

WOODBROOKE STUDIES

VOL. III

PUBLISHED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF  
THE WOODBROOKE SETTLEMENT, SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM  
BY  
W. HEFFER & SONS LIMITED  
CAMBRIDGE

# WOODBROOKE STUDIES

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC,  
AND GARSHŪNĪ, EDITED AND TRANSLATED  
WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS

BY

A. MINGANA

## VOLUME III

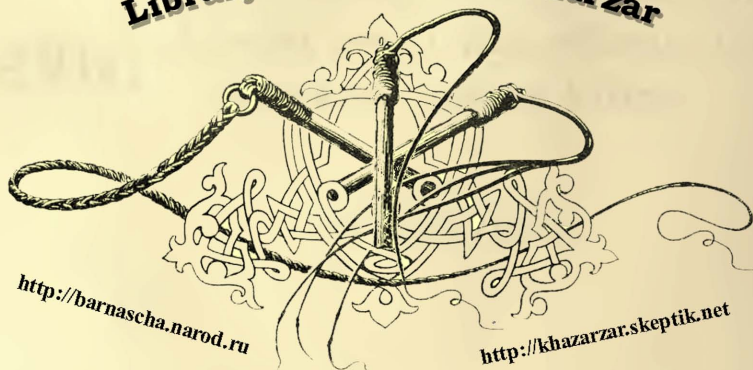
1. VISION OF THEOPHILUS
2. APOCALYPSE OF PETER

*Reprinted from the "BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY,"  
Volumes 13 and 14, 1929-1930*

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1931

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present volume is the third of my series of *Woodbrooke Studies*, the contents of which are drawn from MSS. in my collection. The delay in its appearance is mainly due to the fact that it was considered desirable to have the three parts of the lengthy *Apocalypse of Peter* bound in one volume instead of two.

As the whole of the volume deals with Christian apocrypha, which, although preserved for us in Syriac and in Garshūni, are undoubtedly of Coptic-Ethiopic origin, the editor would consider himself repaid for the labour that the publication of such works entails if more attention were given in future generations to the history of these Christian productions, which seem to constitute a valuable storehouse of early Christian folk-lore.

I noticed recently in the course of cataloguing the Syriac MSS. of my collection, that the *Apocalypse of Peter* as published in this volume is also found in Mingana Syr. 555 with an almost identical text.

The interest shown in these "Studies" by such scholars as F. Nau in France, J. P. Margoliouth in England, Rücker and Strothmann in Germany, and Montgomery in America—to name only a few out of many—is a great encouragement for any editor or author to proceed with his work, however arduous his task may be.

Here I would take the liberty of renewing my sincerest thanks to Mr. Edward Cadbury, whose generosity has made possible the publication of these "Studies."

My thanks are also due to my colleague Dr. H. Guppy for his keen interest in the "Studies," and to the Aberdeen University Press for the satisfactory way in which they have performed a difficult task, and for the promptness with which they have responded to my suggestion to acquire Syriac and Arabic type of the latest design.

A. MINGANA.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY,  
11th February, 1931.



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FASCICULUS 5.

### VISION OF THEOPHILUS.

*Or the Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt.*

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

**I** GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of an apocryphal story dealing with the flight of the holy family into Egypt and the life which it led in that country. The story is cast in the mould of a vision and entitled *Vision of Theophilus*, who was Patriarch of Alexandria in A.D. 385-412.<sup>1</sup> Of all the Patriarchs of that great city he is probably the one who showed more zeal in the destruction of pagan temples and monuments.

I have edited the text from the three extant manuscripts. Two of them belong to my own collection of manuscripts and are numbered Mingana Syr. 5, and Mingana Syr. 48 (henceforth M. 5 and M. 48 respectively). The third manuscript is the Borgian Syr. 128 or to give it its full title : *Borgiano Siriaco* 128, now in the Vatican (henceforth V.). M. 5 is dated 1790 of the Greeks (A.D. 1479), and M. 48 is dated A.D. 1906, but is copied from a manuscript dated A.D. 1757. As to the Borgian manuscript it is dated A.D. 1720. Of all the three manuscripts the only one that gives a complete and continuous text is M. 48, because M. 5 is incomplete at the beginning and its text begins after the middle of the story, while V. has two

<sup>1</sup> The sources for his life are well analysed in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. pp. 999-1008, and in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ii. pp. 319-323.



lacunæ towards the end. I have placed the text of M. 48 in the body of the story and relegated the variants of V. and M. 5 to the footnotes. M. 5 and M. 48 do not exhibit many important variants when compared with each other and seem to emanate from a single manuscript, while V. 128 in which textual discrepancies are deeper in quality and more numerous in quantity seems to have been copied from a manuscript that had undergone more changes at the hand of the copyists.

In the three manuscripts the story is entitled the *Third Book* and forms part of a work divided into five (in reality six) Books containing the apocryphal history of the Virgin and her Son. The first Book deals with the Annunciation of Mary, the second with the Nativity of our Lord<sup>1</sup>; the third contains the present Vision of Theophilus; the fourth is the Gospel of the Infancy; the fifth and the sixth deal with the death and the Assumption of the Virgin. As I shall presently point out, all these texts, with the exception of the third Book or the Vision of Theophilus, have already been published.

If we assume that this division of the story is original we shall have no difficulty in maintaining that from relatively ancient times the Vision of Theophilus constituted an integral part of the apocryphal life of Christ and His mother in some communities belonging to the Monophysite West Syrian Church. The East Syrian Church being mainly Nestorian knows nothing of the Vision of Theophilus in any shape or form.

My collection of manuscripts contains also two Garshūni texts of the story, one of which, Mingana Syr. 39, is dated 1773 of the Greeks (A.D. 1462). The second is numbered Mingana Syr. 114 and is of much later date. I have, however, made no use either in the text or in the translation of any of these Garshūni texts. I had a glance at the text of Mingana Syr. 114 and I am under the impression that it is a translation of the Syriac text that I am editing and translating in the following pages.

The text that immediately follows the Vision of Theophilus is that edited by Wright in 1865<sup>2</sup> and by Mrs. Lewis in 1902.<sup>3</sup> With

<sup>1</sup> It is attributed to James, "the brother of our Lord."

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865, vi. 417-448; vii. 110-160.

<sup>3</sup> *Apocrypha Syriaca* (Studia Sinaitica, xi.).

this text should be compared Budge's text and translation of the life of the Virgin, which covers a more extensive ground.<sup>1</sup> For the Greek and Latin texts of the tradition we refer the reader to M. R. James' well-known book.<sup>2</sup>

As Nau<sup>3</sup> has pointed out in a short analysis that he gave of the story according to the imperfect Borgia manuscript some traditions embodied in the narrative are attested by Rufinus<sup>4</sup> and Sozomen.<sup>5</sup> These historians will be quoted in the footnotes that I have added to the translation.

There is probably a reference to our document in an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium of Coptic origin,<sup>6</sup> which under the 6th of Hatur (2 November) reads: "On this day the Saviour our God, our King, and our Lord Jesus Christ was united to His pure disciples at ẖusḡam, which is al-Muḡarraḡ. It is there that the first Mass was said, as testify St. Philotheus (read: Theophilus) and St. Cyril."

I believe that the above reference is to the present document, which informs us that the first Mass was said at ẖusḡam, and which, as we shall presently see, is attributed at the end to St. Cyril of Alexandria. The document bears out also the fact that it was at ẖusḡam that Jesus was united to His disciples. As to the copyist's error of Philotheus for Theophilus it can easily be explained through early and undotted Arabic characters. Other references will be found in the footnotes.

The author makes the mistake of mentioning in connection with some events of his story the name of Theodosius "the Younger," but as the life of John the Baptist which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies* shows<sup>7</sup> it is under Theodosius the Great (376-395) that those events, including the destruction of the temple of Serapis in 391, took place. Other historical inaccuracies will be corrected in the footnotes.

It does not seem probable that either Theophilus or St. Cyril wrote the story. I incline to the view that the work is by a late Coptic Bishop, such as Cyriacus, Bishop of Oxyrhynchus whose

<sup>1</sup> *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> *R.O.C.*, xv. 126-127.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Lat.*, lxxiii. 1155.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255.

<sup>7</sup> *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255.

edition of the apocryphal Gamaliel's work, the *Lament of the Virgin* and the *Martyrdom of Pilate* I edited and translated in 1928.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the *mise en scène* and many stylistic expressions that characterise the present *Vision of Theophilus* point to the author of the two above works.

In a note that I added to my edition and translation of the above *Lament of the Virgin*,<sup>2</sup> I followed Schermann<sup>3</sup> and Cheikho<sup>4</sup> in placing Bishop Cyriacus in the fifteenth century. From the fact, however, that he is the author of the Ethiopic liturgy of St. Mary, it does seem probable that he flourished at an earlier date. As the Rev. R. M. Woolley has pointed out to me, the threefold Coptic liturgy of Basil, Gregory, and Cyril was definitely fixed and stereotyped before the twelfth century and it seems unlikely that a Coptic Bishop should have composed another as late as the fifteenth century. Further, the Ethiopic liturgy itself, which has been ascribed to the above Bishop Cyriacus seems to postulate a much earlier date than the fifteenth century. I cannot, therefore, find any strong reason militating against the hypothesis that Cyriacus might have lived, say in the eleventh century of our era.

The above opinion receives a striking demonstration from the fact that Arabic seems to be the original language in which this pseudo-Theophilus wrote his treatise. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the Syriac text that I am editing and translating is a translation from Arabic. The proofs for this assertion are numerous and undoubted. The following will be deemed sufficient :—

1. There are in the narrative distinct Arabic words which could not have crept into the Syriac text except through an Arabic original :—

(a) *سلفا وسقيط* which in Arabic would be *حلفا وسقيط* *alfa and rush-nut*.

(b) *مبمر بلادير* *ازجا جبال* before another Church is dedicated on the earth. This verb *tithikraiz* is here undoubtedly a transliteration of the Arabic *تكرز* which in vulgar parlance of Egypt stood for *تكرس*. That the verb is to be so considered is

<sup>1</sup> *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. pp. 178-332.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> *Aegypt. Abendmahlsliturgien*. He places him c. 1444 "nach mitteilung. von H. Prof. Euringer."

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes Chrétiens*, p. 170.



borne out by the fact that it occurs over and over again in Egyptian Arabic documents.<sup>1</sup>

(c) *ܕܢܐܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ* *a virgin girl*. The word *bukhrtha* is here certainly translated from an Arabic sentence : بنت بكر .

(d) *ܕܚܕܪܐܐ ܕܐܡܥܐ* *in honour and majesty*. This 'azzizutha used in the sense of "honour" is the Arabic 'izz in the sentence : بعز واکرام .

(e) *ܡܠܬܝܡ ܐܠܝܗܡ ܩܠܝܠܐ* *they had little pity*. The word *kallilîn* as used here is the Arabic *Kalilah* in some such sentence as رحتهم قليلا .

(f) The names of the angels *Gabriel* and *Michael* appear always in the three manuscripts as *ܕܗܒܪܐܝܝܠ* and *ܡܝܚܐܝܝܠ* in the Arabic fashion جبرائيل and ميخائيل .

2. There are in the treatise many purely Arabic expressions which are foreign to the genius of the Syriac language :—

(a) *ܕܚܬܐ ܗܚܝܬ* *I fled with you*. This expression is certainly the Arabic هربت بك . Similarly the expression *ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ* *and I entered into the town with Him* is the translation of an Arabic ودخلت به . Likewise the phrase *ܕܐܡܥܐ ܕܡܠܬܝܡ* *they strove to kill me* is the translation of an Arabic جاهدوا . Finally the sentence *ܡܠܬܝܡ ܐܠܝܗܡ ܩܠܝܠܐ* *they were amazed at the glory* is the translation of an Arabic تعجبون من المجد . In all the above quotations the particles governed by the different verbs in question are those governed by the Arabic and not the Syriac verbs used.

(b) *ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܬܝܡ ܐܠܝܗܡ* *they had no opportunity*. This denotes the Arabic ما وقع فرصة .

(c) *ܕܐܡܥܐ ܕܐܡܥܐ ܕܐܡܥܐ* *and he turned towards the east*. This is the Arabic والتفت بوجهه الى المشرق .

(d) *ܕܐܡܥܐ ܕܐܡܥܐ ܕܐܡܥܐ* *who are more wicked than Herod*. The use of the comparative *bish* in the mas-

<sup>1</sup> See my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 280, 281, 282, etc., and *Pat. Orient.*, x. 262, etc.

culine singular is a translation of the Arabic *أشتر*. The Syriac would have been in plural *ܚܫܝܝܬܐ*.

(e) *ܡܡܥܬܐ ܡܡܥܬܐ* and *they began to speak*. The verb *Kān* used here to express "to begin" is the vulgar Arabic *Kāma* in such expression as *وقاموا يحكون*.

(f) *ܠܐ ܐܥܫܬ ܡܕܝܝܢܐ* and *I found no water*. This *middaim min* is a translation from a corresponding Arabic sentence.

(g) *ܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܐܝܢ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ* *I do not know in which place they are*. The Syriac construction of this sentence denotes such Arabic sentence as *ما اعرف لهم مدينا*.

3. There are some words which are masculine in Syriac, but are used in the treatise in the feminine gender under the influence of the corresponding words in the Arabic language in which they are feminine. This anomaly can easily be explained by the fact of an Arabic original lying before the translator:—

(a) *ܡܫܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܐ* and *the tree worshipped*.

(b) *ܡܫܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܐ ܡܫܝܬܐ* and *the tree worshipped*. In both of these examples the Syriac *Īlāna* is masculine but has been used in feminine under the influence of the Arabic *شجرة* which is feminine.

(c) *ܡܫܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܐ ܡܫܝܬܐ* and *the star grew up in that hour and gave fruits*. Here also the Syriac *Shabbūka* is masculine but has been used in feminine under the influence of the Arabic *عصا* which is feminine.

In my opinion the above and many other similar sentences point decisively to an Arabic original for the narrative. That Arabic original seems to have been translated at a time prior to the fourteenth century into the Syriac text which we have before us, and this Syriac text was re-translated into the Arabic version exhibited in the Garshūni manuscripts: Mingana Syr. 39 and Mingana Syr. 114, to which we have referred above.

The origin of the Vision may be traced to the fact that its author, noticing that there was a gap in the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy and in the Life of the Virgin in connection with the flight of Christ

into Egypt and the life of the holy family in that country, he endeavoured to fill it. The supplying of the deficiencies of the apocryphal stories relating to Christ and His mother gave him also the opportunity of enhancing the value of the shrine of ẖuṣkam for which he shows special predilection. To avoid unnecessary references in the footnotes of the translation to this locality constantly spoken of as "this holy mountain," "this mountain," "this holy house," "this house," etc., I refer the reader to what I wrote elsewhere on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

The above surmise does not imply that every historical detail in the story was invented by the author, whose only task seems indeed to have been to take the material for his narrative from local tradition and to put it in the form in which we find it before us. He made use also of some apocryphal books and of some works on ecclesiastical history with which the Egyptian scholars of his time were familiar.

The critical apparatus that I have ventured to add in the footnotes will show the nature and antiquity of the sources that might have been used by him.

We may infer from the above considerations that like the *Apocryphal Jeremiah* and the *Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, and like the *Lament of the Virgin* and the *Martyrdom of Pilate* which I published in the second volume of the same series, the present document is thoroughly Coptic in origin. The only link that connects it with the Syrian Church is its translation into Syriac by a West Syrian Monophysite living in or near Egypt.

The actual writer of the story is given at the end of the narrative as Cyril, who avers that he had heard it from the holy mouth of his Father, the Patriarch Theophilus. This Cyril appears to be, as I said above, the great St. Cyril of Alexandria who succeeded Theophilus in 412.<sup>2</sup> For the real purpose of the present apocryphon both Theophilus and Cyril remain, however, in the realm of fiction, because although great historical personages they seem to have been made use of by the unknown writer simply for the convenience of the cast of his *dramatis personæ*.

Finally, from some phrases used in the story I am tempted to believe that the present document, like some other Coptic-Arabic

<sup>1</sup> *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. 263.

<sup>2</sup> See my note at the end of the Apocryphon for a possible attribution to Cyril of Jerusalem.



lucubrations, is a speech or a homily delivered on the day of the feast of the Virgin.<sup>1</sup>

### TRANSLATION.

*Again the third Book (containing) the flight (according to) the vision shown to<sup>2</sup> Theophilus, Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, concerning the arrival of our Lady Mary, Mother of God, in the land of Egypt, and concerning the house which she and her beloved Son Jesus Christ inhabited in the holy mountain of Kuskam, on account of their great fear of King Herod.*

The reason for the journey of the Patriarch and his coming was to see great and heavenly visions, and also Theodosius the younger, the orthodox Emperor, because this Emperor gave him the keys of the temples of the idols of all Egypt from Alexandria to Assuan, in order that he might take the wealth contained in them and spend it in erecting buildings for the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup>

When he reached Assuan from the eastern side of the mountain and returned in following the western<sup>4</sup> side of the mountain, there were with him ten Bishops of Upper Egypt,<sup>5</sup> who spoke to him concerning the honour due to this holy house,<sup>6</sup> and he expressed the desire to repair to the Church that was in it in order that he might be blessed by it and obtain its benedictions. They<sup>7</sup> reached the Church three days before the festival of the mother of God, which falls on the twenty-second of the Coptic month<sup>8</sup> of Ṭbah,<sup>9</sup> which is the sixteenth of January.<sup>10</sup> The Father-Bishops and all the monks who in-

<sup>1</sup> See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 252.

<sup>2</sup> V. "Again we write the Book of the flight which has been revealed to."

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor who gave Theophilus the keys of the pagan temples was Theodosius the Great (376-395) and not Theodosius whom the author calls the "Younger," who reigned from 408 to 450. See the same incident reported in a correct way in the document which I published in the *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 225. As to Theophilus he was Patriarch of Alexandria from 385 to 412. The same error is found in an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 345.

<sup>5</sup> Arabic *Sa'id*.

<sup>4</sup> V. omits "western."

<sup>7</sup> V. "he."

<sup>6</sup> V. "this holy mountain."

<sup>8</sup> V. omits "Coptic month."

<sup>9</sup> The Coptic month of Ṭbah extends from the 27th of December to the 25th of January of our Calendar.

<sup>10</sup> In a Coptic-Arabic Menologium printed by Nau in *Pat. Orient.*, x. 175, the commemoration of the death of the Virgin is assigned to 16th January. The same may be said of the Coptic-Arabic Menologia printed on pp. 197 and 213 of the same volume of *Pat. Orient.*

habited this holy mountain, who were three hundred in number, besought him to remain with them till after the feast of Mary, the mother of God, and then return in the peace of our Lord. Amen !

Now, O my brethern and beloved in Christ, I shall begin to speak of what I saw and heard in this holy mountain. It is imperative to give thanks to God who kept me until I reached this holy mountain, the mountain which God chose to inhabit.<sup>1</sup> And He dwelt there with His mother, the holy Virgin, as it is written : "God hath chosen Zion and hath made it His habitation."<sup>2</sup> The Lord dwelt in this holy mountain and the Lord shall dwell in it. The Lord loved this holy mountain, and dwelt in it with His holy and Virgin mother. He glorified it more than the towns of all the world, and He did not wish to inhabit another house, nor did He choose the house of a rich man but He inhabited this forsaken mountain in which dwelt no man as David says : "Because the Lord was pleased with Zion and chose it as a dwelling-place,"<sup>3</sup> and there He dwelt.

O you holy mountain who became a dwelling-place to the Lord and a cause of joy and exultation to the angels and to all the inmates of heaven, who praise<sup>4</sup> their creator who dwelt in you ! Blessed are you, O holy mountain, which has been glorified more than all the mountains of heaven, and which has been exalted above the mountains of heaven,<sup>5</sup> because the Lord came down upon this holy mountain as He came down<sup>6</sup> once upon mount Sinai,<sup>7</sup> and there was joy, jubilation and dazzling light so that no one was able to go near the mountain and perceive except the prophet Moses ; and no one was able to see the face of the Lord and live<sup>8</sup> ; but we saw Him in this holy mountain and we saw Him on the holy Throne,<sup>9</sup> and we saw Him in Bethlehem when He became a man for us and put on a body from our Lady, the holy Virgin Mary, mother of God. We were sitting in darkness and in shadow of death,<sup>10</sup> until He came and had mercy upon us, He who is good and lover of men, and until He repaired to these countries which were immersed in paganism more than all the world, and He illuminated us with the light of His divinity and His exalted glory.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 13 (Peshitta).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Is. ii. 2 ; M. omits this sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. xix. 20.

<sup>9</sup> M. omits "holy throne."

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 13.

<sup>4</sup> V. "serve."

<sup>6</sup> V. omits.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. xxxiii. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. iv. 16 : cf. Is. ix. 2.



This holy mountain resembles the Mount of Olives which our Lord and His holy disciples inhabited. And you, O holy mountain,<sup>1</sup> our Lord and His mother for many days dwelt in you. The prophecy of Isaiah, the greatest of the prophets, who prophesied concerning the glory of this house in which we have assembled in this day and in this hour, has been fulfilled. When he prophesied about the coming of our Lord five hundred and sixty-seven years before it took place he said: "Behold a virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth (a son) and they shall call His name Emmanuel which being interpreted is, God with us"<sup>2</sup>; he also prophesied concerning this mountain in saying<sup>3</sup>: "God hath inhabited this mountain, and benediction and grace<sup>4</sup> have inhabited it. Praises and canticles are in it always and for ever. Kingdoms shall cease and powers shall perish, and all the peoples shall change and pass away, and (we shall sit) solidly on their thrones, and our name and our memory shall not change nor pass away, except by death which (hangs) over men universally."

And you, O holy mountain, your privileges shall be eternal by the will<sup>5</sup> of God; and because of the blessings which He recited over you,<sup>6</sup> all the people shall come to you, receive your blessings and ask for forgiveness for their sins, according to the saying of the prophet Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the Lord shall be established above all the mountains and shall be exalted above everything, and nations shall flow into it, and all the multitudes shall rejoice at this mountain of the God of Jacob; and He will make the path straight for us in order that we may walk in it, for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the words of the Lord from Jerusalem."<sup>7</sup> You are truly<sup>8</sup> the mountain of the Lord, and the house of the God of Jacob, because the one who established the law has dwelt in you with His mother, the holy Virgin Mary; and the way to this place is by faith, and everyone walks to-day to this derelict mountain, from towns and villages, and narrates the glory of this holy and pure house.<sup>9</sup> Truly this is the desert of life, this is

<sup>1</sup> Of Kuskam.

<sup>3</sup> This prophecy is not in Isaiah.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "like the will."

<sup>7</sup> Is. ii. 2, with changes.

<sup>9</sup> The construction of these sentences denote a Coptic writer.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. i. 23; Is. vii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> M. adds "of God."

<sup>6</sup> See them towards the end.

<sup>8</sup> M. omits "truly."

the stretch of land chosen by the holy Virgin, our Lady Mary, and her Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

St. John the evangelist, the son of Zebedee and the beloved of our Lord, testified in the<sup>1</sup> Apocalypse and said: "I saw a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And I saw a serpent standing before her expecting her child that he might kill him, (a child) who rules the world with a rod of iron, and who went up to heaven unto God, and unto His holy throne."<sup>2</sup> And John said also<sup>3</sup>: "I saw a dragon casting water out of his mouth after the woman that he might drown her in water. And the earth welcomed the woman, was rent and swallowed the water which the serpent had cast out of his mouth after her. And there were given unto the woman wings of a bird and she flew to the mountains, to a place prepared to her by God, and she inhabited it one thousand two hundred and three-score<sup>4</sup> days, which makes three years five months and ten days. And the serpent waxed wrath with the woman and went away to her children to sow the seed of war between him and them. And they kept the commandment of our Lord and the orders of Jesus."<sup>5</sup>

The woman whom we have mentioned above is Mary, the mother of Jesus. She is truly the Queen of all women. The sun in which she is arrayed is our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who dwelt in her and illuminated all her body, and the moon is John the Baptist who was illuminated by the baptism of Christ, with which we clothed ourselves for the forgiveness of sins.<sup>6</sup> And the crown of twelve stars over her head are our Fathers, the holy Apostles, through whom mankind entered into the path of truth. And the serpent<sup>7</sup> is Satan, and the water which he cast out of his mouth is the anger which went out of Herod against the children whom he slew on the occasion of (the birth of) our Lord Jesus Christ, whom any one who acknowledges will fight against the same (Satan) for ever and ever.<sup>8</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> V. "in the book of his."

<sup>2</sup> Apoc. xii. 1, 3-5 (with changes).

<sup>3</sup> Apoc. xii. 15-16 (with changes).

<sup>4</sup> M. "six," which is obviously incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> Apoc. xii. 15-16, and 6, 17 (with changes and inversions of the order of the verses).

<sup>6</sup> V. "Our sins."

<sup>7</sup> V. adds "which followed her."

<sup>8</sup> M. omits this sentence.

wilderness in which our Lord dwelt with His mother had been prepared for them by God.

And I will say with Jacob, the father of the tribes<sup>1</sup>: "This is the house of God and the meeting-place of all the saints." As the name of the Lord God liveth,<sup>2</sup> when I entered to-day into this house my soul was filled with joy, gladness and satisfaction; and I forgot all my fatigue and the length of the journey which I had to endure and the exhaustion which had overtaken me; and the cares of all the world left me because she who is our Lady, mother of light, implored her Son and her beloved, to the effect that all who would enter into this house and pray in it shall be free from all the stratagems of Satan and the anxieties of this world.

What shall I say and what shall I utter to praise you, O our Lord Jesus Christ for the honour You did to me, me the wretched and the sinner Theophilus! You gave me your holy body and your innocent blood which I distribute to your people for the forgiveness of their sins. You gave me a throne on which to sit while I am not worthy of it, and You elected me to shepherd your people. You gave me a happy time, and fear forsook me; and you shut the mouth of the dragons who disturbed the peace of your people, the dragons that are the community of the impure Heretics.<sup>3</sup> You gave us praiseworthy Emperors, like Theodosius the Younger, who love your truth and enjoin it on the churches of Christ, and the fear of Arius and all his soldiers ceased; (that Arius) on account of whom the holy Apostle, my father Athanasius, suffered persecution to the extent of going from place to place for twenty-seven years, while the Emperor was seeking him on account of the lies of the wicked Heretics. God willed this in order that in suffering the persecution of the Apostles he might have their reward in the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was a barbarous people (which he was appointed to shepherd) until our Lord Jesus Christ revealed Himself to it after the persecution (of Father Athanasius).

And (Athanasius) repaired to the great city of Rome where he became worthy of the benediction of the bodies of the holy and sweet-tongued Apostles Peter and Paul, and where he saw their faces

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxviii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "By the life of the name of the Lord God."

<sup>3</sup> The Arians.



suffused with joy, and where they spoke to him real words.<sup>1</sup> After this he desired to build a church under the name of John the Baptist, but he did not succeed, because he was unable to erect anything from fear of the Heretics. It happened to him what happened to the prophet David at the time when he wished to build a temple to the Lord and he was not able to do so because of the fear and the vicissitudes that befell him.<sup>2</sup> And when (the Lord) wished to comfort him he said to him : "Thou shalt not do this, but the one who comes after thee shall build a house for me."<sup>3</sup> This happened to me, because after the death of my Father Theodosius<sup>4</sup> his throne was occupied by his father Peter, and when he also died he was succeeded by my Father Demetrius,<sup>5</sup> whose office I assumed after him—the throne of the one of whom I am not worthy.

When I was ready according to the will of God, I built a church under the name of John the Baptist. When I had finished it, I placed in it all the vessels of the Church. I then erected at the back of it<sup>6</sup> a church to the Three Children,<sup>7</sup> and in it I placed also all its vessels,<sup>8</sup> while their bodies were in Babylon. We were full of joy and gladness, and the (three) saints appeared in the church on the day of its consecration, and all the congregation<sup>9</sup> saw them. All this

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "word for word." The author probably refers to Athanasius' visit to Rome in the early summer of 340. See his *Apol. ad Cons.*, 417, and *Fest. Ep.*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> All this is found in more or less similar terms in *New Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in 1927 in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 256 (q.v.). See also *ibid.*, p. 257, my note on the erection of a church in Alexandria in honour of the Baptist. See also the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 345-347.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. xxviii. 3, 6, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Surely a copyist's error for *Athanasius*. The same succession of the Patriarchs of Alexandria is in the above life of John the Baptist, *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255.

<sup>5</sup> Peter was succeeded in the see of Alexandria by Timothy in 380 and not by Demetrius. The error is possibly due to the copyist or rather to the translator who was rendering an Arabic original into Syriac. In an early and undotted Arabic text such a mistake may easily occur.

<sup>6</sup> Or, "after it."

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "companions of Hananiah"; i.e. Hananiah, Mishaël and Azariah of Dan. i., ii.

<sup>8</sup> M. "their vessels"; i.e. "their garments" or "their relics."

<sup>9</sup> M. adds here "of the Church." The Church of the Three Children is also mentioned in the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium as having been built by

happened through the intercession of the saints according to the will of God.

And the God-loving Emperor Theodosius came to Alexandria, the City of the Christians. When the Christ-loving and believing Emperor reached the city, I Theophilus went out (to meet him) with (banners of) crosses, accompanied by my suite and the notables of the city. We knelt before him and said to him : " Hail, O believing Emperor,<sup>1</sup> O lover of Christ<sup>2</sup> and of His holy cross, like the Emperor Constantine in his time ! Hail, O you who truly honour Christ ! Hail, O you who love Christ with all your heart, you whom Christ loved and on whom He bestowed peace and majesty ! You opened the doors of the Church, and the (faithful) had joy and honour in your time. May God open before you the door of His grace, and may He make your enemies your footstool !<sup>3</sup> May the Lord who weaved a crown for you in this world, weave a crown for you with the saints in His heaven ! "

And (the Emperor) answered and said to me<sup>4</sup> several times in humility : " Hail, O saint. These things have been granted to us by God through your prayers." And " you uphold me in the righteousness of your words," as David said.<sup>5</sup>

We led then (the Emperor) and brought him to the holy church of Mark the evangelist.<sup>6</sup> After he had taken the benediction of the saint, the owner of the church, we led him again and proceeded to the churches which had been<sup>7</sup> renovated in our time. He was very pleased with them, and said to me in smiling : " Blessed be the compassionate Lord God who does good things to His elect and beloved ones, and 'exalts them that are of low degree,'<sup>8</sup> as the Book says : ' I shall praise those who praise me.'<sup>9</sup> You, O my Father, resemble our Father Abraham who received God with His angels

Theophilus. See *Pat. Orient.*, i. 353-354. Some incidents alluded to here are amplified in the Synaxarium. This is especially the case with a St. Yabannes whom a cloud took to Babylon in order to transfer the bodies of the saints, but unsuccessfully because they did not wish to come to Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> V. omits "believing Emperor."

<sup>2</sup> V. adds here : " Hail, O you who honour Jesus Christ." This comes after in M.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cx., 1.

<sup>4</sup> M. "to you."

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxix. 116 (with changes ; cf. Ps. xxxiii. 4).

<sup>6</sup> V. "of the holy Apostle and evangelist."

<sup>7</sup> M. "Church which has been."

<sup>8</sup> Luke i. 52.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Kings ii. 30.



because of his faith, and this was counted unto him for righteousness,<sup>1</sup> for ever and ever. You, O my Lord and my brother, became a friend to God and to His angels, and this is the reason why God exalted you and honoured you more than the Fathers, your Fathers (I mean) who held the same office before you. I give you, therefore, for all time, the keys of the temples<sup>2</sup> from the land of Alexandria to that of Assuan, in order that you may take from them any wealth which you will find in them and spend it in the erection of churches and monasteries, in the duration of my reign." In that very moment he ordered the keys to be given to me. Then the inhabitants of the city led him away in great honour on account of the fatigue of the journey.

Three days after the Emperor summoned me, and I went to him and stood before him. We then went out, and I walked with him, along with the notables of the city and all the priests, until we reached the (temple of the) Camp of Alexander in which (the Great Macedonian Conqueror) had stored treasures, and the door of which he had locked and sealed.<sup>3</sup> We found the door<sup>4</sup> sealed with three seals so that no one should be able to open it. Indeed it had never been opened from the day of Alexander down to this day in which God who opened the eyes of the blind from their mothers' womb opened it. And God opened the eyes of my mind,<sup>5</sup> and I saw on three doors three *thetas*—letters of the alphabet—inscribed on them. These three letters referred the first to *Theos* which means God, the second to *Theodosius*, the believing Emperor, and the third to my name *Theophilus*. I did not know this with my own earthly knowledge nor by my own power, but by the power of God who opened the eyes of the heart of the divine Theophilus.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rom. iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "of these localities." This incident is reported also in the life of John the Baptist in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255.

<sup>3</sup> The author possibly refers to the great temple of Serapis which was destroyed in 391. Serapion, the avowed author of the life of John the Baptist, simply writes in this connection: "and especially the great temple of Alexandria" (*Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255). The Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 347, refers also the treasures to the time of Alexander.

<sup>4</sup> M. omits "the door."

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "heart" which in Arabic means also "mind."

<sup>6</sup> This incident of the three *thetas* is found also in the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 346-347. It may be presumed that the author of the Synaxarium took his information from our present document.

In that hour the door, at the inner side of which was the great wealth, was thrown open, and the Emperor saw it and was amazed at the quantity of it. They rejoiced and glorified our Lord Jesus Christ, our powerful God.<sup>1</sup> And the Emperor<sup>2</sup> said: "It is God that has granted us<sup>3</sup> this favour and the gift of this wealth."<sup>4</sup> In that very hour he gave a portion of it to the inmates of the prison, to the churches and monasteries,<sup>5</sup> and to the poor, the orphans and the widows, and no one was left in want in those days, because he satisfied the wants of all. He ordered what was left to be carried on a ship as far as the Capital. Afterwards I walked with him along with my suite, and we said to him: "Go in the peace of the Lord, and may His help be with you! May He make your enemies your footstool,<sup>6</sup> and grant you happy times! May the years of your life be without fear, anxiety, and apprehension!"

And he answered and said to me: "May God be with you, O my holy Father! For God's sake do not deprive me of your prayers and supplications that are accepted by God whom you serve.<sup>7</sup> May He deliver you and me in the day of trial<sup>8</sup> from the demons and from the wicked wars the waves of which are rising against us like the waves of the sea! May He also give us His grace in the day of our passing away to Him, because it is He who possesses grace and grants forgiveness of sins now, always, and for ever and ever. Amen!"

When he had boarded the ship that was bound for the City of Constantinople,<sup>9</sup> we returned to the city of Alexandria in great joy,<sup>10</sup> and praised God for having given us in our days a good and just Emperor. A few days later we wished to accomplish what was ordered by the Emperor, and we went up to Egypt by the will of God, and we went round all the temples of idols, and discovered in them a considerable quantity of wealth. I distributed all this wealth to the poor and the needy, and to all the churches and monasteries found on the holy mountain. I gave orders concerning the churches

<sup>1</sup> V. omits "God."

<sup>2</sup> M. omits "Emperor."

<sup>3</sup> M. "me."

<sup>4</sup> M. omits this sentence.

<sup>5</sup> M. omits "churches and monasteries," and for "poor" he substitutes "the weak."

<sup>6</sup> Ps. cx. 1.

<sup>7</sup> V. adds: "who is our Lord Jesus Christ."

<sup>8</sup> V. "fear."

<sup>9</sup> V. "Capital."

<sup>10</sup> M. omits "in great joy."



that were to be built, and they were erected according to my instructions.

After all this I returned by the will of God to this holy, honourable and pure mountain, and informed myself concerning the honour due to it. I was accompanied by some Father-Bishops, and I wished to go to it and be blessed by it before returning to my town. In this way I attained what was in my mind, namely, to be worthy of praying in this holy<sup>1</sup> house which was the dwelling-place of God, of His angels and of His holy Virgin mother. O you holy house which resembles the heavenly Jerusalem! As God liveth,<sup>2</sup> I was astonished at this desolate house more than all the corners of the earth, because it was worthy of the fact that the Son of God and His mother lived in it, and did not wish to abandon this place which He had chosen in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen!

O my brethren and my beloved, lo I have truthfully narrated to you what happened to me and to the good Emperor Theodosius the divine, me your Father Theophilus; and also what took place till, by the will of God,<sup>3</sup> I reached this place. After this, listen O my brethren, to what I am going to say to you in good faith and in the fear of God, i.e. to the vision which the holy<sup>4</sup> Virgin Mary, the mother of God, revealed for your sake, the knowledge of which I shall now impart to you:

It happened that after we had finished our nocturns and my brother-Bishops had slept in a place by themselves, I went up to the upper chamber in which the mother of God had sat in the days which she had spent in this mountain. When I rose (to pray) I stretched my hands, prayed and implored my God and my Saviour Jesus Christ and said: "Hear me as you heard my Father Alexander<sup>5</sup> till he upheld the orthodox faith; hear me as you heard my Father Athanasius the holy Apostle, whom you helped in all his trials. Hear me in this way, who am unworthy of your service,<sup>6</sup> because I am a sinner. I

<sup>1</sup> V. "holy and sanctified."

<sup>2</sup> i.e. by the life of God.

<sup>3</sup> V. has twice "by the will of God" at the beginning and at the end of the sentence.

<sup>4</sup> M. omits "holy."

<sup>5</sup> Alexander became Patriarch of Alexandria in 313. Epiphanius (*Pat. Gr.*, xlii. 193-196) informs us that before dying he appointed the young deacon, Athanasius, as his successor.

<sup>6</sup> M. "the service."

know that you hear me always, because you are near to all those who love your holy and pure name.

“O my Lord and my God, have mercy upon me, and do not let me return empty handed, me who have fixed my mind on you from my childhood to my old age. I beseech you to reveal to me your coming into the world and to this mountain which you visited together with your holy Virgin mother, and to this desolate house in which you established your habitation. I pray you to help me to build a big church, and we will glorify, exalt and honour your holy name. You are the one to whom are due power and glory with your Father and your Holy Spirit, now at all times and for ever. Amen.”

When my prayer was finished, a light shone on me, which was so dazzling that I believed that the sun itself was shining on me. And a throne of light appeared to me, on which was sitting the Queen of all women, the holy virgin, our Lady Mary, mother of God. Her face was illuminated like the sun from the light with which she was invested, and she was covered with a majestic brightness, and with her were many myriads of angels. I was so bewildered that I said: “Is there in all the world one who is able to contemplate this great majesty?” I saw Gabriel and Michael,<sup>1</sup> and a great multitude of other angels with them. When I looked and saw them, I fell on my face to the ground and became like a dead man, and Michael raised me and removed fear and dread from me.

And the holy Virgin Mary, mother of God, spoke and said to me: “Arise and fear not, O Theophilus, our servant<sup>2</sup> and the athlete who fights for the Christians. Hail, O Theophilus! Arise, be strengthened, look and see that I am the mother of<sup>3</sup> Jesus Christ, the Lord of heaven and earth, the mother of the one whom neither heaven nor earth are able to comprehend, the one who was nine months in my womb by His Will. I am His mother and I gave milk from my breast to the one who feeds the world by His will.<sup>4</sup> I am Mary, the daughter of Yonakhir, and my mother is Hannah of the tribe of Judah and of the house of David. I have revealed myself to you by the will of my beloved Son: I shall show you the One who was with me,<sup>5</sup> who grasped at my knees and looked<sup>6</sup> at my face as all other

<sup>1</sup> M. omits these names.

<sup>2</sup> M. omits “our servant.”

<sup>3</sup> M. “our Lord Jesus Christ.”

<sup>4</sup> V. “through His goodness.”

<sup>5</sup> M. “on me.”

<sup>6</sup> The manuscripts use here the present tense under the influence of an Arabic original.



children do when they weep before their mothers until they are carried by them.

At that moment I was carrying Him under my arm-pit, holding Him and kissing Him, while I was happy at my being able to walk with Him. I was cursing Herod and all his kingdom for the wickedness which he perpetrated against those holy and innocent children whom he killed and the hearts of whose parents he filled with great pain and grief. And Salome<sup>1</sup> used to take my Son at all times, caress Him and smile at Him ; and the blessed old Joseph used to carry the dresses in which my Son was clad and what was necessary for our food. Any time my father Joseph saw me handing the child to Salome he would take Him from me to carry Him on his shoulders and play with Him.

O Theophilus, I endured great hardship before reaching this land of Egypt. While we were in the east side of the town we sat under a tree because it was the time of the first Summer, which falls on the twenty-sixth day of the month of May. Joseph fell asleep from the exhaustion of the journey ; likewise Salome slept ; and I was left under the tree feeding from my breasts my Son on whom was a garment of the colour of a grape, a colour similar to that of the garment with which my parents clothed me in the Temple. After I wore that garment I never put it off again, nor did I put off the veil which I am wearing. And the colour of the sandals of my Son resembled the colour of gold and silver on His feet.<sup>2</sup>

When we were journeying we met two brigands, one of whom was an Egyptian from Egypt and the other a Syrian from Syria, a Hebrew from our land. And the Syrian brigand said to the Egyptian brigand : "I should have liked to plunder the garments that are on this woman

<sup>1</sup> In all the Coptic-Arabic documents Salome is a cousin of the Virgin and often accompanies Mary and Jesus. She is with them at the burial of Elizabeth (*Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 243). It is she who brings to Mary the sad news of the crucifixion of Jesus, walks with her to the Golgotha and follows her to the sepulchre (*Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. 184, 188, 245). According to some Coptic sources she is the daughter of Abimelech and sister of the priest Simeon, who took her after she had fallen into sin to Jericho in order that she might repent there. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1905, v. 430, and Nau in *R.O.C.*, 1910, 187-188. In an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium of Coptic origin (*Pat. Orient.*, iii. 278) she is a midwife and helps the birth of the Virgin.

<sup>2</sup> V "and there was a shoe on His feet."

and her Son, because they resemble the garments of Kings, and if I had encountered them in a place other than this I would have taken those garments from them, but I have no opportunity of doing it now<sup>1</sup> because they are near the town." And the Egyptian brigand said to him: "Let us proceed on our way. I never saw a child like this since I was born." And they went their way while uttering such words and conversing on this theme.<sup>2</sup> Then my Son relinquished my breast that was in His mouth and asked for water<sup>3</sup> and said to me: "I am thirsty, give me a little water." And I looked round me and did not find the water that my beloved Son was asking for. Then I arose, took my beloved Son and brought Him to the town and asked the women (I met there) for water to give Him,<sup>4</sup> but none of them wished to give us anything,<sup>5</sup> as the inhabitants of that town had very little compassion.

When the brigands saw me entering the town, they came back and went to my father Joseph; and while he was asleep they abducted the sandals of my Son and fled. When I returned I awakened them and said to them: "Arise, and let us leave this town. I never saw people with less faith and compassion than its inhabitants, because I asked water from them and no one gave me any. The only gain that accrued to me from this town is that the sandals of my Son have been stolen!" And I wept and was distressed.

When my beloved Son noticed that I was weeping, He wiped off my tears with His holy hands, and stretched His small finger and made the sign of the cross<sup>6</sup> on the earth, and instantly a spring of water was opened in it, from which water jetted forth and flowed on the ground. And we drank water as sweet as honey and as white as snow.<sup>7</sup> Then my Son made the sign of the cross on the water and

<sup>1</sup> V. omits all this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> For similar details concerning not the nationality but the incidents attaching to the account given here of the good malefactor, cf. Aelredus Rhivallensis, *De vita eremetica*, 48, in the works of St. Augustin, *Pat. Lat.*, xxxii. 1466. Likewise in Budge's *History of the Virgin*, p. 59, the robbers are given their traditional names of Titus and Dumachus, but nothing is said as to their nationality. In other documents they are called Demas or Dysmas and Gesmas, or Genas and Gestas. Cf. James' *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 103-104, 161.

<sup>3</sup> V. omits this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> The original repeats here "my beloved Son."

<sup>5</sup> V. "water" for "anything."

<sup>6</sup> Or "made a sign."

<sup>7</sup> V. "as milk."



said : " Let this water help, make whole and heal the souls and bodies of all those who shall drink of it, with the exception of the inhabitants of this town of whom none shall be healed by it."

Then we ate a little food and I lifted my beloved Son on my arms and we set off on our journey. In that hour the temples of the idols which were in the town fell and were smashed to pieces, and likewise the idols fell one upon another and were smashed.

And we repaired to the land of Egypt, and the mountains, the animals and the stones honoured my Son, and when we walked they walked with us. And my Son turned to those mountains, stones and animals and spoke<sup>1</sup>; and He laid His right hand on the eastern mountain and His left hand on the northern mountain and said : "Stop"; and they stopped. And the traces of His two hands were impressed and seen in the mountains as if in dough<sup>2</sup> and in wax, and lo they are seen down to this day. And He said to them : "Be as a sign and a mark to all who are weak in the faith concerning my coming and do not believe that I came into the world; but let the accursed unbelieving Jews and Herod be anathemas, together with those who do not believe in my holy name."<sup>3</sup>

And He said to the Mountains : "You have acknowledged me and believed in me while you have neither soul nor body, and those who have a soul and a body did not believe in me. And the kings whom I created<sup>4</sup> in my likeness and in my image did not believe in me. Those for whom I came into the world did not believe in me, did not receive me nor did they honour me, but endeavoured to kill me till I reached this place. After this let my name and the name of my holy mother remain in power and honour<sup>5</sup> for ever and ever from generation to generation."

We reached afterwards a town called Eshmunain. When we approached the first gate through which we wished to enter the town, we found images of horses on all the four corners of the gate, looking towards the town. In that very hour they fell and were broken up. My beloved Son spoke to them and said to them : "You shall be

<sup>1</sup> M. adds here : "to them."

<sup>2</sup> V. omits "in dough."

<sup>3</sup> The Apocryphal literature of the New Testament is full of miracles performed by Jesus in Egypt. See Budge's *History of the Virgin*, pp. 44-47, and James' *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 74-75, 83. The miracles found in our document are in some respects more original.

<sup>4</sup> M. : "Which are creatures."

<sup>5</sup> M. omits "honour."

a sign to<sup>1</sup> this town and to its inhabitants for ever and ever." And in that hour they became as He said.

Further, there was in that place a tree which worshipped below the traces of the steps<sup>2</sup> of my Son, and cried saying: "Blessed be your coming, O Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God." And my beloved Son spoke to it and said: "Let no worm be found in you for ever, but be you a remembrance to all of my entry to-day into this town." And He touched it. It is the tree called *Mukantah*,<sup>3</sup> and it<sup>4</sup> shall stand for ever. From it we<sup>5</sup> entered the market of the town of Eshmunain and we saw that all its adults and children were amazed at my beloved Son and admired the glory which was dwelling in Him, and they spoke and said: "We have never met with another child like this."

After this, while we were still in the town, five camels<sup>6</sup> came near us and began to walk in the market; they rendered the road too narrow for us, and my Son looked at them, and in that hour they became stones down to this day. Afterwards a believing man in whom was found the grace of God received us in his house.<sup>7</sup> And all the idols

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "in."

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "below the feet of the steps," and V. "below my steps and the feet."

<sup>3</sup> This tree is the one called *Persea* in the tradition reported by the Byzantine historian Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21) as follows: "It is said that people can see at Hermopolis (Eshmunain), a town in the Thebaid, a tree called 'Persea' the shoots, the leaf and the bark of which when applied to the sick, heal them of their diseases. The Egyptians report that when Joseph fled from Herod he went with the Christ and Mary, His holy mother, to Hermopolis, and that at the time when Jesus was nearing the gate of the town the tree which was high was so struck by the arrival of Christ that it bent itself to worship the Saviour. I have heard what I am saying of this tree from a considerable number of people. I believe that God performed this miracle in order to announce the coming of Christ. . . . A considerable number of Egyptians confirm this miracle that took place near them."

The visit of the holy family to Eshmunain is also attested by Rufinus (*Hist. Monach.* in *Pat. Lat.*, lxxiii. 1155): "We saw in the Thebaid another holy man called Apollo, from the country of Hermopolis, where our Saviour went with Mary and Joseph."

<sup>4</sup> V. "I."

<sup>5</sup> This sentence is placed in the MSS. at the beginning of the story. Finding that it was misplaced I put it in the translation in a place which I consider to be more natural to the sequence of the narrative.

<sup>6</sup> Or "camel-riders" if we read *gammālē* for *gamlē*.

<sup>7</sup> V. "with him."



which were in that town fell and were broken up, and all the priests of the idols took fright and hid in their houses in a secluded place. In the morning all the people assembled in the place in which we were, and lo with them were great multitudes of persons who were sick and stricken with different diseases, and also all those who were deaf and dumb and all those who were suffering from any kind of pain. My beloved Son laid His hand on each one of them and healed them from their complaints. In that town were seen many miracles and wonders,<sup>1</sup> and if I were to reveal to you all that happened there a book could not contain it.

After this a great throng of people crowded on us, and they pushed their way to me on account of the great number of miracles which my Son<sup>2</sup> performed in that day. We left the town from its northern part, and we walked a short while and reached a locality called *Kenīs*.<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of this town were very charitable,<sup>4</sup> and I remained with them several days in the place in which we (first) went. May blessing be on that place in the name of my Son and in my own till the last day!<sup>5</sup> And my Son wrought innumerable miracles in that place, and all those who had diseases or afflictions came to Him with faith, and He healed them in His abundant grace.

After this a carpenter heard of the numerous miracles which my Son was performing, and he knew Joseph before that day, because he had come to Jerusalem and Joseph had given him hospitality. When he saw us he received us and conducted us<sup>6</sup> to his house. He had a son who was possessed with devils from his birth, and he had in him a powerful, pitiless, and cruel demon.<sup>7</sup> And when we entered that town the demon took the boy and dashed him to the ground, and shouted from him: "What have I to do with you, O Jesus of Nazareth. Have you come to torment us before the time?"<sup>8</sup> We left Jerusalem to you and fled and came to this town and you followed us here in order to torment us. Verily you are the Son of God." When he had uttered this my beloved Son said to him: "O accursed

<sup>1</sup> V. omits "wonders."

<sup>2</sup> M. omits "my Son."

<sup>3</sup> Vowels uncertain. V. has "*Nikyās*."

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "lovers of men."

<sup>5</sup> V. omits "till the last day."

<sup>6</sup> V. "received me and conducted me."

<sup>7</sup> V. only "great demon."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Matt. viii. 29. V has "to torment me" and "that you came" for "have you come?"

demon, shut up your mouth and come out of him." And the child was healed in that very hour. And his father and mother arose and worshipped us and said: "Blessed are we that we were found worthy of this gift<sup>1</sup> more than all the world, because you entered our house while we were sinners." And they received us in their house<sup>2</sup> and gave us a great hospitality. And when we entered their house, the benediction of the Lord entered into them. And many people of those localities<sup>3</sup> seeing the miracles which my Son wrought believed in Him.

After this the notables of the town asked the priests of the idols and said to them: "Why did you not come to the temples? Why were you not seen in the town, and why did you not leave your houses?" And they answered and said: "From the day that woman who has with her a child entered the town, the idols were broken up and their temples fell.<sup>4</sup> When we do our best for them in the night we find them broken up and smashed to pieces in the morning." And they sent for us requesting us<sup>5</sup> to go to them. When the messengers arrived they found us<sup>6</sup> in an upper room of the house. Then they seized the man who had invited us to his house and conducted him to the notables of the town, who said to him: "Where are those travellers who halted in your house?" And he answered and said to them: "They left my house three days ago, and I do not know where they went." And they tormented him greatly, but he did not tell them more than "I do not know where they went."

When the owner of the house came to us and informed us of what had happened to him from the chiefs and the priests, we rose up in the morning and left them and went up to the land of Egypt and reached a town called Kuskam in which there was a temple of idols surmounted by an idol on which there were seven veils. The priests of the temple performed the service and did not allow any man to worship there apart from the chiefs of the town; and after these had worshipped, they would present to the idols<sup>7</sup> the necessary offerings.<sup>8</sup>

When we reached the gate of the town the seven veils were torn

<sup>1</sup> V. "grace."

<sup>2</sup> M. 48 omits "in their house."

<sup>3</sup> M. omits "of those localities."

<sup>4</sup> V. adds "and were broken up."

<sup>5</sup> M. omits "requesting us."

<sup>6</sup> V. "found me."

<sup>7</sup> Or "to the priests," or "to the veils."

<sup>8</sup> Lit. "they gave them the useful wealth."



asunder, and the idol fell to the ground and was smashed to pieces. And the demons who were in the idols cried out and said to the priests: "If you do not pursue that woman and the child who is with her, and the old man who is with them<sup>1</sup> and the other woman,<sup>2</sup> and drive them away, and if you let them enter this town, they will put an end to your service, and we will leave the town. Lo, we have informed you<sup>3</sup> before they enter the town." And they scourged the (other) towns of the land of Egypt and said (to their inhabitants): "If this woman enters your town all the temples that are in it will fall, the religion of the town will cease, our enemies will rise against us, our town will perish and all this great honour which you see will pass away. Lo, we have informed you of this before it happens." After the idols<sup>4</sup> had said this they became quiet.

When the priests of the idols, who were a hundred in number, heard this speech of the idols, they pursued us with rods and axes in order to strike at us. They bore evil faces and shouted after us and said: "Where are you going, and what is it you want from us, and what is your aim? Lo, our gods have informed us of the way you have damaged them.<sup>5</sup> Go out of this town lest the children should come out and kill you, since you wish to enter the town in order to destroy it." And they uttered to us these and similar words, while they, their women and children and their adults, chased us away.

And I carried my Son on my breast and walked away weeping. My heart was heavy and in pain and trouble because they did not receive us<sup>6</sup> nor did they want us to stay with them, but insulted us and drove us away. When we went a little distance from their town, my beloved Son turned and cursed the town which is called Kuskam, which is situated on the east side of the northern mountain of the country of Eshmunain, and said thus: "Let its people be in an estate lower than that of all other people, and let them be more lowly and subdued than all the inhabitants of the land of Egypt. Let its earth be cursed so that nothing shall grow in it except alfa and rush-nut, and let its soil lie uncultivated and remain as it was before I<sup>7</sup> cursed it. Let its chiefs not multiply, but let them succeed one

<sup>1</sup> V. "who accompanies her."

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Salome, who according to the story accompanied the holy family.

<sup>3</sup> V. adds here: "three days."

<sup>4</sup> V. in singular: "the idol."

<sup>5</sup> V. "they will hurt you."

<sup>6</sup> V. "me."

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "He."

another, one at a time. Let it be more lowly than all the land of Egypt, and let the blessing of my holy virgin mother not fall on the inhabitants of the town."

After He had said this and cursed the town and its inhabitants, we proceeded a short distance south of the town, and sat in a place there on account of the weariness and fatigue of the journey, and partook of a little food. Now there was in the hand of the old<sup>1</sup> Joseph a staff of olive-wood, and my beloved Son seized it with His blessed and holy hand and planted it in that place and said: "Let it be as a benediction of the Lord in this place for ever, and a perpetual memorial of my coming to this place." And it grew up in that hour and gave fruits of olive-trees.

And we wished to proceed on our journey. There were many villages round that place, and Joseph used to stretch his finger and point them out to us, and say: "To which of these villages shall we go and halt? The day has ended and the night has come." And I said to him: "O my father, I have no intention of going<sup>2</sup> to any of these villages, but take us to this mountain until we see what to do." When I said this he<sup>3</sup> walked before us and we went up to the mountain, and it was the time of the setting of the sun.

When we had a short distance left to reach our destination, lo the two brigands whom we had met<sup>4</sup> before our arrival at Bastah<sup>5</sup> came to us. They had followed us from place to place, and when they saw us in this deserted and dry mountain they approached us with drawn weapons, hidden faces, and unsheathed swords, and said: "You have exhausted us from fatigue, because we have pursued you for many days and have not found you and have had no opportunity of meeting with you in order to plunder you, except this moment in which you have fallen into our hands. To-day we will strip you of your garments and plunder you." And they dared to lay hands on my beloved Son and snatched Him from my hand and stripped Him of the garment which He was wearing. Then they took my garments also: they even took the veil that was over my head. Afterwards they dared to

<sup>1</sup> M. omits "the old."

<sup>2</sup> V. "of passing by."

<sup>3</sup> M. omits this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> V. "of whom I spoke to you previously when we met them."

<sup>5</sup> This Bastah is probably to be identified with the town of Upper Egypt wrongly printed as *Bisha* in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 350. The right spelling of it as *Basta* is given by Wüstenfeld in his *Synaxarium, das is Heiligen Kalender*.



lay hands on my father<sup>1</sup> Joseph and stripped him of his garments while he was standing speechless like a lamb. As to Salome, when she noticed what was taking place she threw her garments to them before they came to her.

When they took our garments they went a short distance away from us, and they began to talk to each other. When I saw them standing and taking counsel, I was greatly alarmed and said to myself : "They will perchance come and kill my Son." And I took Him on my hands, laid my face on His face, wept and said :<sup>2</sup> "O my beloved Son, Oh that I were in Bethlehem ! Woe is me, O my beloved Son, where shall I go in this place<sup>3</sup> and where shall I flee ? I fled with you from Jerusalem fearing that Herod might kill you, but O my Son, O beloved of my soul, would to God<sup>4</sup> I had remained in my village and had not undergone all this fatigue in vain ! I fear lest people more wicked than Herod should take you from me ! Would that I were in Bethlehem, because they might have recognised the old Joseph who would have implored them not to kill you ! Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because I am a virgin girl, and I do not know anything about all this.

"O light of my eyes, whom do I know in this foreign land and in this desert place ? I know no village nor town."<sup>5</sup> Where are those who know me, let them come and weep with me to-day ! O my beloved Son, let all the women who bore sons come and see my affliction, the anxieties of my heart, and what befell me to-day ! O my Son, I fled with you from place to place and endured fatigue, but I was rejoicing that no harm had come to you ; these wicked brigands, however, were pursuing me and scouring countries and towns<sup>6</sup> to find me. What shall I do, O my beloved Son, if I see them wishing to kill you in this place ? Would that they would kill me before killing you in order that I may not see your great affliction ! If they were to kill you here I would kill myself with my own hands, O my beloved Son ! O my beloved Son,<sup>7</sup> how much shall I miss the sweet words you spoke to me every day ! What shall I do, O light of my eyes and health of my limbs !

<sup>1</sup> V. "His father."

<sup>2</sup> M. 48 adds : "while weeping bitterly."

<sup>3</sup> V. "hour."

<sup>4</sup> M. "Woe is me."

<sup>5</sup> V. "villages nor towns."

<sup>6</sup> M. adds here : "from place to place."

<sup>7</sup> V. "O light of my eyes."

"Woe shall come on me, when I see other women feeding their children<sup>1</sup> from their breasts. I shall seek those women whose children have been killed by the cruel Herod in order that they may come and weep with me to-day. Would that I were in Jerusalem or in Bethlehem, because there I could have found many women to come and wail with me! I implore to-day my holy fathers and the prophets to weep with me! I implore the angel Gabriel who announced to me your conception and your birth<sup>2</sup> to look at my lamentation over you!<sup>3</sup> And would that I were also with Elizabeth my kinswoman and her son John, so that they might see my affliction! O my Lord, have mercy upon me and upon my exile, and do not neglect my supplication and affliction!"<sup>4</sup>

While I was uttering such words<sup>5</sup> and lamenting and weeping, my tears came down to my cheeks,<sup>6</sup> and to the cheeks of my Son.<sup>7</sup> One of the brigands looked and saw me weeping, and his nerves shook, and he spoke with his companion who was a Jew and said to him: "O my companion, I beseech you to-day not to take the garments of these strangers, because I notice on their faces a light greater than that of all the faces of mankind. This child resembles a Prince the like of whom I have never seen."

And the Jewish brigand said to the Egyptian brigand, his companion: "I will not listen to you this time as I wish to take their garments because they are royal garments which will bring us much wealth for our living."<sup>8</sup> When he noticed that he was determined to do his wicked will and take the garments, he said to him: "O my brother, we shall steal in the coming night,<sup>9</sup> and you will take the two portions, mine and yours. Last night we also had a good haul,<sup>10</sup> and you know that I had a good part of it. Let all this be yours, but give me the garments of these strangers as my portion, and I will return them to their owners, because their nakedness has much disturbed me, specially that of this Child." And<sup>11</sup> the Jewish brigand said to him: "Take them as part of your portion." And the Egyptian brigand took them as part of his portion and gave them back to us.

<sup>1</sup> M. omits this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> V. adds "to-day."

<sup>5</sup> M. "thinking of such things."

<sup>7</sup> M. "of the Child."

<sup>9</sup> V. "We shall steal in Bethlehem."

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "We stole great stealings."

<sup>2</sup> V. "Conception and birth."

<sup>4</sup> V. omits all this sentence.

<sup>6</sup> V. omits "my cheeks."

<sup>8</sup> V. omits.

<sup>11</sup> V. adds: "on saying this."



When we wore our garments<sup>1</sup> and put the garments of my beloved Son on Him, He looked at the brigand and stretched His finger and made the sign of the cross on Him. And the two (brigands) proceeded on their way. And my beloved Son turned and said to me : "O Mary, my holy and virgin mother, the Jews will crucify with me in Jerusalem these two brigands whom you see, and one of them will be on my right hand and the other on my left. The Egyptian will be crucified on my right hand, and the Jew on my left, and the brigand who returned our garments will confess me and believe in me on the Cross, and will first enter Paradise before Adam and all his other children. You see also this spot where they have stripped me of my garments and you have shed your sweet tears over my body : all the sick persons who shall come to it in future and who shall be stripped on it of their garments and be bathed in it,<sup>2</sup> I shall heal them<sup>3</sup> as an honour and (commemoration) of the fact that I had been stripped there of my garments, and your tears had fallen on my body. They will be made whole, and they will return home with joy and gladness."

When He said this the night became slightly darker, and the blessed old Joseph<sup>4</sup> quarrelled with me and said to me : "I told you that we ought to go to one of these villages before the night came, and you did not listen to me ; now we have reached this desert place, and the night came, and I do not know where to go. If God had not kept us by His grace we would have been killed by these brigands." And my beloved Son smiled in the face of Joseph and said to him : "O father, do not speak harshly to my holy<sup>5</sup> virgin mother. It is the will of my good Father that I should perform all things dealing with humanity. It is not you who direct me, it is I who direct all the world and conduct you wherever I wish."

After He had said this we came up to this mountain and to this forsaken house into which we entered. I stood in the middle of it and put down my Son from my breast, and it was very dark. When my Son stood on His holy feet on the ground, He stretched His hands

<sup>1</sup> M. "When he gave us our garments."

<sup>2</sup> Evidently a spring of water had miraculously appeared on the spot where the Virgin's tears had fallen. The incident is not mentioned, but may be presumed.

<sup>3</sup> M. omits the reference to healing.

<sup>4</sup> V. omits "Joseph."

<sup>5</sup> V. omits "holy."

(and they emitted beams of light) like the sun when it rises, and we thanked God and expressed gratitude to Him for the fact that He had helped us<sup>1</sup> to reach this place, safe from unjust men. We spent the night in the house in great<sup>2</sup> joy, and blessed God all the night.

At daybreak we discovered a well of water to bath my Son, and also for drinking. We were so pleased that we had found water ! When I carried my Son and brought Him to the well, He stretched His finger and blessed it, and it became full, and water surged up immediately to its mouth. And He opened His holy mouth and blessed the water saying : " Let it be sweet in the mouth of everyone, like the water of the river is to the inhabitants of Egypt, and let it heal all those who bathe in it in true faith."

When we went into the house we sat down, I, my Son, Joseph and Salome. And Salome walked about and found a wash-basin and a water-jug as if they had been placed there for us.<sup>3</sup> It was Salome who always bathed my Son, and I gave milk to Him while He was feeding all the world ; but our food used to come from God. On many occasions while I was quiet<sup>4</sup> and while my breasts were in the mouth of my Son, I used to see angels and heavenly beings standing before<sup>5</sup> us, genuflecting and worshipping at the holy<sup>6</sup> feet of my Son while crying out and saying : " Blessed are you, O God, who chose this humility for the salvation of Adam and his children whom you have fashioned with your hands ! Blessed be the first word that came out of the mouth of the Father, the Lord of all ! Honour is due to your virgin mother who endured pain with you at your holy birth ! " At the end of all this we sat and rested from the weariness that overtook us<sup>7</sup> and the angels used to come constantly and comfort us.

After this Satan appeared to Herod, spoke to him and said to him : " What gain was it to you ? You slew the innocent children of Bethlehem<sup>8</sup> in order to find Mary<sup>9</sup> and her Son, and you did not find them. I shall tell you now where and in what locality they are : the woman and her Son are hidden in a desert place of the southern

<sup>1</sup> V. omits : " that He had helped us."

<sup>3</sup> Here begins Mingana Syr. 5.

<sup>5</sup> V. "near."

<sup>7</sup> V. "me."

<sup>9</sup> V. "the woman."

<sup>2</sup> V. omits "great."

<sup>4</sup> V. omits all this sentence.

<sup>6</sup> V. omits "holy."

<sup>8</sup> V. omits "of Bethlehem."



side of the land of Egypt. They live in a forsaken house in which there is no other besides themselves,<sup>1</sup> in the direction which I mentioned to you. Arise and dispatch ten soldiers<sup>2</sup> of yours to repair to that place and kill them, and you will be confirmed in your kingdom. If you do not listen to me and do what I am telling you, to-morrow this child will grow up and go to Jerusalem, He and His mother, and He will perform numerous and great miracles. The children of Israel will then reject the idols, whose cult will cease. He will also put to shame the priests and the heads of the people, will take your Kingdom from you and will dominate all the people. Lo, I have told you what will happen to you. When your soldiers depart<sup>3</sup> to inquire after them, let them proceed as far as the town known as Kuskam and then let them travel to the west side of it as far as the mountain, until they have found them in the place where they are living alone, because they have scoured all the land of Egypt and have not found anybody who would give them hospitality."<sup>4</sup>

When Satan finished his story he disappeared, and Herod became incensed with rage, and he assembled all the chiefs<sup>5</sup> and elders, and spoke to them and narrated to them what had taken place. And they answered and said: "O our lord, let it be as you wish." And their anger against my beloved<sup>6</sup> Son persisted till they crucified Him. And Herod made inquiries concerning the majority of the soldiers and selected ten valiant men from amongst them, and gave them information about the place in which we were to be found, and he said to them: "When you shall have found them bring them to me in order that I may kill them with my own hands. If you do what I have ordered you I will give each one of you ten talents<sup>7</sup> of gold, and you will be great in all my kingdom." When they heard these words from the king they left him in haste and went to do what he had ordered them, and then take the gold which he had promised to them. And they mounted their steeds in order to pursue us.

And there was a man from the children of Israel, of the tribe of Judah and of the family of the Kings, who was related to Joseph.

<sup>1</sup> V. adds here "only."

<sup>2</sup> V. "men."

<sup>3</sup> V. adds "to the land of Egypt."

<sup>4</sup> V. adds here: "Lo I came and told you what has taken place."

<sup>5</sup> V. "his chiefs."

<sup>6</sup> M. 48 omits "beloved."

<sup>7</sup> V. "minas."



He was from his childhood a valiant man and a giant, and was called Moses. When he heard this news he said to himself : " I shall rise and go to Joseph His father<sup>1</sup> and apprise him of what took place. I shall also take them out of the place in which they are from fear lest these cruel men should discover their whereabouts and kill them. I shall tell them that I have arrived before these men by the power and the help of God."

And God granted him great speed and Divine power, and he came to us in three days, because he travelled in the night more than in the day. He made inquiries<sup>2</sup> and went to all the places in which we had walked, until he reached this mountain in which we are. And Satan met him in this desert and said to him : " O Moses,<sup>3</sup> where are you going alone in this desert ? " And Moses narrated to him all that had taken place.<sup>4</sup> And Satan answered like a frightened man and said to him : " O Moses, you toiled and laboured in vain because lo the soldiers are preceding you and are hastening before you.<sup>5</sup> If you will listen to me do not go further and toil and exhaust yourself in vain." And Moses<sup>6</sup> answered the demon : <sup>7</sup> " Allow me to go now to my country lest the troops of whom you spoke should come and see me here and kill me ; I have nothing left now but to return to my house." Moses said all this with the intention of laughing at the demon and making fun of him. And after Satan had heard these things from Moses he disappeared from his sight.

And Moses directed his course to us in fear, and he came<sup>8</sup> to us in the morning while Salome was bathing my Son in this house. When the old Joseph saw him he recognised him and rose up to greet him. And Moses answered and said to Joseph : " What are you doing in this locality in ignorance of what took place in these regions,<sup>9</sup> and of what Herod<sup>10</sup> did and how he killed the children<sup>11</sup> of Bethlehem and Jerusalem and how he searched for this child and did not find

<sup>1</sup> V. adds here : " speak to him."

<sup>2</sup> Both M. omit " he made inquiries."

<sup>3</sup> Both M. omit " O Moses."

<sup>4</sup> V. adds : " from the wicked Herod."

<sup>5</sup> V. adds here : " Proceed on your journey and inform your people quickly."

<sup>6</sup> V. the " demon."

<sup>7</sup> V. omits " the demon."

<sup>8</sup> V. adds here : " And Satan did this in order to frighten Moses so that he should not inform us. And when Moses heard this from the demon he came."

<sup>9</sup> V. adds here : " because of this child."

<sup>10</sup> V. adds : " the wicked."

<sup>11</sup> V. " all the children."

Him. It has been revealed to him by the demon that you were in this mountain, and thereupon he has dispatched ten of his soldiers to come and kill you here, and lo they have arrived in this locality a long time ago. When I heard this I came to you in order to acquaint you with the facts."

When I<sup>1</sup> heard this my knees shook and I took my Son from Salome and climbed to the upper chamber which had windows. I sat in the northern window which looks upon the road and I wailed and said: "Woe is me, O my beloved Son! If they came and killed you<sup>2</sup> the fatigue which I have endured with you down to this day will have been in vain. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because the one who brought this intelligence to me to-day resembles the messenger<sup>3</sup> who came to Job in his time and said to him: 'Your ten sons have died.'<sup>4</sup> Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because fear has taken possession of me, and I have no strength to rise up! Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because of this evil news which has reached me!

"Woe is me, O light of my eyes! What shall I do when I see the soldiers of the wicked Herod coming here and snatching you from my hands?<sup>5</sup> What shall I do, O my beloved Son, when I see you in their hands,<sup>6</sup> and they will not let me come near you? Woe is me, O my beloved Son! If I had known this before I would have fled to dry mountains from these persecutors so that perchance I might have been saved. I have left my country and all other countries and have come to this place. O my beloved Son, lift up your eyes and look at your lonely and wretched mother, and see the anguish that is in my heart.<sup>7</sup> I have no power of thought, and lo I became to-day like the other women whose sons have been killed by Herod.<sup>8</sup>

"O my Son! Let sun, moon and stars weep with me to-day. Let them weep over my wretchedness and exile. I implore the prophet David to come and weep with me because I have looked for some one to lament with me<sup>9</sup> and have not found any. I pray my Father Jacob, who wept over Joseph,<sup>10</sup> to come and witness my anguish and the sadness of my heart,<sup>11</sup> because my Son is an only child, and I

<sup>1</sup> Both M. "I Mary."

<sup>3</sup> Both M. omit "messenger."

<sup>5</sup> Both M. omit "from my hands."

<sup>7</sup> V. adds here: "O my Son."

<sup>9</sup> M. 48 omits this sentence, but V. and M. 5 have it.

<sup>10</sup> V. adds "his son."

<sup>2</sup> V. adds: "unjustly."

<sup>4</sup> V. omits all this sentence.

<sup>6</sup> V. omits this sentence.

<sup>8</sup> V. adds here: "the accursed."

<sup>11</sup> Both M. omit "of my heart."



have no other one besides Him, and cruel men wish to kill Him. I implore Jeremiah to-day to come, wail, lament<sup>1</sup> and weep with me because I am in a strange country and I do not know what to do. I have no knowledge of any town or any village. Would to God they had left me alone in this loneliness! The tears that are in my eyes have dried up and I do not know what to do.”<sup>2</sup>

While I was lamenting in this way and contemplating the pure body of my Son, He said to me: “O my holy mother, receive power from me and be not afraid. You have wept and lamented enough, for your weeping, your lamentation and your wailing have reached my heart. May the will of my Father be done! Let us go down to the old Joseph and to Salome and see what we ought to do.” When He uttered to me these words my heart was strengthened and we came down;<sup>3</sup> and He spoke to Joseph and said: “O father, be of good cheer.” And He turned to the man<sup>4</sup> whose name was Moses and said to him: “You came to us in order to inform us. Your coming and your trouble will be rewarded, but because of the fear which has been caused by you to my mother, take hold of this stone on which I was bathed and put it under your head, sleep,<sup>5</sup> and rest a short while, and I shall place your soul with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob until I have delivered Adam and his<sup>6</sup> posterity; and then I shall bring you to my Kingdom.” And he took the stone and placed it under his head, and turning his head towards the east he gave up the ghost.<sup>7</sup> The old Joseph buried his body and interred it in this house under the threshold towards the interior. And his memory survives down to this day.

After this we lived several days in this house, until we completed six<sup>8</sup> months in it. The first day we came to it was the sixth of Barmūdah<sup>9</sup> and the day we left it was the sixth of Babah.<sup>10</sup> And the

<sup>1</sup> V. omits “wail and lament.”

<sup>2</sup> There are many points of resemblance between the lamentations of the Virgin used in the present apocryphon and those used in the *Lament of the Virgin* which I edited and translated in *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. 184-186, 196-199, etc.

<sup>3</sup> V. omits “and we came down.”

<sup>4</sup> M. 48 omits “to the man.”

<sup>5</sup> V. omits “sleep.”

<sup>6</sup> V. “all his.”

<sup>7</sup> Both M. add here “and he died.”

<sup>8</sup> Both M. have “two.”

<sup>9</sup> V. and M. 48 add here on the margin: “i.e. April.” The Coptic month of Barmūdah corresponds with 27th March to 25th April of our Calendar. V. omits here the words “the sixth of.”

<sup>10</sup> The Coptic month of Babah corresponds with 28th Sept. to 27th Oct. of our Calendar.



number of all the days which we spent in it while we were fleeing from the accursed Herod—from the day in which we went out of Bethlehem and came to this mountain of Kuskām to the day in which we returned to our town which is Nazareth—is three years and six months.

While the old Joseph was asleep, lo the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream and said to him : “O Joseph, son of David, arise and take the Child and His mother, because Herod has died a grievous and painful death. Arise thou and go into the land of Israel.<sup>1</sup> The soldiers which he had despatched after the Child have all died on the way and gone to hell. Be not afraid, the Lord is with you.”

In the morning (Joseph) narrated to us what he had seen in his night dream, and we were greatly pleased and we prepared to set out. And I spoke<sup>2</sup> to my beloved Son and said to Him : “I beseech you, O my beloved Son, to grant honour and esteem to this house which gave us shelter in our exile and in which we lived.” And He opened His holy mouth and blessed the house and said : “Let the benediction of My good Father remain in this house for ever. This house which you see, O my holy mother, will have in it a sanctuary 'dedicated to God, and people will offer sacrifices<sup>3</sup> and ex-votos in it to the Lord, and those who will offer them will be the faithful of the orthodox faith<sup>4</sup> till the day of my (second) coming. It will have a lamp which will burn in the middle of it for ever.<sup>5</sup>

“All those who come to this house with faith and worship and pray therein shall be blessed, and I will forgive all their sins, if they (intend not to) revert to them, and I will count them among the saints. If any of those who are in distress, trouble or loss<sup>6</sup> come to this holy place and worship and pray in it, and demand congruous things, I will grant their requests and all their demands.

“If the one who comes be a husbandman, I will bless his crops, and if he be a shepherd I will bless his flocks, and if he be a clerk I will bless his pen. If any of those who are versed in any craft come and pray in this house<sup>7</sup> I will bless their craft. If any of those who are affected with a disease of any kind whatsoever come and pray in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. ii. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> Both M. omit “sacrifices.”

<sup>5</sup> Both M. “always.”

<sup>7</sup> M. 5 : “in this holy house.”

<sup>2</sup> Both M. omit “And I spoke.”

<sup>4</sup> The author was a Monophysite.

<sup>6</sup> V. omits “trouble or loss.”

this holy house,<sup>1</sup> I will heal all their bodies. If any of those who are in trouble or anguish on account of children who have died, or on account of beasts or of robbers or of kings, remember this holy<sup>2</sup> house in which we are, and pray to me and to my good and compassionate Father who is in Heaven, I will deliver them from all their trials and troubles.

"O Mary, my mother, this house in which we are will contain holy monks on whom no ruler of this world shall be able to inflict any injury, because it became a refuge to us. And any barren woman who beseeches me with a pure heart and remembers this house,<sup>3</sup> I will give her sons. All the people who come to this place with ex-votos and offerings for your holy name, I will inscribe my name<sup>4</sup> on their offerings and on their sacrifices as it happened to Abel in his days when he offered a sacrifice before me. I have anathematised this town which did not receive us in our exile and blessed all the villages that surround it. Let my blessing<sup>5</sup> and my protection be on their inhabitants, on their children, on their property, on their land and all that which they possess. Let no one who hates my name ever inhabit them, because you dwelt in this place.

"There will be<sup>6</sup> in this place a blessed<sup>7</sup> congregation who will remember and bless<sup>8</sup> my name, and pray to me at all times, and so gain strength against all their adversaries. As to this house nothing shall be demolished from it nor shall any thing be added to it. I tell you now that if any chief or ruler should from this time inflict any harm on it, I will put him to shame and confusion for all time, because I inhabited it and the angels provided for us in it, since I did not find any earthly food in it.

"I will place in it my blessing and the protection of my Father for ever and ever. Any one who comes to this place and honours my name and your name, his house will be full of all good things. Those women in travail who will remember me and remember the fatigue that you endured with me, I will hear their prayers and they shall be relieved. O my holy virgin mother, there will be sanctuaries built under your name and my name in those places in which you have

<sup>1</sup> M. 5 omits all this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> M. 48: "this holy house."

<sup>5</sup> V. "the blessing of my Father."

<sup>7</sup> "joyful."

<sup>2</sup> V. omits "holy."

<sup>4</sup> M. 48: "your name."

<sup>6</sup> Or "let there be."

<sup>8</sup> Here begins a first lacuna in V.



halted. And my blessing and the protection of my Father will dwell in this house for ever and ever, Amen." And we said : " Amen."

After my Son had spoken thus we rose up and descended from the mountain. We reached the town of Eshmunain and its inhabitants received us with great joy and jubilation. When morning came I carried my Son on my arms, and we came to the sea, where we looked for a ship but found none ready. Then my beloved Son made the sign of the Cross on the water and it became like a ship before us. We then went on board and we arrived at Nazareth and gave thanks to God. He appeared also several times after His ascent to Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

One day I was in the house of Mary, mother of John, who was afterwards called Mark the Evangelist.<sup>2</sup> It is he who came to the land of Egypt, the inhabitants of which believed through him, when he announced to them the Kingdom of God. It is the one whose inheritance and office you took, O Theophilus. The Apostles were also there, and they alluded to the wickedness done by Judas to my beloved Son, the true Son of God. And I answered and said to them while weeping bitterly : " O my brethren and beloved of my Son, I testify to you that from the day of my annunciation by the angel Gabriel down to this hour, I have wept because of the cruel thing that the Jews did to me and to my Son when they slapped my face on account of my conception and the birth of my Child."

And Peter answered and said to me : " O Lady of all of us, we implore you to reveal to us your trials, so that we may hear them, and so that when we go and preach the Kingdom of Heaven to mankind we may remember you and narrate all that happened to you." And I began to narrate<sup>3</sup> to them what happened to me from the day I went to Elizabeth, and how my Son was born in a place<sup>4</sup> while I was alone, and what happened in my journey to the land of Egypt, and my coming to this desert place, and the injustice done to us<sup>5</sup> by the accursed Herod. When I narrated this while weeping to all the Apostles, there were present with me Mary Magdalene, Hannah and Salome.

<sup>1</sup> Something seems to be missing here, as the sequence of the story appears to be broken.

<sup>2</sup> M. 5 omits "the evangelist."

<sup>4</sup> M. 5 omits "in a place."

<sup>3</sup> M. 48 omits all this sentence.

<sup>5</sup> M. 5 "to me."



In that hour my Lord and my Son revealed Himself to me in a sitting posture, while the Seraphim, Gabriel and Michael and innumerable<sup>1</sup> angels were glorifying Him. And He<sup>2</sup> stood in the middle and said to us : "Peace be with all of you." And we rose up immediately and worshipped at His feet.<sup>3</sup> And my Son turned to me and said to me : "O my holy virgin<sup>4</sup> mother, why are you in tears and anguish ? Lo I have prepared for you in heaven joy and gladness which have no end.<sup>5</sup> Do not weep and lament because of (my) death ; you should rather rejoice at my resurrection from the dead because I have saved the world—you who walked with me in foreign countries<sup>6</sup> and in a forsaken desert,<sup>7</sup> as far as this forsaken place which I will bless with my holy hands before any other Church is dedicated to my name."

In that hour He commanded a luminous cloud which came down<sup>8</sup> and carried us all and placed us in this holy house, O Theophilus, and it was the third hour of the day, which was the sixth of the month of Hatūr,<sup>9</sup> which corresponds with the second day of October.

When the Apostles were ready for the consecration (of the Church), Gabriel and Michael carried the vessel containing the water which my beloved Son sprinkled on the Church. I and the twelve Apostles were present at the consecration of this house ; and Mary Magdalene and Salome were also present ; and there was no church built in the world before it. And this Church was consecrated by our Saviour Jesus Christ before the Apostles went out to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. At the time of the consecration He uttered the following words : "The hands that have fashioned you, O Adam, have consecrated this house, and the hands<sup>10</sup> in which nails have been driven on the Golgotha,<sup>11</sup> have blessed<sup>12</sup> this house. Amen. Amen."<sup>13</sup> And we all answered and said : "Amen."

<sup>1</sup> Here ends the first lacuna of V.

<sup>3</sup> Both M. "at the feet of my Son."

<sup>5</sup> Both M. add "for ever."

<sup>7</sup> V. "forsaken deserts."

<sup>9</sup> The Coptic month of Hatūr corresponds with the 28th Oct. to 26th Nov. of our Calendar. In the Calendar of Abu'l Barakāt (in *Pat. Orient.*, x. 258) the sixth of Hatūr is marked as the commemoration of the day of the reunion of the Apostles with the Lord. This is also found in the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255. See the *Prefatory Note*.

<sup>10</sup> V. omits all this sentence.

<sup>12</sup> Both M. "have consecrated."

<sup>2</sup> Both M. "and they."

<sup>4</sup> V. omits "virgin."

<sup>6</sup> V. "In a foreign country."

<sup>8</sup> V. adds "over all of us."

<sup>11</sup> V. omits Golgotha.

<sup>13</sup> Both M. omit "Amen."

Afterwards we found vestments ready along with the ritual<sup>1</sup> used by the Church.<sup>2</sup> When everything was ready<sup>3</sup> He ordered Peter to celebrate the Mass, and then the Holy Spirit came down. He then commanded<sup>4</sup> the Apostles to remember their parents who had passed away, and He ordered also in that hour the souls of their parents who had departed to come and enter the sanctuary ; and they came at that moment in the form in which they were with us in the flesh, and He baptised them with the water that had remained from the consecration of the Church ; and He gave (His) holy<sup>5</sup> Body and ordered them to say the Mass and to remember at the moment of the offering of the sacrifice upon the holy altars<sup>6</sup> their parents who had passed away.<sup>7</sup> And our Lord fortified them, comforted them, and gave them peace.

In that very moment a large bird flew from heaven and came down carrying with it all good things in matter of wines and delicacies. And it came down<sup>8</sup> in the centre of the Church and we took from it what we wanted.

The angels stood then above our heads like deacons, and the apostles were joyful and glad because they had seen their parents and because of the glory and majesty of that hour. And our Saviour spoke with them and said to them : " Let this day be a remembrance to you for ever. And I will command that a church be built<sup>9</sup> under your name on this mountain." And the Apostles answered and said to Him : " Glory be to you ; and honour, worship, power and omnipotence belong to you because you have exalted us above all the creation." And a cloud took us again<sup>10</sup> and placed us at sunset in the house in which we were previously in Jerusalem. We came back to Jerusalem on the same day we had left it.

This is what you asked me to tell you, O<sup>11</sup> Theophilus. I told

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word *τάξις*, which may also refer to "canonicals."

<sup>2</sup> V. "That we may use them in the Church."

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "When they were ready."

<sup>4</sup> Both M. omit all this sentence.

<sup>5</sup> V. "from the holy."

<sup>6</sup> M. 48 omits "altars."

<sup>7</sup> See in the *Prefatory Note* the quotation from the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255, to the effect that the first Mass to be celebrated was at Kuskam where also, according to our document, the first church was consecrated in the world.

<sup>8</sup> V. "fell down."

<sup>9</sup> V. "that they should build a Church."

<sup>10</sup> Both M. omit "again."

<sup>11</sup> Both M. add here "holy."



you all at this moment. Tell to all the world what I have narrated to you and what has happened to us, and write it down to us as a memorial for ever and ever. Arise now and offer sacrifice for the monks and for all the people who have congregated here to-day, because I will bless them before I go, as this day is the day of my Commemoration and of my leaving of the body.<sup>1</sup> As to you be of good cheer because in your remaining days<sup>2</sup> no harm and no anguish will befall you, and no evil of any kind will affect this church in your time."

This story was told to me and these words were uttered to me Theophilus the servant of Christ and your servant, O my brethren and my beloved. I have narrated to-day to your love what the holy Virgin Mary mother of God<sup>3</sup> narrated to me, O you all who believe in Christ. God knows that I have not added anything to, nor taken away anything from, what our Lady Mary, mother of God,<sup>4</sup> said to me, and what I heard from her. As to you listen to it,<sup>5</sup> believe in it and let your heart be not in doubt.

And I Theophilus answered and said to our Lady: "Blessed are you among women,<sup>6</sup> O our Lady Mary, mother of God. We came to-day<sup>7</sup> and rejoiced at the sweetness of your words which are like honeycomb and like the wine that maketh glad the heart of man."<sup>8</sup> We have acknowledged the honour and glory of this holy house<sup>9</sup> from the fact that the Lord of this world and His holy virgin mother dwelt in it.

O my beloved, none of those who intend to go back to their sins should enter this holy house,<sup>10</sup> because our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy virgin mother dwelt in it, and because all the hierarchies of the holy angels observe this day as a feast in purity and holiness. No thief and no one who is under the influence of sin should enter this house, because Paul says: "Neither those who commit sins, nor the fornicators, nor the publicans, nor the idolators, nor those who

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "of my death."

<sup>2</sup> Both M. omit all this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> V. "to what I told your love."

<sup>4</sup> V. omits "to-day."

<sup>5</sup> V. adds here "O my beloved."

<sup>6</sup> Both M. "We ought to cleanse our bodies of all sins before entering this holy house."

<sup>7</sup> Both M. omit this sentence.

<sup>8</sup> V. omits "mother of God."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Luke i. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. civ. 15.



perpetrate other crimes shall inherit the Kingdom of God.”<sup>1</sup> We ought also to remember that we shall leave our bodies and go to God our Lord, and that we shall rise again in that place of truth,<sup>2</sup> where we shall answer for all that we have done whether it be good or bad.<sup>3</sup>

We should also refrain our souls from theft, our bodies from fornication, and our eyes from evil sights, diabolical passion and covetousness.<sup>4</sup> We should also refrain our tongues from all<sup>5</sup> bad and impure curses, from oath and from all evil things which bring no honour but dishonour. We should also refrain our soul from hatred and false witness. Let us extirpate from our hearts these and similar things, because it is they that lead men to hell, the fire of which is not quenched. Let us purify our bodies from sin and then partake of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of our sins, and be worthy of the blessings of our holy Lady Mary, the mother of God, and observe her feast to-day.<sup>6</sup>

What good can a fornicator<sup>7</sup> derive and what gain can accrue to him if he comes to the holy Mary, the mother of the King of Kings, and enters her holy house, while he does not repent of his iniquity? And what utility can an adulteress derive from entering this holy house in order to be worthy of the one who brought forth the Christ, unless she confesses her sins? She will then pray and implore her Son and her Lord on our behalf, because she is full of mercy. We ought also to carry our offerings and bring our ex-votos with a pure heart, and then stretch our hands to her holy Son and ask for His body and His innocent blood.

Blessed be he who comes to this house, because he will meet with good things in this world, and when he leaves this earthly body he will go to the Kingdom of Heaven! . Woe to the one who commits a sin in this house because God will be angry with him as He was with Herod. Blessed be he who hears and believes and does not entertain any doubt concerning you, O our Lord Jesus Christ! Blessed be the one who sees this holy house, because the Lord will place him in the bosom of our father Abraham, and will answer his

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 9-10 (with changes). Both M. omit this Pauline quotation.

<sup>2</sup> The valley of Jehoshaphat? <sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. v. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Col. iii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Both M. omit “all,” cf. 1 Pet. iii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> V. “and of her feast to-day.”

<sup>7</sup> Here begins a second lacuna in V. and it continues till the end.

prayers in this world through the good works that he will do ! Woe to the one who vows something to this house and refuses to acknowledge his vow and does not fulfil it. The Holy Spirit will be far from such a one.

Were it not that I see the greatness of the number of the people (assembled here) and their joy on the occasion of this high feast, I would have told many more miracles in order to exalt this holy house. This house is the beginning of the forgiveness of sins. This house is all of it benediction, and anyone who enters into it shall be blessed by God and by His mother, the holy Virgin. This (house) is the tryst of the Lord, of His angels, of His Apostles, and of the heavenly hierarchies, and were it not for the fact that I am entrusted with the care of the diocese and the congregation of Orthodoxy, I would not have left this place, till the day of my death ; God, however, will count to me <sup>1</sup> what I had intended to do.

May God bless the young and the old (among you), and may He grant to you the good reward of your labours in coming to this place from far and near ! May He bless your fields and hold your believing kings in His keeping ! May He lay your enemies under your feet, and sow peace and concord in the churches and in the monasteries all the days of your life, in order that you may observe this day with joy and partake of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ ! May He forgive your old sins and place His fear in your hearts, in order that you may be consecrated to-day to Him ! May you be in His keeping in order that you may reach your homes in the peace <sup>2</sup> of God ! Amen.

May He grant the blessings of this holy house to you and to anyone who sets foot in this place, which is the place in which dwelt our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy mother ! And as He granted you to assemble and congregate in this holy house, He is able to make you worthy of assembling together <sup>3</sup> in His Kingdom with His saints.

And I Cyril <sup>4</sup> was with my Father, the Patriarch Theophilus, and heard from his holy mouth this story which I have written down.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. " will do."

<sup>2</sup> M. 5 : " in the name."

<sup>3</sup> M. 5 omits this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> From a reference found in an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium (*Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255), and from the fact that the author uses the expression "I Cyril was

When the people heard this discourse they rejoiced greatly and raised their voices and glorified God with a high and loud voice.

Glory be to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends the third book of (i.e. containing) the vision of the Holy<sup>1</sup> Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

with my Father the Patriarch Theophilus and heard from his holy mouth," I have conjectured that this Cyril is St. Cyril of Alexandria who succeeded Theophilus in 412. See the *Prefatory Note*. I do not believe that this Cyril is Cyril of Jerusalem, in spite of the fact that he is given in Coptic literature as the author of a discourse on the Assumption of the Virgin (in Budge's *Misc. Copt. Texts*). My collection of MSS. contains also Garshūni discourses on this subject by Cyril of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup>M. 5 omits "holy."





הַמַּלְאָכִים הַבְּרִיָּא (var. וְיַחְבֵּי) דָּרָא וְהַמַּלְאָכִים <sup>1</sup> מְבַלְּ  
הָאֵל מְזַמְרֵם מִלְּרֵא עֲלֵמֵהּ וּמִנִּי אִמֵּי.

וְהָאֵל [מַעְזָא אֵל (var. אֵל)] אֵסְתִּי מִסְתַּחֲב [חֲפֵסָא] <sup>2</sup>

לְמַמְלַחֵה [מְבַר] <sup>4</sup> בְּשֵׁרָא מַעְזָא <sup>5</sup> דֵּוָּא לְהָזָא מְבַלְּ. רִיב

[וְיַחְבֵּי לְמַמְלַחֵה] <sup>6</sup> לְהָאֵל וְיַחְבֵּי הָאֵל מְבַלְּ [לְהָזָא]

וְהָאֵל <sup>7</sup> מְבַלְּ [לְהָזָא] <sup>8</sup> וְיַחְבֵּי הָאֵל חֲפֵסָא [דֵּוָּא מְבַר] <sup>9</sup>

חַר אִמֵּי הַמַּלְאָכִים מְבַלְּ אִמֵּי וְחֵלְמִי וְיַחְבֵּי הָאֵל חֲרִימֵי

מְבַרְבֵּי דֵּוָּא חֲפֵסָא מְבַרְבֵּי. וְהָאֵל לְהָזָא [מְבַלְּ] <sup>10</sup> חֲפֵסָא דֵּוָּא

מְבַרְבֵּי. מְבַרְבֵּי לְהָזָא דֵּוָּא. [מְבַרְבֵּי] <sup>11</sup> אֵסְתִּי לְהָזָא וְהָאֵל [מְבַלְּ] <sup>12</sup>

מְבַרְבֵּי דֵּוָּא וְיַחְבֵּי הַמַּלְאָכִים מְבַלְּ. וְהָאֵל בְּרִישָׁא לֵהּ מַעְ

מְבַרְבֵּי וְיַחְבֵּי דֵּוָּא הָאֵל וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא אֵסְתִּי הָאֵל וְיַחְבֵּי

דֵּוָּא חֲפֵסָא בְּשֵׁי מַעְ חֲפֵסָא אֵלָּא חֲפֵסָא וְהָאֵל וְיַחְבֵּי וְיַחְבֵּי

דֵּוָּא אִמֵּי אִמֵּי וְיַחְבֵּי מְבַרְבֵּי וְיַחְבֵּי מְבַרְבֵּי חֲרִימֵי [וְיַחְבֵּי]

דֵּוָּא חֲפֵסָא <sup>13</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא.

וְהָאֵל לְהָזָא מְבַלְּ וְיַחְבֵּי מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא מְבַרְבֵּי [וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא]

[חֲפֵסָא] <sup>14</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא

מַעְ חֲפֵסָא לְהָזָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא <sup>15</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא

אִמֵּי [לְהָזָא] חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא

אִמֵּי חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא וְיַחְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא

<sup>1</sup> Adds מְבַלְּ. <sup>2</sup> מַעְזָא אֵל. <sup>3</sup> וְיַחְבֵּי. <sup>4</sup> מְבַר.

<sup>5</sup> Adds אֵל. <sup>6</sup> אֵסְתִּי. <sup>7</sup> לְהָזָא. <sup>8</sup> וְיַחְבֵּי.

<sup>9</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי דֵּוָּא. <sup>10</sup> Omits. <sup>11</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי. <sup>12</sup> Omits.

<sup>13</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי דֵּוָּא. <sup>14</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא. <sup>15</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא.

<sup>16</sup> מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא. <sup>17</sup> Adds מַעְ.

<sup>18</sup> Omits all. מְבַרְבֵּי חֲפֵסָא.





[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> So V.    <sup>2</sup> حسنا، بمقتل.    <sup>3</sup> Adds مرفعا.    <sup>4</sup> Omits.

<sup>5</sup> *ممر*. <sup>6</sup> Adds *ع*. <sup>7</sup> Omits. <sup>8</sup> Adds *ع*. <sup>9</sup> *ممر*.

<sup>10</sup> مَعْتَلًا مَحْتَبًا. <sup>11</sup> حَمَلًا لَهْ. <sup>12</sup> Omits. <sup>13</sup> Adds لَ.

(۱) من: حلالاً<sup>۱۵</sup>. و یمنی: در رجب او به کعبه می‌رفتند و سجده<sup>۱۴</sup>

جملہ ۱۶ . جملہ ۱۷ .



[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds **مَا مَعِيَ وَمَعَهُ إِذَا دَا مَعَهُ إِحْدَى الْحَمْدِ**.

٥. يفتد | ٤. يفتد. ٣. Omits. ٢. المفتد المفتد مع الم | ١

<sup>6</sup> Adds  $\mathcal{L}$ .      <sup>7</sup> So V.











1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

2. Adds 200.

3. 200.

4. Omits.

5. 200.

6. Omits.

7. 200.

8. Adds 200.

9. Adds 200.

10. Omits.

11. Adds 200.

12. Adds 200.

13. Adds 200.

14. 200.

15. 200.

16. 200.

17. 200.

18. 200.

19. Sing.

20. 200.











وإله. ٥/أصلا وسرا ١٥١ احب مذهب وسوت انا ده اهلها  
 فلهوم عفا ١٥١ انا ده محب وبلحيه ١٥١ فاقلا ١٥١ وسرا  
 ده.

مفعلا؛ دا افعل ١٥١ لا فمذهب مبر وإمها لازدا ١٥١  
 وخرن. سب فمبسا ومبسا بلحى فملا سب  
 املا مبر مالا؛ انا امر رجا ومها مبرسا؛ انا ١٥١  
 ١٥١ جهن مفاا حان مبرا. مذهب مفا لا ١٥١؛ انا  
 وخر ١٥١ مفاا مات فلهوم ومفا مفاا انا سب املا ١٥١.  
 ٥/ا مفعلا انا احب سحلا. ٥/ا سب ١٥١ ١٥١ حب مبرا  
 امر ومفا مفا وحبلا ١٥١ ومفا مبرا ١٥١ والحب  
 اذوت حيه مفا. ٥/ا مفا املا وحبلا لا فملا  
 فملا ١٥١ مفا مفا لا فمفاا مات؛ انا<sup>١</sup> مفعلا.  
 ٥/ا ١٥١ مفا مفا وحبلا مفا مبرا وحبلا مفا وحبلا  
 [مفاا<sup>٢</sup>] حيه فملا.

١٥١ [لازى<sup>٣</sup>] فملا مفا مبرا حله حان مبرا [سب<sup>٤</sup>]  
 مبرا مفا مبرا مفا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا  
 مفا انا مبرا. ٥/ا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا  
 وفعلا مبرا؛ انا ١٥١ انا ١٥١ مبرا مبرا  
 ومبرا مبرا مبرا. [٥/ا<sup>٥</sup>] فملا انا مبرا مبرا  
 ١٥١ مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا. [الا<sup>٦</sup>] مبرا  
 مبرا [٥/ا فملا مبرا مبرا مبرا] مبرا مبرا مبرا  
 مبرا مبرا؛ انا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا  
 مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا مبرا

١ Adds ده. ٢ مفاا. ٣ حان. ٤ سب. ٥ مبرا.

٦ مبرا. ٧ Omits. ٨ مبرا.



[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Omits.    <sup>2</sup> .    <sup>3</sup> .    <sup>4</sup> .    <sup>5</sup> 

8 Omits. 9 م. ممد 10 راجا 11 مملکت 12 مملکت 13 محتا

<sup>9</sup> Adds *حسنتا*. <sup>10</sup> *ومم وممر* *ومم*. <sup>11</sup> Omits. <sup>12</sup> Adds

13 **مِنْ** احذ. 14 Inverts the order. 15 **يُحْدِثُ** .

<sup>16</sup> Omits.      <sup>17</sup> سلا.      <sup>18</sup> Omits.      <sup>19</sup> Inverts the order.

[<sup>1</sup>סעלמל] א [אמעל<sup>2</sup>] בעל עקנא . אלא חט פגמל  
 אלא בועל מנזל דעמל בועל חט פגמל אלא לא בועל  
 סעלמל .

חלפני אכלי מלל מע שפנל מלל חט שפנל  
 חל אבט סעלמל חמלל . חט פגמל בעל חל  
 פגמל [בא<sup>3</sup> סעלמל] חט פגמל מלל מלל מלל  
 סעלמל [א<sup>4</sup>] חלל בעל ס [חלל מע<sup>5</sup>] ס מלל  
 פגמל . סע אכלי אלא בועל חט סעלמל סעלמל  
 בועל סעלמל חט סעלמל בועל סעלמל סעלמל  
 סעלמל . [סעלמל בא<sup>6</sup>] חט סעלמל סעלמל<sup>7</sup> אבט  
 חט סעלמל . סעלמל [חט<sup>8</sup>] סעלמל אבט בועל חל  
 פגמל סעלמל בועל חל פגמל סעלמל חט סעלמל .  
 סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל אבט<sup>9</sup> אבט חט סעלמל אבט  
 [בועל סעלמל<sup>10</sup>] פגמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל .  
 סעלמל סעלמל אלא [סעלמל<sup>11</sup>] חלל בועל סעלמל  
 סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל אלא סעלמל . אלא סעלמל  
 סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל [סעלמל<sup>12</sup>]  
 סעלמל סעלמל .

סעלמל<sup>13</sup> חלל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל  
 סעלמל<sup>14</sup> חלל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל  
 סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל סעלמל [סעלמל<sup>15</sup>] אבט סעלמל

<sup>1</sup> Omits.<sup>2</sup> לאמעל .<sup>3</sup> סעלמל בא .<sup>4</sup> Omits.<sup>5</sup> חל .<sup>6</sup> סעלמל בא .<sup>7</sup> Adds סעלמל .<sup>8</sup> Omits.<sup>9</sup> Adds

. חט .

<sup>10</sup> Omits.<sup>11</sup> אבט סעלמל .<sup>12</sup> סעלמל .<sup>13</sup> Adds

. סעלמל .

<sup>14</sup> Adds חל .<sup>15</sup> בועל .

[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds ٥/١٢.      <sup>2</sup> محمد.      <sup>3</sup> محمد، قنعا.      <sup>4</sup> Adds

٥٠٠- ٦٠٠ : ٧٠٠ . ٨٠٠ : ٩٠٠ . ١٠٠٠ : ١١٠٠ .

<sup>8</sup> .<sup>9</sup> .<sup>10</sup> .

۱۲۔ ﴿مَدَنِيَّةٌ مِّنْ دِينِهِ﴾ كَذِبٌ ۝ مَدَنِيٌّ ۝  
 ۱۱۔ ﴿وَرَحِمَ لَمْ يَمِنْ﴾ ۱۱

<sup>13</sup> Omits.      <sup>14</sup> Adds .      <sup>15</sup> .      <sup>16</sup> .      <sup>17</sup> .





[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds  $\frac{1}{2}$ .      <sup>2</sup> Omits.      <sup>3</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ .      <sup>4</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

the order. <sup>7</sup> *af mahlah*. <sup>8</sup> *om mahlah*. <sup>9</sup> *af mahlah*. <sup>5</sup> Omits. <sup>6</sup> Inverts

<sup>10</sup> ܡܚܕܐ, ܡܚܕܐ, ܡܚܕܐ. <sup>11</sup> ܡܚܕܐ. <sup>12</sup> Omits. <sup>13</sup> Omits. <sup>14</sup> ܡܚܕܐ.

15 *الحبيب من رحب*. 16 *Adds رحب*. 17 *رحب رحب*.

<sup>18</sup> Adds  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\alpha$ .      <sup>19</sup> Adds  $\lambda\alpha$ .      <sup>20</sup>  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\alpha$ .





[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> مَحْمُودٌ . <sup>2</sup> يَهْدِي . <sup>3</sup> يَحْمَدُ | أ |

<sup>4</sup> حملا; <sup>5</sup> Omits. <sup>6</sup> إف يعل. <sup>7</sup> هه مهلا مهلا

<sup>8</sup> Omits.      <sup>9</sup> Adds **አጠቃላይ**.      <sup>10</sup> Omits.      <sup>11</sup> **ወይ**.

<sup>12</sup> Omits. <sup>13</sup> مہر لکھا مکتے. <sup>14</sup> مہر مکتے.

15 إ. اسجد. 16 Omits. 17 ائمن فاعلم ائمن فاعلم







اچھا تھا اور، [بیچہ اور] <sup>1</sup> دوسرے میں مدالیں جھگڑا۔  
 اور اس کے <sup>2</sup> میں [وہاں جہاں تھا؛] <sup>2</sup> جہاں جہاں اور اس کا۔  
 جب <sup>3</sup> سرائے دوسرے لہذا وہاں سے یہاں لا کر لے کر اس کے  
 مدانتوں میں سے، <sup>4</sup> ہفتوں کے مہینوں، [مہینوں میں سے] <sup>4</sup>  
 دانتوں کے میں سے مہینوں میں سے <sup>5</sup> ان کے لیے [ان کے لیے] <sup>6</sup>  
 [تھی اور] <sup>7</sup> مہینوں میں سے اس کے [؛ اور] <sup>8</sup> [تھی] <sup>8</sup>  
 ہلا [ان کے لیے] ہلا یہاں کے لیے [تھی] <sup>9</sup> [تھی] <sup>9</sup>  
 دوسرا اور جہاں اور یہاں کے لیے [تھی] <sup>10</sup> [تھی] <sup>11</sup>  
 مدانتوں میں سے، <sup>12</sup> ہفتوں کے مہینوں کے میں سے  
 مہینوں کے میں سے [تھی] <sup>13</sup> [تھی] <sup>13</sup>  
 اور اس کے [تھی] <sup>14</sup> [تھی] <sup>14</sup>  
 اور اس کے میں سے [تھی] <sup>15</sup> [تھی] <sup>15</sup>  
 مہینوں کے میں سے [تھی] <sup>16</sup> [تھی] <sup>16</sup>  
 میں سے [تھی] <sup>17</sup> [تھی] <sup>17</sup>۔

جب مہینوں میں سے [تھی] <sup>18</sup> [تھی] <sup>18</sup>  
 [تھی] <sup>19</sup> [تھی] <sup>19</sup> [تھی] <sup>20</sup> [تھی] <sup>20</sup>  
 مہینوں کے میں سے [تھی] <sup>21</sup> [تھی] <sup>22</sup> [تھی] <sup>22</sup>  
 مہینوں کے میں سے [تھی] <sup>23</sup> [تھی] <sup>24</sup> [تھی] <sup>24</sup>۔





<sup>1</sup> Inverts the order. <sup>2</sup> Adds. <sup>3</sup> Adds. <sup>4</sup> Adds. <sup>5</sup> Adds. <sup>6</sup> Adds. <sup>7</sup> Adds. <sup>8</sup> Adds. <sup>9</sup> Adds. <sup>10</sup> Adds. <sup>11</sup> Adds. <sup>12</sup> Adds. <sup>13</sup> Adds. <sup>14</sup> Adds. <sup>15</sup> Adds. <sup>16</sup> Adds. <sup>17</sup> Adds. <sup>18</sup> Adds. <sup>19</sup> Adds. <sup>20</sup> Adds. <sup>21</sup> Adds. <sup>22</sup> Adds. <sup>23</sup> Adds. <sup>24</sup> Adds.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds **وحيث**.      <sup>2</sup> Omits.      <sup>3</sup> **عند**.      <sup>4</sup> **منه** **وحيث**.

⁵ حب.      ⁶ Omits.      ⁷ So Vat.      ⁸ So

Vat. <sup>9</sup> ١٥١٢. <sup>10</sup> ١٥١٣. <sup>11</sup> ١٥١٤. <sup>12</sup> ١٥١٥.

13. . 14. . 15. . 16.  and inverts

the order. <sup>17</sup> **حَابِ حَلَالٍ**. <sup>18</sup> **بِحَبِّ حَلَالٍ**.





[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds **هال** **و** **ملا** **ح**. <sup>2</sup> **ملا**. <sup>3</sup> **ح**. <sup>4</sup> Adds

٥ Omits. ٦ *وَاللَّهُ يَسْتَعِذُّ بِهِ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَمْرِ*

in the next sentence. <sup>7</sup> with slight verbal differences. <sup>8</sup> Adds *إِنْعَال*. <sup>9</sup> *مُحْتَمِلٌ*.

١٢ . مِمَّ الْحَقِيقَةُ الْحَمْدَاتُ بِمَجْزِئِ ١١ . مِمَّ الْحَقِيقَةُ الْحَمْدُ بِالْمَجْزِئِ ١٠ .

13 Adds **لَا تَقِ**. 14 Adds **لَا تَقِ**.







1000 <sup>1</sup> [1000] <sup>2</sup> [1000] <sup>3</sup> [1000] <sup>4</sup> [1000] <sup>5</sup> [1000] <sup>6</sup> [1000] <sup>7</sup> [1000] <sup>8</sup> [1000] <sup>9</sup> [1000] <sup>10</sup> [1000] <sup>11</sup> [1000] <sup>12</sup> [1000] <sup>13</sup> [1000] <sup>14</sup> [1000] <sup>15</sup> [1000] <sup>16</sup> [1000] <sup>17</sup> [1000] <sup>18</sup> [1000] <sup>19</sup> [1000] <sup>20</sup> [1000] <sup>21</sup> [1000]

1 1000. 2 V. 1000. 3 V. omits. 4 V. 1000. 5 V. adds 1000. 6 1000. 7 V. 1000. 8 M. adds 1000. 9 V. adds 1000. 10 M. 1000 and V. omits. 11 M. 1000. 12 V. 1000. 13 V. 1000. 14 1000. 15 V. omits. 16 V. adds 1000. 17 V. adds 1000. 18 V. 1000. 19 V. 1000 and 1000. 20 V. 1000. 21 V. 1000 and 1000.

1. <sup>1</sup> [ ] <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>

6. <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. omits.<sup>2</sup> V. <sup>3</sup> V. adds<sup>3</sup> V. adds<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> V. adds<sup>5</sup> V. adds<sup>6</sup> V. <sup>7</sup> V.<sup>7</sup> V.<sup>8</sup> V. <sup>9</sup> V. omits<sup>9</sup> V. omits<sup>10</sup> V. <sup>11</sup> V. adds<sup>11</sup> V. adds<sup>12</sup> V. adds<sup>13</sup> M. omits. <sup>14</sup> V. <sup>15</sup> V.<sup>14</sup> V.<sup>15</sup> V.















חַמְדָּתָא<sup>1</sup> בְּרִינָא לֵאלֹהִי עֲלֵי מַלְאָךְ [מִסָּא<sup>2</sup>]. מַהְלָא מַהְלָא בְּ  
 בְּחִינָא מֵאָה [מַחְלָא<sup>3</sup>] בְּחִינָא אֲסִירָא לֵאלֹהִי [חֲסִידָא<sup>4</sup>] וְאִמְרָא  
 לֵאלֹהִי מַהְלָא בְּחִינָא בְּיָמֵי מַמְרַע עַמְּהָ לְהַלְלָא וְלִאמְרָא  
 [מַלְאָךְ] בְּחִינָא אֲסִירָא מַהְלָא חֲסִידָא מַחְלָא. מַמְרַע עַמְּהָ  
 אֵל לֵאלֹהִי לֵאלֹהִי בְּחִינָא<sup>5</sup>. [מַחְלָא<sup>6</sup>] אֵל לֵאלֹהִי בְּחִינָא לֵאלֹהִי  
 לְהַלְלָא מַחְלָא בְּחִינָא לֵאלֹהִי מַחְלָא לֵאלֹהִי. לֵאלֹהִי מַחְלָא  
 בְּחִינָא.

וְכֵן מֵאָה רַחֲמָא אִמְרָא בְּחִינָא בְּסִרָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא  
 חֲסִידָא מֵאָה לֵאלֹהִי [בְּיָמֵי<sup>8</sup>] לֵאלֹהִי. [וְאִמְרָא בְּחִינָא חֲסִידָא<sup>9</sup>].  
 מַחְלָא מַחְלָא אֵל לֵאלֹהִי בְּחִינָא חֲסִידָא בְּחִינָא [אֵל מַחְלָא<sup>10</sup>]  
 חֲסִידָא אֵל לֵאלֹהִי בְּחִינָא לֵאלֹהִי חֲסִידָא. סִרָא בְּחִינָא לֵאלֹהִי  
 מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא מַחְלָא בְּחִינָא חֲסִידָא אֵל לֵאלֹהִי בְּחִינָא חֲסִידָא  
 [בְּחִינָא<sup>11</sup>] לְהַלְלָא לֵאלֹהִי חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא. מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא בְּסִרָא  
 אֵל לֵאלֹהִי אֵל מַחְלָא מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא לֵאלֹהִי מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא<sup>12</sup>  
 מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא. [וְאִמְרָא מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא בְּחִינָא חֲסִידָא  
 מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא<sup>13</sup>] לֵאלֹהִי חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא. מַחְלָא  
 חֲסִידָא מַחְלָא [בְּחִינָא<sup>14</sup>] חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא<sup>15</sup>] מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא  
 חֲסִידָא בְּחִינָא [חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא<sup>16</sup>] [וְאִמְרָא חֲסִידָא<sup>17</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> V. adds וְאִמְרָא בְּחִינָא.

<sup>2</sup> V. and M. מִסָּא.

<sup>3</sup> V.

מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא. <sup>4</sup> V. חֲסִידָא. <sup>5</sup> V. inverts the order, and  
 for רַחֲמָא and omits חֲסִידָא. <sup>6</sup> V. מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא. <sup>7</sup> V. adds אֵל.

<sup>8</sup> V. חֲסִידָא. <sup>9</sup> V. חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא.

<sup>10</sup> V. מַחְלָא. <sup>11</sup> V. בְּחִינָא. <sup>12</sup> V. adds חֲסִידָא.

<sup>13</sup> V. מַחְלָא חֲסִידָא. <sup>14</sup> V. בְּחִינָא.

<sup>15</sup> V. חֲסִידָא. <sup>16</sup> V. חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא. <sup>17</sup> V.

חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא.

וְאִלָּא אֶחָדָם [חֲלוּם סְלִימוֹתָם<sup>1</sup>] אֶחָד בְּלֹא בִּשְׁמֵר<sup>2</sup> חֲסִידוֹתָם  
 בְּכֹחַ מִבְּחִילָה [וְאֶחָדָם<sup>3</sup>] חֵמַר מִבְּחִילָה. חֲלָמִים בְּיָמֵהוּ  
 חֲלָמִים [אֶל דְּהֶחְרִיל אֶל חֲסִידוֹתָם<sup>4</sup>] אֶל דְּבִרְא חֲלָלָא בְּיָם  
 הַיָּלָל דְּהֵוָּרָא בְּחֵילָא מִבְּחִילָה מִבְּחִילָה; הַיָּלָל [מִבְּחִילָה<sup>5</sup>] עֲלִילָא  
 עֲבִילָא [אִלָּא<sup>6</sup>] מִבְּחִילָה אִלָּא מִבְּחִילָה מִבְּחִילָה אִלָּא [מִבְּחִילָה<sup>7</sup>] מִבְּחִילָה  
 בְּחִילָה.

אִלָּא אֶחָדָם חֲלָלָא אִלָּא אֶחָד [חֲרִידָה<sup>8</sup>] הָאֵל אֶחָדָם  
 חֲלָלָא<sup>9</sup> אֶחָד מִבְּחִילָה. אִלָּא אֶחָדָם חֲלָלָא אֶחָד [חֲסִידָה<sup>10</sup>].  
 חֲלָמִים<sup>11</sup> בְּיָם בְּיָם מִבְּחִילָה אֶחָד בְּיָם הַיָּלָל חֲלָלָא  
 אִלָּא<sup>12</sup> אִלָּא [אֶחָד מִבְּחִילָה. חֲלָמִים בְּיָמֵהוּ חֵמַר דְּבִרְא אֶל סֵם  
 מִבְּחִילָה מִבְּחִילָה הַיָּלָל חֲלָלָא חֲלָלָא מִבְּחִילָה<sup>13</sup>] אִלָּא  
 מִבְּחִילָה אִלָּא חֵמַר חֲלָלָא חֲלָלָה מִבְּחִילָה. חֲלָמִים בְּיָמֵהוּ  
 חֲלָלָא אֶל חֲסִידוֹתָם חֲלָלָא אֶל מִבְּחִילָה מִבְּחִילָה בְּחִילָה אֶל מִבְּחִילָה  
 סִבְחָא אֶל מִבְּחִילָה חֲלָלָה אֶל מִבְּחִילָה מִבְּחִילָה [מִבְּחִילָה<sup>14</sup>] אִלָּא  
 חֲלָלָא [מִבְּחִילָה<sup>15</sup>] בְּיָם חֵמַר מִבְּחִילָה חֵמַר חֲלָלָא בְּחִילָה  
 מִבְּחִילָה. אִלָּא מִבְּחִילָה אִלָּא חֲלָלָה מִבְּחִילָה בְּחִילָה בְּחִילָה  
 [חֲחִילָה<sup>16</sup>]. אִלָּא חֲחִילָה בְּיָם חֵמַר אֶל אֶחָד מִבְּחִילָה  
 חֵמַר בְּיָם מִבְּחִילָה חֵמַר חֲחִילָה [חֲחִילָה<sup>17</sup>] חֲחִילָה בְּחִילָה  
 חֲחִילָה חֲחִילָה מִבְּחִילָה בְּיָם חֲחִילָה חֵמַר. אֶל חֲחִילָה  
 חֲחִילָה חֵמַר חֲחִילָה חֵמַר חֲחִילָה בְּחִילָה חֲחִילָה<sup>18</sup> אִלָּא

<sup>1</sup> M. adds סְלִימוֹתָם חֲלוּם, and V. inverts this order. <sup>2</sup> V. adds חֲלוּם. <sup>3</sup> M. adds אֶחָדָם and V. adds אֶחָדָם. <sup>4</sup> M. omits. <sup>5</sup> V. מִבְּחִילָה. <sup>6</sup> M. omits. <sup>7</sup> V. חֵמַר. <sup>8</sup> Both רִידָה. <sup>9</sup> V. adds אִלָּא. <sup>10</sup> V. adds חֲסִידָה. <sup>11</sup> V. adds בְּיָם. <sup>12</sup> M. adds מִבְּחִילָה. <sup>13</sup> M. omits all. <sup>14</sup> V. מִבְּחִילָה. <sup>15</sup> V. omits. <sup>16</sup> V. omits. <sup>17</sup> V. חֲחִילָה. <sup>18</sup> M. adds מִבְּחִילָה.



[illegible][illegible]

\* Here begins a lacuna in V.

<sup>1</sup> V. adds **ل**. <sup>2</sup> M. **ومحمد**. <sup>3</sup> V. adds **مد**. <sup>4</sup> V. adds

مقتل. <sup>7</sup> V. <sup>6</sup> M. <sup>5</sup> حه; <sup>8</sup> V. <sup>9</sup> So V. and M. <sup>10</sup> V. <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> <sup>408</sup> <sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> <sup>411</sup> <sup>412</sup> <sup>413</sup> <sup>414</sup> <sup>415</sup> <sup>416</sup> <sup>417</sup> <sup>418</sup> <sup>419</sup> <sup>420</sup> <sup>421</sup> <sup>422</sup> <sup>423</sup> <sup>424</sup> <sup>425</sup> <sup>426</sup> <sup>427</sup> <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> <sup>430</sup> <sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup> <sup>433</sup> <sup>434</sup> <sup>435</sup> <sup>436</sup> <sup>437</sup> <sup>438</sup> <sup>439</sup> <sup>440</sup> <sup>441</sup> <sup>442</sup> <sup>443</sup> <sup>444</sup> <sup>445</sup> <sup>446</sup> <sup>447</sup> <sup>448</sup> <sup>449</sup> <sup>450</sup> <sup>451</sup> <sup>452</sup> <sup>453</sup> <sup>454</sup> <sup>455</sup> <sup>456</sup> <sup>457</sup> <sup>458</sup> <sup>459</sup> <sup>460</sup> <sup>461</sup> <sup>462</sup> <sup>463</sup> <sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup> <sup>466</sup> <sup>467</sup> <sup>468</sup>

<sup>11</sup> M. المشقة.      <sup>12</sup> M. الحية (*sic*).      <sup>13</sup> M. الحية.

٢٥٨٠ (sic).



١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ (var. ١٥٠٠) ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ [١٥٠٠] ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠

١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ [١٥٠٠] ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠  
 ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠

\* Here ends the lacuna in V.

<sup>1</sup> M. omits. <sup>2</sup> M. adds ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠

١٥٠٠. <sup>3</sup> M. omits. <sup>4</sup> M. ١٥٠٠. <sup>5</sup> So M. and V. always.

<sup>6</sup> V. ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠. <sup>7</sup> V. ١٥٠٠ and ١٥٠٠; M. ١٥٠٠ but ١٥٠٠.

<sup>8</sup> V. ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠. <sup>9</sup> V. omits. <sup>10</sup> V. omits. <sup>11</sup> V. omits.

<sup>12</sup> V. adds ١٥٠٠. <sup>13</sup> V. omits. <sup>14</sup> V. ١٥٠٠. <sup>15</sup> V. ١٥٠٠.

<sup>16</sup> V. ١٥٠٠ ١٥٠٠.





١) لاسه. هفم حب عدل وحت لاسل مبلع بقلا  
 ٢) اوتوه [ال] [الاست و المحت و هت<sup>٢</sup>] حب عدل  
 اعدا و لاسه و و حب حق. و اعدا ال حب وحت  
 ٣) هفم<sup>٣</sup> م مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ٤) لاسه<sup>٤</sup> و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ٥) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ٦) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ٧) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ٨) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ٩) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٠) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١١) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٢) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٣) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٤) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٥) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٦) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم  
 ١٧) و مبلع و اعدا و و حب هفم

<sup>1</sup> V. omits.

<sup>2</sup> V. الماسه الماسه.

<sup>3</sup> V. o;A. .

<sup>4</sup> V. adds  $\hookrightarrow$ .

<sup>5</sup> V. 101.

<sup>6</sup> V. and M. add **محتال**.

7 V.

omits.

<sup>8</sup> V. omits.

<sup>9</sup> V. inverts the order.

10 V. محمد.

<sup>11</sup> M. omits. <sup>12</sup> V. **وَمَعْلَمٌ**. <sup>13</sup> M. **الْحَلَا**. <sup>14</sup> **يَحْيَى**.

الحق. 15 V. omits.

<sup>16</sup> V. adds **sol.**

17 V. omits.









[illegible]

<sup>7</sup> M. ممد.      <sup>8</sup> M. محمد.





## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 6.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following pages I give the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of a rather strange apocryphon, known generally as the *Apocalypse of Peter*, although its more genuine title appears to be the *Book of the Rolls*. The former title is the one that is commonly used by modern scholars while the latter is sanctioned by the work itself.<sup>1</sup>

Fifty-six pages of the first part of the Arabic text of the *Book of the Rolls* were published in 1901 by Mrs. Gibson, from an undated manuscript preserved in the monastery of Mount Sinai. On palæographic grounds this Sinai MS. may be ascribed to about the middle of the ninth century. It deals with the creation and the history of the Jewish people from the beginning down to the birth of the Virgin with which it ends. The MS. of which I am giving the text and translation contains all the *Book of the Rolls*, including the part already published. I did not consider it necessary, however, to include in my edition the section edited by Mrs. Gibson, although the MS. which she used and the one which I am editing and translating exhibit important variants affecting both the general meaning and the linguistic peculiarities of the sentences.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 192, and *Kitāb al-Majāll*, or the *Book of the Rolls* (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. viii.), and Baron de Slane's *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pp. 18-19.

The title *Apocalypse of Peter* has, however, much to commend it. In my collection of manuscripts there are five Garshūni texts that give to the book the express title of *Iktishāf Shim'un*, "Apocalypse of Simon," or *Jalayān Butrus*, "Apocalypse of Peter." See Mingana Syr. 106, ff. 32b-35a; Mingana Syr. 225, ff. 63a-75a; Mingana Syr. 369, ff. 30-31; Mingana Syr. 411, ff. 17a-32b; and Mingana Syr. 446, ff. 84a-103a. In spite of the authority of these five MSS. I am inclined to believe that the title *Book of the Rolls* as applied to the present work is more original than *Apocalypse of Peter*, because the narrative does not contain those parts of the Apocalypse of Peter known to us through Greek and Ethiopic sources.<sup>1</sup>

The five MSS. of my collection referred to above contain a much shorter text than the one exhibited by Mingana Syr. 70 (henceforth M. 70) which I have followed for my edition. Most of the points discussed in the latter are completely missing in the former, and the textual comparison between the six MSS. is not that found between three recensions of the same narrative, but rather that found between three totally different works. Let us only consider the deep divergences that must characterise works contained within the limits of 194 leaves, 19 leaves, 15 leaves, 12 leaves, 3 leaves, and 2 leaves of the same size.

The above six MSS. and the one numbered Mingana Syr. 138 (ff. 172-182) are all in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) and exhibit what I would call a Syrian recension of the Apocryphon. The style of the text which they contain is here and there saturated with sentences the construction of which denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian. Further, I shall point out in the footnotes that M. 70 and M. 225 contain formulæ that are wholly Syriac.

Some public libraries of Europe<sup>2</sup> contain an Arabic work which embodies points that are more or less similar to those exhibited in the present work. That Arabic work is divided into chapters that vary from 88 to 99 in number. The subjects dealt with in them are heterogeneous in character and often totally different from those found in the MSS. of my collection. M. 70 is divided into 8 parts (juz's)

<sup>1</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 505-521.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Bodleian Catalogue* by Nicoll, No. xlvi. pp. 49-54; the *Paris Catalogue* by Baron de Slane, Nos. 76-79, pp. 18-19; the *Vatican Catalogue* by Ang. Mai., No. clxv. p. 304, in *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, vol. iv. See also Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 508.



with occasional sub-divisions into *fasts.*, while M. 106, M. 138, M. 225, M. 369, M. 411, and M. 446 have no divisions of any kind and only contain that part of the work which is more pertinent to an apocalyptic atmosphere. It is this striking difference of subjects apart from the baffling divergence in phraseology that has induced me to characterise the recension of M. 70 as Syrian and to distinguish it from the Arabic MSS. mentioned above, which for lack of an adequate title I would provisionally characterise as Egyptian.

Of all the Arabic MSS. containing the *Apocalypse of Peter* the one with a text most similar to the MSS. of my collection seems to be that preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

As it frequently happens in the case of books written by Copts in that Christian Arabic which is often peculiar to themselves, the present work has passed from Arabic into Ethiopic, and has acquired in the literature of that language, which has always evinced a marked predilection for the strange type of the apocryphal literature, the rather appropriate title of *Kalēmentos*, "Clement." In 1911 M. Sylvain Grébaut began a French translation of this Ethiopic Apocryphon in *R.O.C.*<sup>2</sup> and the last number of the *Revue* (Nos. 1 and 2 of 1928, pp. 22-31) breaks off at Book iii. There are evidently many more pages to come before the end of the work is reached in its Ethiopic garb.

From the middle of the work the Ethiopic version differs considerably from the existing Arabic texts, because it mostly deals with ecclesiastical Canons which have not much in common with Apocalyptic literature. So far as the title *Kalēmentos* is concerned the Ethiopic tradition finds strong support in M. 70, the colophon of which precisely states: "Here ends the blessed book known as *Clement*."

To edit all the above MSS. in a single publication is almost an impossibility, because their texts are often as divergent and remote from each other as, say, the two texts of the ecclesiastical histories of Sozomen and Theodoret. I tried to combine the texts of two of them only, but after many days of labour, to my great regret I found myself

<sup>1</sup> No. 915 in E. G. Browne's *Hand-List of Muhammadan MSS.* Mrs. Gibson gave some extracts of it in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. viii. pp. xx-xxi of the introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine*, p. 72 sqq.

beaten by the joined forces of reckless copyists and careless authors who, conscious that they were not dealing with any scriptural and inspired matter, vied with each other in their attempts to add to, or to subtract from, the book which they were transcribing or composing.

Under these circumstances I felt compelled to confine myself to one series of texts only in my edition of the Apocryphon, and I fixed my attention on M. 70 as the one likely to give a more ancient version of the story. Three considerations helped me to form an opinion on the subject :—

1. M. 70 embodies in its text another Apocryphon which in Syriac passes under the name of *Testament of Adam*, and as such has been edited and translated by Kmosko in the second volume of the *Pat. Syr.* Portions of this Testament are found in Greek, and have been edited and translated by M. R. James in vol. ii. of *Texts and Studies* under the title of *A Fragment of the Apocalypse of Adam*.<sup>1</sup> Whether this *Testament* or *Apocalypse of Adam* constituted an integral part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* which I am editing and translating I cannot decide with certainty, although the hypothesis that the *Apocalypse of Adam* might have been embodied in the *Apocalypse of Peter* by a copyist or by the author of the second composition is the one that would appeal to me as more probable.

2. M. 70 contains passages which seem to possess an archaic savour, and appear to precede the time of the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. I will here quote the following lines :—

“He became a child and the angels worshipped Him in the Pavilion of the Father, and He spoke to them and answered them. He was on the arms of Mary and I made Him put on humanity in the robes of Baptism and in the fulfilment of my prescriptions. I did not wish to place Him in this world. I will finish Him and perfect Him. . . . It is I who lifted Him on the wood of the Cross, and it is I who raised Him from the accursed earth. I did not place Him on it except for the purpose of showing Him in it. I am always in Him, and I shall raise Him above all my creatures.”

It is very seldom indeed that one meets with such passages in West Syrian or Monophysite MSS. The words which remind one of the

<sup>1</sup> Fuller reference will be made in the footnotes to these two publications.



*Odes of Solomon* are placed in the mouth of Christ who is repeating them to Peter, but as it is impossible to believe that Christ Himself could have pronounced them, I hold them to be part of a much older composition that has been embodied by the author in his narrative.<sup>1</sup> Our Apocryphon contains some other passages of this kind.

3. M. 70 contains Syriac words and Syriac expressions which generally stamp a Christian Arabic composition with a mark of age and originality that is missing in compositions of a later date. Christian Arabic began mostly in Christian circles belonging to Syrian Churches, either of the Nestorian or of the Monophysite or of the Melchite school of thought, and early Copts seem to have exercised but slight influence on Christian Arabic lexicography.

As I have by necessity followed one MS. for my edition I shall give it all in facsimile. In the footnotes I have corrected the grammatical and lexicographical mistakes of the author or the copyist which are likely to affect the meaning of the sentences. Other linguistic errors are more or less similar to those to which I often drew attention in the first and second volumes of my *Woodbrooke Studies*.

Dr. M. R. James has already drawn our attention<sup>2</sup> to the fact that Clement of Alexandria mentions in his so-called *Prophetical Extracts* an "Apocalypse of Peter:" "Wherefore also Peter in the *Apocalypse* saith: 'And a lightning of fire leaping from the children (who had been exposed by their parents) and smiting the eyes of the women.'" And again: "For example Peter in the *Apocalypse* saith: 'The children born abortively, who would have been saved if they had lived, will be delivered to a caretaking angel.'" And again: "But the milk of the mothers . . . saith Peter in the *Apocalypse* shall engender small beasts."

The next Father who mentions by name the *Apocalypse of Peter* is, according to James, Macarius Magnes (fourth century) who writes: "And by way of superfluity let this also be cited which is said in the *Apocalypse of Peter*."

Our next authority which refers by name to the *Apocalypse of Peter* is an old Latin homily on the Ten Virgins published by Dom

<sup>1</sup> See my note on these lines on p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 506-507. See also Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test.*, 1703, p. 940 sqq.



Wilmart.<sup>1</sup> In it is written : " The river of fire by which the ungodly shall be kept out of the Kingdom of God, as is written in Daniel and in Peter, in his *Apocalypse*."

Eusebius in his ecclesiastical history<sup>2</sup> mentions among books of doubtful authority an *Apocalypse of Peter*, while Sozomen<sup>3</sup> asserts that an *Apocalypse* by Peter was in his days read in some churches of Palestine.

I will here quote in full a passage from the letter which James de Vitry, Bishop of Acres, sent to the Pope Honorius III. about A.D. 1219 : " Praesenti anno Suriani, qui nobiscum erant in exercitu, librum alium antiquissimum, lingua Saracenica scriptum, de antiquis armariis suis nobis ostenderunt, cujus erat superscriptio : *Revelationes B. Petri Apostoli, a discipulo ejus Clemente in uno volumine redactæ*. Quicunque autem hujus libri auctor extiterit, ita aperte et expresse de statu Ecclesiae Dei a principio usque at tempora Anti-Christi et finem mundi praenuntiavit, quod ex completionem praeteritorum indubitata facit fidem futurorum."<sup>4</sup>

That an *Apocalypse of Peter* was in existence from the first centuries of the Christian era is, therefore, certain, but it is difficult to believe that that *Apocalypse* is the one preserved in the Arabic MSS. referred to above and in the Garshūni MSS. of my collection, although it seems fairly probable that the "Revelations of the B. Apostle Peter" spoken of by James de Vitry, refers to a document similar to that preserved in one of the above MSS. As the work stands in these MSS. it appears to me to be a genuine but composite Arabic lucubration with different layers of antiquity, a true *mixum compositum*. The first and the most ancient of these Arabic layers I am tempted to ascribe to about A.D. 800. To this ancient layer many authors or copyists have at various times added here and there passages likely to render the original composition more interesting to their readers or hearers.

This process of adding to and subtracting from the original composition seems to have lasted down to the fourteenth century. To the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth centuries I would ascribe the rhymed part

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin d'an. litt. et d'arch. Chrét.*, quoted by James (*ibid.*).

<sup>2</sup> Book vi. c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, Book viii. c. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Grabijs, *Spicilegium*, i. 76-77, and Nicoll in a note to his Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the Bodleian, pp. 49-50.

of the text to which I call attention in the footnotes, and some other sentences which appear to be a digression from the main theme.

A more difficult question concerns the degree of originality that the first layer of about A.D. 800 may command. In reviewing Bezold's edition of the Syriac book entitled *Cave of Treasures*, De Lagarde speaks<sup>1</sup> of our *Apocalypse*, and taking into consideration the colophons of the Paris MSS. 77 and 78, which state that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was found in Nicosia, thinks that the book has some relation with the first crusades. So far as the *Book of the Rolls* is concerned, apart from the intrinsic improbability of this surmise, the date of the Sinai MS., which cannot be much later than the ninth Christian century, will always constitute an irrefutable external evidence militating against it.

It is possible to believe that the first author utilised parts of a version of an *Apocalypse of Peter* current in his day, or some other similar works, and that in editing them in Arabic, added to them those sections of the Apocryphon that clearly allude to Islam and the first Muslim Caliphs. It may possibly be surmised that he could not have been in a position to produce from his own head a complete book and attribute it to Peter, if such a book had no relation whatever with the *Apocalypse of Peter* that was known at least to a considerable number of his contemporaries and readers.

That the work as presented to us in the MSS. alluded to above is an original Arabic composition and not a mere translation from another language, be it Coptic, Syriac or Greek, will be readily admitted by all Semitic scholars. On the other hand there are very strong reasons for believing that many sentences and whole passages in it are under the influence of a language alien to Arabic, and have a strong savour of a free translation or a close imitation of other works that the author may have utilised.

I have often drawn attention in the footnotes to the Ethiopic translation in its relation to the Arabic original represented in M. 70. In some places the Ethiopic translator seems to have been rendering a text identical with that of our MS. and in some others his original appears to have been totally different to the extent that about two-thirds of the text and translation of my present edition are missing in it.

<sup>1</sup> *Mittheilungen*, iii. 50-51.



From observations that I have ventured to add in the footnotes it will be seen that I believe that many passages of M. 70 which are now in Garshūni were transcribed from a MS. written in Arabic characters.

It is useful here to remark that a Georgian MS. described in *R.O.C.* by Avalichvili contains the translation of the well-known Syriac work entitled *Cave of Treasures* with the addition of the "Horarium" of the *Testament of Adam* as in our present MS.<sup>1</sup>

The source of a large section of the Vision of Peter dealing with the heavenly Jerusalem, seems to be, as my footnotes will indicate, the canonical *Book of the Revelation* from which the author borrows freely, but curiously enough with many modifications.

The headings and some other passages that I have considered to be editorial additions by the unknown author will be given in italics.

#### TRANSLATION.

And I Clement said to my teacher Peter, the head of the Apostles, the vizier of mercy, and the keeper of the keys of heaven : "O eminent teacher, you have made me your son, your disciple and your vizier ; you have taught me the history of the Old Testament,<sup>2</sup> and instructed me in the genealogies found in it down to the birth of the Lady Mary, the daughter of Joachim, to such an extent that I am in a position to refute the Jews in<sup>3</sup> my discussions with them, since by disclosing to me their secrets you have made me versed in their history : now I implore you and beseech you to crown your kindness to me by disclosing to me all the secrets which the Christ has revealed to you on the part of the one and eternal God in order that I may commit them to writing. Begin by telling me why God created Adam knowing in His prescience that he would undoubtedly break His commandment ; why Christ became incarnate ; why there is life and death ; what there is after death ; what is the meaning of soul ; and why (God) promised resurrection. Impart also to me the knowledge of the hierarchies of the heavenly beings ; of what will happen in heaven and on the day of the resurrection to those who believe in and follow

<sup>1</sup> *R.O.C.*, xxvi. 1928, pp. 381-405.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "The Torah." The author refers here to the preceding part of his book in which the Jewish history is dealt with and the narrative brought down to the birth of the Virgin.

<sup>3</sup> Remove the *wāw* before *fī*.



Christ ; of what will take place at the end of the world ; and of the state of Paradise and of the Kingdom of Heaven.

“O eminent teacher, confide to me the secret of all these since I have a right to ask them of you, because you have promised to grant my request to you. Keep and fulfil your promise to me, and tell me what the Son of God promised to His disciples.”

And the teacher Peter replied and said to him in answer to his question :<sup>1</sup> “O my child, I shall grant you your wish, and since you have so desired it I shall answer all your questions and impart to you the knowledge of their solution in order that you may understand and believe. Let it be known to you that you will not die before you have witnessed many miracles the working of which Jesus Christ the Son of the Eternal God will grant<sup>2</sup> to you if you are steadfast in believing in Him, in following Him and in keeping His commandments. He will also bestow many favours on you. I shall now begin to disclose the secrets for which you have asked by the help of the Lord Redeemer, the Christ Jesus of Nazareth.”<sup>3</sup>

This is the beginning of the secrets which Peter revealed to Clement.

In the name of our Lord, our God and our Saviour I shall write the hidden secrets of God which no creature knew but which our Lord revealed and disclosed to Peter His elect : What is the meaning of “*Son of God from God*, and of the *Spirit of God* ? ”<sup>4</sup> By the assistance of God the tongue of Peter had already confessed the truth when our Lord had asked him who He was. Indeed Peter had previously confessed this truth about the Light before the company of the Apostles when our Lord had asked them : “What do men say about me, and what say ye ? ” And by the help of the Holy Spirit Peter had said : “Thou art the Christ, the Son of God.”<sup>5</sup> Peter had not

<sup>1</sup> This pronoun “his” suggests that all these sentences are to be attributed to the editor of the work.

<sup>2</sup> Read *wa-yurwalliha*.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist adds here in Garshūni : “Here it ends by the help of the Most High God,” and then proceeds in Syriac : “O brother readers pray for my father and mother.”

<sup>4</sup> All the above section is missing in the Ethiopic *Qalementos* translated by S. Grébaut in *R.O.C.*, 1912, 244 *sqq.* Was the passage missing in the Arabic original lying before the Ethiopian translator, or was it simply overlooked by him? The Ethiopic version begins with the following sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xvi. 14-16.

answered Christ in this way through knowledge emanating from his flesh and blood, nor from his science and the greatness of his intelligence, nor from his asceticism, his austere living and his fasting, but it was God who had seen the purity of his conscience and revealed the truth to him. The Apostles had also laid in their memory the utterance of our Lord, on this occasion, to Peter : "It is not through flesh and blood that you knew that I was from my Father but it is the one who speaks through me who has inspired you to believe in me and to confess me." Through these words of our Lord a reverential fear had entered into the heart of Peter for the Divine Majesty, and he had not understood then what our Lord had precisely meant, nor had he dared to ask Him about that concise saying during all the time He was with them in Jerusalem.

The great Father, the Apostle Peter, said to his disciple Clement : "Know that when forty days after His resurrection from the dead our Lord desired to go up and ascend to heaven and to His Kingdom in which He had never ceased to be, and to return to His resplendent glory<sup>1</sup> and majesty, He took the eleven<sup>2</sup> chieftains and also the Lady and the seventy followers, to the Mount of Olives. Then our Lord separated Himself from all the disciples and took up with Him to the holy mountain of Sinai me Peter, the beloved John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Mart<sup>3</sup> Mary the pure Lady, the mother of good hope and the mother of the Resurrection and Resuscitation, the pure mother through whom God forgave the trespasses of all the sinners, the one who is called 'the mistress of the women and the lady of the nobles,' Mart Mary—may God remember us through her benedictions, increase for us the scent of the perfume of her prayers, and sanctify all the children of Baptism by the sweetness of her asceticism and holiness ! God heard His son for us through her, because we have no one besides Him<sup>4</sup> to save us from the wrongs of this world and of the world to come.

"He left, therefore, the rest of the disciples at the foot of the mountain and breathed in our face the breath of the Holy Spirit and said : 'Get no gold nor silver nor wallet for the route which you will

<sup>1</sup> The word *subh* which is constantly used by the author in the sense of "glory" is derived from the Syriac *shubha*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-ahad* for *al-hādi*. The "chieftains" are the Apostles.

<sup>3</sup> A Syriac title of honour meaning "our Lady."

<sup>4</sup> Or possibly "her." Read *siwāhu* or *siwāha*.



follow ; and make provision of no brass, and have no staff, because you shall be in no need of all that.<sup>1</sup> Know that I have given you power that when you lay your hands on the sick they will be healed and made whole, on the cripples and they will stand up, on the dead and they will rise.<sup>2</sup> In what I have bestowed upon you from the Holy Spirit you have power over all the earth. I am now going where my Father ordered me. Freely I gave you the high gifts, freely give them. Wherever you assemble and mention my name there I shall be with you."<sup>3</sup>

Then the great teacher Peter said to me while he was about to disclose the secrets to me : " O my son Clement the secret which you have asked me to disclose to you is of great moment and I ought not to divulge anything of its nature to the worlds. It is a thing that the Christ our Lord confided to us before He ascended to heaven. He ordered us to keep all of it concealed from notice, and I ought not to divulge it as the minds of men are not able to comprehend it because it transcends them ; and if human intelligence were able to comprehend it, it would have been circumscribed."<sup>4</sup> And I Clement did not cease to beseech the teacher Peter and to implore him to favour me with what I had asked of him until he granted my request and said : " Prepare the rolls and write down on them<sup>5</sup> what I shall dictate to you. Make the present writing follow<sup>6</sup> what we have already told you concerning the genealogy of Mary, the mother of light, and make one book of the whole." This is the reason why I Clement have entitled this book *The Book of the Rolls*.<sup>7</sup> And I began to write on the rolls what the holy teacher dictated to me, while my eyes were shedding tears and my hands were trembling.

When the teacher Peter noticed this from me he caught me with his hand and took me up to the Mount of Olives, to the spot from which our Lord Jesus the Saviour " the Son of the Living God " <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 10 (with changes).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. x. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. xviii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Read *maḥdūdan*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *fīha*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *waṣuff*.

<sup>7</sup> This sentence which is missing in Ethiopic (*ibid.* 245) brings the present work into relation with the *Book of the Rolls* edited by Mrs. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica* (No. viii.). That book ends in effect with the genealogy of Mary.

<sup>8</sup> The sentence " The Son of the Living God " is always given in Syriac in the document as if it was a sacred and mysterious formula.



had ascended to heaven. Then he lifted his eyes to heaven, wept bitterly and made on me the sign of the cross and said : " O Jesus Christ strengthen me with power from you in order that through it this son may be instructed in<sup>1</sup> the secret which you have confided to me, because I have chosen him<sup>2</sup> and elected him by your power. Make me understand now that part of the secrets taught by you to me, which had transcended my intelligence."

Then he prostrated himself<sup>3</sup> to the ground and worshipped forty times, and I also worshipped like his worship. And he raised his head from his prostration at the end of his forty genuflections, and I looked at his face and I saw that it was illuminated and that it beamed and shone like the ray of the sun ; and I looked at him and noticed that something resembling a flame of burning fire was coming out of him. A great fear and dread took hold of me. And the saint said to me : " Be not afraid, O my son, of what<sup>4</sup> you saw coming out of me, and since I speak to you through the Holy Spirit, do not be terrified by it. If you had seen the miracles which I have witnessed from the Christ our Lord you would not have been able to live through them, and this in spite of the fact that He—may His names be sanctified<sup>5</sup>—did not show us except a few of<sup>6</sup> His Divine miracles." And he said to me : " Keep what you will write down from my dictation, because let it be known to you that after me will come people<sup>7</sup> who will not believe in my words nor in the preaching of the holy disciples."

Then the teacher sat in the place from which Jesus Christ had ascended to heaven, and showed to me the spot on which the Lady had sat, and the spot on which James and John had also sat, and said : " When Jesus Christ took us up and we came to this holy mountain at the time when He wished to ascend to heaven, He said to me, ' Be in no fear, O Peter, because you are the foundation of my Church and it is on you that I will build it.' And I worshipped Him and said, ' I wish to ask you some questions and I also desire an answer to

<sup>1</sup> Read *'ala*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ikhtartuhu*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sajada*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *mimma*.

<sup>5</sup> This sentence is probably post-Islamic and refers to the " ninety-nine " excellent names of God in Muslim theology. The expression is found in the Kur'an, vii. 179. It is not found in the Ethiopic translation.

<sup>6</sup> Probably add *min*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *kaumun*.

them, O you who revived your creatures by your grace.' And our Lord said : ' Ask what you wish,' and I said, ' O Son of God,—which is the same as *breh d'-Alāha hayya*<sup>1</sup>—before you created heaven, earth, angels and men where was your abode ? And how was it ? And who glorified and magnified you, since you had not created yet anyone to glorify ? And on what was set the throne of your Kingdom, since there was no heaven and no earth and no space to contain it ?<sup>2</sup> And how were you in your essence ? ' ”

And the Saviour, who saves the heart from bad thoughts, said to me : ' O Peter, you have asked something which the minds of men do not reach, which your heart is unable to contain and your power to bear, as the minds of men are unable to comprehend even a portion of it, since,<sup>3</sup> however, you wish to learn it I shall write it down and reveal it to you in order that you may add it to the book.' Then He said : ' As to your saying, Where was my abode ? —My abode was in my Father before the created beings were created. As to the throne of my glory and majesty it was in the greatness of my grace. The Father was in me, glorifying me, and I in the Father, glorifying the Spirit who proceeds from us,<sup>4</sup> and who is eternally with us, because we are three persons : The Father is in me and in the Spirit, and I am in the Father, and the Spirit is in me and in the Father.

“ No one preceded us, no one is intermediary between us and no one extends between us ; none of us can be called “ the last one ” because none of us is old and none of us is young, and we have neither beginning nor end. Every being worships us, and we are in<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This formula is as usual in Syriac and is missing in Ethiopic. Whenever there is in the text a translation of it into Arabic, I will transliterate it from Syriac into Roman characters.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopic version seems to contain a mistranslation as it reads “ since it contained nothing.” *R.O.C.*, 1912, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Read *lākin* for *likai*. This proves decisively that the original from which the MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters since it is only in Arabic that the letters *yā* and *nūn* are identical and distinguishable only by extraneous dots placed over or under them.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the author apparently believes in the procession of the Spirit from the Son also. This sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

<sup>5</sup> Probably read *fi*. The Ethiopian translator seems to have misunderstood this somewhat complicated Arabic sentence. He has even gone so far as to translate “ your power ” instead of “ in power.”



everything by our power, and what is under us is from our power. And we have neither length nor breadth.

“‘We contain everything and nothing contains us. We have neither elevation nor a summit,<sup>1</sup> and we have no height because we are higher than height. We have no depth because we fathom the last extremity of depth, and we have no lowness because our power encompasses<sup>2</sup> everything. Know that every depth, height, width, and length are made and fashioned by us. We have neither right nor left because we are the right and the left in a strength and power which cannot be seen and comprehended. We have neither exterior nor interior because we are the exterior and the interior.

“‘Our glory, our majesty and our grace are from us, to us, between us, in us, and with us, and not from another being besides us; and no one understands us. We are three<sup>3</sup> attributes and three persons: the Father is grace, I am wisdom and the Spirit is life; the Father is justice and righteousness, I am clemency and power, and the Spirit is intelligence and mercy. No heaven contains us, and no earth encompasses us. Wherever we are, we are all of us, and we do not change from state to state nor do we move from place to place. None of us has any change or separation, because all of us are one. We were from eternity and we shall be to eternity. We have no place in which we dwell and no spot to which to move. The minds do not reach us in our essence, nor do the eyes and sights perceive us and see us in our substance.

“‘The Father, I and the Spirit are one. There is no increase nor decrease in us. We are not three but we are one. The Father created the created things by means of the Son, and their life came<sup>4</sup> through the Spirit. The Father is majesty and eternal power, I am His word and the Spirit is action and procession. We are not a company<sup>5</sup> and there is no separation in us. The definitions do not reach us, because we are above all circumscribed things, and the minds do not comprehend us. We are not associates, nor is there disunion between us. The Father created all things by means of the

<sup>1</sup> Lit. “elevation of elevation.” Evidently the Ethiopian translator did not understand this difficult sentence because he omitted it entirely.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yahtarwi*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *thalath*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kānat*.

<sup>5</sup> The Ethiopian translator (*R.O.C.*, 1912, p. 246) understood this sentence in the sense of “we are not numerous.”



Son and their perfection was through the Spirit. There is no one to be compared or likened to us.

“‘The Father is wisdom, I am its word,<sup>1</sup> and the Spirit is its life and covenant. The reasonings and the definitions do not reach us because we are above them. We cannot be compared to the likeness of anything, because we are above all comparison. Nothing can be drawn from us by analogy, because we are above all analogy. My Father is fire, I am its light and the consuming Spirit is its heat. My Father is sun, I am its ray and the Spirit its light. My Father is eminence, I am its glory and the Spirit its honour. My Father is gift, I am its mercy and the Spirit its perfection. Without me no creature came into being, because I was always in existence from the Father before the heaven. I am in the Father, and the Spirit is in me. Without me no created thing would have come into being. We are inside all created things and outside them. We are in all the recondite and hidden things. We are inside and outside the things. None of us comes really into us and none of us goes out of us, because we are both the inside and the outside.<sup>2</sup> My Father is mind, I am its Word and the Spirit is its voice.

“‘We are everything, and we are *the* existing being. We are the beginning and we have no end. We are above the beginning and above the time. There are no hidden things to us, and nothing is concealed from us<sup>3</sup> because we are above everything. Since our glorification and magnification are from us, in us, with us and between us without beginning and without end, our love is perfect—that love which we have directed to the creation of the world, and which we have ordered the inhabitants of the world to acknowledge, in order that through it they may know<sup>4</sup> our Kingdom and our supreme power.

“‘At the very beginning when we created all the created things the Father said to me and to the Spirit: “Let us create divinely, by means of a sign, the water, the spirit, the sky, the winds and the other things,” and we created them. The heaven was mingled with water and was not completely fashioned. Everything was in a confused and

<sup>1</sup> Or : intelligence.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopian translator has omitted almost every difficult sentence in this section.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. “the hidden things do not come near us and the concealed things do not reach us.”

<sup>4</sup> Read *liya'rifu*.

promiscuous state. We created the clearest waters<sup>1</sup> in order to establish our throne on them, and where we were then we are now. Your intelligence, O Peter, will not understand more than I have explained to you, concerning the mystery of the Trinity and the way to demonstrate it.

“ ‘Then we took parts of those clearest waters and from them we fashioned three heavens of light, and these stand high under the waters on which our throne is situated. As to the light which we created while we were on the water, it is in these heavens ; and we are there without ceasing, without changing and without moving from one thing to another, because all things move towards us and everything is in our hand. After we had created the seven firmaments with a sign and not with words, we created seven others with words. Then we placed our wisdom in all things ;<sup>2</sup> and no one can number them except ourselves, and no one can comprehend them besides us. We placed the waters in a vessel which surrounds the world,<sup>3</sup> and which is small when compared with our power. We created and fashioned all things in different qualities.

“ ‘We created the angels in ten hierarchies, constituting complete orders by themselves. We brought down the highest hierarchy which was the tenth in the series, and we confirmed the remaining nine hierarchies. We have made them in different forms in order that each one of them might distinguish the nature of the others, and see<sup>4</sup> clearly that they are different from, and not identical with, his own nature. All of them glorify us. Among the angels are some who have many eyes, and some others who are of a flaming and burning fire ; some are of spirit only, and some others of fire and spirit. Their glorification never ceases, and it is composed of different melodies and harmonious modulations which stir the heart. They glorify, chant, sing, magnify, exalt and praise.

“ ‘Between one order of the angels and another there is a distance similar to that which exists between this heaven which you see and

<sup>1</sup> Read *al-miyāh* without dots.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is difficult. Lit. : “in them, from all things to all things.” The Ethiopian translator evades the difficulties and translates : “We have established in them, by our wisdom, all the innumerable things” (p. 247).

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic text speaks here of a heaven called *Falik* which seems to me to be the Arabic word *falak* “firmament.”

<sup>4</sup> Read *wa-ya'lam*.



the earth. The number of the angels who have wings and whose glorifications never cease nor end is thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads. Among them are the Cherubim and Seraphim, each one of whom never ceases from glorifying and praising us. All of them are divided into orders in three churches of light and fire. And we have placed the heavenly Jerusalem above the water which is above the third heaven.'"

<sup>1</sup> *With the help of Christ we will describe the heavenly Jerusalem in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

The Church which was beheld by the spiritual father, the Apostle Peter—may the peace of the saints be on his soul in the Kingdom of the Lord, the Saviour of the world and the vivifier of the just men—and about which the Christ our Lord said to Peter: "And we have placed the heavenly Jerusalem above the water which is above the third heaven," overshadows the earthly Jerusalem. It is fixed and suspended above it, its walls are of light, its columns of fire and its doors of light. It is set up in splendour, and its altar is of light of different colours, and its sanctuary is of a light that resembles the colour of fire. All of it is immersed in brightness and light, and crowned with lustre; it is sanctified by the lustre of our grace and surrounded by the brightness of our light and perfumed with the scent of the odour of our divinity.

From it emanate the scents which vivify and sanctify the souls; and the angels of light raise in it their voices, and they never cease from their glorifications. From its altar flow the sources of life, and the choicest of perfumes emanate from it. Glorifications are due to it from the Father,<sup>2</sup> because it is fixed in our Kingdom and is called after our name, and because it surrounds our gates, those majestic gates to which no darkness can attain. At its eastern side we have placed our strength which knows no length, with which no breadth can be measured, which has no height and the immensity (depth ?) of which cannot be ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> This following heading has been omitted by the Ethiopian translator.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopian translator has omitted this and similar sentences which savour slightly of heterodoxy. He seems also to have neglected many phrases, the meaning of which is repeated in the lines that immediately precede or follow.



I have revealed to you, O Peter, what eye has not seen, what ear has not heard, and what has not entered into the heart of the sons of men.<sup>1</sup>

And the Lord from Nazareth said : " We have established our throne above<sup>2</sup> the high waters ; we have chosen that place for it and have made it of light, fire, spirit and brightness. We have placed under this throne four creatures which have many eyes and from the mouths of which come flames of fire. One of them resembles the figure of a lion, and another the figure of a man. These are placed on the right side of the throne. The third animal resembles the figure of an eagle, and the fourth animal has a figure that resembles<sup>3</sup> that of an ox. These are placed on the left side of the throne.<sup>4</sup> Each one of these four animals has four faces of fire, and each one of them has wings of fire. Under them is a wheel of fire laid on two seas one of which is of fire and the other of storm, the wind of which blows from the wind of Paradise.

" We have places of delight from which emanate scents that surpass the scent of musk and ambergris. Their scents excel also the scents of all the perfumery of the earth. Above the sea of storms there is a river of light, to the flowing of which there was no beginning and there shall be no end. None of the created beings in heaven and on earth is able to see the place from which it flows,<sup>5</sup> nor the place at which it ends.<sup>6</sup> From it comes to us a light that exceeds in brightness all other lights except our own, and its swiftness and its attributes have no equals. That light is surrounded by darkness which has no brightness in it and which has no end. It has neither vertical nor horizontal angles because it has no material body.

" Everything that we created in heaven and earth glorifies us and offers prayers to us."

*In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, we will write the hours of the glorifications.<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Read *fauk*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ka'annahu*.

<sup>4</sup> These four creatures seem to be those spoken of in the Book of Rev. iv. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Its source.

<sup>6</sup> Read *nihāyah*, i.e. its mouth.

<sup>7</sup> All this section of the horarium is missing in Ethiopic. The hours of the glorification are more or less similar to those which are in the work entitled *Apocalypse of Adam*, sections of which are found in Greek and published by M. R. James in *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii. No. 3 : *A Fragment of the Apocalypse of Adam in Greek*. In Syriac a similar Apocryphon has been

Let it be known to you, O Peter, that the first hour of the day is the hour of the glorifications of the children of Adam,<sup>1</sup> and the second hour of the day is the hour of the prayers and the glorifications of the angels.

The third hour of the day is the hour of the glorification of the different kinds of birds.

The fourth hour of the day is the hour of the devotion of the spiritual angels who have six wings because they then come near to our lights.<sup>2</sup>

The fifth hour of the day is that of the services of the rest of the animal world.<sup>3</sup>

The sixth hour of the day is that of the supplication and prayer of the Cherubim.

The seventh hour of the day is the hour of the entry into the lofty Pavilion, the Pavilion of light which created the created beings.<sup>4</sup> Before my incarnation,<sup>5</sup> I the God-Word, and before my taking human form, voices were heard from the Pavilion, which frightened, vexed and harassed those who went into it and those who came out of it. The affairs remained in this state until the God-Word became flesh, and this happened on the day on which the angel of secret came down and spoke<sup>6</sup> to a pure Lady, and a pious gem, Mary, the mother of

published by M. Kmosko under the title of *Testament of Adam* in *Pat. Syr.*, ii. 1309-1360. The present horarium appears to me to be a translation from Syriac. This is borne out by many stylistic peculiarities, one of which is the constant rendering of "man, men," in general by "son of man, son of men," etc.

<sup>1</sup> In the Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1326) this hour is devoted to the prayer of the "celestial beings." Another recension, however, of the same Apocryphon (*ibid.* col. 1330) assigns this hour to the "prayers of the children of men."

<sup>2</sup> The Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.*) gives this hour as that of the "thanksgiving of birds."

<sup>3</sup> In the *Testament of Adam* it is the hour of the thanksgivings of the "super-celestial beings."

<sup>4</sup> All the following passage is missing in the Syriac *Testament of Adam* which reads: "The seventh hour is the hour of the ingoing and outgoing to and from God of the prayers of all the living things." The second recension of the same *Testament* (*ibid.* col. 1331) has: "on the seventh hour people go to and come from God."

<sup>5</sup> Read *ta'annusi*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *khāṭaba*. The pronoun attached to this verb denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian, because it is only in Syriac that a pronoun of this kind precedes the noun.



life and mercy, and announced my message to her. In that hour I poured out my eternal light which was with me, in me and on me, and I filled with it the body of that treasure-keeper<sup>1</sup> and devout woman. And I fashioned it in her womb into the figure of a man. I, the speaker, did not make that light for the human race,<sup>2</sup> and I dwelt in it, as I was always dwelling before, and by my power showed it to all the created things.

He<sup>3</sup> became<sup>4</sup> a child,<sup>5</sup> and the angels worshipped Him in the Pavilion of the Father, and He spoke to them and answered them. He was in the arms of Mary and I made Him put on humanity in the robe of Baptism and in the fulfilment of my prescriptions. I did not wish to place Him in this world. I will finish Him and perfect Him.<sup>6</sup> Through my knowledge I have chosen you in preference to the rest of the world and to the exclusion of the nations.<sup>7</sup> And it is I who lifted Him on the wood of the Cross, and it is I who raised Him from the accursed earth. I did not place Him on it except for the purpose of showing Him in it. I am always in Him and I shall raise Him above all my creatures. The Father is in Him along with me, and so is the Holy Spirit. All the spiritual and corporeal beings worship Him now and for ever. Let this be known to you.

The eighth hour of the day is the hour at which the different categories of demons, who have the power to inflict injuries on men and other (material) beings, separate themselves from the animal (world) and pray to the Father, submit to Him and confess to Him the prevarications they had (caused men) to commit. And they give back to Him His supreme command. So also do all those who

<sup>1</sup> Arab. *mukhzinah*. The word is certainly connected with treasure, and it may also mean "treasures," or "giver of treasures," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Or: "at the back, backwards." The meaning of the sentence is unintelligible without emendations.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. "that light," according to the construction of the sentence.

<sup>4</sup> Or: "it was."

<sup>5</sup> Read *tiflan*.

<sup>6</sup> All this passage seems to savour of Nestorianism and even of gnosticism, in spite of the fact that the MS. is of Monophysite origin. Some sections of the work are archaic and appear to postulate an older layer for the narrative. Many sentences represent also a digression on the part of the writer.

<sup>7</sup> I cannot understand what the author means by the last words, which I have translated literally. All the sentence seems to be a digression from the main subject.



follow them. When they finish their prayers each one of them goes back to his appointed place.<sup>1</sup>

The ninth hour of the day is the hour of the service of the angels who are singled out to stand near the throne of the Father in order to honour it.<sup>2</sup>

In the tenth hour of the day occurs the calmness of the water and its smoothness together with its glorification and magnification before the Omnipotent Lord. And to mark the honour in which God holds water, His Holy Spirit comes down and flutters over it; and it is thus purified from the act of the demons in their going into it and coming out of it. And if the Holy Spirit did not flutter over the water, the children of men would not be able to drink any of it without immediately perishing, owing to its pollution<sup>3</sup> by the demons. If at this hour a man takes water that has been sanctified and mixes with it *ṭaibūth*<sup>4</sup> or oil, and anoints sick people with it, they will be healed by the permission of God.<sup>5</sup>

In the eleventh hour of the day the prayers of the just men, of the prophets and of the Apostles are heard, and their hearts obtain from God a great joy which penetrates and pervades all their being.<sup>6</sup>

The twelfth hour of the day is the hour of the children of men to show obedience to the Most High God, to His Son and to His Spirit. Even if they do not notice it<sup>7</sup> we accept their prayers by our grace and our mercy.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the first recension of the *Testament of Adam* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. col. 1326) the eighth hour is assigned to the "thanksgiving of the fire and the water," and in the second recension (*ibid.* col. 1331) to the "thanksgiving of the heaven, earth and fiery beings" (*i.e.* angels).

<sup>2</sup> Read *wawikārihi*. The ninth hour is assigned to the same service in the two recensions of the Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1326 and 1331).

<sup>3</sup> Read *al-mufsidin*.

<sup>4</sup> A Syriac word designating a mixture of sanctified oil, water and earth of the relics of saints. Great healing properties were formerly attributed to such a mixture.

<sup>5</sup> The tenth hour is assigned to the same object in slightly different and more concise terms in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1327 and 1331).

<sup>6</sup> The eleventh hour is assigned in different terms to the joy of men in the two recensions of the Syriac *Testament of Adam*.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "if they do not understand."

<sup>8</sup> The same hour is devoted to the same object but in different terms in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1327 and 1334).

*In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, one God, we will write the glorifications of the hours of the night and their merits.*

In the first hour of the night occurs the service of the demons to us, and in this hour of their service they do not harm any man<sup>1</sup> of this world, because they are occupied with their service.<sup>2</sup>

In the second hour of the night occurs the service of large fishes, and of all animals that live in water.<sup>3</sup>

The third hour of the night is the hour of the service of the fire which is at the interior.<sup>4</sup>

In the fourth hour of the night occurs the sanctification of the Seraphim.<sup>5</sup>

In the fifth hour of the night occurs the service of the waters that are above the heaven. They have a tumultuous uproar that pierces the hearts, and are followed by the voices of the angels and the violent agitation of the waves bursting into awe-inspiring glorifications and magnifications.<sup>6</sup>

In the sixth hour of the night the clouds and their angels and the treasured waters<sup>7</sup> offer their supplications.

In the seventh hour of the night the waters rest from their labour and cease from flowing and moving. All the powers of the earth rest also, and glorify and magnify the Lord of the Lords, and say : " Glory to our God *Ashar-ahiyah Sabaoth*,<sup>8</sup> who made Himself manifest in

<sup>1</sup> Read *aḥadan*.

<sup>2</sup> The same thing is said in different terms in the *Testament of Adam*.

<sup>3</sup> The second hour of the night is assigned to the same object in the second recension of the *Syriac Testament of Adam* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. col. 1334). The first recension assigns it to the thanksgiving of the doves (*ibid.* 1319).

<sup>4</sup> Something similar but expressed differently and more extensively is found in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1319 and 1334).

<sup>5</sup> The same hour is assigned to the same object in the two recensions of the *Syriac Testament of Adam*.

<sup>6</sup> Something similar is found in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam*.

<sup>7</sup> The two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* mention the clouds but omit the waters.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Saba'ut* for *aṣwāt*. Both are of course transliterations of well-known Hebrew words.



the Person that became incarnate in order to vivify all the created beings."<sup>1</sup>

In the eighth hour of the night the grass springs up from the earth, which having been pleased by this growth glorifies the One who caused it to grow.<sup>2</sup>

In the ninth hour of the night the service and the devotion of the angels take place, and the prayers are brought in and placed in the Pavilion of Bells.<sup>3</sup>

In the tenth hour of the night the doors of heaven are opened and the prayers of the priests and of the faithful are answered, and their needs attended to. And in this hour you hear the crow of the cock.<sup>4</sup>

In the eleventh hour<sup>5</sup> of the night joy and gladness spread over the earth, because the sun enters Paradise and its rays shine on the corners of the earth and illuminate all the created things, and through their lights trees and fruits rejoice.<sup>6</sup>

In the twelfth hour of the night, which marks the end of the night and the beginning of the day, the children of men pray and burn to the Lord frankincense and other perfumes.<sup>7</sup>

Now I have disclosed to you, O Peter, things you desired to know,

<sup>1</sup> The two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* speak also of the rest of the water, but they bring in the element of priesthood in connection with the consecrated oil (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. col. 1333 and 1335).

<sup>2</sup> The two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* make mention also of the growth of the grass.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase means "pavilion of bells" if we read the word as *Jalājil* as it is written in the MS., and "pavilion of clamours, etc.," if we read the word as *ghalāghil*. The expression is not used in the *Testament of Adam*, the first recension of which speaks of the "thanksgiving of the Cherubim," and the second recension of the "thanksgiving of all the angels." We may compare the "bells" mentioned here with those spoken of in *Zec. xiv. 20*, and even those found in *Exod. xxviii. 33-39*.

<sup>4</sup> In the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* the crow of the cock is referred to in connection with the ninth hour.

<sup>5</sup> Read *al-hādiyah*.

<sup>6</sup> The same thing occurs in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* with the exception that in the first recension (*ibid.* col. 1333) the sun is said to rise from Paradise and not to enter Paradise as it is intimated here and in the second recension of the *Testament*.

<sup>7</sup> Mention is also made of the incense, but in different terms, in the first and second recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* 1336 and 1338). With this hour ends the Syriac *Testament of Adam*. What follows is only found in the present MS.



and have taught you things you did not know. I shall presently teach you all that which you desire to know and shall not hide a secret from you.

Let it be known to you that the created things belong to me, and are under my power and in my possession. None of my creatures is able to revolt against me or to serve me except by my will. And the magnifications and glorifications belong to me in conjunction with my Father and my Holy Spirit. Do not be in trouble and do not fear the children of this earth, because I am with you and with all those who will believe in me through you, now, for ever, and for ever and ever.

As to the prayers which you will offer for your own soul make them three prayers. (Let the first be) in the first hour of the day, because that hour is praiseworthy and in it our good-will towards the creatures is made known, as it is in it that the doors of heaven are thrown open and our light is shown<sup>1</sup> to all the earth, and darkness is shut in, and joy and gladness come to all the creatures of the earth.

(Let the second prayer be) in the third hour<sup>2</sup> of the day, because in this hour you should offer (in sacrifice) my body and my blood which I have entrusted to you so that you might keep them and guard them. Let them be as leaven and as a trust committed by me to your charge, which you will deliver to me on the day of my second coming. You will offer them every day, and in this third hour of the day, on the pure altar.<sup>3</sup> Wherever that holy body is found I shall be present there, and the Holy Spirit will come down over it.<sup>4</sup> Let this be known to you, and teach your (spiritual) children to act upon it.

And (let your third prayer be) in the last hour of the day, just before the doors of heaven are closed and darkness overcomes light, because a prayer (in that hour) is heard and accepted.

As to the prayers that have been doubled in the case of the ascetics, monks and solitaries who live in the mountains, hills, deserts and wastes, and in the case of all those who following their examples have separated and singled out themselves from the world, that is to say people

<sup>1</sup> Read *yazhar*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *as-sā' at ath-thālithah*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *al-madhbah*.

<sup>4</sup> Allusion to the *epiclesis* or the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which, according to the teaching of the eastern churches, consecrates the Eucharistic elements.

whose food we have guaranteed and for whom we have made ourselves responsible<sup>1</sup> in respect of the evil of the worries of this world—let the prayers of such people be in the first hour of the day, with humility, supplication and petition to the Father not to let them enter into temptation, because it was at that hour that the *Archon*<sup>2</sup> fell from heaven.

The number of the prayers imposed on the above people is seven. They offer a prayer in the third hour, because it was at that hour that the creation of Adam was perfected, and he lived, offered thanksgiving to the mercy of God and was elevated to the highest order of the orders of Paradise, which the Lord had devoted to the angels that are near to Him<sup>3</sup> before he (Adam) was created.

And in the sixth hour, because in that hour Adam rebelled against His Lord, and by his rebellion he deserved to be driven out of Paradise, because God had warned him that if he rebelled he would surely die.<sup>4</sup> As to his death it took place in two ways: the first was that he was stripped of his kingdom and driven out of the place<sup>5</sup> of rest to the place of wretchedness and toil. The second death was that God the Father decreed in full justice and deprived him of life, and his spirit left his body, and his corpse returned to the bosom of his mother earth.

And in the ninth hour, because in that hour I became aware of the secret of Adam and noticed that he was downcast and dejected on account of the different kinds of remorse that had beset him. His eyes shed tears, when he pondered over his sad plight. He did not see except wild animals in great numbers, which did not draw near to him and show friendliness to him as heretofore, but rather were they fearful of him and in flight from his sight. Eve demanded food from him, and his heart was broken on her account. I had pity on his dejection, his weeping, his complaint and his supplication to me, and I

<sup>1</sup> Read *kafaināhum*.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the prince of the fallen angels. I shall keep in the translation this Greek word which is used in the Arabic original.

<sup>3</sup> Arab. *al-mukarrabin*. Said of the angels this word recalls *Kur'ān* iv. 170; lxxiii. 21, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Read *yamūt*. This reading suggests that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters because it is in Arabic only that the two letters *bā'* and *yā'* have the same form and are only distinguishable by extraneous dots.

<sup>5</sup> Read *mustakarr*.



sent one of my angels to teach him agriculture and husbandry in order that he might eat from the fruits of the earth from which<sup>1</sup> he was driven out and to which he would eventually return. If he had not rebelled he would not have gone out<sup>2</sup> to the earth and he would not have tasted death.

And in the eleventh<sup>3</sup> hour, because in that hour I heard the prayers of Adam and granted him his request. And I gave him my true promise that from his body I will bring forth a man<sup>4</sup> who would bear his sin for him, and then my wrath and anger would not dwell any more in my creation.<sup>5</sup> And I am the one who promised and was promised to him.

And a prayer at the hour of the coming of the night, because in that hour the heavens resound with the voices of the glorifications and sanctifications of the myriads of angels and the myriads of the squadrons of those beings that are near (to God) and of the heads of the Cherubim, who in different musical tunes and modulations inspire with awe all the corners of the abodes of the heavenly beings. If a man makes his devotions in that moment his prayers will be accepted by God.

And a prayer at the time of rising,<sup>6</sup> because it is in that hour that I created light in all heaven in the circles of the full moons,<sup>7</sup> and the higher and lower heavens were illuminated together with the heights of the firmaments. And the firmaments shone, and darkness<sup>8</sup> was hidden in my knowledge. I will send (that light) in the day<sup>9</sup> of the Resurrection to those who dwell in the torments of the abyss,<sup>10</sup> in the lowest depths of the torments of hell.

Let it be known also to you that I have given freedom to my believing peoples in what they desire. Some of them desire circumcision and some of them dislike it. If any of my followers dislike it, it becomes forbidden to him ;<sup>11</sup> but if he desires it, it is not his creation.<sup>12</sup> And let him not fear sin from an inward and outward purification by

<sup>1</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yakhruj*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *al-hādiyat*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *basharan*.

<sup>5</sup> This sentence is somewhat complicated.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "of sitting."

<sup>7</sup> The astronomical science of the author is sometimes nebulous.

<sup>8</sup> Or : "were purified" or "appeared."

<sup>9</sup> Cod. "days."

<sup>10</sup> The Syr. *tehōma*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *'alaihi*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *'amaluhu*. The author seems to imply that since circumcision was ordered by God and not by man, anyone who wishes to practise it is at liberty to do so. This is a bold statement on the part of a Christian writer.



the water of baptism. Forbidden are, however, to my followers all the sacrifices offered by those who contradict my religion like the sons of Kedar,<sup>1</sup> the pagans and the haters of my people, who have not ceased to worship idols and offer sacrifices to them, and like the Samaritans and the ungodly Sabeans.<sup>2</sup> The same applies also to the unholy sacrifices of the Jews, for which I substituted in exchange my flesh which I offered to the Father in expiation of your iniquities, prevarications and sins, and also my blood which I shed on your behalf. I gave them both to you in order that you might receive them and remember me through them as long as this world lasts. And this holy sacrifice came down to you from heaven as grace and mercy in order to deliver you from the wickedness of the Rebel. And this sacrifice is I who am now speaking of it.

None of my followers is allowed to observe the Sabbath or to fast in it, or to honour it, or to exalt it. Anyone who does this rebels against me. Let him rather follow the Canons relating to Sunday and all the prescriptions which I will enjoin on my peoples in respect of the continuous prayers extending from the ninth<sup>3</sup> hour of Saturday, which is the eve of Sunday, to the end of the sixth hour of Sunday, while persevering in an unbroken prayer, in prostration, genuflexion, modesty, humility, and while attending to the needs of every one who is in want, or weak, or poor, or a stranger, or a prisoner, or old and decrepit, or a widow, or an orphan, or hungry, or thirsty, or naked, or shipwrecked, or in distress, or abandoned and known to nobody.

If you do the things that I have ordered you to do I will prolong your lives, multiply your provisions, double your wealth, remove your troubles, guard your souls from all the evil which had prevailed upon you, enhance your prestige in the world, stand by you, care well<sup>4</sup> for you as long as you live, lengthen the fixed time of your death and fulfil the desires of your hearts in respect of your daughters and your sons; and every good deed which you will perform I will increase it and double it several times for you, and cause it to possess high value. Beware of rebelling against me, because I am a jealous God.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Arabs, the Ishmaelites. The allusion here is to Muslim Arabs.

<sup>2</sup> The followers of the somewhat problematical religious sect spoken of in the *Kur'ān* ii. 50; v. 73; xxii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Read *as-sā'at at-tāsi'ah*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *'ināyah*.

<sup>5</sup> The copyist adds here in Syriac "And pray for me, O brothers."

*The Apostle Peter said to his disciple Clement :*

And when my Lord had finished what He had wished me to learn He reverted to the subject of the qualities of heaven, which He revealed to me and taught me thoroughly. And He said :

We are from ourselves, in ourselves and to ourselves. Magnifications and glorifications are to us. We lack nothing that may be added to us, and we have nothing superfluous that needs to be removed from us.<sup>1</sup> We are the first and the last, and everything is contained in the palm of our hand. It is we who have caused the Cherubim to bear our throne, and created the clouds under our feet, and made them the chariots in which the Cherubim<sup>2</sup> fly on the shoulders of the winds.<sup>3</sup> At a sign from us the earth quakes, the mountains move and the hills shake.

The eyes of the angels do not look at us because they are not able to do so, and so it is with all the hierarchies of the angels.<sup>4</sup> Some of the orders of the angels praise and magnify and some others sanctify and glorify. We have created heads to the angels from the angels, and these serve constantly round our awe-inspiring Pavilion. The name of one of them is Gabriel, and he is the messenger of good news, peace and mystery. The name of another one is Michael, and he is<sup>5</sup> the messenger of anger and war. As to the remaining heads of angels, one of them is called Rudael,<sup>6</sup> and the other Raphael, and they are the messengers of good news. When we wish to do something, none of the angels is aware of it, and none of their heads has any knowledge of our movement.

Their minds do not comprehend us and their sights do not perceive

<sup>1</sup> Here begins again the Ethiopic version of *Qalementos* (in *R.O.C.*, 1912, p. 249). All the above section is missing in it. The precise phrase at which it stopped has been noted above.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-Karubiyin*.

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopian translator has misunderstood this sentence which he renders "to crush the wind with their shoulders."

<sup>4</sup> The author uses often the word *nūrāni* in the sense of angels. I take this word to be the Syriac *nūrāne* which means "angels," but while the Arabic word lexicographically means "luminous" from *nūr* the Syriac word means "fiery" from *nūra*. A better Arabic word to translate the Syriac *nūrāna* would be *nāri*.

<sup>5</sup> The Ethiopian translator has twice misunderstood the Arabic *wa-hua* "and he is" which he renders by "that is to say," a meaning which the Arabic pronoun may occasionally have.

<sup>6</sup> The Ethiopic version calls him Uriyal, the traditional Uriel.



us. We have no first and no last amongst us, and we have no parts and no divisions. Neither the "watchful" angels fathom us nor the "vigilant"<sup>1</sup> ones are aware of what our minds contain. Our mercy averts our anger, and our clemency averts our punishment. No power of our creatures can comprehend us. We do not create to the full measure of our knowledge, nor do we work to the full capacity of our power; we rather work with mercy and love. We produce everything without any fatigue affecting<sup>2</sup> our persons. By our power we render the distant object near, and the near object distant. We see everything and nothing sees us in our essence. Every one of our known attributes is great, especially the attributes of our power.<sup>3</sup> We are in all places, and no place is deprived of us, and we are not that place.

We are the cause of salvation and power. Our power extends to all that we have created. We see everything and we hear everything. We are in no need of the glorification<sup>4</sup> of any of our creatures, and it is in order to enhance our grace and our power that we have caused the creatures to glorify us. All our works are executed by our extended motion,<sup>5</sup> because it is extended over everything. All power is derived from our power, and our mercy is higher than all mercy, and our superiority extends over all our creation.

Know, O Peter, that none of the fettered<sup>6</sup> natures of this world knows what I have explained to you concerning our power. Be assured,<sup>7</sup> O Peter, from my actions and my works that I am *Breh d'Alāha ḥayya*<sup>8</sup> which being interpreted means "Son of the living God."

<sup>1</sup> These words are evidently literal translations of two Syriac vocables referring to angels. The second Arabic word *mutayakkiẓin* seems to be the translation of the Syriac *īre* referring to "angels" in general and to the "vigilant" section of them in particular. The Ethiopian translator has omitted both sentences apparently because of his inability to understand these two important words that they contained.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yadkhul*.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is difficult to understand. It is not found in the Ethiopic version. I read *yu'raf* with a *yā'* instead of *na'rif* of the MS.

<sup>4</sup> Remove the article from the Arabic word.

<sup>5</sup> So the Text.

<sup>6</sup> Here occurs the word *mujaljal* for which I am not able to find a better meaning to suit the context. The sentence is missing in the Ethiopic version.

<sup>7</sup> Read *tayakkan*.

<sup>8</sup> A Syriac sentence which the author evidently considers as a sacred formula. it is of course missing in Ethiopic. See above, p. 103.



And I Peter said : " O my Lord and my God, converse with me fully. I will begin by asking you to reveal to me the condition of the heavenly angels, their different orders and forms, and the days in which they were created ; and also the condition of the wind and the way it is governed ; and also the condition of the waters and the different orders and forms of (animals) found in them, in order that I may firmly ascertain that you control all the created beings."

And He said to him :<sup>1</sup> O Peter, there is no winter and no summer with me, because I am the God of the winter and of the summer. I am with the Father and the Spirit without separation. It is we who send down the rains and distribute them to all the earth. We drown countries with them, and we make dry lands into seas,<sup>2</sup> and seas and rivers into dry lands. We send a wind from the sea of the storms and it goes out destroying and demolishing many countries and big cities, and breaking up lofty mountains,<sup>3</sup> and making valleys flow with water.

Consider, O Peter, that we are able to send a small fire<sup>4</sup> from the sea of fire which is above heaven, and destroy with it any part of the earth we wish to destroy. Under our power are islands full of fire, from which and in which we have created an animal which neither perishes nor dies as long as he remains in it, but any time he will leave it he will perish. By our power we perform many miracles, and bring up from the earth a small fire which consumes many countries.

It is we, O Peter, who cause the water which is in the clouds to freeze into snow and ice. We rain on perverse towns hail like stones. Consider, O Peter, the different orders of animals which we have created and their numbers, and also the trees and all the plants that we have ordered the earth to produce. O Peter, all (of them) glorify us, and we are glorified by ourselves in ourselves. There is no one inside us who is beside us, and no one of the type you would call " this, then that." And by our power we have created, by a sign and not by words, all that which is material and immaterial, and all that which is corporeal and spiritual, and all that which is corruptible and incorruptible, and all that which is perishable and imperishable,

<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopic version begins here with this sentence (*R.O.C.* 1912, 250).

<sup>2</sup> Read *abḥāran*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *jībālan*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *nāran*.

and all things that die and things that do not die. None can number all these besides ourselves.

It is we who have lifted up the heavens without columns and constructed them by our power. It is we who have caused the earth to weigh more than other objects so that it does not move, and it neither goes up nor comes down. We have interspersed it with large rivers<sup>1</sup> in order that it may produce corn, vegetation and trees, and we have made it along with the sky the abode of all the birds.

Know, O Peter, that were it not for my incarnation I would not have created Adam and Eve, and I would not have set up the earth nor created the world. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation from the pure Mary I would not have created Adam, nor heaven nor earth. O Peter, if I had not created the created things my pre-existence<sup>2</sup> would not have been made manifest. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation, my majesty and my glory would not have been known. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation you would not have known that my Father created the heavens through me, and that I am in my Father.<sup>3</sup> I have become incarnate in order to quicken and raise the bodies, resuscitate them from their graves and give them eternal life.

Know, O Peter, that when I look into the heart of a man and see it firm in my faith, I manifest myself to him in a human covering, because my Godhead<sup>4</sup> is not seen nor perceived nor comprehended, and has neither quantity nor quality. Because of my love for this world I appeared to its inhabitants<sup>5</sup> in the likeness of their covering in order to draw them to myself, and teach them the glorification of the Father, the knowledge of the Son and the magnification of the Spirit, who creates, gives life to all living beings in heaven and on earth.

Know, O Peter, that I have secrets which I have not revealed to the world and which I shall reveal to you. O Peter, were it not for my love for the world I would not have appeared to them in the flesh.<sup>6</sup> O Peter, were it not for this chosen Virgin I would not have created Eve. O Peter, I answered your question by revealing these secrets to you, because I was aware of your love (for me). O Peter, none of those whom I have created is able to see me in my substance and in

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "seas." <sup>2</sup> or ; pre-eminence.

<sup>3</sup> John xiv. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Read *l'anna l'ahuti*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *lahum*.

<sup>6</sup> All this theological passage is missing in Ethiopic.

the essence of my majesty except the one who has the true faith in me. When I look at such a one's true faith I make myself manifest to him.

Then<sup>1</sup> my teacher Peter said to me : O my son Clement, when our God reached here with His conversation, I noticed that He stretched His hand and lengthened His arm to the height of heaven, and He folded the heaven and the earth as parchment is folded, and as one folds the roll of a book. He collected them and placed them in the palm of His hand. Any one of the baptised Christians who does not believe in this and confesses that our Lord is able to do it may the curse of God be on him.<sup>2</sup>

And my Lord said to me : "Bring your ear nearer." And I brought my ear nearer to His hand and I heard in it continuous voices, resounding murmur, exquisite modulations, tumultuous uproar, shoutings, prayers and praises from many people, and a great glory that impressed my soul with the superiority of His might. By His power the palm of His Hand contained all the created things.

Then we proceeded forthwith to a luminous spot which was neither from heaven nor from earth. Then the Christ my Lord and my Saviour said to me : "Where are you, O Peter?" And I answered : "I do not know, O Son of the living God."<sup>3</sup> And the Son of the living God<sup>4</sup> said to me : "Raise your head," and I lifted my head upwards and I saw a pavilion of light round which hung curtains of light immersed in light. When I saw that a great fright and a fearful terror took hold of me, and I fell on my face like a dead man.

Then my Lord took my hand, raised me and said to me : "Do you see and perceive anything resembling heaven or earth?" And I answered : "No, my Saviour." And He said to me : "Look at what there is under you." And I looked and saw a bottomless pit, dark and awful. Then the Son of the living God<sup>5</sup> said to me : "Open your mouth and speak, and your eye and see what there is in the palm of my hand." And I opened my eyes and saw heaven and earth in His hand, together with the sun and the moon. The rivers

<sup>1</sup> Here begins again the Ethiopic version.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is from the Kur'ān ii. 156. It is not found in Ethiopic.

<sup>3</sup> Here also this sentence is in Syriac.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

<sup>5</sup> Again in Syriac and again missing in Ethiopic.



flowed in it, and the winds were also assembled there. All these, O my son Clement, I saw in the palm of the hand of my Lord, and all of them glorified and sanctified openly. I saw all this not in my dream and not as it was a jugglery but in true reality.

Then my Lord uttered words the meaning of which was that everything should revert to its former place and situation. And my Lord caused everything to return to its place. And forthwith I Peter noticed that the earth became firm, that the waters flowed in the rivers, that the overflowed rivers emptied themselves into the seas, that the heavens rose upwards, that the stars were on the face of the firmament and the sun and the moon shone with their lights. And we sat<sup>1</sup> as we were previously on the spot on which we were on the Mount of Olives.<sup>2</sup>

Then He said to me : "Look backwards." And I looked backwards and saw Jerusalem. Then the only Son of God said to me : "Know, O Peter, that the heaven and the earth and all that which the Father has created through me do not cease to be in my hand. Any time I will them to be, they are."<sup>3</sup> (Know also) that it is by the power of my divinity that everything is done, and that I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, who is Israel. The mysteries of my mercy are not known, and not comprehended, and no tongue is able to speak of them. I shall, however, reveal to you those of them that I know your mind and intelligence can comprehend, because I have given you the keys of the heavens and of the earth, and have shown you<sup>4</sup> their doors so that you might open them and close them at your will."

And I prostrated myself before my Lord and my God, worshipped before Him and said : "O Son of the living God, do not hide from me anything that I do not know, and that of which I have no knowledge I want you to teach me."<sup>5</sup> And He said to me : "I am the beginning and I am the end, I kill and I make alive, I wound

<sup>1</sup> Read *julūsan*.

<sup>2</sup> The author writes *zaita* with an *Aleph* in the Syriac fashion.

<sup>3</sup> Read *fatakun* for *fayakun*. This also proves that the original from which this Garshūni text is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic characters that the letters *yā* and *tā* are graphically similar and distinguishable only by extraneous dots placed above or under the letters.

<sup>4</sup> Read *araituka*.

<sup>5</sup> The questions of Peter are often missing in Ethiopic.

and I heal.<sup>1</sup> I am in the Father and in the Spirit, and the Spirit and the Father are in me. We are oneness in Trinity, and Trinity in oneness. O Peter, the heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool, and who can stand against me?

"I created Adam in order to set him against the accursed Rebel of this world. From the time Satan fell from his rank in heaven he has not been able to perceive my glory as he used to do previously. It is for this Mary, the chosen one, that I have created the world, fashioned Adam from earth and made him in my image. I breathed into him the breath of life and fashioned in him a spiritual soul which is without body,<sup>2</sup> of medium size, simple,<sup>3</sup> incorruptible and resembling the angels in its essence.<sup>4</sup>

"O Peter I have revealed to you that I am the Son of God<sup>5</sup> and made you understand that I am His only Son. I said in former days, and I believe that it was to Jacob, son of Isaac,<sup>6</sup> that Israel is my son.<sup>7</sup> I did not say that Israel *is* my son in the sense of the son of my substance; I said this simply because of his belief in me. And I also said that he is the 'first-born,' in the sense that he was the first of the descendants of his father to believe in me. The term of a 'first-born' son in a family implies that there are brothers that were born after him, and that he is the first of them in birth. If no brothers are born after him, he is called an 'only son' and not a 'first-born' because his father<sup>8</sup> and mother have no other son besides him. As to the 'Only Son,' O Peter, the Father has already shown you His attributes.<sup>9</sup>

"O Peter, I created the land of Eden at the time I created the

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxii. 39. The expression "I wound" is translated into Arabic by "I strike" which is a literal translation of the Syriac *māhe-na* which means both "I strike" and "I wound." The Ethiopian translator finding that "I strike" gave no good meaning rendered it by "I render people sick" in order to answer the idea of healing that follows. This proves that the Ethiopic is a translation from Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> Read *mutajassimah*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *basitah*.

<sup>4</sup> All the above passage is missing in the Ethiopic version which begins here with the following sentence.

<sup>5</sup> The words "Son of God" are in Syriac.

<sup>6</sup> Rather unseemly on the part of God to be in doubt.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. iv. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Read *li'abihī*.

<sup>9</sup> All this theological passage which is missing in Ethiopic (*ibid.* p. 337) seems to be a digression from the main subject.



angels. I placed it in the land of the Tigris, which became afterwards the land of the exile, and it is the land of the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>1</sup> I did this in order that Eden might become the house of my mercy. I placed Paradise below my Kingdom, and in it is found my majesty. I planted in it a spiritual<sup>2</sup> tree which is higher than this visible earth by fifteen cubits of the size of the cubit of the Holy Spirit."

And I the feeble Peter said to my Master: "My God and my Saviour, what are the dimensions of the cubit of the Holy Spirit?" And He answered: "Its measure is like the measure of my hand and my arm which I stretched on the wood of the Cross." And He added: "And the measure of that is like the distance that separates the east from the west.

"O Peter, I planted the spiritual tree in Paradise and caused it to bear holy fruits copiously in order that my glory and my praise might be completed. O Peter, I made this Paradise in the image of the wonderful Church which<sup>3</sup> I have prepared in heaven for<sup>4</sup> the marked virgins.<sup>5</sup> It is from there that the *Archon* has been driven out. The length and breadth of this Church are like the length and breadth of the Paradise of Eden,<sup>6</sup> which I have established for the spiritual prisoners<sup>7</sup> of the children of Adam. I gave precedence to the (good) malefactor who was crucified with me. He went to Paradise before me in order to announce to its inmates that I had gone from the earth to the Father. And you, O Peter, will soon witness my Ascension to heaven. I have revealed to you the secrets for which you have asked me, and I will reveal to you those for which you will ask me, because I have ordered you to ask me and I shall give you, to knock and I shall open to you."<sup>8</sup>

*A Chapter on the subject of the Angels, who they are and what are their forms and their attributes.*

Then I prostrated myself before my Lord and said to Him: "You know the degree of my love to you and of my faith in you. You have made known to me your great glory and your sublime

<sup>1</sup> or : of heaven.

<sup>3</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rev. xiv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Read *shajaratan*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *lil-abkār*.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "Eden of Paradise."

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the good people of the Old Testament who were imprisoned in Hades. The word is missing in the Ethiopic version presumably because the translator was not able to read it in undotted Arabic characters or to translate it.

<sup>8</sup> Matt. vii. 7.



majesty and have given me all that I had asked of you. You have shewn me the attributes of the angels with their different orders and their forms ; tell me now : Have they all of them a human form, or are they in the form of a shadow ? Have they length and breadth ? I cannot understand how a being which has no body can speak. Where is also the place that can contain them ? Did you create them at the moment you created the heaven and the earth ? And then in which hour did you create them, and in which day and in which month ?

“ Tell me also what is going to happen to them after the Resurrection. Have they sinned and have they had a sinful thought since you created them ? Have they the faculty of hearing and seeing ? Do they move about ? Have they identical forms and a uniform glorification or different glorifications ? How can voices come out of them while they have no bodies ? Where is in them the faculty of speech while they have no tongue ? ”

And the Son of the living God<sup>1</sup> said to me : “ O Simon, you have asked me about something which your mind cannot understand. Know that I am going to dictate to you the things only which your mind can grasp to the exclusion of what (human) intelligence is unable to comprehend.

“ The first month that I created is April and the first day that I created is Sunday, and in the first hour of it I created heaven and all the angels that it contains. Know that I have not imparted to Moses in the matter of the history of the creation what I am imparting to you. In the second hour of Friday I caused the *Archon* to stumble and made him fall from his heavenly order because I was aware of what he was thinking within himself to the effect that he desired to possess a Kingdom like mine.<sup>2</sup> I made him a stranger to his glory and an alien to his high order because of the pride and arrogance in which he indulged within himself.”

And I Peter said to Him : “ O my Lord and my God, why did you create him knowing previously that you were going to make him Satan at his rebellion against you ? ”<sup>3</sup> And the Lord and Saviour said to me : “ If I had to create people only after examining through my

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac and missing in Ethiopic.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “ like my king ” or “ like my Kingdom.”

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic translator renders this sentence erroneously : “ knowing that you would place Satan in his rebellion ” (*R.O.C.*, 1912, 338).

prescience their future actions, I would not have created anybody at all. Through my foreknowledge and prescience I knew that this *Archon* was going to rebel against me. I created him, however, in order that other angels and other beings, seeing the kind of punishment inflicted on him by me,<sup>1</sup> might think carefully within themselves and not rebel against me in that through which Satan fell. He had freewill in his action and was in no way compelled to revolt. If I had induced him to revolt, he would not have deserved to be punished nor to be degraded from his rank. With his own freewill he cherished this sin and thought<sup>2</sup> of establishing for himself a throne, glory and majesty.

"What he was going to do did not escape me before I created him, and I created him with love and mercy, but when he rebelled against me after I had exalted him, I degraded him from his high rank and made him a stranger on the earth and a despised person, banished from my grace. O Peter, when I created him to life<sup>3</sup> I created him with mercy, and endowed him with freewill. I have not created any being without previously knowing what he will do after his creation. O Peter, after I had removed the *Archon* from my grace with which I had invested him, I resolved to fill his place with pure and pious beings fit to be spiritual and (children) of light.

"The remaining hierarchies of the angels still occupy the same position to which I have assigned them. The creatures that in my foreknowledge I had resolved to create I created, and I was not precluded from creating them through ulterior motives, and was not influenced in my actions by the revolt of a creature and the obedience of another creature, and so my first resolve was never affected and there was no contradiction in my actions.<sup>4</sup> I created everything with my knowledge and my love, and my creation was completed without any trammels, and in it were gathered my science and my love according to my will.

<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopian translator wrongly renders: "in order that he may be corrected by the punishment that I would inflict on him."

<sup>2</sup> Read *wa-fakkara*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "from the animals." The phrase which should possibly be read *lil-ḥayāt* is omitted in Ethiopic.

<sup>4</sup> I translated the above sentence somewhat freely. It is missing in Ethiopic.



"I created him with my love knowing through my prescience that he would be a demon, but he was like the other angels who were, according to my will, capable of obeying me or revolting against me. I had made him an *Archon* and the Chamberlain of my dwelling in the heights,<sup>1</sup> because I knew that no other angels of the hierarchies of angels will rebel against me; and I had placed him in a rank higher than that of the remaining angels, because knowing in my prescience that these will not revolt, he will have at his revolt no excuse and say: 'I rebelled against you because you have placed some of my colleagues in a rank higher than mine, and in my revolt against you I aimed at a higher honour.' In this he would have had some pretext which would have given him an excuse for his revolt.

"He was nearer to me than all other hierarchies, because he was near to the Pavilion of Light,<sup>2</sup> at the entrance of the Canopy, and he was holding the cords of the veils of my grace, and receiving (for the purpose of presenting them to me) the glorifications of the hierarchies that were under him. As I have already told you I had created him in the first hour of Sunday, and he fell from his rank in the second hour of Friday.

"And Gabriel was the lowest of the hierarchies of the angels, but in my prescience I knew that he would be the head of the angels. I did not make him their head when I created him in order that he might be ignorant of my will, and my will is that my works shall be done with my love and my justice.<sup>3</sup> When the demon fell Gabriel took his place, and I made him the head of all the angels and placed him near the Pavilion of Light and the veils of mercy. I singled him out as my messenger, and made him the revealer of my secrets to all heavenly<sup>4</sup> armies, and also the head of the waters, and entrusted him with the task of bringing good news and peace. And I made Michael the head of power and might, and of anger and wrath. As to Rudael and Raphael I entrusted them with the task of announcing<sup>5</sup> the resurrec-

<sup>1</sup> Read *al-'ula*. This sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

<sup>2</sup> The expression "pavilion" of light, etc. (Arab. *Kubbah*) is generally translated in Ethiopic by "throne" (in Arab. *Kursi*) and thus the translator misses entirely the idea of the "holy of holies" in the seat of the Deity.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is difficult to translate and my translation of it is not certain. The Ethiopic version reads: "because all my work is justice, uprightness and mercy."

<sup>4</sup> Read *as-samāwiyīn*.

<sup>5</sup> Remove the articles in the text.



tion. As to Mary, the mother of mercy, her place in heaven is near the Canopy.

"O Peter, the Church which I established before the eons and the times near the door of my Pavilion, and which is called 'the Church of the faithful virgins,' I created it as a dwelling to those who believe in me. As to you, O Peter, guard my Church and what I confided to you. O Peter, I gave you the keys of pardon and the keys of the Kingdom. Heaven and earth obey your command, and the angels submit to your words and do not disobey you. O Peter, there was no beginning before I created everything in heaven and on earth, and everything that I created is liable to dissolution.

*A Chapter on the sin of Adam and how he transgressed the Commandment.*

Then I Peter said: "O Son of the living God,<sup>1</sup> why did you create Adam knowing that he would rebel against you, and why did you place him on the earth after he had transgressed your commandment?"

And the Saviour said to me: "I have already given you the answer to your question in what has preceded." Then he added: "I will reveal everything to you. I was<sup>2</sup> able in my grace to create Adam in a state that was angelic, simple, spiritual and immortal, but I created in heaven what I wished to create, and then I assembled the four elements and from them I created Adam in order that he might know that I control all the elements. I created Adam as a ruler over the earth. In my prescience I knew that he would rebel against me, but I created him with love, as previously asserted, and I caused him to die by my will.

"You know, O Peter, that when a husbandman casts his wheat into the earth he sorrows lest it should perish there, but when his grain yields fruits thirty-fold, sixty-fold, or a hundred-fold,<sup>3</sup> he rejoices at the yield of his crops and forgets his first sorrow over his wheat. Likewise I mercifully saved Adam from death when I created him, but when he rebelled against me, his death did not cause me any trouble or sorrow, because from his posterity would rise, good, pious, righteous and upright<sup>4</sup> people till the end of the world, in order that from them I might fill the hierarchy from which Satan had fallen.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As usual this sentence is in Syriac.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wāsiṭin*.

<sup>2</sup> Add *kuntu*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *saḡaṭa*.

"O Peter, know that I created Adam living and mortal, gave him freewill<sup>1</sup> and enjoined obedience on him. I warned him against rebellion, made him understand everything, and said to him: 'I have bestowed favours on you and made you a father. I have given you freewill and made you understand good from evil. Do not strive after the lordship that the *Archon* sought, and because of that he fell. Do not eat from the tree which yields the fruit of death, because if you eat from it you will die, and if you transgress my order I will deprive you of the Eden of delight, and banish you. If you do not contravene my orders and do not eat from that tree, I will not cause you to die, and you will live for ever.'

"O Peter, had I not known that Satan wished to deceive Adam and incite him to revolt, I would not<sup>2</sup> have warned him against rebellion and I would not have admonished him as I did. It is because I knew that he would transgress my commandment that I created him mortal and immortal, and I infused the earth from which I had created him with fire and spirit. If he had kept my order to him and acted upon it he would not have died. He was endowed with two natures one spiritual and the other earthly and mortal, but when he rebelled against me I ordered death for the earthly and mortal nature.<sup>3</sup>

"O Peter, I have already told you and I now tell you that I created Adam because of my incarnation, and I will return Adam to Paradise in the body which he had when he was driven out of it. Know, O Peter, that I have special secrets which minds cannot comprehend and which I do not wish to reveal to mankind."

When the Christ spoke to me thus I worshipped before Him and implored Him and said to Him: "O Son of the living God,<sup>4</sup> show me the different orders of the angels. You know that I have a desire to know this." And He said to me: "Yes; O Peter. Know

<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopian translator often omits the translation of the word *istiṣā'ah* which in the next text means "free-will." He evidently did not understand its meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Read *lam*.

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopian translator has misunderstood this passage, because immediately after having spoken of the second nature of Adam which is immortal ends by saying: "I brought death against his spiritual nature" (*ibid.* p. 341).

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac and is omitted in the Ethiopic version.



that the orders of the angels are numerous and do not resemble one another. Some of them have four faces and some of them are all faces. Some of them have many eyes, and some of them are all eyes. Some of them possess a light that is more dazzling than the light of the sun, and some of them have human faces ; some of them have four wings with which to fly, and some of them have six wings, and some of them are all wings.

“ Each one of these orders has names by which it is known, and they are : the Angels, the Archangels, the Thrones, the Princedoms, the Virtues, the High Dominations, the awe-inspiring Powers, the Cherubim who have many eyes and who bear the throne of my honour,<sup>1</sup> and the Seraphim who have six wings. They are nine hierarchies<sup>2</sup> and between one hierarchy and another is a distance similar to that which exists between you and heaven, O Peter. Between one hierarchy<sup>3</sup> and another is a sea of dazzling light in order that through it the hierarchies may look at one another. All of them glorify my name because by my power I created speech in their mouths, and from all of them magnifications come forth. Each one of them has special magnifications and a special tongue in which to glorify. Some of them praise, some of them sanctify, some of them magnify, some of them give thanks, some of them glorify and some of them sing. This is what they do and they will do till the end of the world.

“ I did not create them because I needed their praises, but because I wished to favour them with my grace. Before I created the creatures I was being glorified within myself,<sup>4</sup> and when I created the angels I gave to each one of their orders a praise of a particular kind, through which to glorify me in a way different from the others ; and I favoured them with the glorification of my majesty in order that they might praise what is eternally with me by means of their sweet modulations and their bright, spiritual, exquisite, refined and delicate voices, because they are luminous and spiritual heads.<sup>5</sup>

“ All the hierarchies are devoid of bodies and are simple and not

<sup>1</sup> *auḡār* is the Syriac word *īkāra*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *taghmātuhum*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. “ town.”

<sup>4</sup> The text adds “ to myself.”

<sup>5</sup> Lit. : “ because they are heads of illumination and spirituality.” The Ethiopic translator omits almost every difficult sentence in this section.



composite. When a company of them descend from heaven to this earth, no corporeal being feels them, no man sees them and no one with material senses is conscious of their presence ; and they are not perceived with the minds and the eyes of a seer, and the sound of their flying is not heard by a hearer. They are more agile than winds and swifter than the air. Some of them do not leave my Pavilion, and some of them I despatch to announce my mysteries, and some of them are charged with the care of those who are baptised in my name and in the name of my persons who are Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> The man who is baptised in my name I give to the charge of two angels, one of whom is on his right and the other on his left, and they guard him against all harm and preserve him from all evil. As to the sons of perdition, O Peter, I withdraw from them my grace and my pardon."

*A Chapter on the subject of Paradise, and the nature of the tree from which Adam ate.*

When I Peter heard this I worshipped Him and said to Him : " O you the only Son of God,<sup>2</sup> who came to the world in order to save its inhabitants, disclose to your servant the subject of Paradise. Is it situated on the earth as has been said or in heaven ? What kind of a tree was the one which had in it good and evil and the fruits of which you forbade Adam to eat ? What kind of a tree was the one from which he wished<sup>3</sup> to eat ? What is the tree of life ? What is the cause of Adam and Eve desiring after their transgression to cover themselves in Paradise with the leaves of fig-trees ? Does the light of the sun and the moon penetrate into Paradise ? Has it night and day, or food and drink ? Does it contain trees like the trees of this world and fruits like the fruits of this earth ? Has it cold and heat, or hunger and thirst ?<sup>4</sup> Are those who inhabit it in need of garments ? Does it possess elevated and fortified buildings ? Whence flow the four rivers of water which flow in this world, and how do they come out of Paradise ? Which is the higher, the Kingdom of Heaven or Paradise ? What are the length and breadth of Paradise ? Will it end at the end of this world ? "

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is wholly in Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is again in Syriac.

<sup>3</sup> Read *aḥabba*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *'atashun*.

*The Answer to the Question.*

And the Christ said to me : " How careful you are to learn my secrets ! " <sup>1</sup> And then the Saviour added : " Know, O Peter, that we created Paradise from the Eden of delight, and placed it in Eden after we had fixed the earth and lifted up the firmament. <sup>2</sup> There is no darkness in Eden, as there is in the firmament and on the earth, but it is bright and shining. It is high above this earth like the distance which separates the east from the west. It has together with Paradise three doors. I placed the first door, which is the highest, on the door of the sepulchre from which I rose, and it is called the burying-ground, and it is the burying-ground of the body which I put on from Adam. From it I hear and answer the prayers that are addressed to me because I did not become incarnate except to hear the prayers of those who are in need and to satisfy their wants.

" The second door of Paradise looks upon and overshadows the *Mountain of Zaité*, <sup>3</sup> which is the Mount of Olives. O Peter, while you are now sitting on this mountain, you are sitting under that door. <sup>4</sup> The Third Door of Paradise looks upon Mount Sinai.

" As to Paradise it is situated under our Throne itself, towards the east, and the light that comes out of that door and out of Paradise excels the light of the sun, and it possesses exquisite perfumes the like of which the earth does not possess. And the Garden of Eden is the dwelling place of the angels who glorify and magnify. <sup>5</sup>

" As to the four rivers that come out of Paradise and flow on the earth, they are from the water which is under the throne of majesty. I made this water into four streams, which after having been agitated <sup>6</sup> by the wind, <sup>7</sup> flow very rapidly and traverse the land of Eden, and exhale into it that sweet and exquisite scent which it possesses. From the Garden of Eden they flow into this earth and irrigate its soil. O Peter, any one whom I render worthy of perceiving the odour of Eden and of seeing its brightness is no more in need of food and drink, and becomes immune against cold and heat ; his face shines

<sup>1</sup> Lit. " keep. " The Ethiopian translator renders : " Why do you desire to fathom my mystery ? " ( *R.O.C.*, 1912, 343).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. " heaven. "

<sup>3</sup> Written in Syriac.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. : " on which you are now sitting under it. "

<sup>5</sup> The Ethiopic version identifies here the trees with the angels. This identification is found below in our MS.

<sup>6</sup> Read *biha*.

<sup>7</sup> Is it the " sea of storm " spoken of above ?



also with its light, and his passion, that is to say the passion of the pleasures of this world, dies out of him through the exquisiteness of its perfume, because he acquires some of the qualities of the Garden of Eden.

“As to the trees they are the angels who glorify but not like the trees of this world, and never cease their glorifications. As to the tree which was in the middle of Paradise and from which was composed the knowledge of good and evil, I am that tree.<sup>1</sup> O Peter, your Father Adam did not seek that tree from which I had forbidden him to eat except to become a God<sup>2</sup> in his essence like me. Because he did not keep my commandment his design was frustrated. Then I took from him the pleasure that I had given him, because he imitated Satan and did the work<sup>3</sup> of that Rebel.<sup>4</sup>

“And he ate of the fruit of the tree which I had forbidden, and when he tasted it the thought<sup>5</sup> of concupiscence came to him, because the tree bore the fruits of death. He deserved death for two reasons, the first of which is that he desired to be a God, and this is a thing which can never be done; and the second is that he transgressed the commandment. After I had warned him he<sup>6</sup> was no more an ignorant man, because an ignorant man who transgresses a commandment does not deserve punishment. He was, on the contrary, an intelligent man and a wise man, and from the wisdom which I had created in him he had invented names to all created things.

“Know, O Peter, that the trees<sup>7</sup> which are in Paradise are the angels whom I have placed there, and that the tree which is in the middle of it are we ourselves, because we are the knowers of good and evil. I am, O Peter, the tree<sup>8</sup> of life and mercy, and whoso eats of my fruits shall live for ever. The Father is the tree of justice, I am the tree of mercy and the Spirit is the tree of life.

“As to Paradise, O Peter, neither darkness can prevail against it nor light can penetrate into it, because its land is luminous and arrayed

<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopic version has: “I myself know that tree.”

<sup>2</sup> Read *ilāhan*.

<sup>3</sup> The author uses here the pronoun expletively before the subject to which it belongs, according to the method used only in Syriac and never in Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> Read *marīd* for *madīd*.

<sup>5</sup> The author erroneously uses the Arabic word *fikr* in feminine, under the influence of the Syriac *maḥshabtha*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *fa'innahu*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *al-ashjūr*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *shajarat*.



in brightness while its perfumes are unequalled. Anyone who breathes its air shall live an eternal life and shall not taste death, because it is sanctified by the glorifications of the spiritual beings ;<sup>1</sup> and anyone who dwells in it shall not meet with any harm. It is not defiled by any defilement, and no unbeliever dwells in it. Service is never at an end either in it or in the heavenly Jerusalem which is above Paradise, and it has neither night nor day. It is from the light and the brightness of Paradise that the sun has obtained its light, and the brightness which is caused by its light and its rays cannot be paralleled in this world. No created being can describe it, but<sup>2</sup> my power and the brightness of my light surpass it.<sup>3</sup> And the trees came into being and were planted in the newly created earth<sup>4</sup> through the breeze of Paradise.

"I caused my grace to descend upon it, remain in it and fill it, and I prepared it for people who would inhabit it through the merits of their good work. O Peter, my grace is in Paradise, and I placed it below my Kingdom, and I caused the light that<sup>5</sup> is in it to stretch out from the light of my Kingdom. This Paradise, O Peter, is prepared for people who are worthy of it. It contains neither winter nor summer nor the perishable concupiscence of this world. It has neither food nor drink, because its breeze satisfies the souls. The dwellers therein have no sinful thought<sup>6</sup> nor do they delight in sin.<sup>7</sup> There is in it no hunger and no thirst, and its inmates are in no need of garments since there is in it no shame of nudity.

"As to your question, O Peter, concerning the covering with which your father Adam and your mother Eve covered themselves, it was their hands, because it is with them that they covered themselves when they were stripped of light which was their garment<sup>8</sup> in consequence of their disobedience. The subject of Paradise, O Peter, is<sup>9</sup> marvellous and full of high signs, but the Kingdom of Heaven is greater, higher and more sublime than it. Anyone who is worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven first goes to the pleasures of the gardens

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "winds." This may denote a Syriac *rūḥa* which signifies both "wind" and "spirit."

<sup>2</sup> Codex : because.

<sup>3</sup> or : "are above it".

<sup>4</sup> *Sic. cod.* or : "in the marshy places of the earth" if we read *ghadīr*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *al-ladhi*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *yufakkirun*.

<sup>7</sup> Probably : sin of lust.

<sup>8</sup> Read *libāsahumā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *kanat*.

of Paradise, and afterwards is taken up and raised to the Kingdom of Heaven, which is near our abode and which is infused with our grace ; and this abode is the majestic Pavilion which overlooks all the dwellings of the people of Paradise. And the Kingdom of Heaven has neither a limited length nor a circumscribed breadth, and it has no end and no dissolution.

“Know, O Peter, that it possesses many doors, beautiful mansions and delightful places, devoted to the prophets and the just men, who are in separate dwellings which are pure, holy, sublime and arrayed in light. When I came down from heaven to earth I prepared those dwellings for the souls of the just men, and they are now assigned to them. I gave you the keys of all of them when I gave you the keys of the heavens and appointed you vizier. I placed them all<sup>1</sup> in your hands and made you the master of the house by whose permission every one has to enter.

“As to the believers<sup>2</sup> who follow me and are baptised in my name ; who confess my faith before those who hate me and despise me ; who keep my praiseworthy commandment and well-defined orders ; who avoid sins and iniquities, and reject those crimes that I have forbidden at all times: their abode shall be in the city of peace, and I will shower on them favours the pleasures and happiness of which have no end.”

When my Lord and Saviour reached this point<sup>3</sup> in His speech, I Peter worshipped before Him and said to Him : “Have pity on your servant and allow him to speak.” And Christ said to me : “Ask what you wish, O Peter.” I then asked about something and then refrained, and said : “No, O my Lord.” And He said : “I shall not refuse your demand ; say, therefore, what your wish, O Peter.”

*A Chapter on the different ranks of the believers, of the just men and of the prophets and others.*

And I said to Him : “O Son of the living God,<sup>4</sup> you have helped me your servant in what I had asked. Disclose to me now the state of the just men, the prophets and others who believe in you ; and what will happen to them before your second coming at the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Read *jamī'aha*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *hādha*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-mu'minān*.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac.



world." And my Saviour said to me : " I shall grant you, O Peter, what you asked for, and disclose to you the ranks of the prophets, the just men and others who will believe in me, after my ascension from the earth to the heavenly abode of my glory and my majesty."

<sup>1</sup> *Here ends the Speech of the Lord of Lords to the pure and distinguished Father. God suffices me, and I solicit the help of His Son who keeps His promises.*

*In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the One who proceeds, one God in three (persons) I will write the second Part, full of meanings, in which figures Simona, son of Jona.<sup>2</sup>*

*In the name of the Son of the Omnipotent God I will write in this sublime book what the glorious Peter narrated to us from the mouth of the Mighty God.*

*And the great, honoured and holy chief, the Father, the Disciple and the Apostle said to me Clement :<sup>3</sup>*

(And the Lord said to me) : " O Peter, prepare labourers, dig wells<sup>4</sup> and fill them to the brim with the spiritual water which I entrusted to you. Strengthen their foundations and construct one wall towards the land and the other towards the water. Open my treasures and my granaries and sow wheat in all lands. Water it to the full, and I will make it grow, and will guard it, strengthen it and bless it in order that my sheep, my rams and my lambs may eat<sup>5</sup> it and live for ever.<sup>6</sup> My sheep are waiting for my voice because they recognise

<sup>1</sup> All the following introductory passage has been added by a copyist and is written in rhymed prose. All the passage is missing in Ethiopic.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Simon son of Jonas. The copyist writes the name of Simon as *Simona* for the sake of the rhyme with Jona (Jonas).

<sup>3</sup> Codex : " Peter " *ex errore*.

<sup>4</sup> Codex : " rivers."

<sup>5</sup> Read *liya' kulūha*.

<sup>6</sup> All the following pages are written in a rhymed prose which points to an undoubted Arabic original for the narrative. As in a composition of this kind more importance is attached to the happy and elaborate choice of lexicographical terms than to the general meaning of sentences, I will only give a rough translation of this section. I will point out below where this rhymed prose ends. It is needless to add that it is completely missing in the Ethiopic version, the translator of which has satisfied himself with about a third of a page of the *R.O.C.*, *ibid.* p. 345. I cannot decide whether such a section was found in the MS. lying before the Ethiopic translator. *Cf.* my note in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 101. I believe that this section is of a later date than what has preceded, and that the original text was much shorter than the one given here.



it, and they will answer it and follow me. I sent you to be their shepherd because I was aware of your pity for them. They are thirsty, hungry and humble sheep, which will follow the shepherds that I will choose for them. They are assembled now in my fold where they are worshipping and praying. If you mention my name to them they will come out forthwith to be branded with my mark, and I will protect them by my power, and no one will be able to take them from me.<sup>1</sup> I will give them eternal life in the Kingdom of the Garden of Eden, and promise them that they will be on my right in the day of the Resurrection and that they will rejoice with me for ever and ever."

Then Jesus Christ of Nazareth said to me: "The abode of the pious people who are baptised in my name and who believe in me and repent before their death, will be in Paradise which I have planted in the Eden of delight, and they will rejoice there for ever and ever. As to you my disciples, who have left everything in the world even your fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters and followed me at the cost of your life, I will bestow on you gifts which will astound men and Satan: I will appoint each one of you as head of a nation, grant you the gift of my miracles, and of my knowledge, and send you to convert the world. If you do my will, I will have churches and shrines built under your name, and your tombs will heal people and comfort them in their troubles. They will seek your intercession, and I will answer their prayers for your sake.

"After you have risen from your graves in the day of the Resurrection you will judge the twelve tribes of the wicked and accursed nation, and I will place in your golden mouths words of wisdom which will inflict summary punishment on faithless and unjust servants.<sup>2</sup> And you will have peace and joy near me and in the company of my angels in the land of light and might where you will magnify and glorify me for ever and ever.

"As to my priests who sanctify my blood and my body; who offer their prayers to me in the appointed hours; who follow my law and my Canons; who keep their hearts pure; who love their fellow men, avoid sin, and stand against evil and evildoers: their abode shall be in places full of light which look up on flowering gardens with flowing rivers, and clusters of trees and fruits.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John x. 1-27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. xix. 28-29.

<sup>3</sup> It is impossible not to think here of the heaven of the Kūr'ān.

“As to the scholars and wise men who have suffered persecution for their obedience to my will ; who have demonstrated my faith publicly upon the hills of the world ; who have borne patiently the injuries inflicted on them by the children of the tares ; who have refuted the objections of the sons of the world ; who have kept my commandments and made gains with my talents : I will bestow benefits upon them, forgive their sins, have mercy upon them, remove their sorrows from them and place them in mansions full of eternal joy and delight.

“As to the children of the Church and the heads of the law, who handle the spiritual mysteries ; who strive to increase for themselves the Lord's <sup>1</sup> gains and serve the Lord's houses ; who avoid the sins of the body and shine with the qualities of the heart—I mean the priests and the deacons, who fear me and keep my commandments—I have prepared for them gorgeous garments and diadems, and I will place them in the mansions of heaven which overlook the sufferings of the abyss, in order to double in that day <sup>2</sup> their joy and their pleasures.

“As to the main body of the faithful who have suffered persecution for my sake and stood firm against the injustices of the children of the tares ; who have been baptised and have kept my commandments ; who have professed my faith in the tribunals of the pagans, who believe themselves to be of noble extraction : I will purify them from their sins and place them on my right, in order that the onlookers may know <sup>3</sup> that they are not of the people with whom God is angry nor of those who go astray.<sup>4</sup> And they will be like the angels of heaven, deprived of their base and earthly body. They will be swift in their movements, pure and endowed with knowledge. I will charge some of them with my messages, and some others will be entrusted with the calamities which I will inflict on my earth, while some others will control the clouds and some others the winds. Everyone of them has a mansion prepared for him before his creation, because he has kept my commandments and has not imitated Adam and the *Archon* in their revolt against me, but has confessed my grace.”

<sup>1</sup> A transliteration of the Syriac *mārānāya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yauma'idhin*. It is rather cruel to experience especial joy at the sight of other peoples' sufferings.

<sup>3</sup> Read *liya'lamu*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kur'ān* i. 6. This is against the Muslim commentators who hold that the *Kur'ānic* sentence “those who go astray” refers to Christians.



Then<sup>1</sup> my Lord turned right and left, and He was transfigured and His face became suffused with light and beauty. I saw thousands and myriads of angels round Him and I was bewildered and awe-struck by their majesty, but my Lord strengthened my heart after I had confessed that He was my God and my Lord, and He said to me: "O Peter, do not be deceived by the image of these spirits. I wished to show them to you in order that you may know that I am their Lord and their God." Then I genuflected before Him, prostrated myself before His feet and said: "I have ascertained that you are the hidden Lord and that you are God and the Omnipotent Son of God, high in glory and majesty."

After I had uttered this confession before those pure spirits He made a sign to two angels to take charge of me,<sup>2</sup> and they removed me from His presence in order to show me the might of His power. One of them opened one of the doors of hell,<sup>3</sup> and I saw in it an accumulation of cold, blood and fire. Then that angel looked at the earth and a third of it was consumed together with the third part of its trees and vegetation. Then I saw the other angel opening a door that was like a large mountain, and he ordered me to observe what was there. And I saw fires that burned, bodies that shook, sighs that mounted, and an uproar that kept alternately diminishing and increasing.

Then (the first) angel under whose care I was placed looked at the sea, and a third part of it became blood, and a third part of the animals found in it perished, and a third part of the vessels that were moving on it sank in its depths.<sup>4</sup> And the star called *Aḫsīmīs* appeared to me, and enlightened the third part of the sea, and I saw many people rising on their feet from the fear (that overtook them) at the fall of that star.

Then one of the angels opened a door which darkened a third part of the sun, a third part of the moon, a third part of the stars, a third part of the day and a third part of the night. After this he opened the door of the abyss,<sup>5</sup> which emitted a terrific heat and a vapour with a putrid odour, which obscured the light of the sun.

<sup>1</sup> From the following passage the text ceases gradually to be in rhymed prose, and I will translate it in the usual way.

<sup>2</sup> Read *waja'alakumā*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "suffering."

<sup>4</sup> See the Book of Rev. viii. 9. <sup>5</sup> Read *tahūm*. It is the Syriac *tehōma*.



Then I saw coming out of there, and flying like birds, locusts with poisonous stings like those of deadly scorpions. The sky and the atmosphere were filled with them and all the earth was darkened by them. Before they came out, however, they were ordered by the angels not to go near and hurt the children of Baptism, but only to attack those who have no fear of God in them and are not prepared to meet His wrath. In this way they were to avenge God and strike for five months the faces of His enemies not to death, however, but as a punishment only. (The angel) also ordered them not to trespass<sup>1</sup> on grass and vegetation, nor to fall on trees and fruits, nor to display their strength against the believing children of men, but to come down on barren mountains, wastes and stones.<sup>2</sup>

Then the angel under whose care I was placed called me to the borders of the Euphrates, and I saw four angels that were bound there, and I said to the angel:<sup>3</sup> "Who are these?" And he answered: "These are angels entrusted with the counting of days, months, and years. They are expecting the end of eons and times when their shackles will be broken and they will overcome<sup>4</sup> all those who had contradicted them. They experience a great satisfaction in casting the third of mankind into perdition by order of the Omnipotent God."<sup>5</sup>

Then I saw horses of fire drawing near to me, on which were riding people with breast-plates of fire. I saw other horses with heads of lions and with fire coming out of their mouths. I saw innumerable people and races who felicitated and congratulated me on my headship and on my promotion to the position of precedence over all the believing nations. One of them handed me an oblong rod of light and said to me: "Arise and measure this sanctuary, because it is the sanctuary of the Lord; and measure also the altar."

Then I saw in heaven a red door in which there was a red dragon which had seven heads and twenty horns, and a crown on each head. This dragon stretched its tail, and it destroyed the third of the stars of heaven.

Then I saw a woman running in the deserts, and she had much

<sup>1</sup> Read *yatajāwazū*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *lil-malak* (sing.).

<sup>5</sup> See the Book of Rev. ix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See the Book of Rev. ix. 3 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wayatasallaṭū*.

influence on the Lord, and she remained there one thousand two hundred<sup>1</sup> and threescore days.

And there were two elders on whom God had showered His favours and whom He had invested with honour and glory, and they were His intimate friends to whom He had redeemed His pledge. And (the angel) called these two elders,<sup>2</sup> who had before their Lord as much honour as an angel, and who had to their credit signs, wonders and miracles. While I was standing with them and meditating concerning them I saw an animal coming out of the depth of the sea and which hurled itself at them, attacked them, fought against them, overcame them and killed them. It threw<sup>3</sup> their corpses outside the town, which was called *Bilāt*. And it did not occur to it that it was doing a wrong thing.

Then I saw that the vineyards were stripped of their grapes which were thrown in a press situated outside the town, and their juice pressed out of them. The wrath of God was upon that press and the juice was transformed into frozen blood (as high as) a mountain. Then it melted and flowed on the surface of the earth to the extent of one thousand and six hundred parasangs.

Then I saw an eagle sweeping on the first dragon, and it drowned it in the depth of the abyss, and it is the Devil who envies the children of men. It closed the doors against him and it proclaimed<sup>4</sup> to the faithful that it will not come out of that place until a thousand years are finished.<sup>5</sup> And the angels sealed the place in which he had been placed with the seals of the children of Baptism, and these seals are the names of the Holy Trinity<sup>6</sup> and the signs of the Cross on which was crucified the Son of God who cannot be seen nor perceived nor overcome. Then I saw that the (seals) were placed (in the middle) and on them were laid the martyrs who were killed with the sword because of their love for the Messiah their Lord.

<sup>1</sup> MS. "one hundred," but as the author is probably quoting the Book of Rev. xii. 6, the difference seems to be due to a copyist's error.

<sup>2</sup> Read *fada'a as-shaikhain*. The author attaches the pronoun to the verb placed before the subject as it is done in Syriac but not in Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> Read *wa-rama*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wa-bashsharu*. Here as above the author uses the pronoun according to the Syriac and not the Arabic syntax.

<sup>5</sup> See the Book of Rev. xx. 1-3, which seems to be the source of the author for this sentence.

<sup>6</sup> The Syriac word *telithāyūtha*.



Then I saw a great throne, white with light, on which was sitting a figure of light ; and I saw the heaven folded up and the earth standing firm ; and I saw all the first and the last of the dead believers rising from their graves and standing before that throne. Books were then fetched and opened, and among them I saw the book of life open, and the people who had risen from the graves were being judged by those books, and everyone was requited according to his works.<sup>1</sup>

Then I saw the sea giving up the dead who were in it, and all stood for judgment ; likewise hell gave up all the creatures that were in it, and they also stood for judgment. I saw also in a pit the suffering of some people who were tormented with frozen snow which occasioned shivering and gnashing of teeth.

After this the angels under whose care I was placed said to me : "Rise up with me and I will show you the places which you asked me to show you." And he forthwith placed me on a high mountain, higher than the highest peaks, and said to me : "Rejoice, and let your heart jubilate. Look at the city of the heavenly Jerusalem which is holy, glorious, honourable and spiritual, and which the Lord of creation has prepared for the children<sup>2</sup> of Baptism in order that they might pray in it and worship with the angelic hierarchies and Adamic races." I drew near to it and was awestruck by it. It is situated on the highest point of Paradise and it overlooks the lofty Garden of Eden.

I saw the light of the first Kingdom of Heaven shining, a light that multiplies in the onlooker lights that enlighten his mind, intelligence, knowledge, meekness, speech, sight, hearing, and smelling, because it proceeds from life, power, strength, wisdom, grace and mercy. It is a light that shines like the rays of the full moon, and like the flash of the swift lightning.

I saw that it was surrounded by lofty walls<sup>3</sup> in which were twelve gates, three of which looked to the centre of the east, three to the middle of the west, three to the beginning of the south and three to the beginning of the north. I saw that the city had twelve foundations<sup>4</sup> in which were also twelve gates, on each one of which

<sup>1</sup> All this is found in the Book of Rev. xx. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Remove the *warw*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *aswār*.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "walls."



was written the name of one of the Apostles, while his image was painted upon it.<sup>1</sup>

The street<sup>2</sup> of the city was of red gold and pure silver. The city itself was four square with exactitude. Its wall<sup>3</sup> was built with twelve stones. The first stone is called jasper,<sup>4</sup> and the second is called sapphire.<sup>6</sup> The third stone is called chalcedony, and the fourth stone is called emerald. The fifth stone is sardonyx, and the sixth sardius. The seventh is chrysolyte,<sup>6</sup> and the eighth beryl. The ninth stone is a topaz, and the tenth chrysoprasus. The eleventh stone is jacinth,<sup>7</sup> and the twelfth stone is of different colours the first of which is yellow and the second red, the third blue, the fourth white and the fifth black, and it is called onyx.

After the angel had shown me all this Church, he handed me a rod of gold which he was carrying and said to me: "Take this rod, O Peter, and measure this Church with it." And I did what the angel had ordered me; and it measured twelve thousand parasangs by the measure<sup>8</sup> of the Holy Spirit. And the angel measured the breadth of each wall, and it measured one hundred and forty cubits by the cubit of the Holy Spirit<sup>9</sup> which measures like the distance that separates the east from the west.

I did not see any temple in the Church because its temple is *Ahiyah Ashar-ahiyah Sabaoth*<sup>10</sup> who dwells in every part of it. The Father has, indeed, established it in the name of the Christ our Lord, the Lamb of the divine sacrifice which is offered for the expia-

<sup>1</sup> This is similar to what is found in the Book of Rev. xxi. 12-14.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "furniture," but see Rev. xxi. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Read *as-sūr*.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *al-asfānos*.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *asfila* from Syriac *safila*.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "gold."

<sup>7</sup> The description of the stones is similar to that found in the Book of Rev. xxi. 19-20, the nomenclature of which I have followed, although the nature of each stone is somewhat difficult to determine scientifically.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. *ḳabḏah*—the measure of the palm of the hand or of the upper arm.

<sup>9</sup> In the Book of Rev. xxi. 17, it is said that the measure was that of an angel. Note how the author constantly uses here the Persian measure of "parasangs." This Apocalyptic measure is rendered in the English version by the word "furlongs." The Book of Rev. says further that the measure of the wall was 144 and not 140 cubits. This difference is probably due to an error of a copyist.

<sup>10</sup> Hebrew names as above (p. 114). All this is imitated from the Book of Rev. xxi. 22, where the Hebrew names of our document occur as the "Lord God Almighty."

tion of the sins of Adam and his posterity, and the Lamb which taketh away the sin of the world.<sup>1</sup>

To that church go in the day of the Resurrection and Resuscitation the souls of the believers, the true prophets, the Apostles who are the heads of the shepherds of the sheep of God; to them on that day will flock their flocks from the four corners of the earth, and they will present them before the judging Lord in order to exact<sup>2</sup> justice in their favour from those with whom God is angry.<sup>3</sup>

*And the pure and holy Father said:* I did not see<sup>4</sup> in (that Church) either sun or moon, because its light surpasses all other light and transcends every other brightness, as it is full of the light, brightness and splendour of God. It has neither night nor darkness, and it is from it that the creatures of light borrow their light. To it are addressed the glorifications of the peoples, but none enters it except the souls which believe in the Son of God and in the Trinity, which are cleansed in the water of Baptism, which are marked with the sign of the Cross, and which disbelieve in the treatise<sup>5</sup> of the son of the wolf.

While the angel was showing me every place in that Church, I noticed a river flowing from under the throne of might. Its water<sup>6</sup> was white in colour and it exhaled perfumes which quickened the souls. On either side of it were trees of life, which served as an abode for the rational birds. Each tree bore twelve fruits, and each one of these fruits had a different colour, taste, scent and usefulness.<sup>7</sup> I asked the angel concerning the name of that stream and he answered me that its name was the "Beautifier of Life."

And the angel said to me: "I wish to show you the great whore who is sitting by the waters that stink with iniquities, and

<sup>1</sup> John i. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Read *liya' khudhū*.

<sup>3</sup> A Qur'ānic sentence as above.

<sup>4</sup> Add *ara*.

<sup>5</sup> Or possibly "opinion." Who is this "son of the wolf"? From many somewhat veiled expressions found in the work I have come to the conclusion that the "son of the wolf" is Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, and that the "children of the wolf" are the Muslims, his followers. As the author was writing in Arabic, and Arabic was the language of the Muslims, some expressions had to be found which referred in a covert way to the new masters whom the Christian communities of the East often hated and always feared more than respected.

<sup>6</sup> Read *mā'uhu*.

<sup>7</sup> This river and these trees are those found in the Book of Rev. xxii. 1-2.

with whom all the kings of the earth have committed fornication and have been made drunk with her wine.”<sup>1</sup> At his command I went like lightning and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet coloured beast, near waters that were full of fish. She had seven heads and ten horns, and was arrayed in purple and scarlet and decked with gold and with garments adorned with precious stones. She had a golden cup in her hand full of her abominations, and upon her garment was written : “This is the whore who committed fornication, and conceived from her iniquitous sin and brought forth the tares, the pagans who are the children of the wolf,<sup>2</sup> the Chosraus, the Pharaohs, the giants and the tyrants, who contradict the truth and in whose heart there is neither pity nor fear, and who worship idols.” She did not believe in the message of the angel,<sup>3</sup> and she represents the city of Babylon which overcame and overpowered all the countries, and became insolent and haughty throughout her dominions, which she increased.

The seven heads that she has represents seven kingdoms. Each kingdom will last for a time, and no one will be able to save them from her hands, nor to overcome her till the end of time. And the ten horns which she has represent also kings who will rule over nations.<sup>4</sup>

And the angel said to me : “Her end will be desolation and perdition, and all her children will perish with her in the bottomless pit.”

And the angel said to me : “O Peter, admonish your children to flee<sup>5</sup> from her in order that she may not draw them to herself, because if she does they will undoubtedly fall down into the lowest part of hell and they will abide<sup>6</sup> there with her children for ever and ever.”

Then I Peter drew nearer to that woman and I noticed that she was drunk and had lost consciousness. And I looked at her wine

<sup>1</sup> This is surely the same woman as that found in the Book of Rev. xvii. 1-7.

<sup>2</sup> Here also I believe that these “children of the wolf” are the Muslims.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is difficult and my translation of it is not certain.

<sup>4</sup> This and similar incidents in this section are not in harmony with Rev. xvii. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Read *liyahrubu*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *mathwāhum*.



and saw that it was from the blood of the children of the Church, of the elect of God, of the faithful who are the children of Baptism, of the saints and of the pious martyrs who endured the sufferings of many kinds of deaths and torments at the hand of her children, who shed the blood of the sons of faith in order that she might drink it and be drunken and intoxicated.

When I Peter saw this I was grieved at the sad plight of my children from that whore, but the angel said to me : " Do not fear, O Peter, because the Lamb of God will overcome her, destroy her throne, obliterate her name and her memory and thrust her into the fire of the lowest hell. And the fire that burns her and her<sup>1</sup> children is eternal, does not perish and is not quenched."

Then I saw an animal coming from the direction of the sun, and had two horns like those of a lamb. And I saw a dragon in his hands, and I saw that the earth and its inhabitants were worshipping that beast because he was performing wonderful deeds<sup>2</sup> one of which was that he was bringing down fire from heaven on the earth. He was also working miracles which astonished the inhabitants of the earth. He commanded them to fashion<sup>3</sup> an image, and he imparted to that image<sup>4</sup> a soul with which to speak. He ordered the people to write the name of the image in their houses and to proclaim to all the countries and corners of the earth : " Anyone of the children of the world who will not worship this image shall be killed." <sup>5</sup>

He also ordered all the worshippers of that image to paint it on their bodies and on their faces in order that they might be known as the followers of the beast which resembled a lamb and to which God granted power, glory and honour. He also ordered that houses of prayer should be built for it and for its followers, in order that they might be recognised there and that their acclamations might be heard therein.

The mark with which he ordered them to be marked<sup>6</sup> is the crown of death with which all the believers in him are crowned. I

<sup>1</sup> Add a *wāw*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *afālun*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *yašna,ū*.

<sup>4</sup> Here also the author places the pronoun before the subject according to the genius of the Syriac and not the Arabic language.

<sup>5</sup> This beast seems to be that mentioned in the Book of Rev. xiii. 11-17. The author as usual shortens or lengthens or changes the text of the Book of Rev. in some important details and comments upon it in some other details.

<sup>6</sup> Remove the *nūn* from all the verbs followed by the particle 'an.

did not see anyone able to save himself from him except Edom, Moab and the sons of 'Emron.

Then I saw a woman whose face shone like the sun and the moon. And I saw that she had the moon under her feet and that she clothed herself with the sun.<sup>1</sup> I saw on her head a crown woven with twelve stars. And the woman was with child and travailing in birth. Then I saw that she brought forth a man child, and I saw that after she brought him forth he ruled all nations. Then he was caught up unto God and sat in the throne of His glory.

Then I saw the woman on a great height where she remained one thousand one hundred and sixty-six days.<sup>2</sup> And I saw that the above-mentioned dragon was persecuting the woman to whom were given two wings of a great eagle with which she flew to a high peak from fear of the big dragon. And I saw that the dragon cast out of his mouth<sup>3</sup> water as a great river so that he might cut off the way of the woman, but the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the water which the dragon had cast out of his mouth in order to harm the woman, and she was delivered and saved. When the dragon noticed that the woman was saved from his evil-doing, he waxed very angry and proceeded to make war with her people and her followers, and with those who keep her commandments and her laws, who are martyred for her sake and for the sake of her son and who submit to her orders. These are the believers who have shunned the perfumes of the Rebel and rejoiced in their belief in the only Son of God.

Then the angel to whom I was confided took me back to the Mount of Olives and placed me before the Lord Christ. And my Lord said to me: "O Peter, have you seen wonders?" And I said to Him: "O Son of the living God,<sup>4</sup> I saw what I am not able to describe, and even my memory cannot reveal all that I saw."

And my Lord said: "O Peter, how numerous will be the troubles that will befall my followers at the hand of my enemies, the children of the tares, who are the inhabitants of the South and the

<sup>1</sup> The text of this sentence is corrupt. The woman spoken of here seems to be the one mentioned in the Book of Rev. xii. 1-2, 5-6, etc., although with some differences in phraseology.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Rev. xii. 6, says "one thousand two hundred and sixty days."

<sup>3</sup> Read *famihi*.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac.



followers of the Apostle of the *Archon*!<sup>1</sup> Indeed, they will suffer innumerable torments from them, but blessed are those who will endure hardships for my sake at the time when their souls leave their bodies<sup>2</sup> and come to me! O Peter, there will be no limit to the increase of their reward with me, and I will mix their souls with my elect in my Kingdom, and I will gladden their hearts with the multitude of favours which I will shower on them in a way that neither their hearts nor their minds can conceive. Thus will I make them forget all the evil things that they had endured from the (children) of the tares and others, and I will not withhold my Providence from them at the time of their sojourn on the earth.

"As to the woman whom you saw with the moon under her feet, clothed with the sun, and possessed of that unique pearl which you beheld,<sup>3</sup> and having on her head a crown woven with twelve stars, she is my glorious Church which shines with lights that surpass in brightness the rays of the sun in which she was arrayed. As to the moon which you saw under her feet, it represents the light which I will cause to shine on the believers and on the martyrs who are killed for my sake. My Churches<sup>4</sup> will be built under their names, and the shrine of each one of them will shine like the bright moon because of the injustices of the enemies which they had borne.

"As to the big crown which she was wearing and which was surmounted with a pearl and surrounded by twelve stars, one of which fell down: the crown represents my glory and my blood, and the pearl that surmounted the crown is I, the Lord God, who causes my light to shine on all my creatures. As to the twelve stars, they are you the twelve Apostles. As to the star that fell from<sup>5</sup> among you, it is Judas Iscariot who betrayed my signs and my favours to him and strove to inflict on me the sufferings which I have endured. Verily I say unto you that I will make him fall from your company as I made

<sup>1</sup> I believe that this sentence also clearly refers to the Muslim Arabs who come from the South. The "Apostle of the Archon" seems also to designate Muhammad, and means "Apostle of Satan" in contrast with "Apostle of God" as the Prophet of Islam is called.

<sup>2</sup> Remove the particle *'ila*.

<sup>3</sup> The Book of Rev. xii. 1 does not mention any pearl. The author is possibly referring to the woman spoken of in Rev. xvii. 4, who was decked with gold and precious stones and pearls. See above.

<sup>4</sup> MS. "Church."

<sup>5</sup> Read *'inhabata*.



the *Archon* fall from the ten<sup>1</sup> hierarchies of the angels. He merited this fall from his glory because of his revolt and his calumnies.

"As to you, O Apostles, you will increase, and your memory will be honoured in the countries of the earth. You will beget spiritually<sup>2</sup> over the whole surface of the earth, and you will have sons and daughters, and your posterity will be filled with love, purity, knowledge, meekness, chastity, asceticism, mercy, grace, sweetness and faith, and you will have through your children superiority over all nations. They will listen to my mysteries which you will confide to them, and will keep my commandments which you will recite to them.

"Blessed are you and your hallowed progeny who will endure for my sake the hardships which the children of the earth will inflict on them! Their blood will be shed like flowing water in order that the commands with which I sent you into the world may be safeguarded. I will redeem my promise in all things told by you concerning me in my holy Gospel.

"As to the woman who brought forth the man child, she is the mother of life, the mother of grace, and the mother of the good shepherd. And the man child whom she brought forth is the one to whom you are speaking.

"Know that I have shown you the things that were at the very beginning and the things that will be at the very end, because all things are present in the palm of my hand, and any time I will them to be they are."

*Here ends the second part full of meanings in which figures Simon son of Jonas—may perfect peace be upon him from all of us.*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sic. cod.*

<sup>2</sup> Read *milādan*.

<sup>3</sup> All these headings are due to the copyist and are not germane to the narrative.























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## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNĪ,  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 7.

### THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following pages contain the continuation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in its Arabic garb and Garshūnī form. As the section deals with signs denoting the end of the world and with the appearance of unknown kingdoms and dynasties, the task of translating it proved to be unusually difficult. This difficulty is aggravated by the fact that the style of the author is singularly obscure in this part of the document, and also by the fact that sometimes the copyist does not seem to have understood what he was transcribing, and at other times he appears to have been unable even to decipher the undotted Arabic text that was lying before him. The combination of these two factors has given birth to scores of unintelligible and linguistically meaningless phrases, for which without violent emendations I had to find a sense from the context. I must also state in this connection that there are in the work a few apparently genuine Arabic words that are not fully registered in any Arabic dictionary, but we must bear in mind that all Arabic lexicographers were Muslims who would have hardly read Christian Arabic compositions to extract from them fresh matter for their books. There is, therefore, every possibility that some of these words were Arabic vocables used by Arabs of early times in the sense given to them in our document, but since they were not found in that sense in works written by Muslims, they are not sufficiently explained in Arabic dictionaries.

After an account of the description of the torments of hell reserved to some specified classes of men, the author proceeds to describe the signs of the end of time. His text for this section is fairly easy, and its translation, except when otherwise stated in the footnotes, tolerably certain. The arduous work begins with the history of the kingdoms and the crowned monarchs who will govern this world, in the author's geographical sense, till the second coming of the Lord and the appearance of the Antichrist.

From different groups of signs that the author gives for the end of the world one feels tempted to believe that he was drawing upon different sources or transcribing from different authors who had treated the subject from different angles. Indeed, no sooner does the reader get the impression that the writer has once for all put an end to the series of his signs indicating the end of time than he is confronted with a new section containing fresh sets of such signs. We must, however, admit that often the author's end of time seems to imply simply the end of the tribulations of the special period which he is describing.

So far as the section of the new kingdoms and the new kings is concerned the author counts all his *dramatis personæ* by means of the first letters of their names. For one speaking in enigmas and riddles, and writing in an apocalyptic and veiled style, this method of composing a deliberately abstruse lucubration is not open to too much criticism. Did not the author of the canonical Book of the Revelation and many other writers of antiquity resort to the alphabet or to the numerical value of letters for the conveyance of ideas which they were either unwilling or afraid to reveal in clear language?

Half of the subtlety of the science of the Cabbala and of white magic is based on a felicitous or fantastic combination of alphabetical letters. A special section of Arabic literature is devoted to what is called '*ilm al-hurūf*', "Science of Letters," and the thirty or so works that I have consulted on this subject confirm me in the belief that some of the writers who were interested in it, believed it to be true science.

The author is unusually skilled in the choice of his kings, and it is often difficult to follow him for a long time in the historical ground round which the threads of his drama are woven. For instance, when we feel sure that a particular section deals with the Arab Empire, we immediately begin to count the Arab Caliphs who rose after the Prophet



down to the 'Abbasid period, and for purposes of identification apply their names, which are only referred to by their first letter, to the description given by the author in his narrative. One or two of our guesses may hit the mark, but a third or a fourth guess will prove to be unwarranted, and thus throw our calculations in disorder. The same thing might happen if an attempt were made to identify the kings of the Roman, Byzantine, or Persian Empires. I tried this process of identification, but owing to some unsuccessful guesses I was obliged to abandon it; the copyist of the MS. has also tried a similar process, but in the majority of cases has failed lamentably. If we could read the mind of the author, we might probably glean a few historical facts of some interest and importance, but the subject requires very skilful handling, and will certainly make great inroads on the time of any scholar who wishes to grapple with it.

In the "Prefatory Note" to the first part of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, mention was made of the different MSS. which contain the present work. I stated therein that the MS. preserved at Cambridge seemed to exhibit more points of resemblance with the MS. that I am editing and translating than that preserved in the Bodleian, or in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, or in the Vatican. About two months ago, in the course of cataloguing the MSS. of my collection, I discovered another MS. of the work which may be counted as a rival to that of Cambridge. It is numbered Mingana Syriac 441, has 124 leaves of two columns, and is thus nearer to the present MS. than all those that I have described in the above "Prefatory Note." This statement should not be interpreted to mean that the variants that characterise the two MSS. under consideration are simply those that generally characterise two MSS. containing the same work, but it is to be understood solely in the sense that the two MSS. offer more points of resemblance than those that I had previously described.

Apart from verbal divergencies and many other important discrepancies that differentiate the two MSS., M. 441 exhibits a different divisional order. So while M. 70 places the long section containing the story of Clement of Rome towards the end of the narrative, M. 441 places it towards the middle of the work. So also is the case with the section dealing with the preaching of Peter and Paul in Antioch, Laodicea, and Rome.

There is no need to repeat here the remarks upon the *Apocalypse*



of *Peter* found in my "Prefatory Note" to the part already published, nor is there any need to direct the reader's attention to all the textual and historical difficulties which I have indicated in the footnotes to the part edited in the ensuing pages. I will, however, venture to lay especial emphasis on the following points :

(1) In narrating the evil effects of the appearance of a new kingdom, possibly that of the Arabs, the author writes thus : "Pharaonic chariots which carry both the Deceiver and the Error." The juxtaposition of the terms "Deceiver" and "Error" is very uncommon, but an exact parallel to it is found in the *Odes of Solomon*, where in Ode xxxviii. 10, we read : "And I asked the Truth, Who are these ? And he said to me : *This is the Deceiver and the Error.*" The comparison is rendered even more forceful by the introduction of the element of the "chariot," because this very Ode begins with the mention of a chariot : "I went into the Light of Truth as into a chariot." I believe that this striking similarity upon a very uncommon ground denotes borrowing on the part of the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* from the author of the *Odes of Solomon*.<sup>1</sup>

(2) In my "Prefatory Note" to the previous part of the work I drew attention to some archaic Christological statements that seemed to point to a time preceding the Nicene Council and its well-defined Christology. The present part also contains statements of a more or less similar kind. I will quote the following sentences :

"When the rebellious King has repented and turned away from his rebellion, and when our Lord has become a Saviour, I will set Him up as the King with six names. I will bring salvation through Him because He is the Saviour adorned with many names. With Him I have placed Michael the man of the golden sword and the holder of the spear. At His right will be the Cherubim and Seraphim who will fight before Him with twelve myriads of angels."

And again :

"The one to whom (the new Jerusalem) was entrusted did not contradict my commandments because I was with Him, and I shall not cease so be with Him always, and He will be with me and to me and I with Him and to Him."

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible to believe that the author of the *Odes of Solomon* and the author of the first layer of the *Apocalypse of Peter* were drawing upon a common and still earlier source ?

It is difficult to believe that these words which are here placed in the mouth of the Christ who is repeating them to Peter, could have been written by an author living after the Council of Nicea, especially if the MS. which contained them were of a Monophysite origin.

(3) The more the *Apocalypse of Peter* enters into the domain of mystery, the more difficult becomes its phraseology. This fact, to which I referred above, explains why the Ethiopic version is of so little use in this section of the book. If the Ethiopic translator had before him an Arabic text nearly as long as that preserved in our MS., he must, indeed, have shortened and condensed it very severely, because all the sixty-six pages of the Garshūni text reproduced in the present fasciculus of the *Woodbrooke Studies* are represented in the Ethiopic version by about two pages of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*.

It is possible to believe that in one important passage the Ethiopian translator has fallen into a rather unfortunate error. In many sentences of the Arabic text here edited, the author refers to a persecuting nation to which he applies the grim expression "children of the wolf." I have elsewhere conjectured that this nation in the mind of our author personifies the Islamic "nation." In Arabic the word for "wolf" in undotted characters is *الدب*. Now this word can easily be read to mean "the wolf" (*el-dhiḥ*), or, the meaningless *El-diyon*, *el* being the article. The Ethiopian translator, unaware of the fact that the author had a special purpose in using the word "wolf" in connection with a hated and despised people, thought that it represented a proper name, and transcribed it as *Eldiyon*, and thus gave birth to an imaginary name of a people that has never existed and should never have existed. See further my note on this point in the present edition.

A similar and probably worse blunder is committed by the Ethiopian translator in his rendering of the word *Teman*. The Arabic *taiman* from the Syriac *taimna* means the "South." The Ethiopian translator evidently did not understand this substantive but made of it a proper name and wrote: "the King of Teman,"<sup>1</sup> instead of "the King of the South."

(4) The part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* here given contains some proper names of persons and localities of a rather uncommon

<sup>1</sup> *R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 72.



occurrence. As such should be counted<sup>1</sup> *Yūḵīyah* (name of a country), *Mīṭāliyah* (name of a town), *Satafān* (name of a town), *Ḳaṭlū* (possibly name of a man), *Rawādif* (possibly name of a town), *Phalīḵīyah* (name of a country), *Sarḥ* (name of an idol), *Solon* (name of an idol), *Beṣalya'* (name of a man), *Kolon* (name of an idol), *Alinān* (name of a mountain or a locality), *Hotān* (name of an idol), *Tibarus* (name of a man ; not Tiberius), *Yanshur* (name of a man), *Lāyos* (name of a town or a locality), *Ḳūsīn* (name of a town or a locality), *Ablabūn* (name of a town).<sup>2</sup>

It would be useful here to remark that the copyist, in the divisions that he has assigned to the different parts (*juz's*) of the work, jumps from part iii. to part vi., thus omitting parts iv.-v. We have no means for ascertaining whether this omission is to be attributed to a mere slip on the part of the scribe or whether the Arabic original from which the present MS. is derived really lacked two important parts of the *Apocalypse*. In a footnote to the point in question I have conjectured that since the MS. appears to be complete in every detail this difference in the number of the headings may be considered to be due to an error of the scribe. This conjecture, however, is open to serious criticism from an unexpected quarter. The Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse* contains a special section dealing with heresies.<sup>3</sup> Is it not possible to believe that parts iv.-v. which are completely missing in our text contained in a much more detailed form this section of the heresies, shortened in its Ethiopic garb into two pages of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*?

There is hardly any need here to emphasise the fact that the country in which the present *Apocalypse of Peter* was first written is Egypt. It is also certain that the work itself is thoroughly Coptic in origin. I have often drawn attention in my *Woodbrooke Studies* to the fact that all these apocryphal documents have nothing in common with the doctrines of the Syrian Church be they of the Nestorian, or the Monophysite, or the Melchite school of thought, and that the only link that connected them with any important branch of that Church is the fact that they have been preserved for us by West Syrian Mono-

<sup>1</sup> The vowels of many of these names are uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> No attempt has been made to identify these and similar names by means of textual emendations.

<sup>3</sup> *R.O.C.*, 1913, pp. 70 and 73-74.



physite scribes living in or near Egypt. This statement does not exclude the hypothesis that in handling these documents the said Syrian scribes did effect some changes in their phraseology to make them better understood by their Syrian readers, or added to them or subtracted from them passages which they did not desire to hand down to posterity.

For the convenience of the reader the proper names found in the document will be given in italics.

TRANSLATION.

*In the name of our Master and our Lord, the only Son of God, I will write the third part of the discourse of our Master.*

The Master of all, who favoured me with His grace said : " O Peter, when ye shall see the sign of abomination which dwells in the desert standing near the holy place let those who are in the inhabited regions flee<sup>1</sup> to the summits of the mountains. Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days. For then shall be great tribulation and injustice<sup>2</sup> such as was not since the beginning of the world, and if I do not shorten those days for the sake of the pious believers no one will be left alive on the earth.<sup>3</sup> When the signs are completed, know that the end of the time of the enemies is at hand. As to the hour of the coming of the Son of Man on the second day : He will come out of His chamber as the quick lightning cometh from the direction of the east and shineth even unto the west.<sup>4</sup> Wherever I am, there the nations will assemble.<sup>5</sup>

" At that time I will send my angels, who will gather together my nation from the four corners of the earth.<sup>6</sup>

" Now, O Peter, guard your children till the end of the time in which the kings of anger and wrath shall have passed. When I am come in my name, men will rise from the depths of the earth and will inherit the eternal life, but a great number of them will go to the grievous torment. Know that the dew that will fall in that day will first quicken my people and after them the Gentiles. Know that when I am come the heavens will be folded up for me and their doors will be thrown open before me. And the angels with their different

<sup>1</sup> Read *jal-yujfil*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Read *zulm*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tajtami'u*.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxiv. 16-22.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xxiv. 31.

categories will come down,<sup>1</sup> category after category. Some of them will send the stormy winds and will uproot the mountains, which will kill those men who have remained on the face of the earth.

“When no living man remains on the earth, the various spiritual squadrons will come down, and the earth will shake and the graves will open. And I will send to the seas the winds that desiccate the waters. And I will send to the earth the angels whose task is to blow the terrifying trumpets, and cause the violent dins and tumultuous cries, shouts, and sounds. And I will send the Archangels with all<sup>2</sup> their armies, and with them I will fill the countries of the earth. By my order my angels who blow the trumpets<sup>3</sup> will come out of my eternal Pavilion. When they shall blow their instruments, the earth will be affected with the pangs of travail from the terror of their voices, and will throw up<sup>4</sup> to its surface that which is found in its deep. Then I will send the human souls with the angels to whom they are entrusted, in order that they may place them in their respective dwellings and quicken their dead bodies.

“When all that I had intended to do is accomplished, I will come down with myriads of myriads of Seraphim and Cherubim and make my stand over Jerusalem. All the peoples of the earth will then gather together to me, and my angels will go in<sup>5</sup> and out of them and separate the good from the bad. They will single out the wicked and the unbelievers, and they will assemble people of injustice, iniquity, and oppression, and also people of tares, fornication, and adultery, and those who have committed great or small sins of this category. They will gather them together in the valley of Tartarus,<sup>6</sup> in the lowest pit,<sup>7</sup> so that they should be requited according to their past deeds on the earth and so that they should receive a just punishment without favour.

“As to the sinners of my own peoples, I will be their judge to punish them<sup>8</sup> or forgive them. In them and with them are reasons which will divert my wrath from them, bring them nearer to me and intercede for them; these reasons are my promises to them, and my

<sup>1</sup> Read *wa-yanzilu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jamī'* is better.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. *shiphōra*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wa-tulki*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *wa-yadkhul*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tartarus*.

<sup>7</sup> The Syr. *tehōma*.

<sup>8</sup> This meaning is doubtful. Literally: “if I take them” or: “whether I take them or. . . .”



compact with them, and my body and my blood which will bear witness on their behalf and from the light of which they will shine in the day of Resurrection, as a star shines in a dark night.

"They will have also one who will plead for them, and this is the pure and the pious woman, the precious pearl, who reared the clothing<sup>1</sup> of the Son of God. And they will have also you, the disciples, to whose care they were entrusted. Bring therefore this message to them from me, that any one of them who would cleave to me in his life in this world I will forgive all his past iniquity in the day of Resurrection. This is my bond to them and you are my witnesses thereon.

"As to the holy prophets and the company of the Apostles,<sup>2</sup> they will be the first to rise from the earth on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, and they will ascend to heaven. So also will be the case with all the believers.

"On the fourth day, which is a Sunday, the inhabitants and the peoples of the earth will rise, because all the worlds worship me<sup>3</sup> and implore me, and it is from me that they solicit mercy and forgiveness. They will know then that the Rebel had led them astray from the right path.

"As to those who believe in me, I will single them out<sup>4</sup> and separate them from all the other peoples of the world, because they have confessed me and acknowledged me. On my part, I will acknowledge their acknowledgment of me and will not send to perdition any<sup>5</sup> one of them, however great are his sins.

"Know, O disciple Peter, that the worm of those who disown me will not die from their bodies.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, the flesh of those who do not acknowledge me will be rejuvenated and the worms that are in it will increase and multiply, and will never die or perish.

"As to the torments, they are found in many places, one of which is a place called *tehīm*,<sup>7</sup> and it is the lowest part of hell. There is found in it a fire which consumes the unbelievers, the Magians and the idolaters who knew that I was their creator, but

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, The body. This sentence strongly savours of Nestorianism.

<sup>2</sup> The Syr. *shlīha*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kāna*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *a'zilihūm*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ahadan minhum*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mark xix. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Here again the Syriac word *tehōma* "abyss."



nevertheless worshipped Buddhas, stones, images, cows, and other animals.

“The torment of other people will be by means of cold, snow, and frost. This torment impairs the strength, enervates<sup>1</sup> the bodies, diminishes the brightness of the colours, hardens the hearts, increases the sorrows, blurs the sight, extinguishes brilliancy, and atrophies humours. It contracts the face of a man and mars its beauty ; it imparts general malaise and a sadly glib tongue ; it daunts the giants, shakes the limbs and desiccates the joints ; it causes the tongues to vibrate and cold to penetrate into the bones with re-doubled strength so that the teeth begin to gnash and grind, and the sufferers to shiver.

“As to those who worship the stars, the sun, and the moon, and offer sacrifices to them to the exclusion of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,<sup>2</sup> the one (God) who created the created beings, and imparted life into them and caused them to die—their punishment will consist of the second torment, that of darkness, which is situated above the abyss. That darkness is very thick and contains the smoke that comes out of the excruciating torments of the abyss. It lowers vitality, inflicts sufferings, atrophies the heart, weakens the soul, vexes, mortifies, harasses, causes difficulty of breathing, and gives rise to coughs and constriction in the chest. They will continually bite their tongues as their only answer to the benefits showered on them by the Father while they swore allegiance to the Rebel and rejected the services of their God who provides, vivifies, kills, and promises good things, and threatens with the torments of the abyss those who deny Him.

“As to the torment of those who acted like *Pharaoh*—the insolent people who compelled others to worship them, and made themselves gods to the exclusion of God—it will be in Tartarus and in Hell which is full of the wrath, anger, and vengeance of God, and abundantly supplied with the worms of the earth, which devour, sting, bite, and pinch, and are provided with various kinds of poisons. Those localities are frequented by demons who are of different forces which bewilder the minds and weaken the hearts.

<sup>1</sup> Read *yuhill*.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is wholly Syriac, as if it involved a sacred formula or contained a mysterious power.

“As to the torment of the law-givers, it will be more severe than that of the people of infidelity, because they knew their Lord with certainty, and were aware of what was preached by His disciples in the matter of lawful and unlawful things, and knew the roads and safe paths in which there was no fear, nor dread, nor trouble, nor danger, nor utter destruction. If the lawgivers reject<sup>1</sup> the good works enjoined on them by God, and walk in the path of what kindles the wrath and anger of God, they deserve through their bad actions what befell Satan in his rebellion and Adam in his sin.

“When man does what pleases God, he benefits himself in the abundant happiness that comes to him—a happiness that lasts in this world and in the world to come—and in the satisfaction that he has pleased his creator. When, however, he walks in the path of evil, envy, malice, calumny, slander, detraction, untruth, false witness, fornication, adultery, lewdness, theft, robbery, hatred, enmity, riot, wanton disturbance, murder, injustice, iniquity, ignorance, diligence in wickedness, and desire of other people’s possessions—he brings on himself what is detrimental to him, and he is certain that his reward will be torments from which there is no escape, because he has forsaken the praiseworthy commandments of God and pandered to the desires of his heart, and in so doing has deserved the tortures of Hell.

“Man should know that there are angels entrusted to take charge of the fire and of the people that are in its lowest extremity. These angels are made of fire. The bodies<sup>2</sup> of the human beings suffer, and none of them possesses any resting place or lying position, but they continually and at all times wade through that fire which, however, does not penetrate into them, because it is its heat only that torments them and makes them move from place to place. If the body and the soul of a man falling into the fire of hell or into one of the abodes of torments, were to perish quickly, it would have been more advantageous for him than the continuous suffering, anxieties, and excruciating pains<sup>3</sup> of the souls at all hours and moments of eternity. God curbs the destructive power of the fire so that it does not destroy those who dwell in it but only inflicts torments on them. This will last all

<sup>1</sup> Read *taraka*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *fal-'ajsād*.

<sup>3</sup> Remove the article.



the time in which God wills to spread His wrath on them ; and God has power over everything.”<sup>1</sup>

### THE STORY OF THE PAGAN KINGS.

And Peter, the master of all, said : “ The first (King) is one, and from his Kingdom will emanate many Kingdoms.” And our Lord said<sup>2</sup> : “ On account of my wrath with my people I will cause (this King) to prevail upon them, I will prolong his life and give him victory over the majority of them. His nature is that of the desert from which he comes forth and his manners are like those of a wild ass. His relatives will rally to him and will help him in the abomination in which he will indulge. These are called ‘ Children of Vipers ’ and he is called ‘ Rebellious Child.’ He will strike at the children of the water.”<sup>3</sup> (His people) are full of iniquity and are known as the second nation.<sup>4</sup> This nation compels men to embrace its faith, cleaves to injustices, displeases God, is bent on high living and boasts of her drinks, orders evil, indulges in iniquities, forbids gratitude, worships the demons, turns people to the love of women, mocks at me, at all my disciples and at all who believe in me, and loves God with its tongue only. In its words it shows that it believes in God, but in its works it disbelieves in Him. It holds fast to lies and utters falsehood concerning God.

“ It is an ignorant nation that bellows like camels and that speaks with its lips words that are not found in its heart. It worships in temples of idols, and it resembles the people of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, the children of Hell. It practises favouritism and usurps honour, glory, majesty, power, and might.

“ I did not order this nation to halt, and it is I, O Peter, who will bestow on it dignity, power, and victory over all those who believe or disbelieve in me, and whom I wish to punish and chastise. This

<sup>1</sup> *Ḳur’ān*, ii. 19, etc. In this passage the author does not seem to believe in the eternity of the torments of Hell. This is contrary to what is stated above.

<sup>2</sup> This beginning is abrupt and there is not much connection between the two sentences.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the water of baptism.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of these sentences is not certain.



nation will compel other people to embrace its religion, and it will attain its aim with the sword.<sup>1</sup>

"In the days of this nation that comes from the desert there will be earthquakes and great and persistent fear and dread. Its King will fight all other nations, and (its soldiers) will wear mantles, will walk in a naked state and will shave the hair of their heads like men resembling demons. It is I who will send forth this nation which has no equal among other nations. Its King will fight against the four corners of the earth, and will go from east to west and from west to east. His Kingdom will reach (the country of) the idols<sup>2</sup> and the end of *Khurāsān*, and he will destroy the palaces of the Kings without pity, and he will legalise wars. His young men and his children will inflict injuries on mankind, and he will sanction murder.

"At that time no man will confide any secret to his neighbour. because all men will become treacherous. People who are vain and people who bear false witness will multiply in all the earth. The mendacious people will be in high esteem, and the fornicators and adulterers will show themselves openly and will take pride in filth and abomination without fear of God and without shame. At that time the iniquitous people will despise those who obey God, and the rich will need the poor. The anger of the people<sup>3</sup> of tares will be on the increase against the people of the faith, and they will tread them under their feet.

"The young men and the young children of that nation will detract the old men of the believing community without restraint or pity, and the child among them will abuse the grown up. A son among them will murder his father, and they will kill one another without hindrance. That nation will, in conjunction with its King, lay its hands on the sanctuaries in order to strip them of their gold, and will destroy the religious edifices and churches built under my name. (Its King) will chop off the noses, cut out the eyes, and cut off the hands, the feet and the ears. He will establish an iniquitous law to himself and he will be<sup>4</sup> cruel, and in his cruelty he will kill people, destroy towns, and rob and murder without pity while saying : 'God ordered me to do this.'

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible not to think here that the author had in mind the Arab invasion and the Muslim religion.

<sup>2</sup> Is it India, the country of the Buddhas?

<sup>3</sup> Add *ahl*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wa-yakūn*.

"At that time nation will rise against nation, people against people,<sup>1</sup> wars against wars,<sup>2</sup> and King against King, and love will cease between them. The believers will then pray<sup>3</sup> (to me) concerning the intended fight (of that King) against them, but I will give him victory over them. They will call upon me, but I will not answer them on account of their abominations, and I will render his name<sup>4</sup> full of terror for them.

"The men of that nation will stretch also their hands against the graves and will dig out the bones of the dead who believed in me from the days of *Noah* to their time. They will pierce the hearts of the living with spears, and in their wars human bones will be sown in their days like seed. The land towns and the seaports will fear them, and that fear will cause the travellers on land and sea to put an end to their travels.

"They will tread on the people with their feet and will consume all the green plants with their mouths. They will seize other people's possessions by force, and no one will be able to stand against them, nor to thwart their desires. They will cut roads and paths in places in which people were unable to walk previously, and they will destroy the inhabited places and build up the places that were not previously inhabited. As a distinctive mark they will shave their hair, and wear the mantle and the short garment.<sup>5</sup>

"<sup>6</sup> In their days there will be great famine, little abundance, and increasing mortality. All this will take place as a punishment to those who display their arrogance before me.

"O Peter, when you see the lion's whelp lurking on one side<sup>7</sup> and resting in a secluded place,<sup>8</sup> you will know and ascertain that the destruction of this nation is at hand, and that its end is near. When you see that fear has become general, and that death and famine are on the increase; when you notice two kings<sup>9</sup> of the same race, of the same country<sup>10</sup> and of the same locality beginning to fight<sup>11</sup> against each other, you will know that the land will be subjected to severe afflictions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. xxiv. 7, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* codex.

<sup>3</sup> Read *yatadarra'*.

<sup>4</sup> I read *'ismahu*.

<sup>5</sup> All this surely refers to the Arabs.

<sup>6</sup> Here begins the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 70), with many discrepancies.

<sup>7</sup> Read *jānibin*.

<sup>8</sup> The Ethiopic version reads: "When the lion's whelp comes back and returns to the same locality."

<sup>9</sup> Read *malikain*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *baladin*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *yatakātālān*.



"At that time there will be fearful visions, and signs will be seen on the earth and wonderful happenings will be renewed in heaven. The stars will fall, and there will be fear and fright. At that time wars and raids will multiply, and I will cause destruction to prevail upon men, and will deliver them to the sword. They will offer to me prayers and supplications, but I will not listen to them, nor will I have pity on them, because of the great number of their sins and iniquities. In those days the nation of that King will prevail upon my nation, and those who believe in me will suffer many tribulations.<sup>1</sup>

"Then the believers in me will pray to me, and the people of my faith will repent before me with a true repentance. There will be in the world prayers the like of which did not exist before. If something like them existed in the days of *Adam*, he would not have gone out of Paradise; if the like of them existed in the time of *Noah*, the deluge would not have come on the rebellious nations; if something like them existed in *Sodom*, God would not have sent on it fire and brimstone; if something like them existed in the time of *Pharaoh*, God the Father would not have drowned him (and his people) in the sea; if something like them existed with the children of Israel, *Nebuchadnezzar* would not have prevailed upon them, and I would have delivered them from his hand. If the believers<sup>2</sup> had implored me<sup>3</sup> and addressed to me similar prayers in their days and in their times, I would have accepted their prayers and not allowed anyone to rule them and reign over them, and I would have heard them always and have listened to them.

"If prayers such as those were addressed to me by them, I would have removed from them all injustices, all harm, all fear and all calamities, and no creature of God would have been able to inflict any injury on them. My eyes would have guarded them and my ears would have heard their supplications and listened to their prayers as I had promised to them, because I am a truthful Lord, possessing exclusively good attributes.

"O Peter, the people of the desert,<sup>4</sup> whom I have described to you, will surely trample on the Holy House, and lengthen their

<sup>1</sup> The majority of the above sentences are missing in the Ethiopic version.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-mu'minūn*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *da'āni*.

<sup>4</sup> The Ethiopic version omits every allusion to this people of the desert, probably symbolised in the Arabs.



speech and their stories in order to deceive and circumvent the believers with their lying utterances ; but you, O Peter, tell your people to avoid them and not to follow their false doctrine about God, a doctrine that will be delivered with a diabolical cunning and assertions to which there is no foundation. They are the roots of thorns of thistles which will be gathered in order to kindle with them the fire of Hell. Order (your people) to endure<sup>1</sup> and not to fear those who kill the body, because if they endure their tribulations I will cause them to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Anyone who will not follow those people, I will forgive his trespasses and overlook his prevarications, because he has kept his baptism and met the Father with an unsullied faith ; and I will make him inherit the pleasures which the eye saw not, and the ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man,<sup>2</sup> and was not perceived by the awe-inspiring Powers.<sup>3</sup>

“ O Peter, woe unto them that are with child and unto them that give suck<sup>4</sup> in those days of the people whom I have mentioned. In those days many nations of my people will be killed with the sword, and the pregnant women will miscarry from fear. I will order the winds to lift skywards the soil and the ashes of the earth, and I will shower that earth and those ashes from the sky and strike with them the faces of those who contradict the truth. The quantity of the earth falling will be as high as the mountains. All this will take place because of the suffering inflicted on those who believe in me. And my churches and my houses of prayer will be re-built, and my altars re-erected.<sup>5</sup>

“ The springs and the rivers will dry up, the time will change, the sun will suffer eclipse for three days, and the days and the months will be altered, because computation by the sun, by the moon, and by the rest of the stars will cease to be accurate. Anger will increase and wrath will multiply on the earth, and good things will cease to come to mankind.

“ The King of the people whom I have described to you and who will hate my followers, will reign in<sup>6</sup> all the land of *Jerusalem*, and

<sup>1</sup> Read *yashirū*.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the angels.

<sup>5</sup> These sentences are missing in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxiv. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. “ from.”

whenever his power increases, his anger, his tyranny, and his enmity will also increase; and his needs, his extortions, his oppression, his injustice, and his sinfulness will grow.

"In the days of that people the soldiers of Satan and his evil spirits will multiply, so that the earth will be filled with them. They will claim prophecy, and will become false prophets. In their days the beast of the desert will rule over mankind, and his people will divide the earth into parts for which they will cast lots among themselves. In their last days other nations will come out of them<sup>1</sup> and the countries (of the earth) will be destroyed. They will seize the land of the remotest inhabitants of the earth, and they will make men dwell in the deserts of the surface of the globe.

"Then a rod will spring up in the country of the South<sup>2</sup> from my anger and my wrath, in the same way as the rod of salvation who is the Son of Man sprang up for the salvation of the world. At that time the mountains, seized with fear of the aforesaid people, will tremble. They will arm themselves with weapons destructive of life and make others do likewise, and they will gird themselves with iron. While wars are being waged; while the phalanxes struggle with one another; while men are under the sway of tribulations, fear, pains, famine and death; while blood is being shed and flows on the surface of the earth; and while swollen waters burst through their barriers: the ox with the two horns<sup>3</sup> will make its appearance in its might from the East. The winds will increase in the countries of the earth, one after another, and the struggle will be intensified and embittered, and the nations will perish, and blood will flow in the mountains and in the plains like water. The inhabitants will be deported, a son will not know his father,<sup>4</sup> the women will be ravished, and their children<sup>5</sup> will be sold to slavery. People will be scattered in all lands, and a son will not know his father nor a father his son, nor a slave his master. On account of the great conquests of this murderous<sup>6</sup> nation, the towns

<sup>1</sup> My translation of this uncommon and modern verb is not certain.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic word used is *taiman* from Syriac *taimna* "south." The Ethiopian translator understood this word as a proper name and rendered it by *Teman*. Further, he understood the sentence to mean "the rod of salvation and of life will come from *Teman*" instead of from Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 71) reads only "the King of the East."

<sup>4</sup> Read *abāhu*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *awlādahunna*.

<sup>6</sup> *Kātūl* is a participle imitated from Syriac.



and the rivers will submit to it, and the souls of men will perish like the souls of lambs, and iniquity will increase.

The masters will be like slaves, and all of them will sit together as equals. The slave girl will be sitting down and be honoured, and the mistress will grind the corn with the hand-mill. The young will take precedence over the old, and will drink<sup>1</sup> before them, while the slaves will be given power to rule over the masters. Because of this men will be delivered at that time to the sword and will be considered like dogs, and the powers of heaven will be shaken.<sup>2</sup> The kings of the earth will fight one another, and all the kings will flee from the King of the South, and all the nations will be seized with fear of him. He will fight<sup>3</sup> against the four corners of the earth, will overpower the kings, will rule over all the world, and will uproot the towns of idols. There will be but little<sup>4</sup> peace and security in his time, because of the actions of the preceding kings. The calamities that will befall them will primarily be<sup>5</sup> on account of their sins and iniquities.

"At the end of the trials and tribulations that men will endure, and at the end of everything that I have described, the earth will rest in peace and security, and the sufferings and pains will vanish; there will be tranquillity and quiet, and the nations will befriend one another; the wars will cease, and the nations will rejoice under the shadow of the grace of God. This peace, however, will affect mankind for a short time only, but men will believe that there will be no more wars on the earth.<sup>6</sup>

"After that there will be fear, dread, and fright the like of which had not been seen before. Men will die from that fright, and kings will rise against kings. Wars will be waged, and blood will flow. The birds of heaven and the beasts of the earth will be satiated with the flesh of the corpses of the slain.

"After that the earth will again experience peace and security, and the nations will rejoice and forget the past.<sup>7</sup> Justice, peace, and

<sup>1</sup> Read *wa-yashrab*.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiv. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kāna yuhārib* and likewise read the following two verbs in masc. sing.

<sup>4</sup> Read *al-yasir*.

<sup>5</sup> The sentence is complicated and the translation is not certain.

<sup>6</sup> Many of the above sentences are missing or differently translated in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 72).

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "What had happened was to the good."



security will affect all mankind for a short while, then men will be plundered and the inhabitants of the majority of the countries of the earth will be deported. The son will not know his father nor the father his son. Man will say to man and woman to woman: 'From which country have you been deported and from which country are you? Who was your king and what was your condition? How were you able to save yourself, and how did you come here?' They will not know one another, and one will kill the other.

"In those days one will not have pity on another, be he old or young, be he a boy or a girl. The greatest calamities will fall on the believers, who will be bound with chains and fetters and cast and drowned in rivers. Their hands will be tied to their hair, and those who bind them will impede them from drinking water. When their victorious enemies have dealt with them according to their wishes, there will be a great earthquake<sup>1</sup> the like of which had not previously occurred, and the earth will shake three times a day. Then the greatest, the most powerful, the most awe-inspiring King of the South will come forth. He is a terrible and fearful King, and possesses many armies and numerous troops and nations, and he is the powerful ox with the three horns.<sup>2</sup> He will reign, he will destroy, he will burn, and he will shed blood. He will rob, he will plunder, and he will cast his anger on all the ends of the earth. He will demolish and uproot<sup>3</sup> the central<sup>4</sup> columns, will indulge in dishonourable things, and cast his anger, wrath, and rancour on the town of *Baalbeck*<sup>5</sup> which he will destroy to its foundations. After he has entered this town and done in it what he had intended to do and shed on it all his evil designs, he will not return to his country and to his relations, but he will die and perish in it, and its soul will leave (its body) because he has set himself as high as God and in so doing has deserved torments and perdition.

"I will pour on him my anger and my wrath through the King of the East. This King will destroy his pillar and his kingdom, defeat his troops, bring low his majesty, rule over his countries, uproot his residences, overpower his followers and his children whom he will kill

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "Fright."

<sup>2</sup> Here the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 72) has also "the ox with the three horns."

<sup>3</sup> The Syr. verb 'akar.

<sup>4</sup> Read *al-wusṭa*.

<sup>5</sup> A well-known town in Syria.

with horrible tortures.<sup>1</sup> Then the earth will be steady and the world stable, and justice and fair play will be on the increase for all the subject peoples.

“After this kings will rise against kings, and wars will be waged by them, which will cause the destruction of cities.<sup>2</sup> The ramparts<sup>3</sup> of the large city of the *Hijāz* which has many inhabitants will be destroyed, and all the gold, the silver, the vessels, the beauty, and the majesty that are found in it and in *Egypt* will be carried to *Babylon*. A week and a half after the cities have been destroyed and the ramparts of the fortified city which is in the *Hijaz*<sup>4</sup> have been dismantled, my sanctuaries will be destroyed, and their wood will be burnt with fire and naphtha. My opponent will take pride in this and will endeavour to kill my followers and to inflict on them what he had intended to do against them: he will commit injustices against them, ravish their women, rob them, plunder them, deport them, and murder them; he will also demolish and burn my churches, because (my followers) will not do the things that he will do.

“Then the above wars will cease and men will breathe, but my followers will have no peace in all the days of that king, but their time<sup>5</sup> will be spent in tribulations, injustices, and in his enmity till he dies. At the end<sup>6</sup> of the days decreed for them, signs will appear in heaven, in the sea, and on the land, and frightful happenings will be intensified in the higher sea (that is in heavens). The kings who will oppose my followers will arrive and repair to the countries of *Persia*, which they will besiege. A door will open for them in the sea, and the hostile sword will reach the region of *Cyprus*. And they will destroy my churches, trample on my buildings, and tear up the sacred Books and the Gospels which they will contain. They will take possession of my horses and my valiant horsemen and they will kill them and plunder them, and they will hold in bondage<sup>7</sup> all the inhabitants of the country<sup>8</sup> of *Cyprus*.

<sup>1</sup> All this is missing in Ethiopic.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-amṣār*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *aswār*.

<sup>4</sup> In this sentence and in the one that precedes it the text is badly worded and seems to make of the *Hijāz* a town—instead of a country.

<sup>5</sup> I read *zamānuhum*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tatimmu*.

<sup>7</sup> The author uses here the objective pronoun before the subject as it is done in Syriac and not in Arabic.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. “town.”



"In those days the inhabitants of *Egypt*<sup>1</sup> will go forth and will conquer the town of my holiness, which they will occupy; and they will spread on the earth as they had spread previously.<sup>2</sup> Visions will increase at the time when this takes place, and fear and dread will be rampant in the other countries and regions of the earth. The hatred of men will be continually poured on my followers who believe in me, but know, O Peter, that I am the Lord under whose power they are. These calamities will befall them solely on account of their sins and prevarications, and I will have them continually in my hands and under the care of my Providence. In every country in which a wicked king<sup>3</sup> rules over them, I will raise the best man found in it, and he will have pity, compassion, and affection for all those who believe in me. I will not cease also to help them and to listen to their prayers in those harassing days which will come on them, because they have been steadfast in their faith in me and have endured with patience the injustices of my enemies. I will not turn my face from them, but I will be continually with them and help them always, at all times and for ever and ever.

"At the end of those days the sun and the moon will suffer eclipse, the stars will fall, and the King of the East will come forth to the west with numerous troops. A war will then be waged between the King of the East and the King of the West, and killing and destruction will increase among (their soldiers). Stormy winds from heaven will sweep the earth, and calamities, dearth, famine, and fear will be renewed for mankind, and deportation<sup>4</sup> and death will be the lot of the children of *Ham*. Signs will be seen in heaven, cries will succeed one another, and all the paraphernalia of wars will shine from heaven to such an extent that the souls of the inhabitants of the earth will be terrified.

"After this a king will come from the east to *Egypt*, which he will occupy, and he will also occupy the other countries of the west. All the earth and all the nations will submit to him and obey him. He will lead a great army and conquer big cities, and he will rule from sea to sea. Then the *Arab* armies will spread out, and there will be

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the author is using here the word *Misr* in its literal sense of "Egypt."

<sup>2</sup> All the above sentences are missing in Ethiopic. <sup>3</sup> Read *malikun*.

<sup>4</sup> Or "famine," etc., if we read *ghala* as above for *jala*.



great fear on the earth because of them, and the lands that are near to them will submit<sup>1</sup> to them. When their armies come near a country, people will hear<sup>2</sup> voices like voices of angels coming out of them, and an uproar similar to that of the heavenly hosts, and the hearts of the children of men will be filled with fear. There will be no earthly king left without fearing them and dreading them in his soul. There will be in the world tribulations the like of which had not been seen previously. The mountains will crumble, and heaven with its powers will be agitated. Fear will also penetrate into the hearts of animals from east to west.

"At that time I will send my grace and my mercy upon all the inhabitants of the earth who believe<sup>3</sup> in me, will answer all those who pray to me, and will open to them the doors of my pleasure, through which I will cause them to enter. I will give joy to their hearts and peace to their souls. I will comfort them and enhance their prestige, and I will make my kings prevail upon all those who had contradicted me. Wars will be waged, nations will be terrified, fear will spread, towns will be agitated, and hearts will ache. Famine will last together with death and the shedding of blood, countries will perish and regions will be trodden under feet. Men will perish, and the condition of women will grow worse. My anger will come down and will destroy all those who contradict my kings, and the army (of the said King) will be defeated, and he himself will lose his throne.

"I will bring salvation to the earth openly, and joy, happiness, and satisfaction will be seen in the hearts of my kings, and in those of all my flocks. Any one of them who had been expatriated will return to his country and will be reunited to his family and his relations, and my faith will appear on the spear-heads. The tribes will come back and return to one another, and every hidden thing will be made manifest, and the humble will be separated from the insolent. My glory will be enhanced among the believers in me, and joy and jubilation will increase in all the countries of the earth.

"The lion's whelp will arise from his slumber and he will uproot the children of *Seba* on account of their bad deeds, and he will put

<sup>1</sup> I read *tutū'uhum*. This sentence is complicated and its translation is not certain.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yasma'*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *yu'min*.

<sup>4</sup> Here begins the Ethiopic version (*ibid.*, p. 73) after having omitted many of the above passages.

to flight and defeat all the kings, because I have given him my power. And the lion's whelp will rule over *Damascus*, and he will destroy it if its inhabitants do not repent. The cause of the onslaught of the lion's whelp is that his enemy will conquer a town of his Kingdom which is situated in the west, and his zeal will be roused and he will bring his armies to the east, and he will defeat the one who had conquered his town that was situated in the west. They will ask pardon, which he will not grant, and he will display his armies in the east and in the west, which he will conquer, and he will reach the borders of all the Kingdoms, and will march on *Jerusalem*, which he will enter<sup>1</sup> with joy and jubilation.

"He will rebuild in it the places that had been demolished, and he will reconstruct the rampart<sup>2</sup> of his capital,<sup>3</sup> and he will rebuild the rampart of the city of *Phoenicia*, because he will find it demolished together with its towers. O Peter, all the believers in me will be at that time in great joy and jubilation. Then the lion's whelp will return to his Capital, radiating with great joy and followed by honour, majesty, and grace. Then he will mount the throne of his Kingdom and of his glory for many years and multitudinous days, because he will follow my commandments, judge in justice, and not spare those who disbelieve in me. The Kingdom of those who believe in me on the surface of the earth will last seventy weeks,<sup>4</sup> and that believing King will exact justice from the children of the wolf forty fold for each injustice they had inflicted on the believers, because justice means religion.

"That blessed King will also impose full tribute on the children of the wolf and exact from them forty fold the tribute that they had taken from the believers. He will not have pity on them nor will he listen to their prayers, because they are detractors of their creator and liars. Men will be astonished at the zeal and the actions of that lion's whelp, who will indeed be zealous towards those who believe in me. And they had believed that he was dead never to rise again!

"From that time none of the children of the wolf will ever be allowed to bear arms, and justice, equity, and security will increase,

<sup>1</sup> Read *yadkhuluha*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "town."

<sup>2</sup> Read *sūr*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dan. ix. 24.



and abundance will affect all creatures. And he will rebuild all towns that were destroyed, and opulence will be as profuse as the sand of the sea shore, and all the believers will live in an un-describable affluence. Know, O Peter, that all these events will take place twenty two and a half long weeks before the second coming of the Son of Man—who is I—to the world.

“Know, O Peter, that the Kingdom of the lion’s whelp will be a good one. I have already revealed and disclosed this mystery to my elect, my pious and pure one, my prophet *Daniel*, and shown him some of these facts. I have revealed to him the Kingdoms and symbolised them for him in four beasts which came up from the water.<sup>1</sup> The first beast was like a lion, the second beast like a wolf,<sup>2</sup> the third beast like a tiger,<sup>3</sup> and the fourth beast like a lion’s whelp, and it is the greatest and most formidable of the beasts.

“The first beast that resembled the lion represented the Kingdom of the *Babylonians*, the second beast which resembled the wolf are the children of the ‘*Abūs*,<sup>4</sup> the third beast which is the tiger is the Kingdom of the *Greeks*, and the fourth beast which was like a lion’s whelp is the Kingdom of the *Romans*, and it is higher and greater

<sup>1</sup> Dan. vii. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, has a “bear” and not a wolf. The Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 77) has “a serpent,” and identifies the Kingdom with that of the “*Eldiyon*.” I believe that this strange word *Eldiyon* may be explained through a blunder on the part of the Ethiopian translator. The word appears to be the Arabic *el-dhi’b* “the wolf,” *el* being the article. In early and undotted Arabic characters the letters *dāl* (d) and *dhāl* (dh) are graphically identical and distinguishable only by an extraneous dot placed over the latter. So also is the case with the letters *nūn* (n) and *bā’* (b) which are distinguished only by a dot placed over or under them. So the above word which really means “wolf” may easily have given birth to the meaningless *Eldiyon* found in the Ethiopic version. The undotted Arabic form would be *الذئب* which may be read as *el-dhi’b* the “wolf” or the meaningless *Eldiyon*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8, does not give the name of the beast.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic word ‘*abūs* used here means primarily “lion” and is derived from the verb ‘*abasa* which means “to be stern and austere in countenance.” As this verb is also the root of the Arabic proper name ‘*Abbās* from whom comes the ‘*Abbasid* dynasty of Baghdad it is just possible that the author was playing on the identical root of these two words and thus wishing to kill two birds with one stone. For this reason I will retain the word in the translation in order to avoid possible ambiguities. Further reference will be made below to this fact.



than the Kingdom of the other kings. The Kingdom of *Babylon* will last five hundred years, and the Kingdom of the children of the 'Abūs will last as the prophet Isaiah said, according to the years of an hireling.<sup>1</sup> As to the Kingdom of the Greeks, it will last three fifths and a half of the duration of the Kingdom of the children of the 'Abūs,<sup>2</sup> and the Kingdom of the Romans will last till my second coming. And I, O Peter, will then take over the Kingdom from them.

As to the Kingdom of the children of the 'Abūs, twelve kings will come out of it, followed by nine *mutawāfir*<sup>3</sup> kings. The said twelve kings will show justice on the earth, will be great and powerful, and will protect their Kingdom. The reference to them will be by the brief length of their reign,<sup>4</sup> and their days will be short. Two of those kings will perish in the centre of the earth, and four of them will guard their Kingdom which will be with them and in their successive generations till the end.

"Out of them will come three Kings in the three fifths of the aforesaid period.<sup>5</sup> The first of them will be killed in his bed, and the second of the three will reign five and a half years,<sup>6</sup> and many men will be murdered and will perish by his hand. He will follow his own opinions, and he himself will prepare for wars. He will repair to *Mesopotamia* with a great army, and those who believe in me will make a pact with him and will not forsake him. From *Mesopotamia* he will travel to *Syria*, and its inhabitants will acknowledge him. From it he will repair to the town of *Phœnicia*,<sup>7</sup> but he will turn his face from it and return to *Syria*, and many men

<sup>1</sup> Is. xxi. 16. So I understand the sentence which literally means "according to the number of the year of the greatest." The Ethiopic version makes mention here of the problematic *Eldiyon*—as above.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 77), reads: "five times as long as the half of the reign of the children of "*Eldiyon*."

<sup>3</sup> I do not know the precise meaning in the context of this Arabic word, the literal meaning of which is "abundant, numerous, copious." The Ethiopic version (*ibid.*) has "little Kings" or "Kinglets." Mention is made below of seven Kinglets.

<sup>4</sup> This translation is not certain. Literally the sentence reads: "Their relation is the law of the end." It is omitted in the Ethiopic version.

<sup>5</sup> The translation is uncertain. The sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

<sup>6</sup> Ethiopic: "one year and a half."

<sup>7</sup> Ethiopic: "Phrygia".

will perish there between the two mountains,<sup>1</sup> and he will scour the deserts.

"As to the twelve Kings that will reign from the barbaric nation, the name of the first of them begins with the letter *Hā*.<sup>2</sup> His reign will be a short one, and it is he who will precede the other kings in persecuting the children of (my) nation who will disobey his orders.<sup>3</sup> He will be the beginning of trouble. There will, however, be a little justice in his time, but woe to the man who follows his orders.

"After him will reign a King called ( . . . ).<sup>4</sup> He will conquer towns by means of his priests, and those who believe in me will feel secure, and he will grant them charters to this effect, but he will not grant them more than he will promise. He will destroy towns, villages, and corn fields. He will pass through countries, and will be the first King of the barbaric nation who will impose tribute on those who believe in me.

"After him will come from this nation a man called ( . . . ), who will usurp the throne. He will conquer countries and fight against his people and make their murder lawful. There will be justice in the beginning of his reign.

"After him will reign a man called ( . . . ). He will be a mighty man who will reap where he has not sown, and hoard what does not belong to him. His religion will be hypocrisy and iniquity, and he will be much more wicked than the one who preceded him. He will be the fourth King of that nation, and his Kingdom will be in the seventh millenium of the creation, and his power will be from me, and in the year nine hundred and twenty third of *Alexander*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Ethiopic version it is the King that will die between two mountains.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Herod*. All these identifications are additions to the original text, and are by late copyists who wished to make a display of their skill in guessing the identity of the persons spoken of enigmatically by the first narrator. I shall relegate the names of the persons guessed by them in this way to the foot-notes. They are mostly missing in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 74).

<sup>3</sup> All this sentence is complicated, and my translation of it is very uncertain. It is of course missing in Ethiopic, as are also all the following pages.

<sup>4</sup> The missing names of Kings will be marked with three dots between brackets.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 612 according to the ordinary computation.



By my will he will repair to the land of the holy light, which I had promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. He will enter it and conquer its<sup>1</sup> inhabitants who believe<sup>2</sup> in me in the year nine hundred and thirty fifth of the era of *Alexander*.

"All the time of that nation is four long weeks, six weeks of medium length, and three and a half short weeks. At the end of these weeks I will throw confusion among (its Kings) and I will destroy their Kingdom. The interval of time in which their Kingdom will be just and full of equity will be one hundred and nine years. At the end of this period of security the twelfth of the aforesaid Kings will die. He will be a powerful man, with long stature and sharp eyes. I have created him in my wrath and made him love to erect land-borders, rebuild devastated places and plant trees. He will have a long life and he will build towns and dig wells.<sup>3</sup> He will be so keen in exacting tribute from men that he will demand it even from people who have died.

"He will amass gold and silver in a quantity larger than that amassed by the previous kings. He will have also numerous gifts sent to him by all nations, tribes and peoples, who will thus seek to ingratiate themselves with him at every opportunity. He will travel in the deserts and the wastes, will cause rivers to flow in them, and will taste of the fruit of all the trees that he will plant. When the time of his death is near,<sup>4</sup> he will receive messages of condolence from all countries, and will die in his bed in peace and without the troubles experienced by other kings who die a violent death of various kinds.<sup>5</sup>

"After the death of the aforesaid King another man will reign half a week, and he will be followed by another man who will reign half a year. After this period, tribulations will increase against the believers in me, especially against those of them who will be dwelling in towns at the time of the dissolution of the Kingdom of the aforesaid nation. As to those<sup>6</sup> believers who at that time will be dwelling in the three mountains or in their summits, they will be saved, because those mountains are difficult of access.

<sup>1</sup> Add: 'ala after the verb and eliminate the *lām*.

<sup>2</sup> I read *al-mutadāyin*, for *al-madāyin*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "rivers."

<sup>4</sup> Read *dana*.

<sup>5</sup> All this sentence is badly worded, but its meaning is clear.

<sup>6</sup> Read *min* for *makān*.



"Then eight small kings will rise, followed by three others of different nationality. One of these three will follow his own opinions and his own desires. After him another man will rise from them who will be a mendacious and a deceitful person who will wish to possess the Kingdom and for this purpose he will make promises to people concerning various things which he will not fulfil.<sup>1</sup> He will kindle wars in the centre of the earth and will overcome those who do not acknowledge him. He will ravish many (women) and he will be a lover of fornication and homicide. To his relatives and to the strangers he will not fail to be a sign of the nearness of the end of his people in the world.<sup>2</sup>

"At that time there will be in the world a peace that will last less than half a week, and after that peace *Egypt* will be ruined and there will be much slaughter in it. It will be surrounded on all sides by wars, its inhabitants will be seized with fear and fright inside and outside, and they will have no rest. After this three men who are brothers will rise, and one of them will reside in the east, in the centre of the world. When these three brothers have risen, it will be the time of the departure<sup>3</sup> of the people whom I have described.

"Then the servitude of those who believe in me will be intensified, because the aforesaid people in conjunction with other peoples will enslave them. The towns will be ruined, and the earth will shake on account of the injustice done to those who believe in me. O Peter, when (you see<sup>4</sup>) that the land is seized with fear, let any of its inhabitants who is sinful<sup>5</sup> be steadfast in fasting, praying, and giving alms, and let him not come near any sin. O Peter, admonish those who believe in me to beware of all men, and inform them that their children and their parents may be their enemies.

"Know, O Peter, that at the time in which the children of the wolf will come out of Jerusalem, the earth with all that is on it will shake. The earth will darken, mendacity will increase in it, and truth will vanish from it. Visions and earthquakes will multiply, the preaching of the priests will cease, and vain people with empty pride

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "and there will be nothing left of them."

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is badly worded and my translation of it is very uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly in the sense of "the end." Read *dhahāb*.

<sup>4</sup> This or a similar verb is missing in the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> The word *ajnāhāt* seems to be a translation of the Syriac *gunhē*.

will prevail. The holy priesthood will be sold for money, and bribes will be accepted for it. The wise men will be disregarded, and the ignorant will rule. Injustices will be committed openly, and suspicion will be rife in all countries.

"The kings of the east together with their lands and the lands of the west will perish, and the kings of the west will rule over the country of *Phālīkīyah*<sup>1</sup> and over the deserts, and will put to shame the inhabitants of the town of *Rawādīf*,<sup>2</sup> who believe in me. The children of *Katlu*,<sup>3</sup> O Peter, will be given (or, will give) the tablets on my behalf in order to conquer your holy city, and they will impose tithes on its lands. Then the children of the '*Abūs* of the desert and the people who say that the tablets are like the tree the leaves of which fall in the winter time, will depart and all of them will perish by themselves, but the children of the just will have no fear. As to the towns of *Mitālīyah* and *Satāfān*<sup>4</sup> their inhabitants will be carried into captivity and perish, because I will look upon them with anger and wrath.

"After that there will be a short peace on the earth, and then the Law will appear. Men will be neglectful and afraid (of it), and they will read it from *Jerusalem*, but they will twist the meaning of my commandments which I have enjoined upon them,<sup>5</sup> and they will not honour my martyrs nor love my sacrifices; and fear will spread over your lands.

"Know, O Peter, that the sign of the iniquitous and unjust people whom I have mentioned as coming from the desert of the south is that they will ride on camels and will hold in their hands the rule of the carpenter with which they will mark, and will shave the hair (of their heads) like mendicants.<sup>6</sup> Woe to the island (*sic*) of *Haran* at that

<sup>1</sup> Which country is this?

<sup>2</sup> This word may not be a proper name but a derivative of the verb *radafa* in the sense of "followers."

<sup>3</sup> This word may be a derivative of the verb *katala* "to kill," and in that case the sentence would mean "the children of those who will be killed (or, who have killed) will be given (or, will give) the tablets from me." In this sense we ought to add an *alif* after the verb and the pronoun *al-ladhīn* before it. The meaning of all the sentence is problematical.

<sup>4</sup> Which towns or countries are these?

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of all the above sentence is uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> All this seems to refer to the Arabs. As to the rule (lit. "rod") of the carpenter we may compare Is. xlv. 13.



time, because its inhabitants will die of starvation, fire, sword, destruction and deportation. O Peter, *Haran* the town of idols will be like a congregation that is led astray and like leaven that is immersed into dough. Woe at that time to *Palestine* and to its inhabitants, because a King<sup>1</sup> will repair to it from the west, who will joy in pains and be pained<sup>2</sup> in joys. He will go afterwards to the east and perish there, and woes will be doubled for *Haran*, and gloom will be in the saddle in the east and in the west.

"Know, O Peter, that the people whom I have described will be in permanent action from the beginning of their reign to its end. This people, O Peter, is the scourge of my wrath on the earth, and men of all tongues will flee from them, because they will consider as lawful the deportation of their sons and daughters. O Peter, there will be no justice in the time of this people for one hundred and sixty nine years as I told you, and at the end of these years they will intensify their raids on the earth. O Peter, woe to *Armenia*, because it will perish seven times, and at the end of the seventh time, I will be reconciled to its inhabitants and give them victory, at the completion (of the time) of the twelve Kings;<sup>3</sup> and they will kill a considerable number of the wicked men, the children of the barbaric nation.<sup>4</sup>

"Then a man will appear and will call people to his side. His soldiers will be from the *Sudan*<sup>5</sup> and short of stature, the like of whom men had not seen previously. Their foot soldiers will be more numerous than their horsemen. At their first onslaught no one<sup>6</sup> will be able to oppose them nor to stand against them. Their devotion to their leader will be greater than yours and that of your colleagues to me, O Peter. At the end of their Kingdom they will repair with their King for the time being to the land of fear, and they will destroy three towns. *Egypt* will be in a state of commotion, and blood will be shed before that King and his generals. The treasures of *Damascus*, which are the glory of its inhabitants, will be thrown open,

<sup>1</sup> Read *malikun*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *wa-yahzan*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "heads."

<sup>4</sup> On the vicissitudes of Armenia caused by wars, see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i. 437 sq. The meaning of some words in this sentence is problematical.

<sup>5</sup> Or : "blacks."

<sup>6</sup> Read *aḥadun*.



the kings of the littoral will reign, and the mountains of *Alīnān*<sup>1</sup> will be conquered.

"When you see<sup>2</sup> that the east becomes dark and is covered with a black cloud; that stormy winds begin to blow; that armies move from one country to another and from one place to another; that many mountains are engulfed; that wars rage in *Damascus*, and there is no one left to dwell in it as well as in *Baalbeck*; that armies pour into *Egypt* in order to destroy it and burn it; that earthquakes occur in towns, and piercing noises are heard in them; that the Kingdom of the seven kinglets whom I have mentioned,<sup>3</sup> is at an end; and when you see that the seat of the Kingdom of the people that I have described changes from their first house to their second house, and that the seat of the Kingdom of the first King changes from the direction of their *Kiblah*<sup>4</sup> to the east; and when you see three kings rising in one year: know that (the day of) truth is at hand, and that the last Kingdom<sup>5</sup> will devastate the earth and the world.

"Know, O Peter, that at that time all those who believe in me will be smitten with great grief. Divisions will occur in the camp of the children of the '*Abūs*, and seven kinglets will rise from them, and a considerable number of them will congregate near waters.<sup>6</sup> A sign will be seen in *Edessa* and the inhabitants of *Haran* will rise against those of *Edessa*. There will be ruin, slaughter, grief and fear near the small winding river.<sup>7</sup> Woe, O Peter, to *Antioch*, your town, woe to *Baalbeck*, and woe to the remaining towns and to *Syria*, because they will be affected by many tribulations at that time. Woe, O Peter, to *Samosata* as it will be ruined, burned and its soil tilled with plough, because an iniquitous man will rise from it.<sup>8</sup>

"O Peter, if your people accept my words I will remove my anger and my wrath from them. Know, O Peter, that the temple of '*Irakah*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vowels uncertain. Which mountains are they? Is it possible that it is a scribe's error for *Lubnān*, the mountains of Lebanon?

<sup>2</sup> I read *nazartum*.

<sup>3</sup> Mention is made above of nine and eight and not seven kinglets. They are known under the name of *mutawāfir* kings. See pp. 447 and 450.

<sup>4</sup> Direction of prayer among the Muslims.

<sup>5</sup> Or: "King."

<sup>6</sup> Read *miyāh*.

<sup>7</sup> The river *Daiṣān* of Edessā?

<sup>8</sup> Is it Paul of *Samosata*?

<sup>9</sup> A town situated east of Tripoli, in Syria. It was fortified in ancient times.

and the town of *Seba* will be burned, and the inhabitants of the town of *Seba* will be reduced to a hill (of ashes). Seven years will come upon my people, in which many of them will perish. Signs will be seen in these seven years, and in them the earth will be filled with the partisans of hell.

“Signs will be seen in heaven, the sun will darken and soil will fall from heaven on the earth, which will cover its inhabitants. Mighty men will immediately perish, and the temple of the lion at *Baalbeck* will be destroyed. *Manīḥ*<sup>1</sup> will be rebuilt and buildings will increase in it and waters<sup>2</sup> will flow into it, which will divide themselves into different streams. Woe to *Paran* and to *Ara'mān*<sup>3</sup> because they will be ploughed in conjunction with the preceding towns in a week and a half.

“After that a King will reign whose name is (. . .), and after him another King called (. . .). Woe to towns, villages, and sown fields under the reign of these two Kings. The three mountains will then bend. At that time when the fourth *Nubian* King has passed away, four Kings will rise from the people whom I have described. The first of them will live a short time only, but the three others will have long reigns. The first King whose life will be short will be from the first six and two of the remaining three will be of the same family, and they will perish before the end of the days of the fourth King.<sup>4</sup>

“When wars and murder increase in this nation, and the earth is filled with tribulations, fifty nations will come out against it and tread on it. At their head will be a King leading many other kings, and they will fight on sea and land, and the seas will be strewn with ships full of warriors,<sup>5</sup> one of whom will chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight.<sup>6</sup> Then the aforesaid people will prepare to depart for *Nisibin*, and afterwards they will flee one and all into the deserts whence they came out. Then the Christian King residing in the city of *Antioch* will repair to *Rome*, and there he and the Kings of *India*

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that this *Manīḥ* refers to *Manīḥah*, a locality near Damascus? (Yākūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, iv, 673).

<sup>2</sup> Read *miyāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *'Arramān*, a town near the district of Haurān in the province of Damascus (Yākūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, iii, 655).

<sup>4</sup> The translation of all this sentence is uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> Read *muḳātilin*.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. xxxii. 30.



and *Cyrus*<sup>1</sup> will unite with *Sind* and *China*. They will make a mutual compact<sup>2</sup> to fulfil the wishes of those who believe in me and (to punish) those who hate them, and they will be given great power so that one of them will defeat a thousand. This I will grant to those who follow me and believe in me as God.

“O Peter, in that time *Jerusalem* will be rebuilt and its rampart<sup>3</sup> will be reconstructed. My temple will be re-erected, and *Jerusalem* will be rejuvenated after her old age, and will shine like the rays of the sun and like the flames of a burning fire. Know, O Peter, that the lion’s whelp, who is entrusted with the task of helping the believers, will show his head in order to fight his enemies. When he has finished thirty-one years in power, he will have, with the assistance of fifty<sup>4</sup> Kings, gained possession of all the earth. When he has reigned fifty-one years, your Kingdom, O Peter, will be great and you will increase in glory. O Peter, when the nations intensify their hatred against your people it will be a message of salvation to them, and let them take refuge from place to place.

“O Peter, have you not heard the words of my beloved David in his Psalms in which he says: ‘I will lift up my eyes to see from whence cometh my salvation, and it cometh from the creator of heaven and earth?’<sup>5</sup> O Peter, blessed are those who dwell in the four surrounding<sup>6</sup> mountains which you will encompass till the end of the world. I will make them dwellings of salvation, and all<sup>7</sup> who go and repair to them will prosper.

“Woe to treasures and towns in the time preceding<sup>8</sup> the rising of the lion’s whelp, because religion<sup>9</sup> will vanish in east and west. The virgins will be deflowered and the faithful,<sup>10</sup> especially the priests, will be killed all over the world; the water-pools of the earth will cease to exist and the villages will be destroyed with a lightning speed.

<sup>1</sup> The author seems to refer by this word to Persia in general.

<sup>2</sup> Probably read *yata’āhadūna*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sūruha*.

<sup>4</sup> If we read *Khamsin* in the accusative, the meaning would be “he will have defeated fifty Kings and gained possession of all the earth.”

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxxi. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> From the Syriac *krakh*.

<sup>7</sup> Probably read *kullu man*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Kabl*. This proves that the text from which the present Garshūni MS. is derived was in early and undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *bā’* and *yā’* are graphically similar and distinguishable by extraneous dots placed above or below the letters.

<sup>9</sup> I read *ad-dīn*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *al-mu’minūn*.



"You will see that the kings will assemble near one King, and three Kings will be established. Divisions will occur between them from the place where the sun rises to the sea. (And that one King ?) will appear from the south in glory and majesty, and the heart of the iniquitous nation will be seized with fear, and they will return<sup>1</sup> to the country from which they came. (That one King ?) will be accompanied by a man from the first house, and their discomfiture will be due to this man.

"O Peter, you will see your great city in a state of commotion, and from it will go out a considerable number of people, who will fill the earth. And you will see the standard bearer coming out of the *Capitolium*<sup>2</sup> of the great city of Rome. When you see all these things you will know that a complete salvation has come to those who believe in me. The name of the standard bearer who will come out of the *Capitolium* is derived from my name, and my name will be inscribed on the standard. He is the lion's whelp from whom the earth will shake with fear. When he appears he will repair to the country of *Yukīyah*.<sup>3</sup> The islands of *Cyprus* and *Sicily* will be full of his troops, and the cities will rejoice.

"O Peter, your great city of *Rome* will awake out of her sleep, and the armies of *Cyrus* and of *India* will assemble at that time in *Jerusalem* and worship my cross. My right hand will be<sup>4</sup> over the city of *Rome*, and I will order the heavenly hosts to come to its assistance.<sup>5</sup> The land and the sea will be filled with the inhabitants of *Maurikīyah*, and there will be an uproar in the earth on account of the blood shed on it. The enemy, however, will never prevail upon *Rome* because of its being your seat, O Peter. At that time<sup>6</sup> all the Kings of the earth will be in the power of the lion's whelp, and five-sixths<sup>7</sup> of the (inhabitants of the) world will believe in me. The Kingdom of the lion's whelp will be immune from vicissitudes till the

<sup>1</sup> Read *tarjī'* and *al-lati*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Kabiṭolion*. This proves decisively that the text from which the present MS. was copied was in undotted Arabic characters; because it is only in Arabic that the letters *bā'* and *yā'* are written in the same way and distinguished only by extraneous dots placed above or below them.

<sup>3</sup> Is it possible to read here *Tarāḳīyah* "Thrace"? The mistake could easily have arisen in undotted Arabic characters.

<sup>4</sup> Read *takūn*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *bi-mu'ādhadatiha*.

<sup>6</sup> Add *al-waḳt*.

<sup>7</sup> I read *asdās* for *asdūd*, which generally means "barriers."

time in which the sign of my rain-bow is seen on the clouds of heaven, and that sign will herald the time of my second coming into the world.

“ Know, O Peter, that when the Son of Perdition perishes, sins will increase among men. Tell your people, O Peter, that false prophets<sup>1</sup> will rise, and warn your nation to beware of the nation described above. Inform them that any of them who denies me in their time, I will throw him into the eternal torment. Proclaim to them that that nation will hate me and all who believe in me. O Peter, woe to those who deny me, and blessed are, O Peter, those who believe in me. Those who endure the tribulations till the end will live for ever and ever ; and those who die in my love will be counted as martyrs ; and those who endure tribulations and afflictions for my sake I will forgive their sins, double their reward, and make them inherit the Kingdom of Heaven which does not end nor perish and the pleasures of which no created being has ever known.<sup>2</sup>

“ O Peter, keep what I have taught you, and know that I am not going to forsake my people nor ever to abandon them. A time will come when the children of the wolf will seemingly triumph and inflict numerous and severe tribulations ; when your noble city will be surrendered, and its inhabitants<sup>3</sup> will suffer all kinds of torments and intense pains from their (enemies’) priests ; when your city’s sons will be deported and their daughters deflowered by the children of the wolf, for the duration of a week and a half. Blessed will be those who at that time go out of the city and flee from it, because woe will fall on it and I will not save it in order that my {will} may be done in it. Blessed will then be those who dwell in the mountains.

“ When those who believe<sup>4</sup> in me in the city have been killed and have become therein martyrs for my sake, then will I show my salvation in a way in which my right hand will be over the sea and my left over the land. At that time the children of the wolf will be cursed by their wives.<sup>5</sup> O Peter, when twelve signs have appeared in your city tell its inhabitants to flee from it before the remaining signs take place in it. (Those signs) will occur in it, and all the believers found in it will perish. When false intelligence increases among the

<sup>1</sup> Read *kadhāba*.

<sup>2</sup> Add *wamā* before the verb.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sākinūha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *al-mu'minūm*.

<sup>5</sup> The verb of the first member of this sentence is omitted by the copyist, and the meaning of all the sentence is thus rendered obscure.



children of the wolf, and lies spread, and fornication and adultery multiply among them ; and when awe-inspiring visions, false witness and bad thoughts concerning the honour of my people, occur, let all those who are able to flee do so.

“ In that day many men will deny me, and will taunt one another. Know, O Peter, that if the lion’s whelp roars and waxes angry on account of disappointment, I will send *Michael*, the angel of war, to the vanguard of his army, with the sword of anger and wrath, as I did in the times of yore with the Kings of *Babylon*, and as it happened to *Moses* my elect when he drowned *Pharaoh* in the sea, and as it happened also in the case of King *Asa*. In this way will I act with my people. In front of them<sup>1</sup> will be the lion’s whelp, who will strike all the unbelievers with his sword and bring terror into their hearts.

“ When<sup>2</sup> the rebellious King has repented and turned away from his rebellion and when our Lord has become a saviour, I will set (Him) up (as) the King with six names.<sup>3</sup> I will bring salvation through him, because he is the saviour<sup>4</sup> adorned with many names. With him I have placed *Michael* the man of the golden sword and the holder of the spear. At his right will be the Cherubim and Seraphim who will fight before him with twelve myriads of angels. On two memorable occasions I will fill all mankind with tremour and fear.

“ And woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck<sup>5</sup> at the time when the children of *Ishmael* shall come forth from the country of *Persia*. When you have seen the dead rising ; those immersed in sleep awaking ; the world excited by the instructions of the Guide ; the lion roaring and in its supplications to me its roar heard in all regions ; the Rebel repenting and the Insurgent making penitence ; those going astray coming to the right path ; rout<sup>6</sup> spreading ; the fallen rising ; the old things renovated ; the waves of the sea stilled ; the aged becoming young : know that the time is at hand. O Peter, when murder and death increase<sup>7</sup> in the regions (of the earth), and the chiefs rise capriciously against your people and your flocks, for two

<sup>1</sup> Read *mukaddamatihim*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *wa-'idh*.

<sup>3</sup> Or : “ the sixth King in the order of names.”

<sup>4</sup> The Syriac *pārūka*.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxiv. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Or : “ waterless cloud,” “ twang of the bow,” according to the way in which we read the word.

<sup>7</sup> Read *kathura*.



weeks of middle length, woe will fall on them for a short week and a half.

"O Peter, when you see the inhabitants of the desert taking refuge between the two mountains, tell<sup>1</sup> your people to flee in haste from the towns. When you see women seized with the pangs of travail every day, and father and son having intercourse with one woman in one house, wake up, O Peter, with your people. When you see that abomination and fornication are practised openly; that those who deny me are on the increase, that the wives of the believers blacken<sup>2</sup> their hands with the leaves of the tree which I have cursed from among all the trees created on the earth: woe, again woe, and all woe to those of them who dye themselves with (these leaves) after they have received the baptism, because their lot<sup>3</sup> will be with those who shed the blood of the prophets, with those who cried out before *Pilate*, saying: 'Crucify Him.'<sup>4</sup> Good were it for the woman who dyes herself with the leaves of this tree if she had not been born.<sup>5</sup>

"O Peter, when you see women dressed in men's dresses<sup>6</sup> and *vice versa*, know that the time is at hand, and that the hour of judgment is come. O Peter, blessed is the man who is not born in the time in which the wolf comes out of *Jerusalem*. Know, O Peter, that at that time my churches will be divided and that the sea ports will be ruined. Calamities will befall my people: some of them will be driven out of their places, some of them will be driven out of their homes, and some of them will be burned with fire. Blessed are those who flee to me and take refuge near my sanctuary which is in the new *Jerusalem*, which has no abomination nor iniquity, and on which no one has trodden except my people, from the time in which they believed in me. The one to whom it was entrusted did not contradict my commandment because I was with him, and I shall not cease to be with him always, and he will be with me and to me, and I with him and to him. Through him I will conquer all the fortified cities, because I have made him my elect, and I have chosen him and was pleased with him.

<sup>1</sup> Remove the *wāw*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ḥadhdhahunna*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is badly worded but the sense seems to be clear.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yusawwidna*.

<sup>4</sup> Mark xv. 13-14, etc.

“ O Peter, the city in which your body will be <sup>1</sup> placed, is the great city which has no blemish. I will make its inhabitants pure, and they will enjoy what is just and forbid what is wrong.<sup>2</sup> I will show my miracles in it, and I will establish in it the pillars of prophecy and priesthood, the sceptre of power and the throne of *David*; and this will remain in it for ever. It is *Jerusalem* the great, and I will honour it with the aforesaid mercies solely because of my love for you, O Peter. Make your mind clear, listen to my words, and know that all the books will undoubtedly perish and people will not believe in them nor in their contents, which they will ascribe to lies and falsehood. O Peter, woe to those who gave the lie to my signs. O Peter, when you see the priests despising and scorning them,<sup>3</sup> while wallowing in sins, and the common people railing at them and contradicting my commandments found in them, know that these are some of the signs of the end of the eon.

“ When you see the heads of *Jerusalem* fallen victims to torments, destruction, and much sorrow, know that your noble city and the rest of the cities will be affected by similar calamities. When the sun has risen from the city of *Rome* and shone on a desert of the west, and its rays have embraced all the earth and burned the trees of the wild and elevated cypresses; when you see that fire has consumed the land of fear (which is the land) of *Egypt*;<sup>4</sup> that its running water has dried up; that its laurel has died out; that the powerful King has gone to the lion's whelp carrying great and costly gifts to him; that the wealth of *Egypt* has been carried to the west; and that fear has affected the sea: know that at that time the son of the wolf who devastates<sup>5</sup> and lays waste will come out. When you see that he inflicts on (the inhabitants of) *Egypt* dispersion, divisions and (punishment with the) sword; when you see that its inhabitants are perishing of murder and death; when you see that the community of those who deny me in it are perishing with the sword, and that famine is creeping into it together with grievous and incurable diseases: know that its ruin is at hand and that the wolf will trample on the country of the east where he will muster a great army. There his power will

<sup>1</sup> Read *yakūnu*.

<sup>2</sup> Kur'ān iii. 100, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Read *biha*.

<sup>4</sup> Or: “ of the countries (of the earth) ” in general.

<sup>5</sup> The author uses the Syriac form of the participle.



be brought to an end and his wives will be deported, and he will change his sins with them to simple apparel.<sup>1</sup>

“Woe to *Egypt* because of the calamities that will befall her from sea, land, and all sides. All men will strive to plunder its wealth, and the children of the wolf will cry to one another and say: ‘Let us go to *Egypt*, wax rich in it and plunder its wealth.’ They will ruin it and be proud of (their deeds) in it, but they will perish in it. O Peter, know that all my words will be fulfilled and my wish realised.”<sup>2</sup>

*Here ends the fifth<sup>3</sup> part of the Book of Clement.*

*Again the sixth part of the Book of Clement.*

The Saviour said: “O Peter, make sure that your people do not deny me in the time of the coming of the trials, which will be doubled in the case of those who believe in me. Inform them that those of them who will endure the sword in their obedience to me will live with me in the last day, and I will make them inherit the Kingdom of Heaven which has no end and which will never cease to exist.

“O Peter, tell those who believe in me the following: ‘When you see towns tottering, the earth shaking, armies constantly mustering<sup>4</sup> in the world, and fear and trepidation filling the hearts, girdle your-

<sup>1</sup> So I translate the word *al-wadan* which may be translated in different ways. Its precise meaning in this sentence is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Here the copyist adds in Syriac: “O brother-readers, pray for the wretched and the weak man who wrote, and for his father and mother. And recite a *Pater Noster* for the soul of the author and of the hearers.”

<sup>3</sup> As the preceding part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* was called the “third part” the present part should have been named the “fourth part.” According to this heading two parts are missing in the book. This, however, does not seem to be the case because the MS. is complete and its text appears to be continuous throughout. Either two parts are combined somewhere into one or this false division is due to an error on the part of the copyist. Because of uncertainties see what I wrote on this subject in the *Prefatory Note*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wal-izdihāf*.



selves, prepare for war, and be in readiness. Know that I will keep alive those who will kill you and drive you away, in order that they may receive the torments prepared for them in the last day, because if I do not keep them none of them will be able to live on the earth.' O Peter, keep the secrets which I have disclosed to you, because their knowledge will be required at the end of the time, and it will only be found with few people.

"Any one with whom these words of mine are found harm will befall him.<sup>1</sup> I did not deliver them to any of the pious men of antiquity. The priest *Phinehas*, the great Father *Jacob*, the aged *Abraham*, 'the friend,'<sup>2</sup> and *Isaac* who was offered to me in sacrifice, asked me to disclose to them something of that which I have unveiled to you, but I did not answer their prayers. In the same manner *Moses* prayed before me forty days, and asked me to reveal to him something of this secret,<sup>3</sup> but I did not do it; I did, however, disclose to him the place where (that secret) will be kept. And *Moses* disclosed what I had revealed to him from this secret to his disciple *Joshua*, son of Nun, and *Joshua* disclosed it to the priest *Phinehas*. And, O Peter, the priest *Phinehas* carried the book, which contains the secrets which I had revealed to him, to your great city,<sup>4</sup> where they will be made manifest.<sup>5</sup> (The book) will not be known for a long time, but when faith is made known it will be made known, and it will be found in the hands of men.

"Know, O Peter, that amongst the children of the wolf who at the appointed time will go out of the holy city, there will be a man whose origin and beginnings will be unknown. He will be the cause of many wars, will shed much blood, and will proclaim himself a King. After his death one of his relatives who will have a large head, blue eyes, and much cunning will appear after him. He will amass much wealth and his name will be (. . .). He will reign in the east, and being himself perverse, he will pervert others. His end will come at the hand of the tormentor<sup>6</sup> who has no pity.

<sup>1</sup> We may possibly read *yazhar* for *yuzarr*, "to show."

<sup>2</sup> A title of Abraham in Arabic from *Kur'an* iv. 124, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Or possibly "mystery."

<sup>4</sup> Antioch or Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Read the verb in the feminine singular.

<sup>6</sup> So I translate the word *munawwil* which is difficult to understand in the context. Generally it means "a giver."

"Know, O Peter, that the country of *Persia* will be delivered to wars, and that of *Armenia* to destruction. When the said man of the barbarous<sup>1</sup> language inhabits the inner part of the town<sup>2</sup> of *Jerusalem*, the nations will flock to him, and the inhabitants of *Persia* will come and dwell in it. He will kill the believers found in it, and war will be waged therein.

"O Peter, take note of this : when you see that the east is over-spread with the Persian language which my curse had kept hidden, and which I did not permit the prophet *Moses* to enumerate among the written<sup>3</sup> languages of mankind, because<sup>4</sup> (those who speak it) hate him and all those who believe in me : I will lay waste the country of this language, will scatter its inhabitants to the mountains, will uproot the foundations of its Kingdom, will redden my sword with its blood,<sup>5</sup> and will intensify my anger against it.

"When you see signs in the east and in the west, earthquakes spreading over the whole earth, fear entering the hearts and trepidation filling the chests : know that at that time the son of the wolf will appear. His wrath and his anger will spread over my churches, and (his followers) will satisfy their grudge against my people. All this will happen with my permission on account of the great number of the sins of my people and of my commandments which they have broken. The torments inflicted at that time on those who believe in me by the son of the wolf will last one short week and a half, (and he who endures them till the end)<sup>6</sup> shall be saved. O Peter, blessed are those who are not heavily laden, and blessed are those who have no burden to carry, because they will be the winners."<sup>7</sup>

Then the Son of the living God<sup>8</sup> said to me : "There are still many wonders which I wish to reveal to you, but the time to reveal them to you has not come yet."

And I worshipped before the Christ the Redeemer, O my son Clement, and said to Him : "O Saviour, tell your servant the time in which your servants will be delivered from the servitude of the

<sup>1</sup> The word used here is very uncommon.

<sup>2</sup> Remove the *wāw*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sifr* is probably the Syriac word *sifra*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *fali-dhālīka*.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. : "will fill the sword of my wrath with it."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Matt. xxiv. 13. Something seems to be missing in the text. I added the words between parentheses to give meaning to the sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. : "the pious ones."

<sup>8</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac.



children of the wolf ; the duration of their power on the earth ; and the period of their departure from the holy city. Will any of them remain in it, and what will be the condition of those of them who remain in it ? ”

And my Saviour said to me : “ Since you have wished it I will reveal to you all that will happen through the children of the wolf, from the beginning of their kingdom till its end. I will disclose to you the names of their Kings, what will befall them, and who will be their leader. I will tell you the reason why I will grant to them power over the earth and over the believers ; and the length of time in which the believers<sup>1</sup> will remain in servitude ; and the time in which power will be given to them ; and how the beginning of the son of perdition is going to be ; and how my second coming will take place ; and how the HOUR will come and what will be the sign that will accompany it, and the calamities<sup>2</sup> that will befall my people in it ; and what will happen to them after the Resurrection. What I am revealing to you I have not disclosed to any of the ancients, and I will not reveal to any one beside you.”

And the Saviour said to me : “ O Peter, know that when the leader of the children of the wolf appears, he will be taught the faith, which he will learn from the straying sheep who will be banished by my church to the deserts,<sup>3</sup> on account of his teaching about me the beliefs held by the Jews who hate me and my people. He will be a devouring wolf in sheep's skin.

“ The apparition of that leader will take place in the year nine hundred of the era of *Alexander*, the king of the mighty.<sup>4</sup> That leader will be like a devastating wild ass on account of (the help) which he will receive from the children of *Kedar*. He will abhor peace, and will be like a violent camel. He will be the dragon with forty heads, twelve of which lurk<sup>5</sup> in wait and twenty eight sting to death.

“ He will be profligate and fearful ; he will agitate the seas, excite

<sup>1</sup> Read *al-mu'minūn*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. : “ the sins.”

<sup>3</sup> Possible allusion to the monk Sergius Behira who, according to the tradition, was the mentor of Muḥammad.

<sup>4</sup> The year 900 of the Seleucids corresponds with A.D. 589. All this seems to refer to Muḥammad.

<sup>5</sup> I read *mutakāminah* for *mutakāmilah*, which means “ perfect ” and is meaningless in the sentence.



to rebellion, and put enmity (even in the household) of *Solomon*;<sup>1</sup> he will oppose the power of truth, destroy my law, and ruin the world; he is the ear of tares, the fruit of wormwood, and the mountain of poison; he is the sign of death, the river with brackish and salt water, and the sea of anger and wrath against mankind; he is the father of abomination,<sup>2</sup> and the tempest of swift lightnings; he is the man who whispers his words, deceitful and fraudulent; he is addicted to sexual intercourse and a lover of discord; he is neglectful of good, and diligent in evil; he is keen that his prescriptions should be observed, and a hater of the children of my grace; he is the secret offspring of the second *Sodom*, which is worse than the first, and the evil progeny of *Gomorrhah*; he is the embodiment<sup>3</sup> of falsehood, and the habitation of sin; he is the one who brings himself and his followers to destruction, and the murderer of his own household.

"He is the disciple of the *Archon*, the head of iniquities and the son of perdition, whom I mentioned to you at the beginning of the revelation of my secrets to you, and he is the prophet of falsehood whose name I have disclosed to you; he is the keeper<sup>4</sup> of the standard of the ungodly; he is the temple of the demons, and the rendezvous of the evil spirits; he is the plate-armour of malediction, the sword of extermination, and a greater murderer than all the other kings.

"His description is as follows: he will be dark-complexioned, slender and tall in stature, one-eyed, irascible,<sup>5</sup> and rancorous; he will have the tongue of a savage, will be quick in his gait, and drawling in his speech. He will be a man of false promises through which he will induce men to surrender to him. He will be a lover of women, a giver of assurances concerning this world and the world to come, and a habitual liar.

"O Peter, now that I have disclosed to you his name and his description, warn your people to be on their guard. The kingdom which he himself will establish will be small, but the kings who will

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: "a spoiler between Solomon."

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: "joke."

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: "table."

<sup>4</sup> In the text *Mughammid*. The author has very cleverly used a vocable which is graphically similar to *Muhammad*, which word he apparently intended to convey to his readers.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ghadhūb*. This proves that the original MS. was in Arabic in which the letters 'ain and ghain are written in the same way and are only distinguishable by an extraneous dot placed over the letter.

rise after his death from his own relatives, will enhance his kingdom and consolidate his faith and his power. They will bless his name every day, will glorify him, magnify him and perpetuate his memory among them. They will inscribe his name on the walls of their houses, and they will go on pilgrimage to the place of his tomb, and afterwards to the temple of the great idol called *Sarkh*. Inside the temple of this idol there are three other idols, one<sup>1</sup> of which is called *Solon*, another *Kolon*, and the third *Hotān*.<sup>2</sup> The helpers of the wild ass before his death, will be in them, and the members of his Council<sup>3</sup> will stand on them.

"Against my wish his followers will build houses for their devotions and their worship near my houses. A good number of Jews will follow the wild ass, thus increasing his wickedness and imparting erroneous doctrines to him.<sup>4</sup> After the death of the sheep who strayed from my fold and became his mentor in his early days,<sup>5</sup> two men from the Jewish people will befriend him. The first letter of the name of the first one of them is *Kāf*.<sup>6</sup> After his death the people will bless his name and will relate false traditions from him. The first letter of the name of the second one is *Sīn*, and he will be by origin from the east. The above two men will write for the wild ass a book<sup>7</sup> compiled from all books. These two Jews will believe in me in some points and deny me in some other points. Like me that man will elect twelve disciples. O Peter, woe to these two ungodly Jews after him,<sup>8</sup> because they will be the men that will lead people astray from the faith. The first letter of the name of (a third ?) teacher of his is *Dāl*.

"The above three men are the root of ungodliness and iniquity. They will pervert what was right in the teaching of their master, and

<sup>1</sup> Read *ahaduha*.

<sup>2</sup> Without emendations I am unable to identify these idols in Arabic. Two of them, *Solon* and *Kolon*, seem to be of Greek origin.

<sup>3</sup> So the MS., but if we read *anjāl* the meaning would be "his children." An extraneous dot only distinguishes the two words in Arabic characters.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wa-yu'allimūnahu*.

<sup>5</sup> Possible allusion to Sergius Behira as above.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Kāf* for *Kān*. No attempt has been made to identify the names the first letters of which are given in the text. The names identified by the copyist will as above be placed in the foot-notes.

<sup>7</sup> The *Qur'ān*?

<sup>8</sup> I. e. after his death.



add wickedness to what was already wicked in it. Woe to them. Woe will undoubtedly betide them. Verily I say unto you, O Peter, that it will be more tolerable in the day of Resurrection and Judgment for *Judas* who betrayed me than for them.<sup>1</sup> His twelve disciples will wish after his death to trample on the land of *Jerusalem* and penetrate into it but I will frustrate their design.

“Remember, O Peter, what I said to you before this day when I was teaching the Jews in the Temple to the effect that there shall not be left in the holy house one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.<sup>2</sup> Know, O Peter, that I will make the Temple which *Solomon* built for me, as an habitation for<sup>3</sup> the opponents of the wild asses, but after that I will destroy it. O Peter, reveal that which I have revealed to you concerning the wild ass to those who believe in me in order that they may verify it for themselves and remain steadfast in their faith and not deny it. My words are indeed true and shall not pass away.<sup>4</sup> Hide, however, the words which I uttered concerning the wild ass till the time of his apparition. Rest assured that the son of sin will come and wage war against all those who believe in me, but I will not leave, nor take my hand away from, a single one of them. This I have promised to them. O Peter, blessed will be those who are steadfast in the faith and who love me and do not deny me, because they will be counted among the saints.

“Know, O Peter, that the son of perdition will order frequent marriages and will make shedding of blood and deportations lawful. A man will marry the wife of his brother, and also two sisters one after another. Near relatives will intermarry. A man will marry a woman, and his father<sup>5</sup> will marry her daughter—in case she has one. In his law of inheritance he will commit injustices towards the children, because he will give more to a son than to a daughter, and in this way the majority of mankind will withhold justice from their offspring. He who endures their subjection till the end shall live.

“The followers of that man will wish to harm my people, and if any of them kills a believer (in me) he will think<sup>6</sup> that he was offering a sacrifice to God.<sup>7</sup> He will pretend that those who kill and are killed among them will go to Paradise and to pleasures that have no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. x. 15, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. xxiv. 2, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Or: against.

<sup>4</sup> Luke, xxi. 33, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Read *wa-abūhu*.

<sup>6</sup> Remove the *wāw* before the verb.

<sup>7</sup> John xvi. 2 (Peshitta).



end, and he will glorify the young and the old among them. His followers will abolish the Baptism which I have ordered, and their prayers will not resemble the prayers of any of the prophets which I have sent to the world and to the unjust<sup>1</sup> people of the children of Israel. They will construct high buildings from which they will call people to their prescribed prayers, and this will have the effect of quickening their steps to attend them, and thus they will imitate the actions of the children of the blessed *Ishmael*.<sup>2</sup>

“O Peter, were it not for two reasons, the first of which is my promise to *Abraham* and the second the multiplicity of the sins of my people, who utter to one another words that discourage belief in me, I would have sent to the holy land the swift Pharaonic chariots which carry both the Deceiver and the Error.<sup>3</sup> O Peter, feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed every straying lamb and bring it back to the faith. Do not lose anything from what I have delivered to you. Know that the son of perdition about whom I spoke to you will befriend the sorcerers of *Egypt* and learn<sup>4</sup> their art, their cunning and their deceitfulness. Indeed, the first man who will befriend him from his three teachers mentioned above, the one who has the letter *Kāf* as the first letter of his name, will be<sup>5</sup> the disciple of sorcerers. They will strive to deceive those who believe in me.

“O Peter, verily I say unto you that after the death of the son of perdition I will send the savage beast to dig him out and devour his flesh, and before his death he will kill his teacher whose name begins with the letter *Sīn*. Because of this murder he will prohibit and render unlawful to himself a large variety of food and drink. Among the women whom he will marry one will be called “*She knows and she fears*.”<sup>6</sup> She will be one<sup>7</sup> of those from whom sorcery will be learnt.

“After the death of the son of perdition in the dark and dry town, a man will rise after him, and the first letter of his name is ‘*Ain*. His outlook will be more human than that of his master who preceded him and than that of the kings who will follow him from that people.

<sup>1</sup> Remove the *wāw*.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is difficult to understand.

<sup>3</sup> About Deceiver and Error see *Ode of Solomon*, xxxviii. 10. The second member of the sentence is difficult to understand.

<sup>4</sup> Read *wa-yata* ‘*allam*.

<sup>5</sup> Remove the first *wāw*.

<sup>6</sup> In Arab. *ta’rif wa-takhāf*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *iḥda*.

He will not wish to shed blood, and he will be inclined to peace. He will be better than his people. His description is : brown coloured with red hue ; full sized in height ; well balanced in body, and dark-blue-eyed.<sup>1</sup> He will modify some of the prescriptions imposed (by his predecessor), and no one will be in a position to take objection to his actions. His reign will be of short duration, and he will die in the dark town in which there is no shade, but he will die (peacefully) in his bed. After his death his people will be in a position to add to or to subtract from his prescriptions.

"After him his place will be filled by a tall man with a brown patch in the eye, and the first letter of whose name is *Kāf*.<sup>2</sup> He will be a shedder of blood, a fighter, and a mighty man. He will conquer many towns, and will be addicted to deceit and wickedness—true son of his people. O Peter, many objectionable things will be done in his days, and no one will be able to take him to task,<sup>3</sup> and his decisions could not be over-ruled. He will add to, and subtract from, the book of his master which was composed by the three wicked men mentioned above. Through him many men will be killed, and with him there will be no authoritative interpretation of the book. He will not cease to meditate harm against all those who believe in me, and he will endeavour to enslave all<sup>4</sup> of them, but in vain, because I will thwart his designs.

"I will kindle wars in his days, with seditions and divisions, and I will not allow any of his children to reign after him. I will deliver them into the hands of their adversaries and their enemies. This will be the second iniquitous king after the son of perdition. Woe to the towns of the south because of the wars, murders, and arson that they will experience in his days. This King will grant amnesty to some of his adversaries, but he will go back on his word, because of his love of superiority. The days of his reign will be short, and he will die a grievous<sup>5</sup> death. I will speedily obliterate his memory from the earth, and he will go to the excruciating and eternal torments which are prepared for men who resemble him.

<sup>1</sup> Here is a sentence which literally means "and he will call a pigeon." I am unable to give a better meaning to these words without textual emendations.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Kasīra*. Vowels uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ya'tariḏh*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *jami'ihim*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sawdā'*.



"After him will reign a King the first letter of whose name is *Tā'*.<sup>1</sup> He will be an insolent, a despotic and a loquacious man. In his days he will conquer the cities of the holy land,<sup>2</sup> and his troops will surround all those who believe in me. He will, however, be more just than the King who preceded him, although inclined to shed the blood of believers and prone to cast aspersions upon them. His description is: he will be of a swarthy complexion with reddish hue, an hypocrite with a double face which will show poverty and asceticism. He will conquer<sup>3</sup> *Damascus*,<sup>4</sup> and destroy the greater part of it. A considerable number of people will perish in it, and many of those who believe in me will flee from their places, and some of them will be murdered.

"With him there will be two cunning and deceitful men who will induce people not to surrender (the town).<sup>5</sup> The first letter of the name of one of them is *Mīm*,<sup>6</sup> and the first letter of the name of the other one, who will act for (the King) in his dealings with the people and give them amnesty, is *Alif*.<sup>7</sup> They will be like the two wings of the wicked eagle, but I will tolerate with patience their treatment of my people because of the great number of their sins.

"And the two will conquer your noble city, O Peter, together with many other cities, by their multifarious stratagems, which will not err on the side of humility. The one the first letter of whose name is *Alif* is better<sup>8</sup> than the one the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*, because the latter will delight in burning and destroying churches, and in killing and murdering all believers in me whom he will happen to subjugate. He will be appointed to *Mesopotamia* the towns of which he will destroy, and the inhabitants of which he will kill, and no one

<sup>1</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Tāha*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: "house."

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *tuftah*: "Damascus will be conquered."

<sup>4</sup> *Shām* means also "Syria."

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: "will delay people from entering," the meaning of which I cannot determine with certitude.

<sup>6</sup> The copyist identifies him here as *Muhammad*. The copyist's identifications are mostly erroneous. If one had here to name a man the caliph Mu'āwiah and not the prophet Muhammad would be the appropriate King. It is indeed Mu'āwiah who made Damascus his capital.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Ahmad*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *khairun*. The sentence is badly worded.



will be able to stand against him. He will repair to *Cilicia* which he will conquer, but the hostility existing between him and those who believe in me will deter him from going beyond it, and I will impede him from doing so.

“Woe to *Damascus* because of him, as he will make it his capital and gather his treasures in it. Woe to *Judas Iscariot* who betrayed me to the Jews, and woe to *Judas the Damascene* who will betray my people to the pagans so that they should be murdered by them through his machinations. Woe to the traitoress, because the boulders of her mountains will be tinged with the blood of those who believe in me, a blood that the plains will absorb. Woe to the betrayer of trust, the son of the tares, the wormwood of the beginning of blindness. Woe to the two accursed *Armenians*.

“(At that time) the believers in me will be killed<sup>1</sup> in great numbers such as never before and never after, and they will take refuge in the littoral of the sea. All this will happen in the days of the King who does not love me, who gnashes his teeth at me, and the first letter of whose name is *Hā*.<sup>2</sup> It is from him that the power in the holy land will be taken and given to the King whom we have mentioned above, and who has the two wicked men with him. He will raise the tribute to be paid by my people, and the two men who are with him will harass the world. The majority of the believers will be killed through them, and they will storm lofty mountains, raze high hills, demolish elevated pillars and ruin large cities.

“The sea will lose its stormy character in their days, and sea and land will become smooth for them. They will subjugate the countries of *Persia*, in the east, together with *Abirom* the place of the giants, and along with the town built on the site of *Nineveh*<sup>3</sup> to which the prophet *Jonah* brought his message. Those two men will have as much mercy as that of *Beşalyā*<sup>4</sup> and as much artfulness as that found in a brigand.<sup>5</sup> All the inhabited lands will tremble before them,<sup>6</sup> especially before the one the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*,<sup>7</sup> because he will be zealous in behalf of his people.

<sup>1</sup> I have slightly modified in the translation the wording of this sentence which is very complicated.

<sup>2</sup> The author identifies him as *Herod*. Is it Heraclius?

<sup>3</sup> Lit. : “the second Nineveh.”

<sup>4</sup> Vowels uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> I prefer *nāhib* to *nahb* “brigandage.”

<sup>6</sup> Read *minhumā*.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him on the margins as *Muḥammad* (*sic*).

"A man the first letter of whose name is 'Ain<sup>1</sup> will be the third leader<sup>2</sup> of his people, and the beginning of trouble and of cruel deeds. Ten signs will mark the sum total of the days of his reign with the addition of three others as a complement of his hostile deeds against my children.<sup>3</sup> He will erect a house for their prayers, and in conjunction with his two companions, will conquer *Jerusalem* and a great part of the holy land together with the house which *Solomon* built for me. I shall, however, cast the fear of this house in their hearts, in order that it may be made a place for their own prayers.

"O Peter, I told you previously about this, and let it be known to you that I<sup>4</sup> will make of this house a place of hunted game and of flesh of wild beasts, and my name will never be mentioned in it. When the days of the lion's whelp are over he will demolish that house and not leave in it one stone upon another.<sup>5</sup> He will make it also a refuge for the sick and the cripples, and the blasphemy coming out of the mouth of this people will be heard in it. And this people will kindle the zeal of my people in the west and in *Jarbā*<sup>6</sup> because from there I will call my people and they will sweep with anger and wrath over all the inhabitants of the earth, as my chosen prophet<sup>7</sup> has prophesied.

"And that King will despatch his soldiers to the new *Jerusalem*, which will be near (to him), and they will surround my kingdom that is there. I will not grant him victory, however, over it, and I will

<sup>1</sup> The copyist identifies him on the margin as 'Ali. 'Umar would be more appropriate.

<sup>2</sup> *Imām*.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is difficult to understand and my translation of it is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Read *anni*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matt. xxiv. 2, etc.

<sup>6</sup> This phrase is very difficult and my translation of it is very uncertain. We shall see below that this incomprehensible *Jazzi* or *Jazā* (vowels uncertain) is found five times in our MS. of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. From a comparison with Mingana, Syr. 441 (fol. 76<sup>a</sup>), we learn that it is a copyist's error for *Jarbā* which may denote the small town about which see Yāḳūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ii, 46-48 (edit. Wüstenfeld). It lay near the ancient Roman road from Boṣra to the Red Sea, about an hour's journey north of Aḍhrūḥ. Its name is often found in Muslim tradition in connection with the size of the "Prophet's cistern" which "extended from Aḍhrūḥ to *Jarbā*" (Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, ii, 21, (edit. Cairo)). It was inhabited almost exclusively by Christians. Can it refer to the same *Jarbā* as that mentioned by Ya'kūbi in his general history (see fol. 41<sup>b</sup> of the Arabic MS. No. 801 in Rylands Library) as having possessed *mamālik* (kingdoms)?

<sup>7</sup> I.e. Isaiah. Cf. Is. xlix. 12.



destroy his troops with death, intense cold and hunger, and with my other plagues; and those that remain alive I will drive out of there discomfited and routed. And that King will imitate in all his actions the days of the first people.

"After the death of that King another King will be elected from the children of the 'Abūs,<sup>1</sup> as I promised to them; and at the death of the fourth of these Kings, one of the two of the said wicked men who acted as viziers to some of the four Kings, will reign;<sup>2</sup> and it will be the one the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*.<sup>3</sup> He will only reign a few days, and I will destroy him and not leave him any power.

"At the death of those four Kings, a King<sup>4</sup> will rise from that people, the first letter of whose name is *Hā*.<sup>5</sup> He will fight his cousins and take the power from them. Many of the learned men of his nation will die through him, and he will be a murderer and a shedder of blood, a lover of iniquity and fornication. He will not resemble in his actions any of his predecessors whom we have mentioned, and he will be hasty in his decisions.<sup>6</sup> He will contradict his own words, and in his religion he will follow iniquitous rules that are more perverse than those of his predecessors. I will not lift my hand to prevent him and his people from acting as they wish towards my children, because I have established those<sup>7</sup> men as a rod of correction<sup>8</sup> to the children of inheritance.

"And that man will reign from east to west, but the greater part of his kingdom will be in the centre of the earth, and his capital will be *Damascus* where also will be found his glory. His birthplace will

<sup>1</sup> To express the word "lion" the author generally uses the word 'abūs. Now this word is derived from the verb 'abasa which means "to be stern, austere in countenance" and which forms also the root of the proper name 'Abbās, the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib the paternal uncle of the Prophet, who gave his name to the 'Abbasid dynasty of the Caliphs of Baghdad. Is it possible that the author is cleverly playing on the root 'abasa and alluding to the 'Abbasid dynasty and thus killing two birds with one stone?

<sup>2</sup> Cod. "will perish." All this sentence is badly worded and difficult to understand.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist identifies him again as Muḥammad.

<sup>4</sup> Read *malikun*.

<sup>5</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Herod*.

<sup>6</sup> Lit.: "He will fall before him."

<sup>7</sup> Delete the *lām*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Prov. xxiii. 13-14.



be the town of *Kāf*,<sup>1</sup> and in it he will display his insolence and utter his blasphemies. He will go forth to the littoral with spears, and much blood will also be shed from the inhabitants of *Persia* and other countries. *Egypt* will be brought under his rule, and he will despatch his soldiers against the children of *Ham*, from whom he will deport and enslave many people. He will be the owner of a great arsenal, and he will amass great booty. He will impose a double tribute on those who believe in me, and a considerable number of my people will perish by his hand. The inhabitants of *Persia* will submit to him and will bring gifts to him together with their tribute.

"The description of this king is : tawny complexion with a ruddy tinge ; full size in height ; big head ; small eyes ; cunning and sly mouth ; deceitful ; handsome in body ; of a jealous disposition ; inexorable to his enemies and to those who seek his hospitality and the asylum of his kingdom. He will be the fourth King of the kings of the one-eyed son of perdition. He will endeavour to kill the sons of the man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*,'<sup>2</sup> but I will frustrate his design and his evil thought concerning them, and it will be (the inmates of) their house and his own house that will kill them, because they will seek the kingdom to themselves as their rightful inheritance. They will multiply wars and kill men, in search of power, which they will not obtain,<sup>3</sup> because I will not be pleased to see them reign till the end of time.

"At the end of time a man from them will reign, who will repair to *Persia*, and his cousins will consolidate his kingdom. From them the lion's whelp will take the kingdom and deliver it to a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*.<sup>4</sup> This man will fulfil the commandments. At that time another king will rise,<sup>5</sup> the first letter of whose name is *Yā*.<sup>6</sup> He will attain the kingdom by force, and he will kill my people along with a man from the children of the wolf.

The fifth king will have the letter *Jīm* at the beginning of his name. He will be the cause of deportations and iniquitous actions,

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the author means here a town the first letter of the name of which is *Kāf*.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist identifies him again as '*Ali*.'

<sup>3</sup> Read *yanālūnaha*.

<sup>4</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad*.

<sup>5</sup> Add *yaḳūm* or *ya'ti* or a similar verb.

<sup>6</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Yāsīn*.

and he will build many towns and demolish others. He will not be loved at the palace nor thanked,<sup>1</sup> because of his selfishness, his family pride, his warlike disposition, his tampering with justice, his love for amassing wealth, and because of his being the head of the children of the 'Abūs. Wars will not cease in his time, and in them men will not refrain from shedding blood.

"He will entertain evil designs against my people, but I will frustrate his plans, because I am with you, O Peter, and with my people till the end. I will not leave them orphans of me, nor bereaved of my grace, but I will shepherd them and not contradict<sup>2</sup> my word concerning them, that I will be with them<sup>3</sup> for ever.<sup>4</sup> I will stay with you in *Jerusalem*, O you holder of the keys of heaven. Do not grieve, O Peter, on account of the insolent nation which I will cause to subjugate the world in order to chastise my people. Indeed that nation will be dyed with (the blood) of my people whom it will harass.

"Know, O Peter, that were it not for the sake of the supplication of my father<sup>5</sup> *Abraham* in the dark country, I would not have multiplied the posterity of *Ishmael*. I caused *Abraham* to love (*Ishmael*) because I was aware of the (future) actions (of his children)<sup>6</sup> whom I would set over all. I gave the kingdom to the Children of *Ishmael* the offspring of *Abraham* in order to chastise through them all the nations that rebel against me.

"O Peter, woe to the land of 'Irāk on account of the King whom I have mentioned,<sup>7</sup> because in his days murder, pestilence, and iniquitous decisions will be on the increase. This King will also have his seat in *Damascus*, but his wars will be in *Mesopotamia*, the land of the four rivers that flow out of Paradise. His kingdom will be firm, and he will defeat the men of his house together with his cousins, and he will demolish the pillars of their might, but with him divisions<sup>8</sup> will begin in his nation.

"Woe to them because of that which will befall them through me. In his words to his friends he will give the lie openly to his master and

<sup>1</sup> Delete the final *hā'*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "I will not remove."

<sup>3</sup> Read *minhum*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matt. xxviii. 20, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Read *abi*. About all this cf. Gen. xxi. 9-21.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is difficult to understand, and my translation of it is not certain.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist adds here "and he is *Yāsīn*."

<sup>8</sup> I read *al-firaḳ*.



to his imam—a thing that was not done by any of his predecessors. He will be hated and cursed by some of his followers and men of his party, but loved by some others. From the party of his master a man will appear<sup>1</sup> (to thwart him). He will be in a position to do this because of the fear with which he will inspire others, and because of the great number of murders that will be committed among the people. He will kindle war among the tribes, and will amass<sup>2</sup> much wealth. He will seek the treasures of the earth like a biting dragon which seeks to sting.

“O Peter, he is the accursed (dragon) with seven heads which *Daniel* saw by revelation in his vision.<sup>3</sup> Indeed the one about whom *Daniel* spoke in his prophecy is this king.<sup>4</sup> He is the devouring crocodile that rises from the Nile of *Egypt*, and he is the second *Terah*. Woe to the land on which he treads, and blessed be the land from which he is driven out, because he is of the children of the vipers, full of wrath and anger.<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>He will, however, refrain from doing anything before taking the advice of his friends, and he will at all events act more kindly towards those who believe in me than the rest of them, and he will amass great wealth from the earth.

“After his death he will be succeeded by another King the first letter of whose name is *Wāw*.<sup>7</sup> He will be a shedder of blood, a lover of women, and a degenerate. He will hate those who believe in me, will be jealous of his friends, and will be prone to bribery. He will see that a company (of his friends) are not fit to govern.

“After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Sīm*.<sup>8</sup> His reign will be of short duration in the world, and his affairs will be in great disorder. He will endeavour to enhance his prestige and to imitate the wise Solomon, but his wishes will not be fulfilled.

“After his death he will be succeeded by another King, the first

<sup>1</sup> Probably delete the final *hā'*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *jam'*.

<sup>3</sup> In Dan. vii. 7 the beast had ten horns. The author is probably wishing to quote the Book of Rev. xii. 3, where mention is made of a dragon with seven heads. Such a dragon does not occur in *Daniel*.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is badly worded.

<sup>5</sup> Read *rujzan* from Syriac *ruḡḡza*.

<sup>6</sup> There is here a sentence which is unintelligible without textual emendations.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Wālid* (*sic*).

<sup>8</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Surba* (*sic*).



letter of whose name is 'Ain.<sup>1</sup> He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is also 'Ain.<sup>2</sup> His reign in the world will also be of short duration, and he will make show of governing and acting with justice. He will hate the believers in me and kill them, and his Capital will be the holy land, and in his days there will be earthquakes and signs.

"After his death a King<sup>3</sup> will rise after him the first letter of whose name is Yā',<sup>4</sup> and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is 'Ain.<sup>5</sup> He will have a short reign, and after his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is Hā'.<sup>6</sup> The latter will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is 'Ain.<sup>7</sup> He will be more generous than the Kings who preceded him, (but) he will be an iniquitous man and a lover of divisions. He will amass wealth, and will be bent on building palaces and shedding blood, especially the blood of those who believe in me.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is Yā'.<sup>8</sup> He will have a short reign, and he will perish quickly in a sea after having promulgated laws that had not been promulgated by any of his predecessors.

"After him will reign a King the first letter of whose name is Yā'.<sup>9</sup> He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is Wāw.<sup>10</sup> He will reign a few months only—about half a year—and then he will perish on account of the evil designs that he will entertain against those who believe in me. He will undertake the task of harassing them, but I will do away with him before he does away with them, and I will destroy his Kingdom.

"After him will reign one of his brothers the first letter of whose name is Alif.<sup>11</sup> He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is Wāw.<sup>12</sup> His government will be of short duration, because

<sup>1</sup> The copyist identifies him as 'Ali.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist identifies him as 'Umar.

<sup>3</sup> Read *malikun*.

<sup>4</sup> The copyist identifies him as Yāsīn.

<sup>5</sup> The copyist identifies him as 'Uthmān.

<sup>6</sup> The copyist identifies him again as Herod.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him as 'Ali.

<sup>8</sup> The copyist identifies him again as Yāsīn.

<sup>9</sup> The copyist identifies him again as Yāsīn.

<sup>10</sup> The copyist identifies him again as Wālid.

<sup>11</sup> The copyist identifies him as Ahmad.

<sup>12</sup> The copyist identifies him as Wāwīr (*sic*).

a company of men from his own household will revolt against him and endeavour to snatch the reins of power from him. At that time I shall sow the seed of wars between them, and take the power from some of them and give it to some others in order that my will may be done.

"After<sup>1</sup> his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*.<sup>2</sup> He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is also *Mīm*.<sup>3</sup> He will be an ungodly<sup>4</sup> and iniquitous man, and the devotion of the people to him will gradually wax weak, because of his overbearing. He will kill many men from his own community and from others, will muster many troops, and will perish with the sword.

"The reason why the majority of the Kings of this people will die an ignominious and violent death, and the reason why their lives will be so short, so contemptible, and so ephemeral like a dream, is that I will it to be so for the sake of my beloved ones. O Peter, I will shorten their days<sup>5</sup> and then quickly fold them like parchment, and cause them to evanesce like smoke<sup>6</sup> as if they had never existed, for the sake of your lambs.

"After his death he will be succeeded by another King who will not be from his royal house. The first letter of his name will be *Mīm*,<sup>7</sup> and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*.<sup>8</sup> He will also count (or, be counted) by a knot and a third of a knot.<sup>9</sup> He will seize the reins of government through his victory in the middle day,<sup>10</sup> at the time when the kings and governors of that people shall have ceased to exist. The rest of his kingdom will be counted from the day in which that vigilant king will reign.<sup>11</sup> I will speak to him in Greek, and the interpretation (of his name) is '*the last things*.'<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Add *fa'idha*.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Maḥmūd*.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *munāfiḳan*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ayyāmahum*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad*.

<sup>8</sup> The copyist identifies him as '*Umar*.

<sup>9</sup> I do not understand this sentence which seems to refer to a duration of time. It may be translated differently according to the meaning given to the word '*ukdah*.'

<sup>10</sup> Which day is this "middle day"?

<sup>11</sup> Here are two words that I cannot understand without textual emendations.

<sup>12</sup> This sentence is badly worded, and my translation of it is not certain.



" This King will become insolent and will not remember my name. He will hate those who love me and will be favourably disposed towards the Jewish people. He will endeavour to harm those who believe in me, and will impose double tribute on them, and will act unjustly in his days. When I notice this from him, I will raise in his time a man the first letter of whose name is *Sîn*,<sup>1</sup> and will make him prevail upon him. Then I will raise a man the first letter of whose name is *Alif*,<sup>2</sup> and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Kāf*.<sup>3</sup> He will be known as a good man, but he will be killed.

" After him will rise a man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*,<sup>4</sup> and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is also '*Ain*.<sup>5</sup> He will be a leper and will seize power by force, and his victory will be in the middle day.<sup>6</sup> He will give<sup>7</sup> the kingdom to his children, but all of them who would be eligible will die a violent death. He will be stern, dominating, imperious, and masterful among the people. He will love to shed blood and to destroy the valiant men, in order that no<sup>8</sup> man may rise up and acquire dignity ; and he will amass much wealth.

" After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*, son of a man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*. He will be from the descendants of the second Kingdom of this people. He will be more righteous than those who preceded him, and a lover of goodness, generosity and benevolence. He will govern his kingdom with justice, and he will be endowed with a noble character, but his reign will be of short duration.

" After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. His reign will be short but his power will be great. He will amass much wealth, and will impose double tax and tribute upon the people. He will extort money from those who believe in me by taxing even their dead, and he will interfere with the graves of people who had died a long time previously. At that

<sup>1</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Sineras* (*sic*).

<sup>2</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Aḥmad*.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Kāfih* (*sic*).

<sup>4</sup> The copyist identifies him again as '*Uthmān*.

<sup>5</sup> The copyist identifies again as '*Ali*.

<sup>6</sup> Which day is again this "middle day" ?

<sup>7</sup> Possibly read *wa-yu'ti*.

<sup>8</sup> Add *lā*.



time and in the days of this King many people<sup>1</sup> from those who believe in me will deny me on account of his oppressive measures and the hardships inflicted on them by him. Touched with pity for the sufferings of the believers, the angels and the martyrs together with the walls of the churches and the images of saints will burst into tears.

“A number of people will envy the dead<sup>2</sup> in his days, and they will cry to them<sup>3</sup> and say: ‘Blessed are you because you have not lived down to this time and seen what we have seen, and suffered the hardships and the privations which we have suffered. In that hardship the heaven will drizzle ashes<sup>4</sup> and my churches will weep.’ O Peter, when you see the dead believers dug out of their graves and the living believers sold like slaves, and a great affliction penetrating into the hearts of men, know that woes have befallen those believers in me who had been expatriated. I will reward them,<sup>5</sup> however, a thousand fold, and I will fill the eyes of men with tears to be shed over them. Know that the believing maidens will learn how to lament from the intensity of their weeping<sup>6</sup> due to the severity of their suffering, which will shake the earth (with horror). A number of people will wish they had not been born.

“After the death of the said King, he will be succeeded by another King the first letter of whose name is *Kāf*.<sup>7</sup> He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will be less harmful<sup>8</sup> to his people than his predecessors. The period of his reign will be three complete short weeks and a little of a fourth week. He will possess an amiable disposition, and injustice will decrease in his days.

“After his death he will be succeeded by another King the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Hā*. His reign<sup>9</sup> will last three short weeks, and he will be young. He will be pusillanimous and stubborn, and he will introduce innovations out of his own head for the betterment of his Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Read *khalkun kathīrun*.

<sup>2</sup> Delete the *wāw*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *lahum*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ramādan*.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly read *‘ujāzihim*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *bukā’ihinna*, and put all the other nouns in fem. plur.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him as *Khattāb*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *khairun*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *muddatuhu*.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Hā*', and he will reign three short weeks. He will govern with justice and will love those who believe in me. Know, O Peter, that in this nation there will be no better King than this King. He will love me in secret, and will not be able to show his love for me from fear of his subjects and his relatives. There will be no better man than he in this nation. I will fill his heart with wisdom, understanding and high knowledge, so that he should be the most learned man of his nation and the most versed in all my affairs. The believers<sup>1</sup> in me will hold many high offices under him, and all of them will be loved<sup>2</sup> by him. He will spend happy and quiet days and I will continually protect him. He will be the last of this people to hold power. He will be a great deceiver<sup>3</sup> and the end of his day he will deceive even his own brother, and this will be the cause of his downfall. He will die a violent death outside his Kingdom, and will be succeeded by a Pharaonic man who will harass those who believe in me and destroy many towns. The first letter of his name is *Mīm*.<sup>4</sup> He will oppress many countries and deport their inhabitants. He will do wonderful things in the provinces (of his dominion) and he will be a great lover of his co-religionists and a hater of those who believe in me.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Hā*'. He will hate those who believe in me and impede them from reconstructing my churches which he will abhor together with those who frequent them. Many wonders will be noticed in his days,<sup>5</sup> and his power will be strong both in the east and in the west. He will designate the places that are to be built but he will not finish his work of building them. An ungodly company (of lieutenants) will govern his kingdom, and when he perishes he will die a grievous death, and many men from his nation will perish through him.

"He will be succeeded by an insolent man the first letter of whose

<sup>1</sup> Read *al-mu'minūn*.

<sup>2</sup> I read *yakun*. With other slight changes the sentence may give some other meanings.

<sup>3</sup> This statement seems to be irreconcilable with what has preceded. It is possible that there is a short lacuna in the text although the MS. does not show it.

<sup>4</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Muhammad*.

<sup>5</sup> There is here a sentence which I do not understand, and which literally means "from eternity and similar things."



name is *Jīm*. He will spend some days of his reign in the centre of *Syria*.<sup>1</sup> He will have an intense hatred of those who believe in me, and he will harass them as no one else had done before him. He will kill a number of them at the instigation of their enemies, but (in that) he will not be following their advice. In day time he will change his garments, thinking that in this he will act avariciously towards them, and not knowing that he will adorn them with his garments.<sup>2</sup> He will deride their faith, impose double tribute on them, and envy their possessions. He will destroy my churches in *Syria* and carry the brass which they contain, and with it he will erect palaces.

"He will indulge in innovations previously unknown, and he will cleave stubbornly to his own opinions in the government of his Kingdom. He will have with him, however, a man of Jewish extraction whose advice he will follow in the doors of evil<sup>3</sup> and in the hardships that he will inflict on my people. The teaching of this King concerning his religion will contravene the teaching of the majority of his co-religionists. He will be a lover of women and inclined to fornication. He will erect very many buildings<sup>4</sup> in *Damascus*, his Capital, and he will die a grievous and ignominious death.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Alif*. He will have a short reign and he will be benevolent and generous, but he will not enjoy the throne for a long time as he will be murdered. He will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will be young and generous and will act with a sense of responsibility. His reign will also be short, and he will die a violent death. He will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Alif*, and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will show zeal in his religion and ardour in the government of his realm. He will have a reign shorter<sup>5</sup> than that of his predecessor, and he will also die a violent death.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a King<sup>6</sup> the first letter of

<sup>1</sup> Or *↳ Damascus*. This sentence is badly worded, and my translation of it is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> I translate this sentence literally as I cannot follow the author's meaning.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic. codex.*

<sup>4</sup> Read *abniatan*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *aḳṣar*.

<sup>6</sup> Read always *malikun*.



whose name is *Jim*. He will set himself the task of governing and reforming his Kingdom with zeal, because he will be a responsible man who will take<sup>1</sup> the business of government to heart. Since he is endowed with such qualities he will be allowed to remain on the throne till he reaches an old age. There will be many wars<sup>2</sup> in his days, and *Egypt* will slip away<sup>3</sup> from his hand, and he will neglect<sup>4</sup> the affairs of *Persia*. He will covet, however, these<sup>5</sup> and other countries, and in his days there will be constant friction between this restless and envious King and his people. Many men from the children of *Ishmael* will be killed under his reign, because they will oppose him, but nevertheless he will have a long reign.

"After the said children of *Ishmael* shall have been killed through him, he will die a memorable death and he will be succeeded by a powerful and imperious King who will govern his realm well. He will defeat all those who oppose and resist him. He will entice to him chieftains from the children of *Ishmael* from his fear of their power,<sup>6</sup> and he himself will ravage many countries, and through him many men will perish. As to those who believe in me they will live in happiness, prosperity and security. The majority of his prefects<sup>7</sup> and his government officials will be from them. The people of the land and of the sea will flee from him, and the inhabitants of the earth will submit to him. He will amass wealth such as none<sup>8</sup> of his predecessors was able to amass, and he will truly govern the Kingdom in his generation. His reign will, however, be short and not long. The first letter of his name will be *Alif*, and he will die a natural death peacefully in his bed.

"He will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*. He will be a lover of games and peace, but frequent disturb-

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has here the negative "will not take" but this appeared to me to contradict the previous statement.

<sup>2</sup> Read *hurūbun*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *takhrūju*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Add '*an*. All this sentence is badly worded, and my translation of it is not certain.

<sup>5</sup> The author uses here the pronoun *ahl* for *hādhihi* to express "these." As the pronoun *ahl* is mostly used in this sense in North Mesopotamia, the last editor of the work must have lived in that country. *Ahl* itself seems in the last analysis to be derived from the Syriac *hālāin* "these."

<sup>6</sup> Read *saṭwatihim*.

<sup>7</sup> Read '*ummāl*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *lī'ahādīn*.

ances will beset him in his days, because the *Khawārij*<sup>1</sup> will multiply in his generation, and a considerable number of men from the progeny of *Ishmael* will perish through them. Among those who will come forth against him will be a powerful man the first letter of whose name is *Alif*. He will shed the blood of many men,<sup>2</sup> and he will prevail against him. Another shedder of blood will come forth against him from the *Khawārij*. He will conquer some towns and murder all their inhabitants. And this man, O Peter, will have the wings of the young eagle (spoken of by) your brother *Daniel*,<sup>3</sup> because he will be a man on whose word and promise no reliance could be placed.

“He will claim the throne although having no right to it. He will be the man of the first sign which the master of that people had not noticed.<sup>4</sup> And (the King of) that *Khārijī* people will rule in *Phœnicia*, and his end will come at the hand of the young of the large eagle which is in the deserts, in the town of *Kurmah*,<sup>5</sup> because it will at that time conquer *Egypt* and kill the King. At his death the number forty, which we mentioned at the beginning in connection with the kings of that nation, will be completed. Among the happenings under the last of their kings is that his reigning dynasty will come to an end in his days through him.<sup>6</sup>

“At that time (his people) will be deported three times, then (his kingdom) will perish. After its downfall three kings will appear, the first of whom will be from the south, the second from the east, and the third from the west. And the son of the others will remain re-

<sup>1</sup> This word which literally means “the Revolters” is generally applied to a sect of Muslims who affirm that any man may be promoted to the dignity of a Caliph, and reject salvation by faith only without works. The term is more especially used to designate the 12,000 men who revolted from ‘Ali after the battle of *Ṣiffin* in A.D. 657. The word in a more general sense indicates any “revolters,” “schismatics,” or “heretics.” See *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (s.v.) and *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 906-908.

<sup>2</sup> Read *dimā’i khalkin*.

<sup>3</sup> See Dan. vii. 4 which seems to fit more the context than Dan. iv. 33, although both verses are rather inadequate to explain the author’s references. Perhaps he wishes to refer to the eagle spoken of in the Book of Rev. iv., and elsewhere in the Old Testament.

<sup>4</sup> Probably read *yattali*.

<sup>5</sup> *Yākūt* (*Mu’jam al-buldān*, iv. 367) mentions a locality near *Yamāmah* in Arabia of the name of *Kurmah*.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is badly worded but its meaning seems to be clear.



membered in the centre of the earth.<sup>1</sup> The said three kings will be from the posterity of the king the first letter of whose name is 'Ain.<sup>2</sup> They will fill the rôle which was assigned to them from eternity, and for which they were created.<sup>3</sup>

"O Peter, when you see that *Egypt* has been devastated and that twelve earthquakes have taken place in your town, know that the lion's whelp and the lion's brother the first letter of whose name is *Alif*,<sup>4</sup> will leave their respective places and repair to the west, which they will conquer. When you see wild beasts sitting at one table, and when you see the star of my Incarnation when I took body from the pure and virgin Mary, rising from the west: know that I am about to send locusts and death against the children of *Ishmael* in the days of the lion's whelp. I will also fill the hearts of other men with fear and fright to such an extent that they will pray for death. They will move from country to country; the inhabitants of the east will flee to the west, and the inhabitants of the west to the east, and the earth will be seized with great fear.

"At that time I will show my signs in heaven, and raise four kings, one of whom will be the 'ain, and two others the 'ain.<sup>5</sup> As to the fourth he will not be of royal blood. Two of them will be killed, and the third will seize power openly. As to the fourth, I will hide him to the time in which I will show to the public the King of those who believe in me.

"O Peter, it is imperative that you should pray and ask earnestly that none of your children shall be deceived<sup>6</sup> concerning the time when the children<sup>7</sup> of *Ishmael* come forth.<sup>8</sup> In that time there will be great famine and extreme hunger, and men will attack one another, because I shall place such enmity amongst them that none of them will have any peace. O Peter, when you see that people of all tongues

<sup>1</sup> What does all this sentence mean?

<sup>2</sup> The text adds here "and he will follow it."

<sup>3</sup> The sentence is badly worded, and my translation is not certain.

<sup>4</sup> Delete the *waw* and read *huma*.

<sup>5</sup> I do not understand what the author means by the word 'ain which among many other meanings that it possesses are "the eye" and "the letter 'ain." All the sentence is very obscure.

<sup>6</sup> The translation of this verb is doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> Read *banu*.

<sup>8</sup> All this sentence is badly worded.



have assembled in *Jarbā*,<sup>1</sup> and that faith<sup>2</sup> and belief in me are one ; when you see the mountains of *Jarbā*, which the inhabitants of Syria call 'the *janf*,' shaking ;<sup>3</sup> wars being waged ; the eagle spreading its feathers to all places and to all localities ; intense divisions occurring among men ; and people fleeing from you, O Peter : let the maiden know that the time of her wailing over those who believe in me is at hand.

"Then the priests will be killed and the deacons burned. The river of *Persia* will move vehemently and flood<sup>4</sup> *Jerusalem*. O Peter, the Kingdom<sup>5</sup> of the children of *Ishmael*, is firm, well established and solid. Its affairs are glorious but its glory is earthly. When you see the children of *Ishmael* mixing with the children of *Persia*, and when you see<sup>6</sup> the Jews learning the art of warfare, and a child calling another child of the same age to fight, and the signs the description of which I gave you appearing : know, O Peter, that the end of the Kingdom of *Ishmael* is at hand."<sup>7</sup>

#### A CHAPTER ON THE "SIGNS," FROM THE (THE BOOK OF THE) SECRETS.

"At the end when people begin to recognise one another, parents their children and children their parents ; when *Jarbā*<sup>8</sup> is in ruin and men of different tongues (understand one another) ;<sup>9</sup> when men from remote countries have assembled together, and heaven<sup>10</sup> has become one : Know, O Peter, that salvation is at hand. When you see the four Kings from the progeny of the '*abūs*'<sup>11</sup> wolf—whose appearance

<sup>1</sup> See my note above, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic *majd* in the sense of "faith" is a literal translation of the Syriac *Shubḥa*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *tahtazz*. See my note on a similar sentence below, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> The translation of this verb is doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> The author uses here the objective pronoun before the noun to which it belongs. This is done only in Syriac and not in Arabic.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ra'aita*.

<sup>7</sup> Here the copyist adds in Syriac: "O brother-readers pray for the wretched copyist who wrote."

<sup>8</sup> About this word see my note above.

<sup>9</sup> A verb with this or similar sense had been omitted, and I supplied it.

<sup>10</sup> The author, curiously enough, uses here the Persian word *āsmān*.

<sup>11</sup> Here the word '*abūs*' seems to be used as an adjective, and to mean "stern, austere" and by extension "tyrannical," and not as a substantive in the sense of "lion."

I had postponed till the end of time and until the wild ass was set free—making their appearance<sup>1</sup> and inducing those who believe in me not to be steadfast in praying and fasting and not to repent nor to climb the mountains of salvation: know that wars will increase during a short week and a half and then salvation will come.

“At<sup>2</sup> that time many of my people will deny me on account of the tribulations that will befall them. It will be a time of trial<sup>3</sup> and of the separation of tares from the wheat. Woe to those who deny me, and blessed are those who endure tribulations for my sake. At that time a considerable number of just men will join the ranks of the sinners. He who flies like an eagle and flees shall be saved. There will be frequent earthquakes, awful terrors, locusts, diseases and grievous death. Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck.<sup>4</sup> People will be delivered to tribulations the like of which had not been seen before, and the believers will undergo severe trials such as had not been witnessed since the beginning of the world, and will not be witnessed till the appearance of the false preacher.<sup>5</sup>

“Know, O Peter, that I will cast terror into the heart of the children of the ‘*Abūs*, will make them hear a terrifying sound in the heavens, which will overwhelm them, and will send on them a fearful tremor which will rob them of strength.

“O Peter, after you I will grant my peace to the Apostle<sup>6</sup> Paul,<sup>7</sup> the elect, because you and he will fight for my people in the forefront of the battle, and through you there will be victory for those who believe in me. When you appear all the earth will rejoice and those who believe in me will joy after their tribulations, and their hearts will gladden and enjoy peace. I will make salvation manifest to them, and will show openly my glory<sup>8</sup> and my majesty to men.

“O Peter, when you see signs of wars appearing in heaven from the west to the east, and quickly spreading over the countries of the earth; the sun losing its light and becoming dark; gloom taking hold of the world; a father hating his son and a brother his brother;

<sup>1</sup> Possibly reads *zaharū* in plural.

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac *buḥrāna*.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the Antichrist.

<sup>7</sup> It is the first time that the name of Paul appears in this eminently Petrine document.

<sup>8</sup> The Syriac *shubḥa*.

<sup>2</sup> Add the particle *fī*.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxiv. 19.

<sup>6</sup> The Syriac *shlīḥa*.



a son hating his father, and mothers hating their children and children their mothers, and a daughter-in-law her mother-in-law and a mother-in-law her daughter-in-law ; when you see the children of *Ishmael* driving away those who believe in me and refusing to acknowledge their submission<sup>1</sup> to them : at that time there will be a severe famine, and the rains will be scarce and will fall out of season. I will change the dew that falls on the earth into a deadly poison, and will stop the olive trees from bearing fruits.

“ When I have sent blighting winds on the olive trees and fig trees, know that at that time men will die of hunger and thirst, with the exception of my people whom I love and whom I will save. O Peter, blessed is he who flies, blessed is he who saves himself by leaving (the country), blessed is he who with a leap crosses the ford. O Peter, woe to the dwellers in the land of *Syria*, but blessed are those who live in the expectation of the calamities that will befall them and exercise patience in the face of trials, because they will live in the life of the world to come.

“ O Peter, keep all that I have revealed to you, inscribe it on the pages of your heart and guard it in your chest. O Peter, know that it is on you that I will build my church, and it shall not cease and perish and the gates of hell shall not be able to demolish it and destroy it.<sup>2</sup> It will have no end with me because it is in the palm of my hand, and I will be with it for ever and ever.

“ When the King that is called ‘ the lion’s whelp ’ rises—the King who will be the son of the King who bears the two names<sup>3</sup> of the nephew of the lion—and when the dead man reappears, who was dethroned and who like his father bore two names the first beginning with (the letter) *Kāf* and the other with (the letter) *Alif*; and when *Tibarus* who is by origin of the west appears, peace will reign, because that time will mark the beginning of salvation. O Peter, when earthquakes become violent (on the day of) the month in which I was born in the flesh—and it is the twenty-fifth day of December—and also on the day in which I was crucified—and it is the night of Friday of the middle of the known month—know that this will be the second sign which will follow the first sign that will be signalled by the destruction of my churches. The latter sign will indeed take

<sup>1</sup> *Sic* codex.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Matt. xvi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Read *bi'ismai*.



place before the great and violent earthquakes and the severe famine.

“O Peter, when you see divisions between the children of *Ishmael* bringing to the top the strongest among them,<sup>1</sup> and when you see the eagle waxing insolent, know that the time is near. O Peter, when you see heaven pouring forth fine ashes on men ; the rivers drying up so that no water is left in them, and no trees are found in the mountains ; when you see arts and crafts ceasing, trade brought to a standstill, and minds of men in a confused state with regard to them ;<sup>2</sup> when you see deceit increasing among men and falsehood laying strong roots in them so that every one strives to deceive his neighbour ; when you see trade being undertaken for the sole purpose of eating and drinking, and every man seeking prosperity for his own self to the exclusion of others ; when you see jealousy rife among men, so that no one is found to keep his neighbour's secret, and fear entering the hearts of all men ; when you see people of lies, deceit and false witness increasing and people of truth decreasing ; when you see that fame is being built up on lies and falsehood, that the people of doubtful character<sup>3</sup> are rejoicing, that the children of vipers are merry-making with their equals, that my people are ill-treated, denounced, thrown out of the way and impeded from washing themselves with water on account of the filth that men will attribute to it,<sup>4</sup> and that slanderous words are heaped on them ; when you see believers in me calling themselves by names given to the children of the '*Abūs* to the exclusion of the names of my baptism : when you see all this, awaken your flock to repentance, O Peter.

“O Peter, woe to the believers in me who give to themselves names used by the children of the '*Abūs*. Woe to those who intermarry with them, and have intercourse with them and wear the same apparel<sup>5</sup> like them. If those who believe in me neglect my churches and do not visit them, and lose sight of their priests and do not fulfil

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is badly worded and its meaning is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Read *minha*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. “people of doubt.”

<sup>4</sup> The reference seems to be here to the waters of baptism.

<sup>5</sup> Read *shi'ār* for *si'ār*. This proves decisively that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *Sīn* and *Shīn* are graphically identical and distinguishable only by extraneous dots.

their obligations<sup>1</sup> towards them, woe will betide those of them who act in this way. Know that any one who in those days offers to my churches one single penny, he will receive in reward myriads of pennies. Blessed are those who repent of their sins, because I will open to them the doors of my mercy.

"O Peter, when the children of *Ishmael* begin on a large scale to seize upon the possessions of those who believe in me, and to enslave their wives, sons,<sup>2</sup> and daughters, know that the salvation of the believers is at hand. O Peter, know that wars will multiply among the children of *Ishmael* together with murder and hatred, because every one of them will seek power for himself.

"O Peter, when the new city of *Babylon* is ruined and its inhabitants live in the old city, and the source of the *Tigris* is divided among the dwellers in the proud city ;<sup>3</sup> and when *Wākid*,<sup>4</sup> the meaning of whose name is 'burning,'<sup>5</sup> and who is the son of one the first letter of whose name is *Fā* and of the one the first letter of whose name is *Ain*, makes his appearance, know that the King of that period will be the last of the descendants of *Kedar* who are haters (of my people) and the progeny of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. O Peter, when you see the large cities of the sea-shore being demolished and ruined know that famine will overtake my people. O *Egypt*, fall ye in ruins because of the wrath that will come down on you and on the buildings which *Yanshur*, *Jambres*, and *Hermes* have erected in you, but know that after your weeping has reached its height your civilisation<sup>6</sup> will flourish with redoubled vigour, and your joy and jubilation will increase.

"O Peter, know that the children of *Kedar* will believe that victory will be from their own effort, and when I will deliver my people into their hands, they will humiliate them, ruin them, and say to them : 'the Son of your God'<sup>7</sup> is the son of a bondmaid,' and 'let the Nazarene slave who was crucified come and deliver you from

<sup>1</sup> Read *yata'āhadūhum*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *banīhim*.

<sup>3</sup> The text adds here : "which does not say at that time," a sentence which is to me problematical.

<sup>4</sup> The word is the present participle of the verb *wakada*, and is a fairly common Arabic name.

<sup>5</sup> So I translate *mughīr* of the text. It may be rendered differently according to the meaning we give to the verb *ghāra*.

<sup>6</sup> Or : the buildings in you.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ilāhikum*.



our hands.' They will not know that my hand is over everything. I will, however, order *Michael* the head of the heavenly hosts to utter one cry, and they will cower, and fear and awe will fill the hearts of all of them. They will be bewildered, and I will confuse the news that reaches them, and they will rejoice at any intelligence that comes to them. I will deliver them<sup>1</sup> to the demons to be directed by them, as I delivered *Saul* to the demons and they became his mentors.

At that time the demons will take the forms of men, a fact which will be proclaimed by their sons and daughters,<sup>2</sup> and men will not be in doubt that the demons are true men. At that time the people of *Persia* and its mountains will come<sup>3</sup> to the holy land in which they will dwell, and they will inhabit my holy temples, which will be ruined. They will ally themselves with the children of *Kedar* and they will intermarry with them. The people of *Persia* will command the soldiers and direct the battles of the children of *Kedar*, and they will teach the art of warfare to those of them who do not know it ; but I will destroy all of them with the sword.

"O Peter, inform those who believe in me that if they are told that peace cometh from this or that place let them not take heed, and let them not accompany those who utter such things to them, because everything they will tell them<sup>4</sup> will be groundless and false ; indeed I will not sow peace and reconciliation between them and I will not bless their lands with riches from that time for ever. All of them will seek power, and I will place in their hearts the love<sup>5</sup> of gold and silver, so that they shall have no other care but that of amassing wealth and of clinging to women. A father will marry a woman, and his son her daughter ; a man will marry two sisters, and men will marry men as if they were women. Males will debase themselves with males and females with females, and they will own one another.<sup>6</sup> The young among them will not honour the old, and none of them will be ashamed of another. All<sup>7</sup> will be wicked, and will believe themselves to be pure<sup>8</sup> but with me they will be defiled. You will recall my

<sup>1</sup> Read *wa-'usallimuhum*.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this sentence is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Read *yasir*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *yad'ūnahum*.

<sup>5</sup> Delete the article.

<sup>6</sup> As concubines?

<sup>7</sup> Read *al-jamī'*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *ankiā'*.



saying that no <sup>1</sup> one will be able to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven unless he be baptised in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost the pure, <sup>2</sup> and my names which I have hidden from the rest of mankind with the exception of your lambs are *Ahīyah*, *Ashar-ahīyah*, *Adonai*, *Ilshadai*, *Sabaoth*.<sup>3</sup>

“Know, O Peter, that it is to you and to the rest of the disciples and to those who follow you that I have prepared the Kingdom of Heaven. Know, O Peter, that of the descendants of *Kedar* many people will believe in me, and will join your fold. They will be pure and they will fulfil your orders. The names of all of them are inscribed with me in the Church of the Virgins,<sup>4</sup> which is in *Jerusalem* and in my town which I behold at every moment.

“O Peter, woe will betide those who are not baptised and do not believe in me, because they will inherit the uttermost darkness and the flaming fire which is not quenched and to which there is no dissolution and no end. Woe to those who will mix with them, as they will err with the *Magians* and with such as these will their lot be in hell.

“O Peter, when the men with the yellow standards have conquered *Egypt*; when *Armenia* is destroyed by thunderbolts; when *Jazīrah*<sup>5</sup> is in ruin together with many fortresses on the littoral of the sea; when *Egypt* is depopulated and encircled<sup>6</sup> and the (water of the) Nile is held up; and the sovereignty has passed into the hands of the people of the yellow standards; and the land<sup>7</sup> has become yellow and in a state of ruin through the hoofs of horses, and the wheat has been hoarded for the years<sup>8</sup> (to come); when you see peace established between warring generals; <sup>9</sup> when you see the King

<sup>1</sup> Add *lā*.

<sup>2</sup> The author uses the word “Holy Ghost” in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature. This seems to postulate a relatively ancient layer for the original source of the author in connection with the point under consideration.

<sup>3</sup> Well-known Hebrew words. See above in the first part of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. The Book of Rev. xiv. 14.

<sup>5</sup> North Mesopotamia.

<sup>6</sup> Doubtful translation.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. : desert.

<sup>8</sup> Read *sinīn*. This also proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *nūn* and *tā* are graphically identical.

<sup>9</sup> So I translate *tawākīd*, for which I cannot find a more suitable meaning. My translation is, however, doubtful.

bringing out the young man who is a scion of the mighty Kings of the Children of *Ishmael*, and when (this young man) believes in me and becomes one of my lambs and enters my fold<sup>1</sup> and goes to my holy city<sup>2</sup>—he is one of the descendants of *Ishmael*, and it is he who will induce the lion's whelp to cause the two Kings to appear on the earth; when all this takes place, woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck,<sup>3</sup> because their husbands<sup>4</sup> will die and they will be widows.

“And when you see that armies do not stop in one locality, but move from town to town and from place to place; that their chieftains do not see eye to eye with one another, that their leaders<sup>5</sup> are traitors and their love (for one another) is turned into hatred: know that woe has fallen on the world. O Peter, keep that which I told you, and let it be to you like the message of the Gospel, and know that all these signs will take place in a short week and a half.

“O Peter, when men flee from women because of the intensity of famine and tribulations; when plains suffer from drought<sup>6</sup> and the ears of wheat do not display their natural beauty;<sup>7</sup> when gloom and weeping increase among men; when the rod that is set up in my Temple is broken, and the inhabitants of your city rise against my people till they are overwhelmed by many afflictions; when my churches are ruined and ravaged by the calamities that will befall them; and light and glory are removed from them; when peace is restored between warring generals<sup>8</sup> for a week, which means a long period for the children of baptism; when the children of baptism are saved from the children of the wolf by stratagem; and when the children of baptism take possession of the fort and overcome the enmity of the wolf; when all this happens, woe and again woe to those with encumbrances who live till that time, but blessed are those who have no encumbrances and who have no brothers nor sisters. Blessed will be those who are single.

<sup>1</sup> The original *ṣuyūti* is incomprehensible without emendations.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: city of my holiness.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiv. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Read *rijālahunna*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *wakādatahum*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ajdabat*. This proves that the original M<sup>S</sup>. was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic that the letters *jīm* and *hā'*, *bā'*, and *tā'* are graphically identical.

<sup>7</sup> I read *ruwāha* for *dawāha*. The translation is, however, doubtful.

<sup>8</sup> Here also is the above word *tawāḳīd*.



"O Peter, warn your people against the Jews, and know that the King of the children of the 'Abūs will be executed in the fulness of time,<sup>1</sup> and in this fulness the nation with easy life will perish from the earth together with the children of the wolf. Many sheep will become wolves. O Peter, warn your people not to take refuge from anything under the mantle of Moses.<sup>2</sup> Know that at the end of time I will place between the eyes of the children of baptism a sign resembling a bright star which will protect them from destruction.<sup>3</sup>

"O Peter, the King of the children of the 'Abūs will perish when forty Kings from them have reigned, as I told you, and the name of the man at whose hand their Kingdom will come to an end will begin with a *Mīm*, and their discomfiture will take place in his days. Know, O Peter, that all of them will not perish but a considerable number of them will remain till the end of the world, and their sins will multiply seven fold.

"O Peter, the first sign will be the ruin of *Egypt*, scarcity of food and famine on the coast, the destruction of *Jarba*<sup>4</sup> which the inhabitants of the east and of Syria call the *jauf*<sup>5</sup> and the coming of the winds and of the highest mountain.<sup>6</sup> When this happens divisions will occur between the children of the wolf through their malice and treachery. When you see fear and trepidation penetrating into the heart of the children of the wolf, causing them to lose control of affairs through the calamities that will befall them, know that after their divisions they will meet with famine and destruction.

"When confusion reigns in the honourable<sup>7</sup> place, and when the light of the stars becomes dim,<sup>8</sup> and peace is secured between the two new Kings, the victorious will become the vanquished. When the nobles of *Syria* are captured; when the learned men have fled and the

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: "of the sea," but this is possibly a mistake for *ayyām* "of the days."

<sup>2</sup> This translation is not certain.

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: fight.

<sup>4</sup> See above.

<sup>5</sup> Read *jauf* for *khauf*. This emendation is from Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76a). This also proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *jīm* and *Khā'* are written in the same way and distinguished only by an extraneous dot placed over or under the letter.

<sup>6</sup> Which mountain? If we read *taur* for *tūr* we can obtain many other meanings.

<sup>7</sup> Read *al-musharraf*. Which honourable place?

<sup>8</sup> The translation is not certain.



wise men have perished ; when those who believe in me are in a state of subjection, are called unbelievers and are hated and despised ; and when the love of the children of the wolf turns towards the Jews and not towards my people : know that it is the time of the beginning (of the end). O Peter, when this happens fly like a pigeon, soar in the air like an eagle and hide yourself like the setting sun. O Peter, woe to the man who neglects my words.

"O Peter, when you see these signs, know that the great city of the interior will be conquered, and one year after its conquest, the new city will be conquered, and after it the city concerning which lies were uttered, and then the city of *Alexandria*. And it will be turned upside down<sup>1</sup> together with *Harmānīyah* and the river that flows from Paradise to *Phoenicia*. And the region of *Baalbeck* together with *Lāyos* and *Kūsīn*<sup>2</sup> and the town of idols and the two holy houses that are in the east and in *Mesopotamia*, will be conquered.

"Know, O Peter, that at that time woe will betide those who will be inhabiting your city, because they will be killed ; and blessed will be those who shall flee from it, because tribulations will befall it as never before, and the believers in me who are in it will be exposed to public scorn ; when it is conquered with the sword those of them who will have fled to the three mountains that surround it shall be saved.

"When this happens the inhabitants of *Armenia*, of *Haurān*<sup>3</sup> and of *Persia* will resent it<sup>4</sup> and will help my people, and all those who disbelieve in me will turn to me. Then the towns of *Ablabūn*<sup>5</sup> and *Beirut* will rejoice<sup>6</sup> but woe to the (towns of the) coast because of the calamities that will befall them at the hand of the lion's whelp, whose roaring will be heard on land and sea. Woe to *Laodicea* because of the calamities that will befall it. The believers will be killed in *Mount Sinai*, and *Moab*,<sup>7</sup> *Amman* and *Damascus* which is the city of perdition, will be in ruins."

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful translation. Lit. : "and it will be reversed against being turned over."

<sup>2</sup> *Yākūt* (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, iv, 100), mentions a locality called *Kussīn* near *Kūfah*, but this can hardly be identified with this *Kūsīn*.

<sup>3</sup> Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76b) has *Jaradān*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *nafarū* as in Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76b).

<sup>5</sup> Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76b) has *Īlūn*.

<sup>6</sup> The verb *farahat* is supplied from Mingana Syr. 441 (*ibid.*).

<sup>7</sup> M. 441 (*ibid.*) has *Āmūr*.

A CHAPTER ON THE SALVATION OF THE BELIEVERS AT THE  
HAND OF THE HONOURABLE KING, THE LION'S WHELP,  
IN THE DAY<sup>1</sup> OF THE LORD.

“ Know, O Peter, that the lion's whelp will come out of his place and repair to the holy city. He will fix his spear in the place of the Crucifixion, and he will remain there one day. He will open the gates of Jerusalem on a Friday, and then he will enter therein, and the time<sup>2</sup> at which he will enter will be three o'clock on a Saturday. And on a Sunday, third of April, he will enter the Church and fix in it the wood (of the Cross) of Golgotha where the Jews crucified me, and will lay his diadem on that wood. That day is the day of the Lord, and all the nations will rejoice and dance, and the Kings of the earth will assemble there, will be in great astonishment and will jubilate and clap their hands; and all the nations will know one another. On that day heaven and earth will rejoice, and the voices of angels will be heard in them,<sup>3</sup> singing and praising, and their glorifications will be mingled with the glorifications of those who believe in me.”

<sup>1</sup> Delete the article.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. : “ day.”

<sup>3</sup> Read *fīha*.







































































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الحمد لله































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قصص









## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNĪ,  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 8.

### THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following pages give the edition and translation of the final section of the work that passes under the name of "Apocalypse of Peter," "Book of the Rolls," or simply "Clement." The contents of this part of the work are generally not apocalyptic in character but historical, and the task of translating their Garshūnī text proved to be relatively easy.

After a few pages dealing with the history, the name and the description of the Antichrist who will herald the end of the world, the seventh part of the Clementine literature ends, and is immediately followed by the eighth part which contains the history of the Apostles and of their evangelisation of the various countries of the earth. Special emphasis is naturally laid on the preaching of Peter. The ministry of the Apostles whose preaching is not intimately connected with that of Peter is dismissed with a short reference which can hardly do justice to their spiritual labours and their high rank as disciples of the Lord. As I have pointed out in the two preceding fasciculi of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, the present document is highly Petrine in character, and anyone or anything not connected with the inner circle of the narrow Petrine orbit, either assumes insignificance or is relegated to the background of history.

The most extraordinary thing that I ever saw in any Christian document is the fact that this marked predilection of the author for St.



Peter has led him to adopt a rather indifferent attitude towards Paul, called by the unanimity of Christian writers "The Apostle" *par excellence*. In a passage found towards the end of the narrative it is said that Peter ordered Clement to put down in writing all that he had taught him and revealed to him. He further commanded him to deposit the book thus written in the archives at Rome. When the book was finished Peter and Clement sealed it with their seals and Peter said : "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries to Paul or those who resemble him."<sup>1</sup>

In this connection I shall not draw especial attention to the fact that in the document Paul always applies to Peter the epithets of "master" and of "teacher," but I cannot pass without some comment the unusual process whereby Paul is sent out by Peter on all his missionary journeys, and has to report to him concerning his doings in each of these journeys. So after having evangelised *al-Adiyōḱa*, "a town which is in darkness," Paul comes back to Peter who was in Carthage and presents him with a report of his mission which begins : "O spiritual father, my chief . . . and my master."

Following the strain of his anti-Pauline tendency, the author often assigns to Paul a rôle which is, to say the least, too ingenuous and undignified. So he is once given the rôle of a pagan and made to worship and praise the idols before the Emperor and all the members of his court, but when the same Emperor became Christian and noticed the deceitfulness of which he was the victim he complained to Paul of his hypocritical conduct and the latter answered : "I meant in what I did to use a stratagem with you in order that by my soft advice to you the hardness of your nature may be mollified to your advantage !" The outcome of the strange scene was that the Emperor "was amused, and smiling at him, thanked him for the ruse he had practised against him !"

As I pointed out in a foot-note, this subtle conduct of Paul may, to some extent, be explained by the words used in 1 Cor. ix. 20-23. "And unto Jews I became as a Jew that I might gain the Jews. . . . To them that are without law, as without law . . . that I

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic sentence may possibly mean : "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries (or secrets) be he Paul or any of those who resemble him (= his followers)." The anti-Pauline tendency remains in the sentence whatever meaning we give to it.

might gain them." These sentences cannot, however, remove all the sting from the author's marked anti-Paulinism, and a better explanation of this curious phenomenon may perhaps be sought in the opinion first enunciated by some scholars of the last century who distinguished two social and theological tendencies among the Christian members of the early Church: a tendency towards the teaching of Paul called *Paulinism*, and another tendency towards the teaching of Peter, called *Petrinism*. Traces of these two distinct Christian parties can be discerned in the present Petrine Apocryphon.<sup>1</sup> From passages in the canonical Book of the Acts, dealing with the *Judaizers*, we know that everything did not always go smoothly in the early Church. This is confirmed by a reference to Galat. ii. 11, where Paul writes: "But when Peter was come to Antioch I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed."

Harder even than all the anti-Pauline sentences referred to above is the accusation brought by the author against the Apostle of the Gentiles of "tampering with books," with special reference to the separate books which contained the profession of faith of each of the twelve Apostles. When these twelve books were finished the text adds that they were sealed with the seal of each Apostle, "beginning with the seal of my teacher Peter, then with that of Mary the mother of light, and with that of Paul *who had tampered with the language of the books.*"

I am not in a position to offer a better explanation than the one I gave above for these unusual attacks upon St. Paul.

I have referred in my foot-notes to some of the sources of the author. So far as the life of Clement, his conversion and his meeting with his brothers and parents are concerned, our thought naturally goes to the well-known Clementine *Recognitions and Homilies*. From the fact that the mother of our hero is called *Mitradora* and not *Mattidia*, as in the Greek recension of these two works, I have conjectured that our text as well as its Ethiopic counterpart are under the influence of an ancient Syriac recension of the story which in

<sup>1</sup> See on this subject Hans Lietzmann in *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (10, iv., 1930), and Emanuel Hirsch in *Zeitschr. für die Neut. Wissens.*, 1930, pp. 63-76, with the suggestive title of "Petrus und Paulus."

1917 I edited and translated in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*.

A recension of the "Preaching of Peter in Rome" or *Prædicatio Petri*, found in an Arabic MS. (dated A.D. 799) in the Library of Mount Sinai, was published by Mrs. Gibson in No. 5 of *Studia Sinaitica*. For some anecdotes of Peter's adventures in the Metropolis the text of our MS. is closely akin to that of this recension.

It is interesting to note that the text of our present apocryphal Clement has been translated *in extenso* by some Ethiopian writer, and placed towards the end of that strange work which passes under the title of *Gadla Hawwāriyāt* or "Contendings of the Apostles," the text and translation of which were published by Budge in 1899 and 1901.<sup>1</sup> The linguistic originality of the Arabic text will not be questioned by any Semitic scholar who compares it with its Ethiopic equivalent. What seems to clench the argument against a possible originality of the Ethiopic translation is the fact that in the narrative Clement is given as the author of all the text on pp. 466-526. Indeed all these pages deal with the preaching of Peter, the history of the conversion of Clement and his relatives, and narrate the story of how Clement wrote his book, exactly as it is done in the present Garshūni text. Further, in all this long narrative Clement is more or less always speaking in the first person as this person is better suited to the requirements of a writer in search of historical data.

The Ethiopian translator of this part of Pseudo-Clement's book does not seem to have been over scrupulous in his work. On the contrary he appears to have sometimes exceeded his literary limits of a mere translator, because, among other things, he has completely excluded from his book the first of the two above passages, which are detrimental to the prestige of Paul, and changed the second into a phrase meaning: "for he (Paul) was the eye (*sic*) of all the books."<sup>2</sup> Evidently these passages shocked him as they would indeed shock

<sup>1</sup> As Budge points out (*ibid.*, p. vi.) the oldest MS. of this Ethiopic work is that of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and is dated in "the 39th year of Mercy," i.e., 1379. A.D. See also Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits Ethiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1877, No. 52, p. 53 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Contendings*, p. 521. In undotted Arabic characters the change of *ghayyara* into 'ain is not wholly impossible. The Ethiopian translator has, however, omitted the word *lisān* "language" altogether.



any Christian reader, and we only owe their existence to the well-known servility of the Syrian copyists to their original. Syrian copyists are in this respect the best copyists, because they adhere faithfully to their original and leave any other consideration to their readers. But for them we would have missed passages which seem to possess an archaic savour.

A striking illustration of this servility of Syrian copyists may also be gathered from the author's theological view of the Incarnation and the way in which, according to him, the "Word became flesh." I will quote here the following strange sentence which seems to contain traces of a mild form of Docetism.

"And the jealous Lord sent His Son, the mighty Teacher, who came down to the earth and appeared in a covering which He chose to Himself from light, which He materialised and from which He spoke and performed the things which He wished to perform in His world."

That the body of the Christ was a simple *covering* which He Himself *materialised* from *light* is hardly the orthodox doctrine of the Church after the Council of Nicea, but it is certainly a doctrine which has in it germs of an archaic savour.

There are further points which deserve some attention :

1. St. Stephen Protomartyr is given in the document as a nephew<sup>1</sup> of St. Paul. I could not trace the source of this remarkable statement which has been struck out by the Ethiopian translator of the *Contendings*. It is also missing in the Synaxarium of the Ethiopic Church,<sup>2</sup> and there is no reference to it in the Coptic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in the *Patrologia Orientalis*.<sup>3</sup>

2. Among the disciples of Paul the author mentions a man called *Zerosus*, about whom I could find no definite information. He is coupled in the document with Dionysius whom I tentatively identified with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. As I have remarked in a foot-note "*Zerosus*" appears in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 520) as "*Protheus*". The variant is probably due to early and undotted Arabic characters.

3. *Nuael* as the name of the angel who served Christ till His

<sup>1</sup> Precisely, "the son of the sister."

<sup>2</sup> *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, ii., pp. 434-435 (edit. Budge).

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Orient.*, i., 268-270.

Ascension to Heaven should be noted, as also the names of the two angels to whom Peter was entrusted : *Akrābīl* and *Falwābīl*. I do not remember having seen these names elsewhere. In the Ethiopic *Contendings*,<sup>1</sup> they are the traditional *Uriel* and *Raphael*.

4. I will quote here the following important passage which if not interpolated by a Roman Catholic hand is certainly the most striking testimony that I have found in any eastern book in favour of the Church of Rome :—

“(God) will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification, as it is the true faith.’ And the pure father Peter said : ‘Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.’ And he also said : ‘Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome, is remote from God, and will have no share with me.’ And (Christ) informed me that He will establish this city as a dwelling-place for angels, and holiness<sup>2</sup> will not cease in it. Tares will not penetrate into it nor will it be conquered by the Kings of Tares.”

This passage is found in the Ethiopic version<sup>3</sup> in the following terms : “(Peter told me) that the faith of the people (of Rome) is the right faith.’ And he said unto me ‘Every Christian whose faith shall not be like unto the faith of the men of Rome at the time when the disciples were gathered together therein shall be remote from God, and he shall have no portion with me.’ And my master Peter informed me that our Lord had made this city to be the habitation of angels, and that hymns of consecration should never cease therefrom, and that no heathen rulers should enter therein ; for this city was intended to be the abode of the saints and the habitation of the bodies of the holy fathers.”

The reader can easily notice that the Ethiopic version lacks two important sentences : “*God will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification,*” and : “*Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.*” We may also remark that the Ethiopian trans-

<sup>1</sup> *Contendings*, p. 700.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly “the mass.”

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 522-523.



lator has qualified the sentence : "*Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome is remote from God*" by adding to it the clause "*at the time when the disciples were gathered together therein*" (i.e., in Rome). Further, he has changed the expression *Kings of Tares*, which generally designates heretics, to *heathen rulers*.

It seems clear to me that the original passage, whether interpolated or not, is that represented in the MS. of my collection, and that the changes in the Ethiopic version are due to the Ethiopian translator who felt it necessary, as in the instance of the two anti-Pauline sentences to which I have referred above, to omit or qualify the compromising words. Neither copyist was a Roman Catholic but, as I have already remarked, the Syrian was more conscientious and servile in his work than the Ethiopian.

An edition with complete facsimile reproduction and full translation of the whole of the second part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* did not appear to me to be indispensable for the right understanding of the Apocryphon. So I contented myself with the translation of the more important section which embraces ff. 154<sup>b</sup>-173<sup>a</sup> of the MS. As to the text written on ff. 116<sup>b</sup>-154<sup>a</sup>, and 173<sup>b</sup>-185<sup>b</sup>, I will only give an analysis of it ; I will, however, give a full translation of all the sentences that appeared to me important enough to warrant such a course. So far as ff. 185<sup>b</sup>-194<sup>a</sup> are concerned, they contain the testament of Peter to Clement and deal exclusively with early Church discipline and practices. As they deserve a special study and a more detailed commentary I have left them completely for fuller investigation, which I hope to undertake in the near future. The facsimile reproductions of the present fasciculus of the *Woodbrooke Studies* extend only to that part of the text of which a full translation is given, with the exception of ff. 184<sup>a</sup>-185<sup>b</sup> which contain the two anti-Pauline sentences referred to above, and also the aforesaid passage dealing with the faith of the inhabitants of Rome.

As it is my intention to cease for a moment the publication of apocryphal lucubrations<sup>1</sup> I will quote here two passages from two

<sup>1</sup> Since 1927 I published the following Apocrypha : 1. *Apocryphal works of Ignatius of Antioch* ; 2. *A Jeremiah Apocryphon* ; 3. *A new Life of John the Baptist* ; 4. *Some Uncanonical Psalms* ; 5. *The Lament of the Virgin* ; 6. *The Martyrdom of Pilate* ; 7. *Vision of Theophilus* ; 8. *The voluminous Apocalypse of Peter*.



critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who have specialised in this field of research :

“ Schon im zweitem Jahrhundert waren zahlreiche Sagen über die Schicksale der Apostel, zum Theil sehr abenteuerlicher Art, im Umlauf. Bei der Dunkelheit, welche über der Wirksamkeit und dem Lebensausgange der meisten Apostel schwebte, zeigte sich frühzeitig die fromme Phantasie geschäftig, die Lücken auszufüllen, welche die geschichtliche Erinnerung der Kirche, gelassen hatte. Manche dieser Sagen verdanken ihren Ursprung lediglich dem Streben, die fromme Wissbegierde und die Wundersucht der Gläubigen zu befriedigen ; andere dienen dem Lokalinteresse verschiedener Landschaften und Städte, welche ihr Christenthum gern der unmittelbaren Wirksamkeit eines Apostels verdanken, oder ihre Bisthümer auf unmittelbar apostolische stiftung zurückfuhren wollten.”<sup>1</sup>

“ There is no question of anyone's having excluded (the apocryphal Gospels and Acts) from the New Testament : they have done that for themselves. Interesting as they are, they do not achieve either of the two principal purposes for which they were written, the instilling of new religion and the conveyance of true history.”<sup>2</sup>

Whether the critics of the year, say, 2500, will wholly subscribe to this verdict I cannot say. That it will be slightly modified in favour of some Apocrypha seems to me just possible. Our main task for the present is to edit and translate as many of these uncanonical documents as we can, and leave the duty of studying them more elaborately and comparing them more fully with what we term canonical Books, to future generations. In the year 2500 scholars may possibly be in a position to study both the canonical and uncanonical scripture with a more detached spirit and better equipped minds.

#### TRANSLATION.

[Analysis and Translation of the Important Passages of the Text on ff. 116-124.]

“ O Peter, in that day I will show you my power before all nations in order that they may know that I am the Son of the Living God.”<sup>3</sup>

In that day the heads of men will bow down and worship towards

<sup>1</sup> Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Bd. I, s. 1.

<sup>2</sup> James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

the East and the sun will dance with joy. In that day my angels will mingle with the children of men in Jerusalem. The tree of life in the desert will be glad and will rejoice and glorify with the voice of wisdom. I will stretch my powerful arm over my people, and it will cover them as an eagle covers its young with its wings, and all of them will cry aloud with one voice : "Glory be to Jesus of Nazareth, our Lord and our Saviour."

Then the Master, the Christ, our Lord, said to the pure and great father Peter : "Know that creation took place in the month of April, and in that month I raised up the temple of my body on the wood of the Cross, and raised it again from the grave. The deliverance of those who believe in me will take place in that month, and in it they will enter into the Holy City. In it I will display my wonders and in it men will rise from the dead, and the general resurrection will take place.

"In that day I will show the fruits of my grace to those who believed in me, and the fruits of my wrath to those who did not believe in me and contradicted me and worshipped the idols, whose names are *Barakūyār*, *Ṣalāḥ*, and *Fālāḥ*.<sup>1</sup> These idols are set up in the South and were erected by *Jannes* and *Jambres*. My followers will then dwell in *Syria* and in the Holy Land which the children of the wolf had wrested from them.

"In that day the faith of all believers in me will be one, and the dough will be leavened in the short time of three hours and with little leaven. My people will live in perfect happiness and prosperity, and the children of the '*Abūs*, that is to say the children of the wolf, will rail at them no more ; but my followers will taunt the children of the wolf and point out my miracles to them."

And Simon Peter said also (as from Christ) : "In the days to come in which I will deliver my people from the servitude of the son of the wolf and of the wild ass, I will spread peace and security over the earth, pour rain on its dry lands and fill hearts with joy. At that time there will be so much gold and silver that men will care for them no more. When the *Greeks*<sup>2</sup> have gone back the *Romans*<sup>3</sup> will take

<sup>1</sup> The last two names seem to possess an Arabic termination or to be under Arabic influence.

<sup>2</sup> *Yaunāniyah* may mean also the Greek language.

<sup>3</sup> *Rūmiyah* may also refer to the language of the *Rūm*.

their place. O Peter, when the four names belonging to the four thrones have been completed and their faith has become one, Venus will set and the light of the moon will suffer eclipse, but the sun will shine much more brilliantly than it did aforetime.

[The copyist adds here (fol. 118<sup>b</sup>) that he has found the preceding pages written somewhat differently in another MS. and that he was going to transcribe them afresh according to this new evidence. I will omit in this analysis all the text found on ff. 118<sup>b</sup>-119<sup>b</sup>.] Then Peter proceeds :—

“When my Master and my God finished these words of His, I, Peter, prostrated myself before Him, wept for a long time and said to Him : ‘O my Lord and my Saviour, hearken to the supplication of your servant and reveal to me the day on which the accursed Antichrist will appear, and the name of his father and mother, and from which tribe he will spring, and how long his kingdom will endure, and where he will be born and where he will reign, and what are the signs heralding his appearance. Reveal to me these things in order that I may warn the faithful against him.’”<sup>1</sup>

*Here ends the sixth part of the Book of Clement.*

*The seventh part of the Book of Clement.*

And Jesus Christ the Master, the Redeemer and the Living One said : “Yes, O Peter, the Antichrist will reign over all the peoples of the world and no one will be able to stand against him. His reign will last thirty-five years, and towards its end the sun will lose its light and the moon will darken ; winds will increase and calamities will multiply while piercing and terrifying sounds will be heard from his soldiers. When the day of his death arrives a fiery cloud will rise from hell and burst over his armies composed of *Sabeans*, *Magians*, children of *Kedar* and children of the wolf. Afterwards a second cloud will rise and burst over the Jews and over the idolators who believed in him. A third and intensely dark cloud will then rise from the depth of hell, full of thunderbolts, of fires and of terrifying cries of demons. It will burst over the Antichrist, take his wretched soul and torture it and burn it in the lowest pit. At that time, rise, O Peter, and watch over your children.

<sup>1</sup> Here the copyist adds in Syriac : “O brother-readers pray for the wretched and weak scribe who wrote these lines and for his fathers.”



"This lying servant, the Antichrist, will appear in *Caparnaum* and sit in *Jerusalem* in the house of David. The name of his father is *Wailah* and that of his mother *Lahwā*.<sup>1</sup> He will be of the tribe of *Dan*; and he will be born in *Chorazin* and brought up in *Sidon*.<sup>2</sup> The majority of his followers will be of the Jewish people, and they will avenge themselves on my followers. I will allow them to do so as I allowed the children of the wolf before them. I will enhance the prestige of the Antichrist, and the Jews, together with the *Samaritans* the *Sabeans*, the *Magians*, and the children of the wolf will submit to him and love him.

"He will work the following miracles: he will gather clouds together and bid them send down rain; he will command dry trees, and they will put forth leaves and fruit; he will gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles;<sup>3</sup> he will order the seed of crops to grow and it will grow, the mountains to be flat and they will be flat, the rivers to dry up and they will dry up; the animals of land, air and sea will obey him; he will heal the blind, the lepers and the paralytics; he will walk on the waters, and will cause springs of sweet water to jet forth from rocks.

"The sign which will herald his coming will be the same as that which foretold the flood in the time of *Noah*. Bows of fire braced with strings and arrows of fire will appear in the four corners of the earth. The sun and the moon will darken three days before his appearance, and the mountains will be levelled up, the stones will crack, and the rivers will become dry. One thousand, one hundred and thirty-eight days before his appearance I will send two venerable men *Enoch* and *Elijah* so that they may announce his coming and warn people not to believe in him. One of them already you know, for he is the zealous old man whom you saw on the mountain of salvation<sup>4</sup> when I showed to you my Godhead.

"In those days if any one says that the Christ is here or there do not believe him.<sup>5</sup> The Antichrist will reign over the earth the half

<sup>1</sup> This name is from Mingana Syr. 225. M. 70 has *Wailāh*. These names do not seem to me to be original, as they appear to denote the first the Arabic word *wailāh*, "woe!" and the second the Arabic word *lahu*, "destruction." I believe that they may be a literal translation from another language.

<sup>2</sup> *Šaida*. M. 225 has *Šaidāniyah*.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. vii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Arab. *furkān* from Syr. *purkūna*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matt. xxiv. 26.

of one long week, and if I do not shorten his days, full of all kinds of iniquities, there will be no flesh saved.<sup>1</sup> O Peter, tell your people that if they shall say unto them, 'lo he is inside' let them not go in to him<sup>2</sup> and 'lo, he is outside,' let them not go out to him. Blessed are you, O Peter, because to you I gave the secrets of my Kingdom.

*A Chapter on the Revelation of the Heavenly Secrets.*

[Here the author gives as from a different version the vision of Peter found in the first part of the work.<sup>3</sup> I will omit all this section which is given on ff. 124<sup>b</sup>-130<sup>b</sup> of the manuscript. On ff. 130<sup>b</sup>-134<sup>b</sup> the manuscript contains another version of the appearance of the Antichrist. I will also omit all this part in the present analysis. The above folios are followed by another version of the different kinds of torments inflicted on different types of sinners (ff. 135<sup>b</sup>-137<sup>a</sup>). Ff. 137-145<sup>b</sup> contain prophetic announcements, by Jesus to Peter, on the state of Christians, on the end of the world and on the punishment of sinners, somewhat similar to those already reported.

On Fol. 141<sup>a</sup> occurs the following passage which refers to the day of the Resurrection when mankind has risen from the dead: "Know that as the protection of my people began with a king the first letter of whose name is *Kāf* and he is (. . .) so also the last king who (will protect them) will be a man the first letter of whose name is *Kāf* and he is (. . .). This king will reign over all the world, and he is the faithful and upright king who will spread peace throughout the countries of the earth. He will repair to Golgotha and there he will take the crown from off his head and place it on the spot where my body was crucified for the salvation of the children of Adam. Then will I lift up on high my cross and the crown of my kingdom together with the crown of the king who shall have acted in this way." In the Ethiopic version<sup>4</sup> a king whose name begins with the letter *Ka* is identified with Constantine.

Ff. 146<sup>a</sup>-147<sup>a</sup> contain a short speech by the Lord on the seven sins of blasphemy, marriage of a Christian with an infidel, Sodomy, idolatry, communion without faith, and doubt concerning the Divine commandments. After this speech come good advices dealing with

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 139-152.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiv. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 74.



the Eucharist and the Mass at the end of which the Christ (fol. 150<sup>a</sup>) promises to seal the book with the seal of the Holy Spirit and to write it with the pen of light of which He made use in writing the tablets of the ten commandments promulgated by Moses. Then follow some general advices to Peter, after which on fol. 151<sup>b</sup> begins the section which I translate below and of which I give facsimile reproductions. From this section I omit the first three leaves which treat of a vision of heaven and of the Ascension of our Lord into it, witnessed by all the Apostles and the Disciples (ff. 151<sup>b</sup>-154<sup>b</sup>) and will begin my full translation immediately after this vision (fol. 154<sup>b</sup>).]

## TRANSLATION.

And when the doors of heaven were closed we all awoke on the Mount of Olives. We remained there and at sunset we prayed in all the places from which we had seen the Lord ascending to heaven. We directed our prayers towards the chariot with the pavilion in which our Lord drove up to heaven to the glory of His majesty, and it was in the East, the actual direction of our prayer.<sup>1</sup> Then we descended from the Mount of Olives and went to the dwelling of the Lady Mary, the mother of light, and we narrated to her all that we had seen. The Lady used to vie with us in her revelations to us as from the Lord concerning all things that gladdened us. We were pleased with her words to us upon the happenings which we had witnessed, and our joy increased and our hearts took courage. Our souls were also illumined, and around us were divine gifts and spiritual favours ; and we dwelt with her.

Every day I gathered together the Disciples and ascended the Mount of Olives morning and evening to pray thereon. Three days after the Ascension of our Lord into heaven we came together and erected an altar, and on that day *James*, whom our Lord the Saviour called his brother, offered the sacrifice for us,<sup>2</sup> and all of us partook of it. On the tenth day we assembled in the holy Chamber of Zion and stood up at the time of the mass, and all of us prayed to the Lord

<sup>1</sup> On the East as the direction of prayer for the Christians of the East, see my edition of the "Apology of Timothy" in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. ii., p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence used may mean in the ecclesiastical language "he said the mass for us."



and implored Him to hear our supplications. While *James* was invoking the Holy Spirit to come down on the sacrifices<sup>1</sup> we beheld tongues of fire shining from heaven and coming down on us. One tongue from them fell on each one of us, and each of us spoke a strange tongue, the tongue of the country and of the town to which<sup>2</sup> our God wished to send us with His help.

Each of us spoke, therefore, the language of the country assigned to him by lot. Then I Peter rose up<sup>3</sup> in the middle of the company of the brethren and said to them : "These are the tongues which the Lord promised to send." Our news reached everywhere on account of our strange and foreign pronunciation, and angels in form of men appeared to the inhabitants<sup>4</sup> of Jerusalem in order to allay their fears, and said to them : "O people, fear not the strange words these men are uttering and saying ; that which emanates from them is a gift from God to them, and His grace that He has conferred upon them." Among the inhabitants of Jerusalem were men of knowledge and wisdom who said : "We also saw signs from the Most High God coming down on these men when they were<sup>5</sup> assembled in the Chamber of Zion. We knew them before because they are from us and related to us, and we know that they knew no other language save Hebrew, but when the grace of God came down on them lo they speak Latin,<sup>6</sup> Syriac, Greek, Palestinian and various other languages." Seven thousand men subscribed to these words and said : "We saw these signs like unto tongues of fire coming down on the Chamber of Zion."

Groups of Jews, however, contradicted<sup>7</sup> this saying and denied that which had been uttered by the aforesaid men and strongly contended<sup>8</sup> with them. Serious conflicts were about to break out in *Jerusalem*, because men bore arms one against another, and divisions occurred among them ; those who had not witnessed the favours of God denied them, and gave the lie to them, while those who had seen and witnessed these happenings testified one and all to their truth, and since they had seen our Lord being crucified, their faith

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to the *Epiclesis*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>3</sup> The author uses here the verb *waḡa'a*, "to fall," which is rather curious.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sukkān*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *kāna*.

<sup>6</sup> Arab. *bir-Rūmīyah*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *khūlafa*.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. *neṣa*.

was renewed<sup>1</sup> by the spread of such tidings. They came to us, therefore, and embraced our faith.

When I noticed this discord that had occurred from the very beginning, I implored my Lord and my God to grant His peace, harmony and unity to all of them and to quell their contentions. My Lord and my God heard my prayers, and they desisted from the path they were following.<sup>2</sup> Then the angel of the Lord came to me and said to me: "Arise, O Peter, and go up by yourself to the Mount of Olives, and open the leaves (of the book) given to you by your Lord and meditate upon their contents." And I went up to the Mount of Olives on the Monday after Pentecost, and I was overshadowed by a cloud the brightness of which was like unto that which had overshadowed us at the time when our Lord ascended into heaven. I found there the angel whom I had seen the first time, and he said to me: "O Peter, lift up<sup>3</sup> your head to heaven." And I lifted up my head and I saw a cloud moving as quickly as the lightning and spreading a dew that exhaled a perfume similar to that of the Tibetan<sup>4</sup> musk. And the gentle rain (that came out of the cloud) resembled dew which spread itself upon the dwellers of the graves. I saw also all the spirits (of the dead), which moved by the grace and favour of God, rejoiced and said: "Blessed are we because our God delivered us and saved us by His grace from the snares of the cunning and accursed *Archon*."

Then the angel to whom I was entrusted—my Lord and my God had ordered this angel to accompany me<sup>5</sup> and to teach me all that had happened from the beginning in order that I might write it down with accuracy—said to me: "Since the Archangel *Gabriel* announced our Lord the Christ to the Lady, the mother of life, I, together with another angel, was entrusted with the task of serving

<sup>1</sup> Read the verb in masc. sing. The feminine form used here may be under the influence of a language (Syriac or Greek, etc.) in which the word "faith" is feminine.

<sup>2</sup> All the above narrative dealing with Peter and the rest of the Apostles on the Mount of Olives, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the disturbance that occurred in Jerusalem, etc., is found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work *Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 475-477 (edit. Budge).

<sup>3</sup> Read *irfa'*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tunbuti*. Evidently in the author's time the Tibetan musk had a great commercial value.

<sup>5</sup> Read *mulāzimuhu*.

the body of our Lord during the time He would live on the earth. That body which He took for His eternal covering holds in its hand all that there is in heaven and on earth and will, in the day of judgment, judge all the children of Adam." And he added : "The angel who is with me in all my service is called *Nuael*. It is we who appeared to *Joseph* (and told him) to take (Jesus) to *Egypt*, and it is we who ordered him to come back to *Jerusalem*. We ceased not to serve Him till He was lifted up on the wood of the cross. It is I and my companion who kept watch<sup>1</sup> over the tomb, rolled the stone away from it, wrapped together the napkin and the linen clothes<sup>2</sup> and placed them near the sepulchre. We did not leave Him till He ascended into heaven."

Then the angel said to me : "O Peter, open the book." And I opened the first book, and all the town of Jerusalem was illuminated with its light while I was standing and reading it.<sup>3</sup> I heard a voice from heaven calling me : "O Peter, understand that which we have entrusted to you and act upon all our secrets hidden in this book, and in its seventh<sup>4</sup> part, which we have confided to you. You are the repository of my secret, and I have called you the stone upon which my churches should be built. A stone is a solid foundation, and that which I built no one is able to demolish, and if it is affected by any damage, I will promptly repair it."<sup>5</sup>

"Let your preaching, your call to faith and your evangelisation be first in *Jerusalem*, in My name, and also throughout all the coast and foreign lands. I will show you what to do, and will disclose to you the laws and prescriptions which you will enact in order that all who believe in me may know them and act upon them. Know that I have revealed<sup>6</sup> in the eight books<sup>7</sup> which I have confided to you all that is necessary ; make, therefore, their contents known and let

<sup>1</sup> Read *hāfidain*.

<sup>2</sup> John xx. 7.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is badly worded, but its meaning seems to be clear.

<sup>4</sup> Add *minhu*.

<sup>5</sup> Something resembling the above narrative is also found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 477-479).

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "written."

<sup>7</sup> The author is evidently referring to the present book of Clement or *The Apocalypse of Peter*, which is divided into eight parts. The Syriac *Book of Clement* is also divided into eight parts. See Mingana Syr. 12, ff. 1-73<sup>b</sup>, described on pp. 45-46 of my forthcoming catalogue.



them be near at hand.<sup>1</sup> Judge all those who deserve judgment, but judge with justice and equity. Promulgate the judgment which you will deliver with strict orders, and all those who will obey you will obey me, and all those who will disobey you will disobey me. Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.<sup>2</sup> Through you I will show wonderful signs and miracles which no one will be able to describe. I will place in your hands death, life and the power of healing from all diseases. At the mere motion of your lips demons will take flight, and all that which you ask me will forthwith be granted.

"Know, O Peter, that you will repair to the city of *Antioch* and that you will preach the Gospel therein. You will proclaim throughout its lands the baptism for the forgiveness of sins; and from thence I will send you to wheresoever it pleases me. As to these eight books, hide them and do not disclose their contents. Keep their purity and allow nobody to read them save those who have been chosen and found worthy of the service of my holiness, and those who have followed you and whose faith and belief are similar to yours, and those who are steadfast in pious works and in prayer and fasting, and those who are worthy to come before my body and my blood which I commanded you to have in your midst as a remembrance<sup>3</sup> of me till the day of the Resurrection. If you are satisfied with their conduct I also will be satisfied with them and will continually help them, and the mantle<sup>4</sup> of my secret<sup>5</sup> will not cease to be continually about them till the day of the Resurrection."

*A Chapter on the preaching of the holy Gospel by the twelve Apostles, on the miracles that they will perform, on what will happen to them and the way in which they will be murdered and in which they will die.*<sup>6</sup>

When my Lord finished these words and the cloud moved away, I and the two angels who accompanied me wheresoever I went descended from the Mount of Olives and came to *Jerusalem*. I hid

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "put them in your hands."

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Read *tidhkāran*.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "cloud," if we read *ghamāmah*.

<sup>5</sup> Or "mystery."

<sup>6</sup> This chapter seems to be misplaced, because there is in it no mention of any miracles performed by the Apostles nor of the countries which they evangelised, with the exception of a few towns near the coast. This evangelisation will occur in the section that follows this chapter.

the eight books as my Lord had ordered me, and apprised my brethren thereof. We all praised the Lord who granted us to preach His message in all towns, and we repaired forthwith to the coast and called men to the faith. First we proclaimed the holy Gospel in *Jerusalem* and then we went to the sea shore to call people to the faith. The first town of the sea shore which we entered is called *Ba-Joppa*,<sup>1</sup> then '*Āmūs*'<sup>2</sup> and *Lydda*. I forbade the people who embraced the faith to eat anything that was prohibited in the Torah and that was made unclean by the venerable Moses. And those who entered into the water of baptism did that which I prescribed to them and did not contradict it.<sup>3</sup>

After this the Lord revealed to me through his angel *Uriel*: "I will abrogate the old Law and renew your new Law," and while I was one day praying alone and away from the sight of men a cloud of light overshadowed me, and from it came a sheet like a net stretching from heaven to earth.<sup>4</sup> That net contained all the four-footed beasts of the earth, the clean and the unclean, the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air. On the table inside the sheet was something like a pig. A voice called me from heaven saying: "O Peter, arise, slay and eat." And I saw a finger of light coming down from heaven and stretching towards the place where was found the image of the pig. And I said: "O Lord, I will not slay or eat an unclean animal." And the voice called me saying: "What God hath cleansed no one can make common." Then the finger was lifted up and the same voice was heard again with the same words—while the finger was rising and falling on the pig. Then the finger rose and the voice repeated the words three times, and the luminous finger did not cease<sup>5</sup> to come down from heaven on the body of the pig and cover it completely. When at the third vigil the finger rose from the body of the pig, the sheet also rose up to heaven while the table was in the middle of it.

I remained then in my place pondering over this event and bewildered. After that I spoke to my brethren of what I had seen,

<sup>1</sup> Why is the prefix *ba* before Joppa?

<sup>2</sup> Is it *Emmaus*?

<sup>3</sup> All this narrative is found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work *Contendings of the Apostles* (p. 479), and so also in the case with the vision of Peter which follows.

<sup>4</sup> This vision of Peter seems to be inspired from Acts xi. 5-10. But why the deep discrepancies in the two narratives?

<sup>5</sup> Read *yazal*.



and proclaimed the faith as written in the eight books. I baptised men who had turned from idolatry in the water of baptism and in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost<sup>1</sup> and I commanded them to fast, to pray and to give alms. I made lawful to them all kinds of food as the Lord had ordered me, and commanded those who were willing to give up (the old custom) to follow me.<sup>2</sup> I allowed them to sell all their real property and their estates and to bring the (money thus realised) to me in the midst of the community. I Peter was the one who was entrusted with the management of their possessions and with their distribution among those believers and those children of baptism who were poor and needy.<sup>3</sup>

I went then to *Tyre* and *Sidon* where I preached the message,<sup>4</sup> and (the inhabitants) agreed to purify religion through the Christian faith and were baptised in the water of baptism. They received the knowledge of the Lord<sup>5</sup> and were imbued with the spiritual grace of the Spirit. They were strengthened by the wisdom of the laws which I enjoined<sup>6</sup> on them, and they accepted the ecclesiastical prayers which I prescribed<sup>7</sup> for them, and they did not infringe them in anything because our Lord, our God and our hope in this world and in the world to come was dwelling in them.<sup>8</sup>

*The eighth part of the Book of Clement in which he will narrate his story, that is to say the story of this disciple<sup>9</sup> of weight,<sup>10</sup> Clement, the pupil of the great master, the shining, bright, pure and spiritual star, the owner of the great secret, the faithful Peter, the rock, on whom be our best greetings.<sup>11</sup>*

While our venerable father Peter was walking one day on the

<sup>1</sup> The names of the Trinity are in Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> The last sentence is badly worded and its meaning is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> All this is also found in the Ethiopic book, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 480-481).

<sup>4</sup> Prefix the article.

<sup>5</sup> A Syriac word.

<sup>6</sup> Read *fawwadhtu*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *faradhtu*.

<sup>8</sup> Here the copyist adds in Syriac: "O brother-readers pray for the wretched and weak (man) who wrote these lines and for his father and mother."

<sup>9</sup> Syr. *sheliha*.

<sup>10</sup> Or "of tables," *sic codex*.

<sup>11</sup> This story of Clement is also found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 481-490) where it immediately follows the above narrative.



shore of the sea of *Antioch*, together with a company of the Apostles of our Lord, *John*, *Philip* and others and also with some of the seventy disciples, he saw me Clement, standing near the sea and weeping and wailing, because of the calamities that had befallen me since the day I had left<sup>1</sup> *Rome*. I was naked and covering my nakedness with the water, because I was shipwrecked and the waves and the winds had cast me on that part of the coast. And the brethren said: "O Peter, you must know the history of this young man." And my master, the great father Peter, came to me and said to me: "Why are you weeping, O young man? Who are you? Who are your father and mother? Tell me, O my son, your story in order that I may know it." And he spoke to me in Latin and in the dialect used by the inhabitants (of *Rome*).

And I said to him: "And who are you, O my lord and master? My soul has truly revived by what you have said to me. Three days have I been standing in this place and no one has spoken to me in my language save you, and since I left *Rome* I have not met with anyone speaking its language except you, and during these three days in which I have stood here in this place no one has asked me my story except you,<sup>2</sup> and no one can understand that which I say to him." And the master said to me: "I am Peter, the head of the disciples of Christ." And he narrated to me his story concerning the message of the Christ our Lord, that is to say the Gospel. And God inspired my heart with the knowledge that his words were true and my soul glowed with the strengthening contact of the Holy Ghost.<sup>3</sup> And I believed in Him and in His miracles and was immediately baptised by father Peter in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,<sup>4</sup> and was marked with the *ṭaibūth*,<sup>5</sup> that is to say

<sup>1</sup> Add *min* before *Rome*.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is badly worded, but its meaning is clear.

<sup>3</sup> The following story of Clement and of his meeting with his parents and his brothers is mainly based on the well-known *Clementine Homilies and Recognitions*, various versions of which are found in many languages, especially in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic. In 1917 I published an independent Syriac text of the story under the title "A New Life of Clement of Rome" in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*. It is not my intention to discuss here the merits or the demerits of the story. For some conclusions that appeared to me at least possible the reader is referred to this publication.

<sup>4</sup> The names of the Trinity are as usual in Syriac.

<sup>5</sup> The Syriac *ṭaibūtha*.

holy Chrism, which our Lord had confided and given to him and which he kept.

He was very pleased with me, and so also were those who accompanied him. He taught me the prescriptions enjoined on those who believe in Christ and he made me his secretary. He disclosed to me the secrets which have been described above, and I wrote them from his dictation and kept them with me. He also confided to me the books, that is to say all the leaves which were with him and which had been written by the hand of Christ, and he made me his confidential secretary to the exclusion of the rest of the disciples, among whom were my brothers *Faustus* and *Faustinus*,<sup>1</sup> a fact of which I was not aware. And he made me acquainted<sup>2</sup> with his secrets in the same way as the Christ had done with him to the exclusion of others when He had noticed the purity (of his conscience).

When, therefore, this father saw the purity of my conscience he delivered to me all that the Lord Christ had confided to him alone. I became, therefore, his scribe in Latin and in Greek. My Lord Christ had not yet revealed to him my story nor from whence I had come. He did not ask me any questions concerning this affair till a long time after, when he was on the point of repairing to the town of *Laodicea*, and this happened after the Lord had chosen *Saul*, who is called *Paul* the Apostle. On a certain day *Paul* was proceeding to the city of *Damascus* for the purpose of destroying the Churches of God and driving away the believers found in it, and the Lord appeared to him on his way and blinded him. Thereupon Paul said: "Who are you? Tell me." And Paul repeated his question "Who are you?" a second and a third time. And the Christ said to him: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me and contradict me?" And Saul said to Him: "Who are you, O my Lord, that I may believe in you."<sup>3</sup> And the Christ answered: "I am Jesus of Nazareth whom you are persecuting."<sup>4</sup> And when Paul believed, our Lord Jesus Christ

<sup>1</sup> The text has *Kaustus* and *Konstantin*, but the variant may be explained through undotted Arabic characters where the letters *fā* (f) and *kāf* (K, C) are graphically similar and distinguished only by extraneous dots placed above them. Below the name written here as *Kostantin* (Constantine) appears as *Kustīna* (Faustinus).

<sup>2</sup> Read *khāzinan*.

<sup>3</sup> All this is naturally taken from Acts ix. 1-10.

<sup>4</sup> Here is a question: "And then Paul said," the answer to which seems to have been omitted by the copyist.



ordered him to go to *Damascus* to a disciple called *Ananias* who would restore his sight for him.

After this I told him my story and all that had befallen me, and revealed also to him the story of my mother and of my brothers. I must now narrate faithfully my (subsequent) story in order that the faithful may know<sup>1</sup> the abundance of the grace of God to us, because His power and His might assembled us and brought us together, and revealed us one to another after a long and protracted separation :

My teacher and spiritual father was one day in the town of *Aradus*,<sup>2</sup> one of the dependencies of *Laodicea*, and while he was walking in one of its streets he saw a modest woman standing near the door of a house soliciting alms. The teacher said to her : " O<sup>3</sup> woman, why are you soliciting alms ? I see that you are young enough and strong enough to work for your living, and that you are able to serve and earn what is sufficient for your livelihood." She said to him : " O teacher and venerable man, if you knew the state in which I am and were acquainted with my story and my affairs, you would have implored the Lord to take my soul through the death of my body so that I might find rest from the wretchedness, fatigue, poverty, need, tribulations, and misery that have beset me." And her tears fell on her cheeks.

And the teacher said to her : " And what is your story, O woman ? " And she said : " O venerable man, I am a woman from the great city of Rome and from the daughters of Kings. I had a husband of noble descent called *Costonius*,<sup>4</sup> by whom God gave me three sons,<sup>5</sup> the eldest of whom was named *Faustus*,<sup>6</sup> the middle one *Faustinus*,<sup>7</sup> and the youngest *Clement*. In my sleep I dreamed a dream, the interpretation of which necessitated my going to sea in a boat in order to repair to the island (*sic*) of Athens where I could study philosophy and wisdom. My eldest son *Faustus*<sup>8</sup> and the middle son *Faustinus*<sup>9</sup> accompanied me. While we were travelling

<sup>1</sup> Read *liya'rifū*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ar'awād (sic)*. The name is correctly spelt below as *Arwād*, about which see *Yāqūt (Mu'jam al-Buldān, i., 224)*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *'aiyatuha*.

<sup>4</sup> This is possibly a copyist's error for *Faustinianus*. The mistake could have easily arisen through undotted Arabic characters. See what has been said above about *Faustus*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *banīn*.

<sup>6</sup> Text *Kaustus*.

<sup>7</sup> Text *Kaustina*.

<sup>8</sup> Text *Kaustus*.

<sup>9</sup> Text *Kaustina*.



on the sea winds blew on us from all directions, and stirred the waves of the sea and caused the captain to lose control of the boat, which was driven by the winds in a direction other than that which we had intended to pursue. Then the boat broke up and I found myself on a floating plank, which after a time cast me on this coast. I do not know what happened to my children, and for two years I have been sitting by this door, in a bewildered state, begging my bread. Do not blame me, therefore, O venerable man, for the state in which I am."

And the teacher stood before her for an hour pondering over her story and amazed at her affair. Now the teacher had previously sent two disciples to *Laodicea* to transact urgent business that he had there. When they came back to the town of *Aradus*<sup>1</sup> they sat down on their way near the gate of the town, and they rested their backs against the wall and began to talk in such a way that the woman who solicited alms was able to hear them. Their conversation was to the effect that one of them said to the other: "My story is very strange but I will tell it to you, O brother." And he said: "O brother we have been the disciples of this saint for many years, and we do not know each other's story nor in which town each one of us was born." And *Faustus*<sup>2</sup> said: "I am one of the inhabitants of Rome and related to the Emperor. My father was called *Christonius*<sup>3</sup> and my mother *Mitradora*.<sup>4</sup> I had two brothers one of whom was *Faustinus*<sup>5</sup> and the other, the youngest, was called *Clement*.

"My mother dreamt a dream the interpretation of which necessitated our going to the town of *Athens* in order that there she might learn wisdom. We put to sea, therefore, I and my mother and my brother, and we left *Rome* because of her. She took me and my brother with her, and she left the youngest brother with my father. When we put to sea fierce winds blew on us and our boat

<sup>1</sup> Here *Arwād*, the correct form of the word in Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> Text *Kaustus*.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given above as *Costonius*.

<sup>4</sup> This name brings the narrative into harmony with the early Syriac recension of the life of Clement which I edited and translated in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*, 1917, pp. 6 and 10 *sqq.* The Greek and Latin recensions call her *Mattidia*. See the Clementine literature in *Pat. Græco-Latina*, i., 1359 and ii., 33. In the Ethiopic *Contendings* (p. 486) she is also called *māṭrādōra*.

<sup>5</sup> Text *Kaustina*.

broke up. I was cast on a coast from a floating plank, and I do not know what happened to my mother and to my brother after me."

And his companion said to him : " Were it not for my fear that you might deny it, I would have said that you were my brother ; because I also am from the inhabitants of Rome and my story is identical with yours till the time when our boat broke up on the sea."

When the woman heard their conversation she recognised from what had happened<sup>1</sup> to them, that they were her children. She sprang up from her place and threw herself on them<sup>2</sup> weeping and saying : " As the Lord liveth both of you are my sons, and I am your mother *Mitradora*." She narrated to them her story and gave them proofs by means of which they recognised her. They did not cease to cling with affection one to another and to kiss one another's cheeks. And I *Clement* was at that time in *Laodicea*. And they became possessed with an indescribable joy, gladness and exultation.

Then they arose all of them and went to our teacher Peter, and their mother<sup>3</sup> said to him : " By the truth of the One whom you worship, O venerable and blessed man, these two disciples are my sons, and I am their mother." And she narrated to him all that had happened. And the teacher was very pleased with her story and said : " I implore the Lord who showed you your two sons and caused you to meet them to grant that you meet also with your beloved ones who still remain absent, namely their father and brother."

As for me I had gone to the town of *Laodicea* where I had finished my business and come back to *Aradus*. In the meantime the Holy Spirit had<sup>4</sup> inspired the teacher Peter to ask me about my story and my country. And he said to me : " O my son Clement, you have been with me for two years in the service of Christ, and I did not ask you about your country and your story. The Holy Spirit has inspired me to ask you concerning all this. By the truth of Christ tell me, therefore, your story and narrate it to me in full from beginning to end."

And I said to him : " I am from the city of Rome. My father

<sup>1</sup> Lit. " signs."

<sup>2</sup> Read ' *alaihima*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ummukuma*.

<sup>4</sup> The author uses " Holy Spirit " in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature.



was of noble descent and related to the Emperor. I had two brothers one of whom was called *Faustus*<sup>1</sup> and the other *Faustinus*<sup>2</sup> and we had a noble born mother who was endowed with wisdom, sound judgment and chastity. She dreamed a dream which necessitated her going to sea in order to repair to Athens and there learn wisdom. My two brothers *Faustus*<sup>3</sup> and *Faustinus*<sup>4</sup> accompanied her in order to look after her. This happened twenty years ago, and we have not had any news from them since they went to sea. At that time I was a child, and when I reached the age of puberty I went also to sea in order to proceed to Athens and there hear some news about them. Our boat, however, broke up and the sea cast me on the coast on which you saw me and noticed that I had been shipwrecked."

My two brothers had then gone to town on business, and when my mother heard my story she threw herself on me and said: "By the truth of the God you worship you are my son and I am your mother." Then she said to the holy teacher: "This is my youngest son Clement mentioned by the two brothers in their narrative." The teacher Peter himself went then to town in order to seek my brothers whom he brought back. When they saw me speaking to my mother they were displeased because since we had been fellow disciples I had not spoken to a woman. And they said to the teacher: "Do you not see Clement speaking to our mother?"

When their mother heard their words she embraced them all and wept bitterly and with great emotion. When my brothers recognised me they threw themselves upon me, embraced me and held me fast, and my mother did likewise. Then they said (to Peter): "This is our brother and this is our mother; God brought us together through your invocations and your prayers, because He wished us to learn Christian philosophy from you, O spiritual father. We know that Christ answers your prayers and grants your requests. We beseech you now to bring us and our father<sup>5</sup> together. Ask Him to reveal to you whether he is dead or alive, because if you pray the Christ our Lord for us He will answer your prayers."

And the teacher Peter said: "I shall pray the Christ our Lord

<sup>1</sup> *Kaustus.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kaustina.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kaustus.*

<sup>4</sup> *Kaustina.*

<sup>5</sup> Read *abina.*



Jesus of *Nazareth* to send your father to you dead or alive. (If dead) I will implore Him to raise him from his grave and bring you together here near me." And the teacher arose, straightened his feet, looked towards the east, uncovered his head before heaven and recited the prayer which he used to recite in secret and said :<sup>1</sup>

"I implore you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, and I beseech you O magnanimous, powerful, gracious, kind, merciful and generous Master, O mighty and living Lord who created the created beings ; who fathoms the innermost part of the hearts ; who brings scattered friends together ; who delivers whom He wishes from the pangs of separation ; who joins lovers together after their long loneliness. I pray you, O my Lord and master Jesus Christ who came down from the heaven<sup>2</sup> of His holiness, and became incarnate from the elect Virgin Mary in order to save the sinners<sup>3</sup> ; who gave me the keys of heaven and earth so that I should absolve, loose or bind the sins<sup>4</sup> ; who said that if we believed in Him we would do greater miracles than those which He performed among the Jews<sup>5</sup> ; who raised *Lazarus* from his grave after four days ; who quickened the daughter of *Jairus*<sup>6</sup> and the daughter of the widow ; who is worshipped as one, and is the good hope of all those who are lost (to their friends). Hear my supplications and answer my prayer. Do not refuse me but hearken to me. Help me and have pity on these my disciples and bring them together. Send their father to join them dead or alive, because you are their Lord and you alone are their Master, and they have no other (God) to have pity on them. Answer, therefore, O Lord, my prayer, my supplications and my earnest request, and be gracious to me and listen to my demand."

We were at that time in *Laodicea*, and before the teacher Peter had finished his conversation with the Lord, lo a thick, awe-inspiring and luminous cloud appeared. It moved towards us in a very short time and came down until it reached the earth ; then it lifted up again, and immediately after we saw a man walking towards us from the cloud—a venerable old man—and we heard distinctly a voice

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the prayer is in rhymed prose. It has apparently been written in such a high style in order to produce a better effect.

<sup>2</sup> Remove the article.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "the worn out."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matth. xvi. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. John xiv. 12.

<sup>6</sup> The Syriac form of the word is used.

saying : "Get out to your children." We beheld the venerable man coming out of the valley that was there, looking bright but wearing clothes that were not of high quality. He had hair which was as white as the pure hair of a lamb, and his head was bare. The teacher Peter looked at him and said to him : "Are you one of us (men) or from other beings ?" Indeed he thought and believed that he was a demon, or that he was one of the evil spirits. And the old man said in Latin : "I am a rational human being."

And the teacher said to him : "Give an account of yourself : who are you and what made you fall into this valley which is the valley of demons and rebellious (spirits) in which no man dwells. Tell me your story and give me your tidings without fear." And the old man answered : "I will narrate to you my story : 'I had a wife of princely descent by whom I had three male children one of whom was called *Faustus*<sup>1</sup> the other *Faustinus*<sup>2</sup> and the third *Clement*. She dreamed a dream which necessitated her learning philosophy, and she took her elder children and she sailed on the sea in order to go to the island (*sic*) of Athens and learn philosophy therein. She left with me the youngest child called *Clement*. After she sailed I did not hear any news either about herself or about her children.

"Twenty years later the youngest child said : 'Assuredly I intend to go<sup>3</sup> to sea in order to obtain some information concerning my mother and my brothers.' To-day it is two years and five months since he left me, and during all this time I have had no news of him. From the time of the departure of my wife and of my children to this day I went every morning to the sea shore and asked every man coming from the regions (of Athens) concerning them, and no one was able to give me any information. To-day I was standing about an hour ago near the quay of Rome as was my wont, and demanding information from all who were coming, when I noticed the cloud that has just passed coming down to where I was standing. A man whom I saw sitting on it and whose face was like the bright full moon, said, 'Go down and take this old man with you to the

<sup>1</sup> *Kaustus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaustina*.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is badly worded but its meaning is clear.



town of *Aradus*, which is one of the dependencies of *Laodicea*, to my disciple *Simon*, in order that he may join his wife and his children who are in the town of *Laodicea*.' The cloud came down to the surface of the earth, lifted me up quickly<sup>1</sup> from the ground, brought me here, placed me in this valley and said to me, 'Go to your children.' I then went out of the valley and came to you. This is my story."

When I and my brothers heard the words of the old man I said to the teacher: "We have no doubt that this is our father and that Jesus Christ has heard your prayer for the return of our father to us." And he said to us: "Yes, this is your father." And he said to the old man: "These are your children." And he threw himself on us and embraced us and shed tears; and we showed him our immense joy and embraced him affectionately. And I Clement, his son, told him the stories of all of us.

And the teacher Peter said to him: "The one you beheld above the cloud is our Lord the Christ whose servants we are. In this very hour I implored Him to send you to us for the sake of my sons whom I inherited from you, in order that you might join them. I am His servant Simon. Would you wish me to explain to you the religion of the Lord God<sup>2</sup> of heaven whom you saw, the religion which your children have already embraced?" And the old man answered: "I confess and believe, and I will do all that you will order me to do." Now there was no water in that<sup>3</sup> place, and the holy father, the teacher Peter, struck with his rod<sup>4</sup> the valley which was dry and in which there was no water, and flowing water jetted forth from it, as sweet as julep. And he baptised<sup>5</sup> my father and mother in that spring, and we all followed him as our Lord Christ willed it. To Him be praise and thanks for ever and ever! And that spring is called to this day, "The Spring of Sim'ān," that is to say *Simon Cephas*. He baptised them in the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "stole me."

<sup>2</sup> Delete the article.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhālīka* is somewhat redundant.

<sup>4</sup> Read '*ukkāzāṭahu*. This proves decisively that the MS. from which the present one is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *rā'* and *zā'* are written in the same way and distinguished only by an extraneous dot.

<sup>5</sup> The author uses here the objective pronoun before its subject as it is done in Syriac but never in Arabic.



Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost<sup>1</sup> and he anointed him with the holy Chrism which the Nazarene Christ had given to him, and he became purified in his baptism.<sup>2</sup>

Then we left that place for *Laodicea*, and we preached in it the eternal message for two years, and many people believed through us. After this we returned to *Jerusalem* and we assembled there with the rest of the Apostles.

And Clement said: "When father Peter entered the Upper Chamber in which he used to live with the rest of the Apostles—and it is that Upper Chamber in which the Holy Spirit had descended upon them—he dreamed a dream in which a spiritual tongue spoke to him and said: "Go you with the beloved *John* to the city of *Antioch*, preach in it and proclaim in it the message of the Lord Christ." And Peter said to the angel: "Would that you had told me this while I was in *Laodicea* as this would have shortened my way, because I am an old man and weak in strength." And the angel disappeared and spoke to him<sup>3</sup> no more, and sleep overcame<sup>4</sup> father Peter and master Mar John son of Zebedee till sunrise.

When they awoke from their sleep they found themselves<sup>5</sup> in a desert which they had never before seen.<sup>6</sup> And father Peter said to John: "O my brother were we not asleep both of us in the Chamber of Zion? And did we not eat and sleep in it?" And John replied: "You are right." And Peter said: "Where then are we now?" Is it not through hallucination by the *Archon*<sup>7</sup> that we find ourselves in this place and in this locality?" While they were both of them talking woodcutters passed them speaking in Greek. And Peter said to Mar John: "Go and ask of these woodcutters<sup>8</sup> the name of this place<sup>9</sup> and of this country." And

<sup>1</sup> The names of the Trinity are as usual in Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> With slight variations the above story of Clement is also told in the Ethiopic *Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 481-490.

<sup>3</sup> Read *muhādathatihi*.

<sup>4</sup> The construction of this sentence denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian.

<sup>5</sup> Read *wajada 'anfusahumā*.

<sup>6</sup> All this incident concerning the reluctance of Peter to go to Antioch from Jerusalem is narrated in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles*, p. 491.

<sup>7</sup> The head of the demons.

<sup>8</sup> Read *ḥaṭṭābin*.

<sup>9</sup> A badly worded sentence.

John proceeded towards them and said to them : " By the truth of the Christ our Lord, Son of God, in what place are we ? " And the woodcutters answered : " This is the city of *Antioch*. Were it not for our pity on your youth we would have murdered you because of your oath in the name of a strange God."

Then John amazed at the words of the woodcutters, came back to Peter and informed him of what had taken place. And Peter said to him : " Let no thought from Satan enter into your heart. The Christ will not abandon us." <sup>1</sup> Then they entered into the city of *Antioch* and preached in all of it the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God. And there great crowds of people gathered round them, who seized them and beat them as hard as they could. And Peter (narrated and) said : <sup>2</sup> " They made (lit. hang) special signs on our heads, scoffed at us and anointed the middle part of our beards as a distinctive mark." <sup>3</sup> Then they pulled us against our will, imprisoned us in one of the towers on the wall, <sup>4</sup> and closed the door against us and bolted it.

" When we found ourselves in prison I and John began to pray, and we implored the Lord Christ not to remove His grace and His favours from us. Then our eyes became heavy and we were overcome by sleep. In the night we were overshadowed by a luminous cloud and the great and pure father Peter who was strengthened by the grace of God saw <sup>5</sup> the Christ our Lord surrounded by Cherubim and glorified by Seraphim. He spoke to us <sup>6</sup> in vision and said : " O Peter, be not afraid and in low spirits because I will be with you till the end of the eon. Do not be astonished at the fact that these (people) have their heads shaved and that they have shaved yours also." <sup>7</sup> They meant to resemble you through this sign, and this should be a great honour and a sublime remembrance to you from now till the day of Resurrection. None of my priests should call <sup>8</sup> a layman

<sup>1</sup> This story of the woodcutters is also found in the Ethiopic *Contendings of the Apostles*, p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative is put here in the mouth of Peter.

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic work *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 493) writes in this connection : " And the priests ordered (the people of the city) to shave off one half of the hair of our heads."

<sup>4</sup> Read *as-sūr* (with a *sin*).

<sup>5</sup> Clement seems to be speaking here.

<sup>6</sup> The conversation reverts inconsistently to Peter or to Clement.

<sup>7</sup> An astonishing origin of the clerical tonsure.

<sup>8</sup> Read *yukaddim*.



to the service of my altar, as no layman is allowed to wear this tonsure cut in a similar way. No one is permitted to take priesthood from you without wearing this sign on his head and shaving the middle part of it. Any priest who has not this mark or has not his head shaven in this wise is not worthy of priesthood, his lot is not with me and he will not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Any priest who dies with this sign on his head I will forgive all his sins and will wipe away his prevarications.<sup>1</sup>

Then the Christ my Lord said: "Be not afraid, O Peter, because I have chosen *Saul*, who is called *Paul*, for you,<sup>2</sup> and that I will send him to you as a companion who will help you in your task." And I replied: "This Paul is the one previously called Saul who persecuted us wheresoever we went. He is our bitterest enemy." And the Christ our Lord said to him: "He was so formerly, but now he is a disciple." And Christ the Lord disappeared from my sight after He had uttered these words to me.

*We will now tell the story of Paul.*

Paul showed greater enmity against the Christian religion than all the creatures of God, hated the disciples more than anybody else and sought them wherever they went and carried the orders of the Sultan and of the governors to harm those who believed in Christ. He obtained judicial sanctions against them from every tribunal, and accompanied by a considerable number of soldiers, he used to search every town and every village which he knew had received the message<sup>3</sup> of Christ, had accepted His faith, had been baptised in the water of baptism and had rejected the religion of the unbelievers or the religion of Judaism. For fourteen years he did not cease to

<sup>1</sup> All these incidents of the apparition of our Lord to Peter and His assurances to him concerning the shaving of his head are found in the Ethiopic work *Contendings* (*ibid.*, pp. 493-494) with the exception that there is nothing in the Ethiopic text to insinuate that the people of the town themselves had their heads shaved. Indeed the Arabic text that I am translating is so strikingly worded in this place that one feels tempted to believe that the angels themselves had a tonsure! I had even to do slight violence to the text to avoid such an idea which, however, may possibly have been in the author's mind.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will notice how in this eminently Petrine document Paul is relegated to a second rank.

<sup>3</sup> Read *muntadibin*.



persecute, rob and murder the prominent followers and the disciples of Christ and to shed their blood.

The first one he murdered was his own nephew, a man called Stephen.<sup>1</sup> He lied against him from (the date) of the ascension of the Christ our Lord into heaven and assembled a company of the Jews who bore false witness against him and condemned him to death. Before embracing the Christian faith *Paul* was called *Saul*. When all the Jews yielded to his desire he brought<sup>2</sup> his nephew Stephen out of town to a hole which he had dug and in which he (Stephen) was stoned to death. And that blessed disciple prayed for them saying : "O Lord forgive them." The zeal<sup>3</sup> of *Saul* was so intense that he collected all the clothes of those who participated in the murder of his nephew *Stephen*<sup>4</sup> from fear lest some of the blood of Stephen should fall on them and defile them.<sup>5</sup>

Paul persisted in his hatred (of Christians) during all the above-mentioned years. The manner in which he was converted from Judaism to the faith of the Christ our Lord is as follows : He took with him signed letters from *Jerusalem* to *Damascus* in order that he might go there and persecute the disciples of Christ and demolish the churches which the faithful had built in it. While *Saul* was proceeding together with his men and his horses, and when it was midday, a door from heaven was opened before them and the place in which they were was illuminated with a light resembling that of the sun ; and the earth shook and quaked from the majesty of that light. *Paul* and all those who were present with him were bewildered and agitated at the awe-inspiring things which they saw, and (they thought that) the earth was going to swallow them, and they were certain<sup>6</sup> that it was the power of God that had manifested itself upon them and that His wrath had fallen upon them.

While they were all awe-struck and bewildered not knowing what

<sup>1</sup> That Stephen was a nephew of Paul is not found in Acts vi. vii. and viii. Who is the first authority for this remarkable statement? The text has "the son of his sister."

<sup>2</sup> Here also the author places the objective pronoun before the subject to which it belongs as it is done in Syriac but never in Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> Or "the hatred."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Acts vii. 58.

<sup>5</sup> From whence did the author get these additional and remarkable statements concerning St. Stephen Proto-martyr? They are not found in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, pp. 532, 537).

<sup>6</sup> Read *tayakkanū*.

God wished them to do, lo they heard all of them a most awe-inspiring and terrifying voice from heaven saying :<sup>1</sup> "Saul, Saul, how long will you persecute me<sup>2</sup> and strive to contradict me ? Can you parry the sharp edge of a blade with the palm of your hand ?"<sup>3</sup>

Immediately after the earth became dark and the sun was obscured. Then Saul said : "Who are you, O Lord ?" And He replied : "I am the Nazarene Christ, the son of God." And Saul said : "From this moment I will believe that you are the Christ, the Son of the living God." And overwhelmed by the awe-inspiring things that he witnessed he fell on his face to the ground, and the angels took his soul immediately, and in a vision he saw our Lord in the majesty of His glory saying to him : "I have chosen you to be an Apostle to me. Go now to *Damascus* and proceed to the great church found in it, because I have there a disciple called *Ananias* who will make you whole." And immediately after the soul of Saul came back to him, and he found only a few of the companions that were with him.

He then, while blind, proceeded to *Damascus* and asked about the great church. When the priest of the church who was named *Ananias* found him he said to him : "Come, O my brother *Saul*, in the love of Christ our Lord, because our Lord has chosen you to be His disciple and His preacher." And the ascetic<sup>4</sup> *Ananias* placed his pure hands on the eyes<sup>5</sup> of *Saul* and said : "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God,<sup>6</sup> open ye O eyes and return<sup>7</sup> to your normal state." And the eyes of *Saul* opened forthwith, and thin scales like small husks fell from them, and the ascetic asked for water with which he ordered him to wash his eyes.<sup>8</sup> After having washed his face and his eyes he received sight forthwith.

In that very night *Saul* saw in a vision the Christ our Lord who said to him : "From this moment you will not be called *Saul* but PAUL. I have made you my preacher before the kings and a companion to *Peter* my disciple, the chief and the chairman of my elect. And the Christ our Lord ordered *Paul* to go to *Antioch*. And when

<sup>1</sup> All this narrative seems to be taken from Acts ix. 1-22.

<sup>2</sup> Acts ix. 4 : "Why, persecutest thou me ?"

<sup>3</sup> Acts (*ibid.*) : "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

<sup>4</sup> *Rāhib* means generally a monk, but what kind of Christian monks were there in the time of Ananias ?

<sup>5</sup> Read 'ainai.

<sup>7</sup> Read in the dual form.

<sup>6</sup> All the sentence is in Syriac.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'ainaihi.



he went there he met the great and the presiding teacher *Peter* and also *John* while both were in prison.

*And the Great Father said :*

"At daybreak we saw *Paul* the elect knocking at the door of the prison, and I said to *John* : "Call him to us." And he called him. When *Paul* saw *John* having the middle of his head shaven he said to him : "What is this thing you have innovated in this town ?" And *John* said to him : "Do not be amazed, O disciple *Paul*, at that which you see in me—" And *Paul* opened the door of the prison, entered, greeted me, received my benediction and said to me and to *John* : "Do not be grieved at what you have suffered from the inhabitants of *Antioch*. By the truth of Christ the Lord who appeared to me on the way, He sent me to you in order that I may preach in His name with you."

And we left our place, and he<sup>1</sup> went and met the heads of the city of *Antioch* and spoke to them what he wished. Then he dispatched a messenger<sup>2</sup> to us and called us to him. The messenger ushered us into the temple of the idols, and we entered and found *Paul* praying and worshipping before the idols, and suspicion entered into our mind concerning his faith.<sup>3</sup> When he finished his worship he turned towards me and said : "O man, what is your name ?" And I answered : "*Peter*." And he said : "Who is your God ?" I answered : "A God, one in nature and three in attributes, worshipped and glorified by<sup>4</sup> His creatures and praised by His myriads.<sup>5</sup> He is the creator of all rational and irrational beings.<sup>6</sup> He is the Feeder, the Giver, and the Provider. He created the created beings, perfected them and endowed them with wisdom and might. He enjoined His worship upon them, but they disbelieved in Him and worshipped the Rebel and injured themselves in their services<sup>7</sup> to the rebellious *Archon*, because they were all the time worshipping idols. And He showed forbearance to them generation after generation, but

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, *Paul*. The following story is very strange and original.

<sup>2</sup> Read *rasūlan*.

<sup>3</sup> This hypocritical act of *Paul* is also mentioned in the *Ethiopic Contendings*, p. 495.

<sup>4</sup> Add *min* or *fi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic codex*.

<sup>6</sup> The following sentences are in rhymed prose.

<sup>7</sup> The Arab. *bi-'at' ābihim* "in their fatigues" seems to be a literal translation of the Syriac *b-'amlaihon* which means both "in their fatigues" and "in their services."



they did not fear God, the avenging Lord who fathoms the secrets of the hearts. When, however, many generations passed in this way and Satan drew to himself all mankind, this displeased the jealous Lord, and He sent His Son, the mighty Teacher, who came down to the earth and appeared in a covering which He chose to Himself from light, which He materialised<sup>1</sup> and from which He spoke and performed the things which He wished to perform in His world. Then He ascended into heaven by His power and sent us His disciples,<sup>2</sup> to all creatures by His will."

And Paul said: "When your master came down from His heaven what pious works did He do which would make Him worthy of headship?" And I replied: "He performed miracles that transcend the minds, and forgave the sins of the ignorant." And he said: "And what did this great and ancient Master of yours give you?" And I replied: He granted each one of us to perform the wonders which He performed and to cure every man from his diseases and his ailments." And he said: "Show us something from this (power) in order that we may believe in your God Jesus Christ." And I replied: "Bring to us a man blind and dumb from his birth."<sup>3</sup> And he brought to me immediately a man who was blind from his birth and who prayed God at that moment to give him joy and remove his ailment from him.

And I took<sup>4</sup> the man and brought him before me and said to John: "Pray the Lord Jesus Christ to open the eyes<sup>5</sup> of this blind man." And John said: "The power has been given to you and not to me. Pray you and I will help you in your prayer." And I implored the Lord Jesus Christ of *Nazareth* the Son of God and said: "O sightless eyes so shape yourselves that the light of vision may penetrate into you." And (in saying so) I placed my hand on the eyes of the blind man and said: "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit who is glorified by all the creatures of God on earth and in heaven." Immediately after a pair of eyes were opened for the blind man, and he saw with them all those who

<sup>1</sup> Hardly orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation.

<sup>2</sup> Read *talāmīdhaku*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "from his mother's womb."

<sup>4</sup> Here again the author uses the objective pronoun before its subject as it is done in Syrian but not in Arabic.

<sup>5</sup> Read *'ainai*.

were present,<sup>1</sup> and they believed and glorified the Lord Jesus Christ with a hymn. Voices were raised and all the town was in a state of commotion because of the miracles wrought before all those that were present.

And people prostrated themselves before me to the ground and besought me to forgive them the injustices that they had done to me. And *Paul* said to them: "Do not be too ready<sup>2</sup> to believe in the God of this man who is possibly a medical man who has specialised in *Indian* drugs, similar to those I have now with me, through which he opens the eyes of men. The people listened to him and believed him and the (story of the) drugs. So the King assigned to us a house in which we lived, I and *John*, in the way we wished.<sup>3</sup>

After three days *Paul* called us to him while he was in the temple of the idols and surrounded by a great number of Magians.<sup>4</sup> Before him were madmen, paralytics, lepers, deaf and dumb, lame, and men affected with rigidity in their wrists and with skin diseases. And *Paul* said: "O *Peter*, these are your guests to-day, so ask your Lord to give them healing." And I said: "I will do willingly and with pleasure what you have asked me to do, in this very house." And I did not cease laying my hands upon each one of them till all were cured. Every one of those that were cured of his diseases blessed<sup>5</sup> the Christ my Lord. The place in which we were was then filled with cries and continuous shouts, and the majority of the people who were present put on the garment of baptism, and many words of thanks were addressed to us.

And *Paul* said: "O *Peter*, if your words concerning your God are true you will raise a dead man for us. If you work such a miracle the first one to believe in your Master would be I.<sup>6</sup> And the King said: "If he raises my son who is dead I shall be the first to believe

<sup>1</sup> This miracle is also found in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 496-497.

<sup>2</sup> Read *tasta 'jilū*.

<sup>3</sup> This story about the evangelisation of Peter, John and Paul is strange and appears to be exclusively of Coptic-Ethiopic origin. See *Contendings* (*ibid.*). The reader has doubtless noticed the important rôle played always by Peter in this eminently Petrine document.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently the author uses this word in the general sense of "pagans."

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "mentioned."

<sup>6</sup> The ingenious and rather subtle rôle given to Paul in this narrative is very original.



in Him, and so also will all the inmates of my house." And the inhabitants of the city said "And we all will believe and perform all the obligations of his faith which he will teach us." And I replied : "Yes, I will teach you these obligations<sup>1</sup> when I have raised the dead man. You ought to serve the God of heaven and earth." And they answered : "Yes, we will do so." And *Paul* said "Bring a dead man."

One of the prefects of the city had an only son who was dead, but the father being away on a journey the relatives did not bury the son until the father's arrival. Now they brought and presented this dead man, and *Paul* said : "O aged man, if you raise this dead man we all will believe in your God." And I prostrated myself before the Lord Jesus Christ and wept before Him. I was in great fear at that time and said in my prayer : "My God and my Lord do not forsake me but listen to me according to your habit with me. Confirm your true promise to me, and raise this dead man in order that I may teach these people that you are the living God<sup>2</sup> beside whom there is no other God."

And I rose from my prostration and signing myself with the sign of the Cross I said with a loud voice that could be heard by all those present : "O dead man, arise in the name of Jesus Christ whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem." And the dead man rose forthwith. And the shouts of the people increased in their glorifications to the name of Christ.<sup>3</sup> And *Paul* said "If you raise also the son of the King we will believe in your God, I, the King, and all his kingdom." And I *Peter* answered : "Any time you choose to have this done, I will perform to you such a miracle in the name of the Christ my Lord, O you inhabitants of *Antioch*."

After the above words were uttered we separated ourselves from the crowds. Three days later *Paul* went to the house of the King and said to him : "These men have said that they were able to raise the dead in the name of their God, and they have raised the son of the prefect, and have also said that they will do<sup>4</sup> the same thing to

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "I will do so."

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-'ilāh*.

<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough this miracle is not found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings*, pp. 497-498, in which the narrative goes from the blind man to the son of the Emperor or the King. On pp. 668-672, however, of the same *Contendings* Peter raises another man from the dead.

<sup>4</sup> Read *yaf'alū*.



the son of the King. As to the gods whom we serve they are not able to heal the sick, nor to show a sign, nor to open the eyes of the blind, nor to cure diseases nor to make lepers whole, as these men did<sup>1</sup> in the name of their God. We have asked them to do a great thing which no one has so far heard that a created being has ever done. If these men do it we must all of us believe immediately in their God."<sup>2</sup>

And the King said: "My son died three years ago<sup>3</sup> and he is buried in a mausoleum. I know that he has become a handful of bones with no soul whatsoever in them. If these men raise him to life I shall be the first to embrace their faith, I with all my relatives, my friends and the inhabitants of my city, and if any one does not follow me I will destroy him with this my sword." And *Paul* said to him: "And if these men are not able<sup>4</sup> to raise your son to life?" The King answered: "I will torment them with every torment and remove them from this world." And *Paul* said: "I agree with this condition."

Then I, *Peter*, was summoned along with *John* to the house of the King, and we were honoured, treated with deference, and given the first seats. And I<sup>5</sup> *Paul* began to speak: "We have made a pact with you by which you ought to stand."<sup>6</sup> And I *Peter* said: "What pact have you with us?" And the King answered: "I have a son who died three years ago. You shall raise him and bring him to life in the name of your God." And I answered: "If I do what you wish, O King, and bring your son to life in a state which you will know, what will you do, as part of your bargain?" And the King replied: "I will believe in your God with all my household," and signalling to *Paul* he added: "together with this my vizier and with all the inhabitants of my kingdom." And I *Peter* replied: "Let us then proceed to where the youth lies."

And the King rose along with all those who were present, and they walked towards the door of the corridor which led to the place in which the son of the King was buried. Behind me and before me

<sup>1</sup> Read *fa'ala*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Return one word to their God."

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 500), says "three months ago," instead of three years ago.

<sup>4</sup> Delete the *nūn* from the verb.

<sup>5</sup> See again how the speakers change rôles in the narrative.

<sup>6</sup> Delete the *nūn*.

were innumerable crowds. I ordered the door of the vault to be opened, and it was opened, and then I intimated to the King, to *Paul* and to some of the King's retinue and relatives to descend into the mausoleum and to verify the condition of the dead son of the King and then to report to me. When all of them saw him they said : "We have only found some of his large limbs ; all the rest has perished and suffered dissolution. Then I, *Peter*, uncovered my head and began to pray towards the East, and stretched my hands before my Creator, and said before all those present in a loud voice that could be heard by all :

"I know, O my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, son of God, that you are present here with me, and that as you are here present you are also present in every part of the heavens and of the earth. No height and no depth are without you. Do not forsake me and do not leave me, but let your Providence encompass me wherever I may be dwelling. You have ordered me to<sup>1</sup> preach the Gospel to mankind in your name and to deliver them from the snare, the ropes and the nets of the *Archon*, in order that they may know that you are the only Son of God and that the Spirit of God is in the essence of God, and that He is not three, as it is said, but one God, one Lord, the first and eternal God with His Word through whom He speaks and through whom He created all created beings, and with His spirit who proceeds from Him,<sup>2</sup> and imparts life to all beings. He is one God, rational and living, and there is no God and no being to be worshipped beside Him. By Your Grace you have shown us who you are, and we have known you. You have ordered us to preach in your name, and we have obeyed your order, and so we are now before you and you are in us and with us. Do not forsake us and those who believe in you through us. Confirm your true saying to us before these multitudes who are assembled here before you in order that they may know<sup>3</sup> that you are their God, and their true Lord. We implore you in your great name, in the time of our need, to answer our supplications and grant us that which we expect from you, because you are our God and we have no other God beside you. Make our

<sup>1</sup> Read '*an*.'

<sup>2</sup> The author does not seem here to believe in the procession of the Spirit from the Son. See, however, above, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Delete the final *nūn* from the verb.



path easy and render our effort<sup>1</sup> successful. Do to us what you have taught us to expect from you, that you will listen to our prayers in our arduous tasks. We only ask you what you have ordered us to ask, so that when these pagan<sup>2</sup> multitudes have seen<sup>3</sup> your wonderful works<sup>4</sup> which you by your power perform through us who are your lowly disciples, they might know that you are all-powerful in your name. We beseech you according to your order to us, and you, O my God, listen to us, hear us, and make haste to answer our prayers because you are near to us, present with us, and dwelling in us. It is you who strengthens us, who brings us together, who provides us with our food, who dwells in our hearts, who fathoms our secrets, who causes us to die and gives us life again, who brings illness upon us and then heals us."

When my supplication to God reached these words, all my body was illuminated with lights, which were also reflected on all those who were present, and a gentle wind blew on us which emitted scents sweeter than all perfumes, which extended to those that were far and near. Then the Holy Spirit<sup>5</sup> appeared and fortified me and assured me that I would perform that miracle. I drew, therefore, near the sepulchre and raised my voice and said: "O dead man, whose body has perished, arise from your sleep<sup>6</sup> by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, and hasten to come to me here." Immediately after the son of the King came out to me, and I seized him by his hand and presented him to his father, who instantly believed in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, as also did all his relatives and all the inhabitants of the city.

After this people hastened to the temples which they demolished, and to the idols of which they broke up. In their places they laid foundations for churches, and all the people worshipped the Cross.

The Son of the King was then asked about his condition after his death and what his soul had seen, and he replied that since he had died and his soul had left his body, he was thrown to the torments of hell down to that hour. (He then added): "And the angel to whom I was entrusted said to me, 'Be of good cheer, because de-

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "Stretch between our hands."

<sup>3</sup> Read *shāhada*.

<sup>5</sup> Here again the author uses the word "Holy Spirit" in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "foreign."

<sup>4</sup> Read *af'ālaka*.

<sup>6</sup> Or "your rest."



liverance has come to you from God.' Then he raised me from that torment and brought me before the Lord Christ with whom I saw standing this man, that is to say *Peter*, and this youth, that is to say *John*, and this other man, that is to say *Paul*. The three of them were worshipping before the Lord and imploring Him to restore me to this life again. The Lord Christ granted their request in the matter of bringing me to life again, and immediately after my soul returned to my body alive. And when this venerable man, Peter the disciple of the Christ called me to<sup>1</sup> come out of my grave I obeyed him and came out."

And the King said to *Paul* : "Did you hear<sup>2</sup> what my son said about you?" And he answered, "Yes." And the King said to him : "And how is that?" And *Paul* answered : "I will relate to you all my story dealing with the religion of Christ." When he had told all his story as narrated above the King said to him : "And what induced you after you had believed in this powerful, ancient and mighty Lord, the master and the maker of the times, to deny Him and to return to the worship of idols?" And Paul said : "I did not worship idols nor did I deny God. I meant in what I did to use a stratagem with you in order that by my soft advice to you the hardness of your nature may be mollified to your advantage. In this the Most High God gave me victory over you as He brought you to the right path."

The King was amused and smiling at him thanked him for the ruse he had practised against them, and for the fact that he had converted them from error and the worship of idols to the obedience to God and to the knowledge of His persons, and to the belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who is endowed with eternal life and who delivers from all sorrow. When our joy was finished we all helped in the task of baptising them, and I ordained<sup>3</sup> men from them as priests for them, and after having remained two years in *Antioch* we left them, and I despatched *Paul* to the town of *Tarsus* in order to convert its inhabitants to the faith.

After our separation from *Paul* I received letters from the believers in *Laodicea* in which they informed me that their river

<sup>1</sup> Read *biʿan*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "do you see."

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac word "*sām*."

known as *K̇īsaris*<sup>1</sup> had increased its waters immeasurably and was in flood in a way that had never occurred before, and that it had drowned a great number of people. I sent to them *John* the beloved and I ordered him saying: "Proceed to *Laodicea* and quell for its inhabitants the vehemence of the river, and say to it: 'O river, you have no power to rise more than your normal rate,<sup>2</sup> by the word of God who created the heavens and the earth. You, O river, will be cursed if you do not go back to your former place from now to eternity.'"

And *John* went to *Laodicea* and persistent news reached him to the effect that the high floods of the river had killed innumerable people. Among those who came to bring this news to *John* were men of different social standing. In the route which *John* was following was a herd of sheep, and *John* drew near a ram that was in that herd and said to it: "O irrational animal, go with these people as my messenger to the river called *K̇īsaris* and inform it thus: "*John* the disciple of Christ has sent me to you in order to inform you that you are forbidden<sup>3</sup> by the Word of the living God, the eternal and the creator of all the created beings, to overflow your natural banks. Go now back to your natural banks and do not go beyond them any more from now till the day of the Resurrection."<sup>4</sup>

The ram went then to the river and said to it in clear language: "Mar *John*, the disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ has sent me to you. He orders you by the Word of God to<sup>5</sup> go back to your natural banks." And the water ran immediately back and decreased in volume from its swollen state until it reached its normal condition. The crowds were amazed at this miracle and many pagans of the inhabitants of *Laodicea* believed in the religion of Christ. The numbers of the pagans of *Laodicea* who believed through *John*, the Apostle of the Lord Saviour, was eighteen thousand.<sup>6</sup> All these believed through *John*, may our best peace be with him. And he

<sup>1</sup> Is it the Lycos? The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 503), mentions also this miracle and calls the river *K̇ēsārōs*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: "more than the habit."

<sup>3</sup> The verb *marbūt* (lit.: "bound") is generally used in magical formulae.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is badly worded.

<sup>5</sup> Delete *lām*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *alf*.



ordained<sup>1</sup> from amongst them priests and deacons, and afterwards he left them and went to *Ephesus*, and I repaired to *Jerusalem*.<sup>2</sup>

*Says father Clement, may his prayers be with us. Amen ;*

And when the great teacher and the spiritual father, Peter, reached the town of *Jerusalem*, he called me Clement to his service, and he ordered me along with my brothers to repair in advance of him to the city of *Rome*. He said to us : "Go you before me because I shall soon go there myself." The Lord Christ had indeed ordered him to travel in that direction, so we obeyed his command and put to sea in order to go to *Rome* as our teacher *Peter* had ordered us ; And he also added "Take also your father<sup>3</sup> with you." Several days after we had left he summoned to him a company of the disciples and informed them that he would soon be proceeding to *Rome*. All of them were grieved at his separation, and did not disguise from him their sorrow.

Then he left them and on his way passed through *Cyprus* where he stayed twenty-three days. He informed me Clement of this and said to me : "At the end of a stay of twenty-three days in *Cyprus* an angel appeared to me and said to me : 'O *Peter*, let not this town, I mean this island, please you (too much), but go in haste to *Rome* because there is more need of you there than here.'" And (Clement) said : "The great father Peter spoke to me and said : 'I did immediately next morning what the angel had ordered me to do. And I spoke my farewells to the inhabitants of *Cyprus* and separated myself from them, and their hearts ached because of this separation. And the earth folded itself under my feet as the parchment of a book is folded, and in a few days I reached *Rome*. I entered it while I was naked and had not a garment to wear. I was in a bewildered state when I entered it and also hungry and thirsty. On my entrance I came upon a dung heap<sup>4</sup> that was near the house of a nobleman, one of the notables of the city. I climbed up and sat on it tired, hungry, heavy-hearted, stricken with grief and

<sup>1</sup> Here again the Syriac verb *sām*.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 504), erroneously states that Peter went to Rome instead of to Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> Read *abākuma*.

<sup>4</sup> The Ethiopic narrative calls it "a little hill," *Contendings*, p. 505.



sorrow, without the strength of even one day,<sup>1</sup> deep in thought and not knowing where to go.<sup>2</sup>

The man near whose door the dung heap was found was a pious man, a great almsgiver, and a man of pure heart and a lover of strangers. His daughter came out at that time and saw me, and she entered again and said to her father : <sup>3</sup> " There is on the dung heap a stranger who is in a nude state and naked, and who does not resemble the poor and the strangers of our town. I have never known a man in greater poverty." And her father <sup>4</sup> said to her : " My daughter take a ewer of gold, fill it with water, and carry a basin of gold and a towel, and go to this poor man, peradventure you will be cured from your ailment.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps also he is a messenger of a god or the messenger of the God of heaven who appeared in *Judæa* in the town of Jerusalem, because I have heard this from one of the relatives of *Nero*, who was the Governor of *Judæa*, and also that He has ordered His disciples to hate gold and not to possess silver, that they should be poor, humble, and wear tatters.<sup>6</sup> They show heavenly signs and spiritual power, because their God, the Lord Christ, has given them power to work miracles and wonders. I hope that this stranger is a disciple of the God <sup>7</sup> of heaven so that he should cure you of your ailment ; and I hope also, my daughter, that if you go to him and wash his feet and not recoil from his poverty, he will cure you of the leprosy with which you are afflicted."

And the maiden came out to me with a covered face from which only her eyes were seen, as she was a chaste girl with a pure heart. She came to me with a ewer and a basin in her hands while I was moaning and weeping. And she said to me : " O venerable man, do not weep and do not be heavy hearted. The time for your rest has come <sup>8</sup> and your sorrows have passed ; wash, therefore, your face with this water and also your hands and your feet.<sup>9</sup> Be of good cheer

<sup>1</sup> Put the words of the text in genitive.

<sup>2</sup> A recension of the following story is found in an Arabic manuscript of Mount Sinai, dated 183 of the Hijrah (A.D. 799), and has been edited and translated by Mrs. Gibson, in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 5, under the title of *Prædicatio Petri*, pp. 56-58 of the text.

<sup>3</sup> Read *li-'abîha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *'abûha*.

<sup>5</sup> We shall presently see that she had leprosy.

<sup>6</sup> Read *khiraq*.

<sup>7</sup> Delete the article.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. " Your soul has reached."

<sup>9</sup> Put both words in the dual accus. case.

because good is going to come to you, and you will enter the house of your servants in order that you may eat of our food<sup>1</sup> and pray for us." And she came and poured water on my hands and my feet while her hands and arms were covered. The maiden did not cease to pour water, and I did not cease to wash, until I was rested and my strength came back to me.

Then the Holy Spirit said to me : "She has leprosy." And I said to her : "O maiden, why are you hiding your face and your hands from me while I am a poor old man advanced in years ?" And she answered me : "Because I feel ashamed before you, and because of my regard for your age and respect for your asceticism, and also because of a long story of mine, the upshot of which is that I am affected with a great ailment and a complaint which I do not desire to display before any one in this world."<sup>3</sup>

And I said to her : "And what is this ailment ? Tell me your story, O maiden." When she heard this she said : "By the truth of God I will not hide anything from you. I was one day invited to the wedding of one of the notables of this city, and I went to it together with a company of women. When they saw me they began to speak of me among themselves with admiration, and evil eye struck me and I became affected with this ailment, that is to say leprosy." I saw her tears falling down from her eyes<sup>3</sup> on her cheeks like rain, and I said to her : "Be of good cheer and rejoice." And I, Peter, took a handful of the water with which she had washed my hands and my feet, made the sign of the cross on it in the name of Jesus Christ and threw it on her, and she was cleansed of her leprosy and her ailment."

And she went to her father<sup>4</sup> with joy and gladness on account of the favours of God to her, and apprised him of her cure through me. She showed him her hands, and he saw that they were healed ; and he sprang from his seat with joy and happiness and came out to me and kissed my hands and embraced my chest and took me with him into his house. He then ordered his slaves to carry me, and they carried me and brought me to his place, and he said to me : "This day the grace and the mercy of the Lord came down upon us and life

<sup>1</sup> Probably read *aṭ-āmina*.

<sup>2</sup> To lay emphasis on the fact the text says : "In both abodes of the world," *i.e.*, here and in the next world.

<sup>3</sup> Read *'ainaiha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *abiha*.



entered our house." And he added : "Tell us who you are, O blessed old man, and whence you came, because we have seen light from you." And I replied to him : "I am one of the servants of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God,<sup>1</sup> whom the Jews have crucified in the town of *Jerusalem*, and who rose alive from His grave before their eyes, and ascended to heaven whence He had come, and sat on the majestic throne of His glory. The angels glorify Him and worship Him in heaven, as also do on the earth all those who believe in Him. He chose us from the world, and ordered us to labour before Him on the earth, to preach to mankind resurrection after death, and to work miracles in all the regions of the earth. My Lord Jesus Christ has sent me to you and I came to this city at His bidding in order to call its inhabitants to His service, to baptise them with His baptism which all those who believe in Him receive,<sup>2</sup> and to sign them with the name of the Holy Trinity which is His Word, and the name of His holy Wisdom,<sup>3</sup> that is to say in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one true God.<sup>4</sup> If they believe in this faith, He will forgive their sins, wipe off<sup>5</sup> their prevarications, remove them from the terrors of (the day of the) Resurrection, and bring them to the height of joy, pleasures and peace."

And the old man said : "I and all my household believe in your works and in the generous Lord your God." And I immediately struck the floor of the room in which we were sitting with my staff<sup>6</sup> and said : "In the name<sup>7</sup> of the Christ our Lord let a spring of water appear on this floor." And immediately after a spring welled up in the room, and I baptised the old man with his children and all his relatives and marked them with the holy chrism. My name went then abroad in all the city, and all the inhabitants of *Rome* heard my story. I was visited by crowds of people affected with all sorts of complaints, such as itch, elephantiasis and leprosy ; and those of them who were mad and insane ; and those affected with dropsy ; and the paralytics ; and the sick of the palsy ; and the deaf and dumb ; and

<sup>1</sup> All this sentence is in Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yakbaluha*.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence is badly worded.

<sup>4</sup> All this sentence is in Syriac.

<sup>5</sup> Read *maḥḥaṣa* or *maḥa*.

<sup>6</sup> Here again read '*ukkāzah*, which proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "By the truth."



those affected with a withered arm ; and the blind ; and those affected with all sorts of fevers and with external and internal complaints.<sup>1</sup>

Innumerable crowds thus sat near the door of that rich man like bellowing camels that had lost their shepherd. With them were many people who came to witness<sup>2</sup> the favour of God and to believe in Him through the testimony of their own eyes. When I *Peter* went out to them I preached to them in the name of my Lord Jesus Christ who saved the (inhabitants of the) world from the noose of the demons, and warned them against sin, and performed miracles and wonders among them. When they saw the blind<sup>3</sup> seeing ; and people whose bodies were affected with elephantiasis shedding their scales and replacing them with a new and smooth skin, while overjoyed at the favours of God who had delivered them from their ailment which segregated them from other creatures ; and the paralytics leaping with joy ; and the deaf hearing ; and the dumb talking ;<sup>4</sup> and the lame walking ; and people with withered arms stretching their hands in a normal way ; and the mad and the insane healed ; and the sick cured ; and the people affected with dropsy made whole : they were drawn to the faith and they one and all rejected idolatry for the grace of God which He so freely gave them, and they rejoiced, and praised and thanked the Most High God.

Then I baptised a considerable number of them and absolved their sins ;<sup>5</sup> and I caused a Church to be built in the house of the old man who was called *Euphraxus*.<sup>6</sup> My fame spread in the city and its inhabitants ascertained that I was Peter the head of the disciples of Christ. Then I Peter summoned my pupil *Clement* along with his brothers to come<sup>7</sup> to me and assist me in the task of baptising those that had believed in the water of baptism. They came to me with all speed and helped in the furtherance of the message of the Lord Christ in the City of *Rome*.

The above news reached *Paul* and *Barnabas*, *Titus* and

<sup>1</sup> All the above story is told in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 505-509.

<sup>2</sup> Read *liyabsurū*, and also remove the *nūn* from the following verb.

<sup>3</sup> Codex *ex errore* "the lepers."

<sup>4</sup> Codex has here *ex errore* "and the dumb seeing."

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "justified them."

<sup>6</sup> Codex *Ophrax*. The Ethiopic text has *Euphrīkōs*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *yā'tu*.

*Timothy*, his disciples,<sup>1</sup> and they came to us, and I was very pleased with their proximity to us and their arrival amongst us. Then *John* and some of the other Apostles came, and we proclaimed the faith in the city of *Rome* until our news reached the Emperor of *Rome*, who summoned us to him. I went to him together with the brethren whom the Christ my Lord had sent to me in order to finish His work in the city.

*Paul*, however, separated himself from us, but he told us nothing about his separation. He preceded us and entered the palace of the Emperor who honoured him and enhanced his prestige and caused him to sit next to him. And *Paul* ceased not to speak well to him of paganism and idolatry until he gained his confidence.<sup>2</sup> Then he said to him: "Who are these men who are causing disturbance in all Rome? Lo they show<sup>3</sup> signs in it and proclaim the strange name of a God about whom no one knew anything in the world, especially in these regions." And the Emperor answered: "I have sent my friends after them to bring them<sup>4</sup> here immediately." And *Paul* said to him: "When they come, O mighty and powerful Emperor, do not speak to them and do not answer any of their questions. Leave all this to me—and I will speak to them and answer them." And the Emperor said to him: "I entrust you with this duty; discharge it as you see fit."

When we reached the gates of the palace the men under whose charge<sup>5</sup> we were said to us: "Wait here until we have obtained permission for you to have an audience with the Emperor." And when we entered the chamber in which the Emperor was sitting, we found *Paul* sitting with the Emperor in the first place of the audience room, speaking to him and consulting with him. And I said to the brethren who were with me: "Is not the one who is speaking to the Emperor, *Paul*?"<sup>6</sup> The company (of the brethren) answered: "It

<sup>1</sup> The text probably *ex errore* has "disciples of Clement." Possibly the word "Clement" used here is the last of the following sentence found in Ethiopic "And Clement and his brothers my disciples," *Contendings* p. 509. The sentence may have been thus truncated by the copyist.

<sup>2</sup> The strategic and somewhat crooked rôle given to *Paul* throughout the narrative is rather undignified. The idea is possibly inspired from 1 Cor. ix. 20-23.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "taught."

<sup>4</sup> Delete the *nūn*.

<sup>5</sup> Put the word in the nominative.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is worded in a style which denotes a translation from another language.

is as you say." And I together with all those who were with me were amazed at the courage of *Paul*, and each one of us thought evil of him, which, however, our tongues did not put into words.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor did not pay any attention to us nor did he ask us any questions, but *Paul* said : "O aged man, by what power have you been able to enter into our city and to preach therein the name of your God without previously having obtained for the purpose the permission of the Emperor, or of one of his prefects ? Who is this God whom you are mentioning and whose name you are spreading abroad saying that He is the God of heaven. You are divorcing men from the faith that they have inherited from their fathers and in which they were brought up from the beginning." And I said to him : "If I do not enter a town or preach the message of the Christ my Lord except by the permission and favour of Kings and prefects, my Master would be like the earthly Kings who are in fear of one another. But since my Master is the creator of all the created beings and the administrator of the affairs of this world according to His will, I have no need to ask permission from any of His servants when I enter into a town or go about on important business. It is indeed He—may His name be exalted—who advises me as to what I need, and helps me in whatsoever He wishes, in things far and near. Were it not for His mercy towards His world, and the abundance of His grace through which He loves to save His servants from error and to lead them to the right path and to be believed in by them, He would have wiped out their memory with the passing ages, in order that their punishment might be in the fire,<sup>2</sup> in the company of those who have committed injustices and soiled their hearts which they gave to the worship (of idols) to the exclusion of God the Lord of the worlds.<sup>3</sup>

And Paul said : "Of whom do you speak, O aged man ?" And I replied : "Of all those who worship demons that enter into idols and images, who offer sacrifices to them and worship them to the exclusion of God, the creator and God of all gods, the One and Omnipotent God who created the created beings,<sup>4</sup> who fashioned the

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is ambiguous.

<sup>2</sup> Read *as-sa'ir* for *ash-sha'ir*. This also proves that the present Garshuni MS. is derived from an original written in undotted Arabic characters.

<sup>3</sup> Kur'ānic expression.

<sup>4</sup> These sentences are in rhymed prose.



heavens, who made the angels, who lifted the wheels<sup>1</sup> of the firmament which circles about. The mighty Lord and the Omnipotent King, who ordered His rational world to praise Him, glorify Him and magnify Him."

And Paul said : "What power did He give you, which you might show us and which we do not possess?" And I replied : "The power of showing signs and working miracles which no created being can work besides us." And Paul said : "Could you show us something from them that we may know them?" And I replied : "I can go near your god whom you have fashioned and into whom Satan, who disobeyed the order of His maker, has entered, and I will adjure him by the name of my Master to show you his real image and then to flee from his abode never again to return to it. This will show<sup>2</sup> to you that you are in great error." And Paul said : "Can you then speak to the god of the Emperor?" And I replied : "And in the name of my God, I will also uproot him from these regions and banish him from them." And Paul said : "If you do this and if you overcome the god of the Emperor in the name of your Master, we will agree with what you say, and will follow your Master who sent you to us." And I replied : "Let us go then to the temple of the idols."

The Emperor was amazed at my words, and Paul persuaded him to come out with us to the temple of the idols, and all the inhabitants of the city of *Rome* gathered together at the time when we went out of the palace to repair to the temple. I went to the places where the idols were found standing, and the majority of them were of gold and silver, and the idol which the Emperor worshipped was the biggest of all and of pure gold. On its chest was (the figure of) a man dressed in the finest apparel, and on its head was a crown inlaid with precious stones and rubies of the highest quality. Satan spoke through it continually with the Emperor, and since he revealed in his conversation with him what he held as secret he worshipped him and offered sacrifices before him, and so also did all his relatives and friends.

And *Paul* said : "O aged man, worship the god<sup>3</sup> of the Emperor and do not go against me. Unless you do this the god of the

<sup>1</sup> Read *dūlāb*. This also proves that the present MS. is derived from an original written in undotted Arabic characters.

<sup>2</sup> Delete the *nūn*.

<sup>3</sup> Delete the article.

Emperor will kill you instantly." And I replied : " As to me I only worship the one and Omnipotent God of heaven. As to the god of the Emperor you will soon see its fate and what will become of him." And I Peter lifted my hands towards heaven and said : " To you I will speak my words, O mighty, Omnipotent and Wise God who administers the affairs of His creatures on His earth and in His heaven, who is present in the midst of us and in us, who uttered to us His true words, ' Whenever<sup>1</sup> two or three of you pray to me in my name, whether on land or on sea, I shall be present with them.'<sup>2</sup> We know that we are your disciples and that you have sent us to the Gentiles in order to preach to them in your name and convert them from their idolatry to the belief in your omnipotence. You have ordered us to perform wonders and miracles and drive out demons in your name, and also to bring to the right path the insolent nations."

Then I said in a loud voice : " O rebellious demons come out of these idols which are sheltering you and in which you are hiding, and show yourselves in your true colours<sup>3</sup> to those who have worshipped you in order that they may know<sup>4</sup> the power of our God, the God of myriads and myriads of myriads, who created you. O you who speak ill of your God, who mislead the servants of the generous and omniscient God, come out of these idols, in which you dwell, to the curse of God, by the power of the Lord God, the eternal Word who created everything found in heaven and on earth ; who came down to us in His power, might and omnipotence ; who in His mercy appeared in our clothing and became incarnate in our image in order to gain our confidence in our speaking and conversing with Him ; who chose us as His disciples and sent us to the Gentiles by His will and His love. You have no right, O rebellious demons who mislead the servants of God, to remain in these idols which hide you from the sight of men. Come out of them immediately by the omnipotence, might, majesty and power which God exercises over you."

At that moment<sup>5</sup> the demons who<sup>6</sup> were in those idols emitted loud cries which shook and terrified all those who were present, and they appeared in different forms which terrified the hearts of men, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matth. xviii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. " in the ugliest show."

<sup>5</sup> Probably read *sā'āta'idhīn*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ma'ahum*.

<sup>4</sup> Delete the *nūn*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *al-ladhīn*.

all of them said in one voice<sup>1</sup>: "How our hearts rejoiced in our dwellings! We were honoured and glorified by all the people, and we had no trouble of any kind, but to-day our peace has been changed into sorrow, for the Apostle of our God has driven us out of our places. His God has power over us and we can do nothing against Him because He is the Son of God, our creator, and His spirit and His eternal Word."

Immediately after this the idols fell down to the ground and were broken to pieces, and a foul and stinking smell came out of the ugly figures of the Rebels. When the Emperor who was a man of discernment and honesty and endowed with high qualities, heard the voice of Satan he was terrified and fell to the ground on his face in his fear. The demons went out in the direction of the inhabitants of *Rome* (who were present) and at their departure killed a hundred men of them. Then the crowds shouted their acceptance of the true faith and raised their voices saying: "The true faith in God is in the Lord Christ who in His grace sent to us His disciples in order to lead us to His worship and to the confession of His might and power. We all believe in God and acknowledge these messengers who led us from unbelief to faith and saved us from perdition."

We were very pleased at the conversion of the Emperor to the faith<sup>2</sup> in God and in Christ through the pure father the Apostle<sup>3</sup> Peter, and also at the conversion of his viziers, his household, his relatives and his lieutenants. No one was left in town without believing and coming to us with humility asking to be baptised. In a very short time their unbelief and error were changed into belief. Then we enjoined on them the (Christian) obligations which they accepted with thanksgivings to the Most High God, and we ordained for them bishops, priests, deacons and monks (*sic*), and we were pleased with their faith and with the welcome that we had received from them.

Then I Peter, after having despatched the brethren along with Clement and his brothers who were at my service, remained in *Rome* for a month. I despatched *Mark* to *Alexandria*; *Thomas* to *India*; *Philip* to the town of *Nubia*; *Addai* to *Abgar*, King of the Syrians, in *Babylon*, and in the town of *Edessa*, and to the other

<sup>1</sup> The following sentences of the demons are in rhymed prose. There is no need to translate them literally.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bil'īmān*.

<sup>3</sup> From the Syriac *sheliha*.



towns of *Jazīrah*<sup>1</sup>; *John* to *Ephesus*,<sup>2</sup> and *I Peter* and *Paul* remained in Rome with the rest of the brethren.

Afterwards I left for the town to which *Philip* had repaired, and it is known as *Carthage*.<sup>3</sup> The demon appeared to me on the way and wished to impede me from proceeding any further. He appeared with great power and strove to thwart and oppose me; but with the help of my Lord Christ I defeated the army which he had mustered against me. I took some of the oil which my Lord Christ had given me and put it in my mouth, and made the sign of the Cross on my face. All at once great power emanated from the omnipotence of my Lord Christ, and it overshadowed me and encompassed all my limbs. From the inside of my body came out a violent wind with which I found myself filled, and I blew that wind on the demon.<sup>4</sup> A fierce wind resembling burning fire emanated then from my mouth, accompanied by a hurricane which blew away Satan and his hosts, and the road was left open for me.<sup>5</sup>

[Analysis of the text on ff. 173-185<sup>b</sup> and full translation of all the important passages found in it]:

Then Satan bemoaned his fate, lamented over his fallen power and threatened to harass *Peter* and his followers with all sorts of temptations. Peter, however, rebuked him in the name of Christ,

<sup>1</sup>Upper Mesopotamia. The Ethiopic text (*ibid.*, p. 510) calls it "the land of the two rivers."

<sup>2</sup>The reader has doubtless noticed how in this eminently Petrine work Peter is given an abnormally prominent position. The rest of the Apostles play an unusually secondary rôle.

<sup>3</sup>Evidently the author understands the Ethiopia of Acts viii. 27, to mean Carthage. That Philip went to Carthage is also explicitly stated in *Acta Philippi*. See Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, 75-104; Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap. Gesch.*, ii., 1-53. And compare Batiffol's text in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1890, 204-249, and Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 69-92. See also James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 450. Carthage in these documents is placed in "Azotus." The copyist writes the word as *Fartāgina* for *Kartāgina* and this again proves decisively that the present MS. is derived from an original in early and undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic that the letters *fā'* and *kāf* have an identical form and are distinguished exclusively by extraneous dots.

<sup>4</sup>*Cf.* about this story of Peter and Satan the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 510-514.

<sup>5</sup>From this sentence to the end of the work I will only give the analysis of the text. I will, however, give a regular translation of all the important passages found in it.

and he disappeared. Then Peter narrates that he and Paul proceeded to the town of *Philippi*<sup>1</sup> along with *Timothy*, the disciple of the latter, and evangelised it. From there Paul went to *al-Adiyōka*,<sup>2</sup> the town which is in darkness and which is separated from the town of *Afdār* by the lake<sup>3</sup> *Gurgu*, the breadth of which is a hundred parasangs.<sup>4</sup> On reaching the shores of the lake Paul found no one to take him across it, but he prayed the Lord and an angel carried him while asleep to the other side. He then entered the town and preached in it the name of the Lord, and all its inhabitants believed in Christ. He remained in it twenty months, after which he returned to *Carthage* and joined me there. He presented to me a report on his journey to *al-Adiyōka* in which he said :

“O spiritual father, our Chief, after I left you I saw in a vision the angel of the Lord who said to me, ‘Go to the town of the King *Candude*<sup>5</sup> and preach in it the Gospel of Christ.’ I hesitated and said that it would be more advantageous if you Peter were to go there, but he intimated to me that I had to obey his orders and that your stay at *Carthage* would for the time being be more helpful, because our Lord loves this town and it is His second ‘storehouse.’<sup>6</sup> In consequence of these words of the angel I went into the town, which is a large city, as large as Rome, and it is the capital of *Candude*. The lake<sup>7</sup> which surrounds it has a width of one hundred parasangs or three hundred miles. I entered it on the twelfth of the month of

<sup>1</sup> Text : *Philibus*. It is not explained how from Ethiopia the Apostle went so quickly to Philippi in Macedonia.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Alidiyōka*.

<sup>3</sup> In some Coptic Arabic documents the word *nahr*, “river,” refers also to “a lake” or “a sea.” See my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 156, 168, etc. We shall see below that the author uses also in this connection the word *bahr*, “sea.”

<sup>4</sup> These names are found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (pp. 513-514), in slightly different forms due to erroneous transcriptions by copyists : “And when we had entered therein Paul left me and went to the city of *Wāriḳōn* (= *al-Adiyōka* of our MS.), the country of darkness, and between it and the country of *Akrād* (= *Afdār* of our MS.) is a lake the name of which is *Gurgnor* (= *Gurgu* of our MS.), the breadth of which is three hundred stadia.”

<sup>5</sup> This is evidently *Candace*, King of Ethiopia, mentioned in Acts viii. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Sentences like these bring the present Apocryphon in direct relation with Ethiopia, and its author seems to have had especial interest in that country.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. “river.”



May. On the ramparts of the city there was a talisman which played the rôle of a watchman,<sup>1</sup> and when a stranger came near the city it uttered loud cries which acted as a warning to the inhabitants. When I drew near the inhabitants armed themselves, took to the boats and pursued me. And I hid in a cave near that lake,<sup>2</sup> and was much harassed by hunger and thirst, but in the night I went out and drank water from the lake, and in the morning I prayed my Lord, and the talisman emitted a fearful sound, and the waters of the lake became agitated like those of the Red Sea. The men came out again in their boats against me and I took refuge in the cave. The same thing happened the next day, and I fled, but the Virgin, the mother of light, stood before me and ordered me not to flee, and assured me that I would baptise all the inhabitants of the city in the water of that very lake. On the advice of the Virgin I took a handful of water and threw it in the face of the oncoming men who numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, and their rage abated because they saw the doors of heaven open and a hand of fire stretched along with my hand over them. They would have been overwhelmed by the heat of that fire, were it not for the handful of water that I threw towards them."

Then Paul proceeds to inform his master "the great teacher Peter" that eventually after he had performed some other miracles he baptised all the inhabitants of the town. Thereupon the King of the country sent additional troops against Paul, but by the great number of the miracles that he wrought they were all converted together with the King. Among his miracles Paul had dried up a place in the lake, and in that place eighteen thousand men helped to build a church under the name of the Virgin, the dimensions of which are given at some length. Then the Apostle ordained for them bishops, priests and deacons, and ordered the waters of the lake to surround the town before he came back to give an account of his mission to Peter.<sup>3</sup>

Then Peter goes on to narrate that after he had listened to Paul speaking of the town which he had evangelised, his soul longed to see it, and he implored the Christ to grant him his wish, and while he was standing on the quay of *Carthage* he was overshadowed by a

<sup>1</sup> The author uses here the Persian word *didabān*.

<sup>2</sup> Here the author uses the word *baḥr*, "sea."

<sup>3</sup> The above story of the evangelisation of Paul is found in a slightly different form in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 691-699.



white cloud, and the two angels to whom he was entrusted, one of whom was called *Akrābīl* and the other *Falwabīl*,<sup>1</sup> came out of it and commanded him to ride on it and go to the town he wished to see, and it was called *al-Adiyoka*. There he was given a kindly reception, and he rode a white elephant that was placed at his disposal. He was also presented by the inhabitants with an address of welcome in which he was informed that the day of his visit will be commemorated for ever in their land, and in which he was asked to plant for them some olive trees as they needed their oil for "sacrifice."<sup>2</sup> During the night Peter prayed the Lord, and next morning the inhabitants of the town saw full-grown olive trees to the length of ten parasangs planted in gardens interspersed with springs of water. After having healed people affected with all sorts of diseases and remained seven months in the town he asked the Lord to remove from it all devouring beasts and damaging insects. Then a cloud carried him back to *Carthage*.

The brethren were very pleased when he narrated to them what had happened to him. After having lived some days in *Carthage* they repaired to *Philippi* and thence to *Rome* where the jealousy and hatred of *Simon Magus* were roused against them. Some of the inhabitants of *Rome* followed *Simon Peter* and his companions and some others *Simon Magus* who for three months performed by magic all the miracles that the Apostles wrought by the power of God. One day *Simon Magus* brought an ox to the Emperor and told him that he could make it die by breathing into its ears on condition that the Apostles of Christ should afterwards give life to it. The ox duly died and the Emperor summoned the Apostles,<sup>3</sup> and Peter recited a prayer over it and life came back to it. The ox proceeded then by itself to summon *Simon Magus* before the Emperor, who remonstrated with him, but the magician answered him that he was able to do a greater miracle, such as that of ascending to heaven. Then a great multitude of evil spirits assembled there and lifted up *Simon Magus* to such a height that he was no more seen by the

<sup>1</sup> I do not remember having seen these two names elsewhere. In the *Ethiopic Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 700), their names are given as *Uriel* and *Raphael*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kurbān*. Possibly the holy chrism.

<sup>3</sup> In the text Peter is speaking in the first person.

people. Peter, however, recited another prayer and the magician fell to the ground, and his body was cut to pieces. As an outcome of this miracle a considerable number of people believed and were baptised, and it took the Apostles thirty-eight days to baptise them. Afterwards Peter, together with *Timothy* and *Titus* the disciples of Paul, and Barnabas the elder,<sup>1</sup> and *A'amūs*<sup>2</sup> one of the seventy, repaired to the house of *Clement* in Rome and there offered sacrifices. The number of people who believed in Rome down to the time in which the Apostles went to the House of Clement was two hundred and twelve myriads. A church was eventually erected in the house of Clement.<sup>3</sup>

After these events Peter ordered Clement to put down in writing all that he had taught him and revealed to him. He further commanded him to deposit the book thus witten in the archives at Rome. When the book was finished Peter and Clement sealed it with their seals, and Peter said: "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries to *Paul* or those who resemble him."<sup>4</sup> This can only be done by the pure servants of holiness<sup>5</sup> who are justified by the grace of God." After this Peter added to the two above seals the seal of the Virgin "the mother of light," and Paul said: "May my curse dwell also on those who contradict the order of Peter, the head of the Apostles and my teacher." They recited then a formula

<sup>1</sup> *Al-kabīr*. The Ethiopic text (*Contendings*, p. 517) has here "Thomas the elder."

<sup>2</sup> This is probably a copyist's error for *Agapus*. This name is correctly written in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (p. 517). The error is due to early and undotted Arabic characters, and constitutes another proof in favour of the opinion that the present Garshūni text is transcribed from an Arabic original.

<sup>3</sup> The speaker is here Clement.

<sup>4</sup> We cannot help remarking that Paul is very much ill treated in this eminently Petrine work. All this sentence, which appears to be hostile to Paul, has been omitted by the Ethiopian translator of the *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 518), who was evidently shocked by the severity of the language used against the Apostle of the Gentiles. The original sentence is:

سألا الله أن لا يطلع أحد من هؤلاء أو من هؤلاء  
 which may possibly also mean: "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries be he Paul or any of those who resemble him (= his followers)." The sentence is, as usual, badly worded but the general meaning seems to be clear.

<sup>5</sup> Or: "of the mass".



of curse to which the evangelist *Luke* and *Titus* and *Timothy* and *John* the evangelist subscribed.

Clement goes on to relate that he divided his book into eight parts and that he deposited its leaves in Rome in a cave<sup>1</sup> which he named the "Cave of Life." In it were also placed the records of *Stephen* and *Silvanus*, and the secrets revealed by Paul to his disciples *Zerosus* (?)<sup>2</sup> and *Dionysius*,<sup>3</sup> and those revealed by *John* the evangelist. After Clement had deposited his book, all the Apostles gathered together in the Metropolis where *John* preached his Gospel. There each one of the Apostles presented the book of his profession of faith to Peter who approved of it and sanctioned it. Clement sealed the books with the seal of each Apostle, beginning with the seal of Peter, then with that of Mary the mother of light, and with that of Paul "who had tampered with the language of the books"<sup>4</sup> and with that of John, and added curses to anyone who would reveal any of its secrets.

Then Clement narrates that he fetched a chest which he called the "Ark of the New Testament" and in which he laid the following sacred objects. He first rolled all the books up in the towel with which the Christ had wiped the feet of the Apostles after He had washed them, as that towel had been kept by Peter, and then he placed them in the chest and covered them with the face-cloth which was on our Lord's head when He was in the grave. Afterwards aided by some of the Apostles he placed in the chest the linen cloth with which the body of our Lord was wrapped, and the coat without seam which He wore, and the crown of thorns with which He was crowned, and the apparel of purple in which He was arrayed, and the vessel which contained the gall and the vinegar which He was given to drink, and the spear with which His side was pierced, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. here the Syriac work *Cave of Treasures*.

<sup>2</sup> Neither the records of *Stephen* and *Silvanus* nor *Zerosus*, the name of St. Paul's disciple, are found in the Ethiopic work *Contendings*, pp. 519-520. Mention, however, is made of a *Protheus* (*ibid.*, pp. 517 and 520).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Areopagite.

<sup>4</sup> *fā'innahu kāna ghayyara lisāna 'l-kutubi*. This strange sentence about St. Paul is likewise omitted in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, 518). On the contrary Paul is called therein (p. 521): "For he (Paul) was the eye of all the books." The verb *ghayyara* literally means "to change, to modify."



the rope with which His body was tied to the wood of the Cross, and the reed with which He was struck on the head. All these Clement placed along with his book in the "Ark of the Covenant of the New Testament"<sup>1</sup>; and they will protect Rome from all harm till the day of the Resurrection,<sup>2</sup> and no enemy will ever prevail against it.<sup>3</sup>

[Here begins (ff. 185<sup>b</sup>-194<sup>a</sup>) the section which contains what we may call the testament of Peter to Clement. It mostly deals with early church discipline and practices, and deserves to be published separately with a more detailed explanation and a more extensive critical apparatus; this I hope to do in the near future. I will, however, give a full translation of the following passage found on fol. 185<sup>b</sup> as it appears to me to be of some importance.]

" '(God) will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification, as it is the true faith.' And the pure father Peter said: 'Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.' And he also said: 'Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome, is remote from God, and will have no share with me.' And (Christ) informed me that He will establish this city as a dwelling-place for angels, and holiness<sup>4</sup> will not cease in it. Tares will not penetrate into it nor will it be conquered by the Kings of Tares."

<sup>1</sup> An attempt to introduce into Christianity the idea of the Jewish Tabernacle.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the veronica which in the legend had to protect the town of Edessa.

<sup>3</sup> All the above narrative is found in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 518-523, but in a slightly different form.

<sup>4</sup> Or possibly "the mass."



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