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# WOODBROOKE STUDIES

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

BY

A. MINGANA

VOLUME III

1. VISION OF THEOPHILUS
2. APOCALYPSE OF PETER



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## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI,  
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FASCICULUS 7.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following pages contain the continuation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in its Arabic garb and Garshūni 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-dhib*), 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> *Yūkīyah* (name of a country), *Mīālīyah* (name of a town), *Satafān* (name of a town), *Ḳaṭlū* (possibly name of a man), *Rawādīf* (possibly name of a town), *Phalīkīyah* (name of a country), *Sarḥ* (name of an idol), *Solon* (name of an idol), *Beṣalya'* (name of a man), *Kolon* (name of an idol), *Alīnān* (name of a mountain or a locality), *Hoṭān* (name of an idol), *Tībarus* (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 *Gomorrah*, 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 *yataḍarra*’.

<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 *yasbirū*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the angels.

<sup>3</sup> These sentences are missing in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 71).

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9.

<sup>5</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.

“<sup>4</sup>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 undescrivable 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-dhīb* “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-dhīb* 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 *Phātīkīyah*<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 *Mīṭāīyah* 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 *ahadun*.

the kings of the littoral will reign, and the mountains of *Alinān*<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 ‘*Irkah*<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 Edessa?

<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. *Manīh*<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 *Manīh* refers to *Manīḥah*, a locality near Damascus? (Yākūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, iv, 673).

<sup>2</sup> Read *miyāh*.

<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 *mukātilin*.

<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’ahadūna*.

<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 *Yukēyah*.<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 *Cyprus* 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 *īakūn*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *bi-mu'ādhadatīha*.

<sup>6</sup> Add *al-waḳt*.

<sup>7</sup> I read *asdās* for *asdād*, 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  $\frac{1}{2}$ will $\frac{1}{2}$  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 *kadhaba*.

<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>5</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

<sup>6</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'an 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 Beħira who, according to the tradition, was the mentor of Muħammad.

<sup>4</sup> The year 900 of the Seleucids corresponds with A.D. 589. All this seems to refer to Muħammad.

<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 *Gomorrah*; 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 *Sark*. 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 *Colon*, 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 *Ḳur'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 *Taha*.

<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 *Aḥmad*.

<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 *Muhammad* (*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 Adhrūh. Its name is often found in Muslim tradition in connection with the size of the "Prophet's cistern" which "extended from Adhrūh to Jarbā" (Ibn Hanbal'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 *Mim*.<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-Muṭṭalib 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 *Muhammad*.

<sup>5</sup> Add *yaqūm* 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 *Sīn*.<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 *ruḡhza*.

<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 *Aḥmad*.

<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 ‘*Āin*.<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 *Mahmūd*.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Muhammad*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *munāfiqan*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ayyāmahum*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist identifies him again as *Muhammad*.

<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 *Sin*,<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 *Mim*, 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 *Mim*. 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 *Ahmad*.

<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*.<sup>9</sup> 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-mū'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 *aḳsar*.

<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 *takhruju*.

<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 *satwatihim*.

<sup>7</sup> Read ‘*ummāl*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *lī’ahadin*.

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 *Şiffin* 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 *jauf*,' 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 *tahazz*. 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>2</sup> The Syriac *buhṛāna*.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the Antichrist.

<sup>4</sup> It is the first time that the name of Paul appears in this eminently

Petrine document.

<sup>5</sup> The Syriac *shubha*.

<sup>6</sup> Add the particle *fi*.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. xxiv. 19.

<sup>8</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 *Gomorrah*. 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 *waḳada*, 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 *tawākid*, 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 *darwāha*. 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* (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, iv, 100), mentions a locality called *Ḳussīn* near *Kūfah*, but this can hardly be identified with this *Ḳūsīn*.

<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 *fiha*.

## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI,  
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 Garshūni 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-Adiyōka*, "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 Hawāriyāt* 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 clinch 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 Ethiopian 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 : *Akrābil* and *Fabwābil*. 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> *Arab. furkān* from Syr. *purkūna*.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. vii. 16.

<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>3</sup> The author uses here the verb *waqa'a*, "to fall," which is rather curious.

<sup>5</sup> Read *kāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *khūlafa*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sukkān*.

<sup>6</sup> Arab. *bir-Rūmīyah*.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. *neša*.

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 *taibūth*,<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 *taibūtha*.

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 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 *Ḳaustus*.

<sup>7</sup> Text *Ḳaustina*.

<sup>8</sup> Text *Ḳaustus*.

<sup>9</sup> Text *Ḳaustina*.

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 *mātrādōra*.

<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> *Dhālika* 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 Æthiopic 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 *bi'an*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "do you see."

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac word "*sām*."

known as *K̄isaris*<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 *K̄isaris* 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 *K̄ēsārōs*.

<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 *tām*.

<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'abiha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *'abūha*.

<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>2</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 *at'amina*.

<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 *yaḳbaluha*.

<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 *liyabṣurū*, 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'anic 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'idhin*.

<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 *bahr*, "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 *Akrābil* and the other *Falwābil*,<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:

سأ لا أكلم أحدا من هؤلاء ولا من أشبههم ولا من أتباعهم ولا من تلاميذهم ولا من  
 مقلدوهم ولا من يحبونهم ولا من يمشون في حوزتهم ولا من يمشون في  
 حوزتهم ولا من يمشون في حوزتهم ولا من يمشون في حوزتهم  
 . 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."