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Die Verantwortung für die einzelnen Artikel tragen allein die Verfasser.

## A Christian Bahira legend.

By *Richard Gottheil.*<sup>1)</sup>

### Translation of the Arabic text.

(XIV, 252)<sup>1)</sup> In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God — we commence — with the help of God the exalted one, and of his excellent guidance, the account of Bahira the monk, the Arabian, which he himself told to Murhib the monk. Peace be from the Father! Amen!

He said: When I, Murhib the Sinner, had dwelt in the wilderness for a long (253) time, I saw at a distance<sup>2)</sup> a large dwelling-place. I went to it; and when I had come and had gone in, I found in it an old monk whose name was Bahira. When he saw me, he greeted me and was very glad with me. He said, praise be God who hath caused me to see thy face this day. These forty years I have not seen the face of a Christian except thee. Now I know and am certain that my life has come to an end (254) and that my death is at hand. God, praised be he!, hath brought thee hither to me that thou learn my whole

1) See Vol. XIII, p. 189 ff.; Vol. XIV, p. 203 ff.; Vol. XV, p. 56 ff. — The figures in parentheses refer to the pages of the Arabic text in Vols. XIV and XV.

2) The Ms. has clearly *من بعد*. Read *من بعيد* as in D.

story and relate it to the faithful, as also that which happened to me in this place.

I tell thee, O my brother!, that I am a sinful man of the people of Antiochia. I went once to the mountain Mt. Sinai, in order to obtain a blessing in the places of the holy ones, and that I might also receive the blessing which comes from the prayers of the monks living there. When I had come to them, I prayed in these holy places, and one of the old monks said to me: "O my brother!" (I answered him, "I am at thy service, O pious man!"), "God will show thee much evil when thou goest out from this place". I answered him, "Let the will of God, the Most High, be done". Then I carried out that which he wished me to do, and I went forth from that place. When I had come near to the mountain, I saw a great light, the like of which has not been seen, and many angels. And I saw a cross shedding light over the whole earth — seven times more than the sun —, and a great angel. I was much afraid at this. But the angel said to me, be not afraid. Then I saw four chief winds moving, one after the other. I saw a white lion coming from the interior of the wilderness. It consumed the east and the west, the wilderness and Syria, and it drank the waters of the sea. Then it settled in the west. On its head (255) were twelve horns. The angel said to me, "this is the kingdom of the Ishmaelites".<sup>1)</sup>

Then I saw a black she-wolf. It consumed the east and the west. It had three<sup>2)</sup> horns. The angel said to me, "this is the king of the sons of Hāshim, son of Muḥammad". And I saw very plainly a bull coming from the wilderness. It had five horns; and it consumed the four corners of the world. Then it went down to Mosul.

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1) P X "Hāshim Ismael".

2) All the Arabic Mss. have the number "three", while the Syriac have "seven".

I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the king al-Mahdī ibn ‘Alī and Fāṭimah.<sup>1)</sup> Just as the bull is peaceful<sup>2)</sup> and a leader, so will his kingdom be peaceful and a leader. As the lion breaks all that comes in its way, so will he of the lion not leave before him any who oppose him. To this Mahdī the tribes of the Ishmaelites will be subservient. With him will end the kingdom of the Arabs.

I saw, further, a panther coming from the west. He came clothed in clothing of blood. I said to the angel, what is this? He said, this is the king of the Banū Su-fyān, who will destroy the children of Ishmael with the sword.

I saw also a goat coming from the west. (256) It reached the Temple, I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the king of the inhabitants of Ḳaṭar, who are the Banū Yuḳṭān.

I saw also a lion arrive, coming from the wilderness in great might. It consumed everything and trod everything under foot. It left nothing in its path. I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is called the Mahdī ibn ‘Āyeshah. During his time and his days there will be great misfortune, the like of which shall not be [again] in the world.

I saw also a man clothed in green garments. I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the last king of the Ishmaelites, in whom is their end.

I saw then a wagon, decked out with all that is beautiful. I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the king of Rūm, who will rule over the whole earth until<sup>3)</sup> the end of [all] kingdoms.

1) PX omit "and Fāṭimah". Are we to see here a more Shiitic tendency, the belief in a less personal "Imām"?

2) I can not substantiate this translation of *عالم*.

3) DEPX have "at the end etc."

Then I saw a great serpent. It opened<sup>1)</sup> its mouth and swallowed all things without pity or mercy or favour. I said to the angel, what is this? He said to me, this is the Messiah, the liar — who is called the false Messiah. He will come at the end of time, and will destroy all who oppose him.

Then I saw Satan — may God enchain him! — raising himself towards heaven. He came like the lightning, full of hatred and anger. I saw a man coming from the east in beautiful (257) white garments. I said to the angel, who is this? He answered, this is Elijah the prophet, who will come at the end of time, before the true Messiah.

I saw, then, three angels clothed in fire and girdled with flame.<sup>2)</sup> I said to the angel, who are these? He answered, Gabriel, Michael and one of the Seraphim. The angels went away, and one of the Seraphim was left. He said to me, O man! fear hath made thee tremble; but I shall lead thee, and thou shalt be quiet<sup>3)</sup> and at rest.

He said to me, follow me, do not be afraid. I followed him and he took me to heaven. I was like unto one asleep — in the spirit, not in the body. I looked towards heaven and towards the heaven of heavens, and I saw a great light — [the greatness of which] can not be described. I heard the songs of the angels praising the Ancient of Days, with much praise and immeasurable pains. One can not comprehend or recount the words (258) of praise sung to the one and only Trinity — Father, Son and Holy Ghost — saying: 'Holy! Holy! Holy! is the Lord Zebaoth'. I saw the earth about to become empty and void, the heavens stretched out like a piece of paper.

1) Read with PX ففتح.

2) Reading باللهب, with D.

3) Evidently from ظمآن, though the form is peculiar.



Then the earth was emptied and it became a desert. I saw the holy ones going into Paradise and the sinners going to eternal punishment.<sup>1)</sup> He then took me in spirit — not in the body — and I saw the apostles of Jesus our Lord in a high and lofty station. I am not able to describe it, nor can my tongue tell its excellencies. I saw John the Baptist — of high rank — more exalted than all the prophets. I saw collected beneath them the martyrs in their various places,<sup>2)</sup> David the prophet singing praises, and all the [other] prophets reading that which they had been accustomed to read on earth with rejoicing and gladness and much praising. I saw the tree of disobedience, the tree from which death was born.<sup>3)</sup> I saw the tree of repentance, which is the tree of life. I saw a valley, very large and very deep: in it there was an unquenchable fire, and a worm that never sleeps, and punishment that never ceases;<sup>4)</sup> and many people — more (259) numerous than the sand of the sea — crying out aloud, their teeth chattering<sup>5)</sup> like loud thunder, and making a noise like a strongly blowing wind, because of the greatness of the punishment. I was troubled and wept; and I said, What profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world, but lose his soul. All this I saw in the spirit, but not in the body.<sup>6)</sup>

After this, the angel who had me in charge said, Go to Maurice, king of Rūm, and break thy staff before him.

1) P has الجحيم, one of the Qur'an expressions for "hell".

2) Revelations XX, 4.

3) Or, rather, "which is the tree of death". I have translated the reading of D.

4) I have taken يهدى in the sense of لامرّة يهدى, and other similar expressions.

5) نصرّ?

6) The insistence upon the spiritual vision of these things is evidently a polemic against Mohammed's ride to heaven.

Say to him, 'Thus shall be broken thy kingdom by the sons of Ishmael'. Then go to Chosroes, king of Persia, and break half thy staff before him and say, 'Thus shall be broken thy kingdom by the wild asses of the desert'.<sup>1)</sup>

I went to Maurice, king of Rūm, and I did in his presence as the angel had commanded me. He was not angry with me. He only said, The will of God be on his creatures. Then I went to Chosroes, king of Persia, and I did in his presence as the angel had commanded me. He answered me and said, With what warrant sayest thou this? Where didst thou see this vision? I said, On Mt. Sinai, the place where Moses received the Thorah from God. And what didst thou see there, he asked. I answered, (260) I saw a wild ass come and seize a goat, and tread on it with its feet. Then I told him my story. When he had heard it, he sighed and said, Go in peace!

I went from before him and came to the land Aikār.<sup>2)</sup> I took up my preaching among [the people there], saying that they ought not to bow down to many crosses, but to one cross; and that in their churches they ought not to make the sign of many crosses, but of only one cross; that they<sup>3)</sup> should bow down to it, and that their hearts should be turned towards the cross of our master Jesus Christ, the redeemer of the world:— just as I had seen on Mt. Sinai only one cross set up in the whole world.

When the Episcopi of this region<sup>4)</sup> heard [this] from me, they drove me [from] their country, and I took up my habitation in this wilderness, near the children of Ishmael. I became friendly with them, and they with me; and we conversed with each other. I took up my abode

1) A reminiscence of Gen. XVI, 12?

2) Is this, perhaps, a corruption of the indigenous name of Armenia, *Haik* or *Ha'k* (LAGARDE, *Armenische Studien* No. 1226)? E has "Armenia".

3) Reading, with D, *سجدوا*, etc. A has the second person.

4) E "of Armenia".

in this cell and dwelt therein. In it I fashioned<sup>1)</sup> a well of good sweet water. The Arabs became accustomed to come and draw water from it, to sit near me at all times. They were friendly to me, (261) and I to them. They carried out my wishes and I their's. Everything that I commanded and counselled them to do, they did without gainsaying me.

I began to say to them, you will have power over a great kingdom for seven weeks. You will pitch your tents in the whole of this desert and make it subservient to your power. You will have great might, very far-extended. I then commenced to tell them the story of their father Ishmael, and the promise of God to Abraham in regard to him; respecting the appearance of the kingdom and the power, and the multitude of descendants; the story of his mother Hagar; how an angel met her on the road three times and said to her, be not sad, a great nation will arise from your son, and in him thy power will grow very strong. He will possess a great kingdom.<sup>2)</sup> I told them that which I had read of the prophet Isaiah,<sup>3)</sup> who said, the length of the rule of the sons of Kēdār shall be the length of the year of a hireling;<sup>4)</sup> after which their glory shall depart. I told them what I had read of the saying of Bala'am, the children of Ishmael shall rule seven weeks, strong and unassailable.<sup>5)</sup> I told them what I had read of the saying of Daniel the prophet, verily, the tribes of Ishmael will come and station themselves in the holy

1) Really "limed". D has "I dug".

2) Genesis XXI, 18; XVII, 20. On the application of the prophecies to Hagar, see BROCKELMANN, ZAW XV, 139; Ibn Jauzi (ed. BROCKELMANN) in DELITZSCH and HAUPT's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* III, 46, 13.

3) Written الشيا, as in Ibn Jauzi, BA III, 51.

4) Reading الاجير. A free rendering of Isaiah XXI, 16, 19, cfr. Ibn Jauzi, BA III, 51, 21.

5) Perhaps Numbers XXIV, 8 or XXIII, 24 — but in a very free rendering.

place. I told them of the saying of Methodius<sup>1)</sup> in regard (262) to the king of the Ishmaelites, in regard to their spreading over the earth, and their dominion in it — that no one will stand up before them, and that they will have a powerful rule, being mighty in war;<sup>2)</sup> that God would raise up a man from out of their midst, great of stature, and from whose loins many kings should arise and spread over the whole earth. His name shall be called Muḥammad and Yaḥmad(!).<sup>3)</sup> The mention of him shall be in all the corners of the earth.

One day, I was standing at the well, for the purpose of drawing water — three weeks of days after my having spoken with them. I saw them coming towards me. With them was a young man, well-spoken and clever, and having a good tongue, of princely hearing, intelligent, commanding the camel-drivers and leading them. In like manner the merchants did his bidding. I spake to myself, calling for aid(?) upon my Master, and looking at him (263) carefully; then I said, this must surely be the man who is to be at the head of the children of Ishmael, and king over them. He is marked out for ruling; for he is a young man naturally born to rule; he has honour and power. I said to him, O young man! what is thy name? He answered, Muḥammad. I said, thou art to have rule and majesty. Thou shalt have power; for thy name has already been mentioned.<sup>4)</sup> Tribes and families shall belong

1) Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, died in the year 312.

2) Reading, with DX, الباس<sup>ع</sup>.

3) PX have "and his name shall be محرمًا سين; the explanation of which is Aḥmad and Muḥammad"; D seems to read "Serjās (Sergius?) which means Aḥmad and Muḥammad". On the name *Aḥmad*, see ZDMG XII, 249; XLVI, 432; XXXII, 374; ZAW XV, 139. SPRENGER, *Leben Mohammeds* I, 155; GRIMME, *Muhammad* II, 96.

4) Cfr. the charge made against the Jews that Mohammed's name was formerly in the Bible, but had been expunged, GOLDZIEHER, ZDMG XXXII,

to thee. Thy name shall be mentioned in the ends of the earth, and thy story spoken of in the whole world. Everyone who mentions thy name and calls thee great, will [thereby] already have made an offering to God pure and true. I advised him to go back to his fellows; and, afterwards, to return to me alone, in order that I might teach him all that he wished<sup>1)</sup> to do.

The youth went away with the Arabs who accompanied him. They were sad at heart, and filled with jealousy towards him. After three days, he (264) returned to me. He was exalted and trembling because of that which I had told him. He sat down near to me and we conversed together. He asked me questions and listened wonderingly. Then he said to me, I ask your pardon; but I have heard a tale from the sheikhs, and I know not whether it is true or not. I answered, what story hast thou heard? He said, that tribes of the Arabs formerly ruled in Syria, and made the people tributary. They remained in their power for sixty years, until there rose up among them a man called Gideon the judge, who made war upon them and drove them away, triumphing over them, so that only a few of them made their escape and returned to this place.<sup>2)</sup> Nine brave Arabs made common cause with him and remained in Syria. They did not return to their country. Now, I fear that this time it will turn out in the same way, and I shall return, whilst my companions are not with me. I answered him, by my life, no! Thou

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344, 364. REJ XXX, 1, 12. On the supposed mention of מַחְמֵר in the expression כְּמִחְמֵר מִחְמֵר, see STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und Apologetische Literatur* 327, 391. NEUBAUER, JQR IX, 164. The French *Roman de Mahomet* (13<sup>th</sup> cent.) had a different tradition. It says of him

“Toute la loy de Ihesu Crist  
Savoit par letre et par ecrist”.

See the ed. of REINAUD and MICHEL, Paris 1831, p. 2.

1) The יי is a dittography of the last part of the preceding word.

2) Judges VII, 6.

shalt not return wanting. Thou shalt be successful and shalt triumph and shalt rule for seven great(?)<sup>1</sup> weeks. Thou shalt remove the people of thy house and all (265) thy countrymen from worshipping idols, and thou shalt bring them to the worship of God the only one.

"And what God dost thou serve?"

"God, the eternal, the maker of heaven and earth, and of that which is between them."

"And who is this one, that we know him and be known by him?"

"The eternal God, the living one, who dieth not; the one holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one (266) God Zebaoth, the creator, who speaks with his word to every living thing, who brings to life by his spirit, three in person, one in essence."

"This is a great and a wise belief; but the understanding of my people will not be able to grasp it. I wish you would give me a résumé of [your] belief, and of the excellencies of your faith."

"The end of all worship is the word of God, the creator, the everlasting, one in essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit — the one to be praised, who has come down from heaven and has become flesh from the Holy Ghost and from Mary, the virgin: who has done miracles and has returned to heaven, and who will come again to judge the quick and the dead — to whose kingdom there is no end, no termination."

"Can I receive this word, and can the spirit come to me [too]?"

"And why should this not come to thee? Before thee, all the prophets received the tidings — in whom and in whose word there was no doubt. Their prophecy came true; their honour was great; their work was praised;

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1) Reading, with PX, *سبعة*. "Great" in the sense of "prophetic" weeks, *i. e.* years.

their prophecy was proven by the completion of the work of the Messiah upon the earth. Thou shalt substantiate the coming (267) of the Messiah, his signs, his resurrection and his ascension — that thy word be received as true by the nations and the tribes, with the exception of the cursed Jews. For they deny [all] — saying that the Messiah has not yet come; for him who did come we have clearly crucified, killed and destroyed. In this they lie. It is part of their evil ways that they are inimical to every nation. Two of them do not meet a man without recounting his slaying.”

After this, his anger towards the Jews waxed great; and he caused me to hate, detest and curse them. Then he said,

“I wish, O blessed monk! that thou relate to me(?) the whole of this story. Tell me all that thou wishest, and I shall do for thee whatever in the world thou willst and desirest.”

I said, “I do not wish from thee any of the things of this world, neither food,<sup>1)</sup> nor watering-place, nor any other desirable thing — except only that thou assist the Christians at the time when thou and thy people are supreme in power. For they (Christians) are weak and scattered. They have been commanded to humble themselves and to bear misfortune. Among them are poor<sup>2)</sup> hermits who wander from place to place and do not desire this world, but hate its (268) goods and its pleasures, and have nought to do with them. But they flee to the wilderness<sup>3)</sup> and the desert, and live alone in the search after their creator. Do thou keep from them deceit, misfortune and wrong on the part of they people. Do thou command that neither toll nor tax be taken from them; because they hate this world. They care neither for wo-

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1) Reading ماكل?    2) Reading فقراء.    3) الحجرای?

men, nor for children, nor for riches: they do not desire any such thing. I wish further that thou command that neither tyranny nor hardship come upon any of the Christians. If thou keep these things from them, I trust that God will lengthen thy reign and make thy power lasting."

(XV, 56) "Upon me be it to command my people not to levy toll upon a monk. They shall be honoured, their needs attended to so that they may look after their affairs. In regard to all other Christians, I shall give the command that no one shall be inimical to them or jealous of them in their religious practices.) Their churches shall be kept in order, their leaders honoured. On the day of resurrection I shall be an enemy to anyone who practices tyranny towards them."<sup>2)</sup>

"May God increase thy portion and bless thee in that which he has granted thee. Thou hast already shown of what stock thou art."

"A difficulty still remains. How will my folks (57) — in my tribe and among my people — receive me as king, seeing that I am looked down upon and am poor among them?"

"Call upon prophecy first. It will open the door for thee. Thou wilt enter the dwelling; and when once within, thou wilt find the answer<sup>3)</sup>: That will be better for thee, more proper, and more becoming. For the prophets have prophecied a despised and a poor man,<sup>4)</sup> like David the prophet; than whom among his brothers there was none lower, nor more despised. Yet they received him,<sup>5)</sup> did not

1) رسوم?; cfr. رسوم الدين LANE 1085.

2) I have guessed somewhat at this translation.

3) I have translated as if the reading were الكَبِيرُ, which seems to be warranted by P;X.

4) Isaiah LIII.

5) Reading وَثُبَيْلَ. The same mistake (قبيل for قبيل) is found in the other Mss. as well.



deny or contest him. In like manner, none will deny or contradict thee, when thou sayest, 'I am the prophet of God [sent] to you'."

"But how will they believe me, seeing that I have no writing in my hand?"

"I shall teach thee every night, and thou wilt teach them [the same thing] during the day. Say to them, 'Gabriel has made it known to me. I shall teach you that which he has taught me'. I shall take it on myself to write for thee that which thou needest; and I shall tell thee [the answers to] all the questions which they may ask thee — philosophical and other. I shall teach thee by heart the answers to the questions, whether they be in regard to things appertaining to Scripture (58) or to philosophy."

"I wish you would commence and write for me something which I might repeat and learn."

Then I wrote for him, "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God".<sup>1)</sup> I mean by this the Trinity, the holy Unity; for God is the Father, the everlasting light. The merciful one is the Son who is merciful to mankind and who has bought them by his holy blood. The compassionate one is the Holy Spirit, whose compassion is over all, who dwells in every believer, teaching him that which brings him near unto the true faith.

I wrote for him a "decicive"<sup>2)</sup> Surah, well-arranged

.....

I wrote also,<sup>3)</sup> "I have caused it to come down in the night al-Ḳadr. What tells thee what is the night al-Ḳadr? The night al-Ḳadr is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit came down according to the command of their master. Everything is peace in it until the dawn will have arrived." I mean by this the great and holy night, in which the angels came down and an-

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1) The heading of the Suras.    2) Sura XLVII, 22?    3) Sura XCVII.

nounced to the shepherds the birth of our master the Redeemer in Bethlehem.

I wrote also,<sup>1)</sup> "The holy baptism with which the master was baptized at the hands of John the Baptist in the river Jordan."

I wrote also,<sup>2)</sup> "Mary, daughter of Yoyakim guarded her private parts, and we breathed therein (59) our spirit, and she verified the word of her Lord and was one of the witnesses".

I wrote,<sup>3)</sup> "O Jesus the Messiah, behold I shall make thee die and take thee up to me, and shall clear thee of the disbelief of those who disbelieve at the day of judgement". I mean by this His death and his going up to heaven and his baptizing in water all except such as deny him; and that he now has caused — for all those who followed him and believed in him, except such as denied him until the day of resurrection — the king of Rūm to appear against the king of Judah and to rule over them.

(60) I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "When thou didst take me away to thyself, thou wert the watcher over them".

I wrote, in regard to the crucifixion,<sup>5)</sup> "In thy hands I confide my spirit", i. e., he has given over his human spirit and has become a watchguard over his churches and his disciples.

I wrote,<sup>6)</sup> "They did not kill him, (61) nor did they crucify him; it only appeared so to them", i. e. the Messiah did not die in his god-person; but he died in his man-person, when they wished to break his legs on the cross like the robbers. It seemed to them that he was dead on the night that they broke the bone. That Scripture might be fulfilled: 'A bone in him ye shall not break.'<sup>7)</sup>

1) Sura II, 132.

2) Sura LXVI, 12.

3) Sura III, 48.

4) Sura V, 117.

5) *ψ* XXI, 6; not in the *Ḳur'ān*. 6) ?

7) John XIX, 32—36; cfr. Exodus XII, 46.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "And thou wilt find the nearest of them in love to thee, those who say, 'we are Christians.'" That is, because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "Verily thou wilt find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolaters". Then I saw that he thought that those who practiced idolatry were the Christians. I had not stated the matter clearly; for I would not reveal the secret to him, because I feared the ignorance of his fellows. Afterwards I explained to him that the K̄ureish are the idolaters and the proud ones.

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "Behold, the idolaters are unclean and should not come near to this house of their fellow-tribesmen" — because<sup>3)</sup> the K̄ureish were accustomed to worship idols at the entrance of the house at Mecca, remaining always near to it, bowing down to idols. He understood then that the reference was to them. So he kept them<sup>4)</sup> and prohibited them [from going] there. I assured him that this was the meaning [of the passage].

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "When ye meet (62) the idolaters around the House (*ka'bah*), drive them away, and whip them. If they fight with you, fight with them".

I wrote,<sup>6)</sup> "If Raḥmān has a son, then I am the first of the worshippers; then, strengthen them(?), perhaps there are to him other [sons]" — I mean, the first of the deniers(?).

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "Know that the servants (worshippers) are not the deniers, and the deniers not the servants".

I wrote,<sup>7)</sup> "O ye unbelievers! I do not serve him whom

1) Sura V, 85.      2) Sura IX, 28.

3) Reading لَانِ.      4) Reading مِنْهُمْ.      5) ?

6) ?; the last part of the passage is not clear at all.

7) Sura CIX.

ye serve; nor do you serve him whom I serve. I have not served him whom you have served, nor have you served him whom I have served; to you, your faith; to me, mine."

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "When you swear allegiance, make a profession amongst yourselves", i. e. the profession of the Father and the Holy Ghost made by the Son at the river Jordan, in a voice heard by John the Baptist, together with all those who have the faith of two persons in one through the medium of a single substance — God the everlasting, one, living, intelligent.

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "The Jews say, 'God's hand is fettered'; their hand is fettered, and they are cursed because of that which they said", i. e. the Jews refer to the Messiah who is upon the cross; he freed others, but was unable to free himself, 'Now come down from the cross that we may see and believe'.<sup>3)</sup> (63) In doing so they intended to mock him and to show his powerlessness, that he was weak and had no might.

I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "And if thou art in doubt of that which we have sent down to thee, ask those to whom the book has been given before thee". By this I mean the proof that the holy Gospel is truer than all other books, nor can any reproach touch it on the part of those who wish to throw discredit upon it, nor can change or alteration affect it.

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "And when Jesus the Messiah said to the Apostles, 'Who are my helpers for God?', the Apostles said, 'we are God's helpers'. A party of the children of Israel believed, and a party disbelieved. And we aided those who believed against their enemies, and they were on the morrow superior." I mean, when the Messiah said to his disciples, 'whom, say ye, am I?', they said, 'thou art the

1) Sura II, 282?

2) Sura V, 69.

3) Luke XXIII, 39 *etc.*

4) Sura X, 94.

5) Sura LXI, 14.

Messiah, son of God, the living one'. Then he praised them and commended [them for] this, and called them "Helpers of God".<sup>1)</sup> Some of the children of Israel believed in him, some disbelieved. We aided those who believed against their enemies. Then, on the morrow, they were superior [i. e.] on the day of resurrection, among those who died. Certain (64) beings believed<sup>2)</sup> in him; he raised them up and made great their kingdom and power over those who denied him up to the day of resurrection.

Many other things I wrote for him, too numerous to mention, by which I sought to turn him to a belief in the truth and a recognition of the coming of the Messiah into the world, and the condemnation of the Jews in regard to that which they say of our Lord, the true Messiah.

He said to me, "How shall I commence to establish religion and law among them?"

I answered, "If thou give them laws and ordain prescriptions — will it not be easy for you to pave the way?"

"But my companions are Arabs, Bedouins, careless. They are not accustomed to fasting or prayers — nor to anything that causes them trouble and pain."

"Thou wilt have no success unless thou commence by accustoming them to fasting and prayer. Give them signs, until they learn and know that thou art a prophet sent to them; [tell them]<sup>3)</sup> that one shall not lord it over another, doing that which is not lawful. If thou doest not this, thou wilt have no kingdom; nothing will succeed for thee, nor will anything thou doest be permanent."

"What thinkest thou if I should ordain a fast for them

1) A novel interpretation of the word انصار!

2) Reading, with X, آمن. This is also the reading of D.

3) The brackets can be removed, if we read وننهى شريعة, which agrees somewhat with the reading of D.

and prayer, and they keep [them] not? How shall I do to prevent my (65) offending them?"

"Say to them, fast ye from the morning until the night; and eat from the beginning of the night until the morning, when you can make the distinction at dawn between a white and a black thread."

"If I should ordain prayer for them, and they do not observe it — for they are not accustomed to it — what, think you, shall I do?"

"Place them in rows back of thee, thou being in front of them. When the rows are many, do thou stand up as their Imām, praying with them. When thou bendest thy head, they will bend their head. When thou raisest it, they will raise their head. When thou bowest, they will bow. When thou risest up, they will rise up. They will learn this, and will accustom themselves to it. In this there is no tiring nor fatiguing. The fatigue will be [only] for him who is before them. Show them three Rak'as in every prayer, that they be not troubled and go away." I showed him everything in regard to the praying three times. I showed him how every prayer should be performed. I commenced with the three prayers [which one ought to pray], the first thing after rising — until the prayer at which one spreads out the hands and places them on the ears, a witness to the Trinity and the head (66) of the faith. Then I made every Rak'ah which goes with the prayers, he bending his head and raising it. Then he prostrated himself, sat down and bowed, and arose. Again I bore witness to the one Trinity at the end of his prayer; he turning his face to the right and saying '[Peace] to you and the love of God!' [Then he turned his face to the left and spake in the same manner; and in front of him also.]<sup>1)</sup> I explained to him<sup>2)</sup> the word of God, "thou

1) Added from DX.

2) Reading  $\alpha$ .

art peace, from thee is peace, and to thee is peace" i. e. the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God. His word and his spirit are from him; the Son is born of him and returns to him. The Holy Spirit has come from him, and is joined to him.')

Then I said, "Fasting and prayer are only permissible with cleansing and with washing in clear water".

"And how is this cleansing, and this washing in clear water? Teach me this!"

"The great cleansing is hidden; find it in the similar cleansing which is necessary in conjunction with every prayer."

"Tell me, how is this?"

"Place the vessel at thy right hand and anoint thy head with water, the tips of thy ears, and the fore-part of thy mouth. By this I mean a similitude of the Trinity. This cleansing pertains to (67) the washing. But this is not the full washing, as that which I have said before will already have shown thee."

"And what is this cleansing? Let me know it also."

"Washing thy face, hands, and feet. By this I mean a resemblance to the Trinity."')

"How many prayers can I lay upon them for each day? They are a people not accustomed to prayer."

"Lay upon them the duty of seven prayers each day, as the Christians read with each prayer a long Psalm, with three hymns and offerings of incense. Then let them gather for worship with many prostrations and free prayers."

"They will not be able to do this. They will not follow me — nor will they receive from me anything like this."

1) Reading *منبتق منه ومع مشقق*.

2) The ordinary ablution preparatory to prayer, and secondly the washing of the whole body; LANE, *Manners and Customs* I, 97.

“Then make their prayers short — three ejaculations with the prostrations. Do thou neither increase them nor diminish them, [but do] just as I have told thee. Let there be seven prayers at seven [different] times which they may learn. Let the first be three hours before dawn, which we call al-saḥr. Do thou call it for them al-fajr. Let the second be at the first hour of the day, which we call ‘the first (68) prayer’. Do thou call it for them al-subḥ. [Let the third be at the third hour of the day, which we call ‘the third prayer’.]<sup>1)</sup> Do thou call it for them al-ḍaḥā. The fourth is at the sixth hour of the day. We call it the sixth. Do thou call it for them al-ṭuhr. The fifth shall be at the ninth hour of the day.<sup>2)</sup> We call it the ninth. Do thou call it for them al-‘asr. The sixth, which is at the end of the day, is called among us, “the evening prayer”. Do thou call it for them “the evening prayer”. The seventh is after nightfall. We call it ‘the prayer of sleep’. Do thou call it for them al-‘ishā.”

“To what place hast thou commanded them to turn their faces, they being gathered in the Temple, in which they pray to idols?”

“Cause them to pray facing the rising sun; because (69) from it comes all light and brightness, and every star takes its rise. Under it is the garden of Eden — Paradise — beneath which flow the rivers.”

Then I said to him, “Command them to toll the bell,<sup>2)</sup> that every one may know the time of prayer, in order that they may come to thee in large numbers”. He then came back to me and said that he had commanded them to bow down to the East and to pray to it; but that they had risen up against him saying, “we will not obey you in disregarding the Kiblah to which we and our fathers

1) Reading according to D.

2) On نائفوس, see JACOB, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern* III, 122.



before us have been accustomed, so as to pray to something else," and they have reproached me.

Say to them, "God has commanded me that you shall pray to the Temple at Mecca," and pray thou with them to it.

He came back and said to me, "How long shall I command them to fast; for they are not able to fast [a long time]".

"Command them one month, so that they become accustomed to it and know it."

"But they do not know what a month is — neither when (70) it begins nor when it ends. For they are Bedouins; they are not accustomed to this, and they do not keep count."

"Say to them, 'fast until the New Moon appears'. Commence at its appearance, so that they have no necessity to count or to number." I taught him many things, and made him comprehend how to count. I desired [only] that which should lead him to the proper faith, to the certain truth. I attested to him all that had happened in regard to our Master, our Lord Jesus and his coming; that he is the word of God and his spirit. As part of this attestation, I wrote for him,<sup>1)</sup> O Miriam, behold, God gives thee good tidings with his word. His name is the Messiah. I proved to him in the Bible his coming to this world, his becoming flesh from Mary the virgin; that she remained a virgin after having given birth — in order that this should be a witness to the Christians of his coming to this earth, and of his having done signs and wonders in regard to his rising from the dead (71) and his ascent to heaven. (For, in regard to this, he had prophecies from the prophets, and clear proof from the messages, and testimonies from the whole world); and the confusion of the Jews by his coming to the earth, and [the reputation of]

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1) Sura III, 40.

their contention that he is not the Messiah. I knew that this youth would come to power; that there would be to him a rule unsurpassed [by any other], great prowess, much strength, and a name known unto the ends of the earth; in accordance with that which I had seen in regard to him in visions upon Mt. Sinai, and what I had read in the Thorah; what Methodius had told me, and what I had read in other books — that there would be to him great kingship and mighty rule, and that the sons of Ishmael should be widely known upon the earth; and that not one of the kings who should oppose them should be able to stand before them, until their rule be finished, their time ended and their prowess turn [from them]. I certified to him the coming of the true Messiah in his god-form and man-form, the oneness of his name, the acknowledgement of him by the Christians in his continued greatness; and that the one who should come after him is the false Messiah who misleads everyone that follows him: in order that he might be a witness for us, and his book after him; agiving the lie to the Jews. I wished also to tell him the hidden secret, (72) which the Lord had not disclosed. But his understanding could not encompass this; there remaining in his head the belief of Arius, the cursed one, the heretic, the denier, who said: I believe that the Messiah is the word of God and the son of God, but divided, unequal<sup>1)</sup> and isolated. He had forgotten the words of the prophets, full of proof, clear and intelligible, the evident testimonies and certain signs. Then the youth came back to me saying, "If they ask me in regard to Paradise — what shall I answer them?"

"Say to them,<sup>2)</sup> "He has prepared for you a garden, under which flow rivers, in which you shall live for ever. In it are fruits not cut off. In it are birds of whatever kind you wish, and a multitude of other good things."

1) Reading خَسَا لا.

2) A mixture of Suras 56, 61 etc.?

“But if they ask me in regard to these rivers which flow from Paradise, what shall I say to them?”

“Say to them,<sup>1)</sup> the four rivers which flow from the garden are:— a river of water, a river of wine, a river of honey, and a river of milk, delicious to those that drink”. I mean that the four rivers which flow from the garden and water the world are a sign, (73) proof, and revelation of the Messiah, as was predicted of him in Scripture, that he would send forth from his belly rivers to water the world, i. e. the four Gospels, which have watered the whole world, and have brought it into the right path. For I see that people desire only the wish of their hearts and their own ease. For this reason I promise them that which they love, i. e. that they shall eat in it (the garden), drink and have a pleasant time.

“But, if they ask me, are there in Paradise any women whom we may enjoy, what shall I answer them?”

“Say to them,<sup>2)</sup> in it are bright and beautiful Houris, with whom the men may play every day — virgins, like unto moons, whom neither man nor jinn hath touched. Their height and breadth are so and so much(?)” (He was not ashamed to mention these and similar things.) I gave him a clear account of the garden — its food and its drinks, its pleasures, its joys, its Houris, its vegetation, its castles, its walls, its horses, its clothing and vestments, its drinks and its vines.

“Thou hast well taught and instructed me and advised me to first teach them the law, showing clearly to them the ordinances. I have taught them that which thou hast related to me. But they did not understand. Do thou now make an extract for them — such as their understanding is able to comprehend. With it thou wilt quiet their souls. This will be for them a steadfast law, to which they can accustom themselves. It will not be un-

1) Sura XLVII, 16.

2) Sura LVI, 22.

intelligible to them. For, it will not need (74) any examination, nor [be subject to] any controversy. Thus they will not become disobedient and return to the service of idols, to which they are accustomed."

"If thy people are accustomed to them and look upon them as gods, say to them, recite it in an abbreviated form; for the true faith consists in their saying "*lā ilāha illa-llāhu*". Do you become Moslems. For, verily, God has said to me, 'I wish Islam to be your religion'." By this I mean the Islam of the Messiah; that they may have a name together with the first name with which I called them, [and which] may last for them until the end of their rule.

Then I said to him, "Forbidden to you are celibacy, and blood, and the flesh of swine. Let them have a festival every week — which shall be for them a well-known ordinance. When Friday comes, command them to collect at thy bidding in the Mosque, from every place. Do thou pray with them and advise them not to fight with one another, but that they assist each other and rejoice<sup>1)</sup> [with each other] (75) as the Christians do in their churches on the first day. Let them glorify it, because it is a glorious day, the day of the saving of the world; the day on which Adam was created at the time of mid-day prayers.<sup>2)</sup> Let their prayers, therefore, be on Friday at mid-day."

"Thou didst tell me that the prayers of the Christians are long — but my people can not support such lengths."

»Then order for them three Rak'as with each prayer, as the Christians pray upon entering the church; for each one prays for himself, before he takes his place back of the Imām. Therefore, do thou come to the assembly, and let thy people pray standing back of thee. If any of thy

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1) The sense is not clear; D has "cry out and rejoice".

2) A Jewish tradition.

people pray for himself, let him neither add to nor diminish the prayers said in the assembly."

After a while he came back to me burdened with care and said, "My people have answered me, we wish thou wouldst make it clear and certain to us that thou art a prophet, and that what thou sayest is true; in order that we may believe that thou art sent to us with a prophecy, so as to lead us away from the service of our Gods".

"Say to them, God has sent me a book from heaven, in which he has promised me that on the seventh day he will bring me messages which can not (76) [now?] be mentioned, which will instruct me as Noah was instructed in the ship, together with unspeakable messages in regard to the removal of the water from off the face of the earth. In like manner he will give you direction in regard to the removal of error from your hearts, and the impressing of the faith in your breasts by tales and stories and narratives. They shall be witnessed to by prophecies and divine messages."

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "Muhammad is the prophet of God. He hath sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it prevail over every other religion, averse although idolaters may be."

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "Muhammad is but an Apostle; Apostles have passed away before his time". Also,<sup>3)</sup> "Verily, God and his angels pray for the prophet. O, ye who believe, pray for him and salute him with a salutation". Also,<sup>4)</sup> "We have omitted nothing in the book". Many other important things I wrote for him and taught him. But I know it will be changed, added to and diminished many times. For, after him will come people who will be our enemies, acting shamefully towards us and the like.

1) Sura IX, 33. 2) Sura II, 138. 3) Sura XXXIII, 56. 4) Sura VI, 38.

Everyone will think that good which is pleasing to him. After him, they will change the greater part of that which I have written for him. A people allied to him will arise, will make war upon the king and the dynasty, and will kill many of its people. (77) Dissensions and enmity will enter among them after his death. There shall be fear and trembling because of the Bedouins, until the end of their dynasty and the turn<sup>1)</sup> of their rule. There shall not cease from among them enmity and hatred and ugly talk. Men will see the killing of their brethren in the neighbourhood of the Sanctuary and will not turn aside, except it be with the sword [in hand].

Then he came to me saying, "I have done that which thou didst bid me do, and didst show me. They are willing to listen to thy promises."

I answered, "I have already written for you a book full of wisdom. In it is everything thou needest — similitudes,<sup>2)</sup> stories, tales of the true prophets, narratives of the righteous martyrs, beautiful exhortations, clear proofs, by means of which prophecy and the Apostolic function are verified for you: that which He has commanded who has sent you with prophecy, guidance and the true religion. Nothing<sup>3)</sup> is omitted in the book."

I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "Verily, we have given you al-Kauthar.<sup>4)</sup> So pray to thy Lord and slaughter victims. Verily, he who hates thee shall be childless." By this I mean the assertion of the Trinity of persons, the proclamation of the divine Unity, the slaughtering of the clean Pascal lamb, without blemish.

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "I have created man and jinn only (78) that they should serve me". By this I mean the Unity — God, the Creator, the Living, the Intelligent.

1) Reading *فِتْنَاء* with DX. 2) Reading *مَثَائِل* (?) = *امثال*.

3) Reading *اِنَّه* for *له*, as DX. 4) Sura CVIII, 1. 5) Sura LI, 56.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "And do not wrangle with the people of the Book, except for what is better". By this I mean, that they should not discourse with the people of the Gospel except in kindly discourse, nor trouble [them] with what is not true; but they should speak the truth.

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "You wish to extinguish the light of God". By this I mean that He is the light, everlasting, all-knowing, the Creator.

I wrote,<sup>3)</sup> "O Mary, verily God has chosen thee, and has purified thee above the women of the world". By this I mean the affirmation of the praise which is to be given to the pure one, the Virgin, the Mother of light.

Then he came to me saying, "A number of men and of tribes have risen up against me. They are rough and violent, untutored and of great prowess. They have acted disgustingly to me; have lorded it over me, have given themselves airs, disdaining intercourse with me, and treating me with derision. They would not receive [the message] from me, saying that there are among the Arabs men of greater account than myself. But [in reality] I am nobler than they are, both as regards paternal and maternal descent. I can do nothing with them, and have no power over them; because they are rough by nature, leagued one with the other. I can not bear their mischief, their evil-doing and their opposition."

I answered him, "Do not be sad: (79) I shall make thee able to cope with this affair". I then wrote in the book,<sup>4)</sup> "O ye folk! Verily, we have created you races and tribes, that ye may know each other. Verily, the most honourable among you in the sight of God is the most pious."

I wrote also,<sup>5)</sup> "The Arabs say, 'We believe'; Then say, 'Ye do not believe, for the faith has not entered into

1) Sura XXIX, 45.

2) ?

3) Sura III, 37.

4) Sura XLIX, 13.

5) Sura XLIX, 14.

your heart'. Say, 'We have become Muslims'." By this I meant, that the true faith is the faith in the Messiah; and Islam is the Islam of his pupil . . . .<sup>1)</sup>

All these similitudes I wrote for him, and removed from him the obsession<sup>2)</sup> [which was on him] and the trouble [which he feared to have] in this matter.

Then he said to me, "When wilt thou send to me the book?"

I answered, "I am not able to send it with a man; lest he should not take proper care of it. I have already explained to thee before this that it will be sent to thee by a messenger who can not speak. I shall place the book in the right horn of a cow. I shall let her walk amongst the herd. And when she will come to you, do you all sit together [waiting] for the affair, that you may attend to it. When she will be coming in the herd, and when thou seest her from a distance, coming amongst them, do thou jump up on thy feet; approach her with fear and trembling — they in the mean-time will be watching thee — and take the book from upon her horn. Put it upon thy eyes, (80) and rub thy face with it in front of them. Say to them,<sup>3)</sup> "Praise be to God who hath sent me the right direction, that we walk in the proper way. Praise be to God who hath led us, for we were not among those who were led aright." Behold! I have written in the very first part of the book,<sup>4)</sup> "That which is in heaven and upon the earth praise Allah, the king, the holy, the mighty, the wise. He it is who hath sent me yesterday a prophet amongst themselves to recite to them his signs and to teach them the book and the wisdom, although they were before in obvious error." Now, when thou wilt have gotten the book, say to them, "This is the mighty

1) The text has "his pupil the Messiah", which is quite evidently a mistake.

2) *I. e.* المرونة, as in D.

3) Sura VII, 41?      4) Sura LXII, 1.



book which Allah has sent down from heaven. And since there was no one of sufficient merit to receive or bring it, this cow bore it, perfect, clean, and without fault, as his word had promised me in truth, I shall send it thee by a messenger who can not speak." Then the youth did as I had commanded him, and called this book *Furkân*,<sup>1)</sup> because it was made up of parts which were collected from many books.

Then<sup>2)</sup> Bahira took up the word and said, There will come many frightful things and many (81) afflictions. Much blood will be spilt in different countries; for Allah will turn his face away from the whole earth in the year 1050 of the Alexandrine Aera. The Arabs will then kill their king, and there will be great slaughter among them for one week. Then will come to an end the rule of those twelve kings, of whom Allah said to Abraham, "Twelve princes shall go forth from thy loins". Then will come into power the mighty Banū Hāshim; and God will punish all men and beasts and wild animals. They will devastate the earth and possess themselves of it; of the trees, of the waters and of all that move therein. After this, the Banū Hāshim will become illustrious. The hair of their heads will increase like that of women. Not even this will be sufficient; but in their days there shall be hunger and death and pouring out of much blood. In these times men shall be a pray for the birds of heaven and the wild beasts of the earth. Their yoke will become more powerful than it was beforehand for the space of seven halves [of weeks]. Men will have to sell all they possess because of the tax [laid upon them]. And when

1) It will hardly do, with GRIMME, *Mohammed II*, 73, to connect this term with the Hebrew *Pîrek*. It is evidently the Aramaic *furkân*, so common especially in the New Testament. It has even passed over into the Armenian, HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG XLVI, 252. Cfr. also GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed*, etc. p. 56; NÜLDEKE, *Geschichte des Qorâns* 25.

2) It is evident that something new commences here.

all their possessions will be spent, they will sell their sons and their daughters in order to pay the head-tax. (82) Then they will flee from country to country on account of great injustice [done them] and because of the tax. When all their hope will be cut off, and their fleeing avail them nought, when nothing is left for them, — then will they return to Him: At that time, all those who have no faith, deep and strong, in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah, and do not know the end and the result, and the recompense which Allah will mete out to the just, as he says in the holy Gospel,<sup>1)</sup> 'those who look forward to the mighty things, the hunger and the thirst, their righteousness shall increase; but those who are the contrary of this, for them is no hope, when [these things] come upon them' — such ones will deny the Messiah, and will not remember that which he has done for them. For, behold, he has bought them by his blood, and has made them free by giving up his own self. Nor do they remember the recompense which will come to them afterwards, when they will have waited for the torments which are to come (83) upon them.

But those who have a strong faith and a beautiful belief and a perfect hope in our Lord Jesus Christ — He will satisfy their hope in him: he will bless them, their houses, their sons and their daughters, their dwelling place, their cities and their lands. He will free them from the service of the Arabs, and the oppression of the sons of Hāshim. At the same time the sons of Hashim will increase rejoicing upon rejoicing, greatness upon greatness, power upon power. They will devastate the great countries, in which the former kings ruled. They will become mighty, possessed of Babylon, holding it in iron. The land of Babylon will [then] be full of people of every nationality, taken from the four corners of the globe. At

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1) ?

this time the wisdom of the wise will be brought to nought, and fools will be exalted. The wise man will be despised, and the man of understanding foolish, the temperate man (84) an idiot. Truth will be falsehood, and falsehood truth. At such a time all this will seem proper, because they have made for themselves laws and statutes which are unintelligible, so that right and its demands are [looked upon as] folly, mercy departs from mankind to such a degree that fathers have no pity upon their children,<sup>1)</sup> and children none upon their fathers. One brother declares the other a liar and casts dirt upon his relatives; the trees sprout not, the earth does not give forth its product; the wide places and the hills do not cause their seed to grow; the rains will not come in due time; summer will come in winter, and winter in summer. At that time there will not be a year, in which the thunder of God does not bring down upon the earth either cold or frost, heat, grasshoppers, pest, killing, or destruction. Signs will appear in the heavens: (85) they will become obscured. Dust will come down from the sky, and the stars will not shine. Then will the Arabs become as numerous as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea. Mosques will be built at the very doors of churches, in the market-places, in the very midst of the land, among graves and caves, near dwelling-places and houses. And when they (the Arabs) will hear the voice of the Muezzin, they will all go in haste to pray in the Mosque, which will be so full of them that they stand in rows at the entrance to the Mosque. When they do this, know that the end of their rule is come, and their return from Syria to the land of their fathers is at hand. Hāshim will beget seven kings — one called by two names, two called by one, two [whose names] are in the Thorah, one with six letters and one with seven letters to his name.<sup>2)</sup>

1) Sura LXXX; *cf.* Mark XIII, 13; Luke XII, 53.

2) D reads "One shall be called Yāsmīn, two Yāsim; two shall be

Now, when all this will have happened, know that the end of the reign of the Banū Hāshim is at hand. One will awaken the other, as one is awakened from sleep. Everyone will say of his own self, to me belongs the rule. Then will God cause them to destroy each other (86) in anger; thereby causing their destruction and annihilation. One will call out "pfui!" to the other.

After this, their power will be taken away, and given to al-Mahdī, son of 'Alī, son of Fāṭimah, who will come to them from the West, from the mountain Nānus.<sup>1)</sup> He will requite them according to their deeds, will cast down cities, their palm-trees and their fortresses, so that they become a dwelling-place for the birds of heaven. Then will come to pass for them the word of David the prophet, "Woe to thee, O Babylon, Woe to thee, O Shin'ar, and city of the Chaldaeans".

In the days of Mahdī ibn Fāṭimah there shall be release and peace, the like of which has never been seen in the world. He will carry out the will of Muḥammad his father, and of his descendants [who came?] after him. There will be, from the time of the first Muḥammad until the last Muḥammad — in whose reign their rule shall cease — twenty-four kings of the sons of Muḥammad.

After this there shall come from the West [a man] of the sons of Sufyān,<sup>2)</sup> clothed in clothings of blood. He will drive the sons of Ishma'el to the mountain Athrab.<sup>3)</sup>

in the law; one with six letters; and the last, his name shall be with seven".

1) D: Tābūs; X: Bānūs. I can make nothing out of this name. *Bānūs* is the name of a river near Damascus (*Yāqūt* I, 482). *Nānas* occurs as the name of a city of the Urṭāyē in Southern Armenia. LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca* II, 192, 1. Cfr. also NÖLDEKE, ZDMG XXXIII, 163; JENSEN in this *Zeitschrift* VI, 67.

2) The reading of X. A has سفطان, D سيفان.

3) The Syriac versions have *Jathrib*, i. e. يثرب, Ptolemy etc. *Ia-θριβη*, Sabaeen יתרב (HALÉVY, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, 90).

They will kill (87) men and women, old and young — without pity. Then will come from the West those who are yellow . . . .<sup>1)</sup> They will enter the promised land and reach up to Syria. There they will be destroyed by the lion, i. e. al-Mahdī son of 'Āisha.<sup>2)</sup> His anger and his wrath will be directed against the sons of Ishma'el and the Christians. He will destroy churches and monasteries and pull down altars. There will be such a tumult in the world, the like of which has never been seen. Those who die of hunger will be more numerous than those who die by the sword. Many of those who belong to the church will go astray from the truth, will betake themselves to the Satans and will sacrifice to them. In those days, men will say to the mountains, 'fall upon us!', and to the hills, 'cover us up!'. But he who continues to hope until the end will remain alive.<sup>3)</sup>

When all this will have come to pass, know that the destruction of the world is at hand. Then one will come from the East, like unto the sun, the greatest of all kings, clad in garments of green.<sup>4)</sup> There will be (88) peace in the world, the like of which never was before. Contracts will be observed; the truth will appear. A king of the sons of Ishma'el will arise, will destroy the Roman power, and will possess himself of the world for a week and a half-week. Then the winds will be driven forth, and king-

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According to *Yāqūt* (I, 117) Athrib is one of the old names of al-Madīnah; *cfr.* SPRENGER, *Leben Muhammeds* II, 1. There was a division of Egypt called *Atrib* (*Yāqūt* I, 111); but that is out of the question.

1) I do not understand the word in the Ms. Evidently there is some reference here to the Europaeans or the Franks (Crusaders?). *See* the literature mentioned in Dozy, *Supplément* s. v. *أصفر*.

2) *I. e.*, a Mahdī of the family of Mohammed; but not, necessarily, of the direct descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭimah.

3) Matthew XXIV, 13.

4) The colour of the descendants of the Prophet; WRIEL, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 216.

doms will arise, one after the other. The Turks will come forth — they who are like unto the beasts. They will fight among themselves. The gates of the West(?)<sup>1</sup> will open and Gog and Magog will come forth, they who are like unto the dogs. They will kill all flesh that is upon the earth. Then will come forth the king of destruction, having the likeness of a serpent. He will swallow up everything in one hour, and not show mercy. Then will God collect them into one place, and will send against them the angel of his wrath who will kill them in one hour. There will be great joy unto the righteous, which will never come to an end, and unto the sinners punishment and gnashing of teeth until the end of time.

(89) Now I, Murhib the monk, remained in the cell with Bahira for a long time. He told me the whole of this story. I understood well all that he told me: for this I vouch. He explained to me all its particulars, the reasons and arguments which he gave me in person. Then he added, "Do not blame me, nor permit those who hear it to blame me, for that which I have done and occasioned".

Says al-Murhib, After that the spirit of prophecy with which he had prophesied had left him, Bahira sighed and wept over the sins which he had committed in disobedience to God. I also wept on his account and said, "God will have mercy upon his servants who believe in his resurrection". He turned to me saying, "O brother Murhib! I know that I have brought a grievous sin upon myself by reason of what I have done — especially, for that which this book contains. I know that it will, some day, fall into the hands of some of the Christians. (90) They will blame me for what I have done to them: for I know that I have strengthened the power of the enemy over them, [which will remain] until the end of his rule and [until] its completion, [until] that which will finally

1) Reading الغرب, with D? But one expects "the East"!

come over them at the end of that time — to change which is not in their power. But even before I had seen the vision which I had on Mt. Sinai, I had already searched the rest of the books of the prophecy (91) of the prophets and the Thorah, and that which the wise men had told in all their wisdom by means of the conjunction of the stars in their courses(?),<sup>1)</sup> and the decisions [arrived at] thereby, and that which points to the rule of the sons of Ishma'el, who are the very worst of men, and to the power given to them by God over his servants. After this, I saw the vision which I have explained to you in this my book. I was commanded to do what I have done — of which I have made mention — in regard to the different kingdoms, the secret of which I have put down in this book without any fear. Now do thou write down the end of my evil deeds. In regard to that which I have written in the book which I have composed, there is witness to it both in prophecy and in divine message; as well as in regard to that which I have stated in it regarding God and our Master and Lord, the Messiah; and what I have announced in it regarding God, and in regard to our Master and Lord, the Messiah, and my opinion that this prophecy should be in the name of the unified Trinity — Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But he was not able to mention this; because both he and I were forced to keep silence in regard to God.

For I wished to get confirmation for the rule of the sons of Ishma'el, in order that the promise of God to Abraham might be fulfilled in regard to Ishma'el. I never occupied myself with anything else to the same degree: but I tried to establish the truth of prophecy in regard to him. I composed a book about him. I made out (92) that he was a receiver of inspirations, only that might be fulfilled the word of our Lord, the Messiah, [as it is written]

1) Is this a derivative of **اثر**?

in the holy Gospels, "False prophets will surely come to you after I am gone. Woe unto him that follows them".<sup>1)</sup> And the greater part of this book I have filled with the mention of the god-character and human character [of Jesus] and the pure mother of light, and the wonderful things which He did with the children of Israel. I certified to the curse which rests upon the children of Israel. To this I joined [an account of] the Christians. But after a few days he came and said that not one of his fellows was able to repeat any of the things regarding religion which I had explained to him; that they cared solely<sup>2)</sup> for the worship of their idols. In order that might be fulfilled the word of our Lord, the Messiah, [as is written] in the Gospels, "No one of those who come to me shall be able to do anything, except such as are chosen of the Father who is in heaven".

I wrote also,<sup>3)</sup> "Say, he is one God, the everlasting God; who begets not and is not begotten. Nor is there like unto him anyone". I said to him, "Tell them that this verse has been revealed to me because my sin (93) towards God was in likening him to the one they had been accustomed to serve. I had pictured him as eternal, separate; neither hearing nor seeing, like to a stone: all this with the annihilation of my hope(?)".

I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "O Jesus, son of Mary, is it thou who didst say to man, take me and my mother for two Gods, in addition to God. He said, Praised be thou! what ails thee that I should say what I have no right to? If I had said it, thou wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in the soul; but I know not what is in thy soul. Verily! thou art one who knowest the unseen." Then I put down [that] the return to it (former belief) was blame-

1) Matthew XXIV, 11.

2) Adding  $\bar{y}$ , as in D.

3) Sura CXII. 4) Sura V, 116.



worthy; and much more like this, from the beginning unto the end. He then brought up the subject of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and I told him all that I had in mind.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "Those who believe what is sent down to thee, and whatever of truth has been sent down before thee, verily! the most of them have no knowledge". By this I meant the pure and holy Gospel; that it is the truth; that who (94) adduces anything against it speaks with a human voice, is a doubter, and a sinner unto his own self. He will [at some future time] ask God for forgiveness of the sins which he has committed. Then I said to him, "God is the merciful forgiver".

Whereupon he turned to me saying, "O man! Everyone commits sins, hoping afterwards to receive mercy from his Father. But I have committed a sin,<sup>2)</sup> for which there is no forgiveness. I commenced with a great and horrible affair. I was possessed of an extreme love of my own person. I looked out only for that which could be of advantage to my own self — vile and devilish as it was. O Murhib! seest thou not, how I loved nothing beyond my own person; how I left my dwelling-place and came to this desert, forbidding and waste, and how I have sown in it for me evil seed which remains for me to all time, which calls to mind the sower and the false oats he has sown. In thus sowing, I have brought myself into a fire, the flame of which ceases not to burn. I have come out from the fire like one that is lost. I am judged because of the sin which (95) I have committed towards my master and my God, by what I have said in regard to him and which he had not commanded me by prophecy during the days of that man who claimed [to have received] prophecy and message. This came through my saying of him, "the gate which I have opened for him is

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1) ?    2) Read **أخطيت**.

the most difficult of all gates [to pass through]. I made out the false to be true, and sought to prove that right which was wrong, and by imputing to the Messiah that which was not proper — biting wolves, vipers, and wild beasts, destroying [everything]. Over tribes which were living in safety, I brought tribes which made them despicable. I pictured them as lowering their heads under the rule of other nations. I compelled them to pay a tax until the end of their life. I made existence hard for them. Yet after all that I have just related to thee, the Christians did not stray from God and his Messiah, whom he had sent for the redemption of the world and its end. Happy are those of his servants who hold out all the time of the rule of this people in the last year.

Then I, Murhib, said to him, "Wait for the mercy of God, who has shown thee his signs (96) in the heavens, and by his visions, has signalled thee out of many of his creatures. He it is who receives the repentance of those who return to him — though even [this occur] only a short time before a man's death." His soul was pacified at these words, and he said, "I shall now write what remains".

Bahira, the monk, continued, After this he came to me, weeping and said, 'O Monk! Thou art the man who has done all this to me'. I said, 'What is the matter?' He answered, 'My friends and relatives tell me that every prophet has come doing wonders, as regards the reviving of the dead, causing strange things to appear, and the like. But thou comest with nothing of all this. We will not receive any prophecy from thee unless thou give us such an assurance'. To this I answered, 'I shall satisfy thee in regard to this, so help me Allah! Then I wrote for him, "Nought hinders us from sending the signs, save that') those of you said they were lies: so we gave

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1) Read *ألا إن*; Sura XVII, 61 and XCI, 14.

Thamūd the visible she-camel; but they wounded it: so God the Lord gave them over to destruction". (97) I calmed him with these words because a camel had been sent to the Thamūd from an unknown place. In addition to this, [I told him] words composed by the Holy Spirit, treating of other people who had raised up the dead, as Ezekiel. This passage(?) was displeasing to him.

After this, he came and said, "My people are debauchees and love marriage". I answered, "In the book are allowed them five, six — up to ten; and of what they have become possessed, as far as their means permit." I said this because he had acquired possession of a maiden; and wished by this verse, to show his wives that it had been sent down from heaven in order that they should ease their minds in regard to him in this affair; for God had permitted the Nikāh to him; and this passage was . . . . in this book.

I taught him, further, that he had been carried up to heaven; and I told him what I had seen, when the angels took me up to heaven. I related everything to him, without omitting to teach him a single thing. I made him say to them, "I rode (98) upon the lightnings to the Temple". Behold! they asked him to pardon their sins. It was difficult for him to answer them in regard to this and other things. I quickly went over with him the story of Gabriel, and [told him] of the strength of the lightning in the night, in which he took to flight. But when he told this story to his friends, they gave him the lie, saying: "We do not wish you to give us any more stories about heaven. Tell us something about the Temple, and what is in it." He answered, "Give me time to ask my Master". This they did; and he came to me in sadness saying, "I have taught them [everything]; but they have not received a word of what I have told them. They now ask me for an account of the Temple." Then I gave him a complete description of the Temple and added, "Say to them,

I have asked my master and he has promised me to send it upon the wings of Gabriel in order that I may describe it to you, piece by piece." He did as I had commanded him. Then I wrote for him,<sup>1)</sup> "Praised be He who took his servant a journey by night from the sacred Mosque to the remote Mosque, the precinct of which we have blessed". I wrote for him, "He hovered until he was two bows' length off or nigher still".

I so arranged it (99) that everyone of his people who should come after him should not understand and should not comprehend this passage: because [in reality] he neither went up nor did he come down; nor did he prophecy, nor was he sent. But [I did this] at the behest of my master, the great, the forgiving one, the merciful one. [Thus] the will of God was carried out through me — and his design in regard to his servants.

After a few days, he came to me saying, "I passed by the house of one of my friends, Zaid. I passed him by and came to his wife. I looked at her and conceived a great affection for her. I wish thee to help me in this matter, because thou hast been ready for me with all manner of reasons. There is nothing which thou canst not accomplish for me: thou hast already made me a great leader and a dignity among my fellows and among the other Arabs." I answered, "I shall write for thee a verse which they shall not be able to mistake. Say thou to them, 'Gabriel has brought this verse down'." I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "Now when Zaid will have finished his affair with her, we did wed thee to her, O Muḥammad". I did for him many other things like this: all of them had nothing in common with prophecy, and this was displeasing to his followers. I composed and wrote for him that God would be merciful to him. In addition to this, I gave him still further assistance. In the greater part of that which I

1) Sura XVII, 1.      2) Sura XXXIII, 36.

wrote for him, one part contradicted the other; one (100) verse abrogated another. I wrote a book for him, the like of which is not to be found in the books of the prophets: for in these books nothing like it is to be found. For with every other religious book, the author himself brought it; but of this one I wrote the verses, and their names: ك ص ع ي ؤ (1) and another (آل<sup>2</sup>) "this is the book, there is, no doubt, therein a guide to the pious". By this I meant only the pure Gospel, and those who possess it are the pious ones. It refers to God the first, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

I added:— "the explanation of this book is known only to the living God and to the very wise, I made it so, in order that everyone who comes after him will find in it that of which he is in search. It is a work, for which I have not provided an explanation like [other] books. I intended that everyone who come after him should explain it to the best of his ability; so that I gave no explanation other than that found in the book itself. I knew well that in it were things, about which later generations would differ; that they would make changes, add to it and take away from it, and write in it that which is pleasing to themselves, as I have said at the beginning (101) of this my book. In it I have also disclosed the subject of the [future?] judgements, and the favour shown by God to us, the Christians, and how he has been kind to us.

And now I beg of God, who has desired in his power to show his wisdom and the distinction [in the various forms] of his service, that he redeem all of us, great and small, by his redemption, and release us from the evil [done by] this people. For I know that enmity will come

1) The meaning of these letters is as uncertain as ever; see NÜLDEKE and HIRSCHFELD, *loc. cit.*; also NÜLDEKE, *Orientalische Skizzen* 50; GRIMM *Mohammed* II, 11, note 2.

2) Sura II, 1.

to us from them; and that the master having power will descend from them. They are without mercy. The evil they will do to us will be greater than the evil done by those who have gone before them.

Now I, Murhib the sinner, remained in the cell with Bahira the monk for a long time, during which time he repeated to me the whole of this story to its end. I saw, witnessed, and had proof of all the circumstances. I wrote it all down in his presence, and arranged it according to his word; the while he said to me, "Do not blame me, nor let anyone who reads the account blame me for it. I have composed it because of the certain knowledge which I had. For behold he (Arabs?) will rule, and it will be necessary to (102) bear with him; to wait for the end and take its consequences — as I have learned and understood them. I have written the whole of it for the believers; and for them I have taken the full cognizance of things to the very end: to the point where the dominion of the Arabs ceases. I did them a good turn and deserve much thanks from the Arabs — judging between them, prospering theirs affairs and leading them. Remembering all this, they were thankful to me.

Now, to our Master be all praise, glory and honour, now and for all time, to the end of things. Praise be to God for ever and ever.

Finished is the story of Bahira the Monk and Arab. Peace from God! Amen!

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