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

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

¹ See below, p. 192, and Kitāb al-Majāl, or the Book of the Rolls (Studia Sinaiitica, No. viii.), and Baron de Slane's Catalogue des manuscrits arabs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, pp. 18-19.
The title *Apocalypse of Peter* has, however, much to commend it. In my collection of manuscripts there are five Garshûni texts that give to the book the express title of *Iktishāf Shimʿun*, “Apocalypse of Simon,” or *Jalayān Būrus*, “Apocalypse of Peter.” See Mingana Syr. 106, ff. 32b-35a; Mingana Syr. 225, ff. 63a-75a; Mingana Syr. 369, ff. 30-31; Mingana Syr. 411, ff. 17a-32b; and Mingana Syr. 446, ff. 84a-103a. In spite of the authority of these five MSS. I am inclined to believe that the title *Book of the Rolls* as applied to the present work is more original than *Apocalypse of Peter*, because the narrative does not contain those parts of the Apocalypse of Peter known to us through Greek and Ethiopic sources.¹

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

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

Some public libraries of Europe² contain an Arabic work which embodies points that are more or less similar to those exhibited in the present work. That Arabic work is divided into chapters that vary from 88 to 99 in number. The subjects dealt with in them are heterogeneous in character and often totally different from those found in the MSS. of my collection. M. 70 is divided into 8 parts (juz’s)

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

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

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

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

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


² *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine*, p. 72 sqq.
beaten by the joined forces of reckless copyists and careless authors who, conscious that they were not dealing with any scriptural and inspired matter, vied with each other in their attempts to add to or to subtract from, the book which they were transcribing or composing.

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

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

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

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

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

1 Fuller reference will be made in the footnotes to these two publications.
Odes of Solomon are placed in the mouth of Christ who is repeating them to Peter, but as it is impossible to believe that Christ Himself could have pronounced them, I hold them to be part of a much older composition that has been embodied by the author in his narrative. Our Apocryphon contains some other passages of this kind.

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

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

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

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

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

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1 See my note on these lines on p. 201.
Wilmart. In it is written: "The river of fire by which the ungodly shall be kept out of the Kingdom of God, as is written in Daniel and in Peter, in his *Apocalypse*.

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

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

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

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

1 *Bulletin d'an. litt. et d'arch. Chrét.*, quoted by James (ibid.).
2 *Book vi. c. 14.*
of the text to which I call attention in the footnotes, and some other sentences which appear to be a digression from the main theme.

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Mittheilungen, iii. 50-51.
WOODBROOKE STUDIES

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

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

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

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

**TRANSLATION.**

And I Clement said to my teacher Peter, the head of the Apostles, the vizier of mercy, and the keeper of the keys of heaven:

"O eminent teacher, you have made me your son, your disciple and your vizier; you have taught me the history of the Old Testament,² and instructed me in the genealogies found in it down to the birth of the Lady Mary, the daughter of Joachim, to such an extent that I am in a position to refute the Jews in³ my discussions with them, since by disclosing to me their secrets you have made me versed in their history: now I implore you and beseech you to crown your kindness to me by disclosing to me all the secrets which the Christ has revealed to you on the part of the one and eternal God in order that I may commit them to writing. Begin by telling me why God created Adam knowing in His prescience that he would undoubtedly break His commandment; why Christ became incarnate; why there is life and death; what there is after death; what is the meaning of soul; and why (God) promised resurrection. Impart also to me the knowledge of the hierarchies of the heavenly beings; of what will happen in heaven and on the day of the resurrection to those who believe in and follow

² Lit. "The Torah." The author refers here to the preceding part of his book in which the Jewish history is dealt with and the narrative brought down to the birth of the Virgin.
³ Remove the wāw before fī.
Christ; of what will take place at the end of the world; and of the state of Paradise and of the Kingdom of Heaven.

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

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

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

In the name of our Lord, our God and our Saviour I shall write the hidden secrets of God which no creature knew but which our Lord revealed and disclosed to Peter His elect: What is the meaning of "Son of God from God, and of the Spirit of God?" By the assistance of God the tongue of Peter had already confessed the truth when our Lord had asked him who He was. Indeed Peter had previously confessed this truth about the Light before the company of the Apostles when our Lord had asked them: "What do men say about me, and what say ye?" And by the help of the Holy Spirit Peter had said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of God." 6 Peter had not

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1 This pronoun "his" suggests that all these sentences are to be attributed to the editor of the work.
2 Read wa-yawallitha.
3 The copyist adds here in Garshuni: "Here it ends by the help of the Most High God," and then proceeds in Syriac: "O brother readers pray for my father and mother."
4 All the above section is missing in the Ethiopic Qalementos translated by S. Grébaut in R.O.C., 1912, 244 sqq. Was the passage missing in the Arabic original lying before the Ethiopic translator, or was it simply overlooked by him? The Ethiopic version begins with the following sentence.
5 Matt. xvi. 14-16.
answered Christ in this way through knowledge emanating from his flesh and blood, nor from his science and the greatness of his intelligence, nor from his asceticism, his austere living and his fasting, but it was God who had seen the purity of his conscience and revealed the truth to him. The Apostles had also laid in their memory the utterance of our Lord, on this occasion, to Peter: "It is not through flesh and blood that you knew that I was from my Father but it is the one who speaks through me who has inspired you to believe in me and to confess me." Through these words of our Lord a reverential fear had entered into the heart of Peter for the Divine Majesty, and he had not understood then what our Lord had precisely meant, nor had he dared to ask Him about that concise saying during all the time He was with them in Jerusalem.

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

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

1 The word subh which is constantly used by the author in the sense of "glory" is derived from the Syriac shubha.
2 Read al-ahad for al-hadi. The "chieftains" are the Apostles.
3 A Syriac title of honour meaning "our Lady."
4 Or possibly "her." Read siwahu or siwaha.
follow; and make provision of no brass, and have no staff, because you shall be in no need of all that.¹ Know that I have given you power that when you lay your hands on the sick they will be healed and made whole, on the cripples and they will stand up, on the dead and they will rise.² In what I have bestowed upon you from the Holy Spirit you have power over all the earth. I am now going where my Father ordered me. Freely I gave you the high gifts, freely give them. Wherever you assemble and mention my name there I shall be with you."³

Then the great teacher Peter said to me while he was about to disclose the secrets to me: "O my son Clement the secret which you have asked me to disclose to you is of great moment and I ought not to divulge anything of its nature to the worlds. It is a thing that the Christ our Lord confided to us before He ascended to heaven. He ordered us to keep all of it concealed from notice, and I ought not to divulge it as the minds of men are not able to comprehend it because it transcends them; and if human intelligence were able to comprehend it, it would have been circumscribed."⁴ And I Clement did not cease to beseech the teacher Peter and to implore him to favour me with what I had asked of him until he granted my request and said: "Prepare the rolls and write down on them what I shall dictate to you. Make the present writing follow⁵ what we have already told you concerning the genealogy of Mary, the mother of light, and make one book of the whole." This is the reason why I Clement have entitled this book The Book of the Rolls.⁶ And I began to write on the rolls what the holy teacher dictated to me, while my eyes were shedding tears and my hands were trembling.

When the teacher Peter noticed this from me he caught me with his hand and took me up to the Mount of Olives, to the spot from which our Lord Jesus the Saviour "the Son of the Living God"⁷

¹ Matt. x. 10 (with changes). ² Cf. Matt. x. 8. ³ Cf. Matt. xviii. 20. ⁴ Read mahāūdan. ⁵ Read ḥiḥa. ⁶ Read wasūf. ⁷ This sentence which is missing in Ethiopic (ibid. 245) brings the present work into relation with the Book of the Rolls edited by Mrs. Gibson in Studia Sinaitica (No. viii.). That book ends in effect with the genealogy of Mary. ⁸ The sentence "The Son of the Living God" is always given in Syriac in the document as if it was a sacred and mysterious formula.
had ascended to heaven. Then he lifted his eyes to heaven, wept bitterly and made on me the sign of the cross and said: "O Jesus Christ strengthen me with power from you in order that through it this son may be instructed in the secret which you have confided to me, because I have chosen him and elected him by your power. Make me understand now that part of the secrets taught by you to me, which had transcended my intelligence."

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

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

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1 Read 'ala.
2 Read ikhtar tuhu.
3 Read sajada.
4 Read mimma.
5 This sentence is probably post-Islamic and refers to the "ninety-nine" excellent names of God in Muslim theology. The expression is found in the Kur'an, vii. 179. It is not found in the Ethiopic translation.
6 Probably add min.
7 Read kaumun.
them, O you who revived your creatures by your grace.' And our Lord said: 'Ask what you wish,' and I said, 'O Son of God,—which is the same as ḏ`

And how was it? And who glorified and magnified you, since you had not created yet anyone to glorify? And on what was set the throne of your Kingdom, since there was no heaven and no earth and no space to contain it? And how were you in your essence?' " 

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

'There is nothing like us: For there is no one who has preceded us, and no one who proceeds from us, nor one who is intermediary between us and none of us can be called the last one because none of us is old and none of us is young, and we have neither beginning nor end. Every being worships us, and we are in.

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

The Ethiopic version seems to contain a mistranslation as it reads 'since it contained nothing.' R.O.C., 1912, 246.

Read la'kin for likai. This proves decisively that the original from which the MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters since it is only in Arabic that the letters ی and ن are identical and distinguishable only by extraneous dots placed over or under them.

Note that the author apparently believes in the procession of the Spirit from the Son also. This sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

Probably read ی. The Ethiopic translator seems to have misunderstood this somewhat complicated Arabic sentence. He has even gone so far as to translate 'your power' instead of 'in power.'
everything by our power, and what is under us is from our power.
And we have neither length nor breadth.

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Lit. "elevation of elevation." Evidently the Ethiopic translator did
not understand this difficult sentence because he omitted it entirely.

\(^2\) Read yahtawi.

\(^3\) Read thalath.

\(^4\) Read kānat.

\(^5\) The Ethiopic translator (R.O.C., 1912, p. 246) understood this sentence
in the sense of "we are not numerous."
Son and their perfection was through the Spirit. There is no one to be compared or likened to us.

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

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

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

1 Or: intelligence.
2 The Ethiopic translator has omitted almost every difficult sentence in this section.
3 Lit. "the hidden things do not come near us and the concealed things do not reach us."
4 Read liya'rifū.
promiscuous state. We created the clearest waters in order to establish our throne on them, and where we were then we are now. Your intelligence, O Peter, will not understand more than I have explained to you, concerning the mystery of the Trinity and the way to demonstrate it.

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

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

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

1 Read al-miyāh without dots.
2 This sentence is difficult. Lit.: "in them, from all things to all things." The Ethiopic translator evades the difficulties and translates: "We have established in them, by our wisdom, all the innumerable things" (p. 247).
3 The Ethiopic text speaks here of a heaven called Falik which seems to me to be the Arabic word falak "firmament."
4 Read wa-ya'lam.
the earth. The number of the angels who have wings and whose glorifications never cease nor end is thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads. Among them are the Cherubim and Seraphim, each one of whom never ceases from glorifying and praising us. All of them are divided into orders in three churches of light and fire. And we have placed the heavenly Jerusalem above the water which is above the third heaven.'

"With the help of Christ we will describe the heavenly Jerusalem in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

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

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

1 This following heading has been omitted by the Ethiopic translator.
2 The Ethiopic translator has omitted this and similar sentences which savour slightly of heterodoxy. He seems also to have neglected many phrases, the meaning of which is repeated in the lines that immediately precede or follow.
I have revealed to you, O Peter, what eye has not seen, what ear has not heard, and what has not entered into the heart of the sons of men.1

And the Lord from Nazareth said: "We have established our throne above2 the high waters; we have chosen that place for it and have made it of light, fire, spirit and brightness. We have placed under this throne four creatures which have many eyes and from the mouths of which come flames of fire. One of them resembles the figure of a lion, and another the figure of a man. These are placed on the right side of the throne. The third animal resembles the figure of an eagle, and the fourth animal has a figure that resembles3 that of an ox. These are placed on the left side of the throne.4 Each one of these four animals has four faces of fire, and each one of them has wings of fire. Under them is a wheel of fire laid on two seas one of which is of fire and the other of storm, the wind of which blows from the wind of Paradise.

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

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

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

1 Cor. ii. 9. 2 Read faik. 3 Read ka'annahu. 4 These four creatures seem to be those spoken of in the Book of Rev. iv. 7. 5 Its source. 6 Read nihayah, i.e. its mouth. 7 All this section of the horarium is missing in Ethiopic. The hours of the glorification are more or less similar to those which are in the work entitled Apocalypse of Adam, sections of which are found in Greek and published by M. R. James in Texts and Studies, vol. ii. No. 3: A Fragment of the Apocalypse of Adam in Greek. In Syriac a similar Apocryphon has been
Let it be known to you, O Peter, that the first hour of the day is the hour of the glorifications of the children of Adam, and the second hour of the day is the hour of the prayers and the glorifications of the angels.

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

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

The fifth hour of the day is that of the services of the rest of the animal world.

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

The seventh hour of the day is the hour of the entry into the lofty Pavilion, the Pavilion of light which created the created beings. Before my incarnation, I the God-Word, and before my taking human form, voices were heard from the Pavilion, which frightened, vexed and harassed those who went into it and those who came out of it. The affairs remained in this state until the God-Word became flesh, and this happened on the day on which the angel of secret came down and spoke to a pure Lady, and a pious gem, Mary, the mother of published by M. Kmosko under the title of Testament of Adam in Pat. Syr., ii. 1309-1360. The present horarium appears to me to be a translation from Syriac. This is borne out by many stylistic peculiarities, one of which is the constant rendering of "man, men," in general by "son of man, son of men," etc.

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

2 The Syriac Testament of Adam (ibid.) gives this hour as that of the "thanksgiving of birds."

3 In the Testament of Adam it is the hour of the thanksgivings of the "super-celestial beings."

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

5 Read ta'annusi. Read khāṭaba. The pronoun attached to this verb denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian, because it is only in Syriac that a pronoun of this kind precedes the noun.
life and mercy, and announced my message to her. In that hour I poured out my eternal light which was with me, in me and on me, and I filled with it the body of that treasure-keeper and devout woman. And I fashioned it in her womb into the figure of a man. I, the speaker, did not make that light for the human race, and I dwelt in it, as I was always dwelling before, and by my power showed it to all the created things.

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

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

1 Arab. mukhsinah. The word is certainly connected with treasure, and it may also mean “treasures,” or “giver of treasures,” etc.
2 Or: “at the back, backwards.” The meaning of the sentence is unintelligible without emendations.
3 I.e. “that light,” according to the construction of the sentence.
4 Or: “it was.”
5 Read tizlan.
6 All this passage seems to savour of Nestorianism and even of gnosticism, in spite of the fact that the MS. is of Monophysite origin. Some sections of the work are archaic and appear to postulate an older layer for the narrative. Many sentences represent also a digression on the part of the writer.
7 I cannot understand what the author means by the last words, which I have translated literally. All the sentence seems to be a digression from the main subject.
follow them. When they finish their prayers each one of them goes back to his appointed place.¹

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

In the tenth hour of the day occurs the calmness of the water and its smoothness together with its glorification and magnification before the Omnipotent Lord. And to mark the honour in which God holds water, His Holy Spirit comes down and flutters over it; and it is thus purified from the act of the demons in their going into it and coming out of it. And if the Holy Spirit did not flutter over the water, the children of men would not be able to drink any of it without immediately perishing, owing to its pollution³ by the demons. If at this hour a man takes water that has been sanctified and mixes with it taibūth⁴ or oil, and anoints sick people with it, they will be healed by the permission of God.⁵

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

The twelfth hour of the day is the hour of the children of men to show obedience to the Most High God, to His Son and to His Spirit. Even if they do not notice it⁷ we accept their prayers by our grace and our mercy.⁸

¹ In the first recension of the Testament of Adam (Pat. Syr., ii. col. 1326) the eighth hour is assigned to the “thanksgiving of the fire and the water,” and in the second recension (ibid. col. 1331) to the “thanksgiving of the heaven, earth and fiery beings” (i.e. angels).
² Read wawikārihi. The ninth hour is assigned to the same service in the two recensions of the Syriac Testament of Adam (ibid. col. 1326 and 1331).
³ Read al-mufsidin.
⁴ A Syriac word designating a mixture of sanctified oil, water and earth of the relics of saints. Great healing properties were formerly attributed to such a mixture.
⁵ The tenth hour is assigned to the same object in slightly different and more concise terms in the two recensions of the Testament of Adam (ibid. col. 1327 and 1331).
⁶ The eleventh hour is assigned in different terms to the joy of men in the two recensions of the Syriac Testament of Adam.
⁷ Lit. “if they do not understand.”
⁸ The same hour is devoted to the same object but in different terms in the two recensions of the Testament of Adam (ibid. col. 1327 and 1334).
In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, one God, we will write the glorifications of the hours of the night and their merits.

In the first hour of the night occurs the service of the demons to us, and in this hour of their service they do not harm any man\(^1\) of this world, because they are occupied with their service.\(^2\)

In the second hour of the night occurs the service of large fishes, and of all animals that live in water.\(^3\)

The third hour of the night is the hour of the service of the fire which is at the interior.\(^4\)

In the fourth hour of the night occurs the sanctification of the Seraphim.\(^5\)

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

In the sixth hour of the night the clouds and their angels and the treasured waters\(^7\) offer their supplications.

In the seventh hour of the night the waters rest from their labour and cease from flowing and moving. All the powers of the earth rest also, and glorify and magnify the Lord of the Lords, and say: “Glory to our God Asharahiyah Sabaoth,\(^8\) who made Himself manifest in

\(1\) Read “ahadan.

\(2\) The same thing is said in different terms in the Testament of Adam.

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

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

\(5\) The same hour is assigned to the same object in the two recensions of the Syriac Testament of Adam.

\(6\) Something similar is found in the two recensions of the Testament of Adam.

\(7\) The two recensions of the Testament of Adam mention the clouds but omit the waters.

\(8\) Read “Saba’ut for “aswāt. Both are of course transliterations of well-known Hebrew words.”
the Person that became incarnate in order to vivify all the created beings.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 The two recensions of the Testament of Adam make mention also of the growth of the grass.

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

4 In the two recensions of the Testament of Adam the crow of the cock is referred to in connection with the ninth hour.

5 Read al-hâdiyah.

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

7 Mention is also made of the incense, but in different terms, in the first and second recensions of the Testament of Adam (ibid. 1336 and 1338). With this hour ends the Syriac Testament of Adam. What follows is only found in the present MS.
and have taught you things you did not know. I shall presently teach you all that which you desire to know and shall not hide a secret from you.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Read \text{yazhar.}\n
\(^2\) Read \text{as-s\'at\' ath-th\'alithah.}\n
\(^3\) Read \text{al-madhbah.}\n
\(^4\) Allusion to the \text{epiclesis} or the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which, according to the teaching of the eastern churches, consecrates the Eucharistic elements.
whose food we have guaranteed and for whom we have made ourselves responsible\(^1\) in respect of the evil of the worries of this world—let the prayers of such people be in the first hour of the day, with humility, supplication and petition to the Father not to let them enter into temptation, because it was at that hour that the Archon\(^4\) fell from heaven.

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

And in the sixth hour, because in that hour Adam rebelled against His Lord, and by his rebellion he deserved to be driven out of Paradise, because God had warned him that if he rebelled he would surely die.\(^{4}\) As to his death it took place in two ways: the first was that he was stripped of his kingdom and driven out of the place\(^6\) of rest to the place of wretchedness and toil. The second death was that God the Father decreed in full justice and deprived him of life, and his spirit left his body, and his corpse returned to the bosom of his mother earth.

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

\(^1\) Read *kafaināhūm*.

\(^2\) I.e. the prince of the fallen angels. I shall keep in the translation this Greek word which is used in the Arabic original.

\(^3\) Arab. *al-mukarrribin*. Said of the angels this word recalls *Kūrān* iv. 170; lxxiii. 21, etc.

\(^4\) Read *yanūt*. This reading suggests that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters because it is in Arabic only that the two letters *ba‘* and *yā‘* have the same form and are only distinguishable by extraneous dots.

\(^5\) Read *mustakarr*,

\(^6\) Read *mustakarr*,
sent one of my angels to teach him agriculture and husbandry in order that he might eat from the fruits of the earth from which he was driven out and to which he would eventually return. If he had not rebelled he would not have gone out to the earth and he would not have tasted death.

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

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

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

Let it be known also to you that I have given freedom to my believing peoples in what they desire. Some of them desire circumcision and some of them dislike it. If any of my followers dislike it, it becomes forbidden to him; but if he desires it, it is not his creation.

And let him not fear sin from an inward and outward purification by

1 Read al-latì.
2 Read yakhrju.
3 Read al-hâdiyât.
4 Read basharân.
5 This sentence is somewhat complicated.
6 Lit. “of sitting.”
7 The astronomical science of the author is sometimes nebulous.
8 Or: “were purified” or “appeared.”
9 Cod. “days.”
10 The Syr. tehôma.
11 Read ‘alaihi.
12 Read ‘amaluhu. The author seems to imply that since circumcision was ordered by God and not by man, anyone who wishes to practise it is at liberty to do so. This is a bold statement on the part of a Christian writer.
the water of baptism. Forbidden are, however, to my followers all
the sacrifices offered by those who contradict my religion like the sons
of Kedar,\(^1\) the pagans and the haters of my people, who have not
cessated to worship idols and offer sacrifices to them, and like the
Samaritans and the ungodly Sabians.\(^2\) The same applies also to the
unholy sacrifices of the Jews, for which I substituted in exchange my
flesh which I offered to the Father in expiation of your iniquities,
prevarications and sins, and also my blood which I shed on your
behalf. I gave them both to you in order that you might receive them
and remember me through them as long as this world lasts. And this
holy sacrifice came down to you from heaven as grace and mercy
in order to deliver you from the wickedness of the Rebel. And this
sacrifice is I who am now speaking of it.

None of my followers is allowed to observe the Sabbath or to fast
in it, or to honour it, or to exalt it. Anyone who does this rebels
against me. Let him rather follow the Canons relating to Sunday and
all the prescriptions which I will enjoin on my peoples in respect of the
continuous prayers extending from the ninth\(^3\) hour of Saturday, which
is the eve of Sunday, to the end of the sixth hour of Sunday, while
persevering in an unbroken prayer, in prostration, genuflexion, modesty,
humility, and while attending to the needs of every one who is in
want, or weak, or poor, or a stranger, or a prisoner, or old and decrepit,
or a widow, or an orphan, or hungry, or thirsty, or naked, or ship-
wrecked, or in distress, or abandoned and known to nobody.

If you do the things that I have ordered you to do I will prolong
your lives, multiply your provisions, double your wealth, remove your
troubles, guard your souls from all the evil which had prevailed upon
you, enhance your prestige in the world, stand by you, care well\(^4\) for
you as long as you live, lengthen the fixed time of your death and fulfil
the desires of your hearts in respect of your daughters and your sons;
and every good deed which you will perform I will increase it and
double it several times for you, and cause it to possess high value.
Beware of rebelling against me, because I am a jealous God.\(^5\)

\(^1\) I.e. the Arabs, the Ishmaelites. The allusion here is to Muslim Arabs.
\(^2\) The followers of the somewhat problematical religious sect spoken of
in the Kur'an ii. 50; v. 73; xxii. 17.
\(^3\) Read as-sâ'at at-tâsi'tâh.
\(^4\) Read 'inâyah.
\(^5\) The copyist adds here in Syriac "And pray for me, O brothers."
The Apostle Peter said to his disciple Clement:

And when my Lord had finished what He had wished me to learn He reverted to the subject of the qualities of heaven which He revealed to me and taught me thoroughly. And He said:

We are from ourselves, in ourselves and to ourselves. Magnifications and glorifications are to us. We lack nothing that may be added to us, and we have nothing superfluous that needs to be removed from us. We are the first and the last, and everything is contained in the palm of our hand. It is we who have caused the Cherubim to bear our throne, and created the clouds under our feet, and made them the chariots in which the Cherubim fly on the shoulders of the winds. At a sign from us the earth quakes, the mountains move and the hills shake.

The eyes of the angels do not look at us because they are not able to do so, and so it is with all the hierarchies of the angels. Some of the orders of the angels praise and magnify and some others sanctify and glorify. We have created heads to the angels from the angels, and these serve constantly round our awe-inspiring Pavilion. The name of one of them is Gabriel, and he is the messenger of good news, peace and mystery. The name of another one is Michael, and he is the messenger of anger and war. As to the remaining heads of angels, one of them is called Rudael, and the other Raphael, and they are the messengers of good news. When we wish to do something, none of the angels is aware of it, and none of their heads has any knowledge of our movement.

Their minds do not comprehend us and their sights do not perceive

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1 Here begins again the Ethiopic version of Qalementos (in R.O.C., 1912, p. 249). All the above section is missing in it. The precise phrase at which it stopped has been noted above.

2 Read al-Karubiyyin.

3 The Ethiopic translator has misinterpreted this sentence which he renders "to crush the wind with their shoulders."

4 The author uses often the word nūrāni in the sense of angels. I take this word to be the Syriac nūrāne which means "angels," but while the Arabic word lexicographically means "luminous" from nūr the Syriac word means "fiery" from nūra. A better Arabic word to translate the Syriac nūrāna would be nāri.

5 The Ethiopic translator has twice misunderstood the Arabic wa-hua "and he is" which he renders by "that is to say," a meaning which the Arabic pronoun may occasionally have.

6 The Ethiopic version calls him Uriyal, the traditional Uriel.
us. We have no first and no last amongst us, and we have no parts and no divisions. Neither the “watchful” angels fathom us nor the “vigilant” ones are aware of what our minds contain. Our mercy averts our anger, and our clemency averts our punishment. No power of our creatures can comprehend us. We do not create to the full measure of our knowledge, nor do we work to the full capacity of our power; we rather work with mercy and love. We produce everything without any fatigue affecting our persons. By our power we render the distant object near, and the near object distant. We see everything and nothing sees us in our essence. Every one of our known attributes is great, especially the attributes of our power. We are in all places, and no place is deprived of us, and we are not that place.

We are the cause of salvation and power. Our power extends to all that we have created. We see everything and we hear everything. We are in no need of the glorification of any of our creatures, and it is in order to enhance our grace and our power that we have caused the creatures to glorify us. All our works are executed by our extended motion, because it is extended over everything. All power is derived from our power, and our mercy is higher than all mercy, and our superiority extends over all our creation.

Know, O Peter, that none of the fettered natures of this world knows what I have explained to you concerning our power. Be assured, O Peter, from my actions and my works that I am Breh d’Alāhā, hayya which being interpreted means “Son of the living God.”

1 These words are evidently literal translations of two Syriac vocables referring to angels. The second Arabic word mutayakkisin seems to be the translation of the Syriac ‘ire referring to “angels” in general and to the “vigilant” section of them in particular. The Ethiopic translator has omitted both sentences apparently because of his inability to understand these two important words that they contained.

2 Read yadkhul.

3 This sentence is difficult to understand. It is not found in the Ethiopic version. I read yu’raf with a yā’ instead of nadrīf of the MS.

4 Remove the article from the Arabic word.

5 So the Text.

6 Here occurs the word mujaljat for which I am not able to find a better meaning to suit the context. The sentence is missing in the Ethiopic version.

7 Read tayyakkan.

8 A Syriac sentence which the author evidently considers as a sacred formula. It is of course missing in Ethiopic. See above, p. 192.
And I Peter said: "O my Lord and my God, converse with me fully. I will begin by asking you to reveal to me the condition of the heavenly angels, their different orders and forms, and the days in which they were created; and also the condition of the wind and the way it is governed; and also the condition of the waters and the different orders and forms of (animals) found in them, in order that I may firmly ascertain that you control all the created beings."

And He said to him: 1 O Peter, there is no winter and no summer with me, because I am the God of the winter and of the summer. I am with the Father and the Spirit without separation. It is we who send down the rains and distribute them to all the earth. We drown countries with them, and we make dry lands into seas, 2 and seas and rivers into dry lands. We send a wind from the sea of the storms and it goes out destroying and demolishing many countries and big cities, and breaking up lofty mountains, 3 and making valleys flow with water.

Consider, O Peter, that we are able to send a small fire 4 from the sea of fire which is above heaven, and destroy with it any part of the earth we wish to destroy. Under our power are islands full of fire, from which and in which we have created an animal which neither perishes nor dies as long as he remains in it, but any time he will leave it he will perish. By our power we perform many miracles, and bring up from the earth a small fire which consumes many countries.

It is we, O Peter, who cause the water which is in the clouds to freeze into snow and ice. We rain on perverse towns hail like stones. Consider, O Peter, the different orders of animals which we have created and their numbers, and also the trees and all the plants that we have ordered the earth to produce. O Peter, all (of them) glorify us, and we are glorified by ourselves in ourselves. There is no one inside us who is beside us, and no one of the type you would call "this, then that." And by our power we have created, by a sign and not by words, all that which is material and immaterial, and all that which is corporeal and spiritual, and all that which is corruptible and incorruptible, and all that which is perishable and imperishable,

1 The Ethiopic version begins here with this sentence (R.O.C. 1912, 250).
2 Read abhāran.
3 Read jibālan.
4 Read nāran.
and all things that die and things that do not die. None can number
all these besides ourselves.

It is we who have lifted up the heavens without columns and con-
structed them by our power. It is we who have caused the earth to
weigh more than other objects so that it does not move, and it neither
goes up nor comes down. We have interspersed it with large rivers
in order that it may produce corn, vegetation and trees, and we have
made it along with the sky the abode of all the birds.

Know, O Peter, that were it not for my incarnation I would not
have created Adam and Eve, and I would not have set up the earth
nor created the world. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation from
the pure Mary I would not have created Adam, nor heaven nor earth.
O Peter, if I had not created the created things my pre-existence
would not have been made manifest. O Peter, were it not for my
incarnation, my majesty and my glory would not have been known.
O Peter, were it not for my incarnation you would not have known
that my Father created the heavens through me, and that I am in my
Father. I have become incarnate in order to quicken and raise the
bodies, resuscitate them from their graves and give them eternal life.

Know, O Peter, that when I look into the heart of a man and see
it firm in my faith, I manifest myself to him in a human covering, be-
cause my Godhead is not seen nor perceived nor comprehended, and
has neither quantity nor quality. Because of my love for this world I
appeared to its inhabitants in the likeness of their covering in order to
draw them to myself, and teach them the glorification of the Father,
the knowledge of the Son and the magnification of the Spirit, who
creates, gives life to all living beings in heaven and on earth.

Know, O Peter, that I have secrets which I have not revealed to
the world and which I shall reveal to you. O Peter, were it not for
my love for the world I would not have appeared to them in the flesh.
O Peter, were it not for this chosen Virgin I would not have created
Eve. O Peter, I answered your question by revealing these secrets
to you, because I was aware of your love (for me). O Peter, none of
those whom I have created is able to see me in my substance and in

\[1\] Lit. "seas."

\[2\] Or; pre-eminence.

\[3\] John xiv. 10.

\[4\] Read "anna tâhûti."

\[5\] Read lahum.

\[6\] All this theological passage is missing in Ethiopic.
the essence of my majesty except the one who has the true faith in me. When I look at such a one's true faith I make myself manifest to him.

Then ¹ my teacher Peter said to me: O my son Clement, when our God reached here with His conversation, I noticed that He stretched His hand and lengthened His arm to the height of heaven, and He folded the heaven and the earth as parchment is folded, and as one folds the roll of a book. He collected them and placed them in the palm of His hand. Any one of the baptised Christians who does not believe in this and confesses that our Lord is able to do it may the curse of God be on him.²

And my Lord said to me: "Bring your ear nearer." And I brought my ear nearer to His hand and I heard in it continuous voices, resounding murmur, exquisite modulations, tumultuous uproar, shoutings, prayers and praises from many people, and a great glory that impressed my soul with the superiority of His might. By His power the palm of His Hand contained all the created things.

Then we proceeded forthwith to a luminous spot which was neither from heaven nor from earth. Then the Christ my Lord and my Saviour said to me: "Where are you, O Peter?" And I answered: "I do not know, O Son of the living God."³ And the Son of the living God⁴ said to me: "Raise your head," and I lifted my head upwards and I saw a pavilion of light round which hung curtains of light immersed in light. When I saw that a great fright and a fearful terror took hold of me, and I fell on my face like a dead man.

Then my Lord took my hand, raised me and said to me: "Do you see and perceive anything resembling heaven or earth?" And I answered: "No, my Saviour." And He said to me: "Look at what there is under you." And I looked and saw a bottomless pit, dark and awful. Then the Son of the living God⁵ said to me: "Open your mouth and speak, and your eye and see what there is in the palm of my hand." And I opened my eyes and saw heaven and earth in His hand, together with the sun and the moon. The rivers

¹Here begins again the Ethiopic version.
²This phrase is from the Kur'àn ii. 156. It is not found in Ethiopic.
³Here also this sentence is in Syriac.
⁴This sentence is as usual in Syriac.
⁵Again in Syriac and again missing in Ethiopic.
flowed in it, and the winds were also assembled there. All these, O my son Clement, I saw in the palm of the hand of my Lord, and all of them glorified and sanctified openly. I saw all this not in my dream and not as it was a jugglery but in true reality.

Then my Lord uttered words the meaning of which was that everything should revert to its former place and situation. And my Lord caused everything to return to its place. And forthwith I Peter noticed that the earth became firm, that the waters flowed in the rivers, that the overflown rivers emptied themselves into the seas, that the heavens rose upwards, that the stars were on the face of the firmament and the sun and the moon shone with their lights. And we sat as we were previously on the spot on which we were on the Mount of Olives.

Then He said to me: "Look backwards." And I looked backwards and saw Jerusalem. Then the only Son of God said to me: "Know, O Peter, that the heaven and the earth and all that which the Father has created through me do not cease to be in my hand. Any time I will them to be, they are. (Know also) that it is by the power of my divinity that everything is done, and that I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, who is Israel. The mysteries of my mercy are not known, and not comprehended, and no tongue is able to speak of them. I shall, however, reveal to you those of them that I know your mind and intelligence can comprehend, because I have given you the keys of the heavens and of the earth, and have shown you their doors so that you might open them and close them at your will."

And I prostrated myself before my Lord and my God, worshipped before Him and said: "O Son of the living God, do not hide from me anything that I do not know, and that of which I have no knowledge I want you to teach me." And He said to me: "I am the beginning and I am the end, I kill and I make alive, I wound

1 Read julūsan.

2 The author writes zajta with an Aleph in the Syriac fashion.

3 Read fatahun for fayakun. This also proves that the original from which this Garshuni text is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic characters that the letters yū and ḫ are graphically similar and distinguishable only by extraneous dots placed above or under the letters.

4 Read araituka.

5 The questions of Peter are often missing in Ethiopic.
and I heal. I am in the Father and in the Spirit, and the Spirit and the Father are in me. We are oneness in Trinity, and Trinity in oneness. O Peter, the heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool, and who can stand against me?

“I created Adam in order to set him against the accursed Rebel of this world. From the time Satan fell from his rank in heaven he has not been able to perceive my glory as he used to do previously. It is for this Mary, the chosen one, that I have created the world, fashioned Adam from earth and made him in my image. I breathed into him the breath of life and fashioned in him a spiritual soul which is without body, of medium size, simple, incorruptible and resembling the angels in its essence.

“O Peter I have revealed to you that I am the Son of God and made you understand that I am His only Son. I said in former days, and I believe that it was to Jacob, son of Isaac, that Israel is my son. I did not say that Israel is my son in the sense of the son of my substance; I said this simply because of his belief in me. And I also said that he is the ‘first-born,’ in the sense that he was the first of the descendants of his father to believe in me. The term of a ‘first-born’ son in a family implies that there are brothers that were born after him, and that he is the first of them in birth. If no brothers are born after him, he is called an ‘only son’ and not a ‘first-born’ because his father and mother have no other son besides him. As to the ‘Only Son,’ O Peter, the Father has already shown you His attributes.

“O Peter, I created the land of Eden at the time I created the

1 Deut. xxxii. 39. The expression “I wound” is translated into Arabic by “I strike” which is a literal translation of the Syriac māhe-na which means both “I strike” and “I wound.” The Ethiopic translator finding that “I strike” gave no good meaning rendered it by “I render people sick” in order to answer the idea of healing that follows. This proves that the Ethiopic is a translation from Arabic.
2 Read mutajassimah.
3 Read basitah.
4 All the above passage is missing in the Ethiopic version which begins here with the following sentence.
5 The words “Son of God” are in Syriac.
6 Rather unseemly on the part of God to be in doubt.
7 Exod. iv. 22.
8 Read ʾšabīḥi.
9 All this theological passage which is missing in Ethiopic (ibid. p. 337) seems to be a digression from the main subject.
angels. I placed it in the land of the Tigris, which became afterwards the land of the exile, and it is the land of the Kingdom of Heaven. I did this in order that Eden might become the house of my mercy. I placed Paradise below my Kingdom, and in it is found my majesty. I planted in it a spiritual tree which is higher than this visible earth by fifteen cubits of the size of the cubit of the Holy Spirit."

And I the feeble Peter said to my Master: "My God and my Saviour, what are the dimensions of the cubit of the Holy Spirit?" And He answered: "Its measure is like the measure of my hand and my arm which I stretched on the wood of the Cross." And He added: "And the measure of that is like the distance that separates the east from the west.

"O Peter, I planted the spiritual tree in Paradise and caused it to bear holy fruits copiously in order that my glory and my praise might be completed. O Peter, I made this Paradise in the image of the wonderful Church which I have prepared in heaven for the marked virgins. It is from there that the Archon has been driven out. The length and breadth of this Church are like the length and breadth of the Paradise of Eden, which I have established for the spiritual prisoners of the children of Adam. I gave precedence to the (good) malefactor who was crucified with me. He went to Paradise before me in order to announce to its inmates that I had gone from the earth to the Father. And you, O Peter, will soon witness my Ascension to heaven. I have revealed to you the secrets for which you have asked me, and I will reveal to you those for which you will ask me, because I have ordered you to ask me and I shall give you, to knock and I shall open to you."  

A Chapter on the subject of the Angels, who they are and what are their forms and their attributes.

Then I prostrated myself before my Lord and said to Him: "You know the degree of my love to you and of my faith in you. You have made known to me your great glory and your sublime

1 or: of heaven.  
2 Read shajaratan.  
3 Read al-lati.  
4 Read til-abbār.  
5 Cf. Rev. xiv. 4.  
6 Lit. "Eden of Paradise."  
7 I.e. the good people of the Old Testament who were imprisoned in Hades. The word is missing in the Ethiopic version presumably because the translator was not able to read it in undotted Arabic characters or to translate it.  
8 Matt. vii. 7.
majesty and have given me all that I had asked of you. You have shewn me the attributes of the angels with their different orders and their forms; tell me now: Have they all of them a human form, or are they in the form of a shadow? Have they length and breadth? I cannot understand how a being which has no body can speak. Where is also the place that can contain them? Did you create them at the moment you created the heaven and the earth? And then in which hour did you create them, and in which day and in which month?

"Tell me also what is going to happen to them after the Resurrection. Have they sinned and have they had a sinful thought since you created them? Have they the faculty of hearing and seeing? Do they move about? Have they identical forms and a uniform glorification or different glorifications? How can voices come out of them while they have no bodies? Where is in them the faculty of speech while they have no tongue?"

And the Son of the living God¹ said to me: "O Simon, you have asked me about something which your mind cannot understand. Know that I am going to dictate to you the things only which your mind can grasp to the exclusion of what (human) intelligence is unable to comprehend.

"The first month that I created is April and the first day that I created is Sunday, and in the first hour of it I created heaven and all the angels that it contains. Know that I have not imparted to Moses in the matter of the history of the creation what I am imparting to you. In the second hour of Friday I caused the Archon to stumble and made him fall from his heavenly order because I was aware of what he was thinking within himself to the effect that he desired to possess a Kingdom like mine.² I made him a stranger to his glory and an alien to his high order because of the pride and arrogance in which he indulged within himself."

And I Peter said to Him: "O my Lord and my God, why did you create him knowing previously that you were going to make him Satan at his rebellion against you?"³ And the Lord and Saviour said to me: "If I had to create people only after examining through my

¹This sentence is as usual in Syriac and missing in Ethiopic.
²Lit. "like my king" or "like my Kingdom."
³The Ethiopic translator renders this sentence erroneously: "knowing that you would place Satan in his rebellion" (R.O.C., 1912, 338).
prescience their future actions, I would not have created anybody at all. Through my foreknowledge and prescience I knew that this Archon was going to rebel against me. I created him, however, in order that other angels and other beings, seeing the kind of punishment inflicted on him by me, might think carefully within themselves and not rebel against me in that through which Satan fell. He had free-will in his action and was in no way compelled to revolt. If I had induced him to revolt, he would not have deserved to be punished nor to be degraded from his rank. With his own freewill he cherished this sin and thought of establishing for himself a throne, glory and majesty.

What he was going to do did not escape me before I created him, and I created him with love and mercy, but when he rebelled against me after I had exalted him, I degraded him from his high rank and made him a stranger on the earth and a despised person, banished from my grace. O Peter, when I created him to life I created him with mercy, and endowed him with freewill. I have not created any being without previously knowing what he will do after his creation. O Peter, after I had removed the Archon from my grace with which I had invested him, I resolved to fill his place with pure and pious beings fit to be spiritual and (children) of light.

The remaining hierarchies of the angels still occupy the same position to which I have assigned them. The creatures that in my foreknowledge I had resolved to create I created, and I was not precluded from creating them through ulterior motives, and was not influenced in my actions by the revolt of a creature and the obedience of another creature, and so my first resolve was never affected and there was no contradiction in my actions. I created everything with my knowledge and my love, and my creation was completed without any trammels, and in it were gathered my science and my love according to my will.

1 The Ethiopic translator wrongly renders: "in order that he may be corrected by the punishment that I would inflict on him."

2 Read wa-fakkara.

3 Lit. "from the animals." The phrase which should possibly be read lil-hayat is omitted in Ethiopic.

4 I translated the above sentence somewhat freely. It is missing in Ethiopic.
"I created him with my love knowing through my prescience that he would be a demon, but he was like the other angels who were, according to my will, capable of obeying me or revolting against me. I had made him an Archon and the Chamberlain of my dwelling in the heights, because I knew that no other angels of the hierarchies of angels will rebel against me; and I had placed him in a rank higher than that of the remaining angels, because knowing in my prescience that these will not revolt, he will have at his revolt no excuse and say: 'I rebelled against you because you have placed some of my colleagues in a rank higher than mine, and in my revolt against you I aimed at a higher honour.' In this he would have had some pretext which would have given him an excuse for his revolt.

"He was nearer to me than all other hierarchies, because he was near to the Pavilion of Light, at the entrance of the Canopy, and he was holding the cords of the veils of my grace, and receiving (for the purpose of presenting them to me) the glorifications of the hierarchies that were under him. As I have already told you I had created him in the first hour of Sunday, and he fell from his rank in the second hour of Friday.

"And Gabriel was the lowest of the hierarchies of the angels, but in my prescience I knew that he would be the head of the angels. I did not make him their head when I created him in order that he might be ignorant of my will, and my will is that my works shall be done with my love and my justice. When the demon fell Gabriel took his place, and I made him the head of all the angels and placed him near the Pavilion of Light and the veils of mercy. I singled him out as my messenger, and made him the revealer of my secrets to all heavenly armies, and also the head of the waters, and entrusted him with the task of bringing good news and peace. And I made Michael the head of power and might, and of anger and wrath. As to Rudael and Raphael I entrusted them with the task of announcing the resurrection.

1 Read al-’ula. This sentence is missing in Ethiopic.
2 The expression "pavilion" of light, etc. (Arab. Kubbah) is generally translated in Ethiopic by "throne" (in Arab. Kursi) and thus the translator misses entirely the idea of the "holy of holies" in the seat of the Deity.
3 This sentence is difficult to translate and my translation of it is not certain. The Ethiopic version reads: "because all my work is justice, uprightness and mercy."
4 Read as-samāwiyyin.
5 Remove the articles in the text.
tion. As to Mary, the mother of mercy, her place in heaven is near the Canopy.

"O Peter, the Church which I established before the eons and the times near the door of my Pavilion, and which is called 'the Church of the faithful virgins,' I created it as a dwelling to those who believe in me. As to you, O Peter, guard my Church and what I confided to you. O Peter, I gave you the keys of pardon and the keys of the Kingdom. Heaven and earth obey your command, and the angels submit to your words and do not disobey you. O Peter, there was no beginning before I created everything in heaven and on earth, and everything that I created is liable to dissolution.

A Chapter on the sin of Adam and how he transgressed the Commandment.

Then I Peter said: "O Son of the living God, why did you create Adam knowing that he would rebel against you, and why did you place him on the earth after he had transgressed your commandment?"

And the Saviour said to me: "I have already given you the answer to your question in what has preceded." Then he added: "I will reveal everything to you. I was able in my grace to create Adam in a state that was angelic, simple, spiritual and immortal, but I created in heaven what I wished to create, and then I assembled the four elements and from them I created Adam in order that he might know that I control all the elements. I created Adam as a ruler over the earth. In my prescience I knew that he would rebel against me, but I created him with love, as previously asserted, and I caused him to die by my will.

"You know, O Peter, that when a husbandman casts his wheat into the earth he sorrows lest it should perish there, but when his grain yields fruits thirty-fold, sixty-fold, or a hundred-fold, he rejoices at the yield of his crops and forgets his first sorrow over his wheat. Likewise I mercifully saved Adam from death when I created him, but when he rebelled against me, his death did not cause me any trouble or sorrow, because from his posterity would rise, good, pious, righteous and upright people till the end of the world, in order that from them I might fill the hierarchy from which Satan had fallen."

1 As usual this sentence is in Syriac.  
2 Matt. xiii. 8.  
3 Read wāṣītin.  
4 Add kuntu.  
5 Read sāḥata.
“O Peter, know that I created Adam living and mortal, gave him freewill and enjoined obedience on him. I warned him against rebellion, made him understand everything, and said to him: ‘I have bestowed favours on you and made you a father. I have given you freewill and made you understand good from evil. Do not strive after the lordship that the Archon sought, and because of that he fell. Do not eat from the tree which yields the fruit of death, because if you eat from it you will die, and if you transgress my order I will deprive you of the Eden of delight, and banish you. If you do not contravene my orders and do not eat from that tree, I will not cause you to die, and you will live for ever.’

“O Peter, had I not known that Satan wished to deceive Adam and incite him to revolt, I would not have warned him against rebellion and I would not have admonished him as I did. It is because I knew that he would transgress my commandment that I created him mortal and immortal, and I infused the earth from which I had created him with fire and spirit. If he had kept my order to him and acted upon it he would not have died. He was endowed with two natures one spiritual and the other earthly and mortal, but when he rebelled against me I ordered death for the earthly and mortal nature.

“O Peter, I have already told you and I now tell you that I created Adam because of my incarnation, and I will return Adam to Paradise in the body which he had when he was driven out of it. Know, O Peter, that I have special secrets which minds cannot comprehend and which I do not wish to reveal to mankind.”

When the Christ spoke to me thus I worshipped before Him and implored Him and said to Him: “O Son of the living God, show me the different orders of the angels. You know that I have a desire to know this.” And He said to me: “Yes; O Peter. Know

1 The Ethiopic translator often omits the translation of the word istitā‘ah which in the next text means “free-will.” He evidently did not understand its meaning.
2 Read lam.
3 The Ethiopic translator has misunderstood this passage, because immediately after having spoken of the second nature of Adam which is immortal ends by saying: “I brought death against his spiritual nature” (ibid. p. 341).
4 This sentence is as usual in Syriac and is omitted in the Ethiopic version.
that the orders of the angels are numerous and do not resemble one another. Some of them have four faces and some of them are all faces. Some of them have many eyes, and some of them are all eyes. Some of them possess a light that is more dazzling than the light of the sun, and some of them have human faces; some of them have four wings with which to fly, and some of them have six wings, and some of them are all wings.

“Each one of these orders has names by which it is known, and they are: the Angels, the Archangels, the Thrones, the Princedoms, the Virtues, the High Dominations, the awe-inspiring Powers, the Cherubim who have many eyes and who bear the throne of my honour,¹ and the Seraphim who have six wings. They are nine hierarchies² and between one hierarchy and another is a distance similar to that which exists between you and heaven, O Peter. Between one hierarchy³ and another is a sea of dazzling light in order that through it the hierarchies may look at one another. All of them glorify my name because by my power I created speech in their mouths, and from all of them magnifications come forth. Each one of them has special magnifications and a special tongue in which to glorify. Some of them praise, some of them sanctify, some of them magnify, some of them give thanks, some of them glorify and some of them sing. This is what they do and they will do till the end of the world.

“I did not create them because I needed their praises, but because I wished to favour them with my grace. Before I created the creatures I was being glorified within myself,⁴ and when I created the angels I gave to each one of their orders a praise of a particular kind, through which to glorify me in a way different from the others; and I favoured them with the glorification of my majesty in order that they might praise what is eternally with me by means of their sweet modulations and their bright, spiritual, exquisite, refined and delicate voices, because they are luminous and spiritual heads.⁵

“All the hierarchies are devoid of bodies and are simple and not

¹ aukār is the Syriac word iktāra.
² Read taghmātuhum.
³ Lit. “town.”
⁴ The text adds “to myself.”
⁵ Lit.: “because they are heads of illumination and spirituality.” The Ethiopic translator omits almost every difficult sentence in this section.
composite. When a company of them descend from heaven to this earth, no corporeal being feels them, no man sees them and no one with material senses is conscious of their presence; and they are not perceived with the minds and the eyes of a seer, and the sound of their flying is not heard by a hearer. They are more agile than winds and swifter than the air. Some of them do not leave my Pavilion, and some of them I despatch to announce my mysteries, and some of them are charged with the care of those who are baptised in my name and in the name of my persons who are Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The man who is baptised in my name I give to the charge of two angels, one of whom is on his right and the other on his left, and they guard him against all harm and preserve him from all evil. As to the sons of perdition, O Peter, I withdraw from them my grace and my pardon.

A Chapter on the subject of Paradise, and the nature of the tree from which Adam ate.

When I Peter heard this I worshipped Him and said to Him: “O you the only Son of God, who came to the world in order to save its inhabitants, disclose to your servant the subject of Paradise. Is it situated on the earth as has been said or in heaven? What kind of a tree was the one which had in it good and evil and the fruits of which you forbade Adam to eat? What kind of a tree was the one from which he wished to eat? What is the tree of life? What is the cause of Adam and Eve desiring after their transgression to cover themselves in Paradise with the leaves of fig-trees? Does the light of the sun and the moon penetrate into Paradise? Has it night and day, or food and drink? Does it contain trees like the trees of this world and fruits like the fruits of this earth? Has it cold and heat, or hunger and thirst? Are those who inhabit it in need of garments? Does it possess elevated and fortified buildings? Whence flow the four rivers of water which flow in this world, and how do they come out of Paradise? Which is the higher, the Kingdom of Heaven or Paradise? What are the length and breadth of Paradise? Will it end at the end of this world?”

1 This sentence is wholly in Syriac.
2 This sentence is again in Syriac.
3 Read āhabba.
4 Read ‘atashun.
The Answer to the Question.

And the Christ said to me: “How careful you are to learn my secrets!” And then the Saviour added: “Know, O Peter, that we created Paradise from the Eden of delight, and placed it in Eden after we had fixed the earth and lifted up the firmament. There is no darkness in Eden, as there is in the firmament and on the earth, but it is bright and shining. It is high above this earth like the distance which separates the east from the west. It has together with Paradise three doors. I placed the first door, which is the highest, on the door of the sepulchre from which I rose, and it is called the burying-ground, and it is the burying-ground of the body which I put on from Adam. From it I hear and answer the prayers that are addressed to me because I did not become incarnate except to hear the prayers of those who are in need and to satisfy their wants.

“The second door of Paradise looks upon and overshadows the Mountain of Zaité, which is the Mount of Olives. O Peter, while you are now sitting on this mountain, you are sitting under that door. The Third Door of Paradise looks upon Mount Sinai.

“As to Paradise it is situated under our Throne itself, towards the east, and the light that comes out of that door and out of Paradise excels the light of the sun, and it possesses exquisite perfumes the like of which the earth does not possess. And the Garden of Eden is the dwelling place of the angels who glorify and magnify.

“As to the four rivers that come out of Paradise and flow on the earth, they are from the water which is under the throne of majesty. I made this water into four streams, which after having been agitated by the wind, flow very rapidly and traverse the land of Eden, and exhale into it that sweet and exquisite scent which it possesses. From the Garden of Eden they flow into this earth and irrigate its soil. O Peter, any one whom I render worthy of perceiving the odour of Eden and of seeing its brightness is no more in need of food and drink, and becomes immune against cold and heat; his face shines."


Lit. "heaven."

Written in Syriac.

Lit.: "on which you are now sitting under it."

The Ethiopic version identifies here the trees with the angels. This identification is found below in our MS.

Read biha.

Is it the "sea of storm" spoken of above?
also with its light, and his passion, that is to say the passion of the pleasures of this world, dies out of him through the exquisiteness of its perfume, because he acquires some of the qualities of the Garden of Eden.

"As to the trees they are the angels who glorify but not like the trees of this world, and never cease their glorifications. As to the tree which was in the middle of Paradise and from which was composed the knowledge of good and evil, I am that tree. O Peter, your Father Adam did not seek that tree from which I had forbidden him to eat except to become a God in his essence like me. Because he did not keep my commandment his design was frustrated. Then I took from him the pleasure that I had given him, because he imitated Satan and did the work of that Rebel."

"And he ate of the fruit of the tree which I had forbidden, and when he tasted it the thought of concupiscence came to him, because the tree bore the fruits of death. He deserved death for two reasons, the first of which is that he desired to be a God, and this is a thing which can never be done; and the second is that he transgressed the commandment. After I had warned him he was no more an ignorant man, because an ignorant man who transgresses a commandment does not deserve punishment. He was, on the contrary, an intelligent man and a wise man, and from the wisdom which I had created in him he had invented names to all created things.

"Know, O Peter, that the trees which are in Paradise are the angels whom I have placed there, and that the tree which is in the middle of it are we ourselves, because we are the knowers of good and evil. I am, O Peter, the tree of life and mercy, and whoso eats of my fruits shall live for ever. The Father is the tree of justice, I am the tree of mercy and the Spirit is the tree of life.

"As to Paradise, O Peter, neither darkness can prevail against it nor light can penetrate into it, because its land is luminous and arrayed

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1 The Ethiopic version has: "I myself know that tree."
2 Read 'iāhan.
3 The author uses here the pronoun expletively before the subject to which it belongs, according to the method used only in Syriac and never in Arabic.
4 Read marīd for ma'dīd.
5 The author erroneously uses the Arabic word 'ikr in feminine, under the influence of the Syriac mahshābtha.
6 Read fa'innahu.
7 Read al-ashjār.
8 Read shājārat.
in brightness while its perfumes are unequalled. Anyone who
breathes its air shall live an eternal life and shall not taste death,
because it is sanctified by the glorifications of the spiritual beings; and
anyone who dwells in it shall not meet with any harm. It is not
defiled by any defilement, and no unbeliever dwells in it. Service is
never at an end either in it or in the heavenly Jerusalem which is
above Paradise, and it has neither night nor day. It is from the light
and the brightness of Paradise that the sun has obtained its light, and
the brightness which is caused by its light and its rays cannot be
paralleled in this world. No created being can describe it, but my
power and the brightness of my light surpass it. And the trees came
into being and were planted in the newly created earth through the
breeze of Paradise.

"I caused my grace to descend upon it, remain in it and fill it, and
I prepared it for people who would inhabit it through the merits of
their good work. O Peter, my grace is in Paradise, and I placed it
below my Kingdom, and I caused the light that is in it to stretch out
from the light of my Kingdom. This Paradise, O Peter, is prepared
for people who are worthy of it. It contains neither winter nor
summer nor the perishable concupiscence of this world. It has neither
food nor drink, because its breeze satisfies the souls. The dwellers
therein have no sinful thought nor do they delight in sin. There is
in it no hunger and no thirst, and its inmates are in no need of
garments since there is in it no shame of nudity.

"As to your question, O Peter, concerning the covering with
which your father Adam and your mother Eve covered themselves,
it was their hands, because it is with them that they covered them-
selves when they were stripped of light which was their garment in
consequence of their disobedience. The subject of Paradise, O Peter,
is marvellous and full of high signs, but the Kingdom of Heaven is
greater, higher and more sublime than it. Anyone who is worthy
of the Kingdom of Heaven first goes to the pleasures of the gardens

1 Lit. "winds." This may denote a Syriac rūḥa which signifies both
"wind" and "spirit."

2 Codex: because. or: "are above it".

3 Sic. cod. or: "in the marshy places of the earth" if we read ghadīr.

4 Read al-ladhi.

5 Read yuṣfaktiyrūn.

6 Probably: sin of lust.

7 Read liḥāsahumā.

8 Read kanāt.
of Paradise, and afterwards is taken up and raised to the Kingdom of Heaven, which is near our abode and which is infused with our grace; and this abode is the majestic Pavilion which overlooks all the dwellings of the people of Paradise. And the Kingdom of Heaven has neither a limited length nor a circumscribed breadth, and it has no end and no dissolution.

"Know, O Peter, that it possesses many doors, beautiful mansions and delightful places, devoted to the prophets and the just men, who are in separate dwellings which are pure, holy, sublime and arrayed in light. When I came down from heaven to earth I prepared those dwellings for the souls of the just men, and they are now assigned to them. I gave you the keys of all of them when I gave you the keys of the heavens and appointed you vizier. I placed them all in your hands and made you the master of the house by whose permission every one has to enter.

"As to the believers who follow me and are baptised in my name; who confess my faith before those who hate me and despise me; who keep my praiseworthy commandment and well-defined orders; who avoid sins and iniquities, and reject those crimes that I have forbidden at all times: their abode shall be in the city of peace, and I will shower on them favours the pleasures and happiness of which have no end."

When my Lord and Saviour reached this point in His speech, I Peter worshipped before Him and said to Him: "Have pity on your servant and allow him to speak." And Christ said to me: "Ask what you wish, O Peter." I then asked about something and then refrained, and said: "No, O my Lord." And He said: "I shall not refuse your demand; say, therefore, what your wish, O Peter."

A Chapter on the different ranks of the believers, of the just men and of the prophets and others.

And I said to Him: "O Son of the living God, you have helped me your servant in what I had asked. Disclose to me now the state of the just men, the prophets and others who believe in you; and what will happen to them before your second coming at the end of the

1 Read jami'aha.
2 Read al-mu'minān.
3 Read hādha.
4 This sentence is as usual in Syriac.
world." And my Saviour said to me: "I shall grant you, O Peter, what you asked for, and disclose to you the ranks of the prophets, the just men and others who will believe in me, after my ascension from the earth to the heavenly abode of my glory and my majesty."

1 Here ends the Speech of the Lord of Lords to the pure and distinguished Father. God suffices me, and I solicit the help of His Son who keeps His promises.

In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the One who proceeds, one God in three (persons) I will write the second Part, full of meanings, in which figures Simona, son of Jona.6

In the name of the Son of the Omnipotent God I will write in this sublime book what the glorious Peter narrated to us from the mouth of the Mighty God.

And the great, honoured and holy chief, the Father, the Disciple and the Apostle said to me Clement:8

(And the Lord said to me): "O Peter, prepare labourers, dig wells4 and fill them to the brim with the spiritual water which I entrusted to you. Strengthen their foundations and construct one wall towards the land and the other towards the water. Open my treasures and my granaries and sow wheat in all lands. Water it to the full, and I will make it grow, and will guard it, strengthen it and bless it in order that my sheep, my rams and my lambs may eat it and live forever." My sheep are waiting for my voice because they recognise

1 All the following introductory passage has been added by a copyist and is written in rhymed prose. All the passage is missing in Ethiopic.

2 I.e. Simon son of Jonas. The copyist writes the name of Simon as Simona for the sake of the rhyme with Jona (Jonas).

3 Codex: "Peter" ex errore. "Codex: "rivers."

4 Read liya' kulüha.

6 All the following pages are written in a rhymed prose which points to an undoubted Arabic original for the narrative. As in a composition of this kind more importance is attached to the happy and elaborate choice of lexicographical terms than to the general meaning of sentences, I will only give a rough translation of this section. I will point out below where this rhymed prose ends. It is needless to add that it is completely missing in the Ethiopic version, the translator of which has satisfied himself with about a third of a page of the R.O.C., ibid. p. 345. I cannot decide whether such a section was found in the MS. lying before the Ethiopic translator. Cf. my note in my Woodbrooke Studies, i. 101. I believe that this section is of a later date than what has preceded, and that the original text was much shorter than the one given here.
it, and they will answer it and follow me. I sent you to be their shepherd because I was aware of your pity for them. They are thirsty, hungry and humble sheep, which will follow the shepherds that I will choose for them. They are assembled now in my fold where they are worshipping and praying. If you mention my name to them they will come out forthwith to be branded with my mark, and I will protect them by my power, and no one will be able to take them from me. I will give them eternal life in the Kingdom of the Garden of Eden, and promise them that they will be on my right in the day of the Resurrection and that they will rejoice with me for ever and ever.”

Then Jesus Christ of Nazareth said to me: “The abode of the pious people who are baptised in my name and who believe in me and repent before their death, will be in Paradise which I have planted in the Eden of delight, and they will rejoice there for ever and ever. As to you my disciples, who have left everything in the world even your fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters and followed me at the cost of your life, I will bestow on you gifts which will astound men and Satan: I will appoint each one of you as head of a nation, grant you the gift of my miracles, and of my knowledge, and send you to convert the world. If you do my will, I will have churches and shrines built under your name, and your tombs will heal people and comfort them in their troubles. They will seek your intercession, and I will answer their prayers for your sake.

“After you have risen from your graves in the day of the Resurrection you will judge the twelve tribes of the wicked and accursed nation, and I will place in your golden mouths words of wisdom which will inflict summary punishment on faithless and unjust servants. And you will have peace and joy near me and in the company of my angels in the land of light and might where you will magnify and glorify me for ever and ever.

“As to my priests who sanctify my blood and my body; who offer their prayers to me in the appointed hours; who follow my law and my Canons; who keep their hearts pure; who love their fellow men, avoid sin, and stand against evil and evildoers: their abode shall be in places full of light which look up on flowering gardens with flowing rivers, and clusters of trees and fruits.

1 Cf: John x. 1-27. 2 Cf: Matt. xix. 28-29.
3 It is impossible not to think here of the heaven of the Kur'ān.
"As to the scholars and wise men who have suffered persecution for their obedience to my will; who have demonstrated my faith publicly upon the hills of the world; who have borne patiently their injuries inflicted on them by the children of the tares; who have refuted the objections of the sons of the world; who have kept my commandments and made gains with my talents: I will bestow benefits upon them, forgive their sins, have mercy upon them, remove their sorrows from them and place them in mansions full of eternal joy and delight.

"As to the children of the Church and the heads of the law, who handle the spiritual mysteries; who strive to increase for themselves the Lord's gains and serve the Lord's houses; who avoid the sins of the body and shine with the qualities of the heart—I mean the priests and the deacons, who fear me and keep my commandments—I have prepared for them gorgeous garments and diadems, and I will place them in the mansions of heaven which overlook the sufferings of the abyss, in order to double in that day their joy and their pleasures.

"As to the main body of the faithful who have suffered persecution for my sake and stood firm against the injustices of the children of the tares; who have been baptised and have kept my commandments; who have professed my faith in the tribunals of the pagans, who believe themselves to be of noble extraction: I will purify them from their sins and place them on my right, in order that the onlookers may know that they are not of the people with whom God is angry nor of those who go astray. And they will be like the angels of heaven, deprived of their base and earthly body. They will be swift in their movements, pure and endowed with knowledge. I will charge some of them with my messages, and some others will be entrusted with the calamities which I will inflict on my earth, while some others will control the clouds and some others the winds. Everyone of them has a mansion prepared for him before his creation, because he has kept my commandments and has not imitated Adam and the Archon in their revolt against me, but has confessed my grace."

1 A transliteration of the Syriac mārānāya.
2 Read yauma'idhin. It is rather cruel to experience especial joy at the sight of other peoples' sufferings.
3 Read liya'ālamu.
4 Kur'ān i. 6. This is against the Muslim commentators who hold that the Kur'ānic sentence "those who go astray" refers to Christians.
Then my Lord turned right and left, and He was transfigured and His face became suffused with light and beauty. I saw thousands and myriads of angels round Him and I was bewildered and awe-struck by their majesty, but my Lord strengthened my heart after I had confessed that He was my God and my Lord, and He said to me: "O Peter, do not be deceived by the image of these spirits. I wished to show them to you in order that you may know that I am their Lord and their God." Then I genuflected before Him, prostrated myself before His feet and said: "I have ascertained that you are the hidden Lord and that you are God and the Omnipotent Son of God, high in glory and majesty."

After I had uttered this confession before those pure spirits He made a sign to two angels to take charge of me, and they removed me from His presence in order to show me the might of His power. One of them opened one of the doors of hell, and I saw in it an accumulation of cold, blood and fire. Then that angel looked at the earth and a third of it was consumed together with the third part of its trees and vegetation. Then I saw the other angel opening a door that was like a large mountain, and he ordered me to observe what was there. And I saw fires that burned, bodies that shook, sighs that mounted, and an uproar that kept alternately diminishing and increasing.

Then (the first) angel under whose care I was placed looked at the sea, and a third part of it became blood, and a third part of the animals found in it perished, and a third part of the vessels that were moving on it sank in its depths. And the star called Aḵṣīmīs appeared to me, and enlightened the third part of the sea, and I saw many people rising on their feet from the fear (that overtook them) at the fall of that star.

Then one of the angels opened a door which darkened a third part of the sun, a third part of the moon, a third part of the stars, a third part of the day and a third part of the night. After this he opened the door of the abyss, which emitted a terrific heat and a vapour with a putrid odour, which obscured the light of the sun.

1 From the following passage the text ceases gradually to be in rhymed prose, and I will translate it in the usual way.
2 Read wa ja'ālahumā. 3 Lit. "suffering."
4 See the Book of Rev. viii. 9. 5 Read tahīm. It is the Syriac tehōma.
Then I saw coming out of there, and flying like birds, locusts with poisonous stings like those of deadly scorpions. The sky and the atmosphere were filled with them and all the earth was darkened by them. Before they came out, however, they were ordered by the angels not to go near and hurt the children of Baptism, but only to attack those who have no fear of God in them and are not prepared to meet His wrath. In this way they were to avenge God and strike for five months the faces of His enemies not to death, however, but as a punishment only. (The angel) also ordered them not to trespass on grass and vegetation, nor to fall on trees and fruits, nor to display their strength against the believing children of men, but to come down on barren mountains, wastes and stones.

Then the angel under whose care I was placed called me to the borders of the Euphrates, and I saw four angels that were bound there, and I said to the angel: “Who are these?” And he answered: “These are angels entrusted with the counting of days, months, and years. They are expecting the end of eons and times when their shackles will be broken and they will overcome all those who had contradicted them. They experience a great satisfaction in casting the third of mankind into perdition by order of the Omnipotent God.”

Then I saw horses of fire drawing near to me, on which were riding people with breast-plates of fire. I saw other horses with heads of lions and with fire coming out of their mouths. I saw innumerable people and races who felicitated and congratulated me on my headship and on my promotion to the position of precedence over all the believing nations. One of them handed me an oblong rod of light and said to me: “Arise and measure this sanctuary, because it is the sanctuary of the Lord; and measure also the altar.”

Then I saw in heaven a red door in which there was a red dragon which had seven heads and twenty horns, and a crown on each head. This dragon stretched its tail, and it destroyed the third of the stars of heaven.

Then I saw a woman running in the deserts, and she had much

1 Read yatajāwasū. 2 See the Book of Rev. ix. 3 sq.
3 Read lil-malak (sing.). 4 Read wayatasallātū.
5 See the Book of Rev. ix. 14.
influence on the Lord, and she remained there one thousand two hundred and threescore days.

And there were two elders on whom God had showered His favours and whom He had invested with honour and glory, and they were His intimate friends to whom He had redeemed His pledge. And (the angel) called these two elders, who had before their Lord as much honour as an angel, and who had to their credit signs, wonders and miracles. While I was standing with them and meditating concerning them I saw an animal coming out of the depth of the sea and which hurled itself at them, attacked them, fought against them, overcame them and killed them. It threw their corpses outside the town, which was called Bilāt. And it did not occur to it that it was doing a wrong thing.

Then I saw that the vineyards were stripped of their grapes which were thrown in a press situated outside the town, and their juice pressed out of them. The wrath of God was upon that press and the juice was transformed into frozen blood (as high as) a mountain. Then it melted and flowed on the surface of the earth to the extent of one thousand and six hundred parasangs.

Then I saw an eagle sweeping on the first dragon, and it drowned it in the depth of the abyss, and it is the Devil who envies the children of men. It closed the doors against him and it proclaimed to the faithful that it will not come out of that place until a thousand years are finished. And the angels sealed the place in which he had been placed with the seals of the children of Baptism, and these seals are the names of the Holy Trinity and the signs of the Cross on which was crucified the Son of God who cannot be seen nor perceived nor overcome. Then I saw that the (seals) were placed (in the middle) and on them were laid the martyrs who were killed with the sword because of their love for the Messiah their Lord.

1 MS. "one hundred," but as the author is probably quoting the Book of Rev. xii. 6, the difference seems to be due to a copyist's error.
2 Read fada'a as-shaikhān. The author attaches the pronoun to the verb placed before the subject as it is done in Syriac but not in Arabic.
3 Read wa-rama.
4 Read wa-bashshar. Here as above the author uses the pronoun according to the Syriac and not the Arabic syntax.
5 See the Book of Rev. xx. 1-3, which seems to be the source of the author for this sentence.
6 The Syriac word telithāyūtha.
Then I saw a great throne, white with light, on which was sitting a figure of light; and I saw the heaven folded up and the earth standing firm; and I saw all the first and the last of the dead believers rising from their graves and standing before that throne. Books were then fetched and opened, and among them I saw the book of life open, and the people who had risen from the graves were being judged by those books, and everyone was requited according to his works.¹

Then I saw the sea giving up the dead who were in it, and all stood for judgment; likewise hell gave up all the creatures that were in it, and they also stood for judgment. I saw also in a pit the suffering of some people who were tormented with frozen snow which occasioned shivering and gnashing of teeth.

After this the angels under whose care I was placed said to me: "Rise up with me and I will show you the places which you asked me to show you." And he forthwith placed me on a high mountain, higher than the highest peaks, and said to me: "Rejoice, and let your heart jubilate. Look at the city of the heavenly Jerusalem which is holy, glorious, honourable and spiritual, and which the Lord of creation has prepared for the children of Baptism in order that they might pray in it and worship with the angelic hierarchies and Adamic races." I drew near to it and was awestruck by it. It is situated on the highest point of Paradise and it overlooks the lofty Garden of Eden.

I saw the light of the first Kingdom of Heaven shining, a light that multiplies in the onlooker lights that enlighten his mind, intelligence, knowledge, meekness, speech, sight, hearing, and smelling, because it proceeds from life, power, strength, wisdom, grace and mercy. It is a light that shines like the rays of the full moon, and like the flash of the swift lightning.

I saw that it was surrounded by lofty walls in which were twelve gates, three of which looked to the centre of the east, three to the middle of the west, three to the beginning of the south and three to the beginning of the north. I saw that the city had twelve foundations in which were also twelve gates, on each one of which

¹ All this is found in the Book of Rev. xx. 12.
² Remove the waw.
³ Read aswär.
⁴ Lit. "walls."
was written the name of one of the Apostles, while his image was painted upon it. 1

The street 2 of the city was of red gold and pure silver. The city itself was four square with exactitude. Its wall 3 was built with twelve stones. The first stone is called jasper, 4 and the second is called sapphire. 5 The third stone is called chalcedony, and the fourth stone is called emerald. The fifth stone is sardonyx, and the sixth sardius. The seventh is chrysolyte, 6 and the eighth beryl. The ninth stone is a topaz, and the tenth chrysoprasus. The eleventh stone is jacinth, 7 and the twelfth stone is of different colours the first of which is yellow and the second red, the third blue, the fourth white and the fifth black, and it is called onyx.

After the angel had shown me all this Church, he handed me a rod of gold which he was carrying and said to me: “Take this rod, O Peter, and measure this Church with it.” And I did what the angel had ordered me; and it measured twelve thousand parasangs by the measure 8 of the Holy Spirit. And the angel measured the breadth of each wall, and it measured one hundred and forty cubits by the cubit of the Holy Spirit 9 which measures like the distance that separates the east from the west.

I did not see any temple in the Church because its temple is Ahiyah Asharakhjah Sabaoth 10 who dwells in every part of it. The Father has, indeed, established it in the name of the Christ our Lord, the Lamb of the divine sacrifice which is offered for the expia-

1 This is similar to what is found in the Book of Rev. xxi. 12-14.
2 Lit. “furniture,” but see Rev. xxi. 21.
3 Read as-sūr.
4 Text: al-asfiānos.
5 Text: asfīla from Syriac safīla.
6 Lit. “gold.”
7 The description of the stones is similar to that found in the Book of Rev. xxi. 19-20, the nomenclature of which I have followed, although the nature of each stone is somewhat difficult to determine scientifically.
8 Lit. kabdāh—the measure of the palm of the hand or of the upper arm.
9 In the Book of Rev. xxi. 17, it is said that the measure was that of an angel. Note how the author constantly uses here the Persian measure of “parasangs.” This Apocalyptic measure is rendered in the English version by the word “furlongs.” The Book of Rev. says further that the measure of the wall was 144 and not 140 cubits. This difference is probably due to an error of a copyist.
10 Hebrew names as above. All this is imitated from the Book of Rev. xxi. 22, where the Hebrew names of our document occur as the “Lord God Almighty.”
tion of the sins of Adam and his posterity, and the Lamb which taketh away the sin of the world.\(^1\)

To that church go in the day of the Resurrection and Resuscitation the souls of the believers, the true prophets, the Apostles who are the heads of the shepherds of the sheep of God; to them on that day will flock their flocks from the four corners of the earth, and they will present them before the judging Lord in order to exact\(^2\) justice in their favour from those with whom God is angry.\(^3\)

And the pure and holy Father said: I did not see\(^4\) in (that Church) either sun or moon, because its light surpasses all other light and transcends every other brightness, as it is full of the light, brightness and splendour of God. It has neither night nor darkness, and it is from it that the creatures of light borrow their light. To it are addressed the glorifications of the peoples, but none enters it except the souls which believe in the Son of God and in the Trinity, which are cleansed in the water of Baptism, which are marked with the sign of the Cross, and which disbelieve in the treatise\(^5\) of the son of the wolf.

While the angel was showing me every place in that Church, I noticed a river flowing from under the throne of might. Its water\(^6\) was white in colour and it exhaled perfumes which quickened the souls. On either side of it were trees of life, which served as an abode for the rational birds. Each tree bore twelve fruits, and each one of these fruits had a different colour, taste, scent and usefulness.\(^7\) I asked the angel concerning the name of that stream and he answered me that its name was the "Beautifier of Life."

And the angel said to me: "I wish to show you the great whore who is sitting by the waters that stink with iniquities."

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\(^1\) John i. 29.\(^2\) Read līyā'khudhū.\(^3\) A Qur'ānic sentence as above.\(^4\) Add ara.\(^5\) Or, possibly "opinion." Who is this "son of the wolf"? From many somewhat veiled expressions found in the work I have come to the conclusion that the "son of the wolf" is Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, and that the "children of the wolf" are the Muslims, his followers. As the author was writing in Arabic, and Arabic was the language of the Muslims, some expressions had to be found which referred in a covert way to the new masters whom the Christian communities of the East often hated and always feared more than respected.\(^6\) Read mā'hu.\(^7\) This river and these trees are those found in the Book of Rev. xxii. 1-2.
with whom all the kings of the earth have committed fornication and have been made drunk with her wine."\(^1\) At his command I went like lightning and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet coloured beast, near waters that were full of fish. She had seven heads and ten horns, and was arrayed in purple and scarlet and decked with gold and with garments adorned with precious stones. She had a golden cup in her hand full of her abominations, and upon her garment was written: "This is the whore who committed fornication, and conceived from her iniquitous sin and brought forth the tares, the pagans who are the children of the wolf,\(^3\) the Chosraus, the Pharaohs, the giants and the tyrants, who contradict the truth and in whose heart there is neither pity nor fear, and who worship idols." She did not believe in the message of the angel,\(^4\) and she represents the city of Babylon which overcame and overpowered all the countries, and became insolent and haughty throughout her dominions, which she increased.

The seven heads that she has represents seven kingdoms. Each kingdom will last for a time, and no one will be able to save them from her hands, nor to overcome her till the end of time. And the ten horns which she has represent also kings who will rule over nations.\(^5\)

And the angel said to me: "Her end will be desolation and perdition, and all her children will perish with her in the bottomless pit."

And the angel said to me: "O Peter, admonish your children to flee\(^6\) from her in order that she may not draw them to herself, because if she does they will undoubtedly fall down into the lowest part of hell and they will abide\(^6\) there with her children for ever and ever."

Then I Peter drew nearer to that woman and I noticed that she was drunk and had lost consciousness. And I looked at her wine

\(^1\) This is surely the same woman as that found in the Book of Rev. xvii. 1-7.

\(^2\) Here also I believe that these "children of the wolf" are the Muslims.

\(^3\) This sentence is difficult and my translation of it is not certain.

\(^4\) This and similar incidents in this section are not in harmony with Rev. xvii. 12.

\(^5\) Read liyahrubu.

\(^6\) Read mathwâhum.
and saw that it was from the blood of the children of the Church, of the elect of God, of the faithful who are the children of Baptism, of the saints and of the pious martyrs who endured the sufferings of many kinds of deaths and torments at the hand of her children, who shed the blood of the sons of faith in order that she might drink it and be drunken and intoxicated.

When I Peter saw this I was grieved at the sad plight of my children from that whore, but the angel said to me: "Do not fear, O Peter, because the Lamb of God will overcome her, destroy her throne, obliterate her name and her memory and thrust her into the fire of the lowest hell. And the fire that burns her and her children is eternal, does not perish and is not quenched."

Then I saw an animal coming from the direction of the sun, and had two horns like those of a lamb. And I saw a dragon in his hands, and I saw that the earth and its inhabitants were worshipping that beast because he was performing wonderful deeds one of which was that he was bringing down fire from heaven on the earth. He was also working miracles which astonished the inhabitants of the earth. He commanded them to fashion an image, and he imparted to that image a soul with which to speak. He ordered the people to write the name of the image in their houses and to proclaim to all the countries and corners of the earth: "Anyone of the children of the world who will not worship this image shall be killed."

He also ordered all the worshippers of that image to paint it on their bodies and on their faces in order that they might be known as the followers of the beast which resembled a lamb and to which God granted power, glory and honour. He also ordered that houses of prayer should be built for it and for its followers, in order that they might be recognised there and that their acclamations might be heard therein.

The mark with which he ordered them to be marked is the crown of death with which all the believers in him are crowned.  

1 Add a wāw.  
2 Read afālan.  
3 Remove the nun from all the verbs followed by the particle 'an.

Here also the author places the pronoun before the subject according to the genius of the Syriac and not the Arabic language.

This beast seems to be that mentioned in the Book of Rev. xiii. 11-17. The author as usual shortens or lengthens or changes the text of the Book of Rev. in some important details and comments upon it in some other details.
did not see anyone able to save himself from him except Edom, Moab and the sons of ‘Emron.

Then I saw a woman whose face shone like the sun and the moon. And I saw that she had the moon under her feet and that she clothed herself with the sun. I saw on her head a crown woven with twelve stars. And the woman was with child and travelling in birth. Then I saw that she brought forth a man child, and I saw that after she brought him forth he ruled all nations. Then he was caught up unto God and sat in the throne of His glory.

Then I saw the woman on a great height where she remained one thousand one hundred and sixty-six days. And I saw that the above-mentioned dragon was persecuting the woman to whom were given two wings of a great eagle with which she flew to a high peak from fear of the big dragon. And I saw that the dragon cast out of his mouth water as a great river so that he might cut off the way of the woman, but the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the water which the dragon had cast out of his mouth in order to harm the woman, and she was delivered and saved. When the dragon noticed that the woman was saved from his evildoing, he waxed very angry and proceeded to make war with her people and her followers, and with those who keep her commandments and her laws, who are martyred for her sake and for the sake of her son and who submit to her orders. These are the believers who have shunned the perfumes of the Rebel and rejoiced in their belief in the only Son of God.

Then the angel to whom I was confided took me back to the Mount of Olives and placed me before the Lord Christ. And my Lord said to me: “O Peter, have you seen wonders?” And I said to Him: “O Son of the living God, I saw what I am not able to describe, and even my memory cannot reveal all that I saw.”

And my Lord said: “O Peter, how numerous will be the troubles that will befall my followers at the hand of my enemies, the children of the tares, who are the inhabitants of the South and the

1 The text of this sentence is corrupt. The woman spoken of here seems to be the one mentioned in the Book of Rev. xii. 1-2, 5-6, etc., although with some differences in phraseology.

2 The Book of Rev. xii. 6, says “one thousand two hundred and sixty six days.”

3 Read famihi.

4 This sentence is as usual in Syriac.
followers of the Apostle of the Archon! Indeed, they will suffer innumerable torments from them, but blessed are those who will endure hardships for my sake at the time when their souls leave their bodies and come to me! O Peter, there will be no limit to the increase of their reward with me, and I will mix their souls with my elect in my Kingdom, and I will gladden their hearts with the multitude of favours which I will shower on them in a way that neither their hearts nor their minds can conceive. Thus will I make them forget all the evil things that they had endured from the (children) of the tares and others, and I will not withhold my Providence from them at the time of their sojourn on the earth.

"As to the woman whom you saw with the moon under her feet, clothed with the sun, and possessed of that unique pearl which you beheld, and having on her head a crown woven with twelve stars, she is my glorious Church which shines with lights that surpass in brightness the rays of the sun in which she was arrayed. As to the moon which you saw under her feet, it represents the light which I will cause to shine on the believers and on the martyrs who are killed for my sake. My Churches will be built under their names, and the shrine of each one of them will shine like the bright moon because of the injustices of the enemies which they had borne.

"As to the big crown which she was wearing and which was surmounted with a pearl and surrounded by twelve stars, one of which fell down: the crown represents my glory and my blood, and the pearl that surmounted the crown is I, the Lord God, who causes my light to shine on all my creatures. As to the twelve stars, they are you the twelve Apostles. As to the star that fell from among you, it is Judas Iscariot who betrayed my signs and my favours to him and strove to inflict on me the sufferings which I have endured. Verily I say unto you that I will make him fall from your company as I made

1 I believe that this sentence also clearly refers to the Muslim Arabs who come from the South. The "Apostle of the Archon" seems also to designate Muhammad, and means "Apostle of Satan" in contrast with "Apostle of God" as the Prophet of Islam is called.

2 Remove the particle ila.

3 The Book of Rev. xii. I does not mention any pearl. The author is possibly referring to the woman spoken of in Rev. xvii. 4, who was decked with gold and precious stones and pearls. See above.

4 MS. "Church." 6 Read 'inhabata.
the Archon fall from the ten hierarchies of the angels. He merited this fall from his glory because of his revolt and his calumnies.

"As to you, O Apostles, you will increase, and your memory will be honoured in the countries of the earth. You will beget spiritually over the whole surface of the earth, and you will have sons and daughters, and your posterity will be filled with love, purity, knowledge, meekness, chastity, asceticism, mercy, grace, sweetness and faith, and you will have through your children superiority over all nations. They will listen to my mysteries which you will confide to them, and will keep my commandments which you will recite to them.

"Blessed are you and your hallowed progeny who will endure for my sake the hardships which the children of the earth will inflict on them! Their blood will be shed like flowing water in order that the commands with which I sent you into the world may be safeguarded. I will redeem my promise in all things told by you concerning me in my holy Gospel.

"As to the woman who brought forth the man child, she is the mother of life, the mother of grace, and the mother of the good shepherd. And the man child whom she brought forth is the one to whom you are speaking.

"Know that I have shown you the things that were at the very beginning and the things that will be at the very end, because all things are present in the palm of my hand, and any time I will them to be they are."

Here ends the second part full of meanings in which figures Simon son of Jonas—may perfect peace be upon him from all of us.  

1 Sic. cod.  
2 Read milādan.  
3 All these headings are due to the copyist and are not germane to the narrative.
WOODBROOKE STUDIES

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لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
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حِكَّةُ يَزَّامِلِهِمْ نَفَرٌ مَّثَّلُ كَأَنَّهُمْ مَعِينٌ، وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَفْسِيرُ مَعِينٍ،
وَلَا حَلَّٰلُهُمْ حَقًّا عَلَى هَمَّةٍ، وَلَا شَرًّا عَلَى هَمَّةٍ، لَّا تَذَكَّرُوا بِهِمْ مَعِينٌ،
وَلَا يَفْتَرُوا عَلَى هَمَّةٍ مَّثَّلًا، وَلَا تَذَكَّرُوا مَعِينٍ، لَّا يَفْتَرُوا عَلَى هَمَّةٍ مَّثَّلًا، وَلَا تَذَكَّرُوا بِهِمْ مَعِينٍ،
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لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
ده که میده:

با خاطر بزرگی که نسبت به قدرت‌های مالی و شکلویی اصلی و درست به‌طور صحیح و مناسب در جهان اسلام کار کرده‌اید.

ما همیشه به شیوه‌ای که می‌توانید در جامعه اسلامی بی‌اختیار و در مرحله افزایش مالیات به‌دست آورید.

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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.