on the via Aurelia, in the temple of Apollo, next to the place where he was crucified, near Nero's

				acce Corr iuxta est in m Vati	prnelius)— beati Petri epit corpus beatus rnelius episcopus et posuit ta locum, ubi crucifixus in templym Apollonis, monte Aureum, in ticanum palatii Neroniani, kal. Iul.	palace, in the Vatican, near the triumphal territory, on June 29. Duchesne 1:150 (Cornelius)— the body of the blessed Peter was received by the blessed Cornelius, the bishop, and laid near the place where he was crucifiedin the shrine of Apollo, on the Mons Aureus, in the Vatican, by the palace of Nero, June 29. (trans. Loomis 1916)
Mamertine Prison (C3 rd)	4	O	R	priso and of Proce (who to flot 1:27 Mart 1:6, + 5th repro- clear Earli- cent.	er kept in the Mamertine son (Carcer Tullianum) I converted guards ocessus & Martinianus no acc. to AP then urge Polee). Acta Sanctorum July 70, 304; Ps-Linus, rtyrium Petri 5, 8 (Lipsius 7). No early sources. 4th th cent artistic resentations, but not early linked with this site. Hiest clear evidence 6th at. ancient cistern, still das prison cell until	

					4th cent (Ammianus Marcellinus' Hist 28.1.57). Quite possibly secondary identification from the water soaking up inside from sources beneath. Note excavations since 2000.	
Methodius of Olympus (d. 311)	Debidour and Musurillo 1963	4	O	A	Symposium 2.6 – Όθεν δὴ καὶ "τημελούχοις ἀγγέλοις, κἂν ἐκ μοιχείας ὧσι, τὰ ἀποτικτόμενα παραδίδοσθαι" παρειλήφαμεν ἐν θεοπνεύστοις γράμμασιν. Εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς ἀγγέλοις ταῦτα παρεδίδοτο τραφησόμενα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ῥαστώνης; Πῶς δὲ καὶ κατηγορήσοντα σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς γονεῖς εὐπαρρησιάστως εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐκίκλησκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Σὸ οὐκ ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν, ὧ κύριε, τὸ κοινόν, λέγοντα, τοῦτο φῶς· οὖτοι δὲ εἰς θάνατον ἡμᾶς ἐξέθεντο, καταφρονήσαντες	Symposium 2.6 – Whence also we have received in inspired writings that children born untimely - even if they be the offspring of adultery- are delivered to care-taking angels. For if they had come into being contrary to the will and ordinance of that blessed nature of God, how could they have been delivered to angels to be nourished up in all repose and tranquillity? And how could they have confidently summoned their parents before the judgement seat of Christ to accuse them? saying: Thou, O Lord, didst not begrudge us this light that is common to all, but these exposed us to death,

				τῆς σῆς ἐντολῆς. (citation from Apocalypse of Peter, though not named, as inspired scripture)	contemning thy commandment. (trans. M.R. James)
Ps Marcellus, Passio Petri et Pauli(C5 th /6 th)	4	O	R	60 (Lipsius 1:171) – Petrus autem dum uenisset ad crucem ait: Quoniam dominus meus Iesus Christus de caelo ad terram descendens recta cruce sublimatus est, me autem quem de terra ad caelum euocare dignatur, crux mea caput meum in terra debet ostendere, et pedes ad caelum dirigere: ergo quia non sum dignus ita esse in cruce sicut dominus meus, girate crucem meam. Lipsius 1:172 – abstulerunt corpus eius occulte et posuerunt sub terebinthum iuxta Naumachiam in locum qui appellatur Vaticanus. (Klauser 1956:84 regards this 'terebinth' as late fantasy);	when Peter came to the cross, said, "Because my Lord Jesus Christ was raised up on a straight cross, having come down to earth from heaven, for me who is deemed worthy to be summoned from earth to heaven my cross should show my head to the earth and point my feet to heaven. So because I am not so worthy to be on the cross as my Lord was, turn my cross around." Lipsius 1:172 – [Marcellus and other followers] carried away his body secretly and placed it beneath a terebinth beside the naval battle arena in a place called the Vatican. 66 (Lipsius 1:175) – Now, when the bodies of the holy

		Sanctorum autem apostolorum dum a Graecis corpora tollerentur ad Orientem ferenda, extitit terrae motus nimius. et occurrit populus Romanus et comprehenderunt eos in loco, qui dicitur Catacumba uia Appia miliario tertio; et ibi custodita sunt corpora anno uno et mensibus septem, quousque fabricarentur loca in quibus fuerunt posita corpora eorum. et illic reuocata sunt cum gloria hymnorum et posita sancti Petri in Vaticano Naumachiae et sancti Pauli in uia Ostiensi miliario secundo. (Klauser 1956; Abogunrin 1985:27 explains this is a fifth-century pilgrim's legend derived from the phrase Discipulos oriens misitin the misunderstood Damasus inscription; but note Ferreiro 2001:50 still takes it seriously).	apostles [Peter and Paul] were to be taken by the Greeks to be carried to the east, there was a great commotion of the land. And the Roman people ran and seized them [the bodies] in the place called Catacumba at the third mile on the Appian Way; and there the bodies were guarded for a year and seven months until places were made in which their bodies could be placed. And there they were brought back with glorious hymns, that of St. Peter was placed on the Vatican (by the naval battle arena) and St. Paul was placed on the Ostian Way at the second mile.
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PsHegesippus Ussani 1932 4 O S	3.2 (CSEL 66:1)— Erant tunc temporis Romae Petrus et Paulus doctores Christianorum qui uirtute suorum operum Neronem aduersum fecerant, captum magi Simonis delinimentis qui sibi animum eius conciliauerat defunctus erat id temporis Romae adulescens nobilis propinquus Caesaris cum uinuersorum dolore Simon accessit ad lectum defuncti, incantare atque immurmurare dira carmina coepit, uisus est agitare caput qui mortuus erat abducitur Simon a lectulo, manet sine specie motus alicuius qui mortuus erat. Adstitit Petrus longius et intra se orationi paulisper intentus cum magna uoce ait: 'adulescens, surge: sanat te dominus Iesus'. Et statim surrexit adulescens et locutus est et ambulauit et cibum sumsit et didit eum Petrus matri suaeubi uentum ad portam, uidit sibi Christum occurrere et adorans eum
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						dixit: 'Domine, quo uenis?' dicit ei Christus: 'iterum uenio crucifigi'. intellexit Petrus de sua dictum passione	walking; he took food and Peter gave him to his mother When he came to the gate [of Rome, while fleeing his arrest by Nero] he saw Christ running towards him; he worshipped him and said, "Lord, are you coming here?" Christ said to him, "I am coming to be crucified again." Peter understood that this was spoken about his own suffering.
PsHippolytus (?)	Bonwetsch & Achelis 1897 (cf. Whealey 1996: Byzantine apocalypse); Migne	4	O	R		De Consummatione Mundi 10.4 – πρῶτος ὁ Πέτρος, ἡ πέτρα τῆς πίστεως, ὃν ἐμακάρισε Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁ πρῶτος μαθητής, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἔχων, ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς λέγων (quotes from 2 Pet 3.3 and 2.1). De Duodecim Apostolis(MPG 10:952) – Πέτρος μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατία καὶ Καππαδοκία καὶ	De Consummatione Mundi 10.4 – Peter, the first, the rock of faith, whom Christ our God called blessed, the teacher of the church, the first disciple, the one who holds the keys of heaven, he taught us saying (quotes from 2 Peter 3.3 and 2.1) De Duodecim Apostolis – After preaching the gospel in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Betania, Italy

					Βητανὶᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ, κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐν Ρώμη σταυροῦται κατὰ κεφαλῆς οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἀξιώσαντος παθεῖν.	and Asia, finally Peter was crucified upside down [lit. on his head] in Rome by Nero, having himself deemed it right to suffer in this way.
PsIgnatius	Diekamp & Funk 1913	4	O	S	Τrall. 7.4 – μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ, διακονοῦντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ λειτουργοῦντες αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἄγιος Ἰακώβῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Λῖνος Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ. Μαgn. 10.2 – ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γὰρ ἐχρημάτισαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Χριστιανοί, Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ταrs. 3.3 – τἱ δήποτε Πέτρος μὲν ἐσταυροῦτο, Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος μαχαίρᾳ ἐτέμνοντο, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν Πάτμῳ, Στέφανος δὲ ἐν λίθοις ἀνηρεῖτο παρὰ τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων;	Trall. 7.4 – And what are the deacons but imitators of Christ, ministering to the bishop, as Christ to the Father, fulfilling a pure and blameless ministry unto him, as the holy Stephen did to the blessed James, Timothy and Linus to Paul, Anencletus and Clement to Peter? (ANF) Magn. 10.2 – for the disciples were called Christians at Antioch, when Paul and Peter were laying the foundations of the Church. (ANF) Tars. 3.3 – And why such facts as the following: Peter was crucified; Paul and James were slain with the sword; John was banished to Patmos; Stephen was

				Ερ. Το Mary 4.1 – Έπέρχεται δέ μοι λέγειν, ὅτι ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος, ὃν ἤκουον περί σου, ἔτι οὕσης σου ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη παρὰ τῷ μακαρίῳ πάπᾳ Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, ὃν διεδέξατο τὰ νῦν ὁ ἀξιομακάριστος Κλήμης, ὁ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἀκουστής.	stoned to death by the Jews who killed the Lord? (ANF) Ep. To Mary 4.1 – Now it occurs to me to mention, that the report is true which I heard of thee whilst thou wast at Rome with the blessed father Linus, whom the deservedly-blessed Clement, a hearer of Peter and Paul, has now succeeded. (ANF)
PsLinus, Martyrium Petri	4	O	R	5 (Lipsius 1:6) – nam postquam nos credentes in hac vicina Mamertini custodia baptizasti 6 (Lipsius 1:7-8) – Ut autem portam civitatis voluit egredi, vidit sibi Christum occurrere. Et adorans eum ait: Domine, quo vadis? Respondit ei Christus: Romam venio iterum crucifigi. et ait ad eum Petrus: Domine iterum crucifigeris? Et dixit ad eum dominus: Etiam, iteram crucifigar. Petrus autem dixit: Domine, revertar et	5 (Lipsius 1:6) – For after you [Peter] baptized us believers in this nearby prison of Mamertinus. 6 (Lipsius 1:7-8) – Then, as Peter wanted to go out of the gate of the city, he saw Christ running towards him. And he worshipped him and said: Lord, where are you going? Christ replied to him: I am coming to Rome to be crucified again. And Peter said to him: Lord, you will be crucified again? And the

	sequar te. Et his dictis dominus ascendit in caelum. Petrus autem prosecutus est eum multo intuitu atque dulcissimis lacrimis. Et post haec rediens in se ipsum intellexit de sua dictum passione, quod in eo dominus esset passurus 10 (Lipsius 1:11-12) — (Location of Peter's execution) ad locum qui vocatur Naumachia iuxta obeliscum Neronis in montem (See already Pliny Nat. Hist. 36.74; cf. further Tacitus Ann. 14.14). 12-15 (Lipsius 1:14-19) — Precor vos, boni salutis meae ministri, ut crucifigentes me caput deorsum ponatis et pedes sursumQuod cum factum fuisset, adorsus est Petrus plentem populum de cruce consolari et alloqui mirabiliter dicens Lord said to him: Indeed, I will be crucified again. Then Peter said: I am turning back and following you. And when he had said this, the Lord ascended into heaven. Peter, however, followed him with much contemplation and the sweetest tears. And after this, returning to himself, Peter understood that the statement was about his passion, because in him the Lord would suffer 10 (Lipsius 1:11-12) — (Location of Peter's execution) at the place which is called Naumachia (i.e. the arena for mock naval battles) next to Nero's obelisk on the hill. 12-15 (Lipsius 1:14-19) — (Peter speaking) "I beg you, good ministers of my salvation, to crucify me with my head placed downwards and my feet above" When this was done, Peter addressed the
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					cross to comfort and encourage them marvellously, saying
Salento/Puglia	4	O	R I	Apulian traditions: Peter landed at Finis Terrae in A 44 (?); a more likely traditionames Otranto: note Otranto/Brindisi as one terminus of Via Appia, tak by Horace/Virgil in 37BC. Other traditions link disembarkation with Puteo (note Acts of Peter 6) and Pisa.	on en
Church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome	4	O	R	Skulls of Peter & Paul: Moved inside the walls c. 630 by Honorius I (de Waa 1891), c. 650 by Gregory t Great (Carcopino 1965:56- 57) to protect the heads. K until 1367 in the chapel of the Lateran Palace ('ad sancta sanctorum'), since then above the high altar o the Lateran Basilica. Cf.als John the Deacon c. 1159-8 based on an 11th-cent. report MPL 78:1390.	ept f o 1

Church of S. Maria in Vescovìo, Lazio	4	O	R	Theodosius I built the church of Vescovìo and endowed it 'to maintain the memory of the Apostle Peter, who came to celebrate in infima sede Ursaciorum the fractio panis'. Second (?) century marble sarcophagus CIL 9.4785, found in the crypt in the 18th cent.: AVRELIO.VRSA / CIO.P.C.BENE.ME / RENTI.QVIXIT.AN / XXXVIII.DI.VIII.INPACE / DEP.XVI.KAL.APR Forum Novum had a 5,000-seat amphitheatre since the 1st cent. BC, and possibly the house of Julius Caesar's mother Aurelia. Secondcentury Christian presence at Forum Novum confirmed by martyrdom of SS. Bassus & Maximus, in Acta SS. Anthimi et sociorum eius 2.10 (AS Maii 2:618A): 'in eodem loco permanens hortabatur populum credentium, ut in Sanctorum passione gauderent potius	

				m qu ul	nutem ut convenirent ad mercatum populi, in locum qui appellatur Forum-novum, abi fiebant sacrificia Libero Patri & Cereri.'	
Church of S. Maria Nova/S. Francesca Romana, Rome	4	O	R	an S. cc bo bo M. M. M. R. C. im si s. vo ea lc	Pope Paul I (757-67) built an oratory [S Pietro nella Via Sacra] c. 760 to commemorate the clash between Peter and Simon Magus:ubi cecidit Simon Magus iuxta templum Romuli. Chronicle of 1375 — ibidem in uno altare est lapis signatus per genuflexionem s. Petri quando oravit in volatu Simonis Magi qui ante candem ecclesiam cecidit ubi ocus lapidibus est signatus. See de Rossi on historicity.)	Pope Paul I – Where Simon Magus fell to his death next to the temple of Romulus. Chronicle of 1375 – In that place there is in one altar the stone marked through Saint Peter's kneeling when he prayed during the flight of Simon Magus who fell to his death in front of that very church, where the place is marked by stones.
Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome	4	O	R	ba in 44 ha sa pi	Peter's chains kept in this pasilica: apse mosaic inscription of Pope Sixtus (d. 140) Inlesas olim servant face tecta catenas vincla facrata Petri ferrum pretiosius auro ("this place conserves intact the sacred	

					chains of Peter, iron more precious than gold). Third & 4th cent. Church underneath. Site is near the Praefectura Urbis, palace of justice, with cells for remand prisoners; also Templum Telluris when many martyrs were condemned to death.	1
Teaching of Simon Cephas in Rome	Cureton 1864, 35-41	4	O	S	Preserved only in Syriac Legendary material with Nicene emphases (cf. similarly Doctrina Addai: Bruns 2001).	Cureton p. 35.20 – In the third year of Claudius Caesar, Simon Cepha left departed from Antioch to go to Rome. (trans. Cureton) Cureton p. 38.24 – [Peter speaking] Let not Simon the Sorcerer deceive you, by semblances that are not real which he exhibits to you. (trans. Cureton) Cureton p. 39.23 – [After Simon Magus' failed attempt at resurrection] immediately as the word of Simon [Cephas] was spoken, he that was dead revived and rose up from the bier. And all the people

			saw and marvelled. (trans. Cureton) Cureton p. 40.7 – And many of the Jews and Pagans became his disciples there. And when there was great rejoicing at his doctrine, he built a church there in Rome and in the neighbouring cities, and in all the villages of the people of Italy; and he Ministered there in the office of Guide and Ruler twenty-five years. (trans. Cureton)
			Cureton p. 40.12 – And after these years Nero Caesar seized him, and bound him in prison: and he knew that he would crucify him, so he called Ansus [Linus], the Deacon, and made him bishop in his own stead in Rome . (trans. Cureton) Cureton p. 40.23 – And Isus [Linus] the Guide arose and took up their [Peter and Paul's] bodies

						by night and buried them with great honour, and a house of assembly for many was made there.
PsClem. Epistle of Clement to James	4	J	S		2.1-4 – Πρὸς αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις, αἷς ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, συνηθροισμένων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, αἰφνιδίως λαβόμενός μου τῆς χειρὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔφη· Ἀκούσατέ μου, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ σύνδουλοι. ἐπεί (ὡς ἐδιδάχθην ἀπὸ τοῦ με ἀποστείλαντος κυρίου τε καὶ διδασκάλου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) αὶ τοῦ θανάτου μου ἡγγίκασιν ἡμέραι, Κλήμεντα τοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῖν χειροτονῶ, ῷ τὴν ἐμὴν τῶν λόγων πιστεύω καθέδραν, τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μοι μέχρι τοῦ τέλους συνοδεύσαντι καὶ οὕτως πασῶν μου τῶν ὁμιλιῶν ἐπακούσαντι διὸ αὐτῷ μεταδίδωμι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δεσμεύειν καὶ λύειν, ἵνα περὶ παντὸς οὖ ἂν χειροτονήση ἐπὶ γῆς ἔσται δεδογματισμένον ἐν οὐρανοῖς.	2.1-4 – But about that time, when he was about to die, the brethren being assembled together, he suddenly seized my hand, and rose up, and said in presence of the church: "Hear me, brethren and fellow-servants. Since, as I have been taught by the Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ, whose apostle I am, the day of my death is approaching, I lay hands upon this Clement as your bishop; and to him I entrust my chair of discourse, even to him who has journeyed with me from the beginning to the end, and thus has heard all my homilies Wherefore I communicate to him the power of binding and loosing, so that with respect to everything which he shall ordain in the earth,

	φεμβόμενοι ἔστωσαν οφθαλμοί, ἐκάστου τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὰς πράζεις 13.1-2 – Οἱ κατηχοῦντες πρῶτον κατηχηθέντες κατηχείτωσαν· ὅτι περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνθρόπων τὸ ἔργον πρὸς γὰρ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν μανθανόντων γνώμας συναμμόζεσθαι δεῖ τὸν τῶν λόγων ὑφηγητήν. 14.1-2 – Ἔοικεν γὰρ ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας νηὶ μεγάλη, διὰ σφοδροῦ χειμῶνος ἄνδρας φερούση ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ὁντας καὶ μίαν τινὰ ἀγαθῆς βασιλείας πόλιν οἰκεῖν θέλοντας. ἔστω μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν ὁ ταύτης δεσπότης θεὸς καὶ παρεικάσθω ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης Χριστῷ, ὁ πρωρεὺς ἐπισκόπῳ (cf. 15.2) 19.1 – Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐν μέσω ἐπὶ πάντων μοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθεὶς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ καθέδραν καθεσθῆναί με ἐδυσώπησεν.
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Epistle of Peter to Clement	4	J	S		Preserved only in Arabic.	to Christ, the look-out to the bishop. (ANF) 19.1 – Having thus spoken, he [Peter] laid his hands upon me in the presence of all, and compelled me to sit in his own chair. (ANF)
PsClemRec 'Clement Romance'	4	J	S		R 1.7 – donec sub eodem anno vir quidam astans in rubis loco celeberrimo, proclamaret at populum: Audite me, o cives RomaniErat autem vir iste, qui haec loquebatur ad populum, ex Orientis partibus, natione, Hebraeus, nomine Barnabas, qui se etiam unum ex ejus discipulis esse dicebat, missumque ob hoc, ut haec volentibus indicaret. Quibua wgo auditis, cum reliqua multitudine sequi cum coepi et audire, quae diceret.	R 1.7 – until, about the same year, a certain man, standing in a most crowded place in the city, made proclamation to the people, saying: "Hear me, O ye citizens of Rome" Now, the man who spoke these things to the people was from the regions of the East, by nation a Hebrew, by name Barnabas, who said that he himself was one of His disciples, and that he was sent for this end, that he should declare these things to those who would hear them. When I [Clement] heard these

			R 1.12 – Cumque navi egressus, hospitium quaererem, rumore populi comperi quod Petrus quidam, illius qui in Judaea apparuit, et signa multa ac prodigia divinitus gesta inter hominess ostendit, discipulus probatissimus, crastino cum Simone quodam Samaritano ex castello Gethonum, habiturus esset verborum quaestionumque certamen. Quibus ego auditis, rogabam demonstrari mihi ejus hospitium; quod cum reperissem, atque ante fores constitissem, ingerebam janitori, quisnam essem atque unde advenatem; et ecce Barnabas procedens, statim up me vidit, in complexus meos cucurrit, gaudio lacrymans, at que apprehensum me manu introducebat ad Petrum. H 7.1-12 – Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐν Τύρω ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον προεληλυθότι τῷ Πέτρω	things, I began, with the rest of the multitude, to follow him, and to hear what he had to say [ANF] R 1.12 – When I [Clement] had landed [in Caesarea], and was seeking for an inn, I learned from the conversation of the people, that one Peter, a most approved disciple of Him who appeared in Judæa, and showed many signs and miracles divinely performed among men, was going to hold a discussion of words and questions the next day with one Simon, a Samaritan. Having heard this, I asked to be shown his lodging; and having found it, and standing before the door, I informed the doorkeeper who I was, and whence I came; and, behold, Barnabas coming out, as soon as he saw me rushed into my arms, weeping for joy, and,
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απήντων πλησιόχωροί τε οὐκ όλίγοι καὶ αὐτῆς Τύρου πάνπολλοι καὶ ἐπεφώνουν λέγοντες: Ὁ θεὸς διὰ σοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐλεείτω, διὰ σοῦ θεραπευέτω. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἔστη ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς ὑγηλοῦ πρὸς τὸ δίνασθαι πάσιν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύσας θεοσεβεῖ νόμω οὔτως Τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου εἰπόντος εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα πολλοὺς ἐν κλίναις φέροντες πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐτίθεσαν Ως δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπέβη τῆς Βηρυτοῦ, σεισμὸς ἐγένετο. καὶ οἱ ὅχλοι προσιόντες τῷ Πέτρω, Βοήθει, ἔλεγον· πεφοβήμεθα γάρ (ἔφασαν), μὴ ἄρα ἄρδην πάντες ἀπολόμεθα εἰς τὴν Βύβλον ἐξῆει καὶ γενόμενος ἐκεῖ καὶ μαθών, ὅτι Σίμων οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας αὐτοῖς προσέμεινα, ἀλλ: εὐθέας εἰς Τρίπολιν ὅρμησεν, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμείνας καὶ θεραπεύσας οἰκ ὀλίγους καὶ ταῖς βίβλοις αὐτοὸς ἐνασκήσας, κατ' ἵχνος τοῦ Σίμωνος εἰς τὴν Τρίπολιν ὅπορεύετο, μεταδιόκειν				
			ολίγοι καὶ αὐτῆς Τύρου πάνπολλοι καὶ ἐπεφώνουν λέγοντες· Ὁ θεὸς διὰ σοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐλεείτω, διὰ σοῦ θεραπευέτω. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἔστη ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πᾶσιν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύσας θεοσεβεῖ νόμῳ οὕτως Τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου εἰσιόντος εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα πολλοὺς ἐν κλίναις φέροντες πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐτίθεσαν Ὠς δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπέβη τῆς Βηρυτοῦ, σεισμὸς ἐγένετο. καὶ οἱ ὅχλοι προσιόντες τῷ Πέτρῳ, Βοήθει, ἔλεγον· πεφοβήμεθα γάρ (ἔφασαν), μὴ ἄρα ἄρδην πάντες ἀπολώμεθα εἰς τὴν Βύβλον ἐξήει. καὶ γενόμενος ἐκεῖ καὶ μαθών, ὅτι Σίμων οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας αὐτοῖς προσέμεινεν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως εἰς Τρίπολιν ὥρμησεν, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμείνας καὶ θεραπεύσας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ταῖς βίβλοις αὐτοὺς ἐνασκήσας, κατ' ἴχνος τοῦ Σίμωνος εἰς τὴν Τρίπολιν	me H 7 fou Tyr day him dwo ver inh who "Go mer thro beg ente man ther soo Bei too mu saic afra per

seizing me by the hand, led me in to Peter. [ANF]

7.1-12 – And on the ourth day of our stay in yre, Peter went out about aybreak, and there met m not a few of the wellers round about, with ery many of the habitants of Tyre itself, ho cried out, and said, God through you have ercy upon us, God rough you heal us!" And eter stood on a high stone, at all might see him; and iving greeted them in a odly manner, thus egan... And as Peter ntered Sidon, they brought any in couches, and laid em before him.... No oner had he reached eirut than an earthquake ok place; and the ultitude, running to Peter, aid, "Help us, for we are raid we shall all utterly erish."...he went to Byblus. And when he came

	αὐτὸν μᾶλλον, οὐχ ὑποφεύγειν προηρημένος. Η 13.1 – Ὁρθρου δὲ γενομένου εἰσιὼν ὁ Πέτρος ἔφη· Ὁ μὲν Κλήμης μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς Ματτιδίας καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἄμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀχήματος καθεζέσθωσαν. καὶ ὁμῶς οὕτως ἐγένετο. ὁρμώντων δὲ ἡμῶν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαλαναίας ὁδὸν ἐπύθετό μου ἡ μήτηρ πῶς ὁ πατὴρ διάγει. κἀγὼ ἔφην· Ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησίν σου καὶ τῶν διδύμων ἀδελφῶν μου Φαυστίνου τε καὶ Φαυστινιανοῦ ἐκβὰς ἀνεύρετός ἐστιν. οἶμαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, ἢ ναυφραγίῳ περιπεσόντα ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ σφαλέντα ἢ ὑπὸ λύπης μαρανθέντα. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα καὶ ἐπίδακρυς γενομένη ἐστέναξεν λυπηθεῖσα, τῆ δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ εὐρέσει χαίρουσα τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑπομνήσεως λύπην μετρίως ἀπήμβλυνεν. ὁμῶς οὖν κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Βαλαναίας, τῆ δὲ ἐπιούση	there, and learned that Simon had not waited for them for a day, but had gone straightway to Tripolis, he remained there only a few days; and after that he had healed not a few, and exercised them in the Scriptures, he followed in Simon's track to Tripolis, preferring to pursue him rather than flee from him. [ANF, rev.] H 13.1 – Now at break of day Peter entered, and said: "Clement, and his mother Mattidia, and my wife, must take their seats immediately on the waggon." And so they did straightway. And as we were hastening along the road to Balanæae, my mother asked me how my father was; and I said: "My father went in search of you, and of my twin brothers Faustinus and Faustinianus, and is now nowhere to be found. But I
	ομως ουν κατηντησαμεν εις Βαλαναίας. τῆ δὲ ἐπιούση ἡμέρα εἰς Πάλτον ἤλθαμεν	nowhere to be found. But I fancy he must have died

	κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Γάβαλα, τῆ δὲ ἐτέρα κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Λαοδίκειαν. Epitome II, 144 – Ἑγὼ μέν τοι Κλήμης καὶ Ἀκύλας καὶ Νικήτης ἐμείναμεν μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, ἐν τῷ θείφ κηρύγματι πλείσταις κώμαις καὶ πόλεσιν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος πολλοὺς ἀσθενεῖς θεραπεύσας καὶ δαιμονιῶντας ἰασάμενος, νεκρούς τε πολλοὺς ἀναστήσας τῆ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει, κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας παραλαβών με μέχρι Ῥώμης αὐτῆς κατῆλθεν κἀκεῖ κηρύξαι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον	long ago, either perishing by shipwreck, or losing his way, or wasted away by grief." When she heard this, she burst into tears, and groaned through grief; but the joy which she felt at finding me, mitigated in some degree the painfulness of her recollections. And so we all went down together to Balanæae. And on the following day we went to Paltus, and from that to Gabala; and on the next day we reached Laodicea. [ANF] Epitome II, 144 – Now I, Clement, and Aquila and Nicetes remained with the apostle Peter, preaching the word of truth by the divine message in many villages and cities with the divine message. While curing many who were sick, healing the demonpossessed and raising many dead by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, Peter the
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							apostle of Christ took me along into cities and villages as far as Rome itself; then he arrived preached the word of truth there as well.
Act of Peter (BG 8502, 4)	Molinari 2000b	4	G	Е		Gardener's daughter, Peter's daughter tradition. Molinari 2000b denies link with Acts of Peter; contrast Grappe 1995:23, Rouleau & Roy 1987:177-81.	
'Gospel of Mani'		4	G	S		Preserved in Coptic	[Jesus speaking to Mary Magdalen] If you seest that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto thee; say to him. "Remember what I uttered between thee and me. Remember what I uttered between thee and me in the Mount of Olives: 'I have something to say, I have none to whom to say it'." (Cf. Mark 16.9) (trans. Schneemelcher)
Questions of Bartholomew		4	G	Е		2.1-8 – Ήσαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τῷ Χερουβὶμ μετὰ Μαρίας. ἐγγίσας δὲ ὁ	2.1-8 – Now the apostles were in the place [Cherubim, Cheltoura,

		Βαρθωλωμαῖος λέγει τῷ Πέτρῷ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννη Ἐρωτήσωμεν τὴν κεχαριτωμένην Μαριάμ, πῶς συνέλαβεν τὸν ἀχώρητον ἢ πῶς ἐβάσταξεν τὸν ἀβάστακτον ἢ πῶς ἔτεκεν τὸ τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος. οἱ δὲ ἐδίσταζον ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτήν. λέγει οὖν ὁ Βαρθωλωμαῖος τῷ Πέτρῷ· Πάτερ Πέτρε, σὺ ὡς κορυφαῖος στήσας ἐρώτησον αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος τῷ Ἰωάννη Σὺ εἶ παρθένος καὶ ἄμεμπτος καὶ χρή σε ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτήνκαὶ ἔστησαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὅπισθεν Μαρίας. αὐτή δὲ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῷ· Πέτρε, κορυφαῖε καὶ στύλε μέγιστε, ὅπισθεν ἡμῶν ἑστήκεις; οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ὅτι "κεφαλὴ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Χριστός"; νῦν οὖν ἔνπροσθέν μου σταθέντες εὕξασθε. 4.1-3 – Καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπήρχετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν. ἔλεγεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος τῷ Μαρία Κεχαριτωμένη, δεήθητι τοῦ	Chritir] with Mary. And Bartholomew came and said unto Peter and Andrew and John, "Let us ask her that is highly favoured how she conceived the incomprehensible, or how she bare him that cannot be carried, or how she brought forth so much greatness." But they doubted to ask her. Bartholomew therefore said unto Peter, "Thou that art the chief, and my teacher, draw near and ask her." But Peter said to John, "Thou art a virgin and undefiled (and beloved) and thou must ask her" And the apostles stood behind Mary, but she said unto Peter, "Peter, thou chief, thou great pillar, standest thou behind us? Said not our Lord, the head of the man is Christ? Now therefore stand ye before me and pray." (MR James trans.) 4.1-3 – And he [Jesus] took them and brought them
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					κυρίου, ἵνα ἡμῖν πάντα ἀποκαλύψη τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. καὶ ἡ Μαρία πρὸς Πέτρον εἶπεν Ἀκρότομε Πέτρε, οὐχὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἀκοδόμησεν ὁ κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; σὰ οὖν πρῶτος ἐλθὼν ἐρώτησον αὐτόν.	again unto the Mount of olives. And Peter said unto Mary, "Thou that art highly favoured, entreat the Lord that he would reveal unto us the things that are in the heavens." And Mary said unto Peter, "O stone hewn out of the rock, did not the Lord build his church upon thee? Go thou therefore first and ask him."
Porphyry (232-303)	Harnack 1916; Rinaldi 2001; Berchman 2005	4	P	R	Christ. frg. 23 (in Macarius, Apocriticus III: 19) – καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἀνακαίει τὴν μάχην· εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλει τις ὡς ἐκ τριόδου κἀκεῖνον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀφηγήσασθαι τὸν λόγον, ὃν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῶν Πέτρῳ διαφθέγγεται, φάς· "Υπαγε ὁπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ, σκάνδαλόν μου εἶ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἶτ' ἐν ἑτέρα τόπῳ· Σὰ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτη τῆ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καί σοι δώσω τὰς κλεῖς τῆς	provoke a battle of inconsistency against each other. How would some man in the street be inclined to explain that Gospel saying, which Jesus addresses to Peter when He says, "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou mindest not the things that be of

			βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν Ἡ Πέτρον Σατανᾶν λέγων ἐμεθύσκετο οἴνῷ βεβαρημένος καὶ λαλῶν ἐπίληπτα ἢ κλειδάρχην τοῦτον τῆς βασιλείας ποιῶν ὀνείρους ἐζωγράφει τῆ φαντασία τῶν ὕπνων; ποῖος γὰρ Πέτρος βαστάσαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν κρηπίδα δυνάμενος, ὁ μυριάκις σαλευθεὶς εὐχερεία τῆς γνώμης; εἰ γοῦν τὸν οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας πταίσαντα τὸ κεφάλαιον Σατανᾶν προλαβὼν εὐλόγως ἀνόμασεν, ἀτόπως πάλιν, ὡς ἀγνοῶν ὃ ἐποίησε, τῆς κορυφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διδοῖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν. (cf. Origen Frag. In Luc 2.2; Gos Bart. 2.3, 7, 14; Athanasius, Cyril et al.) Christ. frg. 24 (in Macarius, Αροcriticus III: 20) — Ὅτι δὲ Πέτρος ἐν πολλοῖς πταίσας κατηγορεῖται, δηλοῖ κὰξ ἐκείνου τοῦ κεφαλαίου τὸ ῥητόν, ὅπου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Οὐ λέγω σοι ἕως ἐπτάκις, ἀλλ' ἕως	Church, and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven"? Either when He called Peter Satan He was drunk and overcome with wine, and He spoke as though in a fit; or else, when He gave this same disciple the keys of the kingdom of heaven, He was painting dreams, in the imagination of His sleep. For pray how was Peter able to support the foundation of the Church, seeing that thousands of times he was readily shaken from his judgment? We conclude then that, if He was right in taking him up and calling him Satan, as having failed of the very essence of godliness, He was inconsistent, as though not knowing what He had done, in giving him the authority of leadership. (ANF) Christ. frg. 24 – It is also plain that Peter is
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	έβδομηκοντάκις έπτὰ ἀφήσεις τῷ πλημμελοῦντι τὸ ἀμάρτημα. Ὁ δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πλημμελήσαντα κόπτει τοῦ ἀτίου καὶ ἀμὰν ἐργάζεται τὸν μηδὲν ὅλως άμαρτόντα. τί γὰρ ἥμαρτεν, εἰ κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου συνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν τότε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔφοδον; (cf. frg. 25-26) Christ. frg. 26 (in Macarius, Αροcriticus III: 22) – ὅμως ἱστορεῖται μηδ' ὀλίγους μῆνας βοσκήσας τὰ προβάτια ὁ Πέτρος ἐσταυρῶσθαι Christ. frg. 36 (in Macarius, Αροcriticus IV: 4) – οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέτρος λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν βόσκειν τὰ ἀρνία τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλωθεὶς ἀνασκολοπίζεται· καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ μύριοι τούτοις ὀμόδοδξοι οἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, οἱ δ'	condemned of many falls, from the statement in that passage where Jesus said to him, "I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven shalt thou forgive the sin of him that does wrong." But though he received this commandment and injunction, he cut off the ear of the high-priest's servant who had done no wrong, and did him harm although he had not sinned at all. For how did he sin, if he went at the command of his master to the attack which was then made on Christ? (ANF) Christ. frg. 26 – Nevertheless, Peter is recorded to have been crucified after feeding the lambs not even for a few months (ANF) Christ. frg. 36 – And Peter again, who received authority to feed the lambs, was nailed to a cross and

countless others, who held δεξάμενοι διεφθάρησαν. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄξιον θεοῦ opinions like theirs, were γνώμης, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς either burnt, or put to death by receiving some kind of εύσεβοῦς punishment or Christ frg. 81 (Augustine maltreatment. This is not Ep. 102.8) – quare, inquit, worthy of the will of God, saluator qui dictus est, sese nor even of a godly tot saeculis subduxit? sed ne man...(ANF) dicant, inquit, lege Iudaica uetere hominum curatum Christ frg. 81 - Why, then," he asks, "did He who genus, longo post tempore is called the Saviour lex Iudaeorum apparuit ac uiguit angusta Syriae withhold Himself for so regione, postea uero many centuries of the prorepsit etiam in fines Italos world? And let it not be sed post Caesarem Gaium said," he adds, "that aut certy ipso imperante. provision had been made quid igitur actum de for the human race by the Romanis animis uel Latinis, old Jewish law. It was only quae gratia nondum after a long time that the aduenientis Christi uiduatae Jewish law appeared and sunt usque in Caesarum flourished within the narrow limits of Syria, and tempus? after that, it gradually crept Christ. frg. 89 (in onwards to the coasts of Macarius, *Apocriticus* IV: 6) Italy; but this was not – Περιουσίας δ' ἕνεκεν earlier than the end of the λελέχθω κάκεῖνο τὸ reign of Caius, or, at the λελεγμένον ἐν τῆ earliest, while he was on Αποκαλύψει τοῦ Πέτρου· the throne. What, then, became of the souls of men

					είσάγει τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄμα τῆ γῆ κριθήσεσθαι οὕτως·	in Rome and Latium who lived before the time of the Caesars, and were destitute of the grace of Christ, because He had not then come?" (ANF) Christ. frg. 89 – By way of giving plenty of such sayings, let me quote also what was said in the Apocalypse of Peter. He thus introduces the statement that the heaven will be judged together with the earth. (ANF)
Didascalia	LaGarde 1862	4	Arian	S	Perserved in the Apostolic Constitutions: AposCon 6.2.9 – καὶ ὑπολαβών, ἀτενίσας εἶπον τῷ Σίμωνι: Εἰ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Ψριστοῦ ἀληθὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας ἀλλ' οὐ πλάνης, ο΄ ιος σὺ Σίμων, προστάσσω ταῖς πονηραῖς δθνάμεσιν ἐφ' αἶς ὀχεῖται Ζίμων ὁ μάγος, ἀφεῖναι τῆς κρατήσεως, ὅπως ἐξ ὕψους κατενεχθῆ εἰς γέλωτα τῶν	AposCon 6.2.9 – And then, fixing my eyes on Simon, I said to him: "If I be a man of God, and a real apostle of Jesus Christ, and a teacher of piety, and not of deceit, as thou art, Simon, I command the wicked powersby whom Simon the magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may fall down headlong from his height, that he may be exposed to the

	ἀπατηθέντςν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰπόντος μου ταῦτα, περικοπεὶς τῶν δθνάμενων ὁ Σίμων κατηνέχθη μετὰ μεγάλου ἤχου καὶ ῥαγεὶς ἐξαίσιον σθντρίβεται τὸ ἰσχίον καὶ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦς ταρσούς. καὶ φωνὴ τῶν ὄχλων λέγουσα: Εἶς θεός, ὄν Πέτρος δικαίωσ καταγγέλλει τῆ ἀληθεία μόνον. ΑροsCon 6.3.12 – ἄλλων δὲ ἄλλο τι λεγόντων, ἐγὼ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς εἶπον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ΑροsCon 7.4.46 – περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν χειροτονηθέντων ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῆ ζωῆ τῆ ἡμετέρα γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν οὖτοι ἀντιοχείας δὲ Εὐόδιος μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου τῆς δὲ 'Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, καὶ Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑφ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηται. (cf. Eus HE 3.22.1). (Literary	laughter of those that have been seduced by him." When I had said these words, Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and anklebones broken; and the people cried out, saying, "There is one only God, whom Peter rightly preaches in truth." (ANF) AposCon 6.3.12 – And when some said one thing, and some another, I Peter stood up, and said unto them" [followed by the account of Cornelius in Acts 10]. (NB this is after the events in Rome!) AposCon 7.4.46 – Now concerning those bishops which have been ordained in our lifetime, we let you know that they are theseOf Antioch, Euodius, ordained by me Peter; and Ignatius by
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				dependence shown by C. Schmidt 1903:97ff; cf. Vouaux 1922. In both, Simon's first meeting with the Apostles takes place in Jerusalem)	PaulOf the church of Rome, Linus the son of Claudia was the first, ordained by Paul; and Clemens, after Linus' death, the second, ordained by me Peter. (ANF)
Toledot Yeshu	4	Jewish	S	Preserved in Hebrew. (For date see Krauss & Horbury 1995:15, 45; Schlichting 1982:2. Cf. further Jellinek 1853:5.60-62, 6.9-14, 155-56. NB aerial battle between Jesus & Jewish leader echoes Simon Magus's with Peter; Simon is regarded as one of the Jews!)	The Sages desired to separate from Israel those who continued to claim Yeshu as the Messiah, and they called upon a greatly learned man, Simeon Kepha, for help. Simeon went to Antioch, main city of the Nazarenes and proclaimed to them: "I am the disciple of Yeshu. He has sent me to show you the way. I will give you a sign as Yeshu has done." Simeon, having gained the secret of the Ineffable Name, healed a leper and a lame man by means of it and thus found acceptance as a true disciple. He told them that Yeshu was in heaven, at the right hand of his Father, in fulfillment of

			D 1 110 1 II 11 14 4
			Psalm 110:1. He added that
			Yeshu desired that they
			separate themselves from
			the Jews and no longer
			follow their practices, as
			Isaiah had said, "Your new
			moons and your feasts my
			soul abhorreth." They were
			now to observe the first day
			of the week instead of the
			seventh, the Resurrection
			instead of the Passover, the
			Ascension into Heaven
			instead of the Feast of
			Weeks, the finding of the
			Cross instead of the New
			Year, the Feast of the
			Circumcision instead of the
			Day of Atonement, the
			New Year instead of
			Chanukah; they were to be
			indifferent with regard to
			circumcision and the
			dietary laws. Also they
			were to follow the teaching
			of turning the right if
			smitten on the left and the
			meek acceptance of
			suffering. All these new
			ordinances which Simeon
			Kepha (or Paul, as he was
			• ` '

					known to the Nazarenes) taught them were really meant to separate these Nazarenes from the people of Israel and to bring the internal strife to an end. (Goldstein trans.)
Acts of Papias & Maurus	4	R		Acta Sanctorum (29 January) 1.4 – SS Papias & Maurus buried along the Via Nomentana. Quorum corpora collegit noctu Ioannes Presbyter, & sepeliuit in via Numentana, sub die quarto Calendarum Februariarum, ad Nymphas B. Petri, vbi baptizabat. [NB now Cimitero Maggiore, Via Asmara 6 – location of the nymphaeum not clear.]	Acta Sanctorum (29 January) 1.4 – John the bishop collected their bodies [Papias and Maurus] by night and buried them along the Via Nomentana on the fourth day of Februrary, at the Nymphaeum of blessed Peter where he used to baptize.
Chronographer of AD 354	4	R	•	[29 June] III kal. Iul. Petri et Pauli. Petri in Vaticano et Pauli vero in Via Ostensi, utrumque in Catacumbas, Basso et Tusco cons (cited in Lietzmann 1927:110-11; Klauser 1956:22n24). [Cf. Ambrose's hymn on the Apostles: trinis celebratur	29 June. Of Peter and Paul. Peter's [body] on the Vatican, and Paul's in fact on the Ostian Way; both in the catacombs, while Bassus and Tuscus were consuls. Cf. Ambrose's hymn on the Apostles: on three streets is

					viis festum sacrorum martyrum (Klauser 1956:22n25). Martyrs' list also identifies 22 Feb as natale Petri de cathedra (Klauser 1956:28: simply ancient Rome's 'All Souls' Day', no further significance – and evidence that we know no early memorial of the date of Peter's death).	celebrated the holy festival of the martyrs.
Grotto of St Peter, Antioch		4	S		St Pierre (Piyer) Kilisesis, at the foot of Mt Staurin, outside the Eastern gate. Contains a Crusader church. (No earlier evidence appears to support this site.)	
Prudentius (348-410)	Cunningham 1966	4	R		Peristephanon 12.29-30 — Diuidit ossa duum Tybris sacer ex utraque ripa, inter sacrata dum fluit sepulchra (Saw the apostolic tombs) 12.8-9 — scit Tiberina palus, quae flunime lambitur propinquo, binis dicatum caespitem tropaeis, et crucis et gladii testis. 12.13-20 — prima Petrum rapuit sentential legibus	Peristephanon 12.29-30 – Tiber separates the bones of the two and both its banks are consecrated as it flows between the hallowed tombs (LCL) 12.8-9 – The marshland of Tiber, washed by the nearby river, knows that its turf was hallowed by two victores, for it was witness both of cross and sword

		Neronis pendere iussum praeminente lingo. ille tamen ueritus celsae decus aemulando mortis ambire tanti gloriam magistri exigit up pedibus mersum caput inprimant supinis, quo spectet imum stipitem cerebro.	(LCL) 12.13-20 – First the sentence of doom carried off Peter, when under the orders of Nero it was commanded that he should hand on a high tree. But he, because he feared to court the glory of his great Master by emulating it honour of being lifted up to die, insisted that they should se his head down, his feet upwards, so that the top of his head should look towards the bottom of the post. (LCL)
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