

APOCRYPHAL AND CANONICAL APOSTLES AND
MAGICIANS IN THE *MISSA IN DIEM SANCTORVM*
PETRI ET PAVLI IN THE *LIBER MOZARABICVS*
SACRAMENTORVM

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ABSTRACT

In all texts or artistic pieces devoted to Peter and Paul, it is rare to find them paired with the two magicians that they confronted in the Acts of the Apostles, respectively Simon Magus from Samaria and the Jewish false prophet Bar-Jesus, also known as Elymas the Magician in Cyprus.¹ We have an example in the *Missa in Diem Sanctorum Petri et Pavli* (hereafter *Missa*) found in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*.² Sermons and liturgical texts typically include canonical and apocryphal New Testament accounts of Simon Magus, but not in conjunction with Elymas. The *Missa* contains a unique pairing of the two apostles and their magician

1. Acts of the Apostles 8:9-24 and 13:4-12.
2. For the first text of the *Missa*, see Marius FÉROTIN, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes* (reissue of the Paris 1912 edition), Anthony Ward and Cuthbert Johnson (directors), Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae," Subsidia, 78, Instrumenta Liturgica Quarreriensia, 4, Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 1995, cols. 353-360. For the second text, see José VIVES (ed.), *Oracional visigótico*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Litúrgica, 1, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 353-357.

opponents in a post-New Testament text.³ In this brief note we analyze how these texts were used in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* and what message was intended to be conveyed to those who heard it.

Keywords: Visigothic-Mozarabic liturgy, Simon Magus, Bar-Jesus, Elymas, New Testament apocrypha, Acts of the Apostles, Divine Office.

APÒSTOLS I MAGS APÒCRIFS I CANÒNICS EN LA *MISSA IN DIEM SANCTORVM PETRI ET PAVLI* DEL *LIBER MOZARABICVS SACRAMENTORVM*

RESUM

En tots els textos o peces artístiques dedicades a sant Pere i sant Pau, és molt poc habitual trobar-hi aparellats els dos mags als quals es van enfrontar aquests dos sants als Fets dels Apòstols: Simó el Mag, de Samaria, i el fals poeta jueu Barjesús, també conegut com el mag Èlimes, a Xipre, respectivament. En tenim un exemple en la *Missa in Diem Sanctorum Petri et Pauli* (d'ara endavant, *Missa*) del *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*. Els sermons i els textos litúrgics solen incloure històries canòniques i apòcrifes del Nou Testament sobre Simó el Mag, però no amb Èlimes. La *Missa* presenta una associació única dels dos apòstols i els seus opositors mags en un text posterior al Nou Testament. Aquest breu article analitza la ma-

3. Alberto FERREIRO, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, vol. 125, Leiden, Brill, 2005. Since the publication of this book, the following studies have appeared or are in progress: ID., "Prólogo: Simón Mago: mago, hereje y antagonista de san Pedro," in *Simón Mago*, George N. L. Hall, traducción y bibliografía complementaria de Domingo Saura Zorrilla, Raúl González Salinero (coord.), Madrid-Salamanca, Signifer Libros, Mikrá, vol. 8, 2015, pp. ix-xx; ID., "Simon Magus und Simon Petrus in der Basilika Vierzehnheiligen," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 147 (2011), pp. 229-241, ill.; ID., "Simon Magus," *Historicum.net Geschichtswissenschaften im Internet*, Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Fachportal Hexenforschung, December 2009; ID., "Simon Peter and Simon Magus and his Dog in Astudillo (Palencia, Spain)," *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne [Miscellanea Patristica in honor of Father Marek Starowieyski on his 70th birthday]*, 20/2 (2007), pp. 63-80, 10 illustrations; ID., "Apocryphal Images of Simon Magus at Sant Pere de Terrassa (Seu d'Ègara), Catalunya, by Lluís Borrassà," *Receptions of Simon Magus as Archetype of the Heretic, Essays by Alberto Ferreiro and Ephraim Nissan*, Palgrave, pp. 1-38; ID., "The Apocryphal Simon Peter and Simon Magus in the Chapel of San Blas, Primate Cathedral of Toledo, Spain," *Iconographica. Studies in the History of Images, SISMEL*, 21 (2022), pp. 30-38.

nera com es van utilitzar aquests textos en el *Liber Mozarabicvs Sacramentorum* i el missatge que pretenien fer arribar a totes aquelles persones que en sentien les històries.

Paraules clau: Litúrgia visigòtica mossàrab, Simó el Mag, Barjesús, Èlimes, evangelis apòcrifs del Nou Testament, Fets dels Apòstols, ofici diví.

VISIGOTHIC-MOZARABIC LITURGY

The *Missa* is set within the framework of the Visigothic-Mozarabic rite in Hispania. The most important and comprehensive contemporary study with an extensive bibliography on this rite is found in Adolfo Ivorra.⁴ The Visigothic-Mozarabic rite developed over an extended period of time and it has been given various names by liturgical scholars: Visigothic, Toledan, Isidorean, Hispanic, and Mozarabic. All of them are relevant in that they identify the various stages of cumulative development that continued into the late twentieth century. The first period unfolded from the fourth century (Late Antique/Suevic-Visigothic Hispania) to 1085, with the text known as the *Missale Mixtum*. Most scholars agree that the main features of the rite were already fully developed by the end of the seventh century. According to liturgists, the numerous Hispano-Roman Visigothic councils spanning the fourth to seventh centuries evidence several changes in which aspects of other liturgies from far and wide were assimilated. During the long Reconquest (711-1492), six churches in Toledo celebrated the rite for the sizeable Christian population. The next decisive phase occurred under Pope Gregory VII, who ordered the church in Hispania to adopt the liturgy of the Gregorian-Cluniac reform,

4. "Historia y fuentes de la liturgia hispano-mozárabe," in *Liturgia hispano-mozárabe*, Biblioteca Litúrgica, 52, Barcelona, Centre de Pastoral Litúrgica, 2017, with information on the liturgy's historical development, pp. 19-117. A thorough new discussion is in the updated edition of Marius FÉROTIN, *Le Liber Mozarabicvs Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes* (reissue of the Paris 1912 edition), Anthony Ward and Cuthbert Johnson (directors), pp. 31-36. Other useful information on the rite is found in Archibald KING, "Rite of Toledo, Mozarabic Rite," *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, Bonn, Nova et Vetera, 2005, pp. 457-632, at 476-478.

better known as the Roman rite. The Mozarabs in Toledo, however, who had played a crucial role in the successful reconquest of Toledo, were intent on not losing their treasured liturgy. Much later, a significant reform was initiated by the Cardinal Primate of Toledo, Don Marcelo González Martín, who took the necessary steps in 1982 to name a commission of liturgical specialists from Toledo and other Spanish dioceses with the aim of reforming the rite. The new text was published in 1985 and was approved by the Spanish Episcopal Conference in 1986. In 1992 Cardinal Don Marcelo González Martín made it obligatory to use the new reformed Hispano-Mozarabic rite.⁵ Today the rite is celebrated in the Corpus Christi Chapel of the Cathedral of Toledo and on special occasions in the Talavera Chapel of the Cathedral of Salamanca.

SIMON MAGUS AND BAR-JESUS (ELYMAS) IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

In the New Testament Acts of the Apostles, two magicians – Simon Magus (Acts 8:9-24) and Bar-Jesus (Acts 13:6-12), otherwise known as Elymas the Magician – challenged the authority of the two chief apostles, Peter and Paul, respectively. Of the two magicians, it was Simon Magus who became the object of extensive commentary in the post-New Testament period. Elymas, on the other hand, was ignored in the Christian apocrypha. There are few artistic representations of Elymas together with Paul, although a notable one is by Raphael (1483-1520). Images of Simon Magus abound in all manner of artistic media (see Figure 1).⁶

5. Antonio CABRERA & Delgado SILVEIRA, *Novus Ordo Ritus Hispano-Mozarabici*, Toledo, Instituto de Estudios Visigóticos Mozárabes-Toledo, 1985, p. 6.
6. Alberto FERREIRO, "Artistic Representation of Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the Princeton Index of Christian Art: With Up-to-Date Inventory and Bibliography," in *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, vol. 125, Leiden, Brill, 2005, pp. 307-335. Since then I have published, or have in press or in progress, studies on relevant texts and images. See note 3 above. This painting was executed by Thornhill between 1729 and 1731 from an original drawing by Raphael, who was commissioned by Pope Leo X in 1515 to create a series of tapestries for the Sistine Chapel.

Elymas the Magician was not described as being baptized or as having been a disciple of any apostle. He never requested that the power of the Holy Spirit should be given to him, he made no offer of money to the receive the Holy Spirit, nor was he astounded by Paul's miracles. Elymas was opposed by Paul and Barnabas. His name was Bar-Jesus and he was a Jewish false prophet who resided on the island of Paphos. He had under his influence the proconsul Sergius Paulus – a man of intelligence. Sergius summoned Barnabas and Saul (Paul) to hear the word of God (Acts 13:6-8). We are told that Elymas opposed them to prevent the consul's conversion (Acts 13:8). Paul, filled with the Holy Spirit, looked intently at him and said, "You son of the devil, you enemy of all that is right, full of every sort of deceit and fraud. Will you not stop twisting the straight paths of [the] Lord?" (Acts 13:9-10). Elymas actively opposed Paul and Barnabas and showed no interest whatsoever in converting to the Christian faith in contrast to Simon Magus. Paul's reaction to Elymas was harsh and had immediate consequences: "Even now the hand of the Lord is upon you. You will be blind and unable to see the sun for a time" (Acts 13:11). In an instant a mist fell upon Elymas's eyes and he stumbled in search of someone to lead him by the hand (Acts 13:11). When Sergius witnessed this, he came to believe and was astonished by the teaching of the Lord (Acts 8:12). Nevertheless, the opportunity to repent remained open. The struggle between Elymas, on the one hand, and Paul and Barnabas, on the other, for the soul of Sergius Paulus shows interesting parallels to the *Acta Petri cum Simone* (*Acta Petri*) and the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pavli* (*Passio*). In the latter it was also a fight for the soul of Nero, who never repented, while Sergius Paulus came to believe.

Several fundamental features explain the enduring legacy of Simon Magus. Simon believed the teaching of the apostle Philip and was baptized (Acts 8:13) after he saw the many "signs and miracles." Simon Magus was already very well known before Philip arrived at Samaria to preach, "They all listened to him, from the least to the greatest" and he "amazed them with his magic. The people exclaimed "This man is that power of God which is called Great" (Acts 8:10). To know what allegedly happened to Simon Magus afterwards, we have to rely upon the second century testimony of the Church Fathers and the apocryphal *Acta Petri*

and the *Passio*.⁷ His cult apparently endured into the second and third centuries, according to some early Church Fathers. Simon Magus, we are told, used to practice magic in Samaria (Acts 8:9-11). When Philip arrived, Simon believed and submitted to baptism after he saw the miracles (Acts 8:11-13). Peter and John arrived and placed their hands on the people so that they might receive the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:14-17). Upon seeing this, Simon offered money “simony” to Peter and John so that he too could receive the Spirit and place his hands on others so that they could receive it (Acts 8:18-23). Peter scolded him and Simon responded, “Pray for me to the Lord, that nothing of what you have said may come upon me” (Acts 8:20-24). In the *Acta Petri*, Simon appears again as a magician with a large following. He goes to Rome to challenge Peter and Paul’s position there. Simon Magus, who had Nero under his spell, was unrepentant and defiant towards the two Apostles and his life ended tragically.

There are a number of significant differences between the accounts of Simon Magus and Elymas that should be noted. One of them is that Elymas did not have a following other than Sergius’s inner circle. Elymas’s memory is confined to the Acts of the Apostles. The proconsul Sergius Paulus was converted by Paul, “Then the proconsul believed, when he saw what had occurred, for he was astonished at the teaching of the Lord” (Acts 13:12). A commonality between the two magicians is that the possibility of their conversion, which was not recorded by Luke, was left open. No physical punishment was inflicted on Simon Magus at the hand of Peter, who only gave him a strong rebuke and warning (Acts 8:21-23).

7. Alberto FERREIRO, “Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*,” in *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions*; R. A. LIPSUS and M. BONNET (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 55-81 (reprint Darmstadt, 1959). *Actos Petri cum Simone*, pp. 45-103. *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, pp. 119-177.

What follows is a comparison of Simon Magus and Elymas:

SIMON MAGUS	ELYMAS
Magician in Samaria	Magician in Cyprus
Large following	No group of followers
Abandoned magic	Did not abandon magic
Believed, and was baptized by Philip	Never baptized
Follower of Philip	Did not follow any apostle
Desired the power of God	No desire for God's power
Offered money for God's power (simony)	Offered no money
Pleaded for prayer and mercy from Peter	Expressed no remorse

EARLY CHURCH FATHERS

We will now give a brief sketch of the earliest Church Fathers who created the basic portrait of the post-New Testament Simon Magus. In the Middle Ages, adaptations of Simon Magus's story were made in texts and in art since he was used in a wide variety of contexts. The Church Fathers accepted it as a fact that Simon Magus had remained active and that he founded a cult called the Simonians which survived him. The apocryphal accounts, notwithstanding their hagiographical embellishments, have at their core the historical Simon Magus. Absent in the Church Fathers are the imaginative fantastic miracles; their accounts read instead like a matter of historical fact, agreeing that he was a magician. The Fathers' views form a separate genre from the apocryphal literatures written by anonymous authors.⁸ Few Fathers showed any interest in Elymas, pointing out

8. A convenient and useful collection of translated documents is found in David L. EASTMAN, *The Ancient Martyrdom Accounts of Peter and Paul*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World, Society of Biblical Literature, 39, Atlanta, SBL Press, 2015. It is to be consulted along with J. K. ELLIOT (ed.), *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation based on M. R. James*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993.

that his blindness was not an act of vengeance but a means of conversion.⁹ Significant as regards this study is the fact that Simon Magus and Elymas are never coupled in opposing Peter and Paul, respectively, in contrast to the liturgical text that concerns us here.

Justin Martyr's *Apologia* I. 26 is the earliest post-New Testament source that we have about Simon Magus and the one that all subsequent Church Fathers appropriated to build upon.¹⁰ It is the one source that spoke about a Simonian cult in Samaria, linking it directly to Simon Magus as its founder. Justin identified Gitta in Samaria as Simon Magus's hometown, a detail which is not found in the Acts of the Apostles. Irenaeus of Lyon linked Simon Magus and the Gnostic sects in *Adversus haereses* (I. 23-24), where he argued that the Simonian doctrines and morality were formulated by the selfsame Simon Magus of the Acts of the Apostles. What is wholly absent is Simon Magus's confrontation with Simon Peter and Paul in Rome. The Gnostic connection fell by the wayside while the prominence of Peter grew as he opposed Simon Magus in the apocryphal texts that came to be written. The *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitiones* and the anonymous *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* retained the magic and alleged Gnostic teachings. As the Simon Magus legends developed in the second and third centuries, the apocryphal accounts came to focus on the confrontations in Rome during Nero's reign. Hippolytus in *Refutatio omnium hareresium* VI, 19-20, and Origen in *Refutationis omnium haeresium* VI, also supported the alleged Gnostic origins of the sect.

Another important aspect of the Simon Magus *type* is that he allegedly initiated a pseudo-apostolic succession to rival that of the apostles. Irenaeus sought to establish the legitimacy of the Petrine succession and the illegitimacy of the Gnostic one: both claimed to have been founded

9. All of the commentary is conveniently gathered in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament, V, Acts*, Francis Martin (ed.), Downers Grove, Illinois, Inter Varsity Press, 2006, pp. 159-161.

10. See the essay on the Church Fathers: Alberto FERREIRO, "Typological Portraits of Simon Magus and Anti-Gnostic Sources," in *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions*, pp. 35-54.

by the twelve Apostles. It was the See of Rome that had the legitimate historical succession of bishops, beginning with Simon Peter.¹¹ Jerome ingeniously added another layer to the pseudo-apostolic succession of Simon Magus in his letter to Ctesiphon (133, 4).¹² He uniquely created a pseudo-succession of heresy, beginning with Simon Magus and culminating with Priscillian of Avila, together with a parallel female pseudo-succession. The *Missa* does not associate any women with Peter, Paul, Simon Magus or Elymas.

THE MISSA IN DIEM SANCTORVM PETRI ET PAVLI

One *Missa* text is available in the critical edition of *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (XC, pp. 353-360), while a second one is in the Divine Office published in the critical edition of *Oracional visigótico*, bearing the title *Ordo Psallendi in Diem Sanctorum Petri et Pavli*.¹³ Only the section of the text on Peter and Paul with Simon Magus and Elymas will receive our attention in this study.¹⁴

In the *Post Sanctus* there is great rejoicing because the magic arts of Simon Magus were defeated by Christ and the apostolic truth.¹⁵ The famous scene of Simon Magus flying through the air to prove to the Emperor

11. Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE*, II, 13; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis*, VI, 15; Gregory Nazianzus, *De vita sua*; Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*; Augustine of Hippo, *De haeresibus*; Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum VIII*, *De haeresibus Christianorum*; and John of Damascus, *De haeresibus liber*, 24. See the essay on the Church Fathers in Alberto FERREIRO, "The Fall of Simon Magus in Early Christian Commentary," in *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions*, pp. 133-146.
12. For a full analysis of this letter, see Alberto FERREIRO, "Jerome's Polemic Against Priscillian in his Letter to Ctesiphon (133,4)," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 39/2 (1993), pp. 309-332, reprinted in *Doctrinal Diversity. Varieties of Early Christianity*, 4, Everett Ferguson (ed.), New York, Garland, 1999.
13. The first *Missa* text is in *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, cols. 353-360. The second is in José VIVES (ed.), *Oracional visigótico*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Litúrgica, 1, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 353-357.
14. Simon Magus and Elymas the Magician are found in the Acts of the Apostles (8:9-24 and 13:3-12, respectively).
15. *Osanna in excelsis! Idem excelsus in excelsis, idem humilis in terrenis, Christe Filius Dei. Qui nebuloza magice artis in Simonis presumptione prestigia Apostolice concertationis ueritate prodita destruxisti* (XC, 1-9, p. 358).

Nero that he was superior to Peter and Paul became enshrined. In the Simon Magus tradition, this is the most commonly reproduced encounter in texts and in art. It explicitly states that Simon Magus flew over Rome with the aid of demons. It was a demonic deception, however, since neither Nero nor the crowd could see the demons that held up Simon Magus in the air. Neither Nero nor the city of Rome are explicitly named. Peter, however, was given the ability to see the demons, and thus the fraud was exposed.¹⁶ In the apocryphal story, Peter rebuked the demons, causing the fall of Simon Magus that ended in his death in the *Acta Petri*, while in the *Passio* he died later in the hands of a physician. The message was clear: Peter held the authentic power of God while Simon Magus was nothing more than an agent of Satan. The twin sources of authority of Peter and Paul was noted. Peter had been given the keys of the Kingdom by Christ (Matthew 16:19), while Paul the preacher had great faith. Simon Magus had neither. It is significant to point out that, in the apocryphal accounts, Peter always held the lead role, with Paul supporting him in a subordinate position. Peter drove away the demons that helped Simon Magus to fly, and Paul backed Peter with prayer. In the artistic interpretations of this scene, this hierarchy of power is plain to see: Peter leads the confrontation and Paul is either sitting or standing behind him. Simon Magus's flight was a sign of pride in the face of God, showing a parallel to the Tower of Babel. It is the antithesis of the Ascension or of a soul rising to heaven, as in the case of Enoch or Elijah. Significantly, the two apocryphal texts contributed to the promotion of the Petrine primacy of Rome.

The *Missa* text steered to the subject of lying to the Holy Spirit and its consequences. Jesus had warned that all manner of sin could be forgiven by God, except one, in this life or in the hereafter, "Whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come," (Matthew 12:32, also Mark 3:29). Jesus said this after his opponents claimed that his power to perform miracles was from Satan. The contrast was evident: the power of Simon Magus was demonic whereas Peter's was from God. This was a reminder that lying to or opposing the

16. *Quem frustra celorum ascensum aeris molitionibus adpetentem decepta demonum inlusione iactantia altius extulit, grauius eliditur; ut quo eum paulo longius sursum uolandi audacia permissa sustolleret, multo ualidius in deorsum uolantis insania demissa disrumperet: nescientem utique quod, nisi laudatam Petri confessionem, et nisi creditam Pauli fidem teneret, celi cuius clauis Petrus habebat* (XC, 9-18, p. 358).

Holy Spirit had serious consequences, as was the case in the exchange of words between Peter and Ananias and Sapphira. Both were struck down by God for lying to Peter – hence to God – and stealing money that was destined to a common fund (Acts 5:1-11). Simon Magus, too, lied to the Holy Spirit when he deceived and convinced Nero and his supporters that he had the power of God, and accused Peter of being an agent of the Evil One.¹⁷

The next part of the *Missa* is where Elymas the Magician is introduced. As noted above, there are many fundamental differences between Simon Magus and Elymas that need not be repeated. Just as could be expected, the brief commentary on Paul and Elymas's encounter was strictly from Acts (13:3-12). Elymas opposed Paul and suffered serious consequences. The clash that occurred between the two on earth was linked to the heavenly places. All of the "athletes of heaven," the angels, in the name of Christ the celestial Savior, fought for him and triumphed. Paul, just like Peter, opposed Elymas with the power of God and with the support of the celestial athletes: angels and the righteous, and Christ the celestial Savior fought for Paul.¹⁸ Elymas, the same as Simon Magus, was supported by the power of Satan. The image of the athlete as applied to Christians has its origins in the letters of Paul. It became particularly prominent in monastic writings to describe the spiritual warfare of the Christian against the forces of evil. Here the Christian athletes *par excellence* were Peter and Paul.¹⁹

The inverted crucifixion of Peter and the beheading of Paul in the *Acta Petri* is commemorated in the *Missa* in a brief sketch. The details of the central role of Nero were not considered important. Peter, feeling unworthy, requested inverted crucifixion so as not to imitate that of our Lord.

17. *Habebat, et cuius Pauli (Paulus) intima penetrauerat, ianuam non intraret. Inmemor etiam illius seueritatis atque censure, qua Ananiam et Saffram Sancto Spiritui mentientes, praeuarcationis et perfidie/ reos, presentis mortis animaduersione damnauit* (XC, 18-23, p. 358).

18. *Paris quoque Pauli in Euangelio potestatis ignarus, qui doctrine sue contradicentem Elimam magum iusta protinus cecitate percussit: et seducentem Pitonis garrulum spiritum imperata illico discensione migravit. – Totum illis celestium atletarum uiribus pro Ihesu nomine, pro Saluatoris diuinitate, pro Christi insinuatione pugnantibus, diuina est clementia prestitum. Christe Domine* (XC, 23-32, p. 358).

19. The following passages refer explicitly or allude to the athlete of Christ: 1 Corinthians 9:24-27, Philippians 3:13-14, 1 Timothy 4:7-8, 1 Timothy 6:12, 2 Timothy 2:5, Hebrews 12:11.

Paul, being a Roman citizen, was given the respectable execution of beheading. The *Missa* has Paul saying that he offered his head, and his body for good measure, to Christ.²⁰ Peter and Paul are described as “soldiers of Christ,” one dying by the sword and the other on the cross, both in the city of Rome.²¹ The metaphor of the soldier of Christ along with that of the athlete of Christ has its origins in the New Testament and also originated with Paul.²² These appellations were not applied literally to disciples of Christ in the early period. Christians were not another version of the Zealots, who did indeed employ violence to advance their aims. In this respect, it is illustrative to note Jesus’s rebuke when Peter cut off Malchus’s ear upon the arrival of the authorities to arrest Christ, culminating in his trial and crucifixion. Indeed, this explains why the Roman authorities did not seek to arrest the inner circle of the sect: its members were known to be harmless to the Empire. The emergence early on of Christians in the military was a distinct development.²³

CONCLUSION

What makes this text different from the many devoted to the Feast of Peter and Paul is that it included Elymas the Magician to match Simon Magus, who was Peter’s principal opponent. Simon Magus, as noted, had a very long presence across the centuries as the main adversary of Simon Peter. Elymas, on the other hand, disappeared altogether after the Acts of the Apostles. The fate of the two magicians is unknown: neither met his final downfall in the Acts of the Apostles. In the apocrypha texts, Simon

20. *Similiter non reniut crucifigi, sed equaliter non presumpsit adpendi. Obiit ille rectus, iste subiectus: ille ut maiestatem ascendantis sublimitate preferret, iste/ ut fragilitatem descendantis humilitate monstraret* (XC, 20-25, p. 357). *Gaudet insanientis ictibus percussoris domitas Christi iugo offere ceruices, et pro corporis sui capite dare corporis sui caput* (XC, 27-30, p. 357).
21. *Diuiserunt sibi passionis Dominice uestimentum duo milites Dei, unus in patibulo, alter in gladio: Petrus in transfixione, Paulus in sanguine.... in memoriis Vrbs Roma* (XC, 31-34, 37, p. 357).
22. 2 Corinthians 10:3-6, Ephesians 6:10-17, I Thessalonians 5:8, 2 Timothy 2:1-4.
23. For original sources on issues concerning life in early Christianity, see Ronald J. SIDER, *The Early Church on Killing: A Comprehensive Sourcebook on War, Abortion, and Capital Punishment*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Books, 2012.

Magus died in two distinct ways, one in the *Acta Petri* and one in the *Passio*, while Peter emerged triumphant. As for Elymas's fate, no one seemed to care; it was obviously considered unimportant for the apocryphal Paul. The preservation of the two magicians, considering their adversarial relation to Peter and Paul, is exceptional. As concerns Elymas, the narrative did not move beyond the biblical story, while in the case of Simon Magus, it became a hybrid of canonical and non-canonical sources. The Feast of Peter and Paul is a celebration of the triumph of the Church over the forces of evil as embodied by Simon Magus and Elymas. Since both saints, through their martyrdoms, were considered the apostolic founders of the Roman See, any liturgical text or sermon for their feast day also celebrated the Petrine primacy of Rome.

APPENDIX

The text from the Divine Office, *Ordo Psallendi in Diem Sanctorum Petri et Pauli*, is in its essential details the same as that of the *Missa in Diem Sanctorum Petri et Pauli* in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*. In the *Missa*, I have identified the passages whose provenance was the New Testament or the Christian apocrypha.

Item Conpleturia Ad Matutinum: Domine Iesu Christe, qui adversas potestates per summos apostolos tuos Petrum ac Paulum destruis et disturbas, ut predicationi veritatis apostolico ore depromtas, nec nequitia malorum nec versutia possit obviare magorum; dum et Simonem magum (Acts 8:9-24) Petrus deicit, et Elimam Paulus (Acts 13:3-12) cecitate percussit: adesto nobis; ut in ecclesia tua omnes corruant, qui conturbant, et orbentur, qui venientes ad fidem praepedire conantur, quin potius tendentes ad regna caelorum, quos Pauli docentis adduxerit pietas, intromittat Petri potestas (1106, 6-15, p. 357).

Benedictio: Christus Dei filius, quem et Petrus per passionem crucis, et Paulus per gladii (*Actus Petri cum Simone* and *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*) desectionem sequuti sunt, imitatores vos efficiat suorum vestigiorum. Per Petrum vos Christus suae cruci triumphandos

adsociet, et per Paulum spiritualis gladii doctrina perornet. Ut, et per Petrum crucifixi in vitiis, et per Paulum mereamini evadere muscipula adversantis (1107, 17-22, p. 357). Petrus cruce at Paulus gladio (1093, 14, p. 353), qui Petrum et Paulum fideles in dilectione tui unum cruce alterum gladio dignatus es consecrare (1095, 3-4, p. 354).



Figure 1. *The Blinding of Elymas*, 1729-1731, Sir James Thornhill (1675/76 - 1734).
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