

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

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

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FASCICULUS 8.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following pages give the edition and translation of the final section of the work that passes under the name of "Apocalypse of Peter," "Book of the Rolls," or simply "Clement." The contents of this part of the work are generally not apocalyptic in character but historical, and the task of translating their Garshūnī text proved to be relatively easy.

After a few pages dealing with the history, the name and the description of the Antichrist who will herald the end of the world, the seventh part of the Clementine literature ends, and is immediately followed by the eighth part which contains the history of the Apostles and of their evangelisation of the various countries of the earth. Special emphasis is naturally laid on the preaching of Peter. The ministry of the Apostles whose preaching is not intimately connected with that of Peter is dismissed with a short reference which can hardly do justice to their spiritual labours and their high rank as disciples of the Lord. As I have pointed out in the two preceding fasciculi of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, the present document is highly Petrine in character, and anyone or anything not connected with the inner circle of the narrow Petrine orbit, either assumes insignificance or is relegated to the background of history.

The most extraordinary thing that I ever saw in any Christian document is the fact that this marked predilection of the author for St.

Peter has led him to adopt a rather indifferent attitude towards Paul, called by the unanimity of Christian writers "The Apostle" *par excellence*. In a passage found towards the end of the narrative it is said that Peter ordered Clement to put down in writing all that he had taught him and revealed to him. He further commanded him to deposit the book thus written in the archives at Rome. When the book was finished Peter and Clement sealed it with their seals and Peter said : "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries to Paul or those who resemble him."¹

In this connection I shall not draw especial attention to the fact that in the document Paul always applies to Peter the epithets of "master" and of "teacher," but I cannot pass without some comment the unusual process whereby Paul is sent out by Peter on all his missionary journeys, and has to report to him concerning his doings in each of these journeys. So after having evangelised *al-Adiyōka*, "a town which is in darkness," Paul comes back to Peter who was in Carthage and presents him with a report of his mission which begins : "O spiritual father, my chief . . . and my master."

Following the strain of his anti-Pauline tendency, the author often assigns to Paul a rôle which is, to say the least, too ingenuous and undignified. So he is once given the rôle of a pagan and made to worship and praise the idols before the Emperor and all the members of his court, but when the same Emperor became Christian and noticed the deceitfulness of which he was the victim he complained to Paul of his hypocritical conduct and the latter answered : "I meant in what I did to use a stratagem with you in order that by my soft advice to you the hardness of your nature may be mollified to your advantage !" The outcome of the strange scene was that the Emperor "was amused, and smiling at him, thanked him for the ruse he had practised against him !"

As I pointed out in a foot-note, this subtle conduct of Paul may, to some extent, be explained by the words used in 1 Cor. ix. 20-23. "And unto Jews I became as a Jew that I might gain the Jews. . . . To them that are without law, as without law . . . that I

¹ The Arabic sentence may possibly mean : "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries (or secrets) be he Paul or any of those who resemble him (= his followers)." The anti-Pauline tendency remains in the sentence whatever meaning we give to it.

might gain them." These sentences cannot, however, remove all the sting from the author's marked anti-Paulinism, and a better explanation of this curious phenomenon may perhaps be sought in the opinion first enunciated by some scholars of the last century who distinguished two social and theological tendencies among the Christian members of the early Church: a tendency towards the teaching of Paul called *Paulinism*, and another tendency towards the teaching of Peter, called *Petrinism*. Traces of these two distinct Christian parties can be discerned in the present Petrine Apocryphon.¹ From passages in the canonical Book of the Acts, dealing with the *Judaizers*, we know that everything did not always go smoothly in the early Church. This is confirmed by a reference to Galat. ii. 11, where Paul writes: "But when Peter was come to Antioch I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed."

Harder even than all the anti-Pauline sentences referred to above is the accusation brought by the author against the Apostle of the Gentiles of "tampering with books," with special reference to the separate books which contained the profession of faith of each of the twelve Apostles. When these twelve books were finished the text adds that they were sealed with the seal of each Apostle, "beginning with the seal of my teacher Peter, then with that of Mary the mother of light, and with that of Paul *who had tampered with the language of the books*."

I am not in a position to offer a better explanation than the one I gave above for these unusual attacks upon St. Paul.

I have referred in my foot-notes to some of the sources of the author. So far as the life of Clement, his conversion and his meeting with his brothers and parents are concerned, our thought naturally goes to the well-known Clementine *Recognitions and Homilies*. From the fact that the mother of our hero is called *Mitradora* and not *Mattidia*, as in the Greek recension of these two works, I have conjectured that our text as well as its Ethiopic counterpart are under the influence of an ancient Syriac recension of the story which in

¹ See on this subject Hans Lietzmann in *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (10, iv., 1930), and Emanuel Hirsch in *Zeitschr. für die Neut. Wissens.*, 1930, pp. 63-76, with the suggestive title of "Petrus und Paulus."

1917 I edited and translated in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*.

A recension of the "Preaching of Peter in Rome" or *Prædicatio Petri*, found in an Arabic MS. (dated A.D. 799) in the Library of Mount Sinai, was published by Mrs. Gibson in No. 5 of *Studia Sinaitica*. For some anecdotes of Peter's adventures in the Metropolis the text of our MS. is closely akin to that of this recension.

It is interesting to note that the text of our present apocryphal Clement has been translated *in extenso* by some Ethiopian writer, and placed towards the end of that strange work which passes under the title of *Gadla Hawāriyāt* or "Contendings of the Apostles," the text and translation of which were published by Budge in 1899 and 1901.¹ The linguistic originality of the Arabic text will not be questioned by any Semitic scholar who compares it with its Ethiopic equivalent. What seems to clench the argument against a possible originality of the Ethiopic translation is the fact that in the narrative Clement is given as the author of all the text on pp. 466-526. Indeed all these pages deal with the preaching of Peter, the history of the conversion of Clement and his relatives, and narrate the story of how Clement wrote his book, exactly as it is done in the present Garshūni text. Further, in all this long narrative Clement is more or less always speaking in the first person as this person is better suited to the requirements of a writer in search of historical data.

The Ethiopian translator of this part of Pseudo-Clement's book does not seem to have been over scrupulous in his work. On the contrary he appears to have sometimes exceeded his literary limits of a mere translator, because, among other things, he has completely excluded from his book the first of the two above passages, which are detrimental to the prestige of Paul, and changed the second into a phrase meaning: "for he (Paul) was the eye (*sic*) of all the books."² Evidently these passages shocked him as they would indeed shock

¹ As Budge points out (*ibid.*, p. vi.) the oldest MS. of this Ethiopic work is that of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and is dated in "the 39th year of Mercy," i.e., 1379 A.D. See also Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits Ethiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1877, No. 52, p. 53 sq.

² *Contendings*, p. 521. In undotted Arabic characters the change of *ghayyara* into 'ain is not wholly impossible. The Ethiopian translator has, however, omitted the word *lisān* "language" altogether.

any Christian reader, and we only owe their existence to the well-known servility of the Syrian copyists to their original. Syrian copyists are in this respect the best copyists, because they adhere faithfully to their original and leave any other consideration to their readers. But for them we would have missed passages which seem to possess an archaic savour.

A striking illustration of this servility of Syrian copyists may also be gathered from the author's theological view of the Incarnation and the way in which, according to him, the "Word became flesh." I will quote here the following strange sentence which seems to contain traces of a mild form of Docetism.

"And the jealous Lord sent His Son, the mighty Teacher, who came down to the earth and appeared in a covering which He chose to Himself from light, which He materialised and from which He spoke and performed the things which He wished to perform in His world."

That the body of the Christ was a simple *covering* which He Himself *materialised* from *light* is hardly the orthodox doctrine of the Church after the Council of Nicea, but it is certainly a doctrine which has in it germs of an archaic savour.

There are further points which deserve some attention :

1. St. Stephen Protomartyr is given in the document as a nephew¹ of St. Paul. I could not trace the source of this remarkable statement which has been struck out by the Ethiopian translator of the *Contendings*. It is also missing in the Synaxarium of the Ethiopic Church,² and there is no reference to it in the Coptic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in the *Patrologia Orientalis*.³

2. Among the disciples of Paul the author mentions a man called *Zerosus*, about whom I could find no definite information. He is coupled in the document with Dionysius whom I tentatively identified with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. As I have remarked in a foot-note "*Zerosus*" appears in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 520) as "*Protheus*". The variant is probably due to early and undotted Arabic characters.

3. *Nuael* as the name of the angel who served Christ till His

¹ Precisely, "the son of the sister."

² *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, ii., pp. 434-435 (edit. Budge).

³ *Pat. Orient.*, i., 268-270.

Ascension to Heaven should be noted, as also the names of the two angels to whom Peter was entrusted : *Aḫrābīl* and *Falwābīl*. I do not remember having seen these names elsewhere. In the Ethiopic *Contendings*,¹ they are the traditional *Uriel* and *Raphael*.

4. I will quote here the following important passage which if not interpolated by a Roman Catholic hand is certainly the most striking testimony that I have found in any eastern book in favour of the Church of Rome :—

“(God) will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification, as it is the true faith.’ And the pure father Peter said : ‘ Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.’ And he also said : ‘ Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome, is remote from God, and will have no share with me.’ And (Christ) informed me that He will establish this city as a dwelling-place for angels, and holiness² will not cease in it. Tares will not penetrate into it nor will it be conquered by the Kings of Tares.”

This passage is found in the Ethiopic version³ in the following terms : “ ‘ (Peter told me) that the faith of the people (of Rome) is the right faith.’ And he said unto me ‘ Every Christian whose faith shall not be like unto the faith of the men of Rome at the time when the disciples were gathered together therein shall be remote from God, and he shall have no portion with me.’ And my master Peter informed me that our Lord had made this city to be the habitation of angels, and that hymns of consecration should never cease therefrom, and that no heathen rulers should enter therein ; for this city was intended to be the abode of the saints and the habitation of the bodies of the holy fathers.”

The reader can easily notice that the Ethiopic version lacks two important sentences : “ *God will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification,*” and : “ *Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.*” We may also remark that the Ethiopian trans-

¹ *Contendings*, p. 700.

² Or possibly “ the mass.”

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 522-523.

lator has qualified the sentence : “ *Any^r Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome is remote from God*” by adding to it the clause “ *at the time when the disciples were gathered together therein*” (i.e., in Rome). Further, he has changed the expression *Kings of Tares*, which generally designates heretics, to *heathen rulers*.

It seems clear to me that the original passage, whether interpolated or not, is that represented in the MS. of my collection, and that the changes in the Ethiopic version are due to the Ethiopian translator who felt it necessary, as in the instance of the two anti-Pauline sentences to which I have referred above, to omit or qualify the compromising words. Neither copyist was a Roman Catholic but, as I have already remarked, the Syrian was more conscientious and servile in his work than the Ethiopian.

An edition with complete facsimile reproduction and full translation of the whole of the second part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* did not appear to me to be indispensable for the right understanding of the Apocryphon. So I contented myself with the translation of the more important section which embraces ff. 154^b-173^a of the MS. As to the text written on ff. 116^b-154^a, and 173^b-185^b, I will only give an analysis of it; I will, however, give a full translation of all the sentences that appeared to me important enough to warrant such a course. So far as ff. 185^b-194^a are concerned, they contain the testament of Peter to Clement and deal exclusively with early Church discipline and practices. As they deserve a special study and a more detailed commentary I have left them completely for fuller investigation, which I hope to undertake in the near future. The facsimile reproductions of the present fasciculus of the *Woodbrooke Studies* extend only to that part of the text of which a full translation is given, with the exception of ff. 184^a-185^b which contain the two anti-Pauline sentences referred to above, and also the aforesaid passage dealing with the faith of the inhabitants of Rome.

As it is my intention to cease for a moment the publication of apocryphal lucubrations¹ I will quote here two passages from two

¹ Since 1927 I published the following Apocrypha: 1. *Apocryphal works of Ignatius of Antioch*; 2. *A Jeremiah Apocryphon*; 3. *A new Life of John the Baptist*; 4. *Some Uncanonical Psalms*; 5. *The Lament of the Virgin*; 6. *The Martyrdom of Pilate*; 7. *Vision of Theophilus*; 8. The voluminous *Apocalypse of Peter*.

critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who have specialised in this field of research :

“Schon im zweitem Jahrhundert waren zahlreiche Sagen über die Schicksale der Apostel, zum Theil sehr abenteuerlicher Art, im Umlauf. Bei der Dunkelheit, welche über der Wirksamkeit und dem Lebensausgange der meisten Apostel schwebte, zeigte sich frühzeitig die fromme Phantasie geschäftig, die Lücken auszufüllen, welche die geschichtliche Erinnerung der Kirche, gelassen hatte. Manche dieser Sagen verdanken ihren Ursprung lediglich dem Streben, die fromme Wissbegierde und die Wundersucht der Gläubigen zu befriedigen ; andere dienen dem Lokalinteresse verschiedener Landschaften und Städte, welche ihr Christenthum gern der unmittelbaren Wirksamkeit eines Apostels verdanken, oder ihre Bisthümer auf unmittelbar apostolische stiftung zurückfuhren wollten.”¹

“There is no question of anyone's having excluded (the apocryphal Gospels and Acts) from the New Testament : they have done that for themselves. Interesting as they are, they do not achieve either of the two principal purposes for which they were written, the instilling of new religion and the conveyance of true history.”²

Whether the critics of the year, say, 2500, will wholly subscribe to this verdict I cannot say. That it will be slightly modified in favour of some Apocrypha seems to me just possible. Our main task for the present is to edit and translate as many of these uncanonical documents as we can, and leave the duty of studying them more elaborately and comparing them more fully with what we term canonical Books, to future generations. In the year 2500 scholars may possibly be in a position to study both the canonical and uncanonical scripture with a more detached spirit and better equipped minds.

TRANSLATION.

[Analysis and Translation of the Important Passages of the Text on ff. 116-124.]

“O Peter, in that day I will show you my power before all nations in order that they may know that I am the Son of the Living God.”³

In that day the heads of men will bow down and worship towards

¹ Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Bd. I, s. 1.

² James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. xi-xii.

³ This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

the East and the sun will dance with joy. In that day my angels will mingle with the children of men in Jerusalem. The tree of life in the desert will be glad and will rejoice and glorify with the voice of wisdom. I will stretch my powerful arm over my people, and it will cover them as an eagle covers its young with its wings, and all of them will cry aloud with one voice : " Glory be to Jesus of Nazareth, our Lord and our Saviour."

Then the Master, the Christ, our Lord, said to the pure and great father Peter : " Know that creation took place in the month of April, and in that month I raised up the temple of my body on the wood of the Cross, and raised it again from the grave. The deliverance of those who believe in me will take place in that month, and in it they will enter into the Holy City. In it I will display my wonders and in it men will rise from the dead, and the general resurrection will take place.

" In that day I will show the fruits of my grace to those who believed in me, and the fruits of my wrath to those who did not believe in me and contradicted me and worshipped the idols, whose names are *Barakūyār*, *Ṣalāḥ*, and *Fūlāḥ*.¹ These idols are set up in the South and were erected by *Jannes* and *Jambres*. My followers will then dwell in *Syria* and in the Holy Land which the children of the wolf had wrested from them.

" In that day the faith of all believers in me will be one, and the dough will be leavened in the short time of three hours and with little leaven. My people will live in perfect happiness and prosperity, and the children of the '*Abūs*', that is to say the children of the wolf, will rail at them no more ; but my followers will taunt the children of the wolf and point out my miracles to them."

And Simon Peter said also (as from Christ) : " In the days to come in which I will deliver my people from the servitude of the son of the wolf and of the wild ass, I will spread peace and security over the earth, pour rain on its dry lands and fill hearts with joy. At that time there will be so much gold and silver that men will care for them no more. When the Greeks² have gone back the *Romans*³ will take

¹ The last two names seem to possess an Arabic termination or to be under Arabic influence.

² *Yaunānīyah* may mean also the Greek language.

³ *Rūmīyah* may also refer to the language of the *Rūm*.

their place. O Peter, when the four names belonging to the four thrones have been completed and their faith has become one, Venus will set and the light of the moon will suffer eclipse, but the sun will shine much more brilliantly than it did aforetime.

[The copyist adds here (fol. 118^b) that he has found the preceding pages written somewhat differently in another MS. and that he was going to transcribe them afresh according to this new evidence. I will omit in this analysis all the text found on ff. 118^b-119^b.] Then Peter proceeds :—

“When my Master and my God finished these words of His, I, Peter, prostrated myself before him, wept for a long time and said to Him : ‘O my Lord and my Saviour, hearken to the supplication of your servant and reveal to me the day on which the accursed Antichrist will appear, and the name of his father and mother, and from which tribe he will spring, and how long his kingdom will endure, and where he will be born and where he will reign, and what are the signs heralding his appearance. Reveal to me these things in order that I may warn the faithful against him.’”¹

Here ends the sixth part of the Book of Clement.

The seventh part of the Book of Clement.

And Jesus Christ the Master, the Redeemer and the Living One said : “Yes, O Peter, the Antichrist will reign over all the peoples of the world and no one will be able to stand against him. His reign will last thirty-five years, and towards its end the sun will lose its light and the moon will darken ; winds will increase and calamities will multiply while piercing and terrifying sounds will be heard from his soldiers. When the day of his death arrives a fiery cloud will rise from hell and burst over his armies composed of *Sabeans*, *Magians*, children of *Kedar* and children of the wolf. Afterwards a second cloud will rise and burst over the Jews and over the idolators who believed in him. A third and intensely dark cloud will then rise from the depth of hell, full of thunderbolts, of fires and of terrifying cries of demons. It will burst over the Antichrist, take his wretched soul and torture it and burn it in the lowest pit. At that time, rise, O Peter, and watch over your children.

¹ Here the copyist adds in Syriac : “O brother-readers pray for the wretched and weak scribe who wrote these lines and for his fathers.”

"This lying servant, the Antichrist, will appear in *Caparnaum* and sit in *Jerusalem* in the house of David. The name of his father is *Wailah* and that of his mother *Lahwā*.¹ He will be of the tribe of Dan; and he will be born in *Chorazin* and brought up in *Sidon*.² The majority of his followers will be of the Jewish people, and they will avenge themselves on my followers. I will allow them to do so as I allowed the children of the wolf before them. I will enhance the prestige of the Antichrist, and the Jews, together with the *Samaritans* the *Sabeans*, the *Magians*, and the children of the wolf will submit to him and love him.

"He will work the following miracles: he will gather clouds together and bid them send down rain; he will command dry trees, and they will put forth leaves and fruit; he will gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles;³ he will order the seed of crops to grow and it will grow, the mountains to be flat and they will be flat, the rivers to dry up and they will dry up; the animals of land, air and sea will obey him; he will heal the blind, the lepers and the paralytics; he will walk on the waters, and will cause springs of sweet water to jet forth from rocks.

"The sign which will herald his coming will be the same as that which foretold the flood in the time of *Noah*. Bows of fire braced with strings and arrows of fire will appear in the four corners of the earth. The sun and the moon will darken three days before his appearance, and the mountains will be levelled up, the stones will crack, and the rivers will become dry. One thousand, one hundred and thirty-eight days before his appearance I will send two venerable men *Enoch* and *Elijah* so that they may announce his coming and warn people not to believe in him. One of them already you know, for he is the zealous old man whom you saw on the mountains of salvation⁴ when I showed to you my Godhead.

"In those days if any one says that the Christ is here or there do not believe him.⁵ The Antichrist will reign over the earth the half

¹ This name is from Mingana Syr. 225. M. 70 has *Wailāh*. These names do not seem to me to be original, as they appear to denote the first the Arabic word *wailāh*, "woe!" and the second the Arabic word *lahu*, "destruction." I believe that they may be a literal translation from another language.

² *Ṣaida*. M. 225 has *Ṣaidūniyah*.

³ Matt. vii. 16.

⁴ Arab. *furkân* from Syr. *purkūna*.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xxiv. 26.

of one long week, and if I do not shorten his days, full of all kinds of iniquities, there will be no flesh saved.¹ O Peter, tell your people that if they shall say unto them, 'lo he is inside' let them not go in to him² and 'lo, he is outside,' let them not go out to him. Blessed are you, O Peter, because to you I gave the secrets of my Kingdom.

A Chapter on the Revelation of the Heavenly Secrets.

[Here the author gives as from a different version the vision of Peter found in the first part of the work.³ I will omit all this section which is given on ff. 124^b-130^b of the manuscript. On ff. 130^b-134^b the manuscript contains another version of the appearance of the Antichrist. I will also omit all this part in the present analysis. The above folios are followed by another version of the different kinds of torments inflicted on different types of sinners (ff. 135^b-137^a). Ff. 137-145^b contain prophetic announcements, by Jesus to Peter, on the state of Christians, on the end of the world and on the punishment of sinners, somewhat similar to those already reported.

On Fol. 141^a occurs the following passage which refers to the day of the Resurrection when mankind has risen from the dead: "Know that as the protection of my people began with a king the first letter of whose name is *Kāf* and he is (. . .) so also the last king who (will protect them) will be a man the first letter of whose name is *Kāf* and he is (. . .). This king will reign over all the world, and he is the faithful and upright king who will spread peace throughout the countries of the earth. He will repair to Golgotha and there he will take the crown from off his head and place it on the spot where my body was crucified for the salvation of the children of Adam. Then will I lift up on high my cross and the crown of my kingdom together with the crown of the king who shall have acted in this way." In the Ethiopic version⁴ a king whose name begins with the letter *Ka* is identified with Constantine.

Ff. 146^a-147^a contain a short speech by the Lord on the seven sins of blasphemy, marriage of a Christian with an infidel, Sodomy, idolatry, communion without faith, and doubt concerning the Divine commandments. After this speech come good advices dealing with

¹ Matt. xxiv. 22.

² Matt. xxiv. 26.

³ In fasc. 6 of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, mostly on pp. 228-241 in B.J.R.L. (1930).

⁴ *R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 74.

the Eucharist and the Mass at the end of which the Christ (fol. 150^a) promises to seal the book with the seal of the Holy Spirit and to write it with the pen of light of which He made use in writing the tablets of the ten commandments promulgated by Moses. Then follow some general advices to Peter, after which on fol. 151^b begins the section which I translate below and of which I give facsimile reproductions. From this section I omit the first three leaves which treat of a vision of heaven and of the Ascension of our Lord into it, witnessed by all the Apostles and the Disciples (ff. 151^b-154^b) and will begin my full translation immediately after this vision (fol. 154^b).]

TRANSLATION.

And when the doors of heaven were closed we all awoke on the Mount of Olives. We remained there and at sunset we prayed in all the places from which we had seen the Lord ascending to heaven. We directed our prayers towards the chariot with the pavilion in which our Lord drove up to heaven to the glory of His majesty, and it was in the East, the actual direction of our prayer.¹ Then we descended from the Mount of Olives and went to the dwelling of the Lady Mary, the mother of light, and we narrated to her all that we had seen. The Lady used to vie with us in her revelations to us as from the Lord concerning all things that gladdened us. We were pleased with her words to us upon the happenings which we had witnessed, and our joy increased and our hearts took courage. Our souls were also illumined, and around us were divine gifts and spiritual favours; and we dwelt with her.

Every day I gathered together the Disciples and ascended the Mount of Olives morning and evening to pray thereon. Three days after the Ascension of our Lord into heaven we came together and erected an altar, and on that day *James*, whom our Lord the Saviour called his brother, offered the sacrifice for us,² and all of us partook of it. On the tenth day we assembled in the holy Chamber of Zion and stood up at the time of the mass, and all of us prayed to the Lord

¹ On the East as the direction of prayer for the Christians of the East, see my edition of the "Apology of Timothy" in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. ii., p. 30.

² The sentence used may mean in the ecclesiastical language "he said the mass for us."

and implored Him to hear our supplications. While *James* was invoking the Holy Spirit to come down on the sacrifices¹ we beheld tongues of fire shining from heaven and coming down on us. One tongue from them fell on each one of us, and each of us spoke a strange tongue, the tongue of the country and of the town to which² our God wished to send us with His help.

Each of us spoke, therefore, the language of the country assigned to him by lot. Then I Peter rose up³ in the middle of the company of the brethren and said to them : "These are the tongues which the Lord promised to send." Our news reached everywhere on account of our strange and foreign pronunciation, and angels in form of men appeared to the inhabitants⁴ of Jerusalem in order to allay their fears, and said to them : "O people, fear not the strange words these men are uttering and saying ; that which emanates from them is a gift from God to them, and His grace that He has conferred upon them." Among the inhabitants of Jerusalem were men of knowledge and wisdom who said : "We also saw signs from the Most High God coming down on these men when they were⁵ assembled in the Chamber of Zion. We knew them before because they are from us and related to us, and we know that they knew no other language save Hebrew, but when the grace of God came down on them lo they speak Latin,⁶ Syriac, Greek, Palestinian and various other languages." Seven thousand men subscribed to these words and said : "We saw these signs like unto tongues of fire coming down on the Chamber of Zion."

Groups of Jews, however, contradicted⁷ this saying and denied that which had been uttered by the aforesaid men and strongly contended⁸ with them. Serious conflicts were about to break out in *Jerusalem*, because men bore arms one against another, and divisions occurred among them ; those who had not witnessed the favours of God denied them, and gave the lie to them, while those who had seen and witnessed these happenings testified one and all to their truth, and since they had seen our Lord being crucified, their faith

¹ Allusion to the *Epiclesis*.

² Read *al-lati*.

³ The author uses here the verb *waka'a*, "to fall," which is rather curious.

⁴ Read *sukkān*.

⁵ Read *kāna*.

⁶ Arab. *bir-Rūmīyah*.

⁷ Read *khūlafa*.

⁸ Syr. *neša*.

was renewed¹ by the spread of such tidings. They came to us, therefore, and embraced our faith.

When I noticed this discord that had occurred from the very beginning, I implored my Lord and my God to grant His peace, harmony and unity to all of them and to quell their contentions. My Lord and my God heard my prayers, and they desisted from the path they were following.² Then the angel of the Lord came to me and said to me : " Arise, O Peter, and go up by yourself to the Mount of Olives, and open the leaves (of the book) given to you by your Lord and meditate upon their contents." And I went up to the Mount of Olives on the Monday after Pentecost, and I was overshadowed by a cloud the brightness of which was like unto that which had overshadowed us at the time when our Lord ascended into heaven. I found there the angel whom I had seen the first time, and he said to me : " O Peter, lift up³ your head to heaven." And I lifted up my head and I saw a cloud moving as quickly as the lightning and spreading a dew that exhaled a perfume similar to that of the Tibetan⁴ musk. And the gentle rain (that came out of the cloud) resembled dew which spread itself upon the dwellers of the graves. I saw also all the spirits (of the dead), which moved by the grace and favour of God, rejoiced and said : " Blessed are we because our God delivered us and saved us by His grace from the snares of the cunning and accursed *Archon*."

Then the angel to whom I was entrusted—my Lord and my God had ordered this angel to accompany me⁵ and to teach me all that had happened from the beginning in order that I might write it down with accuracy—said to me : " Since the Archangel *Gabriel* announced our Lord the Christ to the Lady, the mother of life, I, together with another angel, was entrusted with the task of serving

¹ Read the verb in masc. sing. The feminine form used here may be under the influence of a language (Syriac or Greek, etc.) in which the word "faith" is feminine.

² All the above narrative dealing with Peter and the rest of the Apostles on the Mount of Olives, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the disturbance that occurred in Jerusalem, etc., is found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work *Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 475-477 (edit. Budge).

³ Read *irfa*.

⁴ *Tunbuti*. Evidently in the author's time the Tibetan musk had a great commercial value.

⁵ Read *mulāzimuhu*.

the body of our Lord during the time He would live on the earth. That body which He took for His eternal covering holds in its hand all that there is in heaven and on earth and will, in the day of judgment, judge all the children of Adam." And he added: "The angel who is with me in all my service is called *Nuael*. It is we who appeared to *Joseph* (and told him) to take (Jesus) to *Egypt*, and it is we who ordered him to come back to *Jerusalem*. We ceased not to serve Him till He was lifted up on the wood of the cross. It is I and my companion who kept watch¹ over the tomb, rolled the stone away from it, wrapped together the napkin and the linen clothes² and placed them near the sepulchre. We did not leave Him till He ascended into heaven."

Then the angel said to me: "O Peter, open the book." And I opened the first book, and all the town of Jerusalem was illuminated with its light while I was standing and reading it.³ I heard a voice from heaven calling me: "O Peter, understand that which we have entrusted to you and act upon all our secrets hidden in this book, and in its seventh⁴ part, which we have confided to you. You are the repository of my secret, and I have called you the stone upon which my churches should be built. A stone is a solid foundation, and that which I built no one is able to demolish, and if it is affected by any damage, I will promptly repair it."⁵

"Let your preaching, your call to faith and your evangelisation be first in *Jerusalem*, in My name, and also throughout all the coast and foreign lands. I will show you what to do, and will disclose to you the laws and prescriptions which you will enact in order that all who believe in me may know them and act upon them. Know that I have revealed⁶ in the eight books⁷ which I have confided to you all that is necessary; make, therefore, their contents known and let

¹ Read *hāhḏain*.

² John xx. 7.

³ This sentence is badly worded, but its meaning seems to be clear.

⁴ Add *minhu*.

⁵ Something resembling the above narrative is also found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 477-479).

⁶ Lit. "written."

⁷ The author is evidently referring to the present book of Clement or *The Apocalypse of Peter*, which is divided into eight parts. The Syriac *Book of Clement* is also divided into eight parts. See Mingana Syr. 12, ff. 1-73^b, described on pp. 45-46 of my forthcoming catalogue.

them be near at hand.¹ Judge all those who deserve judgment, but judge with justice and equity. Promulgate the judgment which you will deliver with strict orders, and all those who will obey you will obey me, and all those who will disobey you will disobey me. Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.² Through you I will show wonderful signs and miracles which no one will be able to describe. I will place in your hands death, life and the power of healing from all diseases. At the mere motion of your lips demons will take flight, and all that which you ask me will forthwith be granted.

"Know, O Peter, that you will repair to the city of *Antioch* and that you will preach the Gospel therein. You will proclaim throughout its lands the baptism for the forgiveness of sins; and from thence I will send you to wheresoever it pleases me. As to these eight books, hide them and do not disclose their contents. Keep their purity and allow nobody to read them save those who have been chosen and found worthy of the service of my holiness, and those who have followed you and whose faith and belief are similar to yours, and those who are steadfast in pious works and in prayer and fasting, and those who are worthy to come before my body and my blood which I commanded you to have in your midst as a remembrance³ of me till the day of the Resurrection. If you are satisfied with their conduct I also will be satisfied with them and will continually help them, and the mantle⁴ of my secret⁵ will not cease to be continually about them till the day of the Resurrection."

*A Chapter on the preaching of the holy Gospel by the twelve Apostles, on the miracles that they will perform, on what will happen to them and the way in which they will be murdered and in which they will die.*⁶

When my Lord finished these words and the cloud moved away, I and the two angels who accompanied me wheresoever I went descended from the Mount of Olives and came to *Jerusalem*. I hid

¹ Lit. "put them in your hands."

² Matt. xvi. 19.

³ Read *tidhkāran*.

⁴ Lit. "cloud," if we read *ghamūmah*.

⁵ Or "mystery."

⁶ This chapter seems to be misplaced, because there is in it no mention of any miracles performed by the Apostles nor of the countries which they evangelised, with the exception of a few towns near the coast. This evangelisation will occur in the section that follows this chapter.

the eight books as my Lord had ordered me, and apprised my brethren thereof. We all praised the Lord who granted us to preach His message in all towns, and we repaired forthwith to the coast and called men to the faith. First we proclaimed the holy Gospel in *Jerusalem* and then we went to the sea shore to call people to the faith. The first town of the sea shore which we entered is called *Ba-Joppa*,¹ then '*Āmūs*'² and *Lydda*. I forbade the people who embraced the faith to eat anything that was prohibited in the Torah and that was made unclean by the venerable Moses. And those who entered into the water of baptism did that which I prescribed to them and did not contradict it.³

After this the Lord revealed to me through his angel *Uriel*: "I will abrogate the old Law and renew your new Law," and while I was one day praying alone and away from the sight of men a cloud of light overshadowed me, and from it came a sheet like a net stretching from heaven to earth.⁴ That net contained all the four-footed beasts of the earth, the clean and the unclean, the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air. On the table inside the sheet was something like a pig. A voice called me from heaven saying: "O Peter, arise, slay and eat." And I saw a finger of light coming down from heaven and stretching towards the place where was found the image of the pig. And I said: "O Lord, I will not slay or eat an unclean animal." And the voice called me saying: "What God hath cleansed no one can make common." Then the finger was lifted up and the same voice was heard again with the same words—while the finger was rising and falling on the pig. Then the finger rose and the voice repeated the words three times, and the luminous finger did not cease⁵ to come down from heaven on the body of the pig and cover it completely. When at the third vigil the finger rose from the body of the pig, the sheet also rose up to heaven while the table was in the middle of it.

I remained then in my place pondering over this event and bewildered. After that I spoke to my brethren of what I had seen,

¹ Why is the prefix *ba* before Joppa?

² Is it *Emmaus*?

³ All this narrative is found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work *Contendings of the Apostles* (p. 479), and so also in the case with the vision of Peter which follows.

⁴ This vision of Peter seems to be inspired from Acts xi. 5-10. But why the deep discrepancies in the two narratives?

⁵ Read *yazal*.

and proclaimed the faith as written in the eight books. I baptised men who had turned from idolatry in the water of baptism and in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost¹ and I commanded them to fast, to pray and to give alms. I made lawful to them all kinds of food as the Lord had ordered me, and commanded those who were willing to give up (the old custom) to follow me.² I allowed them to sell all their real property and their estates and to bring the (money thus realised) to me in the midst of the community. I Peter was the one who was entrusted with the management of their possessions and with their distribution among those believers and those children of baptism who were poor and needy.³

I went then to *Tyre* and *Sidon* where I preached the message,⁴ and (the inhabitants) agreed to purify religion through the Christian faith and were baptised in the water of baptism. They received the knowledge of the Lord⁵ and were imbued with the spiritual grace of the Spirit. They were strengthened by the wisdom of the laws which I enjoined⁶ on them, and they accepted the ecclesiastical prayers which I prescribed⁷ for them, and they did not infringe them in anything because our Lord, our God and our hope in this world and in the world to come was dwelling in them.⁸

The eighth part of the Book of Clement in which he will narrate his story, that is to say the story of this disciple⁹ of weight,¹⁰ Clement, the pupil of the great master, the shining, bright, pure and spiritual star, the owner of the great secret, the faithful Peter, the rock, on whom be our best greetings.¹¹

While our venerable father Peter was walking one day on the

¹ The names of the Trinity are in Syriac.

² The last sentence is badly worded and its meaning is doubtful.

³ All this is also found in the Ethiopic book, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 480-481).

⁴ Prefix the article.

⁵ A Syriac word.

⁶ Read *fawwadhtu*.

⁷ Read *faradhtu*.

⁸ Here the copyist adds in Syriac: "O brother-readers pray for the wretched and weak (man) who wrote these lines and for his father and mother."

⁹ Syr. *sheliha*.

¹⁰ Or "of tables," *sic codex*.

¹¹ This story of Clement is also found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 481-490) where it immediately follows the above narrative.

shore of the sea of *Antioch*, together with a company of the Apostles of our Lord, *John*, *Philip* and others and also with some of the seventy disciples, he saw me Clement, standing near the sea and weeping and wailing, because of the calamities that had befallen me since the day I had left¹ *Rome*. I was naked and covering my nakedness with the water, because I was shipwrecked and the waves and the winds had cast me on that part of the coast. And the brethren said: "O Peter, you must know the history of this young man." And my master, the great father Peter, came to me and said to me: "Why are you weeping, O young man? Who are you? Who are your father and mother? Tell me, O my son, your story in order that I may know it." And he spoke to me in Latin and in the dialect used by the inhabitants (of Rome).

And I said to him: "And who are you, O my lord and master? My soul has truly revived by what you have said to me. Three days have I been standing in this place and no one has spoken to me in my language save you, and since I left *Rome* I have not met with anyone speaking its language except you, and during these three days in which I have stood here in this place no one has asked me my story except you,² and no one can understand that which I say to him." And the master said to me: "I am Peter, the head of the disciples of Christ." And he narrated to me his story concerning the message of the Christ our Lord, that is to say the Gospel. And God inspired my heart with the knowledge that his words were true and my soul glowed with the strengthening contact of the Holy Ghost.³ And I believed in Him and in His miracles and was immediately baptised by father Peter in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,⁴ and was marked with the *ṭaibūth*,⁵ that is to say

¹ Add *min* before *Rome*.

² The sentence is badly worded, but its meaning is clear.

³ The following story of Clement and of his meeting with his parents and his brothers is mainly based on the well-known *Clementine Homilies and Recognitions*, various versions of which are found in many languages, especially in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic. In 1917 I published an independent Syriac text of the story under the title "A New Life of Clement of Rome" in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*. It is not my intention to discuss here the merits or the demerits of the story. For some conclusions that appeared to me at least possible the reader is referred to this publication.

⁴ The names of the Trinity are as usual in Syriac.

⁵ The Syriac *ṭaibūtha*.

holy Chrism, which our Lord had confided and given to him and which he kept.

He was very pleased with me, and so also were those who accompanied him. He taught me the prescriptions enjoined on those who believe in Christ and he made me his secretary. He disclosed to me the secrets which have been described above, and I wrote them from his dictation and kept them with me. He also confided to me the books, that is to say all the leaves which were with him and which had been written by the hand of Christ, and he made me his confidential secretary to the exclusion of the rest of the disciples, among whom were my brothers *Faustus* and *Faustinus*,¹ a fact of which I was not aware. And he made me acquainted² with his secrets in the same way as the Christ had done with him to the exclusion of others when He had noticed the purity (of his conscience).

When, therefore, this father saw the purity of my conscience he delivered to me all that the Lord Christ had confided to him alone. I became, therefore, his scribe in Latin and in Greek. My Lord Christ had not yet revealed to him my story nor from whence I had come. He did not ask me any questions concerning this affair till a long time after, when he was on the point of repairing to the town of *Laodicea*, and this happened after the Lord had chosen *Saul*, who is called *Paul* the Apostle. On a certain day *Paul* was proceeding to the city of *Damascus* for the purpose of destroying the Churches of God and driving away the believers found in it, and the Lord appeared to him on his way and blinded him. Thereupon *Paul* said : "Who are you ? Tell me." And *Paul* repeated his question "Who are you ?" a second and a third time. And the Christ said to him : "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me and contradict me ?" And *Saul* said to Him : "Who are you, O my Lord, that I may believe in you."³ And the Christ answered : "I am Jesus of Nazareth whom you are persecuting."⁴ And when *Paul* believed, our Lord Jesus Christ

¹ The text has *Kaustus* and *Konstantin*, but the variant may be explained through undotted Arabic characters where the letters *fā* (f) and *kāf* (K, C) are graphically similar and distinguished only by extraneous dots placed above them. Below the name written here as *Konstantin* (Constantine) appears as *Kustina* (Faustinus).

² Read *khāzinan*.

³ All this is naturally taken from Acts ix. 1-10.

⁴ Here is a question : "And then *Paul* said," the answer to which seems to have been omitted by the copyist.

ordered him to go to *Damascus* to a disciple called *Ananias* who would restore his sight for him.

After this I told him my story and all that had befallen me, and revealed also to him the story of my mother and of my brothers. I must now narrate faithfully my (subsequent) story in order that the faithful may know¹ the abundance of the grace of God to us, because His power and His might assembled us and brought us together, and revealed us one to another after a long and protracted separation :

My teacher and spiritual father was one day in the town of *Aradus*,² one of the dependencies of *Laodicea*, and while he was walking in one of its streets he saw a modest woman standing near the door of a house soliciting alms. The teacher said to her : " O³ woman, why are you soliciting alms ? I see that you are young enough and strong enough to work for your living, and that you are able to serve and earn what is sufficient for your livelihood." She said to him : " O teacher and venerable man, if you knew the state in which I am and were acquainted with my story and my affairs, you would have implored the Lord to take my soul through the death of my body so that I might find rest from the wretchedness, fatigue, poverty, need, tribulations, and misery that have beset me." And her tears fell on her cheeks.

And the teacher said to her : " And what is your story, O woman ?" And she said : " O venerable man, I am a woman from the great city of Rome and from the daughters of Kings. I had a husband of noble descent called *Costonius*,⁴ by whom God gave me three sons,⁵ the eldest of whom was named *Faustus*,⁶ the middle one *Faustinus*,⁷ and the youngest *Clement*. In my sleep I dreamed a dream, the interpretation of which necessitated my going to sea in a boat in order to repair to the island (*sic*) of Athens where I could study philosophy and wisdom. My eldest son *Faustus*⁸ and the middle son *Faustinus*⁹ accompanied me. While we were travelling

¹ Read *liya'rifū*.

² *Ar'arwād (sic)*. The name is correctly spelt below as *Arwād*, about which see *Yāqūt (Mu'jam al-Buldān, i., 224)*.

³ Read *'aiyatuha*.

⁴ This is possibly a copyist's error for *Faustinianus*. The mistake could have easily arisen through undotted Arabic characters. See what has been said above about *Faustus*.

⁵ Read *banīn*.

⁶ Text *Ḳaustus*.

⁷ Text *Ḳaustina*.

⁸ Text *Ḳaustus*.

⁹ Text *Ḳaustina*.

on the sea winds blew on us from all directions, and stirred the waves of the sea and caused the captain to lose control of the boat, which was driven by the winds in a direction other than that which we had intended to pursue. Then the boat broke up and I found myself on a floating plank, which after a time cast me on this coast. I do not know what happened to my children, and for two years I have been sitting by this door, in a bewildered state, begging my bread. Do not blame me, therefore, O venerable man, for the state in which I am."

And the teacher stood before her for an hour pondering over her story and amazed at her affair. Now the teacher had previously sent two disciples to *Laodicea* to transact urgent business that he had there. When they came back to the town of *Aradus*¹ they sat down on their way near the gate of the town, and they rested their backs against the wall and began to talk in such a way that the woman who solicited alms was able to hear them. Their conversation was to the effect that one of them said to the other: "My story is very strange but I will tell it to you, O brother." And he said: "O brother we have been the disciples of this saint for many years, and we do not know each other's story nor in which town each one of us was born." And *Faustus*² said: "I am one of the inhabitants of Rome and related to the Emperor. My father was called *Christonius*³ and my mother *Mitradora*.⁴ I had two brothers one of whom was *Faustinus*⁵ and the other, the youngest, was called *Clement*.

"My mother dreamt a dream the interpretation of which necessitated our going to the town of *Athens* in order that there she might learn wisdom. We put to sea, therefore, I and my mother and my brother, and we left *Rome* because of her. She took me and my brother with her, and she left the youngest brother with my father. When we put to sea fierce winds blew on us and our boat

¹ Here *Arwād*, the correct form of the word in Arabic.

² Text *Kaustus*.

³ The name is given above as *Costonius*.

⁴ This name brings the narrative into harmony with the early Syriac recension of the life of Clement which I edited and translated in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*, 1917, pp. 6 and 10 *sqq.* The Greek and Latin recensions call her *Mattidia*. See the Clementine literature in *Pat. Græco-Latina*, i., 1359 and ii., 33. In the Ethiopic *Contendings* (p. 486) she is also called *māfrādōra*.

⁵ Text *Kaustina*.

broke up. I was cast on a coast from a floating plank, and I do not know what happened to my mother and to my brother after me."

And his companion said to him : " Were it not for my fear that you might deny it, I would have said that you were my brother ; because I also am from the inhabitants of Rome and my story is identical with yours till the time when our boat broke up on the sea."

When the woman heard their conversation she recognised from what had happened¹ to them, that they were her children. She sprang up from her place and threw herself on them² weeping and saying : " As the Lord liveth both of you are my sons, and I am your mother *Mitradora*." She narrated to them her story and gave them proofs by means of which they recognised her. They did not cease to cling with affection one to another and to kiss one another's cheeks. And I *Clement* was at that time in *Laodicea*. And they became possessed with an indescribable joy, gladness and exultation.

Then they arose all of them and went to our teacher Peter, and their mother³ said to him : " By the truth of the One whom you worship, O venerable and blessed man, these two disciples are my sons, and I am their mother." And she narrated to him all that had happened. And the teacher was very pleased with her story and said : " I implore the Lord who showed you your two sons and caused you to meet them to grant that you meet also with your beloved ones who still remain absent, namely their father and brother."

As for me I had gone to the town of *Laodicea* where I had finished my business and come back to *Aradus*. In the meantime the Holy Spirit had⁴ inspired the teacher Peter to ask me about my story and my country. And he said to me : " O my son Clement, you have been with me for two years in the service of Christ, and I did not ask you about your country and your story. The Holy Spirit has inspired me to ask you concerning all this. By the truth of Christ tell me, therefore, your story and narrate it to me in full from beginning to end."

And I said to him : " I am from the city of Rome. My father

¹ Lit. " signs."

² Read ' *alahima* .

³ Read *ummuhumma* .

⁴ The author uses " Holy Spirit " in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature.

was of noble descent and related to the Emperor. I had two brothers one of whom was called *Faustus*¹ and the other *Faustinus*² and we had a noble born mother who was endowed with wisdom, sound judgment and chastity. She dreamed a dream which necessitated her going to sea in order to repair to Athens and there learn wisdom. My two brothers *Faustus*³ and *Faustinus*⁴ accompanied her in order to look after her. This happened twenty years ago, and we have not had any news from them since they went to sea. At that time I was a child, and when I reached the age of puberty I went also to sea in order to proceed to Athens and there hear some news about them. Our boat, however, broke up and the sea cast me on the coast on which you saw me and noticed that I had been shipwrecked."

My two brothers had then gone to town on business, and when my mother heard my story she threw herself on me and said: "By the truth of the God you worship you are my son and I am your mother." Then she said to the holy teacher: "This is my youngest son Clement mentioned by the two brothers in their narrative." The teacher Peter himself went then to town in order to seek my brothers whom he brought back. When they saw me speaking to my mother they were displeased because since we had been fellow disciples I had not spoken to a woman. And they said to the teacher: "Do you not see Clement speaking to our mother?"

When their mother heard their words she embraced them all and wept bitterly and with great emotion. When my brothers recognised me they threw themselves upon me, embraced me and held me fast, and my mother did likewise. Then they said (to Peter): "This is our brother and this is our mother; God brought us together through your invocations and your prayers, because He wished us to learn Christian philosophy from you, O spiritual father. We know that Christ answers your prayers and grants your requests. We beseech you now to bring us and our father⁵ together. Ask Him to reveal to you whether he is dead or alive, because if you pray the Christ our Lord for us He will answer your prayers."

And the teacher Peter said: "I shall pray the Christ our Lord

¹ *Kaustus.*

⁴ *Kaustina.*

² *Kaustina.*

⁵ Read *abina.*

³ *Kaustus.*

Jesus of *Nazareth* to send your father to you dead or alive. (If dead) I will implore Him to raise him from his grave and bring you together here near me." And the teacher arose, straightened his feet, looked towards the east, uncovered his head before heaven and recited the prayer which he used to recite in secret and said :¹

"I implore you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, and I beseech you O magnanimous, powerful, gracious, kind, merciful and generous Master, O mighty and living Lord who created the created beings ; who fathoms the innermost part of the hearts ; who brings scattered friends together ; who delivers whom He wishes from the pangs of separation ; who joins lovers together after their long loneliness. I pray you, O my Lord and master Jesus Christ who came down from the heaven² of His holiness, and became incarnate from the elect Virgin Mary in order to save the sinners³ ; who gave me the keys of heaven and earth so that I should absolve, loose or bind the sins⁴ ; who said that if we believed in Him we would do greater miracles than those which He performed among the Jews⁵ ; who raised *Lazarus* from his grave after four days ; who quickened the daughter of *Jairus*⁶ and the daughter of the widow ; who is worshipped as one, and is the good hope of all those who are lost (to their friends). Hear my supplications and answer my prayer. Do not refuse me but hearken to me. Help me and have pity on these my disciples and bring them together. Send their father to join them dead or alive, because you are their Lord and you alone are their Master, and they have no other (God) to have pity on them. Answer, therefore, O Lord, my prayer, my supplications and my earnest request, and be gracious to me and listen to my demand."

We were at that time in *Laodicea*, and before the teacher Peter had finished his conversation with the Lord, lo a thick, awe-inspiring and luminous cloud appeared. It moved towards us in a very short time and came down until it reached the earth ; then it lifted up again, and immediately after we saw a man walking towards us from the cloud—a venerable old man—and we heard distinctly a voice

¹ The beginning of the prayer is in rhymed prose. It has apparently been written in such a high style in order to produce a better effect.

² Remove the article.

³ Lit. "the worn out."

⁴ Cf. Matth. xvi. 19.

⁵ Cf. John xiv. 12.

⁶ The Syriac form of the word is used.

saying: "Get out to your children." We beheld the venerable man coming out of the valley that was there, looking bright but wearing clothes that were not of high quality. He had hair which was as white as the pure hair of a lamb, and his head was bare. The teacher Peter looked at him and said to him: "Are you one of us (men) or from other beings?" Indeed he thought and believed that he was a demon, or that he was one of the evil spirits. And the old man said in Latin: "I am a rational human being."

And the teacher said to him: "Give an account of yourself: who are you and what made you fall into this valley which is the valley of demons and rebellious (spirits) in which no man dwells. Tell me your story and give me your tidings without fear." And the old man answered: "I will narrate to you my story: 'I had a wife of princely descent from whom I had three male children one of whom was called *Faustus*¹ the other *Faustinus*² and the third *Clement*. She dreamed a dream which necessitated her learning philosophy, and she took her elder children and she sailed on the sea in order to go to the island (*sic*) of Athens and learn philosophy therein. She left with me the youngest child called *Clement*. After she sailed I did not hear any news either about herself or about her children.

"Twenty years later the youngest child said: 'Assuredly I intend to go³ to sea in order to obtain some information concerning my mother and my brothers.' To-day it is two years and five months since he left me, and during all this time I have had no news of him. From the time of the departure of my wife and of my children to this day I went every morning to the sea shore and asked every man coming from the regions (of Athens) concerning them, and no one was able to give me any information. To-day I was standing about an hour ago near the quay of Rome as was my wont, and demanding information from all who were coming, when I noticed the cloud that has just passed coming down to where I was standing. A man whom I saw sitting on it and whose face was like the bright full moon, said, 'Go down and take this old man with you to the

¹ *Kaustus*.

² *Kaustina*.

³ This sentence is badly worded but its meaning is clear.

town of *Aradus*, which is one of the dependencies of *Laodicea*, to my disciple *Simon*, in order that he may join his wife and his children who are in the town of *Laodicea*.' The cloud came down to the surface of the earth, lifted me up quickly¹ from the ground, brought me here, placed me in this valley and said to me, 'Go to your children.' I then went out of the valley and came to you. This is my story."

When I and my brothers heard the words of the old man I said to the teacher : "We have no doubt that this is our father and that Jesus Christ has heard your prayer for the return of our father to us." And he said to us : "Yes, this is your father." And he said to the old man : "These are your children." And he threw himself on us and embraced us and shed tears ; and we showed him our immense joy and embraced him affectionately. And I Clement, his son, told him the stories of all of us.

And the teacher Peter said to him : "The one you beheld above the cloud is our Lord the Christ whose servants we are. In this very hour I implored Him to send you to us for the sake of my sons whom I inherited from you, in order that you might join them. I am His servant Simon. Would you wish me to explain to you the religion of the Lord God² of heaven whom you saw, the religion which your children have already embraced ?" And the old man answered : "I confess and believe, and I will do all that you will order me to do." Now there was no water in that³ place, and the holy father, the teacher Peter, struck with his rod⁴ the valley which was dry and in which there was no water, and flowing water jetted forth from it, as sweet as julep. And he baptised⁵ my father and mother in that spring, and we all followed him as our Lord Christ willed it ! To Him be praise and thanks for ever and ever ! And that spring is called to this day, "The Spring of Sim'ān," that is to say *Simon Cephas*. He baptised them in the name of the

¹ Lit. "stole me."

² Delete the article.

³ *Dhālika* is somewhat redundant.

⁴ Read '*ukkāsatahu*. This proves decisively that the MS. from which the present one is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *rā'* and *zā* are written in the same way and distinguished only by an extraneous dot.

⁵ The author uses here the objective pronoun before its subject as it is done in Syriac but never in Arabic.

Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost¹ and he anointed him with the holy Chrism which the Nazarene Christ had given to him, and he became purified in his baptism.²

Then we left that place for *Laodicea*, and we preached in it the eternal message for two years, and many people believed through us. After this we returned to *Jerusalem* and we assembled there with the rest of the Apostles.

And Clement said : " When father Peter entered the Upper Chamber in which he used to live with the rest of the Apostles—and it is that Upper Chamber in which the Holy Spirit had descended upon them—he dreamed a dream in which a spiritual tongue spoke to him and said : " Go you with the beloved *John* to the city of *Antioch*, preach in it and proclaim in it the message of the Lord Christ." And Peter said to the angel : " Would that you had told me this while I was in *Laodicea* as this would have shortened my way, because I am an old man and weak in strength." And the angel disappeared and spoke to him³ no more, and sleep overcame⁴ father Peter and master Mar John son of Zebedee till sunrise.

When they awoke from their sleep they found themselves⁵ in a desert which they had never before seen.⁶ And father Peter said to John : " O my brother were we not asleep both of us in the Chamber of Zion ? And did we not eat and sleep in it ? " And John replied : " You are right." And Peter said : " Where then are we now ? " Is it not through hallucination by the *Archon*⁷ that we find ourselves in this place and in this locality ? " While they were both of them talking woodcutters passed them speaking in Greek. And Peter said to Mar John : " Go and ask of these woodcutters⁸ the name of this place⁹ and of this country." And

¹ The names of the Trinity are as usual in Syriac.

² With slight variations the above story of Clement is also told in the *Ethiopic Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 481-490.

³ Read *muhādathatihi*.

⁴ The construction of this sentence denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian.

⁵ Read *wajada 'anfusahumā*.

⁶ All this incident concerning the reluctance of Peter to go to Antioch from Jerusalem is narrated in more or less similar terms in the *Ethiopic work, Contendings of the Apostles*, p. 491.

⁷ The head of the demons.

⁸ Read *ḥaṭṭābin*.

⁹ A badly worded sentence.

John proceeded towards them and said to them : " By the truth of the Christ our Lord, Son of God, in what place are we ? " And the woodcutters answered : " This is the city of *Antioch*. Were it not for our pity on your youth we would have murdered you because of your oath in the name of a strange God."

Then John amazed at the words of the woodcutters, came back to Peter and informed him of what had taken place. And Peter said to him : " Let no thought from Satan enter into your heart. The Christ will not abandon us."¹ Then they entered into the city of *Antioch* and preached in all of it the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God. And there great crowds of people gathered round them, who seized them and beat them as hard as they could. And Peter (narrated and) said : ² " They made (lit. hang) special signs on our heads, scoffed at us and anointed the middle part of our beards as a distinctive mark.³ Then they pulled us against our will, imprisoned us in one of the towers on the wall,⁴ and closed the door against us and bolted it.

" When we found ourselves in prison I and John began to pray, and we implored the Lord Christ not to remove His grace and His favours from us. Then our eyes became heavy and we were overcome by sleep. In the night we were overshadowed by a luminous cloud and the great and pure father Peter who was strengthened by the grace of God saw ⁵ the Christ our Lord surrounded by Cherubim and glorified by Seraphim. He spoke to us ⁶ in vision and said : " O Peter, be not afraid and in low spirits because I will be with you till the end of the eon. Do not be astonished at the fact that these (people) have their heads shaved and that they have shaved yours also.⁷ They meant to resemble you through this sign, and this should be a great honour and a sublime remembrance to you from now till the day of Resurrection. None of my priests should call ⁸ a layman

¹ This story of the woodcutters is also found in the Ethiopic *Contendings of the Apostles*, p. 492.

² The narrative is put here in the mouth of Peter.

³ The Ethiopic work *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 493) writes in this connection : " And the priests ordered (the people of the city) to shave off one half of the hair of our heads."

⁴ Read *as-sūr* (with a *sīn*).

⁵ Clement seems to be speaking here.

⁶ The conversation reverts inconsistently to Peter or to Clement.

⁷ An astonishing origin of the clerical tonsure.

⁸ Read *yukaddim*

to the service of my altar, as no layman is allowed to wear this tonsure cut in a similar way. No one is permitted to take priesthood from you without wearing this sign on his head and shaving the middle part of it. Any priest who has not this mark or has not his head shaven in this wise is not worthy of priesthood, his lot is not with me and he will not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Any priest who dies with this sign on his head I will forgive all his sins and will wipe away his prevarications.¹

Then the Christ my Lord said: "Be not afraid, O Peter, because I have chosen *Saul*, who is called *Paul*, for you,² and that I will send him to you as a companion who will help you in your task." And I replied: "This Paul is the one previously called Saul who persecuted us wheresoever we went. He is our bitterest enemy." And the Christ our Lord said to him: "He was so formerly, but now he is a disciple." And Christ the Lord disappeared from my sight after He had uttered these words to me.

We will now tell the story of Paul.

Paul showed greater enmity against the Christian religion than all the creatures of God, hated the disciples more than anybody else and sought them wherever they went and carried the orders of the Sultan and of the governors to harm those who believed in Christ. He obtained judicial sanctions against them from every tribunal, and accompanied by a considerable number of soldiers, he used to search every town and every village which he knew had received the message³ of Christ, had accepted His faith, had been baptised in the water of baptism and had rejected the religion of the unbelievers or the religion of Judaism. For fourteen years he did not cease to

¹ All these incidents of the apparition of our Lord to Peter and His assurances to him concerning the shaving of his head are found in the Ethiopic work *Contendings* (*ibid.*, pp. 493-494) with the exception that there is nothing in the Ethiopic text to insinuate that the people of the town themselves had their heads shaved. Indeed the Arabic text that I am translating is so strikingly worded in this place that one feels tempted to believe that the angels themselves had a tonsure! I had even to do slight violence to the text to avoid such an idea which, however, may possibly have been in the author's mind.

² The reader will notice how in this eminently Petrine document Paul is relegated to a second rank.

³ Read *muntadibîn*.

persecute, rob and murder the prominent followers and the disciples of Christ and to shed their blood.

The first one he murdered was his own nephew, a man called Stephen.¹ He lied against him from (the date) of the ascension of the Christ our Lord into heaven and assembled a company of the Jews who bore false witness against him and condemned him to death. Before embracing the Christian faith *Paul* was called *Saul*. When all the Jews yielded to his desire he brought² his nephew Stephen out of town to a hole which he had dug and in which he (Stephen) was stoned to death. And that blessed disciple prayed for them saying: "O Lord forgive them." The zeal³ of *Saul* was so intense that he collected all the clothes of those who participated in the murder of his nephew *Stephen*⁴ from fear lest some of the blood of Stephen should fall on them and defile them.⁵

Paul persisted in his hatred (of Christians) during all the above-mentioned years. The manner in which he was converted from Judaism to the faith of the Christ our Lord is as follows: He took with him signed letters from *Jerusalem* to *Damascus* in order that he might go there and persecute the disciples of Christ and demolish the churches which the faithful had built in it. While *Saul* was proceeding together with his men and his horses, and when it was midday, a door from heaven was opened before them and the place in which they were was illuminated with a light resembling that of the sun; and the earth shook and quaked from the majesty of that light. *Paul* and all those who were present with him were bewildered and agitated at the awe-inspiring things which they saw, and (they thought that) the earth was going to swallow them, and they were certain⁶ that it was the power of God that had manifested itself upon them and that His wrath had fallen upon them.

While they were all awe-struck and bewildered not knowing what

¹ That Stephen was a nephew of Paul is not found in Acts vi. vii. and viii. Who is the first authority for this remarkable statement? The text has "the son of his sister."

² Here also the author places the objective pronoun before the subject to which it belongs as it is done in Syriac but never in Arabic.

³ Or "the hatred."

⁴ Cf. Acts vii. 58.

⁵ From whence did the author get these additional and remarkable statements concerning St. Stephen Proto-martyr? They are not found in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, pp. 532, 537).

⁶ Read *tayakkanū*.

God wished them to do, lo they heard all of them a most awe-inspiring and terrifying voice from heaven saying :¹ "Saul, Saul, how long will you persecute me² and strive to contradict me? Can you parry the sharp edge of a blade with the palm of your hand?"³

Immediately after the earth became dark and the sun was obscured. Then Saul said : "Who are you, O Lord?" And He replied : "I am the Nazarene Christ, the son of God." And Saul said : "From this moment I will believe that you are the Christ, the Son of the living God." And overwhelmed by the awe-inspiring things that he witnessed he fell on his face to the ground, and the angels took his soul immediately, and in a vision he saw our Lord in the majesty of His glory saying to him : "I have chosen you to be an Apostle to me. Go now to *Damascus* and proceed to the great church found in it, because I have there a disciple called *Ananias* who will make you whole." And immediately after the soul of Saul came back to him, and he found only a few of the companions that were with him.

He then, while blind, proceeded to *Damascus* and asked about the great church. When the priest of the church who was named *Ananias* found him he said to him : "Come, O my brother *Saul*, in the love of Christ our Lord, because our Lord has chosen you to be His disciple and His preacher." And the ascetic⁴ *Ananias* placed his pure hands on the eyes⁵ of *Saul* and said : "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God,⁶ open ye O eyes and return⁷ to your normal state." And the eyes of *Saul* opened forthwith, and thin scales like small husks fell from them, and the ascetic asked for water with which he ordered him to wash his eyes.⁸ After having washed his face and his eyes he received sight forthwith.

In that very night *Saul* saw in a vision the Christ our Lord who said to him : "From this moment you will not be called *Saul* but PAUL. I have made you my preacher before the kings and a companion to *Peter* my disciple, the chief and the chairman of my elect. And the Christ our Lord ordered *Paul* to go to *Antioch*. And when

¹ All this narrative seems to be taken from Acts ix. 1-22.

² Acts ix. 4 : "Why persecutest thou me?"

³ Acts (*ibid.*) : "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

⁴ *Rāhib* means generally a monk, but what kind of Christian monks were there in the time of *Ananias*?

⁵ Read '*ainai*.'

⁷ Read in the dual form.

⁶ All the sentence is in Syriac.

⁸ Read '*ainaihi*.'

he went there he met the great and the presiding teacher *Peter* and also *John* while both were in prison.

And the Great Father said:

"At daybreak we saw *Paul* the elect knocking at the door of the prison, and I said to *John*: "Call him to us." And he called him. When *Paul* saw *John* having the middle of his head shaven he said to him: "What is this thing you have innovated in this town?" And *John* said to him: "Do not be amazed, O disciple *Paul*, at that which you see in me;" And *Paul* opened the door of the prison, entered, greeted me, received my benediction and said to me and to *John*: "Do not be grieved at what you have suffered from the inhabitants of *Antioch*. By the truth of Christ the Lord who appeared to me on the way, He sent me to you in order that I may preach in His name with you."

And we left our place, and he¹ went and met the heads of the city of *Antioch* and spoke to them what he wished. Then he dispatched a messenger² to us and called us to him. The messenger ushered us into the temple of the idols, and we entered and found *Paul* praying and worshipping before the idols, and suspicion entered into our mind concerning his faith.³ When he finished his worship he turned towards me and said: "O man, what is your name?" And I answered: "*Peter*." And he said: "Who is your God?" I answered: "A God, one in nature and three in attributes, worshipped and glorified by⁴ His creatures and praised by His myriads.⁵ He is the creator of all rational and irrational beings.⁶ He is the Feeder, the Giver, and the Provider. He created the created beings, perfected them and endowed them with wisdom and might. He enjoined His worship upon them, but they disbelieved in Him and worshipped the Rebel and injured themselves in their services⁷ to the rebellious *Archon*, because they were all the time worshipping idols. And He showed forbearance to them generation after generation, but

¹ *I.e.*, *Paul*. The following story is very strange and original.

² Read *rasūlan*.

³ This hypocritical act of *Paul* is also mentioned in the *Ethiopic Contendings*, p. 495.

⁴ Add *min* or *fi*.

⁵ *Sic codex*.

⁶ The following sentences are in rhymed prose.

⁷ The Arab. *bi-'at ābihim* "in their fatigues" seems to be a literal translation of the Syriac *b-amlaihon* which means both "in their fatigues" and "in their services."

they did not fear God, the avenging Lord who fathoms the secrets of the hearts. When, however, many generations passed in this way and Satan drew to himself all mankind, this displeased the jealous Lord, and He sent His Son, the mighty Teacher, who came down to the earth and appeared in a covering which He chose to Himself from light, which He materialised¹ and from which He spoke and performed in His world the things which He wished to perform. Then He ascended into heaven by His power and sent us His disciples,² to all creatures by His will."

And Paul said: "When your master came down from His heaven what pious works did He do which would make Him worthy of headship?" And I replied: "He performed miracles that transcend the minds, and forgave the sins of the ignorant." And he said: "And what did this great and ancient Master of yours give you?" And I replied: He granted each one of us to perform the wonders which He performed and to cure every man from his diseases and his ailments." And he said: "Show us something from this (power) in order that we may believe in your God Jesus Christ." And I replied: "Bring to us a man blind and dumb from his birth."³ And he brought to me immediately a man who was blind from his birth and who prayed God at that moment to give him joy and remove his ailment from him.

And I took⁴ the man and brought him before me and said to John: "Pray the Lord Jesus Christ to open the eyes⁵ of this blind man." And John said: "The power has been given to you and not to me. Pray you and I will help you in your prayer." And I implored the Lord Jesus Christ of *Nazareth* the Son of God and said: "O sightless eyes so shape yourselves that the light of vision may penetrate into you." And (in saying so) I placed my hand on the eyes of the blind man and said: "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit who is glorified by all the creatures of God on earth and in heaven." Immediately after a pair of eyes were opened for the blind man, and he saw with them all those who

¹ Hardly orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation.

² Read *talānīdhahu*.

³ Lit. "from his mother's womb."

⁴ Here again the author uses the objective pronoun before its subject as it is done in Syrian but not in Arabic.

⁵ Read *'ainai*.

were present,¹ and they believed and glorified the Lord Jesus Christ with a hymn. Voices were raised and all the town was in a state of commotion because of the miracles wrought before all those that were present.

And people prostrated themselves before me to the ground and besought me to forgive them the injustices that they had done to me. And *Paul* said to them: "Do not be too ready² to believe in the God of this man who is possibly a medical man who has specialised in *Indian* drugs, similar to those I have now with me, through which he opens the eyes of men. The people listened to him and believed him and the (story of the) drugs. So the King assigned to us a house in which we lived, I and *John*, in the way we wished.³

After three days *Paul* called us to him while he was in the temple of the idols and surrounded by a great number of Magians.⁴ Before him were madmen, paralytics, lepers, deaf and dumb, lame, and men affected with rigidity in their wrists and with skin diseases. And *Paul* said: "O *Peter*, these are your guests to-day, so ask your Lord to give them healing." And I said: "I will do willingly and with pleasure what you have asked me to do, in this very house." And I did not cease laying my hands upon each one of them till all were cured. Every one of those that were cured of his diseases blessed⁵ the Christ my Lord. The place in which we were was then filled with cries and continuous shouts, and the majority of the people who were present put on the garment of baptism, and many words of thanks were addressed to us.

And *Paul* said: "O *Peter*, if your words concerning your God are true you will raise a dead man for us. If you work such a miracle the first one to believe in your Master would be I.⁶ And the King said: "If he raises my son who is dead I shall be the first to believe

¹ This miracle is also found in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 496-497.

² Read *tasta 'jilū*.

³ This story about the evangelisation of Peter, John and Paul is strange and appears to be exclusively of Coptic-Ethiopic origin. See *Contendings* (*ibid.*). The reader has doubtless noticed the important rôle played always by Peter in this eminently Petrine document.

⁴ Evidently the author uses this word in the general sense of "pagans."

⁵ Lit. "mentioned."

⁶ The ingenious and rather subtle rôle given to Paul in this narrative is very original.

in Him, and so also will all the inmates of my house." And the inhabitants of the city said "And we all will believe and perform all the obligations of his faith which he will teach us." And I replied : "Yes, I will teach you these obligations¹ when I have raised the dead man. You ought to serve the God of heaven and earth." And they answered : "Yes, we will do so." And *Paul* said "Bring a dead man."

One of the prefects of the city had an only son who was dead, but the father being away on a journey the relatives did not bury the son until the father's arrival. Now they brought and presented this dead man, and *Paul* said : "O aged man, if you raise this dead man we all will believe in your God." And I prostrated myself before the Lord Jesus Christ and wept before Him. I was in great fear at that time and said in my prayer : "My God and my Lord do not forsake me but listen to me according to your habit with me. Confirm your true promise to me, and raise this dead man in order that I may teach these people that you are the living God² beside whom there is no other God."

And I rose from my prostration and signing myself with the sign of the Cross I said with a loud voice that could be heard by all those present : "O dead man, arise in the name of Jesus Christ whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem." And the dead man rose forthwith. And the shouts of the people increased in their glorifications to the name of Christ.³ And *Paul* said "If you raise also the son of the King we will believe in your God, I, the King, and all his kingdom." And I *Peter* answered : "Any time you choose to have this done, I will perform to you such a miracle in the name of the Christ my Lord, O you inhabitants of *Antioch*."

After the above words were uttered we separated ourselves from the crowds. Three days later *Paul* went to the house of the King and said to him : "These men have said that they were able to raise the dead in the name of their God, and they have raised the son of the prefect, and have also said that they will do⁴ the same thing to

¹ Lit. "I will do so."

² Read *al-'ilāh*.

³ Curiously enough this miracle is not found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings*, pp. 497-498, in which the narrative goes from the blind man to the son of the Emperor or the King. On pp. 668-672, however, of the same *Contendings* Peter raises another man from the dead.

⁴ Read *yaf'alū*.

the son of the King. As to the gods whom we serve they are not able to heal the sick, nor to show a sign, nor to open the eyes of the blind, nor to cure diseases nor to make lepers whole, as these men did¹ in the name of their God. We have asked them to do a great thing which no one has so far heard that a created being has ever done. If these men do it we must all of us believe immediately in their God."²

And the King said : " My son died three years ago³ and he is buried in a mausoleum. I know that he has become a handful of bones with no soul whatsoever in them. If these men raise him to life I shall be the first to embrace their faith, I with all my relatives, my friends and the inhabitants of my city, and if any one does not follow me I will destroy him with this my sword." And *Paul* said to him : " And if these men are not able⁴ to raise your son to life ? " The King answered : " I will torment them with every torment and remove them from this world." And Paul said : " I agree with this condition."

Then I, *Peter*, was summoned along with *John* to the house of the King, and we were honoured, treated with deference, and given the first seats. And I⁵ *Paul* began to speak : " We have made a pact with you by which you ought to stand."⁶ And I *Peter* said : " What pact have you with us ? " And the King answered : " I have a son who died three years ago. You shall raise him and bring him to life in the name of your God." And I answered : " If I do what you wish, O King, and bring your son to life in a state which you will know, what will you do, as part of your bargain ? " And the King replied : " I will believe in your God with all my household," and signalling to *Paul* he added : " together with this my vizier and with all the inhabitants of my kingdom." And I *Peter* replied : " Let us then proceed to where the youth lies."

And the King rose along with all those who were present, and they walked towards the door of the corridor which led to the place in which the son of the King was buried. Behind me and before me

¹ Read *fa'ala*.

² Lit. " Return one word to their God."

³ The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 500), says " three months ago," instead of three years ago.

⁴ Delete the *nūn* from the verb.

⁵ See again how the speakers change rôles in the narrative.

⁶ Delete the *nūn*.

were innumerable crowds. I ordered the door of the vault to be opened, and it was opened, and then I intimated to the King, to *Paul* and to some of the King's retinue and relatives to descend into the mausoleum and to verify the condition of the dead son of the King and then to report to me. When all of them saw him they said : " We have only found some of his large limbs ; all the rest has perished and suffered dissolution. Then I, *Peter*, uncovered my head and began to pray towards the East, and stretched my hands before my Creator, and said before all those present in a loud voice that could be heard by all :

" I know, O my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, son of God, that you are present here with me, and that as you are here present you are also present in every part of the heavens and of the earth. No height and no depth are without you. Do not forsake me and do not leave me, but let your Providence encompass me wherever I may be dwelling. You have ordered me to¹ preach the Gospel to mankind in your name and to deliver them from the snare, the ropes and the nets of the *Archon*, in order that they may know that you are the only Son of God and that the Spirit of God is in the essence of God, and that He is not three, as it is said, but one God, one Lord, the first and eternal God with His Word through whom He speaks and through whom He created all created beings, and with His spirit who proceeds from Him,² and imparts life to all beings. He is one God, rational and living, and there is no God and no being to be worshipped beside Him. By Your Grace you have shown us who you are, and we have known you. You have ordered us to preach in your name, and we have obeyed your order, and so we are now before you and you are in us and with us. Do not forsake us and those who believe in you through us. Confirm your true saying to us before these multitudes who are assembled here before you in order that they may know³ that you are their God, and their true Lord. We implore you in your great name, in the time of our need, to answer our supplications and grant us that which we expect from you, because you are our God and we have no other God beside you. Make our

¹ Read '*an*.'

² The author does not seem here to believe in the procession of the Spirit from the Son. See, however, the first part of the work.

³ Delete the final *nūn* from the verb.

path easy and render our effort ¹ successful. Do to us what you have taught us to expect from you, that you will listen to our prayers in our arduous tasks. We only ask you what you have ordered us to ask, so that when these pagan ² multitudes have seen ³ your wonderful works ⁴ which you by your power perform through us who are your lowly disciples, they might know that you are all-powerful in your name. We beseech you according to your order to us, and you, O my God, listen to us, hear us, and make haste to answer our prayers because you are near to us, present with us, and dwelling in us. It is you who strengthens us, who brings us together, who provides us with our food, who dwells in our hearts, who fathoms our secrets, who causes us to die and gives us life again, who brings illness upon us and then heals us."

When my supplication to God reached these words, all my body was illuminated with lights, which were also reflected on all those who were present, and a gentle wind blew on us which emitted scents sweeter than all perfumes, which extended to those that were far and near. Then the Holy Spirit ⁵ appeared and fortified me and assured me that I would perform that miracle. I drew, therefore, near the sepulchre and raised my voice and said: "O dead man, whose body has perished, arise from your sleep ⁶ by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, and hasten to come to me here." Immediately after the son of the King came out to me, and I seized him by his hand and presented him to his father, who instantly believed in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, as also did all his relatives and all the inhabitants of the city.

After this people hastened to the temples which they demolished, and to the idols of which they broke up. In their places they laid foundations for churches, and all the people worshipped the Cross.

The Son of the King was then asked about his condition after his death and what his soul had seen, and he replied that since he had died and his soul had left his body, he was thrown to the torments of hell down to that hour. (He then added): "And the angel to whom I was entrusted said to me, 'Be of good cheer, because de-

¹ Lit. "Stretch between our hands."

³ Read *shāhada*.

⁵ Here again the author uses the word "Holy Spirit" in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature.

² Lit. "foreign."

⁴ Read *af'ālaka*.

⁶ Or "your rest."

liverance has come to you from God.' Then he raised me from that torment and brought me before the Lord Christ with whom I saw standing this man, that is to say *Peter*, and this youth, that is to say *John*, and this other man, that is to say *Paul*. The three of them were worshipping before the Lord and imploring Him to restore me to this life again. The Lord Christ granted their request in the matter of bringing me to life again, and immediately after my soul returned to my body alive. And when this venerable man, Peter the disciple of the Christ called me to¹ come out of my grave I obeyed him and came out."

And the King said to *Paul* : "Did you hear² what my son said about you?" And he answered, "Yes." And the King said to him : "And how is that?" And *Paul* answered : "I will relate to you all my story dealing with the religion of Christ." When he had told all his story as narrated above the King said to him : "And what induced you after you had believed in this powerful, ancient and mighty Lord, the master and the maker of the times, to deny Him and to return to the worship of idols?" And Paul said : "I did not worship idols nor did I deny God. I meant in what I did to use a stratagem with you in order that by my soft advice to you the hardness of your nature may be mollified to your advantage. In this the Most High God gave me victory over you as He brought you to the right path."

The King was amused and smiling at him thanked him for the ruse he had practised against them, and for the fact that he had converted them from error and the worship of idols to the obedience to God and to the knowledge of His persons, and to the belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who is endowed with eternal life and who delivers from all sorrow. When our joy was finished we all helped in the task of baptising them, and I ordained³ men from them as priests for them, and after having remained two years in *Antioch* we left them, and I despatched *Paul* to the town of *Tarsus* in order to convert its inhabitants to the faith.

After our separation from *Paul* I received letters from the believers in *Laodicea* in which they informed me that their river

¹ Read *bi'an*.

² Lit. "do you see."

³ The Syriac word "*sām*."

known as *K̄ṣaris*¹ had increased its waters immeasurably and was in flood in a way that had never occurred before, and that it had drowned a great number of people. I sent to them *John* the beloved and I ordered him saying: "Proceed to *Laodicea* and quell for its inhabitants the vehemence of the river, and say to it: 'O river, you have no power to rise more than your normal rate,² by the word of God who created the heavens and the earth. You, O river, you will be cursed if you do not go back to your former place from now to eternity.'"

And *John* went to *Laodicea* and persistent news reached him to the effect that the high floods of the river had killed innumerable people. Among those who came to bring this news to *John* were men of different social standing. In the route which *John* was following was a herd of sheep, and *John* drew near a ram that was in that herd and said to it: "O irrational animal, go with these people as my messenger to the river called *K̄ṣaris* and inform it thus: "*John* the disciple of Christ has sent me to you in order to inform you that you are forbidden³ by the Word of the living God, the eternal and the creator of all the created beings, to overflow your natural banks. Go now back to your natural banks and do not go beyond them any more from now till the day of the Resurrection."⁴

The ram went then to the river and said to it in clear language: "Mar *John*, the disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ has sent me to you. He orders you by the Word of God to⁵ go back to your natural banks." And the water ran immediately back and decreased in volume from its swollen state until it reached its normal condition. The crowds were amazed at this miracle and many pagans of the inhabitants of *Laodicea* believed in the religion of Christ. The numbers of the pagans of *Laodicea* who believed through *John*, the Apostle of the Lord Saviour, was eighteen thousand.⁶ All these believed through *John*, may our best peace be with him. And he

¹ Is it the Lycos? The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 503), mentions also this miracle and calls the river *K̄ṣārōs*.

² Lit.: "more than the habit."

³ The verb *marbūt* (lit.: "bound") is generally used in magical formulae.

⁴ The sentence is badly worded.

⁵ Delete *lām*.

⁶ Read *alf*.

ordained ¹ from amongst them priests and deacons, and afterwards he left them and went to *Ephesus*, and I repaired to *Jerusalem*.²

Says father Clement, may his prayers be with us. Amen ;

And when the great teacher and the spiritual father, Peter, reached the town of *Jerusalem*, he called me Clement to his service, and he ordered me along with my brothers to repair in advance of him to the city of *Rome*. He said to us : "Go you before me because I shall soon go there myself." The Lord Christ had indeed ordered him to travel in that direction, so we obeyed his command and put to sea in order to go to *Rome* as our teacher *Peter* had ordered us ; And he also added "Take also your father³ with you." Several days after we had left he summoned to him a company of the disciples and informed them that he would soon be proceeding to *Rome*. All of them were grieved at his separation, and did not disguise from him their sorrow.

Then he left them and on his way passed through *Cyprus* where he stayed twenty-three days. He informed me Clement of this and said to me : "At the end of a stay of twenty-three days in *Cyprus* an angel appeared to me and said to me : 'O *Peter*, let not this town, I mean this island, please you (too much), but go in haste to *Rome* because there is more need of you there than here.'" And (Clement) said : "The great father Peter spoke to me and said : 'I did immediately next morning what the angel had ordered me to do. And I spoke my farewells to the inhabitants of *Cyprus* and separated myself from them, and their hearts ached because of this separation. And the earth folded itself under my feet as the parchment of a book is folded, and in a few days I reached *Rome*. I entered it while I was naked and had not a garment to wear. I was in a bewildered state when I entered it and also hungry and thirsty. On my entrance I came upon a dung heap⁴ that was near the house of a nobleman, one of the notables of the city. I climbed up and sat on it tired, hungry, heavy-hearted, stricken with grief and

¹ Here again the Syriac verb *sām*.

² The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 504), erroneously states that Peter went to Rome instead of to Jerusalem.

³ Read *abākuma*.

⁴ The Ethiopic narrative calls it "a little hill," *Contendings*, p. 505.

sorrow, without the strength of even one day,¹ deep in thought and not knowing where to go.²

The man near whose door the dung heap was found was a pious man, a great almsgiver, and a man of pure heart and a lover of strangers. His daughter came out at that time and saw me, and she entered again and said to her father :³ "There is on the dung heap a stranger who is in a nude state and naked, and who does not resemble the poor and the strangers of our town. I have never known a man in greater poverty." And her father⁴ said to her : "My daughter take a ewer of gold, fill it with water, and carry a basin of gold and a towel, and go to this poor man, peradventure you will be cured from your ailment."⁵ Perhaps also he is a messenger of a god or the messenger of the God of heaven who appeared in *Judæa* in the town of Jerusalem, because I have heard this from one of the relatives of *Nero*, who was the Governor of *Judæa*, and also that He has ordered His disciples to hate gold and not to possess silver, that they should be poor, humble, and wear tatters.⁶ They show heavenly signs and spiritual power, because their God, the Lord Christ, has given them power to work miracles and wonders. I hope that this stranger is a disciple of the God⁷ of heaven so that he should cure you of your ailment ; and I hope also, my daughter, that if you go to him and wash his feet and not recoil from his poverty, he will cure you of the leprosy with which you are afflicted."

And the maiden came out to me with a covered face from which only her eyes were seen, as she was a chaste girl with a pure heart. She came to me with a ewer and a basin in her hands while I was moaning and weeping. And she said to me : "O venerable man, do not weep and do not be heavy hearted. The time for your rest has come⁸ and your sorrows have passed ; wash, therefore, your face with this water and also your hands and your feet."⁹ Be of good cheer

¹ Put the words of the text in genitive.

² A recension of the following story is found in an Arabic manuscript of Mount Sinai, dated 183 of the Hijrah (A.D. 799), and has been edited and translated by Mrs. Gibson, in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 5, under the title of *Prædicatio Petri*, pp. 56-58 of the text.

³ Read *li'abiha*.

⁴ Read *'abūha*.

⁵ We shall presently see that she had leprosy.

⁶ Read *khiraq*.

⁷ Delete the article.

⁸ Lit. "Your soul has reached."

⁹ Put both words in the dual accus. case.

because good is going to come to you, and you will enter the house of your servants in order that you may eat of our food¹ and pray for us." And she came and poured water on my hands and my feet while her hands and arms were covered. The maiden did not cease to pour water, and I did not cease to wash, until I was rested and my strength came back to me.

Then the Holy Spirit said to me : "She has leprosy." And I said to her : "O maiden, why are you hiding your face and your hands from me while I am a poor old man advanced in years?" And she answered me : "Because I feel ashamed before you, and because of my regard for your age and respect for your asceticism, and also because of a long story of mine, the upshot of which is that I am affected with a great ailment and a complaint which I do not desire to display before any one in this world."²

And I said to her : "And what is this ailment? Tell me your story, O maiden." When she heard this she said : "By the truth of God I will not hide anything from you. I was one day invited to the wedding of one of the notables of this city, and I went to it together with a company of women. When they saw me they began to speak of me among themselves with admiration, and evil eye struck me and I became affected with this ailment, that is to say leprosy." I saw her tears falling down from her eyes³ on her cheeks like rain, and I said to her : "Be of good cheer and rejoice." And I, Peter, took a handful of the water with which she had washed my hands and my feet, made the sign of the cross on it in the name of Jesus Christ and threw it on her, and she was cleansed of her leprosy and her ailment."

And she went to her father⁴ with joy and gladness on account of the favours of God to her, and apprised him of her cure through me. She showed him her hands, and he saw that they were healed; and he sprang from his seat with joy and happiness and came out to me and kissed my hands and embraced my chest and took me with him into his house. He then ordered his slaves to carry me, and they carried me and brought me to his place, and he said to me : "This day the grace and the mercy of the Lord came down upon us and life

¹ Probably read *aṭ'āmina*.

² To lay emphasis on the fact the text says : "In both abodes of the world," *i.e.*, here and in the next world.

³ Read *'ainaiha*.

⁴ Read *abiha*.

entered our house." And he added : "Tell us who you are, O blessed old man, and whence you came, because we have seen light from you." And I replied to him : "I am one of the servants of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God,¹ whom the Jews have crucified in the town of *Jerusalem*, and who rose alive from His grave before their eyes, and ascended to heaven whence He had come, and sat on the majestic throne of His glory. The angels glorify Him and worship Him in heaven, as also do on the earth all those who believe in Him. He chose us from the world, and ordered us to labour before Him on the earth, to preach to mankind resurrection after death, and to work miracles in all the regions of the earth. My Lord Jesus Christ has sent me to you and I came to this city at His bidding in order to call its inhabitants to His service, to baptise them with His baptism which all those who believe in Him receive,² and to sign them with the name of the Holy Trinity which is His Word, and the name of His holy Wisdom,³ that is to say in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one true God.⁴ If they believe in this faith, He will forgive their sins, wipe off⁵ their prevarications, remove them from the terrors of (the day of the) Resurrection, and bring them to the height of joy, pleasures and peace."

And the old man said : "I and all my household believe in your works and in the generous Lord your God." And I immediately struck the floor of the room in which we were sitting with my staff⁶ and said : "In the name⁷ of the Christ our Lord let a spring of water appear on this floor." And immediately after a spring welled up in the room, and I baptised the old man with his children and all his relatives and marked them with the holy chrism. My name went then abroad in all the city, and all the inhabitants of *Rome* heard my story. I was visited by crowds of people affected with all sorts of complaints, such as itch, elephantiasis and leprosy ; and those of them who were mad and insane ; and those affected with dropsy ; and the paralytics ; and the sick of the palsy ; and the deaf and dumb ; and

¹ All this sentence is in Syriac.

² Read *yaḫbaluha*.

³ The sentence is badly worded.

⁴ All this sentence is in Syriac.

⁵ Read *mahḥaṣa* or *maha*.

⁶ Here again read *'ukkāzah*, which proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters.

⁷ Lit. "By the truth."

those affected with a withered arm ; and the blind ; and those affected with all sorts of fevers and with external and internal complaints.¹

Innumerable crowds thus sat near the door of that rich man like bellowing camels that had lost their shepherd. With them were many people who came to witness² the favour of God and to believe in Him through the testimony of their own eyes. When I *Peter* went out to them I preached to them in the name of my Lord Jesus Christ who saved the (inhabitants of the) world from the noose of the demons, and warned them against sin, and performed miracles and wonders among them. When they saw the blind³ seeing ; and people whose bodies were affected with elephantiasis shedding their scales and replacing them with a new and smooth skin, while overjoyed at the favours of God who had delivered them from their ailment which segregated them from other creatures ; and the paralytics leaping with joy ; and the deaf hearing ; and the dumb talking ;⁴ and the lame walking ; and people with withered arms stretching their hands in a normal way ; and the mad and the insane healed ; and the sick cured ; and the people affected with dropsy made whole : they were drawn to the faith and they one and all rejected idolatry for the grace of God which He so freely gave them, and they rejoiced, and praised and thanked the Most High God.

Then I baptised a considerable number of them and absolved their sins ;⁵ and I caused a Church to be built in the house of the old man who was called *Euphraxus*.⁶ My fame spread in the city and its inhabitants ascertained that I was Peter the head of the disciples of Christ. Then I Peter summoned my pupil *Clement* along with his brothers to come⁷ to me and assist me in the task of baptising those that had believed in the water of baptism. They came to me with all speed and helped in the furtherance of the message of the Lord Christ in the City of *Rome*.

The above news reached *Paul* and *Barnabas*, *Titus* and

¹ All the above story is told in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 505-509.

² Read *liyabšurū*, and also remove the *nūn* from the following verb.

³ Codex *ex errore* "the lepers."

⁴ Codex has here *ex errore* "and the dumb seeing."

⁵ Lit. "justified them."

⁶ Codex *Ophrax*. The Ethiopic text has *Euphrīkōs*.

⁷ Read *ya'tu*.

Timothy, his disciples,¹ and they came to us, and I was very pleased with their proximity to us and their arrival amongst us. Then *John* and some of the other Apostles came, and we proclaimed the faith in the city of *Rome* until our news reached the Emperor of *Rome*, who summoned us to him. I went to him together with the brethren whom the Christ my Lord had sent to me in order to finish His work in the city.

Paul, however, separated himself from us, but he told us nothing about his separation. He preceded us and entered the palace of the Emperor who honoured him and enhanced his prestige and caused him to sit next to him. And *Paul* ceased not to speak well to him of paganism and idolatry until he gained his confidence.² Then he said to him: "Who are these men who are causing disturbance in all Rome? Do they show³ signs in it and proclaim the strange name of a God about whom no one knew anything in the world, especially in these regions." And the Emperor answered: "I have sent my friends after them to bring them⁴ here immediately." And *Paul* said to him: "When they come, O mighty and powerful Emperor, do not speak to them and do not answer any of their questions. Leave all this to me—and I will speak to them and answer them." And the Emperor said to him: "I entrust you with this duty; discharge it as you see fit."

When we reached the gates of the palace the men under whose charge⁵ we were said to us: "Wait here until we have obtained permission for you to have an audience with the Emperor." And when we entered the chamber in which the Emperor was sitting, we found *Paul* sitting with the Emperor in the first place of the audience room, speaking to him and consulting with him. And I said to the brethren who were with me: "Is not the one who is speaking to the Emperor, *Paul*?"⁶ The company (of the brethren) answered: "It

¹ The text probably *ex errore* has "disciples of Clement." Possibly the word "Clement" used here is the last of the following sentence found in Ethiopic "And Clement and his brothers my disciples," *Contendings*, p. 509. The sentence may have been thus truncated by the copyist.

² The strategic and somewhat crooked rôle given to *Paul* throughout the narrative is rather undignified. The idea is possibly inspired from I Cor. ix. 20-23.

³ Lit. "taught."

⁴ Delete the *nūn*.

⁵ Put the word in the nominative.

⁶ This sentence is worded in a style which denotes a translation from another language.

is as you say." And I together with all those who were with me were amazed at the courage of *Paul*, and each one of us thought evil of him, which, however, our tongues did not put into words.¹

The Emperor did not pay any attention to us nor did he ask us any questions, but *Paul* said : "O aged man, by what power have you been able to enter into our city and to preach therein the name of your God without previously having obtained for the purpose the permission of the Emperor, or of one of his prefects ? Who is this God whom you are mentioning and whose name you are spreading abroad saying that He is the God of heaven. You are divorcing men from the faith that they have inherited from their fathers and in which they were brought up from the beginning." And I said to him : "If I do not enter a town or preach the message of the Christ my Lord except by the permission and favour of Kings and prefects, my Master would be like the earthly Kings who are in fear of one another. But since my Master is the creator of all the created beings and the administrator of the affairs of this world according to His will, I have no need to ask permission from any of His servants when I enter into a town or go about on important business. It is indeed He—may His name be exalted—who advises me as to what I need, and helps me in whatsoever He wishes, in things far and near. Were it not for His mercy towards His world, and the abundance of His grace through which He loves to save His servants from error and to lead them to the right path and to be believed in by them, He would have wiped out their memory with the passing ages, in order that their punishment might be in the fire,² in the company of those who have committed injustices and soiled their hearts which they gave to the worship (of idols) to the exclusion of God the Lord of the worlds.³

And Paul said : "Of whom do you speak, O aged man ?" And I replied : "Of all those who worship demons that enter into idols and images, who offer sacrifices to them and worship them to the exclusion of God, the creator and God of all gods, the One and Omnipotent God who created the created beings,⁴ who fashioned the

¹ This sentence is ambiguous.

² Read *as-sa'ir* for *ash-sha'ir*. This also proves that the present Garshuni MS. is derived from an original written in undotted Arabic characters.

³ Kur'ānic expression.

⁴ These sentences are in rhymed prose.

heavens, who made the angels, who lifted the wheels¹ of the firmament which circles about. The mighty Lord and the Omnipotent King, who ordered His rational world to praise Him, glorify Him and magnify Him."

And Paul said: "What power did He give you, which you might show us and which we do not possess?" And I replied: "The power of showing signs and working miracles which no created being can work besides us." And Paul said: "Could you show us something from them that we may know them?" And I replied: "I can go near your god whom you have fashioned and into whom Satan, who disobeyed the order of His maker, has entered, and I will adjure him by the name of my Master to show you his real image and then to flee from his abode never again to return to it. This will show² to you that you are in great error." And Paul said: "Can you then speak to the god of the Emperor?" And I replied: "And in the name of my God, I will also uproot him from these regions and banish him from them." And Paul said: "If you do this and if you overcome the god of the Emperor in the name of your Master, we will agree with what you say, and will follow your Master who sent you to us." And I replied: "Let us go then to the temple of the idols."

The Emperor was amazed at my words, and Paul persuaded him to come out with us to the temple of the idols, and all the inhabitants of the city of *Rome* gathered together at the time when we went out of the palace to repair to the temple. I went to the places where the idols were found standing, and the majority of them were of gold and silver, and the idol which the Emperor worshipped was the biggest of all and of pure gold. On its chest was (the figure of) a man dressed in the finest apparel, and on its head was a crown inlaid with precious stones and rubies of the highest quality. Satan spoke through it continually with the Emperor, and since he revealed in his conversation with him what he held as secret he worshipped him and offered sacrifices before him, and so also did all his relatives and friends.

And *Paul* said: "O aged man, worship the god³ of the Emperor and do not go against me. Unless you do this the god of the

¹ Read *dūlāb*. This also proves that the present MS. is derived from an original written in undotted Arabic characters.

² Delete the *nūn*.

³ Delete the article.

Emperor will kill you instantly." And I replied : " As to me I only worship the one and Omnipotent God of heaven. As to the god of the Emperor you will soon see its fate and what will become of him." And I Peter lifted my hands towards heaven and said : " To you I will speak my words, O mighty, Omnipotent and Wise God who administers the affairs of His creatures on His earth and in His heaven, who is present in the midst of us and in us, who uttered to us His true words, ' Whenever¹ two or three of you pray to me in my name, whether on land or on sea, I shall be present with them.'² We know that we are your disciples and that you have sent us to the Gentiles in order to preach to them in your name and convert them from their idolatry to the belief in your omnipotence. You have ordered us to perform wonders and miracles and drive out demons in your name, and also to bring to the right path the insolent nations."

Then I said in a loud voice : " O rebellious demons come out of these idols which are sheltering you and in which you are hiding, and show yourselves in your true colours³ to those who have worshipped you in order that they may know⁴ the power of our God, the God of myriads and myriads of myriads, who created you. O you who speak ill of your God, who mislead the servants of the generous and omniscient God, come out of these idols, in which you dwell, to the curse of God, by the power of the Lord God, the eternal Word who created everything found in heaven and on earth ; who came down to us in His power, might and omnipotence ; who in His mercy appeared in our clothing and became incarnate in our image in order to gain our confidence in our speaking and conversing with Him ; who chose us as His disciples and sent us to the Gentiles by His will and His love. You have no right, O rebellious demons who mislead the servants of God, to remain in these idols which hide you from the sight of men. Come out of them immediately by the omnipotence, might, majesty and power which God exercises over you."

At that moment⁵ the demons who⁶ were in those idols emitted loud cries which shook and terrified all those who were present, and they appeared in different forms which terrified the hearts of men, and

¹ Cf. Matth. xviii. 20.

³ Lit. " in the ugliest show."

⁵ Probably read *sā'āta'idhīn*.

² Read *ma'ahum*.

⁴ Delete the *nūn*.

⁶ Read *al-ladhīn*.

all of them said in one voice¹: "How our hearts rejoiced in our dwellings! We were honoured and glorified by all the people, and we had no trouble of any kind, but to-day our peace has been changed into sorrow, for the Apostle of our God has driven us out of our places. His God has power over us and we can do nothing against Him because He is the Son of God, our creator, and His spirit and His eternal Word."

Immediately after this the idols fell down to the ground and were broken to pieces, and a foul and stinking smell came out of the ugly figures of the Rebels. When the Emperor who was a man of discernment and honesty and endowed with high qualities, heard the voice of Satan he was terrified and fell to the ground on his face in his fear. The demons went out in the direction of the inhabitants of *Rome* (who were present) and at their departure killed a hundred men of them. Then the crowds shouted their acceptance of the true faith and raised their voices saying: "The true faith in God is in the Lord Christ who in His grace sent to us His disciples in order to lead us to His worship and to the confession of His might and power. We all believe in God and acknowledge these messengers who led us from unbelief to faith and saved us from perdition."

We were very pleased at the conversion of the Emperor to the faith² in God and in Christ through the pure father the Apostle³ Peter, and also at the conversion of his viziers, his household, his relatives and his lieutenants. No one was left in town without believing and coming to us with humility asking to be baptised. In a very short time their unbelief and error were changed into belief. Then we enjoined on them the (Christian) obligations which they accepted with thanksgivings to the Most High God, and we ordained for them bishops, priests, deacons and monks (*sic*), and we were pleased with their faith and with the welcome that we had received from them.

Then I Peter, after having despatched the brethren along with Clement and his brothers who were at my service, remained in *Rome* for a month. I despatched *Mark* to *Alexandria*; *Thomas* to *India*; *Philip* to the town of *Nubia*; *Addai* to *Abgar*, King of the Syrians, in *Babylon*, and in the town of *Edessa*, and to the other

¹ The following sentences of the demons are in rhymed prose. There is no need to translate them literally.

² Read *bil-'īman*.

³ From the Syriac *sheliḥa*.

towns of *Jazīrah*¹; *John* to *Ephesus*,² and *I Peter* and *Paul* remained in Rome with the rest of the brethren.

Afterwards I left for the town to which *Philip* had repaired, and it is known as *Carthage*.³ The demon appeared to me on the way and wished to impede me from proceeding any further. He appeared with great power and strove to thwart and oppose me; but with the help of my Lord Christ I defeated the army which he had mustered against me. I took some of the oil which my Lord Christ had given me and put it in my mouth, and made the sign of the Cross on my face. All at once great power emanated from the omnipotence of my Lord Christ, and it overshadowed me and encompassed all my limbs. From the inside of my body came out a violent wind with which I found myself filled, and I blew that wind on the demon.⁴ A fierce wind resembling burning fire emanated then from my mouth, accompanied by a hurricane which blew away Satan and his hosts, and the road was left open for me.⁵

[Analysis of the text on ff. 173-185^b and full translation of all the important passages found in it]:

Then Satan bemoaned his fate, lamented over his fallen power and threatened to harass *Peter* and his followers with all sorts of temptations. Peter, however, rebuked him in the name of Christ,

¹Upper Mesopotamia. The Ethiopic text (*ibid.*, p. 510) calls it "the land of the two rivers."

²The reader has doubtless noticed how in this eminently Petrine work Peter is given an abnormally prominent position. The rest of the Apostles play an unusually secondary rôle.

³Evidently the author understands the Ethiopia of Acts viii. 27, to mean Carthage. That Philip went to Carthage is also explicitly stated in *Acta Philippi*. See Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, 75-104; Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap. Gesch.*, ii., 1-53. And compare Batiffol's text in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1890, 204-249, and Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 69-92. See also James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 450. Carthage in these documents is placed in "Azotus." The copyist writes the word as *Fartāgina* for *Kartāgina* and this again proves decisively that the present MS. is derived from an original in early and undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic that the letters *fā'* and *kāf* have an identical form and are distinguished exclusively by extraneous dots.

⁴*Cf.* about this story of Peter and Satan the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 510-514.

⁵From this sentence to the end of the work I will only give the analysis of the text. I will, however, give a regular translation of all the important passages found in it.

and he disappeared. Then Peter narrates that he and Paul proceeded to the town of *Philippi*¹ along with *Timothy*, the disciple of the latter, and evangelised it. From there Paul went to *al-Adiyōka*,² the town which is in darkness and which is separated from the town of *Afdār* by the lake³ *Gurgu*, the breadth of which is a hundred parasangs.⁴ On reaching the shores of the lake Paul found no one to take him across it, but he prayed the Lord and an angel carried him while asleep to the other side. He then entered the town and preached in it the name of the Lord, and all its inhabitants believed in Christ. He remained in it twenty months, after which he returned to *Carthage* and joined me there. He presented to me a report on his journey to *al-Adiyōka* in which he said :

"O spiritual father, our Chief, after I left you I saw in a vision the angel of the Lord who said to me, 'Go to the town of the King *Candude*⁵ and preach in it the Gospel of Christ.' I hesitated and said that it would be more advantageous if you Peter were to go there, but he intimated to me that I had to obey his orders and that your stay at *Carthage* would for the time being be more helpful, because our Lord loves this town and it is His second 'storehouse.'⁶ In consequence of these words of the angel I went into the town, which is a large city, as large as Rome, and it is the capital of *Candude*. The lake⁷ which surrounds it has a width of one hundred parasangs or three hundred miles. I entered it on the twelfth of the month of

¹ Text: *Philibus*. It is not explained how from Ethiopia the Apostle went so quickly to Philippi in Macedonia.

² Or *Alidiyōka*.

³ In some Coptic Arabic documents the word *nahr*, "river," refers also to "a lake" or "a sea." See my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 156, 168, etc. We shall see below that the author uses also in this connection the word *bahr*, "sea."

⁴ These names are found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (pp. 513-514), in slightly different forms due to erroneous transcriptions by copyists: "And when we had entered therein Paul left me and went to the city of *Wārikōn* (= *al-Adiyōka* of our MS.), the country of darkness, and between it and the country of *Akrād* (= *Afdār* of our MS.) is a lake the name of which is *Gurgnor* (= *Gurgu* of our MS.), the breadth of which is three hundred stadia."

⁵ This is evidently *Candace*, King of Ethiopia, mentioned in Acts viii. 27.

⁶ Sentences like these bring the present Apocryphon in direct relation with Ethiopia, and its author seems to have had especial interest in that country.

⁷ Lit. "river."

May. On the ramparts of the city there was a talisman which played the rôle of a watchman,¹ and when a stranger came near the city it uttered loud cries which acted as a warning to the inhabitants. When I drew near the inhabitants armed themselves, took to the boats and pursued me. And I hid in a cave near that lake,² and was much harassed by hunger and thirst, but in the night I went out and drank water from the lake, and in the morning I prayed my Lord, and the talisman emitted a fearful sound, and the waters of the lake became agitated like those of the Red Sea. The men came out again in their boats against me and I took refuge in the cave. The same thing happened the next day, and I fled, but the Virgin, the mother of light, stood before me and ordered me not to flee, and assured me that I would baptise all the inhabitants of the city in the water of that very lake. On the advice of the Virgin I took a handful of water and threw it in the face of the oncoming men who numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, and their rage abated because they saw the doors of heaven open and a hand of fire stretched along with my hand over them. They would have been overwhelmed by the heat of that fire, were it not for the handful of water that I threw towards them."

Then Paul proceeds to inform his master "the great teacher Peter" that eventually after he had performed some other miracles he baptised all the inhabitants of the town. Thereupon the King of the country sent additional troops against Paul, but by the great number of the miracles that he wrought they were all converted together with the King. Among his miracles Paul had dried up a place in the lake, and in that place eighteen thousand men helped to build a church under the name of the Virgin, the dimensions of which are given at some length. Then the Apostle ordained for them bishops, priests and deacons, and ordered the waters of the lake to surround the town before he came back to give an account of his mission to Peter.³

Then Peter goes on to narrate that after he had listened to Paul speaking of the town which he had evangelised, his soul longed to see it, and he implored the Christ to grant him his wish, and while he was standing on the quay of *Carthage* he was overshadowed by a

¹ The author uses here the Persian word *dīdabān*.

² Here the author uses the word *baḥr*, "sea."

³ The above story of the evangelisation of Paul is found in a slightly different form in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 691-699.

white cloud, and the two angels to whom he was entrusted, one of whom was called *Aḵrābīl* and the other *Falwabīl*,¹ came out of it and commanded him to ride on it and go to the town he wished to see, and it was called *al-Adiyoka*. There he was given a kindly reception, and he rode a white elephant that was placed at his disposal. He was also presented by the inhabitants with an address of welcome in which he was informed that the day of his visit will be commemorated for ever in their land, and in which he was asked to plant for them some olive trees as they needed their oil for "sacrifice."² During the night Peter prayed the Lord, and next morning the inhabitants of the town saw full-grown olive trees to the length of ten parasangs planted in gardens interspersed with springs of water. After having healed people affected with all sorts of diseases and remained seven months in the town he asked the Lord to remove from it all devouring beasts and damaging insects. Then a cloud carried him back to *Carthage*.

The brethren were very pleased when he narrated to them what had happened to him. After having lived some days in *Carthage* they repaired to *Philippi* and thence to *Rome* where the jealousy and hatred of *Simon Magus* were roused against them. Some of the inhabitants of *Rome* followed *Simon Peter* and his companions and some others *Simon Magus* who for three months performed by magic all the miracles that the Apostles wrought by the power of God. One day *Simon Magus* brought an ox to the Emperor and told him that he could make it die by breathing into its ears on condition that the Apostles of Christ should afterwards give life to it. The ox duly died and the Emperor summoned the Apostles,³ and Peter recited a prayer over it and life came back to it. The ox proceeded then by itself to summon *Simon Magus* before the Emperor, who remonstrated with him, but the magician answered him that he was able to do a greater miracle, such as that of ascending to heaven. Then a great multitude of evil spirits assembled there and lifted up *Simon Magus* to such a height that he was no more seen by the

¹ I do not remember having seen these two names elsewhere. In the *Ethiopic Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 700), their names are given as *Uriel* and *Raphael*.

² *Kurbān*. Possibly the holy chrism.

³ In the text Peter is speaking in the first person.

After these events Peter ordered Clement to put down in writing all that he had taught him and revealed to him. He further commanded him to deposit the book thus written in the archives at Rome. When the book was finished Peter and Clement sealed it with their seals, and Peter said : " As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries to *Paul* or those who resemble him.⁴ This can only be done by the pure servants of holiness⁵ who are justified by the grace of God." After this Peter added to the two above seals the seal of the Virgin " the mother of light," and Paul said : " May my curse dwell also on those who contradict the order of Peter, the head of the Apostles and my teacher." They recited then a formula

² This is probably a copyist's error for *Agapus*. This name is correctly written in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (p. 517). The error is due to early and undotted Arabic characters, and constitutes another proof in favour of the opinion that the present Garshūni text is transcribed from an Arabic original.

⁴ We cannot help remarking that Paul is very much ill treated in this eminently Petrine work. All this sentence, which appears to be hostile to Paul, has been omitted by the Ethiopian translator of the *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 518), who was evidently shocked by the severity of the language used against the Apostle of the Gentiles. The original sentence is:

سَمَّا يَهُوَّاءَ الْكَاتِبِ اِيَّاهُ مَدَّ لِلسَّبْرِ اِنْ مَحْفُوفٍ يَهُوَّاءَ الْكَاتِبِ مَحْ
 which may possibly also mean : " As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries be he Paul or any of those who resemble him (= his followers)." The sentence is, as usual, badly worded but the general meaning seems to be clear.

^b Or: "of the mass".

of curse to which the evangelist *Luke* and *Titus* and *Timothy* and *John* the evangelist subscribed.

Clement goes on to relate that he divided his book into eight parts and that he deposited its leaves in Rome in a cave¹ which he named the "Cave of Life." In it were also placed the records of *Stephen* and *Silvanus*, and the secrets revealed by Paul to his disciples *Zerosus* (?)² and *Dionysius*,³ and those revealed by *John* the evangelist. After Clement had deposited his book, all the Apostles gathered together in the Metropolis where *John* preached his Gospel. There each one of the Apostles presented the book of his profession of faith to Peter who approved of it and sanctioned it. Clement sealed the books with the seal of each Apostle, beginning with the seal of Peter, then with that of Mary the mother of light, and with that of Paul "who had tampered with the language of the books"⁴ and with that of John, and added curses to anyone who would reveal any of its secrets.

Then Clement narrates that he fetched a chest which he called the "Ark of the New Testament" and in which he laid the following sacred objects. He first rolled all the books up in the towel with which the Christ had wiped the feet of the Apostles after He had washed them, as that towel had been kept by Peter, and then he placed them in the chest and covered them with the face-cloth which was on our Lord's head when He was in the grave. Afterwards aided by some of the Apostles he placed in the chest the linen cloth with which the body of our Lord was wrapped, and the coat without seam which He wore, and the crown of thorns with which He was crowned, and the apparel of purple in which He was arrayed, and the vessel which contained the gall and the vinegar which He was given to drink, and the spear with which His side was pierced, and

¹ Cf. here the Syriac work *Cave of Treasures*.

² Neither the records of *Stephen* and *Silvanus* nor *Zerosus*, the name of St. Paul's disciple, are found in the Ethiopic work *Contendings*, pp. 519-520. Mention, however, is made of a *Protheus* (*ibid.*, pp. 517 and 520).

³ Probably the Areopagite.

⁴ *fā'innahu kūna ghayyara lisāna 'l-kutubi*. This strange sentence about St. Paul is likewise omitted in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, 518). On the contrary Paul is called therein (p. 521): "For he (Paul) was the eye of all the books." The verb *ghayyara* literally means "to change, to modify."

the rope with which His body was tied to the wood of the Cross, and the reed with which He was struck on the head. All these Clement placed along with his book in the "Ark of the Covenant of the New Testament"¹; and they will protect Rome from all harm till the day of the Resurrection,² and no enemy will ever prevail against it.³

[Here begins (ff. 185^b-194^a) the section which contains what we may call the testament of Peter to Clement. It mostly deals with early church discipline and practices, and deserves to be published separately with a more detailed explanation and a more extensive critical apparatus; this I hope to do in the near future. I will, however, give a full translation of the following passage found on fol. 185^b as it appears to me to be of some importance.]

"(God) will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification, as it is the true faith.' And the pure father Peter said: 'Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.' And he also said: 'Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome, is remote from God, and will have no share with me.' And (Christ) informed me that He will establish this city as a dwelling-place for angels, and holiness⁴ will not cease in it. Tares will not penetrate into it nor will it be conquered by the Kings of Tares."

¹ An attempt to introduce into Christianity the idea of the Jewish Tabernacle.

² Cf. the veronica which in the legend had to protect the town of Edessa.

³ All the above narrative is found in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 518-523, but in a slightly different form.

⁴ Or possibly "the mass."

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